



Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies

Belgrade

22-27 August 2016

Thematic Sessions of
Free Communications

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
23RD INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF BYZANTINE STUDIES
BELGRADE, 22 – 27 AUGUST 2016
THEMATIC SESSIONS OF FREE COMMUNICATIONS

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Cover illustration: *Personification of Truth*, Church of the Holy Virgin of Ljeviša in Prizren, beginning of the 14th century, fresco.

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THEMATIC SESSIONS OF FREE COMMUNICATIONS

Editors

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Belgrade 2016

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FOREWORD

This volume contains the abstracts of the free communications sessions from the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies, taking the form of one hundred and seventeen thematic sessions and twenty poster presentations. The success of forty three sessions should be attributed above all to the conveners who designed and realised them in cooperation with other participants, and then presided over them at the Congress. This type of sessions was the organisers' response to the challenge posed by a large number of high-quality proposals for round table discussion. Since it was not possible to implement all the received proposals into the round table sessions, the proposers were encouraged to present their ideas as Thematic Sessions of Free Communications.

The remaining seventy-four sessions were selected by the organizer out of approximately six hundred abstracts submitted. Stanoje Bojanin (The Institute for Byzantine Studies) created the initial classification of abstracts according to thematic compatibility, and the final form of the sessions was determined by Vujadin Ivanišević (The Institute of Archeology), Srđan Pirivrtić, Dejan Dželebdžić, Ljubomir Milanović and Miloš Živković (The Institute for Byzantine Studies). Tamara Matović and Miloš Cvetković (The Institute for Byzantine Studies), prepared the abstracts for the Congress website, and then for this publication. Bojana Pavlović (The Institute for Byzantine Studies) made a significant contribution to organizing the sessions by taking on the bulk of the correspondence with the participants.

In principle, all the abstracts in this book are published in the form they were submitted to the organizer, but certain minor, sometimes unavoidable alterations were made to the headings. The index of the participant's names, which is customary and necessary in printed publications, has been omitted from this searchable electronic book.

We believe that the main purpose of this book is to present in one place the wide range of topics featured at the Congress, which accurately reflects contemporary trends in Byzantine Studies. We present this book to the public in the hope that the larger part of the communications read at the Congress will find their way into published research papers.

The editors



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MONDAY, 22ND AUGUST

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LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY OF THE BYZANTINE BALKANS: APPROACHES AND ADVANCES – PART 1

Convener: Vojin Nedeljković

Il Akkad,

Subjunctive in Late Antique Greek: The First ‘Balkan Subjunctive’

Orsat Ligorio,

Greek Loanwords in Dalmatian Romance

Jasminka Kuzmanovska,

Procopius’ *Βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου* – Basilica or Royal Treasury?

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Justinian’s *πάτριος φωνή*

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Latin Language and Roman Identity in *De Cerimoniis*: A Lexical Approach

Alexandra Evdokimova,

Byzantine Accentuation between Papyri and Graffiti.

Linguistic Peculiarities of Greek Graffiti in the Byzantine Balkans



Il Akkad

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Subjunctive in Late Antique Greek: The First ‘Balkan Subjunctive’

The subjunctive in Late Antique Greek shows developments and traits typical of the later Balkan languages. The previous research has mostly focused on the replacement of infinitive complements by subjunctive clauses. However, we focus rather on the independent uses of the subjunctive, on the replacement of nominal infinitives by subjunctive clauses, and the early developments of its form. We rely mostly on the literary documents written in the lower registers, keeping in mind their peculiarities and the difficulties involved in interpreting the data they give us.

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Greek Loanwords in Dalmatian Romance

This communication examines the lexicon which was borrowed from Greek into Latin and, through Vulgar Latin, inherited in Dalmatian, a Romance language once spoken on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, in comparison with the lexicon which, presumably, was borrowed from Greek into Dalmatian, without Vulgar Latin intercession, and, further, compares Greek loanwords in Dalmatian with Greek loanwords in Southern Italian dialects.

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Procopius’ Βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου — Basilica or Royal Treasury?

Βασιλικὰ Ἀμύντου is one of many examples of *hapax legomena* names of fortresses in Procopius’ *Buildings*. The fact that this fortification from the catalogue of the IV Book took place on the list between two, also unknown fortresses from Macedonia, makes its location and identification even more complicated. The second part of this compound name is the personal name Ἀμύντας, here in Gen. sg. Ἀμύντου, epigraphically attested in Hellenistic/ Roman period. We assume that in this example the personal name is connected with the most famous bearer of the name among all other rulers in Macedonian dynasty, that is to say, Amyntas III, the father of Filip II. Linguistic analysis



in the article is more focused on the first part of the name which is a substantive τὸ βασιλικόν from the noun βασιλεύς, ὁ, 'king', here in the nominative/accusative plural (τὰ βασιλικά) with omitted article. The first option in the interpretation of the substantive would be the view according to which primal βασιλική (ἐκκλησία, οἰκία, στοά) 'royal assembly/house/hall', later took over only by βασιλική, receives the meaning 'church/basilica as early Christian church'. On the other side, there is an another consideration about the meaning of the first part of a composite name Βασιλικὰ (Ἀμόντου). Namely, the second interpretation goes in the direction of the acceptance of the meaning of the substantive (τὸ) βασιλικόν (ταμιεῖον) 'royal house / palace or royal treasury'. According to our opinion this interpretation is more acceptable, not only in linguistic terms, but from a viewpoint of semantics as well.

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Justinian's *πάτριος φωνή*

In the Justinianic Novellae, repeated occurrences of the phrase *πάτριος φωνή*, meaning the Latin language, are generally believed to be indicative of Justinian's favourable stance towards Latin culture, Roman tradition, and his own roots. Per se, the importance and dignity of Latin needed no advocacy in the actual environment of the sixth-century Constantinople: not only was the idiom in wide official use, but a fair share of literary production was in Latin, and proficiency in that language was normal with the many admirers and connoisseurs of Roman antiquities. The usual understanding is that by calling Latin the "father tongue" Justinian never emphasized the contingent fact of its being his own first language, but rather referred to Latin as the primary language of the Roman people and the traditional vehicle of high administration throughout the Empire. In the present paper the use of *πάτριος φωνή* (or π. γλώττα) is examined in the wider context of earlier, contemporary and later Greek sources, in which it normally means the native language of a foreign individual or ethnicity as opposed to the Greek of the author and his readers; the instances involve a large number of foreign languages, including contemporary spoken idioms as well as traditional languages of different communities. However, the question whether *πάτριος φωνή* ever became a context-free denotation of Latin viewed as *the* traditional language, by all appearances, is to be answered to the negative. On the other hand, the phrase *πάτριος φωνή* often seems to assume the specific task of 'flagging' instances of code-switching in Greek texts, and it is this special purpose that it seems to fulfill more than once in the Novellae as well.



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Latin Language and Roman Identity in *De Cerimoniis*: A Lexical Approach

The *De Cerimoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus is often listed among the most important works produced during the period of cultural renewal traditionally called the ‘Macedonian Renaissance.’ Scholars have used the work to reconstruct imperial ceremonies, to explain how the Byzantine army mustered and moved in formation, and to examine how imperial ideology found concrete expression in ritual action. Despite evident interest in the work, the language of *De Cerimoniis* has attracted little attention so far. In particular, the high frequency of Latin loanwords and texts in particular contexts has been unnoticed or little remarked. Cataloguing the Latin vocabulary of selected chapters of *De Cerimoniis* and correlating them to specific semantic domains demonstrates to what extent and in what contexts Latin retained a place of honor in Byzantine culture, even as late as the tenth century. Contrary to prevailing attitudes about the position of Latin in Byzantine culture generally and in the post-Heraclian period in particular, *De Cerimoniis* shows a continuing concern to preserve and pass on the Latin heritage of the early eastern empire.

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Byzantine Accentuation between Papyri and Graffiti. Linguistic Peculiarities of Greek Graffiti in the Byzantine Balkans

Greek texts became consistently accentuated already in the 10th century manuscripts, when the pitch difference between acute and circumflex stress vanished. Before this epoch, according to the earlier findings the accentuation marks were used rather sporadically. But this conclusion is far from certain as there is no comprehensive publication of all accentuated Greek texts belonging to an earlier epoch, although there are some studies of accentuation in different papyri groups (either thematical or geographical). Most authors describe two main accentuation systems: Alexandrine (marking of the unstressed syllable etc.) and Byzantine (accents on the stressed syllable), but in the Byzantine Greek inscriptions there are other accentuation systems as well.

The gravis instead of the acute and circumflex changed its meaning and usage during the substitution from the Alexandrine accentuation system to the Byzantine. One of the general step of this substitution began an orthographic reform, done near 400 y. AD by Theodosius Alexandrinus. The gravis in the final syllable of the textual unity and other gravis usages, for example the marking of the unstressed syllable, were eliminated. But the analysis of the Byzantine accentuated inscriptions showed us, that even the XIV-XV cc. was used the system of the unstressed syllable marking by the gravis, and also the gravis usage in the meaning of the acute, appearing as the stress shift near the enclitic or the marking sign for the clitic.



There is also the tendency of the gravis shift to the left, which Laum described as the reflex of the old Alexandrine accentuation system, characterizing that the gravis was on the all unstressed syllables. Analysis of the general gravis usage, and the quotation of it's shifting, gave to Fournet an opportunity to make the conclusion, that the gravis, which many scientist accustomed to deal as a Byzantine accentuation system gravis in the two syllable word with stress on the second syllable is exactly a simple shift of Alexandrine gravis to the right, not a change of the acute to the gravis.

We haven't any certain decision about the changes of the acute to the gravis and the same of the gravis to the acute. If they were occasional or there was one system. The consequential usage only one of these signs appears in some papyri and the inscriptions, in others we can observe both signs: the acute marks the stressed syllable and unstressed syllable, the gravis is used only on the final syllable inside of the syntagmas.

For some papyri was found such interesting phenomenon as the intonation shift or the special stress melodism, which appear when the gravis is placed to the not stressed syllable and the acute is saved on the stressed: μὼμέσθαι (Parthenios Alcman, 44) φἔρόισαις (Parthenios Alcman, 61), θὼστήρ (Parthenios Alcman, 81) For comparison with some analyzing examples of the stress shift from gravis to acute, which we can see in the book Fournet citations from the papyri with texts of Homer: [κα]ματώι (X 399) μαχήι (XI 736) Ασίνην (II 560). The similar phenomenon inside of the diphthong we can see and in the Byzantine inscriptions found in Georgia. Probable that the combination of two signs: acute and gravis inside of the diphthong was used for changing circumflex.

Analysis and decipher of more than 350 Byzantine Greek graffiti from Cappadocia, Pont, Kiev, Georgia, Bulgaria, Northern Greece, Athens, Constantinople etc. showed that besides the lexical and phonetic peculiarities of their dialect some of the inscriptions have accentuation systems different from the Byzantine one. For example, two systems mostly used in Cappadocian and Pontic graffiti are 1) elements of Alexandrine accentuation system: gravis as marker of an unaccented syllable; accent is on the first part of the diphthong; accent marks on the forth or fifth syllable and two or more accents above a word; 2) the last syllable of an oxytonic word is marked by gravis when a) it forms a syntagme with the next word; b) the next word has an initial stress. The latter also prevails in Greek graffiti from the Northern Greece, Bulgaria, Kievan Rus and Georgia on a par with accent mark as a marker of semantic emphasis. At first an interesting phenomenon, a shift of stress to the right, was testified in the documentary papyri, where the accent can be above the consonant. Our analysis found out some cases of using this phenomenon in the inscriptions of different dialects, but there is no sufficient amount of data yet for associating this shift of stress with a particular dialect.

The situation with the accentuation in the Greek graffiti from Byzantine Balkans is quite interesting, because we have in this territory different type of texts by their origin and by the origin of their authors. Some of them were written by Greeks, some not. Those inscriptions written by autochthons show us some reflexes of the other Balkan languages and the understanding of the different system of Greek accentuation. All the materials were compared with Byzantine inscriptions from the related languages territories and some other territories with Greeks and other ethnos. We can see two opposite each other tendencies: copy all the signs in all the words "super correct" Byzantine accentuation system and different methods of the Alexandrine accentuation system usage as more logical. And undoubted there are some interesting uncommon cases, which I'll show in my report.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

LINGUISTICS AND PHILOLOGY OF THE BYZANTINE BALKANS: APPROACHES AND ADVANCES – PART 2

Convener: Vojin Nedeljković

Dejan Aničić,

Das Vokabular Kyrills von Alexandrien unter besonderer Betrachtung
der Nomina und Verba Composita

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from an Unpublished Marginal Note (Zographou Monastery Library Inv. No. 19023)

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Some Observations on Vigenère's Translation of Chalcocondyles, or:
How the Bulgarians Became the Most Ancient of All Peoples?



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Das Vokabular Kyrills von Alexandrien unter besonderer Betrachtung der Nomina und Verba Composita

Im 1. Jahrhundert n. Ch. entwickelt sich, unter Rhetorikern, die Attizistische, oder Klassizistische Bewegung, die die griechische Literatur in den nächsten Jahrhunderten stark beeinflussen wird, sowohl die heidnische, als auch die christliche. Sie entsteht, vor allem, als die Reaktion auf hellenistischer „κοινή διάλεκτος“, die viele „abartige“ Sprachcharakteristika aufweist, die (im gepflegten und reinen Attischen nicht vorkommen) die hochgelobte Attische Sprache nicht wiederspiegelte (vor allem in bezug auf Morphologie und Syntax: immer seltenerer Gebrauch von Optativ, Aussterben von Dualformen, un stabile und neue periphrastische Futurformen, athematische Verben auf -μι werden immer mehr ausgewechselt durch thematische Formen auf -ω, von drei *genera verbi* zu unterscheiden sind immer deutlicher nur zwei, das Medium unterscheidet sich nicht von Passiv usw.).

Der attizistische Literarstil besteht aber nicht bloss aus treuer Nachahmung des attischen Vorbilds, er zeigt Elemente auf, die weder zum Attischen, noch zum „gewöhnlichen“ Dialekt oder der gesprochenen Volkssprache gehören. Die Hochsprache der Spätantike hat eine gewisse „Autonomie“, besonders was die Syntax und das Vokabular betrifft. Untersuchungen des Attizismus der prominentesten Schriftsteller des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts, unter welche die wichtigsten heiligen Väter gehören, weisen auf einen bestimmten charakteristischen Sprachgebrauch in Bezug auf die Syntax hin (1. Gebrauch des separativen Genitivs; Verwendung von entsprechender Präposition ist Ausnahme. 2. Potenzialer Fall der hypothetischen Periode durch Optativ mit ἄν im Nebensatz; Indikativ oder Imperativ im Hauptsatz ausgedrückt. Optativ mit ἄν im Hauptsatz ist Ausnahme oder fehlt. 3. Agens beim Passiv wird durch παρά mit Genitiv und ὑπό mit Genitiv bezeichnet; ἀπό und πρὸς mit Genitiv sind Ausnahmen. 4. Das Reflexiv für die 1. und 2. Person Plural ist ἐαυτῶν usw. Nur Libanios schreibt regelmässig ἡμῶν αὐτῶν bzw. ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.)

Die Sprache des Kyrill von Alexandrien († 444) ist besonderes attizistisch geprägt (-ττ statt σσ, Dualformen usw.), was ihm aber bei modernen Kritikern nicht sofort den Ruf als guter Stilist einbrachte. „In der Regel aber ist Cyrills schriftlicher Ausdruck“, schreibt Otto Bardenhewer, „matt und weitschweifig und doch auch wieder schwülstig und überladen“. Auf der anderen Seite, werden aber seine Sprachfähigkeiten auch gelobt, z.B. von Alberto Vaccari: „Die wichtigsten Sprachbesonderheiten der Sprache Kyrills sind die klassische Grammatik, beziehungsweise Attizismus und das reiche Vokabular, die Fähigkeit der griechischen Sprache, die Komposita zu formen, hat er geschickt benutzt.“ Das reiche, verschiedenartige, und fast „exotische“ Vokabular Kyrills ist unser Untersuchungsgegenstand. Die Untersuchung bezieht sich aber nicht nur auf eine Wiederbelebung des klassisch-griechischen Repertoriums, sondern auch auf die neuen attizistischen Wörter wie Komposita mit zwei oder drei Präpositionen. Seit Platon bemerken wir die Tendenz zum Gebrauch von Verba composita, bei denen das Präfix die Bedeutung des Verbum



simplex noch unterstreicht (ἀποκρύπτω, συγκεράννυμι usw.). Die meisten von Kyrills Komposita haben diese Funktion (neben der Erschaffung zusätzlicher Präpositionen). Viele neue lexikalische Lösungen Kyrills haben den Eingang zu byzantinischen Schriftstellern gefunden (dank, zum Teil, dem Lexigographen Hesychius (5./6. Jahrhundert) der Kyrills Vokabular gesammelt hat).

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New Information about the Provenance of the Glagolitic Codex
Zographensis from an Unpublished Marginal Note
(Zographou Monastery Library Inv. No. 19023)

In the summer of 2015, together with a team of scholars and students from the University of Sofia, I worked in the library of the Bulgarian monastery of Zographou on Mount Athos. I took part in the initial phase of a project whose main goal is to catalogue all the books in the library, some of them previously unavailable and stored only in the library repository. Among the volumes, there are various early printed books on liturgical or theological subjects in Greek or Church Slavonic. Many of these editions are standard and come in significant quantities, as they were obviously much needed in everyday liturgical and monastic life. Usually, the individual copies belonged to different monks, or to different chapels and churches in the vicinity that were connected with the monastery. This was often reflected in various marginal notes, condemning any person who would 'borrow' the book for himself. I came across one such marginal note in a copy (inv. no. 19023) of the widespread liturgical compilation of evangelical texts printed by Nikolaos Glykys in Venice in 1671 (Θεῖον καὶ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον. Τὸ πάλαι μὲν, παρὰ Ἀντωνίου Πινέλλου τυπωθέν, νῦν δὲ τοῖς ἴσοις τύποις παρὰ Νικολάου τοῦ Γλυκέος μετατυπωθὲν καὶ μετὰ πάσης ἐπιμελείας διορθωθὲν, ἀφιερωθὲν δε τῷ πανιερωτάτῳ καὶ σοφοτάτῳ μητροπολίτῃ φιλαδελφείας κῶ Μελετίῳ τῷ χορτακίῳ ὑπερτίμῳ καὶ ἐξάρχῳ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου). Apart from the usual curses against stealing, the copy which, in 1786, belonged to a certain Cosmas, *oikonomos* of the nearby chapel of Provlaka, casually mentions the 10.-century *Codex Zographensis*. According to Cosmas, its provenance was from the same chapel: a previously unknown fact about the history of this Glagolitic manuscript, which, if true, can add new chapters in the history of its transmission. The present paper deals in detail with the content and the peculiarities of the marginal note that mentions this piece of information.



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Use of Greek Mythology in the Letters of Theophylaktos of Ohrid

Theophylaktos, the Archbishop of Ohrid (1050/60 – after 1125) at the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century, is the author of more rhetorical, poetical and theological texts. Here, we will devote our attention to his collection of 135 letters, which he sent from Ohrid to various persons.

Most of Theophylaktos' myths originate from the works of writers who were included into the required reading at school. Consequently, these are, most often, some episodes from Homer's and Hesiod's epics, from tragedies, Aristophanes, Herodotus, but also from some less popular authors like Lucian or Plutarch. *Mythos* is a *terminus technicus* without which it was not possible to imagine an ancient or medieval handbook of rhetoric. In the epistles of Theophylaktos *mythos* is not simply the rhetorical *ornatus*, but the situation is somewhat more complicated. Almost every reminiscence on the myths written down by ancient Greek authors has some hidden message. From the learned addressee of the letter, i.e. from its reader, he expected to solve and understand this message with ease.

The myths are very frequent when the Theophylaktos' letter is sent to some person in the high position in society. They are almost inevitable in the epistles whose addressees are his friends and pupils from the years spent in Constantinople. Consequently, these are the people from whom we expect that they had good classical education and were familiar with the ancient Greek literature. Inserted into such letters, the myths represent a certain kind of a code-system among the persons who have good knowledge of them.

If we pay attention to the context in which the myths were being used, we can notice that they are numerous when Theophylaktos is speaking, or should we say complaining, about his Slavic flock. Then he is usually comparing himself with the mythical figures who endured great troubles and temptations, like Heracles and Odysseus. The negative mythical figures are usually metaphors for the Slavs or for the greedy tax-collectors (*praktores*), with whom he was struggling constantly.

Theophylaktos is using Greek mythology in various ways. Most often in the form of quotations, here and there slightly altered. Sometimes he extensively retells the whole myth. The mythological comparisons and allusions are also numerous. The very mentioning of some mythical personality is intended to evoke the whole mythical story, which carries a certain message. One of the epistles is especially interesting in this sense. It is striking that there is not even a trace of Christian tradition in it. The whole letter (*Ep.* 5, ed Gautier) is in fact setting forth the myth about Heracles' servitude at the court of the Lydian queen Omphale. In the figure of Heracles is represented Theophylaktos himself, and Omphale is a metaphor for his Slavic flock.

On the ground of mythical fables which we encounter in his letters, it is possible, in certain measure, to reconstruct the Theophylaktos' library of classical Greek writers. We have tried, setting forth just a part of numerous examples of use of Hellenic myths in the Theophylaktos' collection, to represent the wide diapason of the ways in which he is using them. The fact that separates Theophylaktos' epistles from the similar texts written by the hand of high dignitaries of Byzantine Church is exactly this frequent use of Greek mythology, which, because of that, we have chosen to devote our attention to it in this short paper.



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On One Erroneous Attribution of the Byzantine Apology of Eunuchism

It was the German philologist and historian Peter Lambeck, or Lambecius (1628–1680), a 17th century librarian of the Hofbibliothek in Vienna, who was the first to raise the issue of the authorship of the Byzantine treatise in defense of eunuchism, now unquestionably attributed to Theophylact, Archbishop of Ohrid (c. 1088/1089–after 1107/1108). While giving the detailed account of the content of what is now the *Codex Vindobonensis graecus 43* (16. c.), in which the *Apology of Eunuchism* forms a part of a unique group of five manuscripts – otherwise known from the *Laurentianus graecus 19–12* (13. c.), a far superior prototype of the *Vindobon. gr. 43*, which in addition provides the undubitable testimony to Theophylact's authorship – Lambeck, apparently not informed of the existence of the older codex, engages in subtle speculations about the identity of the author of the peculiar opuscle, trying to reconstruct the probable historical circumstances of its occurrence (P. Lambeck, *Commentariorum de Augustissima Bibliotheca Caesarea Vindobonensi lib. IV*, Vindobonae 1671, pp. 11–5). Considering the fact that the author of the *Apology* was the very person who at the same time wrote the encomiastic and paraenetic sermon, the fourth text of the group, which is actually dedicated to the author's royal pupil named Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Lambeck firstly made a fairly natural assumption that the mentioned emperor could be no other than Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945–959), the most famous bearer of that name; while on the other hand the author of both texts, as well as the rest of the body, could have consequently been only the Emperor's teacher Theodore Pedagogue, a figure otherwise not unknown from the scanty reports provided by Byzantine historians Leo Grammaticus, Cedrenus and Zonaras. (As a matter of fact, the 'purple-born' pupil in question is Constantine son of Emperor Michael Doukas, Theophylact's student.) As regards the unnamed addressee of the *Apology*, mentioned in its Prologue as the author's 'brother eunuch', Lambeck identified him quite reasonably as the Theodore Pedagogue's brother Symeon, a eunuch whose unlucky fates (recorded in the same historiographical context) could indeed constitute the appropriate pretext for a literary consolation of this kind.

Following the Lambeck's attribution, William Cave (1637–1713), an English patristic scholar and author of the once influential *Literary History of the Ecclesiastical Writers*, went a step further by readily promoting Theodore Pedagogue into a prominent 'ecclesiastical writer' of the 'saeculum obscurum' (i.e. the 10th century, according to Cave's nomenclature), establishing him as an indisputable author of the body of 'quinque orationes', with the curious *Apology* occupying the central position (W. Cave, *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria*, Londini ³1698, p. 310; it is interesting to note that the ⁴1705 edition of *SEHL*, p. 536, included for the first time the entry on Theophylact of Ohrid, with one of the titles listed being the author's *Institutio regia ad Constantinum Porphyrogenetam Michaelis Ducae filium*, published 1651 in Paris by P. Possinus – which certainly implies that Cave anyway *could* compare the first Greek lines from the Possinus' edition with the Greek incipit of *Ad imperatorem Constantinum Porphyrogenetam, Leonis sapientis filium* which he had taken over from Lambeck and quoted a few pages earlier, on p. 495 of the same edition – but he



obviously failed to do so: otherwise, he would have noticed the complete coincidence between the two wordings, and so perhaps revised or completely abandoned the Lambeck's theory on Theodore Pedagogue's authorship).

Cave's information was then uncritically adopted by a number of contemporary authors, none of whom, not even Cave himself, could naturally have any closer idea about the specific content of an unpublished manuscript treatise 'pro eunuchismo et eunuchis', known only by a general bibliographical description (supplied by Lambeck). This left room for various loose and unfounded speculations as to the overall literary and generic character of this fairly unique piece of medieval literature. Dom Bonaventure d'Argonne, a French lawyer, man of letters and Carthusian monk (known under the pseudonym M. de Vigneul-Marville, c. 1634–1704), in his popular and widely read *Gleanings from History and Literature* characterized the writing, rather arbitrarily, as 'singulier et bizarre' (*Mélanges d'histoire et de littérature*, vol. 2, Rotterdam 1700, p. 132), thus offering the keyword to his younger contemporary Charles Ancillon (1659–1715), a French jurist and diplomat, who then unhesitatingly placed the Byzantine 'praise of eunuchism' into the well-known satirical genre of the paradoxical encomia of unworthy or trifling objects (the same as Isocrates' praise of Busiris, Cardano's praise of Nero, as well as that of gout, Sinesius' eulogy of baldness, Erasmus' praise of folly and many others of this kind, Ch. Ancillon, *Traité des eunuques*, s.l. 1707, p. 9). It is worth noting that the tradition of the erroneous attribution of the Byzantine *Apology of Eunuchism* persisted in some respect even as late as the second half of the 20th century (e.g. Grosrichard, 1979), right up to the first critical editions of Theophylact's treatise (Gautier 1980, Spadaro 1981).

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Some Observations on Vigenère's Translation of Chalcocondyles, or: How the Bulgarians Became the Most Ancient of All Peoples?

Translational and scholarly activity of the French Renaissance polyhistor Blaise de Vigenère (1523-1596) has been arousing considerable controversy quite some time. In this communication we will take into consideration that part of it which pertains to the late Byzantine historiography or, to be more exact, to his translation, done in the second half of the 16th c., of the book Ἀπόδειξις ἱστοριῶν by Laonicus Chalcocondyles, specifically in the segment dedicated to the origin of the Serbs and dealing with their lands. Inasmuch as the Chalcocondyles's approach to the subject of ethnogenesis served also as a purpose for abuses by particular pseudo-scientists even most recently, it would be interesting to examine in more detail its elaboration by such an early Modern humanist as Vigenère.

Specifically, in cases where Chalcocondyles writes about the Serbs as one of the most ancient peoples of the then known world (for all that, using anachronisms as „Triballians“ and the similar like, to be sure), Vigenère in his translation, for seemingly inexplicable reasons, transfers the same qualification to the Bulgarians and, in addition, he also attributes to this people certain territories which Chalcocondyles describes as Serbian. Moreover, this not so insignificant a detail will serve us



as starting point for some wider considerations, of certain more important issues, which are posing themselves on the occasion of interpreting the historical sources dating from the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of Modern age. We will approach this problem above all from the viewpoint of the so-called cultural translation in early Modern period and of its peculiar mechanisms, better to say subordination of the original text's contents to the main goal, that is its adapting, in this particular case, to the creation of the „French national *prosa ornata*“ (M. Fumaroli), on the one hand; and in terms of a tollerant attitude toward the literary plagiarism conceived as a sort of productive emulation, which dominated the humanistic scene well into the modern times, on the other hand.

For the purpose of concretizing the above-mentioned theoretical approach we will make use of comparison of the Vigenère 's text with the Latin translation of Chalcocondyles's work by a Vigenère 's contemporary, Conrad Clauser; whereas on the account of submitting a wider picture of the contemporary Byzantine studies we will also take a look at the editions of several Byzantine historians published owing to the efforts of Hieronymus Wolf, keeping in mind that these two authors are not only associated by the relevant topics, but also by the common intellectual provenance personified by their teacher, the great German humanist Melanchthon, in capacity of „an originator of modern Byzantine scholarship“ (A. Pippidi) as well as a sagacious analyst of recent Ottoman conquests in Europe.

Finally, the present communication will hopefully show more clearly if and in what way the Vigenère's rendering of Chalcocondyles's text is consistent with the „fluent strategy“ (L. Venuti), i.e. the relative freedom, which generally characterizes the early Modern culture of translation.



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BYZANTINE STUDIES
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BYZANTIUM IN CHANGE. ART, ARCHAEOLOGY AND SOCIETY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY – PART 1

Conveners: **Jenny Albani, Ioanna Christoforaki**

Naomi Ruth Pitamber,

Loss, Memory, and Exile: Innovation and Simulation in Laskarid Art and Architecture

Myrto Veikou,

Literary Spaces and Human Agencies: The Area of Smyrna during the 13th Century

Lioba Theis,

Change of Sacred Spaces in the 13th Century: The Impact of Light

Tassos Papacostas,

The Use of Sacred Space by a Society in Motion

Jasmina S. Ćirić,

Brickwork and Facade Narratology:

The Apse of the Church of St. John the Forerunner in the Convent of Lips in Constantinople

Catherine Vanderheyde,

Architectural Sculpture during the 13th Century: Innovation and Regional Identities

Olga Karagiorgou,

Sealing Practices in the 13th-Century Byzantium: Changing Habits and Possible Causes



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Loss, Memory, and Exile: Innovation and Simulation in Laskarid Art and Architecture

This paper discusses and analyzes for the first time examples of art and architecture from the Laskarid period (1204-1261) that either simulate or innovate the traditional Byzantine artistic canon. Here, I study both a handful of key architectural examples, as well as the fragmentary remains of Laskarid fresco painting both in their original contexts of the church of Hagia Sophia in Nicaea and the Nicaean city walls and elsewhere, which can be used to connect the artistic developments before the Fourth Crusade in 1204 to the efflorescence of Palaiologan painting in Constantinople after 1261. While the examples are in ruins and badly-preserved, frescoes from this period warrant critical study, particularly given how they have been invoked in secondary scholarship as the new metropolitan art, replacing that of Constantinople, while all along they have never themselves been studied or described. Examples include frescoes from Nicaea, Pergamon, Anaïa, Nymphaion, Thessaloniki, Chios, Samos, Rhodes, Patmos, and elsewhere. Reconstructed and detailed here for the first time, the few remaining examples of Laskarid fresco painting are presented and reconstructed to an extent that future publications on thirteenth-century painting in the northeastern Mediterranean can make use of the examples and my chronology. Abundant comparisons with art in other centers outside the Laskarid realm – namely Trebizond, Arta, Thessaloniki and Serbia and Bulgaria – extend the reach of Laskarid arts beyond its borders.

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Literary Spaces and Human Agencies: The Area of Smyrna during the 13th Century

This presentation will comment on Byzantine agencies related to social-space construction, as deriving from an evaluation of literary spaces included in the cartulary of the Byzantine Monastery of Lemvos in the area of Smyrna. This collection comprising roughly two hundred Byzantine documents – ranging from imperial charters, acts of state officials, judicial decisions and ecclesiastical acts to a large number of private acts (mainly wills, donations and deeds of sale) dating to the twelfth and thirteenth century –, which is preserved in MS *Historicus graecus* 125 of the Austrian National Library, has been recently re-evaluated in collaboration with Professor Alexander Beihammer (University of Notre Dame).



The main aims of this particular paper is to offer a different approach to literary spaces mentioned in these documents and to complement our knowledge on the territory of Lemvos Monastery, offered by previous works such as by H. Glykatzi-Ahrweiler, P. Gounaridis, D. Kyritsis and K. Smyrlis. Specifically, I intend to focus on Byzantine perceptions of natural space and on Byzantines' strategies for the construction of social spaces within this natural space. As a result of these considerations, I intend to furthermore discuss Byzantine practices for the construction of people's local identities in this particular geographical area and period of time.

The work, which will be presented, was partly conducted as part of the Research Project "*Continuity and change in the perception of natural space, the land use and settlement in Byzantine Eastern Mediterranean (6th-13th centuries). A reappraisal of the cases of Southern Balkans and Asia Minor from an interdisciplinary approach.*" undertaken by the University of Crete and co-hosted by the University of Cyprus during the years 2012-2015 (<http://byzantinespaces.ims.forth.gr/en/index.php>). The project was lead by myself, hosted by Professor A. Kioussopoulou and Professor A. Beihammer; it was implemented within the framework of the Action «Supporting Postdoctoral Researchers» of the Operational Program "Education and Lifelong Learning" (Action's Beneficiary: General Secretariat for Research and Technology), and it was co-financed by the European Social Fund (ESF) and the Greek State.

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Change of Sacred Spaces in the 13th Century: The Impact of Light

Among the consequences of the Latin occupation of Constantinople from 1204 to 1261 is a striking change in Byzantine sacred architecture in the capital. Of the extant buildings that were constructed in the capital following the period of Latin rule, most are considered to be renovations of older complexes. These "new buildings" are often associated with the addition of funerary chapels adjacent to standing churches (for example, the south church of Lips monastery, the parekklesion on the south side of the katholikon of Pammakaristos monastery, or the parekklesion of Chora monastery). Generally, they are recognizable by their finely and delicately structured external facades, whose niches, cornices and pilasters transform these surfaces into a play of light and shadow. A variety of different light and shadow spaces also characterizes the carefully segmented interiors of these constructions. The conscious manipulation of light obviously played a decisive role in the overall conception of these new sacred spaces. Subsequent alterations of existing sacred buildings in the capital during the Palaiologan period, notably the reduction of the size of windows, also demonstrate that a different type of light effect was sought even in older buildings (Hagia Sophia, the katholikon of Myrelaion monastery, Atik Mustafa Paşa Camii).

This contribution will demonstrate how this change can also be seen in newly constructed sacred architecture of mainland Greece, in such different entities of the now-fragmented Byzantine territory as Epirus, the Peloponnese and Macedonia.



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The Use of Sacred Space by a Society in Motion

In most formerly Byzantine-ruled areas the post-1204 period was experienced as one of rapid and successive changes in political structures, social organization, accessibility to cultural references and also building and artistic practices and norms. By the end of the century these areas and the populations inhabiting them had been radically reorganized. Long established sacred space, whether in a rural or urban milieu, sometimes remained unaffected; but in many cases it changed hands, and was adapted or its erstwhile function was altered to respond to a different set of needs and concerns. Unsurprisingly, the attendant architectural framework evolved accordingly.

In this presentation I will employ a small number of examples from Cyprus, a province that was lost to the empire a few years prior to 1204, to investigate the modes through which processes such as abandonment, continuity of occupation, reconfiguration or valorization occurred, and the latter's impact on the buildings themselves. In fact, in the frequent absence of explicit textual testimonies, it is the architecture that speaks most eloquently of these developments. My discussion will revolve to a large extent around the church of the Transfiguration in the village of Sotera, near the island's south-east coast. A project directed by Prof. Maria Parani (University of Cyprus) is currently underway, with the aim of disentangling the history of the monument and its decoration, and their place within the local and wider Levantine context. The history of occupation of the site itself, culminating in the erection and subsequent rearrangement of the present church, offers ample evidence which I will endeavour to assess and juxtapose with that from sites elsewhere.

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Brickwork and Facade Narratology: The Apse of the Church of St. John the Forerunner in the Convent of Lips in Constantinople

Visual narrative and viewer's mental construct built upon understanding of the exterior architecture during the reign of Palaiologoi, relies on the specificity of brickwork and cognitive mechanisms of Byzantine society at the very end of 13th century. In defining of facade narratologies of utmost relevance is the exterior of the apse of the mausoleum in the Convent of Lips Monastery in Constantinople.

First part of this paper deals with the narrative voice of the apse brickwork ornaments. These ornaments - articulated in concrete and visually logical zones - address both to antiquarianism of used motives and possess substantial role in the architecture during the Palaiologan dynasty. When say antiquarianism in the architecture it is necessary to recall on – in contemporary manner said – *encyclopedic* mise en scène of that time.



The classical heritage was present in the Byzantine culture in all its phases, but during the Palaiologan period the links to the classical past were strengthened and “Hellenism”, that is the consciousness of usage of the ancient Greek language and culture. Flowering of court culture and encyclopedic approach not only did it make contacts with classical works, but some of its prominent representatives certainly saw Antiquity in three dimensions. In that sense one of the key thoughts and valuable mental frame for *sensorial* understanding of brickwork (on the apse and its contemporary visual comparanda) is contained in Theodore Metochites *Seimeioseis Gnomikai* on the study of History where he declared that: “Even as plant requires water, only the ancients can provide the examples and guidance, to be inscribed on the image producing *tablets of memory*.”

Entire surface of the facade suddenly became at the end of 13th century vivid tapestry, sacred skin of the church. At the apse are set the brick patterns characterized by ornamental symmetries: an endless repetition of zigzags, diamond, swastikas-meander, whirling discs, Life giving Tree and specifically heraldic signs based on swastika which appeared frequently as apotropaic devices.

Second part of this paper aims to prove that episodic structure of the east wall of the St. John the Forerunner church provide performative interaction withing 13th century facade organisation, or how it was mentioned in the sources *economy of the walls*. Thingness of the facade that flicker and appear to move caused by optic engagement of bricks stacked vertically and horizontally, also solar discs oriented the same way as swastikas above, reveal a relationship based on the cognitive impact on the viewer.

Having in mind Aby Warburg's idea of *Pathosformeln* as «eloquent images (..) that visualize the processing of emotional energies into visual patterns» in this paper will be discussed the meaning of overall brickwork idea and what beholder perceived. Whether if viewer has in front of his eyes *opus reticulatum*, tree of Life motif or changeable row of swastika at the apse, these images are not merely a symbols. All ornaments at the east facade – except of recontextualizing of the antiquity – represent vortex of images which transmits to the viewer into a certain mental phenomena.

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Architectural Sculpture during the 13th Century: Innovation and Regional Identities

This Paper will focus on the innovations due to the development of the regional identities that the study of the sculpture during the 13th Century reveals. In comparison with middle Byzantine architectural sculpture, carved ornamentation produced during the 13th Century does not offer the same technical and ornamental homogeneity. The Crusaders in Greece brought with them other customs reflecting their culture. Some interactions between Byzantine and Frankish culture can be observed on some sculptures preserved in Arta in Epirus and in the Peloponnese, particularly in Mistra and in Andravida. The emergence of regional styles, already observed during the 12th Century in Central Greece, seems to have been furthered by the settlement of the Crusaders in some area of this territory.



After the Byzantine reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, figural sculpture carved in high relief appears systematically on funerary settings in the capital. The origin of this style is not clear yet but some sculptures that are still preserved on the ancient territory of the Empire of Nicea have shed some new light on this question. At the same time, new stylistic and iconographic interactions between frescoes and sculpture grew up in Constantinople and in its periphery. This trend can also be observed at Hagia Sophia in Trebizond where it is mixed with the heritage of the carved stonework of the Caucasus and with a synthesis of Anatolian carved motifs.

Even if marble continues to be used for carved decoration in most areas of Byzantium, the development of woodcarving in the Balkan has to be noticed. Particularly interesting are the interactions between the marble relief icon and the woodcarving icon. Some changes can also be observed in the ornamentation of sculptures during the 13th Century. In comparison with Middle Byzantine sculpture, combination of geometric shapes decreases and vegetal ornament grows up with a variety of ancient and new carved floral themes that cover all of the reliefs' available surface to create a dense, sometimes asymmetrical and overloaded composition or an abstract and symmetrical one. A new revival of the Pseudo-Kufic ornaments, which had first appeared during the 10th and 11th centuries, can also be observed. The vegetalization and the abstraction of this type of motif increased from the Middle Byzantine period onwards, and this kind of motif is usually carved in champlévé on frieze, cornice, lintel, architrave, epistyle and sarcophagus. Animal figures are still popular, especially the lion, the eagle and the griffin, but their attitude is more rigid than on Middle Byzantine sculpture, probably because of the influence of western heraldry. Nevertheless, on sculptures preserved in Thessaly, the bodies of these zoomorphic figures are covered with ornamental motifs and their attitude is stylized like the animals depicted on oriental silks. Sometimes, these zodia are still carved in low relief but, more usually, in high relief or in champlévé. Exceptionally some new figures like the salamander or the centaur with a bow are carved.

The function of sculptures seems to be more limited during the 13th Century than before. The carving technique appears to be used more for liturgical purpose linked with the intercession theme than for architectural purposes: templa, arcosolia, sarcophagi and liturgical furniture are the main receptacle of sculpture. In comparison with the homogeneity of the Middle Byzantine architectural sculpture, the main change during the 13th Century appears to be the continued attempt to combine various techniques and motifs to create something unique inside the churches. These trends reflect the support of the aristocratic patronage in these ambitious sculptural undertakings.

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Sealing Practices in the 13th-Century Byzantium: Changing Habits and Possible Causes

Sealing was widely practiced by the Byzantines in all ranks of society: emperors, distinguished members of the civil and the military aristocracy, prominent churchmen, imperial officials, down to low ranking clergymen, simple businessmen or even illiterate people would seal their correspondence,



whether official or private. Gold, silver and wax seals were used throughout the Byzantine Empire; lead, however, due to its physical-chemical properties (low melting point, malleability and easy perforation) that made it soft enough to receive the impression of a die, but more enduring than wax, remained the most popular metal for the striking of seals.

Sealing in lead seems to have started around the 1st century and was first applied in trade goods. These early (commercial) seals were made either directly on the fabric covering the packages or cast in moulds and then impressed with a single matrix (iron stamp or ring), resulting thus to one-sided seals. Such seals were quite common up to the 5th century. Later on, however, they gave way to the far more popular two-sided lead seals whose striking was facilitated by iron *boulloteria* that appeared around the very end of the 3rd century and prevailed in the subsequent centuries (mostly from the 7th c. onwards).

Securing and authenticating letters with lead seals struck by *boulloteria* was widely practiced by the Byzantines, as attested by the high number of the existent lead seals, estimated at present to ca. 80,000; in sharp contrast to this number, the preserved *boulloteria* are no more than ten. Most of these seals are kept in state collections such as (in descending order according to number of holdings) the Dumbarton Oaks, the Hermitage, the combined Parisian collections at the Bibliothèque nationale de France and the *Institut français d'études byzantines*, the Numismatic Museum in Athens and the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. A quick overview of these sigillographic collections shows that the sealing activity of the Byzantines reached its peak during the 11th c. and started declining fast from ca. 1200 onwards. This decline is not observed just on the sheer number of preserved seals dated to the 14th and 15th c., but also to the social groups that make use of them. While the 11th c. exhibits a plethora of seals issued by state officials, the preserved seals of the 14th and 15th c. are, in their overwhelming majority, either imperial or ecclesiastical. In fact, on the basis of the sigillographic evidence available at present, sealing in lead, as far as the imperial chancery is concerned, comes to an end under Andronikos IV Palaiologos and his son Ioannes VII (end of the 1370s).

The present paper offers an overview of the available evidence on the gradual decline of sealing in lead in Byzantium from the 13th c. onwards and attempts, for the first time, a systematic discussion on the various factors (historical, political, demographic, technological) that lead to the almost complete abolition of a habit that had “sealed” the everyday life of the Byzantines for many centuries.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

BYZANTIUM IN CHANGE. ART, ARCHAEOLOGY AND SOCIETY OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY – PART 2

Conveners: **Jenny Albani, Ioanna Christoforaki**

Nektarios Zarras,

Innovation and Experimentation in 13-Century Painting:
The Phenomenon of Eutychios and Michael Astrapas

Besim Tolga Uyar,

Thirteenth-Century Monumental Painting in Cappadocia:
The Artistic Bonds between Byzantium, Seljuk Rûm, and the Eastern Mediterranean World

Annemarie Weyl Carr,

Icons: What Changed in the Thirteenth Century?

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La datation des icônes du Sinâï de la Vierge allaitant et la question
des origines de la « Madonna de l'Umilitàà »

Ioanna Rapti,

Art in 13th-Century Cilicia between the Mediterranean and Anatolia

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Glass Production and Use in the Late Byzantine Period and Particularly in the 13th Century

Anastasia G. Yangaki,

Changing Byzantium: The 13th Century Viewed Through Its Pottery



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Innovation and Experimentation in 13-Century Painting: The Phenomenon of Eutybios and Michael Astrapas

Study of the work of two paramount painters of the early Palaiologan period, Eutybios and Michael Astrapas, is an ongoing challenge for historians of Byzantine art, as the deeper and more detailed examination of still unexplored aspects of their artistic creation continues to arouse great interest. A dominant characteristic of their painting, which appears already at the beginning of their career, is the conscious effort to renew the pictorial art of their time. Expression of the novel and the different seems to have been a profound artistic need for Michael and Eutybios, which is imprinted clearly in the first church they are known to have decorated, the Peribleptos in Ochrid (1294/5). Study of the Peribleptos, whether in the minutiae or in the totality of its painting, reveals a pioneering monument, which in comparison with the known painting of this period is innovative to such a degree that it makes the church unique. The innovations in the Peribleptos are encountered both in the iconography of the representations and in the design of the iconographic programme. The depiction of new and extensive iconographic cycles but also of individual subjects of profound theological content, the secular themes with their explicit references to antiquity, as well as the remodeling of earlier subjects in new types, all compose an emblematic monument which is clearly differentiated from its contemporaries. Furthermore, the innovations in the manner of organizing the iconographic subjects, either by using large single surfaces for narrative renderings, or smaller surfaces for individual subjects, in combination with the symbolism of the space, enhance the Peribleptos as a revolutionary monument in the thirteenth century.

The church in Ochrid represents all those changes in art that justify the transition from the Middle to the Late Byzantine period and which were to progress in the fourteenth century. Masterworks of Palaiologan monumental painting, creations not only of the Astrapas painters but also of other important artists in Constantinople, Thessaloniki and other cities, are the evolution of the basic pictorial principles observed in the Peribleptos. The remarkable effect of the Peribleptos on artistic developments during the fourteenth century leaves no doubt that the formation of the artistic personality of Michael and of Eutybios, in the period after the recapture of Constantinople (1261), is linked with the imperial capital. The artistic osmosis of the two painters from Thessaloniki with nearby Constantinople must have been continuous, because only thus can we explain their uninterrupted artistic development, which enabled them to evolve stylistically, but mainly to renew their iconographic repertoire and to create a new status quo through the pioneering way in which they project their painting within the architectural space. In their art and life, Michael and Eutybios are perhaps the most characteristic examples of professional painters of the Palaiologan age who left behind them a bold and groundbreaking oeuvre, the impact of which on artistic circles of the period was analogous to their surname – Thunder and Lightning!



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Thirteenth-Century Monumental Painting in Cappadocia: The Artistic Bonds between Byzantium, Seljuk Rūm, and the Eastern Mediterranean World

The cultural residue of the Greek communities of Cappadocia living under Seljuk rule represents the fullest and most detailed evidence for the multicultural artistic and social landscapes of late Byzantine Asia Minor. Although art historians have examined many of the thirteenth-century painting programs of the region, there has been little attempt to place them within a broader cultural context. In order to fill this lacuna, paper follows an interdisciplinary investigation of art history, social, political, and geographical history, anthropology, archaeology, and epigraphy. Grounded in a close examination of a large corpus of wall paintings, and containing significant new visual and epigraphic data the my survey aims to demonstrate methodologically how visual culture can be used to understand the environment that produced it.

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Icons: What Changed in the Thirteenth Century?

A great deal happened in panel painting during the 13th century. But asking what happened is not the same as asking what changed. Change requires clarifying “for whom?”: do localized developments like Cyprus’ pastiglia constitute change, or must change be embracing, and if the latter, whom must it embrace, given the complex layering of cultural, religious, and political identities? Change implies that what happened left a residue. Yet many of the century’s most famous icons remained *unica*. Do they constitute change, or perturbation? The torrent of culturally mingled icons at Sinai, too, ceased precipitously with the demise of the Crusader states, leaving little summative residue. So what did change?

The most fundamental change is quantitative: panel painting proliferated. The explosive increment of evidence makes it hard to judge whether habits of use had changed, or simply become more visible. At Sinai, it is not diversity, but convergence that stands out, as painters of all traditions repeated standard clusters of templon images. Sinai’s many chapels must have assumed a recurrent scheme of adornment, however diverse in style. The templates emerged in the later 12th century; but in the 13th they became a canon. They comprised half-length, single figures, abandoning the narratives of the 12th-century epistyles. Narrative, by contrast, colonized the *Vita* icons. Though initiated in the 12th century, these again proliferated in the 13th, their mating of icon and narrative giving a new, multi-vocal density to individual panels.



On Cyprus, where over 80% of 13th-century icons are of despotic scale, the templon must again have dominated the expanded icon production. But how did the icons relate to it? The 25 icons of Mary so far outnumber the three of Christ that they must have served more ritual functions than just balancing Christ around the Holy Doors. They too were colonized by narrative: a third of the 25 have scenes on their reverse. Even more emphatically than in the *Vita* icons, narrative here adds visual and intellectual weight to the single-figure icon, expanding it dimensionally. Most bilaterals, moreover, had poles, implying a mobility that gives concrete realization to the three-dimensionality of their bilateral iconography. Like *vita* icons, bilateral and pole icons go back to the 12th century. But only now do they assume an identifiable repertoire of characteristic themes, a numerical proportion among the icon population, and a physical magnitude that confers upon them a weight and multi-dimensionality akin to that of fresco.

In Kastoria and Mount Athos, too, large icons of scenes from the very beginning of the 13th century give way thereafter to single-figure panels of despotic scale. In Kastoria, both *Vita* and bilateral icons appear. Neither appears on Athos, but here one watches a different process of weightiness emerge. The figures themselves assume volume, adding a visual monumentality to the monumentality of message achieved by mating narrative and icon. At the end of the century, as seen at Ohrid, great panels emerge that join the two kinds of monumentality, with grandiose scale, voluminous figure style, and multiple types of imagery. Rooted in 12th-century developments, they have a monumentality that was both truly new, yet deeply Byzantine.

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La datation des icônes du Sinaï de la Vierge allaitant et la question des origines de la « Madonna de l'Umilità »

La révision de la datation d'une icône de la Vierge allaitant du Sinaï, envisageable aussi pour une seconde – autrefois attribuées au XIV^e siècle – et leur attribution au XIII^e, à savoir à la période des Croisades et à l'âge d'or des échanges culturels entre Orient et Occident, est signifiante pour des raisons qui vont faire l'objet de notre communication. Nous souhaitons, tout d'abord, appuyer cette datation par des éléments stylistiques et iconographiques. À la lumière de cette nouvelle datation, les œuvres en question constituent des *unica* d'icônes de ce sujet datant d'une période si haute, précédant l'apparition des premières représentations de la Madone dite de l'« *Umilità* ». Ce dernier type iconographique qui représente souvent Marie allaitant a connu une diffusion remarquable dans le monde latin à partir des années quarante du XIV^e siècle et a joué un rôle incontestable à l'apparition au XV^e siècle de la *Galaktotrophousa* dans le répertoire des icônes orthodoxes. Parmi les nombreuses sources d'inspiration ayant contribué à la création de la « Madone de l'Humilité » on pourrait peut-être compter des icônes orthodoxes de la Mère de Dieu voire même des icônes de la *Galaktotrophousa*, dont les petites œuvres du Sinaï constituent les seuls exemples d'une haute



époque qui ont survécu. Enfin, nous proposons appuyer, par des exemples antérieures du XV^e siècle, la révision de l'hypothèse, formulée jadis, soutenant que la Vierge allaitant en Occident et celle en Orient auraient pu se développer indépendamment étant donné que l'allaitement de Marie est un «acte naturel». Les icônes en question s'ajoutent à d'autres, postérieures, en tant que témoignages visuels d'un va-et-vient perpétuel entre les deux mondes.

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Art in 13th-Century Cilicia between the Mediterranean and Anatolia

This paper will address the place of the Armenian miniature painting from Cilicia within the changing world of the 13th century Mediterranean. For Byzantium, the 13th century has been short and divided by the landmark of 1261. For Cilicia, instead, it has been not only a long one but, for most of it, a time of increasing prestige and ambition. An important number of lavishly illuminated manuscripts, precisely dated, have been studied by Sirarpie Der Nersessian but still need to be integrated in the discourse on the artistic interactions in the 13th century. Armenian Cilicia is not a proper part of the fragmented Byzantine Empire but closely related to it, particularly to Cyprus and the empire of Nicea. Although Cilicia is not considered as a key political entity of the fragmented Byzantine territory, it may have played a key role in the elaboration, transmission and dissemination of artistic trends. Because of its proximity to the Latin states of the Levant and Cyprus, Cilicia is in permanent encounter with the West. However, rather than a recipient of influences, it should be better understood as a melting pot of trends and taste that elaborates a strong visual idiom of power and court culture. Illuminations may reflect monumental painting and material culture as suggested by a closer study of the decorated canon tables and several narrative compositions.

A few case studies of such elements will attempt to illuminate the response of Cilicia to the contemporary artistic developments in the Mediterranean and the silk-road. The ornament enables to distinguish traditional patterns and innovative motives that may mirror broader artistic developments in the industries of art or reveal networks of trade. Another point will focus of the breaking of extensive narrative cycles in the mid 13th c. miniature painting and their development in the later years. Both categories raise the question of subjects of motifs common throughout or around the fragmented empire in works distant in space but related by their appropriation of some Byzantine legacy and by their aspirations at the marches of the Byzantine world.



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Glass Production and Use in the Late Byzantine Period and Particularly in the 13th Century

Glass working in Middle- and Late Byzantine era remains mostly elusive. No Byzantine glass workshops operating in this period have been excavated until now. The fact though that glass vessels and objects continued to be used in Byzantium is unquestionable, although apparently in quite reduced numbers in comparison to the volume of the early Byzantine production. The nature and the origin of these objects will be discussed in this paper.

Products from the Arab Caliphates were at least from the 11th century sold in Byzantium covering the region of the Aegean and the Ionian Sea. These imports continued during the Late Byzantine period mostly concerning unguentaria, mainly lentoid and ring-shaped ones, which are excavated in several Byzantine cities.

As regards the influences and imports from the West, It has been proved that quite widespread forms of drinking vessels, like the pruned and ribbed beakers, were actually either imports from the West, or local, Byzantine products which were imitating Italian prototypes following the taste and the aesthetics of the new Latin elite of the eastern Mediterranean.

What appears to present a true Byzantine ware are the gilded and painted cylindrical bottles and beakers which appear in the 13th century and they are present in both Byzantine and Slavic cities and settlements, mostly in very small quantities, except for Corinth and Paphos where they are unearthed in relatively large numbers. Decorative techniques like gilding and fired painting, possibly similar to silver staining, were applied and further evolved on these vessels. These techniques had also been used in the decoration of the glass bracelets which were present in the entire Byzantine realm from the 10th century and ceased to exist sometime in the 13th century.

Another use of glass present in the 13th c. is in enameling which, although was continuously present in Byzantium, in the 13th c. showed a new stylistic impetus.

Finally, window panes present yet another quite widely used glass product. Mostly plain, intensively colored round pieces of crown glass were used, while at least in Constantinople stained windows were occasionally used too, probably under the influence of the Latin elite's wishes.



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Changing Byzantium: The 13th Century Viewed Through Its Pottery

Recent decades have witnessed an increasing interest in the study of middle and late Byzantine pottery. Within this period, the 13th century stands out, as evidenced by primary archaeological data and underlined by a number of researchers who have noted the appearance of new categories of pottery alongside those in use during the 12th and into the early 13th century, both in areas that remained under Byzantine rule and in those which now constituted part of the Latin Dominions established from the 13th century onwards in various areas of the former Byzantine empire.

Taking into consideration representative material published from sites in mainland Greece and the Aegean islands, in the main, re-evaluating old data and incorporating new, we will attempt to trace patterns of pottery distribution over the course of the century. Mapping the evidence afresh in time and space, we will ascertain whether major political changes (such as the fragmentation of Byzantium during the first years of the 13th century or its re-establishment in 1261) are reflected in the pottery flow of particular areas, thereby influencing international and inter-regional trade. Furthermore, another aim is to address the recent, on-going problematic as to whether differences discerned in the types of, and preferences for, imported and locally produced pottery, as well as differences in shapes and sizes, can provide us with information on possible cultural interactions. A recent case-study on the material from the island of Crete, for example, can shed considerable light on the above issues. Fine as well as common and coarse wares will be taken into consideration in order to review the evidence and assess our current knowledge on this aspect of 13th-century material culture.



23rd

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BYZANTINE PHILOSOPHY AND MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR – PART 1

Convener: **Sotiris Mitralaxis**

Emma Brown Dewhurst,

How Can We Be Nothing? The Concept of Nonbeing in Athanasius and Maximus the Confessor

Rev. Demetrios Harper,

Moral Judgment in Maximus the Confessor

Rev. Nikolaos Loudovikos,

Maximus and the Unconscious

Sotiris Mitralaxis,

Rethinking the Problem of Sexual Difference in *Ambiguum 41*

Dionysios Skliris,

The Notions of *ἐπικράτεια* and *ἐγκράτεια* in Maximus the Confessor



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How Can We Be Nothing? The Concept of Nonbeing in Athanasius and Maximus the Confessor

In *On the Incarnation*, Athanasius offers detailed account of nonbeing (μη εἶναι) as the ultimate separation from God. The consequences of sin are that creatures that are preserved by God and granted being by him, fall back into the nothingness from which they were created. Athanasius explains that this is the condemnation of death which thereafter had mastery over creation. This leaves us with a problem however, as, although it explains the way in which human nature is affected by sin, it does not account for the effect of sin within our personal, hypostatic lives. If sin truly is isolation from God and immediate relapse into non-being, how can we be nothing, when we clearly persist in our fallen lives and have a chance of redemption in Christ?

In this paper, I look at the cosmic ideas of Maximus the Confessor as a way of expanding and making sense of Athanasius' concept of non-being. Maximus' breakdown of creaturely subsistence into being – wellbeing – eternal-wellbeing (τὸ εἶναι – τὸ εὖ εἶναι – τὸ ἀεὶ εὖ εἶναι) allows him to emphasise that it is being and eternal-wellbeing that are gifted to humanity, and that our choice to participate in renewed nature in Christ is a choice to move toward well-being. In his *Chapters on Love*, Maximus identifies non-being as the privation of 'true being by participation'. Given that Maximus understands the gift of eternal-wellbeing as the final choice of God that is to come, so also does Maximus understand the finality of nonbeing as reserved for the age to come. Instead, in this life when we sin, we seem to occupy a different kind of nonbeing, that is misdirected movement that has no true life because it does not live and move in God. I finish by looking at some Biblical parables that offer some insight into this suspended kind of nonbeing that has not yet lapsed into eternal death because of Christ's invitation that awaits the response of the human. These include the barren fig tree that is given another year to bear fruit (Luke 13:6-9), and the woman at the well who does not know that she is not alive because she has not drunk of the water of life (John 4:4-26).

I finish by concluding that by using Maximus, we can offer an explanation that makes sense of the difficulty found in Athanasius. We can both acknowledge nonbeing as mistaken creaturely movement that is given an opportunity for 'true being by participation' in the life, death and resurrection of Christ, and know that if a creature persists to reject life, it can only, at the end of time, fall back into the primordial nothingness that Athanasius describes.



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Moral Judgment in Maximus the Confessor

The point of departure for this paper will be an explication of Maximus the Confessor's approach to moral judgment in light of the ancient tension between Stoic and Platonic/Aristotelian threads of thought regarding incontinence (*ἀκράτεια*) and the determination of the good. As both Lars Thunberg and Paul Blowers have noted, despite the ancient conflict, the representatives of the Greek Patristic Tradition and especially Maximus have liberally appropriated and deployed elements from both ancient schools of thought. In his essay "Aligning and Reorienting the Passible Self," Blowers observes that Maximus and his patristic forbearers considered both the Stoic and Platonic/Aristotelian approaches to the passions to be instructive, regarding them as both misjudgments of mind and diseases of the soul. This paper shall seek, on the one hand, to account for the way in which these sometimes incongruous elements are utilized by the Confessor, and on the other, examine the consequences of his approach for moral theory at large. Of critical importance will be the attempt to better understand how Maximus considers the determination of universal moral goods to be epistemically possible in the face of diverse human experience and natural circumstances, as well as the various levels of moral training. As such, this essay will attempt to derive a Maximian answer to Rousseau's dilemma regarding the common good and the apparent human tendency to disregard it.

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Maximus and the Unconscious

In this paper I examine the possible meaning of the Maximian concept of "natural otherness" for a holistic ontology of human person, connecting it with a possible explanation of the notion of "consubstantiality" as the whole thing can be understood in the perspective of an ecclesial ontology of creation, on the one hand, and the concept of the "natural will", on the other. In the light of the above conceptual tools I venture a theological understanding of the Unconscious as it is articulated in modern Psychoanalysis.



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Rethinking the Problem of Sexual Difference in *Ambiguum 41*

Maximus the Confessor's *Ambiguum 41* contains some rather untypical observations concerning the distinction of sexes in the human person: there is a certain ambiguity as to whether the distinction of the sexes was intended by God and is "by nature" (as would the Old Testament's Genesis and most Church Fathers assert) or whether it is a product of the Fall, while Christ is described thrice as "shaking out of nature the distinctive characteristics of male and female," (PG91, 1305C) "driving out of nature the difference and division of male and female" (PG91, 1309A) and "removing the difference between male and female" (PG91, 1309D). Different readings of those passages engender important implications that can be drawn out from the Confessor's thought, both eschatological implications and otherwise. The subject has been picked up by Cameron Partridge, Doru Costache and Karolina Kochanczyk-Boninska, among others, but is by no means settled. I will attempt to address this anew, providing a different reading.

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The Notions of *ἐπικράτεια* and *ἐγκράτεια* in Maximus the Confessor

In our paper we will examine how Maximus the Confessor (c. 580-662) is using the terms *ἐπικράτεια* and *ἐγκράτεια* in order to denote a domination which is not free from passion. Even though the two words might have a positive meaning, signifying for example the mastery over one's desires, they are inferior to *ἀπάθεια*, to which they might be contrasted. According to Maximus, domination might also be viewed as a form of weakness, since the one who has to dominate someone or something is somehow affected by the dominated. On the contrary, true love is linked only to *ἀπάθεια*, which signifies a deeper overcoming of the dominated passion. Maximus' thought presents thus some dialectical insights, since it highlights the affection of the dominator by the dominated and a possible shifting of roles in a vicious circle. But in its depth, it is non dialectical since the goal is absolute freedom from the dialectics of domination (*ἐπικράτεια*). We will examine this topic in the consideration of desire where freedom is achieved through transformation (*μεταστοιχείωσις, μετατροπή*) rather than through domination and power over passions. We will focus particularly on the vicious circle of pleasure and pain (*ἡδονή- ὀδύνη*) and one significant use of the term *ἐπικράτεια* in this context. And we will conclude by Maximus' Christology, in which Maximus is emphatically rejecting the notion of a Monothelism in which Christ would have a unique will through the domination of his human will by his divine one.



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BYZANTINE PHILOSOPHY AND MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR – PART 2

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Desire and Practical Part of the Soul According to Maximus the Confessor

Maximus transforms the opposition between the practical and theoretical (πρακτικός and θεωρητικός) spheres that Plato and Aristotle introduced. According to Aristotle, the practical and theoretical minds have different goals: In contemplative reasoning, “the good state” is truth, whereas in practical reasoning, it is “truth in agreement with right desire.” This means that desire is decisive for— is at the very core of—practical knowledge. In Aristotle’s assessment, it differs from theoretical knowledge. Maximus also distinguishes these two realms, and even links practical reasoning to inclination and desire—despite the fact that he unites the soul’s practical and theoretical activities in a unified process of moving toward knowledge of God.

Practical reasoning provides us with reasons to desire and choose. Therefore, it is significant that practical wisdom presupposes not only the ability to reason correctly, but also the capacity to reason correctly with a view to the right end. Thus, it presupposes the ability to truly envision the end. Desire spurs the soul’s motion within the context of the telos. Thus, all practical activity exists within the framework of the general principle that is known as the Logos. As Paul Blowers asserts, the rational and conceptual knowledge of God in Maximus feeds desire (έφεσης), which in turn motivates the urge toward a higher, experiential and participative knowledge of God in deification. At this level, in concert with faith and hope, love (άγάπη), as the ultimate theological virtue, prepares the mind to become sublimely immovable in God’s loving affection, affixing the mind’s entire faculty of longing to the desire for God.

The distinction between merely having knowledge and experiencing knowledge represents the difference between potentiality and actuality, or in other words, between having a capacity and exercising that capability. Thus, Aristotle’s theory of practical and theoretical knowledge maintains that these modes of knowing are an acquired capability, or habit (hexis). Theoretical knowledge is the capacity to disclose truth, while practical knowledge is the capacity to act. Furthermore, for Aristotle, “philosophic wisdom” is a capacity for contemplation, and practical wisdom involves reasoning and acting according to whether something is good or evil.

Mind (νοῦς) and reason (λόγος) are two different motions by which the soul moves toward knowledge, but they are connected insofar as reason is perceived to be the source of the mind’s energy and activity. Reason is the energy, actuality, and occurrence of the mind. Unlike irrational beings, creatures who are endowed with reason can consciously know and participate in God. Thus, knowledge of God leads rational creatures to experience conscious ekstasis in God, while irrational beings act instinctively. Moreover, reason is a characteristic by means of which rational creatures are able to assess and define existing things and the reality in which they exist. Reason (λόγος) signifies both the sum of things and the logical order of the relationship between them. This definition demonstrates the influence that the Greek tradition had on Maximus. In the biblical sense of revelation, logos is a way of knowing God. In Greek thought, the word “logos” is used to refer to the human capacity to order the things that the senses perceive. However, these two aspects of the Logos constitute a single unity since human beings are connected to the whole of creation through the senses in the Greek understanding, while the Logos is related to the transcendent dimension in the biblical sense.



Reason (λόγος) is usually considered in relation to the mind (νοῦς). Prudence is reason's potency (δύναμις). Reason's habit, or state (ἔξις), is praxis and action, and its energy is virtue. The last stage of reason's movement is faith, which Maximus describes as "the inward and unchangeable concretization of prudence, action, and virtue (i.e., of potency, habit, and act)... Its final term is the good, where, ceasing its movement, the reason rests. It is God, precisely, who is the good at which ever potency of every reason is meant to end." Once again, this citation shows that reason's various qualities are successive stages through which human beings arrive at perfect knowledge of true being. This process should be regarded as a sequential expansion of the spectrum of that which can be known and as evidence of the dynamic progress that may characterize the path of knowledge which leads human beings toward God. Every quality introduces reason to new aspects of the revealed reality.

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Ἐπιστρεπτική ἀναφορά and ἀντιστροφή in the Thought of St Maximus the Confessor

The paper explores the way in which the seventh century Byzantine monk Maximus the Confessor employs the terms 'converting transference' (ἐπιστρεπτική ἀναφορά) and 'reversion' (ἀντιστροφή). It argues that Maximus transforms the Neoplatonic philosophical concept of 'conversion' (ἐπιστροφή) into the notion of converting and hand-leading transference (ἐπιστρεπτική καί χειραγωγική ἀναφορά) in order to describe the process of creaturely deification as the mutual work of both God and creatures. Furthermore, it argues that the term 'reversion' (ἀντιστροφή) has a broader sense than the term 'converting transference', because it refers not only to the double process of procession and conversion, but also to the final results of this double process. It finally provides evidence that the double process understood as hominization of God and deification of human beings is reciprocal.

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Theodore of Raithu and Maximus the Confessor on Substance

Theodore, abbot of Raithu in the Sinai peninsula (b. approx. 570/80, d. probably before 638) composed an apologetic handbook known as the *Praeparatio* (Προπαρασκευή) or *Liber De Incarnatione* (ed. Franz Diekamp, in *Analecta Patristica. Texte und Abhandlungen zur griechischen Patristik* [OCA 117], Rome 1938, 185-222). The *Praeparatio*, the only work which can be attributed to Theodore with certainty, was particularly influential due to the fact that several of its paragraphs were subsequently incorporated into the anonymous seventh-century florilegium *Doctrina Patrum de Incarnatione*



Verbi, a collection which also includes texts by Maximus the Confessor. Theodore's *Praeparatio* offers an analysis of Christological formulas of the Council of Chalcedon as well as a *vade mecum* of philosophical terminology useful for arguing against doctrinal positions judged heretical, including definitions of the terms *ousia*, *hypostasis* and *person*. In particular, Theodore offers a sophisticated elaboration of the notion of substance, which attests to a very good philosophical culture.

The goal of this contribution is threefold:

1. To reconstruct Theodore's analysis of the concept of substance and the main tenets of his ontology. This will provide us with information about a hitherto neglected chapter in the long history of this crucial concept for both philosophy and theology.
2. To determine, as far as possible, the sources of Theodore's reflections on substance – notably with respect to the Neoplatonic Alexandrian exegesis of the *Categories* – in order to have a precise example of the sort of philosophical formation that could be found in a monastic author like Theodore. This will contribute to have a more detailed representation of the philosophical aspect of monastic culture in Sinai, Syria, and Palestine.
3. To compare Theodore's contribution to the better known position on the question of substance formulated by Maximus the Confessor in his *Opuscula Theologica et Polemica* and in his *Letters*. This will lead to a clarification of the nature of the relationship between these two important thinkers of the seventh century.

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Δύναμις in Maximus the Confessor. A Medical Term?

In his classical study *The Earlier Ambigua of Saint Maximus the Confessor and his refutation of Origenism* (Pontifical Institute, Rome 1955), P. Sherwood has brought to light the importance of the concept of motion (*κίνησις*) in Maximus' thought. Yet, together with the triad *genesis, kinesis, stasis* that defines Maximus' rationale Sherwood also identified a corresponding triad: *substance, power, operation*. And as with first triad, he allocated an Aristotelian and Neoplatonic origin to the latter too. This evaluation has become a common trend in the secondary literature of Maximus and the goal of this work is to challenge this view. The paper mostly draws on the middle term of the second triad, i.e. *δύναμις*, aiming to show that its use by Maximus is in line with the one presented by ancient medicine. The argument will show that in *Ambigua* and especially in his anti-monothelite writings, Maximus interprets *δύναμις* as an essential and thus identifier trait of being. This reading gets its support from the analysis of the problem posed by the activities of Christ: since Christ performs in a 'unified way' his divine and human works, two different conclusions could be reached: He either has a mixed or composed nature from which His special activity stems – the monothelite view – or, Maximus' view – from contemplating Christ's divine works performed as man one infers they originate in a divine power based on the divine nature that Jesus possesses.



We claim that the step from observing Christ's works to the acceptance of corresponding powers of them based in Christ' divine and human nature could be done if power is interpreted as an essential characteristic or constitutive element of the nature upon it ensues. Though present in Aristotle in a loose manner, and slightly elaborated in Neoplatonism this line of approach is widely developed in ancient medicine and especially in Galen. It goes down to Gregory of Nyssa and Nemesius of Emesa, two certain sources for Maximus and this, we claim, invites a reconsideration of the origin of one of Maximus' central notions, that is *δύναμις*.

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The Deconstructive Reception of Origen in Byzantine Philosophy – The Strategies of Maximus and Photius

Origen is a Christian thinker, apologist and exegete, whose intellectual oeuvre had a peculiar influence on the philosophical and theological tradition in Byzantium. He is a mediator of the leading metaphysical, epistemological and ethical trends in the late ancient (Hellenic) culture. And he is among the first to introduce these philosophical patterns in a coherent Christian speculative discourse. However, the history of reception of Origen's philosophical oeuvre in Byzantium is seemingly a series of dissents, of conceptual exclusions. Origen's Trinitarian theology and his Christology and creation theory were officially condemned on the 4th and on the 5th Ecumenical councils (533 and 553). Nevertheless, as early as during the 4th century the Great Cappadocians (e.g. St. Basil the Great and St. Gregory the Theologian) undertook a correction of Origen's theology, by transforming his theory of creation and his concept on the causal relations among the persons of the Holy Trinity. Later on his heretical doctrines and conceptual fallacies were intensively criticized by Byzantine theologians. However, St. Maximus Confessor and St. Photius of Constantinople (the Great) did not merely criticize Origen, but transformed and positively developed some of his metaphysical and epistemological positions.

In *De principiis* Origen develops a special metaphysical model, in order to explain the occurrence of created being. According to Origen the pure intellects, although not co-eternal with God, abide in a dynamic repose around him, possessing all his eternal glory, as well as the other attributes of divine being. Willing to acquire a better ontological state, they fell out of the divine goodness and turned to eternal decay. In order to stop their endless degeneration, God who is both good and just, created the material world as a pad to stop this disastrous fall. Thus he not only prevented their dropping off into nothingness, but gave them chance to restore their previous state by the so called *apocatastasis*. According to this scheme the existence of the world is a result of a consequential change of three modes of being: repose-movement-creation.

In his *Liber Ambiguum* St. Maximus Confessor reverts the metaphysical premises of Origen's cosmology developed in the work *De principiis* by postulating that divine creative act is the principle



of movement, and not a consequence of it. For Maximus the creative act of God is the initial cause of created being and of movement. Maximus implicitly criticizes Origen, but adheres to his method of searching a logical substantiation of the creationist metaphysics. He makes use also of Origen's model of *apocatastasis*; he applies not to the return of every created being to the state before the fall, but to the participation of all created natures in the Christological event. Furthermore, the Logos-model of Maximus is a replica of Origen's intellectualism, which implies pre-existence of souls and metempsychosis.

At the time of Patriarch Photius the polemic context of the reception of Origen's doctrines had to a great extent faded away. Nevertheless, Origen's ideas remained a challenge for Christian thinking, especially as his exegesis of the Holy Scripture is concerned. In his work *Bibliotheca* Photius repeats the most important allegation against Origenism, but at the same time reproduces the main ideas of Origen that are acknowledged as Orthodox. Photius' critique is not simply directed towards Origen, but targets the tradition of "Origenists" who deem him an irrefutable theological authority.

According to Photius the main exegetical error of Origen is his false understanding of the status of man as an image of God. Origen interprets the biblical motif of the "image and likeness" of God as a stable state of human nature, whereas Photius supports the idea of a processual manifestation of the image through history. Photius criticizes also Origen's strict division between gnosis and faith – for the patriarch these are two different discursive manifestations (ethical and conceptual) of divine knowledge. Referring to Origen's understanding of the epistemological validity of natural and theological contemplation, developed in the biblical commentaries, Photius constructs a pecu.

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The Unity of Divine Activity according to St Maximus the Confessor

Maximus largely uses the plural form of the Greek *energeia*, but I shall argue that divine activity is basically unified. However, this unified activity is somehow pluralized in accordance with certain principles that play a role both in the procession of the world from God and in the conversion of beings to Him.



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BYZANTIUM AND *ΟΙ ΡΩΣ*: HISTORICAL AND TEXTOLOGICAL QUESTIONS OF THE OLD TESTIMONIES' INTERPRETATIONS

Conveners: Karsten Fledelius, Olena Syrtsova

Karsten Fledelius,

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Pavel Kuzenkov,

«Russian Monastery» on Mount Athos:

The Metamorphoses of the Name in Greek, Serbian and Russian Texts



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Royal Scandinavian Visitors to Rus' and Byzantium Revisited

Since the Congress in Copenhagen in 1996 the scholarly interest in the political aspects of the trade routes from Scandinavia through Russia to Byzantium has been intensified through archaeological research, in particular the Viking ships found at the excavations for the new metro of Istanbul. But also the written texts attract new interest to the vivid communications between the Baltic and the Black Sea regions from the 9th to the 11th centuries. The Byzantine evidence is scarce but both Russian and Scandinavian literary and poetic sources and new archaeological findings give hope of new insights in one of the main roads of commercial and cultural exchange through medieval Europe.

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A Byzantine Look at *οἱ Ῥῶς* – The New People with an Apocalyptic Burden

Byzantine authors proclaimed and cultivated “mimesis”, the principle of imitation of the classical past. This principle is reflected in the words of Theodore Metochites in his famous statement: “*Everything has been said and nothing remains for us*”. This meant that classical patterns and strong stereotypes influenced the descriptions and interpretations of historical events. The *Primary Chronicle of Kiev* is a manifest to the birth of a new nation, Rus', and its state. But the people called Rus' had a heavy burden on their shoulders, as for centuries in Constantinople was held the idea of the apocalyptic barbaric nation called Rhos – οἱ Ῥῶς. The roots of the imagery of Rus' in Byzantium reach all the way back to Herodotos and the classical idea of the Scyths and Tauroscyths. Until the writing of the *Primary Chronicle* in the 1110s, the image of northern barbarians had developed in the writings of numerous Byzantine church fathers, sermons and chronicles. This presentation studies the ways in which the Byzantines looked at the northern barbarians and how this was met in Kiev.

This paper argues that the *Primary Chronicle of Kiev* reconstructed its presentation of world history in order to show how the earlier Byzantine notions of Rus' – οἱ Ῥῶς – were erroneously constructed. In order to understand the mental imagery with which the *Primary Chronicle* worked, it is essential to take into account the long Greek tradition of confronting the Northern barbarians, for especially the beginning of the annalistic part of the *Chronicle* placed Rus' in the sphere of written historical records via its confrontation with the Byzantine Empire. In order to show that the Byzantines were wrong, the *Primary Chronicle* had two main objectives. First, it showed how



the *Rus'* people were not filthy and pagan barbarians whose role was to ravage the world in these events, but instead it depicted how the *Rus'* became the New People as they stepped into the light of Christian belief. On the other hand, it had the need to express how the scourge of God, the pagan nation whose wars were to be felt bitterly by the Christians, existed elsewhere, and attempted to show how this role belonged to the nomad people of the *Polovtsy*.

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Sarkel and *Annales Bertiniani*: Khazarian beginning of the Russian History?

The Russians (*Rhos*) were mentioned for the first time in the Carolingian *Annales Bertiniani* s.a. 839 when they appeared with the Byzantine embassy sent by emperor Theophilus to Louis the Pious residence in Ingelheim on Rheine. The Embassy attended people (*Rhos*), who arrived to Constantinople “for the sake of friendship”, but could not return to their land the same way because this way blocked the fierce barbarians. Theophilus begged Louis to miss friendly “divergences” over the Empire of the Franks, but Louis was supposed to investigate their origin. These people admitted that they are “from the tribe of *Sueones*” (Swedes). The Franks tried to oppose the onslaught of Viking and Louis suspected aliens are not “friends”, but spies: he ordered to arrest them. These people of *Rhos* declared that their ruler was *chacanus*, and this declaration gave birth to modern discussion: if these Russians obeyed to the Khazarian khagan/*chacanus* or they had their own ruler in the mysterious “Russian khaganate”.

In the recent historiography, despite the apparent “normanist” nature of *Annales Bertiniani* (detecting the Scandinavian origin of initial *Rus'*), dominated the “antinormanist” idea of the first diplomatic initiative and the original Russian State, with the ruler claimed the Khazar title “Khagan”. Kiev was supposed to be the capital of this State; in subsequent versions, taking into account the absence of any evidence of Kiev before the second half of the 9th century, the capital of the “Russian (*Rhos*) Khaganate” was placed on Novgorod Hillfort (according to C. Zuckerman) or in Ladoga, where the Scandinavian antiquities are dated even from the 8th century. Ladoga seems to be preferable in such constructions in attempts to synchronize the archaeological data with 839 Embassy, but borders the “Russian Khaganate” remains unclear, and its “capital” Ladoga was the small settlement in the first half of the 9th century.

It is essential that in the same years (around 840) the Khazarian khagan and his commander-in-chief *bag* sent his embassy to Theophilus asking for assistance in building of Sarkel fortress on Don river (according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus DAI 42). Don was the main trade route for Khazaria, as well as for the Russians (old *Rus'*) who had Scandinavian (Swedish) origin: the oriental coins reached the Northern Europe from the beginning of the 9th century. One of the early hoards (around 800) was found in the so called Right Bank (Tsimlyansk) fortress: Sarkel situated on the opposite left bank of Don. A Khazarian imitation of dirham and a coin with Scandinavian graffiti characterize the cultural contacts of the owner of the hoard.



A tile of the Byzantine type was also found in the excavations of Right Bank fortress. It is essential that the material Right-bank (Tsimlyansk) hillfort include shingles, that indicates the Byzantine construction traditions. The impact of the Byzantine construction equipment found not only in Right bank fortress, but in the Khazarian Semikarakory hillfort in the lower Don basin (Kalinina, Flyorov, Petrukhin 2014:109 ff.). Strengthening of the “domen” of the Khazarian Khagan was connected with the complication of Khazar-Hungarian relations: apparently, the Hungarians were threatening international waterways on their way to the Central Europe; the Hungarians could be mentioned as “a fierce people” by the *Rhos* ambassadors (cf. Golden 1982. P. 96-97).

Initial Slavonic name *Rus'* (Annales Bertiniani followed the Greek vocalization - *Rhos*; cf. Shepard 1995:43) reflected the Scandinavian name meant the “retinue of rowers”: it was not tribal, but the “route” name: these Russians could not call themselves the *Vikings*, as they did in the Baltic sea, because they could not use their *long ships* on the East-European rivers, they need rowing boats. On the Rhine, at Louis the Pious court, they used this “route” name, which led to suspicions of Emperor, who realized that they were the Normans/Vikings.

Jonathan Shepard published in 1995 Byzantine finds from Northern Europe which could be connected with 839 embassy of *Rhos*: coins of Theophilus and the Byzantine seal from the same time found in the most prominent sites of the Viking age – Hedeby, Birka and early Novgorod Hillfort (Городище). One could add now the numerous finds (11 coins of Theophilus) originate from Gnëzdovo in Smolensk (Upper Dnieper), but the cultural layers from the 830-ies are unknown in these Russian sites, the mentioned objects could not be straightly connected with the people from the time of Theophilus embassy.

However, archaeology demonstrates the diversity and cultural contacts in the Baltic: in the Baltic “gate” *Rus'*– Ladoga and other trading settlements in Eastern Europe the finds from middle Sweden – region of Birka are the most numerous, but the “imports” of the Danish or Danish-Frisian origin are known also. The Byzantine seal from Haithabu mentioned by Jonathan Shepard has the special interest for our theme: this seal of *patrikios* Theodosius, dating back to the time from 820 to 860, testify to the activity of the Byzantine diplomacy in the Baltic Sea at a time when Byzantium fought with the Arabs in the Western Mediterranean (Shepard recalls in that connection and on the Russian attack on Seville in 844: it is remarkable that al-Ya'kuby used the *river* name *ar-Rus* for the raiders attacked Seville from the river). The ambassadors of the “people of *Rhos*” could be members of this diplomatic mission, and find of this seal could indicate on their route to the Baltic – from Ingelheim to Haithabu. Another seal of Theodosius was recently found in the cultural layer of the town of Ribe – the Viking port, located on the border of Denmark and Friesland (Feveile 2010. S. 9). This find reinforces the hypothesis of the Byzantine diplomatic activity in the Baltic Sea, but cannot be considered a direct reflection of the Embassy route 839. Anyway, the Normans and the Khazars found themselves in the interests of the Byzantine Empire in 30-40 years of the 9th century, and facilitator in the pursuit of these transcontinental interests was the initial *Rus'*.



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L' Apocryphe sur l' apôtre André et le Menologium de Basile II

Une source apocryphe, mentionnée dans la recherche de V. G. Vasilijevskij «Hozdenije ap. Andreja v strane myrmidonjan» pourrait être considérée comme un point du départ pour la création de la description apocryphe de la mission de l' apôtre André en pays du nord dans «Povesti vremjannykh let». Il s' agit de la légende sur les martyrs Inna, Réma et Pinna (Ἀθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Ἰννᾶ, Ῥημᾶ καὶ Πιννᾶ), conservée dans deux rédactions. Dans la première plus courte, d' après l' édition vénitienne des *menei* et le *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, il est dit que ses saints «étaient d' un pays du Nord (Οὗτοι χώρας τινὸς τῆς κατ' ἄρκτου ὑπάρχοντες), et saisis par les barbares idolâtres étaient présentés à l' archontes de ce pays qui les a condamné à la mort de glace». Dans la rédaction plus développée, conservée dans le *Menologium* de Basile II il y a déjà une mention de l' apôtre André et de Scythia: «Ces saints étaient de Scythia, du pays du Nord les disciples de saint apôtre André. En prêchant en nom du Christ ils ont converti beaucoup de barbares en foi véritable et les ont baptisés. Pour cela ils ont été saisi par l' archon des barbares» (Οὗτοι οἱ ἅγιοι ἐγένοντο ἀπὸ σκυθίας ἐκ τοῦ βορείου μέρους. μαθηταὶ τοῦ ἁγίου ἀποστόλου Ἀνδρέου. Καὶ διδάσκοντες ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι τοῦ Χ(ριστ)ῆ. πολλοὺς τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπιστρέφοντες ἐπὶ τὴν ὀρθὴν πίστιν ἐβάπτισον. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ κρατηθέντες παρὰ τοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων ἄρχοντος) [Cod. Vat. Gr. 1613, fol. 337].

Le *Menologium* de Basile II, composé avant le début du XI s. fut traduit en slave du text grec, attesté par Cod. Vat. Gr. 1613 avec les suppléments fait en XI s. Le plus ancien manuscrit du *Synaxaire* russe on date du XII s., mais on ne peut pas exclure l' apparitions de la traduction du grec des articles choisi (en partant aussi du Cod. Parisin. Gr. 1488) sinon du text complet de la version slave du Prologue à Kiev dès la deuxième moitié du XI s. Sans oublier que tant avant qu' après Illarion tous les métropolitans de Rus' bien connaissaient le grec, la connaissance par les écrivains de Kiev de l' article de *Menologium*, dans lequel est mentionnée la mission des disciples de l' apôtre André en Scythia, à la période de la formation du culte d' André sous le prince Vsevolod Jaroslavich pourrait avoir lieu indépendamment du temps et du lieu de l' apparition de la traduction slave et donc précéder l' apparition de «Povesti vremjannykh let» au début de XII s.



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Rus' and the Civil War in Byzantium in 987–989: The Chronology of the Battle of Chrysopolis and the Rus-Byzantine Treaty

In 987–989 the Byzantine society and state passed through a deep political crisis related to the armed struggle for power between the followers and supporters of the Macedonian dynasty and noble families of Skleroi and Phokades. The decisive role in defeating the forces of the usurper at the key moment was played by Rus' troops which arrived to help Basil II as a result of an agreement between the basileus and the prince of Kiev. This study allowed us to refine the chronology of the battle of Chrysopolis – the first military clash which was attended by the “Russian-Varangian corps”, sent by Vladimir Svyatoslavich.

The exact date of the Chrysopolis battle that took place according to Stephanos Taronetsi, in 437 year of the Armenian calendar (March 24 988 – 23 March 989) remains controversial. The information of the sources proves that the interval between the battles of Chrysopolis and Abydos was not significant. A. Poppe suggests that the first one occurred in January or early February, 989 as soon as Bardas Phokas ordered his son Leo to banish Agapius, the Patriarch of Antioch off the city, which was fulfilled on March the 8, 989. Noteworthy, however, that the presentation of the events given by Yahya of Antioch does not always correspond to the chronological order. For example, a message on the negotiations with Rus', marriage of their ruler with the sister of the emperor and the subsequent baptism of their country seems to be an obvious insertation without precise chronological indications. After a brief mention about the victory at Chrysopolis Yahya reminds about the departure of Magister Gregory Taronite to Trebizond, as well as Phokades' negotiations with David Curopalates and Bagratids about military assistance. The message on the fate of Patriarch Agapius who was suspected of disloyalty by the both sides also was not directly related to the date of Chrysopolis battle.

According to Leo the Deacon, Bardas Phokas came up with the main forces to Abydos as soon as he got to know of the defeat of the troops at Chrysopolis. In turn, the basileus moved against him, having gathered the fleet armed with “Greek fire”. However, John Skylitzes notes that Emperor Basil II came back to Constantinople after the first victory, but probably he did not stay long there. It is important to note that Stepanos Taronetsi places the battle of Abydos immediately after the Chrysopolis clash, in the next, 438 year of Armenian chronology, when “it was still spring.” Thus, we can conclude that the defeat of the troops of Kalokyros Delphynas took place in early spring (March) of 989. This date is the terminus ante quem of the new Rus'–Byzantine treaty.

The transition from the military confrontation to cooperation occurred only after the capture of Cherson by the Russes, due to the Byzantines' urgent need of military aid. The conclusion of the treaty between Basil II and Vladimir happened no later than the summer and autumn of 988 (most likely in May or June 988). The agreement provided for the sending of the troops (six thousand foot soldiers) in support of Basil II, the personal baptism of Prince Vladimir and the introduction of Christianity throughout Rus', the dynastic marriage of Rus' and Byzantium and the subsequent creation of Rus' metropolitanate as part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.



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«Russian Monastery» on Mount Athos:
The Metamorphoses of the Name in Greek, Serbian and Russian Texts

(No text)



23rd

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BYZANTINE STUDIES
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HISTORIOGRAPHY 4TH – 9TH CENTURIES

Chairs: **Roger Scott, Slawomir Bralewski**

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Loi ecclésiastique selon Socrate de Constantinople

Dans la littérature spécialisée, il a été question de l'éducation juridique de Socrate, auteur de l'Histoire ecclésiastique. Assez longtemps on cherchait la confirmation de son appartenance à des avocats de par son titre de Scholastikos qui lui fut attribué, et lequel d'une part, a surgi relativement tard parce que le plus tôt il peut être daté de la moitié du VII^{ème} siècle, et en même temps il n'apparaît dans son manuscrit qu'au XI^{ème} siècle, d'autre part, ne pas avoir à signifier un avocat, mais seulement un homme instruit. L'attention a été également accordée à l'absence de familiarité juridique de Socrate ou à son opinion critique sur la profession d'avocat. Socrate de Constantinople est connu, cependant, principalement comme un historiographe chrétien. Alors, quelle était vraiment sa compréhension de la loi ecclésiastique ? Hermias Sozomen, écrivant son Histoire ecclésiastique fondée sur la relation de Socrate, apportait-il des modifications aux arguments juridiques de son prédécesseur ? Socrate a mentionné que les participants du concile de Nicée (325) ont rédigés « aussi le reste de certains textes, qui sont généralement appelés canons » (I, 13). Sozomen a corrigé légèrement cette information indiquant clairement que « le concile, en cherchant à élever la moralité de ceux qui ont consacré leur vie au service de l'Église, a établi les lois, appelées canons » (I, 23). Ainsi, selon Sozomen, ce ne sont pas les dispositions de nature non précisée, comme les décrit Socrate, mais les règles de la loi relatives à la sphère disciplinaire. Tous les deux utilisaient le nom canons. Socrate dans son oeuvre a appliqué ce terme 35 fois, tandis que Sozomen l'a fait seulement 10 fois. Le premier d'entre eux utilisait ce mot aussi souvent parce qu'il l'appliquait dans un contexte et une signification plus larges, se référant à la loi ecclésiastique en tant que telle, mais aussi aux règles, règlements, résolutions et même la pratique de l'Église. Alors que le deuxième, limitait sa signification qu'aux règles disciplinaires de l'Église, ce qui a considérablement impacté sa fréquence d'apparition. Le manque de précision dans l'utilisation de la terminologie juridique par Socrate en témoigne le fait que lorsqu'il informait sur les nouvelles dispositions de la discipline, lesquelles les participants du concile de Nicée souhaitaient mettre en application, il n'a pas utilisé le terme canon, mais nomos (I, 11). La même chose était dans le cas du 3^{ème} canon du concile de Constantinople, où pour cela il a employé le mot horos (V, 8). Dans son oeuvre, Socrate a également fait valoir que selon l'un des canons ecclésiastiques, contre la volonté de l'évêque de Rome, les diverses Églises ne pouvaient pas kanonidzesthai (nous entendons par là l'interdiction de la mise en place de nouveaux canons). Bien sûr, Sozomen était conscient que ce canon n'existait pas, alors il écrivait de manière générale sur la coutume ou la loi (nomos) en vigueur pour les prêtres, qui interdisaient de prendre des mesures contre le pape. La désinvolture dans l'utilisation de termes juridiques par Socrate peut être considérée comme un argument supplémentaire pour le fait qu'il n'a pas été un avocat.



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Historical Causation and Interpretation: The Role of Supernatural Agency in Procopius of Caesarea

The interpretation of events in the Graeco-Roman historiography of Antiquity has long been an area of scholarly study and debate. Factors such as personal participation and knowledge of protagonists, the use of sources, subjectivity, and bias are examined in order to assess the accuracy and reliability of each work. Supernatural forces also often play a decisive role in the causation and interpretation of the historical narrative. Supernatural agency as a driving force appeared primarily in the form of Tyche-Fortune while God, the supreme and omnipotent authority, was introduced into these works after the advent of Christianity. The importance accorded to these forces is directly related to the perspective and mentality of each historian. In the case of Late Antique historians, and more specifically, Procopius of Caesarea, the presence of both supernatural powers has led the scholars to attempt to determine his religious beliefs rather than focus on the role of these forces as interpretative factors. This paper will look at the role of supernatural agency in the historical work of Procopius and argue that they play a significant part in the causation of events and his interpretation of them.

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The Use of the Title of *Basileus* in Procopius' Writings and Basileia of Arethas

According to Procopius of Caesarea, emperor Justinian I granted a royal title to Arethas (Al-Harith), the sheik of Ghassanids: "For this reason the Emperor Justinian put in command of as many clans as possible Arathas, the son of Gabalas, who ruled over the Saracens of Arabia, and bestowed upon him the dignity of king (ἀξίωμα βασιλέως), a thing which among the Romans had never before been done." If we take the text of the Byzantine chronicler literally, it means that other Arab tribes in alliance with Byzantium were made subordinate to Arethas and that he was given the royal dignity, expressed not by the Latin *rex*, but the Greek equivalent *basileus*.

Arethas' royal title has long been the subject of a heated debate, in which many scholars (V. Christides, A. G. Grouchevoy, G. Greatrex, I. Shahîd, E. Chrysos, Ch. Robin and others) have taken part. Some of them maintain that an Arab tribesman could not be bestowed the title which had been reserved exclusively for the emperor himself. Vassilios Christides translates the term *basileus* as supreme phylarch. Irfan Shahîd is of a different opinion. He points to the fact that Procopius' text clearly shows that Arab tribes were divided and ruled by different phylarchs. Justinian made an



attempt to unite his allies. Irfan Shahîd also discusses the evolution of the word *basileus*. He argues that before Heraclius (610-641) it was used occasionally while referring to emperor, but it was not an official title.

As far as I know, nobody has tried to look in detail into the issue of Arethas' title in the context of such notions as king/emperor (*basileus*), royal power and royalty in the works of Byzantine writers, especially of Procopius. Particularly interesting sound Barbarian rulers' titles – of Hephthalites, Axumites, Goths, Vandals, Ethiopians, Lazi and others. It seems worthy to compare the terms used to describe Byzantine allies and foes, and to have a closer look into the titles of earlier Arab rulers (e.g. from Petra). An analysis of particular cases where the Byzantine chronicler is using the word *basileus* to define alien countries' rulers will allow to see the case of Arethas in a wider context and to answer the question if his case was so exceptional indeed. Such an analysis will also help determine what personal features Byzantine authors expected from those who were in power.

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Eighteen of Nineteen Books?

The *Chronicle* of John Malalas as a Mechanism of Cyclical and Apocalyptic Time

The question of the original length of the partially preserved chronicle of John Malalas (c. 490 – c. 570) has been the topic of an acrimonious philological debate during the last decades. Croke (1990: 23-25) plead in favour of the chronicle comprising eighteen books and ending with the death of emperor Justinian (c. 482 – 565). Scholars such as Mommsen (1895: 487-488), Haury (1900: 340) and Hunger (1978: 320) have, however, argued in favour of the chronicle ending in the reign of one of Justinian's successors, with the possible implication of the chronicle comprising of nineteen books. Every different position in this debate had one common point of agreement; until today there are no elements from the transmission history which allow for a conclusive and satisfactory resolution to the problem of the chronicle's original length.

In this paper, I propose that Malalas' chronicle consisted of nineteen books, and that he construed his chronicle on the basis of a premeditated compositional scheme; namely, a circular composition, revolving around the pivotal book X, which heralds the coming of Christ. A close reading of the work will show that 1) Malalas balances book VII and book XIII as perfect opposites around the central book X, 2) that he uses numerological schemes which are also popular in contemporaries in the west and the east, such as Cassiodorus (c. 485 – c. 585), and John of Lydia (c. 490 – c. 565), 3) that he uses these contemporary structural devices to construe an historical work in which the past is used to foretell and come to terms with the future. Indeed, throughout his chronicle, Malalas uses the tools of time and time reckoning in order not only to argue why the end of the world did not yet happen, but also when it will inevitably come to pass in the year 6000.



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Exi, Februarie: Brunichius in Malalas' Chronicle

The studies concerning the sources of Malalas' Chronographia are usually characterized by a strong skeptical attitude. The fact that many of the seventy-five authors listed by the chronicle are not attested elsewhere is surely one of the main reasons for that. The lack of testimonies has encouraged scholars to consider these sources garbled secondary references, or inventions of Malalas (see, for instance, the studies of Bourier, Jeffreys, and Treadgold). Such a suspicious approach has latterly been questioned. A new strategy has been proposed, whose goal is to take «Malalas' references to lost authors seriously» (Van Nuffelen). It has achieved interesting results in analyzing historians such as Clemens, Bruttius and Theophilus. The aim of my paper is to apply it to another author, Brunichius.

The seventh book of the Chronographia focuses on Roman Republic: along with the end of the monarchy and the deeds of Brutus, Malalas describes the Gallic siege of Rome, presenting Manlius Capitolinus as the hero who saved the city. After the liberation, the Roman banished the Gallic senator Februarius and gave his name to the shortest month of the year (Chron. VII 10-12). At the end of the episode, Malalas names his source: «the Account (Ἔκθεσις) of the Roman historian Brunichius» (Chron. VII 12). Such a reference presents many elements of interest: first of all, the name of the source. As Niebuhr already observed in his *Römische Geschichte* (688, n.1345), it probably reveals a Gothic origin (from the Germanic root *brunjō-, i.e. 'armor'). Moreover, Malalas writes that he has read the text of Brunichius in person, whereas most of his quotes are introduced in an impersonal way (e.g. with the adverb καθ' ἑαυτῶν). According to the chronicler, the copy of Brunichius was conserved in Thessalonica. The city is itself a remarkable element: for better or for worse, it has often been linked to Gothic movements in late antiquity. Finally, the tale of Februarius and his banishment from Rome is quite interesting too. In spite of its historical mistakes (e.g. the absence of Camillus and the positive image of Manlius), it has enjoyed widespread appreciation in Byzantine literature. The story seems to mix the literary topos of the φαρμακός, the scapegoat, with the Roman celebration of the lupercalia, the ritual purifications of February.

I will treat all these aspects: I think indeed that the results of the analysis will give us a deeper knowledge not only of Malalas' chronicle, but also of the literary context who inspired it.



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A Quotation from Theophylact Simocatta by Theophanes Confessor in an 8th-Century Tract? *Torna, Torna, Frater* Revisited

The well-known passage from the Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor (c. 810), which relates an episode of the Byzantine-Avar war in 586-587, was discussed on several occasions, since it contains a phrase in vulgar Latin that has aroused the interest of many historians. Among the burden carriers in the army of General Comentiolus arises a trivial incident, which generates a disturbance among the soldiers and finally causes the fleeing of the troops and the failure of the attack. The cargo of one of the animals was overturned, and one comrade cried to the horseman in his ancestral language, *torna, torna, frater*, cry which was interpreted by the others as the signal for troops to withdraw. The episode is recounted first by Theophylact Simocatta, but he only reproduces the cry of the flying soldiers: *torna, torna*. Some historians have seen in these three words the first evidence of a Proto-Romanian language.

The Greek edition of the Theophanes Confessor's Chronicle by Carl de Boor (1883) mentions also the form *fratre* as a variant found in some manuscripts. A recent study alleged that *fratre* is a mistake of a later copyist in Theophanes' Chronicle and therefore must be ignored, since *fratre* could not give the form *frate* in Romanian and in the other south-eastern Romance dialects. However, an ongoing research conducted as part of the European project Dictionnaire Étymologique Roman shows that in many Romance languages, among which Romanian and the other Vlach dialects, the word "brother" has evolved from the Latin Accusative *fratre* through dissimilation. Albeit it cannot be established that it existed originally in Theophanes' text, the form *fratre* should not be completely discarded.

Another bias of modern historians is that *frater* was a common military appellative in the 6th-century Byzantine army. Michael Whitby, the editor of Theophylact Simocatta, argued that in Theophanes' Chronicle appears some information that is not found at Simocatta and, therefore, the early 9th-century author had to have also another source, probably a lost chronicle contemporary to the reign of Maurice, which was used as source also by Simocatta. Cyril Mango and Roger Scott remark that the passage in question from Theophanes is clearer than at Simocatta and suggest that Theophanes used here another source, i.e. the lost chronicle of the wars of Maurice. But Simocatta mentions only the command *torna, torna*, and we have no reasons to suppose that he discarded from his source quite the phrase that generated the incident. Therefore, we suspect that Theophanes introduced the spoken words of the carrier, *torna, torna, frater*. Although some of his passages are more obscure than those in his source, in others Theophanes prefers a clearer phrase than the heavy rhetoric of Simocatta, and sometimes introduces personal additions and commentaries apart from his sources.

Theophanes was an autodidact. He had not benefited from a systematic education, and, according to Warren Treadgold, neither him nor George Syncellus seemed to know Latin. As Latin was no longer spoken for 100 years in the Empire (in the mid-860s, Michael III was naming the Latin a "barbarous and Scythian tongue"!), Theophanes might have learned the words *torna* and *frater* from the native speakers of an 8th-century Romance dialect. Groups of fugitive Vlachs, craftsmen and animal breeders, probably took refuge around Constantinople after the occupation of Moesia and Thrace by Slavs and Bulgarians during the 7th century.



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George the Monk and Kedrenos on Constantine the Great and the *Vita Silvestri*

Malalas in the sixth century is our earliest Greek source for the myth of Constantine's early baptism in Rome by pope Sylvester but it remains just a simple single sentence. A much expanded version of the myth was not created until centuries later in the *Vita Silvestri*: Constantine, suffering from leprosy, after rejecting advice to gain a cure by bathing in the blood of suckling babies, is told by Peter and Paul in a vision that his act of mercy will earn him both a spiritual and a bodily cure if he seeks out Sylvester. Inter alia, after baptizing and so curing Constantine, Sylvester then wins both a theological debate and a miracle contest with Jews, leading to their conversion. George the Monk's use of this in his late ninth-century chronicle becomes the basis of later Byzantine chronicle accounts. Two centuries after George, Kedrenos clearly used George's version but also sought out and found the original for himself and used it both to expand and revise or correct George's version. The paper notes that, although both George and Kedrenos copy much of this source verbatim, they also deserve credit both for seeking and finding new material and for giving some thought to what they copied. Plagiarists certainly, but not unthinking ones.



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LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY BYZANTINE ART

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The Christian Phase of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki

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Recent Restoration Work in the Museum of Aya Sofya (2011-16)



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The Virgin Mary and the Quadernity

In recent years a number of scholars have argued that the cult to the Virgin Mary emerged in the eighth or the ninth century. These scholars have seen Marian cult as driven by two related developments: 1) the iconophile theology of the image, which emphasized the humanity of Christ and its Marian origins, and 2) the emergence of “affective piety,” devotional emphasis on the suffering Christ and Mary’s anguish, both of which were rendered in emotive literary and visual images.

The present paper challenges these arguments by analyzing images of Mary in the apses of early Christian churches. These fifth- and sixth-century mosaics usually show the Theotokos enthroned with the Child on the lap with angels and martyrs bringing her gifts. On theological and iconographic grounds, this presentation argues that early Christian apse mosaics, starting with the non-extant fifth-century image in the Church of the Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, consistently showed the Theotokos as the fourth person in the “Quaternity.” The “Quaternity” is a neglected fifth-century idea that follows from the argument that if Christ was with the Virgin and of the Virgin, then the Theotokos should be considered as the fourth person of the Trinity. Though contested, specifically by Nestorius’s supporters, the idea that Mary should be considered as part of the Christian understanding of the divine found its way into the documents from the Council of Ephesus. Consequently, early Christian apse mosaics with the Virgin Mary attest to Marian veneration. They call the faithful for venerating the Theotokos on par with her son.

By demonstrating the tight connections between theology and the visualization of the divine mysteries, the paper formulates a new definition on the chronology and essence of the Byzantine cult of images before the Iconoclasm.

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The Didactic Power of Apolausis in Early Byzantine Mosaic Decoration

Apolausis (ἀπόλουσις; pleasure, enjoyment) was a concept actively discussed by Early Christian and Byzantine authors, whether they were describing their own experiences or attempting to control the actions and feelings of others. The viewing of works of art and architecture has been long identified as a means of enjoyment, and scholars of Byzantine art have noted the role of pleasure in the appreciation of visual and material culture. Yet, as this essay argues, art could also play a role in modeling for the viewer the acceptable limits of aesthetic enjoyment and sensual pleasure. In particular art could visualize the possibility of apolausis becoming corrupted and the undesirable results that such a situation produced. In this sense, art could be morally didactic, providing images



that offered enjoyment while simultaneously encouraging viewers to patrol the boundaries of their own pleasure. This paper explores apolausis with special focus on its intersection with artistic and architectural production and reception. I argue that personifications of Apolausis that appeared in early Byzantine bath and domestic mosaics manifest a range of possibilities for responding to physical stimulation. When restrained, apolausis takes the form of enjoyment, which engages the body, but remains under the control of the mind. Yet when unchecked, apolausis metastasizes into unmitigated pleasure, disrupting the balance between the corporeal and intellectual, and thereby risking foolhardy indulgence. I argue that art played a role not only in visualizing these possibilities but also in guiding the viewer toward self-regulation and virtuous comportment.

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The Christian Phase of the Rotunda in Thessaloniki

The Triumphal Arch and the Rotunda were built by Galerius early in the 4th century, as an imperial complex near the royal palace. While it has not been possible to determine the original purpose of the Rotunda, this was most probably religious. Its Christian use began in the Early Christian period and is associated with extensive renovations. The floor space was substantially increased by the addition of a wooden-roofed ring around the outside of the structure, a deep sanctuary on the east side, a new door on the west side, and several outbuildings. This architectural intervention transformed the original circular building into a subtle double-shell structure, similar to San Vitale in Ravenna. Various dates have been proposed for this intervention, with none more likely than another.

The other major intervention of the Early Christian period was the interior decoration of the building: the mosaics in the dome and the arches, the marble revetment on the walls, and the pulpit. Various interpretations and dates have been proposed for the mosaics, from the reign of Constantine to the 6th century. That the pulpit was built in the 6th century seems to be the only detail that scholars agree on.

The first to date the mosaics in the 6th century was Weigand, but his opinion received little support. His main argument for dating the mosaics in the 6th century is the presence of SS Cosmas and Damian on the lowest zone of the mosaics in the dome. The oldest known depictions of the “Haghioi Anargyroi” are found in the West and date from the 6th century. Weigand was led to the conclusion that these saints were first venerated in that century, in the West, and therefore the mosaics in the Rotunda cannot be earlier. This thinking seems to be justified. There is no indication that Cosmas and Damian were venerated as saints in the first decade of the 5th century. Their veneration gradually appears over the following decades, and seems to have become established with the founding of the Cosmidion in Constantinople at the end of the 5th century. In the Rotunda they are portrayed as physicians, with the tools of their trade. The object between the two figures, resting on a piece of furniture in the centre of the composition, is not a book, as is often supposed, but a double instrument box, decorated with omphalia, like the surviving Roman examples, which were often made of copper.



The presence of Cosmas and Damian in the mosaics of the Rotunda provides the strongest evidence for dating them in the 6th century, and probably in its early decades, but it is not the only such indication. Brick work in the masonry and iconographic details in the mosaic decoration also point to the same period. The double-shell architectural type, as implemented in the Rotunda with the addition of the outer ring, equally suggests the same century.

It can therefore fairly be argued that the Rotunda was substantially remodelled in the 6th century. The monument was, indeed, totally transformed by the renovations, which included the modification of and additions to the shell, complete decoration of the interior and the installation of equipment. This does not mean that the change in the building's use did not occur until its transformation was complete. It is more likely that the Rotunda retained its initial religious purpose until the reign of Theodosius I. In the 5th century it must already have been serving as a Christian church, with no architectural intervention.

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Τα ψηφιδωτά του τρούλου της Ροτόντας στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Περιεχόμενο και τρόπος σύνθεσης του εικονογραφικού προγράμματος

Το θέμα που αφορά στην ερμηνεία του εικονογραφικού προγράμματος του τρούλου της Ροτόντας στη Θεσσαλονίκη απασχόλησε στο παρελθόν πολλούς ερευνητές και διατυπώθηκαν διάφορες απόψεις, συχνά αντικρουόμενες μεταξύ τους, όπως και το ειδικότερο ζήτημα της χρονολόγησης του ψηφιδωτού διακόσμου. Το όλο θέμα επανήλθε στο προσκήνιο λίγο πριν από την ολοκλήρωση των εργασιών συντήρησης και την απόδοση του μνημείου στο κοινό. Σύμφωνα με μία νεότερη άποψη, τα ψηφιδωτά της Ροτόντας ανάγονται στα χρόνια του Κωνσταντίνου Α' και συνδέονται με την αυτοκρατορική λατρεία. Η πρώτη αυτή χρονολόγηση αμφισβητήθηκε πρόσφατα και αντιπροτάθηκε ένα ευρύ χρονικό φάσμα από τα χρόνια του Ιουστινιανού και έως τις αρχές του 7ου αιώνα.

Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση επανεξετάζονται παλαιογραφικά οι σωζόμενες ψηφιδωτές επιγραφές που συνοδεύουν τους μάρτυρες της πρώτης ζώνης. Η σχετική ανάλυση σε συνδυασμό με ιστορικές μαρτυρίες οδηγεί σε μία χρονολόγηση των ψηφιδωτών στα χρόνια του αυτοκράτορα Αναστασίου Α' (491-518). Στην ίδια χρονική περίοδο τοποθετείται η διεύρυνση της ανατολικής κόγχης του ρωμαϊκού περίκεντρου πυρήνα, η προσθήκη του μεγάλου ιερού, ο περιμετρικός δακτύλιος με τα νότια κτίσματα, καθώς και η διάνοιξη της δυτικής εισόδου με ταυτόχρονη κατασκευή μεγάλου διώροφου νάρθηκα στην αντίστοιχη θέση.

Ως κύριο ζήτημα, αναλύεται ο τρόπος σύνθεσης του εικονογραφικού προγράμματος κατά ζώνες με πρώτη εκείνη των μαρτύρων, οι οποίοι διατάσσονται ανά δύο ή ανά τρεις σε κάθε διάχωρο και υπολογίζονται συνολικά σε 19. Ορισμένοι από τους μάρτυρες είναι συνεορταζόμενοι, επιλογή



μάλλον συνειδητή και σκόπιμη, όπως θα φανεί στην προφορική ανάλυση. Από τη δεύτερη ζώνη σώζονται μόνο κάποια από τα κάτω άκρα των ποδιών από άλλοτε εικονιζόμενες μορφές σε παράταξη, οι οποίες υπολογίζονται γύρω στις 28. Ανάμεσα στον δεύτερο εκείνο κύκλο και στους τέσσερις αγγέλους που κρατούν τη δόξα του Υψίστου υπάρχει μία αρκετά φαρδιά ζώνη, ο διάκοσμος της οποίας έχει χαθεί. Εκεί θα πρέπει να εικονίζονταν σε κοσμολογική διάταξη ουράνια σώματα όπως ο ήλιος, η σελήνη, κ.ά.

Ο συνδυασμός των 19 μαρτύρων της πρώτης ζώνης και των υπολογιζόμενων 28 μορφών της δεύτερης ζώνης παραπέμπει σε δύο ουράνιους κύκλους. Ο αριθμός 19 αντιστοιχεί στον 19ετή κύκλο της σελήνης και ο αριθμός 28 στον κύκλο του ηλίου. Όπως είναι γνωστό, με βάση τους δύο αυτούς κύκλους υπολογίζονταν, για κάθε χρόνο, οι κινητές εορτές του κύκλου της ζωής του Χριστού και, κυρίως, η κινητή εορτή του Πάσχα.

Η σειρά παράταξης των μαρτύρων της πρώτης ζώνης ήταν δεξιόστροφη με αφετηρία πάνω από το μετωπικό τόξο του ιερού και με κατεύθυνση προς τα αριστερά, όπως προκύπτει από την ιεραρχική σειρά των εικονιζόμενων μορφών. Κατά το πλέον πιθανό, με παρόμοιο τρόπο διατάσσονταν και οι μορφές της υπερκείμενης ζώνης, οι οποίες θα πρέπει να ήταν επίσης μάρτυρες και να συνοδεύονταν με επιγραφές ημερομηνιών σχετικών με το ιουλιανό ημερολόγιο.

Όλα δείχνουν ότι πρόκειται για ένα εικονογραφικό πρόγραμμα με κοσμολογικό περιεχόμενο· μια πολύμορφη ιεραρχική απεικόνιση του ουράνιου κόσμου, που μόνο σε έναν μεγάλο τρούλο σαν εκείνον της Ροτόντας μπορούσε να αναπτυχθεί. Οι ψηφοθέτες που έφεραν σε πέρας το μεγαλεπήβολο εκείνο πρόγραμμα θα πρέπει να ήταν Θεσσαλονικείς και να συνδέονται μαθησιακά ή και να ταυτίζονται με κάποιους από τους καλλιτέχνες που κατασκεύασαν τα αρχαιότερα ψηφιδωτά της βασιλικής του Αγίου Δημητρίου στην ίδια πόλη.

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The Early Christian Mosaics from Dyrrachium

Coloniae Juliae Augustae Dyrrachinorum, the most strategic city in the Adriatic coast, one of two principal gates of Christian diffusion into Balkans (the other is Salona), was a main centre of a province, part of a large region, often named *Dysrrahia* always within the limits of the Macedoine Province.

In the late-antique period, a series of large-scale works were carried out, including the construction of basilicas, villas, the round forum or *macellum*, the chapel in the amphitheatre, the sewer system, etc.

Often, during the excavations for the new construction of the city, are discovered fragments of these villas decorated with frescos, mosaics, etc. One of the interesting mosaics, excavated years ago, is Roman Polychrome one with the floral motives and the inscription: MARTINIA. It decorated a villa where one of the rooms paved with mosaics has an apse.



Another mosaic is composed with the figure of Orpheus which is surrounded by both animals and vegetations. Around this principle 'icon' the mosaic is composed by geometrical and floral motives. This scene enjoyed widespread popularity throughout the Empire and is probably one of the last testimonies before the earthquake of 346 A.D. and the division of Roman Empire at c. 395 A.D. After that city began the new type of life and the new construction, although both paganism and Christianity faced difficult cultural chooses in both the third and the fourth centuries.

One of the very interesting Early Christian constructions is the chapel adapted on the structures of the amphitheatre. There are not data about the precise date of the abandonment of amphitheatre, but of course this happened in the second half of IV century, after the earthquake of 345/346 A.D.

The chapel is mostly known for the VIth century mosaics on the walls. These mosaics are composed with *eikons* in three panels, on the two different and quite perpendicular walls, under the sloped construction of the amphitheatre's *vomitorium* that was part of the nave.

The other monument is the Early Christian Basilica, dated in the Vth or VIth century, dedicated to Saint Michael and located in Arapaj, a village 6 kilometres south-east of Dyrrachium city. This Basilica is known for the beautiful and very special mosaic. The surface of the mosaic is 54 m², situated at the side funerary or martyrodome. This polychrome mosaic is composed with two emblems: one with Eucharistic scene, and the other with Bucolic scene.

The mosaics discovered in Durres are very fine examples of the Early Christian period and demonstrate the importance of the city as the principal gate into Balkans.

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The Early Christian Floor Mosaics from Heraclea Lyncestis and the spheres of Influence – East and West – in the Republic of Macedonia and the Central (West) Balkans

Heraclea Lyncestis as one of the most vital archaeological sites developed on the remains of a Classical and Hellenistic settlement until present day. Situated on the route of the *Via egnatia*, in late antiquity it grew into an authentic pilgrimage centre, of vast scope respective to the level of excavations.

Focal point make the earliest remains denominating early Christian belief and practice in the town. As means of research are taken primarily the earliest remains of floor mosaic originating from the *Villa suburbana* uncovered to the east of the Late Roman city walls, later incorporated within the suburban walls expanded around the turn of the sixth century. The late phases of the villa's pavements show relationship to the late third century mosaic floors with several figural symbols pointing to the practice of Christian worship. Only the next phase brings evidence of introduction of Christianity into the town premises.

Recent observations of a largely neglected group of geometric floor mosaics in contrast to the apparently far more attractive figural mosaics provided new supporting evidence on the introduction of Christianity into the urban premises of Heraclea following its acceptance as a state



religion, and the consecutive adoption into the urbanized Roman city centre. The geometric mosaic fields describe a long sequence interweaving the former buildings of the Roman urban centre with those of the early Byzantine Christian town, starting from the earliest east field of the Small Basilica late narthex dated in the first two decades of the fourth century, originally belonging to the reconstructed exedra atrium at the head of the Roman double portico. It is followed by the Large Basilica's central nave mosaic floor, those from the Large Basilica baptistery and the *auditorium/catechumenium*, and the west field of the previously mentioned Small Basilica narthex, closing the sequence of initial formation of the *Basilique double* of the Episcopal seat after the mid fifth century. Its further development and transformation in the early sixth century co-terminated with the appearance of the figural mosaics around the site, but also the *prothesis* mosaic and the early medieval North Chapel vestibule mosaic floor at both ends of the Large Basilica exonarthex.

The review of these mosaics on the basis of their schematic concepts, and repeated application of an integrated line of motifs at Thessalonika and Rome in the fourth-early fifth century, determined by their sacral character, reveal a common trend and an ideological meaning of their concept dated at this early period.

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Ars Viva of Macedonia Paleocristiana.

Byzantine Frescoes in the Episcopal Basilica at Stobi

As a representative Episcopal see, the Late Antique metropolis of Stobi grew into a religious center of the Roman province of Macedonia Secunda right after the promulgation of the Edict of Milan in 313. The intensive development of the Christian community which followed the date when the town obtained its Episcopal status is reflected in the rich architectural production of sacral edifices, out of which the Episcopal basilica stands out with its monumental dimensions, as well as with the multi-layered fresco decoration tragically devastated and at present-day preserved only in fragments. However, the ornamental elements, as well as the partially preserved scenes, comprise the inventive and highly exciting visual panorama that once embellished the walls of the Episcopal temple and the interior of the quatrefoil Baptistery. With the striking iconographic constellation of the themes, the inventive symbolic explication of the visual concept and the remarkable stylistic qualities of their execution, these frescoes are creative witnesses to the continuous process of creation of the artistic décor within the Episcopal complex throughout the 4th century. In that regard, we have determined the four consecutive phases of painterly decoration of the edifice applied in the course of the 4th century and examined their iconographic features, which range from traditional Early Christian motifs to highly exclusive artistic vistas, never before depicted in the fresco ensembles of Early Christianity. In that context, the iconographic analysis encompasses the following layers:

1. the graphic design of the lowest register of the walls created in the first quarter of the 4th century,
2. the newly identified Old Testament subjects illustrated in the second register of the decorative arrangement in the mid-4th century,
3. the baptismally configured scenes depicted a couple of decades



later, and 4. the unparalleled genre sights represented towards the close of the 4th century, as well as the Christological compositions glamorously arranged in the accompanying Baptistry. In regard to the style, their soft drawing, the well-balanced configuration of the masses, the tonal modulation of the forms, as well as the harmonious accords of the warm palette of colors reflect the delicate painterly qualities of the representative artistic creation of the 4th century Macedonia Paleocristiana. The coherent dualism of the contour and its plastic “substance” in the treatment of the depicted forms, the individualization of the represented images, as well as the proportional distribution of the chromatic nuances in the modulation of the facial volumes make these frescoes similar to the recognizable visual qualities of the artistic production of the metropolitan painterly ateliers.

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Nouvelle intervention sur la mosaïque du sanctuaire de Mar Gabriel (Turquie orientale)

Fondé en 397 après J.-C., le monastère Mar Gabriel se situe sur le plateau du Tur Abdin, aux limites orientales de l'empire romain. En 512, l'empereur Anastase finança la construction de l'église principale et la réalisation de la mosaïque ornant le sanctuaire. En 1909, Mlle Gertrude Bell (re) découvre et photographie cet exceptionnel ensemble dont Mme Marlia Mundell publiera une première étude (DOP, 27, 1973).

Le souci de la pérennité de ces mosaïques a été à l'origine d'une demande d'intervention d'entretien (P. Blanc, A. Desreumaux et S. de Courtois, Report on the state of preservation of the Byzantine mosaics of the Saint Gabriel monastery of Qartamin, Tur Abdin (South-West Turkey) - October 10th-14th, 2006, Journal of Syriac Studies, 2009, 12.1, p. 5-19).

Initié en 2011, et pour la première fois, un programme de conservation mené avec le soutien de la fondation A.G. Leventis a porté sur la mosaïque de la voûte et des lunettes latérales, ce qui a permis de lui restituer sa riche polychromie et d'en révéler tous les détails iconographiques. Les interventions sont de deux ordres : consolidations du support et des tesselles, dégagements et nettoyage de la surface. Dans ce programme, est aussi concerné le pavement en opus sectile, encore inédit. L'opportunité d'examiner de près les mosaïques a nécessité la constitution d'une équipe pluridisciplinaire. Celle-ci regroupe entre autres des restaurateurs, des archéologues et des spécialistes de l'étude des matériaux qui ont eu ainsi l'occasion de mener et de compléter l'analyse technique et historique de ces mosaïques.

Les mosaïques nouvellement restaurées seront présentées et examinées. On s'intéressera aussi à l'apport des études techniques qui ont livré d'importantes informations nouvelles concernant le travail des mosaïstes et leur la mise en œuvre permettant de préciser la datation de cet ensemble.



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Les femmes des Évangiles dans l'art protobyzantin : choix des scènes et problèmes d'identification

Les Évangiles rapportent de nombreux épisodes lors desquels Jésus interagit avec des femmes. Certaines, à l'exemple de sa mère Marie, font partie de sa famille. Plusieurs, comme les sœurs de Lazare, comptent au nombre de ses amies personnelles. D'autres encore comme la Samaritaine, la femme adultère, la veuve à l'obole ou la femme pécheresse, sont simplement croisées par le Christ lors de ses pérégrinations. Leur rencontre avec Jésus est l'occasion d'un enseignement moral. On compte également quelques femmes impliquées dans des épisodes de miracles : l'hémorroïsse, la Cananéenne, la fille de Jaïre, la veuve de Naïn ou encore la belle-mère de Pierre.

Notre communication dressera dans un premier temps un état des lieux des représentations des femmes des Évangiles dans le premier art chrétien. Si la Théotokos apparaît comme un acteur essentiel dans les programmes décoratifs christologiques, il n'en va pas de même des femmes mentionnées plus haut, dont la plupart sont rarement figurées avant le 6ème siècle. Nous constaterons que les femmes représentées dans l'art protobyzantin sont principalement celles qui sont bénéficiaires d'un miracle, tandis que les femmes liées à un enseignement moral, et dont l'histoire ne présente aucune dimension prodigieuse, sont généralement exclues de l'iconographie. Il existe néanmoins une exception : la rencontre avec la Samaritaine est en effet assez fréquemment représentée dans le premier chrétien. Nous tenterons d'apporter des éléments d'explication concernant ce phénomène.

Nous nous intéresserons dans un second temps aux problèmes d'identification posés par la figure de l'hémorroïsse. L'iconographie de cette scène est en effet à rapprocher de celle de la guérison de la fille de la Cananéenne. Une mosaïque du cycle christologique de l'église Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf de Ravenne nous servira de point de départ pour dégager des éléments propres à l'identification de chacune des deux scènes. Nous constaterons également comment l'hémorroïsse doit sans doute être identifiée dans plusieurs décors illustrant la résurrection de la fille de Jaïre ou la résurrection de Lazare. Dans ces épisodes, elle semble parfois remplacer l'épouse de Jaïre ou les sœurs de Lazare, traditionnellement identifiées en proskynèse aux pieds du Christ.



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The Inlaid Opus Sectile Panels with Dolphins from above the Imperial Door in Saint Sophia in Constantinople

In the church of St. Sophia in Constantinople on the western wall above the Imperial door and on the other side of the famous mosaic featuring Byzantine emperor Leo the Wise (886-912), five inlaid opus sectile panels have been preserved, two of which bearing the representations of eight dolphins (6th century). Each of two panels depicts four dolphins heraldically arranged in pairs above and below the central disc of red porphyry. These dolphins have drawn attention of very few scholars and have been most minutely described by Paul Underwood in his report on the works in St. Sophia in 1958. However, the meaning of these motifs and the reasons for their positioning above the Imperial door remained unclear and not properly covered by scholars. Therefore, we will direct focus on them.

In ancient and early Byzantine art the dolphins have been represented in different iconographical contexts: as independent motifs in the scope of the larger unit or in semantic connection to other motifs in the scope of larger units. Thus, they could be depicted next to an anchor, a trident, a cross, Christ's bust, apostles' busts, or they could symbolically form different floral ornaments. Sometimes, as is the case with their representation in St. Sophia in Constantinople, the dolphins are depicted in semantic connection with cephalopoda – octopuses or squids. The occurrence of the motifs of the dolphin chasing or devouring a cephalopod (an octopus or squid) can be traced back to the catacomb painting (e.g. catacomb of Pretextatus, 3rd century).

The representations of dolphins have been executed in different art media and in different art techniques: on sacrofaghi, in wall painting, on floor mosaics, in the opus sectile technique, in the works of applied art or as bas-reliefs on marble plaques.

Due to the fact that they are not mentioned in Holy Scripture, the dolphins as symbols play only a minor role in the works of holy fathers, who are only transmitting the data on dolphins already known from ancient writers.

As concrete written sources concerning the meaning of the dolphins have not been preserved, we have focused in our paper on the rare visual analogies in order to decipher the meaning of dolphins. The conclusion that they certainly do not represent mere ornaments of the building is, thus, pointed out: firstly, the edifice in question where these motifs have been executed represents the greatest and the most important capital church of the Byzantine Empire; secondly, one must bear in mind the place in the church where the dolphins are positioned – they are found above the main, central door of the church. That is why the reasons for their placement above the Imperial door are also dealt with in the paper. In this sense, in accordance with the meaning which the individual motif of the dolphins with their specific iconographical context in this concrete case bears, we have pointed to the connection between the motifs of dolphins and the Imperial door, as the main entrance gate. This is important because the motif of the dolphin preparing to devour a cephalopod (an octopus or a squid) is placed in the wider context of the iconographical themes connected to entrances and portals in ancient and early Byzantine art. The conclusion is made that the motifs of dolphins in St. Sophia bear apotropaic meaning.



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Склеп «на Земле Н. И. Тура» в ранне византийском Херсонесе – Херсоне как памятник становления Церкви в городе

Среди объектов на территории Херсонесского городища особенно выделяется группа памятников известная как расписные склепы. Комплексное исследование памятников позволяет датировать их серединой IV в. - первой половиной V в.

Среди памятников отдельное место занимает склеп «на земле Н. И. Тура». Он был открыт в 1894 г., но раскопан лишь в 1912 г. В плане склеп изначально являлся типичным для подобных сооружений. Ниши были расположены в левой и задней стене под потолком. Позднее помещение было перестроено.

Сложная сюжетная роспись позволяет выделить его из ряда памятников. Так на правой стене от входа была помещена художественная композиция. В левой части стены сохранились следы изображения винограда. На некотором расстоянии от куста помещена женская фигура. Справа от женской фигуры размещается мужская. Справа от фигур в верхней части сохранилось схематичное изображение городских стен с воротами и башнями. Правее черными линиями были изображены растения (заросли тростника, деревья?).

На левом простенке задней стены была размещена мужская фигура, от которой сохранились лишь изображения ступней развернутых вправо.

Сюжетная роспись в своей трактовке вызвала дискуссию. Н. М. Печенкин считал, что на правой стене представлен один из сюжетов жития Феодора Стратилата. В соответствии с этим он видел изображение дракона по изображением города. М. И. Скубетов предполагал, что под городом помещались пальметки и изображение павлина. М. И. Ростовцев реконструировал как изображение святого, мученика или христианина «в типичной для раннего христианства обстановке райского сада». В. М. Зубарь полагал, что изображен евангельский сюжет Мария с Иосифом, идущие в Вифлеем. Возможна и иная трактовка – изображение умерших, идущих к Небесному Граду, к которому протянуты руки мужчины и женщины.

Но допустимо и прочтение росписи как иллюстрацию к житию святого епископа Василея. Одним из важнейших моментов его проповеди было воскрешение мальчика по молитве святого. С учетом этого мужская и женская фигуры могут изображать родителей мальчика идущих на розыски святого, город вдалеке – Херсонес, фигура на задней стене – идущий к ним св. Василей.

Значительный интерес представляет так же композиция с павлинами, расположенными симметрично вокруг цветка мальвы. Основой изображения является зеркальная, трехчастная композиция. Крайние элементы подчеркивают значимость центрального. Мотив павлинов, пьющих или вкушающих из чаши или стоящих по сторонам от нее, несет образ Евхаристии. Цветок мальвы может символизировать Евхаристический хлеб. Подобные изображения



встречаются не только в херсонесских склепах, но и являются широко распространенным сюжетом раннехристианской живописи. Значительное их собрание приводит Ю. В. Матвеева.

Во время перестройки в склепе была сформирована «апсида». В ней сохранился выступ и небольшая ниша над ним. Композиция с павлинами располагается над этой нишей. Можно предположить, что в стене апсиды был сформирован престол, перед которым могла совершаться Литургия. Подобные престолы неоднократно упоминал Ю. Ю. Шевченко. Таким образом, склеп был превращен в теофонический мавзолей, в котором могли периодически совершаться Богослужения.

Почитание св. Василия в городе привело к формированию ряда памятников связанных с его Житием. Можно предположить о существовании в городе традиции крестных ходов или стационарных Литургий в память о святом, которые бы объединяли все эти памятники. В таком случае, особое место мог занимать склеп «на земле Н. И. Тура» как один из объектов, к которому могло направляться шествие.

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Recent Restoration Work in the Museum of Aya Sofya (2011-16)

In the past years intense preservation and restoration work has been carried out in Ayasofya by the Museum's Directorate.

Following the discovery in 2009 of the 'angel face' under the the Fossati restorations, in 2009, from the 2011 especially, an important and decisive advance was undertaken for a continuous series of projects for restore the many and various parts of the building. A part of the restoration work, many arrangements are made for the secure and safe working of the Museum, according the most recent international systems.

Under the decisions and supervising of a scientific committee appointed by the Turkish Ministry of Culture, experts of the Museum, of the laboratories of the State Restoration and Preservation Centre and of the Directorate of the Monuments and Architectural Surveys, are conducting this important task.

The aim of this paper is to present for the first time to the scientific society, the recent restoration works and the finds made during different works into the building, giving also news about of interesting and unique discoveries of this world heritage monument.



23rd

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BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

THE ARTISTS OF THE BYZANTINE WORLD AND STYLISTIC TRENDS IN MONUMENTAL AND ICON PAINTING

Chairs: **Ralitsa Rousseva, Konstantinos Vafeiades**

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A Panel Icon of St. Panteleimon from Tilos. Uncovering a Late Byzantine Artwork



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The Newly Restored Frescoes of the 11th C. in the Church of St. Demetrius at Patalenitsa (Bulgaria)

In South Bulgaria, close to nowadays' cities of Pazardzhik and Plovdiv, lies the village of Patalenitsa. During the Medieval ages the favourable location has been of strategic importance to the area, with its close proximity to main roads, but at the same time it was well protected in the mountain slopes of the Rhodope Mountains. During the Medieval ages a fortified city was founded. The Βατκούνιον fortress, mentioned by Byzantine authors was identified by remains discovered close to the village of Patalenitsa. The church of Saint Demetrius remains from Byzantine times. Its plan is a cross-in-square type. Many alterations have been done to the medieval construction later on.

In 2011-2012 the last phase of the restoration of the medieval mural paintings in the church of Saint Demetrius was carried out. The restoration was completed with the help of the A. G. Leventis Foundation and allows a thorough examination of the preserved fragments. The examination is mainly possible in three areas: 1) examination of the decorative program of the altar space; 2) examination of the iconography of the separate depictions of the saints; 3) style specifics. The lower registers of the altar include standing saints, amongst which are included not only bishops, but also monks, martyrs, holy women etc. The iconographic features of the altar program date before the end of the eleventh century. The remaining fragments on the western side of the eastern piers located under the cupola, in between which the templon of the medieval temple was probably located, are incredibly valuable for identifying the patron of the church. In Patalenitsa Saint Demetrius was depicted in his iconographic version, which shows that it probably dates from the eleventh century. Identifying Saint Demetrius on the pier also confirms the assumption that the medieval church was dedicated to the Thessaloniki martyr. Also the fact that the holy warriors were depicted in armor, instead of like martyrs in an age when both iconographic versions existed, suggests the connection of the temple to the Batkunion fortress. Historical sources show there have been a few sieges, the citizens and the guardians of the fortress probably relied on the patronage of the holy warriors.

The Patalenitsa murals are an example of a planar linear trend in painting. Some iconographic features, the insecure poses, stiff gestures, the outlined typified faces, the geometricized and contingent folds suggest for an order, carried out separately from the artistic center. The closest stylistic parallel to the Patalenitsa murals could be pointed out in the painting of the church of Saint Sofia in Ochrid, the narthex of the Saint Sofia in Thessaloniki and the murals of a few other churches located on the territory of southwestern Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia. The specified stylistic parallels point us in the direction that the mural paintings in Patalenitsa probably date from the middle or the second half of the eleventh century. The Patalenitsa church is incredibly intriguing because there are very few remaining monuments from this period and each one of them adds to our knowledge of Byzantine art.



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Byzantine Painting Treatises: Fact or Conjecture? The Case of *Codex Panteleimoniensis 259*

The use of painting manuals in Byzantium is not fully documented. The first complete, extensive and well-structured painting manual dates from the post-Byzantine period. It is about the book «Hermeneia tes zographikes technes», which was written by the hieromonk Dionysios between 1729 and 1733.

So far no earlier manual of such completeness and orderly structure and as Dionysios' Hermeneia has been found. Fragments of technical advice are preserved in Codex Vaticanus Graecus 209, fol. 284v (ca. 1355) and in Codex Vaticanus Graecus 214, fols. 1r-3v (15th c.), which is attributed to the metropolite of Kiev and bibliographer Isidore. The detailed description of a saint's physiognomy which occurs in numerous Byzantine texts, such as the Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitane, belongs to the ancient tradition of the ostentatious orations. Therefore, the evidence we have from the Byzantine period is insufficient for a proper documentation of the existence of painting manuals in Byzantium.

Nevertheless, a codex in the monastery of Saint Panteleimon on Mount Athos (Gr. 259), dating from the 16th century, includes Byzantine material relating to painting. A complete uncorrupted text on pages 1r - 37v gives us a great deal of information about mural and icon painting, especially quotations from the Bible, patristic apophthegmata, and epigrams of all kinds. Even so, there is not a single reference to how somebody can paint the portrait of a saint or a biblical scene. So the content of the codex 259 has no relation to what we know from Dionysios' Hermeneia. Furthermore the metrical list of the emperors' names and that of the patriarchs of Constantinople, which are included in this manuscript, are concluded by the end of the reign of the emperor Andronikos II (1328). The epigrams of the same codex occur as well into the Palaeologan monuments determining the date of the context of this manuscript to the first half of the 14th century.

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Painters and Patrons in Byzantine Period: Some Inscriptional Evidence from Albania

This paper examines artists' position in the economic and social structures of the Byzantine period as manifested through the evidence of epigraphic data preserved in monuments of Albania. Inscriptions mentioning painters' name have been frequently encountered as a usual occurrence, especially during Late Byzantine period in Southern Albania, an area rich in Christian religious monuments with fresco decoration and in epigraphic evidence. Through their examination we attempt to seek certain indications on the social affiliation of the painters and their role on artistic



creation as well as on the extent and the way in which patron groups influenced the creative impulse of the artists. For the purpose of this paper historical and social conditions are also taken into account.

The majority of extant examples of byzantine inscriptions mentioning painters' names referred in this paper belong to the period extending from the 9th century to about 1400 and to various monuments' typologies as hermitages and village churches. They have suggested that the painters are usually local monks who offered their services to commissioners coming from the civil and military local aristocracy or monks. The programmatic and thematic content of their artistic works as well as their style is affected not only by the prevailing imperial doctrine, meaning the participation of individual artists in a common collective unconscious, but also by the perceptions and aesthetic needs and desires of the contractor, lay, cleric or monk. The ability of the donors to create a sympathetic intellectual climate and their economic support may have been also a factor which attracted artists to their point of view.

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Monuments of Orthodox Art in the Region of Berat (13th–14th Centuries). Historical Context and Iconographic Trends

Throughout the Middle Ages the town of Berat (Belgrad, Beligrad) was an important ecclesiastic and political centre. The city passed into the hands of different states and rulers – Byzantium, Bulgaria, the Latin Kingdom; it was part of the Despotate of Epirus after 1261 and then was incorporated in the Serbian Kingdom after 1345. Belgrad was closely linked with the major port and metropolitan centre of Valona and most of its governors were rulers of Valona, Kanina and Berat. The mediaeval art in region of Berat is namely a reflection of that dynamic historical process and cultural accumulation.

The monuments of Orthodox art in the region of Berat and Valona cannot be treated as a compact stylistic group, unlike those in the region of Prespa in the 14th century; they are not just related to different artistic trends, but even a single monument combines elements of various ages and artistic flows. For example, the murals in the Holy Trinity Church in Berat combine archaic composition elements with Italian influences and contemporary Constantinople trends. The Church and the refectory of the Monastery in Apollonia, the Holy Trinity Church in Berat and St. Nicholas Church in Perundi are connected to the imperial court in Constantinople, which probably led to a very high level of the murals but also some unexpected themes and iconographic interpretations. The fragments in the cave Church in the village of Sinje are completely different and they indicate the durability of the archaic iconographic traditions. Apart from these trends, it is very likely that icon-painters from the region of Ohrid and Kastoria had worked in Berat, as attested by the nearly obliterated murals in the St Archangel Michael Church in Berat.

During the 13th and the 14th centuries different workshops were active in the region of Berat, each with a distinct preference for style, often with an archaic reminiscence, but also well acquainted with contemporary Constantinople art and in certain monuments influenced by Western art in varying degrees.



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The Notions of Evolution and Change in the Career of Palaeologan Painters

Unlike what can be observed in the Italian Duecento and Trecento, artists who are known from a series of works are extremely rare in Palaeologan Byzantium. The collaborating painters Michael Astrapas and Eutybios are the most illustrious example from the late 13th and early 14th centuries, as well as the provincial painter Ioannis Pagomenos, active in western Crete. The work attributed to the first two shows a puzzling diversity, whereas Pagomenos' work looks rather homogenous. However, how safe can it be to try to observe evolution or change in the work of these artists? Furthermore what would the notions of artistic evolution and change signify in Palaeologan cultural context?

The interpretation of formal diversity in the various works of Palaeologan wall-painters poses a series of methodological and historiographical issues. These mostly stem from the serious lack of historical information which is necessary in order to observe the Byzantine Artist as an individual involved in a creating process. This deficiency cannot be remediated by orientalist stereotypes, post-Byzantine or Italian models, but needs to be taken into account as such. In the perspective of an appropriate methodology of formal analysis, studies in manuscript illuminations have already been more successful in bringing this problematic several steps further. Yet the extensive corpus of the preserved fresco ensembles still allows some solid remarks on the individual character of certain formal features.

This brief analysis of artistic individuality in Late Byzantium will also show that diversity and change from a work to another might not be exclusively a product of time, and therefore not tightly associated with the notion of evolution.

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New Data on an “Official” Painter in Mystras

The name of the painter Kyriákos Frankópoulos is indicated in a written inscription in the church of St. Nicholas in Agóriani, Northern Laconia. Unfortunately, the date has not been preserved in the inscription and therefore the dating of the decoration remains uncertain.

As scholarly research has already noticed, these wallpaintings are closely connected with two other mural sets in the same area, on which we possess secure chronological references: the one of Panaghía Vrestenítissa in Vréstena and the other of Taxiárchai in Agriakóna.

The mural decoration of Agóriani was dated by stylistic criteria around 1300 (N. Drandakis 1977 - M. Emmanouil 1988). In the case of Vrestenítissa, a dating after 1400 has been suggested (N.



Drandakis 1979) based on the conjecture that Nikon, the represented bishop-dedicator, might be identified with an homonymous Bishop of Vréstena mentioned at the beginning of the 15th c. This suggestion has drifted also the dating of the wallpaintings of Agriakóna to the end of the 13th c. (E. Deliyanni-Dori 1988).

The wallpaintings of the second phase in the small church of St. Nicholas in Véroia, a settlement in the surroundings of Vréstena, have also been ascribed to this workshop (G. Fousteris – I. Chouliaras 2015). Neither in this case, however, secure information or inscriptional data exist, which might give a reliable dating.

The suggested dating for the first three monuments (Agóriani ca.1300 - Vrestenítissa / Agriakóna ca.1400) results to a divergence of a hundred years long. It has been proposed that this should be faced either by re-dating Agóriani towards the mid-14th century or under the interpretation that a common iconographic and stylistic tradition is being inherited from one workshop to the other through the apprenticeship and the anthívola as well (E. Deliyanni-Dori 1999).

To the solution of this problem rushes to contribute the opposite pointing out that a stylistic affinity between the frescoes of Agóriani and the ones of the Metropolis of Mystras exists (M. Emmanuil 1988). Further comparative study based on the stylistic and the graphological data of the inscriptions leads to the conclusion that all these five mural sets should be ascribed to the turnover of one and only workshop. Consequently, the generally accepted dating for the frescoes of the Mystras' Metropolis, i.e. before 1290, based on historical data, puts the basic chronological frame in which the remaining monuments should be placed.

According to the above, the painter Kyriákos Frankópoulos is the only eponymous member of a Mystras' "official" artistic workshop activated in the third quarter of the 13th century, in which so far can be ascribed five mural painting sets.

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Saint Joasaph, the Archbishop Symeon of Thessaloniki and the Painter Nephon

This paper refers to the fresco depicting Saint Joasaph and a bishop blessing him, which is located at the eastern side of the southwestern pier in the church of Saint Demetrios in Thessaloniki. The painting in question was first revealed almost 100 years ago, in the beginning of the 20th century. P. Papageorgiou, the first one to study it, published his findings in BZ, 1908; in this paper, after reading the inscription ΑΓ(ΙΟΣ) ΙΩΑΣ(ΑΦ), he identified the two figures as being Saints Joasaph and Varlaam, heroes of the famous byzantine novel. A few years later, G. Sotiriou's proposition was that the two depicted figures were actually Saint Joasaph and the bishop Gregory Palamas. Finally, in 1942, A. Xyngopoulos in his interpretation, which was widely accepted by most scholars thereafter, proposed that the depicted saint is John VI Kantakouzenos, a prince who became a monk later in his life and assumed the name Joasaph, while the bishop in question is Saint Gregory Palamas. According



to Xyngopoulos, the bishop's blessing has symbolic meaning: Palamas is actually giving thanks to the Emperor on behalf of the Hesychastes, for the Emperor's support to the doctrine and its followers.

In my paper in the 34th Symposium of the Christian Archaeological Society (2014), I proposed a different interpretation, based on elaborate scrutiny of historical sources. In my opinion, the depicted saint is none other than John VII Palaeologos, who reigned in Thessaloniki between 1403-1408, and became a monk before his death assuming the name Joasaph, just like his great-grandfather, Ioannis Kantakouzenos, had done before him. The key elements supporting my interpretation were the disease John VII Palaeologos had been suffering from, which compared to that of the biblical Job, the important contribution of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessaloniki, to his canonization, as well as the information on miraculous healings at Saint Joasaph's tomb attested from historical sources. As for the bishop, my proposition was that he should be either identified with Gabriel (1397-1416/7) or with Symeon (1416/1417-1429), both Archbishops of Thessaloniki, with slight precedence of the later over the former, since Archbishop Symeon was the one who saw to Joasaph's canonization.

Modern technology allowed for a more detailed examination of the photographic material, and very interesting details came up, which helped me clarify numerous issues concerning the painting. Better analysis of the images revealed that the painting was accompanied by various inscriptions. Namely, on the Saint's right-hand side there is an inscription of his secular name, i.e. ΙΩΑΝΝ(ΗΣ) ΑΝ[ΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ], while to his left there is his monastic name inscribed, i.e. ΙΩΑΣΑΦ. Moreover, I was able to read the bishop's name: [Σ]ΥΜΕΩΝ. This evidence allowed me to identify, with greater certainty, the two figures with John VII Palaeologos and the Archbishop Symeon respectively and to date the painting between 1416/7-1430. Of equal importance is the inscription bearing the painter's name: ΕΠΙΟΙΗΣΕ ΝΗΦΩΝ. I cannot stress the importance of this discovery highly enough; apart from learning the name of one more painter, this is the first time the name of an artist connected with the artistic milieu of Thessaloniki has ever been discovered in a monument of this kind.

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A Panel Icon of St. Panteleemon from Tilos. Uncovering a Late Byzantine Artwork

During the course of conservation works taking place in the monastery of Saint Panteleemon at Tilos a medium sized, approximately 110 cm x 97 cm, icon, the most venerated one, representing Saint Panteleemon was sent to the laboratories of the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Dodecanese. The icon, placed in a proskynetarion in the nave of the katholikon, was covered with a silver revetment. According to the donor inscription the revetment was a communal donation of the Tilians during the abbacy of the abbot Makarios in the year 1839 and the name of the manufacturer. The revetment represents the young saint in a rectangular frame, frontal and standing, while he is holding the medical box and the forceps. He is dressed in a long reaching to his feet tunic and over it he wears two different kinds of overclothe, a short one reaching up to his knees and the characteristic medical one, which is worn in the front. On each side there is a pitcher and a baroque frame with his name O



ΑΓΙΟC ΠΑΝΤΕΛΕΥΜΟΝΑΣ and underneath him in a similar frame the donor inscription already mentioned. When the revetment was removed a totally different icon of the saint was uncovered. The face of the original icon, which was probably too damaged sometime by the 17th or the 18th century and, before its adornment with the silver revetment, it was renovated. This renovation must have been twofold; firstly, the face was scraped off and secondly, it was overpainted. The difference though was that the overpainting was not limited to the contour of the face but a new smaller head took its place, which meant to fit in with the dimensions of the silver cover.

Nevertheless, the original painted representation of the saint is somewhat different than the metallic one. The common features between the two portraits are the frontal posture and the items, i.e. the exact same two things, the forceps and the medical box. However, the saint is shown in a half-portrait, and he is dressed in a light blue tunic with a crew neck and over it he wears a himation in a salmon red hue. The background is the typical abstract golden. In upper case letters on each side of his head it reads Ο [ΑΓΙΟC] ΠΑ[Ν]ΤΕΛΕΥΜΟΝΑΣ. Judging from its features it should be marked that this icon introduces an interesting variation in the iconography of the saint, which is rarely met during the late Palaiologan period. The little surviving evidence of the representations of the saint in the Dodecanese makes it hard to trace its actual prototype, but it is rather probable that this should be looked into the capital of the Hospitaller state. From an artistic point of view, the icon clearly belongs to late byzantine period, most probably in the second half of the 15th century. Questions concerning its original purpose, its function and its possible place of production will be attempted to be answered taking into account the historic context of this newly discovered artwork.



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STUDYING AND COMMUNICATING BYZANTIUM – PART 1

Chairs: Aphrodite Papayianni, Markéta Kulhánková

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The Representation of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453
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Markéta Kulhánková,

Translating Byzantine Literature into Czech: Development, Approaches, Trends



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Communicating Byzantium

Communicating Byzantium to a wider public and to a wider world is particularly important outside what could be called the “Byzantine World”, i.e. the countries and peoples influenced through the ages by Christian Orthodox religion and culture where Byzantium can be considered as an integrate part of national heritage and history. Serbia and Russia are countries where knowledge of Byzantine tradition is important for understanding their identity. Denmark and England are outside that sphere. Therefore in both countries scholars have found it important to promote interest in Byzantium for two reasons, to become aware of the significance of Byzantine Civilisation outside the “Byzantine World” (e.g. the sphere of Western Christianity), and to understand the significance of Byzantine Heritage for the understanding of the countries and peoples inside the “Byzantine World”.

In Denmark, in connection with the 2010 celebration of Istanbul as Cultural Capital of Europe, an exhibition was created of “Golden Realm of Europe – Byzantium 330-1453”, combined with a comprehensive book “Heritage of Byzantium” (both in Danish, the target group being Danish speakers). A condensed version of the 36 posters from the exhibition has been travelling ever since in churches and libraries all over Denmark. The posters are covering not only the periode 330-1453, but also the afterlife of Byzantium both in the East and the West up to the present day. The idea is to demonstrate the relevance of Byzantium to both parts of Europe. So far the project has been very successful and has been combined with lectures all over the country. The aim is to make Scandinavians aware of the importance of Byzantium even to-day for not only the whole of Europe, but for the entire world. The next project is to produce a digitalised version of the poster series for the Internet.

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The Construction of Byzantium through Objects: Challenges and Potential in Exhibitions

The veritable “absence of Byzantium” – to quote Averil Cameron – in the common consciousness of many Europeans and North Americans is an issue not only for university departments and specialists in Byzantine studies, but also for curators of exhibitions of Byzantine art who are charged with the task of bringing a seemingly foreign, even exotic culture to a broad public with little prior knowledge of the Byzantine empire. While such exhibitions are inherently educational and formative for many visitors, they also provide scholars with an opportunity to reassess the current state of knowledge, to explore new connections and to enhance the visibility of Byzantium in a larger context.



This paper will investigate how the political and cultural entity “Byzantium” has been constructed through objects in several large-scale exhibitions of Byzantine art held from 1977 to today. In these exhibitions each object serves a double function: on the one hand, as an art object removed from its original setting and evaluated according to established art historical criteria; and on the other hand, as a piece of material culture that carries with it inherent historical, social and in many instances religious meanings.

A case study will trace multiple approaches to a single object in the framework of different exhibitions, and explore how ambiguity allows objects to be interpreted in various contexts, some of which underscore the few ingrained notions of the Byzantine empire. Aware of the difficulty to reconcile the complexity of recent scholarship with the need to form a simplified, coherent narrative in an exhibition, this paper asks: (how) is it possible to create an image of Byzantium through objects that moves beyond stereotypes of wealth, decadence and spirituality?

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The Representation of the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 in High School History Textbooks in Greece, 1850–2010

Since the establishment of the modern Greek state in 1830, the momentous event of the Fall of Constantinople to the Ottoman Turks in 1453 is examined in all high school history textbooks. The aim of this paper is to survey the way it is presented in these textbooks between 1850 and 2010, focusing on the examination of the causes that contributed or led to the Fall of the city, the Byzantine-Ottoman relations in the decades leading to 1453, the Conquest itself and the outcome of the Fall of the city for the Greeks.

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Rhomaioi and Barbaroi in Science Fiction: Byzantine Modes of Writing the Alien

This free communication explores how Byzantine conceptions of identity are useful in reading Anglophone science fiction’s current obsession with empire and citizenship. In doing so it opens up new venues for the reception history of Byzantium in popular culture.

The study of Classical reception in modern speculative fiction (science fiction and fantasy) is an old and broad field, with roots in both the academy and the popular press. However, much as Classics is often reluctant to look beyond the temporal borders of the antique world and venture into its Medieval Greek imperial successor, the consideration of classical reception in speculative fiction



has mostly neglected the significant impact of Byzantium and its literature. However, Byzantine conceptions of imperial identity – specifically the problem of defining barbarian and citizen, the permeability of frontiers, the creation of an imperial ideology and the survival of that ideology – have had deep effects on the development of science fiction and fantasy in the 20th and 21st centuries.

These themes appear intriguingly in Ann Leckie’s recent Hugo and Nebula-award-winning Imperial Radch books, which, while not being specifically identified as Byzantine, can be interpreted usefully by being viewed through a Byzantine lens. This free communication will examine some of the ways that Byzantine conceptions of identity have emerged in the consciousness of 21st-century speculative fiction writers, particularly Leckie but also two other recent releases: Jo Walton’s *The Just City*, an exploration of a recreated Platonic Republic, and Seth Dickinson’s *The Traitor Baru Cormorant*, a novel which concerns imperial social engineering. I will then place them in context with Byzantine literary modes of writing the ‘alien’ – i.e. the frontier encounter and the representation of non-Byzantines in historiography, statecraft manuals, and other forms of ideological propaganda, taking into account the most recent debates on the ‘Roman-ness’ of the Byzantines (i.e. Kaldellis and Stouratis). In doing so, I will show how some of the same questions of alienness and identity which animate moments where Byzantine reception is visible in speculative fiction are also present in the historiographic concerns which have recently emerged amongst Byzantinists.

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Translating Byzantine Literature into Czech: Development, Approaches, Trends

The beginnings of translating Byzantine literature in the western Slavonic milieu were connected with the splendid activity of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius and the early stages of Slavonic literature. Byzantine text were translated in the Southern Slavonic region even after the adoption of Catholicism by the rulers of Great Moravia and the expulsion of Constantine’s and Methodius’ disciples, even though the contacts of the Czech (that is Bohemian and Moravian) lands with Byzantine culture were limited to a couple of short episodes, which eventually had no impact on the development of the Czech culture. Thus, the “second act” of translating Byzantine literature in the Czech milieu begun more than 1000 years later, at the end of the 19th century, with a never published translation of Procopius and other early Byzantine historiographers.

Translations from such remote both geographically and chronologically cultures as Byzantium remain somewhat underestimated in modern Czech. And yet their importance should increase in the light of the diminishing knowledge of Greek and Latin and growing interest in studying inter-cultural topics and relations. Moreover, an awareness of the history of translation and various techniques of translating could significantly contribute to the potential success of the publications.

In my communication, I will briefly present the history of translation of Byzantine literature from its rather modest beginnings during the first decades of the 20th century, through the “Golden



Age” of translating Classical and, to a smaller extent, Byzantine texts after the 2nd World War, this is when high quality translations had been published and disseminated in many copies, until the decline of this field around the turn of the millennium. I will also discuss the modern trends in translating Byzantine texts into Czech. I will attempt to examine some social, political and academic influences, which could influence translation work in a more general way, and I will suggest some approaches to translating Byzantine literature, which could be perhaps applicable also in other countries.

The presentation comprises a part of the project “Research Network ‘The receptions of Byzantium. Towards the new field of reception studies’, funded by Alexander von Humboldt Foundation.”



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

BYZANTINE ART IN THE MODERN ERA: ISSUES OF EMULATION, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

Chairs: Aleksandar Kadijević, Yuri Pyatnitsky

Judith Soria,

Byzance dans les Balkans :

les missions scientifiques des historiens de l'art français au début du 20e siècle

Fani Gargova,

“Bulgarian” Revival Architecture and Ethnic Exclusion

Galina Skotnikova,

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Nadzeya Vysotskaya,

Traditions post-byzantines et l'art graphiques de l'agitation

République Socialiste Soviétique de Biélorussie

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Эстетический аспект византийского искусства на выставках и экспозициях

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Julia P. Gogleva,

The Image of Byzantine and Curatorial Solutions in the Museum Collections of Europe

Ivana Marcikić – Marijana Paunović,

Inverse Perspective



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Byzance dans les Balkans : les missions scientifiques des historiens de l'art français au début du 20e siècle

Au tournant du 20e siècle l'image de Byzance en France relève toujours de la fascination exercée par son altérité. Cette époque connaît par ailleurs un renouveau dans l'étude des « choses de Byzance » aussi bien en histoire qu'en histoire de l'art : ces nouvelles recherches nécessitent un important travail de terrain et de nombreux voyages. Je propose donc d'appréhender la perception de Byzance des historiens de l'art et d'archéologues français au regard de leur séjour sur le terrain. Les archives des missions nous révèlent comment, au moment de la dislocation de l'empire ottoman et des guerres balkaniques, se mêlent une construction culturelle des Balkans et plus généralement de l'Europe orientale (violence, inefficacité administrative, crispations nationalistes et religieuses etc.) et l'image persistante de Byzance et de sa culture visuelle. Les questions soulevées peuvent être posées ainsi : qu'est-ce que cette actualité dans les Balkans du début du XX^e siècle fait à l'art byzantin, à la perception qu'on a pu en avoir depuis ce qu'on appelle par facilité l'Occident ? Et en retour le passé byzantin participe-t-il et dans quelle mesure à la construction de cet imaginaire des Balkans ?

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“Bulgarian” Revival Architecture and Ethnic Exclusion

The aim of this paper is to examine the means of employing medieval Bulgarian and Byzantine motifs in architecture to construct a nationalistically-motivated image of Sofia as a modern European capital city at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century. To become the capital of the young Balkan state of Bulgaria, Sofia underwent a complete transformation from an Ottoman town to a modern European city—one that is independent from Ottoman rule and rooted in the long Christian tradition of the grand Bulgarian kingdoms of the Middle Ages. Its urban development was marked by a conscious, albeit distorted, appropriation of Bulgaria's medieval past. This appropriation was complicated by the paucity of surviving Bulgarian archaeological material, which could serve as models for the new representative buildings, and tension in the use of motifs connected to the great medieval enemy, Byzantium.

The sophisticated planning and location of the modern buildings in the young capital of Bulgaria served the need to redefine one's own national identity both inwards and outwards to Europe by aiming at projecting both worldliness and local uniqueness. This national identity was envisioned to be “Bulgarian” in terms of religion, language, and ethnicity. Therefore, the revival of Bulgarian and Byzantine motifs in Sofia's new architecture visually and spatially helped to undermine the ethnic



and religious diversity of Sofia, and the Bulgarian nation as a whole. It gradually contributed to both the exclusion and assimilation of the specific groups of people that were legally part of the Bulgarian population but that did not fit the definition of Bulgaria's new national identity.

The main argument of this paper will be supported by the evidence of the monumental buildings, religious and secular, erected in the capital Sofia between 1878 and 1914 in order to demonstrate how the Byzantine architectural heritage was appropriated in order to create a new Bulgarian national style that would create ethnic exclusion in an effort of becoming "European". Special attention will be paid to the tension between Christian, Jewish, and Muslim edifices on one hand and representative government buildings on the other.

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«Византийский стиль» архитектуры Казанского храма Новодевичьего монастыря Петербурга: смысловые доминанты

Осмысление «византийского стиля» в архитектуре России, развивавшегося в русле «историзма» с 1850-х годов, вступило в русской гуманитарной науке начала XXI века в кардинально новую фазу. Ключевую роль в этом процессе играют два фактора. Во-первых, это парадигма исследования «византийского стиля», фундаментально обоснованная в трудах искусствоведа-культуролога Ю.Р. Савельева; во-вторых, превосходно осуществленная реставрация храмов, построенных в Петербурге по проекту выдающегося мастера В.А. Косякова, - Свято-Никольского Морского собора Кронштадта и храма во имя Казанской иконы Божией Матери Воскресенского Новодевичьего монастыря.

Оба храма представляют собой уникальный образец «византийского стиля»: будучи построены по методу археологического подobia, они воспроизводят внутреннюю структуру храмов «золотого века» Юстиниана Великого, когда церковное искусство с удивительным совершенством, глубже и строже, чем в другие времена воплотило сущность православной духовности.

«Византийский стиль» архитектуры Казанского храма Новодевичьего монастыря Петербурга может быть рассмотрен как: 1) символ формообразующего принципа культуры России - византийской «симфонии» церкви и царства, следовательно, и символ преодоления европоцентризма; 2) антропологическое «монументальное богословие», дающее ощущение совершенства Вселенной, созданной и творимой для спасения души человека как высшей ценности бытия; 3) форма выражения «антропного принципа», предвосхищенного в русской философии Н.Н. Страховым (книга «Мир как целое»), открытого развиваемого астрофизикой XX-XXI века, согласно которому Вселенная «тонко настроена» на «волну жизни», человек есть центр мира, «вершина природы, узел бытия».



Известно, что «древнерусский храм никогда не спутаешь с византийским» (М.В. Алпатов). Поэтому, архитекторам, получившим государственный заказ, пришлось специально изучать византийскую традицию храмового зодчества.

Важно уточнить вопрос об архитектурном прототипе Казанского храма. В настоящее время во всей исследовательской литературе в качестве такового и для Морского собора, и для Казанского храма называется собор Святой Софии Константинопольской. Однако Казанский храм - археологическое подобие другого константинопольского храма - святых Сергия и Вакха, построенного Юстинианом I, вероятно, в 527 г. По своей внутренней структуре храм свв. Сергия и Вакха - октагон с двухъярусным обходом и венком чередующихся ниш с их характерным ритмически меняющимся завершением. В то время как Святая София Константинопольская - являет собой «купол Пантеона, водруженный на базилику Максенция» (Н.И. Брунов).

В.А. Косяков скрупулезно воспроизводит отдельные элементы целого, видя совершенство архитектурного воплощения духовного замысла - антропологической идеи Православия. Петербургский храм, как и константинопольский, рождает ощущение «сверхразумности и сверхсовершенства устройства, свойственного Божиим творениям», неявной, таинственной воли Творца. «... всё кружится, вращается, магически разрастается, ни на чем нельзя остановиться и “зацепиться” взгляду... Человек воспринимает себя в этом пространстве как единственное твердое, материальное тело» (Г.С. Колпакова) (1).

Антропология константинопольского зодчества VI в., претворенная в Казанском храме Петербурга, созвучна «антропному принципу» астрофизики и вновь осознанным фундаментальным смыслам, которые символизирует архитектура «византийского стиля» в культуре России.

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Traditions post-byzantines et l'art graphiques de l'agitation République Socialiste Soviétique de Biélorussie

L'assimilation de la tradition byzantine était typique dans l'art des anciennes villes de Biélorussie XI - XVIII siècles. Elle se manifeste dans la validation du christianisme (988), dans la construction d'églises de la Croix dôme, avec leur conception de la décoration des intérieurs, d'extérieur, nécessaire pour faire la liturgie.

Les plus connues sont les traditions Grecopholiques de «Chrysostome» Cyrille de Turov et Euphrosine de Polotsk.

Des liens étroits avec l'Empire byzantin sont bien mis en évidence dans les peintures murales de la Cathédrale Dieu-Transfiguration dans le monastère de Euphrosyne à Polotsk (1161), dans la Croix de maître -Lazare Bogscha(1161), dans l'importation de l'icône de Vierge Hodegetria de Byzance à Polotsk (1151),et un nombre considérable de monuments de XI - XIII siècles, les polyptyques (Volkovysk), le verre (Novogrudok).



Dans la période post-byzantine (après le XIV^{ème}) les traditions byzantines ont continué d'exister. Elles étaient exprimées principalement dans la conservation de l'iconographie de l'art en Byzance (V - XIV^{ème} siècles). Entre le XVI et XVIII^{ème} siècles devient plus évident l'art d'Europe occidentale.

Dans l'art des anciennes villes de la Biélorussie, comme dans la culture de l'Empire byzantin, et malgré une culture chrétienne prédominante, il y eut une culture laïque, exprimé surtout dans les arts appliqués (verre, polyptyque, des produits métalliques, toreutique, poterie, tissage, cuir, etc.).

Surtout, il est nécessaire de noter la complexité de la création de l'iconographie, avec la composition des sujets chrétiens, où un rôle important est joué par la forme, le rythme, la couleur (y compris l'or, l'argent), les silhouettes, le texte, les symboles et les emblèmes. Il semblerait que ces traditions ont dû quitter l'art de la Biélorussie du XX^{ème} siècle. Mais si nous jetons un coup d'œil étroit à l'art graphique de l'agitation de la RSSB (République Socialiste Soviétique de Biélorussie) (1919 - 1991), nous constatons que la période de l'iconoclasme, qui caractérise l'idéologie de cette époque, n'a pas pu détruire les approches de base et les traditions artistiques de la culture byzantine. Il convient notamment de souligner que la Révolution, qui est devenue la restructuration idéologique, a exigé des artistes le recherche de nouveaux moyens artistiques, qui devaient exprimer des concepts tels que la Révolution, Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité, le Communisme. Cela a conduit à la création de nouvelles allégories, de nouveaux symboles et attributs (faucille, marteau, enclume, bouclier, chaîne, locomotive, étoile à cinq branches). Si à l'époque byzantine et post-byzantine le développement et la formation de l'art chrétien étaient prédominant, à l'époque de RSSB ils sont en stagnation par rapport à l'art laïque.

L'art de l'agitation s'oriente de plus en plus politiquement, Ceci est exprimé principalement dans l'art graphique – les affiches, les enveloppes, les tracts, les timbres, les cartes postales. Ce type de beaux d'art touche des millions de gens de par ses nouveaux supports distribués massivement, ce qui indique l'ampleur et le pathos de la lutte révolutionnaire. Tous les types d'art commencent à posséder le caractère agitateur. En effet, celui-ci touche la peinture monumental et la peinture de chevalet, la sculpture, l'art graphique, les arts appliqués(en particulier porcelaine).

L'art graphique de l'agitation se forme et se développe grâce aux traditions de la peinture de l'icône byzantine, russe et biélorusse, vers lesquels les artistes se sont tournés. Ces traditions ont été détournées pour s'ancrer dans la mentalité du peuple à travers les gravures populaires, la satire, les caricatures et les farces populaires dans les spectacles de marionnettes pendant le Carnaval. La technologie de pochoir emprunté remonte aux copies des dessins de l'icône dans l'iconographie. Il en est de même pour la concision et la rigueur de la composition, la luminosité et l'éclat de la couleur, la relation de l'image avec leurs textes d'accompagnement – tout ça aussi remonte aux traditions de la peinture de l'icône.

L'affiche révolutionnaire est devenue l'icône du XX^e siècle. L'affiche comme l'iconographie ont un contrôle strict sur le sujet, le thème (type iconographique), le texte. La censure chrétienne et laïque est strictement suivie de la précision et la compétence politique des images. Surtout, il convient de noter que dans les œuvres d'autres formes d'art, comme la peinture de chevalet, pour créer les images généralisante, synthétiques, psychologiquement saturées les artistes du XX^e siècle se tournent vers les symboles chrétiens éternels. Cela est évident dans les œuvres de M.A. Savitsky-»Partisan



Madonna» et «Madonna de Minsk », dans lesquels il y a la force d'expression comme dans les affiche, l'intégralité de la composition, l'allégorie et le symbolisme, la beauté du rythme linéaire.

Les traditions post- byzantines ont prospéré avec une vigueur renouvelée dans la période post-soviétique (1991-2016), quand l'Église est devenue l'un des clients les plus importants et actifs pour faire les ensembles chrétiens, les iconostases, les dispositifs liturgiques, les vêtements pour le service dans l'église.

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Эстетический аспект византийского искусства на выставках и экспозициях Государственного Эрмитажа

В докладе рассмотрены выставки Византийского искусства, проходившие в 2000-2016 годах в Государственном Эрмитаже, а так же постоянная экспозиция музея, обновленная в 2014 году. Одним из главных компонентов этих экспозиций был эстетический аспект, подчеркивающий художественную значимость византийских памятников. В последние годы в Эрмитаже именно этот аспект стал ведущим в показе искусства Византии, отстранив на второй план исторический, экономический и культурологический аспекты. На нескольких примерах может быть продемонстрировано преимущество данного метода в музейной работе.

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The Image of Byzantine and Curatorial Solutions in the Museum Collections of Europe

The Byzantines during their thousand-year-long history built a complex theory of perception, which different from the modern Western one. And today it is observed, that the methodologies of presenting the Byzantine legacy in the countries where Byzantium is part of the national cultural and historical heritage, and in those countries where Byzantium has been for long time absent in the consciousness of society, are in a sharp contrast. Thus, the task of curators is to present Byzantine art not as a mirror of culture, but as an artistic statement, which should be structurally analyzed in the context of public and social categories and translated into modern language. The curator does not only create the overall concept of the project, develops a strategy for its development, selects items, appropriates concept, but also organizes the conditions for the project's realization in one form or another (publications, workshops, etc.) and overtakes the role of an intermediary in the transfer



of knowledge. The contemporary geopolitics encourages the curators to articulate key issues such as: how one can create an exhibition of Byzantine art material culture to the public, which has an outlook of a positivist “negative myth” about the ancient empire, and how the specific artefacts can explain to a contemporary man the culture and society of a distant in time Byzantium?

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Inverse Perspective

The aim of this paper is to prove that the conclusion of Western theorists, namely that illusionism or 3D didn't exist in Byzantine and Serbian medieval painting, is incorrect.

For example, L. Wright emphasises the elimination of the third dimension. He also concludes that figures and objects are flat abstract symbols set on flat neutral surfaces and that man, when pictured, has no volume, depth or position in space, as well as no horizon. (Perspective in perspective, 1983, pp. 39)

Simple evidence that the preceding statement is incorrect, lies in the fact that there is depth displayed in Byzantine fresco-painting and our medieval painting. In this way, an illusion of volume is created within the painting, which is to say that shapes and objects are displayed three-dimensionally and placed so as to enhance the illusion of space in a fresco. The irregular application of the same projection system across the entire composition, characteristic of both Eastern medieval painting and Western creation, doesn't mean that the above-mentioned elements (volume, depth, spatial position and horizon) are left out. The illusion of volume is enhanced through the use of the light and shadow ratio, not just on the drapery and objects, but also on the faces of the depicted figures. The frescos are characterised by the large surface on which they were painted, which is why the painter envisioned an observer moving within the space where the fresco was made, and he himself also changed his position (along the horizontal and the vertical) while creating it. Consequently, the composition is most often divided into horizontal and vertical zones. A frontal oblique or an axonometric projection is most commonly located in the composition's central area, while we have inverse perspectives with highlighted, matching (left of right) side surfaces in the surrounding zones. The fresco painter uses a changing height position for vertical zoning by placing a new horizon in each of the aforementioned segments. The result is a kinetic effect of the observer. By obeying the canon of Orthodox iconography, the painter uses figure dimensioning strictly by their importance, i.e. perspective of importance.



From a geometric aspect, the goal of researching the inverse perspective is to conduct its restitution so as to enable its transition into a system which would belong to the area of constructive projections.

In this work, a commonly held hypothesis about inverse perspective, which states that the viewpoint and the main vanishing point are located in the same point, is constructively resolved by using models of perspective collinear spaces and moving the relief perspective's vanishing point into an inverse position.

The procedures for determining the inverse perspective and their application, it will be given, not only in the mural painting of the Byzantine and Serbia, but also for examples of contemporary painting.

In addition to inverse perspective, elements of artistic perspective and visual effects were used in the comparative analysis of examples of Serbian medieval painting (the composition from the Visoki Dečani Monastery and the Patriarchate of Peć) and modern art (painting, graphic design, 3D painting, animation...).

Of note are the works of Cézanne and the Cubists, but also the works of contemporary Spanish (Pérez Villalta and David R. Belmonte), British (David Hockney and Patrick Hughes) and Serbian painters (Zoran Grebenarović, Aleksandar Tomašević, Lazar Vozarević, Branislav Makeš, Mladen Srbinović, Ljubinka Jovanović, Kosta Bogdanović).

The visual effects of inverse perspective include: enlargement of the space in the picture when the distance is enlarged, the multiocular principle - the effect of the film image, several horizons which divide the image vertically into several zones, are defined.



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International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
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BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE – PART 1

Chairs: **Phaidon Hadjiantoniou, Ferudun Özgümüş**

Suela Xhyheri, Skender Muçaj, Irklid Ristani, Era Xhaferaj,

The Churches of the X-XII Centuries in South Albania. Archaeological Evidence after the 2000

Irklid Ristani, Skënder Muçaj, Suela Xhyheri,

Kamenica, a Conserved Model of the Byzantine Village

Ioanna P. Arvanitidou,

Τα λουτρικά συγκροτήματα της Βυζαντινής Θεσσαλονίκης

Phaidon Hadjiantoniou,

The Aqueducts of Pantokratoros Monastery on Mount Athos

Ferudun Özgümüş,

Recent Archaeological Finds in Byzantine Istanbul

Sotirios Fotakidis,

A Group of Byzantine Slabs from the Collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums

Silvia Leggio,

I Genovesi a Costantinopoli: alcune lastre scolpite dalla cinta muraria di Galata

Hilâl Aktur,

Spolia Use in the Mosques in Manisa



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The Churches of the X-XII Centuries in South Albania. Archaeological Evidence after the 2000

This discussion proposed to this thematic table (Epirus Revisited – New Perceptions of its History and Material Culture) brings to the focus the cultural heritage and the changes that took place in the territory of southern Albania seen through the most important and representative structure of that period: the church.

The archaeological excavations conducted in the course of this century, lying in a broad area in Southern Albania, brought to light new evidences regarding already published monuments of Christian cult and also uncovered the ruins of new churches dated from early 9th century to the end of 12th century, which were not known from the relevant scholarly studies before.

Generally it can be stated that small single aisled churches with a narthex are usually located along the main routes and inside inhabited areas while large buildings are connected with the existence of Episcopal centers and monasteries. The initial plan has been subjected to modifications in the course of 11th – 12th century, with the addition of lateral naves, porticoes or annexes.

The churches of the late 10th – 12th century (for example the church of Asomat, Fiq' e Lape (Kamenicë, Delvinë), Perhondi, Kurjan, Gurzezë, “Maja e Qishës” Kropisht, St. John, St. Mary in Ballsh, Peshkëpi e Sipërme, Sinjë, Peshkëpi e Sipërme ect.) is usually plain with reused remains of earlier buildings, little use of tiles all joined by the use of mortar in a “primitive” technique that precedes that of the earliest examples of cloisonné. To mention are the frequent finds of bricks with kufic elements and the tiles with recordings made with a comb that date in the late 10th through all the 11th century. The interior decoration is usually as plain as the exterior. The walls are usually executed in freco (the church of Asomat) with floors paved with square bricks (the church in Gurëzezë) or stone (the church of Asomat).

The church classic type is represented in more than one number of the possible variations as that of the cross – in – square form. This architectural form is exhibited in Albania by a number of significant monuments: the church of “Qisha Mëne” Asomat; “Maja e Qishës”, Kropisht, both in the Shushica Valley, the church of St. Triadha, Berat, the medieval church in Gurzezë, the ruins



of the church in Kalivaç, the church of St. George, Brataj and the church of Holy Trinity in Opar). The 11th-century cross-in-square church was already with a western narthex and expanded in the 13th century through the addition of other structures. From similar additions to the central cross – in - square core plans resulted churches as for example: the church of St. Mary in Apollonia in the form of the basilica type; the church of St. Nicholas in Kurjan, which has two later joined apses in the north and in the south; and the churches of St. Mary in Labovë e Kryqit, St. Nicholas in Perhondi, and of St. Mary in Peshkëpi e Sipërme have later additions.

Other forms of the churches of the Byzantine architecture, is the free cross plan (Marmiro), the basilica type (St. Mary in Ballsh, St. John in Delvinë, kisha në Peshkëpi, Sarandë) and the chapel type, all used in this period in the same area, without a preference for a specific type.

To understand more of these buildings we have to see through the archaeological and the sporadically historical evidence of each of them. These forms are particularly common in all the provinces of the Byzantine Empire, for example Preslav, in Bulgaria, in Greece, Asia Minor and Armenia.

The construction of churches from 10th – 12th century stimulated mostly the religious painting, which was favored from the practice of the complete covering the interiors of the sanctuaries with paintings. Although the fresco decoration of this period is sparse and preserved in a fragmentary condition some of them reflect the main currents in the stylistic development of monumental painting of the period. The surviving painting of 9th – 12th century confirms the connection to the art of Asia Minor, Greece and Southern Italy, while in the course of XI and XII century and especially in fresco decoration of those monuments located along or close to the coastal cities (Durrës, Vlorë) is observed the reference to Hellenistic models, a tendency derived from Constantinople and adapted in the art of the provinces. This tendency is also evident in sculptural decoration of the second half of 12th century which connection to analogous models in Southern Italy is evidenced.

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Kamenica, a Conserved Model of the Byzantine Village

The medieval village of Kamenica is situated in the district of Delvinë (South East of Albania), on the side of the mountain Mali Gjerë. The village lays on the top area of two hills, in their slope and the “neck” created by their join. The urban organization of the village is known from the ottoman cadastral registers. In the register of 1431-1432 the village was part of Vajoneta and had 267 houses. The urban geography of the village reflects the principles of the medieval settlements called “borghi”,



that are built in Italy from Puglia to Piemonte beginning from IX – X century. There was a main quarter (Kamenica) and 4 suburb quarters (Vulur, Vragoj, Makuri, Gajdaç). During the surveys done in the periphery area of Kamenica, we have found three of those quarters situated in the area of Fiqt' e Lape, Jominai and the modern village of Palavli. The fourth one probably is situated on the north side of the two hills near the modern village of Kopaçëz. The suburb quarters has conserved a church and the ruins of few houses. The main quarter Kamenica from its abandonment has not been populated; this fact has made possible the conservation in a very good state of the buildings (houses, churches, mills) and the streets. The natural condition of the terrain has influenced the structure of the streets and the orientation of the buildings. There can be identified two categories of streets: the principal and the secondary. The principal street is extended in the direction south-north and starts from the valley down the hills. It leads to the main plaza Qafa e Pazarit, where it seems to end. There are found 12 churches in total, 8 in the main quarter, one in the square down the hills and two in the suburb quarters. The churches 1 to 10 are conserved well and are distinguished by a simple and basic architecture. There are found 4 olive oil mills in the main quarter all built in the central areas. The houses are generally oriented toward south; less toward southeast and southwest. They were built very close to each other, have two floors according to the steep terrain and belong to a well-known type called “half floor”. The access to the house was made by the secondary streets, directly in the courtyard. These are always surrounded by high walls built directly on the natural rock. The main houses are built in the central area of Kamenica (top of the two hills, Qafa e Pazarit), while the simple ones with fewer rooms are spread in the rest area. Two of the most interesting buildings in Kamenica are the residences, built on the top of the big hill (residence 1) and on the south – west of it near the churches 1 and 2 (residence 2). The main element of the residence is the tower made of three floors, surrounded by houses composed with the “half-floor” type as the rest of the village. All the buildings of the residence and its yards are surrounded by walls, creating small fortifications inside Kamenica.

The archaeological material mostly belongs to the XVI century, which is the last period of life of the village before its abandonment. Some examples found in the church of Fiqt' e Lape belong to the XII century. The pottery includes examples of tableware and coarse ware. The table forms are represented by bowls, dishes, jugs etc. Kamenica reflects all the principles of the byzantine village: urban geography, urban organization and the church architecture.

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Τα λουτρικά συγκροτήματα της Βυζαντινής Θεσσαλονίκης

Το ενδιαφέρον των ανθρώπων για τα λουτρά ξεκίνησε στην αρχαία Ελλάδα και διαδόθηκε μέσω της Ρωμαϊκής Αυτοκρατορίας. Τα λουτρά έπαιζαν σημαντικό ρόλο στην καθημερινή ζωή των ανθρώπων, καθώς είχαν χαρακτήρα κοινωνικό, πολιτιστικό και ψυχαγωγικό, εκτός από το ότι εξασφάλιζαν την υγιεινή του σώματος. Κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο, η έρευνα των λουτρικών συγκροτημάτων μπορεί να προσφέρει σημαντικές πληροφορίες για τον τρόπο λειτουργίας της βυζαντινής κοινωνίας, καθώς και για τις συνήθειες και τις προτεραιότητες των ανθρώπων της εποχής.



Άλλωστε, σύμφωνα με τον ιστορικό Προκόπιο από την Καισάρεια, οι λουτρικές εγκαταστάσεις ήταν δείκτης ευημερίας για μία πόλη. Η σημαντικότητα της λουτρικής διαδικασίας πιστοποιείται και από το γεγονός ότι όλα τα προγράμματα αστικής ανασυγκρότησης των αυτοκρατόρων συμπεριελάμβαναν πάντα λουτρικές εγκαταστάσεις. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί ο αυτοκράτορας Αναστάσιος Α΄, ο οποίος κατασκεύασε λουτρά σε κάθε πόλη της αυτοκρατορίας.

Η Θεσσαλονίκη ήταν μία από τις σημαντικότερες πόλεις της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας, αν όχι η σημαντικότερη μετά την Κωνσταντινούπολη, και αποτέλεσε σημαντικό καλλιτεχνικό κέντρο ασκώντας έντονη επιρροή στην περιοχή των σημερινών Βαλκανίων. Στην Πρώιμη Βυζαντινή περίοδο, τον αστικό πυρήνα της πόλης όριζαν τα μεγάλα χριστιανικά μνημεία της πόλης: Άγιος Δημήτριος, Αγία Σοφία και Άγιος Γεώργιος (Ροτόντα). Γύρω από αυτήν ακριβώς την περιοχή βρισκόταν τα δεκαέξι λουτρικά συγκροτήματα, που ανασκάφηκαν στην πόλη, τα οποία ήταν σε λειτουργία σε διάφορες περιόδους της Βυζαντινής εποχής. Ωστόσο, λόγω της σημαντικότητας και του πληθυσμού της πόλης, θα ήταν ίσως αναμενόμενη την ύπαρξη ενός μεγάλου δημόσιου λουτρικού συγκροτήματος, το οποίο, όμως, δεν έχει βρεθεί μέχρι στιγμής.

Στην Θεσσαλονίκη έχουν βρεθεί είκοσι οκτώ ρωμαϊκά λουτρά και οκτώ εξ αυτών συνέχισαν να λειτουργούν και στην Βυζαντινή περίοδο μαζί με τα επτά νέα λουτρικά συγκροτήματα που κατασκευάστηκαν στην πόλη. Τρία δημόσια λουτρά εξυπηρετούσαν το κοινό της Θεσσαλονίκης τον 5ο αιώνα. Το ρωμαϊκό λουτρό που βρέθηκε κοντά στην εκκλησία της Αχειροποιήτου, το, επίσης, ρωμαϊκό λουτρό που βρέθηκε κάτω από την εκκλησία του Αγίου Δημητρίου και το πρωτοβυζαντινό λουτρό, που εντοπίστηκε κοντά στη νοτιοδυτική γωνία του Υπουργείου Μακεδονίας και Θράκης.

Ταυτόχρονα, ήταν σε λειτουργία τρία εκκλησιαστικά λουτρά. Το πρώτο εντοπίστηκε στην οδό Αγίας Σοφίας 52 και συνδέθηκε με την εκκλησία της Αχειροποιήτου. Το δεύτερο βρέθηκε στη συμβολή των οδών Ολύμπου και Πλάτωνος και συνδέθηκε με το Μαρτύριο του Αγίου Δημητρίου. Το τρίτο ανασκάφηκε στην οδό Μακένζυ Κίνγκ και συνδέθηκε με την εκκλησία της Αγίας Σοφίας. Δεν είναι ξεκάθαρο αν τα παραπάνω λουτρά εξυπηρετούσαν μόνο τους κληρικούς των αντίστοιχων εκκλησιών ή ήταν ανοιχτά και στους πολίτες της Θεσσαλονίκης, αν και το μέγεθος του λουτρού στην οδό Μακένζυ Κίνγκ (287 τ. μ.) θα επέτρεπε μια τέτοια υπόθεση. Μάλιστα, το συγκεκριμένο λουτρό φαίνεται πώς ήταν σε χρήση και μετά την πρωτοβυζαντινή περίοδο.

Το μοναδικό λουτρό που έχει βρεθεί και η κατασκευή του χρονολογείται μετά τον 8ο αιώνα είναι αυτό στην οδό Θεοτοκοπούλου, το οποίο χρονολογείται στα τέλη του 13ου αιώνα και σταμάτησε να χρησιμοποιείται το 1940. Το λουτρό στην οδό Θεοτοκοπούλου είναι ένα από τα δύο λουτρά του ελληνικού χώρου που κατασκευάστηκαν στην υστεροβυζαντινή περίοδο και ένα από τα ελάχιστα λουτρά που λειτουργούσαν στον 13ο και 14ο αιώνα. Το λουτρό στην Θεοτοκοπούλου είναι διπλό και ακολουθεί τον Βυζαντινό Τύπο λουτρών.



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The Aqueducts of Pantokratoros Monastery on Mount Athos

Founded in the mid 14th century by Alexius and John, Byzantine high officials related by blood to the imperial Palaeologan family, Pantokratoros Monastery was extended in the late 15th and the first decades of the 16th century with the sponsoring of Romanian rulers.

The big stone-built aqueduct transported water from the heights of Mount Tsouknidi, northwest of the monastery. The aqueduct is composed of a two tier arcade with a channel on the top that reached serpentine the base of the defensive tower, in which there was a reservoir for collecting water. A 14th century founders' work is thought to be the lower part with the high arches. A marble inscription built in the northern part of the west wing refers to an extensive repair of the aqueduct made in 1537. This repair probably includes both the addition of the upper arcade, as well as the construction of two tanks found on the ground floor of the west wing, and an advanced water diversion system in different places of the monastery through underground stone vaulted pipelines.

An extension of the original aqueduct with a branch to the west dates in 1780. This is a lower arched stone-built aqueduct that brought water to the west of the monastery, to the kellion St. Tryphon, and from there to the fertile gardens spread out along the banks of the river Chrysorraris. In the archive of Pantokratoros Monastery is kept the contract between the manufacturer Andronis and the monastery, from which we acquire the information that the project would cost 330 piastres. The monastery would provide the contractor oil, kourasani, and fagoura, the rest (materials, wages, costs of transport, road opening) being the latter's obligation.

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Recent Archaeological Finds in Byzantine Istanbul

Our investigations were carried out between 2013-2015 in the old part of the city by three scholars of Istanbul University. F.Özgümüş, M.Ermiş, H.F.Yılmaz. Below is the list of our discoveries which have yet to be published.

Early Christian Basilica in The Roman Forum of Tauri: An Early Christian Basilica came to light during the restoration work of the Beyazıt Mosque from the 15th C. Only a small part of the structure, which is the sanctuary section with three apses, survives to our days. This three aisled basilical church has the traces of the Hierarkh in its apse. In the south of the structure is a narthex with some burials apparently this portion was added later.



Substructure under the Northern Building of Former Pantokrator Church: Another Restoration work in the city yielded an important substructure under the north building of the Famous Pantokrator of Istanbul. This substructure is in basilical form and has some burials in it.

Church at Ayvansaray on the ruins of so-called Anemas Dungeon: A Small and only a little part left church ruin was discovered in 2009 on the ruins of Anemas Dungeon in the ancient Blakherna Region of Istanbul. It must have been made after 1100 which was the construction date of Anemas.

Cross-in Square Church Substructure at K. M. Paşa: It was discovered by H. F. Yılmaz and briefly mentioned in a journal of Vakıflar in Istanbul. This late Byzantine Substructure was used as a cistern and its discovery became a big contribution to the Archaeology of Byzantine İstanbul.

Middle Byzantine Structure in the District of Eminönü: Located on the Alay Köşkü Caddesi (Avenue) near Sultanahmet next to a Hotel called Albion. Three horse-shoe shaped arches resting on three in situ columns probably date to Middle Byzantine. Intercolumnium was walled up and this wall has concealed brick technique which is another proof of Middle Byzantine date.

Frescoes in the Martyrion of Sts. Karpos and Papylos: Those frescoes are St. Demetrius, Christ Pantocrator and four Seraphims and circular inscription frieze surrounding the image of Christ. They were published incompletely and hastily by a Polish Scholars in 2010. Ayça Bego from İstanbul was another one who saw all these frescoes but none was able to identify them properly and none was able to have the inscription deciphered. Circular inscription around the image of Christ is verse from Psalms 102/19-20 and it reads "The LORD looked down from his sanctuary on high from heaven he viewed the earth, to hear the groans of the prisoners and release those condemned to death."

Two more frescoes and some sculptural pieces from Istanbul: One of the frescoes came to light in the Zeyrek Camii of former Pantokrator Church. It was plastered in the Ottoman time so was not visible. Located in the north-east corner of the south aisle of the building and when the plaster was removed it became visible. Impossible to identify it as it was badly damaged besides it has some indentations for its later plastering. Second fresco is much better preserved and almost intact. It was found behind late Ottoman Wall in the western wall of the narthex of Libos Monastery which is currently the Mosque of Fenari İsa. This Fresco depicts a warrior saint but as there is no writing or any inscription so we are not able to identify it.

In 16thC Bath of Hürrem we found some pieces of architectural sculptural mainly from the 2ndC BC and all deposited in Museum of Vakıflar. They may have been pieces from ancient pagan temples of Byzantium once stood near the location of this Ottoman Bath.



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A Group of Byzantine Slabs from the Collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums

This paper presents a group of marble slabs from Middle Byzantine Constantinople, now held in the Collections of the Istanbul Archaeological Museums. Most of the marble slabs are located in the rear courtyard of the Archaeological Museums, while one is in the staff office building. All this material has been collected and transferred to IAM from different monuments of the city of Istanbul.

The focus of this paper is to date the slabs based on already dated material from Istanbul, Asia Minor, Greece and Italy, and to discover their origin. Emphasis will be placed on the traces of the marble-carving tools preserved on the surfaces of the sculptures. Finally, we will concentrate on the decorative motifs on each of the slabs and analyze the general characteristics of decorative motifs on stone slabs during the Middle Byzantine period.

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I Genovesi a Costantinopoli: alcune lastre scolpite dalla cinta muraria di Galata

Con il trattato di Ninfeo, siglato nel 1261 alla vigilia della riconquista bizantina di Costantinopoli, Michele VIII Paleologo (1259-1282) assicurò ai Genovesi una posizione giuridica ed economica nell'impero bizantino mai raggiunta dagli altri stati occidentali. Estromessi da Costantinopoli in seguito alla Quarta Crociata, essi poterono così rientrare nella capitale, occupando l'area al di là del Corno d'Oro sulle pendici della collina di Galata; ovvero, la zona anche conosciuta con il nome di Pera (regio XIII). Il nuovo insediamento genovese fu dotato di un fossato solo nel 1304, in seguito alle concessioni di Andronico II (1282-1328), mentre una cinta muraria, munita di torri, non fu costruita prima del 1335. Sottoposto ad una serie di interventi ed ampliamenti ulteriori nel corso del Trecento e della prima metà del Quattrocento, il circuito fortificato fu infine abbattuto negli ultimi decenni del XIX secolo, ad eccezione dei tracciati ovest e sud che sopravvivono ancora oggi. Dalle opere di demolizione fu però salvato un cospicuo numero di lastre marmoree, cronologicamente coeve alla cinta muraria, oggi conservate nel Museo Archeologico di Istanbul. Si tratta nella maggior parte dei casi di epigrafi in lingua latina accompagnate dagli stemmi araldici di alcune delle più influenti famiglie genovesi della comunità perota; un secondo gruppo, numericamente meno consistente, presenta, invece, decorazioni figurate a rilievo con soggetti a carattere religioso. Dalla loro prima segnalazione in alcuni contributi apparsi tra la fine dell'Ottocento e gli inizi del Novecento, questi manufatti non hanno ancora trovato un più approfondito inquadramento



critico, in parte complicato dal contesto culturalmente “ibrido” - diviso tra l’Italia e Bisanzio - in cui s’inseriscono. Nell’ambito di un più ampio progetto di ricerca attualmente in corso, focalizzato sulle relazioni artistiche tra Genova e Bisanzio, verrà preso in esame questo secondo nucleo di lastre scolpite provenienti dalle mura di Galata. Saranno indagate l’identità culturale e le modalità esecutive dei loro artefici e, al contempo, si presterà attenzione ad alcuni interrogativi, mai affrontati dagli studiosi, posti dal corredo iconografico di questi manufatti.

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Spolia Use in the Mosques in Manisa

Turkish–Islamic cities in Anatolia were established either at or near sites of continuous settlement since Antiquity, Roman and Byzantine times. In the structures dating from the Anatolian Seljuq and Beylik era cities founded on the sites, a tendency for intensive use of materials from previous periods is observed. These repurposed architectural elements are termed as spolia. The broadest definition of spolia in architecture is the reuse of an architectural material previously used in another structure, with a similar or a different function. Manisa is one of the Western Aegean cities where spolia are intensively used in the Turkish–Islamic period structures.

Within the scope of this study, primarily the following structures in Manisa City Centre are studied: İlyas Bey Masjid (Mescit) (1362) and Manisa Great Mosque and Complex (Küllüye) (1366) from the Sarukhanid period; Ali Bey Mosque (1418), Hacı Yahya (İki Lüleli) Mosque (1474), Çeşnigir Mosque (1474), İvaz Paşa Mosque and Complex (Küllüye) (1484), Hatuniye Mosque and Complex (Küllüye) (1490-1491), İbrahim Çelebi Mosque (1549), Hüsrev Ağa Mosque and Complex (külliye) (1554-1558), Lala Mehmed Paşa Mosque (1569-1570), Arapalan (Defterdar Mahmut Efendi) Mosque and Fountain (1582) from the period of Beylik of Osmanoğulları. A literature survey was conducted in parallel with the detection of the Byzantine era spolia, leading to data on the construction dates of the buildings. Further research was carried out in the Republic of Turkey General Directorate of Foundations Archives to study, where available, the foundation certificate charters of the buildings, and determine the restoration processes they have endured. The examination of technical documents and photographs from this archive proved significant in terms of identifying spolia that went undetected in the direct study of the structures.

The Byzantine era structures in Manisa do not survive today. The limited information on the Byzantine era of the city is obtained through the writings of the historian Doukas. In the rather inadequate excavation works conducted in the city, the focus was on Antiquity rather than the Byzantine era; whereby the Byzantine levels were removed without sufficient analysis and documentation. This study aims to reveal the traces of the Byzantine era through the identification of spolia which date back to Byzantine era, in the mosques and complexes of Sarukhanid and Osmanoğulları periods in Manisa City Centre. In line with this, the significance of spolia use in the aforementioned religious structures within the Turkish–Islamic architecture will be investigated.



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Just a Rewriting of Michael Attaleiates' *History*?



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Rus' in the First Half of the 10th Century (According to Synchronous Byzantine and Arabic Sources)

Rus' in the 9th century was a number of chaotic groups without localization and clear social characteristics. On the contrary, in the mid and the second half of the 10th century we have a unique combination of Greek, Latin, Arabic, Khazar-Jewish, Scandinavian, and Slavic Sources, which give us a stereoscopic view of the Rurikid's polity. But it's necessary to realize that it is impossible to transfer these rich data to the previous half of the 10th century, it is necessary to study this intermediate duration separately.

We have seven synchronous evidences about *Rus'* in the first half of the 10th century. The first one is the chapter about affairs in sea of military treaty "The Taktika" (t.a.q. 912) of Leo VI the Wise. Using textual analyses I have demonstrated that the text in the oldest manuscript Laur. 55,4 has distortion, but the second oldest manuscript Ambros. B 119-sup., reflecting the archetype, retains ethnonym "οἱ Ῥῶς". The second evidence is chapters 37 and 42 of the treaties "De Administando Imperio", which belong to the "first editorial stage" of the text made in the time of Leo VI (J. Howard-Johnston), or some time later (S.A. Kozlov, A.S. Shchavelev). The third is chapter 44 of the treaties "De Cerimoniis" about the expeditions against Saracens in 910/911 (R.J.H. Jenkins, J.F. Haldon). The fourth is the lapidary passage in the Chronicle of Symeon Logothete about "οἱ Ῥῶς Δρομῖται". The fifth is Patriarch Nicholas's I letter of 922, where he mentioned the opportunity to use the *Rus'* against Bulgarians. The sixth is the Slavic translation of the peace treaty between Byzantine and *Rus'* dated 12 of September 911 (the "treaty" of 907 is a construct of the author of Primary Chronicle). The seventh is Achmad Ibn-Fadlān's "Kitāb" ("The Book"), the report of the journey in the 921–922 to Volga's Bulgaria (about social terminology of this text see: T.N. Kalinina & O.G. Bolshakov).

In this period we have only rough landmarks of *Rus'* localization: "the North", "rivers flowing to the Black Sea", "upper Dnieper", and "upper and middle Volga". We have no synchronous evidence about any urban-center of *Rus'* before the mid of the 10th century neither in Arabic nor in Byzantine texts. But we have exact evidences of definite territories, where *Rus'* live; in 9th century only trade routes and places of war activities had been mentioned. It's possible to clarify the *Rus'* social structure. The treaty of 911 and Ibn-Fadlān vividly point out the supreme leader: great knyaz (μέγας ἄρχων) or malik al-Rūs. The denomination of a man from upper stratum is boyarin / knyaz (ἄρχων) or ra'īs. The basic strata consists of men (русь, οἱ Ῥῶς ἄνδρες, al-Rūs), and the low one consists of semi-slave youth (ghulām, τὸ παιδίον). The main attribute of *Rus'* was small vessel (ὁ ἀκατός μικρός, safīna sagīra) and an ability of moving by water. There is no trace of any prince's family: Rurikid's dynasty. So, *Rus'* was rather egalitarian, but rank heterarchical (K. Cristiansen) society. There is no trace of any Slavic element among *Rus'* names (E.A. Melnikova) and only one Turkic: Актеву <*aqteγwe ("white camel") (S.V. Kullanda).

All this features correspond to the information from core proro-narrative about first Russian Rurikids starting early Russian chronicle tradition (the mid of the 11th century), where we find supreme leader, three social strata ("воевода", "мужъ", "отрокъ"), the difference of *Rus'* and Slavs, and close attention to the nautical business (precious sails, rowlocks).



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Orality and Audience in Theophanes Continuatus

Preserving the ancient practice of reading out loud, the text of the so-called Theophanes Continuatus (henceforth ThCont), a historical piece of work commissioned and supervised by emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos (945-959, henceforth ConstPorph), was in all probability intended for audition.

Already from the preamble one can sense that the reader, who addresses the emperor in the second person, is performing a rhetorical recital before him in the presence of a limited circle of officials/scholars. Besides, the text of the first four books of ThCont but also its fifth, known as the Vita Basilii (henceforth VB), contains terms which relate to reading but also imply hearing (VB 246. 6-7, 274.14-15, 282.10-11, 202. 2-3, ThCont 76. 6-10). We can also add the--not much later--heading λόγος found in books I-IV, that could also be suggestive of a reading before a θέατρον. Furthermore, the frequent use of structure words (ὅθεν, γοῦν, ἀλλὰ and the like) attests to a forceful orality, while the recurrent presence of transition words, clauses or sentences which solidify the historical narrative strengthens the hypothesis that the writer composed his work for recitation. In fact, these specific techniques or formulas would, quite apart from contributing to the creation of a more coherent and cohesive text, also activate the memory of the audience and facilitate its understanding during its reading. At the same time, even if deemed to be later additions, the ἐκφράσεις of buildings included at the end of book III and in the VB are in fact rhetorical descriptions provided for a session of reading out loud.

It is widely accepted that the sole purpose of reading in Byzantium was almost always benefit. ThCont is indeed of an educational character; this historical compilation is delivered “ὡπερ τι κοινὸν διδασκαλεῖον...πᾶσιν» and mainly «τοῖς σπουδαίοις», as the latter are capable of drawing out useful elements, even from narration of the reigns of vicious emperors (preamble to ThCont.) Similarly, in the preface to the VB, the emperor confesses his manifest wish “to instil the experience and knowledge of public affairs into the minds τῶν σπουδαιοτέρων» through the ever-memorable and immortal voice of history». But in the description of constructions ascribed to the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, too, the VB expressly notes that «since such beauties are not accessible to every eye, we have been obliged to offer them to the ‘σπουδαῖοι», so that in such a fashion their maker may be worthily admired, and those who have no access to the imperial quarters may not remain totally ignorant of them”.

It is therefore clear that the history written upon ConstPorph’s orders is intended for the σπουδαῖοι. The question is to whom this quality is attributed. Philosophically, the notion is associated with virtue --above all, its political aspect. The σπουδαῖοι equal the μὴ ῥαθυμότερον ζῶντες, referred to in the preamble to ThCont, to whom history is bequeathed: i.e. the active citizens. On the other hand, it is commonly known that, according to Psellos, readers can be divided into three categories: περιττοὶ or λόγιοι ἄνδρες, who may be superior in terms of knowledge, thinking and



language; σπουδαῖοι or ἑλλόγιμοι ἀκροαταί, meaning sophisticated readers or listeners; and πολλοὶ or ἰδιώτιδες ἀκοαί, that is the uncultured audience. The second category, which is of interest here, consists of individuals with an average or at least not the highest level of culture. Such a group would incorporate a number of people –mainly public servants or military men – who had completed their studies at the first level of προγυμνάσματα, which made up the basis of rhetoric at the time; they would thus receive a decent education, but would not reach a higher level of learning. Finally, the preamble to the VB reveals that this biography aspires to become a model of virtue and set an example to the heirs of the Macedonian dynasty. In that same preamble, but also in the description of Basil I's construction activity, it states explicitly, as we saw above, that the VB is aimed at the σπουδαῖοι. Could this therefore mean that the latter are the royal heirs themselves? However, those who were included in the category of σπουδαῖοι but excluded from the imperial palace would only know about it through historical writings. Therefore, the VB was obviously also bequeathed to people who were not members of the ruling family.

ThCont's readership should thus not be confined to the reigning house; instead it expanded to include officials of the court who would be politically active and would have received a certain level of education, though not the highest. These are the φιλομαθοῦντες and φιλιστοροῦντες ὑπήκοοι of the emperor to whom ThCont is addressed.

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Roman Antiquarianism in the 10th Century: *The Constantinian Excerpts and the Excerpta Anonymi*

This paper centers on the possibility of a textual relation between the tenth-century codex Parisinus suppl. gr. 607a (*Excerpta Anonymi*) and the Constantinian Excerpts (CE). The two collections of excerpts should be seen within the context of the culture of sylloge. They share significant similarities in terms of content, format and methodology. In this paper the hypothesis is advanced that the anonymous compiler of the *Excerpta Anonymi* relied on earlier collections of excerpts and must have drawn on draft copies produced during the redaction of the Constantinian collections. The CE appears to have been used in treatises produced within court circles as well as in non-imperial works. The latter were written by persons associated with the palace or the imperial library. The analysis of the chapter on the river Istros in the *Excerpta Anonymi* shows that the passage must have been excerpted from an earlier dossier, presumably a collection of notes on geography. The *Excerpta Anonymi* chapters On Cyrus and On Remus and Romulus reflect the selection and arrangement of similar material in the CE. Among now lost Constantinian collections of excerpts, there probably have been collections of geography, dreams and portents.

Moreover, the two collections of excerpts should be seen within the context of the revival of the classical past from the 9th century onwards. As noted, the historical part of the *Excerpta Anonymi* bears similarities with the CE in terms of content. Among the cited authors in the *Excerpta Anonymi*,



a significant number of historians occur, such as Herodotus, Appian, Cassius Dio, Procopius and John Lydus. All of them are frequently cited and extensively used in Constantine's treatises and, with the exception of John Lydus, all were selected for the CE. The historical part of the *Excerpta Anonymi* exhibits interest in classical knowledge, in the Roman past and in subjects relating to geography and occult science. The selection of authors excerpted is revealing: Diodorus Siculus, Appian, Cassius Dio, Procopius and John Lydus. It is noteworthy that the *Excerpta Anonymi* compiler's selections coincide with those of Constantine Porphyrogenitus as well as those of Photius a century earlier. Constantine VII stands behind the revival of interest in the Roman and Byzantine affairs in the 10th century. Though selections in the *Excerpta Anonymi*, the CE and Photius' *Bibliotheca* do not reflect direct interest in the Republic in Rome, they display an undeniable interest in the cultural past of Rome.

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Excerpta historica iussu Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta de sententiis:
Edition and Study of the Concept of an Excerpt Collection
(10th Cent., Constantinople)

The aim of the talk is to present the concept of the digital edition of the excerpt collection *De sententiis*, one of the volumes of the so-called *Excerpta Constantiniana*. The latter is a large collection of excerpts in multiple volumes from the Byzantine time, created on behalf of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (905–959). Four extant volumes of the *Excerpta Constantiniana* consist of several thousands of excerpts that were adopted from about three dozens of Ancient Greek and Byzantine historiographical works.

The collection *De sententiis* is preserved in the codex unicus — the palimpsested manuscript *Vaticanus graecus 73* which distinguishes itself through a remarkable *mise-en-page*: for the purpose of navigation through the content, hundreds of marginalia and thousands of pictograms have been placed on the margins of the manuscript (see image 1). One section from the *De sententiis*, to be more precise, 24 pages from the original manuscript have been edited exemplary. In the process of preparation of the digital edition three main displaying perspectives for the same text were chosen:

- (i) a digital reconstruction of the manuscript (see image 1)
- (ii) a diplomatic transcription
- (iii) a normalized, historical-critical version of the text

Digital reconstruction (i) is a graphical reconstruction of the lower layer of the palimpsested manuscript *Vat. gr. 73*. In the diplomatic transcription (ii), the text is reproduced as true to the original as possible. The design of the original is visualized, especially the layout of the text and the navigation elements in it (i.e. marginalia and pictograms). Wherever possible, the original orthography is reproduced. The normalized historical-critical version of the text (iii) has the layout of a modern edition, the orthography is largely normalized. An option is provided to highlight different types of content, such as quotations, places, personal names, people, etc.



Another goal of the talk is to discuss the advantages of the suggested pluralistic approach to the text, and especially the benefits of the diplomatic transcription (ii) for understanding the overall concept of the *Excerpta Constantiniana*. Most prominently, diplomatic transcription allows a comprehensive analysis of the marginalia and pictograms which were entirely neglected by the previous research. It, furthermore, provides other kinds of data not easily or not at all available in the previous editions, for example, the medieval punctuation. By way of examples I will try to show that in many cases the original punctuation is crucial for our understanding of the text.

These and some other positive aspects of the pluralistic approach to text edition will be highlighted.

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Some Remarks on the Structure of *De administrando imperio*
and Its Relations to Other Works of Porphyrogenitus

In the Proem to *De administrando imperio* addressed to his son and co-emperor Romanus II, emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus lists five topics to write about in that work, on the basis of which we can see that he scheduled the work which will consist of five sections. The first theme relates to the way the Romans should use the relationships among foreign nations for their own diplomatic benefits, the second is about a greedy character of these peoples and gifts which they often require from the imperial court even for the smallest service, the third deals with the differences between peoples, their history and customs, way of life and geographical position of their countries, the fourth with individual events resulting from the mutual relations of the Romans and the different peoples and the fifth with different reforms that have been introduced in the Roman state. The emperor remained entirely faithful to the scheduled composition, so it is evident in the work where each section begins and where it ends, and it is even more clearly expressed with the fact that he himself made a separate introduction at the beginning of each section, relying on statements from the Proem and at certain places even repeating them completely. The first such introduction is at the beginning of the first chapter, the second at the beginning of the thirteenth, the third at the end of the thirteenth, the fourth at the end of the forty-sixth and the fifth at the end of the forty-eighth chapter. On this basis, we can conclude that chapters 1–12 constitute the first section, chapter 13 the second, chapters 14–46 the third, chapters 47–48 the fourth, chapters 49–53 the fifth. In addition, in the second section, there are also another two introductions – in the thirtieth and in the forty-third chapter, which is why that section can be further divided into three parts. The insight into the structure of the work *De administrando imperio* gained in this way allows us, among other things, to realize that chapter 30 was an authentic and integral part of the work and not a later insertion, as it is commonly believed. Also, getting to know the structure of the work and its internal division into larger sections allows us to place the work within the broader frame of historiographical activity at the court of the emperor Constantine VII, and to recognize the strong link between its first four



sections with the so-called “diplomatic chapters” of *De cerimoniis*, and between the fifth section and *De thematibus*. This way we come to the conclusion that the impetus for the preparation of the work *De administrando imperio* came from that same encyclopedic-historiographical momentum that led to the creation of *De cerimoniis* and *Excerpta de legationibus*. In addition, in *De administrando imperio* we can find some specific information that clearly derive from the data recorded in the “diplomatic chapters” of *De cerimoniis*. On the other hand, the historical material collected and processed in *De administrando imperio* was then used in *Vita Basilii* and *Theophanes Continuatus* in general, and the traces of its use there are most evident at those places that are not to be found in the relevant passages of the works of other historiographers of the time, such as Joseph Genesius and Symeon the Logothete.

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The Reigns of Isaak I Komnenos and Constantine X Doukas in the *Skylitzes Continuatus*: Just a Rewriting of Michael Attaleiates’ *History*?

This paper analyses the depiction of emperors Isaak I Komnenos and Constantine X Doukas in the eleventh-century Byzantine historical narrative known as *Skylitzes Continuatus* (from now on *SkylC*). This analysis compares *SkylC* with other eleventh-century historical narratives and particularly with the *History* of Michael Attaleiates. The *SkylC* is one of the less studied eleventh-century Byzantine historical accounts. Research on *SkylC* has mainly focused on the question of its authorship, a matter which is still uncertain.

The *SkylC* often appears as the continuation of John Skylites’ *Synopsis Historiarum* in the manuscripts and it seems to share some kind of bad reputation with it. Scholars usually praise other eleventh-century historical accounts such as the *Chronographia* of Michael Psellos and the *History* of Michael Attaleiates by underlining their subjective perception of the historical events, their mastering of different literary genres as well as their ability to hide a secret message in the narrative. Correspondingly, other eleventh-century histories appear as less original and mostly based on previous sources. Still, recent research on the *Synopsis Historiarum* such as Catherine Holmes’ contradicts these assumptions and exemplifies the profit of studying these less explored eleventh-century historical accounts.

The *SkylC* has been presented as a reworking of Attaleiates’ *History*; this paper examines critically this assumption. Large sections of *SkylC* are clearly based, if not copied, on the *History*; however, small but significant variations exist in *SkylC* in comparison with Attaleiates’ *History*. These details will be analysed and interpreted, not only as different ways of approaching the same issue, but also as possible elements which modify or even subvert the meaning of Attaleiates’ account. Assuming that it is possible that *SkylC* is a continuation of the *Synopsis* written by the same author, this paper attempts to understand whether the *SkylC* could act as a piece of propaganda in favour of Alexios Komnenos, just as Catherine Holmes argued for *Skylitzes’ Synopsis*.



The accounts of the emperors Isaac I Komnenos and Constantine X Doukas are especially relevant for this analysis. Attaleiates account praised emperor Nikephoros I Botaneiates and depicted the previous ruler, Michael VII Doukas, as a tyrant who was rightfully dethroned by Botaneiates. An account favourable to Alexios Komnenos would probably depict Isaak Comnenos, Alexios' uncle, in a rather positive fashion, whereas Isaak's reign is heavily criticised by Attaleiates. Similar traits might be observed in the depiction of Constantine X Doukas: he belonged to the family that was dethroned by Botaneiates and criticised by Attaleiates, but the Doukai managed to ally with the Komnenoi during the reign of Alexios I. Other accounts such as Briennios' Historical Material show how the author cares to praise the Komnenoi as much as their allied families, such as the Doukai.

Ultimately, this paper attempts to revalorize the SkylC as a literary work, which still needs to be studied in-depth. It will underline a possible propagandistic usage of this work in favour of Alexios Komnenos and his family. It might also be useful for further debates on the authorship and the style of the SkylC, leading to a more complete depiction of eleventh-century Byzantine literature and history.



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A Glance at the Byzantine Society through Donation: The Case of Manuscripts (9th -15th C.)

The copying of manuscripts has been vital in preserving intellectual heritage into the modern era. This practice was stimulated by commissioning from people with the aspiration and the interest in acquiring a book sometimes with the intention to donate it. As known, before the invention of printing, transcribing codices was a laborious task, involving the use of rare and exquisite materials. Thus, the commissioning and therefore the donation of manuscripts carried a significant cost.

When all work was accomplished, the scribes added short Notes or Colophons referring to those involved in the deed. In other instances, the Note of donation is included later, as most books were intended for private use. These writings bear evidence of generous contributions to the sacred institutions of the Church. The donors sought for a reward in heavens through enhancing the spiritual and material power of the Church.

Numerous offerings were made by Church officials as well as minor clerics. Fewer instances concern laics, such as the emperor and people of the Byzantine élite (high ranking officials, literati, etc.), along with ordinary civilians stating only their name and bearing no titles. In conclusion, the donation of manuscripts characterized an important scholarly and particularly a non-scholarly world driven by varied motives. Based on the surviving Notes and Colophons, the aim is to present the different types of donors as well as their intentions, in an attempt to illustrate the role of book donations in the development of the Byzantine cultural identity.

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Symbols in Watermarks – Possible Interpretations

As it is well known, the major distinguishing feature of the handmade paper is the existence of images incorporated in the manufactured form and visible against a light source as a result of the thinning of the paper pulp. Namely these images – watermarks – stand a subject of study, as they are decisive in the dating of the manuscripts that, due to various reasons, lack a precise writing date.

Aside of this most important function of the watermarks, the question of the semantics of the images is of scientific interest, which is the subject of this study. According to the traditional interpretation of the watermarks, the images are basically a distinctive mark - a trade mark of the paper manufacturers – and, of course, this is true. However, one other basic function of them is to mark both the quality of the paper and the dimensions of the leaf.



Filigranology that deals with the paper parameters, and most of all, with the watermarks, is not an exact science – as this is neither possible, nor necessary having in mind the object of its study. The research in this direction gives good results and the dating of manuscripts on the basis of filigranological material is certainly a reliable starting point for the scientific analysis of the paper literature heritage. There are, however, many disputable points, and it seems that the question of the symbolics of the images of the watermarks is one of the most difficult to solve. This is one of the reasons we believe that the research in this direction should continue, as this will give to the schoolers more and more reliable tools as for the filigranological data and its interpretation.

We made an attempt here to classify the images in accordance with their symbolic meaning imparted in them, and to establish whether, and to what extent the choice of paper bearing certain watermark was related to the contents of the corresponding manuscript. Special attention is given to the manuscripts written by one writer on one and the same paper bearing one and the same watermark. The combinations of watermarks excerpted from the paper used for the writing of one manuscript by two or more writers are also pointed out.

The study is based on the filigranological analysis of Greek manuscripts from 14th and 15th centuries, and the filigranological material for Slavonic manuscripts of the same period is applied as a comparative.

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Палеографическое исследование греческих рукописей из коллекции А. И. Хлудова

Вашему вниманию представляется работа, посвященная изучению коллекции греческих рукописей знаменитого собирателя XIX века А. И. Хлудова с палеографической и кодикологической точек зрения, а также с учетом филологического аспекта.

Небольшое, стихийно сложившееся, но ценное для науки рукописное собрание Хлудова находится, большей частью, в Государственном Историческом музее, а также Российской государственной библиотеке и состоит из памятников античной и византийской литературы. Пять кодексов Хлудовской коллекции хранятся в отделе рукописей и старопечатных книг Государственного исторического музея и входят в собрание Московской Синодальной библиотеки (Синодальное собрание). Коллекция Хлудова не раз обращала на себя внимание специалистов, в том числе и искусствоведов. Выдающиеся открытия в этой области были сделаны К. Вайцманом, архим. Амфилохием, Н.П. Кондаковым, В.Н. Лазаревым, М.В. Щепкиной, И.Е. Лозовой, К. Корриган и другими. Впервые собрание Хлудова было описано А.Н. Поповым. Его труд вышел в Москве в 1872 году под заглавием: «Описание рукописей библиотеки А.И. Хлудова», а в 1875 году появилось составленное им же «Первое прибавление к описанию рукописей и каталогу книг церковной печати библиотеки А.И. Хлудова».

Предметом исследования являются известные в настоящее время пять греческих рукописей, а также еще один кодекс, обнаруженный нами в ходе работы в фонде Московской



духовной академии в Российской государственной библиотеке. Это – рукописи ГИМ, под шифрами: Хлуд. 129д (Псалтирь IX в.), 171д (критская рукопись Фукидида), 172д (тексты Софокла и Эсхила, написанные в конце XIV-XV вв.), 173д (произведения Аристофана, Эсхила и Гесиода конца XIV-XV вв.), 174д (Гиппократ, Аэций и Симеон Сиф) и кодекс РГБ, МДА Ф. 173.I № 370 (Апостол-апракос).

Целью исследования является описание палеографических и кодикологических особенностей шести указанных рукописей, а также воссоздание их истории, от момента написания и до появления на русской почве. Помимо этого, в поставленную задачу входил также и филологический анализ, а именно чтение, изучение и перевод записей на греческом языке. В описании кодексов было уделено внимание установлению датировки, атрибуции почерка писца, наличию или отсутствию сигнатур, материалу для письма и графико-орфографическим особенностям манускриптов.

В результате подробного анализа удалось проследить примерный путь бытования рукописей. Согласно полученным данным, исследуемые греческие рукописи до того момента, как они оказались на русской почве, находились в Константинополе, на Афоне, или в Солуни. Именно там в период с 22 августа 1844 года по 14 апреля 1845 года их приобрел выдающийся русский филолог-славист Виктор Иванович Григорович. Позже он продаст их на Нижегородской ярмарке купцам-старообрядцам Головастикову, Лопухину и иконникам Тюлиным. После этого их приобретет собиратель редкостей А. И. Лобков, а уже у Лобкова, во втор. пол. XIX века, их купит А. И. Хлудов, большой ценитель «книжных драгоценностей» и страстный коллекционер. Ныне рукописи Хлудовского собрания хранятся, за некоторыми исключениями, в ГИМ, куда они были перевезены в 1917 году из Никольского единоверческого монастыря в Москве.

Прежде чем перейти к подробной характеристике этих манускриптов, укажем на некоторые особенности исследуемого материала.

Нужно сказать, что все рукописи, за исключением Хлуд. 129д и № 370 из собрания РГБ Ф. 173.I, написаны на бумаге с филигранями и имеют сравнительно небольшой формат (in 4o). Хлуд. 129д и № 370 из Ф. 173.I написаны на пергамене хорошей выделки и высокого качества. Четыре рукописи имеют так называемый «хлудовский переплет» – доски, обтянутые светло-коричневой кожей с тиснением. Эти переплеты были изготовлены в XIX в. по заказу Хлудова при реставрации приобретенных им манускриптов. Две рукописи – Хлуд 129д и 173д – имеют переплеты иного вида, причем 173д, скорее всего, сохранила первоначальный переплет (черный картонный переплет с большим тисненным рисунком в центре). Для всех рукописей коллекции (кроме – отчасти – Псалтири IX в. (на Хлуд. Псалтири поверх маюскула – тоже минускул)) характерно минускульное письмо.

Самой древней и изученной рукописью коллекции является Хлуд. 129д – Псалтирь, входящая в группу византийских Псалтирей IX столетия (вместе с Псалтирями gr. 61 из монастыря Пандократора на Афоне и gr. 20 из Национальной библиотеки в Париже). Она написана унциалом, имеет маргинальные миниатюры, на основании которых датируется серединой IX в.

Кодекс имеет небольшой формат (195/7×150мм), однако поля оставлены чрезвычайно широкими (внешние поля – 55-65 мм, нижние – 68-73 мм). Написан он на пергамене, всего 169 листов по 23 строки на странице.



В некоторых местах пергамен плохо обработан, чрезмерно плотный. Инструмент для разлиновки – тупой, царапающий поверхность листа при проведении линии. В соответствии с законом Грегори, наложение сторон пергамена в пределах тетради – правильное. Система разлиновки (по классификации Ж. Леруа) имеет номера 3 и 11. Что касается типа разлиновки Хлуд. 129д, то это Leroy C01 C1a, с широкими внешними и нижними полями, предназначенными для иллюстрирования. В большинстве своем тетради Хлуд. 129д – это кватернионы, однако имеются и тернионы. Сигнатуры писца отсутствуют, но, несомненно, находились в верхнем правом углу первого листа тетради. Хлуд. 129д не является палимпсестом. Первоначальный маюскульный текст не был удален, он естественным образом выцвел с течением времени. Но, благодаря прекрасным миниатюрам, рукопись не потеряла своей ценности, и в XIV в. было принято решение обновить текст свежими чернилами минускульным почерком.

Палеографический анализ Хлуд. 129д свидетельствует о том, что у рукописи было два писца, один из которых писал текст Псалтири, а другой – легенды к миниатюрам. Первый активно использует диакритику, второй же очень выборочно ставит надстрочные знаки. Этот факт служит подтверждением предложенной искусствоведами датировки – середина IX века, время, когда система диакритики еще не была до конца освоена писцами.

Второй по древности рукописью коллекции является № 370 из собрания РГБ Ф. 173.1. Этот манускрипт на пергамене отличного качества значительного размера (305×222 мм) был создан, скорее всего, в Южной Италии во второй половине XII в. Пергаменных листов в нем 65, и также имеются 6 белых бумажных защитных листов, добавленных позднее, когда менялся переплет, в XIX веке.

Южно-итальянское происхождение рукописи выдает своеобразное написание δ . Можно отметить мягкое написание букв, ζ и λ писец изображает как бы с подхватом. Такое начертание характерно для так называемого «стиля Реджо» (Reggio); см., например: Parisinus graecus 1604, Paris. gr. 2179, Paris. gr. 2389, Vaticanus graecus 2627 и др.

Весь манускрипт написан одним писцом в два столбца черными и темно-коричневыми чернилами. В некоторых местах для инициалов он использует киноварь (лл. 8-9). Кое-где ставит пометы на полях (лл. 39 об, 40).

Существует логическое объяснение тому факту, что рукопись № 370 принадлежит фонду МДА и хранится в РГБ, а не в ГИМе вместе с другими пятью рукописями собрания А. И. Хлудова. Мы знаем, что в 1866 году Хлудов пожертвовал часть книг, принадлежавших прежде В. М. Ундольскому (брестские, краковские и витебские старопечатные издания), в библиотеку Московской духовной академии. Вероятно, вместе с ними он отдал в МДА и греческую рукопись № 370 ф. 173.1.

Кодекс 174 дисселедуемой коллекции содержит сочинения по медицине Гиппократ, Аэция Амидского и Симеона Сифа, т. е. представляет собой сборник медико-физиологического содержания.

Как и другие три рукописи собрания А.И. Хлудова (№ 370 Ф. 173.1, 171д и 172д), этот манускрипт помещен в так называемый «хлудовский» переплет: доски в светлокориичневой коже с тиснением (гвоздики, птички).



Рукопись имеет небольшой формат (224/5×151/2 мм), бумага – in 4o с филигранью, текст написан в один столбец минускулом. Благодаря особому рисунку филиграни, а именно типа Mošin-Traljić № 3966, который характерен для 1319 года, рукопись можно датировать 1-й четвертью XIV века.

Всего в рукописи 107 листов по 27 строк на странице. В большинстве своем тетради 174д – это кватернионы (в общей сложности их 13), однако имеется и один тернион (лл.97-102). Сигнатуры рукой писца проставлены в нижнем левом углу первого листа тетради.

У рукописи было два писца, которые писали в одно время. Большая часть текста написана первым. На лл. 1, 7, 8об. имеется определение текстов рукой В. И. Григоровича.

Следующая рукопись коллекции, 172д, содержит отрывки из произведений Софокла («Царь Эдип», «Электра») и Эсхила («Прометей»). Она также имеет переплет «хлудовского типа». В рукописи 141 лист, написана она на бумаге XIV–XVI вв. минускулом. По размеру кодекс небольшой, 205×137 мм. Рукопись можно датировать концом XIV–XV веком. Такая датировка объясняется тем, что рукопись создавалась в течение длительного периода времени и вся она написана разными писцами. Первый писец писал в конце XIV века на бумаге того же периода, а последний – уже в XVв. На л. 58 об. есть помета, сделанная рукой Григоровича, – «Sophocles Oedipus Rex».

Кодекс 173д, сохранивший свой изначальный переплет, содержит произведения Аристофана («Богатство»), Эсхила («Прометей») и Гесиода («Труды и дни»). Помимо этого в него входят «Хронология» Иоанна Дамаскина, латино-греческие словари и объяснения к Псевдо-Дионисию Ареопагиту.

Сам манускрипт небольшого формата (205×150 мм), написан на нескольких видах бумаги с филигранями пер. пол. XV века и включает в себя 169 листов. Имеются такие рисунки филиграней, как «весы» (XV в.) и «рука с цветком» (более ранний период). Текст написан в один столбец разными чернилами и почерками XV –XVI вв., следовательно, в написании участвовали несколько писцов.

Рукопись 171д, входящая наравне с другими рукописями в собрание Хлудова, содержит «Историю Пелопоннесской войны» Фукидида. Написана она минускулом на 315 бумажных листах в один столбец по 23 строки на странице и имеет небольшой формат (208×157мм). Начало рукописи наполовину утрачено.

Она интересна тем, что когда-то принадлежала библиофилу с Крита Маркосу Мамунасу, жившему в конце XV – первой четверти XVI века (на последнем листе 315об. имеется его автограф – Μάρκος Μαμουνάς).

На основе палеографической характеристики почерка переписчика и данных филиграни бумаги, принадлежащей к началу XVI века, манускрипт датируется указанным временем. Написан он одним писцом, но имеются редкие маргиналии, сделанные другими почерками. Для написания используются темно-коричневые чернила.

В заключение хотелось бы отметить, что целью проделанной работы была попытка привлечь внимание специалистов к исследуемым в данном труде рукописям и ввести их в научный оборот.



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Italo-Greek Manuscripts from the Byzantine Collection of the Manuscripts in Albania

In a group of 100 manuscripts kept at the Central Archive of the State (CAS), Tirana dating from the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine period, a number of codices present evidence of a manuscript book culture, common in Southern Italy and Byzantine Epirus during the 12th-14th centuries. In this paper I will briefly present some data and preliminary thoughts regarding seven manuscripts from the CAS collection, belonging to the Italo-Byzantine cultural area of book production. The manuscripts are those of Berat, bearing the numbers 24, 14, 31, 33, 34, 49, 40 and 41.

Codex Beratinus, No. 24 is a 13th century Lectionary of the Gospel, written on parchment. Its initial letters are illustrated with floral, zoomorphic and anthropomorphic elements, while the manuscript also bears three miniatures. According to our paleographic and codicological observations, two important characteristics can be evidenced: first, the illustrations and the illuminations classify this manuscript among the group of manuscripts belonging to the book production culture of Southern Italy; second, similarities between our manuscript's decoration style of initials and script type with those of other Epirote manuscripts, point to an eastern provenance of our manuscript, since there are *Fettaugen-Mode* elements observed, *Fettaugen-Mode* being an Eastern type of script.

Codices Beratini No. 14 and 31. These are fragments of a single manuscript separated in two parts. They date on the 13th century, are written in parchment and contain homilies and discourses of the Holy Fathers, as well as saints' *vitae*. Characteristic for this manuscript is one of the quires, found on Ms. No. 14, bearing a palimpsest in eight folios (f. 130^r-137^v). From a paleographic and codicological point of view, this manuscript bears features found not only in manuscripts produced in Southern Italy, but also in Epiros.

Codex Beratinus, No. 33 is written on parchment; it contains the Typikon of the Monastery of St. Sava, dating 13th century. On the script type two specific letters can be distinguished: *xi* (ξ) and *theta* (θ), representing patterns of the *traditional style* of Epirote manuscripts, as can be observed in, for example, Ms. *EBE 2112 (no. 29)*, 13th century, National Library of Athens.

Codex Beratinus No. 34, contains Saints' *vitae* and Homilies. According to the colophon, the manuscript dates in 1279, "*at the time of the reign of the most pious and emperor of Byzantium, Andronikos Komnenos Paleologos*". According to paleographic observations, the manuscript bears particularities common to manuscripts from Southern Italy, but also to those from Epirus. Besides its paleographic features, the codicographical note with its stereotypical Epirote phrases reinforces the opinion that the place of this manuscript's production is Epirus

Codex Beratinus, No. 39 contains St. Basil the Great's homilies "On ascetics". The text has been written on parchment by an anonymous scribe. The manuscript dates on the 13th century. Out of many peculiar characteristics, it can be noted the use of capital letters (maiuscula γ, κ, ε, θ, ζ, etc.)



inside the minuscule script. As for the script style, this codex shows many similarities and can be compared with Epirote and South-Italian manuscripts. Another peculiarity is the use of the *yellow-wash* on initials and titles.

Codex Beratinus no. 40. This is a manuscript written on parchment, containing Homilies on Ethics and Ascetics by Fathers of the Church. The manuscript dates on the 13th century. The paleographic features of the codex Beratinus No. 40 can be compared to those of the Epirote and South Italian manuscripts of the 13th century. The decorative part of the manuscript appears restricted and can be found applied only at the initial letters. They appear to be very frugal both in their anthropomorphic and zoomorphic decoration, as well as in their use of colors (red with black outline). The titles of the chapters show the presence of the *yellow-wash*.

Codex Beratinus no. 41 contains the *Synaxarion* of the months September to July. It dates on the 14th century. The text was written on western paper from an anonymous scribe. From a paleographic standpoint the script shows remarkable similarities with manuscripts from the Terra d'Otranto. Interesting is also its decoration with stylized floral, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic patterns. The decoration of the initials represents the usual images used in Italian-Greek manuscripts. In most of the cases these initials are rendered in the *en négatif* method. The figurative repertoire of the initials of codex Beratinus No. 41 are dominated by elements representing the book production in Terra d'Otranto at the end of the 13th and at the 14th century.

The manuscripts mentioned above, nowadays preserved at the Central State Archive, in Tirana, do not provide direct information about their provenance. There are no codicographic notes (or colophons) presenting clear codicological and paleographic evidence orientating the researcher toward the cultural region that produced them. "Theoretically, all manuscripts not bearing clear evidence of Epirote origin, could have been written in Southern Italy and then brought in Epirus. Yet, manuscripts nowadays considered to be produced in Southern Italy on the basis of their paleographic, codicological features or stereotypical phrases in their codicographic notes, could well have been produced at the Epirus region at the same period". In this context, the existence of the italo-greek manuscripts that are found in the Albanian milieu, as it is the case of the manuscript copied by the hieromonakos Nichepore in the monastery of St. George in Durrës, and the presence of the nowadays collection in Albania, as a part of the above cultural environment, suggests a new perspective of learning about the past creativity of the Medieval Albanian territories, but also it brings a strong proof about the cultural orientation and influences of the Albanians during the 12th – 14th centuries.



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The *Berat Codices Nos. 14 and 31*, and a Palimpsest of St. John the Chrysostom at the Central State Archive, Tirana, Albania

The Central State Archive of Albania houses, amongst others, a byzantine manuscript, separated in two halves and referred as two different books. The separation has taken place at an unknown time, probably before becoming part of the CSA collection and, mistakenly, each piece has been catalogued as a separated mss. The shelf number for them is Central State Archive, Fund “Kodikët e Shqipërisë”, Folder 14 and Folder 31 (or also called codex of Berat no. 14, and codex of Berat no. 31. Here they will be referred as A and B, respectively). According to the codicological observations, the quires of the manuscript have been confused and placed in an irregular order. The parchment is of a low quality, often it does not respect the overall dimensions of the manuscript, measuring 223 x 170 mm, it has many holes or it has been sewed in a rudimental way where cracks appear on the parchment. The total number of the folios is 252. There is no trace of the old binding, while each of the volumes has been restored and rebound at the CSA in 1972. The placement of the folios in the quire follows the Gregory rule. The text is written in one column with 33-37 lines per page. The entire text of this manuscript has been written in minuscule Greek by two anonymous scribes and it is similar to the Regio type of writing. Brown and black color has been used for the text, while crimson is mainly used for the titles. The initial letters at the beginning of each text are bigger than the others, simply decorated, as well as the headpieces before the titles or at the end of the sections. On the titles the presence of yellow wash is noted.

On the 36th quire of the manuscript (A part), between ff. 130r-137v can be seen the presence of a palimpsest. The scriptio inferior can be read with difficulty under UV light. The text is written in two columns with 36 lines (based on ff. 131v and 132r which are more visible). The writing dates on the 10th century and is similar to Anastasius type. From what can be read with simple means on our hands, the text corresponds to “Λόγος περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν, καὶ ψευδοδασκάλων, καὶ ἀθέων αἰρετικῶν, καὶ περὶ σημείων τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου” (De pseudoprophetais et falsis doctoribus) from St. John the Chrysostom. On ff. 131r-v we can clearly read what corresponds to PG 557-558, starting from “[Εἴ τις ἔρχεται] πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ταύτην τὴν διδαχὴν οὐ φέρει...”, ending with “...Παῦλος ἢ θεόφθογγος λύρα...”.

Judging by the abovementioned observations, this byzantine manuscript coming at the CSA from Berat has been produced in Southern Italy in the second half of the 13th century, probably at the Terra d’Otranto area, well known for the large production of palimpsests in that time.



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Reading the *Ms. Urb. Gr. 130*

Urb. Gr. 130 collects a completed course for training in rhetorics: John Doxopatres, Aphthonius, Hermogenes, Maximus' Αἱ ἄλυτοι ἀντιθέσεις.

Perria (1977-79) firmly attributed the handwriting to Ephraim; the manuscript dates then to the middle of the tenth century.

Mercati (1935) suggested that the manuscript had belonged to the Italian humanist Palla Strozzi (1373-1462), for reasons which I will summarize; Mercati's hypothesis has had a large following since then.

In this contribution I will propose some new remarks on the attribution of the manuscript to Strozzi's library and give notice of a couplet - probably by Theodore Prodromos - reported in a marginale in the first folium, perhaps by the hand of Manuel Chrysoloras, Strozzi's Greek teacher.

This marginale will trigger an analysis of Chrysoloras's corsiveggiante paratextual handwriting, such as in Par. Gr. 1811 and Vat. Gr. 191.

Besides, I will discuss the ruling system of the manuscript (with several divergences from Perria 1977-79) and provide transcription of the colophons in a more detailed way than their last publication by Stornajolo (1895).

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Manuscript Euchologia in the Hilandar Monastery Library as Sources for the Reconstruction of the Evolution of Serbian Liturgical Practice in the Period from the 13th to the 19th Century

MS collection of Hilandar monastery library contains in total 37 MS euchologia, some integral and some fragmentary, the oldest dated in the 13th and the latest in the 19th century. Theological and liturgical analysis of their content helped us to recognise the phases and stages in the evolution of eucharistic services of the Serbian Orthodox Church as well as to understand historical, cultural and theological context at the time of their formation. By comparative analysis with Greek, Bulgarian and Russian sources, their mutual influences and stylistic-teleturgical interactions came to light. A particular attention is paid to a Serbian Athonite redaction of Patriarch Philoteos Kokkinos's translation of the Diataxis/Διάταξις and its influence on the rise of hand copying and first printed Serbian euchologia in the 16th century.



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INSCRIPTIONS

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New Interpretation about the Content of the Cyrillic Inscription from Bitola

The authenticity and dating of the well-known Cyrillic inscription from Bitola, which was brought to light in 1956 during the demolition of Çavus mosque, where it had been placed in second use as a threshold, is being reviewed. Since then, it has been kept at the local museum. It consists of a 0,98 x 0,61 x 0,27 m. marble slab, broken into two pieces. A relatively small part of the bottom left corner of the inscription is missing. The text consists of 12 lines with missing letters both at the beginning and at the end of each line. The bottom left part which accounts for one quarter of the inscription text has been damaged and no traces of its letters have survived.

Although the inscription is of exceptional interest, the first study that attempted to fill in the missing text, was carried out by Vladimir Mošin only one decade after it was brought to light. Since, it has been the subject of studies of numerous researchers. Most of them reckon that the inscription is the last written source of the First Bulgarian State with an accurate dating, while others question this view and argue that it dates from the 13th century. According to a third view that was expressed ten years ago, the inscription is falsified.

The most extensive study about the inscription was conducted in 1970 by Jordan Zaimov, who had a different view than Mošin about the missing text. Even though his suggestion was deemed unfounded, it is still embraced today by modern researchers in publications about the history of the First Bulgarian State.

After an on-the-ground examination of the monument, we found out that the inscription carrier originates from an older building, most likely from the Roman era, as evidenced from the top narrow surface of the marble, where there are holes and channels to fit Π-shaped metal joints. This contradicts the view that the inscription could have had another line on the top side of the inscribed surface, which was allegedly removed when it was placed in the place of the threshold.

We also found out that the indicated date from the creation era ('anno mundi') was not read correctly despite the fact that all its numbers are clearly defined. It seems that the inscription editors were led to a mistake because of a reference made in the text to an emperor called John whom they mistook for Ivan Vladislav thus placing the dating of the inscription to the years of his reign (1015-1018). Nonetheless, the year indicated on the inscription corresponds to the year 1202/3, i.e. the years of Ivan I, known as Kalojan (1197-1207), who, that same year, annexed to his acquisitions a large part of the western Balkans.

It seems that it is an inscription that, looking back at the past, mentions some historical events with a view to connecting the newly-established Second Bulgarian State to the glorious past of the Cometopuli and, in particular, Tsar Samuel.



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Two Oldest Inscriptions of Hilandar Monastery

Both inscriptions are in the monastery's katholikon. The older is on the door marble frame on the south façade of the inner narthex.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τῶν δομ(ητόρ)ων Μιχαήλ, ... + Βαρνάβα[ς] ... δοῦλ(ος) Χ(ριστο)ῦ
+ Lord, help builders Michael ... + Barnabas ... Christ's servant

This unique inscription in the Byzantine world – according to its position and material in which it is inscribed – contained the names of builders and stonemasons, Greek masters, who built and decorated the new Hilandar katholikon, upon the wish of Serbian King Stefan Uroš II Milutin. The scribe Barnabas could be the master-builder, as he left a trace about himself at the end of the inscription. Of his collaborators, only Michael is known by name. The time of their work in Hilandar can be rather accurately established. For the church decoration, these masters also used parts of the marble decoration which was not the work of their hands. Except of the older spolia, those are eight consoles with human and animal heads, three of which are embedded in the western portal of the church. The stylistic analogies categorically show that these pieces were made by carvers who were at the same time decorating one monastery katholikon in Serbia – the St Stephen church in Banjska, near Zvečan. The construction of this church may be dated with certainty to the period between 1312 and 1316. It was led by the Bishop of Banjska Daniil, former hegoumenos of Hilandar – the cleric in whom the ktetor Stefan Uroš II Milutin placed the greatest trust. Upon his return, Daniil brought to Hilandar from Banjska the eight stone consoles that would adorn the western parts of the church which was – around 1315, also in the final phase of construction.

The second inscription is in the arcosolium that was subsequently added at the level of parapet panels on the inner side of the bifora on the northern wall of the old narthex. It is written in white letters on the green background, in three rows, behind Christ-child at the bosom of Virgin Mary.

pr(y)stavI se rabq bo/Ii rypo[q dMKq iliris%ki& vq lyt(o) pᶗ#9
God's servant Repoš, doux of Illyria, reposed in 6939

Judging by the sequence in which John Castriot's sons are mentioned – in his charter of 1425/6 whereby he bestowed upon the Hilandar monastery the villages of Radostuše and Trebište northeast to Debar, Repoš was the second-born son of this Albanian nobleman, who ruled the area in the basin of the Mat river, north and east to Krujë, including the neighbouring Debar and the environs. Awaiting a conflict with the Turks, over the following two years John Castriot aimed to ensure a safe refuge for himself and his family. Before 17 August 1428, with the agreement of the hegoumenos and hieromonachos Athanasios and the entire Hilandar brethren, he bought four adelphata in St George's pyrgos above the monastery for sixty florins, ensuring the right to lifelong stay for himself and his three sons – Repoš, Konstantin and Djuradj. However, John Castriot retained a part of his old territories as a Christian sipahi of the sultan in 1431. Under such circumstances, probably at the beginning of the same year, Repoš went to Mount Athos, where he soon after died.



The Hilandar brethren buried him as the son of the reputable monastery benefactor in the inner narthex and adorned his tomb with frescoes. Although, like his father, he did not have any title during his life, in both Hilandar documents, John and his sons are simply called *gospodinq*, Repoš was in the inscription posthumously called duke (Greek: δούξ). The ordering person left an incidental testimony to his erudition in the following word which denotes the ethnicity of the deceased. The Albanians were Illyrians (Ιλλυριοί) for George Pachymeres at the beginning of the 14th century, and for the most of the later Byzantine scholars, historians, philologists and writers, such as Thomas Magistros, Nikephoros Gregoras or Joseph Kalothetos, including contemporary chroniclers and men of letters, such as the autokrator Manuel II Palaiologos or Kritoboulos of Imbros.

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Founding Inscriptions in Churches Painted by the Workshop of the Cretan Painter Pagoménos (the 1st Half of the 14th C.): Corrections and New Readings

In the present communication founding inscriptions are being examined, others signed by the painter Pagoménos himself, either alone –seven cases– or in co-operation with other painters – four cases–and others not signed by him, attributed however to his workshop with certainty. At the first place, in almost all the inscriptions under study emendations have been introduced, limited to issues of better reading and decoding either of individual characters or of abbreviations and letter combinations (ligaturae). Still, several are the cases in which words or whole phrases and verses, not previously pointed out, have been read for the first time. These new data brought in by these re-readings may be either referred to the founders' names or related to the information needed for an accurate dating of the monuments, and even unrevealed the identity of a previously unknown co-painter.

Indicatively let us mention the inscription of the church of St. John the Theologian in Trachiniákos of Kándanos (1329), where the two superscribed successive phases that make up the text content are clarified and an attempt is made to record and transcribe the illegible first phase. This was not in vain since we have acquired some founders' names. Distinguishing is also the case of the church of the Archángeloi in Kúneni (Váthē), where for the first time the signatures of both painters have been detected as well as the relation between them: ...Io(annis) Pagoménos' and Nikolaos' his son. While the date in this is not any more legible, in an incised inscription, however, on the marble lintel of the gate, the year was readable: 684..., dating the church between 1331 and 1341. We have also managed to read –as the late St. Maderakis have done before us– the signatures of Pagoménos and Nikolaos in the church of St. John the Theologian in Kálamos, completed according to our reading at the 24th of May, 1340. Panaghía at Kádros is another monument of the same workshop dated also for the first time: on the endings of the arms of the porous cross in the conch window the year 6847 (=1338/9) is incised.

The main, however, contribution of this research concerns the founding inscription of the church of St. Demetrius in Leivadás (1315-16), in which next to the already, quite recently and correctly,



recognized and read Pagoménos' signature, the name of a hitherto unknown painter of the Western Crete has been also detected. This painter, however, Nēphon, signs the work at Leivadás in the first position while Pagoménos' signature is following, something also apparent in the artistic processing of the wallpaintings, in which the secondary painter, in this case Pagoménos, seems to be limited in an auxiliary role. Actually, the artistic stream represented in Leivadás differs from what we get from the rest of Pagoménos' work. Thus, it is now sufficiently justifiable the observed there discordance between the actual style of the paintings and the known style of Pagoménos, used to be considered as the main, if not the only, master in the church of Leivadás. Painter Nēphon, then, is the main master of the frescoes in Leivadás, and consequently of all the other churches stylistically and graphologically related to Leivadás, such as the churches of Christ in Teménia and St. Photius in St. Theodoroi (western part), both in Sélinon, and the church of Christ in Kepháli, Kíssamos (1320), as well.

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Bilingualism of the Post-Byzantine Mural Inscriptions in the Balkan Art: Historical Background and Function

Cyrillic and Greek texts, simultaneously and systematically inscribed on wall paintings, occur regularly from the period of the late Byzantine art (1204–1453) on. Their appearance in the church of The Mother of God Evergetis in Studenica (1208–1209) is correlated by V. Dzhourich with the personal activity of St Sava and the preparation of the Serbian ecclesiastical independence. On the other hand, I. Djordjevich notes the pragmatic function of the Cyrillic inscriptions analyzing the frescoes in the chapel of St George, Hilandar monastery, dated to thirteenth century. Influence of Greek language upon Cyrillic text can be detected in an inscription from Boyana church (1259), Bulgaria. All of them indicate the efforts of the medieval Balkan countries to lay claim on both the continuity and the reception of the Byzantine cultural heritage.

The Ottoman invasion in fifteenth century, however, brought a dramatic change regarding the function of the Greek language inscriptions on the wall paintings: these texts were no longer an expression of national identity, but only an attempt to revive – at least partially – the already lost prestige of the Eastern Orthodox Christianity.

The difficult circumstances for building and renovating monasteries and churches in the sixteenth and seventeenth century put their impact on the character and language features of the Greek inscriptions from that period. Wall painting is often commissioned to itinerant painters with less professional experience not only in decorating churches, but also in the Greek language. The data of more than two hundred and twenty seventeenth-century Greek inscriptions, examined by the author of this paper, provide evidence for further conclusions upon the functions of the bilingualism in post-Byzantine art, which could be summarized, as follows:



1. Functional bilingualism, prevailing in the late Byzantine art before the Ottoman conquest. Its peculiarities are determined by the demands of the bilingual audience in regions with mixed Slavic and Greek population. This type of bilingualism is attested in the mixed inscriptions of the church of St George, Staro Nagorichino (1316–1318), Republic of Macedonia, and in the church of Dormition of the Mother of God, Gračanica, Kosovo.
2. The second type could be defined as asymmetrical bilingualism – in this case the level of the second (or Greek) language is lower than the level of the first (Slavonic) language. The difference between the functional and the asymmetrical type of bilingualism is easily perceived in the comparison of the language of an epigram from the scroll of John the Baptist in the church of St Nicetas, Banjane (c. 1320), Republic of Macedonia, and the scroll of the same prophet in the narthex of Kremikovtzi monastery St George.
3. The last type of bilingualism could be described as fictitious – it is attested mainly in the post-Byzantine churches from Serbia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The main feature of that type of bilingualism is that both the audience and the scribes have no sufficient knowledge of Greek language. The last type of bilingualism is a natural consequence of another important aspect – the texts from the scrolls of prophets and saints had rather the function of sacralized complement to the paintings.

These theoretical observations will be exemplified by analysis of particular Greek inscriptions, some of which unpublished or read and commented anew.

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L'épithios brodé de 1787 par la collection ecclésiastique du Monastère de Mega Spilaion en Péloponnèse/Grèce

Le monastère historique de la Dormition de la Vierge bien connu sous le nom « Mega Spilaion » a été construit précisément niché dans les rochers de Chelmos, à une distance de 20 kilomètres au sud-est d'Eghion à Péloponnèse en Grèce. Parmi les trésors de la collection ecclésiastique du monastère y existe un épithios brodé sur une pièce de tissus en dimensions 72 x 100cm. Il a été exécuté sur soie rouge, à l'aide du fil d'or et d'argent. Le Christ, représenté au milieu de l'étoffe est étendu sur son sépulcre. Son corps est brodé de fil de soie ; couleur de peau, tandis qu'une écharpe couvre les reins.

A droite du Seigneur se tient la Vierge, assise, ayant sur ses seins la tête de son fils, tandis que de l'autre côté du sarcophage Joseph d'Arimathie, barbu tenant le linceul, se courbe du côté des pieds. Égaré par sa douleur saint Jean embrasse la main du Seigneur. Une Myrophore prend part au drame terrestre de Jésus. Le disciple Nicodème, figuré debout, ajoute le groupe des Deuillants. Le ciborium fait de cinq colonnes, d'où quatre veilleuses sont suspendues, remplit le fond. De deux côtés du ciborium des anges planés haussent les mains sous les gestes de deuil regardant attentivement



bien affligés le groupe des Deuillants. A la partie gauche de l'étoffe liturgique se présente Golgothas couronné de trois croix nues. Séparés par le sujet central du Thrène, on a placé les figures des évangélistes à côté de leurs symboles, aux quatre coins de l'épitaphios.

Tout en bas du voile liturgique, on lit la dédicace brodée, en lettres majuscules : «ΔΙΑ ΣΥΝΔΡΟΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΟΔΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΘΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΛΑΧΣΑΡΑΙ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΒΗΣΣΑΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΗΣΙΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΣΠΗΛΑΙΩΤΟΥ ΑΨΠΙΖ » (=1787).

L'inscription nous renseigne sur les noms du monastère, du donateur et l'année de l'exécution de l'épitaphios. On signale que le voile liturgique a été commandé à un atelier de Constantinople. Il a été dédié en 1787 au monastère de la Vierge de Valaque Sérail à Constantinople. L'higoumène de Valaque Sérail Bessarion de Péloponnèse, qui venait de Mega Spilaion, s'est chargé de la dépense.

Un document de Juillet 1786 qui a été signé par le patriarche Procope (1785-1789) précise que l'higoumène de Mega Spilaion Bessarion allait se charger de la restauration du monastère endetté de Saint Démétrios de l'île d'Antigonos- aujourd'hui Antigoni- des îles de Princes, qui appartenait à la Métropole de Chalcédoine.

Aux chrysobulles de Février 1769 et de Juin 1748/Novembre 1785, les voévodes Jean Grégoire Alexandre et Jean Michel de Constantin Soutzos ont attribué le Monastère désert de la Dormition de la Vierge, qui était situé au Valaque Sérail de Constantinople, aux soins et à l'administration spirituelle de Mega Spilaion. Plus précisément au deuxième chrysobulle se fixent les aggravations économiques dont s'est chargée la dignité abbatiale du Monastère pour les offices bien proportionnés de l'Eglise, ainsi que des autres activités dans la ville. En plus, les higoumènes et les prêtres de Valaque Sérail doivent prier pour la paix des habitants orthodoxes de la région de Valachie.

L'équilibre des personnages de l'épitaphios de 1787, ainsi que la technique des fils en or et en argent et le dessin bien soigné montrent précisément que cette broderie appartient à une qualité de niveau supérieur. En prenant compte : a) de l'épitaphios de 1748 -en dimensions 90 x 60cm- de Saint-Sépulcre (Panagiotou Taphou) du Patriarcat de Jérusalem, b) de l'épitaphios de 1751 du Musée Byzantin (N. BXM 21278) –en dimensions 76,5 x 109cm - provenant de l'Exarchat de Jérusalem, tous les deux des œuvres de Mariora et c) de l'épitaphios du deuxième quart du XVIIIème siècle–en dimensions 122 x 101cm - du Monastère de Grigoriou du Mont Athos, peut-on conclure que l'épitaphios de 1787 a été exécuté peut-être à l'atelier constantinopolitain du cycle d'une des élèves (les religieuses Sophronie, Areti, Irène, Agathe, Marie etc.) de la fameuse brodeuse Mariora Pherzoulachi (1723-1758), fille de Kousi dont son atelier se situait au Monastère de la Vierge Kamariôtissa de l'île de Chalke aux îles des Princes.



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The Interesting Case of Iatrosophion from *MS. Taur. B.VII.18*: Manuscript Belonging to Classical Greek Medicine Tradition or Work from Late Byzantine “Practical-Use Literature”?

The iatrosophia are collections of medical recipes, which were widely disseminated during the late and post-Byzantine era. Written in a sort of early Modern Greek, these works were intended for practical usage, however their contents are often drawn from texts belonging to classical Greek medicine: by analyzing them, it is possible to widen our perception of “practical-use literature” (Gebrauchsliteratur) in Byzantium and to offer hints on alternative ways in transmitting classical Greek works in that society as well as in the following centuries. An interesting sample of iatrosophion is transmitted by MS. Taur. B.VII.18. This is a 16th century manuscript located in the Turin National Library, whose main source is the Pseudo-Galenic work *De remediis parabilibus*. The author employs it without comments and adds new text to it, making changes in both form and structure. The goal of this paper is to show features and contents of iatrosophion from Turin and especially to focus on modification processes of its sources, with the intention of proposing innovative criteria for the edition of this kind of “practical-use literature” and of readjusting our picture of culture in the late Byzantine era.

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From Flatulence to Intestinal Erosion: Medical Knowledge in the Non-Medical Oeuvre of Nicephorus Blemmydes

Nicephorus Blemmydes, born in Constantinople at the very end of the 12th century, was one of the key figures of the literary and theological scene in the Empire of Nicaea. To most scholars, Nicephorus Blemmydes is especially known as clergyman, who actively participated in theological debates with the Latins and Armenians on the procession of the Holy Spirit and the use of (un) leavened bread. Besides, he also acted as teacher, his most famous pupil being the future emperor Theodore II Lascaris. His two most famous and most popular works, his *Epitome logica* and *Epitome physica*, were clearly written for purposes of higher education, offering a useful overview of what a young student was supposed to know about logic and physics. Yet, besides monk and philosopher, there is one other important aspect of the person of Blemmydes, which has hardly been studied up to now: Blemmydes the physician.



In his *Autobiographia*, Blemmydes himself states that he had “occupied himself with the theory and practice of medicine for about seven years.” This is not a complete surprise, giving the fact that medicine was his father’s profession. However, there is no evidence of Blemmydes himself acting as a physician in a city or hospital. Moreover, some medical works have been ascribed to Nicephorus Blemmydes, yet their authenticity is most uncertain. The aim of this presentation is to show that this statement of his about his years of medical education and actual practice should nonetheless not be discarded as excessive boasting about an exceptionally broad education. I will analyze various passages from several of Blemmydes’ (non-medical) works (*De virtute*; *De anima*; *Autobiographia*; *Typikon* ...) that unmistakably point at Blemmydes’ medical interests and knowledge. In this way, one will be able to better appreciate the multifaceted personality of Nicephorus Blemmydes.

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Византийская философия: в поисках определения

Статья посвящена поиску определения понятия «византийская философия». Поднимаются такие вопросы, как правомерность существования и употребления этого термина, проводится разделение между понятиями «византийская философия» и «философия в Византии». Рассматриваются также определения философии, использованные византийскими авторами, возможность отделения философии от теологии, *philosophia theologiae ancilla*. Затрагиваются вопросы влияния аристотелизма и платонизма на развитие философии в Византии.

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Mathematics in the Twelfth-Century Byzantium

It is widely accepted that the twelfth century was the golden era of rhetoric in Byzantium and a time which many other literary genres thrived as well. But above else, it may be argued, it was the golden era of higher education, since in the many schools that functioned in Constantinople during the twelfth century taught many intellectuals of a great calibour, such as Theodore Prodromos or Eustathios of Thessalonica to name but a few. The works of Homer, the classics and other authors that had entered the school curriculum continued to be taught uninterruptedly, while new works and handbooks were composed by these scholars in order to cover their needs in the classroom in the fields of poetry, rhetoric and philosophy. Alongside these subjects the Quadrivium, which consisted of mathematics –i.e. arithmetic and geometry– together with harmonics (the ancient music theory) and astronomy, continued to be taught.



Nevertheless the study of mathematics in this period has received very little scholarly attention so far, so that quite often it is admitted that there is a gap in our knowledge between the 11th and the 13th century, or more precisely between Michael Psellos on the one hand, and Nikephoros Blemmydes and the scholars of the early Palaeologan period, Maximos Planudes and George Pachymeres, on the other.

The aim of this paper is to shed some light in this breach, first by referring to the ways in which the twelfth century scholars exhibited their knowledge of ancient Greek mathematical works, for instance by mentioning or quoting passages from authors like Nikomachos of Gerasa or Euclid. Furthermore by focusing more closely on their teaching activities, since in some instances we can trace not only what subjects exactly they taught, but also who were their students; such was the case of Manuel Sarantenos, the future Patriarch in Nicaea (1217-1222), who was initiated in the study of Diophantos by his teacher Nikolaos Kaloethes, an expert on this very difficult subject. It is no matter of fortune then that another student of Kaloethes, the monk Prodromos, was to become the instructor of Blemmydes in higher mathematics in the beginning of the second decade of the thirteenth century.

Of even greater importance is of course the location of works that were composed ad hoc for the study or teaching of the mathematical works of Antiquity. Thus a central position in our paper occupies the identification and analysis of some hitherto unknown scholia of Eustratios of Nicaea, Michael Ephesios and a certain Nikolaos Dishypatos in specific passages of the Nikomachos' Introduction to Arithmetic, which serves to illustrate the point that this work continued to be commented upon (earlier commentaries existed from the early byzantine period by Iamblichos of Chalkida, John Philoponos and Asklepios of Tralleis) and most probably taught in the Comnenian period.

Finally, another necessary step is the tracing of all the manuscripts with mathematical content that were copied at that time, but also of previous centuries that continued to be in use and circulation in the scholarly circles of the capital during this period.

In conclusion our detailed analysis aims at showing that the twelfth century clearly constitutes one of the missing links in the long chain of the dissemination and the study of mathematics in Byzantium bridging thus this gap in our knowledge.

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Cultural Exchange between the Byzantine and the Islamic World: Persian Astronomy in the 14th Century Trebizond

Andrew Libadenos, a second-rank Byzantine scholar of the 14th century, left Constantinople in 1335 and travelled to Trebizond, where he had the opportunity to receive a better education in astronomy „not according to the Athenian, but after the Chaldean method“. At the dawn of the 14th century and for about 50 years we can indeed observe the development of astronomical studies influenced by the so-called Islamic astronomical school in the capital of the Komnenian Empire.



The establishment of an astronomical tradition in Trebizond must be attributed to the activities of Gregory Chioniades, a Byzantine intellectual who was educated in astronomy at the end of the 13th century in the Ilkhanid Persia. Chioniades translated the astronomical handbooks he used during his studies into Greek and tried to introduce Islamic astronomy in Byzantium without any real success due to the negative attitude of Byzantine literary circles towards any foreign wisdom and especially towards Islamic astronomy which was linked to astrological predictions.

Chioniades didn't have any important influence by his work in Byzantium, he became however a distinguished person in the pocket Empire of Pontos, which he visited many times on his way to and from Persia. Emperor Alexios II the Great Komnenos supported the activities of the Byzantine scholar, whose work and heritage were kept in Trebizond which subsequently became attractive for Byzantine students wishing to study Persian astronomy. Trebizond lost its special place as a center of astronomical studies after the successful reintroduction of Islamic astronomy into Byzantium in the middle of the 14th century.

The development of astronomy in the Empire of Trebizond constitutes a main part of my doctoral research on scholars and their literary work in the Empire of Trebizond. In my presentation I will give a brief overview on the scholarly activities in the field of astronomy in Pontos and on the factors which led to the establishment of an Islamic-influenced astronomical school in the region and what impact it had on the so-called Palaeologan Renaissance.

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Bessarion and Persian Astronomy

In 13th and 14th century Byzantium foreign astronomical knowledge, especially the one stemming to Persian tradition, gets the attention of Byzantine scholars. Among the byzantine scholars interested in astronomy is Cardinal Bessarion.

Bessarion's interest in astronomy, especially for Ptolemy's *Almagest*, as well as his relationship with the astronomer Regiomontanus and his controversy with Georgios Trapezountios are well known. Nevertheless this interest of Bessarion lacks of detailed analysis from technical point of view: his collections of astronomical and mathematical text have never been carefully surveyed.

However Bessarion is among the scholars writing Greek texts of Persian astronomical tradition. In fact he is the copyist of an anonymous astronomical text of Persian tradition contained in the manuscript Marcianus graecus 333 Z (dated before 1450). This text is entitled Παράδοσις εἰς τοὺς περσικοὺς κανόνας (Instructions for the Persian Handy Tables), it is delivered in almost eighteen manuscripts, among which the oldest was written before the year 1374 by the byzantine mathematician Isaak Argyros (ca. 1300-1375); it is still unpublished, I am currently working at its edition. The Text is a commentary to Persian astronomical handy tables, a widely-spread genre from



13th century on in Byzantium. The genre's ancient model is the Small Commentary to the Handy Tables by Theon of Alexandria (4th century), while the most recent model is the Commentary by Stephanus Alexandrinus (7th century).

The manuscript Marc.gr.333 Z contains also other astronomical and mathematical texts (e.g. Euclid), all written by the hand of Bessarion.

My paper focuses on Bessarion's mathematical integrations I found out in the Persian astronomical text copied by himself in the manuscript Marcianus graecus 333 Z. I give some information about the text from both historical-philological and astronomical perspective, then I consider and explain the importance of Bessarion's mathematical integrations.

Compared to the texts delivered in the manuscripts of the Instructions, the text written by Bessarion contains two essential differences: a text-addition and algorithms. The text addition is a calculation method for syzygies (conjunction of sun and moon), which is not attested in the other manuscripts. In most passages where the other manuscripts deliver calculation tables, Bessarion writes the same calculation, but in algorithmic form.

The additional text and also the algorithms were brought into the Instructions by Bessarion during the writing process: I found out that he integrated this text from an astronomical work contained in the manuscript Vaticanus graecus 1059 (beginning 15th century), written by John Chortasmenos, master of Bessarion in Constantinople: here the additional text is among astronomical texts of Isaac Argyros and the algorithms are in the Third Book of the astronomical work by Theodoros Meliteniotes. Among the algorithms only one is original by Bessarion and it deals with the latitude of Mercury and Venus.

The legitimization of this mathematical procedures has its roots in the ancient mathematical works, e. g. the *Metrika* von Heron (1st century A. D.), the works of Diophantus, Pappus and Theon from Alexandria: this is a canonical language survived for thousand years.

Bessarion's integrations provide evidence of his activity during his learning years (before 1440) at the school of Chortasmenos and Plethon as well as his abilities in using the mathematical language.

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Rêver les astres qui nous font rêver : astronomie et oniromancie à Byzance

« Toutes les choses qui se trouvent dans l'univers sont composées et ont une forme propre; si nous regardons leur essence, nous saisissons leur unité ». Ainsi écrivait Nicéphore Grégoras dans son commentaire à l'ouvrage *Sur les Songes* de Synésios de Cyrène. Si nous nous efforçons de bien comprendre la manière byzantine de voir le monde, nous sommes nécessairement confrontés aux concepts exprimés par ces mots. Il n'est donc pas par hasard que pendant sa vie le même Grégoras s'occupa de sujets si éloignés à nos yeux comme les rêves et les astres. En fait, l'homme byzantin ne



trouvait rien d'étonnant dans la considération que notre esprit et l'univers obéissent tous les deux à la même hiérarchie et partagent aussi le pouvoir de donner des prophéties. C'est pourquoi un prodige astral et un rêve représentent à ses yeux la même chose, à savoir un signe.

Certes, pendant les deux dernières décades l'astronomie et l'oniromancie byzantines ont fait l'objet de plusieurs études spécifiques; toutefois, j'essayerai de porter notre attention sur leurs interrelations dans le cadre de la même culture. Étant donné l'étendue du domaine, je me limiterai à commenter deux seuls exemples.

D'abord, je prendrai en considération l'ouvrage *Liber thesauri occulti*, écrit à Constantinople en 1165 par Romanus Pascalis, interprète latin de l'empereur Manuel Comnène. Dans sa plus grande partie cet ouvrage traduit des passages tirés des *Onirocritica* d'Artémidore et d'Achmet, même si l'auteur tient compte aussi de la philosophie arabe, notamment d'Al-Kindi et d'Averroès. En effet, Romanus insiste beaucoup sur la primauté de l'astronomie dans l'interprétation des rêves, car, il affirme, « impossible est naturas et vices rerum perfecte cognoscere, nisi a superioribus sedibus a quibus dependent elicantur ». À son avis, il est donc impossible d'interpréter correctement les images oniriques et leurs véritables significations cachées (*archana ac mystica*) sans avoir recours à la *geometrica ratio*, c'est-à-dire sans tenir compte des influences que les astres, en tant qu'objets supérieurs, exercent inévitablement sur nos vies et donc sur nos esprits.

Par la suite, j'approcherai la question d'un point de vue différent. Il est bien connu, en fait, que les rêves entretiennent toujours une relation très proche avec la culture du rêveur : le même phénomène est présent aussi à Byzance, comme on peut le constater, par exemple, dans l'*Onirocriticon* du Pseudo-Daniel, où les astres figurent même dans les songes, au point qu'une comète rêvée devient un signe à interpréter de la même façon d'une comète réelle. Nous trouvons alors toute une série de songes étroitement liés à la culture partagée par les rêveurs de l'époque, où effectivement l'astronomie jouait un rôle central. Il s'agit de songes devenus désormais très rares (ou même disparus) dans notre culture contemporaine, comme rêver le soleil qui se trouve au-dessous des nuages ou le soleil qui se lève à Occident.

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Византийская космография: расположение стихий

Статья посвящена космографическим воззрениям в Византии, а также особенностям концепций таких популярных авторов как Василий Великий (Шестоднев), Псевдо-Кесарий Назианзин (Вопросоответы) и Григорий Палама (Сто пятьдесят глав). Наибольшее внимание уделяется теме, пограничной между космологией и географией, а именно – космографии. Речь идет скорее о более частном вопросе: об умозрительном количественном соотношении стихий воды и земли в космосе и о следствиях, к которым приводят такие построения. Рассматриваются также теории плоской и шарообразной ойкумены, их соотносительность с воззрениями Аристотеля, а также предельное развитие концепции космографии у Григория Паламы.



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The Cosmology of Aristotle and Plato in Serbian Medieval Churches: The Frescoes in the Bogorodica Ljeviška Church, Lesnovo and Visoki Dečani Monasteries as Case Studies

The cosmology in medieval Christian Europe was Aristotelian, characterized by the Earth in the centre and surrounded by the planetary spheres as well as the sphere of fixed stars. According to Aristotle, the 'prime mover' and most perfect was God, heaven was regarded as nearly perfect, the planets were seen as much less than perfect and the most imperfect planet of all was the Earth. Subsequently, in the Hellenistic, or more specifically, Hermetic world, it was considered that the way back to God is through the planetary spheres and that 'the soul's shedding of seven human qualities at each planetary sphere may be the origin of the seven cardinal sins'. Plato wrote that the cosmos was ensouled and that the Creator 'framed the soul according to his will', and she 'began a divine beginning of never ceasing a rational life enduring through all time'. Plato's idea of the immortality of the soul might be reflected in particular frescoes in Serbian medieval churches.

The Aristotelian presentation of the cosmos is most clearly to be seen in the southern section of the narthex in the Lesnovo monastery. Located near the astrological signs, there are 5 concentric circles and words written in the Old Church Slavonic language from Psalm 148:3: 'Praise him, sun and moon'. This image is one example of the synergy of Christian and Hellenistic cosmology.

On the arch of the Northern wall in the Bogorodica Ljeviška church, there is a fresco with Hellenistic elements, portraying Sybille, Plato and Plutarch on the vertical section. One can argue that the paintings of the winged naked figures, which are found in all three case studies and which might represent souls, reflect the philosophy of Plato and other prominent Greek philosophers. For example, in Lesnovo, planet names are found next to the winged figures inside strange polygon-like shapes. These winged figures might then represent the souls of these planets. In several frescoes of the Visoki Dečani, the figures without wings inside the Sun and the Moon might symbolise the souls of these heavenly bodies. Plato wrote that in the ensouled cosmos every soul was assigned to a star, which could then relate to those medieval frescoes depicting the souls of the cosmic bodies.

In the central part of the Visoki Dečani monastery, located on the ground under the central dome, there is a twelve-pointed ornament or a rosette that could either symbolize the cosmic cycle, the God of light and Christ as the Sun, or perhaps the twelve months as the movement of the Sun over the course of a year. On the northern side of the central dome, above this rosette, there is a fresco called The Crucifixion of Christ. On this fresco, on both the left and right side above Christ, there are paintings of tear-shaped forms with figures inside. The figure on the left side, wearing a cloak around his body and across his left shoulder, resembling a himation, possibly represents the Sun. On the right side, a painting of the Moon is portrayed with a figure inside, wearing a cloak wrapped around the hips. Those figures have been the subject of controversial theories but most likely they also represent the souls of the Sun and the Moon.



23rd

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Maria Vassilaki,

Passion Cycles in Venetian Crete

Michele Bacci,

Icons of Narratives: Passion Cycles in Panel Painting between Byzantium and Venice

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The Passion Cycle in Churches of Mystras: Issues of Space and Function of the Cycle in the Panagia Hodegetria and the Peribleptos

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The Passion Cycle in the Program of the Altar Decoration

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Warren Woodfin,

The Passion and Liturgical Textiles: Veiling and Revealing the Sacrifice of Christ



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Passion Cycles in Venetian Crete

This paper examines Passion cycles depicted in churches of Venetian held Crete in an effort to understand what changes had occurred and why. It will focus on fourteenth-century churches and will select examples in which Passion cycles with a strong Western influence appear as a result of the presence of the Venetians and most probably of the activity of Mendicant orders in the island of Crete. At the same time it will look at Passion cycles which show how closely Cretan painters were able to follow the developments of the Passion cycle in Late Byzantine churches. To make these points clear two key monuments will be selected: the church of the Transfiguration of Christ in Temenia, Selino in the prefecture of Chania and the monastery church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa in Potamies in the prefecture of Heraklion.

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Icons of Narratives:

Passion Cycles in Panel Painting between Byzantium and Venice

In the 13th and 14th centuries, Passion cycles started being introduced not only in the decoration of religious buildings, but also in a number of icons and diptychs, originally associated with individual forms of piety. Even if it is currently assumed that such developments were basically associated with the spread of a new religious sensibility originating in the West and being especially fostered by the Mendicant orders, it is a matter of fact that analogous objects became widespread enough even in Greek contexts, as is indicated by a number of meaningful objects, including a 13th century icon of the *Assumption* encircled by Passion scenes, now in the Byzantine Museum in Pedoulas, Cyprus, and the fragment of a 14th century diptych now in the Museum of Vlatadon Monastery in Thessaloniki. Moreover, the largest group of painted panels displaying a Passion cycle originating in the West date from the earliest half of the 14th century and stands out for its distinctively Byzantinizing forms, associated with contemporary Palaiologan painting.

The present paper aims at investigating the extant Byzantine and Venetian examples of icons displaying a Passion cycle from a distinctively comparative viewpoint, with a special focus on the analysis of their shared compositional and iconographic features. These objects will be interpreted as cross-cultural items intended to suit the devotional sensibility needs of individual believers, regardless of their religious affiliation. Emphasis will be laid on their diffusion in the Mediterranean, in connection with the emergence of meditational practices associated with the Passion and Holy Land pilgrimage.



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The Passion Cycle in Churches of Mystras: Issues of Space and Function of the Cycle in the Panagia Hodegetria and the Peribleptos

The Passion cycle is preserved in the decoration of most of the monuments at Mystras, either in fragmented form, as in St Demetrios-Metropolis, Sts Theodore, Hagia Sophia and the gallery of the Panagia Hodegetria, or in its full synthesis, as in the Peribleptos. All the developments in the depiction of the cycle in Palaiologan painting are represented in these monuments, depending on the dimensions and the particular character of the building.

Narrativity, which in the Passion cycle attains its finest expression during the Late Palaiologan period, is one of the basic modes of rendering the cycle, with clear liturgical influences from Holy Week. The cycles in St Demetrios, Sts Theodore and the Hodegetria are examples of narrativity observing the temporal sequence of the events, as this emerges from the Gospel account and the ritual of the Holy Week. Episodes known from the Middle Byzantine period continued to be popular in Palaiologan times (Betrayal, Denials of Peter). However, secondary incidents too (Joseph of Arimathea asking Pilate for the Body of Christ), which complement the main scenes, point to the iconographic development of the cycle in this period, through the painters' desire to innovate with unusual subjects.

In addition to narrativity, the Passion cycle at Mystras is distinguished by potent symbolism, which imposes a different conception in its treatment. In the southeast chapel of Hagia Sophia the restrictions of space, in combination with the personalities of the donor and the painter, created impressive iconographic solutions, such as the iconographic types of Christ, which are related directly to his Passion: The Man of Sorrows and the Holy Mandyllion. Without doubt, the most remarkable Passion cycle at Mystras is in the Peribleptos, where a superb combination of narrativity and theological symbolism is encountered. The cycle here comprises some ten scenes, which unfold in the diakonikon and the south aisle. The representation of the Anapeson together with the Holy Mandyllion in the apse, as well as the rare scenes of narrative character, compose a Passion cycle of superlative conception, worthy of the donor, as well as of the painter who executed it.



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Narrating the Eucharistic Sacrament: The Passion Cycle in Mural Paintings from the Late 13th Century in Byzantium and Serbia

This paper will deal with the narrative images of the Passion of Christ in late Byzantine mural of some churches of northern Greece, Macedonia and Bulgaria. This cycle has a clear narrative sequence showing the story of the sufferings of Christ from the Last Supper to his death, and sometimes to his resurrection. Going around the nave and passing through the sanctuary space, such cycles participate in the construction of the space of worship. The oldest occurrences of this iconographic program include the *Prôtaton* in Mount Athos, the Virgin *Perivleptos* in Ohrid, Saint-Georges in Staro Nagoričino or the Church of the Trinity in Berat. A study of the images shows that the narrative form given to these cycles, far from being accidental, bears meaning. By setting the wall paintings as a whole within their liturgical context and considering their distribution in space we can to understand the Eucharistic and mystagogic *discourse* produced by the narrative. The articulation of the iconography of the *bêma* and this narrative cycle is particularly significant. The *bêma* iconography consists of the superposition of images related to Incarnation and Liturgy, with the Theotokos in the semi-dome and the Communion of the Apostles and the Liturgy of the Bishops below. At the image of the Communion of the Apostles, then, the horizontal narrative of the Passion meets the vertical program of the apse. I will show that such a configuration places the Eucharist at the heart of the *bêma* iconographic programme.

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The Depiction of the “Christ Anapeson” in the Context of the Passion Scenes of Christ

Christ as a child with open eyes is resting on a cushion. He's leaning his head on his right hand, in his left hand is a rolled scroll. The first known image of Christ Anapeson is depicted in the Protaton Monastery of Mt. Athos from the late thirteenth century. Subsequently, the topic appears in Byzantine churches of the fourteenth and fifteenth century. Its place within the church is variable; the iconographical details, the added figures and the accompanying inscriptions are changeable. A point of interest is also to study briefly the representations in other materials like manuscripts, icons, and textiles as well as the parallels with related scenes.



The subject of this presentation is the complex interpretation of the scene, and it is necessary to consider the textual sources of the Old Testament (Gen. 49, 9 and Psalm 120, 1) and the liturgical, exegetical and homiletic commentaries on these texts, such as sermons of church fathers and liturgical hymns and prayers, and their impact on the iconography of Christ Anapeson. Studying the context of the depiction of Christ Anapeson it comes obvious that it's mostly an integral part of the cycle of the Passion of Christ. It has been ascertained that the liturgy of Holy Week, from Holy Thursday to Holy Saturday, had the greatest influence on the fresco painting. The cycle of the Passion was depicted according to the Passion narratives that are read out during the liturgy. One can single out several cases in order to show the meaning of the topic of Christ Anapeson. The attention is focused on the question for which reason the Anapeson is included in the cycle of the Passion of Christ and how it is linked to the liturgical ceremony. For this problematic the *Epitaphios Threnos*, the lament interpreted as the weeping of the Virgin for her son, who died on the cross, plays a predominant role, a rite which was known in church liturgy from the end of the thirteenth century on.

The conclusions should provide explications for the meaning of the image of Christ Anapeson and the thematic program in a Paleolegean church and should illuminate our understanding of the experience of the church as a liturgical space used by a wide spectrum of the Byzantine community.

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Eucharistic Symbolism and the Passion Scenes in the Prothesis Chamber at Markov Manastir

The closing scenes of the painted cycle dedicated to the Passion in the church of St Demetrios in Markov Manastir (1376/77) are placed in the *prothesis* chamber. The north wall features the Crucifixion, which is accompanied by the Deposition from the Cross and the Entombment of Christ, on the east wall. The unusual placement of the scenes from Christ's Passion will be analyzed in the light of the liturgical symbolism of the northern pastophorion and its painted decoration, taking into consideration similar examples in Byzantine art. The impetus for devising this form of thematic programmes may be brought into relationship with an intensive development of the *prothesis* rite (*proskomedija*) in the Eastern Christian world in the 14th century. The link established between the narrative episode of Christ's death on the cross and the liturgically symbolic representation of the deceased adult Christ resting on a stone tomb in the niche – over whose body St Stephen the Archdeacon and St Peter of Alexandria perform the *prothesis* rite, highlights the paschal symbolism of the Eucharistic worship of the Eastern Church. The first part of the Eucharist, the *prothesis rite*, evokes the equivalence and simultaneity of the crucifical and the Eucharistic sacrifice.



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The Passion Cycle in the Program of the Altar Decoration and the Problem of Its Roots in Novgorod Churches of the Late 14th Century

The narrative Passion cycles in altar space of the two Novgorod Churches of 1370th – The Transfiguration on Il'ina Street and St.Theodore Stratelates – represent unusual parts of their decorative programs. First of them, made by Theophanes de Greek, occupied originally the walls of bema (only a few fragments is survived), the second, much more better preserved and made by anonymous contemporary of Theophanes, besides that includes the upper zone of apse, unfolding there counterclockwise and closing inside the alter space. Significantly that echoes of this system are traced in altar paintings of some cathedrals of late Russian medieval period (16-17th century), thus indicating its fairly long existence.

This bold innovation made to the stable structure of the Byzantine altar decoration is fully correlated with the symbolism of the altar space and quite consistent with previous development of the theme of Eucharistic sacrifice. However, this innovation suddenly finds common ground with the Western tradition. Early announced in altar of Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome and later in some Roman churches (Abbey Church of Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, Saint Martin in Nohant-Vic, etc.) this tradition received a new impetus from the mid 13th century under the influence of spirituality of the Franciscans and Dominicans, with their keen interest to the theme of human sufferings of Christ, His holy blood and wounds. The Passion scenes in the pictorial triptychs and polyptychs of Ducento and Trecento become a typical for the altar decorations of Italian churches, spreading influence throughout the Catholic West and the Levant and, moreover, getting into some Orthodox mural painting in the Balkans.

Since the first half of the 14th century the Passion cycle - brief or more developed – had acquired a monumental quality as part of the apse fresco-decoration in some Franciscan churches belonged to Genoese colonies of the Adriatic coast (the churches of St. Trifon and St. Mary Collegiate in Kotor, the Church of Assumption in Savines), as well as in Cyprus (in the altar of the Royal chapel in Pirga), in the painting of which the Greek artists were involved. There are a number of precedents when the Orthodox Greek artists of the highest level worked in the Catholic churches. Keeping the Byzantine style, they reworked more or less considerably the traditional Orthodox iconographic formula with regard to the requirements of the Latin clergy. Undoubtedly, such cooperation did not pass without a trace and enriched the thematic and iconographic repertoire of these artists and inspired them to a more creative approach in using of the Byzantine canon.

It is known that before coming to Russia, Theophanes the Greek worked in Genoese colonies - Galata (Pera) in Constantinople and Kaffa in the Crimea. Novgorod, where he arrived then, was a large commercial center with an open atmosphere of cultural life, not constrained by the rigid



framework of Byzantine canons, as show the original altar frescoes of local 12th century churches. Here the famous Greek master known as “advanced sage and philosopher” could realize his artistic innovations within the Orthodox faith in accordance with the new aspirations of the time. So, he could be involved in the transmission of tradition, Latin in its origin, on the Novgorod soil. A new version of altar decoration with the Passion cycle presented by Theophanes in the Church of Transfiguration seems to have found a lively response in a creative environment of Theophanes worked that time in Novgorod, who resolutely followed it.

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The Representation of the Passion Cycle in the Ikvi Church and Its Connection to the Current Theological Debates in Georgia

The wall painting of the Church of St. George at Ikvi presents one of the most important examples of 12th century Georgian monuments. The first layer of the murals was executed after the death of King David the Builder (1089-1025) – the greatest ruler of Georgia who brought most of the lands of the Caucasus under his control and turned the Georgian kingdom into the most powerful state in the Near East and the Caucasus. Ikvi as a specific example interestingly illustrates the cultural upraise and esthetical changes of the epoch.

What makes the Ikvi murals exceptional is its nonstandard iconographic arrangement of the decoration. Moreover the adornment of the dome presents one of the few examples of 12th century painted domes surviving in Georgia, showing a unique program not only for Georgian, but for Byzantine art in general.

The murals of Ikvi contain at least two main phases: the principal images in the naos were painted during the first half of the 12th century, while the representation of the Last Judgment covering the western cross-arm was completed later, most probably in two phases at the beginning and the middle of the 13th century.

The Ikvi murals are the sole surviving example in Georgian medieval art and to my knowledge, in the art of the Christian East where the several Christological scenes appear in the drum of the dome. Here we find the Transfiguration and three scenes of the Passion cycle - the Crucifixion, the Deposition, and the Lamentation, while the summit of the dome presented the scene of the Ascension of Christ, a subject which has a long history in the decoration of Byzantine domes. It seems that the choice of the dome program was determined by the particularly high drum of the Ikvi dome and the painter was inspired by the ‘classical’ Byzantine tradition of locating the Christological scenes to the squinches of the dome. But still, the choice of the Passion scenes forming a tripartite narrative image looks quite unbalanced. Three episodes of the Passion comprising a miniature cycle give a special significance to this theme in the whole programme.



It is well known that a special interest in the Passion cycle is already evidenced in the art of the post-Iconoclastic period. Yet, scholars have singled out the Comnenian epoch as showing a new and special interest in this subject within Byzantine art. The theological debates, as well as aesthetic changes are regarded as the main inspiration for this interest.

Georgia responded to the theological discussions raging inside the Byzantine capital, but there was one, I would say, “magisterial” theological current that had an important influence on Georgian culture – the counter to Armenian Monophysitism, the major rival confession to Greek Orthodoxy in Georgia.

This centuries-old theological opposition between neighbors grew especially fervent during the 12th century, when most Caucasian lands were brought under Georgia’s control. The impact of this dispute upon Georgian culture can be traced throughout the centuries, but it was especially strong during the period under consideration in this paper.

It should be noted that this heresy also became active in Byzantium through the coalition of the Syrian and Armenian Monophysite churches occurring in the 11th-12th centuries. What makes this coalition even more acute is the alliance of the Monophysites with the Roman Catholic Church - in spite of the doctrinal disagreement they found in accordance with the liturgical practice of the Eucharist. I even argue that the actuality of the Monophysite faith in the history of the theological thought of Byzantium during this period is underestimated in scientific literature. I will not dwell upon the Byzantine reaction to these events and will only note that the “global” scale of this heresy can also be felt in the Georgians’ attitude toward their neighbors. Obviously Georgia was strongly concentrated on Monophysitism, even regarding it as a theological problem of the first degree, though always generalizing it and discussing it with the leading Christological heresies of church history, showing the “ecumenical” context of this opposition.

Tinatin Virsaladze was the first in Georgian scholarly literature to study the immediate influence of these disputes upon Georgian medieval painting. This approach inspired further research regarding it as the key theme for understanding the iconographic programs of Georgian murals.

This context must have played a decisive role in the selection of the scenes of the dome program at Ikvi. The location of the Passion scenes in the drum of the dome - the physical ‘crown’ of the whole space, so to say - assigned a conspicuous role to this subject, turning it into the main dogmatic message of the murals. Being set out from the overall program of the decoration, the Passion cycle is primarily perceived as an answer to the Monophysites, whose position regarding the relationship between Christ’s human and divine natures can be formulated as such: it was the Divine Logos Who had suffered and died on the cross.

It is not accidental that a special emphasis by its location has been given to the Transfiguration in the ordering of the scenes. The Transfiguration was regarded as the symbolical prefiguration of the Passion of Christ. Due to this context, it is often included in the Passion cycle (St George at Kurbinovo, the Church of the Transfiguration at Miroje). This link is tangibly shown at Ikvi by an angel of the Crucifixion gesturing towards the scene of the Transfiguration. But still the latter is primarily perceived here within its theophanic context, which is even underlined by the fairly red mandorla of Christ, an iconographical detail which is not typical of Byzantine art. The location of the Transfiguration as the ultimate expression of the dogma of the two natures of Christ alongside the Passion scenes would reinforce the Christological interpretation of the image, turning the dome programme into a *manifesto* of the Calcedonian Creed.



It is well known that the shift of the iconographical type from a “triumphal” crucifixion to a representation of Christ dead on the cross first evidenced in the Sinai icon was connected to an argument of St Anastasios of Sinai against the Monophysites: the Crucifixion is proof of Christ’s physical humanity and his physical death. In fact, the designer of the Ikvi murals gives the tripartite repetition of the image of - to put in St. Epiphanius of Cyprus’ words - the “dormition of Christ’s flesh”.

It is noticeable that the chronological sequence of the compositions has changed – the Crucifixion is followed here by the scene of the Lamentation. Thus, the Crucifixion has appeared to be *vis-a-vis* of the scene of the Deposition and the similarity of the structure and iconography of these compositions seems to “double-up” the significance of this scene. One even has an impression that the Crucifixion occurs here twice, showing in this way the dogmatic importance of the latter. The inscription of the cross sounds instructive: “Jesus Christ, Lord of Glory”. The Pauline words can be found in many Byzantine images, though they appear as one of the most important arguments against the Monophysite heresy in the polemic works of Georgian as well as Byzantine theologians (St Euthymius the Athonite, *Niketas Stethatos*).

The juxtaposition of the Lamentation with the scene of the Transfiguration also might be understood as a reflection of one of the most crucial issues of these theological discussions - the soteriological aspect of the Christological dogma. The dead Christ is facing here towards the image of the Transfiguration, evoking another symbolical context of this feast as a prefiguration of the Resurrection and the glorification of mankind – the first Adam is opposed to the “second, glorified Adam”, the context which is tangibly stressed in the scene of the Ascension represented above (For by man came death and by man the resurrection of the dead. St. Paul, 1 Corinthians, 15:21-22). It would not be an exaggeration to see in the arrangement of these scenes the influence of the very concrete issue of the “doctrine of incorruptibility” declared by the radical followers of Monophysitism among Armenians. According to their belief, the body of Christ was incorruptible and immortal during a moment of his conception, with the reasoning being an even more extreme denial of the human aspect of salvation than was done by the Severian Monophysites. The messianistic significance of the Passion reflected in the dome program would have been reinforced even further within the context of the liturgy on Good Friday, as if it were making a textual comment in regard to the imagery of the dome.

It is obvious that the concept of the dome program determined the focal accent of the wall painting of the second layer as well. Alongside some typical scenes of the Last judgment, we find here “the Entry of Christ into Jerusalem”. The Entry of Christ in Glory - the ‘preface’ of the Passion story - was also perceived as a symbol of the Resurrection and the Second Coming of Christ in patrology. Thanks to its triumphal context - the motive of *Adventus*, it evokes the eschatological significance of this feast even thematically. Its location just behind the image of Hades and scenes of hell is visualizing feast’s messianistic significance conveying a sense of ‘destroying’ Hell, calling to mind liturgical texts regarding the Entry feast as the victory over the death. At a first glance, this ‘out-of-context’ inclusion of the opening scene of the Passion cycle interacts with the adornment of the dome and ‘transforms’ the whole program of the Last Judgment, symbolically turning the space of Ikvi Church into the heavenly Jerusalem. If we take in account the liturgical context of this scene – a direct connection to the preparation of the host revealed in the liturgy of the Palm Sunday - the soteriological significance of the Passion becomes even more prominent.



The dogmatic message of the Ikvi murals culminates in the central image of the sanctuary – the Mandylion above the masonry throne. This location of the Holy Face is regarded in special literature as a “local” iconographic feature of Georgian medieval painting and is primarily explained by the special cult of the Holy Face in Georgia. But it is apparent that the consistency of this tradition was also closely attuned to Georgian-Armenian polemics. It is difficult to imagine something more argumentative against the teaching of “*mia physis*” than the image of the Mandylion, a historical portrait of Christ – or so to say image –argument itself, visualizing the dogma of the Incarnation.

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Rethinking the Passion Cycle: Representation of Emotions, the Emphatic Response and Narration in Late Byzantine Painting

Dense narrative cycles inflected with theatric, dramatic and emotional qualities represent a distinctive feature of Late Byzantine wall painting. Realistic approach to expression of suffering and the psychological characterization of grieving are particularly striking in the cycle of the Passion of Christ where painted figures show their state of emotions in telling facial expressions, sometimes of unprecedented intensity and overtness. Building up on recent work of David Freedberg and Vittorio Gallese on motion, emotion and empathy in the esthetic experience, this paper explores how the depiction of such emotionally charged expressions and evocative gestures influenced the way in which the beholder approached and perceived the Passion of Christ. New ways in which emotions were represented in such narrative cycles seem to follow the logic of the ‘embodied simulations’, neural processes that, according to David Freedberg and Vittorio Gallese, lie at the core of the emphatic response to art. By looking closely at the cycle of Passion, the aim of this paper is to discuss the relation between the representation of emotion, the need for strong emphatic response and the narrative turn in Late Byzantine painting.

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The Passion and Liturgical Textiles: Veiling and Revealing the Sacrifice of Christ

The Epitaphios of Milutin Uroš, one of the earliest of preserved Byzantine *epitaphioi*, is also one of the most interesting from a liturgical standpoint. The unusual, vertical orientation has attracted comment, but so too has the dress of Christ. Instead of the usual loincloth to cover his nudity, there is what is unmistakably a representation of a veil, the little *aër*, used to cover the bread on the paten.



The image on the textile thus uncovers a paradox: the veil covering the Eucharistic offering shows the bread to be the crucified body of Christ, while the fictive veil, covering the image of Christ like the veil over the *prosphora*, shows him to be bread. The *epitaphios* is unmistakably liturgical in its function, which would originally have been to cover the gifts of bread and wine during the Great Entrance. Its imagery aligns with the Byzantine mystagogy of the liturgy that sees in this procession a symbolic reiteration of Christ's burial procession. At the same time, it speaks directly to the real (or anticipated) presence of Christ's body in the gifts as they are brought to the altar.

Painted images of the *melismos*, or Eucharistic fraction, similarly manipulate representations of liturgical veils and vessels to bring out the sense in which the Eucharist is a reenactment of Christ's passion, death, and resurrection. The sequence of liturgical actions and their symbolism is frequently blended, as, for example, the preparation of the bread in the *prothesis* and the actual consecration of the gifts on the altar. At St. George in Kurbinovo, the apse fresco of the *melismos* shows a fictive altar directly behind the actual altar. On this painted altar lies the young Christ Emmanuel, covered by a decorated *aër*, and accompanied by the *asterisk*, the article meant to keep the veil from physical contact with the bread. In different compositions of the *melismos*, one sees the adult Christ of the *epitaphios*, or the infant Christ. In a handful of cases, the infant Christ is seen as being dismembered by the painted holy clergy. Paradoxically, this is precisely the vision recorded as the unbearable sight afforded an unbelieving Jew who happened to witness the Divine Liturgy. When, according to the legend, he confessed the truth of Christianity, the vision was taken away and the likeness of bread restored to the *prosphora*. The paradox of the image of the *melismos* is that it purports to show "the really real" but cannot in fact be taken literally as a theologically sanctioned view of the Eucharistic sacrifice. Moreover, it is not the adult Christ of the crucifixion that is seen, but an infant, who cannot be literally the subject of the sacrifice. Nevertheless, it is the infant Christ, or the Christ Emmanuel type, that dominates the imagery embroidered on veils for the paten and chalice.

Unlike the West, where the image of the *akra tapeinosis*, transformed into the *imago pietatis*, assumes the role of embodying the Eucharistic sacrifice, Byzantium avoided the collapse of the symbol and its referent by keeping the liturgical symbolism from fully merging with the symbolism of the Passion. The exchanges between the young Christ and the Christ of the Passion, as well as between iconographic markers of a liturgical context (veils, vessels, attendant angels) and a narrative context (mourners, cross, tomb) always represent cross-references rather than the full merging of the two. The imagery on veils helps to sustain both the link and the difference between Passion and Liturgy.



23rd

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AGIA MARINA / SAINT MARGARET

Convener: **Wendy R. Larson**

Levent Boz,

Who Was the Patron Saint of the Medieval Transylvanian Town of Mediaș?

Stavroula Constantinou,

Body Work in the Legend of Agia Marina

Graham Jones,

Geographic Aspects of the Cult of Dragonomache Saints

Wendy R. Larson,

Iconography and Patronage: From Marina's Hammer to Margaret's Dragon

Monica White,

Marina as Dragon-Slayer: A Comparative Approach

Andrey Vinogradov,

The Greek Martyrdom of St. Marina: Toward a Critical Edition



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Who Was the Patron Saint of the Medieval Transylvanian Town of Mediaș?

My Master's thesis, "Anatolian Carpets in the Mediaș St. Margaret Church, Transylvania", explained the reasons how Anatolian-made carpets reached Transylvania and were to be admired as unique pieces of art, by focusing my research on the rich carpet collection of Saint Margaret's Church in Mediaș. This study brought to the fore the question of which St. Margaret was the patron saint of the Medieval Transylvanian Saxon town Mediaș, because in the Christian World, more than ten Saints are named Margaret. It seems logical to nominate St. Margaret of Hungary because Transylvania was part of the Kingdom of Hungary until the sixteenth century. We also know, however, that Saint Margaret of Antioch was also an important Saint of the Kingdom of Hungary, especially during the Árpád era.

In this study, I am going to argue why I believe that St. Margaret of Antioch is the patron Saint of Mediaș, and the reasons why St. Margaret of Hungary is not. I will present Hungarian and Transylvanian Saxon documents, some important statements made in the letters of the clergy, entries in martyrologiums and ongoing traditions/activities in today's Transylvania as supporting evidence to help us to understand her cult in the Principality, and illustrate that she was indeed the patron Saint of Mediaș.

Last but not least, I also would like to present some images of Saint Margaret of Antioch from the Transylvanian towns of Târnava and Boian to prove the existence of her cult from the north to the south of Transylvania during the Middle Ages.

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Body Work in the Legend of Agia Marina

In his famous book *Body Work: Objects of Desire in Modern Narrative*, Peter Brooks argues that the body is a powerful dynamic of storytelling. A similar function of the body may be detected also in the legend of Agia Marina which is a story that writes the body and is written by the body. The present paper examines the literary depiction of the holy woman's body, its narrative uses and its function as a guarantor of female holiness.



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Geographic Aspects of the Cult of Dragonomache Saints

The idea of the righteous champion's vanquishing of the demonic serpent appears to move seamlessly westward from the Byzantine East, but the champion's identity varies from region to region. Alongside the universal champions like Michael, George and his fellow military saints, and Marina/Margaret – more local heroes arise, not least in the Balkans, while further west popularly venerated bishops particularly take on the role. Renewed contact with the Byzantine East may help to explain Marina/Margaret's eventual pre-eminence where Michael's local patronage is relatively weak.

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Iconography and Patronage: From Marina's Hammer to Margaret's Dragon

In both Byzantium and the West, Marina and Margaret have two modes of portrayal: static depictions in which female saints are nearly interchangeable, and as unique dynamic figures: Marina strikes the head of a demon with a hammer, and Margaret bursts from the belly of a dragon. The gender of patrons sponsoring images in a given context offers insight into the make-up of the cult in both East and West, and its concerns.

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Marina as Dragon-Slayer: A Comparative Approach

One of Marina's most famous attributes was her vanquishing of a dragon, an act connecting her with a rich tradition of dragon-slaying in Byzantine hagiography. Although Marina's method of dispatching the dragon (i.e. bursting through its belly after being swallowed alive) was unique, she was not the only female saint to overcome this type of monster, nor was she the only saint to undertake such a challenge without using a sword or other weapon. This paper will investigate the description of dragons and dragon-slaying in Byzantine hagiography and discuss Marina's place within these diverse and often surprising sources.



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The Greek Martyrdom of St. Marina: Toward a Critical Edition

The Greek Passion of Saint Marina was published only once — in 1886 by the famous Hermann Usener (*H. USENER, Acta s. Marinae et Christophori, in Festschrift zur fünften Säcularfeier d. Carl-Ruprechts Universität zu Heidelberg, Bonn, 1886, p. 15–46*). The edition is based on two manuscripts: Par. gr. 1468 and 1470, with partial use of Latin translation and Cod. Vat. Pal. gr. 4 which presents, according to Usener, a different recension of the Martyrdom. All the later researchers who studied the Greek tradition of St. Marina used only this edition. Later P. F. Halkin in his edition of the *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca* (*Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, Brussels, 1957, p. 84–86) identified several revisions of the Passion (BHG 1167c, 1167x, 1168, 1168b, 1168c, 1168e). In addition, in the hand-written catalogue of hagiographic manuscripts in the Society of Bollandists, Brussels, he listed 40 manuscripts of the Passion (I thank the Society and personally X. Lequeux for kindly providing this material). Preparing a critical edition of the Passion of Saint Marina, I have studied its text in some Greek manuscripts, mainly in microfilms (from Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, section grécque, Paris) and digital copies available online or courtesy of the libraries. 16 following manuscripts have been used:

- Athos Vatopedi 84 (79), late 9th – early 10th c., ff. 213-222
- Jerusalem Patr. 6, 9th – 10th cc., ff. 223-230
- Lesbos Agiou Ioannou 57, 13th c., ff. 145v-160
- London British Museum Add. 25881, 16th c., 243-254v
- Messina S. Salvatore gr. 77, 12th c., ff. 56v-70
- Milan Biblioteca Ambrosiana F 99 sup., 11th c., ff. 118-124
- Oxford Bodleian Library Barocc. 148, 15th c., ff. 262-267v
- Paris BNF gr. 1021, 16th c., ff. 38-51
- Paris BNF gr. 1468, 11th c., ff. 211v-224
- Paris BNF gr. 1470, AD 890, ff. 132-141
- Turin Biblioteca Nazionale gr. 80, 10th c., f. 118
- Vatican BAV gr. 866, 12th c., ff. 216-219v
- Vatican BAV gr. 1538, late 15th c., ff. 248v-281
- Vatican BAV Ottobon. gr. 12, 12th c., ff. 152v-162
- Vatican BAV Ottobon. gr. 290, 16th c., ff. 1-31
- Vatican BAV Ottobon. gr. 422, AD 1004, ff. 193-204v

The text of the Martyrdom in the manuscripts was compared at three different points: in the beginning (Usener 15.6–16.21), the middle (Usener 30.26–31) and the end (Usener 46.15–27). Preliminary results of this comparison are as follows.



1. The recension stemma of the text looks more complicated than it appeared to Usener and to Halkin. It is possible to suggest not two but three recensions of the text.
2. The recension, presented in the two Paris manuscripts and taken by Usener as the base for his edition, is found in only four other manuscripts: Vatop. 84, Ambr. F 99 sup., Taur. gr. 80, and Vat. gr. 866. Inside this edition one can distinguish three families of manuscripts: the first (= BHG 1165; Par. gr. 1470; Taur. gr. 80); the second (= BHG 1166; Par. gr. 1468; Vatop. 84) and third, not reflected in Usener's edition (Ambr. F 99 sup.; Vat. gr. 866). None of them can be securely identified as original.
3. The second recension is represented by seven manuscripts, including Pal. gr. 4 partially used by Usener. Within this recension one can distinguish two families: the first (= BHG 1167) consists of Pal. gr. 4, Hier. Patr. 6, and Mess. gr. 77; the second – of Sin. MΓ 66, Par. gr. 1021, Barocc. gr. 148, and Ott. gr. 290. It is noteworthy that the readings of the earliest extant manuscript of the Martyrdom from Sinai coincide with the readings of post-Byzantine manuscripts. All of the revisions of the text, mentioned above, probably derive from this recension.
4. The third recension combines the readings of the first and second recensions, but is much closer to the later. One can distinguish two families: Ott. gr. 12 and 422 (South Italian?); Lesb. Ioann. 57, and BL Add. 25881. The text of the Martyrdom in Ott. gr. 422 and BL Add. 25881 differs substantially from the original Passion.
5. The date of the Sinai manuscript and of the protograph of Par. gr. 1470 from the 2nd quarter of the 9th century indicate that the first and second recensions of the Passion differed even before the 9th century. Neither one of them can be confidently considered to be original, therefore a future edition should take into account both versions, and perhaps even come in the form of two separate texts.



23rd

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**NEW FEASTS, NEW SERMONS:
THE CULT OF MARY ON THE EVE OF ICONOCLASM,
IN BYZANTIUM AND BEYOND**

Conveners: **Beatrice Daskas, Francesca Dell'Acqua**

Ernesto Sergio Mainoldi,

The Introduction of Marian Feasts in Byzantium

Mary B. Cunningham,

From Palestine to Constantinople: Seventh- and Eighth-Century Greek Homilies on the Dormition

Maria Lidova,

The Chalkoprateia Image of the Annunciation and Material Evidence for a Lost Iconography

Beatrice Daskas,

The *Akathist Hymn* in the Early Medieval West

Diego Maria Ianiro,

“Credere virginem in corde per fidem.” Images of Mary in the Libri Carolini

Natalia Teteriatnikov,

On the Iconography of the Hypapante in Byzantine Art

Francesca Dell'Acqua,

On the Iconography of the Hypapante in Western Art (And the Earliest Latin Homilies on the Feast)



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The Introduction of Marian Feasts in Byzantium

The introduction of Marian feasts in the Byzantine liturgical calendar was planned according to the imperial project to promote the capital city as the *Theotokoupolis*. During the 5th and the 6th century Constantinople became gradually the centre of the cult of the Virgin, through the transferring into the capital of her relics—consisting of her clothes, supposedly still conserved in Jerusalem—, the development of the liturgical cult, and the insertion of new feasts in the liturgical calendar. Justinian assumed this project, that was inaugurated by his predecessor Elia Pulcheria, and brought it to its almost definitive output. His vision of the role of Constantinople not only as the political guide of the empire, but also as the leading centre of the orthodoxy in the whole *ekoumene*, was destined to find in the cult of the Virgin a fundamental support. The development of the liturgical cult was also related with the reconstruction and embellishment of the Marian shrines already venerated in the *Polis*. The veneration of the vestments of the Virgin was also conceived to orient the providential and protecting intercession of the Virgin as following the geographical axis Jerusalem-Constantinople. The New feasts, celebrating the most important facts in the life of Mary (the Presentation to the Temple, the Dormition etc.), were also accompanied by the construction of new Churches dedicated to these hagiographical events, and were intended to fix a definitive hagiographical version of the life of the mother of God after the Crucifixion. Aim of this paper will be the reconstruction of the historical outline of the series of the Marian feast in the Byzantine liturgical cycle, with a special regard to the occasion of their creation and the theological basis that has lead to their definition.

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From Palestine to Constantinople: Seventh- and Eighth-Century Greek Homilies on the Dormition

This paper will examine the development of the Greek homiletic tradition surrounding the feast of the Virgin's dormition and assumption into heaven, which was celebrated in Palestine in the fifth century but added, by the late sixth and middle of the seventh centuries, to the Constantinopolitan and Roman liturgical calendars, respectively. Basing their teaching on the apocryphal 'Palm of the Tree of Life' version of the dormition narrative, preachers explored the doctrinal and devotional implications of the legend. The Palestinian writers, including Theoteknos of Livias and John of Damascus, linked their praise of the Virgin with physical landmarks in Jerusalem, including the house (containing the 'upper room' mentioned in Acts 1:13) at Sion and the tomb at Gethsemane.



The focus for all early Byzantine preachers, however, remained the mysterious disappearance of the Virgin Mary's body from her tomb and the nature of her afterlife in heaven. The surviving homilies reveal differences in their theological and pastoral interpretation of these events, which reflect not only the various geographical backgrounds in which they were composed, but also some diachronic development between the early seventh and mid-eighth centuries.

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**The Chalkoprateia Image of the Annunciation
and Material Evidence for a Lost Iconography**

The Chalkoprateia church of Constantinople is known to have been one of the main Marian shrines in the city. Built most probably in the fifth century, it was decorated and renovated on several occasions in the course of its history. At the time of Justin II (565–78) the wall decoration of the church is said to have been expanded and two scenes were added to the original program representing the feasts, one of which, that of the Annunciation, would be traditionally celebrated in this basilica. Information on the Chalkoprateia image is provided in a famous ninth-century account of a miracle that happened to a boy, Elias, who was saved from death by the Virgin after he had fallen into a well. According to this source, the Chalkoprateia image was marked by the presence of an image of the Pre-Incarnate Lord being held by the Mother of God. Cyril Mango who studied this text in his classic article on “The Chalkoprateia Annunciation”, states that the only artistic equivalent of this scene known to him in Byzantine art is found in a couple of unusual twelfth-century representations of the Annunciation. Without questioning the validity of this association, this paper attempts to expand the range of material artifacts that can be considered in relation to the Chalkoprateia image. I intend to discuss a number of very small Late Antique objects that clearly indicate the existence of an early Byzantine Marian iconography. These images, to my knowledge, have not yet received scholarly attention or been included in the indices of Christian art.

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The *Akathist Hymn* in the Early Medieval West

The aim of the present communication is to offer insights into the early reception of the Akathist hymn in the early medieval West. The evidence provided by early Latin homilists suggests that the imagery of this hymn was already circulating into specific western milieux, well before its alleged translation into Latin by the Bishop of Venice Christopher around AD 800. In this perspective, taking into account the hints offered by the Marian homilies of Ambrosius Autpertus (†784), monk



and briefly abbot of the Benedictine monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno in central Italy, I will discuss the role played by Rome in conveying the eastern hymnographic and homiletic tradition about Mary to the West in the period of the “Greek Papacy” (678–752).

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“Crederem virginem in corde per fidem.” Images of Mary in the Libri Carolini

During the sixth session of the Second Nicene Council, the image of the Virgin holding the Christ child was taken as a visual evidence of the fulfillment of an Old Testament prophecy: *The virgin will conceive and give birth to a son* (Is 7, 14). For Byzantine theologians such a depicted prophecy could be misunderstood only by ignorant people; the learned ones, instead, should have to venerate and kiss it in order to be worthy of it. This statement is comprehensively commented in chapter IV, 21 of the *Libri Carolini*: as the prophecy is a matter of faith that cannot be seen but only believed; so the *mysterium* of virginity needs to be trusted “by faith in the heart.” Therefore, according to the *Libri Carolini*, the mystery of Mary cannot be seen or understood in pictures, and for the same reason adoring any image of the Virgin is a senseless act. This is the starting point for an enquiry on the representation of the Virgin in the eyes of Carolingian theologians, who seem to display a poor knowledge of – or a lack of interest in – the eastern Marian tradition.

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On the Iconography of the Hypapante in Byzantine Art

This paper discusses the change in iconography of Hypapante from Late Antiquity through the period after Iconoclasm. It attempts to explain changes by using the contemporary homiletic literature and liturgy. The iconography of Hypapante from Antiquity till the Renaissance has been surveyed by Dorothy Shorr. Henry Maguire, on the other hand, focused on the depictions of the Christ Child in the hands of Symeon in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods which he proposed is based on homiletic literature. Yet the changes of iconography of Hypapante through Late antiquity and after iconoclasm in Byzantium were not clearly defined and explained, which I intend to do here.

Originally, the Hypapante (meeting) was an important but minor feast, which was a part of the liturgical calendar in Jerusalem already in the fourth century. Images of Hypapante for this period are rare. The fifth-century mosaics of Santa Maria Maggiore present the Hypapante or the Presentation of Christ in the Temple as a biblical narrative. It shows Symeon near the temple meeting Joseph holding sacrificial doves following by Mary holding Christ, who according to



Jewish tradition forty days after giving birth brought Jesus into the temple. Using biblical sources, early homiletic literature included vivid descriptions in sermons of church fathers, as for example Gregory Nazianzen, Basil the Great or John Chrysostom. In ca. 542, emperor Justinian upgraded the status of the feast as one of the twelve major feasts celebrated (2 February) throughout the Byzantine Empire. One mosaic image of Hypapante is found in Constantinople, which was made after the establishment of the feast. The mosaic icon of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple from the Kalenderhane, Constantinople (third quarter of the sixth century) shows only Mary presenting the Christ Child to Symeon. Here the figures of Joseph and the temple are omitted. Thus the image does not provide information as to where the scene occurred. The kontakion of Romanos the Melodist (sixth century) which was written for the feast and read in Hagia Sophia, focuses on Mary holding the Christ Child and Symeon; Joseph and the prophetess Anna, and the temple are omitted from his text. He just added a choir of angels. The ring from the Dumbarton Oaks collection, Washington, D.C. (early seventh century, Constantinople?) depicts the same iconographic formula as the mosaic from the Kalenderhane. It seems that the artisans of the Kalenderhane image and the Dumbarton Oaks ring were familiar with Romanos kontakion and followed his model for constructing images.

During the eighth and ninth centuries the depiction of the scene underwent further changes; several images show the scene at the altar. The earliest is an enameled cross of Pope Paschal I (817-824) from Museo Sacro, Vatican, which was probably made by the byzantine artisans in Rome. It depicts Mary and Josef presenting Christ Child to Symeon; Christ is shown above altar. The ninth-century cross from Pliska, includes the image of Hypapante on the obverse. By excluding Joseph's figure, the artisan focuses on Mary, holding the Christ Child above the altar, and Symeon. Another example is the mid-ninth-century Khludov Psalter, Moscow, Historical Museum, fol. 163v, where Symeon stands behind the altar stretching his hands through the columns of the ciborium above it, whereas Mary holding the Child in front of the altar is followed by Joseph holding doves. By depicting Symeon's hands stretching above the altar and below the ciborium the artisan confirms the action of Symeon bringing the Child to the altar. Christ stretches his hands toward Symeon as a sign of recognition of his divinity and fulfilment of the prophecy. The major iconographic change in both the reliquary cross from Pliska and the Khludov Psalter is the introduction of the altar. The images preserved from the ninth and tenth century on with some variations follow this model where altar became an important symbol of Christ and the Eucharist. The Khludov Psalter was produced in the circle of Patriarch Methodius (788/800 – June 14, 847), and included the newest trends in iconography introduced by the iconophiles. As Henry Maguire has suggested, some late ninth-century images of Hypapante already show the Christ Child held by Symeon, an iconographic feature which was often depicted in the Middle and Late Byzantine art. Nonetheless from the mid-ninth century on the scene of Hypapante was always depicted at the altar. Some cases show the altar under a ciborium. Presenting an altar under ciborium transforms the image of the temple into a sanctuary of a contemporary church familiar to worshipers. The altar as described in the homilies of Patriarch Germanos of Constantinople (d.733), Josef the hymnographer (d. 886), and George of Nicomedia (2nd half of 9th c) were probably the sources of a new iconographic type of Hypapante, which become a model with some variation in depiction of participants of the scene in the Middle and late Byzantine period.



As suggested, iconography may rely on a variety of sources including liturgy and homiletics. After iconoclasm, the depiction of the old biblical story acquires a new liturgical role, where the focus is on Christ and an altar, and their Eucharistic meaning. At the same time depicting Mary at the altar manifests her purity and her role in the Virgin Birth. This transformation in iconography and its variations can be explained by the response to the feast of the church fathers which they express in new sermons and liturgical hymns.

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On the Iconography of the Hypapante in Western Art (And the Earliest Latin Homilies on the Feast)

The celebration of the Presentation in the Temple of the newborn Christ recalled by the Gospel of Luke (2, 22–39) is first recorded in Jerusalem by the late fourth century, then in Constantinople, and by the seventh century in Rome at the latest. Involving the urban crowd, the candle-lit procession which re-enacted the arrival of the Holy Family in Jerusalem is recalled by the earliest original Latin homilies composed for the feast: those of Bede and Ambrosius Autpertus. The latter was an eyewitness of the celebration. Because of the many themes involved in the event – the presentation of the newborn in the Temple, the purification of the mother from giving birth, the prophecy of Symeon, the death of Symeon after recognizing the Christ-Light as the Saviour – the Presentation in the Temple became the object of different interpretations, as attested by texts and visual arts. As will be demonstrated, these various interpretations reflected substantial changes in the religious mentality, which were often a consequence of major doctrinal controversies tainted by international political tensions, especially between the seventh and the ninth centuries. In a scene that is absent in the earliest representations of the event, an altar appears below Christ Child while Mary hands him to Symeon in the early ninth century. This will be explained through reference to the emphasis placed on the Incarnation and the sacrifice of Christ by the on-going theological discourse, and by the homilies of Bede and Autpertus on the feast in particular.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

PALAESTINA BYZANTINA I:
NEW BYZANTINE STUDIES IN ART

Convener: **Moshe Fischer**

Lee I. Levine,

The Flourishing of Jewish Art in Late Antiquity and Its Far-Reaching Implications

Rina Talgam,

Art and the Development of Religious Identities in the Holy Land in Late Antiquity

Mati Meyer,

Hiding in Plain Sight: The Second Coming and the Last Judgment in the Vatican Psalter, gr. 752

Aliza Steinberg,

Gender, Representation, Status, Dress Code, Adornment and Bodily Modification
as Reflected on the Mosaics Pavement within the Historical-Geographic Area
of Eretz Israel towards the End of Late Antiquity

Lihi Habas,

Artistic Changes and Developments in the Churches of Israel and Transjordan under Islamic Rule



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The Flourishing of Jewish Art in Late Antiquity and Its Far-Reaching Implications

From their emergence as a recognizable group ca. 1200 BCE, Israelites made use of art in a variety of ways. Nevertheless, in the ensuing millennium and a half art played a secondary role in the Jews' religious and cultural identity. Only in the Late Roman and Byzantine eras did Jewish art emerge in a hitherto unprecedented scope, intensity, and variety. This lecture will address four issues regarding this phenomenon:

- 1) What were the types of motifs that comprised this artistic repertoire and where did they appear?
- 2) Why did such art surface in the third century and flourish only thereafter?
- 3) Who was responsible for these developments, and what sector of society does it represent?
- 4) In the religious and cultural spheres, how does Jewish art compare with the evidence from contemporary literary sources? Does it confirm, supplement, or challenge our impressions regarding Jewish identity and the response of Jews to the challenges presented by Christian rule?

It will be suggested that the artistic evidence (and indeed the archaeological record generally) presents a contrasting picture of Jewish society from that of the literary remains. While written sources reflect the tendency of many Jewish religious elites to withdraw from the regnant Byzantine culture, focusing heavily on internal, particularistic issues, art demonstrates the willingness of large swaths of the Jewish population to engage and interact with the surrounding culture, demonstrating a marked proclivity towards accommodation and adaptation.

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Art and the Development of Religious Identities in the Holy Land in Late Antiquity

In my paper I wish to demonstrate that from the third century onwards, prior to the victory of the church, Jewish art engaged in a deep and meaningful dialogue with Christianity and Christian art. Echoes of the polemic conducted in the mixed metropolises of Caesarea and Antioch in the third and fourth centuries found their way to the ears of Galilean Jewry. The gradual shift of the local polytheistic population towards Christianity and, on a much smaller scale, the partial acceptance of Christian ideas by Jews drawn towards *minut* began during the pre-Constantine era, leading to a circumstance in which the "Others" against whom the Jew had to define himself were not only pagans but also Christians. Christian presence in the Holy Land became increasingly significant in



the second half of the fourth century and during the course of the fifth and sixth. The erection of commemorative churches at sites sacred to Christianity both within and outside Jewish settlements, the transformation of few synagogues into Christian *loca sancta*, the beginning of Christian pilgrimage, the construction of large churches in mixed cities with Jewish majorities with imperial or patriarchal support, and the transfer of Christian clergy all heightened the Christian presence in the Galilee, expanding the points of contact between Jews and Christians. For Jews in the eastern Galilee, Christianity was an entity that could not be ignored. Churches arose in prominent locations in Sepphoris and Tiberias, Christian liturgy also being conducted in Christian holy sites in the heart of Jewish villages such as Nazareth, Capernaum, and Cana. The municipal spaces common to Jews and non-Jews and the contact with pilgrims afforded an acquaintance that both sharpened the controversies and created a basis for mutual influence. The polemics between Christians and Jews over the reading of the biblical text, the attitude towards the sacrifices offered in the Temple, the priesthood, and the calendar are exemplified in synagogue decorations. Jewish art can only be understood by examining the religions and cultures into which it came into contact and its attitude towards them and self-definition, being characterized by a conceptual dynamism and a perpetual check on the efficacy of its responses and changes.

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Hiding in Plain Sight:

The Second Coming and the Last Judgment in the Vatican Psalter, gr. 752

A central question in the study of the Second Coming and the Last Judgment and their portrayal in Byzantine art relates to the maturity phase of this iconography. It has been argued that the eschatological formula crystallized in a small number of works during the eleventh and twelfth century. Conspicuously absent from this scholar discourse are references to a series of images in an illuminated Psalter (Vatican City, Bibl. Apost. Vat., gr. 752), which can be regarded as an iconographic eschatological program on its own. The manuscript, dated to 1058/1059, may have been made in the scriptorium of the Studios Monastery in Constantinople. Bringing together those illustrations, which are virtually “hiding in plain sight,” I consider their relevance to the eleventh-century formative stage of the Second Coming and the Last Judgment iconography and the possible reasons for their appearance in this particular Psalter.

The proposed paper argues that the exceptional program was shaped as an expression of a personal agenda aiming for eternal redemption, which would have made sense for both the unknown commissioner and recipient of the book. If the commissioner was a monastic or other ecclesiastical authority as Kalavrezou et al. conjectured (1993), he may have seen in the book, especially in the eschatological images, a didactic tool to caution the addressee, possibly an emperor, against his sinful behavior. Also, the eschatological cycle may reflect the widespread expectation and firm conviction of the Byzantines that the world would come to an end by the year 1000. The millennium apocalyptic conviction was shared by both religious circles and Byzantine emperors.



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Gender, Representation, Status, Dress Code, Adornment and Bodily Modification as Reflected on the Mosaics Pavement within the Historical-Geographic Area of Eretz Israel towards the End of Late Antiquity

During Late Antiquity, clothing constitutes an element pertaining to the material culture, enveloping the individual's body and serving as a sort of "second skin".

It reflected gender, social norms, aesthetic aspects and function of men's, women's (and children's) modifying movements, that enables examination the role and status of these figures in society among a multi-cultural population comprising pagans, Jews and Christians, who decorated their houses and places of worship with mosaics, in various cities throughout the Empire. The encounter between the traditional Roman apparel and that of the non-Romans blurred the borders, leading to a mutual influence and the integration of military and civilian elements of adornment and dress.

The correlation between the archaeological finding of woven fabrics and dress together with the contribution of the ancient writings led to the conclusion that in many cases the items of clothing and their accessories appearing in the mosaic floors imitated reality, reflecting the accepted forms and appearance of the periods during which the mosaics were created. This talk focuses on the terminology, typology, iconography, the adoption of both Western and Eastern influences, and the attitudes of ancient and modern writers to clothing and appearance.

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Artistic Changes and Developments in the Churches of Israel and Transjordan under Islamic Rule

The discovery of churches and mosaic pavements dated to the Umayyad and the beginning of the `Abbasid periods in Israel and Transjordan attests to the continued existence of a prosperous, active and creative Christian community. The majority of the local population remained Christian, and the churches continued to function as religious buildings. The dated inscriptions, such as those in Israel: the church at Khirbet el-Shubeika, the church at Tamra, a chapel in Ramot, the Funerary Chapel at Beit Safafa, and the church of the monastery south of Horvath Yattir, and those in Transjordan: the Church of Saint Stephen at Umm al-Rasas, the Theotokos Chapel at Wadi `Ayn al-Kanisah, the Church of the Virgin Mary at Madaba, the churches at Rihab and others, attest to an organized community with a bishop, an archpresbyter, priests, archdeacons and deacons, and



a congregation of donors and believers. Moreover, there is evidence in the region for the activity of builders and mosaic craftsmen who constructed and decorated Christian and Muslim religious buildings as well as the Caliphs' palaces.

This period witnessed the renovation of churches that had stood since the sixth century, such as the chapel at `Ayn al-Kanisah in the Mount Nebo area, the Church of the Virgin Mary at Madaba, and the third phase in the Kathisma Church at Jerusalem. New buildings were constructed, such as the church at Khilda in the Philadelphia/Amman area, the Church of St. Lot at Deir `Ain `Abata, the church at al-Quwaysmah, the church at Ma`in, and others. All of these attest to a conciliatory and tolerant attitude toward the Christian community on the part of the Muslim authorities.

From the artistic-iconographic point of view, the motifs that were common in mosaic pavements in the Byzantine period continued in use in the Islamic period, but with a new preference for interlacing, sometimes aniconic and sometimes with figures. There is no evidence for a trend of abstract mosaics without figures after the 7th century; in fact, figurative mosaics appear side by side with mosaics containing geometric interlacing.

Despite this, detailed architectural and artistic analysis of the churches and mosaic pavements of the Umayyad and the beginning of the `Abbasid periods reveals changes and developments with regard to the decoration of new or renovated churches with geometric carpets and development can be discerned in the design of geometric interlacing. During this period, the geometric repertoire reaches a developmental peak in the creation of rich and intricate patterns that become extremely complex. This article analyzes the changes taking place in the interlacing and net motifs. Since the trends occur in both churches and Umayyad mosaic pavements, it is interesting to follow the relationship between Christian and Islamic art of this period and to examine the influence on Christian society of the new aesthetic trends that arose within Muslim society.



23rd

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PALAESTINA BYZANTINA II:
NEW BYZANTINE STUDIES IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Convener: **Lee I. Levine**

Gideon Avni,

Agricultural Landscapes in Byzantine and Early Islamic Palestine
(6th - 10th Centuries CE) – Continuity and Change

Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah,

Jerusalem in the Fourth Century – A City in Transition

Joseph Patrich,

A Digital Corpus of Early Christian Churches and Monasteries in the Holy Land

Moshe Fischer,

Palaestina Byzantina through Its Column Capitals: Kautzsch 80 Years Later

Jacob Ashkenazi – Mordechai Aviam,

Galilee in Late Antiquity – Societies and Landscapes in Change



Gideon Avni

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Agricultural Landscapes in Byzantine and Early Islamic Palestine (6th - 10th Centuries CE) – Continuity and Change

The countryside of Palestine in Late Antiquity was dotted with hundreds of villages and farmsteads, forming one of the most extensive agricultural landscapes of the Mediterranean in Late Antiquity. The mass production of wheat, oil and wine was documented in numerous archaeological reports and comprehensive studies, which emphasize the expansion of settlement between the fourth and seventh centuries, and their contraction following the Arab conquest.

This picture of “rise and fall” was recently challenged by new studies that focus on the ancient fields and their context, revising the chronological framework for their use. The archaeological research of rural hinterlands Palestine included the dating of agricultural terraces in the Negev Highlands and the Jerusalem region with OSL (Optically stimulated luminescence) methodology. A detailed analysis conducted in a number of research areas shows that most of agricultural systems attributed to the Roman period had, in fact, been established during Byzantine times, and continued to function uninterrupted until the tenth and eleventh centuries. Following these observations, a new chronological framework is suggested here for the intensification and abatement of agriculture in Palestine and surrounding regions.

In addition, the excavations in the Arabah Valley and southern Jordan facilitated a clearer chronological framework for the expansion of agriculture into these fringe zones in the Early Islamic period. A number of *qanat* underground irrigation systems in the vicinity of these farmsteads indicates that the first penetration of this unique technology was associated with a demographic and economic peak under Muslim rule.

The comprehensive study of the hinterlands of Palestine show a shift from the agricultural commodities that prevailed in the Roman and Byzantine period to new systems of commercial exchanges in agricultural goods during Early Islamic times. The picture that emerge connect the expansion of agriculture and irrigation systems into the fringe zones to a demographic and economic prosperity that began in the Byzantine period and continued during the seventh – tenth centuries, evidencing changes in the patterns of production and consumption of agricultural goods.

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Jerusalem in the Fourth Century – A City in Transition

In the late third century, Jerusalem, then known as the Roman colony of Aelia Capitolina, was a medium-sized, un-walled city, with free-standing city gates marking its limits. It had a typical orthogonal layout with colonnaded streets, public squares and triumphal arches. Some pagan



temples and sanctuaries, as well as civilian, public buildings adorned the cityscape. The camp of the Tenth Roman Legion lying on the summit of the southwestern hill, was already abandoned by that time. The population of Aelia Capitolina comprised of Roman citizens, veterans of the Tenth Roman legion and their families, and Roman administrators, as well as local merchants and followers of the army that settled in the city, and adopted Roman lifestyle.

The legalization of Christianity by the Edict of Milan (313 CE), and the following Christianization of Jerusalem by the emperor Constantine (at 324 CE), significantly changed the status of Jerusalem, and affected its urban topography. The city, now named Aelia, or in its former name: Jerusalem/Hierosolyma, became a destination of Christian pilgrimage, and this, in turn, encouraged the development of its Christian, holy topography that characterizes Jerusalem to this day. Churches and monasteries were built around the city, commemorating events of Jesus's times. The population grew, and the settled area of the city expanded to the south, beyond the original Hadrianic limits. About a century later, the city was surrounded by a new, wide - perimeter city wall, that united within the limits of Aelia/ Hierosolyma the former areas of Aelia Capitolina, the abandoned military camp that was now known as Zion, and the southeastern hill.

The transition of Jerusalem from a pagan Roman city in the second and third centuries (the Roman period), to a Christian, holy city (in the Byzantine period) lasted for the whole of the fourth century. A severe earthquake that hurt the city on May 363, may have encouraged a quick change thereafter. In the lecture, I will discuss some aspects of this transition, and especially the adjustment of the urban topography to the significant cultural changes, as reflected by recent archaeological research.

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A Digital Corpus of Early Christian Churches and Monasteries in the Holy Land

The purpose of this Digital Corpus is not only to establishing an informative corpus that is entirely new in the case of monasteries and updated in the case of churches, but also to reassess the existing studies, based on a much fuller list of sites and structures. Information derived from the literary sources and the epigraphical finds will be integrated with the archaeological remains. On the basis of this comprehensive and updated corpus, maps (general, regional and according to bishoprics) will be prepared, and a synthesis will be written, addressing various aspects, such as:

- The chronological evolution up to the Arab conquest and beyond. The study of the inscriptions is a key element for dating. This information has a bearing on the rate of Christianization of the country at the beginning of the Christian regime, and on the survival of Christian communities under the Muslim regime.
- The location and geographical distribution of churches and monasteries, as reflected in general, regional, and chronological maps (both electronic and in print). This will enable to differentiate between zones populated mainly by Christians and those occupied by Jews and Samaritans, and to define the borders between these communities.



- The typology and physical structure of both churches and monasteries, including their ornamentation.
- The bearing of architecture on the daily life of the monks and on the rituals conducted in the churches: the liturgy of the Word and the Eucharist, baptism, the cult of saints and martyrs, and burial in churches.
- Inscriptions and the literary sources are also an important source of information about Church officials, monastic administration, interrelationships with lay society (both in the urban centers and in the countryside) and more.
- Economic aspects: agricultural installations (wine and oil presses), cultivation of orchards, fields and gardens, handicrafts, donations, imported and locally made wares, imperial, provincial and ecclesiastical involvement, etc.

In the lecture the structure and usefulness of the application will be presented.

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Palaestina Byzantina through Its Column Capitals: Kautzsch 80 Years Later

In 1936 Rudolph Kautzsch published his monumental *Kapitellstudien*. Already on page 1 he noted „Es ist deutlich: eine Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells kann heute noch nicht geschrieben werden.“ It seems that this is true today as well, 80 years after his publication. For the first time Kautzsch has put at our disposal a real overview of Late antique capitals from several areas in the Eastern Mediterranean. In spite of many regional studies regarding late antique capitals such as Asia Minor, Syria, and Greece a revision and updated version of Kautzsch’s opus is lacking. One of the main reasons for this situation has been revealed by the first reviewers of the book very soon after its apparition; thus, Krautheimer’s remarks (1939) are still relevant claiming that “while the relative chronology of these groups [of capitals according to their typology, my remark, M.F.] is quite convincing, the transformation of the relative chronology into an absolute chronology supported by well-established dates is frequently missing.” And he concludes that “further support could have been obtained by linking up the capitals with dated elements of architectural decoration other than capitals...” which is still today a real desideratum.

An attempt is made here to fill this gap by presenting a series of capitals of both imported marble and local stone emphasizing their typology as well as their archaeological and architectural context. Analyzing the relationship between architectural decoration and liturgical furniture (often better dated than decoration) occurring in the same ensemble with capitals seems to be one of those attempts. We are focusing on several sites of Byzantine Palestine where such decorative elements have been accurately examined like Caesarea, Ascalon, Beth Guvrin, Elusa a.o. By doing so we hope to use the capitals for reconstructing several aspects of the history of *Palaestina Byzantina*.



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Galilee in Late Antiquity – Societies and Landscapes in Change

The substantial economic growth in the Levant during Late Antiquity is readily apparent from the contemporaneous upsurge in new rural settlements. An integral part of this development was the marked transformation of the religious built environment (cultural landscape), as private churches, martyria, and monasteries were erected throughout the East Mediterranean countryside.

Following up our earlier studies on the Galilean Byzantine period countryside, we will show that monastic compounds buoyed the community's agricultural production. The lion's share of monasteries near villages was established by local magnates. Owing to these compounds' agricultural arms, such as wine presses, they had a strong impact on both the faith and economic fortunes of the rural Christian masses. By introducing local and regional factors, we will expound on the influence of monastic and other ecclesiastical ventures on the Galilean rural society. Besides catering to the flock's liturgical and spiritual needs, the monasteries improved the local agricultural yield. In presenting this case, we aim to introduce a new paradigm for comprehending socio-economic and religious developments in rural societies in the Late Antique Levant.



23rd

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NARRATING EVENTS AND PORTRAYING CHARACTERS IN THE WORKS OF THE LATE BYZANTINE WRITERS – PART 1

Conveners: Ruth Macrides, Maja Nikolić

Paraskevi Sykopetritou,

Narrating Ceremonial Events of Accession and Portraying the Palaiologan Imperial Ideology in the Works of the Late Byzantine Historiographers (1261–1354)

Anita Belcheva,

Patrons and Recipients of Manuel Philes' Poetry. The Person and the Persona of the Poet

Angeliki Papageorgiou,

Βάρβαρος τε καὶ τὰ πάντα ἄστοργος καὶ μηδὲν σεμνὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχει καταπροϊέμενος:
The Image of Serbia and Milutin in Byzantine Historiographical Texts

Bojana Pavlović,

Nikephoros Gregoras on the Meaning and Perception of History

Aikaterini Andritsou,

Observations on Nikephoros Gregoras' Literary Treatment of Written Sources in Roman History

Žarko Petković,

Classical Authors in the *Histories* of John Cantacuzenos – Two Examples



Paraskevi Sykopetritou

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Narrating Ceremonial Events of Accession and Portraying the Palaiologan Imperial Ideology in the Works of the Late Byzantine Historiographers (1261–1354)

My communication aims not only to contribute to the increasing scholarly interest with reference to late Byzantine imperial ceremonies, but also to provide a fresh insight to Palaiologan political ideology through a re-reading of the relevant historiographical sources, namely the narratives of George Akropolites, George Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras, and John VI Kantakouzenos. With special emphasis on the period between 1261 and 1354, I will examine some of the widely unexplored functional aspects of the Palaiologan accession rituals and their ideological ramifications as symbolic acts performed to publicize the transfer of power and legitimize the rights of the late Byzantine dynastic succession.

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Patrons and Recipients of Manuel Philes' Poetry. The Person and the Persona of the Poet

As the most prolific poet of the early Palaeologan era, Manuel Philes had come to contact with members of the byzantine elite and wrote a significant number of poems to different aristocrats and officers of the imperial court. Was he more familiar with some of them and which are the indications therefore in his poems or the poetic convention doesn't allow us to see that clear? Are there evidences which indicate the grade the donor 'takes part' in what he 'orders' demanding to be said in the poem or is it just different levels of expression?

There are also a number of poems which the poet had written, as it seems, for practical purposes addressing different persons each time and asking usually for material goods and benefits for himself.

The study of the relations between Philes and his contemporaries through his poems gives considerable indications which can be taken into account in order to 're-construct' the person and the persona of the poet.



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*Βάρβαρός τε καὶ τὰ πάντα ἄστοργος καὶ μηδὲν σεμνὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔχει
καταπροϊέμενος: The Image of Serbia and Milutin in Byzantine
Historiographical Texts*

Byzantine authors of narrative sources tend to draw vivid images of the Empire's allies and enemies. Milutin (1282-1321) fitted both categories, given the fact that his policy towards Byzantium changed over time. The first reference to Milutin is in 1272, when Emperor Michael VIII approached Stephan Uros I (1243-1276) in order to form a marriage alliance between the Byzantine ruler's daughter and young Milutin. Although this alliance never materialized, Byzantine historians seize the opportunity to produce a series of colorful characterizations both of Serbia and of its way of life.

The image the historiographers paint is based on the feeling of Byzantine supremacy. With that in mind, Serbia is pictured as an unwelcome, harsh place, rich though it may be. Its inhabitants are described as barbarians who, although competent on the field of battle, are ignorant of the proper mode of fighting. Milutin too is a barbarian, fickle, weary, unworthy of the emperor's glory; and yet he is so strong and dangerous that he manages to marry the emperor's daughter.

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Nikephoros Gregoras on the Meaning and Perception of History

Byzantine historiography in general, as a continuity of historiographical genre conceived in antiquity, mainly dealt with the portrayal of events and deeds of the emperors and most prominent historical figures that shaped the history of the Empire. Stories about commendable achievements or, on the other hand, dishonorable and undeserving actions, about the change of fortune and the fickleness of human destiny were recorded in the works of Byzantine historians and have, therefore, been preserved for posterity. The didactic and educative role of these works was generally connected to the hope in a better and brighter future. Thus, historians perceived themselves as people whose duty it was to, guided by the hand of God, teach their contemporaries and future generations how to avoid mistakes of their ancestors and, therefore, build a better society.

This point of view was also expressed in the introductory part of the *Roman History* written by the 14th century Byzantine historian, Nikephoros Gregoras. He stated that he thought little of the mentioned historians' self-perception, until he realized that his predecessors were utterly entitled to it. History is, according to him, a vivid and eloquent voice and it is truly a messenger of God's majesty.



It passes through centuries showing the past events to those that are yet to come, indicating, at the same time, the actions and achievements of people, showing what the wise men had philosophized about the nature of things, what they had understood and what not.

Perceived as one of the most magnificent of the Creator's achievements, as well of man's literary engagement, historical narrative was, therefore, intentionally chosen by the authors as the most appropriate "genre" for expressing their attitudes and views on the events and characters they wrote about. It is important to note that most of them wrote as eyewitnesses and active participants in the events of their time, which is a fact that is often denoted as *autopsia* in the modern historiographical works. The position of an *autopsij*, thus, gave the writer a more active role within the narrative itself, enabling him to influence the immediate reception of his message. Accordingly, it was the author who, through his work, connected the past with the present. This can surely be said for the historical work of Gregoras who took as his starting point the year 1204, the fall of Constantinople in the hands of the Latins and carried the course of his narrative to the year 1356. His conception of history and apprehension of historical time and moments, as well as the difference in the way he viewed the past and the present will be analyzed from three main perspectives: perspectives of time, space and characters. In order to present the differences in the work and changes of the writer's views two particular reigns will be in the focus of attention: that of Michael VIII Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos.

The reigns of these emperors were chosen for reason. It has already been noticed that the two mentioned rulers embodied the imperial ideal as understood by Gregoras. Moreover, the times and political situation in which Gregoras described both of their reigns changed and so the narrator's perceptions and apprehensions changed too. The time of Michael VIII Gregoras portrayed from certain temporal distance, whereas he was not only an eyewitness, but rather an active participant in the events of Kantakouzenos' reign. The reasons for Gregoras' writing were altered which also influenced the writer's conception and apprehension of history and its course. The circumstances in which he wrote about the first Palaiologos were filled with certain hope in the better future (the reign of Andronikos III 1328-1341) and the events he presented were exhibiting Empire's arousal and renewal. Contemporary events (those of Kantakouzenos' reign), however, proved to be very unfortunate for himself as well as for the Empire and its prospective survival.

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Observations on Nikephoros Gregoras' Literary Treatment of Written Sources in Roman History

The communication focuses on aspects of Nikephoros Gregoras' management of the historical material in his *Roman History*. Gregoras promises to narrate briefly τὰ μετὰ τὴν ἄλωσιν τῆς βασιλευούσης τῶν πόλεων and picks out specific events to expand on. He draws on the content of various written sources and modifies it at will. Different literary techniques are employed in order



to recreate historical episodes of the author's choice: digressions, proverbs, dramatization, paradox, insertion of portraits and authorial intrusion serve to summarize or enrich the depiction of the historical events. The use of such techniques ultimately aims at adapting the given data according to the author's and his audience's literary preferences. The material examined here regards the period between the Fall of Constantinople to the armies of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and its recapture in 1261. Gregoras' sources for the passages under consideration are identified and the established relationship between the works of Gregoras' immediate predecessors and *Roman History* is investigated in terms of structure, content, kind of narrative and verbal expression. The above mentioned particular characteristics of historical narrative form an integral part of *Roman History* and reflect Gregoras' literary contribution in Byzantine historiography.

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Classical Authors in the *Histories* of John Cantacuzenos – Two Examples

It is well attested that Byzantine authors were keen to show how well they were acquainted with classical literature and culture. In that manner, Euclides, one of the participants in Plato's *Theaetetus*, was mentioned at the beginning of John Cantacuzenos' historical *oeuvre*. According to Cantacuzenos, recent history of the Empire could be explained in different ways. Namely, the blame for the Civil War could be cast either on the grandfather (Andronicos II), or on the grandson (Andronicos III). Their deeds, continues Cantacuzenos, have double explication, as Euclides had demonstrated.

It had been – long ago – argued that Euclides is one of Socrates' followers, or to be more precise, a friend and a pupil of the Athenian, present also during his dying hours. (Plato, *Phaedo*, 59 C). However, the question what is (true) knowledge (*Th.* 146 A), or the relativity of truth, pointed out by Cantacuzenos, is not linked to Euclides in Plato's *Theaetetus*, although he is mentioned in the dramatic frame of that dialogue. Relativity of truth is not linked to Euclides anywhere else in Plato's work either. Therefore, bearing in mind that Diogenes Laertius described Euclides in his writing as "eristic" (2.106 --107), it should be assumed that Cantacuzenos was acquainted with Βίοι καὶ γυνῶμαι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ εὐδοκιμησάντων, or with the treaties used by Diogenes Laertius (for example, Aleksandar Polyhistor, who is mentioned in Diogenes's text).

The second example of the influence of classical literature on Cantacuzenos is to be found somewhat later in the narrative (1.36). Namely, Cantacuzenos writes that Andronicus III and himself - as Grand Domestic – requested the presence of Serbian envoy, monk Kalinikos, in order to discuss with him the alliance and friendship with the Serbian King (Milutin). The specific phrase Cantacuzenos used (*symmachia kai philia*) led us to postulate that he was an assiduous reader of Polybios or Appian, who were writers of choice among the Byzantine elite on the subject of orthodox version of Roman past and who themselves had frequently used that expression.



A further assumption is possible - an even more probable one. The same phrase (*symmachia kai philia*) is used by the author of the *1 Maccabees* (8.20). As it can be argued with certainty that Cantacuzenos was familiar with this text, it is inevitable to conclude that he should have been aware of that particular phrase as well. This does not, however, exclude the possibility that classical Greek authors, mentioned above, were read by the Byzantine Emperor.

It is noteworthy to point out that an expression used to denote a practical tool of Roman Republican diplomacy, reached a Roman Emperor more than 1500 years later - by means of a religious Hebrew text.



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NARRATING EVENTS AND PORTRAYING CHARACTERS IN THE WORKS OF THE LATE BYZANTINE WRITERS – PART 2

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John Argyropoulos' *Paramythetikos* to Constantine XI Palaiologos
on His Mother Helene Palaiologina's Death



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La présentation littéraire des femmes dans l'*Histoire* de Cantacuzène

Les femmes, qui sont narrées et sont décrites dans l'*Histoire* de Jean Cantacuzène, sont étudiées à travers le prisme littéraire et constituent le centre de l'annonce précise. Tout d'abord, la composition des "portraits" féminins et bien sûr pas seulement des impératrices, mais de toutes les figures féminines est recherchée entièrement, par leurs qualités et leurs valeurs, que le narrateur leur prête. De plus, dans le niveau narratif, il est à savoir, si les motifs littéraires communs, qui articulent le texte, comme l'amitié, la légalisation du pouvoir de Cantacuzène, le dévouement à Anne de Savoie, l'honnêteté, la sincérité, les sentiments de peur et d'angoisse, se reflètent dans l'esquisse des femmes. Les "topoi" littéraires, en ce qui concerne les "portraits" féminins, sont intégrés dans la tension générale du narrateur, qui crée autour de lui une atmosphère d'intentions pures, qui sert au caractère d'apologie et de propagande de son œuvre. Enfin, au niveau lexical (les mots, la syntaxe) les qualités d'esprit et d'âme, leurs émotions sentimentales, qui sont incorporées dans le dessin général de l'auteur, sont évaluées par l'intermédiaire des exemples précis.

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Portraits of the Byzantine Emperors in the Fourteenth Century. John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos – Literary Antipodes in Doukas's *History*

In keeping with manners of the literary epoch of the Palaiologian dynasty, in the course of which the Byzantine emperor was routinely extolled *as a political ideal of wisdom*, whether actual or desirable, even though in his "The Fall (Ἄλωσις) 1453" historian Doukas, *not feeling under the necessity* of depicting the late Roman history (Δούκας), did not remain immune to the indirect original findings and the aforementioned receptive literary form which caused him to produce his work *Historia Turco-Byzantina* (1341-1462). Made up of XLV chapters, Doukas's tale begins in the biblical fashion—with *Genesis*, which is of course fairly concise, then unfolds disjointedly and very dynamically until 1341, when the narration in a minute detail records the *lineage* of the Palaiologian dynasty. The very first lines of this genealogy reveal the author's concise statements about the two Byzantine *basileis*, the two namesakes - two antipodes: John V Palaiologos and John VI Kantakouzenos, where the former inherited the throne due to the premature death of his father Andronicus III (1328-1341), while the latter is presented to the reader *as one who raised* the juvenile emperor John V (παιδαγωγούμενος παρὰ κυρίου Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καντακουζηνού).



Although it is superfluous to point out that the personalities of both Roman rulers are well-known in Byzantine studies, it is evident that neither primeval sources nor concise medieval studies bestowed a lot of beautiful words upon John Palaiologos as basileus, and even fewer upon his personal qualities and character. On the other hand, John Kantakouzenos, although a writer himself, in his own memoirs wrote of himself as a historically tragic hero. The accounts of his fellow writers often attributed to him the traits of an ideal administrator capable of *providing his homeland with the joy of peacefulness and prosperity*, while in historiography he is recognized as one of the most outstanding historical figures of the late Byzantine era.

In accordance with the above-mentioned, this paper strives to shed light upon *the historical portrait* of the two *basileis* and the prerogative of their imperial titles preserved in sources from XIV and XV century, where Doukas's post festum portrayal of them was viewed in relation to what the author felt as a vivid millennium-old richness of literary expression in *the conception of a ruler* (κάτοπτρα ἡγεμόνος). The common denominators for the virtues of an ideal administrator in the works of zealous authors from XIV century—where the attitudes of Demetrius Cydonius and Nicholas Cabasilas stand out—are hermetically and spiritually well-rounded: *prudence* (σωφροσύνη), *wisdom* (σοφία), *justice* (δικαιοσύνη), *courage* (ἀνδρία) complemented by esoteric attributes of confessional nature: *altruism* (φιλανθρωπία) and *piety* (εὐσέβεια). In the sources from the last period of Byzantium, all three *basileis* (Manuel II, John VIII and Constantine XI) deserved to be called *emperors and philosophers* or *guardians of the law*, whereby some writers preserved a centuries-old political tradition which regarded the emperor as νόμος ἔμψυχος. Although this premise reached its peak with the thought of Georgius Gemistus Plethon or John Argyropoulos, the political and thought paradigm from the late Roman literary epoch can be adequately explained by saying that philological portraits of emperors in the twilight of their state are inextricably linked to the protection of the motherland and people.

This hypothesis is very similar to that of the historian Doukas (circa 1400-1470), which he subtly made use of in his literary conception of legal context and *the properties of the long imperial heritage*, and which is very skilfully elaborated upon in his work through the prism of the emperors' personalities. Writing in a lapidary fashion while forming a picture of the protagonists - the antipodes, Doukas was aware that Turcocracy had spilt and spread like magma across the Roman territories; childhood, adolescence and adulthood of John V were completed, he grew old, and there was an air of lethargy about him (μεθ ὄσης ναρκότητος), whereas he felt a twinge of envy for the sensible (ἀνδρὶ σθνετῶ) and very belligerent (πολεμικὰ μαχιμωτάτῳ) John Kantakouzenos, the glorious bloom of his generation, due to the fact that the latter had stirred up hatred among the Romans (*Rhomaioi*). For those who are virtuous are envied the most (καὶ γὰρ φθονοῦσι μᾶλλον τοῖς μᾶλλον ἐπ' ἀρετῇ προιοῦσιν).



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The Civil War (1341-1347) in the Historical Work of Doukas

In this paper we have analyzed how and in what manner historian Doukas describes the civil war in the Byzantine Empire from 1341 to 1347, devoting special attention to his perception of the conflict, the terms which he used for it, his attitude toward its protagonists, as well as questions of chronology and possible sources for his narrative. By studying his work, we discovered that he gives very simplified and biased account of this conflict with much incorrectness, omitting to mention numerous important persons and events. Moreover, he makes some material mistakes which, to all appearance, are not consequences of an intentional distortion of facts but of his ignorance. Besides, we have established that Doukas sees causes of this conflict primarily in hatred and envy of the opponents of Cantacuzene among members of the Senate, because of his intentions to marry his daughter to John V. Also, this historian sees the blame for the war in figure of the empress Anna of Savoy. When it comes to the way in which Doukas perceives this conflict, we have concluded that he comprehends it as a civil war. This conflict and what happened during it, Doukas sees as God's punishment for support of the Romans to the usurpation of Michael VIII. Concerning the consequences of this war, he is aware of how much they were disastrous, not only for Byzantium but also for other countries, since they opened door to Turkish penetration. He also realizes that this war enabled the rise of Serbia and its proclamation of the empire. In his words, which show Doukas's awareness of the fatalness of this conflict certain *byzantonocentric* tendencies of this historian are also reflected. By the analysis of his work, we have also found out that Doukas is very inclined to John Cantacuzene, about whom he often writes in superlatives and tends to unburden him of responsibility for outbreak of the war and events during it, especially cooperation with the Turks. When it comes to the opponents of Cantacuzene, the extent of his odium towards them is different. Thus, we can say that he has the most negative attitude towards Alexios Apokaukos, but in the same time, the way in which he writes about him, betrays that Doukas was not fully aware of importance of his role in this conflict. As for Anna of Savoy, although he blames her, among others, for the war, it is noticeable that when writes about her, he doesn't use a single abusive epithet, which may tell something about his scruples and gives impression that this historian doesn't place her in the same category with others enemies of Cantacuzene. Concerning John V, Doukas writes about him with undervaluation, emphasizing his youth and stressing that he was under the tutorship of Cantacuzene, and in description of the later events, his attitude toward him becomes much more negative and insulting. In connection with chronology of this conflict, he gives only few inaccurate determinants of time. The most important of them concerns the *engagement* of Cantacuzene's daughter and Orhan. Despite the fact that neither Cantacuzene nor Gregoras mention in explicit way this *engagement*, one may connect this data with the arrival of the envoy of Byzantine usurper to sultan which agreed upon concluding of the marriage. When it comes to sources for his narrative, we believe that material mistakes which Doukas made exclude the possibility that he based it



on works of Gregoras or Cantacuzene. To all appearance, as the *main* source for his description of events he used some unknown lost source, inclined to Cantacuzene, whose author was probably not in the center of events nor was he a contemporary of them. Also, it is not impossible that for some specific details about the massacre after the murder of Apokaukos, he used as a *source* words of his grandfather, Michael Doukas.

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The Context of Chalkokondyles' and Kritoboulos' Writings

Michael Kritoboulos and Laonikos Chalkokondyles have been considered as *Historians of the Fall of Constantinople*, even though their work does not primarily focus on the fall of Byzantium, but on the history of the Ottomans. Actually, they are Byzantine writers of Ottoman history, and their texts stand as complementary the one to the other. They also write in a pro-ottoman perspective, that is openly expressed by Kritoboulos and more discreetly by Chalkokondyles. In so far as Kritoboulos is concerned, he is known to have composed his *History* while a resident of Ottoman Constantinople, moreover, he directly addressed it to sultan Mehmed II. In the case of Chalkokondyles, however, his whereabouts when he composed his *Demonstrations of Histories* are quite obscure, and until recently he was believed to have composed it either in Italy or in Venetian Crete. By taking into account evidence that suggests that not only Kritoboulos, but Chalkokondyles too, composed his text as a resident of Constantinople, the two authors' associations, and the influences that can be detected in their work, we establish the context in which they wrote.

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John Argyropoulos' *Paramytheticos* to Constantine XI Palaiologos on His Mother Helene Palaiologina's Death

John Argyropoulos' *Paramytheticos* to Constantine XI Palaiologos on his mother Helene Dragaš Palaiologina's death (in Serbian historiography known as the only Byzantine Empress of Serbian background) is one of the four monodies written on this occasion. Whereas three of the monodies, i.e. of George Scholarios, John Eugenikos and George Gemistos Plethon, were published, translated into Serbian and given historical comments, Argyropoulos' *Paramytheticos* has not yet been the subject of researchers' interests.

Nevertheless, John Argyropoulos' *Paramytheticos* is noteworthy for several reasons. First of all, it could be a significant source providing us with some new data on Helene Palaiologina's biography, which are in general very scarce. While the other three encomiasts are rather restrained



in designating the Empress's origin, Argyropoulos remarks that she belonged to the *genos* of emperors. This information could suggest her imperial background either in connection to the Serbian emperor Stefan Dušan, through her possible grandmother Theodora, or to the Komnenoi of the Empire of Trebizond. In the case of the latter, it would be another indirect information to testify to her father's second marriage with the princess of Trebizond, Eudokia Komnena.

However, since Argyropoulos wrote another *paramythetikos* and dedicated it to Constantine's brother, the emperor John VIII Palaiologos, one can notice that these texts, except for the first four pages in Lampros' edition, are completely identical, differing in some details narrating exactly the afore mentioned biographical data. This raises a question whether these testimonies could be taken as credible information on the past or whether they are just simply literary figures in the service of the rhetorical conception of the author. Still, their adjustment and contextualization suggest that these testimonies, although imprecise, are basically not incorrect. The fact that these two texts are almost identical also indicates that the first one, composed on the occasion of John VIII Palaiologos' death, was not publicly delivered, which accords with generally negative political atmosphere and feelings towards the late unionist emperor.

This implies that not only these two texts should be observed in mutual context, but the other two Argyropoulos' texts of the same aim as well: a monody on the death of John VIII Palaiologos and even *Basilikos* dedicated to Constantine XI.

Paramythetikos to Constantine XI could be valuable and remarkable testimony in a wider social context of the time in which it was composed. Namely, it contains parts from which looms its author's sharp personality as a critic of the social phenomena of the late Byzantium, known from his other famous work, *Comedy of Katablatas*.

Finally, all of the four mentioned texts, which are the only ones of rhetorical nature in Argyropoulos' opus, reveal the political attitude of author himself and his apprehension of time and space in which he lived. Since Argyropoulos was supporter of the Union of the Churches, a comprehensive analysis of all of his rhetorical works could make a significant step in a more thorough evaluation of one of the most apparent discords in the Byzantine society: between the supporters and the opponents of the Union.



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TYPE AND ARCHETYPE IN BYZANTINE CULTURAL LANDSCAPE

Conveners: Jelena Bogdanović, Marina Mihaljević

Filip Ivanović,

Type and Archetype in the Aesthetics of Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor

Galina Tirnanić,

Invisible Bonds: Image and Its Source of Power in Byzantine Popular Belief

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Types and Archetypes of Byzantine Head Reliquaries

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Ida Sinkević,

Five-Domed Churches in Byzantine Architecture: Type or Archetype

Jelena Bogdanović,

The Canopy as "Primitive Hut" in Byzantine Architecture



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Type and Archetype in the Aesthetics of Dionysius the Areopagite and Maximus the Confessor

In the highly aestheticized language of (Pseudo-)Dionysius the Areopagite, God is presented as the archetype of beauty, according to which the members of famous Dionysian hierarchies should model themselves by imitating God and thus reaching perfection. As a matter of fact, the only way the soul can imitate the divine beauty is to constantly look up at the archetype, the transcendent beauty. The Areopagite's successor, Maximus the Confessor talks about returning to the Archetype in order to restore the beauty of the image in which all human beings were created. This task was exemplarily performed by Moses, who, according to Maximus, "having made God Himself the type and paradigm of the virtues, he modelled himself on Him, like a picture preserving beautifully the copy of the archetype". For both Dionysius and Maximus, the type-archetype pair does not have only aesthetic significance, but also points to deeper ontological, ethical and soteriological dimensions. This paper aims at analyzing these aspects in these two great thinkers, thus reaching a comparative appreciation of certain important features of their systems of thought, which had further implication for the Christian doctrines of icon, deification, virtue, etc.

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Invisible Bonds: Image and Its Source of Power in Byzantine Popular Belief

This essay draws parallels between superstitious manipulations of pagan statuary in Constantinople and the mechanisms through which Orthodox images were believed to operate in Byzantium. I explore the concept of type and archetype to better understand the source of power of images in a variety of Byzantine contexts. As a point of departure I analyze superstitious powers ascribed to some antique statues in the city, such as Athena at the Forum of Constantine and those of Herakles, Kalydonian boar, and an eagle clutching a snake at the Hippodrome. Persistent, yet adaptable, late antique and medieval beliefs in supernatural function of images were based on principles of persuasion through visual analogy between images and what they stood for. Extending the analysis to the phenomenon of bleeding icons and the miraculous working of saints' relics, I examine the underlying commonalities between images used in supernatural and Orthodox practice.

Icons and relics were loci of saints' holiness, but the relationship between them and the entities they represented was theologically complex. Similarly, some statues in the city were supernaturally connected to entities whose powers could be harnessed by practitioners of sorcery. What did it mean



for an ancient Greek sculpture of a boar to represent a Byzantine emperor and how is that relationship connected to Christian iconographic traditions, such as a lamb standing in for Christ? How did development of icon theory impact magical practices and beliefs and vice versa? How did it affect popular religion, the prevailing understanding of images, and the way the human body was understood in relationship to divinity? Essentially, the essay explores the status of images and their function in Byzantine culture with a particular emphasis on the bonds between images and their archetypes.

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The Body of Christ as Relic Archetype

The body of the deceased saint was expected to manifest its holiness by incorruptibility (i.e., to show no evidence of decay) and by the flow of myro, a pleasant fragrance, which was frequently recorded to have emanated from the tomb. The saintly corpse would often, although not always, be found to have the capacity for miraculous healing. The veneration of saints' relics and their frequent discovery in an uncorrupted state affirms that the physical world has the potential for being transfigured and resurrected, as it participates in the restoration of humanity to the beauty of the Divine Image and Likeness.

The incorruption of the saints was understood as a sign that some of them were blessed with divine power even before they died. That the power of the saints was still active even after their death gave them a paradoxical status of being neither fully dead nor alive. This allowed them to continue to be present in everyday life. Many church fathers and theologians referred to the saint's dying as falling asleep, confirming their ambivalent status of being in a state of living death.

Medieval writers, as Victricus of Rouen, went so far as to apply the language of divinity to the saints, and particularly to their relics. He speaks of the saints as sharing immortality with God the Father.

Some theologians believe that the body of Christ was a holy relic during the three days it spent in the tomb and therefore presents an archetype for holy relics. Drawing upon this body of thought, this paper will examine the role of body relics as a type and locate its possible prototype in the body of Christ. The case study for this paper will be the uncorrupted relics of the fourteenth century king Stephan Dečanski in monastery of Dečani, Serbia. Based on the king's biography, it is known that at some point after the death of king Stefan Dečanski in 1331, his body was moved to Dečani and buried in the southwest part of the church. The king's body was later translated in the solemn ritual from his tomb to the front of the main chancel barrier. Here they were deposited in a wooden coffin, probably underneath the icon of Christ.



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Types and Archetypes of Byzantine Head Reliquaries

Even to this day, the handbook *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1940), one of several compendia on the sacred arts of the Middle Ages by the renowned theologian and art historian Joseph Braun SJ (1857-1947), provides an indispensable tool for the study of medieval reliquaries. Based primarily on the small corpus of surviving Byzantine reliquaries, however, Braun postulated a scarcity of types for the Byzantine realm in contrast to the West with its multitude of reliquary types. Various types such as the anthropomorphic head bust, figurines, the architectural reliquary, and others were ruled out as unimaginable in Byzantine art. Only the *staurotheke* – the rather flat, almost two-dimensional container for fragments of the True Cross – was acknowledged as an independent achievement that was relevant and stimulating for art production in the medieval West. As admirably broad, learned, and handy as Braun's overviews doubtlessly are, his influential typology has led to some distorted views of Byzantine sacred goldsmith art and Orthodox piety, especially in the context of relic veneration. In my paper, I will illustrate the problems of art historical typologies when dealing with the relatively small corpora of surviving objects, provide some alternative approaches, and discuss some conceivable types and archetypes for head reliquaries.

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A Guide for Last Journey – The Mother of God Hodegetria as Typical Receiver of Funerary Prayers in Late-Byzantium

In the present paper, I am going to explore why one can encounter the image of the Virgin of the Brepokratousa type (probably Hodegetria) in several late-Byzantine funerary compositions: the laywoman's tomb (the Myrelaion), chapel of Pachomios (Hodegetria Monastery, Mystras); monk and boy tomb (Dormition Church, Longanikos); Ostoja Rajakovic's grave (Peribleptos Church, Ohrid); burial of Manuel Palaiologos (Sts Theodores' Church, Mystras); and several funerary icons. In all these cases, the enthroned or standing Virgin is depicted making a gesture of acceptance: with one hand she holds her son showing him to the supplicant, while with another, stretched, arm she benevolently accepts the prayers of humans and invites them to visual dialogue. The "theatrical character" of the postures taken by the praying people and the responding Virgin was noted by T. Papamastorakis, who compared them with the texts of funerary epigrams. Thus, the Virgin was seen as a guide, helper, and mediator, which was underlined in the inscriptions accompanying the portrait of Manuel Palaiologos calling the Mother of God "μεσητεύη αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν Κ(ύριον)ν."



In my hypothesis, the great interest toward this iconographical solution, similar to the famous Hodegetria image, can be explained in several ways:

1) On a practical side, Hodegon became increasingly popular as a burial place for Constantiopolitan nobility. The funerary function of the Hodegetria icon was already present in the demand of John Komnenos for the Hodegetria procession to his tomb in Pantokrator Monastery. Later, Theodore Balsamon described at least two tombs situated on the monastery's territory (one of them belonged to Stephanos Komnenos), while in Palaiologan time, Andronikos III choose Hodegon as the place for his own tomb. Finally, a donation act of the Siniano family (1390) shows that even the members of low nobility could expect to be buried there. Not having children, the Siniano passed to the monastery their house in Constantinople expecting the brotherhood to build in return a tomb for the couple and commemorate them twice a week.

2) Underlined in histories about Hodegon, widely-spread in Palaiologan time, as well as in hymnography, the symbolic and theological meaning of Hodegetria as a guide started to be understood as a guide to salvation through her role as petitioner to Christ. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos called her "conductor to divine rest" and "the guide on the way to your Son," while the palladium of Trebizond, equally Hodegetria icon, was called "showing the way to the good ones." Moreover, Byzantine church hymns called directly in many instances Mary "a guide to salvation" (πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁδηγοῦσα). In funerary images, this motif of guidance was expressed in the Virgin's gesture of open arm directing the supplicant to look at Christ-child.

3) From a social point of view, the veneration of Hodegetria icon became more widespread, that is, more popular among lower classes. The number of laics belonging to the Hodegon confraternity raised and, from the late-14th century on, one can encounter several people with either non-noble or low-noble origin having the surname of Hodegetrianos. Possibly after the dedication of the month of August to Hodegetria in 1297 and re-establishing the public veneration of the icon under the Palaiologoi, the cult of the image spread throughout the empire and lead to the establishing of numerous churches with dedication to Hodegetria. The size and importance of these foundations varied from family chapels on distant Byzantine periphery to the rich and spacious ensembles, as the one in Mystras.

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Type and Archetype of the Holy Mounts in the Byzantine Balkans

The holy mounts of the Byzantine world are constructed on territories which visually memorize significant Christian events, life of holy people and energy of the sacred place. Monasteries, parakklesions, monks' hermitages, memorial spots, holy springs, pilgrimage roads and icons on rocks, define the network of sacred topography and visual culture of Christian holy mounts.

The archetype of Christian holy mounts can be seen in judaistic and ancient holy mounts, as well as in the experience of ancient Slavic people. One of the significant models of Byzantine holy



mounts established on the archetype example is Mount Sinai. The paper will consider the relation and typology of holy mounts in the Byzantine world established on the archetype of Sinai and dispersion of this model in the frame of Orthodox culture in the Balkans and region of Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria and Albania. The typology of holy mounts depends on different types of religious life. Holy mounts are formed in the sacred landscape of nearby cities, mountains or in the vicinity of lakes and seas.

Addressing questions such as the identity of those who create and have impact on the visualization of holy mounts, this paper explores the relationship between the Christian visual concept and folk religiosity, superstition and magic.

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The Iconography of the Temple in Jewish art: Type or Archetype?

In the history of Jewish art the Temple iconography appears already in 1 c. C.E. on the coins from the time of Bar Kohba revolt. From that time on the imagery of the Temple continue to reappear in different context in Jewish art from frescos in Dura Europos, trough floor mosaic of the early Galilee synagogues to the catacombs of Rome. During Middle Ages representations of the Temple can be found in the illuminated manuscripts, especially in the Haggadot. Some of the question raised by this paper will be: was the Jewish representation of the Temple the one that shaped all the later representations of the Temple, especially in Byzantine art? Are there any differences between the Temple representation in Sephardic and Ashkenazi visual imagery? Are the Temple representations narrative or symbolic and what layers of meaning they are conveying?

The case study for my paper will be the representation of the Temple in Sarajevo Haggada.

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The Image of the Temple in Byzantium: Formation and Meaning of a Figural (Architectural) Type

Scholarship on Christian iconography has considered the temple as a mere setting for Presentation scenes drawn from Christ's childhood and, later, from the Virgin's life. In this contribution, I will define the archetype for this represented architecture, explore its architectural form, and attempt an understanding of the relationship between the image and its meaning, throughout the long course of Byzantium, with particular attention to the Balkans.



The type utilised to represent the Temple in Late Antique imagery is quite clear, as it reproduces the forms and the overall image of the classic Greek – and then Roman – temple. With the passing of time however, the image of the Temple became more stylized, reduced to a few elements: a canopy structure, an altar and – sometimes – a chancel barrier. Throughout the Mediterranean, variants of the Temple in Presentation scenes are enriched with other architectural forms, such as towers at the sides, or domes.

Through the analysis of forms and the definition of the theoretical framework in which they make their appearance, I will reflect upon the archetype of the temple image. Finally, I will discuss the possible placement of the temple image – between archetype and type – within contemporary architectural theories, although applied to the particular field of represented architecture.

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Type and Archetype: The Case of Nea Moni's Double Colonnets

The architecture of the famous church of Nea Moni (1042-1055), built by Constantine IX, and its unique layout have been much debated. It has been already noted that its innovative structural system, so-called domed-octagon, reveals certain incongruities between the church's lower square naos, and its upper octaconch vaulted structure. According to the nineteenth-century tradition the plan of the church was a copy of the "plan of Holy Apostles the small, that is, the smaller Church of the Holy Apostles". In that respect, a theory by Ch. Bouras proposed that the church's upper portion might have been a replication of the centrally planned mausoleum of Constantine the Great in the complex of the Constantinopolitan church of the Holy Apostles.

The church itself displays the conspicuous consistency of design elements in the interior and on the exterior of the church. The interior of the church is adorned by the circle of the double colonnettes, which unify the lower and the upper portions of the church. The reconstruction of the original appearance of the church's dome reveals that the double marble colonnettes were incorporated in the corners of the drum restating thus the interior design on the exterior of the church. The architecture of the church has been mainly treated through its interior arrangement, and the presence of the double colonnettes was mainly discussed within the context of the possible Armenian sources of Nea Moni's domed-octagon plan. The design is conspicuously present in several other Middle Byzantine monuments, among them at the katholikon of the Vatopedi monastery, the church of the Virgin Eleousa in Strumica, and most probably at the Constantinopolitan church of the Virgin Muchliotissa.

The aim of this presentation is to examine the significance of this design beyond the evolutionary typological considerations. It aims to establish the possible archetypes of Nea Moni's design, and the models of their application. While keeping in mind medieval understanding of replication as expressed in the writings of Dionysius the Areopagite, John of Damascus, Theodore the Studite, Maximus the Confessor, and others, the presentation will examine, within the framework of modern architectural discourse, whether these examples can approximate medieval understanding of type.



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Five-Domed Churches in Byzantine Architecture: Type or Archetype

Five-domed churches have been extensively studied by Byzantine scholars. Varied in their esthetic and structural features, these churches were a subject of numerous discussions regarding their origin, symbolic meaning, as well as their complex spatial and architectural articulation. While distinguished for sophisticated architectural techniques, these churches also provided fertile soil for the appearance of new iconographic elements that significantly impacted programmatic solutions and spatial articulation of the interior decoration.

This paper aims at furthering our understanding of the five-domed churches in Byzantium by examining possible models or prototypes for these monuments and the ways in which they were perceived by medieval beholders. Were five-domed churches a separate group of Byzantine buildings marked by their distinctive exterior and, as such, an architectural type, or were they based on a common prototype, carrying a deeper symbolic message that would distinguish them as an archetypal icon? In answering these questions, the author examines structural and architectural features of these buildings, the programmatic specificities of their decorative ensembles, and literary sources relevant to understanding Byzantine perception and reception of these monuments.

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The Canopy as “Primitive Hut” in Byzantine Architecture

Can we speak of a canopy – an architectonic object of basic structural and design integrity, most often comprised of four columns and a roof – as a “primitive hut” in Byzantine architecture? This paper examines several examples of surviving canopies in Byzantine-rite churches and theological texts that mention canopies as a corpus for investigating the possibility that in the architectural theory, Byzantine canopies can be viewed as a type of the “primitive hut” - the ideal principle (archetype) for architecture - that was first outlined by Vitruvius in the 1st c BCE and later theorized by Laugier in the 18th century. A particular focus will be placed on canopies as liturgical furnishings and the basic structural units of the Byzantine church itself – a four-columned structural core with a dome and vaulted bays. The relations between these “ideal structures” understood as “primitive huts” of different sizes and scales and how they were materialized in Byzantine churches allow us to discuss canopies as basic units for the definition of various Byzantine architectural “types”. Moreover, selected references on canopies, and more generally on concepts of space and place



from the philosophical and theological texts by Dionysius the Areopagite, who first introduced the philosophical notion of type and archetype, followed by Byzantine theologians, such as John of Damascus, Theodore the Studite, Maximus the Confessor, and Patriarch Germanos, may help us shed light on the meanings of the type and archetype in Byzantine architecture and how much they differed from or were similar to the “primitive hut” recognized in architectural theory.



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THE EARLY BYZANTINE EMPIRE – PART 1

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Higher Education in Constantinople – A University or Not?



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Les rites religieux militaires sous Constantin : nouveau modèle pour Byzance ou avatar romain tardif?

La notion de changement à Byzance conduit à s'interroger sur la figure du fondateur et du rapport à la nouveauté dans la constitution des traits distinctifs du monde byzantin. En effet, tant dans les sources antiques que dans la recherche actuelle, l'empereur Constantin peut se voir attribuer la paternité de plusieurs innovations politiques et religieuses. Ces dernières font régulièrement l'objet de débats et d'approches renouvelées. À partir de mes recherches sur les rites religieux des empereurs romains païens et chrétiens, je discuterai plus précisément les dispositifs culturels militaires censés avoir été inventés par Constantin. Les prières collectives à l'armée évoquées par Lactance et Eusèbe de Césarée mais aussi l'existence d'une chapelle de campagne sont autant d'éléments pouvant apparaître comme propre à l'élaboration d'une nouvelle vision romano-chrétienne de la guerre. Il est donc essentiel de chercher à étudier précisément leur supposée nouveauté, leur interprétation historique et leur pérennité sous les successeurs immédiats de Constantin et dans le monde protobyzantin. Sur la longue durée, une analyse exhaustive de la vie religieuse des empereurs romains laisse entrevoir des perspectives nouvelles, en particulier dans le domaine des rapports complexes entre l'individuel et le collectif.

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Imperial and Christian Patrons for Salamis/Constantia in the Fourth Century

The paper re-considers the fourth-century history of Salamis/Constantia of Cyprus by asking the following questions: who was responsible for the reconstruction of Salamis after the earthquakes of AD 332 and 342? What evidence do we possess about the emperor Constantius II (337-361) as the city's re-founder? When was the provincial capital transferred from Nea Paphos to Salamis/Constantia? What do we know about the progress of Christianity in the same period?

Written sources are particularly confusing regarding the city's re-foundation. It is here argued that the re-founding of the city by Constantius II should not be taken for granted and possibly Constantine had also played a key-role. Nor should the emperor have entrusted the bishop of Salamis to supervise the rebuilding of the ruined city in the 340s. Similarly uncertain is the year when Salamis/Constantia became the metropolis of the province. Different possibilities on all these issues will be suggested.

It must be noted that the Christian history of Salamis in Late Antiquity has been distorted by the career of Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis/Constantia (365/7-403). It is argued that the newly founded city of Salamis/Constantia enjoyed neither a prominence among the other bishoprics of



the island in the fourth century, nor perhaps an elaborate cathedral, nor even a major pilgrimage site, compared to what we trace already in other parts of the island. Comparing Cyprus with the evidence of Antioch and other important eastern cities, a complex and much wavering religious atmosphere across the island can be suggested.

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Marcian, the Soldier-Emperor, and the Early Byzantine Military Elites

The Late Roman political system was heavily reliant on the army and its command. The will of the commanders was one of the, if not the most important, factors when choosing an emperor. The military influence on politics, especially in the age of barbarization, is often pictured negatively, or even, as one of the factors that contributed to the political crisis of the 5th century.

The aim of this paper is to re-evaluate the impact of the military elites on the early Byzantine politics exemplified by Marcian's reign (450-457). His predecessor, Theodosius II when making decisions regarding political affairs relied on court faction, especially the eunuch Chrysaphius. This, and the failure of Theodosius' foreign policy, marked by defeats at the hands of Huns and Vandals, caused a dissent among the military elite. Most important members of that political faction were the generals Flavius Zeno and Flavius Ardaburius Aspar. When the emperor died, they seized an opportunity, allied with the emperor's sister, Pulcheria against Chrysaphius, and used their political influence to choose Marcian as the next emperor. In the past Marcian was an officer in Aspar's ranks, and he had neither the wealth, nor noble heritage that would allow him to seize the throne. It is clear that the general specifically picked Marcian, so he could potentially influence the emperor to do his bidding. While the military elites of the Empire, especially those of barbarian descent, are often being accused of disloyalty to the common cause, a careful analysis of the situation before, and during Marcian's reign proves that it was a much more complex matter. Even though most ancient authors condemned the emperors who weren't independent in their decision making, Marcian was almost universally considered as a good emperor. There is also no indication of any conflict between the emperor and the generals, while there are multiple accounts of such political struggle during the reigns of both Marcian's successor and his predecessor. It is very likely that the emperor not only owed his imperial power to the military elites, but also cooperated with them closely, having similar political views in most matters. Marcian's primary achievements were the containment of the Hun menace, stabilization of the northern border and reduction of the taxes, which was exactly what the generals wanted.

The analysis of Marcian's reign shows that the early Byzantine military elites had clear political goals that stretched far beyond achieving simple personal gains. They had their own vision of how the imperial policy should be conducted and what was good for the Empire. Oftentimes their ideas faced the opposition from the court faction or ambitious emperors, like Leo I, which then resulted in political conflicts. However, Marcian, the soldier-emperor, shared these views and cooperated with the military elites. The result was the seven years of stability, which should challenge our judgement on the influence of the army on early Byzantine politics.



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Exile, Prison and Physical Tortures against Pagans during the Reign of Emperor Zeno (474-491)

The IV century marks the beginning of the end of the traditional Roman religion. The Edict of Milan in first place and the Edict of Thessalonica in second, represent the definitive insertion of Christianity in the society and institutions of the Empire, leaving the paganism in a second place, even being pursued by the Roman law, that since the time of Theodosius have included strong anti-pagans provisions. Despite this and the political rise of the various Christological doctrines –facing each other for the control of the Church-, we realise that at the end of the Vth century, important redoubts of paganism are still remaining inside the Roman World, showing themselves especially in the most important knowledge centres in those moments, like the Schools of Alexandria, Athens and Syria.

Therefore, according to the testimonies of authors like the neoplatonist philosopher Damascius and the miaphisite Zacharias of Mytilene, would exist a relative peaceful coexistence between pagans and Christians during the reign of the emperor Zeno; although this, does not mean that there are no conflicts and turbulent times when this peaceful coexistence breaks out. One example of this breakdown, would be the case of the conflict with Paralius, a Christian scholar who is beaten by a group of pagan students from the School rolled by Horapollon in Alexandria around the year 486. This issue was going to promote an organized attack by the religious and imperial authority against the pagan community of Alexandria.

In this paper, we will study precisely these violent moments when the peaceful coexistence between Christians and pagans were broken, putting special attention to the punishments imposed to these pagans from the Imperial court of the Emperor Zeno, taking also a special care about the penalties of exile, imprisonment and physical tortures applied to those damned pagans. To do that, we will drop our attention to contemporary and secondary literary sources, the different epigraphical testimonies preserved and also the Roman legislative corpora. Likewise, we will try to set up if it would be possible to know at this time, if there was an official persecution against the pagan communities from the Imperial power or otherwise, to know if these attacks to the paganism were produced attending just to the different political, religious and social situation of that time.

To conclude, we must indicate that this paper is included within the research lines which are being done by the project: Historical Contexts of Imprisonment Penalties Application in the Eastern Mediterranean Empire (5th – 7th centuries a. D.): Cases and Legislation (HAR2014-52744-P), financed by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness.



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Afflictis longae: Physical Punishments, Seclusion Penalties and Capital Executions amongst Military Elites within Phocas' Revolt

The revolt of the Roman field army stationed in the Danube limes during the autumn of 602 marked not only the abrupt end of Maurice's regime and the bloody elevation to the purple of its leader Phocas, but also, leaving aside some exceptions, the effective purge of the most part of the military and civil palatine elites closely linked to the previous emperor. Beginning with an overhaul of the main narrations which deal with the insurrection, beyond its undeniable and far-reaching political consequences both in the short and in the medium-long term for the Empire, this communication, which is inscribed within the research project «Contextos históricos de aplicación de las penas de reclusión en el Mediterráneo Oriental (siglos V-VII): casuística y legislación (HAR 2014-52744-P)», intends to focus on the form and implications of the violence that was inflicted in the frame of this rebellion towards a particular group of the highest echelons of the society: the military. In this way, and taking into account primarily the information provided by the various written sources, we will analyze the circumstances, patterns and meanings of the diverse chastisements imposed on the key figures of the Roman army, beginning with Maurice himself, in order to determinate whether they were arbitrary measures or, on the contrary, were according to the law, their degree of exceptionality or continuity as well as the message that the new imperial administration headed by Phocas tried to send out through them.

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The Economic Aspects of the Aqueduct Abuse and the Relating State Policy in the V Century Byzantium

The paper deals with the constitutions which were issued by the Augusti Theodosius II and Zeno in order to curb the abuse of aqueducts. These are - two constitutions of Theodosius II directed to Cyrus of Panopolis, praetorian prefect of the East, a constitution of Theodosius II directed to Eutichius, praetorian prefect of the East, a constitution of Zeno addressed to Adamantius, eparch of Constantinople, as well as the constitution of Zeno directed to Sparacius. These constitutions are being analyzed in context of other contemporary or same-epoch sources - constitutions concerning public and private construction (especially on financing of state buildings and on repressing of private building-entrepreneur abuses), constitutions on the relevant financial and administrative obligations of the members of senatorial order and other landowners, constitutions prescribing the relating competencies of praetorian prefect of the East, eparch of Constantinople and provincial governors, and also relating data of the narrative



sources (primarily, Socrates Scholasticus and Zosimus), letters (primarily of Libanius), papyri, notitiae of the capitals, treatises, panegyrics, and the representative results of archaeological analysis.

First of all, the paper comments the economic and administrative context of abuses that appear in the narrative preambles of constitutions - issuance of permissions for aqueduct connection by unauthorized persons (mainly provincial officials), distraction of aqueduct- and reservoir water for irrigation of private suburban villas and water-mills, unauthorized construction and modification of state water-pipes, infringing of aqueduct-keeping principles, privatization of the other public water-supply facilities, illegal diversion of revenues belonging to civic aqueduct fund, as well as bribery of hydrofylaces (usually by imperial manor administrators).

The central part of the paper is devoted to the analysis of economic, social, political, administrative, and financial contexts standing behind the considered state anti-abuse policy, led by the imperial consistory, praetorian prefect of the East and eparch of Constantinople. The imperial policy considered includes analysis of the following matters - issuance of more precising procedure rules for imperial grant of connection to state water facilities, special penalties prescribing for circumvention of the imperial authority in the same matter, expansion of hydrofylaces' authority to search private homes, cancelation of rescripts allowing privatization of public water facilities, reinforcement of the rights for Hadrian's aqueduct use, protection of aqueduct supply for thermae and nymphaea, confiscation of land estates, mills and gardens irrigated by aqueduct usurpation, extension of regulations concerning the minimal distance between private buildings and aqueducts, supplementation of the water-distribution principle in private buildings, grant of new revenues for the maintenance of aqueducts, introduction of the new officials authorized for control of existing aqueduct's funds, etc.

A special effort is taken to identify and reconstruct the parts of social and administrative mechanisms of the state-property abuses in early Byzantine epoch, as a general background of the aqueduct abuse. Also, the paper discusses the possibility of "innovations" concerning this sort of abuse, in regard to the practice of IV century. Finally, the said government measures are being considered in the context of more general economic- and social policy of the fifth-century Empire, especially policy directed against the administrative abuses and senatorial struggle for new privileges.

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The Byzantines and Spania. New Data Coming from an Unpublished Manuscript: *The Ars Gromaticae siue Geometria Gisemundi* (ACA, Ripoll 106)

The recent edition of an early medieval manuscript, the *Ars Gromaticae siue Geometria Gisemundi*, based on two manuscripts dated in the ninth century (mostly ACA Ripoll 106), has offered new information about the activities of the Roman and Byzantine land surveyors in Hispania. The manuscript has preserved a description of Spain's provinces division in Late Roman times (*Discriptio Hispaniae*), focused specially in the Carthaginensis region. The author based this text on several unpublished ancient sources, from the early empire to the byzantine period. The text



mentions several land surveying activities, like the construction of a network of roman roads during Constantinean times, the modification of the provincial boundaries during th 6th c. A.D., or the main role of Cartagonova as the capital of the Byzantines. The text explicitly mentions also the territorial activities in the Iberian Peninsula of a byzantine emperor, likely Maurice, and brings new light to this obscure period, which is usually characterized by the tensions between the Visigothic monarchy and its oriental occupants, the milites Romani. Curiously, during the Maurice government we know the presence of the Dux Comitiolus - Comenciolus in Cartagonova (CIL II, 3420), the existence of some boundary disputes with the Visigothic King Reccared (settled by the intervention of Pope Gregory I), and likely this land surveying activities mentioned in this unpublished manuscript. Finally, our paper will discuss the historical context of these activities, and their relation with the complex political situation of the Byzantine Spania, including the possible existence of several boundary agreements between the Visigothic Kingdom and Maurice, the Byzantine emperor.

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Higher Education in Constantinople – A University or Not?

Constantinopolitan imperial school (5th-6th centuries) has acknowledgedly a significant place in history of education. Paradoxically perhaps, it seems to be our ‘internal knowledge’, almost completely unrecognized or forgotten outside the Byzantine studies. Partially, it is because of the reservations of the Byzantinists regarding the use term ‘university’ in relation to that 5th-century Theodosian establishment. The term is often put in the inverted commas or treated only semiseriously. And yet, as the role of late ancient education is still being stressed and the understanding of the problem fostered, it seems to be the right time to reconsider the basic question: was it a university or not?

Reasons for hesitations are known: we do not see at the Capitol an institutional organization formed with the system of superiors and subordinates, there were no faculties, nor academic titles and diplomas. Highly individualised character of schooling shaped rather the mentor-pupil relations, and not the student-institution ones. And it is true, we cannot assume that the higher education in Constantinople ran incessantly through the centuries and that the constitutions of Theodosius the Younger, albeit never abrogated, remained perpetually in the legal system for more than antiquarian reasons. We may only suppose that the imperial school functioned untroubled until the end of the 6th century, as witnessed e.g. by John the Lydian, and to a minor degree also in the 7th century up to Justinian II (as the costly building investments were still undertaken, also the instruction of the future officials seem probable, in reduced scope, and maybe within the complex of the Great Palace). An attempt to re-establish the school was ventured by cesar Bardas in the 9th century, but it was only a century later when the fortunate imperial decisions reinvented the Byzantine university anew. Thus, although the continuity of education was preserved, an institutional one is something we cannot expect.



With this being taken into account, the arguments that support the positive answer, recollected together, seem more convincing, both in number and in weight. Firstly, a failure of the initiative in the long run should not reduce to nothing the initiative itself, even more so the first dozen decades of its functioning did not encounter any major obstacles. Secondly, lack of the boards, principals and subordination of one professor to another, should not lead to the assumption that there was no academic community on spot, as there were many factors that bound the people involved together: the ways of employment and dismissal of the teachers, the auditoria, the customs, habits and feasts of the students (cf. the canons of Trullanum), the curricula for students (at least those who studied law). Imperial supervision and concern, careful differentiation between the public and the private teachers, and first and foremost the constitutions of 425, that so clearly delimited the conditions of schooling are further major arguments. The specialists of different arts were united in one educational institution, they were classified and inscribed into general state programme. Despite the differences with the later medieval universities of the West, the Constantinopolitan school was a university, and after the decades of reluctant usage of this classification the term should be positively reconsidered at last.



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Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

HAGIOGRAPHY – PART 1

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Anna Kryukova,

An Earlier Unknown Version of the *Vita of Xenophon, His Wife Mary, and Their Children Arcadius and John* from the Collection of Manuscripts in the Russian State Library (270/Ia, N 68)

Pablo Adrián Cavallero,

Le changement de version.

De la version longue à la version brève de la *Vie de Jean l'Aumônier*, dû à Léonce de Néapolis

Guido Venturini,

The Syriac *Life of John the Merciful* and Its Possible Contribution to the Edition of the Greek Text

Olga N. Izotova,

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An Investigation of Possible Influence

Mariafrancesca Sgandurra,

La tradizione agiografica italogreca della *Passio di santa Ciriaca*



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An Earlier Unknown Version of the Vita of Xenophon, His Wife Mary, and Their Children Arcadius and John from the Collection of Manuscripts in the Russian State Library (270/Ia, N 68)

The paper will discuss a newly discovered version of the Vita of Xenophon, his wife Mary, and their children Arcadius and John. This text has come down to us in a number of redactions, only two of which have been published.

The Vita was originally discovered by Halkin in one of the manuscripts now kept at the Russian State Library. However, he erroneously identified the text as the Acts of Xantippe, Polyxena and Rebecca. In my paper I will provide the correct attribution of the text and compare its redaction to the published versions, as well as one unpublished redaction found in a manuscript from the British Museum (Brit. Mus. Add. 10073). My comparative analysis of these three versions of the Vita will shed light on the textual relationship between them and more broadly on the place of the Vita in Early Christian literature.

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Le changement de version. De la version longue à la version brève de la Vie de Jean l'Aumônier, dû à Léonce de Néapolis

En 1893 Gelzer a publié deux versions de la Vie de Jean l'Aumônier. Mais en 1974 Festugière a édité la "version longue", auparavant inconnue.

On étudie ici les changements faits dans la version brève, qui ont été considérés en général par la critique, à fin d'évaluer sa cause et tirer en conséquence le caractère littéraire de la version. Son analyse permet voir que:

1. Ily a une cause «idéologique», qui consiste en supprimer de manière consistante tous les serments qui sont en bouche de divers personnages. Ceci répond à: 1) une erreur de compréhension du passage du Prologue 189; 2. à un respect pour le commandement évangélique. Cette version en remplace par des adverbes d'affirmation ou verbes de dire ou tournures exprimant l'état d'anime; elle supprime toute interjection invoquant à Dieu comme témoin. Également, elle remplace les aspects du paganisme comme les allusions à la fortune, et remarque la hiérarchisation sociale; elle transforme le besoin de cohérence parmi le dire et le faire par un adéquation parmi dire et penser; elle évite exprimer la connaissance de qu'est-ce que Dieu veut et elle remarque que tout miracle est fait par Dieu.



2. Il y a aussi une cause littéraire-culturelle répondant à la pratique de la métaphore, qui habituellement abrège le texte et altère le style pour l'élever. Ainsi:
 - a. Elle supprime ce qui est superflu ou insistant, la topicality; elle évite répéter les pronoms, les sujets, les charges; supprime des adjectifs et des éclaircissements, des commentaires et des effusions lyriques de l'auteur, des allusions à personnes externes au récit, la critique sociale; néanmoins, elle ajoute un éclaircissement syntactique s'il est nécessaire;
 - b. Elles sont préférées les formes linguistiques classicistes et la morphologie plus traditionnelle;
 - c. Ils sont actualisés certains détails, comme le prix d'un esclave;
 - d. Le contenu est réarrangé lorsque la version longue fait un excursus.

Tout cela démontre que la version brève s'adapte à la méthode des métaphrases, qui devinrent plus habituelles à partir du IX^e siècle; à cause de la tradition textuelle, elle peut dater du X^e siècle; la version longue est sûrement l'originale et les modifications effectuées dans la brève révèlent un changement culturel parmi le VII^e et le X^e siècle, qui inclut pas seulement des arêtes stylistiques et de rédaction mais aussi de pensée et d'intentionnalité idéologique.

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The Syriac *Life of John the Merciful* and Its Possible Contribution to the Edition of the Greek Text

The topic I am going to present is part of a larger research that I am developing within the frames of a PhD programme at the University of Roma La Sapienza, and is about the Syriac version of the *Life of John the Merciful*, originally written in Greek in the VII century by Leontios of Neapolis, and about the evaluation of its contribution to the reconstruction of the original Greek text.

The Syriac *Life of John the Merciful* consists of a rather free translation, which sometimes becomes remarkably distant from the text preserved in the Greek codices, but which can be potentially very useful for the improvement of the Greek edition of the *Life of John*, published for the first time by Gelzer in 1893 and later by Festugière (1974) and Cavallero (2011).

Until today, the only study highlighting the importance of the Syriac *Life* is that of V. Déroche about Leontios of Neapolis (1995), in which is reproduced the opinion of B. Flusin, based on two passages of the Syriac text. The scholar supposes that the Syriac version was translated from a very ancient and reliable form of the Greek text. Therefore a complete study of this version – missing until today – results to be inevitable, given its possible contribution to the improvement of the critical edition of the Greek text.

The only edition available until today of the Syriac *Life of John* is that of P. Bedjan (1894). This edition, based on the codices BN 235 and BL Add. 14645, was composed without a proper philological method. The editor, who demonstrates not knowing the Greek text, does not specify



from which codex the readings were taken and does not provide any translation of the Syriac text. Therefore, this edition needs to be urgently revised, which I am aiming to conclude during my research. Furthermore, the research takes also into consideration the inedited Syriac redaction present in the codex BN 234. This recensio brevior contains some significant passages, which might bring into question and increase the few data that we have until now about the Syriac translation of the Life of a text of such a great importance in the Byzantine hagiographic literature.

Finally, the Syriac Life of John the Merciful reveals to be particularly interesting for the comprehension of the dynamics of a Byzantine hagiographical work's reception in the environment of Eastern Christianity. The Syriac Life of John in fact presents considerable modifications in several parts, which suggests an editing in an atmosphere connected to the Syriac Monophysitism.

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A Hagiographer Monk Sabas (IX C.) as a Participant of the Image Debates

The text concerns theory of sacred images in the lives of two saints of iconoclastic time by Sabas (IX C.), who was a monk and a byzantine writer. The text contains a brief sketch of Sabas' life. On his own evidence, Sabas was acquainted with main characters of his works, st. Ioannikios the Great and st. Peter of Atroa. The hagiographer worked as a simple monk in monasteries of Asia Minor during their lives. The vitas were written by him later in the fifties or sixties of IX C., probably in the monastery of Antidion, besides st. Peter's life was edited by the author himself.

Following the information about the hagiographer the careful analysis of the passages concerning or making casual mention of sacred images is made. The first redaction of st. Peter's life includes only a brief confession of the veneration of icons, but the second version has a rather more detailed excursus of holy images theory and the st. Ioannikios' life contains three creeds relating icons. The general topics brought up in both lives are doctrine of Christ as the image of God the Father and a man as an image of God, which the hagiographer takes as basis of the image veneration, the christological basis of pro-image teaching, comprehension of iconoclasm as a kind of Docetism.

Although the hagiographer was not one of the main disputants of iconoclastic controversy as well as he did not aim at writing a treatise refuting iconoclastic doctrine, reading his works carefully we can see he use quite complicated terminology of pro-icon writers elaborated at the end of the image debates, such as notion of «circumscription» (περιγραφή). Sabas does not only confirm dogmas of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (relative adoration proper to icons, moving of honor accorded to the image to its prototype), but also emphatically uses in his texts such concepts as an image of God the Father in Christ and an image of God in a man to ground permissibility of pictorial images. This condition enables to conclude that this theme may take on special significance during the second iconoclast period.



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The Life of Saint Basil the Younger (BHG 264) and Philip Monotropos' *Dioptra*: An Investigation of Possible Influence

The new edition of the *Life of St. Basil the Younger* (D. F. Sullivan/A.-M. Talbot/St. McGrath, Washington, D.C., 2014) opened the way for further studies of this important 10th-century text. From the scarce information we possess the cult of this saint appears to be locally and chronologically limited. The text of his *Life*, however, had a considerable *Nachleben*, manifested in the rich Greek and Slavonic manuscript tradition. One of the reasons for its popularity must have been the vivid and detailed visions of the afterlife, from the posthumous judgment at the tollgates and the marvellous celestial dwellings to the Last Judgment. A further indication of the impact of the *Life* are the striking similarities with Philip Monotropos' *Dioptra*, a text written over a century later and dealing, among other questions, with the posthumous fate of the soul and the Last Judgment. These similarities, concerning the content and also the wording, are so numerous that they allow the hypothesis of a direct influence.

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La tradizione agiografica italogreca della *Passio di santa Ciriaca*

Il culto di santa Ciriaca, in greco Κυριακή, la martire “consacrata al Signore” o “nata di Domenica, giorno del Signore” (François Halkin), fu probabilmente trapiantato in Calabria al tempo della dominazione bizantina e finì per essere riferito ad una martire locale, santa Domenica di Tropea, come è avvenuto anche in altri casi. L'identificazione tra le due sante è stata sostenuta da numerosi studiosi, che hanno anche rilevato il valore simbolico di questo personaggio e la mancanza di storicità del suo martirio. È infatti evidente che il contenuto della *Passio* si snodi secondo le caratteristiche topiche delle passioni epiche, illustrate dettagliatamente dal bollandista Hippolyte Delehaye: Ciriaca, catturata in seguito all'editto di Diocleziano, passa da un magistrato all'altro, ognuno dei quali rivolge alla fanciulla esortazioni, adulazioni e minacce, secondo uno schema ricorrente che ha lo scopo di mettere in luce la fede della giovane martire e la sua perseveranza. Nella *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* sono repertorate sette redazioni della *Passio di santa Ciriaca*, di cui sono stati pubblicati soltanto due testi, quello (BHG 462) edito negli *Acta Sanctorum* dal codice Ambrosianus D 92 sup., databile all'XI secolo, e la *Passio* BHG 462g pubblicata da Halkin dal manoscritto Mosq. 162 (Vlad. 380) dell'anno 1021/1022. Ho potuto già verificare che per le redazioni BHG 461z e BHG 462 non ci troviamo di fronte a due tradizioni distinte: l'unica differenza è rappresentata dal prologo, più ampio nella redazione BHG 461z, nella quale sono descritti lo stile di vita e la profonda fede dei genitori



di Ciriaca, l'inizio della persecuzione, l'arrivo degli inviati di Diocleziano nella casa dei santi e la cattura della famiglia. Nei Menologi la martire si ricorda in date diverse: 6, 7 o 26 luglio, 10 agosto e 14 maggio. Nell'intento di fare chiarezza nel dossier agiografico di santa Ciriaca, mi propongo di esaminare in questa sede l'interessante caso del manoscritto Messan. S. Salv. 29, un testimone che tramanda due Passiones della martire: le redazioni BHG 462c, prescritta per il 7 luglio, e BHG 462g, per il 10 agosto. Il suddetto codice costituisce, come è noto, il secondo volume di un Menologio la cui prima parte è tramandata dal ms. Messan. S. Salv. 30. La doppia commemorazione presente nel manoscritto di Messina è una prova significativa dell'importanza che la martire rivestì in ambito italogreco, milieu cui appartengono la maggior parte dei codici che tramandano la narrazione del martirio di santa Ciriaca. È possibile rintracciare nelle redazioni della Passio della martire elementi che le mettano in relazione con l'Italia Meridionale? Quali sono le caratteristiche compositive delle due Passiones tradite dal Messan. S. Salv. 29 e quali le loro differenze?



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Innovation in the *Sylloge Tacticorum*



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On the Issue of Christian Allegoresis of the *Odyssey*

According to the widely accepted view, Christian allegoresis of the *Odyssey* began to take shape among the early Christian authors, evolved with time and had a corresponding presence in late Byzantine Homeric exegesis. The study that will be presented challenges the understanding of the source material which is generally adduced as an argument for these claims and points to other relevant testimonies in sources which allow for the conclusion to be drawn about exegesis of this kind as undesirable. One of the main problems identified concerns the difference between the use of the *Odyssey* imagery as argumentative and stylistic element of a speech on the one hand and the interpretation of the imagery on the other hand. It will be shown that sections of early Christian writings which are cited as evidence for the existence of Christian interpretation of the *Odyssey* do not betray the intent to interpret the epic as an allegory for Christian teachings. Gnostic and Neoplatonic practices are taken into account as vital for comparison. With this emendation to the early state of affairs, the study sheds new light on overlooked traits of Homeric exegesis among XI century Christian scholars who rely heavily on Neoplatonic exegesis. Michael Psellos, the main source for these interpretations, speaks openly about the conversion of lies in “our truth” through allegory. The meaning linked to the text in this case is not attributed to its author or to the source of his inspiration or even to the nature of the text, but to the power of rhetoric. After the “Byzantine Platonists” none among the important Homeric teachers and exegetes (John Tzetzes, Eustathius of Thessalonica, Matthew of Ephesus) indulges in the so-called Christian allegoresis of the *Odyssey*. Some in this regard misread examples of exegesis are discussed, as well as those interpretations which draw on early Christian productive use of *Odyssey* imagery, but deprive it of specifically Christian connotations. Finally, through the analysis of relevant attitudes of Byzantine interpreters towards Homer and the *Odyssey*, with emphasis on the context that accompanies their exegetical works, it is explained why in fact the path of Christian allegoresis was not the path they would want to take.

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The Comparative Analysis of Ideas About an Ideal Person Represented in the Works of Plato and Grigory Nissky

For many centuries the philosophers addressed the issue of an ideal person solving it in correspondence with the spiritual needs of the time. On the example of the works by Plato and Grigory Nissky we will consider the changes of these views during the millenniums starting with the ancient times and finishing with the epoch of the developed Byzantine Empire. For Plato a person's way to the ideal depends on their deeds and primogenitors. A person's life experience may only



correct the result of the experience of the previous generations either for the better or the worse; the result of the life experience affects the personality development of the subsequent generations. Grigory Nissky considers that a body and a soul are born at the same time; it means that the soul has an imprint of the life experience of the previous generations. According to Grigory Nissky, every person can approach the ideal already in his life time.

According to Plato who lived in the times of polytheism, only the elite layers of the society are capable for self-perfection. Grigory Nissky who lived in the monotheistic state considered that any person can achieve the ideal.

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Plato's Theory of Tripartite Soul in Speech to Alexios I Komnenos by Theophylact of Ochrid

In speech to Alexios I Komnenos Theophylact of Ochrid praises emperor's military, diplomatic, missionary and administrative feats inspired by his courage (ἀνδρεία), temperance (σωφροσύνη) and prudence (φρόνησις). Although Theophylact devotes the most part of the panegyric to celebrating emperor's courage, in this very part he simultaneously pays Alexios the compliment of his mildness (πραότης), namely his ability to forgive barbarians their insolence and to have mercy upon rebels. Furthermore, at the very beginning of glorification of deeds of ἀνδρεία Theophylact emphasizes that his addressee has elected reason as a king while spirit was appointed by him to serve as the reason's bodyguard (βασίλεα δὲ τὸν λόγον χειροτονήσας, τὸν θυμὸν αὐτῷ δορυφόρον ὑπέθηκας). I argue that Theophylact's approval of such mental hierarchy evolved throughout the oration has its origin in Plato's theory of tripartite soul developed in *Respublica*.

According to Plato the spirited (θυμοειδές) part of the soul assists rational (λογιστικόν) in restraining the appetitive (ἐπιθυμητικόν) and shows its courage (ἀνδρεία) in guarding the whole person from external enemies (442a–b). However, spirit is tamed by reason in the manner of a shepherd calling back a dog even if it is rightly angry at being wronged (440c–d). The example of such self-control is given by Theophylact in his description of emperor's response to barbarian ambassadors' forgery disclosed by him. After rebuking embassy's guile Alexios still refrained from revenge because the adversaries had admitted their guilt. Theophylact is amazed by his lord's temperance since another in Alexios' place would not have ceased from vengeance until he had satiated wrathful spirit's beast with Scythian blood (Ἄλλος... οὐ πρότερον τῆς δίκης ἐπαύσατο πρὶν αἵμασι Σκυθικοῖς εὐωχῆσαι τοῦ θυμοῦ τὸ θηρίον). Such image of unfair rage bears a strong resemblance to Plato's allegory of zoomorphic soul which implies that satiating beast is equal to choosing injustice manifested in internal discord (588e–589a).

Apart from being resistant to fits of excessive anger Alexios is praised for insusceptibility to base pleasures. Theophylact mentions Alexios' temperance as a fact of common knowledge emphasizing the austerity of his life as well as devotion to his spouse. Besides, Theophylact's bodyguard metaphor seems to be a positive conversion of Plato's statement that a tyrant avoiding law and reason cohabits with certain slavish, mere mercenary, pleasures (ὁ τύραννος φυγὼν νόμον τε καὶ λόγον, δούλαις τισὶ δορυφόροις ἡδοναῖς συνοικεῖ 587c).



However, the most striking affinity with Plato's theory of soul has the passage in which Theophylact approves of prudence's supremacy over courage in Alexios' decision-making. While prudence takes part in military affairs along with courage, in administering the affairs of the state it exerts its power alone. Similarly, Plato considering spirited part of a soul as an ally of rational does not intend that supreme power is somehow divided between them because only the latter is aware of what is beneficial for each of three parts and for the whole soul (442c). Moreover, bringing the virtues of different parts of soul into correspondence with particular activities Theophylact follows Plato's analogy according to which both city and soul obtain justice if each part of soul/ class of city performs its own task (τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν) (441d–e). Theophylact's use of this analogy is peculiarly apt since it enables to embody the ideal of fair ruling over both a soul and a state in a sole figure of the emperor.

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Rhetoric and Aristotle's *Antistrophos*

Aristotle's famous line ἡ ῥητορική ἐστὶν ἀντίστροφος τῇ διαλεκτικῇ has given rise to much dispute and confusion among rhetoricians and Aristotelian commentators alike. A passing mention of choral lyric in Book Three of Aristotle's Rhetoric has prompted a consideration of the relationship between rhetoric and dialectic in terms of parallels resembling the metrical correspondences between strophe and antistrophe. However, the similarity is not obvious, and the rhetoric commentators clearly find it unsatisfactory.

Discussions of rhetoric as antistrophos usually appear in prolegomena preceding the Hermogenic corpus, where the definition, subject matter, and goals of rhetoric are expounded. The composite prolegomena that survive from the tenth and eleventh centuries do not limit the comparison of rhetoric to dialectic but also draw parallels between rhetoric and philosophy, medicine, gymnastics, and law. They give various explanations for the term antistrophos, ranging from subject matter to argumentation, to length of treatment, to method of exposition. What is conspicuous about the selection of material and its treatment is the prominent place ascribed to definition (as a concept) and conversion (the reciprocal transformation of propositions, terms, and even arguments). Rhetoric is not strictly paired with dialectic, but its definition includes from some form of convertibility between itself and other disciplines such as dialectic or philosophy or medicine.

Here I suggest that the prominence of definition and of conversion in the rhetorical prolegomena reflects an argumentation interest – and subsequently, a pedagogical concern – which has its roots in the Iconoclastic period. The Vita of Patriarch Nicephorus makes a clear point that the mastery of definition and logical conversion is indispensable to the kind of intellectual arsenal required for settling the controversy about images. Likewise, Nicephorus' treatises Against the Iconoclasts and Refutation of the Council of 815 show a concern for the correct use of both in practical argumentation. This suggests that the Iconoclastic controversy may have been instrumental to the selection and transmission of rhetorical theory during the ninth century and later.



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The Criticism of Photius on Lycurgus' and Aeschines' Oratory

This paper focuses on the analysis of Photius' testimonies about life and literary style of two Athenian rhetoricians Lycurgus and Aeschines, who belonged to the famous Canon of ten Attic orators. The main subject of our research is comparison of the Photius' criticism of the style and rhetorical skills of these two authors with some modern tendencies in description and evaluation of their oratory. Therefore, the research will be conducted on the corpus consisted from Photius Bibliotheca, speeches of the two orators aforementioned and some recent interpretations of their rhetorical means, in order to determine if and how the criticism on these two orators has evolved through centuries.

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The Term *τρισκατάρατος* in Byzantine and Serbian Medieval Literature

Starting point of this paper is the account of a council against heretics which was held by the Serbian grand zupan Stephen Nemanja in his dominions in the late 12th century Serbia. Later, in the first half of the 13th century Nemanja's son and hagiographer, the first crowned king Stephen Nemanjic utilized a specific technical term thrice accursed (*τρισκατάρατος*) in his account of the council which was convened. Our aim is to present the levels of cultural and literary traditions which were transmitted from various Byzantine literary genres, which stem from the Attic oratory as far as the 4th century B.C. (Demosthenes' Oration against Aristogeiton), through the literary works of the rhetor Lucian the Sophist in the second century A.D., and which later entered Byzantine tradition through pseudo-chrysostomian works, and the liturgical and historiographical texts such as Romanus Melodus, George the Monk, and Constantine Manasses. We tend to present both the development in the meaning of the term thrice accursed in its long historical path from Demosthenes to Manasses, its shift from ancient pagan to Christian semantics and thus utilization in various genres of Byzantine literature, and finally its influence on the genre of Serbian medieval hagiography, especially in the works of Stephen the first crowned, St. Sava Nemanjic, and archbishop Daniel II in his Lives of Serbian kings and archbishops.



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Cicero in Byzantium: An Example of Roman Antiquarianism

Cicero's influence on Western European culture is very well known. However, almost nothing has been written on Cicero in Byzantium. While it is true that there is not a lot to report, as interest in the orator was neither widespread nor enduring, nevertheless, an investigation of references to Cicero by Byzantine authors remains a fruitful endeavor. This paper examines references to Cicero in Byzantine literature, and in particular their context and function.

According to Egyptian papyri from the 4th and 5th centuries, Cicero's works enjoyed significant status in school readings. However, they gradually fell out of favor, not only among popular readers but also among the educated élite. Cicero's name became a sort of trope, an antiquarian example used when it was desirable to number the most important representatives of Roman culture, especially during periods in which the general social and cultural climate emphasized the Roman roots of the Byzantine tradition. A reference to Cicero by a Byzantine author did not reflect so much his personal preferences, as much as it reflected the prevailing social and literary trends at a given historical moment. Thus, we can say that mentioning Cicero's name is a clear indicator that the author wrote in a period which emphasized Roman heritage, as transmitted by Greek intermediaries. Therefore, it is not surprising that among the Byzantine authors who referenced Cicero one can find Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and Michael Psellos. Broader knowledge of Cicero's works, closely tied to translating Cicero into the Greek language, only occurred again in the twilight of Byzantium, and could be said to represent the completion of a cycle.

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Rereading Pseudo-Libanios' Epistolary and Its Interpolated Versions

Epistolimaioi charakteres, in different manuscripts ascribed to Libanios and to Proklos, is a well-known text, representing (along with Pseudo-Demetrios' *Epistolikoi typoi*) Greek epistolary theory of the Late Antiquity. It is generally assumed, that this small treatise, containing a small theoretical introduction and very short examples of prooimia to 41 types of letters, has nothing to do with high-style Greek epistolography and has not exerted any influence on letter-writing in Byzantium. As a rule, it is analyzed in the context of Early Medieval practical letters and documents, which are preserved in papyri.

The text can be considered in an extremely different way, if we pay attention to its interpolated versions, which, though published by V. Weichert long ago (*Demetrii et Libanii qui feruntur Τύποι ἐπιστολικοί et Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες* / Ed. V. Weichert. Lipsiae, 1910), remain completely



unexplored. These additions are large (some interpolated versions are four times longer, than original text) and very different - some of them concern the theoretical part, other are additional examples of letters, which are much more extensive than prooimia of the original version. The task of the present paper is to make some notes on date, content and style of these interpolations.

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Innovation in the *Sylloge Tacticorum*

The *Sylloge Tacticorum* is a tenth-century Byzantine military manual. As almost every work of Byzantine literature much of the contents of the *Sylloge* derive from classical or older Byzantine treatises. This concept of imitation (*mimesis*) has led many scholars to argue that Byzantine literature did not allow for innovations and that it did not present the reality of its time. This was considered a mainstream view not only for more general genres like historiography and hagiography but also for specialized literature like military manuals. The past twenty years this view has been challenged by scholars who argued that Byzantine imitation was not slavish. They demonstrated instead that imitation was a creative process which updated and manipulated the tradition. While more popular genres of Byzantine literature, like historiography and hagiography, have been re-approached with the above fresh perspective, military manuals remain largely uninfluenced by it. The *Sylloge Tacticorum* is no exception. Some scholars have argued that it was merely a compilation slavishly copied from other sources. But is that really the case? Does the *Sylloge Tacticorum* remain clung to its ancient/older models? Or does it present an updated mentality on warfare and military innovations? This paper will explore how certain passages differ from their ancient models and how they were updated in order to better fit into a contemporary/Christian context and mentality. In addition, the appearance of military innovations such as new military formations and units will be discussed in connection with the contemporary challenges faced by the Byzantine armies in their struggle against the Arabs, while their gradual evolution in later manuals will also be highlighted.



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Geopolitics of the First Bulgarian State, Seventh-Eleventh Centuries

One of the topics to be investigated under the research grant NCN DEC-2014/14/N/HS3/00758 (*The Bulgarian state in the years 927-969. The Epoch of Tsar Peter the Pious*) concerns political geography of the early medieval Bulgarian state. In the period in question, Bulgaria encompassed the areas lying in the north-eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. Among these areas, exhibiting diversified topographical features, one can specify:

- a) Dobruja forming the final part of the steppes that extended from central Asia, along the northern coasts of the Black Sea, to the Balkan Peninsula. It lied at the end of the migration corridor used in the early Middle Ages by different nomadic tribes heading for the Balkan area. It is from this direction that the state founded in the lower part of the river Danube was in danger of being invaded.
- b) The Danubian Plain, whose southern part, the one lying between the lower Danube valley and the mountain range known as *Stara Planina*, formed – with the exclusion of the epoch of the Kometopouli dynasty – the nucleus of the Bulgarian statehood in the early Middle Ages. It was the so-called “inner area” of the Bulgarian state. Most densely populated, the area was home to the country’s political centres, including its capitals – Pliska and Great Preslav.
- c) The Foothills of the Stara Planina, the mountains of the Stara Planina and the mountain range of Sredna Gora, all of which were referred to in the Middle Ages as Haimos. The Stara Planina served as a natural barrier that blocked access to the Bulgarian interior. Similarly, the range of Sredna Gora constituted a barrier separating the areas of northern Thrace from the Sofia Valley. It formed an obstacle to be overcome by those who travelled from the north-west to the south-east.
- d) The Sofia Field. It was a long basin with Sredetz as its most important political centre. Two important routes intersected within the area – one, used for military purposes, ran from the north-west to the south-east; the other led from the north-east to the south-west, that is, from the Danube Plain, through the western part of the Stara Planina, to Macedonia.
- e) The Upper Thrace forming the hinterland of the western coast of the Black Sea. Filipopol was its most important urban centre, but the cities of Verroia and Stilvnos also managed to rise to a significant position. The rivalry between Bulgaria and Byzantium naturally took place in the Northern Thrace.
- f) A strip of the western coast of the Black Sea, from the Danube delta to the eastern ridges of the Strandja mountains. In its northern part, between a great river and Cape Emine, it was made up of a line of cliffs, thus making the interior difficult to access from the sea. The southern coast was more open towards the sea, having a number of important harbors along its length – Messembria, Anchialos, Sozopolis and Develtos. These harbours had a very important role to play in the relations between Bulgaria and Byzantium.



- g) Rhodope Mountains occupying most of the southern area of the north-eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula. The mountains were bounded to the west by the Alpine massif of Rila and Pirin, constituting the so-called Rilo-Rhodope massive.
- h) Macedonia, a picturesque land of valleys and mountains. Its partition resulted in the development of settlement separatism. From the mid-ninth century Macedonia formed an integral part of the Bulgarian state and from the end of the tenth to the second decade of the eleventh centuries it was the nucleus of the Bulgarian statehood, with Prespa and Ohrid as its main centres. Its geographical formation helped the Bulgarians resist the Byzantine aggression over a long period.
- i) The lower Danube, stretching between the so-called Iron Gate in the west and the river's delta in the east, cutting the Danube Plain in half and forming the northern, natural border of the nucleus of the Bulgarian state. The Danube was not an important demarcation line. In cultural terms, both of its banks developed in a similar fashion.
- j) Transylvania, stretching over the upland area, in the central part of contemporary Romania. Following the fall of the Avar Khaganate the Bulgarians ruled the land until the arrival of the Hungarian tribes. The issue of how long the region remained in their hands is still open to debate. It formed the northern border of the Bulgarian state, and due to its rich deposits of salt and silver it played, it appears, an important role in the economic life of the country.

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The Image of Maria Lekapene, Peter and the Byzantine-Bulgarian Relations between 927 and 969 AD in the Light of Old Russian Sources

Maria Lekapene was the granddaughter of the Byzantine Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos. In 927 she married Peter of Bulgaria, a son of Simeon I the Great. Her marriage solemnly concluded in Constantinople was aimed at strengthening the newly signed Byzantine Bulgarian peace treaty. The notes on the reign of Peter and Maria Lekapene in the sources of Bulgarian provenance are extremely scarce. The researcher is therefore required to derive information on them mainly from the records of Byzantine authors: Symeon the Logothete, Georgius Monachus Continuatus (GMC), Leo Grammaticus, Theophanes Continuatus, John Skylitzes, John Zonaras and Constantine VII. Their accounts include quite a detailed description of the wedding ceremony of Maria and Peter as well as of the conclusion of peace in 927 AD. The authors mentioned the recognition of Lekapene as the ruler of the Bulgarians and also included some passages on the activities of the couple during later years (e.g. passages on Peter's action preventing an attempt to capture the Bulgarian throne by his younger brother John in 928 AD or on several trips of Maria to Constantinople).

In Rus' the information on the history of the Eastern Roman Empire and its relations with neighbouring Bulgaria was derived primarily from the Byzantine chronicles that were translated



into Old Church Slavonic. Among the above-mentioned works, both editions of the GMC were certainly translated into the language of the literature of Orthodox Slavs. GMC is an anonymous historiographical work of the 10th century that presents the description of events from 842 AD, i.e. from the moment where the proper narration of George Hamartolos ends. The message of this source is entirely convergent with the message of the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete when it comes to the passages pertaining to Peter and Mary. In Rus' the translation of the later, more extensive version of this source (the so-called B-edition), which was done most probably in Bulgaria, was known already in the 11th century. The translation was characterised by its considerable faithfulness to the original Greek text.

The Slavonic translation of the B-edition of the GMC probably formed the basis for the records pertaining to Peter and his wife Maria that can be found in the original Old Russian historiographical texts. A short note on the son of Simeon I the Great that was clearly inspired by this source can be found on the pages of the Russian Primary Chronicle under a wrong year 6450 AM: Simeon attacked the Croats and was beaten by them. He then died, leaving Peter, his son, as Prince of the Bulgarians. This record was repeated under 6450 AM or 6449 AM in a number of later Russian chronicles, including, among others, the Novgorod Fourth Chronicle, Sofia First Chronicle and Moscow chronicles. Definitely, the most comprehensive sequence regarding the reign of Peter and Mary, and the Byzantine-Bulgarian relations between 927 and 969 AD can be found in the second edition of the Hellenic and Roman Chronicle – a historiographical work from the first half of the 15th century, whose authors attempted to demonstrate the history of Rus' in relation to general history. The passages pertaining to Mary and Peter constitute the reedited version of the Slavic translation of the relevant passages from the B-edition of the GMC. Three short records about Lekapene and her husband can also be found in the related works: the Russian Chronograph from 1512 and the Nikon Chronicle from the 16th century. The authors of these sources derived information on Bulgarian rulers not only from the GMC – the dependencies on the chronicles of John Zonaras and Constantine Manasses (known in their Slavic translation) as well as the elements taken from hagiography (e.g. a note on St. Ivan Rilski) can be found here too.

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Tsar Peter, Monastic Tsardom and Byzantinisation. A Historiographical Survey

Writing about Tsar Peter and Bulgaria under his reign is difficult challenge for a historian. The source of difficulties is typical for medieval studies – low quantity and quality of information. It seems that in the situation of the lack of reliable primary sources we should carefully formulate opinions. However, problems and questions connected with Peter and his reign are not always regarded with appropriate cautiousness and moderation by modern historians. The unusual duration of Peter's reign, when the state came away from the peak of power to Sviatoslav's invasion, raise of



bogomilism, development of anchoritism and many surprising references to Peter in the texts from the following centuries deservedly caught the attention of many historians. However in the process of accumulation of knowledge on tsar Peter and his times some dubious hypotheses turned into commonly known facts (or just too often are presented as such). In this paper I show the source basis of some statements concerning byzantinisation of Bulgarian Tsardom and development of so called monastic Tsardom during Peter's reign and to trace how this ideas where received and transformed in historiography – especially Bulgarian one.

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Спорные вопросы правления болгарского царя Петра I (927 – 969)

До сегодняшнего времени в научной литературе преобладала отрицательная оценка правления болгарского царя Петра I (927–969). Его представляли, как слабого правителя, лишённого значительных политических амбиций, сосредоточенного на религиозных вопросах, благочестивого, но пренебрегавшего жизненными интересами Болгарии. С правлением Петра связывается «византинизация» двора и государства, представление о беспомощности власти в решении проблемы венгерских набегов и распространение ереси богомилов. Петр считается виновником завоевания Болгарии в 971 году. Он представляется как полная противоположность Симеона I Великого (893–927), своего знаменитого отца – выдающегося полководца, политика, визионера, создателя могущественного средневекового болгарского государства (такую оценку этого правителя распространили столь авторитетные исследователи как Васил Н. Златарски или Петр Мутафчиев).

Некоторые ученые, впрочем, высказывались против однозначно отрицательной оценки правления Петра. Они пытались или полностью его реабилитировать (Джон В.А. Файн млад., Пламен Павлов) или указывали на аспекты, заслуживающие другой, положительной оценки (Васил Гюзелев, Георгий Н. Николов). Их усилия, однако, так и не изменили неблагоприятного образа правления Петра в современной историографии.

В течение нескольких лет мы занимаемся изучением истории раннехристианской Болгарии – в настоящее время в сотрудничестве с болгарскими учеными нами реализуется исследовательский проект: Болгарское государство в 927–969 гг. Эпоха царя Петра I Благоверного – Национальный Центр Науки, Польша, 2014/14/M/HS3/00758 – и полностью разделяем представление о потребности изменения образа правления Петра. Новый анализ источников диктует необходимость переоценки доминирующих представлений о нем, представлений, которые определяют функционирование этой личности в историческом сознании современников.



В сфере церковной политики царь Петр был деятельным правителем, кроме того, он был глубоко верующим человеком. К его заслугам можно отнести получение болгарским архиепископом сана патриарха, что произошло, вероятнее, в рамках мирного договора 927 г. (933/934 г. ?). Это событие символически завершило процесс формирования Церкви в Болгарии и обретения ею полной независимости. Царь не был инструментом в руках болгарской Церкви. Есть сведения, позволяющие утверждать, что он был в состоянии, в случае необходимости, подчинить интересы Церкви интересам государства.

Петр был первым болгарским правителем, который в полной мере столкнулся с проблемой ереси. Осознавая, что он – царь, обязанный заботиться о чистоте веры своих подданных, Петр проявил бдительность и принял необходимые меры для того, чтобы остановить развитие богомилства.

Определенно, нельзя говорить о подчинении Петра Византии. Это не означает, что царь был противником византийского влияния в сфере культуры или религии (лучшим примером этого является его переписка с патриархом Феофилактом). Кроме того, не исключено, что он использовал византийские образцы в области организации государства. Трудно также найти подтверждения представлениям о том, что болгары не справились с венгерским вопросом.

Политика Петра принесла Болгарии более сорока мирных лет. В это время не велись войны. Внутренняя ситуация в стране была стабильной. После разгрома оппозиции со стороны братьев, власть царя не подвергалась опасности, что свидетельствует о его неоспоримом авторитете. Эпоху Петра нельзя представлять как период ослабления болгарской государственности, по крайней мере этого не позволяют сделать источники. Петр, несомненно, был самостоятельным правителем.

Болгария не потеряла независимость при жизни Петра, это случилось через два года после его смерти. Когда он умирал, угроза со стороны Русов была предотвращена. По крайней мере, временно. Можно полагать, что обладая всей своей силой царь смог бы, как многоопытный правитель, успешно противодействовать второму набегу Святослава. О том, что современники и последующие поколения не возлагали на Петра ответственность за упадок Болгарии, свидетельствует хотя бы тот факт, что на него ссылались борцы за независимость. Его именем прозвались: Делян, предводитель восстания 1040 г., Константин Бодин, провозглашенный болгарским царем во время ополчения Георгия Войтеха в 1072 г. и Теодор-Асень, основоположник восстания, которое привело к возрождению болгарской государственности в восьмидесятых годах XII в.



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Apostolic Diocese to Moravian Archbishops in Illyric St. Methodius, Gorazdus, John Exarch and St. Clement, Bishop of Tiberiupolis (893) and Velitza (906) in Provincia Bulgaria Occidental

New sources give possibilities to make a hypothesis, that St. Methodius was a Bishop of Pannonia on the diocese of Andronicus, an apostle of the 70th and after 873 as Archbishop of the town Morava in Ilyricum. Because in this time this part of Ilyricum was in Bulgarian state, as a Methodius is in The Du Cange Catalogue Archbishops of Bulgaria.

A canonic Nota sobre el arzobispado de Bulgaria de Escorial (Tovar 1962, Prinzing 1978) demonstrated continuation of the Justiniana Prima as Bulgarian Church similar to Church of Cartagena with a primas or прѣболии In slavonian or Bulgarian or Slavic language for ὁ πρῶτος, i. e. the first. Therefore, “The first Bishop of Bulgarian Language” is first in chronological order (869) when Bulgaria is in the diocese of Roman Church (866-870) and as the first primas archbishop of the Provincia Illyricum or Provincia Bulgaria occidental St. Methodius after 873-885, followed by St. Gorazdus (885-) and by John the Exarch five years after Methodius Interim in Moravia annis quinque, interpontificio durante, tandem Johannes Moravus in locum Methodii cooptatus est... (Бърлиева 1992).

John archbishop of Bulgaria in the end of 9th century (Йорданов 2013) consecrated Clement as bishop of Tiberiupolis (893) and after them as bishop of Velegrad or Velitza (906) (Cod.Vat. gr. 2492, f.85v Кръстанов 1999). There are and now memory about same Bishopric Velitza in Papal yearbook Vescovati titolari Bela (Velitza), Provincia Bulgaria occidental in Annuario pontificio per l'dmmo 1972, p.608.

I suppose that John Exarch “worked in Rome” as diplomat, translator of a Tolkovno evangelie or the 40 Homilies for the Gospel to pope Gregori the Great from Latin language in his native Bulgarian language, “fidelis” intrusive to pope John the eighth, Exarch, archbishop of Bulgaria and the first patriarch of Bulgaria in the time of Symeon (917-927) is made a legend about apostolic continuation of the Bulgarian patriarchate similar as the patriarchate of Constantinople, increased from apostles of the 70-th and introduced from imperators Constantine the Great and Justinian the First.



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The Slavic Military Commander in Byzantium: Dragshan of Voden

Byzantium annexed the planned Bulgaria at the end of the X century. The revolt against Byzantine administration was headed by Samuel – an ambitious military leader, who was brought up on the stories of his father, Nicholas Comita. He told his son about victorious campaigns of Bulgarian Tsar Simeon and the power of his state.

Samuel managed to win over not only the representatives of noble families. He also put forward talented but common military commanders. This practice inherited the fate of young state in the hands of the elite, which, primary, has been linked by kinship and obligations, and secondary, was torn by internal conflicts. A certain number of military leaders deserted to the enemy, i.e. Byzantine emperor Basil II. He conferred honorable title (has not given real power) to any commander, in exchange for the voluntary surrender of the city. But he gave nobody real power.

However, Dragshan of Voden defended his castle up to the end. According to legend after capture of Voden, Basil ordered a brave commander for the count. The lack of well-trained military personnel and information of chronicler John Skylitzes suggested quite different version of events. Dragshan settled in Thessaloniki, married the daughter of senior priest of St. Demetrius church. He became the father of two sons.

After the terrible Battle of Kleidion (1014) Bulgarians refused of the idea restore the independent Bulgaria of Tsar Simeon the Great. Former Samuel military commanders faced a choice in 1018: to go to Preslav, to Basil II, and sign the capitulation or to raise the anti-Byzantine rebellion in the Tmor (Macedonia).

During 1014-1018 the Byzantines rendered resistance to Habra's, Elemag's and Ivatz's forces. Dragshan tried to escape but unsuccessfully. After the third escape (approximately 1018) when Bulgarian forces were defeated, Dragshan was put on a stake.

The greatest Serbian and Bulgarian commanders, that is Bogdan, Dragomuzh, Ilitza, Krakra of Pernik and his brother, son, thirty-five leaders, signed capitulation in Preslav in 1018. All of them received high Byzantine titles patrikioi and anthypatoi.

Moreover, Dragshan's supports, Ivatz, Havra and Elemag were also in Mount Athos in 1019-1020. It is known at that time three boyars turned out to be in Mount Athos. One of them, John (Ivatz is probably the name used military environment) bought a small monastery near the Zograf Monastery.

The tragic fate of Dragshan of Voden is poorly described in historical chronicles. Even these data show that the transition of Slavic commander to the Byzantine service as difficult for him. The generation of Dragshan had to give up the dream of Bulgaria's independence and seek integration into the world of the Byzantine elite.

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Presian II – The Last Ruler of the First Bulgarian Empire (1018) and Pretender for Byzantine Crown

Presian, the great son of Tsar Ivan Vladislav (1015-1018) in fact is the last ruler of First Bulgarian Empire. In the spring and the summer of 1018 he is the leader of the resistance to Byzantine conquest in Albanian mountain Tomor. Eventually Presian II and his brothers were forced to surrender, and were integrated into the court nobility in Constantinople. There Presian was granted the high court title of magistros, like the previous ruler of Bulgaria to be deposed by the Byzantines, Boris II (969-971).

About a decade later, in the late 1026 and 1030, Presian became involved in the conspiracy against Emperors Constantin VIII and Romanos III Argyros. Presian was once again implicated in a plot, together with his mother Marija. This time Presian was planning to marry princess Theodora, a daughter of Constantine VIII, and to usurp the throne. This is an attempt of the Bulgarians to defeat the Byzantium from “inside”. The plot was discovered, and Presian was blinded and tonsured as monk in 1030.

His subsequent fate is unknown, but the gravestone of a certain “Prince Presian” found in Michalovce / Mihald, Slovakia (then part of Hungary) may indicate that he immigrated to Hungary and died there in 1060/1061. In Presian’s actions appear the Bulgarian political ideology from the X-XI century.

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Magistros Presiyan the Bulgarian and His Role in the Byzantine Empire (1018-1030)

The purpose of this short message is to present the Bulgarian uprisings and resistance movements against Byzantine rule in the 11th century. After the death of Emperor Basil II (976 – 1025) Byzantium was rocked by a series of shocks. Spoke coups, attempted secession of parts of the empire. The boundaries of the empire are exposed to constant attacks. Two biggest Bulgarian uprisings in (1040-1041) and (1071-1072) profoundly shaken European possessions. The actions of Bulgarians are widely reflected in Byzantine sources.



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Road System around Bithynia during Byzantine Period

It is not only road systems which serve dominance claims, but also occupy a vital place as a power instrument. Road systems were used through transportation of army at war it was also an indispensable instrument for trade networks as well as taking the existence of state back of the beyond. In this context, Byzantine Empire, while generating one of the most important elements for humankind, was able to take its influence, through these road nets constituted by bridges and milestone to the lands dominated. Courier service has great importance for the rendering of power.

In Byzantine period, the main road, from Belgrade via Edirne (Adrianople) to Istanbul strait, had been extending to İzmit (Nikomedia) passed to Anatolia side. Thus, İzmit until the establishment of Istanbul (Constantinople), was the center of Roman Empire in Asia Minor and it had rendered a service as a first distribution point of Anatolian road system. From there routes leading to Black Sea (Phontus) coasts were covering a distance to the territorial enclaves of Anatolia. Hence, the main road, extending from İzmit to Anatolia, was leading to İznik (Nikaea) and from there via Osmaneli (Lefke) was bifurcating through Ankara (Ancyra) and Eskişehir (Dorylaion). Milestones, bridges and roads fitted with stones, still existent, have the evidences for this road nets.

Sakarya River (Sangarios) was one of the obstacles in the proceeding of the road net reaching to Lefke surroundings. It was extremely hard to cross this ferocious river described as a hell by traveler Ibn Battuta. Romans had built enormous bridges to cross this obstacle dominating the main road. Even though none of these bridges reached today, their remnants have certain clues. The bridge, to which we refer, is located close to Selçik Village encountered at 3 kilometers far from and northwest of Osmaneli province. This bridge, following the milestones is one of the most important points of main road extending to Anatolia. In this context we have determined another bridge remnant in the same place through our field research. This ultimate bridge constructed by six arches three of which is under the water was devastated by this river.

In this study, this bridge has no records in literature, it will be dealt with the road net surrounding it and the remnants of this road net penetrating into Anatolia will also be examined.



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Recapturing the Dynamic Rural Landscape of Medieval Cyprus: 12th – 15th C.

Cyprus constituted the ground of many diverse civilizations since antiquity thanks to its advantageous and strategic location as a nodal point for trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The aim of this study is to identify and analyze the evolution of settlement systems in the rural landscape of Cyprus from the Middle Byzantine period to the end of Frankish domination (c. 12th -15th A.D). In the late 11th and 12th centuries, the island was a province of the Byzantine Empire falling within Constantinople's sphere of influence and experiencing a period of prosperity. Within this framework, large inland estates, churches and monasteries were established. In 1191 Richard the Lion Heart's conquest of Cyprus marked the beginning of the long period Latin domination on the island. The interaction between Latins and Cypriots on Cyprus occurred within the context of an administrative transformation which included the establishment of a western feudal system. In order to read the settlement systems of this period, I will attempt to capture the diversity of the medieval rural landscapes of the island and to consider the extent to which settlement patterns were influenced by political, cultural, and religious changes.

The areas of the Troodos Mountain Range and the Vasilikos Valley will be used as case-studies. These geographical regions were chosen because of various landscape parameters and availability of archaeological data. The Troodos Mountain Range, located roughly in the centre of the island, is a unique physical landscape with a wide range of geological formations. It is characterized by steep sided valleys and broad undulating open plains, enriched by the alluvial deposits of seasonal rivers and rivulets running to the coast. On the contrary, the Vasilikos Valley comprises one of a series of river valleys that drain the eastern end of the Troodos Mountain Range down to the southern coast of the island. The river weaves through eroded foothills and passes by the modern dam, from where is embraced by steep walls enclosing a sheltered flood plain and low flanking terraces until the coast.

Intensive surface surveys have been conducted in these two contrasting landscapes with different methodologies, interdisciplinary approaches and techniques. Therefore, the main aim of this paper is to compare and analyze the survey results in order to highlight similarities and differences between the landscapes. In particular, it will address: i) what archaeological sites formed settlement sites and what are their characteristics, ii) what was the density of sites in the countryside, iii) in what ways the geographical locations of the sites affected the habitation, and iv) how the social, political and economic transformations were reflected in the settlement systems.



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Were there Villages in Jerusalem's Hinterland during the Byzantine Period?

The centrality of the village to the Byzantine economy and settlement pattern has been stressed by number of scholars. A number of regional studies of rural settlement have detailed villages in Byzantine Palestine and Syria, while others have given considerable attention to its very definition. Literary sources emphasis the place of the village, with 85% of settlements listed in the Onomasticon termed as villages, and 37 villages identified as located within the hinterland of Jerusalem. However, only seven sites have remains that can be unambiguously accepted as a village. The remainder have limited or no remains that can be classified as a village.

It is judged that the origin of this settlement pattern should be sort in the historical development of land ownership which developed in the hinterland of Jerusalem following the Jewish revolts that had left the land both devoid of settlement and expropriated to imperial ownership. Possibilities for the usual processes of land redistribution over the coming centuries were limited, probably because of lack of available people to rejuvenate the villages. Certainly farms were built and operated by tenants. But this settlement form was not a catalyst for the rebuilding of villages which require time, socialisation, stability, state non-interference and organic growth to develop and endure. In their place the Byzantine landscape was covered with farms and monasteries on lands probably rented or gifted by the state.

Still, a number of villages did formulate. Typically in this period the villages occupied the topographical periphery and agricultural margins of the area, along the edge of the cultivated region and the Judaeian desert. Only here could free small-holders find lands outside the hands of the crown that permitted villages to develop without the intervention of the state administrators. In my view the success of these villages was in part as service centres to the many monasteries found just a few kilometres distant, as many of the largest villages were located adjacent to the main centres of monasticism. Not only were these the only villages in the Jerusalem area, they are also the only villages specifically referenced in the 'Lives' of Cyril of Scythopolis.

Still, the area west of the line of desert margin villages was not void of settlement. Here crown lands were granted to private individuals and to ecclesiastical institutions. The areas between Jerusalem and the Shephelah becoming the domain of monasteries, farms and possibly a small number of hamlets.



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Landed Property (Metochia) of the Monasteries of Athos in Byzantine Thrace

In Thrace, during the Byzantine period, land and other property was held by Thracian and Constantinopolitan monasteries and by major monasteries of Athos, such as the Great Lavra, the Vatopedi and the Pantocrator monastery.

The paper deals with the landed property (metochia), which included farmland, pasturage, fisheries, watermills and workshops of the above mentioned monasteries of Athos. These properties were acquired over the centuries by the monasteries of Athos. The paper also deals with the important economic and spiritual presence of the monasteries of Athos in Thrace.

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Текущие подходы к накоплению и анализу цифровых данных византийской истории

Современные перспективные возможности по хранению и наглядному представлению исторической информации, связанные с развитием ИКТ, открывают возможность накопления в цифровом виде больших массивов формализованных исторических данных и разработки методов их анализа.

Исторической наукой изучаются события и явления, которые определяют состояния и изменение участников (объектов) исторического процесса. Исследуемые объекты могут осуществлять действия или сами подвергаться внешним действиям или процессам. Онтологически основные виды действий или процессов можно разделить на 6 основных категорий согласно их форме (вещественной или информационной) и содержанию (перемещение, обработка, хранение). Сообщения, содержащиеся в исторических источниках, в большинстве случаев, сообщают о результатах действий или процессов. Таким образом, исторические события (факты) выступают как отражения результатов целенаправленных действий или нецеленаправленных процессов. Действие, по своей природе, обладает определенной пространственно-временной длительностью и может быть представлено в виде вектора, начинающегося событием начала действия (initio) и заканчивающегося конечным событием завершения действия (fnis). Последнее является определяющим событием, так как именно оно характеризует анализируемое



состояние объекта по завершении действия, т.е. фиксирует результат действия. События характеризуются однозначными временными и пространственными параметрами.

Действия и процессы могут находиться друг с другом в различных, в том числе темпоральных (временных) и на их основе – каузальных (причинно-следственных) отношениях. Темпоральные отношения между временными интервалами хорошо описываются с помощью аппарата интервальной временной логики, разработанной Джеймсом Фредериком Алленом.

Одной из основных задач исторического исследования является выявление каузальных цепочек событий. И здесь, важным элементом анализа исторических данных является создание методологии установления и описания каузальных связей между действиями (событиями) объектов исторического процесса. Результаты действия-причины, представленные конечным событием, являются исходными факторами для действия-следствия. Кроме того на следствие могут влиять другие факторы, в том числе сопутствующие обстоятельства, которые тоже могут быть результатами каких-то процессов и действий. Степень влияния каждого фактора различна и фиксируется его интенсивностью. Если для следствия-процесса факторы оказывают непосредственное влияние, то для следствия-действия факторы влияют на целеполагание действующего объекта. Оценивая совокупность известных ему факторов, субъект формулирует цель действия и выбирает оптимальную форму действия по ее достижению. При этом неправильная оценка факторов или неполные данные о них могут приводить к ошибкам целеполагания.

В действительности, каждое действие имеет и противоположную составляющую – противодействие. Можно рассматривать их совместно или дифференцированно. В действие, как и в противодействие вовлечены два участника – активный объект и пассивный объект, меняющиеся местами. Таким образом, при совместном рассмотрении, каждый объект имеет свой собственный набор факторов, являющихся причиной, а также свое собственное действие (противодействие), являющееся следствием.

В докладе представлен опыт накопления и анализа исторических данных по византийской истории 860–910 годов в Научно-исследовательской информационно-справочной системе «ИСТРОН».

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An Overlooked Clerical Post: The *Prosmonarios* and His Relation to the Changing Economy of Byzantine Pilgrimage (5th-11th Cent.)

When reading Byzantine miracle reports one frequently encounters mentions of an ecclesiastical office called *prosmonarios* and *paramonarios*. From this point of departure it seems worthwhile to assemble all the evidence on this clerical post from inscriptions, ecclesiastical historiography, as well as imperial and canon law in order to identify its functions and diffusion in the Byzantine church.



Since Darrouzès's "Recherches sur les Ὀφφίκια" it is common knowledge that *prosmonarioi* held a rather inferior office whose main function was to guard the churches' moveable property, especially during night. A detailed analysis may show that a reduction to this duty alone is a plain oversimplification. Moreover it is likely that this office has a strong interrelation to pilgrimage activity.

This becomes evident when looking at the testimonies from both Late Antiquity and the Middle Byzantine period (covering the time span of the 5th-12th c.), in both Latin and Greek. First of all, an interesting pattern emerges: in the sources of Syro-Palestinian origin the term *paramonarios* is used; while *prosmonarios* preponderates in the core-regions of the empire, without any semantic difference appearing in their notion. In Latin, most often the office was rendered as *mansionarius*.

Secondly, usually the office holder was consecrated as presbyter or deacon, although this was not deemed mandatory according to ecclesiastical law. Thirdly, they actually were part of the administrative staff of a church, as the *Codex Iustinianus* (I 3, 46) and *Leontius' Vita on John the Almsgiver* reveal. Their duty was not only to protect the churches' inventory like the liturgical objects made of precious metal, but also to add and arrange new votive offerings in the church. They are also mentioned in regard to distribution of food offerings to the poor and guiding the pilgrims who usually did neither know the locality nor the procedures to follow when visiting a pilgrimage sanctuary.

The effective distribution of testimonies of *prosmonarioi* among several Constantinopolitan shrines (St John in Oxeia, St Anastasia, Theotokos in Chalkoprateia, St Diomedes, St Euphemia in Chalcedon), Anatolian pilgrimage churches (Euchaïta, Latomion, Chonai, Myra) and pilgrimage centres in the Near East (Qal'at Sem'an, Abu Mina, Alexandria's former Serapeion, Caesarea maritima, Gerasa) underlines a correlation between pilgrimage traffic and the occurrence of this very office. This observation may help to identify hitherto unknown churches with pilgrimage activity in the future.

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Modelling Networks of Interaction and Exchange in the Late Byzantine Peloponnese, Greece (12th-14th Centuries)

From a socio-political perspective, the 12th and the 13th centuries saw the flourishing and the collapse of the Byzantine Empire, as well as the reorganization of societies in the Late Byzantine Period. The literary sources and the limited archaeological records from the Greek peninsula certify that the 11th, and in particular, the 12th century was a period of remarkable economic and demographic advancement, which affected the urban centres and the countryside of medieval Greece. A period of transformation in interaction and exchange followed the Sack of Constantinople in 1204 and the dissolution of the Byzantine Empire, as well as the subsequent establishment of various Latin States across the eastern Mediterranean.

This paper focuses on the Peloponnesian peninsula and presents the current state of research on its economic developments from the 12th up to the 14th century, a period characterized by the



transition from Byzantine to Latin rule. In doing so, certain aspects of network theory are applied in order to investigate interaction and socio-economic differentiation in the Peloponnese during this period. This will provide a well-defined framework for modeling and interpreting the changes that the transition from Byzantine to Latin Rule brought to the settlements of the Peloponnese. In particular, emphasis is placed on the inter-relationship of socio-economic networks on local, regional and inter-regional scale throughout the period in question; this multi-scalar interaction triggered and greatly influenced the social, political and economic transformation that occurred during these two centuries.

This research is based on the archaeological record and a reconsideration of literary sources within the afore-described framework. This synthesis of data and the use of network theory provide an integrated approach to the dynamics of human settlement and socio-economic structures, especially regarding complex economic interactions and changes in social relations.

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Animal Husbandry and Pastoral Life in Northern Macedonia from the 11th to the 13th Century

This paper deals with the different types of animal husbandry attested in Northern Macedonia from the early 11th to the late 13th century. The first one was the transhumance that involved people, predominantly of Vlach and Cuman origin, who according to the testimony of Kekaumenos and the documents of the Athos monasteries moved together with their livestock and family between their higher pastures situated in the mountains of modern Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia in summer and the lower valleys near the Aegean coastline in winter. The above mentioned sources inform us about the habitation and housing of herders practicing transhumance and their families; it should be stressed that Vlach women also carried for the animals and wore male clothes that made their everyday work easier. During their daily activity in a multinational province such as Northern Macedonia different ethnic groups came into contact. This fact caused not only interaction in the field of material culture and everyday life but it led also to prejudice towards the other because of their occupation. A good example is Kekaumenos who considered seasonally moving Vlachs dangerous, cowardly and treacherous. This shows the mentality of a local nobleman such as him but the reality was a little bit different—the occupation of the Vlachs was not a problem for their being involved in the large scale trade with dairy products during the 12th century. According to the Ptochoprodromika poems the cheese Vlach shepherds produced was exported far beyond the boundaries of Macedonia and reached the markets of Constantinople itself.

The transhumance delivered the greater part of dairy products and wool necessary to local inhabitants and merchants but this was not the only form of animal husbandry practiced in Macedonia. The archives of the Athos monasteries and the documents of the monastery of Saint George near Skopje illustrate the structure of the agricultural land that belonged to a local peasant



community. It comprised of different types of pasture land near the village and offered the necessary fodder for the animals. The sources show that almost every peasant household had different species of domestic animals farmed for food, leather, wool or used as draft animals. The writings of the Ohrid archbishop Demetrios Chomatenos concerning cases of divorce and heritage show that even people living in the towns also earned their living by caring for domestic animals. In my paper I shall present briefly two examples—the one reveals the case of a certain pottery maker in Ohrid, the other deals with the priests in the bishopric of Pelagonia.

While trying to trace the daily life of herders and the role of husbandry in everyday life and medieval economics, one can also use the available archaeological material and some wall paintings from the Republic of Macedonia. The animal bones that archaeologists found in medieval burial grounds and especially in the Late Medieval town of Prilep can help us to determine not only the different animal species that were bred in ancient time but also to study such aspects of daily life as eating habits and food supply.

The last methodological topic to be presented deals with some wall paintings from the Republic of Macedonia that are connected to medieval animal husbandry. Some of them represent Christian saints such as Blasios (Nerezi) and Mamas (Manastir/Mariovo) who were known for their help as protectors of herdsmen and life stock and in this way they were depicted with objects typical for the life of a herdsman. The last wall painting to be discussed in the paper is the depiction of the shepherds at the Nativity from the church of Saint George near Kurbinovo and the church of Saint Nicolas in Varoš/Prilep that may represent some elements from the outlook of a medieval herdsman.



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BYZANTINE LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION – PART 1

Chairs: Johannes Michael Reinhart, Viktor Savić

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Byzantine Literary Models and Patterns of Reception:
Translation and Transformation in the Slavonic and Middle Eastern Traditions

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Peter Toth,

Visions of the Afterlife between East and West:
An Unknown Latin Translation of the Greek *Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary*



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Byzantine Literary Models and Patterns of Reception: Translation and Transformation in the Slavonic and Middle Eastern Traditions

An unusual fact stands out: none of the listed manuscripts was wholly written in hand by Maxim the Greek – all Slavic manuscripts of Maxim the Greek were copied or were written from his dictation. Only preserved marginalia and author's interventions were identified as original writing of his. Apart from his Slavic legacy, there are some Greek manuscripts with his confirmed handwriting (Michael Trivolis as copyist, correspondent, translator); there are also some of his notes in Latin. That moment of his literary work in Slavic should be examined as following: his translational method was significantly different from the previous practice of translating the texts in Slavic, known as cyrillo-methodian translations, because it showed not the word-by-word translation, but sentence-by-sentence method, where the idiomatic usage was the guiding principle of translation, following the words phrases and word combinations. One could conclude that this phase was realised by certain Russian scribe – to whom Maxim the Greek was dictating in Slavic. On the second stage of the translational process his texts reflected careful studying of each single word or expression, but with a special observation on the rhythmical order, very close to the wording in Greek (t. i. sublexical morphemic translation correspondences). Within that Maxim paid attention significantly on the stress of the word that could have the same stress as in Greek, what was dominant for the accentuation in the spoken Russian language of the 16th century. It has been noticed by now that variations, especially among words that in his prayers obtained the form of three stresses what intensified different but not accidentally constant pronunciation as it appeared in some South-Western Slavic dialects (Slovene and Čakavian, as Antonina Filonov Gove discovered, *The Slavic Akatistos Hymn*, Munchen 1988, 153-155, 93, n. 18) had no such distinction in Russian. Additionally Maxim's language reflected the important attempt to find a correspondence with the Greek grammatical constructions, due to his willing to achieve certain accordance with the Greek grammatical categories. The second phase of his writing Maxim concluded with his critical reading of the scribe's text within which he was making his author's corrections on the margins of the manuscript pages. Described translational process was familiar to him from the Florentine period that he spent in the scholar's collaboration with Ioannos Laskaris. Such method was extremely useful in the translation of the poetical devices and in conclusion the desired effect as the phonetical echo of Maxim's constant prayer was achieved. Not surprisingly Maxim accepted that kind of the textual treatment as well in the process of his own writings: he wrote-and-dictated his works, and in the following stage, he corrected, and clarified the meaning of each single, theologically decisive word. That significantly intensified the condensed stylistic manner and the periodically rhythmical effects of his texts, using prominently the constructions, based on anapest accentuation and assonance metrical pattern, combined with the caesura ending of the theological denotation of the thought. This could be an explanation why not a single text in Slavic that Maxim wrote had been preserved.



Maxim the Greek managed to create his own Slavonic language (a significant idiolect) in which he expressed his complexed Orthodox theological system, highly marked with biblical studies and liturgical path. His works reflected his personal prayers that confirmed his constant monastic practice. His willing to purify the Slavic language was the result of his wish to pray properly in the concordance with the Greek Orthodox theology. The example of his successful goal of the synthetic theologically-liturgical prayer, realised in the terms of 'inner living with Jesus Christ' represents his Canon to the Holy Spirit Paracletos (Канѡ молѣбъ къ вѣтвенѡмъ ѿ покланѣмомъ Параклитѣ). This long prayer reflects several aspects of confessing prayer (especially providing personal speech by the Greek apostrophos as an element of prosodia), known already from the oldest period of Slavic literacy when some prayers were directly translated not only from Greek to Slavic, but also from Latin, when in 9th century one could find single examples of personal (liturgical) prayers. The moment of the prayer that could offer the believer a pious end of mortal lifetime could be at the same time crucial also as an initiatory moment for the beginning of the daily writing for personal spiritual purification of Maxim the Greek. In the prayer-poem "Canon to the most Holy Paracletos" Maxim the Greek used the basic principles of monastic creating the prayer 'Akathyst', and the liturgical chants. After the introduction and repeating the 50th Psalm there is trinitarian model of short literal formulas that were identified as practice, unique for Maxim the Greek. However, similar instructions one could find also in the personal prayers among South Slavic manuscript that were dedicated to profound worship the Holy Mother of God. In the beginning of "the Canon to the Holy Paracletos" Maxim the Greek contemplated in an authentic 'diataksis' form of the Vatopaidi Monastery 16th century prayer (Н. Д. Успенский, Византийская литургия: историко-литургическое исследование – анафора: опыт историко-литургического анализа, Москва: Изд. Совет русской православной церкви 2006, 212) about the interior of the Temple or Church ("Ѥа Бѣго рѣдѣса двѣрѣ гѣна непроходимаа."). The latter was in fact an implicit addressing the Holy Mother of God (the icon from Vatopaidi, called 'Paramithia' (RGB, Rog. Kladbishe, No. 302, fol. 432 v.; RGB, MDA, 173/I, no. 42, additional) from the 13th century. It was a liturgical rule to worship the icon of Vatopaidi before leaving the Church, and the Father superior (an igumen) of monastery was every time giving the keys from the doors of monastery to a doorkeeper. Maxim the Greek was telling a story about the foundation and the establishment of the Holy Monastery of Vatopaidi Icon of the Mother of God in the manuscript (Moscow, GIM, coll. Чуд. № 34, л. 236об. -240), but the copy of that icon was firstly transmitted to Russia in 17th century on the request of the Patriarch Nikon. The mentioned formula could as well corresponded to the prayer to the Holy Theotokos of Iviron, called 'Братарница'), about which as well Maxim the Greek wrote a legend and submitted to Russian the story of the Holy Mount Athos. The latter Ihor Ševčenko had found similarly in the poem in the Milan manuscript where represented the decorous temple of the Church of the Theotokos Pammakaristos, erstwhile of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate (whereas the verses mention of the Patriarch Pachomios dated them between 1505 and 1514, (I. Š. *The Four Worlds and the Two Puzzles of Maxim the Greek*, *Paleoslavica* XIX/2 (2011) 298-99). In the Greek Psalter (Sankt Petersburg, RNB, Gr. 78, Sof. 78, fol. 160 v.) Maxim the Greek subscribed the two-language Kontakion to the Annunciation of the Mother of God were also observed the related correspondences.

By such theological-liturgical manner in the personal practice of the inner prayer Maxim the Greek not only revealed the devout creativity of the first Slavic church poet, Constantine the



Philosopher (a brother of Methodius), Who created the similar accordance in Canon, *ПАМЯТЬ СВАТАГО И ВЕЛИКАГО МЪЧЕНИКА ХРИСТОВА ДЪМИТРИЪ* (R. Jakobson, *Selected Writings. VI. Early Slavic Paths and Crossroads*, 1985, 306), but Maxim also created in the Slavic language an exact poetical equivalent of the oldest patterns of Christian liturgy as might be found in Greek liturgical manuscripts from the ninth century. Maxim the Greek polished the Old Church Slavic liturgical language to the certain level that it could serve him as analogous and parallel voice to the Greek language of the Gospels, focusing on the devotion the Christian God of the Holy Trinity.

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Which Greek Versions of Chrysostom’s Commentaries on *Acts* and *Epistles* Were Translated for the 10th C. Old Bulgarian *Chrysorrhoeas* Collection (*Zlatostruy*)?

The paper discusses the Greek sources of the Old Church Slavonic translations in the so called Chrysorrhoeas collection. This collection of Chrysostomian and pseudo-Chrysostomian homilies was put together at the beginning of the 10th c. presumably in Preslav. The selection of the texts and the undertaking of the translation was conceived and inspired by the Bulgarian tsar Symeon (893–927), as it is revealed in the ancient foreword of the book. A large part of the collection consists of the ethica of John Chrysostom’s New Testament commentaries – several dozens of the homilies were selected, translated, sometimes abridged and combined in new compilations. Although only later copies of the open manuscript tradition are extant, they still preserve much of the original quality of the Old Bulgarian archetype. Each of the texts gives an opportunity for linguistic research and allows insight into the process and principles of translation, but it also requires an investigation of the Greek original.

Chrysostom’s commentaries are preserved in hundreds of unedited Greek manuscripts and it is well known that many of the texts have a “rough” and a “smooth” version besides the numerous variant readings throughout the manuscript transmission. Yet few of Chrysostom’s works have a critical edition – the researcher must either be content with *Patrologia Graeca*, or start a laborious examination of the manuscripts. The comparison of the Slavonic translations of Chrysostom with their Greek correspondences as attested in *Patrologia Graeca* reveals that in some cases there are significant discrepancies between them as opposed to the otherwise fairly accurate rendition of the original. This refers especially to the Commentaries on *Acts* and some of the *Epistles*. In a number of cases we are lucky to have access to manuscripts which differ from the edition and give answers to some of the questions in the Slavonic translation, allowing us to determine which Greek recension was used by the Old Bulgarian translators. However, many other examples suggest, that there must have been still other Greek versions, or that the translators treated the original quite creatively.



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Eschatological Vision of Theodore Stoudite (*Chilandar 387*)
in the *Life of Saint Simeon* of the Typikon of Studenica Monastery (IX H 8 [§ 10])

Saint Sava came to Studenica from Mont Athos in 1206/7 AD. Upon his arrival, the abbot Sava started writing the introduction for the Typikon of Studenica more precisely the Life of the benefactor Saint Simeon. The Life of Saint Simeon is academically elaborated. The researchers have found the sources which made impact on inception of the writing. The primary source is Nemanja and Sava's Founding Letter (Muniment) of Hilandar written in 1198 AD. In the Life of Saint Simeon (the title which interchanges with Nemanja's Biography or Benefactor's Biography written in Studenica) there are few information taken from the Typikon of Hilandar written by Saint Sava (Chapter 2, Chapter 3).

Until now the origin of Life of Saint Simeon epilogue is unclear. It comes from the description of monk Simeon's spirituality and personality. The mentioned place concisely expresses Sava's monastic spirituality in Studenica in the early thirteenth century, ie. his fundamental instructions addressed to Studenica monks. For this reason the claim has been that it is the independent text written by Saint Sava. These instructions are bond of the Life of Saint Simeon and the Typikon of Studenica. The Typikon actually begins with these instructions. The Life of Saint Simeon narrates Nemanja's biography in the light of the Second coming of Christ and the Final Judgment to all people. The concluding Sava's instructions advocate the mind of monks as in the mood of contemplating God overcome by the contemplation of paradise beauty and angelic joy. The monk's mind should be preoccupied in what state are the soul or righteous or sinners, the Kingdom of God or the eternal torment. In this vision it is stated that Christ's countenance will be brighter than the sun. This is what the brethren of Studenica should talk and worry about, to take care of that and to live accordingly as advocated by Saint Sava.

Based on Nemanja's biography in the light of the Final Judgment and based on these instructions, a monk is ready to attend the following instructions of the Typikon (Chapter 4 and further).

Out study has shown that a part of the prologue of the Typikon of Studenica is not an original work written by Sava, but taken over from Theodore Stoudite's sermon to a larger extent and written probably in the period of 821 and 826 AD. In the following study there are comparative overview of the Life of Saint Simeon endings (IX H 8 [§ 10]) and the oldest Serbian-slavonic and Hellenic manuscripts of the medieval Byzantine period with Stoudite's sermon which became a model for Sava's work. The Serbian-Slavonic manuscripts are: Hilandar 387 (the second quarter of the thirteen century), Decani 87 and HAZU IV d 4 (both by the end of thirteen of the beginning of fourteenth century).

The Hellenic manuscripts are: Ambr. gr. C 02 (the end of ninth century), Paris. gr. 1018, Ottob. gr. 251 (the early tenth century), Ambr. gr. E 101 sup. и Gr. II, 40 (both from twelfth century). These are the oldest known manuscripts regarding Stoudite's sermon which became a model for



Sava's work. The comparative overview given in a chart is followed by our comments relating to differences in particular places of the manuscripts and its theological significance. This explains ways in which Sava was instructing the brethren into the monastic and worshipping lifestyle in Studenica. These instructions determine the comprehension of the Typikon of Studenica which follows them (Chapter 4 and further). Besides, the methodology of including Stoudite's vision into Sava's instructions became transparent.

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The Mediterranean World in the *Vita of St. Pancratios of Taormina*

The *Vita of St. Pancratios of Taormina*, written by Pseudo-Evagrios, is usually dated into the second half of the 8th century, and it seems to be an important document of Iconodulic propaganda. A new edition (based on 6 mss. 10th–14th century), provided by C. J. Stallman-Pacitti, is available only in electronic form in the Oxford Text Archive (1039, University of Oxford, 1986, VP).

John the Presbyter's Slavic translation of the *Vita* has been long known in mediaevalist literature, thanks to his another translation: important and influential work of St. Athanasios of Alexandria – the *Life of St. Antony*. Except the translator's name, everything else about these translations is uncertain, even the time they were made (10th century or the first decades of the 11th century). Apart from the data in the preserved John the Presbyter's epilogue, the antiquity of the Slavic translation is confirmed by characteristics of the text itself: lexis, translator's technique, typical errors in copying from Glagolitic into Cyrillic etc. The *Vita of St. Pancratios* has only been preserved in three Slavic manuscripts, the older two of which are Serbian (from 13th and 14th century, ed. Z. Vitić, Belgrade, 2014, ŽP), whereas the third is a considerably more recent Russian one (17th century).

This novelistic hagiography, verbose and iterative, contains many anachronisms, but it also reveals a dynamic and complex panoramic view of the Mediterranean world at the time: important cities, harbours, islands, shores, as well as their inhabitants – local rulers, pagan philosophers, newly baptized Christians, martyrs, heretics, sailors, traders etc. No matter whether the author of the *Vita* creates authentic, realistic scenes situated in various local places, showing his first hand knowledge of Taormina and Sicily, or whether he applies the usual topoi in his descriptions (Antioch, Pontos), the Slavic translator must have had a difficult task to find an appropriate mode of transcribing rare and specific toponyms and anthroponyms.

The shore of the bay below Taormina:

приплывохомъ на мѣсто. нарицаемою, факлонь (Φάκωνι VP17), не оуже бѣаше пристанище на мѣстѣ томъ, нь малъ нзлазь. бѣаше во мѣсто коумнрьско, от[ъ] бѣсовъ водръжнмо. и бѣсовъ множество бѣаше на немъ. не бо, нь то бѣаше градъ зелнанын, фалконнлнннь. матере фалконіе. вьноука меніина. (ŽP215)



The shrine of idol Lysson in the “Tetrahipion”:

възидоше на тетранпониъ (Τετραῖππιων VP74). и распоустнише проповѣдъники по градоу. и сниде се нескѣдомо множество люднн. и въскликноуше глас(о)мь такоже зѣло слышати. и възидоше въ прѣторь. нмюуше скроботичьныи вѣниє. и мурснны въ роукахъ своихъ. и кше конифантиа. и прикедыше и прѣды лүсѣономь поставнше. (ŽP256)

Eraphroditus' mission to the South:

прнде же слоухъ въ вса окроугниа мѣста таа. от[ъ] мелефора (Μελαμόφου VP140) мѣстнааго старѣнишны. до петроникне палладикуы (Петρονίκης Παλλαδίου). размлажденааго приморниа. нсходещаа до алыса. платамьскааго (τῆς ἄλσοτης Πλατάμου) потока. (ŽP277)

Calabria in *The life of Tauros* (the self-contained episode within VP):

акүлинъ же прнде въ тауровы домы. и не обрѣте ницесоже. надѣаше же се тако въ кдннот от[ъ] доубравныхъ горь ис(тъ). и прнде вса мѣста калакринскаа нше таура м(ѣ)с(е)ць кдннъ. от[ъ] приморниа салннскааго (Σαλινῶν VP169). до хогальскааго (Κογχύλου) потока. и термона (τέρμονος). и до горь тыропольскихъ (Τυροπόλεως). (ŽP378)

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Tetrasticha des Theodoros Prodromos in einer unbekanntem serbischen Übersetzung des 14. Jahrhunderts

Theodoros Prodromos gilt als einer der fruchtbarsten Schriftsteller des 12. Jahrhunderts. Die byzantinische Überlieferung seiner jambischen und hexametrischen Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments wurden in den 90-er Jahren des vorigen Jahrhunderts von Grigorios Papagiannis (1997) gründlich erforscht. Im Zusammenhang mit der Untersuchung der Rezeption der Synaxarien zum Triodion und Pentekostarion des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos bei den Südslaven bin ich in den serbischen Handschriften des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts auf unbekanntem Tetrasticha gestoßen. Sie befinden sich vor dem entsprechenden Synaxarion und sind mit ihm thematisch verbunden. So stellen sie ein Analogon zu den kalendarischen Versen von Christophoros Mythilinaios dar, die oft in dieser Position vorkommen. Auf der Grundlage von textologischen Untersuchungen konnte das byzantinische Original identifiziert werden. Es hat sich gezeigt, dass alle Tetrasticha eine Übersetzung der Verse aus dem Zyklus des Theodoros Prodromos darstellen, die Themen aus dem Evangelium zum Inhalt haben. Im Vortrag werden die möglichen Wege des Eindringens dieser Tetrasticha in die serbische Literatur diskutiert, und ihre Übersetzungstechnik wird mit den südslavischen Übersetzungen der kalendarischen Verse von Christophoros Mithylenaios aus derselben Epoche verglichen.



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Θεματικές και μεταφραστικές προσεγγίσεις στον κώδικα σερβικής
ορθογραφίας του 16ου αιώνας με τίτλο: «Πανοπλία Δογματική»
του Ευθυμίου Ζιγαβηνού

Ο Ευθύμιος Ζιγαβηνός υπήρξε ένας από τους πιο σημαντικούς εκπροσώπους του 12ου αιώνας, όμως πολύ λίγα στοιχεία που θα φώτιζαν την προσωπικότητά του και τις προσωπικές του καταβολές μας έχουν διασωθεί. Το έργο του με τίτλο Πανοπλία Δογματική το έγραψε έπειτα από παράκληση του αυτοκράτορος Αλεξίου του Α΄. Δημιουργείται, όμως, εύλογα το ερώτημα για ποιους λόγους επιλέγεται να μεταφραστεί ένα έργο του 12ου αιώνας ή τμήμα του και να τιτλοφορηθεί ένας κώδικας χειρογράφων, εφόσον θεματικά πρόκειται για μια συλλογή πατερικών κειμένων που πραγματεύονταν το ζήτημα των αιρέσεων, που σαφώς και απασχολούσε τη συγχρονία της Βυζαντινής επικράτειας. Οι μεταφράσεις Ελληνικών έργων στη Σλαβονική γλώσσα αποτελούσαν μέρος μιας ευρύτερης διαδικασίας μετακίνησης του Βυζαντινού πολιτισμού και μέσα από αυτή τη φιλολογική δραστηριότητα επήλθε η συνάντηση και όσμωση μεταξύ της Βυζαντινής Αυτοκρατορίας και των Σλαβικών κοινωνιών. Εμείς θα προσπαθήσουμε να προσεγγίσουμε θεματικά και με έμφαση τους λόγους που οδήγησαν στην επιλογή της συγγραφής του συγκεκριμένου κώδικα σερβικής ορθογραφίας των μέσων του 16ου αιώνα και να εμβαθύνουμε στα ιστορικά συμφραζόμενα της εποχής. Τέλος, θα εξετάσουμε το προφίλ των αντιγραφών του κώδικος με στόχο να κατανοήσουμε τις ιδεολογικές και πολιτικές πιθανώς προεκτάσεις της μετάφρασης τέτοιου είδους δογματικών κειμένων.

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Visions of the Afterlife between East and West:
An Unknown Latin Translation of the Greek *Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary*

The most important Christian "guides" to the netherworld before Dante's *Divina Commedia* were furnished by various types of visions attributed to biblical authorities as the Apostle Paul or saints and holy men as Macarius of Egypt, St. Patrick of Ireland or the Byzantine Basil the Younger. Of all these descriptions of hell and afterlife, it was the so-called *Apocalypse* or *Vision of Paul* that was regarded as the earliest and probably the most popular and authoritative one.

This early-third-century apocryphal vision, however, despite its wide popularity in East and West, has started to be more and more suspicious in the eyes of Byzantine theologians from the ninth century onwards. In order to save its basic message, the Apostle's supernatural travel to the netherworld has been „translated" and „upgraded" into a theologically more tolerable travelogue: the *Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary*. Now it is the Virgin who, just like Paul in his *Apocalypse*,



is guided by the Archangel Michael through the netherworld and is introduced to the different torments of the damned there. At the end of her visit, deeply moved by the tortures of the suffering Christian sinners, she supplicates Christ to suspend their punishment, which is granted and during the fifty-day period between the Resurrection and the Pentecost they have a short pause to feel the joy of Christ's resurrection.

This characteristically Byzantine description of the netherworld and the Virgin's intercessory power on behalf of the souls has become one of the most popular texts of the Byzantine Middle Ages. Preserved in dozens of manuscripts in Greek, Slavonic, and Romanian, the Apocalypse of the Virgin Mary is usually considered to be completely unknown in the Western tradition. In four thirteenth-fourteenth-century manuscripts, however, I managed to find a complete, but hitherto unrecorded Latin translation of the travelogue of the Virgin's descent to the hell. The present paper will be a detailed examination of the Latin text of the Virgin's Apocalypse. After outlining the basic features of the manuscript-tradition I will survey and analyse the different characteristics of the language and style of the Latin text. On the basis of a detailed comparison of the Latin text to the Greek and Slavonic versions of the apocryphon I argue that the Latin translation, which is obviously a medieval version presumably from the thirteenth century, was made not from a Greek, but – in a rather unique way – from a Slavonic original. Beside a historical and philological evaluation of the Latin translation and its origin I will also make an attempt to explore the traces of the Latin version of this medieval Greek apocryphon in European literature and art.



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BYZANCE APRÈS BYZANCE – PART 1

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Surroundings of Sophia Palaiologina: The Influence on the Russian Theological Thought

The marriage between Byzantine princess Sophia Palaiologina and Grand Prince of Moscow Ivan III was arranged by a famous Greek scientist, Cardinal Bishop and the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople Basilios Bessarion. He was one of the representatives of the Eastern Orthodox Church in the Council of Florence who signed the union with the Roman Catholic Church in 1439. After the fall of Constantinople Cardinal Bessarion attempted to restore the Byzantine Empire, so he negotiated with Western princes a crusade against the Ottomans. The marriage of Sophia and Ivan III could make Russia accept the union of the Council of Florence and perhaps join the crusade. Some theologians who could exert the influence arrived in Russia in the retinue of Sophia in 1472.

At the turn of the 15th and the 16th centuries there existed a community of writers and translators headed by Archbishop Gennady Gonzov (so-called “Gennady circle”) in Novgorod the Great. It is known that there were links between the surroundings of Sophia Palaiologina and the participants of the “Gennady circle”. The question is how far the influence spread.

A. D. Sedel'nikov wrote directly about the Roman Catholic influence in Novgorod and noted that “the religious attack” on Russia left a lot of literary monuments. E. Wimmer opposed him that the influence is noticeable neither in the religious practice nor in the theory, so the members of the “Gennady circle” appealed the Roman Catholic experts for their needs, but a competent corrector defended them from the non-Orthodox confession.

M. B. Pl'ukhanova divides the activity of the direct surroundings of Sophia Palaiologina (the Greek and Italian group) and the Gennady group more strictly. In her opinion the first group exerted covert Uniate influence. She points out the translation of the “Disputatio contra Arium” by Pseudo-Athanasius, which contained the phrase “Filioque” in the Creed and was used at the Council of Florence, other translations and a transmission of some topics as the results of their activity. But according to her, Gennady and his group didn't take part in it consciously.

However, a linguistic observation on the Church Slavonic translation by a translator of the “Gennady circle” of the “Probatio adventus Christi” by Nicolaus de Lyra makes it possible to suppose the perception of the ideas of the Council of Florence in this community as well.



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Hilandar's Monks from Kalamaria Metochion in the Service of *Vigla* (17th C.)

Between numerous Byzantine institutions that Ottoman Empire adopted was the institution of *vigla*. It was known only from the *kanunname* for Rodos – Kos issued in the first half of 16th century. Village residents were obliged to watch and warn the state authorities of possible suspected vessels. Two 17th century documents from the Archive of Hilandar Monastery prove that even monks were obliged to fulfil this compulsory duty and serve as *viglacis*. Although it was not mentioned in the documents, we can assume that they were exempted from certain taxes.

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Through Travellers' Eyes: The Discovery, Interpretation, and Sacralization of Byzantine Crimea, 1783-1827

Among unexpected consequences of Russian expansion in the Black Sea area in the late eighteenth century was the discovery of the archaeological sites in the Crimea by European intellectuals. They found out that this relatively small peninsula possessed extraordinary Byzantine heritage, embodied in fragmentary narratives and numerous archaeological monuments, including the Empire's largest outpost in the northern Black Sea area, Cherson (antique Chersonese). 1783–1827 became the years of linking written tradition and yet unstudied monuments of material culture, when Byzantine past of the Crimea was gradually comprehended in terms of science, religion, and political ideology. Particular contribution to these reflections was made by travellers, who introduced the Crimean history and archaeology to the public thought and produced several stereotypes, which survived in scholarly and public discourses to these days. Besides, it is a good example of how Byzantine heritage was studied and used for current political needs.

There are a few dozen travelogues from the period discussing Byzantine monuments in the Crimea, which mistakes are more demonstrative for pursuing lines of thought than correct interpretations. Among the riddles were “cave monasteries” carved high in the cliffs and abandoned in the age of Ottoman domination. Travellers combined the Enlightenment ideas on natural history, local tradition, and their own observations to suggest that these sites appeared in the year dot, when the Crimea laid on the sea bottom, with summits of its mountains forming an archipelago above the waves. Other authors ascribed these sites to runaway Byzantine monks and connected them with Orthodox abbeys in continental Russia, where also were artificial caves. Gilbert Romme supposed that this technology was borrowed by retinue of Prince Vladimir of Rus', who came to the Crimea in ca. 989 to be baptised there.



Armchair historians suggested several locations for Byzantine Cherson, in various places in the Crimea and outside. Practical travellers collected evidences that the city existed in the south-western tip of the peninsula. Understood as a symbolic inclusion of Russia into Civilization, this baptism supplied the Crimea with especial importance for the modern Russian Empire. Crimean region got a coat-of-arm in “Byzantine style.” But for decades, the idea of sanctity of Cherson did not take roots in public thought. Yet in 1822, Robert Lyall wondered why the Russian did not venerate the place whence their faith came. On the contrary, Edward Clarke used the destruction of archaeological monuments as an argument for the “barbarian” nature of the Russians.

Naïve attempts of cultural heritage interpretation gave birth to the Russian archaeology in its modern sense. Ironically, archaeological investigations also supplied the church with material monuments to be sanctified. 1827 excavations uncovered three Byzantine churches on the site of Cherson, thus raising public interest to Christian antiquities of the Crimea. In 1846, Metropolitan Makarii’s History of the Russian Church proclaimed Cherson the true centre of ancient Russian history, and in 1850, a modern monastery was established in the site of Cherson to commemorate Prince Vladimir’s baptism.

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The Parenetic Works within the Romanian Culture: Between Tradition and Innovation

The Wallachian Voivode Neagoe Basarab delivered to the posterity a work of particular importance not only for the Romanian Literature, but significant for the entire cultural space of the post byzantine Balkans, in general. Dating from the first quarter of the 16th century, The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to his Son, Theodosios belongs to the genre of mirror of princes, being an authentic reflection of the political ideology of the 16th century and a systematization of the principles of the absolutist monarchical type of governing.

The Teachings of Neagoe Basarab to his Son Theodosius served as a model for at least one other work, a text that followed the model more or less accurately in content and style. This later work belongs to a Greek hierarch established in the Romanian countries, an erudite scholar and a prodigious transcriber. He produced an Advice to Prince Alexandru Ilias, ruler of Wallachia, whom he served for a few years. Entitled Ἐδῶ γράφομεν τίνας παρῶρανγγελίας ὅπου ἐνουθητήσαμεν τὸν ἐκλαμπρότατον αὐθέντην Ἰωάννην Ἀλλεξανδρον βοεβόδα, ὅταν ἦτον εἰς τὸ σκαμνὶ του (Here, we are delivering some advices we have taught to the over bright Lord Alexander, when he was on his throne), the text was written in the beginning of the 17th Century, being published in printed form in 1638 in Venice, and reprinted for more than twelve times until 1806, usually bound together with a chronicle in verse about the Prince Michael the Brave written by Sir Stavrinus the Vestiar.



Apart of these two earlier works, we know about another four such “Advices”:

- The one written by Petru Movilă, then Archimandrite and Abbot of Pechersk Lavra, consisting of 15 chapters assembled as an Introduction to the Triodion printed in 1631 in Kiev, and dedicated to his brother, Moise Movilă, the fresh holder of the throne of Moldavia at that moment.
- The “Advices” of Metropolitan Anthimos the Iberian (Georgian), Νουθεσiai Χριστιανικοπολιτικαι πρὸς τὸν Εὐσεβέστατον, καὶ Ὑψηλότατον Αὐθέντην καὶ Ἡγεμόνα πάσης Οὐγκροβλαχίας, Κύριον, Κύριον Ἰωάννην Στέφανον Καντακουζηνὸν Βοεβόνδα, Τοῦ Πανιερωτάτου, καὶ Θεοπροβλήτου Μητροπολίτου Κυρίου, Κυρίου Ανθίμου, τοῦ ἐξ Ἰβήρων, Νεωστὶ τυπωθεῖσαι, μετὰ καὶ τινων ψυχωφελῶν Εὐχῶν ὅλης της Εὐδομάδας. Ἐν τῇ ἀγιωτάτῃ Μητροπόλει, τῇ ἐν Βουκουρεστίῳ, Ἐτει τῷ σωτηρίῳ αψιε, printed in Bucharest by the author himself.
- The “Advices” of Prince Nicholas Mavrocordatos to his son, Constantine: Νουθεσiai τοῦ αἰοδίου αὐθεντου Νικολάου Βοεβόδα πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Κωνσταντῖνον Βοεβόδα Αὐθέντην, δοθεῖσαι ἐν ἔτει αψικς
- The parenetic work of Michael Fotinos addressed to his son, Theodore, written in 1781.

All this late examples of rhetorical genre appeared as an effort to strengthen and recognize the certain principles and values that the paraeneses promoted from the beginning: the Christian values and teaching, emphasizing the exercise of virtues and strengthening the theocratic monarchic ideology.

What else do these works have in common and what differentiates them? In what measure do they follow the canon of the parenetic genre, how much do they contextualize and, indirectly, constitute a mirror of their epoch? Was the assuming of the canon a self-aware fact? How far the innovation went? Are the paraeneses produced in the Romanian culture some good samples of the aulic ceremonial, enveloping “the greatness of the imperial power, their divine power, the political and religious meaning of the deeds of the Emperor” (Otto Treitinger)?

The present text tries to find an answer to these many questions, proposing a comparative analysis of the mentioned works and a probe-taking of their political ideology, while also scrutinizing the cast of mind that each of those works let reveal.

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Byzantium after Byzantium in Ukrainian Perception

Notwithstanding certain achievements in the study of the Byzantine influence on Ukrainian history, the Ukrainian humanities (history, philosophy, political science, etc.) have so far been unable to offer a properly Ukrainian vision of Byzantium and the Byzantine cultural and civilizational heritage. The Ukrainian perception of the Byzantine myth has been relinquished unconditionally to the talons of the Russian imperial discourse. In the view of most Ukrainian intellectuals the Byzantine component of Ukrainian history still remains an entirely negative experience, and it is often related as something external, imperial and anti-democratic, formulaic, pharisaic and anti-Ukrainian.



In the Ukrainian perception of Byzantium, the Russian imperial myth of Moscow as the Third Rome dominates entirely, and, having received and accepted the Russian view of Byzantium, Ukraine has only two strategies to choose from: either to acknowledge herself as part of Russia and share in the latter's imperial vision of Byzantium, or, rejecting the Russian imperial project, to build an identity of her own, interpreting Byzantium and the Byzantine heritage as something essentially alien, negative, and external, as something that should be gotten rid of as soon as possible. Characteristic in this sense are the references to Byzantium, Byzantine heritage and its traits by the leading Ukrainian public intellectuals.

Meanwhile, outside the Russian vision of Byzantium, there exists a variety of other, sufficiently productive approaches. Such is, for instance, the Western European view, within which we can clearly distinguish the peculiarities of the national schools of such "great historiographical powers" as Germany, Great Britain, and France. Or there is the American view (and the United States is also, without a doubt, a "great historiographical power," in the sense that it explores the entire span of world history, from the primitive society in all corners of the globe and the early civilizations to the contemporary history of every country of the modern world and all the various modern social groups and aspects of life). Within the limits of the possible, the Russian Empire also strove to be a "great historiographical power," the Soviet Union became one for a time, and the present-day Russian Federation is making the last-ditch effort to maintain this status. Concerning Byzantium, both the Russian Empire of the nineteenth and early twentieth century and the Russian Federation of the present had/have a special sentiment, experiencing it as part of their own history, which has inevitably and strongly empowered the Byzantine studies in the context of the study of Russian history.

Some countries that in no way can be counted among the "great historiographical powers" – Greece, Serbia, or Bulgaria – also have proven capable of developing their own visions of Byzantium and its heritage within their national historiographies (we will not now dwell on the question of why, in what context, and for what reasons the study of Byzantium developed in such remote and separated from the Byzantine heritage countries). It would appear that visions of Byzantine history akin to the Serbian or Bulgarian should have emerged in the Ukrainian intellectual space, but Ukraine's continuing in the gravitational intellectual pull of the Russian state, eventually made the differentiation and formulation of an independent Ukrainian vision of the history of Byzantium and the significance of its heritage impossible.

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The Pope and the Patriarchs.

The Lifting of the Schism in Cuba and the Saving of the Byzantine Identity

Byzantine cultural identity is reflected in the convergence of religious life in the Americas. Syrian and Lebanese refugees of the last quarter of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th centuries brought their rituals and religious objects such as the Byzantine image of the Hodegetria to their new homes in the West. Until the war in Syria in 2011 the ties between these immigrants and their Christian-Orthodox home lands in the East were strong.



When the Great Schism occurred between Eastern and Western churches in 1054, knowledge of the mutual religious identities declined. The Fourth Crusade worsened relationships further. Negotiations at the Council of Florence and talks of a union of the Churches shortly before the fall of Constantinople both caused dissense among Byzantines. The first Patriarch under Ottoman rule, Gennadius II and others saw the West as a threat to the Byzantine existence.

Immigrants from the East could thrive in the New World. The Chedraui and Slim families for example. They are successful entrepreneurs, politicians or religious leaders in Mexican society. Antonio Chedraui and Atenagoras as leaders of the Mexican and Central American Eastern Churches received the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew I in Mexico in 2006. Together with the Catholic Archbishop Norberto Rivera they sang the Akathistos hymn to the Theotokos (connecting her to the Virgen of Guadalupe) and exchanged gifts. This harmonious act did help to show that the position of one time immigrants in Mexico seemed to be one of cultural integration, but it was still no official statement of lifting the Schism. Subsequent events were of small impact. In 2002 John Paul II had met the Ecumenical Patriarch on the occasion of a Common Declaration on ecological awareness. Benedict XVI and Bartholomew I met in Istanbul in 2006, where the Pope returned relics that had been in Rome since the Fourth Crusade, and both men used words of brotherly love. Forgotten seemed that Paul VI and Athneagoras already formulated a joint declaration in 1965, and that the mutual excommunications of the Eastern and Western religious leaders had been removed.

The meeting between the first Pope from the Americas, Francis and the Ecumenical Patriarch occurred in November 2014, and both presented speeches wishing an end to the Schism. The language and behavior the religious leaders used were characterized by humility and mutual respect. This, however, seemed to be a repetition of the step already made by the former Pope. It seemed another Patriarch would be needed to make a difference. Kirill, the religious leader of the Russian Orthodox Church spoke to the Pope and the world that reuniting the Churches was necessary for protection of the Christians in the Middle-East. In the winter of 2015-2016 it was obvious that Christian communities were under fire and that Russian troops were operating in the region. Kirill seemed to have a more resounding vote in addressing the differences between Eastern and Western churches than his Ecumenical colleague in Istanbul. The Pope invited him to come to Cuba, a place that is still boycotted by the Western powers, but an ally of Russia as well as a socialist bulwark in the heart of the American Catholic world. Why of all places there? Was the Schism actually lifted in Cuba? Was not actually the protection of old Byzantine religious identities in the Middle-East on the agenda? Why was not Bartholomew I invited?



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BIBLE IN BYZANTIUM: EXEGESIS AND LITERARY INSPIRATION

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Theological-Literary Analysis of David's 33 Psalm



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Isidore of Pelusium and the Use of the Holy Bible in His Epistles

St. Isidore the Pelousiotes studied the Bible carefully. Through his letters, he interpreted various biblical passages and he explained different biblical themes. The word of the Bible was for the Father an infallible guide to overcome the pitfall of every heretical teaching, which threatened the salvation of believers in Christ. At the same time according to the inspired work of the Bible he could proclaim that there is One God in Three Persons. He emphasized the unity of God's essence and at the same time he talked about the hypostases of the one God. Isidore knew, of course, that the human mind cannot grasp the incomprehensible wisdom, that God's wisdom, since that God overlies the limits of the human mind. Finally with the help of hagiographical passages he could comprehensively cover the letters of issues other than doctrinal, moral, ascetic, educational and interpretive.

In the Scriptures, he supported that the believer finds in Christ supplies to strive for social and moral progress, but mainly in order to conquer spiritual godly progression and perfection. The profound study of the Scriptures provides to the human being the ability to keep alive the flame of faith. It is a safe guide for the course of the life in Christ according to what the Triune God revealed in the Old Testament, the incarnated Word taught in the New Testament and the Apostles preached.

Through Isidore's letters, it seems the respect which nourishes the Holy Father for Old. and New Testament. For him, both testaments have the same worth as sources the Bible. They proclaim strongly and unambiguously the existence of one and at the same time Triune God. Simultaneously he ridiculed those heretics like Marcion who distorted the truth and became enemies to the Testaments.

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New Forms of Old Narratives: Literary Use of Eschatological Conceptions in Some Middle Byzantine Texts

The Christian eschatology is a complicated system of beliefs which has been forming gradually for a long time, and provides a wide range of symbols, metaphors and characters that produced a variety of interpretations in the medieval world. In particular, Byzantine apocalyptic tradition is a rather well-researched phenomenon; we can speak about its theological foundation, political repercussions or in some cases regard it as historical source.

But eschatological imagery also possesses a literary value as a part of literary culture, and it can be found in some works which are far away from Byzantine apocalypses and theological treatises. Sometimes eschatological symbols and allusions were successfully used not in strictly theological



or apocalyptic context but for literary purposes – with changes in meaning and, as a matter of fact, in the whole apocalyptic “conception”.

The main subjects of this paper are rhetoric of the Book of Daniel in *Miracula Sancti Demetrii* (7th century) and analysis of the New Testament word usage in the episode of the Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor (9th century).

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Saints as Biblical Figures: On the Use of Typology in Liturgical Poetry

The aim of the present paper is to shed some light on the use of biblical models in Byzantine hymnography, particularly canons, during the middle Byzantine period. Modeling the saints on biblical figures was common in many genres of Byzantine literature, especially in sermons, panegyrics, hagiographical texts, and various monastic writings for spiritual edification. Along with associations between major events of the two Testaments through the use of typology and allegory, Christian writers very early established similar links between individuals as well. Several key Old Testament characters, including Joshua, son of Nun, Isaac, Joseph and others, were generally seen as types of Christ. Gradually this perception was extended, and the interrelation was also developed between biblical personages and Christian saints. This practice was one of the ways to demonstrate the idea of unity between the Old and New Testaments, and especially the notion of continuity in the history of the chosen people of the “Old” and “New” Israel.

Byzantine hymnographers made a major contribution in this regard, and this is an aspect of hagiographical poetry in which they probably displayed the highest degree of originality. The canon, a dominant hymnographic genre during the period under consideration, was developed by inserting troparia between the verses of the biblical odes chanted in matins. Hence, it was quite natural for liturgical hymns to be profoundly permeated by biblical themes. Hymnographers, by elaborating upon the biblical odes, included many ideas contained in them in their poetic works.

Furthermore, Byzantine poets did not confine themselves exclusively to biblical odes when they sought scriptural models for the saints. Among the persons mostly invoked in their hymns were Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, David, and Elijah. From the New Testament, their favourite individuals were Paul, Peter, and John the Baptist. The faithful were exhorted to recognize biblical personages in the saints they praised. The large number of such examples in Byzantine liturgical poetry suggests that hymnographers used hymns as an additional and highly effective avenue of biblical interpretation. This fact further highlights the importance of this genre of Byzantine literature during a period when traditional and more conventional biblical hermeneutics went into sharp decline.



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Narrative Identity? Remarks on the “I” in Canons by Joseph the Hymnographer

As a member of the Constantinopolitan intellectual elite and as a teacher in a wide circle of disciples, Joseph the Hymnographer had a considerable influence on the textual development of the canon. His oeuvre gives the impression of aiming at the formation of a firm liturgical life as a whole, rather than establishing the individual Christian subject. The first person perspective, which he often opted for his poems, was already present in the hymns of Romanus the Melodist and Andrew of Crete. The way Joseph decided to integrate these traditional expressive means into his poems reveals the literary inventory he had at his disposal. His ability, for instance, to make allusions constantly to the penitential “self” of the Old Testamental Psalms and selectively to the ascetic instructions of the Church Fathers demonstrates his tendency to a skilled imitatio, but does not signify a personal narrative identity. Furthermore, due to the fact that the canons were publicly chanted, the hymnographers systematically transformed the personal “I” into the liturgical “We”, willing to reduce the distance between them and the congregation. On the other hand, the references to consciousness (συνείδησις) in the hymns can lead the auditor to an inaccurate perception of a conscious “I”, as the term draws attention to the spiritual self-awareness. Nonetheless, this initial impression fades away after an in-depth examination of the accompanying adjectives, which derive mainly from Pauline Epistles. The tension between such stereotyped expressions and his inventive contextualization adds an implicit, though sensible, dynamic of appropriation. In other words, Joseph the Hymnographer achieved to versify the conventional poetic “I” by manipulating skillfully familiar language and by accommodating his carefully-worded phrases to the respective context.

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Non-Biblical Readings in the Typicon of Mâr Saba: The Case of *Haab* Q 740 from Weimar

Within the basic constituent elements of the byzantine Divine Office’s celebrations are to be counted the readings, patristical and of other kinds, which will be the subject of my presentation. I will talk about the non-biblical readings in the byzantine monastic liturgical tradition, as it is present in the text of the Typicon of the Mâr Saba Monastery in Codex Q 740 of the Duchess Anna Amalia Library, in Weimar. Its edition is the subject of my PhD project, under the direction of Prof. Dr. Claudia Sode (Cologne). This specific topic was already analysed by Prof. André Lossky in a conference during the renowned Semaine d’études liturgiques of the Saint Serge Institute, Paris, but presented more as a comparative analyse of the relationship between the old sabaitical and



the studite traditions. Following his method, I will focus just on the historical development of the sabaitical tradition until the end of the 13th c. and beginning of the 14th.

This presentation will consist of five parts: The first being a brief description of the source, i.e. the text as it is present in the Codex Q 740, and an explanation about its place in the historical evolution of the byzantine liturgical typica; the second describing the terminology used by the typica to talk about these readings; what follows is the distribution system of the readings along the liturgical year; then the practical development and its relationship with the readings carried out in the refectory, i.e. during the monastic common meals; and lastly the different kind of readings: an enumeration, a description of the content and an analysis of some samples.

With all this, I will try to present another step in the evolution of the tradition inaugurated when Saint Sabas founded the monastery in the VI C. that after his death was named in his honor. The structure of the Divine Office there carried out and there at some point transmitted as a text, the origins of which must be searched, among other places, in the old liturgical tradition of Jerusalem, became highly renowned. Abbreviating a long history of crossed influences, it was adopted from the 10th c. on as the basic norm for the liturgical life of monastic as well as of parish communities all along the Orthodox world. The text that I research is a version adapted to the use somewhere in the late Greek-speaking byzantine world, between the end of the 12th c. and beginning of the 14th c., being witness of the so-called “Constantinopolitan recension” of the typicon, which until now has not been thoroughly researched. Based on the previous and foundational studies of Aleksej Dmitrievskij, at the beginning of the 20th c., and the before-mentioned research of Lossky, I will try to present the continuities and discontinuities, innovations and variations in the evolution of this text.

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Photios' Hermeneutic for Wisdom Literature in *Amphilochia* 9

The *Amphilochia* of Photios (d. ca.895) is a collection of letters that explain difficulties in the scriptures and related doctrines of the church. In *Amphilochia* 9, Photios applies himself to harmonising what appears to be a conundrum in Orthodox theological anthropology:

How does one reconcile the saying of David ‘human life is like grass’ (Psalm 102.15) with the proverb of Solomon ‘man is great and precious’ (Prov 20.6)? [Πως του θεοπατορος Δαυιδ ειποντος ‘ανθρωπος ωσει χορτος αι ημεραι αυτου’ και εξης, ο τουτου παις Σολομων αποφαινεται ‘μεγα ανθρωπος και τιμιον ανηρ’;]

This is more philosophical than exegetical, in terms of the content of these particular biblical sayings from the wisdom literature of the LXX. Photios approaches the problem with several concerns in mind. First, he must deal with the immediate question of the significance of humanity in the divine *oikonomia*. The Orthodox view of humanity is very high, and its theological anthropology has had far-reaching influence on later church denominations in England the US, predominantly Methodist and Pentecostal.



Second, the sayings of two of the Byzantines' favourite biblical models of kingship, David and Solomon, must be reconciled or harmonised without impugning either David (a model claimed by Basil I) or Solomon (the model later applied to Basil's son, Leo VI). As biblical prototypes, the wisdom of these two Israelite kings, particularly for Byzantine emperors, cannot be overstated. After the period of exile in which Photios wrote the first 75 treatises of the *Amphilochia*, he rather famously authored two mirrors-of-princes, directed to the newly-baptized Boris-Michael of Bulgaria and to his former pupil Leo VI, so his analysis of these conflicting sayings is also useful to understanding how he theorized kingship and authority.

Third, this short exposition demonstrates the use of wisdom literature in the early medieval Byzantine context, and the appropriation of Jewish scriptures and history into an explicitly Christian view of faith and identity.

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Biblical Exegesis under Macedonian Rule

In the first part of this paper I wish to document the ways in which the Septuagint text was transmitted and commented upon in the Byzantine empire under the rule of the Macedonian dynasty. Not only did in those centuries major changes produce themselves in the context of the handwritten transmission of texts (e.g. the *μεταχαρακτηρισμός* perseveres), but also important shifts in exegetical procedures took place (e.g. the transformation of compilatory exegesis). All of those aspects strongly influenced the Septuagint tradition, as I intend to show.

In the second part of my presentation, I plan to interpret those changes and confront them with the historical context. In particular, I want to show to what extent the transmission and interpretation of the Septuagint was linked to the court of the Macedonian emperors. They are known to have used a literary program to promote their person, politics and authority (the so-called 'Macedonian Renaissance'), but the contribution of biblical exegesis to that program has hardly been studied. I want to explore this line of research and will adduce concrete examples from a.o. the Octateuch, the Psalms and the Prophets.



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The Biblical Exegesis as a Polemical Tool: The Melchizedek Tradition of *Heb 7:1-5* in the Exegesis of Theodoret of Cyrrhus

Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus, is arguably one of the most prominent theologians and universally accepted exegetes of the fifth century Christian Antiochene milieu. His various historical and doctrinal works include an extensive exegetical corpus on the Christian Bible. The value of his exegetical work is best attested by the fact that, despite the condemnation of his Christological works at the universal Council of Constantinople in 553 CE, his exegetical works remain a point of reference in the Eastern Church to this day.

In his Commentary on the Letters of Paul, Theodoret provided an interpretation of Heb 7:1-5 reflecting the theological debates of his time and betraying his Christological provenance. There he argued that Melchizedek, an enigmatic king-priest mentioned in Gen 14:18-20, in fact had an ancestry and genealogy. He also argued against the perennial priesthood of Melchizedek stating that Melchizedek was a simple man, who had been born and eventually had died. This statement arguably put Theodoret at odds with the actual text of Heb 7:1-5. Theodoret's commentary strongly emphasized the divinity of Jesus, juxtaposing it to Melchizedek's humanity. The latter fact becomes interesting if we take into consideration that Theodoret wrote his commentary on Hebrews around 448 CE. That same year Theodoret (a fervent supporter and the literary champion of the Antiochene Logos-anthropos Christology) reached the peak in his battle against the Logos-sarx Christology of the Alexandrians, which, he believed, overemphasized Christ's divinity at the expense of his humanity.

The ultimate question in my paper is, "Why does Theodoret in so delicate a time for his Christological disputes open himself to possible criticism about being at variance with the sacred Scriptures?"

I argue that Theodoret's commentary on Heb 7:1-5 is a polemical dialogue with an existing Melchizedek tradition that has either directly or indirectly threatened his theological and pastoral interests. A comparison between Theodoret's commentary on Heb 7:1-5 and Epiphanius' Panarion 55 suggests that the polemic was directed against the Melchizedekians.



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Статья о Мелхиседеке в составе «Христианской Топографии» Козьмы Индикоплова

«Христианская Топография» – В греческой рукописной традиции известны три полных списка сочинения: Ватиканский (Vaticanus Gr. 699, к. IX в.), Синайский (Sinaiticus Gr. 1186, XI в.) и список библиотеки Лоренцо Медичи (Laurentianus IX. 28, XI в.)

«Христианская Топография» - сочинение византийского автора Козьмы Индикоплова – датируется 547 – 550 гг. на основании сообщения Козьмы о его пребывании в Аксуме при царе Элесбоа и упоминания им двух затмений 547г.

Сочинение Козьмы Индикоплова состоит из двенадцати Слов, сообщающих об устройстве Вселенной. В своем сочинении Козьма опирается на взгляды персидского ученого Мар Абы, воззрения которого основывались, в свою очередь, на традициях Нисибийской академии, бывшей центром несторианства, и учении Феодора Мопсуестского.

Статья о Мелхиседеке находится в пятом Слове «Христианской топографии» в ряду повествований о патриархах. Пятое Слово самое большое по объему в «Христианской Топографии». Здесь Козьма дает характеристику каждому из 27 упомянутых им исторических персонажей Ветхого и Нового заветов. Рассказ о Мелхиседеке помещен им между сообщениями о Ное и Аврааме.

Кроме того пятое Слово содержит подробный рассказ о скинии Моисея, сведения о переходе евреев через Черное море, изобретении Моисеем письменности. В. Вольска-Коню («Cosmas Indicopleusts, Topographie Chrétienne. Introduction, texte critique, illustration, traduction et notes» Paris. 1970. Т. 2. Р. 86-93) считает, что пятое Слово «Христианской Топографии» несет отпечаток ярко выраженных несторианских представлений, и таким образом не могло быть написано Козьмой.

Композиционно статья о Мелхиседеке в сочинении Козьмы состоит из двух частей. Первая часть представляет собой краткое сообщение о Мелхиседеке, в котором пересказываются библейские сведения о царе Салима. Вторая часть озаглавлена как «Подписание» (Παραγραφή) и содержит материал, дополняющий первую часть. Здесь Козьма указывает два ветхозаветных сюжета, в которых, по его мнению, речь идет о Мелхиседеке: Быт. 14:18-20 (встреча Мелхиседека и Авраама) и Быт. 25. 23 (Ревекка, спрашивающая о близнецах в ее утробе), затем Козьма приводит новозаветные сведения о неродословии Мелхиседека (Евр. 7. 3).

Вторая часть статьи о Мелхиседеке в составе «Христианской Топографии» представляет собой достаточно традиционное толкование тех мест в тексте Библии, где содержится имя Мелхиседека. Исключение составляет сообщение Козьмы о встрече Мелхиседека с Ревеккой. Это сообщение является отражением довольно редкой традиции толкования Быт. 25. 22., которое, вероятно, отражает представления, бытовавшие в Нисибийской академии – приемнице академии в Эдессе, связанной с именем Ефрема Сирина.



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Theological-Literary Analysis of David's 33 Psalm

Contemporary Biblical science for decades now has been paying special attention to studying evolution of biblical text. Differences between first versions of book of the Old Testament and today texts are the result of incorrect translations and letter errors during rewriting. Therefore it is necessary, as much as possible, to study the Holy Bible written in Hebrew or Greek language. Bishop Athanasius (Jevtić), one of the most prominent Serbian theologians and excellent expert in Biblical languages, has translated the Psalter into Serbian language. His version of translation is the most correct and closest to the original verse written by Bible inspired poets. It has been an inspiration for the author of this paper to direct his theological-literary knowledge towards study of poetical thoughts mentioned in the Psalter taking care of philological, philosophical and theological concept. Special attention was drawn to David's 33 psalm (MT: Psalm 34) written in acrostic – in MT out of alphabet range it is only a final verse and one letter is omitted (י), as one of the most beautiful individual grateful poems into which motives of prudent poetics are woven.

With regard to the mentioned, there is no any perfect and final solution for understanding the Old Testament poetry, since language as the exegesis itself requires constant interpretation which never ends. Poetic thoughts pronounced by king David represent for every interpreter a task to make them understandable in any time. Therefore it is necessary that the interpreter, apart from knowledge of biblical languages, is familiar with test experience of many-centuries methods and practices in interpretation of holy texts. The interpreter has to be familiar with the Old Testament semiotic and to interpret the analysis of poetic thoughts of a poet which shall make easier their original understanding. In this undertaking an inexhaustible help offers the treasury of teachings of holy fathers and insight into the Old Testament experts.

Psalm 33 was written as an individual expression of gratitude which in its contents has some motives of wise literature (Ps 33,11-21). The objective of such poetic construction was to induce with listeners and readers a desire for virtuous life, that is, true wisdom. However, poetic motives of appreciation and gratitude to God are not at all set aside. The poet, who presents himself as a teacher of wisdom (Ps 33,11), wrote verses 4 and 6 on the grounds of his own experience and there he generates the topic of God's salvation which he shall broaden in other lyrics. The first part of this psalm (Ps 33,1-10) the poet wrote in gradation since there thoughts about God gradually follow according to strength and here the poet describes Jehovah as his Savior (refer to Ps 33,1-4.6). In continuation the poet develops this poetic thought in other lyrics (refer to Ps 33,5.7-10) where he emphasizes that God is the Savior and Protector to all true God-seekers.

Life circumstances in which this psalm was written are presented in the title of this psalm. In The First Book of Samuel encounter of David and king Achish (1. Sam 21,10-15) is described. After the town of Nob– where priests used to live and which was located on the territory the Benjamin Tribe not far away from Jerusalem (v. Is 10,32) – fleeing from czar Saul David went to the town



of Gath, to king Achish. King Achish welcomed David. He believed that it was good to have such experienced warrior and military leader. However, the servants and courtiers did not agree with the king's opinion. They warned him that David is a hero from Israel who killed their hero Goliath and that it is not safe to keep him in his service: Is this not David the king of the land? Did they not sing of him to one another in dances, saying: Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands? (1. Sam 21,11).

David's bright shepherd's mind soon realized that he found himself in very unfavorable position, surrounded with enemies. He started to act strangely: So he changed his behavior before them, pretended madness in their hands, scratched on the doors of the gate, and let his saliva fall down on his beard (1.Sam 21,13) When king Achish saw how poor this hero of Israel looked he let him go saying to his servants: Look, you see the man is insane. Why have you brought to me? Have I need of madmen, that you have brought this fellow to play the madmen in my presence? Shall this fellow come into my house? (1. Sam 21,14-15). And in remembrance to this miraculous and safe salvation David wrote this psalm.

Athanasius from Alexandria in his interpretation of the psalm 33 believes that historical circumstances in which this psalm was written relate to the encounter of David and the priest Ahimelech (v. 1. Sam 21,1-9): Running away from Saul, David came to Ahimelech. To Ahimelech's question for the reason of his coming David did not admit that he was running away from Saul but that Saul entrusted him a mission to ask for Goliath's sword. Since he was telling one thing and thinking the other in the inscription of the psalm it is said: change your face. Opinion of the author of this paper is that lyrics of this psalm in fact relate to the 1. Sam 21,10-15 which is confirmed by statements of many Old Testament exegetes (Calvin, Tomić, Deissler, Constable, Spurgeon, Briggs, Delitzsch, Terrien etc). However, Saint Basil the Great in his interpretation of the psalm believes that this psalm reminds us of both events, namely of David's encounter with the priest Ahimelech (in translation of Đura Daničić Ahimelech; v. 1. Sam 21,1-9) and king Achish (v. 1 Sam 21,11-13).



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High-Profile Defection between Rome and Persia in Late Antiquity: The Case of Constantine of Theodosiopolis

State of fluctuating conflict between Late Roman and Persian empires in many ways characterized and determined the reality of Late Antique period. This communication aims to analyze one of the many cases of high-profile individual defection that occurred between the two states.

The two authoritarian “super-powers” tended not only to control the mobility of their subjects across the border, but to prevent them from permanently (or even temporarily) moving to the adversary state. Various reasons could cause this restraint: political, economic, demographical, military, those of “national security” etc. Therefore, any kind of voluntary migration was de facto a flight.

A host side in such situation—when immigration could not become massive—was often interested in receiving the newcomers. Reasons to accept those escaping from a competitive power were also plenty, e.g. the desire to obtain information, the need for qualified workers.

Late Antique reality must have presented numerous cases of various kinds of “emigration” or, given the above perspective, rather desertion and flight on all the societal levels. High-profile defection, however, received more attention of sources and we are much better informed about both civil and military elites in the context of unstable loyalties, than about the lower layers of Late Antique society.

Constantine was a high military Roman officer and then a turncoat. In August/September of 502 he rebelled and betrayed to the Persians the city of Theodosiopolis in Armenia, which he was supposed to guard. We ignore the exact reasons of this act: according to Joshua the Stylite, Constantine felt some hostility towards the emperor Anastasius (Josh. Styl. 48).

Evidence parallel to Joshua the Stylite’s omits the fact of Constantine’s betrayal and considers him a prisoner of Cavades (Malal. 16.9 (398); Zach. HE 7.3). Joshua’s information seems to be much richer and provides details about the subsequent events of Constantine’s life. Constantine, thus, successfully continues his military career among the Persians, becoming a general and fighting against the Romans.

We know several stories of high-profile turncoats, switching sides and more successfully advancing their careers. Especially often, such flights were happening in the Eastern “border territories”, in Mesopotamia, in Syria, and in Armenia. In the absolute majority of the known cases, once the traitor has crossed the border and/or joined the enemies, there was no way back. Defecting and especially collaborating with enemies against the Roman cause was considered a high treason, fraught with the most severe punishment.

Constantine, however, returns back to the empire two years after his initial switchover. After his surrender to the Romans, he was brought to the emperor, who chooses an outstandingly mild punishment for this traitor who betrayed the city that he was to guard and led the enemies’ troops against the Romans. Constantine was ordained as a priest and sent to Nicaea with a warning not to take any further part in affairs of the state.



The case of Constantine, therefore, is extremely interesting, being at the same time quite typical and absolutely extraordinary. We do not know why Constantine was treated so exceptionally, sources do not provide enough details. One may suppose some secret agenda behind these events. Was Constantine's defection part of a bigger plan of advancing the Roman influence? The presumed connections between Constantine and the emperor might have played some role not only in the unusual grace of Anastasius, but also in the preceding events.

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The Byzantine Administration in Syro-Palestine on the Eve of the Arab Invasion. Selected Problems

The purpose of the paper is to recreate the administrative division of Syro-Palestine in the latter half of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. Excluded from my analysis is the issue of themes. Having already received a lot of attention from scholars, it is a complex issue and, as such, needs to be dealt with in a separate paper.

The provincial administration system as existing in 610, the year in which Heraclius rose to power, was established by Emperor Justinian I, while the administrative division of Syro-Palestine inherited by this emperor took shape in the period of the early dominate. The system was three-tiered, with the provinces forming its lowest level, the dioceses the mid-one and the prefectures the highest one.

On Justinian's initiative a significant change was introduced to the system. To the nine provinces which were in existence the emperor added a new one – Theodorias. The causes of the establishment of the new province remain unclear. Except for John Malalas' chronicle one fragment of which seems to point to the causes in question, there is no other source in which the issue is explicitly dealt with. However, some information referring indirectly to the topic under discussion can be derived from the sources that discuss the Empire's political history during Justinian's reign.

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Alliance with Hell: Romans vs. Armenians and Arabs

The conflict between the Romans and the Sasanians continued intermittently until the first quarter of the seventh century and finally came to an end at the battle of Nineveh, in 627, nearly four centuries after the beginning of the wars. However, the final blow hit the Sasanians in the shoulder, not by the Romans but by the Arabs. With tearful eyes and a breaking voice Ferdowsi



said that “Where have all the great Sasanians gone?” Immediately after the fall of the Sasanians, the Arabs were the new enemy hiding in the shadows in the eastern borders of Romans. The Arabs came quickly and quietly, “like a snake”, to Roman territories and attacked Armenia which was then under Roman power. The Armenians, suffering from the pressure of Arabs, asked for help from the Roman emperor. Constans II (641-668) tried to use the situation to his advantage and declared naxarar Teotoros Rshdouni as chief commander and marzpan in 643. At that period, Nerses III (641-661) was the catholicos of the Armenians and was standing close to the Romans. Thus, Constans II endeavored to convert the Armenian Church to seize the opportunity. But the council which was convened by Nerses III and Teotoros Rshdouni defied the Roman emperor’s proposal; whereupon Constans II dismissed Teotoros Rshdouni and appointed Smbat I Bagratuni as marzpan of Armenia in 653. The humiliated Teotoros Rshdouni now had no choice but to turn to the Arabs. Teotoros Rshdouni and Nerses III accepted the alliance proposal of Muawiyah I, the then commander, and the Armenians therefore collaborated with the Arabs against the Romans. Sebeos, Armenian historian and bishop, who lived in the seventh century, noted that “all the Armenian princes made a pact with death and contracted an alliance with hell”.

The main purpose of this study is to emphasize the historical context of this “alliance with hell” and to examine the gains and losses of the Armenians after this pact.

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Tribute Payments in the Byzantium-Islam Frontier, an Origin for the Spanish Institution of the *Parias*?

This paper aims to present the results of a productive new field of research. The *parias* were the payments done by the Muslim taifa kingdoms to the Christian kingdoms in Spain to prevent being attacked by them during the XI century. The Spanish scholars have analysed the *parias* as an institution that only was developed in Spain but we have found proof that the *parias*, although they were not called with this name, could have begun in the VII century in the Byzantium-Islam frontier.

We have found payments similar of those done in Spain dated back to 659, date in which Constans II received tributes from Mu’awiya, the first Umayyad caliph. Those kinds of payments, sometimes being paid by the Muslims, most other times paid by Byzantium, will be traced and analysed in this paper. To finish, we will try to discover how could the Spanish kingdoms come to the idea of implementing those tributes in Spain and compare the realities of the VII-X century interaction between Byzantium and the Caliphates and the interaction between the Spanish Christian kingdoms and the Muslim taifa kingdoms during the XI century.



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Byzantine or Non-Byzantine Rituals of the Nubian Rulers

Following the Christianisation of the Nubian Kingdoms in the 6th century, the Medieval art of the Sudan was included within a sphere of Byzantine influences. The Nubian iconography undoubtedly took a lot after Byzantium, however, one cannot forget about pre-Christian local tradition, which shaped the Nubian art. The Nubian society owed its prosperity and well-being to flooding of the Nile. Life processes were subject to this force of nature. Therefore it seems that some rituals practiced for centuries did not disappear with the introduction of Christianity. The aim of my presentation is to show how we can trace this pre-Christian tradition on the example of some Nubian paintings presenting Nubian rulers. These kings are presented in the apses holding a crown and scepter topped with a figure of blessing Christ. This Nubian scepter has much in common with an Egyptian *was* – a sacred staff. Reading Nubian art not only from Byzantine but also Egyptian perspective seems to be necessary for better understanding of its phenomena.

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Greek, Arabic, and Syriac in Reconquered Syria (10th-11th Cent.)

The second Byzantine domination in Syria has been, so far, the object of patchy attention. A number of aspects have been addressed, and the period has been taken into account from different perspectives in a few substantial publications (such as Honigmann's volume on the Eastern frontier of the Empire, Vest's three-volume work on the history of the region of Melitene, and number of articles by Dagron, Cheynet, and Todt focusing more specifically the 10th-11th centuries), but a comprehensive study of the last hundred years of Byzantine Syria is still missing. Largely overlooked by Byzantinists is especially the intellectual production in the reconquered territories. The reason is that, in spite of the effort made by Constantinople to 're-byzantinise' the region, Arabic and Syriac remained the predominant languages in the cultural and religious life of the local population. As a consequence, the study of the intellectual activity and the literary production in Syria between the 10th and the 11th centuries has been implicitly left in the hands of Orientalists, who are only recently taking an interest in the subject.

The aim of the proposed paper is to draw scholars' attention to this chapter of Byzantine history, focusing notably on that aspect. After a brief presentation of the historical framework and an outline of the social, ethnic, and religious landscape under the renewed Byzantine rule, I will offer an overview of the cultural centres in the reconquered territories, of their activity, and of the literary production in Greek, Arabic, and Syriac. The most remarkable feature of this new



cultural efflorescence in Northern Syria is undoubtedly the movement of translation of Greek Patristic texts into Arabic, which has been compared – for the amount of texts translated, for the prominence of the translators, and for the stimulus it gave to the contemporary and subsequent cultural production – to the Baghdad Greco-Arabic translation movement of the 8th-10th centuries. But the production of original works – theological, historical, hagiographical... – in Arabic should not be overlooked either. The Syriac sources, on the other hand, attest to a fervent scribal activity in the new Miaphysite monasteries established in the region of Melitene, and to a written production related to the tensions with the Miaphysite communities living under Muslim rule, as well as to the frictions with the Greek Chalcedonian hierarchy. The way in which the three languages interacted, and the influence such interaction had on the intellectual life of the region, will be therefore the main focus of the presentation.

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Ibn Khaldūn on Byzantium: A Study in Sources

The aim of this paper is to examine how the Arab historian and sociologist Ibn Khaldūn (1333-1406) looked at Byzantium. There is a chapter in his *Kitāb al-ʿIbar*, Ibn Khaldūn devoted to Byzantium. This chapter is entitled “An account of the Ceasar kings from Heraclius and the [establishment of the] Muslim state to the extinction of their power and the disappearance of their condition”. In his narrative Ibn Khaldūn, first, presents certain outstanding events or achievements, as he calls them, for example the Arab conquest of Syria and Egypt, the sieges of Constantinople, and the subsequent expeditions in Anatolia under the Umayyads, Abbasids, and Hamdanids. Secondly, he gives special attention to the relations of the Byzantines with the Buigars, Armenians, Russians, Turks, and Seljuks. A third important aspect of Ibn Khaldūn’s treatment is a detailed account on the Frankish conquest of Constantinople (A.D. 1204), explaining, in some detail, the circumstances leading to it, and as well as the recapture of Constantinople by Lascaris. Ibn Khaldūn describes Constantinople as “a magnificent city, the seat of Ceasars, containing works famous for their construction and splendor”. His account in the *Kitāb al-ʿIbar* contains more or less an accurate list of Byzantine emperors.

In this study, I also look into the sources upon which Ibn Khaldūn drew. It appears that Ibn Khaldūn’s interest in Byzantium follows a tradition which some of his predecessors established, starting with al-Ya‘qūbī (A.D. 897) and al-Mas‘ūdī (c. 896-956). This tradition focuses on the characteristics and the excellences of the peoples of other nations.



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‘Abd Allāh ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī – An 11th Century Byzantine Philosopher and Theologian Writing in Arabic

After more than 300 years under Arab rule, Antioch (Anṭākiya) was again Byzantine from 969 to 1084. This period coincides with the life of the Melkite deacon Abū l-Faḥ ‘Abd Allāh Ibn al-Faḍl ibn ‘Abd Allāh al-Muṭrān al-Anṭākī, whose name ‘the Antiochian’ (al-Anṭākī) testifies to his ties with the city. Whereas hardly any biographical information about him survives, many of his works do. Among them there are Arabic translations of the Bible and Greek patristic literature as well as Arabic compositions which he compiled from an impressive number of sources, Greek and Arabic, theological and philosophical. My contribution focuses on his still unedited Book of the Delight of the Believer. This compilation is divided in four sections which are said to represent the division of the human body and contains 365 chapters so that the reader may have one chapter to read and contemplate each day of the year. In the first section one hundred philosophical and theological principal matters are treated, among them the Oneness of God, the creation of the world, the four elements, soul, body and intellect. A notably interesting section deals with the question whether God does or does not know the particulars. To answer this question Ibn al-Faḍl resorts to teleological arguments or arguments from design which have already been expounded by the second century Greek physician Galen to prove the wisdom of the Creator. Almost solely based on the evidence of the Creator’s wisdom perceptible to anyone in the human body, Ibn Faḍl al-Anṭākī deduces that God knows the particulars. In doing so, he closely follows the 10th century Christian author Yaḥyā ibn ‘Adī from Bagdad. This and other examples shall provide an insight into the cultural and intellectual milieu of Antioch which Ibn al-Faḍl al-Anṭākī was part of in the eleventh century.

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Legal Elements in Digenis Akritas

The epic poem on the imaginary story belonging to the hero Basileios, better known as Digenis Akritas, took place in Anatolia and more precisely in a mountain region between Byzantine empire and Arabian world: therefore this kind of literary source could result of great interest also in order to understand, from a legal point of view, the life of a military chief on the edge concerning mainly his net of values (included the relation with the emperor); moreover the content of the eight chapters gives us the possibility to investigate some institutes – among them, for example, the oath and the marriage – full of social and historical implications.



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Das Erzbistum-Patriarchat von Tärnovo und das Erzbistum von Ochrid in den Jahren 1230–1246 und später

Zwei große Ereignisse in der Herrschaftszeit des Zaren Ivan Assen II. (1218–1241) hatten eine große Bedeutung nicht nur für die Geschichte Bulgariens, sondern auch für den Südosten Europas und die ganze christlich-orthodoxe Welt: 1.) sein Sieg über die Armee des Despoten-Basileus von Epirus-Thessaloniki Theodoros I. Komnenos (1215–1230) in der Schlacht bei Klokotniza (9. März 1230); 2.) der Wiederaufbau des Bulgarischen Patriarchats mit einem Konzilbeschluss aller östlichen Patriarchen über die Erlangung eines dem ihren gleichen Ranges. Gerade diese zwei Ereignisse haben – in einer spezifischen Art – ihre Auswirkungen auf das Erzbistum von Ochrid in der Zeit des Vorstands eines seiner hervorragendsten Erzpriester Demetrios Chomatenos (1216–1235).

Wie Georgius Akropolites (1217–1282) und die auf seine Darlegung folgenden byzantinischen Historiker davon zeugen, schaffte der Zar Ivan Assen II. nach der Schlacht bei Klokotniza die „Herrschaft der Rhomäer“ (Ρωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς) in einem großen Teil der Balkanhalbinsel ab – „alle unterwarfen sich ihm ohne Blutvergießen“; und so nahm das Bulgarische Zarenreich in seine Grenzen Adrianopel, Boleron, Seres, Pelagonien (Bitolja), Prilep und deren Gebiet, Großwalachien (Thessalien), Albanon und Illiricum auf. In den eroberten Gebieten wurden bulgarische Militärgarnisonen eingerichtet, es wurden Strategen und Steuerbeamte eingestellt. Die großen territorialen Erwerbungen des Bulgarischen Zarenreichs auf Kosten der früheren Herrschaftsgebiete von Theodor Komnenos sind in altbulgarischen Inschriften, Dokumenten und Schriftdenkmälern verzeichnet. In der Tärnovoer Inschrift von 1230 erklärt der Zar selbst, dass er im zwölften Jahr seiner Herrschaft nach Romanien ins Feld zog, das griechische Heer zerschlug, den König Kyr Todor Komnin selbst, zusammen mit all seinen Boljaren, gefangen nahm, sein ganzes Land „von Adrianopel und bis Drač (Dyrrachium) – griechisch und noch arbanassisch und serbisch“ einnahm, und dass Konstantinopel und die übrigen Städte in dessen Umfeld, in denen die Fruzen (Lateiner) herrschten, ihm ebenso unterstanden, da sie keinen anderen Zaren außer ihm hatten. In der Urkunde, die den Ragusanern bald nach der Schlacht gegeben wurde, sind die Städte und Gebiete des damaligen Bulgarischen Zarenreichs aufgezählt, in denen sie einen freien Handel treiben konnten: Bdin (Vidin), Braničevo (Kostolac), Belgrad, Tärnovo, das Gebiet von Zagora, Preslav, die Gebiete von Karvuna, Krän und Boruj, Odrin (Adrianopel), Dimotika, die Gebiete von Skopie, Prilep und Devol, das Land von Arbanassen (Albanien). In einem Prolog-Text über die Überführung der Gebeine des Heiligen Illarion von Mäglen nach Tärnovo vom 13. Jahrhundert ist kurz Folgendes verzeichnet: „Der neue Zar Ivan Assen, Sohn des alten Zaren Assen, nahm das Zepter des Zarenreichs an, wobei er über die Bulgaren, Griechen und Fruzen, ja auch über die Serben und Arbanassen und über alle Städte von Meer zu Meer herrschte und waltete“. Der Patriarch Euthymius (1375–1394) legte in der Vita der Heiligen Paraskeva (Petka) die Eroberungen viel ausführlicher dar. Ihm zufolge unterwarf der „fromme bulgarische Zar Ivan Assen, Sohn des alten Zaren Assen, das ganze Gebiet von Makedonien



sowie Seres mit dem ganzen Athosberg“, Solun (Thessaloniki) mit dem ganzen Thessalien, Trivalia (Serbien), Dalmatien und den Arvanitenstaat (Albanien) bis hin zu Dyrrachium. Zudem gab er auch die vom Zaren vorgenommenen erheblichen Veränderungen in der Kirche bekannt. „In ihnen [in den eroberten Gebieten] ernannte er feierlich Metropoliten und Bischöfe, wie seine lichten Chrysobullen in der ruhmreichen Laura auf dem Athosberg und in Protaton in ihrer klaren Gestalt davon zeugen.“ Zwei von diesen Veränderungen sind in der Athos-Erzählung über das Jahr 1235 erwähnt: zum Metropolit von Thessaloniki wurde der Bulgare Michail Bratan (1230–1233) ernannt, und die Athos-Klöster gingen zur Verwaltung durch den Bischof von Jerisso über. In der griechischen Übersetzung der oben erwähnten, vom Patriarchen Euthymius verfassten Vita, die im Jahre 1618 von Matthaëus von Myra gemacht wurde, steht geschrieben, dass der Zar Ivan Assen II. jene Metropoliten und Bischöfe beseitigte, die von einer „Lateinerweisheit“ (λατινοφροεΐν) angesteckt waren und die Dogmen des katholischen Glaubens annahmen.

Der erreichte Sieg und die danach erworbenen Territorien und Bevölkerung berechtigten vollkommen den bulgarischen Herrscher seine Titulatur zu ändern. In den Urkunden von Dubrovnik und Vatoped lautet sie: АСѢНЬ царь БЛЪГАРѢМЪ и ГРЪКѢМ (Assen Zar der Bulgaren und Griechen). Auf die gleiche Art und Weise führt er seine Titulatur auf dem bislang einzigen Goldsiegel von ihm auf: ІѡАНЪ АСѢНЬ царь БЛЪГАРѢМЪ и ГРЪКѢМ. Zu dieser Zeit wurden auch die ersten Gold- und Kupfermünzen mit einer Inschrift zur Darstellung des durch den Heiligen Demetrius gekrönten bulgarischen Zaren geprägt: ІѡАНЪ АСѢНЬ царь БЛЪГАРѢМЪ. Bemerkenswert sind zwei Sachen, die mit dieser Münzprägung zusammenhängen: 1.) die Münzen wurden im Münzhoft in Thessaloniki geprägt; 2.) der größere Teil ihrer Funde kommt vom Territorium des heutigen Makedonien, wobei bislang in Ochrid fünf Münzen, in Skopie – sieben, in Prilep – vier usw. gefunden worden sind.

Alles bisher Dargelegte zeugt eindeutig und kategorisch von der durchgesetzten bulgarischen Hegemonie. Die Folgen davon hatten ihren logischen Gang, wie aus den angeführten Quellen ersichtlich wird – nach 1230 setzte der bulgarische Zar in den eroberten Gebieten erhebliche politische, administrative und kirchliche Änderungen durch. Die letzteren rührten von dem im Mittelalter etablierten Leitprinzip her: *Cuius regia, ejus ecclesia*. In diesem Zusammenhang entstehen überaus natürlich die Fragen: Welche Einstellung hatten der Zar Ivan Assen II. und das Erzbistum von Tärnovo zur Kirchendiözese von Ochrid und zu ihrem damaligen Vorsteher Demetrios Chomatenos? Wie wirkten sich auf den letzteren die vollzogenen Änderungen aus, wenn seine große Verbundenheit mit Theodoros Komnenos und der von ihm durchgeführten Politik berücksichtigt werden sollte?

Wenn die byzantinischen Quellen auf diese Fragestellung keine Antwort geben, mangelt es in der gegenwärtigen wissenschaftlichen Forschung nicht an Behauptungen oder Annahmen. Der große Kenner von Ochrid und dessen Erzbistum Ivan Snegarov (1883–1971) ist der Ansicht, dass der Zar Ivan Assen II. dem Erzbistum von Ochrid die bestehende Autokephalie nicht absprach, dessen relative Selbstständigkeit bewahrte und dessen Eparchien nicht durch eine Integration in den Rahmen des Erzbistums von Tärnovo wegnahm. Seine Ansicht wird als maßgebend auch von anderen namhaften Forschern geteilt. Die sich mit der Geschichte des Erzbistums von Ochrid befassenden griechischen Byzantinisten und Slawisten ziehen es vor, diese Frage zu übergehen, indem sie auf die Beziehungen zwischen dem Bulgarischen Zarenreich und dem Kaiserreich Nikäa eingehen, wobei sie die altbulgarischen Quellen und die Tätigkeit der bulgarischen Geistlichkeit



außer Acht lassen. Ilija Iliev formuliert seinen Standpunkt wie folgt: „Auch wenn das Erzbistum von Ochrid und dessen Vorsteher zum Teil des Bulgarischen Staates wurden, bewahrten sie eine relative Selbstständigkeit, welche lediglich bei der Durchsetzung einzelner vom bulgarischen Herrscher bevorzugten Bischofskandidaturen verletzt wurde.“ Eine Lösung dieser umstrittenen Frage auf eine objektivste Art und Weise kann vorgenommen werden, wenn den Auskünften in den erhaltenen Quellen der Vorzug gegeben wird und das Verhalten des Erzbischofs von Ochrid Demetrios Chomatenos selbst und seine Einstellung zum erfolgten politischen Wechsel nachvollzogen werden.

Vor allem ist es offensichtlich, dass der Zar Ivan Asen II. ein tolerantes Verhältnis zum Vorsteher des Erzbistums von Ochrid und zu dessen Würde bekundete. Wohlwollen ihm gegenüber bekundete auch das Erzbistum von Tärnovo. Demetrios Chomatenos legte eine Anerkennung der bulgarischen Zaren- und Kirchenmacht an den Tag. Dies fand einen direkten Ausdruck in einer Reihe von seinen Taten, die nicht immer hinlänglich berücksichtigt werden und auf die nicht zureichend Akzent gesetzt wird. Bereits zu Anfang seines Archiepiskopats zeigte er Besorgnis um seine bulgarische Gemeinde, indem er die sie kirchlich betreuende Geistlichkeit gleicher Abstammung bewahrte, wie dies aus dem Beschluss der Synode „über die Weihung von Priestern und Diakonen seitens der aus Zagora (Bulgarien) gekommenen bulgarischen Bischöfe“ (1218–1219) ersichtlich wird. Er bekundete eine beschützende und wohlwollende Einstellung zur Entwicklung des bulgarischen Schrifttums im Erzbistum von Ochrid, und dies ist aus den von der Zeit seines Erzbischofsdienstes erhaltenen schriftlichen Denkmälern deutlich sichtbar. Es ist kaum ein Zufall, dass einer von den bulgarischstämmigen in seiner Gemeinde die Hochachtung dem eigenen Kirchenvorsteher gegenüber mit einem Gebetstext im Apostol-aprakos von Ochrid von 1216–1235 zum Ausdruck brachte: „Herr Jesus Christus, Herrgott unser, erbarme Dich unser, amen. Beschenke, Du heilige Gottesmutter, den Erzbischof Demetrios mit Gesundheit“ (Господи, Иисусе Христе, Боже нашъ помилуй насъ, аминъ. Донеси, свѣта Богородице, архиепископа Димитрѣа се здравиемъ). Ein Beweis ist ebenso das berühmte Psalterium von Bologna (13. Jh.). Wie aus zwei Schreibnotizen darin zu entnehmen ist, wurde es von drei bulgarischen Schreibern (den Brüdern Jossif und Beloslav zusammen mit Tichota) in der „Stadt Ochrid, im Dorf genannt Ravne, beim bulgarischen Zaren Assen“ (въ Охридѣ градѣ въ селѣ рекомѣмъ Равне, при цари Асѣни блѣгарскѣмъ) geschrieben, d.h. während der Herrschaft von Ivan Assen II. Die dritte Schreibnotiz in diesem Manuskript ist von einer anderen Person – einem Geistlichen, der das Manuskript später kaufte: „Ich, der sündige Mönchspriester Danil erstand dieses Buch von Todor Grammatik von Ravne und gab die Ohrringe der Popenfrau und zwei Perperi inmitten der Stadt, in Bitolja...“ Der erwähnte Todor Grammatik war ein bekannter bulgarischer Schreiber von der Zeit von Demetrios Chomatenos, der die griechische Sprache ebenso gut beherrschte, und das ist gut erkennbar an einer von seinen Schreibnotizen zu einem byzantinischen Manuskript: „† Das vorliegende Buch wurde von Todor Grammatik nach dem Einfall der gottlosen Tataren erstanden, als in Bulgarien Kaliman, der Sohn von Ivan Assen als Zar herrschte, für ... Perperi im Jahre 6751 [1242–1243], Indiktion 1. Und ihr, die das Buch lest, betet für mich, den Sünder, so dass ich mich durch eure Gebete vor der ewigen Quälerei rette.“

Der Erzbischof Demetrios Chomatenos, der nach 1230 seine Stellung bewahren konnte, erfreute sich allem Anschein nach einer guten Einstellung sowohl seitens des Zaren Ivan Assen II. als auch seitens des Erzbischofs von Tärnovo; Demetrios Chomatenos bekundete seinerseits in großem Maße ebenso ein Wohlwollen gegenüber der neu durchgesetzten bulgarischen Herrschaft im Erzbistum von Ochrid. Seine verschlechterten Beziehungen mit Nikäa und dem ökumenischen



Patriarchen wiesen keine Tendenzen von Verbesserung auf. Die Ernennung des Metropoliten von Ankyra Christophoros zum Exarchen für den Westen und seine Niederlassung in Thessaloniki gegen Ende 1232–1233 widersprach der Autokephalie des Erzbistums von Ochrid, welche von Tärnovo her anerkannt wurde.

Allem Anschein nach in der Absicht, die eigene gute Einstellung zu den Bulgaren und zum Wiederaufbau ihrer Staatsmacht über seine eigenen Eparchien zu registrieren, verfasste Demetrios Chomatenos eine neue Kurzvita des Heiligen Kliment von Ochrid (†916) zum Tag seines Entschlafens (27. Juli) mit der Überschrift: „Andenken an unseren Vater Erzbischof und Wundertäter Kliment, Bischof von Bulgarien in Ochrid“. Dadurch verewigte er ihn eigentlich als Vorläufer des nun von ihm selbst besetzten Stuhls. Für den 25. November, an dem die Geburt „unseres heiligen Vaters, des Erzbischofs von Ochrid und Wundertäters Kliment“ begangen wurde, verfasste Demetrios Chomatenos einen Verskanon „zu seiner Lobpreisung“. Darin hinterließ er im Akrostichon seinen Namen und den gewöhnlich benutzen Titel: Κλημεντα τιμῶ, ποιμενάρχης Βουλγάρων Δημήτριος (Kliment ehre ich – Erzpriester der Bulgaren Demetrios). Sehr bald nach ihrer Niederschrift wurden die Kurzvita von Kliment und sein Kirchendienst ins Bulgarische übersetzt – vermutlich von einem Schreiber aus Ochrid, der mit dem Erzbischof verbunden war.

Dieser Zeit soll ebenso eine Ikone mit der Darstellung von Jesus Christus mit einem kunstfertig gemachten silbernen Beschlag zugeordnet werden, die von Demetrios Chomatenos geschenkt und über die Zarentüren der Ochrider Kirche „Hl. Gottesmutter – Hl. Kliment“ angebracht wurde. In der Widmungsinschrift dazu führt er den Titel wieder: „Erzpriester der Bulgaren“ (ἐκ Δημητρίου ποιμηνάρχου Βουλγάρων). Durch die Benutzung dieses Titels anstelle des gewöhnlich angenommenen: „Erzbischof von Justiniana Prima und von ganz Bulgarien“ bemühte sich Demetrios Chomatenos allem Anschein nach darum, seine Verbundenheit mit den Bulgaren und den erfolgten Änderungen in dem unter bulgarischer Macht sich befindenden Erzbistum von Ochrid zu bekunden.

Mit der Tätigkeit von Demetrios Chomatenos zu der Zeit, in der in seinem Erzbistum die bulgarische Macht durchgesetzt wurde, ist noch ein Beschluss von ihm in Verbindung zu setzen. Dieser ist zwar nicht exakt datiert, jedoch ist er auf die Zeit 1234–1235 (die letzten zwei Jahre von Demetrios' Amtieren) zu beziehen. Dem Beschluss zufolge wurde die Eheschließung zwischen dem Sohn vom Statthalter (ἀντιπρόσωπος) des Gebiets von Ochrid, Radomir und der Tochter des „geheiligten Zaren“ (des bulgarischen Zaren Ivan Assen II.) nicht genehmigt. Die Ursache lag darin, dass der Zar, ohne eine Ehe mit der Schwester des Statthalters von Ochrid geschlossen zu haben, eine Tochter von dieser Frau hatte. Gerade diese Tochter, die von einer Mätresse stammte, und nicht von einer gesetzlichen Gattin des Zaren, konnte in diese Ehe nicht gehen. Die Ursache – die Mätresse war die Schwester des Statthalters, folglich die Tante von Radomir. Das führte zum Inzest. Es gab eine Verwandtschaft, d.h. Miterternschaft, die die Realisierung dieses Ehebündnisses nicht erlaubte. Dafür sprach auch die körperliche Nähe der gebürtigen Schwester des Statthalters mit dem Basileos, d.h. dem Zaren Ivan Assen II. Die Verweigerung der Legalisierung von dieser Ehe bezog sich sowohl auf eine Anforderung seitens des Zaren wie auch auf eine Anforderung seitens seines Statthalters des Gebiets. Dieser Fall aus der bischöflichen Gerichtspraxis von Demetrios Chomatenos offenbart direkte gegenseitige Beziehungen mit dem Zaren Ivan Assen II. Außerdem deckt er die Präsenz einer Tochter des Zaren auf, abgesehen von den übrigen zwei Töchtern (Elena und Tamara), welche beim Namen nicht bekannt ist.



Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen Tärnovo und Ochrid in kirchlichen und anderen Aspekten werden ebenso durch weitere historische Quellen aufgedeckt, deren Verfassen auf das 14.–15. Jahrhundert auf der Basis von früheren Mitteilungen zu beziehen ist. Bislang ist nur ein gewisser Teil von ihnen berücksichtigt worden. Ihre ganzheitliche Betrachtung führt zum Konstatieren interessanter und wenig bekannter Tatsachen.

Im Synodikon der bulgarischen Kirche (13.–14. Jh.) werden unmittelbar nach dem Spruch des ewigen Andenkens der „Hoherleuchteten Patriarchen von Tärnovo“ – von Joachim I. (1232–1246) bis hin zum „Hoherleuchteten Patriarchen Evtimij“ (†1404) – die Metropoliten von Veliki Preslav, Červen, Loveč, Sredec (Sofia), Oveč (Provadia) und Drăstăr (Silistra) erwähnt, d. h. jene, deren Eparchien im 14. Jahrhundert innerhalb der Grenzen des Bulgarischen Zarenreichs waren. Unmittelbar danach werden die Vorsteher jener Eparchien erwähnt, die sich dem Patriarchat von Tärnovo beim Zaren Ivan Assen II. anschlossen, d.h. nach 1230: „Und die Metropoliten, derer wir nun gedenken, waren beim frommen bulgarischen Zaren Assen unter der Gewalt des Patriarchats von Tärnovo (подъ областѣж Тръновскыа) und sie verstarben in dieser Zeit: Antonij, Danail, Metropoliten von Seres, ewiges Andenken; Anastassij, Epifanij, Dimitrij – Bischöfe von Velbăžd, ewiges Andenken; Joanikij, Sergij – Erzbischöfe von Ochrid (архієпископѣ вхрѣдстїѣ), ewiges Andenken; Jakov, Porfirij, Joanikij – Bischöfe von Braničevo, ewiges Andenken; Sava, Teodossij, Dimitrij, Simeon – Bischöfe von Belgrad – ewiges Andenken ; Kiril, Dionissij – Bischöfe von Nišava, ewiges Andenken; Stefan, Kliment, Josif, Chariton, Metropoliten von Bdin, ewiges Andenken; Simeon, Metropolit von Filipisija, ewiges Andenken; Vasilij, Marko, Nikodim, Prokăl Dorotej, Partenij – Metropoliten von Messembria, ewiges Andenken“. Es kann uns nicht entgehen, dass der Name von Demetrios Chomatenos unter den erwähnten Erzbischöfen von Ochrid fehlt. Es ist klar, dass das Erzbistum von Ochrid unter der Hoheit des Patriarchats von Tärnovo stand und dass seine zwei Vorsteher ihm unterordnet waren. Es kann die Annahme gemacht werden, dass es seine Autokephalie in den Jahren 1230–1235 bis zum Tod und dem Ende des erzbischöflichen Amtierens von Demetrios Chomatenos bewahrte. Nach dem Wiederaufbau des Bulgarischen Patriarchats und dem Tod von Demetrios Chomatenos ging das Erzbistum von Ochrid gänzlich unter die Hoheit des Patriarchats von Tärnovo, und da wurden nacheinander die im Synodikon der Bulgarischen Kirche erwähnten zwei Erzbischöfe geweiht. Dies steht nicht im Widerspruch zur Auskunft in der Autobiographie des berühmten Theologen und Schreibers von Nikäa Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197–1272), dass er bei seinem Besuch in Epirus in den Jahren 1239–1240 den Vorstand von Ochrid (τῆ τῆς Ἀχρίδος προεδρία) ohne Hirten (πομμένα) vorfand.

Die Rückkehr des Erzbistums von Ochrid unter die Hoheit des in Nikäa sich aufhaltenden ökumenischen Patriarchen erfolgte als ein Ergebnis der politischen Veränderungen, die auf der Balkanhalbinsel in den Jahren 1246–1256 vor sich gingen. Als Resultat der aktiven Kriegshandlungen der Herrscher des Kaiserreichs von Nikäa zu dieser Zeit wurden Thrakien, die Gebiete von Rhodopen und Sofia, Makedonien samt Ochrid einverleibt. Erzbischof des geheiligten Erzbistums Bulgarien war im Jahre 1248 bereits Jakov (ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος τῆς ἀγιωτάτης ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς Βουλγαρίας Ἰάκωβος), der auf dem Thron bis zum Jahr 1253 blieb – bis zum Rucktritt und bis zu seiner Widmung dem Mönchsleben auf dem Athosberg. Eine Reihe von griechischen Inschriften und Manuskripten von der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, die von Ochrid und der Umgebung stammen, zeugen von der aktiven Schreib-, Bau- und Stiftungstätigkeit der hiesigen Bischöfe und Schreiber. Darunter verdient die Schreibnotiz von Joan von Prespa vom Jahr 1271–1272 besondere Beachtung wegen



des Vorhandenseins von einer Reihe von Siedlungsnamen wie auch von Namen anderer Art: „†Dieses Buch Kirianidi wurde in der Festung, genannt Gangra, von der Hand des Joan von Prespa geschrieben (εἰς τὸν κάστρον τὸ λεγόμενον Γάγγραν διὰ χειρὸς Ἰωάννου τοῦ Πρεσπινού), westlich von Prespa, nicht weit von der Festung Ochrid (ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀχρεΐδων τὸ κάστρον) im Jahre 6780. Gedenke, Herr, der Seelen der Gottesknechte Nikolaos und Evdokia“. Die Präsenz der griechischen Geistlichkeit im Erzbistum von Ochrid hinterließ Spuren in verschiedenen Sphären. Jedoch war die Dominanz des bulgarischen ethnischen Elements in seiner Gemeinde unumstritten.

Nach der Wiedereinnahme Konstantinopels und dem Wiederaufbau des Byzantinischen Reichs im Jahre 1261 begann das Erzbistum von Ochrid Ansprüche darauf zu erheben, dass eine Reihe von Eparchien des Patriarchats von Tärnovo und des Erzbistums von Serbien sich ihm unterordneten. Es ist kaum ein Zufall, dass die byzantinischen Gesandten bei der Schließung der Union von Lion die Forderung stellten, dass diese für ungesetzlich erklärt und ihre Eparchien vom Westbalkan ins Erzbistum von Ochrid integriert wurden. Gerade in diesem Zusammenhang ordnete der byzantinische Kaiser Michael Palaeologos (1259–1282) zwei Jahre zuvor es an, dass die Urkunden abgeschrieben wurden, die in den Jahren 1019–1025 von Basileios II. Bulgarentöter (976–1025) dem Erzbistum von Ochrid gegeben wurden. Aus ihnen und insbesondere aus den erwähnten Siedlungsnamen ist der bulgarische ethnische Charakter der angegebenen Eparchien überaus deutlich zu entnehmen. In Verbindung mit der Klärung von der Art und Weise des Wiederaufbaus des Bulgarischen Patriarchats im Jahre 1235 hielt es Nicephorus Gregoras (1295–1360) in seiner „Rhomäischen Geschichte“ kaum zufällig für nötig, die Beziehung des Erzbistums von Ochrid mit Bulgarien und den Bulgaren offenzulegen, wobei er behauptete, dass „der Bischof von Tärnovo (ὁ τοῦ Τόρνοβου ἐπίσκοπος) dem Erzbischof von Justiniana Prima (Ochrid) wegen einer alten Verwandtschaft mit dem dortigen Volk unterstand.“

Ochrid und das mit ihm verbundene Gebiet, auch wenn losgelöst vom Territorium des Bulgarischen Zarenreichs, nahmen einen wichtigen Platz im bulgarischen Geschichtsgedächtnis als Symbole seiner Anfangsgeschichte. Das ist deutlich ersichtlich aus zwei Zusätzen zur bulgarischen Übersetzung der Chronik von Konstantinos Manasses (12. Jh.), die vom Popen Filip im Jahre 1345 gemacht wurde. Im Zusatz zur Herrschaft des Kaisers Anastasij I. (491–518) steht geschrieben: „Beim Zaren Anastasij begannen die Bulgaren dieses Land zu erobern, wobei sie bei Bädin (Vidin) vorgingen. Und ganz zuerst begannen sie mit der Eroberung des unteren Landes von Ochrid (долнаѡ зема Охридскѡ), und danach des ganzen Landes. Vom Kommen der Bulgaren bis jetzt sind 870 Jahre“. Und der Zusatz zum Text über die Herrschaft von Konstantinos IV. dem Bärtigen lautet: „Bei diesem Zaren Konstantin überquerten die Bulgaren die Donau und nahmen den Griechen jenes Land ab, in dem sie bis heute leben, nachdem sie diese zerschlagen hatten. Vorher hieß dieses Land Mösien. Indem sie viel und unzählig waren, bevölkerten sie auch dieses Land bei der Donau und jenes Land bei Dyrrachium (и онѡ до Драча) und noch weiter, weil sowohl die Walachen als auch die Serben, als auch alle anderen das eine sind.“

Im direkten Umgang zwischen den zwei Kirchenzentren ist ein weiterer durchaus interessanter Fakt belegt. Der Patriarch von Tärnovo Simeon, zusammen mit den Bischöfen von seiner Synode und beim Kozelebrieren mit dem Erzbischof von Ochrid Nikola, weihte und inthronisierte im Jahre 1346 in Skopie den serbischen Erzbischof Joanikij zum Patriarchen. Anwesend war auch der Prota



des Athosberges mit den Äbten der Klöster. Diese hierarchische Erhebung war zwar offenkundig vereinbart zwischen dem bulgarischen Zaren Ivan Alexandăr und dem serbischen König Stephan Dušan (1331–1355), jedoch löste sie eine negative Reaktion und die Anathemas der Synode des Konstantinopeler Patriarchats aus, der zufolge dieser Akt nicht kanonisch war.

Die Beziehung von Tärnovo und dem Patriarchat von Tärnovo mit dem Erzbisum von Ochrid ist in einer Reihe von bulgarischen und slawischen historischen, kirchlichen und andersartigen Schriften vom 15. Jahrhundert belegt. Ihre Erwähnung verdient die Aufmerksamkeit mit Bezug auf die Feststellung der Dauerhaftigkeit dieser Beziehung im Geschichtsgedächtnis – sowohl im bulgarischen als auch im fremdländischen. Am Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts wurde die „Erzählung über das Bulgarische und Serbische Patriarchat“ von bulgarischen Schreibern auf dem Athosberg zusammengestellt. Darin sind die Namen der Patriarchen von Tärnovo erwähnt, darunter auch Theophilakt von Ochrid – „Erzähler des Evangeliums“. Es wird die Behauptung vertreten, dass einst dem Patriarchat von Tärnovo „das Land von Ochrid und andere ferne Orte angehörten ... Und da setzte der Erzbischof von Ochrid mit dem Segen des Patriarchen von Tärnovo seine Bischöfe auf.“ Diese Erzählung wurde ursprünglich im Fürstentum Litauen als eine kanonische Rechtfertigung der Erklärung von Grigorij Tzambak (1415–1420) zum „Metropoliten von Kiewer Russ und ganz Russland“ im Jahre 1415 eingesetzt. Etwas später (um die Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts) wurde die Erzählung den russischen Nomokanonen als Einführung beigefügt, damit das Recht auf eine Autokephalie der russischen Metropoliten begründet wurde. Im 16. Jahrhundert wurde eine andere Erzählung geschaffen – „Vernünftiges Bittgesuch der bulgarischen Zarin Maria“, in der festgehalten wurde: „Diese Zarin Maria beehrte es vom Herzen, die evangelische Schrift zu verstehen und bat Seine Seligkeit den Erzbischof von Ochrid Theophilakt darum, ihr das Heilige Evangelium deutend zu erörtern. Und als dieser ihr vernünftiges Bittgesuch empfing, setzte er sich hin und machte eine Auswahl aus der Deutung von Chrysostomos und umschrieb so kurz und bündig das in den vier Evangelien Gesagte.“

Die Geschichte der Beziehung des Erzbistums von Ochrid mit Bulgarien und den Bulgaren lebte in den Jahrhunderten fort und fand ihren Platz in den Schriften der bulgarischen Historiker im 18. Jahrhundert.

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The Ohrid Layer in the Liturgical Practice of the Serbian Orthodox Church

The history of early religious service in the Serbian church remains shrouded in mystery. Reliable information appears only after the Serbian church had become autocephalous. Until recently, it was believed that the earliest Serbian manuscripts were two gospels: Miroslav's Gospel (circa 1185/95) and the gospel commissioned for Prince Vukan, Stefan Nemanja's eldest son (circa 1200). Studies published in recent years have significantly altered and extended our knowledge about the earliest period of Serbian literacy. The medieval Serbian literary language, as well as Serbian literacy as a whole, was built on the foundations laid in the 9th century by Byzantine missionaries Constantine (Cyril) (†869) and his brother Methodius (†885). Recent research of early specimens of Slavonic literacy have confirmed that all important elements of the early form of the Serbian Church Slavonic language had already been formed and present in one of the oldest preserved examples of Slavonic literacy – the *Codex Marianus*, written in the Glagolitic script in the late 10th or early 11th century. In this context, it is important to note an epigraphic specimen – the *Temnić inscription* which is believed to have been created in the 10th or 11th century and also shares some features of the early Serbian recension; in addition, it contains some names from the group of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste. Several fragments written in the Serbian Church Slavonic have been preserved from the 12th century and date from the first half or the middle of this century. These are the *Gršković fragment* and *Mihanović fragment*, both of which contain excerpts from the text of the second most important liturgical book of the New Testament – the Acts of the Apostles. In our studies of menaions (hymnographic anthologies containing services to the saints on the fixed dates of the calendar), we have discovered two fragments from two different menaions and have dated them to the last quarter of the 12th century. All of this has led us to thoughts about the liturgical books and rituals that must have been in use in Serbian lands in the 11th and 12th century. Since the fragmentary nature of extant material requires a special approach and a comparative analysis in relation to other (Russian and Bulgarian) preserved examples with a similar content from an older period, we have based our research on the diachronic approach.

On the territory of Nemanja's state (and certainly before this time), there must have existed some sort of ecclesiastical organization in Serbian lands. An interesting piece of information – and also a clue to the correct direction of our reasoning – is the peace treaty and godfather ties established between the Serbian archon Peter and the Bulgarian archon Simeon (897/8). This information suggests that a baptismal ceremony was performed, leading to the question where this ritual could have taken place. The first location that comes to mind is St. Peter's Church in the region of Ras. And to perform the rite at all, the appropriate book would have been needed – an Euchologion (book of prayers). It is important to note that this book, known in the Byzantine Empire as the Euchologion, contained the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom, the Liturgy of St. Basil and the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts, as well as the rites that make up the contents of the Book of Prayers (the Small Euchologion or Trebnik), including the rite of baptism. In the liturgical practice of Orthodox Slavs, this book was divided into two parts: *Leiturgiarion* (Služabnik) and the Book



of Prayers (Trebnik). It is believed that some parts of the Trebnik were translated into the Slavonic language as early as the time of Cyril and Methodius. In the context of missionary activities of the Thessaloniki missionaries, the rite of baptism is certainly the most important among the rites of the Trebnik. This could easily be the first intimation of the use of a liturgical book, probably a book in Slavonic in Serbian lands. After the Battle of Anchialus (917), the political circumstances led to the brief dependence of Serbian lands on Bulgaria; hence, it is possible that at this time the Bulgarian influence had contributed to the spreading of Slavonic literacy in Serbian lands. It is important to note that the period in question was the golden age of Bulgarian literature, which left a diverse and abundant literary legacy to all Orthodox Slavonic peoples.

The Bulgarian state under Emperor Simeon made a great effort to conform all spheres of life – including the very important spheres of church organization and liturgical service – to the Constantinople models. The Bulgarian archbishopric (later Patriarchy), whose seat was located in Preslav, introduced the Typikon of the Great Church (Agia Sophia) into its liturgy. The part of the Serbian lands that was subordinated to the Bishopric of Ras now found itself under the jurisdiction of this church organization. It was precisely this bishopric that could have played one of the key roles in the spreading of liturgy in the Slavonic language and the books used in the service and written in the Cyrillic script. Following the Byzantine conquest of Bulgaria (971), the Bishopric of Ras was subjugated to the Greek metropolitanate seated in Drač (Durrës). The establishment of Samuel's empire (976) facilitated the preservation of the existing tradition of Slavonic literacy in the Balkans. Later on, after the fall of Samuel's state, the Bishopric of Ras was made subordinate to the Archbishopric of Ohrid in 1019. The Archbishopric of Ohrid itself had preserved both the old Slavonic worship traditions from the times of Clement († 916) and Naum of Ohrid († 910) and the liturgical service in Greek. Scholars have suggested a periodization spanning from the 10th century to the first half of the 13th century; the third period (1037-1180) is particularly important for our topic: during this period, the autocephalous Archbishopric of Ohrid was headed by a Greek archbishop and bishops. The Serbian lands were also placed under the jurisdiction of Ohrid. The lower-level clerics must have included some Slavs, who probably performed services in Slavonic areas in the Slavonic language, since it would have made little sense to use a language that the flock did not understand. The political situation throughout the 11th century and the first half of the 12th century determined the status of the church in Serbian lands or, more precisely, in the region of Ras. A not insignificant role in the political situation that favored the consolidation of Slavonic worship services was played by the relationship of the Ohrid archbishops with the grand zhupans of Serbia; particularly noteworthy were the efforts of John (Adrian) Komnenos, the Archbishop of Ohrid in the third quarter of the 12th century.

Except the aforementioned 12th-century fragments, there are no reliable sources that could help us to shed more light on the questions concerning early worship services in Serbian lands. The comparative and diachronic approach used in our studies is dictated by the nature of examined manuscripts (hymnographic anthologies) and the texts contained therein.

Since our research is primarily concerned with menaions and, if a need to systematically integrate the extant material presents itself, other hymnographic anthologies (octoechos and triodions), we have directed our intention to the contents and textological characteristics of some services, believing that their presence in the Serbian liturgical books is crucial for our attempts at reconstructing the liturgical practice of periods for which there are no extant written sources.



The oldest Serbian menaion is Manuscript No. 647 of the National Library of Serbia in Belgrade. This document is a convolute – a manuscript composed of several separate parts created independently of each other, sometimes even at different times and at some point joined together. The manuscript is composed of four parts, with the oldest dating from the second quarter of the 13th century and the last from the second quarter of the 14th and mid-14th century. The oldest part contains akolouthiai for September, October and November. The oldest preserved Russian menaions (late 11th – early 12th century) contain services for the same months, and are therefore suitable for comparing with the Serbian material. A comparative study of these materials has revealed that there are significant differences in the structure of the services, although their contents are almost identical. The services in the Russian manuscripts begin with sessional stichera (the faithful are seated - sedalen) and are followed by the other parts of the liturgy with no distinction between Vespers and Matins (evening and morning services). This structure is shared by the oldest Greek menaions dating from the 10th century. By contrast, the services in the manuscript No. 647 NLS do make a clear distinction between Vespers and Matins. However, the services in the Serbian manuscript are shorter and contain fewer texts than Russian manuscripts. It could be assumed that the model for NLS 647 had been an archaic manuscript from the peripheral parts of the liturgical area we are discussing. The Serbian menaion – roughly dated to the first half of the 13th century and conserved in the collection of the Bulgarian monastery on Mount Athos (Zographou I e 7) – contains parts of services with the same archaic structural characteristics shared by the aforementioned Russian menaions; the services from September 22 to the end of the month all begin with a sessional. The scribe seems to have made a compilation of different models; of course, it is possible that the manuscript he was transcribing was already composed in this manner. The Canon of Andrew the Apostle (Prōtoklētos or First-Called) by Naum of Ohrid was discovered in this manuscript. The authorship was determined based on the acrostic in the 9th ode which spells out his name – NAUM. The oldest Serbian festal menaion – Manuscript No. 361 in the SASA Archives from the mid-13th century – differs from the two aforementioned Serbian menaions in that its services are less developed, which would suggest an earlier time of creation; however, the structure of its services strongly resembles that of the services in NLS 647. The second part of SASA 361 contains an abridged Festal Triodion (Pentecostarion).

Faced with a lack of other sources, we have focused on the textological characteristics of some services in this manuscript and their structure. In this regard, the extant Russian material offers a good foundation for this approach. The Serbian and Russian menaions from this oldest period both contain a number of texts written during the First Bulgarian Empire. Two names are associated with Ohrid – Clement and Naum of Ohrid. Although this discussion concerns the legacy of Ohrid in the liturgical practice of medieval Serbia, we cannot ignore an author from Preslav - Presbyter Constantine, whose works also feature in the Serbian manuscripts. This means that Constantine's works were also included in the hymnographic repertoire in the liturgical books of the South Slavs. Clement was a prolific writer, and many of his works have been preserved in Serbian manuscripts, where the oldest known copies of some of his canons were discovered. Our Bulgarian colleague Georgi Popov has discovered the Canon for the Sunday of Pentecost in SANU 361; another two copies of this canon were found in Serbian triodions dating from the 13th century: 1) St. Petersburg, PNB F. p. I. 68; 2) Sofia, NBKM 202. The triodion manuscript tradition among the Slavs is particularly interesting. The triodion is believed to have been translated into Slavonic by Clement of Ohrid; in addition, he obviously added some of his own writings to the book. The first part of the SANU 361 manuscript (festal menaion) can be seen



as an anthology of early Slavonic ecclesiastical poetry; some of the services include: the canon to the Archangel Michael by Constantine of Preslav, the canon of Nativity by the same author, Clement's canons to Euthymius the Great and the Presentation of Mary, as well as two cycles of Clement's alphabetical stichera. The composition of some services in this manuscript reveals an uninterrupted link between Clement's time and the Serbian 13th century. Manuscript No. 32 from the Decani Monastery (1320s-1330s) contains Clement's canon to St. Apollinaris of Ravenna.

The presence of hymnographic texts written by Clement of Ohrid for the Octoechos has been noticed in some older Serbian manuscripts. Troparia from Clement's Canon of Repentance of the sixth mode have been identified in each one of the Canon of Repentance for the sixth mode in a Serbian Octoechos from the mid-14th century (Harvard, Houghton Library, cod. slav. 2 = manuscript No. 213 in the old collection of the National Library in Belgrade). In the canons for the first, fifth, sixth and eighth mode on Tuesday, troparia from Clement's canons to John the Forerunner have been discovered.

In the context of our attempts at uncovering the liturgical patterns of early Serbian liturgical services, a special place belongs to the cult of Saint Achillius of Larissa, the patron saint of the cathedral church of Samuel's patriarchy. After his conquest of Larissa, Samuel translated the relics of Achillius to his capital on Little Prespa. His cult quickly spread on the entire territory under the jurisdiction of Samuel's Patriarchy of Ohrid, prompting the need for the translation of services dedicated to this saint into the Slavonic language. The Greek manuscript dating from 1047 and kept at the Great Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos (Γ 19) could have been used the source for this translation. A Serbian copy of this service has been preserved in the aforementioned manuscript SASA 361. As the cathedral church of the Bishopric of Moravica – one of the bishoprics under Sava's Serbian autocephalous church – was dedicated to Saint Achillius, we can assume that this manuscript was created for the needs of this church. The present-day town of Arilje is located at the spot where the erstwhile monastery of St. Achillius once stood.

After securing autocephaly for his church, Saint Sava began the process of codifying the liturgical practices in the Serbian church to mirror the services he had encountered during his sojourn on Mount Athos and visits to Constantinople and Palestine. The process of modernizing the liturgical practice and introducing (translating) new texts was certainly long, as evidenced by the aforementioned works of the Ohrid and Preslav hymnographic schools – albeit in abridged versions, these sporadically survived in the hymnographic anthologies used in the Serbian church almost to the end of the 14th century. The textological tradition of the Ohrid and Preslav hymnographic works – regardless of whether it was preserved in Russian or Serbian or Bulgarian manuscripts – is certainly stable. Bearing in mind that the Serbian manuscripts have not always preserved integral texts of some compositions (as in the case of the aforementioned Harvard Octoechos), we can safely conclude that the 13th century saw the process of repressing and replacing original Slavic hymnographic works by the standardized Byzantine repertoire. In this regard, the studies of menaions are somewhat more advanced; systematic research of Serbian triodions and octoechos has yet to be undertaken.

The presence of Clement's, Naum's and Constantine's poetic compositions in medieval Serbian hymnographic anthologies can be seen as reliable evidence about the influence of early Slavic liturgical services of Ohrid provenance. Menaion services in the three Serbian manuscripts (SANU 361, NLS 647, the Zographou menaion) have mostly preserved the archaic structure of early menaions from the Studite tradition and can hence be seen as the results of a conservative, provincial liturgical tradition.



In this brief overview, we have attempted to indicate the direction of our musings and attempts to discover the characteristics of Serbian worship services before the church became autocephalous. Due to the scope of extant material, we have chosen not to discuss Clement's preserved occasional and panegyric orations dedicated to particular feasts or saints. However, one should bear in mind that, for instance, Clement's Panegyric to the Archangels Michael and Gabriel appears in a number of Serbian manuscripts, as do some of his other panegyric compositions. Systematic research of the presence of works from the Ohrid-Preslav production (both prose and verse) in Serbian manuscripts could help us resolve some of these questions concerning the historical Serbian liturgy.

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The Rite of Artoklasia in the Worship of the Orthodox Church from the 12th to the 15th Century

Akolouthia of Artoklasia is an integral part of the All-Night Vigil in the Orthodox Church. Beside five offered prosphora loafs of bread, this rite implies offering and blessing of wheat, wine and oil as the exclusive and precious offerings in the liturgical tradition of the Orthodox Church. In this research we are examining historical and teleturgical development of Akolouthia of Artoklasia, and also its theological meaning during the period, from the 12th to the 15th century. Finally, at the end of this work there are going to be highlighted the relevant perspectives.

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Relation between Serbian and Greek Orthodox Order of Worship during the Period from the 13th to the 15th Century

Simultaneously with the organizing of the independent Church in the Serbian lands, St. Sava had chosen Monastic Typicon from the Mount Athos for the Order of worship in those lands. The circumstances of the urban life in the medieval Serbian state from the one hand, and undisputed and significant role of many monasteries from the other hand, had determined the inseparability of Typicon in the parishes and monasteries. Above all, gradually cessation of Asmatic typicon in the Byzantine Churches and domination of Monastic Typicon, was another fact which had enstrengthened St. Sava's decision. This state of affairs had maden possible continuity of translation and usage of the Greek's liturgical prototypes, almost without any kind of change. Such an orientation will be confirmed by the excepting of redaction of Patriarch Philoteus in the 14th century, and that redaction is going to remain permanent corner-stone of the Order of worship in the latter times.



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L'importanza della riforma di Sant'Eftimij il patriarca di Tarnovo per la vita spirituale e culturale dei Balcani alla fine del XIV secolo

Il contesto storico in cui vive sant'Eftimij, il patriarca di Veliko Tarnovo, è sotto il segno della lotta contro gli invasori turchi. Sono tre gli Stati principali alla vigilia dell'invasione ottomana nella Penisola Balcanica: Bisanzio, la Bulgaria e la Serbia. I rapporti reciproci come pure i rapporti con i turchi ottomani determinano la situazione politica nell'Europa Sud - Orientale alla fine del XIV secolo. Sotto la minaccia comune, i popoli slavi del Sud cominciano a cercare in modo più profondo la tradizione, la cultura, e la spiritualità bizantina. L'Ortodossia in pericolo si trasforma in forza principale per l'unione contro l'invasore venuto dall'Asia Minore. Durante questo periodo (XIV secolo) sul Monte Athos sotto la forma di risorgimento spirituale si crea una nuova corrente – l'escismo. Grazie ai rapporti rafforzati fra i popoli slavi, presto la nuova corrente spirituale abbraccia l'intero mondo greco e slavo. La Bulgaria diventa il terreno naturale per il suo sviluppo e centro per la sua diffusione fra gli slavi.

Recenti studi concreti indicano che la riforma della lingua è stata fatta secondo le concezioni escicaste “del linguaggio”. Secondo esse per raggiungere la perfezione bisogna lavorare ugualmente con le immagini e le parole, cioè deve essere completamente chiaro qual'è l'essenza della parola, deve essere chiara la sostanza interna dei fenomeni. Secondo la dottrina dell'escismo, alla vera sostanza delle cose si arriva attraverso la contemplazione. Solo allora dietro l'ordinario si può intravedere l'irraggiungibile. L'altro momento significativo della riforma è la sua importanza panslava. Si assiste ad una specie di “ripetizione” dell'opera dei santi Cirillo e Metodio. È proprio così, la situazione durante il secolo XIV è simile a quella del IX secolo – il linguaggio deve scoprire in maniera ottimale la sostanza degli oggetti e degli avvenimenti. La lingua dei santi fratelli di Salonicco è panslava, dopo la riforma la lingua di sant'Eftimij diventa anche panslava.

Si considera, che sant'Eftimij crea un programma completo, che include i parametri ecclesiastici, culturali e politici dell'allora mondo slavo. Realizzandolo egli persegue il raggiungimento dell'unità fra i diversi popoli. È chiaro che questa idea nasce come risposta all'avanzare del nemico comune – il battagliero islam. Dunque, solo nell'unità e nella strategia comune il santo di Tarnovo vede la possibilità di fare resistenza. Uno dei mezzi per raggiungere l'unità è possedere una lingua a livello panslavo. Il tempo però non permette di realizzare questo piano, che potrebbe essere davvero una cosa straordinaria riferito al mondo slavo dell'epoca. Dopo la caduta della capitale Tarnovo, l'opera del santo patriarca Eftimij non si perde. Anzi, lascia l'impronta nella letteratura dei bulgari, serbi, russi e rumeni. L'opera indica l'importanza di sant'Eftimij per la vita spirituale e culturale dei Balcani alla fine del XIV secolo. L'opera di Eftimij si diffonde e influenza, a diversi livelli e in modi diversi, le culture della Serbia, Vallacchia, Moldavia e Russia. In Vallacchia e Moldavia si sente la necessità di porre resistenza al cattolicesimo penetrante dall'Ungheria e dalla Polonia, da una parte, e all'Islam, dall'altra. Nella Serbia le idee della riforma di Sant'Eftimij e in particolare dell'escismo, vengono



diffuse da Romil di Vidin e Constantin Kostenečki. In Russia è andato metropolita Gregorio Zamblak, uno dei discepoli più vicini a sant'Eftimij con altri ecclesiastici. Il più famoso è Cipriano, metropolita di Kiev (1376 -1406), che conosce l'escismo attraverso i discepoli di Gregorio il Sinaita in Bulgaria. Diffusa tra i popoli con lingue simili, la riforma di sant'Eftimij assume un'importanza panslava. Essa assume i parametri del movimento che si diffonde in tutto il mondo slavo del Sud e del Nord. Da qui possiamo trarre la conclusione che l'opera di san Eftimij è una tappa della realizzazione di una strategia globale, elaborata nelle celle silenziose dei monasteri esicasti.

La riforma è la testimonianza, che le azioni dei seguaci dell'escismo in tutta l'Europa Orientale sono concordate, molto ben ponderate, perseguendo un unico scopo, che è comune.

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The Fourteenth-Century Serbian Elites at the Turning Point: Mrnjavčević's Purse and Life

Emerged both as contenders and immediate successors of the relatively centralized Serbian power, the late-14th-c. short-lived family of Mrnjavčevići can serve as an eloquent example of the translocations and the internal adjustments of the Serbian ruling elite during the Ottoman conquest. At the same time, their case can provide an opportunity for a multidimensional historical approach, aiming to facilitate the comprehension of the emergence of decentralized powers and, especially, their particular, often aristocratic, characteristics. The latter were initially acknowledged in connection to the preserved ancestral local administrative structures of župas but, at the same time, they were partially modified due to the Nemanjid dynasty's external influences. Given the above, the said characteristics can reveal the reasoning of the strategic decisions made locally, after the death of the Mighty Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and the ongoing Ottoman expansion in his orthodox lands.

Mrnjavčevići in particular, having a prior claim on the leadership of a larger administrative region and being fully embedded in the political and ecclesiastical structures introduced or preserved by Nemanjici seem to have taken advantage of the mobility observed along the constantly redefined trade side-routes. Due to their mediating economic activity, their stature increased and, consequently, they gradually managed to consolidate themselves in the administrative hierarchy of the Nemanjid court. Having emerged as middlemen in the service of the aforementioned ruling dynasty and, being in good terms with Mt. Athos monasteries as neighbors and contributors, they succeeded to emerge as strategic and military actors on the western coasts of the gradually fragmented Serbian lands and, likewise, in the campaigns against the Ottomans.

Beside the political and military aspect of the aforementioned decentralization and the resulting fragmentation, the service provided by Mrnjavčevići to the ruling dynasty will also be explored from its financial and fiscal aspect. From these points of view, we will be able to better comprehend the conditions of the new era, which the Balkan population(s) will live through.



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Despina Hélène, poétesse avec le voile religieux, et son œuvre et personnage médiéval dans la réception contemporaine

Dans ce travail il s'agit de despina Hélène, l'épouse d'Uglješa Mrnjavčević, le despote serbe, qui est tué dans la Bataille de Maritsa, l'année 1371. C'est le période de désintégration d'état serbe (d'Empire Byzantin aussi) à cause d'invasion turque. Après le mort de son mari elle est devenue une religieuse, sous le nom Jefimija. Mais, elle était aussi l'artiste, poétesse et brodeuse extraordinaire, qui a créé son œuvre dans la prière et la solitude de sa vie chrétienne. Après le mort de Lazar, prince de Serbie, qui est tué dans la Bataille au Kosovo l'année 1389, despina Hélène a écrit son principal travail. Sa poésie d'or et des cieux – Louange au prince Lazar, c'est une broderie d'or sur soie, un oeuvre de poésie (religieux et médiéval) et des arts appliqués. C'est un thème d'histoire, patriotisme et de la foi: le mort et le sacrifice de Lazar, le saint, prince serbe qui est mort dans la Bataille au Kosovo, où il a „choisi l'empire au ciel“, pas „l'empire sur la terre“ (chanson de geste). Ce topos historique et leur présence dans l'œuvre superbe de Jefimija, la poétesse, était toujours l'inspiration pour les poètes, mais aussi pour les autres artistes. La religieuse Jefimija (despina Helene), c'est une figure tragique et sublime dans l'histoire de Serbie médiéval, mais qui brille avec un halo de tranquillité chrétien, générosité et de la vertu. La réception de son personnage était toujours liée avec une émotion de douleur. Douleur d'une mère dont le petit fils est mort, douleur d'une femme qui est devenue la jeune veuve à cause des événements tragiques historiques. Et aussi, douleur d'une despina serbe qui vois le désastre de Serbie sous l'invasion d'ennemie. Dans cet article nous explorons la réception de ce personnage féminin médiéval, son œuvre et sa destine.

Douleur et solitude, ce sont des topos les plus importants dans la réception traditionnelle de ce personnage, même en œuvre de l'art moderne. Mais, c'est la douleur voilé, souffre d'une chrétienne. La recherche dans ce travail comprend la poésie Jefimija de Milan Rakić (le poète serbe très connu et important, l'auteur de la poésie moderne serbe de fin du XIX^e et de début du XX^e siècle), où l'opposition binaire sémantique produit l'effet esthétique. Aussi, nous explorons la chanson Jefimija de pop-groupe „Lutajuća srca“ (groupe de pop-musique yougoslave dans les années soixante-dix du siècle dernier) où on peut marquer le même topos (de solitude) et en même temps sa négation. Aujourd'hui, Jefimija est devenue un symbole et, en plus, la marque, „brand“ serbe. Ce nom est utilisé, par exemple, pour donner le nom du salon de beauté, du restaurant, de l'hôtel, de la clinique féminine pour le traitement des maladies du sein, de la boutique rideaux etc. La despina Hélène, Jefimija, en changements des temps et des sens, n'est plus seul. Dans la réception contemporaine de cette femme exceptionnelle, on peut marquer le topos de beauté de la femme, santé de la mère, création féminine, hospitalité et beauté de la maison, joie de vivre. Elle provoque associations de touche de soie et de la lumière, d'or en broderie et poésie. Maintenant, Jefimija est un „brand“ moderne.



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«Русские монастыри» в византийской Палестине

В 1167 г. или в 1173 г. в Иерусалим прибывает паломница из дома Рюриковичей — святая княгиня Евфросиния Полоцкая — просветительница Белоруссии, «неокопанное корение Русьстей земли», как ее славили современники. Об этом повествует «Житие св. Евфросинии Полоцкой», созданное вскоре после кончины княгини и погребения ее у Иерусалима в Лавре св. Феодосия.

Паломничество полоцкой преподобной явилось образцом чистоты помысла и благочестия. Она поклонилась Гробу Христову, потом поставила при гробе золотое кадило и принесла много даров Церкви Иерусалимской и Патриарху. Блаж. Евфросинья обошла и прочие достославные места в окрестностях Иерусалима; поклонившись с великим умилением святыням, княгиня поселилась в монастыре, называвшемся Русским и находившемся при церкви, выстроенной в честь и во славу Богородицы.

Что касается свидетельства о Русском монастыре в Иерусалиме в последней трети XII в., текст «Жития Евфросинии Полоцкой» в этом отношении уникален. То, что княгиня останавливалась в Святом граде «у святыя Богородици в русском монастыри», является единственным, но очень важным упоминанием русской Богородичной обители в Иерусалиме, существовавшей уже в XII в.

Но это не единственное свидетельство о древнерусских обителях в Святой Земле. В «Житии св. Саввы Сербского» сообщается, что сербский архиепископ во время своего первого паломничества в Иерусалим (в 1229 г.) жил в лавре св. Саввы Освященного «у святого Михаила в русском монастыре, вблизи великой церкви», отождествляемой с лаврским собором.

Данные о русских монастырских постройках в Палестине подтверждаются и латинским «Паломничеством в Святую землю» вюрцбургского пресвитера Иоанна, посетившего Иерусалим в середине 60-х гг. XII в., т. е. практически одновременно с Евфросинией Полоцкой.



23rd

International Congress of
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Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

HAGIOGRAPHY – PART 2

Chairs: **André-Louis Rey, Pablo Adrián Cavallero**

Pierre Benic,

La construction de la sainteté royale dans le roman hagiographique de « Barlaam et Joasaf »

Luigi D'Amelia,

The *Laudatio S. Barae BHG 212* and Some Considerations in Favor of Its Traditional, but Recently Challenged, Attribution to John Mauropous (11th Century)

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«Don't Put on a Friend's Mask, but Pronounce an Impartial Judgment»:
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Mihail Mitrea,

Placing Golden Flourishes: Miracle Tales in the Saints' Lives of Philotheos Kokkinos



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La construction de la sainteté royale dans le roman hagiographique de « Barlaam et Joasaf »

Au cours de notre recherche sur le roman de Barlaam et Joasaph, dans le cadre d'un mémoire de deuxième année de Master sous la direction de M. le Professeur Bernard Flusin à l'Université Paris IV Sorbonne, nous avons envisagé cette œuvre en tant qu'« encyclopédie chrétienne » et « synthèse de la sainteté. » La seconde partie du roman est centrée sur la Vie de saint Joasaph, de la conversion du jeune prince à son ascèse monastique. L'analyse philologique de cette partie de l'œuvre (par R. Volk) rend compte d'une intertextualité pour le moins imposante : on y retrouve des références à plus d'une dizaine de vies et de passions différentes. Pour autant, le personnage de Joasaph est garant d'une unité et ce n'est pas un personnage invraisemblable qui prêterait son nom à une compilation d'épisodes hagiographiques. Nous avons pu observer que la construction du texte hagiographique était accompagnée de la construction d'une sainteté nouvelle.

Nous étudierons le statut du pouvoir dans Barlaam et Joasaph ; en particulier le rapport du saint à l'exercice du pouvoir politique. Il est d'abord présenté comme l'ultime tentation à laquelle est soumis le prince par son père mais Joasaph finit par accepter le gouvernement comme un sacrifice pour son royaume, afin de la conduire sur la voie du Salut. Toutefois, Joasaph ne renonce pas à son projet de vie monastique et, une fois qu'il a achevé la conversion de son peuple à la foi chrétienne, il se retire au désert.

Le roman de Barlaam et Joasaph a été composé par Euthyme l'Hagiorite à partir du Balavariani géorgien, dont il fait la traduction en grec, qu'il tisse à son tour d'un très grand nombre de sources patristiques et hagiographiques. Il s'agit donc d'une sainteté qui vient d'ailleurs et qui se structure dans l'hagiographie byzantine à travers ce roman. Cette sainteté d'importation passe par le Caucase, où le récit du prince devenu ascète se christianise, avant de se nourrir d'apports byzantins sous la forme grecque que nous lui connaissons.

Il conviendra de se pencher sur le statut de la paidéia : la préparation du prince à l'exercice du pouvoir n'est pas évoquée dans le roman et cette place est laissée à l'enseignement chrétien de Barlaam. Ainsi, le roman n'est pas un miroir du prince mais il demeure une lecture édifiante, une préparation à l'ascèse, qui fera de son lecteur un (souverain) disciple du Christ. Ce dernier point nous conduira à évoquer la postérité et la réception du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph. En effet, le personnage de Joasaph devient un modèle d'ascèse personnelle du souverain, en particulier aux XIII^{ème} et XIV^{ème} siècles sous l'influence de l'hésychasme. Le texte quant à lui ne devient pas un modèle littéraire proposé à l'imitation mais il définit davantage des topoi nouveaux et des horizons d'attente propres à une branche de la littérature hagiographique qui connaîtra son développement en particulier avec les Vies de saints souverains de Serbie.



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The *Laudatio S. Barae BHG 212* and Some Considerations in Favor of Its Traditional, but Recently Challenged, Attribution to John Mauropous (11th Century)

As far as we know, the cod. Lesbos, Μονὴ τοῦ Λειμῶνος, 43, datable on palaeographical grounds to the 12th-13th century, is the only manuscript which preserves the *Laudatio s. Barae BHG 212* (ff. 248r-261v), an elegant and rhetorically complex hagiographical text, unfortunately mutilated at the end. The text tells the story of St Baras, an enigmatic Egyptian ascetic who after spending some time in the desert moved to Constantinople, where, according to the monastic tradition (or rather, to a branch of it), he seems to have founded the Monastery of St John Prodromos in the so-called Petra neighborhood sometime between the end of the 5th and the beginning of the 6th century. The author of the *Laudatio* must have had very little and vague information available about Baras' life, which he tried to complete and amplify in order to fulfil the devotional needs of an important place of worship in the Capital. The encomium of St Baras, when looked at closely, far from being a mere exercise of pompous and empty sacred rhetoric, reveals a noteworthy literary skill and a stylistic accuracy which are not common in the hagiographical byzantine prose. The text was published for the first time in 1884 by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, whose "semi-critical" edition surprisingly shows several reading errors, as I could observe while preparing a new critical edition of the *Laudatio s. Barae*. In the manuscript the title in red ink seems to attribute the encomium to a certain Ἰωάννης Μαυροπόδης, who has been traditionally identified by scholars with John Mauropous, the well-known Byzantine scholar, ecclesiastic and also teacher and friend of Michael Psellos (11th c.). In 2002 Xavier Lequeux contested this attribution referring almost exclusively to data which he was able to infer from the title, in which Ἰωάννης Μαυροπόδης is also called "monk" and "archdeacon" of the Monastery of St John Prodromos of Petra. Since the two cognomina Μαυροπόδης and Μαυρόπους do not coincide and in light of few other elements, the Belgian scholar argued that the John Μαυροπόδης, author of the *Laudatio s. Barae*, should not be identified with the above-mentioned John Mauropous (Μαυρόπους). My paper will demonstrate that the *Laudatio s. Barae* is most likely a work by John Mauropous, and not only on the basis of the information provided by the title of the text in the manuscript, but also of a brief analysis of the literary, linguistic and stylometric features of the encomium and a comparison of them with those of the works undoubtedly ascribed to the Byzantine scholar.



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Theophylact of Ohrid's *Martyrdom of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis*: A New Critical Edition

The Martyrdom of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis is one of the two hagiographic texts that Theophylact, the well-known Byzantine scholar and archbishop of Ohrid during the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118), composed drawing their topics on the local legacy of Ohrid. Apart from its hagiographic content, i.e. the life, the martyrdom and the miracles of the fifteen men who martyred in Tiberiopolis on the 27th of November in 362 and whose worship was widespread onwards among the orthodox populations of the Balkans, Theophylact's Martyrdom provides a lot of information –often unattested in other works– about the history of the first Bulgarian State and Church. It may, therefore, be considered also as an important historical source for the region of Macedonia during the Middle Byzantine period.

It is clear that with his work Theophylact wishes to place the local tradition of Ohrid regarding the martyrdom and the miracles of the Fifteen Martyrs of Tiberiopolis in the wider historical frame of Byzantium, beginning with the first Christian centuries and the persecutions by the emperor Julian (361-363), passing on to the christianization of the Bulgarians in the 9th century and reaching finally the 10th century, when Christianity had already been consolidated in the northern Balkans.

A new critical edition of the Martyrdom has been recently published, accompanied with an introduction, Greek translation and extended commentary (see Θεοφύλακτος Αχρίδος, *Μαρτύριο των Δεκαπέντε Μαρτύρων της Τιβεριούπολης*, έκδ. Ε.-Σ. Κιαπίδου, [Κείμενα Βυζαντινής Λογοτεχνίας 8], Αθήνα 2015). In my contribution I shall discuss various aspects of the text, with special emphasis on its historical value in relation to Byzantine and local sources, its literary genre, as well as its relationship to *Vita Clementis*, the second hagiographic work of Theophylact, written in Ohrid as well.

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Ioannes Staurakios and His *Encomium on St. Theodora of Thessaloniki*

Ioannes Staurakios, who lived during the second half of the 13th century, has composed an encomium on one of the most significant saints of Thessaloniki from the middle Byzantine period, St. Theodora, whose hagiographical dossier is genuinely rich. Staurakios used as sources two older texts, the *Vita of Theodora* (BHG 1737) and the *Narrative of the translation of Theodora's venerable relics* (BHG 1739), both written by Gregorios, a cleric of the metropolis of Thessaloniki, who lived in the 9th century. In my paper I will discuss various aspects of the encomium and examine Staurakios as a hagiographer, comparing the text with Staurakios' other hagiographical works and with his source text.



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«Don't Put on a Friend's Mask, but Pronounce an Impartial Judgment»:
Constantine Acropolites' Hagiographic Oeuvre in His Letter-Collection

Constantine Acropolites, a prolific early Palaeologan hagiographer, authored 29 encomia (28 of them metaphraseis). The paper takes a closer look at Acropolites' letters in which he mentions his hagiographic oeuvre. These letters — mostly cover-letters accompanying Acropolites' texts sent to his addressees — shed light on Acropolites' authorial self-consciousness. The impetuses for composing encomia (commission, own initiative, friend's or teacher's request), the style and rhetorical topoi of the letters addressed to different categories of Acropolites' acquaintances, as well as stages of hagiographic reworking as presented in Acropolites' letter-collection are analyzed.

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Placing Golden Flourishes: Miracle Tales in the Saints' Lives
of Philotheos Kokkinos

Miracles are the most evident mark of holiness (although they do not amount to holiness) and are an integral part of almost any saint's life, be it in the form of bios (kai politeia), enkōmion, logos, hypomnēma, etc. Most often Byzantine hagiographers couch miracle tales throughout and especially at the end of their hagiographical compositions (i.e., posthumous miracles) in order to portray and promote the holy figures they praised. Notwithstanding the size and significance of his hagiographical oeuvre including lives of saints old and contemporary, Philotheos Kokkinos (ca. 1300–1377/8), the most prolific and arguably most gifted Palaiologan hagiographer, has received particularly little scholarly attention. Into the narrative of his five vitae of contemporary saints—the hypomnēma of Nikodemos the Younger (BHG 2307), the bioi kai politeiai of Sabas the Younger (BHG 1606) and Germanos Maroules the Hagiorite (BHG 2164), the bios kai politeia kai enkōmion of Isidore I Boucheiras (BHG 962), and the logos on Gregory Palamas (BHG 718)—Philotheos weaved numerous accounts of healing and non-healing miracles which at times amount to almost one-quarter of the vita. Although these miracle accounts composed by Kokkinos are among the most successful literary compositions of this genre, little scholarly research has been dedicated to them, except the contributions by Rigo and Talbot on the miracles of Gregory Palamas. Therefore, they require further study.



The present paper constitutes a preliminary survey, contextualization, and analysis of all the miracle accounts in Kokkinos' lives of contemporary saints. The analysis considers several aspects such as the mechanisms employed by the hagiographer to construct the miracle accounts, their typology, structure, *mise-en-scène*, and time-space particulars, the social status, age, and gender of the beneficiaries of the miraculous powers, the typology of afflictions healed, the description of the illness and of the afflicted, the role of the body, the psychological elements, the methods of healing, the effect of the miracle on the beneficiaries and on the textual/internal audience and their reaction (or lack of it), the social functions of the miracles (e.g., social acceptance and promotion of a saintly figure; social dynamics around a holy figure; ability to suggest a transformation, and activate *paideia* mechanisms), level of detail, linguistic registry, intertextuality, and finally the extent to which the narrator/author is present in his texts. As I argue, a thorough examination of these features points to Kokkinos' agenda (among which perhaps his effort to patronize a truthful reception and interpretation of the miracles) and intended audience, and offers insights into his thought-world.



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Nachweise der Existenz und des Betriebes von zwei Herbergen für Reisende
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Byzantine Spirit of the 'Undead' and Its Legacy in the Sick Man of Europe



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Nachweise der Existenz und des Betriebes von zwei Herbergen für Reisende im Delta des Flusses Strymon vom 11. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert

In der Umgebung von Amfipolis, entlang der ehemaligen römischen Egnatia Straße, befanden sich zwei byzantinische Herbergen, die höchstwahrscheinlich in gewissen Abständen entlang desselben einzigartigen Straßennetzes bis zur neueren Zeit waren. Zeugnisse ihrer Gründung, Lage und ihres zeitgleichen Betriebs belegt das Typikon (1083) des Klosters Petrizonitissa im heutigen Backovo, Bulgarien, zu dem sie gehörten. Beide Herbergen werden auch in Urkunden und Briefwechsel nachbyzantinischer Zeit genannt, welche in den Archiven der Klöster Vatopaidi und Pantokratoros (Athos) aufbewahrt werden.

Zahlreiche Klöster der Mönchsrepublik Athos (Lavra, Vatopedi, Chilandari, Esfigmenou, Karakalou, Pantokratoros, Xeropotamou) hatten schon in byzantinischer Zeit Besitzungen im südlichen Teil des Tals des Flusses Strymon erworben. In den Wundern des Heiligen Athanasius steht geschrieben, dass das Kloster Lavra gegen Ende des 10. Jahrhunderts seine Vertreter zum Flussdelta schickte. Auch die Erzdiözese von Philippi hatte seit dem Jahre 1200 Besitzungen innerhalb des Deltas, wie auch das große Kloster Pantokrator in Konstantinopel Grundbesitze in der weiteren Umgebung hatte.

Es gibt noch weitere Gründe zur Annahme, dass beide Herbergen zusammen mit ihren Anlegestellen (skallai) bis zur späten postbyzantinischen Epoche in Betrieb waren. Diese Anlegestellen zu beiden Seiten des Flusses und des Deltas Strymon werden häufig in Dokumenten zumindest der spätbyzantinischen und postbyzantinischen Epoche erwähnt.

Die Aufnahme der Lage beider Herbergen in die Auflistung der Häfen, in denen venezianische Kaufleute laut Dokumenten der Jahre 1082, 1148 und 1278 tätig waren, liefert einen weiteren Beweis für die Untersuchungen. Nach der ursprünglich byzantinischen Form des Namens Marmari wurde ein Dorf nördlich vom Delta benannt. An derselben Stelle erhebt sich noch heute der gleichnamige Turm, der zum Kloster Pantokratoros (Athos) gehörte. Der Turm und die erste nächstliegende Herberge werden in Urkunden genannt, die im Archiv des oben genannten Klosters aufbewahrt werden. Pierre Belon, ein Augenzeugen aus dem Jahre 1546, beschreibt: „die Ruinen von Marmari befinden sich eine Seemeile von der Mündung des Flusses entfernt, wo griechische und ausländische Schiffe vor Anker liegen“. Dadurch definiert er den Ort, wo die zweite Herberge erbaut worden war. Weitere Beweise dafür sind Navigationsführer und Portulane - Seekarten mit den Ortsnamen aus dem 13. bis zum 16. Jahrhundert. Die osmanischen Handbücher von Piri Reis (1521 und 1526) zeichneten sich gegenüber anderen ähnlichen fränkischen oder griechischen Werken durch zahlreiche Informationen aus. Darüber hinaus gibt es Referenzen von bekannten Reisenden aus dem 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert und Landkarten, die zwischen 1916 und 1922 erstellt wurden.

Die zweite Herberge lag an der Mündung des Flusses Strymon. Verschiedene spätbyzantinische, fränkische und frühosmanische Texte und Landkarten bestätigen, dass der wichtigste Ort - auf Türkisch Chai Agzi - sich auf der westlichen Seite des Deltas befand. Zwei bekannte Besucher,



Cousinery und Leake, beziehen sich auf die zweite Herberge Make Han auf der östlichen Seite des Deltas, in der Nähe der Mündung des Flusses, die im frühen 19. Jahrhundert wichtiger als die erste in Marmari wurde. Reste von diesen Gebäuden sind auf Landkarten (1916-1922) deutlich gezeichnet. Außerdem werden sie in der Beschreibung der Überfahrt der Mönche mit dem Heiligen Gürtel der Gottesmutter vom Kloster Vatopaidi (Athos) nach Serres (im 19. Jhd.) genannt.

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Codifying Sins for Catechetic Purposes. The Romanian Tradition of the Byzantine Apocryphal *Letter of Christ on the Observance of Sunday*

This paper focuses on the Byzantine apocryphal writing *The Letter of Christ on the Observance of Sunday*, which enumerates the so-called instructions, that Christ would have sent to the faithful Christians by means of a letter sent from the heavens. The text seems to have appeared in the 5th century Jerusalem, was translated into many languages and is still transmitted in certain parts of Europe.

The *Letter of Christ* has enjoyed an extremely remarkable transmission in the Romanian literature. It is preserved in more than 100 manuscripts written between the beginning of the 17th century and the first half of the 19th century and it has been constantly printed since 1862 (Timotin 2005). The present paper focuses on the most ancient Romanian versions of the text, analyses how Christ's instructions become tools for identifying and codifying sins, and investigates how the transformation of the apocryphal text into a quasi-catechetic writing allows us connecting it both to contemporary juridical texts, and to apocalyptic writings describing the sinners' penalties in the Other World (*The Apocalypse of the Virgin*, *The Life of Saint Basil the Younger*). The paper also inquires to what extent the codification of sins in the apocryphal writing was enhanced by the iconography of the Last Judgement and of female saints such as Kyriake and Paraskeve.ää

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Woodcuts of Byzantine Tradition in the Early Romanian Writings Printed in Bucharest (1678-1830)

Bucharest, the capital of Walachia, a cosmopolitan city, in which the flow of ideas came from various directions, caused a famous cultural center to be created here. Therefore, between 1573-1830 in Bucharest functioned several typographies which printed more than 350 titles in Romanian, Greek, Slavonian, Arabian, Russian, Bulgarian, Turkish etc., most of them religious books, but also didactic, scientific and literary ones. As quantity is concerned, this number places Bucharest on



the first position among all typographic centers which used to publish books for Romanians in the period of time 1508-1830. Particularly the religious books were decorated with fine woodcuts such as: title pages, illustrations, frontispieces, vignettes, etc.

A good part of the about 200 illustrations, which have been found, represent iconographic themes specific to Byzantine-Balkan and Byzantine-Russian ambience. We'll mention here the following images:

The Sunday of all Saints (Cheia înțelesului, 1678, signed and dated „Ioanichie Bakov 1678”), of Ukrainian origin (Cazania of Petru Movilă, Kiev, 1637) to which are added elements coming from the Mount of Athos in the 17th century (Constantine and Helen are introduced in this theme); more variants have been found, the last one being present up to 1830;

The Supper of Mamre (Advarium, the end of the 18th century, signed by Ioanichie Bakov, or in Octoih, 1774, signed by Popa Constantin);

The Virgin Hodegetria (Evhologhin, 1722, or Slujba Sfintei Varvara și Sofronie din Atena și a Sfântului Hristofor din Mela, 1769);

Constantine and Helen (Catavasier, 1742) is the favourite theme, which appeared in 5 variants;

St. John Chrisostom, St. Basil (signed and dated „Dimitrios 1698”), St. Gregory (Liturghii, 1729) found in three further variants signed or not by other engravers;

Descent into Hell (Apostol, 1643; Penticostar, 1743, signed by I. Bakov in 1700 etc.);

Holy Women at the Sepulchre, The Healing of the Paralytic, Jesus and the Samaritan Woman, The Healing of the Man Born Blind, Ascension, Descent of the Holy Spirit (all of them in Penticostar, 1743, some of them signed by I. Bakov) have as sources of inspiration Ukrainian engravings from Kiev and Lviv from the 17th century; other variants of these themes can be found in 1768;

The Vision of Peter from Alexandria (Penticostar, 1768, 1782, 1820).

The stylistic features of Byzantine manner of the religious woodcuts of Bucharest are the following : a certain concern about stylizing, decorative effects and symmetry; frontal, hieratical and hierarchical rendering of figures; their heads are positioned at the same level (isocephaly), landscapes and architectural elements are more or less conventional, concentrated or superposed plans, the reverse perspective, clothes etc.

The sources of inspiration of these engravings can be found in religious writings printed in the Romanian area (Buzău, Râmnic, etc.) or abroad (Kiev, Lviv, etc.). Therefore, throughout many centuries, the art of Byzantine tradition has been manifest in the book illustrations of Bucharest as regards both the approach of themes and of their style, a natural phenomenon for a people of Orthodox confession. This conservative character is due to the strict censorship of the Church, at that time.

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Le Code des usages de Gheorgaki le logothète (Jassy, 1762) et ses rapports avec la littérature byzantine de cérémonial

La communication étudie un texte roumain méconnu, le Code qui contient des usages anciens et nouveaux de leurs Altesses les Princes, écrit en 1762, à Jassy, par Gheorgaki, second logothète à la cour du prince de Moldavie, Grégoire Callimaki (1761-1764). Le Code, édité en 1939, décrit les cérémonies politiques de la cour moldave (l'avènement du prince, la réception des ambassadeurs, les séances du divan, etc.) et les cérémonies ecclésiastiques, qui ont leur origine dans le rituel de l'Église de Constantinople. Le texte appartient au genre de la littérature de cérémonial et s'inspire, au niveau de la structure et du style de composition, de deux textes byzantins de référence, le *De cerimoniis* de Constantin Porphyrogénète et le *De officiis* du Pseudo-Kodinos. Ces deux textes ont connu une importante diffusion dans le monde slave et roumain à l'époque médiévale et pré-moderne, mais le Code de Gheorgaki représente le seul écrit original de ce genre qui nous soit parvenu. Ses rapports avec les deux textes byzantins de cérémonial restent à préciser, en mettant en évidence notamment les éléments d'innovation introduits par l'auteur moldave. La diffusion en Moldavie de l'œuvre du Pseudo-Kodinos, par l'intermédiaire des copies et des traductions, est également étudiée.

Une attention particulière est prêtée aussi aux relations du Code de Gheorgaki avec les éléments de cérémonial dans la littérature historique moldave du XVII^e et du XVIII^e siècle, notamment dans les chroniques de Miron Costin et de Nicolae Costin et dans la *Descriptio Moldaviae* du prince Démètre Cantemir.

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Monastic Life in Georgia: Unknown Georgian Typicon

Georgian scientists have no common view whether hermitage has commenced as early as in 4th c., after adoption of Christianity as a state religion or not. So far, we can say for sure that the monachism has commenced in Georgia in 6th c. and from 8th c. it was widespread. Many monasteries were established in Tao Klarjeti (currently, within the territory of Turkey). Georgian monasteries operated abroad as well (Byzantium, Palestine, Syria). Naturally, monastic life required regulation. Three of cloistral rules existing in Georgia should be particularly mentioned: Sabatsminda, Studite Monastery and Athanasian Lavra regulations. While belonging to the same confession (Orthodox Christianity), Georgian dignitaries did not trust blindly the others' rules and wrote the statutes for their monasteries with great responsibility and wisdom. Each monastery had its own statute. Only



few, fragmented texts are maintained up to present. The only Georgian typicon maintained fully is the statute of Petritsoni Georgian Monastery written by Grigol, son of Bakuriani, Georgian of Tao. He was a great domestic of Byzantium.

In 2013, we have published all Georgian typicons of 8th – 13th cc., known to the scientific circles; as well as unknown materials: the manuscript of 19th c. maintained with Korneli Kekelidze National Center of Manuscripts – brief version of the monastic regulations, part three, implying as such, that there were the first and second parts as well. The note in the end confirms that the third part was the last one - “This book belongs to Gerasime of Savane, the monk”. Location of Monk Gerasime is unknown - toponym “Savane” is quite frequent in Georgia. We are not aware as well, whether this text was written in the 19th c. or it is the copy of earlier document made in 19th c.

The document consists of 20 chapters. According to the typicon, the monks’ primary obligation is to make Commandment of Christ the essence of their lives and follow Christian religion.

The monk shall be silent in his cell, pray, read, work, never intervene into the others’ mistakes, speak about religion only and be polite.

Accept the food silently and with gratitude and always remember the Lord’s sorrow.

The monk must always pray wholeheartedly, get up and go to bed praying to Guardian Angel. This is the remedy against all sins.

The vows made shall never be broken, disobedience is unacceptable, monk must love his superior as he loves his father, be obedient, patient and pray for others, believing that all members of the brotherhood are better than he is.

Monastic life excludes any relations with the women, fury, gluttony, excessive drinking and bad language. The monk’s mind shall be closed for bad intentions, his sight shall avoid all temptations, his ears must never listen to vain and light talks, and he must never judge others.

The monk shall live for the Lord only. Only this is the way to peace, love, pray for the wrongdoers. This is the substance of monastic life, generally, moral code of Christianity, permanent commitment to excellence.

This typicon differs from the other Georgian typicons with its form and partially – with its contents. Generally, it should be noted that irrespective of common monastic discipline rules in Orthodox world, Georgian typicons are characterized with certain special features. Certainly, the situation in the state, centuries-ling traditions and ethnical psychology have been influencing the monastic life.



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Byzantine Spirit of the ‘Undead’ and Its Legacy in the Sick Man of Europe

This paper examines the source and consequences of permanent liminality in the Byzantine Empire. The paper argues that the ambiguous and incomplete identities of individuals, groups, and society associated with the arrested liminal period(s) contributed to the decline of the Empire. Further, and significantly, the unresolved situation of disaggregated identity, or spirited away demos, persisted in the Ottoman Era and continues to infect contemporary socio-political affairs in regions in the Balkans. The paper analyses the role of pseudo-intellectuals and sophists who derail the democratic and philosophical Hellenist traditions of the Roman Empire. The research compares and links the institutional attempts of the Byzantine and Ottoman Empires to manage and manipulate differences and distinctions through mechanisms such as theatricalisation and the millets. The argument concludes that these strategies created the basis for the perpetuation of the sick man of Europe to the extent they focused on juggling the distinctions and identities of the empires rather than pursuing the development of the democratic self. Thus in liminality is revealed and contained “undead” and viral spirits, sometimes manifested in populist or extremist leaders, which trick the demos.



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WEDNESDAY, 24TH AUGUST

BYZANTINE LITERARY MODELS AND PATTERNS OF RECEPTION: TRANSLATION AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE SLAVONIC AND MIDDLE EASTERN TRADITIONS

Conveners: Anissava Miltenova, Vassya Velinova

PERSPECTIVES CENTRE-PÉRIPHÉRIE DANS LE MONDE BYZANTIN

Conveners: Ghislaine Noyé Bougard, Annick Peters-Custot

SAINT GREGORY PALAMAS AND BARLAAM THE CALABRIAN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 14TH-CENTURY BYZANTINE PHILOSOPHY & THEOLOGY

Conveners: Yannis Kakridis, Mikonja Knežević, Dmitrij I. Makarov

CHANCERIES AND DOCUMENTARY PRACTICES IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE (13TH-15TH CENTURIES)

Conveners: Stanoje Bojanin, Kyrill Pavlikianov, Mirjana Živojinović

BYZANTINES AND THE BIBLE – PART 1

Conveners: Reinhart Ceulemans, Barbara Crostini, Mariachiara Fincati

BYZANTINES AND THE BIBLE – PART 2

Conveners: Reinhart Ceulemans, Barbara Crostini, Mariachiara Fincati

EPIRUS REVISITED – NEW PERCEPTIONS OF ITS HISTORY AND MATERIAL CULTURE – PART 1

Conveners: Lioba Theis, Christos Stavrakos, Galina Fingarova, Fani Gargova

EPIRUS REVISITED – NEW PERCEPTIONS OF ITS HISTORY AND MATERIAL CULTURE – PART 2

Conveners: Lioba Theis, Christos Stavrakos, Galina Fingarova, Fani Gargova

TRADE ROUTES IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE (10TH-15TH CENTURIES)

Conveners: Vasiliki Vasso Penna, George Kakavas

MATERIAL CULTURE

Chairs: Orsolya Heinrich-Tamaska, Ivana Popović

ART OF MEDIEVAL ARMENIA

Chairs: Seyranush Manukyan, Oliver M. Tomić

THE EARLY BYZANTINE EMPIRE – PART 2

Chairs: Katerina Nikolaou, Eirini Chrestou

THE HOLY FATHERS OF THE CHURCH – PART 1

Chairs: Fr. Maximos Constas, Vladimir Vukašinić

EPIGRAMMATIC POETRY

Chairs: Kristoffel Demoen, Eugenio Amato

HISTORIOGRAPHY 11TH – 14TH CENTURIES

Chairs: Albrecht Berger, Vratislav Zervan

THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD – PART 1

Chairs: John F. Haldon, Elisabeth Chatziantoniou

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE – PART 2

Chairs: Charalambos Bakirtzis, Jelena Bogdanović

BYZANTINE LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION – PART 2

Chairs: Elguja Khintibidze, Gohar Sargsyan

THE MIGRATION PERIOD

Chairs: Martin Hurbanič, Ivan Bugarski

APPLIED ARTS OF THE BYZANTINE WORLD – PART 1

Chairs: Ivana Jevtić, Ivan Drpić

LITERATURE AND POLITICS

Chairs: Sysse G. Engberg, Ida Toth

THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD – PART 2

Chairs: Thomas Pratsch, Yannis Stouraitis

THE HOLY FATHERS OF THE CHURCH – PART 2

Chairs: Mary B. Cunningham, Philippe Vallat



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BYZANTINE LITERARY MODELS AND PATTERNS OF RECEPTION: TRANSLATION AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE SLAVONIC AND MIDDLE EASTERN TRADITIONS

Conveners: Anissava Miltenova, Vassya Velinova

Anissava Miltenova,

Divergenced Myth and Transformed Genre

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Divergenced Myth and Transformed Genre

The presentation examines the history of the myth of incest and its genre transformations in the Middle Ages in Balkan Cyrillic manuscripts. Text critical analysis shows that these transformations are consistent with more general changes in mixed-content miscellanies of the 14th-18th cc., but the Narration about Incest also reflects the influence of multiple sources, layers, and traditions, and it probably reached the copyists not only in as part of the written tradition, but also orally. Judging by the composition of the miscellanies in which the Story appears and by the linguistic peculiarities of the earliest copy (ca. 1380 from the Savina Monastery), the text was first translated from Greek before the fourteenth century. The extended version (I) was included in didactic collections that were widespread in the Late Middle Ages, and the formal features of the story changed in the next version (II), more or less as a reflection of the prevailing eschatological Christian catechism.

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Bridging the Gap: How to Edit the Slavonic *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*?

As will be demonstrated elsewhere in this session, the Slavonic tradition of the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (CPG 2257) is marked by various moments of contact with its Greek counterpart. In an attempt to bridge the gap between the two, the Slavonic text was put up for revision several times. The compound nature of the *Quaestiones* complicates things even further. The most complete Greek manuscripts contain as many as 137 *erotapokriseis*, only a small number of which were initially translated. Also, the collection's long-lasting and widespread popularity means hundreds of manuscripts in both Greek and Slavonic (and in fact other languages as well) need to be consulted.

While mapping out the Slavonic tradition of the *Quaestiones* - which is highly conflated and thus anything but linear - and work out how it relates to the surviving Greek material, the question quickly arose what kind of edition would do justice to the text. For example, how to distinguish from one another the different stages in the transmission and incorporate relevant Greek versions without inflating the edition to such an extent that it becomes impossible to navigate through (except maybe for the editors themselves)?

After presenting a sample edition of a handful of *erotapokriseis* as preserved in a manageable number of manuscripts (both Slavonic and Greek), we hope to start a fruitful discussion as to what is desirable (and doable) in case of the *Quaestiones* and by extension multilingual textual traditions in general.



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The *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* in Greek and Slavonic

This paper seeks to present the rich Slavonic tradition of the pseudo-Athanasian erotapocritic collection *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* (CPG 2257) in the light of the tradition of its Greek source text. It will be argued that the textual history of the Slavonic *Quaestiones* is marked by various moments of contact with the Greek tradition and by repeated efforts to bring the Slavonic in line with different Greek versions. Attention will be drawn to the way in which the compound nature of this collection – made up of a variable number of individual questions-and-answers – affects the process of transmission.

The Slavonic tradition seems to have started with (a) translation(s) of a limited number of questions (some of which also found integrated in new contexts, as in the case of the famous *Izbornik* of 1076). From the 13th/14th century on, a renewed comparison with Greek copies apparently led to retranslations and expansions of the early kernel, resulting in ever fuller collections of *Quaestiones*. The high degree of conflation within the Slavonic tradition (as, e.g., in the version found in *Codex Pragensis slav.* IX.F.15) complicates the identification of the stages through which the textual material has passed. However, a comparison with the Greek tradition as a whole can help disentangle the knots of conflation by identifying moments of contact with the Greek as anchor points for the isolation of the different textual layers within the tradition of the Slavonic *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*.

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The Book of Syntipas the Philosopher: Questions and Answers on Kingship, Morality and Fate

The Book of Syntipas the Philosopher reached the easternmost Byzantine frontier in a translation from Syriac during the last decades of the eleventh century. This translation marked the starting point of a tradition that carried on for a considerable time, producing a series of gradual modifications, whose linguistic ranges spanned from the middle-register Byzantine *koinē* to several more liberal renditions of the story into modern Greek. All of these were reasonably popular: they survive in some twenty-five manuscripts dating to the time between the fourteenth and the seventeenth centuries.

It is generally assumed that the two medieval Greek versions represent two successive stages in the evolution of this work from a faithful rendition of a piece of eastern literature into a more



idiomatic narrative, more comfortably situated within the range of the written norms of the period. This communication focuses on the section of Questions and Answers in the Book of Syntipas (pp. 122, l. 1 – 129, l. 13) in order to examine the mutual relationship and discrepancies between the two extant Greek versions, and to reassess our understanding of the practices of rewriting involved in the production of this popular piece of fictional literature.

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Literary Patterns in the Slavonic Anthologies Excerpting the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*

Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem is a Byzantine *erotapokritic* text consisting of 137 questions and answers on a wide range of topics related to Christianity. As Ilse De Vos has shown in her recent studies, the Greek text has come down to us in 250 witnesses dating from the 10th to the 19th century and despite its obvious popularity remained relatively unvaried. Furthermore, the text has been widely excerpted and translated into a number of languages, including Church Slavonic. The Slavonic tradition encompasses 123 witnesses dating from the 11th to the 19th century. In my presentation I will examine the contents of a representative selection of the Slavonic Anthologies excerpting the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* in order to show how the Byzantine literary models have been adapted by the Slavonic tradition, especially in the group of heterogeneous witnesses that do not follow the Greek word order. In addition, I will also look at the general contents of the Slavonic Anthologies containing the *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* in comparison with the contents of the Greek Anthologies to detect parallels between the two traditions in transmitting the text through centuries.

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The Making of the *Chrysorrhoeas* Collection

Zlatostruy (i.e. *Chrysorrhoeas*) is the name of an Old Slavonic collection of Chrysostomian homilies, which was compiled in the first quarter of the 10th c. by the commission of the Bulgarian King Symeon (893-927).

The paper aims at a reconstruction of the history of the initial Symeonic Corpus Chrysostomicum. Author presents the results of a survey on its Byzantine sources and the way they were processed, as well as an analysis of the extant evidence for its influence on Slavic homiletic collections, miscellanies and florilegia.



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Double Translations of Byzantine Hagiographic Texts – Reflections on the Slavonic Translations of the *Life of St Eupraxia of Thebes*

Double translations of Byzantine sources into Slavonic are a common and widely known phenomenon which, however, only recently attracted special attention. Up to this date no systematic survey has been done which texts have in fact been translated twice, -- an undertaking which is particularly impeded by the difficulties of telling variation due to transmission from those due to translation. There are, however, reasons to believe that among Slavonic hagiographic translations many a variant text which has hitherto been preliminarily classified as a redaction of the same Slavonic source translation might in fact turn out to be another independent translation of the same Greek source text on closer investigation. A case in point is the Life of Eupraxia, which will serve as a material witness to the phenomenon in question. Independent double translations like the Slavonic Life of Eupraxia raise questions about the reasons and circumstances that favored them. Can it be shown that double translations are in fact independent from each other, or are they to be addressed as retranslations which attest to a culture of systematic reevaluation of written sources? The presentation will among others address the question whether double translation can be told from retranslations on principled grounds, making diagnostic use of general rules and considerations. As the case of Eupraxia is also hoped to demonstrate a close and thorough mapping of highly divergent translations onto their sources will reveal intriguing insights in which ways translators may differ in their translation strategies beyond the commonly known basic principles of literalism and *fidus interpretis*.

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Multiple Translations and Their Context: *Praxis de stratilatis* in the Medieval South Slavic Tradition

My paper focuses on the earliest account of St Nicholas of Myra (*Praxis de stratilatis*) and its adaption in the South Slavic literary tradition. *Praxis de stratilatis* dates back to the 4-th century AD and it was the only narrative of the saint for more than three centuries. Even after the 8-th century when the local cult grew and other narratives about the saint appeared *Praxis de statilatis* remained one of the most authoritative texts in the literature and the art. The text was translated not only once but twice at the dawn of Old Bulgarian literature, probably as early as the 10-th century. The appearance of more than one translation is considered as a witness of the specificity of the literature translated from Greek in the Old Bulgarian tradition, on the one hand, and of the needs and attitude



of the readership, on the other. Different kinds of manuscripts - the *panegyricomartyrologia* and the *menologia* - provoked the double translations of the text. The preserved witnesses of both translations show the cultural and literary needs of the readership which turned out to be important for copying and disseminating the translated text.

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The Old Church Slavonic Translation of Hippolytus of Rome's Commentaries on the Book of Prophet Daniel

This report highlights Hippolytus of Rome's *Commentarii in Danielelem* (CPG 1873), the earliest exegetic work by a Christian author, written around 204 AD and translated in the First Bulgarian Empire probably in IX-Xth century. There are only few manuscripts, which contain various parts of the Greek text to a certain extent, but unfortunately they are scattered among different depositories and a complete text-critical edition of the work was made just in 2000 by Marcel Richard's disciples. Nevertheless, when the work on *Commentarii in Danielelem* began more than a century ago, the existing complete Slavonic translation helped Bonwetsch's research in the forming of a first edition of the Greek text. So far there are nine discovered Slavonic manuscripts that contain various parts of the work, but they are still not examined well enough and most of them do not exist in print. Manuscript No. 486 from the Volokolamsk collection, former collection of the Moscow Theological Academy, today kept at the Russian State Library in Moscow, comprises the biggest part of the Slavonic translation of the Commentary. Its existence was made public in 1874 by Sreznevskij and was later used for the Greek text-critical work. The major Greek manuscripts on the other hand are: 1) Codex Vatoped 290, from the X-th century; 2) Chalki 11, XV-XVI century; 3) Meteoron 573, again from the X-th century, and 4) Codex Chigi gr. 36 (R.VII.45), XI-th century. The earlier manuscripts can be grouped as a 'Balkan branch', while the later Chalki 11 shows some variants in its readings, compared to the other three, so it can be placed in a so-called 'Asian branch'. This report will demonstrate how the Greek texts vary and how the Slavonic translation corresponds to them. This work will also demonstrate how the literature connections on the Balkans functioned and will try to give an answer why this work was translated in first place and how it was adapted to Old Church Slavonic.



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Byzantine Historiography in Slavonic Disguise

This presentation will take a close look at the transmission and transformation of the literary patterns of prognostication of Byzantine historiography of Niketas Choniates into South Slavonic tradition. In honor of the host city of this conference, Belgrade, I will focus on the presence of the same literary model in the nineteenth century epic poem, *The Beginning of the Revolt against the Dahias*. The main storyline takes place in Kula Nebojša at the feet of Kalemegdan at Belgrade's river bank.

The twelfth century Byzantine historiography follows into the steps of the Classical and Hellenistic scientific, literary, and religious traditions. Niketas Choniates in a true style of Byzantine Renaissance writes his *History* in classicizing tradition and his historiography reminds us of Herodotus, with the main difference that it is Christianized. As Paul Magdalino rightly remarks, Choniates, in a good classical tradition makes the events being triggered by oracles and prophecies and weaves their fulfillment into a good story.

The sequence of divine signs that Choniates describes follows a certain pattern: it starts with the saintly people, continues with astronomical bodies, then points out to certain changes in the emission of the sun-light, discusses the transmission of the light, and ends with its effects on the water surfaces. We will find this model partially of fully transposed and transformed in Slavonic literary tradition of various genres, such as in fifteenth century script of *Žitie Asenethi*. What is interesting is that it appears almost intact in an orally transmitted Serbian humorous epic poem from nineteenth century, *The Beginning of the Revolt against the Dahias* (Početak Bune protiv Dahija).



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PERSPECTIVES CENTRE-PÉRIPHÉRIE DANS LE MONDE BYZANTIN

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Augusta Acconcia Longo,

Il ruolo dell'agiografia nella storia dei rapporti provincia-capitale

Adele Cilento,

Le *élites* ecclesiastiche nell'Italia bizantina dei secoli X-XI:
funzioni e ruolo sociale fra provincia e capitale

Enrico Cirelli,

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Jean-Marie Martin,

Byzance vue de l'Italie méridionale latine
(Naples, thème de Longobardie/catépanat d'Italie, principautés lombardes)

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Aristocraties et rébellions dans l'Italie byzantine des X^e-XI^e siècles

Annick Peters-Custot,

Empire et romanité d'après la documentation grecque de l'Italie méridionale byzantine

Filippo Ronconi,

Manuscrits et identités culturelles en l'Italie méridionale (VII^e-XI^e s.). L'apport de l'Orient



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Il ruolo dell'agiografia nella storia dei rapporti provincia-capitale

Come avviene per ogni altra espressione della cultura italogreca, anche la letteratura agiografica si distingue per certi caratteri, che non escludono i legami con i modelli orientali, ma al tempo stesso rivelano un'indubbia originalità e, soprattutto, l'aderenza alla realtà del tempo e del luogo cui i vari testi appartengono. Il numero limitato di testi agiografici pervenuti permette di seguire con una certa facilità e chiarezza l'evoluzione del genere e l'importanza che tali testi rivestono nell'ottica dei rapporti centro-periferia dell'impero e di individuare fasi diverse nella natura delle relazioni tra il centro del potere e l'importante provincia occidentale. Dalla Vita di Zosimo vescovo di Siracusa (VII sec.) che quasi certamente aderì al monoenergismo e non partecipò al Concilio Lateranense (649), sebbene la diocesi siciliana fosse ancora sotto la giurisdizione ecclesiastica romana, emerge l'obbedienza al potere imperiale, e l'aderenza all'«ortodossia» (che in questo caso è un'eresia) costantinopolitana. Con ogni probabilità non fu estraneo all'elaborazione di questa biografia, modificata poi nella trasmissione del testo, il soggiorno di Costante II a Siracusa, che esaltò e rese predominante l'elemento greco locale, già rafforzato dalle migrazioni che portarono in Sicilia e in Italia profughi dalle regioni orientali conquistate prima dai Persiani e poi dagli Arabi.

Specchio della dialettica centro-periferia e delle relazioni sofferte tra l'importante provincia occidentale e Costantinopoli sono ancora alcuni testi creati in Sicilia prima della conquista araba, di diversa ispirazione ideologica, che, al di là della natura leggendaria, sono una fonte preziosa per la storia dell'Italia greca in età iconoclasta. La Vita di Leone di Catania, ad esempio, di ispirazione iconoclasta, è strettamente collegata alla Capitale, mentre nella Vita e Martirio di s. Pancrazio protovescovo di Taormina, di ispirazione iconofila, Costantinopoli non compare mai. Più sfumata e complessa è la posizione di altri testi agiografici dell'epoca, che comunque, anche nella rappresentazione leggendaria, forniscono importanti notizie sulla situazione della provincia italiana.

Con la conquista araba di Siracusa, si chiude un capitolo importante dell'agiografia italogreca.

L'agiografia monastica dell'età successiva ha un'importanza storica più esplicita dell'agiografia romanzesca dell'età precedente. Espressione di una società a tutti gli effetti bizantina, anche se in stretto contatto con il mondo latino, i nuovi testi esprimono un progressivo venir meno dei legami con Costantinopoli. Elia il Giovane, ad esempio, pur fortemente critico nei confronti della politica bizantina in Italia, è pronto a rispondere all'invito di Leone VI di recarsi a Costantinopoli. Ma un disincanto crescente e una progressiva delusione verso Bisanzio si nota nell'agiografia successiva, fino a Nilo di Rossano, che rifiuta l'invito di recarsi a Costantinopoli e sceglie di vivere tra i Latini.

Ma dopo la conquista normanna dell'Italia meridionale, quando i legami politici con l'Impero sono ormai un ricordo, l'agiografia italogreca esprime un rapporto con il mondo bizantino, che non è più dettato dalla sudditanza, ma da profondi legami spirituali.



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Le *élites* ecclesiastiche nell'Italia bizantina dei secoli X-XI: funzioni e ruolo sociale fra provincia e capitale

Il prestigio sociale conferito dai titoli imperiali bizantini agli amministratori civili aveva, com'è noto, un suo corrispettivo nel campo ecclesiastico. Ai chierici infatti erano riservate le cariche della gerarchia della Chiesa che riproduceva, in linea generale, la complessa ripartizione delle carriere militari e civili. La differenza sostanziale consisteva nel fatto che, mentre in ambito civile vi era una profonda compenetrazione tra carica e titolo nobiliare, nella Chiesa bizantina gli *offikia* (funzioni amministrative) non avevano una stretta correlazione con i gradi della carriera sacerdotale, quelli cioè conferiti dall'ordinazione sacra. In virtù di tali funzioni e di tale titolatura, nelle province dell'impero i membri del clero appartenevano a tutti gli effetti alle *élites* locali, accanto alle aristocrazie laiche, ed erano dotati di una gerarchia propria sebbene le cariche amministrative da essi ricoperte dipendessero dall'autorità episcopale.

Questi personaggi compaiono spesso negli atti della pratica notarile dell'Italia meridionale bizantina, ma il loro ruolo non è stato sufficientemente indagato. Soprattutto sarebbe interessante tentare di comprendere il loro effettivo coinvolgimento nella vita della provincia in parallelo con le autorità laiche. Molti interrogativi riguardano inoltre la definizione di questo gruppo di funzionari ecclesiastici: la loro provenienza, la loro estrazione sociale, i loro rapporti gerarchici interni. D'altro canto la prospettiva di confronto con le cariche ecclesiastiche della capitale potrebbe rivelarsi utile, oltre che per definire meglio il ruolo di tali funzionari nella società delle province, per comprendere anche quanto profondamente il modello centrale venisse effettivamente riproposto nell'organizzazione amministrativa e religiosa locale.

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L'idea di Ravenna e la nascita di una nuova identità territoriale nel mondo bizantino: una prospettiva archeologica

Tra la tarda Antichità e l'alto Medioevo le città adriatiche e in particolar modo Ravenna, non sembrano perdere quel ceto artigiano e commerciale, cresciuto all'ombra delle attività economiche della corte imperiale e poi esarcale, i cui membri nelle fonti scritte altomedievali sono definiti *viri honesti*, come ha dimostrato Cosentino di recente. I mercanti e le nuove forme dell'aristocrazia urbana altomedievale dovettero godere di un certo benessere economico e parteciparono attivamente alla vita economica delle città adriatiche entrando in stretta relazione con le *élites* militari e vescovili.



Il commercio di Ravenna con le altre città adriatiche sembra limitarsi all'acquisto di formaggi, lana cuoio, pellame, vino, olio, cera e schiavi, come possiamo evincere dal divieto imposto nel 960, riguardo il commercio di confratelli verso i 'Saraceni', un importante vettore commerciale del mercato di Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia verso l'Italia meridionale. Conosciamo inoltre altri indicatori di commercio, sia dalle fonti scritte sia da quelle archeologiche. Alcuni chiari indicatori che mostrano un rinnovato impulso produttivo già nel corso dell'VIII secolo, nel territorio romagnolo, a dimostrazione di un tentativo da parte degli arcivescovi ravennati di creare nuove risorse nel proprio territorio, entro i confini del vecchio esarcato, forse in una forma più limitata, tra l'Adriatico e l'Appennino romagnolo\toscano e tra Po e Panaro così come avevano fatto i Vescovi di Roma nel Lazio, con l'invenzione delle *domuscultae*. In questo contributo cercheremo di presentare alcune evidenze che mostrano il tentativo di questo nuovo potentato di affermarsi e di controllare un vasto territorio in una forma alternativa rispetto a quella che si sta verificando negli altri territori di tradizione romana. Lo dimostrano le varie evidenze di alcuni centri del territorio ravennate, in alcune zone della città di Classe, ormai in declino dove sono state rinvenute tracce di produzione di vasellame di uso domestico e di prodotti vetrari e nel territorio Decimano, soprattutto in un sito datato alla fine del IX secolo, Montaccio e all'interno di nuovi centri direzionali del territorio ravennate. Spesso associate a esemplari di ceramica a vetrina pesante. Si tratta di nuovi centri del popolamento, 'central places', ovvero insediamenti rurali dove si osserva la polarizzazione di più antichi insediamenti sparsi. Non sono stati al momento rinvenuti in questi siti prodotti del commercio transmediterraneo e neppure quei piccoli contenitori, prodotti in area nordadriatica, forse destinati al trasporto di pesce, identificati invece in un'altra importante città costiera adriatica, quale Senigallia, poco a nord della città portuale di Ancona, in una zona che fino al IX secolo è ancora sotto il controllo fiscale dell'arcivescovo ravennate, insieme a vaste altre zone della Pentapoli e dell'Umbria, dell'Istria delle Venezie e della Sicilia.

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Dans chacune des entités politiques retenues, on analyse l'image de Byzance que donnent d'une part les chartes (notamment dans leur datation), d'autre part les sources historiques. À Naples, les documents sont datés des années de règne des *basileis* jusqu'à la conquête normande des années 1130 ; Gaète abandonne cette pratique à la fin du IX^e siècle. Les actes apuliens adoptent la datation impériale depuis la conquête byzantine jusqu'après le début de la domination normande alors que, dans les principautés lombardes, elle ne se rencontre qu'à la fin du IX^e et au début du X^e siècle.

Les textes historiques citent les empereurs byzantins, mais seulement pendant le haut Moyen Âge ; leur image est concurrencée par celle des « Grecs », considérés comme étrangers, et celle de l'Église byzantine, souvent vue comme hérétique.



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Aristocraties et rébellions dans l'Italie byzantine des X^e-XI^e siècles

Si les thèmes de centralité et de périphérie connaissent une vogue historiographique certaine, on s'est jusqu'ici surtout intéressé à l'empire lui-même, au concept et à ses modes de fonctionnement. Il en a été de même pour l'Italie des IX^e-XI^e siècles, où l'on s'est attaché à l'étude des caractères byzantins de l'administration et de la société dans une perspective globalement legaliste, sans guère prêter attention à la perception du centre par les marges, aux aspirations à l'autonomie et aux révoltes locales, considérées comme conjoncturelles et non structurelles.

Après avoir délivré le sud de la péninsule de l'occupation musulmane à la fin du IX^e siècle, Byzance se révéla ensuite incapable de protéger ses provinces des expéditions organisées par la Sicile musulmane et l'Afrique. Alors que la Calabre connaissait un certain répit grâce aux mesures de Nicéphore II, d'autres raids furent dirigés au XI^e siècle contre le catépanat (ex-thème de Longobardie) depuis une colonie sarrasine établie au cœur de la Lucanie. L'éloignement géographique procurait d'autre part aux fonctionnaires dépêchés par la capitale une impunité qui favorisait abus et corruption.

À partir de la fin du IX^e siècle, l'élite italique s'affirma à la faveur d'une conjoncture économique redevenue favorable; en Pouille les notables lombards, se relevant du désastre arabe, développèrent l'oléiculture, et peut-être la viticulture à des fins commerciales, et mirent ainsi à profit leurs liens avec la Méditerranée orientale; l'aristocratie calabraise s'enrichit grâce à la céréaliculture et à l'exploitation des métaux. Les Latins comme les éléments parfaitement hellénisés, se substituèrent dans le domaine militaire à la capitale défaillante en prenant la tête des troupes locales et firent ainsi passer les populations rurales sous leur contrôle, en privatisant certains *chôria*; ils dominaient également les villes dont ils assuraient la défense au coup par coup. Excédés par les dysfonctionnements de l'administration centrale qui les obligeait en outre à payer tribut aux Sarrasins, ils se révoltèrent de plus en plus fréquemment, soutenus par les principautés voisines de Bénévent et de Salerne qui n'acceptaient pas la perte de leurs territoires qu'elles étaient promptes à envahir. L'existence de sujets restés fidèles au *basileus* amena la création de deux partis, et le déclenchement d'une véritable guerre civile.

Les Normands, pourtant peu nombreux, jouèrent de ces dissensions et de cette forte tendance à l'autonomie, marquée d'hostilité contre les Grecs en contexte lombard, mais associée à une hellénisation profonde et revendiquée en Calabre. On peut se demander à ce point s'il ne faut pas distinguer, pour cette dernière, une réelle « byzantinité » d'un byzantinisme qui ne serait qu'une adhésion politique fragilisée à la capitale



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Empire et romanité d'après la documentation grecque de l'Italie méridionale byzantine

Cette contribution vise à reprendre des considérations souvent éparses, relatives aux populations grecques de l'Italie méridionale byzantine, telles qu'elles sont documentées par des sources écrites, aux X^e et XI^e siècle. Il s'agit là de reformuler l'appréciation de l'appartenance de ces populations à l'Empire byzantin, dans les hagiographies et les actes de la pratique, comme « identité souterraine », c'est-à-dire le plus souvent non-explicitée. En effet, la « romanité » des Italo-Grecs est le plus souvent masquée, mais pour autant n'est pas inexistante. Elle se combine sans contradiction à un lien profond avec la région d'origine ou d'existence, appelée « patrie » et à ceux qui l'habitent, mais aussi aux notions de *génos*, que rend assez bien, dans diverses sources latines hors de toute polémique, la dénomination de *gens Graecorum*. On se demandera donc si le lien avec l'Empire byzantin est structurant ou seulement superficiel, légitimant et obéissant à des canons de présentation des auteurs des sources. La question est de savoir si, *in fine*, ces populations ne sont pas moins attachées à l'Empire byzantin, qu'à l'Empire tout court, ce qui pourrait constituer une des clefs d'interprétation possible des mouvements de ces populations vers le Nord.

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Manuscrits et identités culturelles en l'Italie méridionale (VII^e-XI^e s.). L'apport de l'Orient

Parmi les flux de populations qui ont traversé la Méditerranée entre le VII^e et le IX^e s., on attribua une importance culturelle particulière aux migrations provoquées par les invasions persane de la Syrie-Palestine (au cours des trente premières années du VII^e s.) et arabe de l'Égypte (années quarante du même siècle). Ces invasions (la première en particulier), faisant entre autres éclater des contrastes violents entre les différentes ethnies locales, auraient engendré le déplacement de groupes de chrétiens chalcédoniens hellénophones notamment vers l'Italie méridionale, où l'éphémère reconquête justinienne avait revitalisé le substrat grec de la Sicile, de la Calabre, de la Basilicate et des Pouilles, sans entraîner pour autant une véritable immigration byzantine. Ces flux humains auraient provoqué le déplacement de livres, au bénéfice d'une influence importante sur le tissu socioculturel d'arrivée. Mais cette reconstruction est loin de faire l'unanimité, car des historiens de la culture italo-grecque ont minimisé les relations entre l'Italie byzantine et le Levant, pour souligner le contrôle toujours profond de Constantinople sur la région, aussi bien sur le plan politique que



religieux et culturel (p. ex. F. Burgarella). Mais une telle conception semble démentie par certaines observations – en vrai plutôt sporadiques jusque-là – sur des analogies évidentes entre certains styles graphiques italo-grecs et syro-palestiniens (cf. G. Cavallo, L. Perria, S. Lucà par exemple).

J'essayerai donc de revenir sur la question, en présentant les résultats préliminaires d'une enquête que je compte poursuivre dans les années à venir, en m'appuyant sur un protocole d'analyse des livres italogrecs conçus comme les preuves d'un contact culturel entre les différentes régions de la Méditerranée, entre l'Antiquité tardive et l'époque méso-byzantine. Il s'agira d'établir une série de paramètres, comme les caractéristiques graphiques, matérielles, iconographiques et textuelles des livres concernés, pour vérifier dans quelle mesure l'Italie centro-méridionale byzantine fut influencée par des styles graphiques et des pratiques bibliologiques/codicologiques spécifiques de l'Égypte et de la Syrie-Palestine. Je me concentrerai, en particulier, sur les manuscrits italogrecs des X^e-XI^e s., qui se distinguent nettement, sur le plan matériel et graphique, des livres constantinopolitains contemporains et qui semblent être le fruit de réélaborations locales relevant d'influences levantines.

Ma démarche comprendra aussi une dimension historico-textuelle et conjuguera des études bibliométriques et quantitatives avec l'analyse philologique traditionnelle, afin de vérifier l'importance de la présence de textes patristiques syro-palestiniens et égyptiens dans les manuscrits italogrecs, ainsi que la diffusion, en Italie du Sud, de lignes de tradition textuelle orientales extra-constantinopolitaines.

J'essayerai, somme toute, de dessiner le processus de constitution de l'« identité libraire » italo-grecque de l'époque moyenne, à la lumière de l'« identité libraire » levantine de la fin de l'Antiquité tardive.

Dans ce cadre, des questions plus larges se poseront : la réception des textes dans une nouvelle région géographique est-elle active ou passive ? La présence massive d'ouvrages et de lignes de tradition syro-palestinienne et égyptienne dans l'Italie méridionale byzantine, si elle est avérée, serait-elle à interpréter comme la conséquence mécanique de migrations, ou plutôt comme la preuve d'une affinité culturelle plus forte avec le Levant qu'avec les Balkans et Constantinople ? Et si une telle contiguïté existe, sur quelles valeurs partagées se fonde-t-elle ?



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SAINT GREGORY PALAMAS AND BARLAAM THE CALABRIAN IN THE CONTEXT OF THE 14TH-CENTURY BYZANTINE PHILOSOPHY & THEOLOGY

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The Meaning of Monarchy/Causality in Triadology of Gregory Palamas

In this paper I investigate the main concepts of triadological theology of Gregory Palamas. During his polemics over filioque, Palamas eagerly tried to underline that there is only one cause in Gods being - the person of the Father - who begets/proceeds the other two divine persons. In doing so, Palamas stressed that this begetting and proceeding take place from the person of the Father, but also from the Father's essence. Contrary to some modern theologians, who put some kind of opposition between „essentialistic“ and „personal“ or „existentialistic“ derivation of two „caused“ divine persons (Zizioulas), it appears that in Palamas there is a firm balance between alexandrian and cappadocian way of interpreting of this important issue.

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L'epistolario palamita del *Panaghia 157*: osservazioni in vista di un'edizione

Tra le fonti sulla controversia palamita ancora inedite citate nel celebre saggio su Gregorio Palamas da J. Meyendorff era annoverato un piccolo *corpus* epistolare che è oggetto della nostra indagine e che ad oggi è non solo inedito ma sostanzialmente sconosciuto. Le quattro lettere che lo compongono sono tradite nell'*Istanbul, Panaghia 157*, ff. 284r-291r. Esse furono composte da un anonimo sostenitore di Palamas per un altrettanto anonimo destinatario che a suo dire parteggiava per la fazione opposta.

Siamo ben informati sull'*Istanbul, Panaghia 157* grazie al catalogo pubblicato da P. Géhin e M. Kouroupou. Il manoscritto cartaceo si presenta come una miscellanea che raccoglie modelli d'autore ed esempi di lettere, insieme a testi di contenuto scolastico. Esso raccoglie materiali provenienti da numerosi altri volumi assemblati insieme, ma prodotti tra gli anni '60 e '70 del XIV sec. La sezione di nostro interesse copre un quaternione, fu vergata da un copista non identificato e le filigrane sono datate al 1359-1360. I nostri testi sono tutti anepigrafi; nessuna ulteriore informazione è desumibile dal manoscritto.

Quanto alle precedenti menzioni del piccolo *corpus* la bibliografia si limita a tre soli casi. Meyendorff, il primo a citare la raccolta, senza fornire spiegazioni, immagina un anonimo cipriota che si rivolge al metropolita di Tessalonica Giacinto, antipalamita e intimo sostenitore di Acindino. Altrettanto rapido il cenno nell'articolo consacrato al metropolita da K. Kyrris che sostiene, senza portare argomenti, che il destinatario sia Giorgio Lapithes. Ultima in ordine di tempo la nota contenuta nel commentario alla lettera n° 47 di Acindino: A. Constantinides-Hero segnala l'esistenza della raccolta,



ricorda l'ipotesi di Meyendorff, ammettendo di non aver potuto consultare i testi. Per quanto queste ipotesi siano state avanzate da grandi specialisti dell'intricato universo della controversia, riteniamo che esse non abbiano valore vincolante, ma di semplice indicazione di ricerca.

Qualche ragguaglio sul loro contenuto.

Lettera 1

Si tratta di un invito deciso per il destinatario a rivedere il suo appoggio alle tesi di Acindino e ad aprirsi alle testimonianze dei padri. Il mancato ravvedimento infatti potrebbe determinare la sua condanna eterna. Nella seconda parte l'autore attacca le teorie di Acindino e del suo maestro Barlaam sulla luce taborica e sulle energie divine. L'autore infine ricorda la condanna comminata dal tomo sinodale sia a Barlaam sia in un secondo momento ad Acindino.

Lettera 2

L'autore esordisce rimproverando il destinatario di appartenere ai seguaci di Barlaam, come denota l'impeto con il quale accusa i padri che vivono nell'*hesychia*: egli infatti ritiene veri teologi solo coloro che adattano alla conoscenza di Dio gli strumenti propri della filosofia antica, accusando coloro che praticano l'*hesychia* di essere Messaliani ed Euchiti. Di qui un lungo passaggio nel quale si espone la teoria sulle energie. Il corpo centrale della lettera è poi dedicato al resoconto dettagliato dei due sinodi del 1341. Nell'ultima parte segue l'invito al destinatario a diffidare dei soli strumenti logico-filosofici per la comprensione di Dio, che, come mostrato dai saggi greci, sono inferiori e insufficienti al confronto con la verità mostrata dalla predicazione di Pietro e Paolo o dall'esempio di Mosè e Elia.

Lettera 3

L'autore rinnova la condanna per coloro che, nonostante la sentenza sinodale, continuano a sostenere le idee di Barlaam e ad attaccare quanti loro si oppongono. L'autore con un certo orgoglio rivendica come prova della bontà delle tesi palamite il fatto di riscuotere una cattiva reputazione presso gli avversari e denuncia la violenza e l'aggressività fisica dei Barlaamiti che non può coniugarsi con l'atteggiamento di coloro che intendono conoscere Dio. Con tono umile, l'autore in conclusione sostiene di non essere nel numero di coloro che vedono o hanno visto Dio, ma i meriti che l'avversario gli attribuisce sono conseguenti alla sua condizione di monaco.

Lettera 4

La più enigmatica e complessa delle lettere del *corpus*. Pare dipanarsi come una precisa analisi e critica di un testo in cui il destinatario ha rivalutato la sua posizione sulla questione palamita. La retorica e la grazia "attica" servono a impreziosire il contenuto di questo discorso. Tutti i grandi modelli dell'antichità tuttavia sono inferiori ai vincitori dell'Athos che l'autore e il "maestro Davide" chiamano a raccolta dopo la tempesta alla quale sono scampati. Da questo punto in poi il testo si fa volutamente criptico, menzionando una serie di figure omeriche dietro le quali potrebbero nascondersi personaggi reali. La lettera si chiude con l'invito al destinatario a inviare discorsi simili o superiori a quello completato.

Lo scopo del nostro intervento è quello di tentare di fornire ipotesi fondate sui numerosi problemi ed enigmi posti dal piccolo *corpus* epistolare nell'intenzione di aggiungere al già complesso mosaico delle fonti sulla controversia palamita una nuova tessera.



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The Slavic Reception of Barlaam's Argumentation Theory

In his Anti-Latin treatises, Barlaam the Calabrian appears not only as a skillful arguer, but also as an argumentation theorist. His emphasis on correct argumentation procedure adumbrates modern attempts to arrive at a list of rules for critical discussion and to redefine the traditional fallacies in terms of violations of these rules.

In the seventh decade of the 14th century, two of Barlaam's earliest treatises were translated into Serbian Church Slavonic. The translation is accompanied by scholia. Some of them show that the concept of dialectical discussion, which was central to Barlaam's methodology, was beyond the translator's grasp. In fact, the spirit of these scholia is very close to Gregory Palamas' view of the Latins and his perplexed reaction to the writings of Barlaam the Calabrian.

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Palamas' Understanding of οὐσία and ἐνέργεια

The basic tenet of the Corpus Areopagiticum and Cappadocian doctrine of the impossibility of knowing God except through His works holds a central place in Gregory Palamas' teaching. A new debate about this topic, which began in Byzantine academic and monastic circles after the long-lasting disputes about the Hesychast practice of "mental prayer" and the possibility of seeing Divine actualizations (*energeiai*), led to his complex text, *The Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, eventually accepted by the Council of Constantinople in 1351. Characteristic of Palamas' teaching is his theoretical articulation of the traditional monastic notion of "becoming God-like" (divinization) and the vision of the Divine light, which is uncreated but not identical to God's essence.

Presenting the distinction between essence (οὐσία) and actualization (ἐνέργεια), Palamas uses the concepts discussed in detail in Aristotle's philosophy. Something can, i.e. has potency (δύναμις) to become something (a form), and something has become a form (actuality), i.e. has been actualized (ἐνέργεια) (Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, 1002b32–1003a5 ff). In the context of Hesychast theory, the unknowable Divine essence as the first cause has potency for different knowable actualizations, such as the uncreated "light of Tabor" seen during the Hesychast prayer. Seeing the Divine light does not imply understanding or knowing the unknowable Divine essence, but only its actualizations, knowable because of the potency of the essence to become accessible through actualization (ἐνέργεια), through God's work (ἔργον).



Barlaam of Calabria's criticism of Palamas' teaching calls into question the uncreatedness and eternity of the Divine light, and argues that only the Divine essence is uncreated. If we accept that the light is uncreated, then the light is the Divine essence itself, which implies that seeing the Divine light is the same as seeing the Divine essence, and that in the final analysis the Hesychast teaching is the same as that of Thomas Aquinas: "Thomas, and everyone who reasons like him, thinks that there is nothing out of reach for the human mind". On the other hand, since it is only the Divine essence that is uncreated, then the light seen during prayer cannot be the uncreated "light of Tabor", which then casts doubt on the Athonite monastic practice.

Since both Palamas and Barlaam referred to the Areopagite in stressing the impossibility of knowing the Divine essence, their dispute ended up being about the distinction between essence (οὐσία) and light (or actualization, ἐνέργεια). Barlaam and his followers denied the possibility of such distinction, claiming that it would endanger Divine unity and simplicity, implying a "second", "lower" god. Palamas replied by claiming that the multiplicity of God's manifestations and apparitions does not affect the unity of God who is above the whole and the part: "Goodness is not one part of God, Wisdom another, Majesty and Providence still another. God is wholly Goodness, wholly Wisdom, wholly Providence and wholly Majesty. He is one, without any division into parts, but, possessing in Himself each of these energies [actualizations]. He reveals Himself wholly in each by His presence and action in a unified, simple and undivided fashion." If we do not accept the teaching about Divine essence and Divine actualizations, then there is no link between God and the world, because, Palamas says, such God would be non-actualized, and could not be called Creator since that "which has no potency or actualization, does not exist, either generally or particularly". To deny a distinction between essence and actualization would therefore result in an atheistic position.

The most important terminological distinction for understanding Palamas' teaching is the conceptual pair *potency-actualization*, because the essence is what has potency for actualization through a particular act. Potency is the capacity for (actualization), because, Palamas makes a further distinction following Gregory Nazianzen, between that which has intention (desire) as permanent potency and particular intentions (desires) by which actualizations take place, or in other words, the potency of birth, and the actualization of birth as act. Through potency the essence sets in motion, and the act itself is motion and, eventually, actualization. If we reject the distinction between the essence and actualization, even the Eucharist or Holy Communion becomes impossible: "Since man can participate in God and since the superessential essence of God is completely above participation, then there exists something between the essence that cannot be participated and those who participate, to make participation in God possible for them".

Palamas' distinction between essence and actualizations, based on the teachings of the Church Fathers, particularly of the Cappadocians and Maximus the Confessor, has implications for the understanding of the Eucharist as the central theme of Orthodox theology and the basis of the liturgical practice. Hesychast emphasis on the monastics as a critical force in society and adamant resistance to non-Orthodox political pressures, shaped the Eastern Christian understanding of society, not only because of the political strength of this movement, but also because Hesychasm was the final form of one thousand years of Byzantine thought.



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Учение Григория Паламы об универсалиях*

В докладе будут прослежены линии раскрытия проблематики универсалий у Григория Паламы. Будут выделены три таких линии и указано на их исторический и богословский контекст. Согласно одной из этих линий, которую Палама проводит в 81 главе «Ста пятидесяти глав», говорится, что универсалии существуют только во многом (в вещах) и не могут существовать вне/до многого. Я предполагаю, что здесь имеет место контекст полемики Григория Паламы с представителями т.н. византийского «Проклренессанса», и этот контекст будет прослежен в моем докладе. Другая линия связана с III «Триадой» Паламы, в которой автор ведет речь о существовании в Боге парадигм в отношении вещей (эти парадигмы соответствуют универсалиям до вещей). Третья линия связана с проводимой Паламой в сочинениях раннего и среднего периода темой иерархии существующих до вещей начал/Божественных энергий (также играющих роль универсалий до вещей), соответствующих природным способностям тварного сущего. Эту тему Палама проводит в таких сочинениях, как «О Божественном соединении и различении», «Диалог православного с варлаамитом», «О Божественной и боготворящей причастуемости», «Антирретики против Акиндина». Я покажу, каким образом в рамках двух последних линий проявляется влияние учения Дионисия Ареопагита на доктрину Паламы и укажу, в чем состоит специфика учения Паламы в сравнении с соответствующим учением Ареопагита. В конце доклада я буду обсуждать то, как эти три линии соотносятся друг с другом в учении Паламы, и является ли учение Григория Паламы об универсалиях консистентным или неконсистентным.

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The 13th-Century Prerequisites of St. Gregory Palamas' Theology*

1. It is well-known due to the latest efforts of patrologists that in order to properly understand the Palamite theology of the Divine Light and energy one ought to cope with the problem of its immediate roots and antecedents within the period from St. Photius to the early 14th century. In our paper we propose to take a fresh look at the problem of the immediate prerequisites of this theology, namely at those which were arising during the thirteenth century. To reach this aim, we must envisage the century (*a*) in its entirety – as a complete epoch in the history of the European and Byzantine theological and philosophical thought – and (*b*) in its living connection with the previous twelfth century.
2. This approach brings a scholar substantial results. To begin with, it is impossible to deeply understand the 13th-century Byzantine theology without turning to the *Sacred arsenal* by Andronicus Camaterus (*ca.* 1173–1174), because the first notable Greek theologian of the century, Nicholas Mesarites, turns out to be a faithful compiler of the compendium (*Makarov* 2016). The importance of Camaterus can be seen at the example of John VIII Veccus having written a special piece *Against Andronicus Camaterus*. As Veccus was a pronounced opponent to the idea of any interpenetration between the Persons of the Trinity, such a hostile stance against Camaterus who had argued in favor of this idea cannot be surprising for a scholar. The famous Palamas' assertion that there can be an Orthodox approach to the *Filioque* was prefigured already in a conservative, but, nevertheless, in a way the 'proto-Palamite' theology by Georges Moskhambiar. The description of the Persons' interpenetration (Μονιοῦ 2011: 294.107 – 295.115) as the original order in the Trinity, which is effectuated from eternity τῷ λόγῳ τῆς φεραλληλίας, is also one of the most serious and well-thought-out prefigurations of the Palamite theology.
3. In our attempt at summarizing these debates we would offer such a preliminary periodization of the main trends in the 13th-century Byzantine theology:
 - 1174/1200 to 1234/40. The century's first attempts at theological dialogue with the Latins. The formulation of the prerequisites of the later teaching on the interpenetration (Camaterus, Nicholas Mesarites, Germanus II);
 - From 1234/40 to 1265/1275 arise: the innovative teaching on the eternal manifestation of the Spirit through the Son (Nicephorus Blemmydes) and a kind of neo-paganism of a Proclean type (George Acropolites);
 - The years from 1265/1275 to 1285/1297 saw the most important theological controversies of the century. The clash between: the pro-Latin and a 'tritheist' theological doctrine of Veccus;

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the Orthodox theology using Blemmydes' renewed language by Gregory of Cyprus; and a bit conservative, but also proto-Palamite doctrine by Moskhambar.

4. If we now look at the polemical literature written by Palamas and his allies, as well as at the oeuvre by the anti-Palamites, we will see that the contents of these debates was thoroughly investigated by both sides of the conflict, and the main 'lines of fissure' were inherited by the protagonists from their predecessors of the 13th century.

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The Debate on Aristotle's Theory of Proof between St. Gregory Palamas and Barlaam

In this paper, I will challenge the thesis that in late Byzantium logic has lost its autonomy from theology. As testified by St. Gregory's *Vita* and other written sources the logical studies have retained their independent status in the Byzantine culture. On the other hand, in the occasions when logic was integrated into the theological discourse (which was not an innovation of the 13-14th c.), this could even stimulate the logical studies. So the debate on method between St. Gregory Palamas and Barlaam put to stress the ontological foundations of Aristotle's theory of proof. The Palamas' solution was actually innovative. My second thesis is that it is an oversimplification to appreciate the value of a logical discourse of the time checking its literal correspondence to Aristotle and the commentators. St Gregory was well trained in this tradition. Only one line of his criticism against Barlaam however could be reduced to its literal application in the debate – he blamed Barlaam in contradicting Aristotle. The arguments "proving" that Palamas has lost this line of controversy will be re-examined. Most important however is his second line of criticism against Barlaam. Palamas made senseless his opponent's objections reassessing the ontological foundations of Aristotelian logic. The divergence from the main authority in logic did not mean here neither a loss of autonomy nor of a quality. To give a proper assessment of the value of Palamas' arguments one should dissociate himself from a set of preconceptions related to this episode of the Palamite debates and understand the difference between the essence and the energies.



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Joseph Bryennios and the Problem of Order within the Trinity*

The problem of order – or rather of inexistence of any order – between the three hypostases of the Holy Trinity has been discussed briefly on the margins of the great theological quarrels of the late fourth century. Since then, it seems never being considered until Nicephorus Blemmydes. At the early stage of the 14th-century hesychast quarrels it has been readdressed by Gregory Palamas, but apparently without any substantial elaboration in the later 14th-century authors. Joseph Bryennios, however, made it one of keystones of his elaborated triadological doctrine, thus explaining important intuitions of the Palamite theology.

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Theosis and the Metaphysics of Light of Gregory Palamas

The corporeal experience of the divine in the corporeal vision of the deifying light (*theourgon phos*) is a main subject in the philosophical system of Palamas. He states that the experience of the divine culminates in the vision of light, following several ascetic practices like the psycho-physic method and the exercitation of intellect. This divine light is neither material nor natural; however it can be perceived with corporeal eyes. What is the ontological character of this light? About this problem there are some approaches by contemporary scholars. For instances, Clucas (1975) states that the theory of light of Palamas is a manipulation of patristic sources and an arrangement of incongruences to escape from the accusation of messalianism. Beck (1961) holds that whenever Palamas is compelled to defend his notion of light he hides himself in the antinomies. I argue that *theosis* by the *theourgon phos* can be understood as a new metaphysics of light that combines concepts like *energeia*, *ousia*, *phos*, *photismos*, *metechein*. In this metaphysics God is not understood as *lux* and the creatures as *lumen*, as in a scheme of Neoplatonist inspiration, as is the case of Grosseteste. In the metaphysics of light of Palamas the divine is understood as deifying light not in its essence, but in its energy, and the creatures will be that light because they will participate (the body too) in that light without losing their individuality.

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Les conceptions anthropologiques de Saint Grégoire Palamas et de George Gémiste Pléthon : un débat sur le rôle de l'homme dans l'univers

Le débat entre Grégoire Palamas et Barlaam le Calabrais n'était pas une discussion purement théologique. Palamas polémisait aussi avec les intellectuels byzantins qui tentaient d'exprimer une conception du monde plus humaniste et moins surchargée de dogmatisme que celle de l'Église orthodoxe. Les recherches récentes montrent que la querelle hésychaste était une collision de paradigmes entre le christianisme et la philosophie séculaire, et cette polémique n'a pas cessé après la victoire officielle des palamites. Cent ans passés, George Gémiste Pléthon s'est montré représentant de l'hellénisme philosophique contre la doctrine chrétienne : sa philosophie était une réponse à la patristique et tout d'abord à Palamas. La conception d'un homme « christocentrique » chez S. Grégoire était le comble de l'anthropologie chrétienne orthodoxe, mais elle n'était pas attrayante pour une assez grande partie des intellectuels byzantins qui avaient leurs propres idées à propos de l'homme et de son rôle dans l'univers. L'anthropologie élaborée par Pléthon représente un développement des vues des humanistes byzantins du XIV^e siècle, c'est pourquoi il est intéressant de comparer les idées anthropologiques de Palamas et de Pléthon, bien qu'ils ne fussent pas des contemporains.

La conception de Palamas est traditionnellement chrétienne : l'homme créé par Dieu à son image et à sa ressemblance était la meilleure création divine, mais il a perdu sa participation à la vie divine à cause du péché. Les conséquences du péché originel étaient la mort de l'âme, la mortalité du corps et la corruption qui se transmet par voie héréditaire ; la conséquence de la mortalité et de la corruption est l'inclination au péché. L'homme ne peut regagner la ressemblance divine et se débarrasser de la mort que par la grâce divine, en participant à la vie de Dieu. Le but de la vie humaine est la déification et la contemplation de Dieu. Ce but ne saurait être atteint que par la prière et la pratique des vertus, ainsi que par la grâce divine. L'homme privé de cette grâce ne peut pas accéder à Dieu par ses propres forces : il ne peut recevoir la grâce divine et la perfection que du Christ dans l'Église orthodoxe.

La conception de Pléthon est tout autre. Le christianisme n'est pour lui qu'une des conceptions religieuses possibles. La religion chez Pléthon est très utilitaire : les cérémonies religieuses sont importantes non parce qu'elles relient l'homme avec Dieu par les sacrements, mais parce que elles peuvent affirmer les vraies notions des dieux dont dépend le succès de toutes nos actions. L'homme n'est pas la meilleure création de Dieu, mais il n'est point impuissant sans la grâce divine. Il est créé pour être le lien de l'univers, pour unir les mortels aux immortels, c'est pourquoi la procréation importe et non pas la virginité. Le péché originel et la pénitence, l'incarnation de Dieu et le salut par la grâce divine sont des notions étrangères à Pléthon. L'homme imite Dieu quand il le suit et devient bon, mais il ne peut le faire que « dans la mesure où cela est possible à l'homme » : dans cette conception il n'y a aucune déification. L'homme peut connaître Dieu « par la fleur de l'intellect », mais $\theta\epsilon\omega\rho\iota\alpha$ chez Pléthon n'est pas la contemplation de Dieu en prière, mais l'étude de l'ordre de l'univers



et des affaires humaines que le philosophe considère comme « la plus agréable » pour l'homme « conduit dans l'univers comme quelqu'un qui assiste à une fête ».

Dans l'ensemble, l'anthropologie de Pléthon préférant la vie intellectuelle d'un savant et philosophe à la vie contemplative d'un hésychaste orthodoxe peut, à ce qu'il semble, paraître plus attrayante à l'homme d'aujourd'hui que celle de Palamas.



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CHANCERIES AND DOCUMENTARY PRACTICES IN SOUTHEAST EUROPE (13TH–15TH CENTURIES)

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The Joint Charter of the Branković Brothers (1364/1365) and the Magnate Chancery in the Nemanjić State

A recent discovery shows that the so-called charter of Lord Vuk Branković (Chilandar 58 and 59) is a compilation of transcripts of two documents issued by the members of the Branković family in different time period (S. Bojanin). That is, the short part of Lord Vuk's document (late 14th century) was inserted in the text of the joint charter issued by the same Vuk and his brother Grgur several decades earlier. This paper investigates an unexamined formulary of the Branković brothers' joint charter and considers it as a type of a formulary that could be characteristic to the magnate chancery in medieval Serbia. A diplomatics analysis shows us how the vassal-suzerain relationships were officially represented in the documents of a nobleman's chancery during the reign of Stephan Uroš, the Emperor of the Serbs and Greeks (1355–1371) and probably earlier in the Nemanjić state.

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Diplomatic Practice in Medieval Bosnia – Between Domestic and Foreign Influences

Diplomatic practice of medieval Bosnia can be studied from 12th to 15th century. The first forms and patterns were influenced by chanceries from Italy and the Eastern Adriatic communes. Modified notarial forms, originally devised for private documents, initially prevailed as the model even for documents issued by the state authorities, but in time, with development of Bosnian state apparatus and professional clerical services, most of the charters gained the form of public act. Although some domestic elements found their way into forms of Bosnian charters and letters, especially some parts of customary law, the adoption of patterns from neighbouring countries (dominantly Hungary for Latin and Slavic states for Slavonic documents) never ceased. The dynamics of this process was increased in the late middle ages, when the nobles formed their own chanceries and started issuing large quantities of their own documents. The “addressee's draft” also proved to be an important and long-lasting source for shaping solemn charters. The most notable cases of such a practice were the charters issued by the Bosnian rulers and magnates to the city of Dubrovnik (Ragusa). This paper will try to identify which elements were domestic and which foreign, and how they were combined.



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Immunity Formulas in the Charters of Prince and Despot Stefan Lazarević

In most of preserved charters of Prince and Despot Stefan Lazarević immunity formulas can be encountered within the final part of *dispositio*, before *sanctio*. It should be noted that all these charters are related to donations to the monasteries. The documents dedicated to laymen did not survive, and therefore it is not possible to estimate the level of privileges which were given to Church institutions.

The monasteries were generally exempted from all duties and obligations to the ruler. However, during the reign of Stefan Lazarević (1389–1427) exceptions were recorded to this rule. All immunities which Prince and Despot Stefan mentioned in charters to the monasteries can be divided into several categories. In the first place, by significance, are those that relate to military obligations. Exemption from performing military service can only be found in two charters issued in the last decade of the 14th century. On the other hand, different types of military service, by which some monasteries were burdened, were listed in charters from 1417 and 1427 (sending auxiliary troops to the Turks, military action on the local level and campaigns in which ruler led army personally). The exemption of the obligations of building and protecting of fortresses were often cited among immunities of monasteries.

Also, some new cash taxes were introduced and monasteries were not always exempted from them. Prince Stefan introduced a fee known as “unče”. The “unče” became the most important tax in the state of Stefan Lazarević and therefore monastic possessions were not always completely exempted from these duties. According to the charter of 1394/1395, the monastery of Saint Panteleimon had to pay only a special tax – tribute (haraç), which was paid by family Lazarević to the Sultan. Later, this tribute is not mentioned directly in charters, but its existence is certain. The purpose of all these fees was to strengthen military capabilities of Lazarević’s state after the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. Namely, many Serbian noblemen were killed in the battle. Beside that, Prince Stefan became a vassal of Sultan Bayezid I to whom he had to send auxiliary troops. The fortresses had great significance for Stefan Lazarević, because he could not stand up to the Turks in the open field. Similar measures were also undertaken by Byzantine Emperors after 1371. The exemption from the “soće”, which was previously the main tax, was assigned to all the monasteries.

The charters of Prince and Despot Stefan testify that dependent peasants on monastic estates were freed from many working obligations and natural levies toward state. There is a little information in charters about administrative and judicial autonomy of monasteries. Only in two cases can be clearly concluded that the above-mentioned autonomy was limited.



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Concerning Diverse Legal Significance of a Document in the Byzantine Private Law

In numerous late Byzantine documents we find information on various legal deeds – contracts and wills. The aforementioned documents contain facts about legal bindings of an individual or an entity. Furthermore, the document itself can serve as a legal instrument in different ways.

Providing certain facts in writing can be a requirement for formation of a contract. This being the case usually in regards with specially important contracts, whose subject exceeds certain value – e. g. in many legal systems thereby is prescribed for a Purchase contract. This is known as *forma ad solemnitatem*, a mandatory form of an agreement. Lodging a document with an authority (*insinuatio*, ἡ ἐμφάνσις) and drafting, certifying, and serving on the document – done by a notary to the interested parties in some cases can also be considered as mandatory and in compliance with legal provisions.

On the other hand, consensual contracts are concluded as soon as contractual parties agree upon the essential matters of a contract. Whereas of this type of contracts, drafting or issuing a document has only the meaning of an evidence to the previously concluded deed, with a purpose to be enclosed in disputes arising in the future. The law can outline similar solutions for the other legal deeds as well, beside contracts. In case of wills, there could still be legal binding even if no document is produced, as an oral will is also a valid one.

The second part of our communication is related to transferring of a right. It is usually necessary to provide certain performance in order to assign a right. However, perfecting legal transaction sometimes can be efficiently done by mere alienation of a document. Thus, *traditio per cartam* (ἡ παράδοσις δι' ἐγγράφου) is a powerful reminder of a rather distinct nature of documents that we encounter the Byzantine law.

Therefore, our intention is to peruse private documents, particularly for a time range of the 13th-15th centuries, and confront them to other legal sources. Special attention will be given to diplomatic formulas, in which we often find reminders and references to the legal tradition in this subject matter.



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The Serbian Imperial Chancery in Documents of the Dubrovnik Corpus

The corpus of 29 largely original documents preserved in the Dubrovnik archives provides the best available avenue of approach to the still inadequately treated issue of the Serbian imperial chancery. Analysis of the corpus confirms that documents were produced in accordance with a clearly defined typology by a regular, organized staff. Very proficient in supplying the various types of documents with appropriate external and internal features, these individuals also proved capable of adapting earlier tradition to the demands presented by the rise of the Serbian rulers to imperial status. However, certain aspects of the production process seem to have remained underdeveloped (apparent lack of proper formularies and registers of outgoing items), opening the way for greater involvement of addressees.

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False Chrysobull Attributed to Tsar Stephen Dušan in the Archives of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou (Date in the Text April 1346, actually Falsified between 1366 and 1378)

Based on this false charter, Zographou was the legal possessor of the village of Chandax near the Strymon, and its estates in and around Chandax enjoyed all the privileges which had been granted to their previous owner, an unnamed grand *konostaulos*. After the region was annexed by Stephen Dušan, Chandax was taken from the Bulgarian monastery and was given to another user. Soon afterwards Dusan was requested by the Bulgarian Tsar, John Alexander, to restore Chandax to Zographou and to corroborate this restoration with a chrysobull. Dušan satisfied this request and restored Chandax to Zographou, confirming the monastery's right to exploit the water mills around the village and to collect fees from all the boats calling at its wharf. Dušan also exempted Zographou estates at Chandax from the *sitarkia* tax which amounted to 50 *hyperpyra* (10 *hyperpyra* of this sum are said to have been previously delivered to the fiscal authorities of Thessalonica, while the remaining 40 to the tax authorities of Serrhai). Dušan declared Chandax and all the villages and *zeugelateia* of Zographou exempt from the taxes *phonos*, *parthenophthoria*, *aerikon*, *sitarkia*, *orike*, *kastroktisia*, *charagma*, *ennomion* for sheep and swine, *melissoennomion*, *choirodekatie*, *mitaton*, *xylachyron*, *angareia*, *psomozemia*, as well as from the fee due for importing salt from elsewhere (*allotrion halas*).



In 1936 A. Solovjev and V. Mošin expressed reasonable doubts that Zographou act was an original signed by Stephen Dušan. Their most important argument was that Dušan's signature differed significantly from the normal pattern of his Slavic signatures preserved in the Athonite archives and elsewhere. Nevertheless, in 1982 L. Mavrommatis supported the view that Zographou chrysobull was not a copy but an original. He explained the specific peculiarities of Dušan's Slavic signature with the absence of Serbian literary tradition comparable to that of Byzantium, and pointed out that Dušan's golden seal attached to the false *Svodna Gramota* or "Composite Charter" of Zographou might have been taken from Dušan's act of April 1346. However, if we examine some of Dušan's Slavic signatures available in other documents, it becomes clear that Mavrommatis's conclusion about the act's authenticity is, in fact, unsubstantiated.

What do we know of Stephen Dušan's original Slavic signatures?

1. In 1331 Dušan granted to the city of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) a charter guaranteeing the right of its merchants to trade freely all over the territory of his kingdom. The original document is kept in the State Archives of Dubrovnik. The act and the royal signature are written in Serbian.
2. In 1334 Stephen Dušan subordinated the church of St. Nicholas at Dobrušta near Prizren to Chilandar. The donative charter is preserved in Chilandar, but it is uncertain if it is an original or a early copy. The act and the signature are written in Serbian.
3. In 1339 the Serbian king promulgated a chrysobull donating to Chilandar the monastery of St. Nicholas in the district of Mraka. The document is kept in Chilandar. It is of dubious authenticity and its editors underscore that in this act Dušan's signature differs significantly from its normal type. The act and the signature are written in Serbian.
4. In 1340, Dušan donated to Chilandar the church of St. George and the village of Pološko. The donative charter is preserved in Chilandar, but is not clear if it is an original or a coeval copy. The act and the signature are written in Serbian.
5. In 1343 Dušan allowed the governor of the city of Strumitsa, a certain Rudl, to convey all his property to Chilandar. An ancient copy of this charter was once kept in Chilandar, but it is presently lost. The act and the signature were written in Serbian.
6. In April 1348 the Serbian tsar promulgated for Vatopedi a special confirmative chrysobull. In this charter the situation is exactly the same as in Zographou chrysobull "of April 1346" – the main text is in Greek, but Dušan's signature is in Serbian.
7. In 1349 Stephen Dušan granted to the city of Ragusa a chrysobull which intended to normalize Serbia's relations with Dubrovnik and its protector, the Republic of Venice. The act and the signature are written in Serbian.
8. In 1355 Dušan issued a chrysobull pertaining to the property of St. Peter Koriški which was claimed by Chilandar. Two coeval copies of this charter are kept in Chilandar, but their authenticity is dubious. The texts and the royal signatures are written in Serbian.

In the acts of 1331, 1334, 1339, 1340, 1343 and 1346 Dušan's signatures are quite different from those in the acts of 1348 and 1349. This is must be due to the fact that the royal signatures in the documents of 1348 and 1349 seem to be the only authentic. The signatures of 1334, 1339, 1340, and 1343 are written in a decorative manner by a specialized scribe and not by the Serbian king in



person. On the other hand, Dušan's signatures in the chrysobulls of Vatopedi (1348) and Zographou (1346) contain some evident similarities that indicate that Zographou signature probably imitates the genuine signature of the Serbian ruler available in the Vatopedan charter. Analyzing Dušan's signatures, one can easily figure out that they are always written with uncial letters of equal height which are positioned between two parallel horizontal lines. In Zographou chrysobull the letters are not of equal height and this detail additionally questions the authenticity of the document.

The principal argument proving that that Dušan's chrysobull "of April 1346" is false is purely paleographical: this charter is written by the same hand which had copied an undoubtedly false Greek chrysobull, supposedly granted to Zographou by the Emperor John V in 1342. Consequently, Dušan's chrysobull for Zographou could not be but a forgery. This conclusion is also supported by the content of Dušan's act. Its second part copies verbatim the text of John V's false document of 1342.

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A Closer Determination of Document Names in Serbian Monastic Charters of the 12th–14th Centuries

Terms that designate various documents, often accompanied with appropriate attributes, are sporadically found in Serbian medieval legal documents. Document names and attributes are less frequent in earlier documents, whereas in later ones they appear more often. Composite terms sometimes fail to provide more information than simple ones and the corresponding attributes may seem to be superfluous (though, along with serving as a rhetorical tool, they have a legal meaning, since they carry a legal message). However, there are also cases when only the use of attributes makes it possible to get comprehensive information about the designated concept. Adjectival words (adjectives and adjectival pronouns) are not the only means of determining the designated concept. This function is also fulfilled by appropriate case forms (with prepositions and without them), other nouns, and even more complex structures. Therefore, it is necessary to highlight this phenomenon from a philological perspective. Our study primarily focuses on the documents from the time of the Nemanjić dynasty. Nevertheless, in order to throw additional light on the problem, or to improve already defined concepts, our analysis will not be restricted to these documents, nor will it be limited to the genre of monastic charters. Our approach relies on the traditional philological methodology combined with lexical semantic analysis and syntactic parsing of the medieval terminological apparatus. Examples are cited profusely throughout the study. All these elements are subordinated to the historiographical cognitive model. The paper also offers an overview and analysis of the total body of materials extracted from the limited Serbian medieval corpus, while determining chronologically, to the extent possible, the observed phenomena. In this context, the issue of congruent attributes (from simple units, such as *sija knjiga* to *zlatopečatna povelja* → *hrisovulja* ... → *slovo*, which was formed by calquing, to developed formulae, such as *blagoobrazni* and *ch'etni zlatopečatni hrisovul*) is particularly interesting. The determinative *zlatopečatni* was



rather early semantically emptied, as it could appear in unexpected combinations (considered 'pleonastic' by local historians, as compared to Byzantine diplomatics). This further weakened its position in symbolic terms: there arose a need for introducing additional terms that designate the guaranteeing value of a document, which eventually led to its omission in expected positions. Later qualifiers aimed at demonstrating the authenticity of a document became particularly productive since the reign of King Stefan Dečanski (e.g. *nastaješti, svetli, izvestni, obični*). Although they had an earlier foothold in the system (*utvrđeni, istin'ni, zakon'ni*, most commonly *zlatopečatni*), they remained without true equivalents in Byzantine diplomatic sources. As far as the expansion of this phenomenon is concerned, it seems that the Serbian legal discourse was more developed than its counterparts. It shared some features with Bulgarian diplomatic practice (though there were also significant differences, well illustrated by the well-known variant pair *povelja : orizmo*). Some terms that are usually considered to be tautologies are subject to our analysis (*izvestnoje* and *vsenastaješteje zlatopečatnoje slovo* or *zapisanije* and *utvrđenije*). It is also necessary to elucidate the occurrence of incongruent attributes with prepositional and case structures in the possessive genitive, as the positional variant of possessive adjectives (e.g. the relationship between *hrisovul gospodina i otca mi : otčin mi hrisovul*), and their occurrence beyond the cases limited by the usage of mandatory determinants. They are particularly common in connection with the perspective of the third person, when the actual auctors make reference to documents issued by their predecessors. Although they can be found in most documents (or rather those which date from a later period, or were copied in a later period), which may suggest that they were in ordinary use, they were in fact introduced gradually, under the influence of foreign languages (mostly Greek, which has to do with predefined, diplomatic formulae). A significant part of innovations in what was otherwise a rather small terminological corpus coincide with the period known in philology as the time of the so-called "subsequent Grecization", which was a result of major cultural and social changes in Serbia during the reign of King Milutin.

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Die Rolle der Geistlichkeit in der Verfassung serbischer mittelalterlicher Urkunden

In dem vorgeschlagenen Beitrag sollen die urkundlichen Angaben über die Tätigkeit der Kleriker als Schreiber sowie Verfasser serbischer mittelalterlicher Herrscherkunden dargestellt und erschlossen, dementsprechend auch die Rolle der Geistlichkeit in der serbischen Herrscherkanzlei(en) bzw. Beurkundungsstelle(n) erörtert werden. Das Phänomen ist insbesondere im Kontext der bewiesenen Schlüsselposition des Klerus in den Kanzleigeschäften mittel- und westeuropäischer, teilweise auch byzantinischer Monarchen, abzuhandeln. Hinsichtlich des verhältnismäßig begrenzten Forschungspotenzials einheimischer Quellen werden die serbischen Beispiele anhand der in der gegenwärtigen europäischen Diplomatik entwickelten Verständnismodelle der mittelalterlichen Herrscherkanzleien analysiert werden.



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Diplomatic Practice of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom: A(n Im)Possible Reconstruction?

From the era of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom (1186–1396) there are no more than thirty charters preserved. Amongst them, twenty are acts of rulers (including several obvious and well-known forgeries). The fascinating characteristic of this modest documentary fund is its trilingualism: documents were written in Slavonic, Latin and Greek language. The present communication aims to trace main directions of the charter-making practice in medieval Bulgaria by analysing inner and outer features of the extant diplomatic material dispersed throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

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Les actes grecs traduits en ancienne serbe

Outre nombre de documents en grec et en serbe, les archives du monastère de Chilandar conservent aussi, selon notre décompte, cinq actes médiévaux qui sont tous, à l'exception d'un seul, conservés uniquement sous forme de traduction en ancienne serbe, alors que leurs originaux, en grec, sont perdus depuis longtemps. Nous nous sommes penché plus particulièrement sur quatre de ces documents qui, comme le révèlent leurs caractéristiques paléographiques, sont des traductions en serbe remontant au milieu du XIV^{ème} siècle. Parmi ceux-ci, les deux premiers sont les plus importants.

Le premier acte est chrysobulle par lequel l'empereur Andronic II Paléologue confirme en janvier 1299 toutes les possessions de Chilandar situées dans l'empire byzantin – tant au mont Athos qu'à l'extérieur de ce dernier - puis la possession d'un navire, qui sera, comme jusqu'alors, exempté des taxes maritimes; et enfin le fait que Chilandar, avec ses métoques, est un établissement libre et indépendant, comme le monastère des Ibères à l'Athos.

Le deuxième document est un inventaire cadastral (*praktikon*), dressé en novembre 1300 par le recenseur Dèmétrios Apelméné, de toutes les possessions de Chilandar sises dans le thème de Thessalonique.

Le troisième acte est une traduction du chrysobulle d'Andronic II portant confirmation, en mai 1308, à la demande du roi Milutin, du rattachement, par ce dernier, du monastère de Saint-Nicètas avec ses possessions au pyrgos de Chilandar situé sur la rive de l'est du Mont Athos à Chryssè.

La rédaction du quatrième documents est vraisemblablement en liaison avec les villages possédés par Chilandar dans la région du Strymon, puisque son texte fait état d'une donation



d'Andronic Doukas Pétraliphas, en 1227, en faveur de l'higoumène de Chilandar Nicodème et de toute la confrérie, de la terre du village abandonné de Munzeni, partie du village du même nom.

L'étude de ces actes montre que leur traducteur n'avait pas une solide compréhension du grec et il a fait plusieurs fautes d'orthographe en serbe. Il a traduit plus librement certains passages, comme par exemple le *proimion* du chrysobulle de 1299. Cela ressort de la comparaison de sa traduction en serbe avec l'original grec du chrysobulle, conservé, d'Andronic II. On note aussi qu'il n'a pas su transcrire correctement certains mots grecs, principalement, à ce qu'il semble, lorsqu'il s'agit des indications chronologiques. Il en ressort ainsi notamment de la datation erronée, dans la traduction en serbe, du chrysobulle d'Andronic II.



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BYZANTINES AND THE BIBLE – PART 1

Conveners: **Reinhart Ceulemans, Barbara Crostini, Mariachiara Fincati**

Alexandru Ionita,

Imagining the Salvation of the “Jews” at the End of the First Millennium:
Byzantine Reception and Interpretation of New Testament Texts
about the “Jews” and the Faith of Israel

Sébastien Morlet,

Les Testimonia à Byzance : quelques études de cas /
The *Testimonia* in Byzantium : A Few Case Studies

Theodora Panella,

Pauline Catena Manuscripts: The Treatment of the Sources

Leontien Vanderschelden,

The Origins of the Catena of the ‘Paris Psalter’

Laurence Vianès,

Faut-il encore parler de chaînes « de Jean le Droungaire » ?

Mariachiara Fincati,

Exegetical Annotations from the 12th Century in the *Codex Marchalianus* of the Prophets



Alexandru Ionita

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Imagining the Salvation of the “Jews” at the End of the First Millennium: Byzantine Reception and Interpretation of New Testament Texts about the “Jews” and the Faith of Israel

The recent critical edition of “The Life of Saint Basil the Younger” in the series of *Dumbarton Oaks Studies XLV*, 2014, reveals one of the richest sources for the 10th Century Byzantine imaginary concerning the enthronement of the Lord at his Second Coming, the Last Judgment and the inherent Christian question about the faith of the Jews.

In my text-based paper I will compare cardinal affirmations about the Jews from the New Testament with their reception and interpretation in this longest and most important middle Byzantine saint’s live. Particular attention will deserve also the historical context of the hagiographical writing deciphering the eschatological expectations of the Constantinopolitan society and their relevance for the construction of a particular attitude concerning the Jewish people and faith in Byzantium.

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Les *Testimonia* à Byzance : quelques études de cas / The *Testimonia* in Byzantium : A Few Case Studies

The so-called *Testimonia* were quotations from the Old Testament supposed to announce Christ and the Christians. Extensively used in the NT itself and in patristic literature, either in polemical writings or during catechesis, they were the first biblical passages to be commented by the Christians and they remained at the basis of Christian faith until the end of Antiquity.

This topic has given rise to famous and important studies by New Testament and Patistic scholars, but much remains to be done concerning the history of the *Testimonia* in Byzantium. The Byzantines inherited from a scholarly approach of the Bible, that of the biblical commentaries, which is at first sight foreign to the world of the *Testimonia*. Previous studies have shown how Origen’s or Eusebius’ scholarship implied a new way of reading the old *Testimonia*, now understood in their biblical context and not necessarily as prophecies of Christ.

However, the *Testimonia* survived in Byzantium and continued to be used as textual proofs, especially against the Jews. This fact raises several questions : what does the *Testimonia* tradition look like in Byzantium ? Did the Byzantine read the same *Testimonia* as their ancestors ? Did they understand them the same way ? Is there an influence, in Byzantium, of the scholarly method on the quotation and exegesis of the *Testimonia* ? The interest of this questioning will be shown from an analysis of the *Testimonia* used in a few antijewish dialogues, especially the dialogue edited by J. H. Declerck (around 6th-10th c.).



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Pauline Catena Manuscripts: The Treatment of the Sources

Pauline Catena manuscripts have their own exegetical value and should be regarded as part of the history of interpretation of the biblical text, although scholarship has not focused on the criteria that their compilers applied when gathering their material or on the major exegetical trends that they may represent. The aim of this paper is to understand the way that the compilers treat their sources. Trying to identify the patristic evidence and the anonymous patristic quotations in these catenae, I will examine as well compilers' possible trends or preferences. Is there any main source for them? Does the treatment of the source depend on the layout of the catena manuscripts?

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The Origins of the Catena of the 'Paris Psalter'

There are many catenae on the Psalms, but one of the finest and most important is the so-called 'Paris Psalter' (*Par. gr.* 139 = Rahlfs 1133). It is a tenth-century manuscript that was probably composed for emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and contains not only fabulous miniatures, but also a catena commentary on the Psalms. The Paris catena has a place high up in the catena tradition, but is based on two older catenae: the so-called Palestinian catena from the sixth century and the Monophysite catena. Neither of them is preserved in its entirety, but they can be reconstructed from other catenae.

In the first part of my PhD project I will identify the citations in the Paris Psalter and situate the manuscript in the tradition of the catena. Hereby I will make an edition of the text of the catena for a particular selection of psalms. At a second stage, I will have a closer look at the content of the text and its functions as a literary product. For example: does the exegesis construct a certain picture of the emperor, as the miniatures are known to do?

In my paper I want to focus on the identification of the excerpts on a few psalms (psalm 1, 3, 5 and others) and the problems that go with it. On the basis of concrete examples I will show that some fragments are copied literally from the patristic source text while others are paraphrased, and I will discuss the difficulties linked to the attribution of the excerpts (or the lack thereof). Also the interplay between the biblical text and the exegetical excerpts will be mentioned. In my conclusion I will give an outline of the pitfalls and the relevance of this research, with a preview of the expected research results.



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Faut-il encore parler de chaînes « de Jean le Droungaire » ?

Les chaînes exégétiques sur les quatre grands prophètes attribuées à « Johannes Droungarios » sont d'excellente qualité et constituent souvent la base de laquelle dérivent les autres chaînes sur les mêmes livres. Du titre de Droungaire que porte leur auteur présumé, on a déduit qu'elles ne remontent pas à la haute époque byzantine. Mais Jean le Droungaire a-t-il existé ? Son nom n'apparaît qu'en titre du prologue d'un seul manuscrit. Or l'appartenance des prologues à la chaîne exégétique a été contestée, parce qu'ils se montrent très soucieux d'orthodoxie, tandis que la chaîne comporte des extraits de divers hérétiques, dont Sévère d'Antioche. Cette objection peut être levée en supposant que les chaînes ont été composées en milieu monophysite. Les prologues en font donc bien partie intégralement. L'hypothèse sera confirmée par l'examen des meilleurs manuscrits, des X^e et XI^e siècles, où les noms d'auteurs sont préservés dans une rédaction qu'on peut croire originelle. D'après le cas de Sévère d'Antioche, on peut conclure que les quatre chaînes ont été rédigées ensemble d'un seul jet et qu'il n'y a pas d'obstacle à une datation haute. D'autres chaînes présentent des caractéristiques similaires et pourraient être rattachées à la même entreprise. Nous tenterons enfin de définir la place qui était réservée dans ces chaînes à la philologie biblique.

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Exegetical Annotations from the 12th Century in the Codex *Marchalianus* of the Prophets

At the end of the 12th century, Codex *Marchalianus* (Rahlfs Q), famous for its marginal Hexaplaric readings, was owned by the scholiast who wrote an impressive amount of exegetical observations in its margins: they concern all of the Prophets except Daniel, which the same scholiast glossed on another precious MS, the *Vaticanus* (Vat. gr. 1209, Rahlfs B). Drawn from traditional catenae and patristic commentaries, the scholia are often selected, re-worked and displayed in view of the annotator's utility. In my paper I will present the results of a paleographical and philological survey of those scholia, in order to point out how the elaboration of traditional sources was performed:

- 1) Which sources did the exegete and owner of the manuscript choose? The book of *Jeremiah*, for example, received a double exegesis, firstly drawn from the type B catena, secondly from the commentary of a Pseudo-Chrysostom, which was probably the only Greek patristic text that discussed the strong divergences between Hebrew/LXX texts of *Jeremiah*.



- 2) What was the scholiast's attitude towards notes that were already present in the MS, such as the Hexaplaric ones? Sometimes he apparently ignored them, other times he himself added some variant readings which better translate the Hebrew.

The survey should contribute to shed light on the exegetical research pursued by a scholar who had at his disposal some of the most ancient and valuable biblical manuscripts.



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BYZANTINES AND THE BIBLE – PART 2

Conveners: **Reinhart Ceulemans, Barbara Crostini, Mariachiara Fincati**

Elisabeth Yota,

Usage et choix des scènes vétérotestamentaires dans les églises byzantines

Rachele Ricceri,

Texts, Paratexts, Manuscripts: The Reception of the Psalms in the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*

Paul Blowers,

George of Pisidia among the Hexaemeral Commentators

Kathleen Maxwell,

The Evolution of the Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries

Massimo Bernabò,

The Illuminations of the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy in the Laurenziana Library:
Apocrypha and Daily Life

Panagiotis Athanasopoulos,

The Latin Background to Scholarios' Greek Scriptural Quotations



Elisabeth Yota

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Usage et choix des scènes vétérotestamentaires dans les églises byzantines

La Bible constitue la source textuelle principale pour la mise en œuvre du décor mural des églises. Les scènes néotestamentaires forment la structure du cycle christologique illustrant les murs des églises byzantines alors que quelques rares épisodes de l'Ancien Testament sont aussi choisis comme gages de la foi chrétienne et lien entre l'Ancienne et la Nouvelle Alliance. Cette communication s'inscrit dans le cadre A travers des exemples précis, a comme but de tenter à démontrer l'usage de véritables cycles vétérotestamentaires. Leur emplacement peut influencer le choix des épisodes et leur symbolique dans l'ensemble du décor.

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Texts, Paratexts, Manuscripts:

The Reception of the Psalms in the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*

As Byzantine literature is mainly centred on religious topics, the reception and the re-reading of the Bible has extensively influenced also Byzantine poetical production, to various extents and in different periods. In my paper I shall focus on the book of Psalms from the viewpoint of its reception in the Byzantine transmission of the *Metaphrasis Psalmorum*, traditionally (and very probably erroneously) ascended to Apollinaris of Laodicea (IV cent.). The *Metaphrasis* makes use of the highbrow Greek metre *par excellence*, the dactylic hexameter, and shows off a proud knowledge of Homeric stylistic and linguistic features (Golega 1960).

Originally written in Hebrew as poetic texts, the Psalms were translated into Greek (in the Septuagint edition) without any specific metre, and represent an important group of texts whose influence crosses the entire history of Western literary culture. Significantly, early Christian and Byzantine readers continued to recognize the lyric features of the Psalms, since psalmody (i.e. the practice of singing the Psalms in divine worship) was a typical exercise of monastic life (Wegman 1990; Parpulov 2010). Moreover, memorizing the book of Psalms was a common base of Byzantine education. I intend to illustrate how the Psalms are reflected in the concrete way of writing poetry and in the material production of a specific kind of poetical texts, namely the metaphrases.

My enquiry will mainly be manuscript-based. The core of my investigation is the examination of two aspects of how some manuscripts present the *Metaphrasis*: the relationship with the Psalms, from the point of view of the layout of the manuscripts, and the analysis of the paratexts that accompany this metrical psalter. Unfortunately, the manuscript tradition of the *Metaphrasis* is



contaminated and generally late (De Stefani 2008), but it reflects an interesting way of dealing with a canonic model and some intriguing considerations can arise from the extant witnesses to the metrical psalter.

Aiming at underline the direct dependence of the metaphrastic text from the biblical one, most of the scribes who dealt with these hexameters used to copy the Psalms along to the *Metaphrasis*. Moreover, the figural representation of the two sets of texts plays an important role, since it is to be considered as a trace of how respectively the ‘Homeric psalter’ and the original one were treated and offered to the readers by Byzantine copyists.

The paratexts, finally, are a rich source of information on the tradition of the *Metaphrasis*. Each of the metrical psalm is preceded in the manuscripts by at least one metrical title. Although they are already published in the only complete critical edition so far available (Ludwich 1912), the metrical titles have only incidentally been the object of a study (Gonnelli 1989) and definitely deserve more attention, for more than one reason. As titles, these verses occupy a prominent and visible position in the codices, they are often written in different ink and could not be ignored by whoever read the book. Despite their quality as poetic texts is not always satisfactory, the metrical titles provide an interesting evidence of how Byzantine readers like to play with meters and to adapt even basic information to a higher style.

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George of Pisidia among the Hexaemeral Commentators

George of Pisidia, a deacon of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the seventh century, is no doubt best known as a Byzantine poet laureate who advanced the imperial mythology of the reign of Heraclius. Among his epics is the *Hexaemeron*, a panegyric which integrates commentary on the six-day creation (Genesis 1:1-2:3) into a grand exaltation of Heraclius, extolling him as the “deliverer of the world” (κοσμορύστης) by his defeat of the Persians, thus effectively inaugurating a “new creation.” Cultural historians of Byzantium have largely treated this epic as a highly developed piece of political rhetoric, with little attention to its actual place within the long tradition of Greek patristic Hexaemeral commentary. Historians of patristic exegesis of Genesis, on the other hand, have largely ignored George’s *Hexaemeron*, leaving it within the domain of political propaganda. My essay will explore the continuities and discontinuities of George’s *Hexemeron* with the antecedent commentary tradition, and will argue that George indeed desired to be taken seriously, not just as a panegyrist, but as a theological commentator on the origins of the world, albeit in the service of imperial theology and eschatology. Indeed, George’s use of the Genesis cosmogony as a buttress for eulogizing Heraclius as savior of the world would have fallen flat had there not already been a well-developed pattern, in Greek patristic exegesis of the six-day creation story, of insinuating soteriology into the interpretation of the origins of the world, and of depicting the Creator’s ongoing creative work as one of ever “saving” his creation from nonbeing.



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The Evolution of the Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries

New Testament text critics and Byzantine art historians study the same object: the Greek Gospel book. Art historians have been slow to capitalize on recent gains made in the field of New Testament text criticism and New Testament text critics have only recently begun to recognize the importance of paratextual evidence for their discipline. My approach to the Byzantine Gospel book benefits from two developments: 1) the increase in accessibility to the genealogical data for the texts of Byzantine Gospel books on the web; and 2) the availability of growing numbers of manuscripts in fully digitized form on the web. In short, the utilization of text relational tools developed by New Testament text critics together with art historical methods helps bridge the gap between New Testament text critics and Byzantine art historians studying the illuminated Greek Gospel book.

This study traces the evolution of the illuminated Byzantine Gospel book in the 150 years immediately following the end of Iconoclasm, focusing on the relationship between the texts and decoration of these manuscripts. Traditional art historical methods are used to categorize the decoration of these manuscripts while data developed by New Testament text critics will be consulted in an effort to gauge the relationship of their texts. This approach utilizes advances in the field of New Testament textual criticism, as exemplified by the T&T Mss. Clusters tool of the University of Muenster's Institute for New Testament Research (INTF). This on-line tool lists the textual relatives of virtually all Greek Gospel books. I will analyze the data for illuminated Byzantine Gospel manuscripts, in an effort to determine the degree to which textual alignment corresponds with manuscript groups based upon relationships of their figural and non-figural decoration. This multidisciplinary approach will provide insight on the ways in which scribes and artists interacted to create the illuminated Greek Gospel book. The goal is a more complete articulation of the evolution of the illuminated Byzantine Gospel book, using state-of-the-art technologies developed by New Testament text critics in England, Germany, and the U.S., as well as drawing from an ever-increasing array of digitized manuscripts on the web. This work builds on previous publications by the author on the Gospel books of the 'decorative style' manuscripts of ca. 1150 – 1250, and the late thirteenth-century Byzantine Gospel book, Paris, BnF, gr. 54.



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The Illuminations of the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy in the Laurenziana Library: Apocrypha and Daily Life

A colophon states that the Arabic Gospel of Infancy (Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, cod. Or. 387) was made in the Artuqid Mardin in the year 1299 for a Jacobite priest. The text is a version of the apocryphal gospels on the infancy of Jesus; it draws back to a late-antique Syriac apocryphal gospel. At the end of the infancy narrative, a few episodes from the canonical passion and a section from the Gospel of Nicodemus conclude the codex. The Laurenziana codex is the only extant gospel of infancy which contains pictures: over 50 partially colored drawings. Notably, the pictures do not correspond wholly to the Arabic text of the Gospel, but rather to an earlier Syriac version of it; all the same, the illustrations for the Nicodemus account of the *post mortem* episodes of Jesus transmit a version of the Gospel of Nicodemus otherwise unknown. The illustrations of the Infancy Gospel do not have relations with canonical iconography; they show daily life episodes, especially related to women realm: beauty, husband, children, diseases, jealousy, temptations, sexuality.

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The Latin Background to Scholarios' Greek Scriptural Quotations

In late Byzantium, the translations of Latin Medieval works reveal many interesting aspects of the *modus interpretandi* of Byzantine scholarship. Gennadios Scholarios (ca 1400 - ca 1472), one of the most prominent scholars of the Paleologan period, was not only a fervent admirer of Thomas Aquinas, but also a translator of some of his works. Scholarios' *modus interpretandi* has not been studied in depth as yet. Moreover, Scholarios' way of rendering Biblical passages quoted in Latin texts back to Greek raises questions as regards his opinion on the text of the Bible. In this paper, I focus on the Scriptural quotations in Thomas' works translated by Scholarios, in order to address the following questions. (a) What was Scholarios' opinion on the valid versions of the Bible, given that his translations of Latin Biblical passages are in several cases *retro-versed*? (b) Why did he offer a Greek translation of passages extant in Aquinas' works but absent from the *Septuaginta*? (c) Why did he integrate such translated quotations into certain works of his own?



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EPIRUS REVISITED – NEW PERCEPTIONS OF ITS HISTORY AND MATERIAL CULTURE – PART 1

Conveners: **Lioba Theis, Christos Stavrakos, Galina Fingarova, Fani Gargova**

Lioba Theis,

Workshops in Epirus on the Move

Katerina Chamilaki – Ioannis P. Chouliarás,

Rescue Excavations at the Ionian Motorway in Aetoloacarnania:
Revealing New Aspects of the Byzantine Past of a Region

Björn Forsén – Brikena Shkodra-Rrugia,

The Early Christian Landscape of Dyrrachium:
New Archaeological Evidence on the Basilica of Qerret

Myrto Veikou,

Settlement and Material Culture in the Inner Ionian Sea Archipelago
and Its Vicinity during the Byzantine Period

Ioannis P. Chouliarás,

Newly Discovered Frescoes in the Middle-Byzantine Church of the Transfiguration of Christ
near Plakoti of Thesprotia

Fani Gargova,

Contesting Epirote Identities: Material Culture and Ethnicity in the Second Half of the 14th Century



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Workshops in Epirus on the Move

Due to its geography – transversed by mountain chains with only smaller flatlands, which do not allow for surplus food production to feed a large population – no larger settlements with urban features developed in the heartland of Epirus (the theme Nikopolis, or Epirus Vetus and Epirus Nova) during the Byzantine period. Beyond the narrow coastal strip along the Ionian Sea, the course of the mountains divided the interior into not-easily-accessible high valleys, which became home and places of refuge for different ethnic groups (Greeks, Slavs, Albanians, Aromanians). The hegemony of an individual ethnic group could therefore only be established for a short time: Bulgarians in the 10th-11th c.; Greeks from the 12th c. to the foundation of the Despotate of Epirus following the Fourth Crusade at the beginning of the 13th c., which shifted from Greek to Latin, Serbian and Albanian rule in the 14th c., before coming under five centuries of Ottoman administration from the 15th c. on.

These conditions were a significant obstacle to the development and establishment of independent artistic and cultural traditions, and a diversified tradition of artisans in larger centers over a longer period of time failed to emerge. Nevertheless, both the architecture and the painting of Epirus reveal specific developments that arose in Epirus and bear witness to close contacts with neighbouring regions. This is valid for neighbours to the North, East, South and also for those in the West. Although the course of the mountains did without doubt close off the interior from the coast and impart its own character, the Normans in the 10th, 11th and 12th c., the crusaders of the early 13th c., and the growing claim of the Angevins into the 14th c. contributed to an ever increasing and sometimes formative influence of Latin cultural traditions. Certain cases demonstrate that this influence was carried by the activity of wandering workshops. The paper will pursue this line of enquiry.

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Rescue Excavations at the Ionian Motorway in Aetoloacarnania: Revealing New Aspects of the Byzantine Past of a Region

The five year rescue excavations of the Greek Ministry of Culture in Aetoloacarnania during the construction works of the Ionian Motorway and its branches revealed many previously unknown byzantine and post byzantine sites, shedding light to the local history and archaeology. Among the most impressive sites discovered and fully excavated was the *extra muros* byzantine cemetery, of



more than 600 graves, with a three aisle cemetery basilica, at the site of Agios Georgios, northeast of Kalydon and near the banks of river Evinos. The discovery reveals aspects of byzantine, especially middle byzantine, habitation in the wider area of ancient Kalydon.

The next site dates mainly in the early byzantine period (5th-7th century) and was discovered on the south bank of the Ambracian Gulf, on the roman route connecting Nicopolis and Patras. Among other finds stands a large public building probably used as a *mansio* facilitating travelers and visitors of the nearby Christian basilicas, with a successive use of more than two centuries. The presentation will focus on topography of the settlement, the architectural type of the complex, and a preliminary presentation of the finds.

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**The Early Christian Landscape of Dyrrachium:
New Archaeological Evidence on the Basilica of Qerret**

In this paper we explore the patterns of development in the southern Dyrrachian hinterland with special emphasis on how Christianity is reflected in the changing rural topography beginning from the fifth century AD. The analysis is based on previous extensive surveys and excavations in combination with the first preliminary results of the new Durres Hinterland project as well as extant historical sources. We discuss the importance of the Via Egnatia for the location of churches in the landscape and provide new information on the architectonic plan, history and identification of the basilica of Qerret.

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**Settlement and Material Culture in the Inner Ionian Sea Archipelago
and Its Vicinity during the Byzantine Period**

This paper will present a brief account of Byzantine settlement and material culture within the Inner Archipelago of the Ionian Sea, based on evidence deriving from the “Inner Ionian Sea Archipelago Survey” Project (2010-2014). This Project has been conducted under the scientific supervision of Nena Galanidou (Professor of Prehistoric Archaeology, University of Crete) in collaboration with the 36th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, represented by the



Ephors of Antiquities Ms Maria Gatsi (2010) and Dr Olympia Vicatou (2011 to present) and has been funded by the University of Crete and the Municipality of Meganissi. Alongside with a discussion of the overall Byzantine settlement and land use, the paper will give special focus on the discussion of medieval and post-medieval ceramics, which have derived from the archaeological survey investigation and have been studied by the speaker and Professor Joanita Vroom (Leiden University). All evidence will be examined towards a comparative evaluation of settlement patterns and material culture in the Inner Archipelago, its vicinity and the western coast of Epirus during the Byzantine period.

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Newly Discovered Frescoes in the Middle-Byzantine Church of the Transfiguration of Christ near Plakoti of Thesprotia

The church of the Transfiguration of Christ near the village Plakoti of Thesprotia belongs to the architectural type of the free cross, having a six-sided dome and a semicircular apse. In the inside of the nave, under new coatings, there are some very interesting wall paintings, which may be dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and which almost all of them were known to the scientific community. However, during conservation works on the walls of the sanctuary, we located frescoes of the same period and a previous layer which can hardly be dated. The iconographical program of the sanctuary includes the enthroned Virgin in the apse, the Annunciation, hierarchs, prophets, deacons and the Christ Emmanuel on the southern wall. On the eastern wall of the nave fragments of frescoes covering the previous layer have been revealed which could be dated to the fifteenth century.

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Contesting Epirote Identities: Material Culture and Ethnicity in the Second Half of the 14th Century

Much has been written about Epirus' location as a crossroad or a territory in-between cultural spheres and its constantly changing status during late Byzantine times. An increasingly hybrid ethnical space, shared and negotiated between Latin Angevins and Florentines, Byzantines, and Serbs, one ethnicity stands out in how negatively they are portrayed in written sources: The Albanian presence in Epirus during the 14th century was a source of constant trouble and concern. They were seemingly barbarous, uncivilized and nomads and thus could not be integrated into society. At the



same time they were just as Christian as their neighbors and were, at least from a military point of view, capable of ruling a territory and maintaining capital cities in Arta and Angelokastron. This paper will ask for the material traces of the Albanian presence in Epirus during this period of time and whether those traces tell a different story than the Byzantine chronicles.



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EPIRUS REVISITED – NEW PERCEPTIONS OF ITS HISTORY AND MATERIAL CULTURE – PART 2

Conveners: **Lioba Theis, Christos Stavrakos, Galina Fingarova, Fani Gargova**

Lorenzo Riccardi,

Unitary but Incomplete and in Part Lost.

The Mosaics and the Sulptural Decoration of the Parigoritissa in Arta:

Status Quaestionis and Some Observations

Brendan Osswald,

The State of Epirus as Political “Laboratory”

Galina Fingarova,

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Katerina Kontopanagou,

The Christian Monuments of Epirus in the 17th and 18th C.:

Creating the Social and Economic Profile

Christos Stavrakos,

Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Foundation Legends of Monasteries in Epirus:

Interactions/Connections between the Past and Present and Its Understanding in the Society



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Unitary but Incomplete and in Part Lost. The Mosaics and the Sulptural Decoration of the Parigoritissa in Arta: Status Quaestionis and Some Observations

My paper focuses on the mosaics and the sculptures of the Parigoritissa church in Arta, that – as a whole – display an unusual solution without any comparison with previous monuments both in Byzantine Art and in Western Art.

The paper is divided into two parts, dealing respectively with the *status quaestionis* of the inner decoration of the church and some working hypothesis about its original configuration. In the last decades, several scholars denied to refer some “Western” sculptures of the *naos* (that are the west and north archivolts with human figures) to the second phase of the Parigoritissa, around 1290-1296, considering them as a re-use from the former church, around 1250-1260. However, these works belong to the same workshop of the bases of the colonnettes as well as of several capitals of the gallery’s and baldachin’s columns. Therefore, they are expressly produced for the Parigoritissa II.

In the second part of my paper I attempt to demonstrate that the carved and mosaic decorations were wider than the current remains and were composed of other elements, that are now lost. I analyze some wandering sculptures and the photographs that are taken before the Orlandos’ restoration after the Second World War. On the basis of these observations, I propose a new hypothesis about the display of the inner decoration of the church, where two different artistic *media* coexist.

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The State of Epirus as Political “Laboratory”

Even during the “classical” period, the Byzantine political system was never an inviolable one and was never constrained by unmodifiable rules such as a Constitution or a *Magna Carta*. After 1204, this instability of the political frames and institutions increased even more because of the general turmoil, and the successor States of the Byzantine Empire had to adapt to the new situation. Probably more than the Empires of Trebizond and Nicaea/Constantinople, Epirus had to change even more its way of considering her own political organization, because it had not achieved to become an Empire itself and also because it had to confront the Restored Byzantine Empire.

That is why we can but observe a continuous adaptation from the rulers of Epirus to the surrounding circumstances. Michael I ruled without any title, his brother Theodore and successor



took the imperial title and finally Michael II and the subsequent rulers bore the title of despots. But the signification and content of the despotic title changed a lot through throughout the centuries. Being a personal and non-hereditary honor received from the Byzantine Emperor and implying a familial connection with him, it became so closely connected to the land of Epirus that it evolved to become an almost feudal title; giving to Epirus the status of a *despotate*. This Epirotic innovation was imitated in other places of the Byzantine and even Balkan world and despotates may be observed in Morea, Serres, etc.

Another Epirotic innovation is the increasing importance of its cities in the political system. Political divisions of Epirus led to the appearance of micro-states being no more than cities and their hinterlands. So the cities henceforth chose their sovereigns. This situation, recalling the contemporaneous situation of the Italian City-States, was unheard-of in the pre-Crusade Byzantine world. We should also observe that the necessity of finding allies and military support in difficult times led these Orthodox cities to call to non-Greek and even non-Orthodox rulers, which again should have sounded astounding some centuries or even some decades ago.

This constant adaptability clearly shows that Epirus, as a part of Byzantium, was definitely “a world of changes”. We can only suppose how, in some sense, revolutionary these events appeared to the contemporaries.

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The Church of St. Mary in Apollonia as a Milestone between East and West

The Church of Saint Mary is one of the most important medieval structures in present-day Albania. It belongs to a monastery that was erected on the edge of the ancient city of Apollonia.

The church was built on a cross-in-square plan with an apse at the east and a narthex and porch at the west. The most characteristic feature of the church is its building material, which consists exclusively of spolia from the ancient city nearby. Another important feature is the architectural sculpture, which shows characteristics similar to Romanesque sculpture in Apulia.

Supplemented by a critical reassessment of older archaeological reports and descriptions of the building and a thorough evaluation of the existing structure as well as a comparison with other buildings, this paper discusses the history of the erection of the church and explains many of the building's singular construction features in the context of the particular political, cultural and geographic situation in the region during the Byzantine Period.



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The Christian Monuments of Epirus in the 17th and 18th C.: Creating the Social and Economic Profile

The artistic activity in the Region of Epirus during the last two centuries of the post byzantine period was significant. The number of the regional and provincial monuments grows impressively after the second half of the 17th century and especially during the last decades of the 18th century. The increasing of the monuments after the first decade of 17th century is impressive. The multiple influences and the artistic trends at the mural paintings of these two centuries reflect the social and economic activity context.

The study and insight of the period's mural art, offers multi level recognition findings, of the society itself. Remarkable data are being collected regarding the artistic activity, the migration and the education of the painters, the significant role and the nature of the donors, as well as the networks and the artistic influence between Epirus and the rest of the Balkans and the West.

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Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Foundation Legends of Monasteries in Epirus: Interactions/Connections between the Past and Present and Its Understanding in the Society

The research regarding the traditions surrounding the foundation of monasteries in Epirus revealed something quite interesting. Most of the monasteries link their founding to the emperor Justinian I and later on to Constantine IV. At the same time however, the cases of other founders like the byzantine princess Poulcheria, sister to the emperor Romanos III Argyros but also the cases of officials with names similar to the toponyms (the byzantine official Kabasilas as the founder of the baths of Kabasila and others) are particularly interesting. In the first case the choice proves that the basic condition for the choice of the individual was the fine knowledge of the byzantine period ergo the existence of education similar to the one found among the clergy or the monastic circles, from where this legend possibly came from. The second case is a typical example of how a toponym can be the cause for the choosing of an individual with similar name and for the creation of the corresponding legend.

It's not surprising that all the traditions regarding monasteries in Epirus link those buildings to the byzantine past. It is only logical for the Christian monuments to seek their roots to the first Christian empire a part of which was Epirus. The promotion of the christian monuments to standards



of the Byzantine Empire had twofold results. On the one hand the stature of those monasteries as religious centres and places of pilgrimage was increased in the eyes of the faithful and on the other hand their importance compared to other monasteries which did not possess such a background.

The monasteries that we will present which are linked by tradition to significant byzantine emperors or officials, date in their majority to the 16th and the 17th century, i.e. during the first centuries after the occupation of the Balkan Peninsula by the Ottomans.

A particularly remarkable economic activity takes place in Epirus during the 16th century. This activity is indicative of the fine economic state its residents enjoy in. Even though Epirus was never under Venetian rule, the geographical proximity to the Ionian Islands and the existence of the ports in Sagiada, Parga and Preveza facilitated the transportation of goods and ideas from Italy. These contacts were intensified during the early 16th century. Indicative of this situation was the fact that the traders of Epirus in Ancona in 1514 and in 1517 received privileges and exemptions from trade taxes. I have already addressed the lack of written and archived sources pertaining to Epirus during the second half of the 15th century and in the early 16th century. Thus the monuments and the monastic institutions in particular are the ones that can provide an image of the social activity, of the educational life and of the educational level if not all but at least of a part of the populace that had the sufficient economic potency.

Schools must have undoubtedly functioned in the monasteries on the isle of Ioannina's lake. In Arta, the presence of Maximos Graikos' family was a safe indication of the existence of educational activity and of people with a similar education. There is a strong commercial activity in the late 15th century between Epirus and Venice while the researchers concur that the establishment of the Greek community in Venice in 1498 was a milestone for its relationship with Epirus. It is not a coincidence then that during the 16th century a number of monasteries in Epirus are being founded, renovated or expanded. This is definitely relating to the influx of money to the area from the increase of trade activities with Italy. Already from the mid 16th century books arrive in Epirus that have been printed in Venice.



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TRADE ROUTES IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA: THE NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE (10TH-15TH CENTURIES)

Conveners: **Vasiliki Vasso Penna, George Kakavas**

Vasiliki Vasso Penna,

Trade Routes in the Balkan Peninsula: The Numismatic Evidence (10th-15th Century)

George Kakavas,

Trade Routes in the Balkan Peninsula: The Numismatic Evidence (10th-15th Century)

Zhenya Zhekova – Ivan Jordanov,

Trade Routes of the Lower Danube (10th – 11th Century)

According to the Archaeological, Numismatical and Sigillographical Data

Yannis Stoyas,

Following the Money in Relation to the Route Taken

by the Catalan Company during the Years AD 1305-1310

Vangelis Maladakis,

Venetian and Frankish Coinages in Lower Macedonia: Tracing the Trade Routes Network



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Trade Routes in the Balkan Peninsula: The Numismatic Evidence (10th-15th Century)

Quite often the concealment of coin hoards is connected with certain historical events and particularly with enemy raids. The session entitled “Trade Routes in the Balkan Peninsula: The Numismatic Evidence (10th-15th century)”, based mostly on hoard studies, aims at illustrating more aspects of the coin circulation, attempting to emphasize the multifaceted character of the causes that put money in motion.

It is necessary to have a better picture of the use of money in this whole region, to detect the routes of money, either as means of commercial transactions, or as indications of residential or productive remains, or even as traces of military operations, within a broader perspective. Certain intriguing case studies are to be discussed, as for example, after the incorporation of Bulgaria in the Byzantine Empire (11th century), the role of money in tracing new roads, in connection with commercial activities; in an analogous fashion, the 12th-13th century hoards found in mainland Greece and the Aegean need further analysis and reassessment for the original reason of the money's presence there. The studies contributing in this session adopt a similar perspective and hopefully will form the basis for a more comprehensive take on the problems at hand.

It would be necessary in the long run to develop distinct and detailed mapping of the numismatic data, both of the coin hoards and the stray finds, by establishing a pilotical scientific collaboration project among organizations (universities, museums, institutes, etc). A Balkan cooperation network could advance further the exploitation of material, poorly published or still unpublished, towards this direction.

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Trade Routes in the Balkan Peninsula: The Numismatic Evidence (10th-15th Century)

In the session “Trade routes in the Balkan Peninsula: The numismatic evidence (10th – 15th centuries)” is attempted a pilot application of an overview of the numismatic evidence, and particularly that of the coin hoards, applied in the Balkan area during the middle and late Byzantine period. The assessment of the combined presentations of the speakers participating in this session will be viewed also within the perspective of the programme “The Routes of Coinage”, which has been launched in the context of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation.



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Trade Routes of the Lower Danube (10th – 11th Century) According to the Archaeological, Numismatical and Sigillographical Data

Svyatoslav is reported to say I ... Should prefer to live in Perejaslavets on the Danube since that is the centre of my realm, where all riches are concentrated; gold, silk, wine and various fruits from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary and Bohemia and from Rus' furs, wax honey and slaves.

(Russian primary chronicle. Year 969)

These words of Kievan King Svyatoslav outlined a specific trade zone even emporion in the modern version of the notion, in which commodities comes from all over the world. The last quarter of the 10th c. is a peculiar pick in Little Malak Preslav or Perejaslavets' history. The emporion probably was established much earlier and was a meeting place for the merchants from the Central Europe, Byzantium, Bulgaria and Kievan Russ. Little Preslav or Perejaslavets was another frontier trade point (an emporion) that the Byzantine empire established on its borderline. Through it passed over not only the Bulgarian-Byzantine trade but a part of the European as well.

Its advantage as an important trade point is a result of its location. The emporion was situated at the very end of the Danubian corridor which linked Central Europe with Black sea and thence with Constantinople.

All these records from the "Russian primary chronicle" are used and commented upon various researchers but the material evidences have lacked. Some progress in that direction was ascertained lately.

Three groups of evidences are used in this study: archaeological, numismatical and sigillographical.

Archaeological data: The Romanian colleagues recently discovered artefacts from Viking presence from the second half of the 10th c. in the fortress next to Nufăru village, Tulcha district. The settlement is situated on the river bank called St. George of the Danube. Some scholars located mediaeval Perejaslavets or Little Preslav on the very same place.

Following the successful campaign of the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimiskes against the armies of Russian knyaz, Sviatoslav, from 971, the Constantinople military and administrative structure was restored on the Lower Danube. There were established two byzantine strategies: Preslavitsa and Dristra the seals of which are reached to us. The seals of their strategos were found and clearly informed us about the names of the strategies and the names of the governors as well. Immediately after the occupation of Preslavets from the Byzantines they gave it the name of Theodoropolis. Respectively the name of the region was West Mesopotamia. After the second occupation of these



territories in 1000 the name of Preslavets (Preslavitsa) was restored. Up to the formation of the katepano of Paristrion or Paradounavon in 1059, Dristra and Preslavitsa are the strategies.

The village of Nufăru is situated on the right shore of the most southern branch of the Danube River, Saint George. The systematic excavations began in 1978 and have continued every year since then, letting us conclude that a Byzantine fortification was built in the last quarter of the 10th c. Despite the fact that the archaeological site is beneath by the contemporary village, due to the archaeological excavations there is the restitution of the inner wall, so far the five towers were discovered, as well as a wharf, some dwellings, complexes for storage or home-based manufacture, several necropolises, many artifacts (ceramics, tools, weapons, small finds, coins, lead seals). It was outlined the image of an urban centre and the life of its inhabitants, from the 10th to the middle of the 13th c., also the trade contacts with the Byzantine Empire and other related regions. The settlement beneath by the village of Nufăru was identified with the medieval town named *Bruscavitza-Proslavitza*, known from the navigation maps and notaries documents.

Some artifacts (four wooden mortars, a hammer for grinding the grains, a big comb or fork for weaving or for processing wool, a handle stave extension, a bowl, a spoon, a top, a small frame, a wax-writing tablet) found in or out of the buildings are evidence for using the wood in the domestic or in economic activities. A small wooden cross for wearing could be associated with a Christian worship. It seems that building timber was local – oak for the foundations logs and willow tree for the floors. The small objects are made of coniferous tree wood, an argument than these artifacts were brought from elsewhere than the Lower Danube region.

All these structures seem to represent a domestic complex, with two phases of occupation, dating – by stratigraphical position and by sandy local pottery discovered – from the second half on the 10th c.

There are very few wood artifacts well preserved in Romania and even less dating from the Middle Age. We presume that these complexes with well preserved archaeological wood, unusual for the Byzantine cultural features, could be related to a northern population, Vikings or Varangians – a trade expedition on the Lower Danube, in their route down the Dnieper to the Black Sea and then farther to Constantinople, or an eventual temporary establishment inside the Nufăru fortification of some mercenaries of the Byzantine armies.

Numismatic data: Probably that trade zone was attended by coins. The question is what kind of coins? Mainly Byzantine because they are first rate standard. The Russian coins did not come yet. We have a large list of Byzantine coins from the 10th – 11th centuries – stray finds and deposits from the territory of Lower Danube. At the same time there are circulated imitative Byzantine coins produced by Bulgarians for example.

In the second half of the 10th c. Bulgaria produced imitative coinage based on the Byzantine gold and copper coins. The gold issues are imitative solidus of the Byzantine emperors Basil I, Constantine VII and Romanus I. The copper are followed the specimens of Constantine VII and Romanus I.

During the 11th c. this practice is still preserved. Local mints produced by casting imitative folles which taking a big part in the coin circulation. The production is mainly issues of Anonymous Folles classes A1, A2, as well as coins of emperors from the 11th c. Also an imitations of miliaresion of emperor John I Tzimisces.



In the second and third quarter of the 11th c. the amount of original and imitative coins in some Danubian fortresses including Dristra are increased. Thus give us a hint that they transformed into emporiums playing a special part in political and economical communication between Byzantium and barbarian world. It means that the coins did not come in a circulated medium. They have another task – to attend not the domestic market but mainly the cross-border. The question arise – whether the coins from that time are a true payment or they are a kind of value, a metal, to exchange for a standing obligation between the Empire and her neighbors.

Sigillographic data: till now are known the seals of two kommerkiarios in the area of Lower Danube – Dristra and Preslavitsa. They were established after the c. 1000 when the Danube became a north imperial border.

I. Seals of the kommerkiarioi of Dristra.

As a borderline center of the Empire located on an important water way in Dristra was established a kommerkiaria. Its functions were linked to gathering the taxes of the import and export trade. The evidences for its existence are the seals of titulars which reached to us.

1. Andronicus imperial spatharios and kommerkiarios of Dristra – first half of the 11th c. From the collection of the Regional historical museum – Shumen. It`s origin is Silistra.
2. Dionysius spatarokandidates and kommerkiarios of Dristra – first half of the 11th c. From the collection of the Regional historical museum – Shumen. It`s origin is Silistra.
3. John kommerkiarios of Dristra – 11th c. Private collection.
4. John Spondilos kommerkiarios of Dristra – first half of the 11th c. From the collection of Dumbarton Oaks. It`s origin is probably Istanbul.

According to the seals we have an information about three or four kommerkiarioi of Dristra. For now it is impossible to determine the exact way of their functions. They have a common date – most likely in the first half of the 11th c.

II. Seals of the kommerkiarioi of Preslavitsa.

We have also mentioned that the historical successor of Preslavets or Little Preslavets is Preslavitsa. There are known the seals of strategos and kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa. This town has the same location as Dristra – borderline center, situated on a main water way in direct connection with Constantinople. There are known several kommerkiarios:

1. Eustratios Mitas chartoularios and kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa – first half of the 11th c. according to a specimen from the Archaeological museum in Istanbul. Probable origin from Constantinople.
2. Eustratios Romanakes spatarokandidatos and kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa – 11th c. According two seals of Dumbarton Oaks (DO. 47. 2.2. 2128 and Fogg A. M., no.1750). Probable origin from Constantinople.



3. John kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa - 11th c. According to a seal from Dumbarton Oaks (DO 47. 2. 137). Probable origin from Constantinople.
4. Sergios chartoularios and kommerkiarios of Preslavitsa. According two seals of Zacos collection Zacos, *Seals*, II, no. 1043 and Dumbarton Oaks (Fogg A.M., no 860). Probable origin from Constantinople.

A chronology of the particular owners is not possible again. All these seals are the only evidence reached to us from once time prosperity town.

All these artefacts – archaeological, numismatical and sigillographical increased our knowledge for the population on the Lower Danube area in the 10th – 11th c. and reached us closer to their daily life.

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Following the Money in Relation to the Route Taken by the Catalan Company during the Years AD 1305-1310

The massacre that followed the murder of Roger de Flor at Adrianople (30 April 1305) left his band of mercenaries largely decimated. The *Companyia*, however, managed to bounce back and started to exact its notorious “Catalan vengeance” on the Byzantine Empire. The *Felix Francorum exercitus in Romani(a)e partibus com(m)orans*, as known officially from that time on, proved highly resilient and stayed in Thrace for two years, living off the land and wreaking havoc. Around the middle of 1307 the so-called Catalan Company moved westwards and settled in Kassandra, Chalkidike; being stationed there for another two years, it continued its marauding activities, targeting Mount Athos as well. In 1309 the Company was driven to Thessaly by a combination of factors and in the next spring it entered the service of Gautier V de Brienne, Duke of Athens. This led to a sequence of events culminating on 15 March 1311 in the Battle of Halmyros (or Kephissos), where the Catalans emerged victorious.

The focus of this essay is to trace the available numismatic evidence that can be potentially associated to the impact of the Catalan wanderings in the span of about five years (May 1305 – spring 1310). Highlighting probable cases of emergency coin hoards can be revealing for the state of monetary affairs in relation with major routes, or less important ones, used both for military and commercial purposes. The testimony of literary sources is also taken into account in order to obtain a more comprehensive picture. Essentially, this is an attempt to showcase, within an already existing route network, an intriguing case study of how a Late Medieval army caused sums of money to be moved along for its needs or diffused away because of its presence.



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Venetian and Frankish Coinages in Lower Macedonia: Tracing the Trade Routes Network

The foreign currencies, which predominantly circulated and almost overwhelmed markets in the Southern Balkans, namely present-day Greece, from the early 13th to the mid 14th century, were primarily the Venetian *grossi*, and to a lesser extent the Frankish *deniers tournois*. The main causes of the wide circulation of foreign money in the Byzantine empire were on the one hand the penetration of western economic factor, existing since the late 12th century, and on the other hand the political fragmentation that occurred in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, in the hitherto united Byzantine state, and caused the fragmentation of economic activity and therefore of monetary circulation.

More precisely, the commercial activity of the Venetians in Lower Macedonia, though at the intersection of trade networks, is not sufficiently documented in historical sources of the time, apart from some sporadic information. A stronger presence than it is implied must have been a reality, mainly due to the fact that Macedonia is located on two main trade routes, where Venetians maintained trading posts. The earlier was the overland route from Epirus, via Western Macedonia, Thessaloniki as a staging post to the way to Constantinople. The second was a maritime route, of long-distance scope, via the Aegean Sea (Negroponte, Almyros, Sporades, Lemnos), Thessaloniki and finally Constantinople. The maritime route was the one used also for trading with the Frankish principalities of Southern Greece, while the connection of the latter with Macedonia was possible also by the North-South ancient overland route through Thessaly.

Older findings, either hoards or stray and site coins, along with critical commentary on textual and archaeological evidence, will be evaluated in order to trace the trade routes network and illuminate the currencies markets in production and manufacturing sites of the said territory.



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MATERIAL CULTURE

Chairs: **Orsolya Heinrich-Tamaska, Ivana Popović**

María José Sánchez Vicent,

Late Antique Bronze Crosses Found in Punta de l'Illa de Cullera, Valencia, Spain.
Archaeological Remains of the Emperor Justinian's Dream: A Reunified Roman Empire

Valentina De Pasca,

A Symbol of Power. Many Outstanding Issues

Ivana Popović,

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Krino Konstantinidou – Konstantinos T. Raptis,

The Eleventh Century Innovations in the Byzantine Firing Technology: Evidence from
Thessaloniki



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Late Antique Bronze Crosses Found in Punta de l'Illa de Cullera, Valencia, Spain. Archaeological Remains of the Emperor Justinian's Dream: A Reunified Roman Empire

The Punta de l'Illa de Cullera was archaeologically examined for the first time during the summer in 1955. The archaeological excavations were supported by the Bryan Foundation and managed by Mr M. Tarradell and Mr E. Pla. Several architectural frames were kept record, inside one of them, archaeological remains found are, mainly, great amount of Late Roman Unguentaria, a collection of coins, which included several Justinian nummi, and two bronze crosses, the latest are subject of this paper. These archaeological remains are unrelated to other sited nearby, so that these are regarded as very singular finds.

The largest cross has 22,5 centimeters whole arms and 1 millimeters of thickness, and a fragment of one arm was loosed. Despite this, it could be an equal-armed cross and tree-shaped motifs can be distinguished in each of its arms, which will be focused on this paper. The decoration was done by small cross-shaped patterns graved in the bronze. The smallest cross has less than 5 centimeters, it was found complete and it is also an equal-armed cross. This cross could be considered a pendant cross because it has three hanging elements.

The aim of this paper is to research from archaeological information provided, to go on looking for similar remains in the subject, shaped, manufactured and function, mainly, into Byzantine ecclesiastical objects and the Early Byzantine city of Caričin Grad. Also asking what is the cultural context where the Christian meaning of the Tree of Life could be understood and identified by.

In addition, the different aspects above will be linked to the geographical features of this archaeological site, and, according to Procopius, to one of the aims of Justinian's policies: expanding the Empire 'to the farthest shores of the ocean'.

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A Symbol of Power. Many Outstanding Issues

Disc brooches, as well as crossbow fibulae, were a clear symbol of social status and their typological differentiation connoted the social level of the bearer and his role. With the beginning of the fourth century disc brooches become an imperial insignia of the emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire. It is no accident that in the well-known sixth-century mosaic panel of San Vitale (Ravenna, Italy) the only one to wear a disc brooch with three pendulia is the emperor Justinian. This kind of clasp was indeed one of the imperial insignia of the Byzantine emperors therefore a symbol of power.



Portraits of Byzantine emperors on the most different media are often characterised by the presence of a clasp which holds the chlamys fastened on the right shoulder. Although literary and iconographic sources (e.g. coins, mosaics, statues) record such a custom, few luxury artefacts attest this kind of production, and none of them attributable with certainty to a Byzantine court workshop. The reverse occurs instead among the Lombards. Excavations in Lombard necropolis as well as sporadic findings in areas inhabited by the Lombards brought to light different typologies of disc clasps. It is so significant that a symbol of power purely “Byzantine” is used even by a different ethnic group. Why? If we assume that the Lombards inherited the symbolic meaning of the disc brooch to legitimate their power, it is not clear why most of the disc brooches were discovered in female burials. The discovery of some fibulas of particular value, however, poses another issue: was it a Lombard production or the result of an imperial donation?

This contribution will be built on such a dichotomy.

At first the focus will be on the iconographic sources which attest this custom in the Byzantine society and on the distinctive features of that jewel. When it would seem to start this fashion? What is its origin? These are only some of the questions we will attempt to give an answer bringing attention to an aspect often neglected.

The actors of the second part of the contribution will be the disc brooches stored in Italian and international museums. Although the luxury which distinguishes some of these objects suggests a high patronage (e.g. disc brooch from Benevento preserved at the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford, UK), to date unfortunately these artefacts are not attributable directly to the imperial sphere. Their typological and morphological analysis will allow us to give concrete shape to this kind of objects and to deepen this field of study in which the dialogue between archaeology and art history may lead to new possible interpretations.

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Coupes en argent paléo-byzantines de Viminacium : pièces de service de table ou vases sacrés

Cinq coupes sur pied en argent, dont quatre couvertes, sont devenues l'objet de différentes approches en ce qui concerne la question de leur fonction et de leur fabrication, depuis la publication des recherches en 1903. Dans la littérature existante, leur datation s'étend dans l'intervalle entre l'an 250 jusqu'au VI^e siècle, et la détermination de leur affectation varie – des offrandes votives aux dieux païens, aux vases liturgiques. Les coupes ont été découvertes en 1899 à Kostolac (Viminacium), dans une niche au-dessus des fondations d'un édifice dont l'emplacement exact n'a jamais été déterminé. Au même endroit on a trouvé aussi un objet cylindrique en argent, orné des rangées de cases ellipsoïdes avec des motifs des intailles imprimées, ainsi que deux petites assiettes en argent, dont les bords sont ornés des représentations des animaux en pleine course et des masques d'une Ménade



et d'un Satyre. Ces objets ont disparu pendant la Première Guerre mondiale. Les coupes trouvées à Viminacium sont hémisphériques, avec un pied haut en forme de trompette, et un couvercle concave muni d'une anse conique. Les formes analogues les plus proches sont celles des coupes des dépôts trouvés à Carthage et à Canoscio en Ombrie. Bien que ces coupes appartiennent à un groupe uniforme, de point de vue typologique les exemplaires de Viminacium sont quelque peu différents des coupes des dépôts nord-africain et italien ci-dessus, dont le pied est plus large et plus court, et le récipient plus profond. Après la publication d'une analyse détaillée de ces trouvailles, on a conclu que les coupes avec pied et couvercle étaient des ustensiles de table dans lesquels on conservait des aliments liquides ou des sauces, et le couvercle permettait de les garder au chaud. En tournant le couvercle à l'envers et en le posant sur son anse conique, on pouvait l'utiliser comme une assiette plate. Il ne faut pas exclure la possibilité de la fonction paraliturgique de ces coupes en tant que récipients dans lesquels on apportait les provisions nécessaires à la célébration de l'eucharistie. Les trouvailles de Viminacium comportent cinq coupes, tandis que les dépôts de Carthage et de Canoscio comprennent quatre récipients de ce type, et on a donc conclu que quatre ou cinq coupes sur pied avec couvercle, en tant qu'ustensiles de table, faisaient complète partie d'un service de diner. La remise des objets dans les dépôts de Carthage et de Canoscio est datée de la fin du V^e ou du début du VI^e siècle, ce qui n'exclut pas la possibilité que certains objets soient fabriqués avant et conservés comme objets précieux. Le dépôt de Viminacium, comprenant des objets en argent – la propriété d'un citoyen riche – fabriqués vers la fin du IV^e ou le début du V^e siècle, était peut-être déposé au cours de la quatrième décennie du V^e siècle, lorsque les villes de l'Illyrie étaient en danger de l'irruption des Huns et de leurs ravages. Étant donné que les coupes sur pied de Viminacium sont atypiques de ce groupe de récipients, il est possible qu'elles soient un produit local. Ces coupes, ainsi que d'autres objets de ces trouvailles, indiquent des liens commerciaux et artistiques étroits entre les ateliers toreutiques de l'Illyrie byzantine et ceux des parties ouest de l'Empire.

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Type and Archetype in Female Representations on the Territory of the Central Balkans from the 4th to the Beginning of the 7th Century

Female representations from the territory of the central Balkans in the period between the 4th and the beginning of the 7th century can be recognized as images of empresses, “ordinary” women and divine feminine. All these images separately have their significance and meaning within the visual culture of the time, but strong associations between them suggest multifold influences and correlations. Image of an empress was one of the most important models among representations of “ordinary” women, in terms of fashion, adornments, coiffure or beauty. Thus empress's image was the type of representation desirable to be imitated. By following this type “ordinary” women were able to emphasize their social status or virtues that adorned their role models. In Christian ideology virtues of modesty and chastity were personified in another type, most exemplary image



of the Theotokos. The Theotokos maternity and virginity were two main ideals for all Christian women, therefore empresses too. On the other hand, the Theotokos maternal type comprehend the vast heritage of mother's figures known from various religions and cults, as well as archetypes from distant past.

Visual material from the territory of the central Balkans can be observed as a significant contribution in overall view at the feminine imagery in the period between the 4th and beginning of the 7th century, with relations between them that allow research of the types and archetypes that influenced their creation and meaning.

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Byzantine Goldsmithing in Avaria? Exchange and Transfer at the Periphery of the Empire during the 7th–8th Centuries AD

The influence of Byzantium on the material culture has long been the subject of debate in archaeological research of the Avar period. Discussions have focused on the classic 'centre-periphery' model, which emphasises the cultural dominance of Byzantium over its nomadic horsemen neighbours in the Carpathian Basin. For example, attempts have been made to set up a list of criteria — on the basis of analyses of the technical and decorative attributes of fine metalwork — to separate originally Byzantine products from their imitations. This model will be discussed in this contribution using selected examples.

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Metal Finds of Amorium Excavations: Architecture and Furniture Components

Amorium where is in Antique Frigia, is located 168 km southwest of Ankara, 70 km northeast of Afyonkarahisar and 12 km east of Emirdağ district. Due to the location on the main roads extending in Anatolia and become a capital city of Anatolikon Thema in mid 7th century AD. Amorium has kept its existence as a military and administrative center until the middle period of the Byzantine Empire. The city is considered under two headings: The Upper City and The Lower City. Metal finds, which is the matter of this proceeding, were uncovered in the excavation of "Enclosure" at the Lower City between 1996-2008 years.



First scientific studies in Amorium have begun with a survey by Prof. Dr. R. Martin Harrison in 1987 year. Prof. Harrison has carried out excavations in the city between 1988-1992 years. The studies which were between 1993-2009 years, have sustained by Dr. Chris S. Lightfoot. Excavations are continuing under the presidency of Assoc. Prof. Dr. Zeliha Demirel Gökalg on behalf of Culture and Tourism Ministry and Anadolu University since 2014.

“Enclosure” is located approximately 50-70 m. southwest of the Lower City Church and this place is almost in the middle of the archeological site. In the excavations which took place between 1996-2008 years, was unearthed Byzantine Bath, wine production workplace and unassociated places. Metal “architecture and furniture components” which is the subject of this proceeding and unearthed in the excavations which were at “Enclosure” between 1996-2008 years, they were dated and categorized considering their context and similar samples. Beside, these metal finds have been evaluated with the other finds which were unearthed in the context (glass, ceramic, bone, coin, lead seal etc.).

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The Eleventh Century Innovations in the Byzantine Firing Technology: Evidence from Thessaloniki

In an undisturbed bed of the main commercial road of Byzantine Thessaloniki —dated according to numismatic and ceramic evidence in the late eleventh or early twelfth century— numerous fragments of clay rods with pointed edges were found along with small sigmoid clay objects of circular section, which evidence the operation of a Middle Byzantine kiln with clay rods for glazed pottery production in the vicinity.

The clay rods form a shorter conical nib on the one edge and a longer, gradually thinner and pointed part on the other. The conical edges would be inserted in holes opened in successive rows in the internal walls of the kiln, while the elongated pointed parts of the clay rods were projected from the wall surface and formed series of shelves whereon the glazed wares were placed for firing. The smaller and significantly thinner sigmoid clay devices have been considered as standoffs, used to keep the glazed wares separated on the shelves and prevent their adherence. However, two sigmoid clay devices —adhered during the second firing procedure around the body of one clay rod— showcase their use also as hangers for the suspension of small-scaled glazed wares from the firing rods.

The recent findings from Thessaloniki — along with the firing rods that have been discovered in eleventh century layers in Ierissos, near the entrance to mount Athos provide evidence for the use of Byzantine kilns with rods as early as the eleventh century and clarify the purpose of the few sigmoid clay yokes found in the Middle Byzantine ceramic workshops of Corinth, where a fragment



of a similar firing device was found adhered around the stem of a glazed goblet. The findings from Thessaloniki, Ierissos and Corinth comprise the earliest evidence of kilns with rods in Middle Byzantine potteries in Greece and the Balkans. So far in this geographical area this —common in the Islamic world and the western Mediterranean— kiln type had been securely documented only in two thirteenth-century glazed pottery workshops in Northern Greece (Serres and Mosynopolis). Similar recent findings from the Studenica Monastery showcase the operation of a glazed-pottery kiln with rods also in late thirteenth Serbia.

It seems that the type with rods was probably introduced in the Byzantine pottery workshops from the workshops of the Islamic world, where it was in common use from the tenth century. Furthermore, based on the suggestion that the use of tripod stilts for the prevention of the glazed wares adhesion was not invented in Byzantium before the thirteenth century, it seems that this —little documented so far— kiln type was probably the main one for the second firing of the Middle Byzantine glazed wares.

Architectural remains of kilns with rods have never been traced —or at least identified— in Greece. Based on the morphological and structural characteristics of similar kilns found in the Hispan-gaulish, the Levantine and the African shores of the Mediterranean basin, the Byzantine kilns with rods might be hypothetically reconstructed as one-storey furnaces with unified combustion and firing chamber. The lower part of the kilns would be defined by a perimetric, either rock-cut or built bench, designed to confine the hearth; over that, the clay rod shelves would be arranged in series, projected in the interior of the cylindrical or latency conical upper-structure of the kilns.



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ART OF MEDIEVAL ARMENIA

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Depictions of Glory Wreaths in the Early Medieval Armenian Sculpture
and Their Parallels in the Art of Byzantium and Sasanian Iran

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Little Known Subjects and Images on Early Christian Stelae of Armenia

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Nazénie Garibian,

Le corpus Dionysien et la typologie de la cathédrale de Zwart'noc' en Arménie (VII^e s.)



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Depictions of Glory Wreaths in the Early Medieval Armenian Sculpture and Their Parallels in the Art of Byzantium and Sasanian Iran

The symbolism of the wreath offered as a sign of victory and glory is well known in the Antique culture from which it was transferred to the Christian art. In Christianity the wreath became the symbol of an award given to righteous men who had reached the Heavenly Kingdom, the symbol of martyrdom and victory on sin. Numerous pictures of wreaths are known on early Christian sarcophaguses, ivory bindings, mosaics, architectural décor and so on.

In the Armenian art of the 5th – 7th centuries they can be seen in the relief sculptures of churches and tetrahedral Stelae, mostly in the scenes of Baptism or Praising of the Holy Virgin and Christ. On Armenian monuments wreaths have several iconographic variants, a part of which goes back to late Antique and early Byzantine samples, representing stylized pictures of laurel wreaths or wreaths-crowns, as attributes of martyrdom and glory. Remaining samples are solved as simple rings, without such details as leaves, flowers, ribbons, pearls, etc. So, the latter show some commonness with the depictions the rings of power in the ancient Eastern and later also in the Sasanian art in which they symbolized the divine power and glory, and were depicted mostly in the scenes of investiture.

In the art of the 4th – 7th centuries of Sasanian Iran the representations of wreaths of glory was largely spread and it was one of the symbols of the particularly worshiped in Iran divinity Khvarno (later Farn) who was the incarnation of being chosen by God, charisma and glory. There are also three main variants in the iconography of Sasanian wreaths of glory: wreaths in the form of rings, wreaths with pearls and wreaths with laurels and flowers. If in the 3rd – 5th centuries they had mostly the form of rings going back to ancient Eastern samples, later, in the 6th – 7th centuries, when Iran underwent noticeable influence of the Byzantine culture, wreaths were pictured like crowns, more resembling Western samples. But, as a rule, either early or late samples were pictured with typical Sasanian wide ribbons which were also insignia of power.

It must be mentioned that some Armenian samples of wreaths are also represented with flying ribbons, undoubtedly tied with the influence of Sasanian art. The iconography of wreaths in form of rings on Armenian monuments has evident commonness with the same forms on Sasanian monuments. So, either in Armenian or in Sasanian art one may observe three iconographic sources in the picturing of glory wreaths:

- I - Ancient Eastern ring as symbol of power in investiture scenes;
- II - Antique laurel wreaths;
- III - Wreaths in the form of crowns as symbols as royal predestination and glory.

The similarity of symbolism in the all three varieties of wreaths led to a certain contamination of their meaning which found its brilliant expression namely in the early medieval cultures of Armenia and Sasanian Iran, based on the equally strong ancient Eastern and late Antique traditions which had also active reciprocal contacts. Adherence to one or another pictorial tradition can indicate in each case a concrete cultural influence in a determinate historical period.



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Little Known Subjects and Images on Early Christian Stelae of Armenia

The free-standing monuments – tetrahedral stelae – dating back to the 7th Century are preserved on the territory of historical Armenia. Stelae were erected in open air, near churches, are covered with reliefs and crowned by stone crosses. There are images of Christ, the Holy Virgin, Apostles, saints, archangels, donators, as well as scenes from the Old and the New Testaments. Nevertheless, some of those sculptures can hardly be identified because of their bad state or uncommon composition. One of those depictions is the personification of the Holy Church (St. Zion), presented in the person of a woman having a church model in her hands (stele of Agarak). Another one is a figure with dog head; it is the image of St. Christopher Cynocephalus, the only Christian saint with bestial appearance. Nowadays, nine such images are known on Armenian stelae (stelae from Talin, Ujan and Odzun). The next image that requires an explanation is a tower like building with a ladder put against it on the stele of Odzun. According to the Eastern Christian iconography it is the symbolic image of St. Zion.

The composition of an orant between two lions, which can often be seen on tetrahedral stelae of Armenia, has two different interpretations. This composition, well known in the Eastern Christian art, is usually interpreted as the Biblical scene of ‘Daniel into the den of lions’. Nevertheless, in a series of scene we observe the orant with a female aspect, which allows seeing in such compositions ‘Saint Thecla between two lions’ (stelae from Kechror, Erzyinka). It corresponds to one of the iconographic versions of the image of saint Thecla and is known on some early Byzantine monuments.

The composition depicting winged horses and a pair of wheels, known on two stelae, represents the Old Testament scene of Prophet Elias’ Ascension (stelae from Talin and Agarak) which is a rare example of that composition in the art of Transcaucasus. Even if the sculptures are partly damaged, their composition is easy to understand as it matches the canonic scheme of this composition and has its early Byzantine parallels.

The abovementioned subjects and images on tetrahedral stelae of Armenia considerably enlarge our notions about the early iconographic tradition in the Armenian medieval art and, more widely, in the art of Transcaucasus. Besides, iconographic compositions and images based on early Christian and early Byzantine prototypes partly complete early iconographic versions not preserved until our days, which makes tetrahedral stelae of Armenia important monuments in the context of Eastern Christian studies.



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Tatev Monastery Frescoes. Armenia, 930

The Tatev monastery was one of the spiritual and cultural centres of medieval Armenia. Evidences about it are found in History of Syunik Province by the prominent historian, theologian, archbishop and Syunik Metropolitan Stepanos Orbelian (1250s–1305). The monastery's cathedral was built as Syunik bishop church by Bishop Hovhannes in 895–906 at the order of Bagratuni dynasty king Smbat I. It is dedicated to Ss. Peter & Paul whose relics are buried at the base of two pillars symbolising them and supporting the dome. On commission of next Syunik Bishop Hakob the entire cathedral was decorated with frescoes solemnly sanctified in 930. To execute paintings Bishop “Hakob ordered to invite artists ... from the distant country of the Frank people”.

The 1968 article by N. & J.-M. Thierry specified Orbelian's record about inviting “Franks”. Researchers linked the Tatev paintings to post-Carolingian art close to Ottonian period Reichenau school. The Thierries acclaimed classicism-inspired style of Tatev paintings' creators presuming they underwent training in Rome or some other centre keeping ancient traditions. They also showed that foreign masters worked in cooperation with Armenian assistants.

The artistic language and to some extent the classical spirit of Tatev images are akin to monumental Italian paintings of IX–X centuries created in Northern Italy and Rome that were part of the Carolingian and later Ottonian empire. We believe that the “Frank” masters, who painted Tatev cathedral together with Armenian artists, came from Italy where they'd had an opportunity to familiarise themselves both with the “Classical” art of VI–VII centuries and with Carolingian art. All those iconographic and stylistic features typical of Carolingian and post-Carolingian schools including Reichenau and the Tatev frescoes are also found in works by Italian artists. The ties between Armenia and Italy historically were more ancient and stable than with any other West-European country or nation. As early as at the end of the IX century, Syunik established contacts with Italy from where relics of Ss. Peter & Paul were brought to bury them in the Tatev cathedral, so it is most probable that Bishop Hakob invited artists from no other place but Italy.

Considering their antiquity, particular artistic language and unique origin, the Tatev frescoes are of exceptional interest to the art history. However their fate was tragic. Despite the fact that in 1974 they were cleaned, fixed and partially restored, in the course of monastery restoration carried out at intervals since the end of the 1980s to this day, the paintings (already damaged in 1138 and 1931 earthquakes) were actually lost.

The paintings research that has been conducted since the end of the 1960s, the massive amount of archival and factual material (soil samples with remains of paintings etc.) that we've gathered, as well as depictions and schematic reconstructions from the 1950s created under the guidance of L. A. Durnovo help us to restore some parts of their appearance. At that time there were intact



fragments of the paintings on three walls: part of the apse decoration (tiers with the figures of Prophets, Apostles and Church Fathers with the image of Christ on the semi-dome); Washing of the Infant and Annunciation to the Shepherds from the Nativity scene on the north wall; and the scene of the Second Advent and the Final Judgement on the west wall. We suggest a virtual reconstruction project to the Tatev Revival Foundation.

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The Theme of the Second Coming of Christ in the Repertory of Architectural Plastic Art of Armenian Churches of the 13th – the First Half of the 14th Century

The appearance of the large relief compositions with images of Christ, the Mother of God and the saints in the western portal of the churches or the gavits was the exceptional phenomenon in the Armenian art of the 13th – 14th centuries. The reliefs depicting the Savior give an example of complex compositions, the majority semantics of which relate to the theme of the Second Coming. Confrontation and construction of these complex compositions reveal a wide variety of interpretations of the theme of the Second Coming of Christ in the Armenian architectural plastic art.

The iconographic compositions different from the classical Byzantine existed in the few images of relief scenes of the Second Coming of Christ in the Armenian churches of early period. For example, thanks to the inclusion of additional characters (in the dome of the gavit of Horomos monastery). However, until the 13th century the relief composition of the Second Coming of Christ is not located above the major entrance of the church or in the western part of the church, as was traditional for Byzantine art and Romanesque art.

We can define several directions of the Second Coming compositions developing at the same time in the relief decoration of the Armenian churches of the 13th – 14th centuries. The first direction is reflected in compositions based on the representation of the Second Coming as set out in the well-known passages of Sacred Scripture (Ezekiel 1,4-13; Revelation 4,2-6). According to the text of Scripture, in such compositions Christ seated on a throne surrounded by four animals (in the tympanum of the “White” church of the Virgin Mary of Hovannes Karapet monastery, 1301) and also by twenty-four apocalyptic elders (in the church of St. Stephen of the Ahchots monastery, 1217).

The simplicity of design, limited by text of the allegorical and eschatological parable of the Ten Virgins (Matthew 25, 1-13), finds expression in the tympanum of the Cathedral of Hovannavank monastery (1221). The preference of the one idea, expressed in simple form, and the character of the selected parable which subject is rare for the Eastern Christian culture of this period, refer to the archaic artistic thinking of Early Christian monuments. These ancient ideas saved in rare examples of Armenian art of later times.



Of special note is a complex relief composition in the tympanum of the gavit of Noravank monastery (1261- 1321). This composition includes the image of the Second Person of the Holy Trinity in the figure of the Ancient of days during the act of creation of the first man and the renewal of humanity by means of the suffering on the Cross and thanks to the Second Coming.

It is not impossible to note the link between the relief images of the Second Coming of Christ and the image of the Virgin Mary and Child. Both of this composition are placed on the front of each other in the façade of the several Armenian churches of this period (Hovannes Karapet monastery, Noravank monastery). This combination not only summarizes the main Christian tenets from the Incarnations to the Last Judgment, but also points to the special intercession of the Mother of God at the Last Judgment.

It's interesting, that in the churches with the single relief composition of the Virgin with Child placed over the main entrance, the relief image of Christ surrounded by the four animals moved inside the church, in the dome and sails.

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Le corpus Dionysien et la typologie de la cathédrale de Zwart'noc' en Arménie (VII^e s.)

Les écrits de Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite, connus dans les milieux théologiques byzantins à partir de la seconde moitié du VI^e siècle et devenus très en vogue surtout vers le milieu du VII^e, circulaient également en Arménie dès le début du VII^e s., et ceci un siècle plus tôt de la traduction officielle de ces oeuvres en arménien. Tandis que les auteurs byzantins, après avoir condamné la théologie dionysienne, l'interprétaient par la suite dans le sens christologique pour appuyer la formule de Chalcédoine, les Arméniens semblent s'étant servis de l'autorité de ces textes pour justifier l'autocéphalie de leur Église et ses origines apostoliques. De ce fait, ils essayèrent d'établir une liaison directe entre les puissances de la Hiérarchie céleste et la «multitude des puissances célestes» – les zwart'unk' – apparues à saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans sa vision théophanique.

C'est précisément cette vision que commémore la splendide église ronde, construite, entre 642-652, par les soins du catholicos Nersès III de Tayk' (641-661) surnommé Le Constructeur, et avec l'aide financière de l'empereur Constant II (641-668), pour abriter également les reliques de saint Grégoire.

Située non loin de la sainte ville et ancien siège de Vałaršapat lié à la tradition historique de la conversion du pays et à l'activité de saint Grégoire, l'église de Nersès avait la vocation de devenir le centre spirituel de toute l'Arménie et le nouveau siège du catholicos. La cathédrale de Zwart'noc', connue aussi sous le nom de Saint-Grégoire, est considérée comme une oeuvre unique dans l'histoire de l'architecture arménienne. Par la toute nouvelle typologie, les dimensions inhabituellement



imposantes, les solutions constructives osées et le riche décor sans précédent, son image a non seulement laissé des empreintes constantes sur le développement ultérieur de l'architecture arménienne, mais elle a été dûment copiée en plusieurs exemplaires durant des siècles. D'ailleurs, elle occupe la première place par la quantité et éloquence des renseignements conservés dans les sources historiques arméniennes à propos de quelconque monument.

L'intention de Nersès III de bâtir son siège sur un nouveau site, en dehors des villes métropoles, peut avoir comme raison sa position dogmatique hellénisante, mal perçue par le clergé arménien anti-chalcédonien. Par ailleurs, la liturgie byzantine fut célébrée lors de la dédicace de la cathédrale en présence de Constant II qui communia à cette occasion avec Nersès de 'Tayk' et qui voulut emmener avec lui les maîtres-bâisseurs pour ériger une église semblable dans son palais.

Or, plusieurs arguments basés sur les recherches historiques, qu'appuie l'analyse architecturale du monument, permettent de supposer que Nersès III a conçu et réalisé un nouveau type du «Temple de Dieu», s'égalant, en qualité de «constructeur de la maisons du Seigneur», aux personnages bibliques ou historiques, dont chacun a essayé de la bâtir selon l'interprétation des instructions données dans les Livres sacrés. Dans le cas de Zwart'noc', il semblerait que Nersès eut recours à la théologie dionysienne et au «modèle sacré» de la rotonde de l'Anastasis à Jérusalem.



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THE EARLY BYZANTINE EMPIRE – PART 2

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The Barbarians in Service of the Late Roman Empire in the East

During the V century, which began in historiography in 395 A.D. when Theodosius the Great, the last ruler of undivided empire, died, a lot of irreversible changes took place. However, the consequences of those in the Eastern Roman Empire were not so critical as in the Western section, but still even there the transformation of the state was deep. One of the most influential factors for the Roman policy in Late Antiquity was the process of so called “barbarization” in the army and in government. One can assume that differences in this process in both parts of the Roman Empire had determined the collapse of the Western part whereas the Eastern survived. Although, the position of barbarians in court of Constantinople was never as dominant as in Ravenna, nevertheless one can point out some periods, when their influences were strong. Quite often one can find barbarians in the highest positions of the Roman government. The careers of Bauto, Plintha, Ardaburios or Aspar can be excellent examples. Using prosopographical method one can build a model of ordinary career of a barbarian in service of the Eastern Roman Empire in Vth century and formulate a couple of interesting conclusions to the point of ethnical interaction in the higher echelons of the Eastern Roman Empire society in Late Antiquity.

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Fortresses of Gothia in the Crimea in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries

The earliest references to Crimean Gothia occur in written sources from the second half of the eighth and ninth centuries. Protocols of the Ecumenical Council VII (Nicaea II) of 787 AD are signed by Monk Cyril, on behalf of the Bishop of Gothia. Created between 815 and 842, the Vita of St. John of Gothia states that an anonymous Bishop of Gothia participated in the iconoclastic council of 754. The same Vita, discussing an anti-Khazar rebellion that happened between 785 and 787, mentions Gothia's main fortress of Doros and mountain passes (kleisourai), the Master of Gothia, and the archontes of its fortresses. In a Theodore of Stoudios' letter written in 808, the author, resenting the oikonomos who married Constantine VI to his second wife reversion to clergy, writes about Gothia and its klimata. A description of the same event in the Vita of Patriarch Nikephoros mentions the klimata of Taurica. The Vita of Theodore of Stoudios, written down after 868 by Monk Michael, mentions a ruler of Gothia. Fourteenth-century Miracles of St. Eugenios of Trebizond knows Cherson and local klimata of Gothia. Notitia 3, which was compiled between 803 and 805, contains a list of bishoprics in the Patriarchate of Constantinople, where, under no. 37, is the province of Gothia governed by a metropolitan, having his see in Doros.



One may see that the sources apply the name of “Gothia” to a mountainous region in vicinity of Cherson called Dory, which was occupied by the Khazars in the early eighth century and was governed from Doros, located in the plateau of Mangup, and nameless fortresses. Most likely, the latter were the “forts of the tribes residing near” Cherson (“in castris gentium ibidem adjacentium”), as mentioned by a scholia to the Vita of Euprepios (died in 655) and Theodore (died in 667), which was a part of Anastasios the Librarian’s Collectanea from the ninth century. Perhaps these “forts of the tribes” are identifiable with fortresses atop the plateaus of Eski-Kermen, Bakla, and possibly Chufut-Kale, which were constructed by Byzantine engineers in the late sixth century.

In the words of the author of the Vita of Saint John of Gothia, a Khazar khagan installed a Khazar troop in Doros. Bishop John of Gothia and the Master of the Gothia, his archontes and the population rebelled, expelled Khazars from Doros, and occupied the mountain passes. Obviously, the rulers of Gothia rebelled against the Khazars after 784 and prior to the Ecumenical Council VII (Nicaea II) convoked in 787. The Khazars suppressed the uprising and forgave the Master of Gothia and the archontes of fortresses. However, the Khazars ordered fortification walls of the fortress atop Eski-Kermen plateau to be covered with soil.

It was spring 841 when Byzantium, taking advantage of the establishment an alliance with the Khazars, decided to return the klimata of Gothia under its power. Emperor Theophilos ordered a new theme to be established in the South-West Crimea with its centre in Cherson, which was called the “theme of the Klimata” by the Taktikon of Uspenskij. Other regions of the Crimea remained under the Khazars’ control. Perhaps the creation of the theme was related with a reconstruction of the citadel of Bakla and defences of Mangup, and the building of a new fortress in the Bel’bek river valley, at the high plateau of Siuren’ at Maloe Sadovoe village.

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Popular Resistance to Authority: From the Circus Factions to the Citizens

Byzantine imperial ideology was dominated by stereotypes which stressed its Christian elements. Divine providence helps the chosen one ascend the throne; the ruler serves as the temporary representative of God on earth, his place is between God and men, so that he may act as an intermediary between Him and his subjects. In actual fact, the emperor ought to comply with the fundamental principles of Christian teaching and exercise power in a spirit of justice and



philanthropy. At the same time, emperor and state were checked and balanced by the three main pillars of Byzantine polity: the senate, the army, and the circus factions, whose power and ability to intervene varied from time to time. Apart from being God's chosen, the Byzantine emperor was also the people's choice and his authority was propped by the social contract between him and the three fundamental state institutions, because the head of state had to be legitimized in the collective consciousness of his subjects as a unifying authority.

Throughout the ages there were Byzantine monarchs who did not always conform to the ideal of a good ruler, to natural law, to moral and Christian teaching; when that happened, the ruler in question found himself at odds with either the Senate, the army, or the circus factions – whichever body held political sway at the time – that would then step in and restore τάξις (order). As long as the circus factions were a state institution with an influence on public affairs, the citizens found expression through these organized groups. It is not self-evident that these groups followed a specific political line. They did, however, from time to time or on occasion, have specific positions and goals. But ever since the circus factions were weakened politically and their participation in public life was limited mainly to ritualistic ceremonies (since around the middle of the seventh century), the people intervened in public affairs in a spontaneous and unorganized fashion. Since then, its role varied, either being ancillary to the organized bodies – the senate and, most importantly, the army – that served as checks to imperial power, or taking center stage whenever it was formed as a result of maneuvers that directly impinged on the interests of the lower classes and galvanized resistance, without necessarily enjoying the support of the other state agents.

The middle of the seventh century, when the institution of co-emperor reinforced the practice of dynastic succession and the position of the army was strengthened by the creation of the thematic organization, also marked the beginning of a decrease in the level of political influence the circus factions could exert. The participation of the people in current events was not carried out through the actions of the organized circus factions; instead, it was unorganized and spontaneous. Thus, the circus factions of Constantinople no longer represented politically the citizens of the imperial capital, who will henceforth be defined by Byzantine authors in terms of “people”, “crowd” or “mob” whenever they took a leading role in, or caused, riots and mass popular reactions.

The paper will chart, using specific instances as examples, the course of transition from organized collectives to unorganized (at least not officially sanctioned by authorities or in an open manner) spontaneous popular reactions as a means of setting limits to political authority and restoring order.



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Angel Cult and the Transformation of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias

This communication sets out a new interpretation of the transformation of the Temple of Aphrodite at Aphrodisias into a Christian basilica, generally considered the defining moment in a conflict between the city's pagan and Christian communities. It is argued that the conversion aimed to bring under the control of the Church a vernacular angel cult focused on a sacred well. The significance of this well has not yet been recognised in scholarship on the site. It was popular belief in potentially heterodox, Judaising or Hellenising ἄγγελοι that provoked the construction of the cathedral, not the extinct public cult of Aphrodite.

The city of Aphrodisias is located on the plain of the river Morsynus to the west of Mt. Kadmos in southwest Asia Minor. The temple of the city's eponymous goddess, completed in the first half of the first century AD, was transformed and enlarged into a cavernous Christian basilica around the final quarter of the fifth century. The conversion from temple into cathedral has previously been viewed within a narrative of contest between pagans and Christians for civic space and for legitimacy amongst the urban population.

Pagan religious practice in the form of Neoplatonist philosophy is attested at Aphrodisias well into the fifth century. However, the latest secure evidence for the public cult of Aphrodite dates from late third century. A philosophical school and private sacrifices in domestic settings do not necessarily imply an interest in maintaining public ritual amongst the non-Christian population. Moreover, the boundaries between Christian and pagan groups and practices were probably less obvious and more fluid than such a paradigm would imply, especially at a vernacular level.

An examination of the mechanisms of the transformation reveals that the principal objective of the Christian architects was to incorporate a small well to the east of the temple into their basilica. The structure was extended to the east so that the well would emerge in the centre of the cathedral apse. Archaeological and literary evidence suggests it had been the site of ritual activity since the Hellenistic period, and continued to be the focus of the cathedral until its final destruction in 1184.

The new cathedral was dedicated to the Archangel Michael, or possibly Michael and Gabriel. The veneration of ἄγγελοι often manifested as healing cults around springs, wells and other sources of flowing water, as was the case at Colossae, Germia, Corinth and Mamre. Late antique ἄγγελοι were far from an exclusively Christian phenomenon, and were common in Jewish and pagan traditions. They were moreover an assumption of popular religious thought and not the preserve of educated philosophers. Sites believed to be frequented by these beings attracted both explicitly non-Christian worship and forms of Christian vernacular ritual practice condemned by Church authorities. Efforts were therefore made to bring these local ἄγγελοι cults under ecclesiastical control, frequently involving the erection of Christian structures in order to control ritual access. It is suggested that this was also the case in fifth century Aphrodisias.



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The Constantinopolitan Authors, the Constantinopolitan Point of View? – Groups and Individuals as Seen by the Authors Active in the Early Byzantine Capital

Research on the intellectual elite of the early Byzantine Constantinople and its attitude to the populace of the capital as a whole and to its different social strata opens the way to a better, more precise and unstereotyped understanding of the Byzantine literature, and in spite of the genre determinants and the source limitations it allows to perceive singular Constantinopolitans as well as the city's population in general, and within it, its major or minor groupings and social categories.

The present research is based exclusively on the texts of the Constantinopolitan authors. I would like to propose a new way of understanding the authors' identification and classing them as Constantinopolitan; their temporary stay in the capital is not assumed as sufficient. Thus, an author may be regarded as Constantinopolitan based on the degree and durability of his (her) links with the city's environment. With such a definition, individual authors may be claimed to have been Constantinopolitan or not throughout their lives depending on the period between their stay in the city and completion of the individual works. The result of the selection is a group of literati big enough to see both individual differences and common specificities within the whole group (i.a. Themistius, Oribasius, Philostorgius, the author of *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, Philip of Side, Socrates Scholasticus, Hermias Sozomen, Proclus, Priscus of Panium, Nicholas of Myra, Zosimus, Priscian, Malchus of Philadelphia, Theodore Lector, count Marcellinus and the anonymous author of the last section of his chronicle, Hesychius of Miletus, deacon Agapetus, Romanus the Melodist, grammarian Eutyches, Aetius of Amida, Leontius the Presbyter, Stephen the Byzantine, John the Lydian, Paul the Silentary, Peter the Patrician, the author of the large part of the eighteenth book of John Malalas' *Chronography* (i.e., in my opinion, Malalas himself), bishop Eutychius, Agathias of Myrina, Menander the Guardsman, Theophanes of Byzantium, John of Ephesus, Eustratius, bishop John IV the Faster, presbyter Photinus).

Discussion on the crowds as a collective historiographical actor and on the individual inhabitants seems particularly interesting with the both elements compared. A quantitative comparison of collective and individual actors of the Constantinopolitan narratives with a sample juxtaposition will be thus presented, based on the works of Socrates, Marcellinus and Malalas. The respective groups and categories within the populace of the city may be analysed next as seen from the point of view of the authors present in the capital, with nearly all genres and intellectual millieux considered.

The overall conclusion, with a repeated stress on individualism of the early Byzantine authors active in Constantinople, should express 1. the limitations of the source material; 2. satisfaction of the relatively extensive data as compared with elsewhere in the region; 3. importance of self-identification of the authors. The latter is not flat or one-dimensional. Besides the most popular - Roman and Christian - there are also links to the patris or the language spoken, to the kin and family, and many other, not easily definable and more metaphorical (as John the Lydian's with magistrature, ritual and tradition).



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Review on the Research about the Age of Justinian in China

The Age of Justinian is the first “Golden Age” in the Byzantine Empire and also the time for the transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages in the Mediterranean world. In this period, the Mediterranean Sea again became “Mare Nostrum”, and the empire arrived at its peak in military, politics, legislation, and literature. Because of the aforesaid causes, it has always been the focus of Byzantine scholars, so does in China. Through more than 30 years’ development, Byzantine studies in China have grown to be a relatively mature discipline, and a number of scholars are working on different aspects of Byzantine history. According to the data until the April, 2016, Chinese Byzantinists have published more than 50 papers (and theses), 3 monographs, and 3 translated works of sources concerning this era, as well as several on-going projects. It shows the high interest of Chinese Byzantinists on the Age of Justinian. In this paper, the author proposes to summarize and analyze the characteristics of these research and figure out the trend of the research on this era in China, so as to introduce the condition and development of the Chinese Byzantine studies to the international circle of Byzantine studies, and hopefully some cooperation between Chinese Byzantinists and international academy will be made for promoting the research on the Age of Justinian.

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On the Modern Research Methods of Early Byzantium: New Prospects for Old Theme (The Imperial Finances from the Late 6th to the Middle of the 7th Centuries)

There is currently amongst Byzantine historians the great interest in the problems of finances. But the study of theme of the Early-Byzantine finances in “transition period” between Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages has been insufficiently explored. Leading specialists on Byzantine finances have heretofore given particular attention only to the “financial sector” of government institutions or to problems of the development of economic departments. Traditionally, much attention was paid to financial administration, i.e. to static institutions of financial system, not dynamic elements of real financial policy.

In modern historiography the study of the finances in the end of Early Byzantium became multi-aspect, but the subject in whole remain insufficiently explored. Detailed picture of imperial finances is lacking in fact.



Subject of the research must be investigated systematically. Such an approach would elucidate the financial ramifications of all known the measures taken by the Byzantine government in various spheres throughout the named epoch: administration, army, building erection, social and religion relations, foreign policy, diplomacy etc.

It will be necessary to enlarge the concept of Byzantine finances, adding new aspects of study, in particular financial policy, to the traditional ones. This enlargement of the subject matter would involve an interdisciplinary approach, whereby other branches of scholarship would be taken into account. For example, the use of economic terminology and methods permits a different structure and can enlarge the historian's sphere of study, even of traditional subject matter.

Besides, the approach taken must respect the division of historical periods. Whilst comparisons may always be drawn, one must avoid indiscriminately mixing data from different periods, even if they pertain to the same phenomenon.

In as much as finances and taxation are complicated systems, such a systematic approach, with the analysis of functional inter-relation is the most fruitful method of examination, and this, in turn, entails structural, functional and typological approaches to the study of financial policy.

The systematic and critical analysis of the various sources is to be supplemented with a methodology of dividing administrative and political microstructures. When studying financial policy, micro structuring allows the classification of data from the various sources.

Use is also to be made of the principles of historical and social psychology, as well as elements of the methods known as "historical anthropology" adopted from the school sometimes called "new historical science".

Moreover, the special terminology of economics, medicine and sociology is to be employed. The application of notions and terms common in contemporary society but unknown in the past allows for the understanding of past events.

Thus, the theme of the Early-Byzantine finances in the late of 6th to the middle of the 7th century necessary to study through systematic analysis of the data from the various historical sources, the critical analysis of the literature and the application of new methods and approaches



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THE HOLY FATHERS OF THE CHURCH – PART 1

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H. E. Bishop Maxim Vasiljević

Στοχαζόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποφαινόμενος:

St Maximus the Confessor as an Interpreter of St Gregory of Nazianzus

Holger Hespén,

Does the Soul Need a Body?

The Late 6th Century Debates about the Interaction between the Living and the Dead

Bogna Kosmulska,

Was There a Place for *Parrhesia* in the 7th Century Byzantium?

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“Blessed Are the Poor in Spirit, for Theirs Is the Kingdom of Heaven”.

Evagrius Ponticus on Mystical Knowledge

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The Term *Perichoresis* from Cappadocian Fathers to Maximus Confessor

Milan Đorđević,

Ideology and Virtue in the Ascetical Ethics of Saint Maximus Confessor

Philippe Vallat,

The Logical and Theological Difficulty with Maximus the Confessor's Doctrine of Gnostic Will



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Στοχαζόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀποφαινόμενος:
St Maximus the Confessor as an Interpreter of St Gregory of Nazianzus

One can ascertain that Sts Gregory of Nazianzus and Maximus the Confessor formulated a complete teaching about communion, beginning with the communion which prevails between Persons of the Triune God and, reaching, by way of the dimensions of creation, the world and the Church, human reality. In a unique way Maximus combines Gregory's theological and ascetical tradition with his monastic experience. He offered his best thoughts by interpreting Gregory of Nazianzus. Our task is to see now much faithfully Maximus expresses the Cappadocian and to indicate if Gregory's theology finds its organic continuity in Maximus, which will help us understand to what extent is Maximus original with regard the theological tradition behind him. From Maximus we learn an important hermeneutic lesson in theology: to be faithful to patristic thought means to make explicit what is implicitly said in the Fathers.

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**Does the Soul Need a Body? The Late 6th Century Debates
about the Interaction between the Living and the Dead**

In the last decade, the idea of a universal acceptance of the cult of saints in late Antiquity has been questioned by scholars. It has been shown that opponents of the cult (or some of its aspects) denied the possibility of an activity of the souls of the saints in the afterlife, let alone an activity that could affect the realm of the living. In his work "De statu animarum post mortem", Eustratius of Constantinople, pupil of the famous patriarch Eutychius, refutes such doubts, referring to the authority of Scripture and the Church Fathers.

Eustratius' work is, however, not just a defense of the established practice of the cult of saints. It also offers an insight into a heated theological debate about the relationship between body and soul and the consequences of its interpretation. Can the soul be active without the body or not, and if so, what kind of body is necessary for this activity? For Eustratius' opponents, it seems to be clear that the death of the body leaves the soul without the vehicle it needs for action, and as a result any appearance of a saint on earth cannot be real. Eustratius, however, as a champion of the cult of saints, has to defend the idea that there is a possibility for the souls to be active in the physical realm even without the earthly body.

In order to convince his opponents, Eustratius provides examples that are supposed to illustrate a possible exchange between the two realms. He offers a theological explanation for this: in his



opinion, the souls of the saints are capable of these actions because they already enter the angelic state right after the departure from the body. As this recalls Origen's teaching about the souls, it is not surprising that Eustratius is eager to emphasize its orthodoxy with frequent references to the fathers, mostly the Cappadocians.

Eustratius' emphasis on the real presence of the disembodied souls and of the angels in visions leads to a problem: how can anything incorporeal be perceived in a vision with our corporeal senses? This question was discussed by other contemporaries as well: John Philoponus for example solves it with the introduction of a pneumatic body, similar to the Platonic *ochema*. Eustratius is of course aware of the consequences of a strict incorporeality for the cult of saints; he tries to solve it by claiming that the saints' souls "create imprints", "not physical, but nevertheless true ones". It remains unclear, however, whether such action requires a certain kind of subtle body in Eustratius' thought as well.

This controversy about the relationship between the body and the soul results from a broader intellectual interest in questions about corporeality and incorporeality in the second half of the 6th century. Famously, such questions are at stake in the debate about apthartodocetism, and in the quarrel between Eutychius of Constantinople and Gregory the Great about the resurrection body. As a close associate of Eutychius, Eustratius spent large parts of his life in these circles. It is clear from his works that he was shaped by the teachings of his admired teacher and that he tried to defend them by all means against fierce criticism. By examining Eustratius' background and setting it into relation with his argumentation in defense of the cult of the saints, this paper intends to clarify his ideas about the relationship between body and soul post mortem and its consequences for the interaction between the living and the dead.

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Was There a Place for *Parrhesia* in the 7th Century Byzantium?

The figure of Saint Maximus the Confessor, who dominates the dogmatic debate of the 7th century Graeco-Roman world, incites a discussion on the persistence of *parrhesia* as a political, moral and theological value. A traditional approach to this kind of discussion tends to consider that Maximus's Christological engagement, especially his resistance to the emperor, is a distinctive example of freedom of speech in its classical political sense. However, recently, some scholars have come to opposite conclusions. According to their views, Maximus was not a *parrhesiast*, but an exponent of institutional ecclesiastic power over the secular one. In my paper, I would like to analyze the roots of the Confessor's thought from the perspective of possible influences on his own Christian notion of freedom of speech. The title question regarding the existence (or non-existence) of *parrhesia* will perhaps transform into a question of the main, and to some extent new, kinds of *parrhesia* in the 7th century Byzantium.



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“Blessed Are the Poor in Spirit, for Theirs Is the Kingdom of Heaven”. Evagrius Ponticus on Mystical Knowledge

At the beginning of his *Praktikos*, the 4th century mystic and thinker Evagrius Ponticus makes a subtle and somehow misleading distinction between “the kingdom of heaven” and “the kingdom of God”, two expressions apparently interchangeable in the Synoptic Gospels. Whereas the former is defined as “impassibility (*apátheia*) of the soul accompanied by true knowledge of beings” (*Praktikos* 2), the latter is identified with the “knowledge of the Holy Trinity co-extensive with the substance of the mind and surpassing its incorruptibility” (*Praktikos* 3). This distinction probably entails different levels of contemplation and enlightenment, as suggested in Evagrius’ *Kephalaia Gnostica*. This paper aims to analyse the meaning, use and philosophical implications of such definitions and their alleged parallels in other contemporary authors. To this end, it will attempt to trace the roots of this gnoseological/mystical interpretation of the concept of kingship of God back to the Gospels (e.g. Luke 17.21: “For indeed, the kingdom of God is within you”) and to Plotinian Neoplatonism, while relating it to the ascetic practice of first Hesychasm, as advocated by Evagrius himself. It will finally reflect on the possible link of this audacious vindication of a non-discursive knowledge of both the material and the spiritual with Gregory of Nyssa’s controversial philosophy of language, which questioned the ability of words and concepts to convey reality.

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The Term *Perichoresis* from Cappadocian Fathers to Maximus Confessor

In this paper we are going to expose the meaning of the word *perichoresis* and the role that it had in trinitarian and christological theology of Cappadocian fathers, pseudo- Cyril of Alexandria, Leontius Byzantius and Maximus the Confessor. *Perichoresis* is a Greek term used to describe the triune relationship between each person of the Godhead. It can be defined as co-indwelling, co-inhering, and mutual interpenetration. The relationship of the Triune God is intensified by the relationship of *perichoresis*. This indwelling expresses and realizes fellowship between the Father and the Son. Lossky asserts that Origen was the first to formulate the doctrine which was later to be called ‘*perichoretic*’, or the doctrine of the ‘communication of idioms’. The first father who used the noun *perichoresis* was Gregory Nazianzus, one of the Cappadocian fathers. He used the term when he was speaking about the relation between the natures of Christ, divine and human. Another Cappadocian father, Gregory of Nyssa does not use the noun but only the verb *perichoreo* in order



to show the Son's eternal existence. Cyril of Alexandria (pseudo- Cyril) applied "περιχώρησις" in a trinitarian sense to the idea of coinherence. He saw two causes of divine unity: the identity of essence and the mutual perichoresis presupposing their threeness. He applied "περιχώρησις" in a trinitarian sense to the idea of coinherence. The special contribution of Leontius Byzantius consisted in the clarification of the concept of enhypostasia, according to which the human nature of Christ is fully personal (enhypostatic) by being manifested within the hypostasis of the incarnated Christ, without this hypostasis being an expression of a single nature. Another father, Maximus used the same word perichoresis maintained that the human nature of Christ reciprocates with the divine nature of Christ. The confessor maintained that the human nature of Christ reciprocates with the divine nature of Christ. So in fathers' teaching had to analyze that the fundamental basis of the Trinitarian perichoresis is the one essence of the three persons in God and on the other had The term is also applied to the close union of the two natures in Christ. Although the power that unites the two natures proceeds exclusively from Christ's divinity, the result is a most intimate coalescence. The Godhead, which itself is impenetrable, penetrates the humanity, which is thereby deified without ceasing to be perfectly human.

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Ideology and Virtue in the Ascetical Ethics of Saint Maximus Confessor

In the background of this paper stays an eternal but actual problem in contemporary Orthodox Christianity about the ascetic maximalism and the moral conformism. It seems that the "supernatural" character of the divine "saving virtue" does not depend on natural moral life. Consequently, what is needed is the openness of the Christian for the grace of God, the acceptance of his "supernatural intervention" – and not the "vain" practicing of natural morality. In this way we can differ between two "ascetic profiles": The hardworking ascetic in the proper sense, and the one who accepts the symbolic order of the community, its rituals and image and waits to be transformed by divine supernatural intervention. The paradigmatic resolution of this issue within the Byzantine philosophic-ethical tradition is to be found at Maximus Confessor in his dialogue "Logos asketikos", where a young brother monk and his elder discuss the possibility and the importance of achieving a perfect virtuous Christian life. The elder categorically asserts the obligatory character of perfection in following Gods commandments and asserts that the logic of the world should be completely subordinated to the logic of divine love. The moral minimalism is incompatible with the ascetic ethics of Maximus Confessor because it does exactly the opposite – it removes the unconditioned love from the top of the ethical hierarchy. In this way the whole system relativizes and begins to function as an ideology.



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The Logical and Theological Difficulty with Maximus the Confessor's Doctrine of Gnostic Will

Over the past years a number of studies have been devoted to the topic of the will in Maximus the Confessor's theology. Some envisage the question for itself, but more often a comparison, whether explicit or implicit, is drawn with Augustine of Hippo's teaching on the same question, particularly in the context of his hamartiology, with which Maximus' present some striking similarities. No study has been devoted yet to the logical dimension of Maximus' contradistinction between Christ's "natural" will, and men's "gnomic" will. This logical dimension, historically related with the increasingly logical bent visible in Neo-Chalcedonian Christology, however is of crucial importance to assess Maximus' intent and consistency on this question. A number of scholars came to think that the distinctions drawn by Maximus to solve the problem of Christ's human will allows one to profess both that sin did not become part of humanity's logos after the Fall and that Christ could save humanity without assuming men's fallen tropos of existence. The problem with this doctrine is the following: on the one hand, Maximus described men's gnomic will as an enhyposiasied will, and, on the other hand, he described the "natural" or prelapsarian character of Christ's will as a will with no human hypostasis. The problem posed by such a contradistinction can be summed up as follows: does the will need to be without a hypostasis in order to be "natural"? If yes, unfallen Adam could not have had such a will. And does the will need to be enhyposiasied in order to be gnomic? If yes, there is no hope of salvation for fallen men. Maximus somewhere committed an all too common confusion between logical and ontological statements. This is the subject I will deal with if, as I hope, my submission does not arrive too late.



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EPIGRAMMATIC POETRY

Chairs: **Kristoffel Demoen, Eugenio Amato**

Delphine Lauritzen,

Echoes of John of Gaza in the Preface of Agathias' Cycle

Julie Boeten – Sien de Groot,

Byzantine Book Epigrams: The Case of *ὡσπερ ξένοι...*

Foteini Spingou,

Cultural Memory, Literary Canon(s) and Poetic Anthologies in Later Byzantium

Maria Tziatzi,

Bemerkungen zu Gedichten des Georgios Pisides

Ilias Taxidis,

“ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φθέγγεται ἢ νεφέων” :

à l'occasion d'un vers de l'épigramme planudéenne “Εἰς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν”

Demetra Samara,

Funerary Epigrams by Manuel Philes for John Cheilas, Metropolitan of Ephesus



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Echoes of John of Gaza in the Preface of Agathias' Cycle

It is possible to detect the influence of John of Gaza's Description of the Cosmic Panel in the preface which Agathias the Scholastic composed for his Cycle (AP IV.3). Most parallels can be seen between John's iambic prologues and Agathias' iambic preface. This proves that Agathias read John's Description and may indicate further reasons why these poems appear together in the Palatine Anthology.

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Byzantine Book Epigrams: The Case of ὡσπερ ξένοι...

Greek manuscripts are generally being studied as witnesses of Ancient, Early Christian or Byzantine texts. By contrast, the (snippets of) texts found in the margins of these manuscripts have received very little scholarly attention. So-called book epigrams are a good example of such little-explored marginalia. Recently, however, a wealth of material has become publicly – and freely – available through the Ghent University *Database of Byzantine Book Epigrams*, which has sparked off further research into this subject.

In this paper we will focus on one particularly popular type of epigram, namely the ὡσπερ ξένοι-case:

Ὡσπερ ξένοι χαίρουσιν ἰδεῖν πατρίδα·
οὕτως καὶ οἱ γράφοντες βιβλίου τέλος.

This text can be considered to be the most standard, and thus most often attested, version of the epigram (<http://www.dbbe.ugent.be/occ/346>). However, due to the numerous occurrences of this formula throughout more than one hundred Byzantine manuscripts, its diversity in length, meter and lexical choice is striking. This presents manifold challenges to the scholar. We will discuss two of these challenges, more specifically the editorial issues and the metrical irregularities.

As with many book epigrams, its edition is highly complicated by the variety in which it has come down to us. This specific epigram, however, challenges the concepts of authorship and originality to such an extent that it complicates the (re)construction of an authoritative text even further. Producers of book epigrams often combined a traditional, formulaic attitude with their own original input, which makes every single occurrence of this type of epigram a more or less original text.



Secondly, our case study exhibits certain metrical deviations, most notably in the last verse of the epigram. The high frequency of metrical irregularities in the ὡσπερ ξένοι-case suggests that it was not felt to be problematic to deviate from the dodecasyllabic pattern. We will argue that this is a consequence of the ‘commatic’ style of Byzantine meter, which is also typical of Byzantine rhetoric.

By addressing these two main issues, we will shed light on the indistinct poetic status of book epigrams in general.

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Cultural Memory, Literary Canon(s) and Poetic Anthologies in Later Byzantium

This paper offers an overview of my current research on poetic anthologies originating from Constantinople and dating from c.1200 to c.1350. It explores the relation between composing occasional poetry, collecting similar poetry from a recent past and remembering a recent past in the Byzantine capital shortly after 1261. It argues that the memory of Byzantium (and its literature) is constructed through a chain of circumstantially and accidentally available material and it opens up the discussion on the implications of this argument for publishing and interpreting Byzantine poetry in the 21st century.

Occasional poetry is a surprising kind of poetry to survive, as it was written to serve a specific occasion as a performance or inscription, and not to become a monument in eternity. Komnenian poetry has survived mainly in anthologies, all of which date from between ca. 1200 to c.1350. These anthologies are divided into two groups: the first group encompasses those with unattributed poetry, and the second group includes anthologies built around the poetic work of an early fourteenth-century poet, Manuel Philes. Finding patterns in the poetry transmitted in manuscripts and the re-use of motifs from the transmitted poems allows me to argue that their compilation mirrors implicit literary canons. I will further suggest that literary canons are built around linguistic and poetic features of such texts, and they are signaled in the manuscripts with the names of the most prominent authors in the Constantinopolitan cultural environment. I will draw on evidence from manuscripts of historiographical and visual culture, in order to argue that the collection of Komnenian poetry in the early Palaeologan Constantinople was a conscious effort on behalf of the *pepaideumenoι* and higher aristocratic echelons to relate with the pre-1204 culture and present themselves as part of an undisturbed tradition. Finally, I will relate the compilation of the anthologies to the concept of cultural memory as pioneered by Jan and Aleida Assmann and I will address questions related to the aims of anthologies, the identity of the compilers and the importance of authorship.

This paper presents innovative research in the compilation of anthologies by analysing and correlating manuscripts’ contents and their codicological features. It further emphasizes cultural developments in Constantinople of the fourteenth century and argues for a cultural change. Sampling results from my research on the relevant manuscripts, I aim to put in discussion my methodological concerns about studying these literary products and their means of survival.



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Bemerkungen zu Gedichten des Georgios Pisides

Georgios Pisides (1. Hälfte des 7. Jh.s) ist einer der bedeutendsten byzantinischen Dichter, den spätere Generationen dem Euripides vorzogen. Er hat sowohl lange Gedichte über historische oder philosophisch-theologische Themen geschrieben als auch zahlreiche Epigramme über geistliche und weltliche Themen. Für die meisten seiner langen Gedichte verfügen wir über moderne kritische Ausgaben, wie z.B. seine panegyrischen Gedichte (ed. A. Pertusi, 1959) und das umfangreichste, aus 1910 Zwölfsilbern bestehende „Hexaemeron“ (ed. F. Gonnelli, 1998). Einige jedoch liegen immer noch in der alten Ausgabe von L. Sternbach (1891/1892) vor, wie das Gedicht Auf Alympios oder die Epigramme, sowie in der noch älteren Ausgabe von J. Querci (1777, nachgedruckt in PG 92), wie der Hymnus auf Christi Auferstehung, das dogmatische Lehrgedicht gegen den Häretiker Severus und das Gedicht Auf die Eitelkeit des Lebens.

Alle Gedichte des Georgios Pisides wurden von L. Tartaglia (Carmi di Giorgio di Pisidia, Turin 1998) in einem Band zusammengestellt. Es handelt sich dabei nur um Nachdrucke ohne kritischen Apparat, die von einer Einleitung, ausführlicher Bibliographie, italienischer Übersetzung und Kommentar (hauptsächlich Identifizierung von Zitaten und Quellen, sowie sporadische kritische Bemerkungen) begleitet werden.

Mit den Epigrammen hat sich auch G. Papagiannis befasst, zunächst in einem Vortrag gehalten in Paris im Rahmen des 20. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses im Jahr 2001 (table ronde „L'épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique“, in: *Dossiers Byzantins* – 3, Paris 2003, 215-228) und danach in einem ausführlichen Artikel mit textkritischen und die Quellenforschung betreffenden Bemerkungen (*EEBS* 51, 2003, 5-49).

In meinem Vortrag werde ich mich schwerpunktmäßig mit Gedichten und Epigrammen des Georgios Pisides beschäftigen, die uns ausschließlich in den o.g. alten Ausgaben vorliegen, mit dem Ziel, den Text zu restituieren bzw. zu verbessern sowie die bis jetzt noch nicht ermittelten Quellen des Dichters zu identifizieren. Dabei werde ich jeweils die entsprechenden Verse kommentieren, so dass ihr Sinn erhellt und verständlich wird. Besprochen werden darüber hinaus auch die Metrik und die sehr interessante Sprache des Georgios Pisides. Mit meinem Beitrag möchte ich die langjährige und reiche Forschung zur Dichtung des Pisides anregen und weiter fördern.



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“ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φθέγγεται ἢ νεφέων” :
à l’occasion d’un vers de l’épigramme planudéenne “Εἰς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν”

Avec son épigramme “Εἰς τὴν ὑπόκρισιν”, Planude rend hommage à l’hypocrisie, au sens de maîtrise de soi, pour faire face à la douleur morale et incite tous ceux qui sont confrontés à la peine à rester indifférents et maîtres d’eux-mêmes et à ne pas céder aux passions et impulsions du moment. Toutefois, le sens exact du 6ème vers de l’épigramme (ὡς ἀπὸ Πυθαγόρου φθέγγεται ἢ νεφέων) reste vague. Selon toute vraisemblance, il entend souligner que la consolation n’a aucun effet sur quelqu’un de très affligé et que les enseignements de Pythagore sur la réincarnation, susceptibles par excellence d’offrir un certain réconfort face à la mort, sont tout aussi inefficaces. D’autre part, le mot νεφέων pourrait être lié à la présence divine, telle qu’elle est si souvent dépeinte dans l’Ancien Testament, quand par ex. Dieu communique διὰ νεφέλης avec Moïse, Aaron ou Job et généralement avec les fidèles, si bien qu’il est associé à l’enseignement chrétien consolateur concernant la continuation de la vie après la mort.

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Funerary Epigrams by Manuel Philes for John Cheilas, Metropolitan of Ephesus

Manuel Philes, one of the most prolific Byzantine poets of the 14th century, composed twelve funerary epigrams (epitaphioi) dedicated to the metropolitan of Ephesus, John Cheilas. These four-verse epigrams, published by E. Miller (Manuelis Philae Carmina II, Paris 1857, 188-191), reveal a particular interest, or even admiration, for the anti-unionist and anti-arsenite John Cheilas. The aim of this paper is to present the epigrams in memory of the metropolitan of Ephesus, outline his personality and his influence in the borderline of the 13th and 14th centuries and finally examine a probable relationship between the two men, trying to bring to light the underlying reason for the existence of this number of epitaphioi.



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HISTORIOGRAPHY 11TH – 14TH CENTURIES

Chairs: Albrecht Berger, Vratislav Zervan

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The Reception of John Zonaras' *Epitome of Histories*:
The Evidence of the Manuscript Transmission

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Alexiade, source de la géopolitique de l'émotion

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Εφαρμοσμένη «μικροχειρουργική» κειμένων και ένας νέος τρόπος
έκδοσης-παρουσίασης του κειμένου: το παράδειγμα της *Αλεξιάδας*

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Solar Eclipses as Indicator in Nicetas Choniates' *Historia*

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Namen und lateinischen Lehnwörtern im Griechischen

Albrecht Berger,

The New Edition of Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos' *Church History*



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The Reception of John Zonaras' *Epitome of Histories*: The Evidence of the Manuscript Transmission

The present paper aims to shed light on the reception of John Zonaras' chronicle (12th cent.) by later Byzantine readers. One of the main reasons why the chronicle, known as the *Epitome of Histories*, is of great interest to modern scholars is because it preserves classical and late antique sources no longer extant, with Cassius Dio's *Roman History* being the most prominent example. But why was the *Epitome* read in Byzantium? What were the elements of the text that mostly attracted the attention of Byzantine audiences? To answer these questions, I will take into consideration the evidence of the manuscript tradition of the work.

The *Epitome* was certainly one of the best-sellers of the Middle Ages; about fifty codices dated from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries transmit the entire text or shorter parts of it. In this paper, I am going to look into the manuscripts of this period in terms of two different aspects; one is concerned with the number of manuscripts that contain the entire chronicle or only a certain section of it, and the other with the number of manuscripts that transmit the *Epitome* alone or along with other texts. Examining the first issue, one can gain a clear sense of what parts of the chronicle readers were mostly fascinated with. As to the second one, it is crucial to consider not so much the manuscripts that preserve exclusively the *Epitome* as those that contain other works too. The textual context of these codices offers significant indications concerning the way in which later audiences would view the chronicle. Special mention will be made of a small group of manuscripts that are anthologies, namely collections of excerpts of a great number of works, the *Epitome* included.

Among other things, I would like to show that Byzantine readers were much more interested in the chronicle as a source of Roman/Byzantine imperial history rather than a source of information about Jewish antiquities and the Roman Republic. I will further try to account for the presence of Zonaras' work in codices which are exclusively secular in character, and also in manuscripts whose commissioners had very specific reading tastes. Exploring the implications of these issues, this paper will finally try to demonstrate that the *Epitome* became enormously popular because it was able to accommodate the needs and aims of a wide range of different readers.



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Alexiade, source de la géopolitique de l'émotion

Le terme « géopolitique » fait aujourd'hui partie des mots qui s'interrogent sur les rapports entre l'espace et la politique. Entre l'homme et l'espace existent des dialectiques toujours en mouvement: si l'espace contribue à façonner l'homme, ce dernier par son regard, ses gestes, son travail, ne cesse de transformer l'espace. Comment la conscience de l'espace, la conscience géohistorique, se forge-t-elle se métamorphose-t-elle? Trois facteurs apparaissent essentiels: les modes de vie, les connaissances, les structures sociopolitiques. Dans son parcours personnel, dans la préparation à l'action l'homme est au cœur de l'émotion. Les émotions servent à nous situer vis-à-vis de notre environnement nous attirant vers certaines personnes, certains objets, actions et idées. *Alexiade*, le livre d'Anne Comnène pourrait être pour nous une source des émotions, une analyse qui nous aide à une compréhension historique plus profonde. Sur le rôle des émotions dans l'histoire vécue ou sur la place qu'elles occupent dans l'historiographie, il y a quelques historiens qui se sont occupés: Ramsay MacMullen ou Dominique Moïsi. Je veux montrer, à travers quelques exemples d'*Alexiade*, que les émotions sont des motivations profondes, des actions humaines de la période d'Alexis I Comnène et que l'historiographie moderne a sous-estimé parfois le rôle de l'affectivité dans la causalité historique. Alexis I Comnène (1081-1118) connaît l'un des plus longs règnes de l'histoire byzantine: il réussit à écarter le danger extérieur, réorganise les finances et l'administration, il est le protecteur de l'orthodoxie religieuse et ouvre l'Empire byzantin aux relations avec l'Occident. Sa fille nous découvre cette riche époque; une civilisation de faste, de spiritualité et de violence, où l'empereur déploie les merveilles de Byzance devant les étrangers. A cette Byzance éternelle le règne d'Alexis I donne un nouveau visage, dont les émotions ont bien entendu, toujours compté.

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Εφαρμοσμένη «μικροχειρουργική» κειμένων και ένας νέος τρόπος έκδοσης-παρουσίασης του κειμένου: το παράδειγμα της *Αλεξιάδας*

Για το πλήρες κείμενο της *Αλεξιάδας* της Άννας Κομνηνής διαθέτουμε, εκτός από την νεώτερη κριτική έκδοση των Reinsch-Kambylis (2001), τις παλαιότερες των Leib (τ. 1: 1937, τ. 2: 1943, τ. 3: 1945), Reifferscheid (1884) και Schopen-Reifferscheid (τ. 1: 1839, τ. 2: 1878). Γενικά βασιζόμαστε, βέβαια, στην πιο πρόσφατη έκδοση. Αυτό δεν σημαίνει ότι έχουν οριστικά λυθεί όλα τα ζητήματα του καταρτισμού του κειμένου.



Στο πρώτο μέρος της ανακοίνωσης θα παρουσιάσω δείγματα «χειρουργικών» επεμβάσεων, που –κατά τη γνώμη μου– βελτιώνουν το κείμενο. Κοινό τους χαρακτηριστικό, εκτός από το γεγονός ότι η αλλαγή που προτείνεται κάθε φορά είναι ελάχιστη, είναι ότι βασίζονται σε φιλολογικές εικασίες και όχι στη χειρόγραφη παράδοση. Κάποιες από τις προτάσεις πιστεύω ότι θα πείσουν τους φιλόλογους για την αναγκαιότητά τους, ενώ για κάποιες, ενδεχομένως, θα υπάρχει η ένσταση ότι, αν και δυνητικά «ορθές», δεν (μπορεί να αποδειχθεί ότι) είναι και απαραίτητες.

Στο δεύτερο μέρος θα παρουσιαστεί ένας νέος τρόπος έκδοσης-παρουσίασης του κειμένου, με αυτονόητα πλεονεκτήματα έναντι του παραδοσιακού: Ακριβώς επειδή είναι πιθανό ότι ο φιλόλογος-αναγνώστης ενός βυζαντινού (ή και αρχαίου) κειμένου δεν ενδιαφέρεται αποκλειστικά και μόνο για το κείμενο στην μορφή που παρέχεται στην πιο πρόσφατη έκδοση, αλλά και για παλαιότερα στάδια και, φυσικά, για νεώτερες προσπάθειες αποκατάστασής του, γι' αυτό προτείνεται μια ηλεκτρονική-διαδικτυακή έκδοση, που δίνει την δυνατότητα τόσο της «παράλληλης/συγκριτικής» ανάγνωσης των διαφόρων υπαρχουσών εκδόσεων όσο και της συνεχούς «βελτίωσης» του κειμένου με την δυνητική (προαιρετική) ενσωμάτωση των νεώτερων προτάσεων.

Στο τεχνολογικό τμήμα της ανακοίνωσής μου συνεργάστηκα με τον μεταπτυχιακό φοιτητή μου Νικόλαο Σικλαφίδη, ο οποίος και θα το παρουσιάσει.

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Solar Eclipses as Indicator in Nicetas Choniates' *Historia*

According to all available information about the Byzantines campaigns against Bulgarian uprising in 1185-1186 many authors have worked the moment mentioned by Niketas Choniates about the solar eclipses. In Choniates' "Historia" this astronomical phenomenon is referred to the revolt of the Alexios Branas. The solar eclipse happened during these events, some authors refer as a stylistic technique of Choniates and they suggest this to be moved aside like evidence in dating of revolt, which the Byzantine general Alexios Branas organized in Constantinople. Even if we assume this is not deliberately used techniques, but it was actually happened, we must pay serious attention to some facts. Choniates refers this moment at the time when the Byzantine emperor had lunch with margrave Conrad of Montferrat, who had become earlier son-in-law to the Isaac II Angelos and suppressed the serious threat to Byzantine throne. Investigating the period from spring of 1186 to the autumn of 1187, for which there are many different opinions about the Branas' revolt, we indicate six solar eclipses. From the official data publishes by NASA, four of the solar eclipses can't be seen because their appearance is in the early hours of the night and it is dark. In this case there are two possible dates – 21st April 1186 and 4th September 1187. It is necessary to be compared the specifications of astronomical information and looking for the effect that in the day has fallen darkness and stars have appeared as describes himself Choniates: “Έγένοντο δέ καί διοσημίαι τηνικαυτα• ημέρας γάρ αστέρες έφάνησαν καί ό άήρ ταραχώδης ώφθη και περί τόν ήλιον πάθη τινά συμβεβήκασιν, ά φασιν άλωνα, ώς μηδέ τούτον καθαρόν και άθόλωτον, άλλ’



ώχρότερονάποδισκεύειν τό φως...”. This remains only one possibility: eclipse of September 1187 is what could be seen while of that in the spring of 1186 which is unnoticeable. Comparing the percentage coverage of the moon on the area of the sun which numbers are 97% to 12% in favor of 1187, we can declare what could be the effect of visibility. In addition the solar eclipse from 1186 began at 5:00 o'clock in the morning and its maximum values were at 6:30 in the morning. Sun in April at latitudes of the Byzantine capital rises in the interval 6:45-7:00 in the morning. The solar eclipse of 1187 was at noon when it could be seen from observers and coincides with described events from Byzantine writer who talks about that phenomenon at the time when the Emperor had lunch. Van Diten express for same assertion and declares "...that phenomenon was on 4th September 1187.", at 14:00 o'clock. Before acceptance the opinion that Choniates uses these words only as a stylistic technique, we need to pay attention to the fact about the events in Constantinople completely coincide with that real natural phenomenon. For determining Alexios Branas' revolt all authors are turning their attention to Conrad of Montferrat in Constantinople and when he was in there. There are several main accents related to Conrad of Montferrat – his arriving to Byzantium and his leaving the Empire. Conrad stay in Byzantium is not mentioned as long. In the winter of 1186/1187 he head to Byzantine capital and got married to Isaac Angelos' sister like guarantee for renewing the relations between the Byzantium and western kings. These agreements were renewed in the early of 1187. There are some facts that in march of 1187 Conrad signed documents in the German Emperor's royal court. This had been before his leaving to Constantinople and for sure before his marriage with emperor' sister. According to the facts we must accept Branas' revolt couldn't been earlier than late spring of 1187th. It's hard we claim that Conrad participation in the events in the Byzantine capital was earlier than the spring of 1187th because that would mean he had arrived in Byzantium year before, took a part in the Constantinople events, after he went back to Italy for signing the documents and then again to opposite direction. Probably signing of those documents would not been reason enough one military campaign to be postponed. For that time and conditions military campaigns for western kings were one of main points in "Crusade idea".

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Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos und sein Verhältnis zu den lateinischen Namen und lateinischen Lehnwörtern im Griechischen

Winkelmann und Gentz haben in einer kurzen Anmerkung zu den Quellen der Kirchengeschichte von Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos festgestellt, dass Nikephoros nirgends lateinische Quellen benutzt hat und kein lateinisch verstand. Sie haben so auch die die Alte These von Achelis, in der er das Gegenteil zu beweisen glaubte, widerlegt. Nikephoros Einstellung zu Latein kann man trotzdem in gewisser Weise verfolgen. In seinem umfangreichen Werk musste er sich mit vielen lateinischen Namen und lateinischen Lehnwörtern auseinandersetzen, die er in seinen Quellen fand und die zu seiner Zeit schon in Vergessenheit geraten sind. Der Vortrag widmet sich seinem Umgang mit diesen Latina.



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The New Edition of Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos' *Church History*

The *Church History* of Nikephoros Kallistou Xanthopoulos was composed between ca. 1310 and 1320 and is preserved in only one manuscript, which is now kept in Vienna (Vind. Hist. gr. 8). However, this manuscript is not, as has been assumed, the presentation copy for emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos to whom the work is dedicated, but some decades younger. Since the last available edition in the *Patrologia graeca* is still based on the first which appeared in 1630 in Paris, a new edition of this important text was considered necessary, and is currently being prepared by a group of researchers at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, or cooperating with it. It will appear in the *Series Vindobonensis* of the *CFHB*.

The *Church History* consists of eighteen books which cover the time from Jesus Christ to 610 AD. At least five more books until 912 AD were apparently planned, but never executed. For the existing part, Nikephoros based his work on the *Church Histories* of Eusebios, Sokrates, Sozomenos, Theodoretos and Evagrius, but added a lot of material from other sources whose authors are not mentioned by name. Most of them were identified by the groundbreaking study of Friedhelm Winkelmann and Günter Gentz from 1966, but their results could still be considerably supplemented by the use of modern editions and databases.

Special attention is paid to the system of punctuation in the *codex unicus*, which has been thoroughly analysed and will serve as a basis for a better understanding of the text and an adequate punctuation of the new critical edition.



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BYZANTINE STUDIES
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THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD – PART 1

Chairs: **John F. Haldon, Elisabeth Chatziantoniou**

Kostiantyn Bardola,

Dynastic Marriages as a Failure of the Byzantine Diplomacy

Elie de Rosen,

The Economic Fate of Urban Settlements in Middle Byzantine Greece

Lucile Hermay,

Changer d'état et conserver ses liens :

Les moines et les révoltes dans le monde médiobyzantin (843-1204)

Ivan Marić,

Damning Koproponymos, Damning Iconoclasm:

Politics behind the Disinterment of Emperor Constantine V

Sysse G. Engberg,

Emperor Leo V, His Choir Master, and the Byzantine Old Testament Lectionary

Jacques Beauseroy,

État, Église et monastères au XI^e siècle : l'exemple des Kampsai

Lee Mordechai,

Families, Feuds and Friends:

Imperial Succession in the Eleventh Century Eastern Roman Empire



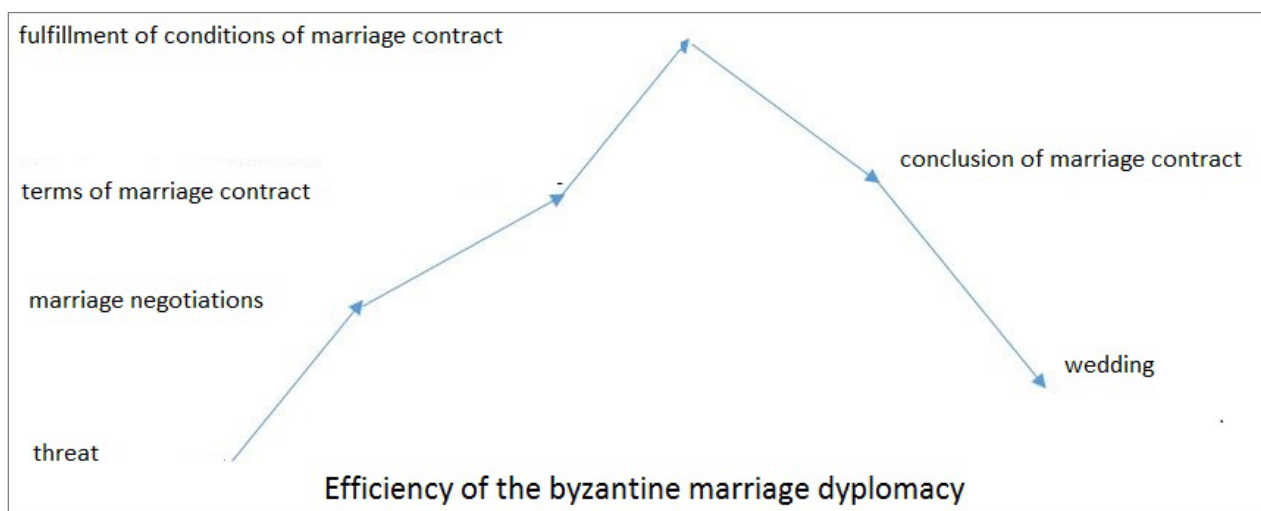
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Dynastic Marriages as a Failure of the Byzantine Diplomacy

The effectiveness of diplomacy should be judged not by words but by the results, and the results are to be correlated with the objectives. The marriage diplomacy is no exception.

Dynastic marriage was an excellent tool for territorial, material and political gains, most often in that order, for a typical medieval lord. In the times of the political system of feudal vassalage, when the conditional land tenure was the basis, as well as considering the hereditary, the dynastic nature of the transfer of power, territorial acquisition, even a peaceful one, was regarded as undoubted success. It was very difficult for the Byzantine emperors to get advantage from the territorial or material acquisitions, which generally led to long dynastic ties. As for the political dividends, the marriage of the emperor or his family member carried a greater risk for the state than prospects. However, despite this, the Byzantine rulers were often negotiating about a diplomatic marriage, actively using interest of the counteragent. As a rule, these negotiations helped the Byzantine government to solve urgent problems in the suspension of foreign aggression or search for allies. Mostly, the negotiations on the conclusion of a dynastic marriage were much more effective than the marriage itself, which could also carry considerable long-term threat to the political stability of the empire. That was probably the reason for such a small number of marriages in the international arena with a rather significant number of matrimonial negotiations on the initiative of the Byzantine side. To intrigue, to set the conditions, to negotiate, to get political dividends, and in the end not to marry - that is the top of the Byzantine marriage diplomacy.



As a result, the marriage was usually held in the case of critical political leverage. There is no doubt that in order to explain this political behavior Byzantine diplomacy used the vast ideological campaign, including “the customs”, “the old laws” and “the religious rules”, which may well have been “forgotten” if necessary.



Most of the marriages of the reigning dynasties were held with the members of the political elite of Byzantine society. Thus, combining with other noble families, the emperors strengthened their position on the throne, and guaranteed further comfortable existence to their offspring. The situation changed dramatically with Komnenos dynasty. Latin foreigners' impact to the imperial power in the XII - early XIII centuries increased dramatically, resulting in a change of Byzantine diplomacy objectives. Dynastic marriages are no longer a rarity; political alliances with foreigners become an active part of the internal struggle for the imperial throne.

Thus, up to the XII century, a dynastic marriage between the ruling family of the Byzantine and foreign rulers or their offspring can be treated as a diplomatic failure, an assignment made under political pressure. In this case, a small number of marriages, against the background of numerous diplomatic talks on the subject may indicate precisely the effectiveness and reasonableness of the Byzantine diplomatic line.

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The Economic Fate of Urban Settlements in Middle Byzantine Greece

Most Byzantine scholars agree that there was upsurge in economic activity throughout 'Romania' during the Middle period- the years roughly between 800 and 1200 AD. However, it far from to what extent this revival impacted Greece. Although archaeologists and historians have produced hundreds of works that analyse the history of the Greek economy, none of them are truly on a multi-regional scale. Several publications come close, including *Byzantine Epirus and Heaven and Earth; Cities and Countryside in Byzantine Greece*. But the former work limits its scope to Aetolia-Akarnania and Southern Epirus, while the latter only offers concise reports on ten Greek towns and cities. In my thesis I am endeavoring to set the record straight by bringing together all the afore-mentioned works, and using them to investigate the development of Greek urban settlements. I am concentrating on four modern-day administrative regions- Phokis, Boeotia, Thessaly, and Western Macedonia. For the Middle Byzantine period, this corresponds approximately to the themes of Hellas and Thessalonica. My main investigative criteria are as follows: the demographic and spatial size of settlements, the size and decoration of buildings, the complexity of building techniques (particularly with regard to the configuration of masonry), the quantity and quality of pottery (one of our main benchmarks for analyzing imports), and the amount of identified copper/bronze coinage. I will not bother looking for gold nomismata and solidi, or silver miliaresia. Because these denominations remained largely outside the sphere of monetary circulation, they constitute a tiny proportion of the Middle Byzantine archaeological record.



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Changer d'état et conserver ses liens : Les moines et les révoltes dans le monde médiobyzantin (843-1204)

Lors de cette communication, il s'agira de reprendre le thème du congrès «Byzance un monde de changements» pour questionner les conséquences sociales induites par les changements d'état et d'identité lors de la prise de l'habit monastique.

Le monachisme fut conçu dès la période protobyzantine comme une pratique et un mode de vie en retrait du monde. Rompre avec la société était ainsi promu en idéal. Toutefois, une analyse prosopographique des moines de l'époque médiobyzantine met en évidence que l'élite de ce groupe conservait des liens avec la haute aristocratie. La reconstitution et l'analyse de réseaux sociaux, où le moine est placé dans la position d'égo, permettent de mettre en exergue les structures et les mécanismes des systèmes de relations dans lesquels il était inséré. Si ces réseaux induisaient de la sociabilité, ils s'articulaient aussi autour de fortes solidarités, souvent propres à l'aristocratie, et conduisaient à des sollicitations mutuelles. Les sources littéraires, notamment les Vies de saints, permettent de souligner le rôle spirituel joué par les moines auprès des laïcs. Toutefois, se retrouvent également dispersées dans d'autres documents byzantins des mentions de moines avec des fonctions ou dépêchés en missions officielles. Les empereurs ainsi que certains aristocrates utilisaient des moines pour des services personnels, confirmant leur importance dans leur entourage direct. Les accointances entre élite sociale et politique de l'Empire et élite monastique impliquaient directement ces derniers dans les mécanismes d'acquisition et de participation au pouvoir, dans la construction du prestige social et les processus de légitimation propres à l'aristocratie byzantine.

Plus précisément ici, j'étudierai le rôle et la participation des moines à des entreprises de contestation du pouvoir impérial de 843 à 1204. En m'appuyant sur une étude prosopographique des moines ayant participé à des révoltes politiques, je mettrai en évidence que certaines solidarités sociales survivaient à la prise de l'habit monastique. Ainsi, ces solidarités attesteraient moins d'un besoin de légitimation du révolté par le recours à un supposé charisme religieux que de la force des liens sociaux et surtout familiaux que ces moines avaient conservés.



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Damning Kopronymos, Damning Iconoclasm: Politics behind the Disinterment of Emperor Constantine V

In the eyes of the icon-worshippers, the iconoclast emperor Constantine V (r. 741-775) was perceived as the Antichrist; the iconophiles famously denigrated him as Kopronymos (dung-named). However, he was also an able ruler, skilled and successful military commander, and, ultimately, as attested even by Theophanes the Confessor (an iconophile), a popular emperor—which may be one of the underlying reasons for such an intense vilification of his image by the winning iconophile party. At an uncertain date after the end of the iconoclast controversy in 843, under orders of the Empress Theodora (regency 842-55) or her son Michael III (r. 842-867, sole ruler 855-867), body of the emperor Constantine V was taken out of his green sarcophagus in the Church of the Holy Apostles, wrapped up in the imperial sakkos, and locked in the Praetorium; on the day of the races, it was displayed at the hippodrome, lashed, paraded down the Mese until the Amastrianon square where the remains were burnt and the ashes thrown into the sea. Finally, his sarcophagus was cut into slabs which were used for the rebuilding of the church of the Virgin of the Pharos.

Social theorists, most notably Foucault, ascertain that the primary aim of a punishment is to marginalize and/or exclude an individual from the society. Punishment of deceased individuals is better known as *damnatio memoriae*, and the history of Byzantium and even more so of its predecessor, the Roman Empire, is fraught with examples. Yet, as far as we can tell, this is the sole case of an emperor being removed from his tomb and publicly condemned many decades after his death. This incident did not receive too much attention from the scholars and the question of dating—which entails different players and set of motivations—remains open. In my paper, I will contextualize this unique incident in the post-iconoclast world of the Byzantine capital and examine its various aspects: I will look into the range of messages transmitted, belonging to the traditions and symbolic universes of both the pagan Roman Empire and Christianity; I will explore the possible political motivations behind this event and attempt a more precise dating.

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Emperor Leo V, His Choir Master, and the Byzantine Old Testament Lectionary

A glimpse into the iconoclast conflict is to be had in an unexpected place, namely the Byzantine Old Testament lectionary called *Prophetologion*, or *Parimejnik*.



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État, Église et monastères au XI^e siècle : l'exemple des Kampsai

Le monastère des Kampsai est un établissement mentionné dans deux sources importantes du XI^e siècle : la Peira et la Vie de Lazare le Galésiotte. Les monastères semblent poursuivre au début de ce siècle le mouvement d'accroissement de leurs biens mais cette tendance générale liée à l'essor économique de cette époque ne doit pas dissimuler la fragilité constante de l'immense majorité des fondations byzantines. Certains établissements suffisamment riches attirent l'appétit de laïcs ou d'institutions ecclésiastiques tandis que d'autres ne survivent pas à leur fondateur ou aux successeurs de celui-ci. L'exemple des Kampsai semble s'inscrire dans cette logique entre un moment de fragilité mentionné dans la Peira et la richesse de la fondation du Galésion à laquelle fut sans doute liée ce monastère.

La Peira, célèbre compilation de jurisprudence, est une source capitale pour la connaissance de la société byzantine du début du XI^e siècle. Elle rend compte des décisions du célèbre juriste Eustathe Rhomaios dont la carrière s'étend du règne de Basile II à celui de Michel IV. La plupart d'entre elles ont été prises au sein du tribunal de l'Hippodrome, la plus haute instance judiciaire de l'époque à laquelle participe parfois l'empereur lui-même. Malgré l'origine laïque de ses décisions, plusieurs affaires font apparaître des institutions ecclésiastiques impliquées dans des conflits de propriété ou en lien avec l'État. La métropole d'Éphèse apparaît à deux reprises (XXXVI, 24 et LVIII, 5) pour un procès à propos de la propriété du monastère des Kampsai (ἡ μονὴ τῶν καμψῶν) et la conséquence naturelle de ce droit de propriété, le paiement de l'impôt foncier. Ce procès, résumé de manière lapidaire dans deux paragraphes de quelques lignes, pose des problèmes d'interprétation mais ajoute un exemple concernant les relations entre un monastère, l'État et le pouvoir épiscopal au début du XI^e siècle.

La réapparition d'un établissement du même nom dans la Vie de Lazare le Galésiotte (ch. 221) dans une région également dépendante de la métropole d'Éphèse nous permet d'avoir un court aperçu sur ce qui est probablement le même établissement. Or, cette Vie nous laisse la trace de rapports complexes mettant en relation des acteurs identiques à ceux des procès de la Peira. Ces deux sources nous permettent d'observer une situation à plus d'une décennie d'intervalle : aucun procès de la Peira n'est postérieur à 1041, avec un très grand nombre jugés sous le règne de Romain III Argyre (1028-1034), et l'événement mentionnant les Kampsai dans la Vie de Lazare se déroule à toute fin de la vie du saint, mort en 1053 sous le règne de Constantin Monomaque.

Cette communication a pour conséquent deux objectifs : le premier est de proposer une hypothèse permettant d'expliquer l'attitude de la métropole qui refuse d'être propriétaire d'un monastère alors que la Vie nous la montre plus ambitieuse concernant les biens monastiques ; le second est de tenter d'échafauder une tentative d'explication permettant d'identifier ce qui a fait d'un monastère en mauvais état, fait attesté par le refus de la métropole de s'en emparer, un établissement proche d'une fondation dynamique, recherchant la protection impériale.



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Families, Feuds and Friends: Imperial Succession in the Eleventh Century Eastern Roman Empire

Leading up to the Crusades, the eleventh century was a period of political instability in the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire, with fifteen legitimate emperors holding the throne over less than six decades. This frequent turnover triggered a series of social and cultural changes over the century, as emperors and elites challenged past orthodoxies and experimented with new ideas. My talk discusses the development of the recurring procedure of imperial succession, alongside the dynamic re-organization of the imperial kinship networks in response to political instability. Making use of several literary traditions alongside non-literary evidence such as numismatics, sigillography and works of fine art, I identify three distinct phases over the century.

At the beginning of the century, imperial families were small and seditious. Imperial relatives frequently led or participated in intra-familial plots. Male family members rarely received the highest positions in the state and were instead mollified with honorary titles and kept in the capital. Female family members were commonly sent abroad as part of marriage alliances with other polities on the empire's frontiers. These weak familial ties within most imperial families contributed to emperors' decisions to postpone succession as much as possible, often waiting until they were on their deathbed before announcing the next emperor's identity.

Things changed in the middle of the century after a period of acute instability. Using the available resources at hand, emperors began promoting their family members almost overnight to the highest positions in the state. At the same time, they began planning – and proclaiming – their intended succession as early as possible. To cement their plans, they re-introduced the institution of co-emperor, which had remained unused for decades. This coincided with an increase in imperial family size, while monarchs paid closer attention to the marriage alliances they fostered, becoming more reluctant to send away their family members. At the same time, the standing of palace eunuchs as a group began to decrease, while elite women gained considerable informal power.

Since these changes were not enough to stabilize the political system for more than a decade, contemporaries shifted their strategies of kinship again, opting for an even more centralized style. Families grew even larger, while pater/materfamilias used junior family members as resources to advance the family's goals as a group. The increased number of available family members allowed these individuals to take over the most important positions in the state. As a result, a few families succeeded in consolidating their central power over the state bureaucracy. This had a stabilizing effect although it also considerably changed the state's nature.

These changes were an integral part of the upheavals that shook the Eastern Roman Empire's foundations over the eleventh century. In my talk I move chronologically throughout the century, providing a nuanced and contextualized analysis. I conclude by showing that rather than pursuing a clear long-term plan, contemporary emperors and elites were most concerned with how to use recent events to reach conclusions that would in turn help them formulate a policy to increase their survivability on an inherently unstable throne. The fact that the system as a whole survived these upheavals is undeniable proof of its resilience.



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BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE – PART 2

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à la lumière des sources textuelles et matérielles (IV^e-XV^e siècle)



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The Evolution of the Church Dome Lighting Method after Hagia Sophia of Istanbul

Byzantine church domes are paradoxically brighter than all surrounding surfaces. This interesting phenomenon has been investigated for the dome of Hagia Sophia of Istanbul, designed by Anthemius as a combination of two reflectors. The reflector designs are found in the architect's own extant writings and must have been combined in a specific way in order to generate the luminous impression described by Procopius, Justinian's court historian and eye-witness. This hypothesis has been largely proven in terms of geometrical, topographical and textual evidence in our previous papers.

However, many other churches besides Hagia Sophia achieve a significant difference in luminosity from surrounding parts of the ceiling. Until now there has been no attempt to account for this impressive phenomenon. The question then becomes how do domes of lesser Byzantine church examples achieve luminosity while having a significantly different design to that of Hagia Sophia's dome? Is there a method underlying this achievement? Any attempt to answer this question is particularly involved, since one does not deal with a single but with a multitude of buildings over various historical periods. Therefore, we have come to the decision to generate a model which would make use of parametric modeling based on some observations of actual Byzantine domes. We undertook the construction of a universal parametric dome model incorporating all variables that could possibly influence the luminous dome effect. With this model it became feasible to simulate a large number of actual test cases and account accurately for their light behavior, identifying beforehand the critical measurements needed in any church survey of each actual dome case. Accurate digital daylighting was employed to measure lux values and visualize the illuminance of the surfaces but, most importantly, by employing an animated particle system in order to visualize the travel path of light and reflections.

A dome may be made up of various parts. The drum, one or more curvatures placed above the drum, several openings varying from six to forty, pierced in the drum or in one of the curvatures in case the drum is eliminated. Additional variables are the proportional scale of dome plan to height, the openings proportions which depend on their number as well as the height of the drum and finally the varying slope and curvature of the window-sills, the main agents of all upward light reflection. These parameters were encoded in a user-configurable graphical interface that modifies the dome geometry within a 3D visualization environment. The user can then initiate the simulation and observe the behavior of light hitting the interior of any particular dome instance. Subsequently, the findings of the model are then related to images of actual domes from known monuments.



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The Lighting in Two Byzantine Churches on Cyprus: The Panagia tis Asinou and the Panagia tou Arakos

The natural lighting in Byzantine churches that have been in constant liturgical use has not always remained unaltered owing to a variety of interventions rendered necessary by constantly arising needs. Structural interventions have altered the quantity and the quality of the light entering the churches, as well as the original harmonious relationship between the exterior and the interior and vice versa. Consequently, it is not surprising that many Byzantine churches today satisfy neither the needs of their numerous visitors nor their own liturgical needs. In order to remedy these needs, lighting systems are often installed without following specific aims and principles.

Recognising this problem, the A. G. Leventis Foundation, in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus, has installed artificial lighting systems in ten churches in the Mount Troodos region which are on the UNESCO List of World Heritage Monuments in such a way as to highlight their spiritual character and historical value.

In this paper we will present the observations that led to the design, construction and installation of lighting systems in two 12th century churches on Cyprus: the Panagia tis Asinou and the Panagia tou Arakos.

The main aim in the architecture of these two Byzantine churches, as in all Byzantine churches, was to convert the internal surfaces of the building into space. This was achieved through the flow of natural light into the interior, its reflection on the curves and flat surfaces and the positioning of the wall-paintings. This combination of surfaces, lighting and careful positioning of frescoes, permitted the creation of space: length, width and height, as well as a fourth dimension – a kind of depth which exists beyond and before the painted surfaces.

The light is constantly changing in terms of position, intensity and colour as a result of the movement of the sun and changing weather conditions. As the light is reflected off the painted surfaces of the walls, the images give the impression that they are moving. For example: Because the twelve windows in the dome of the Panagia tou Arakos, are positioned slightly out the church's main axes, the viewer has the sensation that the painted interior of the building is revolving. As it revolves, some of the depicted figures, appear to emerge from their frames.

Also, in its reflections off the painted surfaces of the walls, the light is transformed into a diffuse pool of colour. It is this which enables the interior of the Panagia tis Asinou to assimilate into one single whole the painted scenes from different historical periods that exist side by side.



After continuous measurements and calculations, we reached the conclusion that the interiors of the Asinou and Arakos churches were amply lit at alternating points throughout the day and all year long. For example, for a few minutes at sunrise on the equinox, a beam of light illuminates the tomb of the founder of the Panagia tou Arakos. In Asinou, following the additions made to the building in the late 13th-early 14th century, the central part of the church was the most brightly illuminated, and for this reason was selected for the new mural decoration in ca. 1340, depicting a veritable wealth of scenes.

In order to select the most suitable form of lighting system for each church and the best position for it, we followed the following principles: the number of lighting devices had to be kept to a minimum; the lights had to be as inconspicuous as possible and produce a minimal amount of glare, and the lighting had to be of a sufficient quantity and quality to illuminate not the painted surfaces but the church's internal spaces.

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Solomonic Myths: Reusing Solomon and His Temple in Byzantine Visualities

Who can surpass Solomon and his temple? Let's start with the origins: in the tenth century BC, Solomon built a temple according to the plan of the Tabernacle mentioned in the Bible. With its architectural details mentioned, character and quantity of the architectural elements and symbolism, the temple has become a source of major scholarly debate among the historians. Due to all those details the temple was labeled to be deriving from God. Not only the temple, but the image of Solomon as the king is also worthy of attention. As historical accounts through the ages make clear, Solomon was the true king and he maintained a glorious kingship. As such the image of the king and the temple found was appropriated in numerous cases in Byzantine architecture.

In his seminal work on the iconography of medieval architecture, Richard Krautheimer discusses that the meaning in architecture was conveyed through the replication of forms in visually identifiable forms. While Krautheimer's approach leads us to think it is the form that carries the message, I would like to take a different approach by discussing how fragile the relationship between the archetype and type in Byzantine architecture.

Using examples from the Byzantine such as the churches of Hag. Polyeuktos and Hag. Sophia, the Pantokrator, I would like to argue why the image of Solomon and his temple looms large in the imaginations of the Byzantine rulers. When one moves from those obvious examples where the copies of the temple "as it really was," we may discuss the possibility for Byzantine imperial and royal attempts for self-definition. Stated differently, why this "super-historical" figure and his building were reused to serve for political, cultural and religious dynamics?

I would like to argue that behind this pattern of reuse was the deep wish to commemorate the memory of phenomenal kingship of Solomon and to go back to the origins of sacred architecture.



As my paper will discuss with its ultimate design disclosed by God in the Bible, the temple of Solomon is seen as an architectural masterpiece taking us to the core of the divine architecture. In the Byzantine realm, the emperors chose Solomon's monumental figure and his monument as things that are necessary to be copied, inspired and reuse in order to claim themselves as legitimate heirs to the idea of divine kingship and architecture.

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The Katholikon of the Greatest Lavra Monastery in Athos Revisited

In the years 2013 and 2014, during works on the restoration of the lead-sheet cover of the Katholikon of Greatest Lavra Monastery on Mount Athos, limited research was undertaken. Certain aspects of the earlier phases of the building history of the oldest church in Mount Athos were illuminated. As is widely known, the katholikon was completed around the year 1000 and reached 1814 almost complete. Then the two-storey narthex and exonarthex along with every structure between the two chapels was demolished, and a grand single-storey domed narthex was built.

During the soundings the vaults and the bases of the dome drums were revealed among others and new evidence into the original form of the church was discovered:

- The base of the original drum of the main naos was circular. Therefore it seems that it was twice demolished and rebuilt in the 16th century, once with an eight faceted drum as it appears on the famous 1535 wall painting and once with a sixteenth faceted one as it is now.
- On the backside of the wall that separated the main naos with the original two-storey narthex, where the catechoumena used to be, the structure of the closed triple window was revealed. Its upper part was already blocked since 1535, when the main naos was painted by Theophanis the Cretan; the lower part in 1814 during the remodeling of the narthex. The walls were covered with wall paintings with an inscription. This showed that the main room of the tripartite second floor of the narthex was at least 1m higher than previously thought, which changes the proposed original form.
- Every piece of wall revealed was made of rough rubble intended to be plastered. This reinforces the fact described at the Vita of St. Athanasius that he chose to build the church with the help of the monks instead of professional builders.
- The structure of the vaults of the side choirs was revealed. It seems that the side choirs were not originally connected to the main body, but were added to an already finished arch as filling walls, drums.
- The walls of the east compartments of the side chapels were raised at least 1m to support the 1814 all-encompassing timber roof. Their original vaults were revealed.
- A circular window was detected on the west façade of the chapel of St. Nicholas similar to the south one.



- A small window on the south side of the nave was found, blocked by the south chapel of St. Nicholas, proved that the latter was an addition. Nothing similar was found about the north chapel. However the structure of the domes of the two chapels is so similar and their marble floors belong exactly to the same period with the rest of the church, not to mention the liturgical texts that speak about two chapels, that it can be confirmed that St. Nicholas belonged to the original plan, but was added at a later stage.

Although evidence has been added to Paul Mylonas' notion that the side choirs were added 40-50 years later to the main body of the church this has not been proved. Differential settlement which would account for later foundations does not exist. There is no plaster where the choirs lean onto the arches although the church was originally plastered. And it is not uncommon for the apses to be built shortly after the arches have been finished. Moreover the church which is not of the Athonite type but of a peculiar triconchal cross in square would be incomplete without the side choirs. However only soundings at the foundations can prove or disprove this hypothesis.

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Phialai on Mount Athos in the Middle Byzantine Period: Some Observations on Their Location, Setting, and Use

Phialē or, occasionally, *hagiasma* is a water receptacle most commonly fashioned as stone bowl and used for the Blessing of Waters. On Mount Athos, it is customarily set within a baldachin-like kiosk, also called *phialē*, in the monastery's yard. The oldest such *phialē*, that of Vatopedi, dates to the mid-14th century. The one at the Great Lavra, although constructed in 1635, most probably replaces and reproduces the original one from 1060. Therefore, an outdoor *phialē* seems to have been a standard feature of an Athonite monastery complex from the very beginning. However, it is very likely that another water font was housed within the narthex or *exonarthex*. That is suggested by archaeological and artistic evidence. Many other similar examples outside Mount Athos, set in the narthex area, were sole installations for the Blessing of Waters. They date from the 12th to 14th century, which suggests a somewhat later development.

The Athonite outdoor *phialē* is located in the area between the church's entrance and the refectory, conveniently positioned for certain ritual actions and processions. On the other hand, the *phialē* at the Great Lavra features an 11th-century bronze water spout and this opens the question: did *phialai* always include the supply of running water and was that another reason to have them installed outside the church? There are several Athonite examples that are directly associated with a well or water cistern. This certainly secured constant inflow of water. Moreover, the placing of a cistern under an open, paved yard would enable and facilitate its maintenance and repairs.

Beyond these technical reasons, there were some functional, symbolical, and historical aspects involved too. A fountain was a common asset of the atrium of an Early Byzantine church, supplying water for preparatory ablutions. Important early churches that continue to use *phialai* in their atria



in the Middle Byzantine period, now solely for the Blessing of Waters, and may have set an example for church planning of the time are the Hagia Sophia and, even more relevant for the monastic usage, the Stoudion. Moreover, the use of a fountain with running water located in the yard did not result from a mere convenience of the preexisting facility's presence, since there is an incentive imminent to the ritual to go outside and to evoke benediction upon the entire nature through the blessing of waters. In that sense, even the setting of a *phialē* in the narthex and staging the ritual there was viewed as if it had been performed outside the church. Practical concerns, such as limited space in the yard, inconvenient local climate, and lack of resources, may have accounted towards this solution. However, the migration of the holy water to the narthex area was acceptable only due to the symbolical dimension ascribed to this part of the church, that of the earthly realm.

On Mount Athos, only a few narthex fountains have been preserved and seem to be only secondary to those of the outdoor *phialai*. Therefore, I argue that the Athonite standard comprised a major facility for the Great Blessing of Waters on Epiphany located in the yard and a container of the holy water kept in the narthex. The latter may also have been used for the Lesser Blessing and, only incidentally (e.g. in case of inclement weather), for the Great Blessing. However, its primary function was the storing of the holy water after it had been blessed at the *phialē* in the courtyard and making it available for consumption after the communion.

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Notes on the History and Architecture of the Manastır Mescidi in Istanbul

As other more famous Byzantine buildings the Manastır mescidi was converted into a mosque during the Ottoman era (and formally dedicated to Mustafa Çavuş). Currently it is partially included in two different tram/bus deposits and its appearance is deeply modified. Until A.G. Paspates' time, frescoes were visible on its southern wall. On the other hand, two reused capitals and a marble frame are still *in situ*. Several features, such as its masonry, prove it was built during the late Byzantine period. The stratigraphic analysis of the masonry and the exam of the graphic materials produced during the first archaeological survey (carried out in the sixties by A. Pasadaios) allow to understand the structure of its former roof system. Through the comparison with other Palaiologan buildings of Constantinople its original features could be partially reconstructed.

The building lies nearby the Top Kapı – generally considered the Gate of Saint Romanus – and the presumed Fourth Military Gate of the Theodosian Walls. In the past, the proximity to the famous gate and walls was used as a starting point for the identification of the original Christian name of the building during the Byzantine era. It was firstly identified as the church once dedicated to the saints Menodora, Nymphodora and Metrodora, later refurbished by Phocas Maroules (Paspates) and then as the monastery of the sister of Michael VIII “Kyra Martha”(Eyice). The aligned position of the Manastır mescidi regard to the Fourth Military Gate suggests a connection between them. Few years ago N. Asutay discovered an inscription above an architrave of the structures of this Gate. According



to her, it could demonstrate the identification of this Gate as the one of Saint Romanus. Overall, the short inscription allows to speculate about the topography of Constantinople and the identification of the former church. In the medieval period the area surrounding the Manastir mescidi was not very crowded of monasteries and for these reason Russian pilgrims accounts also prove to be quite useful in order to sustain a new hypothesis of identification of the Christian dedication. Information taken from hagiographical written sources indirectly supports this attempt.

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the history of the neglected monument now called Manastir mescidi and to restore its role of documentary evidence of the Palaiologan era through the analysis of its architectural features and its topographical context.

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Les fonctions des portes latérales des églises byzantines à la lumière des sources textuelles et matérielles (IV^e-XV^e siècle)

L'église et son décor ont souvent été considérés comme le reflet d'un seul principe organique répondant à un symbolisme cosmologique. Cela se traduit par une perception verticale et se matérialise par une répartition tripartite depuis la coupole jusqu'au pavement. Toutefois, une appréhension horizontale de l'espace, qui tient compte des déplacements effectués par les officiants et l'assistance, non moins chargée de significations symboliques, révèle le rôle structurel et fonctionnel des différentes portes ouvrant sur le lieu de culte.

Suivant une acception commune, la porte occidentale de l'église est considérée comme l'entrée principale, par opposition aux portes nord et sud, donnant accès au narthex ou au naos, dites secondaires. Dans la lignée des recherches sur l'entrée royale de Slobodan Ćurčić et d'Ida Sinkević, qui ont contribué à remettre en question cet énoncé, nous tenterons de reconsidérer les utilisations des portes latérales des monuments byzantins.

Une lecture attentive des sources anciennes permet de déceler les enjeux fonctionnels des espaces d'entrée. Dans les textes scripturaires, la porte occidentale du Temple, réservée à l'entrée du roi, est le lieu où se manifestent les puissances divines, tandis que la porte nord, destinée aux laïcs, doit être protégée des forces impures. Les sources patristiques, les écrits historiques, liturgiques ainsi que les *typika* des monastères et les *ekphraseis*, étayent nos connaissances sur le rôle et la perception des espaces liminaires. À titre d'exemple, l'*Explication de la Divine Liturgie* du patriarche Germain de Constantinople, composée au VIII^e siècle, ou encore le *typikon* du monastère de Saint-Jean Stoudios de Constantinople, daté vers 842, nous renseignent sur l'utilisation processionnelle de la « porte royale », celle occidentale, permettant de nuancer son usage pour les services quotidiens et nous invitant à réexaminer les fonctions des portes latérales.

Les données matérielles contribuant aux réflexions menées, nous nous intéresserons aux relations qui s'opèrent entre l'architecture, le décor et la liturgie, à travers quelques monuments



significatifs de la période byzantine moyenne et tardive, tels que l'église de la Panagia Phorbiotissa, à Asinou, en Chypre (1105-06) et l'église de la Vierge du monastère de Studenica, en Serbie (construite entre 1183 et 1196, et décorée vers 1208-09). Notre raisonnement reposera sur l'étude de l'environnement topographique, bâti et culturel des édifices, qui signale les modes de circulations possibles, mais aussi sur l'analyse iconographique et spatiale des images et des inscriptions qui ornent les espaces liminaires latéraux.

En remettant en cause les qualificatifs « principales » ou « secondaires » traditionnellement attribués aux portes des églises, cette communication propose ainsi de mettre en évidence les fonctions plurielles des espaces d'entrée.



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BYZANTINE LITERATURE IN TRANSLATION – PART 2

Chairs: **Elguja Khintibidze, Gohar Sargsyan**

Elguja Khintibidze,

Modification of the Byzantine *Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph*;

Changes in its Scholarly Investigation and Further Perspective of the Study Problem

Natela Vachnadze,

Kartvelology in the Service of History of Byzantine Literature:

Old Georgian Translation of Athenagenes 'Life'

Eka Dughashvili,

On the One Aspect of the Old Georgian Translation Technique

(As Exemplified by the Old Georgian Translations of the Byzantine Hymnography)

Eliso Elizbarashvili,

Byzantine – Old-Georgian Documented Dictionary

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The Armenian Translation of Gregory Nazianzen's Theological Epistles (101, 102)
in the Context of the Greek Archetype and Its Manuscript Tradition

Varduhi Kyureghyan,

Armenian Commentaries on Canon Tables: Analysis of the Sources



Elguja Khintibidze

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Modification of the Byzantine *Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph*; Changes in its scholarly investigation and further perspective of the study problem

One of the most popular stories of the 12th and 15th centuries *The Edifying Story of Barlaam and Ioasaph* (BI) was spread in Western European literature through a Latin translation of an original Greek version. Starting from Sanskrit, BI penetrated into the Greek world through Arabic or Georgian languages.

The 20th century Byzantine studies identify the two most plausible authors of the story. One is John Damascene, the greatest Byzantine Saint Father, of an Arabic origin, serving at the junction of the 7th and 8th centuries, and the other – Saint Euthymius the Athonite, an educated monk of Georgian origin, serving on Mount Athos in the 10th and 11th centuries.

The authorship of John Damascene is supported by the tradition of Latin and Greek publications of the story and by a prominent Byzantine scholar, F. Dölger. The theory of the authorship of Euthymius the Athonite is based upon Georgian, Greek and Latin independent records of the 11th century.

The authorship of Euthymius the Athonite, supported by the Georgian philological school as well as by many prominent European Byzantine researchers, was opposed by German outstanding scholars.

Recent decades have witnessed a drastic change in the German school of Byzantine studies with respect to this issue. By studying the Greek manuscripts and revealing different versions of Greek BI, by studying the terminology of the Greek version of the story in parallel with Georgian and Arabic relevant contexts and by observing Byzantine sources of BI has convinced European Byzantine scholars that the Greek BI is created by Euthymius the Athonite based upon the Georgian version.

Employing scientific methodology and argumentations in an attempt to assert the novelty of Byzantine studies are in full accord with the studies fulfilled by Georgian scholars on the same subject. At the same time it should be noted that the Georgian sources do not fully support two different solutions of the subject as suggested by Germans scholars.

1. R. Volk: First version of BI, translate from Georgian by Euthymius the Athonite → *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes → Methaphrastes revision of BI by Euthymius the Athonite.
2. I. Grossman: Translation of Euthymius the Athonite → Methaphrastes revision, performed by an unknown author.

BI cannot have been translated by Euthymius the Athonite before the creation of *Menologion*, as Euthymius himself bases his translations on Symeon Metaphrastes' works.

The version of BI represented in Kiev's manuscripts from 1021, written on Mount Athos, must have been reproduced by Euthymius himself. All of the records from Mount Athos in Latin and Georgian and dating back to the 11th century, refer to the authorship of only Euthymius the Athonite.



In the first quarter of the 11th century, a spiritual leader (*the Epitrophos*) of the monasteries of Mount Athos was Euthymius the Athonite. At the time he was engrossed in intensive scholarly activities and had a close connection with the Byzantine Royal Court. Therefore it is less plausible that the story, previously translated by him, would have been reproduced by someone else at the Mount Athos.

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Kartvelology in the Service of History of Byzantine Literature: Old Georgian Translation of Athenagenes 'Life'

The Georgian hagiography comprises a lot of compositions, which are translated mostly from Greek and also Armenian, Arabian, Syrian and the other Oriental languages as well.

The object of our interest is presented in those Georgian translations of the compositions, the origins of which are either lost or have not been found yet. There are such cases, when two editions of a Greek text are preserved, but the Georgian translation does not coincide with either of them. So, it appears that we have the third edition of the so far unknown Georgian translation, which, by the internationally accepted rule acquires the importance of the origin.

One of such texts has been preserved by the Georgian translation hagiography. It is Athenagenes' 'Torture' by the Bishop of Sebastia (+311), the translation of which has reached us in two editions: I-A-95, 988-995. Bodl. 265-267, II-A-382, 59-62... Both of the Georgian edition texts have not been published either as the majority of the samples of the Georgian translation hagiography. Whereas two Greek texts are published (A. Papandopulo-Keramevs: *Ἀνάλεκτα...*, IV, 252-257, V. Latishev, *Menologii*, II, 176-179) and neither of them is the origin of the Georgian translation (E. Gabidzashvili, *Works*, Volume II, the philological-textual studies essay, Tbilisi, 2010, 175). Thus it appears that we have got the Georgian translation of the Greek edition, which has been unknown up to now. The task of the authors of the presented work is to state critically, to prepare for the publication and to study it from the historical, philological and ethnographic viewpoints.

As the ethnographic material, collected on the field tells us, the greater part of which is unpublished and kept in the Ivane Javakhishvili Institute of History and Ethnography, 'Atengenoba' – this folk-Christian holiday – must have been very popular on East Georgian mountainous regions (Tusheri, Khevsureti, Khevi...). As the research work showed, certain families had prayer houses dedicated to saints. One of them was Ghudushauri Niche. It is by the introduction of the Georgian material into the scientific circulation and presenting it to the wide scientific communities, by the translation of the critically stated text into the attainable language, with the attached commentaries, the role and the significance of Kartvelology in the research of the history of Byzantine literature is clearly seen.



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On the One Aspect of the Old Georgian Translation Technique (As Exemplified by the Old Georgian Translations of the Byzantine Hymnography)

The emergence and historical development of old Georgian hymnography occurred in parallel with the Byzantine and it implied creation of both translated and original works. At different historical stages it demonstrated certain differences from the Greek original.

The present paper deals with only some aspects of the relation of Georgian translated hymnography with the Greek original – questions linked with assignment of *ekhoses* and the translation method. These questions were of equal relevance at various stages of historical development of Georgian chanting culture, but their solution manifested different creative approaches of hymnographers and (*xelovantmtavari*) master composers.

The origin and historical development of the Old Georgian hymnography followed in the wake of the Byzantine and involved creation of both, translated and original hymnody. At different stages of history, compared with the Greek original it showed certain differences in terms of Georgian translation method or musical consistent patterns.

In the '*Iadgar*' (a collection of hymns) of Mikael Modrekili (978-988), the only surviving Tao-Klardjetian collection of liturgics and hymnography, dynamic equivalent type translations from Byzantine authors (John of Damascus, Cosmas of Jerusalem, Germanus of Constantinople, Joseph the Hymnographer) are confirmed; in terms of Echos, different chant repertoires show different approaches of hymnographers, namely: in the hymns performed during the Lord's and the Great Feasts, adequacy to the Greek original is observed, while the chant repertory of the Great Week shows more freedom in this respect (indications to Echos do not always follow the Greek original).

Later on, with amplification of Hellenophile trends, within the hymnographic school of Holy Monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos (X-XI c.) itself, growing importance of the Greek original manuscript clearly reveals in terms of fidelity of translation and Echos, while in the works of the representatives of the Black Mountain Hellenophile trend (XI-XII c.) it is set as a pre-requisite and reveals to some extent in translations of formal equivalent type, in the accuracy of Echos and allowance for all attributes of the original manuscript. As for the tunes of the chants, at the historical stages discussed by us (X-XI c.) they must have been distinguished for their originality, which is clearly evidenced in the liturgical manuscripts ('*ttveni*', '*Paracliton*') of the Holy Monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, and the recently found postscripts of wills (colophons).



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Byzantine – Old-Georgian Documented Dictionary

Beginning from 2015 staff members of the Department of Byzantine Studies at Acad. G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies, Ilia State University, undertook implementation of the project grant entitled “Byzantine – Old-Georgian Documented Dictionary” financed by Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation (Tbilisi, Georgia).

The idea of creating the Byzantine – Old-Georgian Documented Dictionary is connected to the names of Academicians Ivane Javakhishvili and Simon Kaukhchishvili. The material for the dictionary took many years and several generations of researchers to be completed, but enlargement of the existing fund remains one of the top priorities. The dictionary entries with the context are selected from the Byzantine-era Greek theological, historical, hagiographical, hymnographical and philosophical texts. Their parallel Georgian equivalents are extracted from old Georgian translations performed by Georgian theologians and scholars in Byzantine monastic centers: St. Euthymius and Giorgi the Athonites, Eprem Mtsire (Ephraim the Lesser), Ioane Petritsi, Arsen Ikaltoeli (Arsen of Ikalto), and others. Their erudition, excellent knowledge of the contemporary literary and spoken Greek language and direct contacts with the Byzantine world (Athos, Sinai, Black Mount, Jerusalem, Antioch, Constantinople, Petritsoni, etc.) render authenticity to the translations.

The Byzantine – Old-Georgian Documented Dictionary is novelty in Greek as well as in Georgian lexicography because of its content and structure. It is based on one million and a half cards fund. The fund is preserved at the Department of Byzantine Studies of acad. G. Tsereteli Institute of Oriental Studies. Electronic version of the dictionary, which will be published presumably in 2 -3 volumes after implementation of Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation project Grant, will be prepared according to international scientific requirement. The sample guidelines theoretically justified by Academician Simon Kaukhchishvili and the vocabulary sections attached to the volumes 7 and 8 of his ‘Georgica’ (Vol. VII, pp. 3-70 and Vol.8, pp. 271-310).

Translations performed from Greek by great Georgian scholars in various regions of Byzantine help us in etymological research to reveal words borrowed from Greek, establish their origin and lexical meaning; To identify the linguistic environment of the translation based upon phonological and phonetical characteristics of foreign proper names and transliterated Greek words in Georgian alphabet; To determine initial meanings of Greek ecclesiastical-theological and philosophical-scientific terms established in the Georgian language; To identify and correct words distorted by copyists, to rectify texts, etc.; Taking together, the Dictionary will be an unalterable means for specialists, textologists and translators working on historical and cultural relations between Byzantine and Georgia, as well as for students.

The Greek Georgian Documented Dictionary offers a peculiar approach - the meaning of a word is explained, the semantic field of a lexical unit is defined with the corresponding contexts from Old Georgian translations of the Byzantine period. This feature makes the documented dictionary unique of its kind, an analogue of which is unknown to us. The earliest linguistic data preserved in old Georgian translations and original works deserve attention and enlarge the field of research of Byzantinists.



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The Armenian Translation of Gregory Nazianzen's Theological Epistles (101, 102) in the Context of the Greek Archetype and Its Manuscript Tradition

With the invention of the Armenian alphabet (405-406) and with the establishment of the intellectual school of translators called Sahak-Mesropian in Armenia the foundation of the literature was laid in the fifth-century-Armenia, also known under the name golden age (նսկէդար/oskedar). From the historical point of view, this literary movement was deeply connected with Greco-Roman and Syriac cultures. In the latter half of the 5th century the Christian identity on the one hand and the geopolitical situation on the other hand became decisive factors for the Greek orientation of the Armenian intellectual culture. A remarkable expression of such kind of orientation was to undertake the translational activity from Greek into Armenian.

Based on the rendering art, methods and techniques, the experts suggest the periodization of three stages of the translational activity during 5th and 8th century: classical, prehellenizing and Hellenising or Hellenophile. Putting aside the problems of time borders for each school, which have deserved intensive scholarly attention since decades, let us come to their characteristics, relevant for the scope of the current paper. The rendered texts (e.g. the Bible, Syriac and Greek Church fathers, liturgical texts) of the classical period (405/406-450) are morphologically and syntactically oriented towards the target language. This methodological approach is explicable through the intellectuals' objective making Christianity comprehensible for people in frame of their mother tongue. During the prehellenizing phase theologically complicated works (such as those by Cappadocian fathers) were rendered. The translators adopt the *de verbo ad verbum* translational method. The Armenian commences to calque the Greek lexicon and even the syntax. The texts of this phase can still be more or less comprehensible without the juxtaposition of the Greek original. The intellectuals of the Hellenizing school, developing the methodological principles of the antecedents, create an artificial language, not at all understandable without the Greek original. The rendered texts of this period are precise, mirror reproductions of the Greek original. This method was imperative in view of the scientific and philosophical texts reproduced in Armenian.

The paper will focus on the Armenian version of Gregory Nazianzen's theological letters to Cledonius 101, 102 (the critical editions of which are prepared in the frame of my doctoral thesis) in the context of its role for the establishment of the Greek archetype. These are counted among the outcome of the prehellenizing phase. Thus, the morphosyntactic model of Greek was both primordial and leading for the target language. Our comparison of the established critical edition with Paul Gallay's edition of the Greek epistles (SC 208, 1974) has revealed a range of differences, essential for the archetype reconstruction. The objective envisaged will be to elucidate the relation between the Greek archetype and the Armenian translation, in view of the contribution of the Armenian version to the establishment of the Greek archetype. For the argumentation other translations of the epistles (Latin, Syriac) will be taken into account.



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Armenian Commentaries on Canon Tables: Analysis of the Sources

At the beginning of the fourth century Eusebius of Caesarea invented an ingenious exegetical device with the purpose of locating parallel pericopes in the four Gospels. These Canon Tables proved both handy and beautiful, hence they became standard features of Gospel manuscripts, not only in the original Greek, but also in numerous translations: Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Slavonic, Ge'ez, and others.

The Armenian Canon Tables, which are of great interest both as a document in its own right and in relation to the Greek original, became an object of exegesis. Commentaries on the Canon Tables are a highly innovative literary genre, an 'exegetical literature at a second degree', so to speak. The Commentaries on Canon Tables, called in Ancient Armenian Meknut' iwn Xoranac', have developed in the eighth century. Amongst the authors of the commentaries are some of the most significant Armenian theologians, such as Step'anos Siwnec'i (eighth century), Nersēs Šnorhali (twelfth century), Grigor Tatevac'i (fifteenth century).

The paper focuses on the sources of Commentaries on Canon Tables. First, I shall address the question of the identification of these sources: can any Armenian or Byzantine text be identified as a source of the commentators? I shall also explore the influence of philosophical works upon the commentators. Furthermore, the question of interdependence of different Commentaries will be examined. Finally, I shall try to explain the reason of using these sources, as well as of composing the Commentaries. This last question will be examined with the hindsight of the religious and political background of iconoclastic controversies of the eighth – ninth centuries in the Byzantine Empire.



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THE MIGRATION PERIOD

Chairs: **Martin Hurbanič**, **Ivan Bugarski**

Oleh Vus,

Нашествие Гуннов на восточный Иллирик в 441–442 гг. н.э.

Ivan Mikhailovich Nikolsky,

Imperial Title for the Barbarian King: Gaiseric the Autokrator

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Two Campaigns in One Year.

The Beginning of the Second Phase of the Avar-Roman Wars during the Reign of the Emperor Maurice Revisited

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Stojko Stojkov,

The Term “Sclavinia” – Byzantine Invention or Western Influence



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Нашествие Гуннов на восточный Иллирик в 441–442 гг. н.э

В первой половине V в. н. э. в Северном Подунавье резко осложнилась военно-политическая обстановка. Это было связано с приходом центрально-азиатского племенного объединения гуннов. Гунны появились на Дунае около 400 г. Постепенно они заняли территорию Паннонии, вытеснив в 406 г. племена вандалов, бургундов и алан за Рейн.

В 422 г. гунны напали на Фракию. Восточно-римский император Феодосий II (408–450) согласился выплачивать им дань в размере 350 фунтов золота в год. В 433 г. вождь гуннов Руа (?–434) угрожал Империи разорвать мирные соглашения из-за перебежчиков, укрывшихся на ее территории. Войско кочевников переправилось через Дунай и принялось разорять Фракию. Примечательно, что главной целью Руа был не рядовой грабеж, а захват столицы Восточной империи – Константинополя.

Новый вождь гуннов Атила (434–453) заставил императора Феодосия II выплачивать дань в двойном размере и наложил другие тяжёлые условия мира. В правление Аттилы объединение гуннов с центром в Паннонии контролировало огромные территории от Волги и Северного Кавказа до Рейна. Кроме гуннов, Аттиле подчинялись племена маскутов, акациров, алан, славян, остготов, гепидов и др.

Мир между Восточной империей и племенным объединением гуннов был нарушен в 441 г., когда войска Аттилы и его брата Бледы (434–444) форсировали Дунай в Восточном Иллирике, возле соврем. Белграда. По сообщению Приска Панийского (V в.), поводом для войны стало похищение епископом города Марг сокровищ гуннов, якобы из царских гробниц. В результате был разорен город Марг, взяты штурмом и разграблены Singidunum, Sirmium и Viminacium. Все население Сингидунума было продано в рабство. После этого гунны пошли на восток вдоль Дуная к городу Ratiaria, а затем повернули на юг вдоль р. Моравы к городу Naissus.

В ходе штурма Наисса гунны, для облегчения переправы войск, построили мост через р. Нишаву ниже города, а затем подвели инженерные машины к оборонительным стенам. Защитники не смогли выстоять против их натиска; «варвары» ворвались через стену, пробитую ударами таранов, и дотла разорили город. Спустя шесть лет, когда Приск Панийский проезжал через Naissus в составе посольства, он увидел город «безлюдным и разрушенным неприятелями... по берегу реки всё было покрыто костями убитых в сражении».

Дунайский оборонительный рубеж попросту перестал существовать. Римские войска, охранявшие границу в Восточном Иллирике, были сметены нашествием орды. Те из них, которые не были уничтожены сразу, рассеялись по крепостям внутренних провинций диоцеза. В ходе нашествия гунны оккупировали обширную территорию на пять дней пути к югу от Дуная. Марцеллин Комит (VI в.) утверждал, что кроме придунайских, было разрушено «множество других городов и крепостей Иллирика», и в том числе центр диоцеза Дакия – крепость Сердика.



Константинополь остался почти без защиты перед лицом наступающего врага. Поэтому военный магистр Флавий Ардавур Аспар был срочно отозван с Востока, где вел войну с шахиншахом Ирана Йездигердом II (438–457). Отозван был и полководец Флавий Ареовинд, находившийся с флотом и частью армии у берегов Сицилии. Однако войска ни обеспечить оборону Дунайского рубежа, ни стать заслоном на пути гуннов во Фракии все равно не успевали. Поэтому для решения военных конфликтов были предприняты дипломатические шаги: в 442 г. Аспару удалось заключить мир с гуннами; одновременно на Востоке было заключено перемирие с Ираном. Безусловно, все стороны конфликта понимали сложившуюся ситуацию как передышку перед решающими схватками и готовились к активным боевым действиям, которые развернулись на Балканах через пять лет.

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Imperial Title for the Barbarian King: Gaiseric the Autokrator

The main object of the paper is the political terminology in the Early Byzantine Empire, especially the use of the exclusively imperial title *autokrator* (αὐτοκράτωρ) for the barbarian kings and leaders.

In the spotlight is the work by Procopius of Caesarea *The Vandal War* (*De Bello Vandalico*), where this term is used for Gaiseric, the king of the Vandals (428–477). Speaking about his succession to the throne, Procopius called him ‘autocrat of Vandals’, αὐτοκράτωρ βανδίλοις (*De Bellis* III.3.33), and this case is of a lot of interest.

It should be noted, that the term *autokrator* was the official title of the Roman emperors since Octavian August. As the Greek replaced Latin not only as the main literary language, but also as the official one, the title *autokrator* became increasingly more significant. Justinian presented himself such way in the *Constitutiones*, written in Greek. Heraclius in his first *Novellae* also used this title. Subsequently, due to the innovations of this emperor *autokrator* since 629 was superseded with the term *basileus* (*Bury J. B.* 1940, 19–21; *Ostrogorsky G.* 1957, 95–96; *Shahid I.* 1972, 302–303, *Kaegi W. E.* 2003, 194), but didn’t become totally obsolete. In the 10-th century it dawned in the coin legends and then, in the imperial documents, such as *chrysobull*. In the context of this tradition the cases of its use in the connection with barbarian leaders or kings look extraordinary and can be an interesting topic for research.

As for Gaiseric, in the work three possible explanations are given. The first is a great volatility of the political terminology in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. The strongly ‘imperial’ terms, like *princeps* were used for the barbarian kings, and *vice versa*, the barbarian epithet *rex* frequently appeared as the word for an emperor. Before 629 the term *basileus* was used both for the emperors and for the barbarian kings.



The second explanation is that Procopius could use the more ancient tradition, especially the text of the *Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides, when speaking of an *autokrateia*. In the ancient Greek works, written before the Roman imperial period it had a meaning of the political independence, and this tradition also could influence on Procopius.

The third and the main version is about use of the term *autokrator* for the aims of propaganda. The fragment, where the author speaks about Gaiseric, is the prequel to the main theme of the *Vandal War*, the campaign of Justinian against the Vandal kingdom in Africa (533–534). Procopius describes this campaign as the ‘deliberating’ war against *tyrannis* of Gelimer, who was a usurper and violated the order of succession, instituted by Gaiseric (*Proc. Caes. De Bellis. III.9.10–12; 24–25; 16.13–14*).

Here Gaiseric can be seen as the key person. In the model, constructed by Procopius, he is on the side of the ‘violated legality’ and the ‘suffered legitimacy’, which Justinian, Belisarius and Justinian himself try to defend. If the situation can be presented such way, *autokrateia* of Gaiseric looks not random, but quite conscious: declaring the war with Gelimer, Justinian stands up for the legitimate ruler, recognized by the Empire.

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Оборона фракийского диоцеза Восточной Римской Империи в 447 г. Н.э.

В середине V в. н. э. отношения между Восточной Римской империей и племенным объединением гуннов резко обострились. Возможно, это было связано с установлением единоличной власти Аттилы (434–453) над гуннами и подвластными народами. По сообщению Проспера Аквитанского, в 444 г. Аттила «Бледу, брата своего и соратника по царству, убил и его народы вынудил себе повиноваться».

Через три года после смерти соправителя Аттилы потребовал от Империи выплатить дань и выдать перебежчиков, пригрозив войной. Однако Феодосий II (408–450) на совете в Константинополе решил никого не выдавать и отправил к гуннам послов для переговоров. В ответ на это Аттила в 447 г. форсировал Дунай восточнее восстановленного магистром Флавием Номом оборонительного рубежа. Войска гуннов принялись опустошать Восточный Иллирик, срыли несколько крепостей и взяли штурмом город *Ratiaria*.

Навстречу орде из Маркианополя выступил военный магистр Фракии Арнегискл. Римляне и объединенные войска гуннов Аттилы, гепидов Ардариха и готов Валамера встретились в провинции *Dacia ripensis*. В решающей битве на р. Утус, несмотря на мужество, проявленное римским командующим, армия Восточной империи была разбита, а сам Арнегискл погиб. Дорога на Маркианополь была открыта. После его падения гунны преодолели Балканский хребет и двинулись по *via militaris* в долину р. Гебр; захватили главный центр диоцеза – Филиппополь, а затем Аркадиополь в провинции Европа. По словам Марцеллина Комита, эта война была намного тяжелее, чем предыдущая: «она разорила почти всю Европу, города и крепости которой были захвачены и разграблены».



В ходе войны гунны вели правильную осаду укреплений и, как сообщает Галльская хроника 452 г., взяли 70 крепостей на Балканах; на юге их отряды дошли до Фермопил в Греции. Феофан Исповедник утверждал, что гунны уничтожили все города диоцеза, кроме Адрианополя в Гемимонте. При этом, Атила, «разбивши полководцев Римских, захватил бесчисленное множество пленных и добычи». В разоренных провинциях начался голод и эпидемии.

Монах Каллиник из Руфинианы сообщал, что Фракия была полностью опустошена; гунны разорили более 100 городов, и опасность угрожала самому Константинополю, из которого массово бежало население. Осложняло ситуацию и то, что во время землетрясения 27 января 447 г. рухнуло сразу 57 оборонительных башен столицы. К маю, когда гунны вышли на прямые подступы к Константинополю, их наскоро восстановили.

Римляне дали гуннам еще одно сражение. Оно произошло на п-ве Херсонес Фракийский, и имперские полководцы его опять проиграли. Феодосий II был вынужден вступить в переговоры. В 448 г. Империя, пойдя на очень тяжёлые условия (единовременную выплату 6000 литр золота и выдачу перебежчиков), добилась перемирия. По словам Приска Панийского, «в короткое время истощена была казна; золото и беглецы отправлены были к Уннам». Но мир был нужен любой ценой.

Только в ходе третьих переговоров (в 449 г.) Атила поклялся патрикиям Анатолию и Ному «в сохранении мира на прежних условиях: обязался уступить Римлянам землю, которая граничила [с] Истром, и не беспокоить более царя насчет беглых... Таким образом [были] прекращены несогласия с Атилою».

Возможно, его показательное миролюбие было вызвано все возрастающим интересом к делам Западной империи. Вскоре после этого последовали: битва на Каталаунских полях (451 г.), смерть Атилы в 453 г., и неудачное сражение на р. Недао в 454 г., после которого гуннам было уже не до выяснения отношений с Константинополем.

Последняя попытка орды прорваться через Дунай во Фракию закончилась катастрофой: в 469 г. голова Дензика, сына Атилы, предводителя гуннов, была доставлена в Константинополь.

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Two Campaigns in One Year. The Beginning of the Second Phase of the Avar-Roman Wars during the Reign of the Emperor Maurice Revisited

The question of the exact chronology belongs undisputedly to the most discussed topics relating to the work of the Late Antique Greek historian Theophylact Simocatta. One of the most controversial aspects in this matter is the chronology of the Avar-Roman wars. Up to this time, at least four major hypotheses were proposed by various scholars. A conclusive solution, however, is still open to discussion and the present historiography either follows the chronological scheme of



Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou or that of Michael Whitby. This contribution deals with the two starting points of the chronology of the second phase of the Roman–Avar wars – the campaign of the Emperor Maurice in person (V.16-VI.3) and the subsequent Avar attack (VI.3-VI.5). Contrary to the previous scholars, I would like to propose a new chronological solution for these two military operations. Based on the close textual examination, I argue that they were not only inserted into Simocatta's *Historia* in the wrong chronological order but they were also closely related and occurred in one and the same year – 590.

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L'habitat en transition : la région entre Strymon et Nestos au début de la période byzantine

À partir du VI^e siècle, la région, qui se trouve entre les deux grands fleuves Strymon et Nestos, qui coulent en Bulgarie et en Grèce actuelles, a été le théâtre de nombreux retournements politiques et militaires. Elle dut quelques convoitises à son emplacement au croisement des grands axes routiers menant à la capitale. Ne disposant d'aucun grand centre commercial, son économie fut surtout basée sur les activités agricoles qui se déroulaient dans les plaines alimentées par ces deux fleuves.

La modification de la société et de son urbanisme à partir la fin du V^e siècle a été le fruit de lents changements économiques, politiques, et administratifs que l'on peut rattacher au niveau plus général de l'empire. Ces changements reflètent aussi le déclin du modèle administratif romain. Les centres urbains locaux ne pouvaient plus assurer le fonctionnement du réseau économique de la région, ni même en garantir la sécurité. En conséquence de quoi la région devint de plus en plus dépendante de la capitale à ce niveau. La transformation des villes et le déclin de l'économie sont évidents en ce qui concerne l'architecture. Dans un contexte général défavorable (politique, stratégique, catastrophes naturelles) les centres urbains eurent tendance à fortement décroître, et la plupart des monuments publics à être abandonnés. Les habitants qui continuèrent à y vivre malgré tout se contentèrent alors simplement d'assurer leur autosuffisance. Cette période se distingue archéologiquement par des maisons de qualité moindre, qui réutilisent des bâtiments antérieurement détruits. Une partie de la population rurale transféra à ce moment ses habitations, et parfois même ses exploitations, vers des sites plus protégés, en hauteur, comme les études palynologiques nous l'indiquent. On peut noter la création d'une micro-économie agricole, surtout dans la région sud du mont Pangée, qui assure sa communication tant par la via Egnatia que par voie maritime.

Mais ensuite, un siècle plus tard environ, un nouvel essor se fit jour, comme le prouvent par exemple la tour que Nicéphore Phocas édifia à Philippes, les trouvailles numismatiques faites dans toute cette région, la multiplication des villages, ou encore la création de nombreuses métoques dans le bas-Strymon. Et c'est également à ce moment qu'il y eut une tendance à la réinstallation dans les villages tardo-antiques.



En conclusion, les changements topographiques et les bouleversements de la vie urbaine reflètent des modifications sociales et administratives, ainsi que l'altération des dynamiques démographiques. À la fin de l'Antiquité tardive la région perdit son caractère urbain pour devenir principalement agricole. Pendant les VII^e et VIII^e siècles, il y a certes dans cette région des changements sur le plan topographique, mais aucunement une rupture. Les populations s'adaptèrent aux changements économiques et climatiques, mais leurs mouvements restèrent surtout régionaux, les amenant vers des sites plus fortifiés. Les nouveaux peuples slaves qui arrivèrent trouvèrent quant à eux leur place près des rivières. C'est finalement au X^e siècle que ces dynamiques eurent tendance à se cristalliser.

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The Transfer of the Mardaites on the Balkans and Their Status in the Structure of the Western Themes – Peloponnese, Nicopolis and Cephalonia

During the 7th century the Mardaites were an important military and political factor in the Byzantine-Arab relations on the eastern border of the Empire. On the basis of the peace treaty which the Emperor Justinian II made with the Arabs, one part of the Mardaites was moved from the eastern border deeper into the interior of the Empire. In the following centuries they became an important part of the Byzantine naval forces in Attaleia – in theme of Cibyrrhaeots – as in the western themes – Peloponnese, Nicopolis, and Cephalonia.

Historians have not determined the precise time when the Mardaites resettled in the three western themes. It is unlikely that it occurred at the end of the 7th century – when Abd al-Malik ibn Marwan and the Emperor Justinian II concluded the agreement – because Constantinople at that time did not have a strong power in the area of the Peloponnese and Epirus. The authority of Constantinople in that part of the Empire was determined at the end of the 8th century, after campaign of Stauracius and conquest of significant part of the Peloponnese in 783. Therefore, it is possible to set the time of the colonization of the Mardaites in the southern Balkans in the interval between 783 and 877/878 when the sources record their presence in this area for the first time.

The only colonization implemented in the Peloponnese during this period, which is documented, was carried out by the Emperor Nicephorus I (802-811). The *Chronicle of Monemvasia* gives information on settling the soldiers from different parts of the Empire in the theme of Peloponnese, Thracians, Armenians and certain *Kafêroi*, among others. The author of *Chronicle* puts *Kafêroi* on the same level with Thracians, who were residents of the Thracian theme, as well as Armenians, probably members of the Armeniac theme, so it seems that Byzantologist Peter Charanis was right when he said that the name of *Kafêroi* also comes from the name of the same theme. In this case it could be the theme of Cibyrrhaeots. One part of those Cibyrrhaeots who were settled in the Peloponnese could certainly be the Mardaites of Attaleia.



Hence, it can be assumed that the Emperor Nicephorus I was responsible for the relocation of Asia Minor Mardaites in the Peloponnese. This colonization can be seen as part of the extensive colonial policy which the mentioned Emperor implemented in order to strengthen the Byzantine authority in different parts of the Empire.

Unlike the Mardaites from the Peloponnese, who participated in the fightings around Syracuse 877/878, and in Nasser's expedition on the Ionian Islands 880/881, the Mardaites from Nicopolis and Cephalonia were first mentioned in the sources in connection to the Byzantine expedition to Syria and Crete 910/911. Therefore, 910/911 year can be taken as a *terminus ante quem* of their settlement in the two western themes. Their transfer is, therefore, not probable earlier than 880/881 – before the Nasser's expedition – because the Mardaites of the Nicopolis and Cephalonia did not take part in this campaign. In accordance with this, their transfer to Nicopolis and Cephalonia should be dated between 880/881 and 910/911. Colonization was probably followed shortly after Nasser's campaign, in order to strengthen Byzantine military capabilities in Cephalonia and Epirus coast which were exposed to attacks by the Arab navy.

The Mardaites of the western themes were organized in the military units led by *tourmarchês*. In each of the mentioned themes there was one *tourma* of the Mardaites. Such a structure reminds of the organization of Persian *tourmai* which were distributed to themes throughout the Empire in the 9th century. The sources attest similar structure also in the case of the ethnic *tourmai* of the Goths, Bulgarians or *Aibiditai*. Therefore, the *tourmai* of the Mardaites should be considered as military (and perhaps administrative) units of an inferior rank in the Byzantine thematic structure in the 9th and 10th century.

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The Term “Sclavinia” – Byzantine Invention or Western Influence

This article attempts to shed light on the emergence of the term *Sclavinia*. It calls in question the thesis that term appeared in Constantinople in the VI or VII century. In addition, it argues that Theophylact Simokatta was not the first author who used it. The oldest manuscript of Theophylact's *History* is from X c., when the term was already well affirmed - all other Theophylact's manuscripts depend on this one. Theophylact used the term *Sclavinia* in only one place in his *History*, and in the way which made it unclear for his contemporary readers. None of his contemporary writers used it, and there is not any sign that anybody borrowed it from him. Patriarch Nicephorus, who wrote his history as a continuation of Theophylact's in the second half of VIII c., did not know the term *Sclavinia* at all. Theophane the Confessor, who widely used the term *Sclavinia* at the beginning of IX c., and who incorporated a big amount from *Theophylact's History* in his *Chronicle*, did not use the term in the sections based on Theophylact. Therefore, it is very possible that *Sclavinia* did not exist in the original of *Theophylact's History* but actually was an interpolation from X c.



If Theophylact is not the first author who used *Sclavinia*, then the oldest source in which we find is not byzantine but western one: *Life of Willibald*, written in 778, in northern Italy. The term was used in it for part of Peloponnese, indicating that in year 723 the Saint passed nearby by boat. Nothing supports the suggestion that he learned it in Byzantium. It is remarkable that it is not in a byzantine form – *Sclavinia*, but *Slawinia*.

This article proposes two possible explanations of emergence of the term. First, the alternative hypothesis that the term appeared in the region of the Adriatic Sea where Latin, Greek and Slavonic languages met each other, and was invented and used first by the Slavic neighbors. From Adriatic shores, it has expanded during the conflict between Franks and Romeos for Istra and Dalmatia in late VIII - early IX century. The second explanation is that the term *Sclavinia* was not invented in one place but it appeared spontaneously in many different places and authors often without connection between them. It was a very common way of making toponyms from ethnonyms in the middle ages, and it was easy to create *Sclavinia* form *Sclavi(ni)*, so we do not need to explain it through *inventions and borrowing*.

Sclavinia failed to take a permanent place in the official terminology of Byzantine or western imperial court. The first official use in Byzantium we find in a letter of Emperor Michael II to Emperor Luis the Pious, and in the west - in letter of Louis II to Basil I in 871. In general, the use of this term in Latin and Byzantine sources was very limited. In the old Slavic written tradition, it was never used, which suggests that *Sclavinia* was an external name.

Its use has spread at the time of inclusion of independent Slavic communities in Central Europe and the Balkans, in the sphere of influence and domination of the great empires from the end of VIII c. A suitable collective term, its weakness was its too general and uncertain meaning. With the disappearance of small Slavic tribes or their evolution in larger independent state formations established under their own well-known names, it loses its relevance.



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synthèse sur l'art de la céramique polychrome architecturale en Bulgarie



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The Invisible Textile Workers of Egypt

Women in the Byzantine economy have largely been considered invisible by scholars of the twentieth century. Their presence in the archaeological record can be obscure, and textual evidence written by or sent to women is often treated as personal correspondence rather than professional documentation. However, this overlooks a large segment of the population who were functioning within the framework of commercial production. One of the best windows modern scholars have into the important role women played in the economic life of late antiquity is through research of the textile industry. In the first millennium CE, the various stages of textile production and trade employed a large proportion of Egyptian society, and are therefore integral to our understanding of the economy and trade. The textile industry also provides a key case study in discerning how the concepts of professional versus domestic and commercial versus craft were understood in late antique society.

In discussions of the textile industry of Byzantine and early Islamic Egypt, it is often repeated that women were not participants in a professional context and did not contribute to the economy in an official capacity. Such views are based on two methodological problems: they both project modern ideas onto the past and generalise from a single example. More specifically, they assume that the home and workplace were separate entities and use the model of imperial silk factories as a blueprint for the whole industry. Such assumptions are not supported by the evidence. Through discussion of the archaeological finds and references to female textile workers in the papyri, I will show that women were working as professionals within the textile industry and were active participants in the economy.

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Christian Motifs in Egyptian Textiles

This paper will focus on Christian motifs in Egyptian textiles especially from Danish collections. Persecution of Christians in the Middle East has been a major problem in recent years, which has drawn particular attention to the Christian minority in Egypt, the Copts who still count more than 10 million people. They are descendants of the ancient Egyptians. From the 300s to 639-40 Egypt was part of Byzantium that strongly influenced the Christian culture in Egypt. Coptic art in early Christianity grew out of popular Egyptian art of Roman times. Especially the so-called Coptic textiles are famous. Coptic textiles are a term for textiles produced in Egypt in the first millennium AD. They fall into several periods – today it is normal to distinguish between a Roman,



Byzantine and an Islamic period. Danish museums have a considerable number of such Egyptian textiles, at the National Museum, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, David Collection, Willumsen's Museum and in particular at the Design Museum Denmark.

The history of Christianity in Egypt goes long back. According to Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (260 – 340) the Apostle Markus brought Christianity to Egypt in the mid-1st century. In 381, Christianity became the state religion, and Egypt became a part of Byzantium. Already at that time the Egyptian textiles were controversial. Thus the Syrian Asterius, bishop of Amaseia (d. 410 AD), was critical of the Christian Egyptian custom of wearing colorful decorations on costumes:

”They’ve got a custom where they wear strange shapes of all kinds of suit, and they wear them all, they give their women and children multicolored fabrics with thousands of characters. When they come out in public dressed in this fashion, they appear as painted walls to those they meet”.

There have been found more Egyptian textiles with motifs from the Old Testament than from the New Testament. Popular stories are the Fall of Man, Elijah's ascension, Jonah in the belly of the whale and motives from David's life. Most popular is Joseph from the Old Testament, the second youngest of the patriarch Jacob's twelve sons and Jacob's favorite son.

Because of jealousy his brothers sold him as a slave to Egypt. These motifs from the Old Testament were used by the Coptic Christians to emphasize the events of the New Testament, like the early Christians elsewhere in Byzantium. The Christian Egyptians were proud of the fact that Joseph and Mary came to Egypt to escape from King Herod with the newborn Jesus Christ, and therefore there are many textiles illustrating the Flight to Egypt. From the New Testament motifs with Mary and the Child and the Three Holy Men are the most popular. Also subjects from the Apocrypha are found, such as the Virgin's history. After the Arab invasion of Egypt in 641, the Coptic art was to some degree influenced by Islamic Art.

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Byzantine Identity through a Material Culture Case: The Cameo as a Narrative

This participation is based on an ethnological approach of material culture as a narrative that gives information about how objects, specifically the cameos, are carriers of an identity, in this case the Byzantine one. A study of the cultural biography of the cameo will allow to follow the paths of the Byzantine identity, its changes, influences, and its moving meanings in different contexts. Glyptic art is viewed as a narrative: the act of engraving precious stones as a language, being its main purpose to transfer meaning in context. Reading material culture as language implies considering the structure of the objects to be read. For the cameo, its physicality and how it communicates through it are fundamental. The context is key in understanding its meanings and functions, and therefore of how it carries one or more identities. I intend to ‘read’ the cameo as a carrier of the Byzantine identity and to unravel the influences in its original context and how it moved toward



new ones. The cameo is an object whereby agreed meanings and functions are used to communicate a message that can only work when both sender and receiver have a common code. A historical review will show that the change of context provides new elements of interpretation, enriching the 'readings' of the cameo and its identities. Hence, the cameo is a code relying on agreed rules of use and meaning moving dynamically to function in other contexts.

If we 'read' the cameo, we must understand its language. Though the fundamental elements of a language are letters and the earliest written language was cuneiform script, images appeared earlier in petroglyphs. Two kinds: pictographs, depicting significant events; and ideographs, representing a concept. They became cylinder seals, which in turn became stamp seals, Egyptian scarabs and cameos. Thus we can consider the art of glyptic as a language with an own system, bearing in mind that meanings ascribed to words and objects change constantly. But a change of context changes its meanings and functions, and in turn its physicality. It is my purpose to deepen into the paths the cameo and the identity it carries have followed. New materials brought new colors and thus new meanings to the cameo, which added new layers of interpretation, such as those offered by chromosemiotics. The development of technique had an impact too, broadening the possibilities of expression. Every time, the cameo is literally and symbolically a functional carrier of the identities it contains. It embodies meanings from personal affirmation to political or apotropaic, which are present even simultaneously, making the cameo a multilayered object and inviting to a multilayered reading of it. The phenomenon of collectionism illustrates this, adding the concept of authenticity to the layers. What is a copy? How are there different levels of copies? What is the value of the cameo in terms of its materials, technique, meaning and use? How did this influence its physicality? How and when did the cameo move from an active function to a passive musealized one? Did it undergo this phase simultaneously with being actively worn? Does this passive phase apply to the identities it carries? Has the Byzantine identity of the cameo being musealized, disappeared, or is it still present? These are some of the questions I want to reflect upon in the presentation.

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La céramique peinte provenant des contextes funéraires et urbains en Albanie

Cet article se propose d'explorer les vaisselles peintes (à bandes larges et à bandes étroites) qui constituent une catégorie important, et en ce qui concerne leur développement, nous voyons une continuation de l'Antiquité tardive au Moyen Âge. Tout d'abord il faut souligner que cette catégorie sous des formes diverses a été peu étudiée dans le territoire actuel de l'Albani. Le matériel que nous pensons présenter ici, provenant de différents contextes : nécropoles et les agglomérations urbaines. On peut dire, que se sont ces contextes que nous ont aidés à analyser les caractéristiques et les point communs spécifiques de ces vaisselles, ainsi que de mieux comprendre le développement de cette catégorie présent dans différentes périodes du VII^e-XIV^e siècle. Pour établir les différences entre la production du haut Moyen Âge et celle du bas Moyen Âge nous avons divisé deux différentes phases :



la première du VII^e-IX^e siècle et la deuxième du X^e-XIV^e siècle. Pour la première phase, les vases peints plutôt à bandes larges de couleur rouge ou bien rouge-brunes, provenant principalement dans des nécropoles (Krujë, Lezhë, Durrës, Piskovë, Rehovë). Par contre, celles de la deuxième phase ont été trouvés principalement dans des contextes urbains de ces dernières années, notamment dans l'amphithéâtre de Durrës. Les changements que nous avons enregistré dans les productions de la deuxième moitié du XII^e siècle avec la prédominance de bandes étroites sont significatifs et marquent le tournant d'une totale affirmation des principaux motifs de l'époque du bas Moyen Âge.

Ce genre de décor peint a été trouvé sur les sites comme Campagna, Apulia et Basilicata dans le sud de l'Italie. Mais, les exemples prospectifs et analogues peuvent être trouvés sur d'autres sites dans la région de Salento en Calabre, ainsi que sur les fouilles de Crypta Balbi à Rome. Néanmoins ici, nous avons essayé de donner une présentation préliminaire avec une classification et son développement, et nous pensons que cela peut servir de base à une étude approfondie de cette catégorie en Albanie.

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«Dimitrios» or «Prodromos»:

The Case of a Popular Sgraffito Ceramics Monogram

An exceptionally interesting and not yet sufficiently explored feature of the Late Byzantine culture is the Sgraffito Ceramics with underglazed monograms. It is distinguished by quality manufacture, monochromacy, spare and precisely applied decoration in which the monograms, placed on the inner surface at the bottoms, play the major role. The vessels are of small dimensions, mainly cups, bowls and plates, and could be attributed to the luxurious Elaborate Incised Ware. Their area of distribution, together with the chronology, suggests that the ceramic group most probably was traded with the mediation of the Venetian and Genoese sailors. Samples are found mainly along the shores of Black, Azov and Aegean Sea. Concerning the chronology, the date of the vessels, unearthed in Constantinople is precised at the end of the 13th – 14th century. Meanwhile in the Northern Black Sea region and the Pryazovia the Glazed pottery with monograms appears only c. the middle – the second half of 14th century. In Bulgaria the few reliable archaeological contexts are dated within the 14th century.

Among the popular abbreviated inscriptions that are met incised on Byzantine Sgraffito Ceramics, we could distinguish the imperial mark of the Palaeologoi dynasty, the names 'Michael', 'John', the letters K, A etc. In the world of symbols, that the Middle Ages represent, there is hardly any manifestation of the culture where the Christian faith hasn't left its mark. So the religious attribution of at least a part of the sgraffito underglazed monograms seems the most logical explanation. 48 of the monograms known from different sites in Bulgaria - Ahtopol, Sozopol, Nessebar, Varna, Kastritsi, Balchik, Kavarna and Kaliakra, are developed around the Greek letter Π, to which the



other letters are adjoined or incorporated. Due to the widely accepted in the scientific circles reading as «Δημήτριος», already at this stage a problem emerges: that name contains the letter „Τ”, instead of „Π”. We have to say that this particular decipherment prevails after the finding of a few sgraffito plates with the monogram at the crypt of the ‘Agios Dimitrios’ basilica in Thessaloniki, that led to the interpretation of the abbreviated inscription as the name of the patron-saint. It also brought the hypothesis that the vessels were used in rituals, connected with the holy spring water in the church, and were transferred as blessings by the pious pilgrims, just like the lead ampulae-koutrouvia, that contained the miraculous myrrh of the Thessaloniki martyr saint. It remains unclear why the impractical, open form of the plates would have been selected for such a use. Furthermore, and considering the facts, this interpretation becomes even more problematic, due to several other reasons. First, the only reliable data about the production of vessels with the aforementioned monogram comes from Constantinople, and not from Thessaloniki. Second, the geography of their distribution does not support as well the Thessaloniki connection, with the most samples originating from Bulgaria’s Black Sea coast. And third, there is no example, available to me, of an image of St Dimitrios, accompanied by the monogram, known to us from the Sgraffito Ceramics. At the same time we can find it in a plenty of holy images of St John the Baptist, where the full canonical inscription states: «Άγιος Ιωάννης ο Πρόδρομος» (‘Saint John the Forerunner’). Further proof for the sustainability of use of the monogram in the context of that inscription is the chronology of the samples, starting from the 11th century up to the 18th century. Its use is most common, however, in the Palaeologian Art of the 14th century. In this regard, for the same monograms, engraved on Glazed Sgraffito Ceramics, a reading as «Πρ(ό)δρ(ο)μ(ο)ς» (“Prodrimos”) should be considered.

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Orner l’espace liturgique aux IX^e et X^e s.: synthèse sur l’art de la céramique polychrome architecturale en Bulgarie

En 1907, des fouilles archéologiques ont révélé une production et une utilisation de l’art de la céramique polychrome architecturale dans la décoration de plusieurs églises de Constantinople, soulevant notamment des interrogations sur leur origine. La question devient entière avec la découverte en 1909 par I. Gospodinov de plaques similaires à pâte blanche dans les fouilles du monastère de Patleina, situé dans le rayonnement de la deuxième capitale du 1^{er} royaume bulgare médiéval (Preslav), établie par Siméon I^{er} (893-927). Cette région est en effet durant cette période le lieu de l’installation de complexes monastiques mais aussi de la construction de nombreuses églises. Cette vie artistique et spirituelle intense reflète en réalité la politique de ce roi qui souhaite élever son jeune état bulgare au rang des foyers artistiques proches que sont Thessalonique et Constantinople. La situation géographique de ces terres la désignant par ailleurs comme un point de confluence où se mêlent des héritages antiques et différentes influences issues de mouvements



migratoires de populations divers, nécessite de s'interroger sur les sources d'inspirations et sur les savoirs techniques qui ont pu marquer leur production artistique. Durant la période médiévale, les dirigeants animés d'une volonté d'affirmer leur puissance face à Constantinople entretiendront une relation passionnelle avec cette dernière perçue autant comme une concurrente que comme un modèle. Il n'est donc pas surprenant de voir dans la décoration de constructions civiles et religieuses sous Siméon I^{er}, l'apparition de la céramique polychrome architecturale, utilisée dans les mêmes périodes qu'à Constantinople comme décor pariétal.

Leur origine – Preslav ou Constantinople – tout comme celle des artistes-artisans a éveillé de nombreux débats. Les études récentes ont toutefois pu éclaircir certains aspects dont notamment pour le cas de Preslav, que cet art original a été produit localement. Actuellement, 5 grands complexes d'ateliers de fabrication de ce type de céramique ont pu être identifiés dans le bassin de Preslav mais les connaissances sur la diffusion et sur le développement de cette décoration architecturale demeurent incertaines. Nous souhaitons de ce fait présenter dans un premier temps une synthèse des connaissances acquises sur cet art jusqu'à aujourd'hui afin, nous l'espérons, approfondir une réflexion sur leur interaction avec l'édifice et le fidèle. Orner l'espace liturgique dans le sens « d'ornare » c'est-à-dire décorer une surface dans le but de sublimer harmonieusement un lieu afin qu'il soit à la hauteur de la gloire de Dieu, prend également une tout autre dimension en devenant un moyen de transmission de messages spirituels et de pouvoirs. Composées de deux catégories – ornemental et figuré –, ces céramiques participent tout comme la mosaïque, la peinture ou la sculpture à figurer le monde céleste sur terre mais aussi à montrer comme l'explique Cyprien de Carthage (III^e s.) que le fidèle doit tout comme l'église est ornementée, édifier son intérieur en le parant de l'éclat de la vraie lumière et de vertus. Derrière cette décoration fabriquée sur la demande de commanditaires, nous assistons non seulement à une volonté d'accroître la foi du croyant mais surtout d'exprimer une puissance en touchant la sensibilité du fidèle. Nous souhaitons par ailleurs, malgré l'absence en général de contexte architectural précis, comprendre à travers ces décors peints, incrustés ou ajourés, leur organisation et leur lien dans l'espace liturgique.



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LITERATURE AND POLITICS

Chairs: Sysse G. Engberg, Ida Toth

Georgios Kalafikis,

Orationes parallelae: The Laudations of Q. Aurelius Symmachus and Themistius to the Brother-Emperors Valentinian I and Valens; Propagating Common Principles for Governing and Defending Both “partes imperii” ca. 365-370 A.D.

Mattia C. Chiriatti,

Gregory of Nyssa’s Funeral λόγοι as an Early Model of Byzantine Rhetoric and Imperial Propaganda

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The Political Use of the *Old Testament* in Byzantium

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Spaneas at the Court of the Lusignan



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Orationes parallelae: The Laudations of Q. Aurelius Symmachus and Themistius to the Brother-Emperors Valentinian I and Valens; Propagating Common Principles for Governing and Defending Both “partes imperii” ca. 365-370 A.D.

This paper focus on five speeches, delivered by the orators Q. Aurelius Symmachus and Themistius in favour of the two brother-emperors, Valentinian I and Valens. These five orations can be grouped in three pairs, in relation to their subject. Actually, it seems as if both rhetors tried to answer to certain questions about how the empire should be governed and defended in the best possible way ca. 365-370 AD. In chronological order, we deal with Themistius’ “Oration 6 (364 AD): φιλάδελφοι ἢ περὶ φιλανθρωπίας” and “Oration 7 (367 AD): περὶ τῶν ἡτυχηκότων ἐπὶ Οὐάλεντος”, Symmachus’ “Laudatio in Valentinianum prior (368/9 AD)” and “Laudatio in Valentinianum altera (370 AD)” and finally with Themistius’ “Oration 10 (370 AD): ἐπὶ τῆς εἰρήνης Οὐάλεντι”.

All these panegyrics seem to propagate some common principles about the state administration and the defence of the empire by applying similar motifs. This shouldn’t be regarded as a coincidental but a deliberate intention. A balanced distribution of imperial power (a), the defence against the barbarians (b), and the amelioration of the defences by fortifying the frontiers as well as by reinforcing the troops and strengthening the army in general (c), constitute the three pillars onto which the two brother-emperors should always base their policy. So, these speeches weren’t only supposed to praise whatever success the rulers had achieved until then, but maybe also aimed at instigating further imperial action towards the same triple direction: at first, as a proper response to the regime instability (a), then as a suitable reaction to the empire’s military troubles (b) and finally as an appropriate solution to its strategic problems (c)

In summary, Symmachus and Themistius shared similar or complementary opinions in all the aforesaid issues. When it comes to the imperial system, both orators spoke of a symmetric imperial order of at least two equally-ranking emperors, because symmetry favoured balance and balance favoured stability (Themistius, Oration 6, 364 AD. – Symmachus, Laudatio prior, 368/9 AD). Both of them argued as well that the emperors should anyway consider foreign barbarians, not domestic opponents and usurpers, as the ‘public enemy number one’ (Themistius, Oration 7, 367 AD. – Symmachus, Laudatio prior, 368/9 AD). Having all these in mind, the orators underlined the commitment of the two brother-emperors towards the task of developing proper military strategies for tackling with barbarians and for promoting peace and security. So, according to their panegyrists, Valentinian and Valens shared a common objective: their goal was the containment – strategically speaking – of all foreign enemies well out of the imperial borders. In line with this strategy, border fortifications and the reinforcement of the army combined with military campaigns and peace treaties were seen as a means to an end: an effective defence that would ensure total protection for the entire empire (Symmachus, Laudatio altera, 370 AD. – Themistius, Oration 10, 370 AD). In this way, all these speeches seemed like “παράλληλοι λόγοι” or “orationes parallelae”, either in Greek or in Latin.



In parallel though, the perception of the frontier(s) (*limes-limites*) primarily as a ‘demarcation line’ separating the Greco-Roman world (*οἰκουμένη*) from the barbarian one (*barbaricum*), such as it was normally thought of during the classic Roman imperial era, was transformed into a concept of a virtually ‘continuous fortified line of defence’ from the very start of the Byzantine period during Late Antiquity. Thus, a real change in terminology, as well in mentality, is lurking for the Early Byzantine Empire.

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Gregory of Nyssa’s Funeral λόγοι as an Early Model of Byzantine Rhetoric and Imperial Propaganda

Gregory of Nyssa became the official orator at the Theodosian court, as he was in charge of delivering the funeral orations of Meletius, patriarch of Constantinople (381 AD), Flaccilla, first spouse of the emperor Theodosius I (386), and Pulcheria, their daughter (385).

This sort of speech, one of the most distinguished genres in the Byzantine literary production, found its roots in the Christian rhetoric, although the latter one was, at the same time, debtor to the legacy of the Second Sophistic and Menander’s βασιλικὸς λόγος. The readaptation of a classical funeral genre, the ἐπιτάφιος, already in use from the 5th century BC (the oldest surviving Greek funeral oration was held by Pericles in honour of the fallen of the first year of the Peloponnesian War, in the winter of 431) to mourn in a public assembly the death of fallen warriors, became for Late Antiquity bishops, both in the West and the East part of the Empire, a powerful rhetorical weapon in order to spread a political and religious propaganda, where the grief addressed to distinct imperial and ecclesiastical figures allowed them to create a new politics. This was basically the result of the powerful amalgam of the Emperor’s support together with a new coined language, which left aside its traditional *simplicitas* to become a new instrument of proselytism for the growing power of the Church.

The Christian rhetoric, whilst mourning the loss of a prominent ecclesiastical character such as Meletius, president of the first Council of Constantinople, turned itself into an accommodated vehicle of religious and political issues diffusion. Gregory, as official orator, availed himself of the discourse public occasion to infuse into the assembly the idea about how important Christian worship was and how this conduct of life yielded lots of rewards. Thanks to this popular involvement, therefore, the preacher tried to instill the new ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως into the faithfuls making the public imperial cult continue and, at the same time, while eulogizing the deceased ones, sought the legitimization of the Nicene Creed, articulating a new official ideology for imperial characters, as, for instance, the empress Flaccilla, who embodied the icon of a new βασιλεία, the Christian one, by means of her three main virtues, *pietas*, *castitas* and *virginitas*.



Through the analysis of the aforementioned Gregory of Nyssa's speeches, it can be consequently deduced, as A. Cameron pointed out, how the Christian discourse recontextualized the Second Sophistic rhetorical past, adopting its literary pattern "to convert a simple rhetorical technique into a powerful rhetorical message shaped in political terms, seeking to legitimize their newly found political power" (A. Cameron, "Christianity and the Rhetoric of the Empire. The development of Christian Discourse", Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1991, p. 123).

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Wolves and Centaurs in Byzantium: Dehumanizing the Enemy in the Seventh-Century Byzantine Literature

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

These two devastating defeats shocked Byzantine subjects of all persuasions. Throughout the seventh century, authors of all genres of literature and from all religious and cultural backgrounds struggled to interpret who was to blame, and what defeat meant for God's chosen empire. A common strategy was to dehumanize the enemy, whether that be the Persian or Muslim army, a domestic population who colluded with the adversary, or an individual or group whose behaviour brought judgment upon the empire.

Significant work has been done on individual aspects of this issue. Concerning the revival of *adversus Judaeos* literature, the work of Robert Lewis Wilken, David Olster, Gilbert Dagron Vincent Déroche and Averil Cameron have brought about vigorous and productive debate concerning the portrayal and treatment of Jews by seventh-century Byzantine authors. Daniel J. Sahas has drawn close attention to the demonization of the Arabs in Maximus the Confessor.

However, most scholarship has dealt with issues of dehumanization of enemies in piecemeal manner, with few addressing this phenomenon from a cross-cultural perspective. Jews and Christians, poets and hagiographers all used the trope of dehumanization to provide understanding of their contemporary circumstances, to assign blame, and to categorize unknown adversaries, yet scholars have addressed this subject under the narrower headings such as Jewish-Christian relations or early Islamic reception.



This paper examines such portrayals from multiple genres, including poetry, hagiography, historiography, epistolary literature and apocalyptic literature. Close attention will be paid to what role demonization played in the increasingly popular use of apocalyptic discourse in Byzantine literature. Ultimately, this paper hopes to clarify the varied coping mechanisms used by Byzantine authors to address the increasingly bleak circumstances of the seventh century.

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Writing during the Iconoclasm: Literature as a Political Weapon

During the iconoclast controversy (730-843), Byzantine literature became scarcer and experienced a significant change in its character in such a way that it turned more political and developed a clearly combative function. In fact, the literature written in this period is mainly composed of texts referring to the crisis of the images and its fight. In the last few decades, research into the iconoclast conflict has received an especially productive attention. The major achievements in this sense illustrate how, why and in what manner the worship of images was persecuted. However, research has advanced very little in the study of its literature, a set of intriguing texts composed during that period of instability and controversy, which, owing to political prohibitions, often circulated clandestinely, but always with well-defined ideological and propagandistic objectives.

The progressive demographic explosion of Byzantine monasticism since the second half of the 7th c. and the increase in the number of noble, wealthy and well-educated individuals ordained as monks at the same time as Theodore Stoudite meant that the monastic culture flourished in all its splendour. Some intellectuals took advantage of the independence and serenity of monastic retreat to create an abundance of new literature, which intended to be a key element in the political evolution of the Empire. Their involvement in earthly events became more and more intense, their opposition to imperial power grew firmer and firmer, and, thanks to the new texts they were producing, more and more effective.

Beyond its theological and apologetic texts, the writing during the Iconoclasm is above all a writing about saints, whose lives were taken as pretexts for narrating history, creating a group identity and thus influence society. The attitude of these zealous heroes entailed fleeing, gaol and torture, but also solidarity among those persecuted and cohesion among those who found in their opposition to the iconoclastic imperial power a form of religious life that can only be compared to that of the first Christians. Assimilated in this way to the martyrs executed in the arenas by the pagan emperors, the new heroes of Orthodoxy, often simply confessors, were the ideal subject for a literature planned to be the perfect tools for bringing a monastic or social group into cohesion, creating an identity, and even entering politics.

According to Theodore Stoudite's Epist. 499, devotion to saints required both texts and images to help with the Christian understanding of their virtues. In the promotion of this devotion for



those killed in the iconoclast persecution, we find a first ideological and political element that is then confirmed by the contents of the narratives created for that promotion. Thus, much of the literature of the iconoclast era was addressed to gathering proof that could support the holiness of the neo-martyrs in a liturgical context, show their real political agenda and denounce the insults made by the heretics. These texts were actually written down to acclaim these heroes, thus preserving them for posterity and proposing them as a model of public behaviour. Regardless of the form they take, these texts were the ones most loved by the public and also the most abundant, in a certain sense, the bestsellers of the Byzantine Empire. What is more, writing them and reading them were considered proof of holiness (Vita Georg. Amastr. 13-14), which made them an excellent vehicle for the transmission of iconodule ideology and the ideal socio-political weapon for the Resistance.

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The Political Use of the *Old Testament* in Byzantium

This paper shall attempt to interpret historical and liturgical events in Constantinople, with the Byzantine Old Testament lectionary (Prophetologion) as a point of departure. An examination of the Old Testament texts read at particular festivals, and of their symbolic meaning, may tell us something about the political importance of the Emperor's construction or restoration of churches, and his use of relics to consolidate his position.

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Spaneas at the Court of the Lusignan

The twelfth century moral-didactic poem known as *Spaneas*, was very popular during the late byzantine and post byzantine era as its manuscript tradition and its influence on other texts indicate.

One of the oldest versions of the text is found in the miscellaneous codex Vat. Palat. gr. 367. My research has reached the conclusion that Constantine Anagnostes, the scribe of the codex, was also the author of the version.

Anagnostes dedicated this version to the scholar Georgios Lapithes, his younger colleague in the court of the Lusignan. Lapithes in his turn, was influenced and inspired by it in order to write his moral-didactic poem named Στίχοι πολιτικοί αυτοσχέδιοι εις κοινήν ακοήν.



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Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

THE MIDDLE BYZANTINE PERIOD – PART 2

Chairs: **Thomas Pratsch, Yannis Stouraitis**

Numa Buchs,

Défendre l'Empire : l'armée sur le territoire byzantin sous Constantin Monomaque

Kostiantyn Bardola,

Byzantine Ideology of War: Between East and West

Marili Lykaki,

La captivité de guerre dans un empire qui change (VI^e-XI^e s)

Yanko Hristov,

On the Issue of War-Captives in the Early Medieval Balkans

Michał Pietranik,

Relics Captured during the War and Their Role in Byzantium during the Macedonian Dynasty

Martina Čechová,

Banished to the End of the World:

Crimean Cherson as a Place of Exile in the Early and Middle Byzantine Period



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Défendre l'Empire : l'armée sur le territoire byzantin sous Constantin Monomaque

L'Empire byzantin, à l'avènement de Constantin IX Monomaque est la première puissance du monde méditerranéen. Il doit pourtant faire face à des dissidences dans les Balkans et est soumis aux attaques de nouveaux ennemis. Ces événements l'obligent à renoncer à toute expansion à grande échelle. Cependant, toute tentative d'agrandir le territoire impérial n'est pas abandonnée, bien au contraire ; de plus face aux nouveaux défis militaires engendrés par les attaques des Petchenègues et des Turcs, mais aussi les tentatives d'usurpation, Constantin IX ne reste pas passif. Il procède au recrutement de nouvelles troupes et emploie celles des souverains soumis. Les armées impériales sont ainsi chargées de mettre fin aux révoltes, d'étendre le territoire byzantin ou tout simplement de le défendre.

Jean Skylitzès et Michel Attaliatès sont les sources narratives qui nous apportent le plus de renseignements sur les lieux où sont stationnées les troupes, sur les types d'armées auxquelles l'empereur fait appel et même sur les points d'appuis principaux des armées byzantines dans le cadre des campagnes militaires au milieu du XI^e siècle. On voit apparaître trois réservoirs possibles dans lesquels Constantin Monomaque peut puiser. Les armées sont soit envoyées depuis la capitale soit levées sur place parmi les troupes thématiques ou tagmatiques, soit constituées d'un mélange des deux. Pour l'Empire qui ne peut lever des troupes en nombre illimité, il s'agit de faire le meilleur usage possible de ses ressources militaires.

Connaître l'organisation de la réponse impériale face aux menaces militaires externes et internes peut apporter bien des éléments de compréhension sur l'implantation et l'importance des armées byzantines dans l'ensemble de l'Empire sous Constantin IX. Le nombre assez élevé de défaites subies par les armées byzantines amène l'empereur à lever à plusieurs reprises de nouvelles armées, l'obligeant à faire appel aux troupes situées dans d'autres zones géographiques de l'Empire ou en recrutant de nouveaux soldats. De plus, pour faire face aux invasions, mais aussi pour poursuivre l'expansion, l'Empire byzantin s'appuie sur des villes et des forteresses clés. Ces points d'appuis fournissent les bases de l'expansion ou les fondements des défenses impériales.

Le milieu du XI^e siècle est un moment de transformation de la structure de l'appareil militaire byzantin, et donc la fin de la véritable utilité militaire des thèmes. Le recours au recrutement de mercenaires s'est généralisé pour garnir les rangs byzantins sous Constantin IX, au point que les troupes professionnelles représentent la très grande majorité des armées. Celles-ci sont très mobiles et sont stationnées ou rappelées en fonction des besoins. Comprendre le stationnement des troupes au cours des années 1042-1055 permet de mieux saisir la hiérarchie des menaces réelles ou supposées.

L'Empire byzantin sous Monomaque doit donc réorganiser une défense dont il n'avait pas eu besoin depuis les guerres de la reconquête du X^e siècle. L'apparition de nouveaux ennemis, qui resteront jusqu'à la fin de l'Empire des protagonistes importants de son histoire, impose à Byzance une utilisation différente de ses ressources militaires.



Cette communication aura pour but d'étudier avec minutie la répartition des armées byzantines dans leur effort de guerre au milieu du XI^e siècle, sur les principaux théâtres d'opération : en Orient et dans les Balkans. Elle permettra aussi de repérer les points-clés du dispositif militaire byzantin sous le règne du basileus Constantin IX.

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Byzantine Ideology of War: Between East and West

In the turbulent times of VI-XII centuries war was an everyday affair, with no exceptions both for the West and for the East. The Byzantine Empire found itself between two fires, and due to this affair, the state paid much attention to it. In addition to the strategic and tactical skills of the commander, the state of weapons and equipment of soldiers and the level of logistical support services, not less, and sometimes a psychological, moral training of troops was even more important. This issue was controlled with ideologically prepared military doctrine. Despite the fact that ideological message to the “right of conquest” existed in the Byzantine law since the times of the Roman Empire, the emperors gradually declined it in contrast to the barbarian kingdoms which actively used it. This was largely due to the social changes, strengthening of the state apparatus, strengthening the idea of the emperor as the kind of manager responsible for the fate of all citizens, rather than as the supreme military commander, in the minds of the Byzantines. In these circumstances, Byzantine ambassadors and other officials have actively used the idea of “the return of their lands,” since the reign of the Emperor Justinian I and up to the XII century, usually in the form of rhetorical propaganda to justify the offensive or defensive military operations. This thesis gradually became part of the Byzantine, and later of Western theory of “the just war.” This ideological reception was successfully carried out in the fights against the Western barbarian and nomadic people. But it should be noted that the Byzantine diplomacy soberly assessed the possibility of ideological influence on the morale of the enemy, using the rhetorical devices usual for them only when they had a chance to be adequately perceived both by the enemies and own troops. Perhaps the inefficiency of this doctrine in the East explains the fact that the ideology of “the return of their own lands” almost was not used in the fight against the Muslims.

On the other hand, the Byzantine emperors did not seek to follow the Muslims and to paint its military actions in the ideological color of “holy war”, despite the fact that the religious factor played a significant role in the training of soldiers. Such care was directly dependent on the reluctance of the Byzantine bureaucracy to become dependent on the religious ideologies and the Church itself. Thus, the emperors' form of military ideology depended on the socio-political character of Byzantine power and, of course, was limited by this issue. In general, it can be noted that the Byzantine military doctrine was weaker than the Muslim one, which was quite invariant, ideologically. It led to a decrease in enthusiasm of the Byzantines in the fight against the Muslims, which was fixed by multiple sources.



Despite this, the diplomatic service of the Romans, skillfully using the inherited history and traditions of the Roman Empire, made its contribution to the theory of international relations, and in the future its activities served as an example for the diplomats of many countries.

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La captivité de guerre dans un empire qui change (VI^e-XI^e s)

Au cours de l'ère discutée, en ayant en tant que gage l'héritage romain, Byzance s'est trouvée au centre des mutations au niveau géopolitique et idéologique. L'attitude à l'égard des prisonniers de guerre est en train de changer sous l'impact du christianisme et les échanges des captifs avec les Arabes battent leur plein. L'étendue des siècles étudiés permet la revue du sujet tant pendant les périodes de prospérité qu'aux périodes de repli de l'Empire.

La captivité est une situation transitoire qui conduisait soit à l'esclavage soit à la libération. Il s'agit d'un phénomène militaire et diplomatique qui touche aussi les domaines de la société et de la culture. Le changement de la scène géographique et démographique des régions concernées implique le renversement de la vie quotidienne des personnes. Une série des questions se posent à propos de leur statut et leur affranchissement. Pendant ce temps, on voit les captifs assumer des rôles divers. Dans le cas de la restitution de prisonniers le rapport entre l'individu et l'État est particulier, parce que l'individu sort des limites de son État et passe sous l'autorité de l'adversaire politique. Alors, un sentiment de responsabilité de l'État byzantin initiât envers les prisonniers.

Durant cette époque les états et les sociétés appliquaient sur ce point leurs propres lois écrites ou orales. C'était donc elles qui déterminaient, en ligne générale et avec de nombreuses variations dans leur mise en pratique, le comportement et les obligations des vainqueurs envers ceux qui avaient été capturés sur les champs de bataille. Ainsi se démontrent les mutations de la loi byzantine et son impact sur le comportement à l'égard des questions diverses concernant les prisonniers de guerre. La législation contient des dispositions relatives aux problèmes des prisonniers de guerre, que complètent des informations éparses et fragmentaires provenant des sources narratives, hagiographiques, des écrits des Pères de l'Eglise et des manuels militaires. De l'autre côté, à l'exception du cas des Arabes pour lesquels il existe des témoignages dans les sources également arabes, nos informations en ce qui concerne la législation ou la coutume qui déterminaient le sort des prisonniers de guerre chez les peuples contemporains de Byzance sont fragmentaires et proviennent également de sources byzantines.

Dans le cours du temps Byzance développât sa politique sur la captivité. Pourtant son attitude différait, non seulement quant à savoir qui était l'ennemi, mais avec le même ennemi, il y avait des variations et des développements en fonction des besoins spécifiques de l'Empire et de l'objectif stratégique qu'il se posait. Le traitement du problème des captifs par l'Etat et l'Eglise mesure l'avancement d'une société vers la maturation.



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On the Issue of War-Captives in the Early Medieval Balkans

In general, there could hardly exist substantial reserves that scholars' attempts to disclose as many details of the life of Balkan societies in the Early Middle Ages are part of the efforts to give more density and depth of knowledge for the medieval past of the region as a whole. Along with this, however, as regards the monitoring of aspects about the fate of the war-captives, it looks as if there are enough things to add. The very topic of captivity is, if not ignored, at least pushed aside and rarely do the ones dealing with military history of medieval Balkans have a significant place for it in their research. In this sense, presenting the role of war-captives in medieval societies on the peninsula is a challenging task. It is abundantly clear that the problem of those who were captured in war-time in medieval epoch goes beyond the limited frames of the Balkans. Nevertheless, the voluntary recognition of narrower chronological and spatial boundaries has obviously proven and particularly effective scientific use. In an attempt to explore the issues of war-captives' fate such a pattern is also motivated by the dynamics of ethnic, political and religious changes or military successes and failures during the turbulent Early Middle Ages.

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Relics Captured during the War and Their Role in Byzantium during the Macedonian Dynasty

War booties together with acquired contributions and profits from the sale of enslaved prisoners were a very important part of the finance of both the army and the whole Byzantine Empire. It was evident especially during the Byzantine expansion in the tenth century, when as the result of a series of successful campaigns both in the Balkans and in the East a great amount of gold, articles of luxury, herds of horses, cattle, sheep and even camels, and ever appreciated slaves, flowed to the Empire. All kinds of prey mentioned above were essential not only from the point of view of the state economy, but of also were important for commanders and single troops as reward for their military service. Although not all kinds of spoils were perceived by Byzantines through their economic value, it cannot be forget, that Byzantines obtained also the splendid objects of Christian religion's cult: sacred relics and holy images.

This paper reveals a phenomenon of great importance, which influenced many fields of Byzantine life, which were relics obtained during the war. First it should be noted that for this paper notion of relics as war booty will be treated widely: it contains not only relics gained on adversaries after winning the battle or the campaign, but also imported to Constantinople during the Byzantine emperor's military expeditions.



In this paper will be presented widely the role of relics gained by Byzantines as a war booty in different aspects of Byzantine life, especially in the background of changes of the imperial ideology during the Macedonian dynasty. It is worth noting that generally relics appears as war booty deported away from Byzantium, predominantly after Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, but there is no complex study dedicated to relics captured by Byzantines. This is all the more astonishing, given the important role, which relics looted during the war played in Byzantium: they played an important role in the triumphal ceremonies, presented as a trophies – symbols of victory over enemies, being also an expression of God's favor for the triumphant emperor and his People, then usually became a part of imperial collections like that in church of the Theotokos of the Pharos in Constantinople, or deposited to the churches, or granted to the monasteries.

This paper focuses on the role of captured relics in imperial ceremonial, ideological and political agenda in the Middle Byzantine period. It will be mainly devoted to the relic – hunting activities of soldier – emperors: Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimisces and Basil II, whose reigns appointed the apogee of the Byzantine expansion in tenth century. Furthermore, these rulers used relics to create the image of the victorious emperors, what was important for consolidation and legitimacy of their power. In this paper also will be exposed the issue of the influence of the changes in imperial ideology during the Macedonian dynasty on the perception of sacred relics by Byzantines. This paper analyses especially the main narrative accounts describing the capture and translation of relics to Constantinople to demonstrate how Byzantine authors depicted the circumstances surrounding this kind of events. Finally, the aim of this paper is to present how attitude of the Byzantines to relics captured during the war reflects the changes in social mentality, political culture, and post-iconoclastic religious doctrine.

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Banished to the End of the World: Crimean Cherson as a Place of Exile in the Early and Middle Byzantine Period

Situated at the northernmost outskirts of the Byzantine Empire, Crimean Cherson was considered as an ideal place where inconvenient persons could be banished, even though exactly the location “behind the sea” could cause that bonds to the Byzantine Empire could be a little loosened time to time, which created a substrate for revolts involving also the exiles.

Primary sources describe quite a number of cases of the banishments including their reasons and circumstances. Although the most known examples of the exiles might be Pope Martin (banished 655) or Emperor Justinian II (who spent in Cherson and in the northern Black Sea area the years 695–705), Cherson was used for this purpose from Antiquity to the 10th century at least.

The paper is focused on the causes of banishment to Cherson (political, religious, and other) as well as on the most interesting personalities among the exiles. Furthermore, I will try to find an explanation why Cherson was such a popular place for exiling, despite it perhaps was not always a stable part of the Empire but a place whence it was possible to organize a revolt.



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THE HOLY FATHERS OF THE CHURCH – PART 2

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Its Relationship with the Brief Anthology of MSS Par. Gr. 852 and Vatop. 36



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Rethinking Athanasius and Historiography. Athanasius as a Christian Thinker: Theologian, Philosopher, Historian

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the skeptical historiography and theology of athanasian studies fed with philosophical speculation and to provide some insights into the debate. In the recent years, Athanasius was the focus of various scholarly studies with an explicit tone of condemning Athanasius for innovating and defending a foreign theology (Bart D. Ehrman, Paula Fredriksen, et al.), namely the Nicene theology, also carrying out his political ecclesiastical agenda by a reprobable political behavior (Timothy D. Barnes, R. C. P. Hanson, et al.). Very briefly, firstly, I outline a few aspects in support of the theological, as an argument, then, secondly, an emphasis on the fact that Athanasius did not innovate in his post-Nicene theology using political means, strengthening this point making the case that he began his theological career as an important thinker (which means that he won by argument), and thirdly, I evoke the relative importance of seeing his “vocation” as a historian in the polemical writings that he produced.

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The Pneumatology of Great Basilus in His Treatise to Amphilochius Ikonium

St. Basil's contribution to pneumatology is best comprehended within the historical milieu of the Arian controversy that pervaded much of the fourth century Roman Empire religiously and politically. It is a study which focuses on Basil's understanding of the role and the Person of the Holy Spirit, particularly as found in his treatise to Amphilochius Ikonium. The distinctive character of the Holy Spirit can be defined in the light of the trinitarian relationship of the Spirit. Basil, like Athanasius, defines the distinctiveness of the Holy Spirit in terms of His relation to God the Father and the Son. The status and position in their relationship defines the distinctiveness of each member of the Trinity. The definition of this kind occupies the major part of Basil's treatise of pneumatology. Basil's pneumatology cannot be understood, however, apart from his thoughts on salvation and baptism, which themselves are bound together. Basil's argument for the divinity of the Holy Spirit works by illustrating what the Holy Spirit does. The Holy Spirit illumines and sanctifies the baptized. The Holy Spirit completes and perfects creation from the beginning of time to its end and illumines the mind of the believer to understand the message of its order. The Holy Spirit inspires the Scriptures and governs their understanding in the church. Making no claim to know the essence of God, Basil also leaves no doubt that the Holy Spirit has revealed his divinity through his actions. Only God does what only God can do.



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Shining Light Shedding from Earthen Vessels. 'Brightening Face' Christology of the Desert Fathers – As Ascetic Interiorization, Somatic Experience and Outward Luminosity of Christ Who Radiates within Them

This study is about the Desert Fathers's contemplative experience of an outward luminosity, a physical radiance, similar to that of the hesychasts Athonite of the 14th century in late Byzantium. So, there is a convergence of desert wisdom with the Palamite hesychast theology. On these unveiled shining faces, the divine energy of the 'Christ the Image and Glory of God' is being revealed. Christ will radiate within us like to the desert Fathers: Pambo, Sisoie, Silvanus. Christology of the Desert Fathers overlaps with pre-Nicene Christology. In anthropological terms of the theosis, man is the mirror of divine glory (δόξα). So, just as the light of the transfiguration the light-bearing robe of the unfallen Adam has a equally theological importance for theosis.

Speaking of the hesychast method of prayer and transformation of the body, Gregory Palamas also uses this Pauline theology of 2 Corinthians in Triad 1.2.2: "Paul says, 'God, who has ordered light to shine from darkness, has made His light to shine in our hearts, in order that we may be enlightened by the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Cor. 4:6); but he adds, 'We carry this treasure in earthen vessels' (2 Cor. 4:7). So we carry the Father's light in the face (prosōpon) of Jesus Christ in earthen vessels, that is, in our bodies, in order to know the glory of the Holy Spirit." We could grasp the convergence between the desert ascetic spirituality and the hesychast spirituality in the work of Gregory Palamas. For him, Moses the lawgiver, Stephen the protomartyr, and Arsenius the desert ascetic are examples from the Bible and the Fathers are men who were visibly transformed by divine light (Triad 2.3.9). God transcends the senses yet the knowledge of God is experiential. The monks know this. They see the hypostatic light spiritually – in reality not in a symbolic fashion. During the hesychast controversy, St Gregory Palamas defend the reality of the encounter with God of those monks who reported seeing a vision of light at the culmination of intense period of prayer. For the light is nothing less than the uncreated radiance of God – a divine energy accesible to the senses. This manifestation of Christ is not something external to ourselves. "It is only by having Christ radiant within us that we can enter into the truth which even in the Gospels is veiled from ordinary eyes" (N. Russell 2009, p. 103). Abba Pambo, Sisoies, Silvanus, St Seraphim of Sarov, were man whose radiance was the product of inward openness. Transfiguration becomes an interior experience to St. Seraphim of Sarov (1759-1833) and Archimandrite Sophrony (1896-1991).

Deification to the Desert Fathers acquire a specific anthropological content as Christification, that find its fulfillment in a face-to-face encounter who, "is both a theological theme and a spiritual teaching, both the goal of the divine economy and the process by which the economy is worked out in the believer" (Russell 2009, p. 21). To Palamas, deification is, also, a supernatural gift that transforms both mind and body, making divinity visible (Triad 3.1. 33). Likeness also means a radiation of the presence of God within man, a "reciprocal interiority" (Stăniloae). In the saints this communion is expressed in the way God's glory is reflected in their faces, in anticipation of the age to come.



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Συμβολή στην ερμηνεία της θεολογίας των νηπτικών πατέρων: περί του ακραιφνούς ορθοδόξου φρονήματος του Μεγάλου Βαρσανουφίου στην ανέκδοτη ερωταπόκριση

Ὁ ἅγ. Νικόδημος Ἁγιορείτης διέσωσε ἀπὸ τῆς λήθης αἰώνων περίπου 850 ἐρωταποκρίσεις τῶν δύο Γαζαίων Πατέρων Βαρσανουφίου τοῦ Μεγάλου καὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Προφήτου. Αὐτές οἱ ἐρωταποκρίσεις περιέχουν πολὺ βαθιὰ πνευματικὴ διάκριση τῶν ἐν λόγῳ Πατέρων καὶ συνιστοῦν μία ἀπὸ τίς ἀναρίθμητες ἀποδείξεις τοῦ πάμπολλου πλούτου καὶ θησαυροῦ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου ἀσκητικῆς πνευματικότητος. Σ' αὐτές, ὅμως, ἓνα δεδομένο προκαλεῖ πολὺ μεγάλο ἐπιστημονικὸ ἐνδιαφέρον: Δηλαδή, στὰ περισσότερα διασωθέντα χειρόγραφα αὐτῶν τῶν ἐρωταποκρίσεων ἐσκεμμένα ἀπουσιάζει μία ἐρωταπόκριση τοῦ Μ. Βαρσανουφίου. Πιὸ συγκεκριμένα, αὐτὴ ἡ ἐρωταπόκριση δὲν βρίσκεται ὀλόκληρη οὔτε στὴν Βίβλον Ψυχοφλεστάτην τοῦ ἁγ. Νικοδήμου Ἁγιορείτη οὔτε στὶς σλαβικὲς μεταφράσεις, ἐν πρώτοις τοῦ Παΐσιου Βελιτσκόφσκι. Ἡ πραγματικὴ αἰτία αὐτῆς τῆς ἔλλειψης εἶναι ὅτι ἡ θεολογικὴ ἔκφραση τοῦ Μ. Βαρσανουφίου προσιδιάζει στό φιλολογικὸ ὕφος τοῦ Εὐαγρίου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ.

Πρέπει νὰ ἐπισημανθεῖ ἰδιαίτερος ὅτι αὐτὴ ἡ ἐρωταπόκριση ὑπάρχει μόνο στὰ τρία χειρόγραφα: Vatopedi 2 (11ος αἰ.), Panteleimon 192 (14ος αἰ.) καὶ Sinaï 410 (12ος αἰ.). Ἡ ἴδια ἀναγνωρίζεται στὴν ἐπιστῆμη ὡς *Méditation sur la lettre* ἦτα, ἢ ὡς Ἐρωταπόκριση 137b, σύμφωνα μὲ τὴν ἔκδοση τοῦ *Sources chrétiennes* (N° 427).

Τὰ θέματα πού ἀναπτύσσονται σ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἐρωταπόκριση, συνδέονται μὲ μία προγενέστερη ἰουδαίω-χριστιανικὴ παράδοση ἀπὸ τὴν ἑλληνιστικὴν περίοδο καὶ κυρίως μὲ τὴν σκέψη τοῦ Εὐαγρίου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ. Προφανῶς, αὐτὴ ἡ ὁμοιότητα τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ Μ. Βαρσανουφίου μὲ τὴν εὐαγριανὴν σκέψη εἶναι ἡ κύρια αἰτία τῆς ἀπουσίας μέρους τῆς ἐρωταπόκρισης ἀπὸ τὰ περισσότερα χειρόγραφα. Ἀπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀξιοσημεῖωτη παρατήρηση εἰκάζεται σαφῶς ὅτι οἱ περισσότεροι ἀντιγραφεῖς δὲν ἀντέγραψαν ὀλόκληρη τὴν ἐρωταπόκριση, προκειμένου νὰ μὴν προκαλέσουν τὴν ἐντύπωση στοὺς ἀναγνώστες, πὺς ὑφίσταται κάποια βαθύτερη σχέση μετὰ τῆς διδασκαλίας τοῦ Μ. Βαρσανουφίου καὶ τοῦ Εὐαγρίου τοῦ Ποντικοῦ. Ἀφορμὴ τῆς ἐκτενέστερης, ἐν προκειμένῳ, διατύπωσης τῆς θεολογικῆς σκέψης καὶ στάσης τοῦ Μ. Βαρσανουφίου ἦταν ὀρισμένες ἀσαφεῖς καὶ αἰνιγματώδεις ἐρωτήσεις πού τοῦ ἀπέστειλε κάποιος μοναχὸς περὶ τῶν τριῶν λογισμῶν του. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ἀλληλογραφία γινόταν μὲσω τοῦ ἡγουμένου Σερίδου, ὁ ἀποστολέας μοναχὸς προσπάθησε νὰ κρύψει ἀπὸ τὸν ἡγούμενον τὴν σημασίαν τῶν ἐρωτήσεων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἤθελε νὰ μάθει, ἐὰν ὁ Μ. Βαρσανούφιος πράγματι ἔχει τὸ διορατικὸ χάρισμα, γιὰ νὰ ἀπαντήσῃ στὰ αἰνιγματώδη ἐρωτήματά του. Ὁ Μ. Γέρων ἀπάντησε μὲ τὸν πιὸ κατάλληλον τρόπο στὶς ἐρωτήσεις τοῦ ἀποστολέα μοναχοῦ, χρησιμοποιώντας ἐπίσης αἰνιγματικὸ ὕφος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἐμπόδισε κάπως νὰ τοῦ ξαναστείλῃ παρόμοιες ἐρωτήσεις, τονίζοντας πὺς τέτοιες ἀνόητες καὶ ἀσαφεῖς ἐρωτήσεις δὲν δείχνουν ταπεινοφροσύνη, ἀλλὰ ὀδηγοῦν τὸν ἐρωτῶντα καὶ τὸν ἐρωτώμενον στὴν ταραχὴ καὶ στενοχωρία. Ἐπειτα, ὁ Μ. Βαρσανούφιος ἔγραψε πρὸς τὸν ἀποστολέα μοναχὸν καὶ σὲ κάποιους ἄλλους γέροντες, μερικὲς συμβουλές καὶ θεολογικὰ θέματα σύμφωνα μὲ τὸ ἀλφάβητο, κάθε ἓνα στοιχεῖο ἀποδίδοντας στό Θεό, συγκεντρώνοντας καὶ γράφοντας λέξεις κατάλληλες σὲ στοιχεῖο τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου πού ἐρμηνεύεται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτὸ τὸ στοιχεῖο ξεκινοῦν. Μετὰ τὸ ἄπλωνε πολὺ σέ



διάφορες θεωρίες καί διετύπωνε τήν ἐπεξήγηση κάθε λέξης. Ἀπ' ὅλες τίς θεωρίες τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου, διασώθηκε μόνο ἓνα κομμάτι ἀπ' αὐτές πού ἀνήκουν στό γράμμα ἦτα. Καταφανῶς, ὁ συλλέκτης τῶν ἐρωταποκρίσεων τό ἐπέλεξε ὡς ὑπόδειγμα τοῦ ὑπόλοιπου ἀλφαβήτου.

Ἡ ἀνακοίνωση αὐτή θά ἀναδείξει τό ὀρθόδοξο φρόνημα τῆς ἐν λόγῳ ἐρωταπόκρισης. Τήν εἰσήγησή μας συμπληρώνει παράρτημα πού ἐμπεριέχει τή μετάφραση ἀπό τά ἀρχαιοελληνικά, καθῶς καί λεπτομερή θεολογικο-ιστορική ἀνάλυση.

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Θεία Ἱατρεία στο Βυζάντιο. Ρήσεις και διδασκαλίες των Αγίων Πατέρων για την αντιμετώπιση του ψυχικού άλγους

Χαρίσματα και Αξίες ἔχουν πάντοτε κοινωνικό χαρακτήρα στη βυζαντινή εποχή. Η θεραπεία του ψυχικού άλγους δεν είναι ατομική αλλά κοινωνική υπόθεση. Η κοινωνία είναι η αιτία του και το εμπειρικό πεδίο εκδήλωσης και αντιμετώπισής του. Το ψυχικό ἄλγος στην αγιοπατερική παράδοση συνιστά κοινωνική και ὄχι ατομική εμπειρία, ἀκόμη και αν παραμένει ανεκδήλωτο, αυστηρά περιορισμένο στη σφαῖρα του εσωτερικού κόσμου του ἀνθρώπου, και εντελῶς ἀφανές στην αισθητική πραγματικότητα. Και τούτο γιατί στο βυζαντινό κοσμοεἶδωλο, η πραγματικότητα στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος της δεν είναι ἀπλῶς υπεραισθητή, ἀλλά υπερβατική, ικανή να θεάται και να ἀλληλεπιδρά με τον εσωτερικό ἀνθρώπο. Στο παραπάνω πλαίσιο το ψυχικό ἄλγος δεν είναι ἀπαραίτητο να εκδηλωθεῖ και να γίνεῖ ἀντιληπτό στον αισθητό κόσμο για να αντιμετωπιστεῖ ἀπό την κοινωνία της Ἐκκλησίας. Η Ἐκκλησία είναι μια κοινωνία ἐνότητος υλικού και πνευματικού κόσμου. Η θριαμβεύουσα Ἐκκλησία δια τῶν ἐντολῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς Τῆς, τοῦ Χριστοῦ και δια τῆς πρωτοβουλίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐπεμβαίνει θεραπευτικά και σωστικά στα χεῖμαζόμενα και ψυχαλγούντα μέλη της. Εφόσον αὐτή είναι μια ἀδιάσειστη πραγματικότητα για τον χριστιανό, είναι δηλαδή στοιχεῖο τῆς τῆς πίστεως και τῆς κοσμοθεωρίας του, εἶναι ἀπολύτως φυσιολογικό, να ἐνεργεῖ ὄχι μόνον πρὸς θεραπεία του εκδηλωμένου ψυχικού ἄλγους του πλησίον του, ἀλλά και προληπτικά, ἀκόμη και πρὶν την εκδήλωση αὐτοῦ. Ο χριστιανός μπορεῖ να λάβει πνευματική πληροφορία για την ψυχική κατάσταση του ἄλλου, δια τῆς ἐπενεργείας τῆς Χάριτος. Ἀκόμη μπορεῖ να λάβει τέτοια πληροφορία στο πλαίσιο ἐνός πειρασμοῦ, μιας πλεκτάνης τοῦ Μισόκαλου. Ἐπειδὴ δεν μπορεῖ να γνωρίζεῖ με βεβαιότητα την προέλευση τῆς πληροφορίας, ο χριστιανός οφείλει να ἀσκεῖται στην ταπείνωση και να κρατά την καρδιά του καθαρὴ και ἀδόλη. Αὐτό εἶναι το ζητούμενο τῆς καθαρῆς καρδιάς. Στην πατερική παράδοση η κατὰ κόσμο ἱατρεία ἔχει περιορισμένες δυνατότητες διαγνώσεως τοῦ κρυμμένου ψυχικού ἄλγους. Η Θεία ἱατρεία υπερβαίνει τα ἐμπόδια τῆς πεπερασμένης ἀνθρώπινης ἀντίληψης και ἐνσυναίσθησης, διότι εἶναι ἐνταγμένη στην προοπτική τῆς θείας πρόνοιας. Ὑπὸ αὐτό το πρίσμα το ψυχικό ἄλγος δεν ἀντιμετωπίζεται ὡς ἀπόρροια τῆς ἀμαρτίας. Ἀπόρροια τῆς ἀμαρτίας εἶναι οἱ συμφορές, οἱ θλίψεις και οἱ δοκιμασίες πού προκαλοῦν το ψυχικό ἄλγος και ὄχι το ἴδιο το ψυχικό ἄλγος. Ἐτσι, το ψυχικό ἄλγος ἀποενοχοποιεῖται. Και ὄχι μόνον ἀποενοχοποιεῖται ἀλλά θεωρεῖται και χρήσιμο για την ψυχή, ὅπως εἶναι η πείνα για τον σωματικό ἀνθρώπο, γιατί την πληροφορεῖ για την ἐνδεια και την σαθρὴ πνευματική τῆς κατάσταση. Δεν εἶναι ὁμως μόνον χρήσιμο. Εἶναι και ωφέλιμο γιατί κοινωνεῖ την



κατάσταση της ψυχής στον Χριστό και στο σώμα του την Εκκλησία και την κρατά στη συνειδητότητα της κοινωνίας με τους άλλους. Όταν έχει κανείς επίγνωση ότι είναι μέλος μιας κοινωνίας αγάπης, από την οποία δεν μπορεί να κρύψει το ψυχικό του άλγος, και η οποία συντείνει και εργάζεται αγαπητικά για τη θεραπεία του, έχει ήδη διανύσει τον μεγαλύτερο δρόμο για την ειλικρινή παραδοχή του στους άλλους. Αυτή η παραδοχή θα τον φέρει πιο κοντά στην ίαση. Η απόσταση μέχρι την ίαση, μάλιστα, μηδενίζεται με την επενέργεια της Χάριτος.

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Τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς (Rom 8:6) – A Neptic Perspective

The issue related to the Pauline expression “Τὸ φρόνημα τῆς σαρκὸς” has received sufficient attention in the academic biblical theology, for this reason, in this study, I have analysed the said expression with deep theological meanings within the neptic tradition. I have approached the text from a neptic anthropological perspective in parallel to the biblical-exegetical perspective. I have looked deeper in the historical context of the expression and have delimited the expression conceptually, by relation to other synonym or antonym expressions that may bring useful hermeneutical solutions. The study has focused on the methodological differences of interpretation of the Pauline text. Considering the neptic tradition as a very complex and unitary experimental literature corpus, I have highlighted the experiential support of the approaching differences as well as the consequences of a literal interpretation. I have mentioned some abstracts from *Philokalia* in order to outline the view of the Neptic Fathers. Based on the neptic experience, the study proposes an anthropological interpretation of the expression which implies a specific reading of the Pauline text. Finally, I have drawn some conclusions based on the anthropological interpretation of the Pauline text, mainly underlining the gap between the scholar exegetical approach of the biblical text and the neptic empirical experience hereof.

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Divine Paradigms and Divine Activities in Gregory Palamas

In a previous study, entitled *A Reconsideration of the Relationship between Logoi and Divine Activities in Maximus the Confessor* (forthcoming), I tried to argue that Maximus’ ontology contains a clear-cut distinction between divine logoi and divine activities and a rather implicit conception of their relationship. Previous confusions with regard to their distinction and relationship in Maximus were due to a reading influenced by some Palamite theologians, such as Vl. Lossky and J. Meyendorff. For instance, Meyendorff writes sketchily in his 1959 seminal book on Palamas that ‘Ces énergies créées et éternelles sont pour lui [= for Palamas] des pensées de Dieu [= logoi]’.



In the present study, I argue instead that Gregory Palamas has acknowledged clearly enough the distinction between divine logoi or paradigms and divine activities in the first systematic formulation of his theology in the third Triad. My next step is to see whether he abandons or develops this distinction during his long polemics with Gregory Akindynos (1341-1347). Finally, I analyse to what extent Palamas' conception is dependent on Maximus', and what has been gain and lost theologically.

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Deideologizing Palamas: A Hesychast Defense of Rationality

The following study has the objective to question the widely spread labeling of the thought and the person of saint Gregory Palamas as "anti-intellectual". Such a label is nowadays accepted and distributed not only by the critics of Palamas, but also from many defenders of the "orthodox palamite conception of knowledge". While trying to emphasize the importance of the mystical theological experience, they underestimate Palamas' especially high valuation of the human rational ability to articulate and express the truths of the Christian faith. On the other hand, the contemporary critics of Palamas ground their argument mainly on the defense of the Hesychast prayer practice in Palamas' "Triads". In this polemical work Palamas accuses his opponent Barlaam of Calabria for uncritical application of the secular knowledge in the sphere of the discursive Theology (emphatically quoting in this context saint Basil the Great and his argumentation against the pagan Philosophy). Can the strong antisecular rhetoric of the "Triads" be thus understood in the sense of a "polemical hyperbole" and not as definitive epistemological position? We may raise one further question: Was Palamas actually the defender of rationality in this controversy, who fought the anti-intellectual obscurantism through overstating it, thus confronting not only the ideological anti-hesychasm, but also the ideological anti-intellectualism of his time? In order to answer this question we should focus on the non-polemical works of Palamas (Capita 150 and Homiliae), considering not only the contemporary developments in the field of the thought of Palamas, but also the contemporary ideological criticism.

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Early Reception of the *Florilegium Coislinianum*: Its Relationship with the Brief Anthology of MSS Par. Gr. 852 and Vatop. 36

In his essential work on spiritual florilegia (1962), M. Richard pointed out that parts of the alphabetical anthology known as the *Florilegium Coislinianum* (FC) are transmitted in a group of four manuscripts: *Parisinus gr. 852* (s. X-XI), *Athous, Vatopediou 36* (s. XI), *Venetus Marcianus gr. 507* (s. XII) and *Parisinus gr. 1555 A* (s. XIV). In fact, those codices form an anthology of its own,



which I call the *Anthologia Parisina* (*Anth.Par.*) A link between the *Anth.Par.* and the *FC* is indeed undeniable as they share a large number of excerpts with identical *incipit* and *desinit*.

The main goal of my presentation will be to document the actual link between both compilations. In the first part of my paper, I will survey the internal relations between the four witnesses of the *Anth. Par.* and show that two *recensiones* of this short anthology have come down to us. The second part of my paper will be devoted to a comparative analysis of the *Anth.Par.* and the *FC*. On the basis of a thorough investigation of the excerpts shared by both works, I will argue that the *Anth.Par.* depends on the *FC* and that it is most likely a witness of an independent branch of this anthology.



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THURSDAY, 25TH AUGUST

**LATIN CYPRUS (1192-1571):
A CASE OF FORCED COEXISTENCE.
ART, DOGMA, LAWS, HAGIOLOGY AND ARCHITECTURE**

Conveners: Ioannis Eliades, Nikolaos D. Siomkos

VENETIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (AND BYZANTINE STUDIES)

Conveners: Andrea Nanetti, Șerban V. Marin

**WAR AND PEACE IN BYZANTIUM:
CHANGES AND TURNING-POINTS IN THE MIDDLE
AND LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD (7TH- 15TH CENTURIES)**

Convener: Athina Kolia-Dermitzaki

**STUDYING BYZANTINE SCULPTURE IN THE 21ST CENTURY:
NEW PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES**

Conveners: Claudia Barsanti, Alessandra Guiglia

**THEATRE AND LITURGY:
PERFORMANCE AND RITUAL IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP – PART 1**

Conveners: Andrew Walker White, Niki Tsironis

**THEATRE AND LITURGY:
PERFORMANCE AND RITUAL IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP – PART 2**

Conveners: Andrew Walker White, Niki Tsironis

SYNODIKA

Conveners: Frederick Lauritzen, Antonio Rigo, Anna-Marija Totomanova

LIFE AND WORKS OF PHOTIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Conveners: Filippo Ronconi, Marcello Garzaniti

**FASHION IN TRANSITION:
FROM BYZANTIUM TO THE BYZANTINE COMMONWEALTH**

Conveners: Aleksandr Musin, Marcin Wołoszyn, Perica Špehar

STUDYING AND COMMUNICATING BYZANTIUM – PART 2

Chairs: Karsten Fledelius, Anna Linden Weller

THE AGE OF THE KOMNENOI

Chairs: Paul Magdalino, Leonora Neville

THE EARLY BYZANTINE CHURCH

Chairs: Mikhail Gratsianskiy, Manya Erna Shirinyan

BYZANTINE ARCHEOLOGY

Chairs: Dominic Moreau, Mihailo Milinković

STUDIES IN BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY – PART 1: ICONOGRAPHY OF SAINTS

Chairs: Anna Zakharova, Tatjana Starodubcev

BYZANTINE LITERATURE IN THE 11TH CENTURY

Chairs: Diether Roderich Reinsch, Dejan Dželebdžić

THE LATE BYZANTINE EMPIRE – PART 1

Chairs: Antonia Kiousopoulou, Maja Nikolić

ART OF MEDIEVAL GEORGIA

Chairs: Nina Chichinadze, Irene Giviashvili

LITERATURE IN THE AGE OF THE KOMNENOI

Chairs: Elisabeth Jeffreys, Nikolaos Zagklas

THE LATE BYZANTINE EMPIRE – PART 2

Chairs: Erekle Jordania, Bogdan-Petru Maleon

THE CHURCH BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST – PART 1

Chairs: Nickiphoros Tsougarakis, Anna Karamanidou



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**LATIN CYPRUS (1192-1571):
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Conveners: Ioannis Eliades, Nikolaos D. Siomkos

Ioannis Eliades,

The “Latin Chapel” of the Monastery of Saint John Lampadistis
in Cyprus Greek, Latin or Something in between?

Nikolaos D. Siomkos,

La Crète à Chypre. La présence crétoise dans la production artistique chypriote

Charalampos G. Chotzakoglou,

Cyprus under the Latin Rule (1192-1571):

Modern Efforts to Present the Latin Era as a Period of Peaceful Coexistence

Flora Karagianni,

Latin Interventions in the Byzantine Architecture of Cyprus (1191-1570)

Nikitas Hatzimihail,

Law in Latin Cyprus: The Assizes at the Crossroads

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“Ο υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται” (Matthew 24: 44).

An Icon of the Last Judgment from the Church of Virgin Faneromeni, Nicosia

Georgios Markou,

Monasterium Sancti Pauli de Antiochis alias Veracis Crucis.

The Monastery of Stavrovouni in Venetian Cyprus, 1489-1571



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The “Latin Chapel” of the Monastery of Saint John Lampadistis in Cyprus Greek, Latin or Something in between?

The “Latin Chapel” of the Monastery of Saint John Lampadistis in Kalopanagiotis village in Troodos mountains hosts one of the better preserved fresco chapels in the island dating back in the period of the Venetian rule.

This chapel is found next to the Saint John Lampadistis chapel, which has been constructed above the tomb of the Saint. Saint John’s monastery has been an important pilgrimage stopover on the way to the Monastery of Virgin Mary of Kykkos. It is a rectangular room without an apse and its walls host the iconographical cycle of the Akathist Hymn, the Stem of Jesse, Moses and the Burning Bush, Moses receiving the ten Commandments, the Hospitality of Abraham and busts of Saints. The frescoes have been executed in a Cypro-renaissance art and present the finest example of this art in the island: it is a spectacular pictorial set, which is adorned with the latest achievements in the arts, such as illusionistic configurations (virtual vaults in the ceiling and the window of the east wall that turns into a part of the scene painting) and decorative stripes with Italian motifs that fascinate with its rich alternation of colors. Renaissance values infiltrating the whole decoration. The ensemble is governed by good organization, balance and harmony. Renaissance buildings impress offering new expressive solutions, maintaining the autonomy of the individual scenes. The area indicated by architecture placed in perspective and landscape, which is rendered three dimensional and extend to the horizon, where mingle with the artistic attributable atmospheric sky. The harmony of the whole is achieved by good design, while contrasting perspectives equilibrate between the rich gradations of color and the excellent techniques in the use of color and execution of gilding. In sensationalist effort are included also the technical performance of the perspective, known as *scorcio* that the painters could not to know if they had not studied for a long time in Italy.

In this paper I will deal with the iconographical programme of this Chapel, the use of the Chapel during the period of the Latin rule of Cyprus and the forced coexistence between Greeks and Latins in the island of Cyprus, as mirrored by the iconography of this and other monuments of that period.



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La Crète à Chypre. La présence crétoise dans la production artistique chypriote

Pendant la domination vénitienne, une branche de la peinture chypriote s'oriente sur la voie de l'art occidental, en inventant un nouveau langage artistique. Ainsi, à côté de monuments qui suivent la tradition byzantine, il y a des œuvres qui combinent, d'une manière particulière, d'éléments byzantins et occidentaux. Dans ce cadre de diversité des influences artistiques, les artistes chypriotes, favorisés par la prospérité économique de leur clientèle, ont connu une période florissante.

Néanmoins, à Chypre il existe aussi un certain nombre d'icônes de la fin du XV^e et du XVI^e siècle, dues à des peintres crétois. Ces icônes, issues d'un contexte socio-culturel similaire, ont été envisagées jusqu'à présent que sous l'aspect des œuvres destinés à la clientèle de confession latine de l'île, sans aucune précision sur leur provenance.

Comme il a été déjà soutenu, l'existence des certains éléments iconographiques sur les icônes chypriotes, met en évidence le rôle de la peinture crétoise dans la diffusion des modèles iconographiques plus anciens à Chypre. En outre, le nombre important des icônes crétoises du XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, qui sont dernièrement signalées à Chypre, confirme l'intérêt pour ces œuvres, malgré la production importante des ateliers chypriotes de cette époque. Dans ce cadre, nous tenterons de déceler et d'examiner les œuvres crétois conservés sur l'île, afin de préciser au niveau iconographique et stylistique l'étendue des influences éventuelles de l'école crétoise sur l'ensemble de la production artistique de Chypre.

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Cyprus under the Latin Rule (1192-1571):

Modern Efforts to Present the Latin Era as a Period of Peaceful Coexistence

The Latin conquest of Cyprus (1191/2) and the establishment of the Roman-Catholic Church on the island, the autocephalous state of the Cypriot Church and the efforts of its Latin rulers to protect their domination from the byzantine efforts to recapture the island played an important role to the relation between the Latin rulers and their Church and the locals.

The Cypriot population as Christian-Orthodox believers and as a part of the Byzantine world, well integrated into the ecclesiastical and secular administration of the Byzantine Empire, were held as internal threat and potential traitors to the Latin minority, which undertook the administration and invited the Pope and the Latin clergy to be established and to crown the Latin ruler of Cyprus.



The seizure of the main property of the Cypriot Church, of the imperial authorities on the island and of locals, who lost their previous civil rights and privileges, the perception of the Cypriots as schismatic subjects and the efforts to control the orthodox Church caused considerable tensions, which led to rebellions and disobedience-cases by Cypriots and even to the persecution of monks.

The Latin conquest of Constantinople left Cypriots without many hopes for their support, while the Ecumenical Patriarchate being in Exile was advising the Cypriot Church how to survive in such conditions. Strict measures were taken in order to restrain the privileges, the power, the rights and even the ecclesiastical freedom of the Cypriot Church, which was subordinated to the Roman Catholic one. *Bulla Cypria* imposed on the Cypriot clergy among other the “oath of fidelity”, which along with further Roman-Catholic measures led the Cypriot Church to be held by the Ecumenical Patriarchate as schismatic and in that case as Uniate.

Nevertheless a trend in the modern bibliography presents the Latin period in Cyprus as an era of a peaceful coexistence between rulers and subjects calling upon Latin donations to Cypriot monasteries, interpreting representations of donors in Cypriot monasteries as Latins, focusing on commonly venerated saints and underlining donations of Cypriots to Latin convents in their wills during the venetian rule of Cyprus.

In our paper we shall examine the above mentioned arguments according to relevant sources and artistic material.

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Latin Interventions in the Byzantine Architecture of Cyprus (1191-1570)

(No text)

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Law in Latin Cyprus: The Assizes at the Crossroads

Sources of law constitute a vital aspect of the study of Latin Cyprus: they allow us to recreate the institutions and instruments of Lusignan rule and to evaluate – official and informal – attitudes of ruling classes and native population alike. Moreover, from the point of view of legal history, Latin Cyprus allows us to examine several themes concerning a defining period in the history of the Western legal tradition, i.e. the High Middle Ages. Notably, the interaction between Eastern Roman



(Byzantine) and Western European law; the degree of influence that the emerging learned law of Western European universities may have had on the “Latin” *iura propria* of the crusader kingdoms and their successor in Cyprus; the influence of local custom on established norms and attitudes.

The principal source for such inquiries concerns the *Assizes of Jerusalem and Cyprus*, a law collection, often described in terms of a code, but perhaps more resembling of a legal treatise. Originally composed for the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1189), the Assizes were put into effect in Lusignan Cyprus, becoming a formal source of law by 1369. The Assizes are divided into Assizes of the High Court (*Assises de la Haute Cour*) and Assizes of the Lower – or Burghers’ – Court (*Assises de la Basse Cour, Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois*). The former address the rights and duties of members of the nobility, as well as between nobility and king. The latter address rights and duties of the burghers. Both were originally written in French, but the Assizes of the Burghers’ Court were eventually translated in the local Greek dialect. These latter “Greek” Assizes present particular interest: on the one hand, they allow us to study the interaction between Latin rulers and local population; on the other hand, it has been argued (e.g. Zepos) that they reflect a strong influence by both the formal Byzantine law and local customs surviving in the Graeco-Roman East.

My paper consists of three parts: a concise presentation of the sources available and their context; a critical presentation of the debates in historiography about them, and the stakes involved; and an examination of specific examples that may confirm these supposed connections with West and Byzantine East.

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“Ο υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔρχεται” (Matthew 24: 44).

An Icon of the Last Judgment from the Church of Virgin Faneromeni, Nicosia

This paper deals with an icon of the Last Judgment, egg tempera on wood, 83 X 119 cm. It originates in the Church of Virgin Faneromeni, in Nicosia, and belongs nowadays to the collection of the Byzantine Museum in Nicosia (inv. no BM100). The icon’s condition is good, except for some missing parts of the painting layer on its central part and along its upper edge.

In terms of stylistic criteria the icon in question has been dated to the 16th century. Since the depiction of the Last Judgment was very popular both in the Post-Byzantine East and the Latin West, it is interesting to examine the iconography of this work painted on a cultural crossroads.

As is usually the case in depictions of the Last Judgment, the icon’s composition is plethoric and comprises a lot of secondary themes, which are placed to the left and right of a main vertical axis. On the upper part of this axis Christ the Judge, surrounded by a round mandorla, dominates the composition. Archangels Michael and Gabriel in military garb stand on either side of the Lord, as well as the Virgin and St. John the Baptist interceding for the salvation of mankind. Stretching his right hand Christ invites the Righteous, while he dismisses the sinners with his left. On either side



of Christ the Apostles are seated on luxurious thrones, holding open books which are inscribed with their names. Twelve angels in imperial garments stand behind them, whilst two more angels stand behind Christ's mandorla.

From Christ's mandorla the flaming river streams parallel to the main axis of the icon flooding the Hell on the bottom right part. Below Christ the Hetoimasia of the Throne is depicted, flanked by two flying angels in prayer. Lower down Adam and Eve kneel on either side of the throne on which the cross stands, flanked by the symbols of the Passion. On the lowest part of the axis the Weighing of Souls is depicted.

Below the Apostles' group on the left, inside clouds, six groups of Righteous, nuns, holy men and women, monks and prophets, pray to the Lord. Outside the clouds one more choir of aged Righteous is also praying to Christ. On the bottom left part of the icon the Paradise is depicted as a luminous garden inside which the Virgin is enthroned between two adoring angels, while Abraham is sitting further to the right.

Below the Apostles' group on the right an angel unrolls the Heaven's scroll. Further down, inside a grayish landscape the personification of Earth is riding a monster, while a flying angel blowing a trumpet gives the signal for the resurrection of the Dead. On the bottom right corner is the Hell, flooded by the river of fire. Inside the river five Sinners ask for mercy, and two angels push violently two more Sinners to Hell, where a black demonic figure with open arms, riding a black monster, is waiting to grab them. Inside the fiery chaos of Hell black figures of Damned are tormented by black demons around a black fortification wall with towers and a railed arched gate.

This icon, with its abundant narrative and traditional composition, gives an insight into the iconographic and stylistic approach of Christ's Second Coming in Latin Cyprus and offers a visual testimony to its society's eschatological concerns.

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The Monastery of Stavrovouni in Venetian Cyprus, 1489-1571

The mountaintop monastery of Stavrovouni, with its relic of the True Cross, has been the most famous pilgrim shrine on Cyprus since the early Middle Ages. By 1254, the Black monks, replaced the Orthodox monks of the order of Saint Basil, thus commencing the Latin period in the foundation's history. Even though most of the travellers during the Lusignan and the subsequent Venetian periods commented on the Benedictine monastery, their accounts are often limited in terms of describing the relics, especially the Cross that was "miraculously" suspended on air. Based on documentary evidence, this paper will examine the history of the foundation during the period of Venetian rule on the island and its connection with the illustrious family of the Podocataros.



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VENETIAN HISTORIOGRAPHY (AND BYZANTINE STUDIES)

Conveners: **Andrea Nanetti**, **Șerban V. Marin**

Andrea Nanetti,

Engineering Venetian Historiography:

A Case Study towards an Algebra of Highly-Crossed-Linked Events and Transformation Processes

Șerban V. Marin,

Propagandistic Usefulness or Means to Reconstruct the Past?

Few Aspects on the Importance of the Venetian Chronicles

Roberto Pesce,

The First Venetians: The Chosen People

Andrea Beretta,

The *Life of Attila* in the Venetian Chronicles

Daniele Dibello,

The Art of Mystifying: The Venetian Chronicles and Events that Never Happened

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Engineering Venetian Historiography: A Case Study towards an Algebra of Highly-Crossed-Linked Events and Transformation Processes¹

Beginning in the 9th century, Venetian historiographical production has left us a corpus of at least 2,000 manuscripts held in public libraries in Europe and North America (not including the ones in private collections). Since the 1960s, Italian scholars, inspired and mentored by Agostino Pertusi and Antonio Carile, have been systematically investigating these Venetian chronicles to produce a coherent corpus of material for the study of the relationships between Byzantium and Venice. This historical and philological endeavour has moved existing scholarship from the traditional nineteenth-century transcription and translation of single manuscripts of Venetian chronicles into the development of an understanding of the complex network of the event-related texts that constitute its hidden structure.

Between 2002 and 2004, the project ‘Virtual Library of Venetian chronicles’, funded by the Italian Ministry of Culture under the supervision of Antonio Carile, organised these manuscript treasures into a new digital platform designed by Andrea Nanetti and developed by Guido Grazioli, and made this available internationally. In 2004 the project founded a permanent laboratory, directed first by Antonio Carile and now by Giorgio Vespignani, in the Department of Cultural Heritage Conservation of the University of Bologna (Ravenna branch), in which a Ph.D. researcher was assigned a full time position. The results are continually updated and are available on <http://www.cronachevenezianeravennati.it>

The long lasting and deep historical and historiographical relationship between Byzantium and Venice is not the topic of this session, which has more than one purpose.

1. First, recognising the scholarly process that has created an understanding of the hidden structure of the Venetian chronicles, seen as a coherent corpus of historical evidence produced by Venetian society in the reconstruction and consolidation of its historical memory for the shaping of its own identity as a society, which would assure a place to its people in the international arena.
2. Secondly, sharing an understanding of the best practices of the use of Venetian chronicles by Byzantinists and Medievalists.
3. Thirdly, developing and consolidating the use of the texts of the Venetian chronicles after the digital development.

¹ The research has been funded by NTU Singapore (2014-2016 Start-Up-Grant), the 2014 and 2016 Microsoft Research Asia Collaborative Research Programs, 2015 and 2016 Microsoft Azure for Research (PI, Andrea Nanetti).



In Venetian chronicles as in many other chronicles all over the world, each event (e.g., the Fourth Crusade, the conquest of Coron and Modon in 1207) needs a special critical edition, because it has been written collecting materials from different sources. Even when it seems to have a simple copy of another chronicle, sometimes for a specific event it might not be true.

From a theoretical point of view, the relationship event-facts/evidence-interpretation needs to be engineered in order to understand it. And the operation must be done event by event, one by one, even for events that appear in the same text. Machine learning can help historians proceed in this quite heavy historical task. Today, we can!

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Propagandistic Usefulness or Means to Reconstruct the Past? Few Aspects on the Importance of the Venetian Chronicles

This paper is rather an introduction to the present session, by focusing upon a preamble topic dealing with the Venetian chronicles.

As a matter of fact, the Venetian chronicles have often been regarded as mere propaganda, so that their importance is deemed to be actually null. By simply applying the propagandistic stigma, the Venetian chronicles are brutally thrown to the recycle bin bearing the uselessness brand. It is the case of those modern historians who have limited themselves to strictly pursuing the reconstruction of events.

On the whole, the issue of the importance proves to be once again a wrong lead and stating that a material is important or not is nothing but a relative judgment, liable of amendment at any time. Importance is an extremely relative matter that is modified according to the subject being researched.

Actually, this paper has in intention to present a number of examples of the modern historians that have expressed their opinions regarding various Venetian chronicles. For example, the anonymous chronicles from Marciana Library with the reference codes It. VII. 798 and It. VII. 1577, which were considered by Freddy Thiriet as “utterly uninteresting”, therefore “mediocre”, are highly valuable from our point of view. On the other side, the chronicle of Antonio Morosini, which is so important to the French scholar as to request its publication, does not seem to be of any particular utility in investigating the subject related to the origins of Venice, for example, from the simple reason that the pages covering a great part of the period under research were lost. And the examples of dissociation from the criteria advanced by Thiriet could continue.

A particular attention would be given to the viewpoint expressed in time by various Byzantinists related to the importance of the Venetian chronicles as sources of the history of Byzantium.



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The First Venetians: The Chosen People

My paper examines the legendary origins of Venice as described in a XIII Century manuscript in *franco-veneto* produced in the Veneto area. This text represents an uncommon account of the migration from mainland cities to the islands of the lagoon during barbarian invasions: with Northern Italy under attack by Attila the Hun and other peoples, the king and queen of Padua led the defense. While King Gilius beheaded Attila during a chess game, the queen, having changed her name to Sarah after she was baptized, guided the survivors to safety on the islands of Rialto, founding Venice. With its origins not connected to the classical myth, the account of Venice's history in this manuscript alludes to the Old Testament. In comparing the biblical figure of Sarah to the queen of Padua, analyzing the similarities in the foundation of the respective new states, Israel and Venice, and drawing from source material and the political and religious elements of the Venetian tradition, this paper explores the literary and historical consequences of the reinterpretation of the biblical word, arguing that, as this manuscript suggests, Venetians are not just worthy and magnanimous refugees, but the new Chosen People.

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The *Life of Attila* in the Venetian Chronicles

As part of my PhD thesis *L'Attila Flagellum Dei di Nicolò da Casola. Edizione del libro primo e studio della tradizione testuale su Attila in Italia*, I am accomplishing a critical edition of the so-called *Estoire d'Atile en Ytaire* (a Franco-Italian prose text, source of Nicolò da Casola's poem) and I am studying its Latin and Venetian translations in a comparative perspective, thanks to the "Cronache veneziane e ravennati" database (<http://www.cronachevenezianeravennati.it>). By doing so, I will establish a first partition into several branches of the corpus of witnesses. In my paper I shall expose the results of this study, and I will specifically focus my attention on the outline of a preliminary *stemma codicum* that could provide a genealogical interpretation of the textual tradition of the *Estoire d'Atile*.



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The Art of Mystifying: The Venetian Chronicles and Events that Never Happened

It is well known how Venetian chronicles are characterised, since their origins, by a lucid ability to talk about events and characters so that the image of *aurea Venecia* could always shine. This practice is summarized in the so-called ‘myth of Venice’, and it has contributed so much to the progress of the studies in the second half of XXth century. But, how were the chronicles able, more concretely, to propose to the world a different reconstruction of the events compared to reality? Which were the values reaffirmed strongly in the chronicles for passing over in silence or diminishing the importance of adverse facts? For this reason, I will consider three events, three crises that seriously jeopardized the Venetian State (Querini-Tiepolo’s conspiracy, Marino Falier’s treason and the forced removal of doge Francesco Foscari). After a brief historical overview of these tragic moments, I will analyse their variations as suggested in the Venetian chronicles in the XIVth and XVth centuries, by drawing attention to the political and cultural dynamics put in motion by chroniclers to transfigure the reality in myth.

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The Church of San Marco in the Eleventh Century

In 1084 the most important of the few consecrations of St Mark’s church in Venice – that which solemnized the completion of its largest altar – took place. It is assumed that the Doge Dominico Selvo (1071-1084) assigned Byzantine mosaicists to finish the decorative programme in time for the respective event. In part because of the beauty and quality of their work way they created by them, the eleventh century saw the prestige of this Venetian shrine increase. Also what in the popular imagination was the miraculous appearance of the relics of its patron saint from a pillar (either in 1084 or 1094, according to the source used) further augmented it.

The article attempts to prove that the eleventh century was the most important period of the medieval Venetian church that was to become much later the cathedral San Marco. It will venture a description of it not only on the basis of its similarities, claimed by most scholars, with the Apostoleion church in Constantinople, but also using information from extant documents as well as results of new archaeological discoveries, especially those published in the catalogue of the exhibition organised by its Procuratoria between July and November 2011, in Ken Dark and Ferudun Özgümüş’s works, and in other sources.”



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The Account of Byzantium and Its Fall in the *Cronicha* of Giorgio Dolfin

In the *Cronicha dela nobil cità de Venetia et dela sua provintia et destreto* (origins-1458), Giorgio Dolfin often describes the relationships between Byzantium and Venice, “altera Byzantium”, and mentions events concerning Byzantine history. Worthy of note, it is his account of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople which was a severe blow for both the Christendom and the Venetian economic interests in the Levant. For example, he narrates how Emperor Manuel I Comnenus (1143-1180) often read the book of Daniel, which predicted the future of the empire of Romania and also prophesied its end. His description of Constantinople is full of pathos and is one of the few cases where author mentions his sources.

The goal of this paper is to examine how Giorgio Dolfin recounted this episode and how scholars have used the information this chronicler provided in his work.

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Stradioti Mercenaries of Venice and the *Virtual Library of Venetian Chronicles*: A Case-Study

Writing history has always been a matter of great importance for Venice. The state tried either directly, by implicating the constitutional bodies, or through developing specific administrative organs, to manipulate the construction of the public image as well as the public’s memory. Through the existing formal historiographical *opere*, emerges the image of the *Serenissima* triumphant over the historical time, -a function which results in a perpetual legalization of the chosen political system, as a result of a “natural” process. Next to this sort of “official history” which deals with the big picture, an “non-official” historiography flourished as well: *diarii*, *memorie*, *lettere storiche*, *commentarii*, etc. These historical works have the advantage of allowing forms of micro-history to invade between the lines of narration, usually concerning mainly scenes from the martial fronts. It is in these forms of narration that we find valuable pieces of information concerning the *stradioti*, a light-armed mercenary cavalry of Venice which played a distinguished role during the 15th-16th century.

The Venetian term *stradioti* is a *terminus technicus*; originating from the late byzantine times (στρατιώται) these Greek, Greek-albanian horsemen were recruited during the late 14th and 15th century in the Despotate of Morea to meet the demographic and defensive needs of the region. After the Ottoman takeover of 1460, a large number of them resorted to the Venetian colonies of Morea. Later, they were used as frontline troops in the Venetian colonies of Albania, Dalmatia, the north



Venetian front (Friuli, Istria) and mainly at the wars of the 15th century which enlarged the Venetian mainland (1494-1530). During the 16th century and after the conflicts in the Italian mainland, a large number of these cavalrymen remained in Venice while others were vanished integrated by the local communities they were ordered to serve; in the Dalmatian possessions, Cyprus and Crete, the Ionian Islands.

The two centuries' presence of the *stradioti* is discussed, often with admirable clarity, by the "official" and mainly by the "non-official" Venetian historiography. Taking advantage of a discussion concerning a *Virtual Library of Venetian Chronicles*, I build up the image of the *stradioti* as it emerges from my own research data derived from the relevant Venetian chronicles. This case-study takes advantage of the hidden structure of the Venetian chronicles especially among the "formal" historiographical texts and the "informal" - type of *diari*, *memorie* (e.g. G. Priuli's, *Diarii*; Da Porto's, *Lettere*; D. Malipiero's, *Annali Veneti* or M. Sanudo's, *Le Vite dei Dogi*).

Lastly, towards the consolidation of the use of the texts in their digital form, we propose the extension of the base by developing a link referring to relevant byzantine originated chronicles existing in the Italian libraries, which provide information for the Venetian history; a reverse-function of the existing base which could be used independently as well.

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The Battle of Gallipoli 1416: A Case of Irrational Exuberance

After establishing a beachhead in Europe at Gallipoli in 1354, the Ottomans took over more and more of the European territory of the Byzantine Empire, although the pace of expansion was slowed or even briefly reversed because of the problems that followed their defeat at the Battle of Ancyra in 1402. During this period and afterwards the Venetians attempted to maintain good diplomatic relations with the sultan and the emperor, although this was difficult when Ottoman vessels made piratical attacks on Venetian ships and land-based establishments. In 1414, in particular, attacks were made on the island of Negropont (Euboea), which had been under Venetian control since 1390, and large numbers of prisoners were taken and carried off. Reparations were sought. Then in 1416 a Venetian squadron which was escorting an embassy to the Sultan found itself, because of a misunderstanding, fighting the Turkish fleet that was stationed there. The result was a resounding victory for the Venetians, which may have led them in later years to overestimate what they could do in the East, and encouraged them to attempt to keep Thessalonica from the Ottomans.



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Laonikos Chalkokondyles and the Late Byzantine Feedback of the Venetian Myth

The paper deals with the image of the «Serenissima», constructed by post-Byzantine intellectual Laonikos Chalkokondyles in his «Histories» (1450s–1460s). Chalkokondyles paid special attention to the political structure of the Italian city-states. Previous late Byzantine authors had rarely mentioned the main particularities of the political order or current home situation in the Italian republics or had tried to classify them in classical terms, for example, Theodore Metochites blamed the Genoese «ungovernable democracy» for corrupting this prosperous city. As A. Kaldellis states, Chalkokondyles wrote a first account of the government of an Italian state in the Byzantine literature.

In this report the author's attempt is to trace how the common places of the Venetian myth penetrated into the late Byzantine discourse (including two controversial portraits of Venice, written by Demetrios Kydonos) and how Chalkokondyles used ideologemes of Venetian superiority, justice, «*libertatis continuatio*» (a term, coined by the Venetian chronicler Lorenzo de Monacis), and a maritime mythology. In his epic narrative Chalkokondyles presented Venice as a state of unique stability and prudent laws, as the wealthiest and the most beautiful city in Italy. Chalkokondyles noticed that the Republic of Venice had not ever been thrown into any inner political turmoil. This statement was one of the most frequent common places in the Venetian narrative. The Byzantine historian's contemporary, the Venetian humanist Lauro Quirini praised «our happiest Venetian republic <...> which avoided any faction». Chalkokondyles mentioned Bajamonte Tiepolo's conspiracy (1310) as a historically abnormal event, he also said that Tiepolo himself (not Tiepolo's standard-bearer as it was in the Venetian narratives) was killed by a certain woman, who struck him with a stone. This passage in the «Histories» was probably influenced by the episode of the death of Pyrrhus, described by Plutarch, who was one of the most popular classical authors in Byzantium.

Chalkokondyles underlined that the Venetians were the most skilled sailors who had several times defeated the Greeks. The Venetian offence into Terraferma was also mentioned in the «Histories». The historian described the Venetian political institutes, including the doge (ἡγεμῶν), in details and pointed out that the Venetian government once (probably the process of Serrata in 1297) had been changed from democracy to aristocracy. The 15th-century Venetian chronicler de Monacis stated in Ciceronian way, that his «principate» had combined three forms of government with the doge as a king, the Senate as optimates and the Great Council as a people, and this was an optimal model for the maritime city-state.

In general, Chalkokondyles admired the Venetian political order, but also blamed its government for neglecting the destiny of the «close peoples» because of commercial interest. Nevertheless, Chalkokondyles was definitely aware of the Venetian official ideology and his description of the «Serenissima» was influenced by the Venetian myth, so the myth had the feedback that was expected by the Venetian political elite.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

WAR AND PEACE IN BYZANTIUM: CHANGES AND TURNING-POINTS IN THE MIDDLE AND LATE BYZANTINE PERIOD (7TH- 15TH CENTURIES)

Convener: Athina Kolia-Dermizaki

Salvatore Cosentino,

A Silent Revolution: The Early Phase of Militarization of Byzantine Sicily

Alexandru Madgearu,

The War of 971 in Bulgaria: A Model of Conflict Resolution for Present Superpowers

Leif Inge Ree Petersen,

A Reassessment of Byzantine and Arab Operations 634-37 AD

Based on a Multispectral Reading of BL Syriac MS Add 14461, *A Fragment on the Arab Conquest*

Georgios Theotokis,

Byzantine-Arab Wars of the Tenth Century: The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Primary Sources and the Value of Their Authors as "Military Historians"

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Managing the Other Face of Byzantine War: Was there a Mode of Presenting and Accepting Defeat?

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A Byzantine Band of Brothers: The Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Infantry Commanders

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Holy warriors? Some Thoughts on the Religious Identity of Byzantine Soldiers

Triantafyllitsa Maniati-Kokkini,

Economic Effects of Internal Wars for Individuals and the State in Byzantium,
1282 to the Middle of the 14th Century

Efstratia Synkellou,

War Violence Episodes in Late Byzantium: Some Remarks on Byzantine Warfare



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A Silent Revolution: The Early Phase of Militarization of Byzantine Sicily

Throughout Antiquity, Sicily had been a region with scarce signs of militarization of its social fabric, cityscape and landscape. A centuries-long period of peace allowed the island to reach a remarkable level of economic prosperity. This evolution was interrupted towards the end of the 7th century, with the constitution of a *stratēgia* on the island (namely, a regional field army under the command of a *stratēgos*), possibly between 687 and 695. The paper aims at analysing the process that led to such a situation. It will be taken in account, firstly, the new strategic role assumed by Sicily in the Mediterranean facing the Muslim expansion, as well as the territorial and institutional conformation imposed by the Byzantine forces on the island. Then, the contribution will be focusing on the new military apparatus deployed by the empire in the western regions of the Mediterranean in the aftermath of the Muslim conquest of Carthage.

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The War of 971 in Bulgaria: A Model of Conflict Resolution for Present Superpowers

The campaign led by John Tzimiskes in Bulgaria against Svyatoslav in 971 could be considered an example of conflict resolution and peace-building, according to the terminology of the present military science (the concepts are usually applied to modern international and civil wars). The complexity of that conflict involving, besides the Byzantine and Rus' armies, the Bulgarians who were fighting in coalition with both parts, required a step by step conflict resolution, a particular way to treat with the enemy. For instance, Tzimiskes gave amnesty to those Bulgarians who fought on the side of the Rus', before the end of the siege of Dorostolon. He wished to be seen as a liberator of Bulgaria (the capital Preslav conquered by the Rus' in 968 was occupied by the Byzantine army during the 971 campaign). Later on, the emperor permitted the retreat of the enemy from Dorostolon, but ensuring a future alliance with the Pechenegs to prevent other invasions. For a present-day superpower like it was the Byzantine Empire in the 10th century, the evolution of this conflict provides some lessons of peace-building, such as the temporary recognition of the legitimate ruler of the invaded state (Boris II was freed by the Byzantine army), and the amnesty for those internal forces who fought on the side of the enemy. The victory of 971 was followed by an administrative organization that split in several parts the territory of Bulgaria, but this kind of conflict resolution proved to be not successful to annihilate the revival of that state after five years, by a rebellion in a peripheral area. This is another lesson for the present powers who are settling fundamentally different administration in a defeated country.



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A Reassessment of Byzantine and Arab Operations 634-37 AD
Based on a Multispectral Reading of BL Syriac MS Add 14461,
A Fragment on the Arab Conquest

One of the most intractable problems of the 7th century is basic chronology, which has received much scholarly attention in recent years. Despite an emerging consensus for rehabilitating e.g. Sebeos' account of the failed Arab siege of Constantinople in 654 and re-dating the naval operations against the city in the 670s, the course of the early Islamic conquest of Syria and Palestine remains hopelessly muddled and has thus never been satisfactorily explained. Late Christian and Muslim sources present a bewildering array of alternative dates and actors, so that interpretations of the dramatic Byzantine collapse in the mid-630s depend on which chronology is chosen.

While Howard-Johnston recently presented a coherent methodology for reassessing 7th-century sources, this was not applied to the only contemporary chronicle: a fragmentary narrative on the cover leaf of a 6th-century Syriac gospel book preserved in the British Library. In the late 630s, a contemporary observer scribbled down at least 25 lines, in sprawling Syriac hand, with first-hand observations on the ongoing Arab conquest of Palestine and southern Syria. Potentially a treasure trove of contemporary information, where all other sources, whether Arabic, Syriac, Greek or Armenian, are late or elliptical, the use of this text has, however, long been limited due to its severely deteriorated state. Much of the text is unclear or illegible due to wear and tear. Thus, the great Syriacists Nöldeke and Brooks have each produced only fragmentary editions of the text, with such extensive lacunae that any significant emendation is subject to criticism and any historical conclusions fraught with uncertainty. Thus a new reading of the MS in the early 1990s by Brock, Palmer and Hoyland discarded a number of older readings and conjectures. Current readings can do little more than confirm that there were military operations in the region in the years 634-37, although basic details such as direction of movement, or even who is pursuing whom, is often entirely conjectural. The only reasonably certain fact is that preparations for a major engagement were made by both sides at Gabitha (near Yarmuk) in August 636.

A multispectral reading carried out in April 2015 at first yielded meager results, but thanks to painstaking comparison of each single letter in each of 47 high-resolution images in natural, infrared, ultraviolet and composite versions, it has been possible to recreate much of the lost text. The reconstruction has further been assisted by an idiosyncratic handwriting that strongly circumscribes possible readings of partial letters that have been ignored or misunderstood when working only with the manuscript. Thus it is possible to present a secure date for the surrender of Damascus, follow Roman and Arab movements in Lebanon, southern Syria and Galilee, and provide information on the nature of the conquest, with the text speaking of captives, plunder, and probably forced labor. Furthermore, the reading of "Mwḥmd" (Muḥammad) is confirmed in two places, one



of which occurs near a previously unrecognized sobriquet that seems to reflect the author's view on the background for unfolding events in the earliest MS with a Christian opinion on the prophet of Islam. The framework thus constructed can be used to test later Muslim and Christian chronicle traditions and provide an explanation for early Arab successes.

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Byzantine-Arab Wars of the Tenth Century: The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Primary Sources and the Value of Their Authors as "Military Historians"

Until 912 and the death of Leo VI, the Byzantines had not committed themselves into any definite war in a specific part of their frontiers in the East. From the 915 onwards the attention of the central government was focused – with intermediate breaks – on Armenia. Zoe's government initiated a series of campaigns led by John Curcuas in Armenia and Mesopotamia in the 920s-40s, a policy which, however, did not include a conscious and long-term ambition of territorial expansion.

That would be until the emergence of a new dynasty with two powerful brothers that were to establish their Emirates in the region of the Jazira and the Thugur, Nasir and Sayf-ad-Dawla. The latter posed a vigorous resistance against the Byzantine raids in Mesopotamia and Armenia, and for a number of political, diplomatic, social, cultural and geographical reasons, the Empire was also attracted in a protracted conflict in the region of Armenia, Taron, Vaspourakan and northern Mesopotamia.

Armenia was strategically far more important to the Byzantine government than Cilicia and Syria, and Constantinople did not contemplate any territorial expansion in the region but rather the forging of diplomatic ties with the local *naxarars*. Since the Byzantines did not pay the required attention to the notion of "frontiers" and "frontier affairs" and warfare was seen primarily as a matter of subjecting or sacking cities, and breaking the power of troublesome border emirs rather than any territorial expansion *per se*, then how can we explain the extensive gains of territory in Cilicia and Syria in the 950s-60s and the massive mobilisation of manpower for a war that lasted for decades and reached legendary proportions on both sides of the borders? What led to this escalation of violence between Constantine VII and Sayf ad-Dawla of Aleppo? What indications do we have about this change of policy by the Empire and when, exactly, can we trace it in time? What were the deeper and long-term implications for Byzantium's strategic thinking, its military and political organization?



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Managing the Other Face of Byzantine War: Was there a Mode of Presenting and Accepting Defeat?

A 10th century Byzantine historian, depicting the Arab-Byzantine military conflict of the previous century, presented a Byzantine general advising the emperor on the subject of the outcome of a battle. The speaker pointed out to his suzerain that the outcome of a battle could be either a happy one or an unlucky one, that is, either victory or defeat. Only by trusting in God could anyone look forward to victory.

The above scene reveals a Byzantine, indeed a medieval perception concerning the expectation of victory. In other words, not only that, as per medieval mentality, victory depended on God's Will, but also that its opposite, defeat, was equally possible. In the event of such a defeat, the Byzantine government and its proponents by oral and written means (imperial administration, court rhetoric, historiography, and literature in general), had to manage its consequences both in practical terms and in terms of impact on the population's courage and spirit. They had to justify it, in order to minimize the impact of such an occurrence on the public opinion.

Starting with several relevant scenes from Byzantine sources, this paper will examine another aspect of Byzantine warfare, namely defeat, and how it was managed, both militarily and politically. Without avoiding comparisons with previous and later centuries, it will, nevertheless, mostly focus on the 11th -12th centuries, a period severely marked by the reversal of Byzantine fortunes in war. It will examine the wording as well as the way in which Byzantine writers presented defeat and try to establish a relevant typology. Obviously, their choice of words, often explaining or even justifying defeat, usually depended on the writers' avowed or implied political affiliation. Victories of enemies could be presented as unexpected if not illogical. However, the study of words as, for instance, indicating shame in defeat (αἰσχρῶς ἠττήθη) or inexperience in battle and strategies (ἀτέχνως) as cause of defeat and, more so, attributing defeat to the workings of fate, (βασκανία) might imply a certain mentality that prevailed during the period under discussion (and not only that).

Furthermore, the paper will endeavour to answer some relevant questions such as, for instance: was a strategic defeat even envisaged? In case of defeat, what part of the justification provided was due to tradition (as for example giving credit for victory to the emperor while, in case of defeat, blaming solely the commander of the army or the unfortunate general who suffered it) and what part was due to a more general acceptance of an objectively observed fated reversal of fortunes? The relevant wording might provide a hint as to an attempt to "manage" defeat for military or political gain, or, in later times, indicate a defeatist change in mentality.



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A Byzantine Band of Brothers: The Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Infantry Commanders

One of the main characteristics of the Eastern Roman Empire's military organisation from the middle of the tenth to the end of the eleventh century was the existence of composite units of light and heavy infantry. Each of these 1000-man brigades, known as a *taxiarchia* or *chiliarchia*, was under the overall command of a *taxiarches* (also called *chiliarches* by some sources). Although for the past two decades historians have adequately studied this reorganisation and the renewed importance of infantry within the framework of Byzantine military history, little attention had been paid to the position of infantry commanders in both military and social hierarchy. The aim of this paper is to present the first fruits of an ongoing investigation into this group of high-ranking Byzantine military officials. It will give a concise overview of the creation and evolution of that particular officer corps, and will touch upon various aspects of research pertaining to administrative and social history, as well as prosopography.

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Women as Agents of Restoration of Imperial Power and Peace in Byzantium

Women in Byzantium, but also in those states with which the empire either maintained friendly relations or was involved in armed conflict, have played a key role in the foreign policy of either opponents or allies at all times.

Their passive input pertains to their contribution to the success of Byzantine diplomacy through marriage alliances.

However, the political maneuvers of women who found themselves at a particular point in time in a position to have to make decisions regarding the fate of states that were opposed to the empire are of particular interest. The untimely demise of a ruler, combined with the existence of an underage successor, as well as conditions of domestic or family rivalries have given the women of reigning families the fortuitous chance to act in a decisive manner with regard to the states they temporarily ruled. In these instances their actions were driven by their wish to secure the position of both themselves and the rulers in whose place they exercised power. Their gender qualities, mainly their insufficiency in meeting the demands of a war have proven beneficial to the Byzantines.



In this paper references will be made to cases, mostly dating from the eleventh century, of wives of enemy rulers who, after the death of the latter, asked for a peace treaty or capitulation.

The actions of Maria, widow of Tsar John Vladislav, contributed to the total submission of Bulgaria after the political and military turmoil of the years that followed the victory of Basil II at Kleidion. After her husband's death she reached a rapprochement with the emperor and, in exchange for her life and those of her family, she surrendered to Basil the remaining Bulgarian lands that she ruled.

The troubled relations between Byzantium and Georgia were normalized after the death of George I, ruler of Abasgia, in 1027. His wife, Maria, came to power as regent for her underage son. Having had to face many difficulties, and in her wish to renew diplomatic contacts with Constantinople, she sent an embassy to Romanos III bringing gifts and an offer of capitulation, as well as a Byzantine bride for her son. The emperor accepted both the offered peace treaty and the marriage alliance.

There was a second woman attached to George I, Alde, by whom he had another son, Demetrios. The rivalry between the two brothers after their father's death weakened their kingdom, as is proven by Alde's move to join the Byzantine emperor and surrender to him the fortress of Anacopia, apparently part of the paternal inheritance of Demetrios.

Family infighting among its opponents was a boon for the Empire, which would otherwise have to face a powerful Georgia, united under a single crown, an obstacle in the way of imperial aspirations in the region. The different approaches of successors and their mothers offered Byzantium, which was seeking allies outside Georgia, the chance of help from within and gave it a powerful foothold in NW Georgia.

During the same period, the empire managed to reach a rapprochement with yet another of its opponents; according to Scylitzes, this was due to the Christian wife of Amer, the Fatimid caliph of Egypt. After his death, his widow and her son sent a joint embassy to the Byzantine emperor, with the aim of negotiating peace.

Through a presentation of, and commentary on, these cases it is shown that, whenever the empire had to face a state that was temporarily run by a woman, it reaped the benefits of peace – and bountiful they were: hostilities were terminated or avoided altogether, and Byzantium either restored or expanded the limits of its power.

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Holy Warriors? Some Thoughts on the Religious Identity of Byzantine Soldiers

In the last years, the discussion about the religious aspect of Byzantine warfare has focused on theoretical-methodological and socio-historical issues concerning the problematization of 'holy war' both as a category of analysis and as a historical phenomenon in Byzantine society. Whether or not the members of the Byzantine ruling élite shared a vision of warfare against the infidel as a



religious task and a means for the salvation of the soul remains a hotly debated issue. Within this framework, what needs to be further problematized is the religious identity of Byzantine soldiers. Quite often, notions such as ‘athletes of Christ’, ‘chosen people’, ‘God’s army’ etc., which are recurrent in the discourse of Byzantine authors, are considered to reflect the war mentality and to have underpinned the religious motive of the average soldier on the battlefield particularly in war against infidel enemies. This tendency to reify the Byzantine soldiers’ religious identity as represented in texts with a distinct literary aspect is problematical insofar as it adopts a methodologically rather outmoded approach to written sources as “mirrors” of social reality, in particular of the common people’s thought-world.

In the current paper, I shall address the issue of the literary aspect of text-based justification of Byzantine warfare and the need to distinguish between an operative religious ideology on the battlefield and an intertextual symbolic universe in the writings of an educated élite that was mainly built on literary motifs from the biblical repertoire. If the latter was the main source of an idiomatic religious language that Byzantine authors commonly employed to ethically justify imperial warfare in their writings, there is enough evidence to support the argument that the relationship of Byzantine soldiers with religion on the battlefield was far less idealistic despite their occasionally depicted textual image as sacred warriors of the faith.

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Economic Effects of Internal Wars for Individuals and the State in Byzantium, 1282 to the Middle of the 14th Century

Privileges and grants are, by definition, an arbitrary choice of the person bestowing the grant. Nevertheless, the Byzantine Emperor, despite the absolute character of his central authority, appears to grant financial privileges for specific reasons, often combining the receiver’s gratification and state gain. Indeed, in many instances the particularly extended or expandable privileges are laid out in the prologues (*prooimia*) of the *chrysobulls*, although this happened partly due to imperial propaganda through the projection of imperial philanthropy and social justice which the emperor should not disregard.

In addition, the withdrawal of financial privileges and grants are equally within the Emperor’s rights, since they are both considered a priori retractable and by no means hereditary in Byzantium. Nevertheless, the documents usually contain an explanation, which is mainly linked to the behaviour as well as several transgressions on behalf of the beneficiary of the imperial privilege-grant.

There are, however, circumstances in which the frequency and comparative percentage of granting privileges, as well as their retraction, supersede the usual explanations and betray diverse criteria and choices by the emperors, at the same time raising questions concerning a large degree of arbitrariness and personal interest by central authority. The empire experiences a long, yet not



continuous, period of such circumstances under the Palaiologoi, particularly towards the end of the 13th and the first half of the 14th centuries, when internal strife, caused by the claimants to the throne or those contesting imperial rule, is added to external hostile attacks.

The events pertaining to the internal developments and reversals during the aforementioned internal wars are well-known. Nevertheless, it is of particular interest to investigate further the imperial decisions deriving from those events relevant to granting or retracting financial privileges, as well as the resulting reaction of the beneficiaries during the reigns of Andronikos II and Andronikos III and the dispute between Ioannis V and the Kantakouzenoi about the throne.

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War Violence Episodes in Late Byzantium: Some Remarks on Byzantine Warfare

Man's history has unfortunately been full of wars and violent incidents. War produces violence and is therefore a genuine social phenomenon with psychological, ideological, ethical and even ethnological parameters. In medieval times, war violence had been an issue for discussion for the Christian states of both East and West, but it was only in the 14th century when several western states such as Venice decided to impose measures to reduce violence. In the eastern Mediterranean, the Byzantine state, adhering to the principle of "ius gentium", attempted to confront the various aspects of warfare (e.g. acquisition, captivity, rehabilitation, immunity, etc.). Nonetheless brutality against prisoners of war or even civilians was a measure used to break the enemy's morale and appears to have been a common and acceptable practice. War violence, apart from its military or strategic background, belongs to a wider social, ethical and ideological context. It is the product of war ethics, religious beliefs and ideological models, financial and political objectives, the social structure of the troops, and war technology.

This paper examines these parameters. Several cases of wars (e.g. the Byzantine-Ottoman wars) or specific episodes from wars in written sources will be presented to help define the complex aspects of war violence. In addition, the late Byzantine period will be assessed in respect of the use and attitude towards violence as these developed from the standard-period Byzantine ethics, and attitudes and practices on war violence. Exploring war violence leads to a better understanding of the common points and the differences between different peoples as determined by culture, ideology and ethics.



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STUDYING BYZANTINE SCULPTURE IN THE 21ST CENTURY: NEW PERSPECTIVES AND APPROACHES

Conveners: **Claudia Barsanti, Alessandra Guiglia**

Asnu Bilban Yalçın,

New Finds in Istanbul: Archaeological Evidence for Sculptural Production
and Marble Trade in Early Byzantine Constantinople

Konstantinos T. Raptis,

The Sculptural Decoration of Acheiropoietos Basilica (Thessaloniki)
Re-Evaluated under the Light of a Recent Architectural Analysis of the Monument

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Tauric Chersonesus: Marble Capitals and the Problem of the Dating of the Early Byzantine Churches

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Philipp Niewöhner,

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Catherine Vanderheyde,

Early Byzantine Sculpture's Workshops in Apamea (Syria):
Between Constantinopolitan Influence and Local Creativity

Andrea Paribeni,

Marble Masons on Stage: Organizational and Work Process Aspects in Byzantine Sculptural Ateliers



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New Finds in Istanbul: Archaeological Evidence for Sculptural Production and Marble Trade in Early Byzantine Constantinople

In the past years intense rescue work has carried out on in Istanbul on account of the city's new underground railway and in the context of the so-called 'urban renewal' of its old and damaged buildings.

Of at least equal significance are two excavations in the suburbs, one in Kuçukçekmece the other in Yoros-Bosporus, which have brought to light a large variety of finds of which those in marble occupy a special place. These date mostly from the early Byzantine period and bear witness to large-scale production and trade in marble from the island of Proconnesus. The finds reconfirm well-known *in-situ* pieces and act as valuable cases of comparison with pieces found scattered within the city and beyond.

The paper will present and evaluate the new material, paying special attention to the role of harbours and workshops in the marble trade.

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The Sculptural Decoration of Acheiropoietos Basilica (Thessaloniki) Re-Evaluated under the Light of a Recent Architectural Analysis of the Monument

Acheiropoietos basilica comprises a phenomenally preserved, typical example of the three-aisled timber-roofed *Hellenistic-type* basilica with narthex and galleries, thus fitting more than any of the Thessalonican monuments to the standardized Early Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture.

Due to the overall symmetry of its architectural form and the presumable homogeneity of its original sculptural decoration, Acheiropoietos is usually considered as the last maintained architectural composition of the city that still echoes the aesthetics of the Late Antiquity.

However, based on a recent architectural and sculptural analysis of the monument, it occurs that Acheiropoietos was originally erected as a *Roman-type* basilica without galleries during the last decade of the fifth or the first decade of the sixth century (ca. 500). Even though the ground-plan of the church remained unaltered through the ages, its upper-structure was later remodeled. The galleries, a not surviving clerestory and extended annexes were added during the first —among



many— structural restoration of the building that took place during the seventh century, as a result of the 620-630 series of earthquakes that devastated large part of the city along with its main urban infrastructure and ecclesiastical monuments.

Based on this new evidence, the present paper presents the various architectural sculptures of the basilica as: (a) a variety of bases of both the classical and the simplified variations of the attic-ionic type, (b) various column shafts, (c) the largest maintained group of twenty nine composite capitals with double fined-toothed acanthus leaves at the tribelon, the nave and the outer-narthex colonnade that beyond their superficial uniformity are divided in four subgroups, (d) various subtypes of the Impost-ionic capitals at the south gallery colonnade, (e) the twenty nine decorated impost-blocks that crown the composite capitals of the nave colonnades, (f) the consoles that support the traverse arches of the narthex, as well as (g) a variety of different type cornices adorning the masonry of the segmental apse and the nave arcades.

At the same time the several types of Constantinopolitan mason marks that connect the primary architectural sculptures of the main nave with specific imperial sculptural workshops of the sixth century are discussed.

Based on this recent study, the architectural sculptures of the gallery level, that until recently were encountered as parts of the original building, have been re-dated and attributed to its second phase. At the same time, several, unobserved until now, characteristics of those at the ground-level —apparently belonging to the first phase sculptural decoration of the basilica— showcase that they were not *tailor-made* for the late fifth-early sixth century basilica; on the contrary they consist of (a) ready-made architectural sculptures, made with proconesian marble in Constantinopolitan workshops, (b) lower-quality sculptures of local workshops made with white coarse-grained marble from the Thassian quarries at Alyki, and (c) secondary, mostly undecorated, architectural members as imposts and thresholds that were cut on the building site from marble sarcophagi, looted from the abandoned Late Roman cemeteries of the city.

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Les sculptures architecturales de la basilique du Léchaion (Corinthe)

La basilique du Léchaion a été découverte par Dimitrios Pallas et fouillée par lui avec le financement de la Société Archéologique d'Athènes de 1956 à 1961. Des travaux complémentaires ont été effectués en 1965. Il s'agit de l'un des monuments protobyzantins les plus importants de Grèce. La situation de la basilique dans le port de Corinthe, ses dimensions, ainsi que la richesse du décor architectural justifient cette caractérisation. D. Pallas a publié des rapports de fouilles exhaustifs et un nombre important d'articles, pourtant plusieurs obstacles ont empêchés la publication finale du monument.

La sculpture architecturale de la basilique a déjà été largement commentée dans la bibliographie internationale, et particulièrement les chapiteaux : chapiteaux composites ioniques et chapiteaux ioniques à imposte. Ceux-ci ont trouvé très tôt une place dans les manuels sur l'art byzantin et



l'architecture, mais ils ont aussi servis comme matériel de référence dans les études spécialisées se focalisant sur l'évolution stylistique de la décoration sculptée ou sur la diffusion des sculptures architecturales des carrières de Proconnèse. Au travers des différentes approches, les questions fondamentales posées par le matériel ont déjà été abordées par les spécialistes. Cependant, ceux-ci en viennent à des conclusions différentes, principalement en ce qui concerne la datation des sculptures. Certains chercheurs persistent à dater les sculptures en fonction de critères stylistiques, tandis que d'autres donnent la priorité aux données de fouille. Ainsi, les sculptures sont placées soit dans la seconde moitié du v^e siècle, soit dans les premières décennies du vi^e siècle, un écart dû principalement à l'approche fragmentaire et non systématique du matériel.

C'est cette lacune que tente de combler l'étude débutée en 2014, qui vise à étudier les sculptures architecturales dans leur ensemble, mettant en évidence la relation structurelle – relation de dépendance totale – entre cet ensemble et le bâtiment pour lequel il a été créé. Dans cette communication les différentes catégories de matériel seront présentées, selon une analyse morphologique et stylistique qui tient compte des différentes qualités du marbre. Les affinités avec le matériel correspondant de la basilique du Stoudios à Constantinople et de la basilique de l'Acheiropoietos à Thessalonique, proposées il y a longtemps par J. Kramer, seront examinées à nouveau. Enfin, les données apportées par les récentes études géophysiques seront évaluées par rapport à l'histoire édilitaire de la basilique.

L'étude des sculptures architecturales du Léchaion se prête à un examen de l'exactitude et des limites des méthodes de datation utilisées, surtout lorsqu'elles sont uniquement fondées sur des observations strictement stylistiques et des classifications typologiques. En outre, elle permet de montrer comment la recherche interdisciplinaire contemporaine peut combler les anciens points de vue contradictoires.

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Transennae from Nikopolis

In the course of the excavation of Basilica D at Nikopolis, conducted by Anastasios Orlandos between 1956 and 1961, a significant number of transennae frames were discovered along with fragments of their perforated inner decoration. A good many more of them were found between 1999 and 2002 when I carried out a supplementary excavation.

Apart from these, the majority of which are known from publications, a considerable number of fragments from similar transennae, mainly frames, were found in Basilica B during the 1920s excavations carried out by Georgios Sotiriou and Anastasios Orlandos. Though only a few small fragments survive today, the rest are documented in the Sotiriou photographic archive in the Byzantine Museum in Athens. It seems reasonable to suppose that they must have been transferred from the excavation to the museum set up in the old mosque in Preveza by Alexandros Philadelphus, the first excavator of Nikopolis, and that they were destroyed when it was bombed in World War II.



Both the transennae from Basilica D, the majority of which are now displayed in the Nikopolis Museum, and those from Basilica B (the survivals and the material now lost) display common characteristics in respect of the type of ornament used on their frames. They all have decoration divided into two registers by a narrow band. The inner band consists of a Lesbian kyma, with an astragal below, while scrollwork with some slight variations fills the outer band. An attempt will be made, based on the surviving fragments, to establish the number of transennae they originally composed. And, at least as regards the transennae from Basilica D from which a reasonable amount of fragments of their inner perforated decoration survive, hypothetical reconstructions will be proposed.

The typological similarity between all the various transennae from Nikopolis mentioned above and corresponding examples from Ayia Sofia in Constantinople leads us to think that they were produced in workshops in the capital and then transported to Nikopolis, as was the case with other architectural members from the basilicas in this Epirote city and with the magnificent sarcophagus with symbolic decoration found in Basilica D.

Finally, it should be noted that the fact that similar frames, albeit with simpler decoration, have been found in other places in Epirus, e.g. at Opayia in the district of Ioannina and at Ladohori in Thesprotia, shows that these Constantinopolitan models were imitated by provincial workshops within Nikopolis's sphere of artistic influence.

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New Evidences Regarding the Byzantine Sculptures from the Basilica of St Philip at Hierapolis

The purpose of this paper is to present the preliminary results of a research carried out on the Byzantine sculpture of the Church of St Philip at Hierapolis, which was discovered in 2012 by Prof. Francesco D'Andria and the Missione Archeologica Italiana of the Università del Salento (Lecce). The analysis and the study of several sculptures with architectural and liturgical functions, were made possible thanks to the FIRB Project *Marmora Phrygia* (Futuro in ricerca 2012) and a one year research grant, the latter coordinated by Manuela De Giorgi and completed in March 2016. The relevance of the sculptures of St Philip is due to the noteworthy quantity and the quality of the pieces, as well as to the archaeological context in which the material was found. This allows us to connect the sculptures with the different chronological phases of the monument, and thus to fix an important reference point for the dating of the sculptural production in Hierapolis as well as in the Phrygian Region. Furthermore, such a result helps to reconsider and better understand the role of the local workshops and the influences from other areas.

The present paper will focus on specific aspects of the different sculptural techniques applied in the Church of St Philip, in particular on the use of color and its role within the sacred space, in order to reconstruct somehow a “visual hierarchy” of sculpture decoration in the complexity of the building.



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Tauric Chersonesus: Marble Capitals and the Problem of the Dating of the Early Byzantine Churches

During the long-term excavations in Tauric Chersonesus (from the 6th century in the Byzantine sources the town was named Cherson) few hundred details of the architectural decoration and liturgical furnishing were found which were brought from Proconessian workshops. The capitals are not rear amongst them. There are more than hundred items in the National Park of Tauric Chersonesus (Sevastopol, Crimea); more than score of capitals are in keeping of the museums in Moscow, St-Petersburg and Ukraine. For the most part they were found out of archaeological context, so the majority of archaeologists are very skeptical about the possibility to use this material for making more precise chronology of the Chersonesus churches. The dating of the certain urban and cemetery churches has been the subject of very hot discussions. Some researchers put forth the idea of the “architectural boom” which took place at the end of the 6th - the beginning of the 7th centuries; but this supposition is based only on several archaeological and numismatic findings, the stratigraphical location of which, unfortunately, is often disputable and doesn't correspond to the results of the analysis of the architecture and marble and mosaic decorations of the churches.

My research of the typology and chronology of the Chersonesus capitals leads me to the following conclusions. The chronological pattern of the different types of capitals indicates three periods of the great building activity in the town: the reign of Theodosius II and two decades about it, the reign of Zenon and the reign of Justinian I. The first period is characterized by capitals with fine-toothed acanthus. In that time the construction of large buildings in the town was limited, but there are at least two churches of this period *intra muros*: bishop's church and the earliest basilica in the complex of the so called “basilica of the 1935”. The series of Corinthian capitals, including “lyre-shaped” and “V-shaped” ones belongs to the epoch of Zenon. The activity of Zenon in Chersonesus is evidenced by the inscription reporting the building of the great tower. And then, the third and more significant period of construction work in the town falls within the reign of Justinian I. This period of large-scale, quick and pragmatic building activity is featured by Ionic impost capitals and simple impost capitals. Amongst the Ionic impost capitals from the Chersonesus more earlier items are also presented, in particular, the capitals from the complex of the bishop's basilica, but the great deal of them belongs to the epoch of Justinian. The Ionic impost capitals amount to 40% of the Chersonesus collection.

Chersonesus capitals of proconessian marble instigate the production of local stone capitals, which are founded in the inner regions of Crimea.



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Middle Byzantine Altars with Sculpture Decoration

The altar, the most sacred structure in the middle Byzantine church, is one of the less known works of sculpture of this era, almost hidden behind the chancel barrier or templon screen. Depending on the dimensions and the funds of each church building, the form of the middle Byzantine altar varies from rectangular slabs based on posts to semicircular slabs placed on masonry. The decoration is usually found on the frame of the slab, leaving the main surface empty and flat, probably in order to put on safely the holy vessels. However there are some cases with the surface totally covered with relief. The posts that hold the slab may have the form of small colonettes with inserted capitals. The main questions that arise from the study of this group of middle Byzantine altars are the selection of decorative patterns in use and their function on a structure which was out of sight, hidden behind the templon and under the vestments.

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New Christian Design in Marble Carving. The Curious Case of Anatolian Press Weights

Anatolia has preserved numerous large marble blocks that are beautifully sculpted with Christian symbols. Some have previously been associated with the liturgical furniture of churches and monasteries, but technical features identify them as weights for oil or wine presses. Such weights are well-known from other regions of the Byzantine Empire, where they normally remained without decoration. This paper presents an overview of the Anatolian press weights and their decorative repertoire. The paper also asks why press weights should have been decorated, why with Christian symbols, and why in Anatolia and not elsewhere.



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Early Byzantine Sculpture's Workshops in Apamea (Syria): Between Constantinopolitan Influence and Local Creativity

This paper deals with the first presentation of a piece of research begun in 2009 on the Early Byzantine sculpture discovered during the excavations of Apamea in Syria. Given the political turmoil in Syria for several years, it seemed particularly important to draw the attention of the scientific community to this Byzantine heritage that may by now have been destroyed or stolen.

In the past, the city of Apamea covered 250 hectares and had a very regular plan with streets intersecting at right angles describing regular blocks or *insulae*. The *cardo* and his porticoes, about 2 km long and 20 meters wide, clearly constituted the main road of the city. Paved with slabs of limestone, it gave access to major buildings (agora, baths, monumental fountain, large latrine), while the *decumanus* led to the theatre and the Eastern Cathedral.

The penetration of Christianity in Apamea is attested by several hagiographical sources relating the martyrdom of St. Maurice, St. Antoninus and St. Marcel who was the bishop of the city. According to the excavations conducted by the Belgian team, most of the churches (the Rotunda, the Atrium church, the Eastern Cathedral and the church VIII.17) were situated in the southeast part of the town. Large unearthed villas also attest to the wealth of their inhabitants.

In the best state of preservation are the capitals which come from religious buildings and private residences. Several marble Corinthian capitals were found during excavations of the house called "aux colonnes bilobées". The information recorded in the excavations notebooks does not help to clarify the chronology of these carved pieces but many of these capitals are very similar to the capitals found in Constantinopolitan which can be dated from the 5th to the 6th century. The close observation of these capitals shows that were made of a gray veined marble and that some of them bear quarry marks. These observations suggest that these architectural sculptures may have been imported from the quarries of Proconnesus near Constantinople. However, it is the local limestone, sometimes painted red, which was used for the capitals found in the house of the "chapiteaux à consoles", in the Atrium church and in the Eastern Cathedral. Some capitals are similar to others that were preserved in northern Syria during the Early byzantine period. Nonetheless they are characterized by many different motifs and virtuosity in the art of carving. Some sculptures are of outstanding quality, such as a pink limestone capital discovered in the Eastern cathedral on which an inscription mentioning bishop Paul was carved. Another big limestone capital with two rows of deep carved acanthus leaves was carefully painted in red.

The variety of materials, designs and technical processes implemented on the sculptures demonstrates the creativity of local sculptor's workshops working for the architectural decoration in Apamea during the Early Byzantine period. Such variety is not only found in Apamea and in northern Syria where several sculptors' workshops have already been identified. The architectural sculpture of several other Early Byzantine cities in the Balkans, such as Caričin Grad, Stobi and



Sandanski, show a similar variety of materials, shapes, decorations and carving techniques. If “*varietas ex novo*” has already been observed in the architectural decoration of some religious buildings of Macedonia, like Hagios Dimitrios in Thessaloniki, it seems that this aesthetic trend could also exist across all buildings of a same city.

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Marble Masons on Stage: Organizational and Work Process Aspects in Byzantine Sculptural Ateliers

The massive production and distribution of marble in early Byzantine era was fuelled by the increasing demand of architectural items and furniture for the ambitious building programs promoted during that period by civil and ecclesiastical elites. Beginning with the extraction of marble from the quarries up to the shipping of the artefacts and their dissemination in all the provinces of the byzantine empire, such a challenging goal required to take a complex series of decisions and face well-structured working procedures.

Among the aspects that will be examined in this paper, particular attention will be paid to the techniques of identification and installation of architectural pieces followed by early byzantine skilled workers with the aid of alphabetical, numeral or simply graphic signs. The use of this kind of assembly marks, very useful in order to lay out serial elements such as columns, entablatures and arcades, was widespread in Greek and Roman architecture: in this occasion we will consider well known examples in Constantinople and other places in Greece, together with some unnoticed evidences from the Justinian’s workshop of Saint Sophia.



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THEATRE AND LITURGY: PERFORMANCE AND RITUAL IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP – PART 1

Conveners: **Andrew Walker White, Niki Tsironis**

Andreas Andreopoulos,

Liturgical Dialogues: Clergy and Laity Concelebrating

Pia Houni,

Theatre and Church as Lovers in Dialogue in Byzantium

Theodora Antonopoulou,

From Constantinople to Panormos: Manuscripts, Homilies, *Ecphrases*

Alexandra Nikiforova,

Anamnesis and Mimesis in Maundy Thursday Rites:

A New Evidence from the Ninth-Century Tropologion from Sinai MG/NE 56+5

Tinatin Chronz,

The Early Jerusalem Euchologion in Georgian Transmission.

Comparative Edition, Translation and Commentary



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Liturgical Dialogues: Clergy and Laity Concelebrating

The entire Divine Liturgy may be approached as a series of dialogues, either between the Son and the Father, or between God and the people, or between the celebrant priest and the laity. The whole arrangement of the space, the words and the actions of the Divine Liturgy from a dramatic point of view points to the ancient dramatic tradition, in form and in content, and yet one of the greatest differences between the two is the participation of the laity/chanters as opposed to the more passive place of the audience. In this presentation we will examine the dramatic participation of the laity focusing on the instances of the Divine Liturgy where the dynamics between the priest and the laity extends beyond the antiphonal dialogue, and the laity completes the phrase of the priest, thus truly demonstrating the understanding of the Divine Liturgy as a concelebration between the clergy and the people.

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Theatre and Church as Lovers in Dialogue in Byzantium

In their academic studies, all theatre scholars have learned that theatre history begins in Ancient Greece and moves on through early Roman drama to the Middle Ages and Renaissance. It is easy to understand the lack of information about theatre history, and it is common to follow the traditional western narrative. Today, a small group of people have begun to revisit the questions, "What happened to theatre after Ancient Greece?" and "What is the heritage of tragedies and comedies in the Byzantium period?"

For theatre scholars the Early Byzantine period is especially interesting, when Neo-Platonist influences connected with early Christianity. Under Theodosios I (r. 379–395), Christianity became the Empire's state religion. The dialogue between church and theatre was obviously present when John Chrysostom argued forcefully against theatre in his homily, *Against those who have abandoned the church and deserted it for hippodromes and theatres*.

The second interesting point to look at theatre in Byzantium culture is through textual and performative materials, which are close to the idea of theatre. Some of them were adaptations of Ancient Greek tragedies, some pieces were adapted mythical stories and most of these narratives resembled theatre dialogue (such as Haplukheiros *Dramation*, Prodromos *Apodemosfilia*, *Katomyomakhia*, *Biopraxis* etc.)



These two approaches to the question of theatre in Byzantium present how concretely theatre was a part of a city's planning. Maps of Byzantium demonstrate clearly how theatre and church exist side by side (as they still are in the most modern cities). In my presentation I will look at the dialogue between theatre and church. The second part of my presentation will consist of short examples of art pieces we can aesthetically name as theatre.

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From Constantinople to Panormos: Manuscripts, Homilies, *Ecphrases*

Ecphrases, those of churches in particular, were a rather unusual means for preachers to reach their audiences. There are just a handful of surviving homilies containing such rhetorical descriptions. This paper will correlate the *ecphrases* of churches by Patriarch Photios and Emperor Leo VI, delivered in Constantinople, with those of the Cappella Palatina by Philagathos Kerameus, delivered in Norman Panormos. The ties traced here will shed light on a successful transfer of a rhetorical device, which served both ideological goals as well as the need of the audience to better comprehend the religious setting of the homilies.

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Anamnesis and Mimesis in Maundy Thursday Rites:

A New Evidence from the Ninth-Century Tropologion from Sinai MG/NE 56+5

The oldest Greek formular for Maundy Thursday is saved in the Tropologion, i.e. hymnal for movable and fixed feasts of the church year, Sin.Gr. MG/NE 56+5, dated back to the second half of 9th Century. This unpublished Greek hymnographical codex found in 1975 in the monastery of St. Catherine is based on the "Anastasis" tradition of Jerusalem (the heading of the codex runs: "With God, the Tropologion of all holy feasts of the whole year established by the saint Church of the Resurrection of Our Lord Jesus Christ"), but also has its local calendar and cult specific, influenced by the region of Egypt [1]. On 245 folia 73 rubrics were preserved with the chants for the liturgy of the hours and Eucharist from Christmas eve till the commemoration of Righteous Joseph of Arimathea (June 12). This hymnal from Sinai contains liturgical masterpieces ascribed to Cyril of Jerusalem, Cosmas of Maiouma, and John of Damascus, and is of real importance for those who study liturgy of Jerusalem and its dissemination through the Christian East. The core of Maundy Thursday in Tropologion compose the performances of the myron consecration, Eucharistic assembly and



footwashing rite, which I discuss in my presentation. This evidence fills the gap between Georgian Lectionary (5th–8th Centuries) and Anastasis Typicon (Holy Cross 43, 1122 A.D.). The basic methodology employed is to treat each rite independently and trace its development, and then to focus on an overall view of the liturgical celebrations of Holy Thursday in their ensemble.

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The Early Jerusalem Euchologion in Georgian Transmission. Comparative Edition, Translation and Commentary

Presentation of the current DFG project at the University of Cologne, Department of Byzantine Studies: As a complete collection the Euchologion of Jerusalem, used until the Byzantinisation of the Palestinian liturgy, is lost. Until now no pure “pre-Byzantine” Greek Euchologion has been discovered in the Middle East. In the original Greek only few liturgical ordines from the field of episcopal celebrations have survived. Regarding Jerusalem especially Armenian and Georgian pilgrims and monks translated the liturgical texts of Palestine into their oriental languages, to be used in colonies of their nations in the Holy Land and religious services in Caucasia. The Georgian transmission of Palestinian liturgical books and texts remain therefore more closely linked to the Greek originals than the transmission of the Jerusalem heritage to other oriental languages, so to Syriac and Armenian. Therefore our reconstruction the “pre-Byzantine“ Euchologion of Jerusalem and Palestine is based on the Georgian witnesses. We will give an introduction to our project and an overview of the first results.



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THEATRE AND LITURGY: PERFORMANCE AND RITUAL IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP – PART 2

Conveners: **Andrew Walker White, Niki Tsironis**

Ouresis Todorovich,

Analogies between the Transition from the Ancient Performative Image to the Byzantine Liturgical Image and Evolving Contemporary Concepts of Digital Imagery

Jaakko Olkinuora,

Re-Defining the Liturgical Functions of Canon Poetry

Przemysław Marciniak,

Hypokrisis and *Mimesis* – Byzantine Concepts of Theatrical and Non-Theatrical Imitation

Ida Toth,

Reading Performance: The Late Byzantine Rhetorical *Theatron*, Reconsidered

Margaret Mullett,

Contexts for the *Christos Paschon*



Ouresis Todorovich

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**Analogies between the Transition from the Ancient Performative Image
to the Byzantine Liturgical Image and Evolving Contemporary
Concepts of Digital Imagery**

In late antiquity, both the portrayal of images drawn from nature and the anthropomorphic personifications of seasons and natural phenomena—particularly on mosaic pavements in churches but also in late antique textiles from Egypt—denoted an ambivalent status in a sense that they could be understood in both Christian and pagan terms. From a historical point of view, these images reflect a complex transitional phase from a pagan concept according to which an image performs a certain ritualistic, symbolic and narrative role, to a Christian concept according to which this role continues but in time evolves and becomes ever more aesthetically imbued with a new theological content.

This new theological content gradually placed new demands on how an image should function and therefore it led to a distinct conceptual transition from what might be termed a ritualistic or performative pagan image to Byzantine liturgical image. The twofold aim of my paper is firstly, to concisely articulate the previously overlooked aspects of this transitional phase between the pagan and the Byzantine concept of an image, and secondly, to corroborate on the significance of that transition for understanding problems relating to concepts which underline contemporary digital imagery.

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Re-Defining the Liturgical Functions of Canon Poetry

The history of Byzantine hymnography is currently being rewritten: new discoveries of unpublished texts and alternative theories for the development of hymnographic genres characterize contemporary scholarship on Byzantine literature. While there have been recent contributions on the liturgical history of the canon, interpretative aspects are widely neglected. As a part of this quest, the liturgical functions of canon poems need to be re-defined. The present paper suggests new methodological approaches to analysing the genre of canon poetry, drawing on performance theory and the different aspects of communication between the hymnographer-chanter and his audience.



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Hypokrisis and *Mimesis* – Byzantine Concepts of Theatrical and Non-Theatrical Imitation

In a *scholion* to a fragment of Lucian's treatise *The Dance* Arethas tells a story of some young people who imitated a possessed person and, as a consequence, 'they were not restored from this state but departed with this wretched imitation'. This story, one among many, shows that both *hypokrisis* and *imitation*, understood as 'pretending to be someone else', were treated with suspicion in the Byzantine period. In my paper I intend to discuss how these concepts were understood by Byzantine writers – my main body of evidence comes from the 12th century where authors such as Eustathios of Thessalonike, John Zonaras and Theodore Prodromos discussed *hypokrisis* both from a historical perspective and as a part of the daily life. I will also argue that this mixed attitude towards *hypokrisis* might have been partially responsible for the lack of theatre in Byzantine times.

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Reading Performance: The Late Byzantine Rhetorical *Theatron*, Reconsidered

Byzantine rhetorical works are graphic and self-referential. No less so Palaiologan imperial orations: their deictic language and dramatic rendering conceptualise both the role of the performer and the spatial setting for his performance. Many conjure up a grand stage, at times even much more imposing than any of the physical spaces of the imperial *theatron*, populated with an ecumenical audience, representing a compendium of the Byzantine populace as a whole. Striking visual references repeatedly emerge as the orator depicts both the events that he relates and himself as their spectator (ἐγὼ δὲ θεατῆς τῶν γιγνομένων), as if these are taking place before his very eyes. Still, not all imperial orations include such features. A noticeable lack of elements of ritual and performativity, and a weaker authorial voice, suggest that the stage and the *mise-en-scène* for these rhetorical pieces were envisaged as, and indeed may have been, less imposing.

Using as case studies the rhetorical output of the most prominent Constantinopolitan orators who celebrated the reigns of the first two Palaiologan emperors, this communication examines the variety of ways in which these authors describe their surroundings as they offer their readers a 360-degree view from the centre-stage position that they themselves confidently occupy and command.



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Contexts for the *Christos Paschon*

The *Christos Paschon* is the only surviving Byzantine tragedy, which has always presented a problem to readers. Whether or not it was ever performed, the issue is more about its performability: whether it could have been performed, whether it shows enough awareness of ancient tragedy to suggest more than reading on the page. This paper suggests that it does, and that its performance, whether noetic or theatric, was influenced by performance practice in other genres, both experienced in everyday life and learned through rhetorical training. It looks at possible twelfth-century models for chorus, monologue and dialogue, and analyses key contemporary texts closest to the unicum. It is also argued that the chosen context may affect our understanding of the performance whether realized or not-- or even our views of the dating of the piece--, and different cases are considered: the Euripidean source-texts; late antique works; the liturgical Virgin's laments in hymn and sermon; the Cyprus passion play and western mystery plays; the rhetorical *dramatia* of the twelfth century and the *Katomyomachia*.



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SYNODIKA

Conveners: **Frederick Lauritzen, Antonio Rigo, Anna-Marija Totomanova**

Frederick Lauritzen,

The New Edition of the Synodikon of Alexios Studites

Antonio Rigo,

Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie et le Palamisme (P)

Anna-Marija Totomanova,

The History of the Bulgarian Synodikon

Ivan Biliarsky,

The Printed Rumanian Synodikon from Year 1700

Ivan Christov,

Notes on the Greek–Old Bulgarian Lexical Parallels in Tsar Boril's Synodikon

Kirill A. Maksimovič,

The Russian Synodicon of Orthodoxy

(Primary Version of the Eleventh Century with Later Additions)



Frederick Lauritzen

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The New Edition of the Synodikon of Alexios Studites

The guiding opinion about the Synodikon has been that Synodikon was not modified substantially between 844 and 1082. However it is clear that there were additions mainly in the early tenth century, at the time of the synod which produced the so called ‘Tomos Unionis’ in 920. Moreover, the six manuscripts which give us the oldest surviving version point to an important edition dated to period of ca 1028-1034. Since this is the period of the patriarchate of Alexios Studites (1025-1043), this important step in the composition of the Synodikon may be termed the Synodikon of Alexios Studites. Among the many features which define it as being typical of his patriarchate, one may single out his combined effort against the dualist heresy (23 anathemas) and two anathemas against the Syro-Jacobites and Nestorians. The Syro-Jacobites in particular were the object of numerous synods gathered by Alexios Studites during the period 1025-1043. Therefore the Synodikon of Alexios Studites is not simply and accidentally dated to ca 1028-1034 but represents the cultural interests specifically tied to the patriarchate of Constantinople in the period 1025-1043, with its special focus on dualist heresies and especially the question of Nestorians and Syro-Jacobites.

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Le *Synodikon de l’Orthodoxie* et le Palamisme (P)

La communication, consacrée aux articles insérés dans le *Synodikon de l’Orthodoxie* après le Concile du 1351, est divisée en trois parties.

1. Réconsidération des manuscrits du *Synodikon P* et étude de la tradition indirecte représentée par les œuvres des auteurs antipalamites contemporaines, publiées ou inédites (hiéromoine Niphon, Jean Cyparissiotès, etc.).
2. Rapports entre les articles du *Synodikon* et le *Tome synodal* du 1351.
3. La date et les circonstances de l’insertion des articles dans le *Synodikon de l’Orthodoxie*.



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The History of the Bulgarian Synodikon

The history of the Bulgarian Synodikon read on the Sunday of Orthodoxy starts with the translation ordered by King Boril (1207-1218), who convoked a synod against the Bogomils on the 11th of February 1211 in the capital city of Tarnovo. The Bulgarian translation draws on Komnene's redaction of the Constantinople version of the Synodikon (C according to the classification of J.Gouillard) but the Bulgarian text does not agree completely with any of the extant versions of this redaction. The translated part includes some minor omissions, re-orderings and additions, the most important being the anathemas upon the Bogomils (344-402), the source of which is the *Letter of Patriarch Kosmas* [Kosmas I, 1075-1081 or Kosmas II Atticos, 1146-1147] *to the dearest metropolitan of Larisa in connection with the ungodly heretics*, preserved in Marcianus gr. II 74 (Coll. 1454 olim Nanianus 96), ff. 77^v-79^v of the 15th c. Some other additions (the list of heretics and some anti-heretic anathemas missing in C) are inserted into the text later and come from the horoses of the three oecumenical councils (4th, 6th and 7th) and of two local councils (of the council of Patriarch Mennas and Tomos Unionis), that were translated and published together with the Synodikon. The revision, which involved a linguistic redaction as well, took place in 14th c. when the text of Synodikon became a part of a canonical-liturgical compilation (archieratikon). This compilation survived in Palaouzov's manuscript (HBKM 289) and was probably ordered by the last Bulgarian patriarch Euthymius of Tarnovo who was one of the most prominent figures of medieval Bulgaria. The recent research shows that the 14th century editors of the Synodikon must have had at hand the Paleologean version of the Synodikon, whose translation is preserved in both Drinov's copy (HBKM 432) and in the recently published Paleologean synodikon from the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences BAR, Ms. sl. 307). We presume that all Bulgarian amendments – the list of Bulgarian kings, queens and hierarchs, included into the diptych, as well as the historical accounts of the Synod against bogomils and of the re-establishment of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1235 under King Ivan Asen II were inserted at the same time. The royal lineage in the diptych ends with the wife and children of the last Bulgarian medieval monarch, Ivan Shishman, whose name is missing in the list of the rulers.

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The Printed Rumanian Synodikon from Year 1700

(No text)



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Notes on the Greek–Old Bulgarian Lexical Parallels in Tsar Boril’s Synodikon

In this paper, I will inspect the translation of Greek terms related to the Church History and Theology in Tsar Boril’s Synodikon. A variety of approaches will be applied to appreciate the ways of rendering terminology a part of which has a sporadic presence in the Slavonic Middle Ages. First, studying the lexico-morphological term formation and applying statistics about term-forming affixes allows us to make a statement if this is just a *loan translation* creating a mechanical *morpheme-to-morpheme* correspondance or it is closer to the principles of isomorphism, sensibly rendering the elements of the terms in the original according to the translator’s feel for the structure of Slavonic words. Secondly, studying the term-compounds that are a product of lexical and syntactical term formation adds to our understanding how sensitive the translation is. Thirdly, the variability of rendering the different meanings of the same term will be observed to appreciate the translator’s effort to avoid homonymy and ambiguity. Finally, a somewhat sceptical conclusion about the meaningfulness of the translation will be softened by a comparison to the reception of more sophisticated Greek sources.

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The Russian Synodicon of Orthodoxy (Primary Version of the Eleventh Century with Later Additions)

The study of Old Slavonic translations of the *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* has a long tradition. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the oldest Slavonic versions of the *Synodikon* were supposed to be based on the ‘second’ (or ‘enlarged’) redaction of the original Greek text. However, the textual tradition of the Greek *Synodikon* at that time had not yet been properly studied, so that nothing but the C redaction (after Gouillard) was meant under the name of ‘second redaction’. This latter should be chronologically regarded as the third redaction after the original, Methodian redaction of 843–844 and the redaction of the Macedonian dynasty (M).

The oldest evidence of the Old Russian *Synodikon* is preserved in the Kievan *Primary Chronicle*. In the Laurentian copy of the *Chronicle*, in 1108, it is said that after the death of St Theodosius, abbot of Kiev’s Monastery of the Caves, prince Svjatopolk ordered the Greek Metropolitan to enter Theodosios’s name in the *Synodikon*. Although in this context the term ‘synodikon’ simply indicates a diptych with the names of saints commemorated during the liturgy, the very term ‘synodikon’



(literally ‘synodal act’ in Greek) refers to the contemporaneous Byzantine usage of the word *συνοδικόν* as an official liturgical book of the Church.

According to the entry, only the Metropolitan of Kiev had the right to enter a name into the *Synodikon*. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, almost all metropolitans were Greek and came from Constantinople. Being an official liturgical book of the Byzantine Church, the *Synodikon* was most probably brought to Kiev by a metropolitan to celebrate the Feast of Orthodoxy on the first Sunday of Lent. Since the Greek text was incomprehensible to most Russian laymen, a Russian-Slavonic translation was urgently needed. This conjecture may be reinforced by the contents of the Russian *Synodikon*, whose oldest part omits anathemas against John Italos (1082) and thus reflects the Greek original preceding the Komnenian C redaction. The absence of entries concerning John Italos leads us to the conclusion that 1082 might be regarded as a *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of the oldest Slavonic *Synodikon* translation in Kiev.

The *Synodikon* is mentioned a second time in Vsevolod-Gabriel, Prince of Novgorod’s Church statute (composed by the year 1135).

Both of these reports, which go back to the first half of the twelfth century, along with other arguments, allow one to conclude that the Byzantine *Synodikon of Orthodoxy* (in its pre-Komnenian form) was known in Kievan Russia as early as the second half of the eleventh or the first half of the twelfth century. This, in turn, makes it possible to place the translation of the *Synodikon* within the context of the school of translators founded in Kiev by Prince Jaroslav the Wise by 1037.

The last Patriarch to be mentioned in the diptychs is Joseph II (1416–1439). The list of patriarchs in the oldest version of the Russian *Synodikon* thus goes up to the epoch of the union of Florence. Hence, the final form of this redaction could not have appeared any earlier than in the middle of the fifteenth century.

Apart from the Old Russian translation of the *Synodikon*, there existed another, apparently made in the early or mid-seventeenth century and contaminated with the late Greek redaction of the sixteenth century *Lenten Triodion*. Russian-Slavonic translation of the Triodion is transmitted in a number of printed editions which had been undertaken throughout the 17th century (Kiev 1627, 1640, 1648; Lvov 1664, 1699).



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LIFE AND WORKS OF PHOTIUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Conveners: **Filippo Ronconi**, **Marcello Garzaniti**

Marcello Garzaniti,

The Photian Missionary Project

Filippo Ronconi,

Les lunettes de Photius : un savant byzantin et ses livres entre 'ancienne' et 'nouvelle' histoire

Alessandra Bucossi,

Prolegomena to the Edition of the So-Called *Contra Veteris Romae Asseclas* (PG 102, 392–400)

Juan Signes Codoñer,

Towards a Classification of the Works of Photius

Bastien Kindt,

« e-Photios Myriobiblos », une version digitale de la *Bibliothèque* de Photios

Federico Montinaro,

On Photios and Anastasius the Librarian:

The 'Heresy of the Two Souls' and the Two Tales of the Council of Constantinople of 867

Jacques Champ,

Un programme philosophique pour un cercle de lecture

Silvia Ronchey,

Presentazione dell'edizione italiana della *Biblioteca* di Fozio curata da L. Canfora

Silvia Tessari,

Photius as Hymnographer. A Problematic Identity behind the Name



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The Photian Missionary Project

In the second half of the 9th century the Byzantine empire followed carefully the evolving geopolitical situation. In the Middle East, Constantinople was committed to defending the rights of Christian communities under the yoke of Islam in an intense polemic with Islam, while in the West was going slow, but inexorable the muslim conquest of Sicily. On the international chessboard, the Byzantine curia was aware of the important role of the peoples of the steppes, beginning with the Khazars, who not only controlled the Volga basin, but were trying to expand their influence as far as the Black Sea and the Crimean peninsula. In Byzantium there was great concern about the Carpathian and Balkan inland, opened to Central Europe and to the Danube area, which marked the old boundaries of the Roman empire. There the Carolingian Empire was proceeding with determination its work of colonization and christianization, particularly along the river Danube. Meanwhile, the Roman papacy had resumed the initiative beyond the Adriatic and the Holy See planned to take again control of Illyricum, converting the barbaric peoples and reorganizing the Roman church in the territory.

After coming to the patriarchal throne in 858, Photius, supported by the imperial curia, drew up a complex missionary plan, which was to have a universal character, ecumenical in the etymological sense of the word, and was to restore Constantinople, the Second Rome, to its historical role. In this project the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity would counterbalance the Germanic peoples' adherence to Western Christianity. A leading role in this project was to be played by Photius's "close friend" Constantine-Cyril. The constitution of the Macedonian theme and the administration of *sclaviniae* prepared this project. Since Constantine-Cyril's brother Methodius had held the office of archon in a *sclavinia* for a long time, he was inevitably involved in the process of Christianizing the Slavs in the Byzantine Empire.

An exposition of Photius's theological reflection with missionary purpose can be found in the Letter addressed to khan Boris, written between 864 and 866. After a brief introduction on the "salvation of the soul", the Letter contains an exposition of the Nicene creed and the history of the seven councils. In the second part the patriarch offers some reflections on moral and some advice on good governance.

In the circle of Photios few years later was composed the Soterios, a Greek anthology, which has a structure similar to the Letter, but with a much more complex articulation. In our opinion this work is a key witness to the theological reflection at the basis of the Byzantine missionary project. The Slavic version of Soterios, whose oldest witness is the *Izbornik 1073*, dates back to the age of Tsar Simeon of Bulgaria but may be connected to Cyrillo-Methodian mission, in particular to the activity of Methodius, Archbishop of Moravia. The work is not a simple catechesis addressed to neophytes, but a collection of complex theological texts that come from the most classic tradition of patristic thought, and could represent an extraordinarily useful tool for the formation of the missionary clergy.



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Les lunettes de Photius : un savant byzantin et ses livres entre ‘ancienne’ et ‘nouvelle’ histoire

La *Bibliothèque* de Photius reflète un moment de la vie politique byzantine caractérisé par des oppositions violentes à l’intérieur de l’Eglise et du pouvoir impérial en général. Dans ce cadre, Photius paya le prix fort de la déposition et de l’exil : privé de ses livres, il décida, vers 867, de sauvegarder la mémoire des lectures qui avaient constitué le noyau identitaire de son cercle, un groupe d’élèves et de camarades, transformé en *lobby* du pouvoir à l’époque de son premier patriarcat. A la réception du petit ouvrage, composé par Photius à partir de ses souvenirs et de quelques notes, son frère Taraise et ce qui restait du cercle, sous la pression de délibérations conciliaires ordonnant la destruction de tous les matériaux photiens, y ajoutèrent les notes d’enseignement et de recherche en leur possession. C’est ainsi que naquit un grand dossier, point de départ de la tradition manuscrite de la *Bibliothèque* que nous lisons aujourd’hui. L’étude stratigraphique de certains chapitres de l’ouvrage permet de comprendre les logiques d’utilisation des sources et en particulier des découpages dont elles furent l’objet : il est par exemple possible de démontrer que les textes historiographiques de l’Antiquité furent choisis sur le critère de leur cohérence avec les racines judéo-chrétiennes et romaines qui constituaient les paramètres identitaires des élites dont Photius faisait partie. A l’intérieur de chacun de ces ouvrages, en outre, une sélection de passages a été opérée, sur des critères érudits (comme le démontrent les cas d’Hérodote et de Thucydide), mais aussi politiques (c’est le cas de Diodore de Sicile). Ce n’est qu’au vu de ces éléments de contexte, à la fois culturel et conjoncturel, qu’on peut saisir la dynamique de création des différents chapitres de la *Myriobiblos*. J’examinerai donc les chapitres de la *Bibliothèque* portant sur les ouvrages des historiens anciens les plus importants. J’utiliserai à cette fin, pour ainsi dire, les lunettes de Photius, en mettant en valeur – *via* l’analyse littéraire, structurelle et philologique des dits chapitres – la manière avec laquelle les élites intellectuelles du « premier humanisme byzantin » interrogeaient les « temps révolus au nom des problèmes et curiosités - et même des inquiétudes et des angoisses – de leur temps présent » (Braudel). Une telle lecture de cet ouvrage démontrera que, loin d’être l’expression d’une dimension stérilement érudite, il résume les dynamiques intellectuelles et culturelles d’une époque difficile.



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Prolegomena to the Edition of the So-Called *Contra Veteris Romae Asseclas* (PG 102, 392–400)

The short text published by Joseph Hergenroether (Ratisbonae, 1857) as an appendix of the most famous *Photii Patrarcae Liber de Spiritu Sancti Mystagogia* (PG 102, 280–392) and widely quoted by the polemicists who wrote against the *Filioque* is still unedited. Starting from the first editor of the treatise, Hergenroether, there have been various attempts to establish if the text was written by the Patriarch Photius and if it can be considered an epitome of the *Mystagogia* (e.g. Hergenroether, Podskalsky, Sieben, Gordillo, Haugh, Oberdorfer, Barmine, Kusabu, Kolbaba). This short communication will present the ‘state of the art’ in research on authorship attribution and *recensio codicum* in order to inform the international academic community about the project of editing the *Contra Veteris Romae Asseclas* planned by Alessandra Bucossi and Paolo Eleuteri.

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Towards a Classification of the Works of Photius

Under the name of Photius literary works, reference books, drafts, scholia, manuscripts and excerpts have been preserved. Their classification cannot be attempted along the traditional lines of literary genres or on the basis of the content of the works, for this represents a synchronic and horizontal approach which does not take into account the rather hierarchical and diachronic nature of Photius’ heterogeneous writings. Collective authorship, rewriting, intended diffusion, instrumentality and originality are all of them aspects to be considered in the classification advanced here, which is a compromise between all these conflicting criteria. [See J. Signes Codoñer (2013), “La diffusion envisagée par l’auteur pour son œuvre comme guide pour un classement de la littérature à Byzance aux IX^e et X^e siècles”, in P. Odorico (ed.), *La face cachée de la littérature Byzantine. Le texte en tant que message immédiat* (Dossiers Byzantins 11), Paris, 87-122]

1. PHILOLOGICAL AND EXEGETICAL WRITINGS

- 1.1 **Library** [TLG]: Henry (1959-1977)
- 1.2 **Lexicon** [TLG]: **short version**: Porson (1882); **long version**: Theodoridis (1982-2013),
- 1.3 **Commentary to the letters of Paul** [TLG]: Staab (1933) [cf. § 2.1].
- 1.4 **Commentary to the Gospel of John** [TLG]: Reuss (1966) [cf. § 2.1].
- 1.5 **Commentary to the Gospel of Matthew** [TLG]: Reuss (1957) [cf. § 2.1].
- 1.6 **Scholia on the *Klimax* of John of Sināi** [---]: Papadopoulos-Kerameus (1892); PG 88 [cf. § 2.1, particularly *Amph.* 273, chap. 27 of the *Scala Paradisi*].



- 1.7 Παραινέσεις διὰ γνωμολογίας [?] [---]: Hergenröther (1869); Sternbach (1892) [cf. §1.1, cods. 167 on Stobaeus, 196 on the *Paraineseis* of Ephrem of Nisibis, 232 on the *Floril.* of Stephen Gobar, and §2.2].
- 1.8 **Fragmenta dialectica** [?] [---]: Hergenröther (1869) [cf. Psellos, *opus* 50, **Σύνοψις τῶν πέντε φωνῶν καὶ τῶν δέκα κατηγοριῶν τῆς φιλοσοφίας** and *opus* 51 **Περὶ τῶν πέντε φωνῶν** in Duffy (1992), *Michaelis Pselli philosophica minora*, and also *Amphilochia* 137, **Τῷ αὐτῷ Ἀμφιλοχίῳ ζητήσαντι σύνοψιν σαφῆ τῶν δέκα κατηγοριῶν** and 138, **Περὶ οὐσίας**].
- 1.9 Ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἱστοριῶν Φιλοστοργίου ἐπιτομὴ ἀπὸ φωνῆς Φωτίου πατριάρχου [TLG Philostorgius]: Winkelmann (post Bidez) (1981) [cf. §1.1, cods. 27-31, 40-42, 88-89 on eccl. histories].
- 1.10 **Sylloge canonum** [---] Beverigius (1672); *PG* 137-138 [cf. *Bibl.*, cods. 15-20, on the acts of the councils of Nicea I (325) to Nicea II (787) and cods 52-53 on the synods of Side and Carthage; cf. §3.2]

2. LITERARY WORKS

- 2.1 **Letters and Amphilochia** [TLG]: Laourdas & Westerink (1983-1988) [cf. §1.1]
- 2.2 **Parenetic chapters** [?] [---]: **long version**: Emminger (1913); **short version** (not of Photius): *PG* 107 [cf. §1.7, § 2.1 (for example, letter 1 to Boris), §2.4, §3.1 (esp. proem)].
- 2.3 **Homelies** [TLG]: Laourdas (1959) [cf. §1.1, §2.6].
- 2.4 **Poems [sticheron in sanctum Methodium; ὕμνος ἐκ προσώπου Βασιλείου δεσπότη; ὕμνος ἐκ προσώπου τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰς Βασίλειον; ἐγκωμιαστικός εἰς Βασίλειον; poema ad Basilium]** [---]: Mai & Matranga (1843); *PG*; Ciccolella (1998); Markopoulos (1992); Beckby (1965-1968), *Anthologia Graeca*, Book 9, poem 203 (of Photius or Leo) [cf. §2.2].
- 2.5 **Mystagogia or Λόγος περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος μυσταγωγίας** [?] [TLG]: *PG* 102 (epitome); Kolbaba (2008).
- 2.6 **Contra Manichaeos. Διήγησις τῆς νεοφανοῦς τῶν Μανιχαίων ἀναβλαστήσεως + ἐκλογαὶ ὁμιλιῶν** [TLG]: *PG* 102; Conus-Wolska (1970) [cf. *Bibl.* 1.1, cods. 80 on *Against Manicheans* of Heraclianus of Chalcedon, 179 on the *Manichean books* of Agapius; cf. §2.3].
- 2.7 Πρὸς τοὺς λέγοντας ὡς ἡ Ῥώμη θρόνος πρῶτος [Sp.] [---]: Gordillo (1940).
- 2.8 Περὶ τῶν Φράγγων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Λατίνων [Sp.] [---]: Hergenröther (1869).

3. JURIDICAL AND CANONICAL TEXTS

- 3.1 **Eisagoge** [TLG]: Zachariä von Lingenthal (1852) [cf. §1.10, §2.2]
- 3.2 **Syntagma canonum** [---]: *PG* 104 [cf. §1.10; §3.4]
- 3.3 **Interrogationes decem**. Συναγωγαὶ καὶ ἀποδείξεις ἀκριβεῖς συνηλεγμέναι ἐκ τῶν συνοδικῶν καὶ ἱστορικῶν γραφῶν περὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ μητροπολιτῶν καὶ λοιπῶν ἐτέρων ἀναγκαίων ζητημάτων [---]: *PG* 104 [cf. §1.10]
- 3.4 **Nomocanon** [Sp.] [---]: Rhalles & Potles (1852-1859), vol. 1 [cf. §1.10; 3.2]
- 3.5 **Canons of the 861 and 879-880 councils** [---]: Mansi 16, 536-549, Mansi 17, 479-504.
- 3.5 **Single laws** [?] [---]: Ashburner (1909); Burgmann & Troianos (1979); Medvedev, Piotrovskaja & Lipšic (1984).



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« e-Photios Myriobiblos », une version digitale de la *Bibliothèque* de Photios

Byzance nous a transmis de nombreux textes. Mais cette *transmission* fut aussi une implacable *sélection*. Des textes ont été sciemment rejetés, d'autres ont sombré dans l'oubli. Dans ce contexte, une source comme la *Bibliothèque* — qui réunit 280 recensions d'ouvrages rédigées par le patriarche Photios — fait figure de sanctuaire.

Le projet « GREgORI », mené à l'Institut orientaliste de l'Université catholique de Louvain — GREgORI. Softwares, linguistic data and tagged corpus for ancient GREek and ORiental languages (<http://www.uclouvain.be/gregori-project>) —, a une longue expérience en matière de traitement automatique des langues anciennes et orientales, particulièrement en matière d'étiquetage lexical et morphosyntaxique des textes grecs patristiques et historiographiques d'époque byzantine. Entre 1990 et 2012, ces travaux ont permis de produire vingt-cinq volumes de concordances lemmatisées et d'index, tous publiés dans le *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum*, une collection produite et diffusée par Brepols Publishers. Depuis 2015, le projet se poursuit en développant deux objectifs complémentaires :

- multiplier et améliorer les outils informatiques et les ressources linguistiques utiles à la réalisation de corpus numérisés des textes écrits non plus seulement en grec, mais aussi dans les principales langues de l'Orient Chrétien (à savoir l'arabe, le syriaque, l'arménien, le géorgien, l'éthiopien et le copte) ;
- mettre au point des environnements offrant aux utilisateurs — linguistes ou philologues — la possibilité d'explorer et d'interroger adéquatement ces corpus.

En 2004, Jacques Schamp et Bastien Kindt publiaient le *Thesaurus Photii Constantinopolitani*. Cette publication fournit la concordance lemmatisée complète du texte de la *Bibliothèque* de Photios. Chaque forme du texte est mise en relation avec le lemme qui lui correspond et sa catégorie morphosyntaxique. Aujourd'hui, les données informatiques du *Thesaurus Photii* ont été exhumées et mises à jour pour constituer une version digitale de la *Bibliothèque*.

Notre intervention présentera les différentes manières d'explorer et d'exploiter cet « e-Photios Myriobiblos ». Trois modes d'interrogation seront illustrés :

- le premier interroge directement les bases de données (reposant sur le système de gestion de base de données Microsoft SQL Server) et illustre comment l'utilisateur peut générer automatiquement (à l'aide d'un créateur de rapports, en l'occurrence SAP Crystal Reports) et obtenir instantanément des concordances lemmatisées et des listes lexicographiques (listes fréquentielles, listes alphabétiques, listes alphabétiques inverses, etc.) portant sur des faits de langue correspondant à ses interrogations ;
- le second repose sur l'utilisation d'une interface dédiée au traitement de corpus (en l'occurrence le logiciel open source UNITEX) qui permet de formuler des interrogations combinant dans une seule requête des éléments lexicaux, grammaticaux ou syntaxiques, offrant ainsi de véritables outils d'extraction d'information ;



- le troisième présente une interface en ligne qui permet d'afficher dans un navigateur WEB (Microsoft Internet Explorer, Mozilla Firefox, etc.) la concordance correspondant aux résultats d'une requête.

Le corpus « e-Photios Myriobiblos » compte 345.207 mots et totalise 54.117 formes différentes, classées sous 17.069 lemmes. De multiples requêtes peuvent être formulées :

- quelles sont les formes attestées d'un lemme ?
- dans quel Codex de la *Bibliothèque* apparaissent telle forme ou tel lemme ?
- quel est le *vocabulaire spécifique* de tel Codex par rapport à un autre ou à l'ensemble du texte ?
- quel est le *vocabulaire commun* d'un Codex ou d'un ensemble de Codices par rapport à d'autres parties du texte ?
- dans quels environnements morphosyntaxiques apparaissent tels lemmes ou telles expressions ?
- etc.

L'exposé montrera comment, en fonction de ses attentes, l'utilisateur lambda, même peu expérimenté en matière de traitement informatique, peut tirer parti d'un corpus parfaitement lemmatisé.

Ces outils offrent aux chercheurs la possibilité de baser leurs observations sur un corpus parfaitement étiqueté, engageant les recherches vers une étude systématique et exhaustive du vocabulaire réellement utilisé par le Patriarche, dans l'ensemble de la *Bibliothèque*. Il s'agit de compléter — grâce à l'outil informatique — les enseignements tirés des multiples lectures possibles d'un texte, en multipliant les modes d'accès aux données qu'il renferme.

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On Photios and Anastasius the Librarian: The 'Heresy of the Two Souls' and the Two Tales of the Council of Constantinople of 867

Anastasius the Librarian (died ca. 879) is a towering figure in the ecclesiastical and intellectual history of the ninth century. His rhetorical skills and knowledge of Greek gained him the confidence of popes and Western emperors, for whom he acted as a secretary, especially in the relations with the Eastern Church and Byzantium. Anastasius was also the initiator of a grand translation project from Greek which, in line with the impact of his literary activity, has perceptively been called a "political hagiography". This project included the Latin version of the acts of the general Church councils of the eighth and ninth centuries and notably of the one summoned in Constantinople in 869-870 to depose the patriarch Photios, which Anastasius attended. In 858 Photios, a scholar and a layman, had replaced Ignatios following a contested election which would eventually lead to internal conflict and schism with Rome.

In the introductory dedication to his translation of the 870 acts, Anastasius puts in the mouth of Photios' friend Constantine (Cyril) the Philosopher, the Byzantine missionary later remembered as the apostle of the Slavs, the claim that the patriarch would have formulated a doctrine to the



effect that man possesses two souls. There is no obvious reason to believe that Anastasius, who is elsewhere extremely critical of Photios, had this story directly from Constantine and Francis Dvornik was probably right in attributing its origin to Metrophanes, the exiled Ignatian bishop of Smyrna, whom Anastasius met personally in Constantinople.

Anastasius is not the only source to accuse Photios of preaching a 'heresy of the two souls'. The tenth-century Greek chronicler commonly known as Pseudo-Symeon, whose work is preserved in Paris. gr. 1712, made a similar allegation, although in a sensibly different context, placing Photios' campaigning after his accession to the patriarchal throne. Recent research on Pseudo-Symeon's sources has shown that much of the mid-to-late-ninth-century material in his chronicle may have come from the lost historical work of Niketas David of Paphlagonia, the author of the hagiographical *Life of Ignatius* and, in all probability, the compiler behind the so-called 'anti-Photian collection' preserved in Marc. Gr. Z. 167.

The charge of heresy against Photios would thus seem to stem entirely from Ignatian circles and should be handled with great care. It is nonetheless worth noticing that the accusation of distinguishing two souls, one sinful and one which is not, had been a stock argument of Christian polemics against Manichaeism since the 4th century, as evidenced by Augustine's treatise *On the two souls* and, sparsely, in his other writings. Whether Augustine understood the Manichean thought correctly on this point, that such an accusation could be brought against Photios may tell us something about 9th-century Byzantine cultural history. For the theory of the existence of two human souls certainly was a feature of ancient Gnostic philosophy which in Late Antiquity came to be accepted, with modifications, by pagan philosophers such as Porphyrios.

Incidentally, Anastasius' acquaintance with Ignatian circles in Constantinople and with the exiled bishop Metrophanes in particular may also explain the discrepancy between his presentation of the council of Constantinople of 867, where Photios had allegedly slandered the papacy, and the very account given by the bishops who three years later condemned Photios. Even the latter did not venture beyond accusing the deposed patriarch of having tampered with the signatures appended to the 867 acts. Anastasius knew this account for having translated it into Latin but, like Metrophanes in a contemporary document, presented the 867 acts as being entirely Photios' forgery and alleged that the council itself had never taken place.

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Un programme philosophique pour un cercle de lecture

Photios avait eu au moins un frère extrêmement cultivé. Il lui a dédié la *Bibliothèque*, mais en plus il lui y a fait une place en qualité de lecteur des discours d'Himérios. Patrice, c'est-à-dire haut dignitaire de l'Empire, Tarasios avait toute raison de s'intéresser à l'éloquence. Qu'en fut-il de la philosophie ? Tarasios lui-même n'a laissé aucun texte. Quant à Photios, on répète, en général sans se poser beaucoup de questions, qu'il avait été un aristotélisant convaincu. Pour l'essentiel, sa contribution sur ce terrain se ramène à des travaux sur les *Catégories* d'Aristote, soit une série de



Questions à Amphilochios, disposées de façon surprenante, et à des notes mêlées au commentaire d'Ammonios à l'*Isagôgè* de Porphyre. Les deux noms d'Ammonios et de Porphyre peuvent étonner. En fait, à travers l'*Anthologie* de Stobée, Photios peut avoir lu un nombre de textes porphyriens perdus au fil de la tradition. Sur Ammonios, il souligne qu'il avait pratiqué surtout Aristote avec une rare maîtrise au point qu'il l'emportait sur les hommes de sa génération et même sur ceux de la génération de Proclus par ses connaissances en matière de géométrie et d'astronomie. Dans un des rares chapitres de la *Bibliothèque* où il fait état de sentiments personnels, il analyse les

Theologoumena arithmetica de Nicomaque de Gérasa, un texte devenu rarissime déjà au IX^e s. et perdu de nos jours, sauf de rares fragments, conservés dans un traité au titre identique d'un Pseudo-Jamblique. Les *Theologoumena* font suite à l'*Introduction arithmétique* du même Nicomaque, que Photios avait lu, comme son frère probablement. L'auteur laisse entendre dans son *Introduction* qu'il va mettre sur le métier ses *Theologoumena*. L'*introduction*, du reste, fut toujours un livre largement lu et commenté, surtout dans l'école néoplatonicienne issue de Jamblique, et l'on a toute raison de supposer que Photios avait découvert dans une préface à l'*Introduction arithmétique* l'existence des *Theologoumena*. Ce dernier ouvrage exigeait du lecteur une formation extrêmement solide, « en géométrie, en arithmétique et dans les autres sciences (mathématiques) », celle que possédaient les jeunes hommes de son entourage et de celui de son frère, ayant « le souci de l'exactitude » (...) « à un degré non moindre (...) que le fils d'Hermias ». Il y a bien là des allusions à une école et même des indications sur le programme des cours dispensés. Après Stéphanos, le dernier des néoplatoniciens avérés, on a continué à rédiger des introductions à la logique dont des éléments ont passé dans les ouvrages chrétiens : elles allaient être utiles dans la lutte contre les dernières hérésies, monoénergisme, monothélisme et iconoclasme. L'organisation de l'école de Photios pouvait aussi, *mutatis mutandis*, servir de modèle. Les textes conservés conduisent à la première synthèse de la QA 77 sur les Universaux. En introduisant le problème, Photios joue sur un schéma empruntant au fameux mythe de la caverne. Ses textes offraient ainsi les moyens d'aborder les plus difficiles problèmes de la théologie byzantine. Par exemple, dans QA 231, en s'interrogeant sur le mystère de l'Incarnation, Photios se demande si le Christ a assumé l'homme universel ou l'homme particulier. Dans QA 180, il s'interroge sur la connaissance de Dieu en laissant percer des accents plotiniens dus probablement au *De nominibus divinis* du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite. Il a tracé la voie à des théologiens comme Grégoire de Chypre ou Grégoire Palamas.

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Presentazione dell'edizione italiana della
Biblioteca di Fozio curata da L. Canfora

Nell'incontro su "Life and works of Photius of Constantinople" presenterò brevemente al pubblico del XXIII Congresso di Studi Bizantini di Belgrado la prima traduzione italiana integrale della *Biblioteca* di Fozio, che viene finalmente offerta ai lettori, per i tipi della Scuola Normale di Pisa, dopo decenni di lavoro d'équipe condotto da Luciano Canfora e dalla sua scuola.



Oltre alla preziosa *Introduzione* di Luciano Canfora e alla cruciale *Nota sulla tradizione manoscritta* di Stefano Micunco, il volume include un commento sistematico ed essenziale, curato da Nunzio Bianchi e Claudio Schiano, che accompagna il lettore nella selva fittissima dell'erudizione racchiusa, e talvolta dissimulata, in quest'opera non certo originariamente destinata alla circolazione libraria, ma nata come strumento di difesa della cerchia raccolta intorno al patriarca e variamente bersagliata dall'ala avversaria della chiesa bizantina.

Nella cerchia di studiosi e filologi raccolta a sua volta intorno a Luciano Canfora, e in particolare nella squadra dei trentadue traduttori della *Biblioteca foziana*, spiccano, oltre a Canfora stesso, a Micunco, a Bianchi e a Schiano, vari altri bizantinisti italiani della generazione più giovane: anzitutto Luciano Bossina e Tommaso Braccini; e poi Margherita Losacco, Rosa Otranto, Pasquale Massimo Pinto ed altri ancora. A fronte figura il testo greco, migliorato rispetto all'unica moderna edizione circolante, quella della Collection Budé. Al termine, l'indice analitico di Immanuel Bekker fornisce al lettore una preziosa chiave per la consultazione.

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Photius as Hymnographer. A Problematic Identity behind the Name

Under the name Photius several hymns have come down to us (mainly canons – among which we mention at least the hymnographic series dedicated to the Virgin, the Holy Trinity, St. John the Theologian, St. Nicholas, but also stichera, *idiomela* and *prosomoia*), recently edited by me (2014, Edizioni dell'Orso/Fondazione Ugo e Olga Levi). The purpose of my speech is to clarify which internal elements (lexicon, grammar, poetic style, including rhetoric figures, metric, and music) and external (palaeographic tradition, provenance of the *testimonia*, information brought from coeval sources) can bring light on the identity of the author – but I believe authors – who wrote them. Though these elements are relatively scarce in quantity, they help us to divide in different sets the received *corpus* and to attribute to the patriarch only a subset of the total, with a certain amount of sureness.

I will moreover summarize the clues (structure of the hymns, dating of the sources hitherto identified, quotes or echoes from other authors – though very rare –, use of specific hagiographical sources) useful to check the supposed dating of these hymns, comparing it with the time span in which Photius the patriarch lived.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

FASHION IN TRANSITION: FROM BYZANTIUM TO THE BYZANTINE COMMONWEALTH

Conveners: **Aleksandr Musin, Marcin Wołoszyn, Perica Špehar**

Aleksandr Musin,

The Reception of Byzantium in the Medieval Eastern Europe:
Nature and Character, Use and Abuse...

Marcin Wołoszyn,

Making Border of Kievan Rus' Visible. Finds of Kolts from Poland

Perica Špehar,

Archaeological Finds of Late Medieval Crescent Earrings in Serbia

Irina Sterligova,

Pendants (Kolty) from the 1822 Ryazan' Hoard: Ornaments of an Earthly Princess or Gifts to the Queen of Heaven? On the Evolution of Prestigious Byzantine Women's Headdress Accessories in Rus'

Bojana Stevanović,

Serbian Medieval Painting as a Source for the Crescent Earrings

Ljudmila Pekarska,

The Golden Age of Kievan Kolts:
Iconographic Influence of Byzantine Art and Local Stylistic Developments

Svetlana Ryabtseva – Aleksandr Musin,

Chronology and Periodization of the Reception of Byzantine Dress Accessories and Fashion in the Eastern European Culture, 8th-14th Century

Mária Vargha,

Traces of Byzantine Fashion in Hungary in the High Middle Ages



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The Reception of Byzantium in the Medieval Eastern Europe: Nature and Character, Use and Abuse...

The civilization of Old Rus' has always been thought of as the result of the influence of Byzantium. The interaction between Mediterranean civilization and Eastern Europe has been interpreted as transplantation of basic elements of Byzantine culture and the following development into original phenomenon, as use and abuse of Byzantium during its reception. However, the key-word of such process might be "reception" *sensu stricto*. Scholars usually regarded the process of reception as systematically organized. As a result the Old Rus' can be compared to the large Byzantine provincial monastery at least of the level of their library.

However, the reception of Byzantium in Early Middle Ages scarcely ever was a conscious process. Such conclusions can be reached through the comparison of different cultural activities in Eastern Europe that had byzantine origins and very seldom were the object of comparative studies: literature and architecture, material culture and liturgy, etc. In my vision the historical reception as an active and creative process headed by local community was multilevel and multiple staged which comprises the introducing to the "alien" culture, selection of its elements, their incorporation and absorption, and then their use and transformation, in new system or at least new configuration sometimes up to the complete "rebranding" or refuse.

The present approach allows some general observations. The Eastern European reception had been effectuated through the intermediate Slavonic cultures of Great Moravia and Bulgaria. Very often we deal with the double reception or acculturation that sometimes brought into Eastern Europe only echo of Byzantine world. This situation created different iconographic and stylistic "modules" reused according different combinations in the local culture. It could be linked to the specificity of "receptive aesthetics" and its «horizon of expectation». The transplantation of different byzantine elements on the Eastern European soil sometimes led to the deprivation of the original meaning and their re-semanticization. In a paradox manner numerous elements of non-religious character received in Slavonic culture purely confessional meaning and were used in public worship and private devotion. The existence of different levels of the reception and its active spontaneous character make scholars revisit the cultural and anthropological mechanism of exchange. In several field of cultural activity Old Rus' accepted through the reception not the phenomena themselves, but their bearers who quickly acculturated in the local milieu and lost their tradition and habits. We can conclude that the reception of Byzantium in Old Rus' had accidental and occasional character. The similar situation can be observed in the field of interests of the present session of free communications - fashion, costume, jewelries, adornments, and dress accessories. Their transition led to the use of only limited elements of byzantine costume where these elements are sometimes difficult to recognize because of serious transformation. As a result "casual reception" did not lead to the formation of "casual dress" according byzantine example as well as in other different areas of byzantine-originated cultural activity. In fact, the modern humanity has right to see in medieval Rus' a kind of caricature of Byzantium and not an icon of Byzantium as several colleagues would prefer.



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Making Border of Kievan Rus' Visible. Finds of Kolts from Poland

The Christianity embraced by Piast Poland, similarly as Premyslid Bohemia came from Rome. The differences between the lands lying between the Odra and the Vistula rivers and the territory of the Kievan Rus', converted in 988/989 from Constantinople, may be observed in the material culture, ranging from the Pre-Romanesque and Romanesque churches known from Poznań, Cracow or Przemyśl and the Orthodox churches of Kiev and Novgorod to fashions in the clothing worn by the elite subjects of the Piast and the Riurikid rulers.

One likely example of the impact of western culture on the jewellery of the Western Slavs could be type Orszymowice finger-rings (11th-12th cc.). Eastern Slav jewellery on the other hand evidently evolved with substantial impact from the Byzantine environment. One of the most distinctive female ornaments in Kievan Rus' are decorative pendants known as *kolts*. Present day Poland has come to be perceived as a country which is monoethnic and Roman Catholic but it is important to note that in 11th-14th century the eastern region of modern Poland represented the western periphery of Kievan Rus'.

In recent years we have seen a major revival in the archaeological research in this region, and new finds include several *kolts* and moulds for their production. Worth mention are two silver *kolts* found at Trepcza near Sanok (grave finds?; 13th c.), four silver *kolts* from the hillfort at Czermno, site No. 1 (from two hoards dated to the 13th-14th c.), one more *kolt* from the same locality, recovered near the river Huczwa (site No. 70), and two moulds recovered in Chełm.

The present paper reports on the results of analysis (also metallographic) of these new and exciting finds. Made of tin, the *kolt* from Czermno, site No. 70 appears to be an imitation of the more traditional silver and gold *kolts*. The local production of *kolts* in our region is suggested by the finds of casting moulds from Chełm, the medieval Kholm, a major centre of western Rus' of the thirteenth century. According to the Galician-Volynian Chronicle, in the reign of Prince Daniel of Galicia (d. 1264) craftsmen, some of them from other areas of Rus' took up residence in Kholm. It is possible that after the Mongol invasion (the fall of Kiev in 1240) some craftsmen may have fled to this previously peripheral, western part of Rus'. We have no finds of *kolts* from the territory of Piast Poland; the only *kolt* recorded in Bohemia is almost certain to be post-medieval import.

Consequently, *kolts* are an attractive subject for research, for more than just their aesthetic value. They are a material marker of the elite in Kievan Rus', a form which during the Early Medieval Period (11th - 13th c.) did not spread among its western neighbours.



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Archaeological Finds of Late Medieval Crescent Earrings in Serbia

Besides those types of medieval jewellery that are based on the prototypes that dated even from (pre)Roman times and that were modified and accepted in Slavic cultures through Byzantium, the presence of ancient heritage in the Balkans is likewise fully reflected by the appearance of the so called crescent earrings. The presence of ancient and Byzantine forms in medieval jewellery was punctuated many times and very well studied. However, when it concerned the courses of further research, it is necessary to aim the attention toward the narrowly defined matters of the employment, production and regional characteristics of certain adornments.

Therefore, on this occasion we will make an attempt to shed some light on the presence of some late types of lunula earrings within an archaeological material from Serbia, which are dated to the last decades of the 14th and to the 15th century. The available material is relatively scarce, when considering its quantity (about 30 known earrings), but it is versatile by its morphological characteristics, production techniques and decoration style. It affords certain basis for establishing chronological contexts of their appearance. Besides, the intention is to observe the importance of these finds within the image of entire material heritage of the late Middle Ages in said area.

Although they are just one segment of relatively rich archaeological assets, as the indicative type the lunula earrings completely follow the courses of development of the epoch they belong. Namely, beside the fact that they mirror the aesthetic criteria and technical knowledge, these objects can be observed as the manifestation of social and economic circumstances during the period of the last envigouring of Serbian state, before the final establishing of Ottoman rule. These earrings are mostly made of precious metal, and according to the position of graves, inside which they were discovered (especially in regard to the churches), as well as to the fact that they are found in the hoards of precious objects, it seems that they were used by wealthier members of society. Medieval written and pictorial sources testify likewise that the jewellery was the manifestation of status and prestige. Especially interesting question relates to the heraldical and symbolical function of earrings, because some exceptionally luxurious pieces with the representation of the two-headed eagle as well as the monograms, which can suggest to some very noble users, maybe even the members of the royal family.

On this occasion we will demonstrate certain regional characteristics within central, western and eastern Balkans, based on the distribution of lunular and some other types of late medieval earrings. Thereby, some observations impose that can be compared with the data in Late Medieval archive documents that make clear distinction between Serbian, Bulgarian, Latin, even the Walachian earrings, the production of which obviously depended on the specific taste of the ambiance. When considering the workshops, the present level of research makes it difficult to come out with valid assumptions. Therefore, our knowledge has to be upgraded by the cognitions about the technological, physical and chemical characteristics of said earrings in wider area, which certainly must be the further step in future investigations.



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Pendants (Kolty) from the 1822 Ryazan' Hoard:
Ornaments of an Earthly Princess or Gifts to the Queen of Heaven?
On the Evolution of Prestigious Byzantine Women's Headdress Accessories in Rus'

In the Moscow Kremlin Museums there is a pair of gold pendants with depictions of SS Boris and Gleb in cloisonné enamel (inv. № MP-969 and MP-970) from the hoard found in Ryazan' in 1822. In shape they resemble gold *kolty* – pendants hung from women's ceremonial headdress – but they are three times bigger and many times heavier; moreover, the images on *kolty* are usually of birds or fantastic creatures. These are not the only differences. The row of pearls runs not along the edge of the pendants, but round the medallions, and there is openwork filigree and precious stones in raised openwork settings on both sides. This sort of luxurious, convex, fragile decoration is unique, it is practically unknown on the *kolty* that were part of women's finery. These pendants could not be containers for fragrances either, because the apertures in them are technical and not functional in character.

The purpose of these pendants is debated. The majority of researchers think that they were specially made for an icon, but others regard them as parts of a princess's ceremonial dress that could have been turned into a votive offering to an icon.

A detailed technical analysis has allowed it to be determined that the single loops by which these pendants were attached are different from the double loops of ordinary *kolty*, and their size and weight, and the nature of their decoration, make them very inconvenient for use in costume. There is no trace of repair or wear, but at some point they had jewels added in raised decorated settings, which can easily be explained as decoration for icons. The contents of the 1822 Ryazan' Treasure, which was found near the ruins of the Church of SS Boris and Gleb, show that the objects in it are unlikely to have been used in everyday life. They can all be seen as offerings to an icon of the Mother of God.

Thus the technical aspects, typology and iconography of the "Boris and Gleb" pendants do not allow them to be included among the *kolty* of a princess's ceremonial dress. Although the technique of the enamel images of SS Boris and Gleb is Byzantine, the presence of strips of filigree pattern, the abundance of stones and the way they are set are typologically close to Western European church treasures of the Romanesque period.

The fact that "*kolty*" of this type could have been made specially for an icon on the model of a prestigious headdress is connected with the way icons were venerated in pre-Mongolian Rus'. Along with Orthodoxy, Rus' had adopted the Byzantine tradition of decorating icons, but local tastes clearly showed themselves within it. The precious objects on Byzantine icon covers were an emanation of the holiness of the images of the world above that were depicted on the icon. By contrast, Western European religious images of the tenth to twelfth centuries, which were three-dimensional and in



most cases contained relics, were not perceived in transcendental space, but as actual mystical objects connected with the Lord and his saints in this earthly realm; their decoration contributed to a more intimate contact between man and God. The form of Latin religious treasures was close to the aesthetic ideals of the people of Rus', and influenced the ornamentation of icons in the pre-Mongolian period, particularly the votive offerings (*priklad*) – precious objects from actual use or specially made in imitation of them and attached to the icons. The “*kolty*” from the 1822 hoard may have been attached to the richly adorned and quite extensive crown of a venerated icon of the Mother of God belonging to the principality of Ryazan'. Unfortunately, no information about it survives.

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Serbian Medieval Painting as a Source for the Crescent Earrings

The topic of this essay is the depictions of crescent earrings in Serbian medieval painting. The half-moon shaped earrings, often defined by experts as crescent earrings, primarily represent a part of the Byzantine cultural heritage in South Eastern Europe. In order to construct a link with the relevant archaeological finds, the representations of the crescent earrings in Serbian medieval painting, i.e. in those scenes where earrings are depicted, will be analyzed. Furthermore, the essay provides a comparative analysis of lunular earrings recurrence in the neighbouring Bulgarian and Greek medieval painting.

As far as Serbian thirteen-century wall painting is concerned, earrings are exclusively depicted as a part of female monarchs' portraiture. They became more recurrent in representations of female characters from the Old Testament, as well as in portraits of female aristocracy and royalty. They adorn the frescos depicting the Nativity scene, the life of the Virgin (the earrings are sometimes worn by women bathing infant Christ and those offering gifts to St. Anne), the Baptism of Christ, the Marriage at Cana, as well as the scenes representing women as personifications or actual female characters. Representations of earrings can also be found in fresco paintings of Holy women, although in Serbian thirteen-century frescoes there are no representations of them. They start to occur in the second decade of the fourteenth century on frescoes in the churches built by aristocracy, clergy and members of Nemanjić dynasty. Figurative representations of Holy women can be found on the walls of pious endowments throughout Moravian Serbia. Furthermore, earrings adorn representations of Holy women in the iconography of female members of nobility and royalty. Since details such as clothing, jewelry and insignia on medieval representations of Holy women bear certain similarities to the contemporary historical portraiture, the attention must be paid to this phenomenon as well.

It is notable that several types of earrings, found in treasuries of Serbian medieval aristocracy in the Republic of Dubrovnik, correspond to fresco wall paintings of female members of middle and high-ranking aristocracy of the period. From the mid-fourteenth century onwards, earrings were common jewelry, eagerly worn by medieval female monarchs, noblewomen and gentry alike. Consequently, the archaeological finds indicate that, although the fourteen-century female



portraiture does not adhere to representational realism, painters did tend to depict jewelry, adorning the women, in a realistic manner. Furthermore, the jewelry of the period has a dual purpose – it adorns women, but it also indicates their financial status. This essay will not provide only the overview of the representations of crescent earrings in the wall painting, but will also map the relevant chronology. The frequency of the representations of this type of earrings in the fourteen-century fresco painting indicates that they were in common use during the period. However, the number of relevant archeological finds does not support this claim. Relative rarity of crescent earrings, which can be traced to the same period, indicates they were passed on as an inheritance (for e.g. the will of Jelena Balšić contains the description of the crescent earrings along with the list of individuals who were to inherit them).

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The Golden Age of Kievan Kolts: Iconographic Influence of Byzantine Art and Local Stylistic Developments

The aim of the proposed paper is to present a very important and thus far insufficiently studied special phenomenon of Kievan Rus (10-13th centuries) art in the fields of jewelry productions. The article presents jewelry of high artistic workmanship known as Kolts (golden temporal pendants) decorated with polychrome enamel, filigree, pearls and made in cloisonné technique. Over 20 pairs of this elegant and luxurious commissioned jewelry have survived to the present day. All of them were found in hoards together with other precious jewelry in the ancient and richest part of medieval Kiev. Today they are located in different museums in Ukraine, Russia and in the West, and some remain in private collections.

The article presents pairs of decorations with their unique design and motifs and rare depictions of saints and isolated human heads within enameled circles. The author analyses some rare examples and describes the approaches and perspectives that characterize the said period in general, highlighting Kiev in particular.

It is noted that a new world of spiritual creativity quickly began to develop from 988 after Christianity was introduced from Byzantium as the official state religion of Kievan Rus. Kiev became the focal point of contact between Rus and Byzantium. At the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th centuries, medieval capital accessed and absorbed the rich culture of the Byzantine Empire. Over the period of a century, Kiev developed to become one of the largest international centers in medieval Europe with some Western prelates in the 11th century describing Kiev as “the rival of Constantinople”.

While Byzantium played an important role in the development of art of ancient Rus and the two cultures were closely connected, its influence on the artistic culture of the Kievan State varied during different periods. This perhaps helps to explain why we do not have sufficient evidence to confirm the whole extent of the deep interaction between the two cultures in the field of jewelry art during the 11-12th century.



The article will also present a small but very rich group of Byzantine enameled jeweler of the 11th to the first half of the 12th centuries and will investigate the similarities and differences of similar types of ornaments between the two great centers of jeweler production - Constantinople and Kiev. It will offer deep insights Kiev's local production of golden cloisonné Kolts with their local Christian concepts of images.

The remarkable golden cloisonné jewelry indicates that Kiev successfully captured cloisonné enamel techniques and Christian iconography from Byzantium in the 11th century and introduced its own perfections to Kolts and other ornaments, for example, to Medallion chains, Diadems and Pendant medallions.

The presented jewelry became an archetype model for the next style of local Kolts production - gold with niello and pearls and silver and niello with filigree. The paper will explore this magnificent collection of aristocratic ornaments (their shape, style and subject) - developed native Kievan enameled gold and silver work from the 11-12th century with their distinctly Byzantine heritage traditions.

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Chronology and Periodization of the Reception of Byzantine Dress Accessories and Fashion in the Eastern European Culture, 8th-14th Century

The paper deals with the characteristic and chronology of different periods of penetration of the Byzantine-Danubian, Bulgarian and Byzantine elements of costume in the culture of Eastern Europe as well as their future evolution and development. The authors propose to regard this process not as influence, but as reception that based on the active position of local Slavonic communities and their representatives. The reception of byzantine and byzantine-like fashion should be understood as a cultural “convoy” of the Christianization that led to the formation of specific forms of the Slavonic Christian culture comparable and not comparable to the Byzantine one in the same time.

The first period can be determined for the 8th century when in the Eastern Europe have been attested earrings with star-like pendants, earrings with globular or “flashlight” pendants and bracelets with expanding ends locally made according Danubian examples. In the end of 9th – beginning of 10th century another set of adornments: earrings with “rays” and “bunches” crescent earrings of the Danube origins appeared in the region. However, they imitated the production of craftsmen of Great Moravia inspired by the Danubian examples. In the mid of 10th century another important jewelry dress with the granulation known as “earrings of Volhynia type” were broadly spread in modern Ukraine, Bulgaria, Poland, Serbia, and Carpathian-Dniester region till the mid



of the 11th century. The production of lunula pendants with granulation had emerged under the direct influence of the Danubian workshops. It is clear that for the first periods the Danube region played a special role of the mediator in the reception of Byzantium, and the migration of craftsmen could be its specific mechanism. However such prestigious elements of byzantine male costume of the 10th century as belt-buckles and bronze engraved rings finds of which are known in the Eastern Europe had not been accepted in the local culture. In the end of 11th century the formation of the new ceremonial Old Rus' women costume have been attested. This costume existed up to the mid of the 13th century. In that case we can reveal the adaptation of the byzantine models through the politic, diplomatic and ecclesiastical contacts between Kiev and Constantinople. The full dress of this period included various types of ornaments with cloisonné enamel on gold – diadems, *kolty*, *ryasny* – that are supposed to be borrowed by the Rus' directly from Byzantium. However, close parallels to the Old Rus' diadems have been presented by gold item from Preslav, Bulgaria, second half of 10th century. So, in this case, Bulgaria, too, could be regarded as a mediator in the process of the reception of Byzantium. It should be noted that the favorite type of women temple decorations were *kolty* ornaments and three-bead temple-rings or earrings that had been firstly produced by Byzantine craftsmen. Meanwhile, in the 12th-13th century the simple lead replicas of *kolty* which could be regarded as local imitations of prestigious dress items have been attested in Novgorod, Volhynia, and Vladimir-Suzdal land. The reception of the byzantine fashion in the Eastern Europe was enough selective and transformative. In very rare cases in hoards and among archaeological finds the complete set of adornments and dress accessories can be attested. The analysis of sources shows that several items could be used as *ex-voto* offerings to venerable icons. In that condition the reconstruction of medieval women causal and ceremonial dress is one of the most important scientific problems. The end of the 13th – 14th century did not present any clearly seen byzantine elements of Byzantine women dress in Russian culture. In that time the reception was probably limited by the importation of prestigious textiles and gold-clothe and was characteristic of the reusing of previously received byzantine elements and their imitation. The oriental fashion began to dominate in the culture and society.

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Traces of Byzantine Fashion in Hungary in the High Middle Ages

The research into fashion and jewellery has proven to be valid not only to create typochronologies for artefacts, and with that, help date archaeological sites, but also to investigate socioeconomic processes. Until now, research on jewellery dated to the High Middle Ages has mostly focused on the first half of the period, and was dominated, especially regarding Byzantine-style objects, by the so-called Bjelo-Brdo debate.

Concerning the interpretation of Byzantine-style finds, research mostly concentrated on religious issues, namely the role of Eastern Christianity in the process of the Christianisation of



Hungary. Although the research on the influence of Eastern Christianity in 10-11th century Hungary has recent results both in history and archaeology, in the latter including the investigations of both artefacts and diverse phenomena such as burial customs, still many questions remain.

Regarding the context of the objects, the present study focuses more on the everyday objects, such as trinkets and dress accessories of the commoners. This way a larger segment of the society is observable, and thus, larger religious and socioeconomic processes can be tracked.

The latter is perhaps even more important regarding the interpretation of the finds from the second half of the High Middle Ages. As by that time, the domination of Western Christianity is absolute, Byzantine, and/or Byzantine-style artefacts tell more about socioeconomic, than religious issues. Especially because of this, it can be argued that the second half of the period could also provide important results, despite that it was not in the focus of the research.

The refreshment of Byzantine relations and its influence on the material culture during the reign of King Béla III (1172-1196) is almost topoi-like, but it was never fully examined because of the difficulties of the research on the material culture of the period. Personal elements of the material culture, such as jewellery and dress accessories are the most commonly used artefacts to detect Byzantine influence on the material culture. However, in consequence of the domination of churchyard cemeteries, and in parallel with this, the impoverishment of the graves, the amount of such finds recovered seriously decreased.

Another significant and well observable period of appearance of Byzantine-styled objects occurs during the latest part of the examined age, when Byzantine or Byzantine-style artefacts mostly turn up in the context of newcomers, Cumans, and Jazygians. Although their impact on material culture and also some social processes cannot be neglected, the fashion of such artefacts in the Late High Middle Ages should be reconsidered. For that, one of the best sources can be the hoard horizon that is connected to the Mongol invasion of Hungary in 1241-42.

In the present paper, besides revisiting the main issues of these two well detectable periods, the question of what existed between should be in the focus of the present investigation, as until recently, research rather neglected it in consequence of the mentioned difficulties. As I was able to separate the characteristic 12th century material, this issue can be revisited. Therefore, in the present paper I would like to focus on that issue, the observable impacts of Byzantium in the material culture of Hungary around the 12th century, and its relation to 13th century Byzantine style artefacts, concerning religious, social, and economical issues.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
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STUDYING AND COMMUNICATING BYZANTIUM – PART 2

Chairs: **Karsten Fledelius, Anna Linden Weller**

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The Making of Medieval Identity:

Imagining the Samuel's State in Balkan Narratives (Mid-19th to Beginning of the 20th Century)

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The Making of Medieval Identity: Imagining the Samuel's State in Balkan Narratives (Mid-19th to Beginning of the 20th Century)

The paper addresses the issue of how the Samuel's State was rediscovered and imagined in the Balkan narratives from the mid-19th to the beginning of 20th century. The analysis of the works of Balkan revivalist written in the first half of the 19th century shows persistence in the trend to ignore the historical motives arising from the epoch of the struggle between Samuel and Basil II that was a result of the negative association and imagination they incited. Greek nationalists until the mid-19th century perceived Basil II through the anti-Byzantine prism. Bulgarian nationalists up to 1870's treated Samuel as the main culprit for the downfall of the state, portraying him as a God's sinner, patricide and even ethnically alien ugly Armenian. During the same period Serbian and Croatian intellectuals mainly perceived the reign of Samuel indirectly via the Pan-Slavic concept of the popular romantic story about Kosara and Vladimir. The world view of the first generation of Macedonian revivalists was, much like in the case of the Bulgarian revivalists, formed under the strong influence of Russia, which reflected in sharing of the Russian understanding of the medieval past that included the Samuel's state.

It was Russia that was responsible for the re-actualization of Samuel's State in the Balkan narratives in the mid-19th century. The Russian historian Alexander Hilferding was the first to notice the absence of a written tradition on Samuel in Slavic manuscripts, compensating it with his own interpretation that reinforced the negative image of the medieval emperor, who was portrayed as a ruthless patricide. Not surprisingly, in his view the rise of Samuel's State was the direct result of Slavic brotherhood, with medieval Bulgaria as the power able to accomplish the mission of uniting the Slavs against their mutual enemy – the "Greeks," i.e. Byzantines. This projected historical reference, found expression in the Russian direct involvement in the creation of the Bulgarian state following its victory over the Ottomans in 1878.

These new circumstances led to the change of the negative perception of the emperor Samuel among the Bulgarian nationalists. Subsequently in 1870's Samuel was absolved from his previous sins and was resurrected as a national hero in Bulgaria. This was followed with the opposite claim from Serbia for the historical right on "their" Samuel. Thus Samuel became an indispensable synonym for Macedonia which was directly related to the contested territorial claims following the revision of the San Stefano Treaty in 1878. This aspirations resulted in competitive assertions of the Balkan's nationalists over the historical legacy of the Samuel's State and thus for the rights on the Macedonian territory.

As the Ottoman Empire was coming to an end, the scholarly debate over Samuel's State acquired even greater significance. Greek historians explored the legend of Basil II the Bulgar-Slayer,



the Serbian scholars pushed the concept of the “Slavonic state in Macedonia” or the “Macedonian Slavic State”, while Bulgarians continued to promote the idea of a “Western Bulgarian Empire” as a mere continuation of the Bulgarian Empire. Samuel’s State was exploited in ethnographic studies, the specific purpose of which was to deal with the ethnogenesis and the identity of the inhabitants of Macedonia. The new situation inevitably caused a corresponding reaction among the Macedonian revolutionaries and intelligentsia, who in the beginning of the 20th century responded with resurrecting an authentic “Macedonian” Samuel belonging to the Macedonians, by which the innate historical right on the territory of Macedonia was demonstrated.

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A History of the Russian Expedition in Trebizond in 1916-1917

In 1916, when the Russian army captured Trebizond, a group of Russian historians headed by the academician F. I. Uspensky was sent there for historical, topographical and archaeological purposes. F.I. Uspensky, byzantinist and the author of “Studies in Trebizond Empire History” unfortunately didn’t publish there all the materials he got during the Trebizond expedition. These materials might be of interest for history of byzantine studies in Russia and for byzantinists, arts critics, historians of The First World War. The reason consisted mainly in the Russian civil war and some other private reasons of the participants.

Besides this, Uspensky was able to publish some scientific reports/articles about Trebizond expedition results. Some reports were presented to the Moscow Archaeological Society and the Russian Archaeological Society by the participants of the expedition. There were some occasional participants whose investigations weren’t published in Proceedings of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Известия (до 1917 г. – Императорской, потом Российской) Академии Наук), for example, F.M. Morozov, a representative of the Russian Red Cross, who spent a lot of time around monuments taking photos or telling the military and the administration’s members how to treat the monuments. His photos included wall paintings in the palace chapel of St. Anna, grottos’ paintings, rare photos of churches all around Trebizond, also have a scientific importance.

Some archival collections contain photos of the buildings which were later destroyed, for example, photos of the palace chapel. Due to some notes it was possible to put forward the proposal that a palace church was sanctified in honor of Saint Eugene. Moreover, we can reconstruct the palace church paintings due to unpublished photographs and notes in the Uspensky’s pocketbook.

Russian Academy of Science (or, at that time, Academy of Science of Saint-Petersburg) sent an expedition to Trebizond in cooperation with archaeological societies of Moscow and St. Petersburg, so it was much sponsored by the Russian Archaeological Society (Saint-Petersburg) and Moscow Archaeological Society headed by the first Russian woman-archeologist countess P.S. Uvarova and organized partially on her own means. People of different professions were participating in this



expedition: the architects and artists were also involved to make drawings and take photos. Some architectural measuring taken under the direction of Uspensky by a war engineer M. E. Kern haven't been published yet and some drawings of N.B. Baklanov were found in 2015 in a private collection.

Although the Trebizond historical expedition was focused on monuments' safety and investigation, its participants have made a considerable contribution to the Trebizond's exploration in the XX century all over the world. Some excavations were carried out. The detailed process of research may be observed in Uspensky's journal date by date. Moreover, recent archival investigations reveal his future plans of investigations in Trebizond and work conditions in Trebizond during the First World War. It is not yet clear how many materials have survived but the archival research of the last few years gave us a hope to find them and to discover further details of Trebizond's art and architecture.

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How to Publish a Scholarly Byzantine Journal in 1920s and 1930s: The Case of *Seminarium Kondakovianum*

Fled from Russia after the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian art historian Nikodim Kondakov reached Prague in the spring 1923, after two years of exile in Istanbul and Sofia. At the invitation of Jiří Polívka and Lubor Niederle, two of the prominent Czech art historians at that time, Kondakov joined the Charles University, that appointed him professor of Byzantine and East Slavonic art in 1924.

In Prague, Kondakov drew around him a community of Russian émigrés scholars that, shortly after his death in February 1925, founded a seminar bearing his name, Seminarium Kondakovianum. The purpose of the new-born seminar was to published the complete writings of Kondakov. In addition, the community organized series of interesting lectures, and above all ideated a periodical devoted to Byzantine culture, whose first issue appeared in 1927. Named simply Seminarium Kondakovianum, in its eleven issues the journal published articles about an uncommon heterogeneity of topics, covering an extensive chronology from prehistory to post-Byzantine epoch, because – as Michail Rostovtzeff wrote in 1922 – “the history of modern Europe should begin in the protohistoric and classic period”.

Leaving aside the articles published on Seminarium Kondakovianum, the communication aims to explore the every-day life of a scientific journal in the interwar period, considering in particular the network of scholars involved in the publication of the journal and the financial aids that supported the activity of the institute. Examining the materials still conserved in the archives of the Kondakov Institute, merged during the 1950s in the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences of the Czechoslovakia, it is possible to reconstruct the network of scholars and institutions that supported the activities and the publications of the seminar. Thanks to the great respect Nikodim



Kondakov gained during his career, the editors of *Seminarium Kondakovianum* could in fact easily involve outstanding byzantinists of the time, like Charles Diehl, Franz Dölger, Paul Perdrizet, Gabriel Millet and Kurt Weitzmann. On the other side, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* stood out among the large community of Russian émigré scholars, that in the 1920s fled Russia to Europe and United States: I would only mention André Grabar, Michail Rostovtzeff, George Vernadsky and George Ostrogorsky, who later during the Second World War was appointed director the Kondakov Institute, exiled in Belgrade.

Seminarium Kondakovianum took also benefit from the generous financial aids of the American businessman and politician Charles Richard Crane and of the President of Czechoslovakia, Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk, plus a great number of subscribers paying twenty-five dollars every year to receive the fascicule. By examining the financial balances of the Institute and the correspondence of the editorial boards with libraries and subscribers all over the world – as for example Bernard Berenson, who convinced the widow of the banker Otto Kahn to support *Seminarium Kondakovianum* with a two-hundred-fifty dollars donation – the final purpose of the communication is to describe how a Byzantine international journal could be printed in the 1920s and 1930s Prague.

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Organizational Aspects of the Reconstruction of the Documentary Heritage of the Russian Monastery of Holy Great Martyr and Healer Panteleimon on Mount Athos of the Byzantine Period

The most extensive researchers of the documentary heritage of the Russian monastery on Mount Athos are:

- Prof. Alexander Solovyov (†1971, Switzerland);
- Prof. Vladimir Mošin (†1987, Skopje);
- Prof. Paul Lemerle (†1989, Paris).

The investigations of A. Solovyov and V. Mošin, apparently, due to the circumstances of the work outside Russia and in emigration, are fragmented, but in conjunction with the depth study.

The works of Paul Lemerle are examples of the paleographic and codicological analysis of several dozen of Greek and Serbian documents, the nomenclature of which has been fully borrowed from the book of the monk p. Azaria and Prof. Ternovsky (1873), compiled on the basis of the investigations of the Archimandrite Procopius Dendrinus (†1848).

The Institute of Russian Athos and the St. Panteleimon Monastery was the first time in historical science tasked to reconstruct the full documentary heritage of a corporation by example of the Russian monastery on Athos.



The following concept was developed within the task:

1. Together with the St. Panteleimon Monastery was established a private independent Institute of Russian Athos.
2. The study was to attract the best Byzantinologist, including, of course, the best Paleographers and Codicologists.
3. We have collected the documents (or mentions of unpreserved documents) of all their known and hypothetical location.
4. We elaborated the methodology of analysis of these acts.

This methodological approach yielded the following intermediate results:

1. A catalog of the documentary heritage of the Russian monastery on Mount Athos - 1700 documents (up to 1735). This catalog is a prelude to the publication of the texts of acts.
2. A 3 books of the "History of the Russian monastery on Mount Athos up to 1735" (partially published).
3. A bibliography "Athos" - 6.5 thousand items.

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Methods of Reconstructing of the Monastery Charters Collection (St Panteleimon Monastery on Mt Athos)

At present, the history of states, regions, agglomerations, corporations (monasteries), and other public entities is presented in flatness. It is not sufficient to discuss all subjects and objects of influence.

So at this time the chronological order dominates – that is, there has been a consistent methodology of presentation, which deprives the historical model of the volume.

In this paper we propose an avant-garde methodology for reconstruction of the historical events of the global system that allows one to make three-dimensional model of any historical social system, characterized by use of well-known methodologies (bibliography, the integration of known studies, deciphering old information and artifacts, identification and analysis of available acts clusters, combining of existing blocks of information for a certain time period with a system of record keeping in the same period, the mapping of genealogical charts, updated economic analysis of the documents, classification, etc.) and the newly developed volumetric method described below.

Volumetric method involves placing a clear set of existing assembly of acts that reflects the actual content of the entire historical process, in a coordinate system: a timeline, subjects of influence on the historical process and objects of influence on the historical process.

The proposed methodology does not leave gaps of the historical process, remaining outside of the study, and uses all the rich experience of historical science.



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Bridging Dispersed Archival Collections: Fonds de Thomas Whittemore

This paper will introduce a new collaborative project in the Bibliothèque byzantine of Collège de France. The project will aim to enhance the access and use of distributed historical collections (or materials that are related but physically separated within one or multiple repositories), specifically the dispersed archival collections associated with Thomas Whittemore (1870-1950). These materials primarily document Whittemore's personal and professional life, as the founder and director of The Byzantine Institute, Inc., including his vast social network between the 1910s and 1950. The main goal is to virtually reunite the dispersed materials that relate to the leading protagonist, which are held in archives, primarily in France and the United States. Whittemore's material is an excellent model on how associated but physical separated collections, described in varying levels within multiple repositories, can be linked together through standardized descriptions and name taxonomy in order to build improved access and scholarship of primary sources.

Thomas Whittemore is an important figure to explore, for he has brought the world of Byzantine art and archaeology, as well as art restoration and preservation, to a contemporary American audience, particularly during political upheaval or times of war in the 1910s and 1940s. Furthermore, with the Paris Library of the Byzantine Institute, Whittemore has established an international scientific center of Byzantine studies in the heart of Paris, creating a cultural relationship and research space between American and French scholars of Byzantium and the Middle Ages. A close analysis and study of Whittemore's archival holdings in Europe and North America will not only create a complete picture of Whittemore's role and contributions in the humanities, but it will also bridge the gap between the related but physically separated collections, creating a unified and improved access and use of distributed historical materials for all types of users.

The primary objectives for this project are: 1) to reexamine the Fonds de Thomas Whittemore in the Bibliothèque byzantine and to compare them with other related archival materials in France and the United States; 2) to provide standardized descriptions for the collection materials in the Bibliothèque byzantine; 3) to investigate the influential and understudied players in Whittemore's circle, as well as to update, enhance, and add to the existing name index terms in the Bibliothèque byzantine; 4) and to make the enhanced data available for reuse to associated repositories. The main goal is to build a comprehensive virtual network for the primary sources in France and the United States, so researchers will be able to trace and understand Whittemore's development and significant contributions to the scholarship of Byzantine art and archaeology from the 1910s to 1950.



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THE AGE OF THE KOMNENOI

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Tuae provideas civitati: Identifications and Identities of Latins in the Twelfth-Century Byzantium

Zdenko Zlatar

Imperial Power in Komnenian Byzantium (1081-1180)



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The Porphyra in the Alexias

This paper examines the description of the porphyra in the *Alexias* by Anna Komnene, focusing on her remarkable phrase: “to be born and brought up in the room of the porphyra”. The paper argues that Anna Komnene gave special meaning to the porphyra with her opposition to her brother John II Komnenos.

The following four descriptions of the porphyra demonstrate Anna Komnene’s opposition to her brother John II in the context of the porphyra.

1. Anna Komnene was born and brought up to the room of the porphyra (*Alexias*, book preface, ch. 1 and section 1 and ch. 4 and section 1).
2. Constantios Doukas (1060-1081) was born and brought up in the room called the porphyra as well (*Alexias*, book 4, ch. 6 and section 7).
3. Nikephoros Diogenes and Leon Diogenes were born in the room of the porphyra (*Alexias*, book 7, ch. 2 and section 3).
4. The construction of the room called the porphyra, of which wall was made of porphyra marble with white spots, was a form of square and had a pyramidal roof (*Alexias*, book 7, ch. 2 and section 4).

In the description 3, Anna Komnene associated Nikephoros and Leon Diogenes with the porphyra, though Nikephoros Diogenes was a rebel against Alexios I Komnenos. In the description 4, she explained the construction of the room called porphyra next the description of Diogenes brothers.

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The Insubordination of Gregorios Taronites: A Precedent for the Future Fragmentation of the Byzantine Empire?

The reign of Alexios Komnenos (1081-1118) put an end to the years of political turmoil that marked the 11th century in Byzantium as a result of the legitimacy crises caused by the fall of the Macedonian dynasty. His successful military campaigns and how he bestowed offices and titles upon his relatives, assured Alexios I a long reign and the establishment of his own dynasty. Nevertheless, this “unbalanced” generosity toward his relatives and allies was not widely applauded by the Byzantine aristocracy, but rather contested and a source of dissatisfaction and hostility. At the same time, the eminence granted to his family did not ensure loyalty of every relative, for many of



them participated and even lead conspiracies, murder attempts, betrayals and insubordination acts, which Alexios Komnenos overcame with a mix of wide amnesties, punctual violent repression and performative acts to conquer the favor of the general opinion.

One of these rebels was Gregorios Taronites, nephew of Maria Komnena, Alexios's sister, and Michael Taronites, who himself was involved in the plot of Nikephoros Diogenes in 1094. Between September 1103 and September 1104, the emperor Alexios I Komnenos summoned Gregorios to Trebizond, in the region of Pontos, to substitute Dabatenos as doux of the city. When Taronites reached Pontos, he decided to rebel and wrote a long letter in which he insulted the emperor, his relatives, the senators, and army officials, and requested the support of the Danishmends Turks. The emperor sent his nephew, John Taronites, cousin of Gregorios, to deal with him. Eventually, Gregorios Taronites was defeated and imprisoned for many years, being pardoned by the intervention of the kaisar Nikephoros Bryennios, the emperor's son-in-law. This episode was only reported by Anna Komnena, who nevertheless said nothing about the reasons for this act. During the reign of Alexios Komnenos and after, Trebizond was a rebellious hot spot: first Theodore Gabras resisted to accept the authority of the emperor, then his son Gregorios Gabras planned to escape from Constantinople and from the emperor's watching eyes. Since many other insubordinations followed, this presentation will investigate the rebellion of Gregorios Taronites within the framework of the other autonomous tendencies in the region of Pontos, which resulted in its autonomy in the late Byzantine period. This episode will also be analyzed within the framework of the oppositional movements against Alexios I as well as of his policy of power distribution.

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The Dispute between Theophylact, the Archbishop of Ohrid,
and the Paroikos Lazar: An Example of "State Interventionism" during
Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos' Reign (1081-1118)

Alexios I Komnenos is one of the greatest Byzantine emperors. His reign was marked by highly tumultuous events and challenges as much from a military and political as from a social and economic point of view. In order to cope with the numerous and serious military challenges, the Byzantine emperor was forced to carry out military and fiscal reforms. In that context, he strengthened and centralized fiscal powers and institutions and, to help his army recover, put into effect a new system called pronouia. As a result, state taxes were notably raised; the powers of tax officers (praktors) were enhanced; and cases of confiscating Church land and other real estate appeared. These general tendencies during Alexios I's reign are fully confirmed by the data laid out in several letters that Theophylact, the Archbishop of Ohrid, wrote. We learn from them, among other things, that a paroikos (peasant) named Lazar launched a dispute before the emperor himself, accusing the archbishop of setting fire to his property and then of expelling him from the village. Theophylact



was also accused of generating excessive income and possessing a costly estate, as well as of usurping a village near Ohrid. Over the course of the long-standing legal case, by sending letters to influential state officials, he tried to diminish and rebut the accusations. In his defence, he pointed out that attempts were being made to spread hostility against him both among the residents of Ohrid and across Macedonia. Also, he complained that state taxes were raised enormously. Although at a first glance it appears unusual that an archbishop should become entangled in a serious and prolonged dispute with a paroikos, the situation becomes clearer on learning that Lazar's grudge was in fact spurred and fully taken advantage of by the state's tax officers. Through the case of Lazar, who was used as their mouthpiece, they, in fact, undermined the ownership and immunity rights and privileges of the Archbishopric. All of that worked in favour of raising the income of the state at the expense of that of the Church. In other words, it appears that through the said dispute some sort of "interventionism" in favour of the state and at the Church's expense was at work.

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Emperor John II Komnenos and the Imperial Crisis of 1126

The reign of John II Komnenos has often been overlooked in favour of his father Alexios and his son Manuel, with most research on his reign only carried out as part of broader regional or bilateral studies, such as those regarding Byzantium in the Balkans, Byzantium and Venice or Byzantium and the Turks. Coupled with this is an overreliance on narratives whose focus is not John, particularly Kinnamos and Choniates, who often omit or misrepresent information as part of their broader narrative goals or lack of knowledge.

The sources problem can, however, be overcome through use of both occasional court texts from rhetors such as Prodromos, Basilakes and Italikos, and regional texts such as those of the Priest of Diokleia and Michael the Syrian. Equally, recent archaeology can provide an intersection between rhetoric and the reality on the ground, such that the narrative provided by Kinnamos and Choniates can be re-evaluated.

Incorporating these sources therefore illuminates previously unclear events of his reign, and in particular the 1120s, where the basic chronology has for many years been open to debate. Particularly, when exactly John campaigned against the Serbs and when he fought a war with Hungary has long been a matter of opinion due to contradictory sources. Equally his war with Venice has been interpreted as a pointless endeavour, particularly as the emperor's efforts may have been better expended in Anatolia.

This paper will delineate that through using all of these sources, a coherent chronology can be established, and one that clarifies the emperor's actions and policies in the Balkans. This is in addition to highlighting how the Constantinopolitan sources marginalise or omit actions in which



the emperor did not take part. Equally, the reason why peace with Venice was sought at this time can be determined, as far from a humiliating climb down such a course of action was the lesser evil in comparison with developing situations in both the Balkans and Anatolia. The coincidence of three fugitive princes of Diokleia, Hungary and Ikonion seeking support in Constantinople simultaneously has not previously been recognised, and John's attempt to deal with them all while prosecuting a war with Venice caused overextension, revolt in Trebizond and thus a crisis of empire that scholarship has previously overlooked.

Faced with multiple fronts, John focused on ending the Serb insurrection and defending his lands from Stephen of Hungary, whilst still financing Mas'ud to retake Ikonion. He reformed his fleet after making a treaty with Venice, and with the Balkans settled he re-entered the Anatolian theatre with Mas'ud as an ally to take on both the Danishmendids and push through towards the rebellious Trebizond.

This paper will thus rewrite the historical narrative and open up a new dimension on how John's foreign policy operated: his cumulative acquisition of client rulers to pursue increasingly ambitious campaigns. As such, it will raise broader questions regarding the nature of empire after the crises of the eleventh century, and thus the nature of the twelfth-century Komnenian restoration.

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Reconstituer le réseau d'un évêque : Michel Chôniatès, métropolitain d'Athènes (1182-1205). Sources et problèmes

L'analyse réseau demeure un paradigme relativement nouveau dans les études byzantines. Il est surtout utilisé depuis l'étude pionnière de M. Mullet sur le réseau de Théophylacte de Bulgarie et a contribué à renouveler l'intérêt de l'étude des lettres byzantines dans une perspective d'histoire sociale. Plusieurs corpus ont ainsi été étudiés mais certains, bien que conséquents, n'ont pas fait l'objet d'une analyse réseau détaillée. C'est le cas des textes du métropolitain d'Athènes Michel Chôniatès, dont la quantité en fait un corpus satisfaisant pour mener une telle étude.

Nous proposons une reconstitution du réseau relationnel du métropolitain à partir de l'étude de ses lettres et discours. Cela nous amène à nous interroger d'abord sur les conditions de reconstitution, les intérêts d'une telle analyse, mais aussi sur les limites que présentent les sources. Notre objectif consiste en une présentation générale de ce réseau par la prise en compte des principales données statistiques d'analyse réseau, des types de relations nouées entre Michel Chôniatès et ses contemporains et de l'évolution diachronique du réseau au cours de son épiscopat.

Michel Chôniatès a vécu une période de basculement de l'Empire byzantin qui se conclut par la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés en 1204. Il est donc particulièrement propice d'étudier son réseau et son évolution, voire de le comparer à d'autres réseaux plus anciens ou plus récents. Pour comprendre les dynamiques de changement à Byzance, l'application d'un paradigme encore neuf paraît tout à fait approprié.



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The Figure of Alexios III Angelos Komnenos in History and Historiography. A Reassessment

The figure of emperor Alexios III Angelos Komnenos (1195-1203) has been defined in history and historiography by his seemingly shaky and ultimately disastrous reign leading up to the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in April 1204. Even more detrimental to his reputation was his dismal and scheming attempts to return to the throne in the following years. The main source for his reign, the History of Niketas Choniates, in many ways determined his historical image. Although the work of Choniates is a notoriously biased source, it is difficult to argue against the idea that emperor Alexios III was far from a competent ruler. Nonetheless, this paper aims to substantiate the reasons why the reign of this emperor should be revisited and his figure re-evaluated with the aim of nuancing the existing historical perception.

Alexios Angelos Komnenos had led an eventful life: starting with his participation in the unsuccessful conspiracy against Andronikos I Komnenos (1183-1185), to his exile in the court of Salah ad-Din, to becoming the sebastokrator of his brother Isaac II (1185-1195). In dethroning emperor Isaac, Alexios had been aided, if not instigated, by the most prominent Byzantine families. His wife Euphrosyne crucially supported Alexios in reigning, being a competent manager and bringing with her the invaluable backing of the Kamateros clan. The relations of the Byzantine emperor with the Holy Roman emperor Henry VI and the pope Innocent III, though delicate, were generally productive. The internal strains of the Empire and the faltering relations with some allies cannot be considered solely Alexios III's responsibility as he had obtained a state already well advanced into a political crisis. Indeed, upon examination, it can be said that emperor Alexios was not as inactive as Choniates had painted him to be, as he had undertaken a series of initiatives, albeit little effective, to fortify the Byzantine state. Alexios III introduced new families into the imperial circle, sought to stabilise the practical-bureaucratic functioning of the government and to secure political loyalties. Although his military and economic policies were indecisive, he certainly did not ignore these problematic spheres. Nor can it be said that he had had any real alternative to "quick fixing": considering the urgency of the issues it was impossible to organise longer-term solutions. Furthermore, Alexios III actively worked on his public image. The changes in his name and patron saint can be considered as a deliberate adjustment to the geopolitical situation occurring in the Byzantine Empire, aiming to bolster the authority of the sovereign.

Consequently, although Alexios III had not been a particularly efficient ruler of the already ailing Byzantine state, he cannot be said to have been unaware of the Empire's critical situation nor inactive in alleviating its problems. Some of his political decisions were inventive, though appearing against his interest, and he was able to surround himself with talented allies. And, after all, the appearance of the Fourth Crusade at the door of Constantinople was accompanied by a complicated and circumstantial series of events over which Alexios III had little power of influence. This is why the reign of this emperor should be re-examined, especially without the hindsight of the subsequent loss of the Byzantine capital and Niketas Choniates' bias. The rule of Alexios III is an interesting case of internal and external political dynamics and like in no other period exposes the complexity of the Byzantine government system.



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On Dating the Last Norman Invasion of the Byzantine Empire

The author's aim is to determine the date of the beginning of the last Norman invasion from Sicily to the Byzantine Empire. The only historical source that directly and precisely specifies the date when the Norman armada set out for Durazzo, its primary goal, is none other than the *Annales Ceccanenses*. This typical medieval chronicle originated in 1217, with two of its manuscripts remaining intact to date. This manuscript points out that the Norman army sailed out of Messina three days before the Ides of June. This data enables easier and faster calculation of the date when the last invasion of the Byzantine Empire occurred. In spite of this, the historiography shows a discrepancy in terms of determining the date, i.e. the data shown in this manuscript has been interpreted differently by the historians. Based on the remaining source, determining the exact date of the beginning of the invasion and emphasising the historiography of variations in dating said event will be the main goal of this paper. An effort will be made to explain the historical discrepancies in dating the beginning of the invasion even though the *Annales Ceccanenses* gives a clear and unambiguous data on the day when the invasion began. Regardless the sporadic dating mistakes, this still remains an important event that has made an impact on both contemporary and future researchers. Under its influence the Byzantines' fear of the West has increased, contributing to the deterioration of the relationship between the orthodox East and the catholic West; which will become obvious in the subsequent Fourth Crusade.

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Tuae provideas civitati:

Identifications and Identities of Latins in the Twelfth-Century Byzantium

In the twelfth century many Latins chose to stay in the Byzantine Empire, either on a temporary or permanent basis, including merchants, crusaders, travelers and mercenaries. Among the many different groups of Latins living in Byzantium were individuals who enjoyed ready access to the Byzantine court and could be designated as experts in a particular field. Here the term "Latin experts" is used to describe individuals who hailed from the West and made their way to the Byzantine court, where they served as advisors, interpreters, envoys or military consultants. Much like other experts living abroad, Latin experts are characterized by a threefold expertise. First, they demonstrated specialized knowledge in a particular field (i.e. theology, foreign languages, warfare, politics etc.), which made them attractive to the court. Second, over the course of their stay they became experts in the language, religion, customs, and/or cultural and political situation



in Byzantium and could thereby better serve the interests of their native regions abroad. Third, as a result of their considerable intercultural skills Latin experts came to be perceived as specialists in their native regions by Byzantines. In other words, Latin experts assumed an intermediary role, namely that of cultural brokers.

Both in Byzantium and in the West, Latin experts were regarded as a valuable and useful resource and in some cases served institutions and individuals on both sides. Their special position between Byzantium and the West raises a number of important questions about the identities of Latin experts in Byzantium, including their relationship to certain communities, which also brought the matter of their allegiance to the fore. By way of a number of case studies drawn from the twelfth century this paper asks how and to what extent Latin experts self-identified with certain communities or institutions, how their identities changed over time, and which factors were at play in forming these identities. I pay particularly close attention to areas of potential conflict, such as conflicts of interest between Latin experts and other actors and institutions and processes of dissociation from certain communities.

The first part of the paper considers the language used by Latin experts to describe themselves in their own writings. Which terms did Latin experts use to designate their skills and expertise and how and when did they employ terms like *Latinus/Latini* and other regional or ethnic terms? What can such terms and the contexts in which they are used tell us about the identity of Latins in Byzantium?

In the second part, I turn my attention to how Latin experts interacted with “others”. Here the term “others” is used to describe the Byzantines, but also individuals from the West with whom Latin experts maintained contact during their time in Byzantium. These might be inhabitants of an expert’s native city or region, the Papacy, members of crusader states, and other Latins living in Byzantium (e.g. merchants).

By these means, I hope to provide some insight into the exceptional status of Latin experts and their shifting identities as they moved back and forth between Byzantium and the West.

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Imperial Power in Komnenian Byzantium (1081-1180)

It is a well-established fact among the Byzantinists that the period of the Komnenian dynasty (1081-1185) was in many ways subject to great changes in the projection of Imperial power and how power was exercised. This is usually subsumed under the euphemism of the Komnenian revolution. Yet, so far no attempt has been made to give necessary precision to this concept, least of all statistically and/or quantitatively. Using Alexander Kazhdan’s database in his study of Byzantine aristocracy my recent study of this period, *Golden Byzantium: Imperial Power in Komnenian Constantinople (1081-1180)* provides the first quantitative study of this phenomenon, i.e. who was in and who was out under the first three Komnenian emperors, Alexis I, John II, and Emanuel I.



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THE EARLY BYZANTINE CHURCH

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Trials of the Christians in the Eastern Roman Empire at the Beginning of the 4th Century

Marko Šukunda,

Emperor Julian the Apostate and His Attitude towards the Church

Andra Juganaru,

Theological and Monastic Reform in the Fourth-Century Near-East

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The Churches of Rome and Constantinople at the End of the 5th C.:
“Acacian” or rather “Felician Schism”?

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for the Preservation of Orthodox Christological Creedal Thought of the Church

Manya Erna Shirinyan,

Byzantine Policy Concerning the Government of Christendom by Patriarchal Sees:
“Tetrarchy” and Pentarchy

Marine Giorgadze,

Egeria’s Travels and Georgian Liturgical Practice



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Trials of the Christians in the Eastern Roman Empire at the Beginning of the 4th Century

The aim of this contribution is to examine persecutions of the Christians primarily under Diocletian and Maximian in the eastern part of the Roman empire from specific, legal point of view. Although the Great Persecution of 303–312 has been often discussed, certain problems could be reconsidered. So, in the paper, it will be presented what were official charges against the Christians and what was their legal background. It will be analyzed why certain differences existed in the legal procedure. Considering that the charges against the Christians have changed over time, the uniqueness of the Great Persecution will be especially examined. Besides that, personal preferences of the judges in the trials of the Christians will be discussed. One of the points of the interest will be if the officials exactly followed the orders prescribed by imperial edicts or if they established some precedents.

The significance of local conditions will be studied and the attitude of local (pagan and Jewish) inhabitants towards Christians. The initiative for persecution came from the non-Christian majority and provincial governors in the first centuries of modern era, but from the time of emperor Decius (beginning of the so-called third phase of the persecutions, as defined by G. E. M. de Ste Croix) the official (state) courts launched the actions against the Christians. A new persecution under emperor Valerian ensued. After first official recognition of Christian communities under emperor Gallienus, the Great Persecution terminated that period of tolerance towards Christians, which lasted only few decades. Bearing in mind that fourth century persecutions is main topic of the paper, some parallels and divergences between political approaches of the previous emperors will be taken into consideration.

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Emperor Julian the Apostate and His Attitude towards the Church

In the study the author deals with one of the most interesting and most controversial characters which were on the Roman throne in the 4th century, Julian the Apostate. In the first part of the study the historical facts of his life and surroundings which influenced Julian's religious views will be presented. In the central part of the study we will focus on motives that influenced the emperor Julian to completely embrace the pagan religion and how that change reflected on his relation towards the Church. In the end we will try to give an answer to the question in what measure was his reform successful.



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Theological and Monastic Reform in the Fourth-Century Near-East

The period between 381 and 382 was a turning point in the evolution of the Christian Church. In 381, the Councils of Constantinople and Aquileia witnessed (new) struggles around christological ideas. Their outcomes were felt even in 382, when the last canons from the Council of Constantinople appeared. In the winter following the Councils, after he dealt with debates around mariology, Gregory of Nyssa wrote the first vita dedicated to a woman, *The Life of Saint Macrina*, in which he praised the model of monasticism which she led in the community of Annisa. What is the connection between the theological debates of the period and the promotion of both Annisa and the cult of Macrina? This is the main question that this paper seeks to explore.

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The Churches of Rome and Constantinople at the End of the 5th C.: “Acacian” or rather “Felician Schism”?

In the secondary literature on the Church history it is customary to refer to the events of 484, which resulted in the break of communication between the Roman Church and the Churches of the East, as “Acacian schism”, named so after the Patriarch of Constantinople Acacius (472–489).

Meanwhile, a simple analysis of the outline of events shows that the initiator of the split of 484 was not the Patriarch of Constantinople. To counter the rebellion of Illus Emperor Zeno deposed, among other measures, a disloyal patriarch of Alexandria John Talaia and reinstated to his place the exiled anti-Chalcedonian patriarch Peter Mongus. The latter as a pledge of loyalty to the Emperor signed the imperial epistle, known as “Henoticon”.

These events, mediated by the Patriarch of Constantinople Acacius, made Pope Felix III (483–492) to take rush measures. On the 28th of July 484 he sent to Constantinople a letter of excommunication for Acacius, containing following charges: insult made to Saint Peter; failure of Acacius to respond before the “Apostolic See” to the charges, brought against him by John Talaia; Acacius’ entry into communication with the “heretic” Peter Mongus and intervention in the affairs of the Church of Antioch.

On the basis of all papal letters and other works related to the event, it is possible to deduce some important observations. First of all, Pope Felix obviously attempted to usurp the authority of the Ecumenical Council. Under no legal circumstance had the pope any right to accept the appellation of John Talaia and to summon to the court in Rome the bishop of Constantinople. Pope’s decision to excommunicate Acacius was taken unilaterally and had not been even a conciliar decision of the Roman Church.



The failure of the patriarch to arrive to the court could not allow Pope Felix to condemn him in absentia without previously calling three times upon him. Neither could the Pope raise against Acacius accusations of violating the rights of the Church of Antioch, that had never appealed to the Roman pontiff in this regard. From this point of view, the actions of Pope should be considered as interference in the affairs of the Church of Constantinople and that of Antioch alike.

The charge of insulting St. Peter looks as totally absurd. The prosecution against Acacius for his communion with the “heretic” Peter Mongus also doesn’t sound convincing, since Peter Mongus had never been condemned as a heretic. Later attempts of the popes to accuse Peter along with Acacius of adherence to the heresy of Eutyches look ridiculous, because by signing “Henoticon” Peter signed double anathema to Eutyches.

The whole situation forced the pope to take another uncanonical action: since his protégé, John Talaia, could not return to his see in Alexandria, Pope Felix made him bishop of Nola in Italy. Since the canons, recognized by the Roman Church, provided that a bishop under no circumstance could move from one see to another, we can conclude that Felix, who recognized the patriarchal dignity of John, allowed a grave violation of the canon.

In view of all that, we can characterize the actions of Pope Felix III as non-canonical and highly arbitrary. Consequently the perception of the event of 484 must be reversed. Acacius of Constantinople, who never undertook any illegal action and tried to keep peace among the Churches, can’t be regarded guilty of the schism. The blame lies completely with Pope Felix and his successors and thus the schism itself should be rightfully called “Felician”.

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Pastoral and Theological Cooperation of the Emperor Marcian and St. Leo the Great for the Preservation of Orthodox Christological Creedal Thought of the Church

This theological scientific topic has the main aim to consider the relationship and connection between the Church and secular imperial authority on preservation of the Orthodox Christian faith in the time of the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon. The paper also describes the theme of the Christian emperor as it is pointed out in the writings of St. Leo of Rome and St. Flavian of Constantinople. The recognition of the Eutychian heresy and the spiritual and theological struggle against Monophysitism led to the particular rapprochement between church communities of Constantinople and Rome, as well as to the exceptional cooperation between the emperor of the Eastern Roman Empire, Marcian, and the Bishop of Rome, Pope Leo the Great. Consequently, the cooperation between the imperial government with trustworthy Christian thinkers, in the time of the Council of Chalcedon, led to a complete preservation of Orthodox Christian doctrine about the God-man as the true God Who is the eternal divine Logos and who has two natures, divine and human.



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Byzantine Policy Concerning the Government of Christendom by Patriarchal Sees: “Tetrarchy” and Pentarchy

In some sources (Armenian, Ethiopian, Georgian) there is unexplored information that the organisational structure of universal Christendom in early Christianity, was expressed by a concept of the so-called “tetrarchy”. Even that Armenian writings claim many times that the institute of “tetrarchy” was brought forward by Greeks, interestingly, concerning it, as far as I know, nor in Greek, nor in Latin sources information is preserved. The concept of “tetrarchy” is referred to the most prominent apostolic sees of the universal Christian church and corresponds with the Evangelists - Matthew in Antioch, Mark in Alexandria, Luke in Rome and John in Ephesus. There is another version of “tetrarchy”, according to which it is as follows: Matthew - Jerusalem, Mark - Alexandria, Luke - Antioch and John - Ephesus. Besides, the theory of “tetrarchy” is closely connected with the symbolic number four or tetrad. Except four evangelists and four patriarchal sees, by which were governed Apostolic Catholic Church, four tetramorphs, four seasons of the year, four rivers of Eden, four sides of cross, four cardinal virtues, four parts of the world et cet. are used to present the concept of “tetrarchy”. These allusions were known in Armenia as well and in many Armenian sources one can find even more examples of the “meaningful number four” and its “symbolical meanings”.

As to the concept of pentarchy, it was arranged later on by Byzantine emperors as an important part of their policy. Apostolic see of Ephesus, as well the relics of St. John the Evangelist, were transferred to Constantinople; according to some Armenian sources it was Constantius, the son of Constantine the Great, who realised this transfer. More clearly the concept of pentarchy was formulated later on, by Justinian I (Novella 131). Pentarchical arrangement of churches, in some sense, helped to establish the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople as the successor of St. Andrew, the Apostle. Along with other disputable issues of confessional character such an establishment in Church affairs/ierarchy, which gave to Constantinople quite a power, became a very strong reason for schismatic tendencies, at least for East churches. The data concerning those disputes preserved in Armenian writings as well.

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Egeria’s Travels and Georgian Liturgical Practice

In this context, Egeria’s “Pilgrimage” depicting the Jerusalem liturgical practice in 380es, is the significant oldest source less known in Georgian academic circles. There is an opinion in academic literature about the existence of ancient Judaic-Christian flow as well as Jerusalem order of liturgy in Georgia in Early Christianity.



The pilgrimage of Egeria, a woman-pilgrim of the-4th-century, took place in late 4th century (381-384) and covers Mount Sinai, Jordan, Libya, Mesopotamia and Constantinople. It is an extremely important monument describing the history of development of early Christianity. Especially significant is the detailed description of Jerusalem-style liturgy (daily and Sunday liturgies, Epiphany, Easter cycle, Baptism/Theophany, etc.) by Egeria. The text of Egeria's travels is very important for the study of Christian seasonal calendar (e.g. number of Lent weeks, holidays of the Cross and Jerusalem church blessings, etc.), accordingly, for the study of liturgical texts generally.

The notes on the liturgy of early Christianity are rather scarce. The liturgical texts preserved in the Georgian language – Jerusalem Lectionary, Ancient Iadigari, Mravaltavi – are very important in the aspect of restoration of this practice.

Egeria's Travels is important for the study of Georgian worship practice as well inasmuch as the Jerusalem liturgical order was in practice in Georgia up to 10th century.

For the future, we think that translation, publication and circulation of this unique monument of Christian pilgrimage literature in Georgian will be a significant and useful endeavor.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
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BYZANTINE ARCHEOLOGY

Chairs: **Dominic Moreau, Mihailo Milinković**

Mihailo Milinković,

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anhand von archäologischen Angaben

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Anaïs Lamesa,

La nécropole rupestre de Daras (Turquie). De nouvelles perspectives de recherche



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Das Schicksal der Städte Nordillyricums im 6. und am Anfang des 7. Jh. anhand von archäologischen Angaben

Trotz immer noch ungenügenden flächendeckenden Ausgrabungen der Überreste von Sirmium, Singidunum, Viminatum oder Naissus können gewisse Einsichten in die archäologischen Horizonte des 6. und Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts gewonnen werden. Dem Forschungsstand nach sind im 6. Jh. die alten Römerstädte längst verfallen, und teilweise von völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nekropolen überdeckt. Von einer Urbanität kann kaum mehr die Rede sein, was an konkreten Beispielen vorgeführt wird.

Auch die wenigen soweit bekannten grossen neu gegründeten befestigten Komplexe wie Caričin Grad, Zlata (Südserbien) oder Jelica (Westserbien) sollten hinsichtlich ihrer Urbanität untersucht werden, ihre kurze Lebensdauer im Blickfeld behaltend. Obwohl es Orte mit zentralen Funktionen in ihren Regionen waren, ist es fraglich, ob sie und in welchem Maß mit den alten Städten verglichen werden können – im Sinne der Population, Wirtschaft, Bauwerke usw.

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Latest Discoveries in the Ancient City of Ulpiana

Ancient city of Ulpiana was discovered in 1920's and excavations commenced in 1953 which continued at intervals until the 21st century. The first and currently only archaeological excavation of Turkey in Europe began under my direction in 2012. During four years of excavations an early Christian baptistery and church was unearthed. Baptistery, an eight nighed structure with a cross shaped baptismal basin made of re-used bricks in its center, was discovered first. Its diameter was approximately 11 meters. Immediately outside of it, burials have been found. Soon afterwards, as it was the norm for early Christian cities, the main church was discovered in the north of baptistery. Its dimensions are approximately 20 x 40 meters. This church was built more than once. The earliest one was built in mid-4th century, soon after its collapse due to an earthquake a new church, slightly narrower in north and south, was built at the same spot. Traces of a synthronon were found at its single apse. The second church shared the same fate as the first one. Instead of building on the same spot, which was very badly damaged, a new church was constructed approximately 150 meters north in the first quarter of 6th century, near the Northern city gates.



Although there is neither archaeological nor epigraphical evidence indicating the dedication of the church, it would be safe to assume that it was dedicated to the most important people of the period, namely Saints Florus and Laurus who were martyred in Ulpiana.

Since the church was lavishly decorated with mosaics it could be taken as an indication of the importance of the church. Except for nave, mosaics have been discovered in the three aisled church on its aisles and narthex. Most of the mosaics contain geometrical patterns, except for two birds and kantharoi in southern aisle. More important is the discovery of the forms of crosses, both in the south and northern aisles. Dedicatory inscriptions in Latin were also discovered, totally 22 in number. Partly surviving inscription at the narthex entrance contain the title “comes”, most probably the commander of the nearby military camp, which was there to protect the mines.

Upon analyzing 144 coins found during excavations, C 14 tests for skeletons, style, epigraphical, material analysis of the mortar and mosaics, the First church was dated to mid-4th and the Second to the first quarter of 5th century.

Within four years, largest structure in the city of Ulpiana, namely the church of Saints Florus and Laurus, was discovered. Its importance is not only due to its sheer size but also its mosaics in Latin which was basically indicating the borderline of two dominant languages spoken in the late Roman Empire.

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Late Antiquity in the Province of Dardania: The Site of Golemo Gradište at Konjuh and Its Churches

The anonymous and heavily fortified city at Golemo Gradište, Konjuh, R. Macedonia, has been under investigation since 1998 by an American-Macedonian team sponsored by Gettysburg College in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, USA, and the Archaeological Museum in Skopje. In 1998 the site was still known primarily for the unique Rotunda church, excavated by local villagers in 1919 and published by S. Radojčić in 1952, although Ivan Mikulčić and Viktor Lilčić had carried out surveys, and in 1995 salvage excavations had taken place nearby. The organization and chronology of the site have been clarified, although the location of the hypothetical Roman settlement remains unknown. One focus of investigation has been the variety of residential ground plans; a second focus has been ecclesiastical architecture. The investigation of other Late Antique sites in the region and the discovery of previously unknown ones provide information about the spatial distribution of sites around Golemo Gradište and allow new hypotheses concerning their economic and strategic purposes.

Although a settlement was established on the northern terrace during the 5th century, the fortress on the acropolis, the fortification walls surrounding the entire site, and the re-built town on the terrace appear to date from the second quarter of the 6th century and thus to belong to the Justinianic (re-)fortification of the empire. A destruction of some buildings on the terrace in



the second half of the 6th century led to the abandonment of the lower town and the flight of the inhabitants to the acropolis, where a major destruction, tentatively dated to the early 7th century, marked the end of urban life at the site.

In addition to the Rotunda, three additional churches of the 5th-6th centuries have come to light. Two are small extramural churches with associated burials. A small basilica, with a large vaulted tomb occupying the west end of its south aisle, was excavated during the salvage excavations in 1995; it stood ca. 300 m northwest of the city in a cemetery area used since the Roman period. A one-aisle church, partly investigated in 2014, lay just outside the southwest edge of the city near an ancient and modern road; burials were found south and east of the church. A large three-aisle basilica, centrally located in the lower town on the northern terrace, appears to have been the episcopal basilica of the city. An elegant baptistery was discovered on the south side of the basilica in 2013; its excavation was completed in 2015. The sculptural decoration of the basilica connects it closely with the Rotunda and suggests that both churches were built around the middle of the 6th century.

This date for construction of the episcopal basilica, perhaps a generation after the fortification and re-building of the city, has been confirmed by the discovery that the basilica replaced a large and solidly built structure, apparently of a secular nature, in the center of the lower town. But the basilica did not stand for more than two or three decades at most. Like the nearby Northern Residence, it was damaged after 560 or 565; a more precise terminus post quem may be determined by future investigations. Although the basilica ceased to function after a fire, it was not destroyed; the stages of its pillaging, occupation by squatters, and gradual collapse have been documented.

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Episcopal Basilica of Dion, Greece.

The Triconch Building and the Location of the Bishop's Residence

Dion, one of the most historic places of Macedonia, was the main urban center in the region of Pieria during Late Antiquity. The Episcopal Basilica is among the most important monuments of the city and occupies a central position in the town plan. Even though it has been excavated during three periods, in the 1920s, 1960s, and 1980s-90s, it remains a little-known monument while many of its features are still unspecified.

In its lifetime, the Episcopal Basilica of Dion underwent two major building phases that correspond to two successive churches, conventionally called Basilica A and B. Basilica A was a three-aisled timber roofed basilica that dates, most probably, to the early 5th century A.D. After a period of operation, whose time limits cannot be easily determined, Basilica B replaced Basilica A. In fact, Basilica A was covered with a 1.70m to 2.20m artificial fill and onto its masonries, which were preserved to a single height, the walls of the new church were erected. Basilica B does not deviate from the contour of its predecessor, except for the east side that was extended by 5m, forming a new



apse. Basilica B also includes a large atrium to the west, surrounded on three sides by porticos with annexes, and a trilateral baptistery later added on the west side of the atrium. Moreover, a triconch building has been excavated to the south of the church.

The triconch is situated only a few metres away from the basilica's south wall. Namely, its west side is an extension of the east wall of the narthex's southern annex. It has the same orientation as the atrium to which is contemporary. The ground plan consists of a central square space measuring 6.50×6.50m expanded on the north, south and east side by semi-circular conches. Two openings on the west wall provide access to the interior. On the north side, two or perhaps more auxiliary rooms were attached. These rooms communicated with the triconch through a narrow opening on the north conch.

It is well known that the triconch was an architectural form which spread widely during Late Antiquity, and due to its impressive spatial effect was used for a variety of buildings that bear special importance, both in secular (banquet halls) and religious architecture (mausoleums and memoriae of martyrs, baptisteries, even basilica sanctuaries). Nevertheless, only a few triconch buildings have been excavated in the region of Illyricum. Therefore, the example of Dion comes to enrich a limited corpus of similar buildings, a fact that highlights its importance.

The main question concerning the triconch of Dion is the determination of its function. Although there has been a proposal about its identification as a martyrium, there are several indications that drive us to a new interpretation. According to its position, articulation, and relation to the surrounding buildings, as well as due to the absence of finds typical of a cult building, we consider quite likely that the triconch was a triclinium. If this is the case, it could only belong to the bishop's residence, the rest of which must be situated in the unexcavated area to the south of the atrium. The above hypothesis gives a new turn to the issue of the overall shape and organization of the episcopal complex of Dion and will hopefully contribute to the discussion about the identification of the episcopal residences in Greece.

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La forteresse romaine tardive de Zaldapa (Dobroudja du Sud) et la crypte de sa basilique paléochrétienne « No 3 »

Le site actuellement identifié comme Zaldapa est la plus grande ville romano-byzantine fortifiée – 25 ha intra-muros – de l'arrière-pays des provinces de Scythie (Dobroudja) et de Mésie seconde (Bulgarie du Nord-Est). Compte tenu de la taille de Zaldapa, il est curieux qu'elle ne soit mentionnée que dans si peu de sources écrites, qui sont toutes des 5e-7e siècle.

De plus, le site a été peu exploré jusqu'à tout récemment (partiellement entre 1897 et 1910, peut-être aussi entre les deux guerres mondiales et sur un petit secteur en 1951). Depuis 2014, une équipe bulgare – dirigée par Georgi Atanasov et Valeri Yotov, avec la collaboration de Yoto Valeriev Yotov – a décidé de reprendre le travail sur le terrain et il a découvert une basilique inconnue



jusqu'alors, plus grande que les deux précédents et qui a été qualifiée de « No 3 ». À la suite de cette découverte importante, l'équipe bulgare a invité trois chercheurs français et canadiens – Dominic Moreau, Nicolas Beaudry et Pascale Chevalier – à venir leur rendre visite sur le site en 2015, afin de mettre en place d'une mission internationale.

Au cours de ce même été 2015, des fouilles dans le chœur de la basilique « No 3 » ont permis le dégagement d'une crypte. Cette dernière constitue un grand espace voûté rectangulaire orienté nord-sud, qui fait 3,80 m de long x 2,50 m de large x 2,40 m de haute. L'entrée est située sur sa partie sud et un escalier composé de sept marches mène à la crypte, qui a été trouvée remplie de terre et d'un grand nombre d'éléments architecturaux de marbre.

Cette situation a incité les découvreurs de proposer une hypothèse selon laquelle les chrétiens ont rempli l'espace ouvert avec de la terre et des pièces marbre afin d'éviter une profanation de la crypte. Cela a dû se produire entre la destruction de l'église au début du 7^e siècle et l'abandon définitif de la ville quelques années après. Ainsi, ils auraient fait une sorte de sanctuaire pour le mobilier sacré, principalement pour l'autel.

Après une rapide introduction sur le site trop peu connu de Zaldapa, cette communication présentera la très importante crypte paléochrétienne découverte par l'équipe bulgare ainsi que leurs hypothèses sur son état de conservation, avant de glisser quelques mots sur les futurs projets avec les collègues français et canadiens.

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Researching the Rural Historical Landscape of Byzantine Amorium

The city of Amorium located in the highlands of Phrygia in Asia Minor challenges the usual streamline narrative about the evolution of byzantine cities. Although it was an important Early Byzantine settlement, it flourished and became one of the most important cities of Asia Minor after the 7th c. AD and until its final abandonment in late 11th c. AD. Amorium, as the capital city of the newly founded *thema* of Anatolikon, became a crucial base for the military administration and the local authorities in central Anatolia.

Amorium has been the subject of systematic excavation for more than two decades, and many of its monuments have been uncovered. The main effort so far had been to understand the form and function of a medieval Byzantine provincial city. Very little notice has been given to the landscape and the immediate surroundings of the city of Amorium until now. Since 2013 a new side-project is being conducted focused on analyzing the historical landscape of Amorium with the use of excavation data, survey information, satellite and aerial imagery in a consolidated digital environment. In this paper we will present newly acquired and processed data on the Byzantine city of Amorium and its surroundings in order to discuss the close and often overlapping relationship between the city inside the walls and the countryside outside.



Further on we will be attempting to better understand the form and function of the rural space around the city of Amorium and the possible identifiers of agrarian organization during the Byzantine period. The main tool will be historical landscape characterization, landscape archaeology and analysis of satellite imagery data. The combination of the above can provide a possible model of better understanding the evolution of Roman centuriation in medieval Asia Minor and the organization of Byzantine rural landscape.

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Carian Iasos in Byzantine Age

Placed inside one of the deep inlets indenting the Carian Coast, Iasos had two ports and based his ancient economy on olive oil and wine production, fishing and the manufacturing of columns made of local marble.

Since the 4th century B.C. the city had a defensive wall circuit enclosing the peninsula and part of the mainland; this course was modified in the late antiquity with the inclusion of the north quarters.

The ancient city experienced an initial moment of crisis with the agora's porticoes fall in the 3rd century: later, some habitations were built into north stoa, respecting the original alignments and conserving the pavement of the portico.

In the 5th century, a new city begins to grow: the Christian polis; his first center seems an extra-mural basilica with necropolis placed near the eastern port.

At the time this area seemed very vital: near the basilica the quadriporticus of a mausoleum of the 2nd century A.D. was transformed into a sawmill using the water of nearby aqueduct. Here were found many marble blocks, showing saw traces, abandoned over thick emery layers. The crosses scratched on the blocks attested that the people who worked here were Christians. Since the attestations of Iasian sawn marble began in the 6th century, it seems that tomb's transformation take place at that time. The water powered stone saw used aqueduct water, so it is possible that both quarries and workshop were fiscal property. Besides, a sledge road between the quarry of Karaoğlan Deresi and the below port was found; in some parts it splits up into two tracks with different levels, in order to facilitate the passages of men, animals and handcarts.

Between the end of the 5th century and the Justinian's era two basilicas were built with reused materials in areas subject to transformation: one on the acropolis, one in the former agora. This last was transformed into a residential and productive area with furnaces; even if the porticoes were fallen, his monumental entrance, the dipylon, was still in use.

The area of the temple stoas near the agora was subject to systematic spoliation during Byzantine period; the marble columns were smashed with sledgehammers and wedges to obtain new building material or lime.

After the 7th century the coin circulation stopped and resumed in 9-10th centuries.



Between 8th-11th centuries the acropolis and agora basilica were rebuilt in smaller shapes; around them two necropolis began to spread.

In the 11th century the fortification system was renewed with the construction of the isthmus castle between the two ports; the castle had a ditch toward the former agora, now residential and productive area. After the construction of the castle the outer space was kept unbuilt.

It seems that in the same period it was built the tower that closed the east jetty of the west harbor.

In the late Byzantine period, near the east harbor was built the so-called “Lascarid church”.

The fortification of the city continued in the 14th century with the building of the acropolis castle. The citadel, that included reused materials, had towers with various sections and without access from inside the castle, but only from the upper walkways. Some of the towers were provided with fireplaces.

In Iasos the Byzantine times seem to conclude with the excavation of mass graves for the inhumation of many individuals, maybe died in a plague; it cannot be a case that these were found around the Lascarid church, outside the city and near a port, from where usually this kind of diseases came.

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Reconstructing the Cycladic Settled Landscape in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages (4th – Mid-9th C.): The Islands of Paros and Naxos

The Cyclades island group in the Aegean Archipelago has often been a protagonist in academic debates on issues of insular and landscape archaeology.

The aim of this paper is to offer a fresh approach to the history and archaeology of the Cyclades in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Early Middle Ages under the light of current archaeological investigations, setting a new framework for the discussion and examination of the material culture dated between the 4th and the middle-9th centuries. It is an attempt to identify and interpret human interaction with the landscape in order to “read” the relationship between islands, settlements, cultural groups, landscapes and seascapes. The period in question is usually characterized by the progressive transformation of the ancient world from the 4th to the 6th c., and subsequently throughout the 7th to 9th c., marked by the Byzantine-Arabic struggle for control over the Aegean. The methodology established deals with archaeological evidence, literary sources, and observations of the sites and micro-landscapes as a whole, by offering a critical and complete analysis of the data available. The geographical parameter is used as the main interpretive tool whilst the assessment of micro-geographical characteristics of settlement territories permits a better understanding of their economic potential.

The diversity of the islands makes clear that these geographical entities can be approached as different case studies, and can subsequently be integrated in wider contexts. Viewing islands as distinct units does not preclude from identifying them as nodes of broader networks. In order to illustrate this diversity, Paros and Naxos, two neighbouring islands of different size within a complex



Aegean world, will be used as case-studies. Both islands constituted two of the most dynamic spaces in the Aegean Archipelagos with enduring cultural activity fully integrated in military and commercial maritime routes. The history of these insular communities was strongly affected by their prominent strategic position, their geography and their resources. Nevertheless, Paros and Naxos differ significantly regarding the specific features of their landscapes. Thus, a new tantalizing question needs to be answered: whether the local diversities of the Parian and Naxian landscapes have determined the historical evolution of the settlement pattern as well as the ways in which these two adjacent insular spaces were integrated and interacted with broader worlds in specific conditions and periods of time.

The rich mountainous hinterland of Naxos with a wide range of geological formations in connection with the fertile land and the climate conditions have diachronically influenced the residents' occupations forming a settlement pattern mainly oriented towards the islands' interior. On the contrary, the lacework shoreline of Paros with the extensive coastal fertile plains and the numerous safe anchorages in conjunction with the barren and mountainous hinterland created a mainly sea-oriented settlement network extending along the coastal zone of the island. Especially, during the course of Late Antiquity and the turbulent Byzantine Early Middle Ages, it will be a challenging task to trace how these two neighbouring insular communities reacted under the same general circumstances pertaining in the Aegean and to what extent the landscape played a role in this process.

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La nécropole rupestre de Daras (Turquie). De nouvelles perspectives de recherche

Le site de Daras se situe dans le sud-est de la Turquie, à environ 30 km de la ville de Mardin. L'histoire de la localité est bien documentée : le village a été fortifié sous le règne d'Anastase I^{er} en 505 ap. J.-C. puis reconstruit une vingtaine d'années plus tard par l'empereur Justinien.

La préservation du site doté d'une fortification, de citernes et d'une église construite est remarquable. L'ensemble a fait l'objet de fouilles menées sous la direction du Pr. M. Ahunbay dans les années 1990 et de N. Erdoğan, directeur du musée archéologique de Mardin dans les années 2000.

En outre, le site est doté de carrières dont les plus impressionnantes s'étendent sur une dizaine de kilomètres à l'ouest de la bourgade fortifiée. Certaines abritent des nécropoles rupestres dont une partie a été fouillée. L'étude de ces nécropoles et des carrières environnantes n'ont pas fait l'objet de recherches spécifiques. Certains tombeaux, aux façades décorés, ont été étudiés par M. Mundel dans les années 1980 et les inscriptions grecques et syriaques sont en cours de publication par A. Palmer.

Le but de cette présentation est de présenter les premiers résultats des prospections menées en août 2015 et en août 2016 dans ces nécropoles et de proposer des hypothèses de travail qui permettront de développer de futures réflexions autour de l'économie de la pierre mise en place sur ce site.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

STUDIES IN BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY – PART 1: ICONOGRAPHY OF SAINTS

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Unusual Iconography of the Holy Five of Sebasteia in the Wall Paintings of Archangel Michael Cathedral of Moscow Kremlin. Towards the Problem of Warrior Saints in the Byzantine Tradition



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L'image de Judas : évolution et immuabilité

Judas l'Iscaïote était selon le synoptique membre du groupe original de disciples encadrant Jésus dès le début de son prêche. Nous ne connaissons de lui que des faits de sa vie adulte et notamment son rôle décisif dans l'histoire de la Passion. C'est en tant que félon que l'iconographie byzantine et post-byzantine s'intéresse surtout à lui. Il apparaît essentiellement dans des scènes liées au cycle de la Passion, mais aussi dans certaines représentations concernant la Communion des Apôtres et le Jugement dernier. Son Contrat avec les juifs, son Repentir et son Suicide sont les seuls épisodes de sa vie privée qui trouvent occasionnellement issue dans l'art.

Dans le cadre de cette communication il serait intéressant d'examiner les mutations de son iconographie en fonction des lieux et des époques. Quelle est l'évolution de ses images? Cette évolution se fait-elle de manière homogène dans la sphère d'influence artistique byzantine et post-byzantine? Une approche de son iconographie en tant que série d'images immuables et figées quels que soient les lieux et les dates méconnaîtrait un certain nombre de ses représentations qui dévient de la neutralité des schémas traditionnels pour offrir des créations singulières. Cependant c'est surtout la peinture tardo-byzantine et post-byzantine précoce (XV^e siècle) des régions centrales des Balkans et de la Grèce du Nord ainsi que celle des artistes de «l'école» de la Grèce du Nord-Ouest au XVI^e siècle et de leurs successeurs dans les siècles suivants qui font preuve d'un intérêt accru pour sa figure ainsi que pour les procédés de sa stigmatisation.

Nous allons chercher les représentations concernées par cette optique et les différentes solutions iconographiques par lesquelles s'exprime cette attention particulière portée sur le personnage de l'Iscaïote. Dans une dernière étape il serait aussi légitime de supputer les différents facteurs, théologiques, liturgiques ou stylistiques qui conditionnent éventuellement ces choix iconographiques.

La conclusion pourrait être que la question de l'évolution de l'iconographie de l'Iscaïote se révèle plus complexe, et tout comme un organisme vivant, échappe à son inscription dans un développement strictement linéaire voire sclérosé dans le temps et dans l'espace.



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Visual Representations of Patriarch Ignatios of Constantinople

This paper analyzes visual representations of patriarch Ignatios of Constantinople (847-858, and 867-877) in a variety of media (monumental art, miniatures, applied arts) from the 9th-13th century. The iconographic representation of patriarch Ignatios varies, and the key difference is in the depiction of his face with, or without, a beard. Given the well-known fact that Ignatius was castrated at the age of 14, we consider the lack of consistency in representations showing him beardless or with a full beard. In some historical scenes where he is accompanied by other individuals, he is shown bearded; whereas, at other times, he is clean-shaven. Considering these, and other factors, the authors draw upon primary sources that record contemporary attitudes toward Ignatios's status as a eunuch.

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The Archangel Gabriel: Patron Saint of the Macedonian Dynasty?

The Archangel Gabriel is a significant figure in Christianity. He acts as God's messenger and thus he is well-known for his role in the Annunciation. Nevertheless, Gabriel never became as popular as his companion the Archangel Michael. The Byzantines regarded the latter as a soldier and a protector to whom they dedicated many shrines, both in and outside Constantinople. During the reign of Basil I, however, the Archangel Gabriel seems to have played a more prominent role, at least within the imperial sphere. For instance, the lavish manuscript Parisinus Graecus 510 includes a portrait of the first Macedonian emperor being crowned by Gabriel. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the church built by Basil within the imperial palace, the Nea Ekklesia, was also dedicated, among others, to Gabriel. It has been suggested that Basil's odd devotion to Gabriel was related to the fact that he had ordered the killing of the previous emperor and namesake of the archangel, Michael III. Thus, a close association with the Archangel Michael would have acted as an embarrassing reminder of how Basil had ascended the throne. It has also been argued that the special devotion to the Archangel Gabriel was discontinued by Basil's successor, Leo VI. Yet, some evidence suggests that Leo indeed carried on the imperial association with the Archangel Gabriel. In this paper I will discuss two pieces of material evidence -an ivory and a mosaic- which show that the Archangel Gabriel continued to play an important role in the imperial propaganda of Leo's court. This continuation can be seen as an indication that Gabriel became a sort of patron saint of



the Macedonian dynasty. Nonetheless, the analysis of the two imperial commissions together with the reading of Leo's own writings demonstrate that there was a shift in the way in which the image of the archangel was used, suggesting that Leo's devotion to Gabriel was in fact the result of his personal religious preferences.

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Identification of Individual Images of Saints in the 11th Century Wall Paintings of St Sophia in Kiev

In this paper I would like to present a research began a few years ago together with Nadezhda Gerasimenko and the late Vladimir Sarabyanov. The aim of our research is the identification of the images of saints in the wall paintings of St Sophia in Kiev. The results of our systematic analysis of all surviving images and fragments (more than 800) will be presented in a catalogue still in preparation. In this communication I would like to share the main principles of our work.

The best clue for the attribution of an image is the reading of an accompanying inscription, whenever any fragment or trace of it survives. Unfortunately, such cases are very few, due to the poor condition of many frescoes heavily washed during the mid-19th century restoration. Also the reading of mediaeval graffiti proves to be helpful. In many cases the saint's name is reproduced in its Greek form, sometimes even imitating the vertical order of letters of the accompanying inscription now lost. Yet our main tool is the iconographic analysis and comparison to other images of saints in the art of the Middle Byzantine period.

We consider it important to try to understand the general principles that guided the painters of St Sophia in the choice of individual saints. Distributing the images of saints according to their rank was already a common practice in Byzantine church decoration by the 11th century. Thus prophets and apostles were usually placed in the dome, saintly bishops in the altar, the martyrs in the middle, the holy monks and holy women in the western part of the church. Very often the saints were further divided into smaller groups according to their profession or the commemoration day. The patron saints of the donors or some local saints were often given a prominent position. As our research showed, the painters of St Sophia followed these general rules. Therefore an attribution of a single image may sometimes help to identify the whole group, especially when some popular groups of two, three, four or five saints are concerned.

The building of St Sophia is very large and complex. There are numerous cross-shaped piers providing narrow vertical surfaces unsuitable for painting any other subject except for individual figures in several tiers. The central five-nave core is enveloped by inner and outer ambulatory and spacious galleries in the upper storey. The painters had to fill all these numerous compartments. These were probably perceived as separate spaces, as soon as images of some saints and groups of saints are repeated several times in different parts of the cathedral. In some compartments a



special meaning in the choice of saints may be detected making a sort of mini-program. The whole meaning of the iconographic program of St Sophia is thus built as a sum of these several blocks.

The unprecedented multitude of the images of saints is a very important peculiarity of St Sophia's appearance. One reason behind it was the great size and particular structure of the building. Yet the other more important reason was ideological: the newly baptized Rus had just become member of the Universal Church, and it is the multitude of saints that represented this idea in the best way. We hope that our attempts at the attribution of the images of saints will contribute to the correct understanding of the complex meaning of the iconographic program of this huge 11th century ensemble.

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From Martyrs to Anargyroi. Saints Photios and Aniketos in the Eastern Orthodox Medieval Painting

Hermeneia of Dionysius of Fournia, composed around 1730 on Mount Athos, gives advice on how to paint saint anargyroi and includes Photios and Aniketos. The researches on the representations of holy healers pointed out that these two saints were seldom depicted. The Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople notes that the commemoration on the martyrdom of the holy martyrs Photios and Aniketos was held on 12th August and describes their sufferings and death in Nikomedia during the reign of Diocletian.

They were usually represented as martyrs and placed among them. They rarely appeared together with holy doctors, represented as anargyroi at the time. Preserved examples can be found on Mount Athos – in the catholicon of the Pantocrator Monastery (between 1363 and 1380) and in the chapel of Holy Anargyroi in Vatopedi (before 1371). The frescoes in both monuments were repainted in the 19th century. However, cleaned fresco parts show that younger painters followed the patterns of original paintings.

In order to attempt to answer the questions as to why the two saints were commonly depicted as martyrs and why they were sometimes painted as anargyroi although there was no mention of miraculous healings in the Synaxarion of the Church of Constantinople, the scriptures dedicated to them are analysed. These writings do not contain any data on their lives. On the other hand, tortures that they suffered were described in detail. Therefore, there is no indication that they healed people or were doctors during their lifetime.

Nevertheless, it can be concluded that their miraculous relics with healing powers were the reason why they appeared together with saint anargyroi later on and received all their characteristics, as preserved paintings from the second half of the 14th century on Mount Athos suggest. It can be assumed that the two Nicomedian saints were gradually introduced amongst holy healers by that time, and, as the advice of Hermeneia of Dionysius of Fournia testifies, that this custom became a common practice in fresco painting.



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L'iconographie des saints locaux de Chypre (X^e – XV^e siècles)

Cet exposé traite de principaux résultats de notre thèse de doctorat relative à l'iconographie des saints chypriotes. Il s'agit d'une recherche menée à la lumière de leurs représentations dans la peinture monumentale de Chypre, pendant la période de l'administration byzantine (965-1191) et également à l'époque des Lusignan (1192-1489).

Ainsi, quarante-sept saints locaux, dont les effigies nous sont parvenues, sont répertoriés. Leur insertion dans le programme iconographique des églises enrichit le sanctoral et en une échelle telle jamais rencontrée ailleurs qu'à Chypre. Parmi les saints représentés, les évêques occupent une place de choix et constituent la majorité du corpus établi, avec vingt-quatre occurrences. On énumère ensuite treize moines-ascètes, une sainte femme, un martyr et deux saints militaires. Enfin, la catégorie des diacres et celle d'un groupe des saints considérés comme chypriotes comprennent respectivement trois saints.

La période de l'administration byzantine, et tout particulièrement le XII^e siècle, est une époque pendant laquelle la représentation des saints locaux abonde d'exemples, dont, notamment de nombreux évêques chypriotes qui investissent le sanctuaire des *katholika*, en adéquation avec le *synodikon* de l'Église de Chypre. Il s'agissait de toute évidence de la matérialisation visuelle des registres du *synodikon* dont la rédaction définitive date de dernières décennies du XII^e siècle.

Les deux fondateurs de l'Église de Chypre, Barnabé et Épiphanie, constituent les saints personnages clefs de l'iconographie du sanctuaire. Toutefois, le choix et l'emplacement des portraits des évêques chypriotes dans l'espace ecclésial varie en fonction de leur culte dans les diverses régions de l'île et obéit à de nombreux paramètres, tel que par exemple leurs sièges épiscopaux respectifs et leur vénérable popularité.

Le programme iconographique du sanctuaire des églises de Chypre souligne l'ancienneté, l'apostolicité et l'autocéphalie de l'Église de Chypre grâce à la représentation des prélats locaux les plus illustres, qui contribuèrent durant les siècles à l'histoire non seulement de l'Église de Chypre mais également de l'orthodoxie. Il s'agissait vraisemblablement d'une sorte de propagande de la part de l'Église locale afin de souligner son rôle historique pérenne. D'autre part, la présence de saints locaux, en l'occurrence celle des évêques au XII^e siècle, ne peut être dissociée des faits historiques mettant en cause l'ancienneté et l'apostolicité de l'Église de Chypre. Enfin, l'iconographie de nombreux saints locaux n'est pas étrangère aux soubresauts régionalistes, culminant avec l'usurpation d'Isaac Comnène (1184-1191), autoproclamé empereur de Chypre, dont le royaume devint « un empire chypriote » !

Pendant la période des Lusignan, l'iconographie est révélatrice de la résistance passive ou sciemment discrète des Chypriotes envers les conquérants latins. L'iconographie a alors pour but d'éclairer et de mettre au jour la riche histoire de l'Église orthodoxe locale, ainsi que sa tradition



apostolique et son autocéphalie, avant la promulgation de la bulle pontificale en 1260. À cette époque, et surtout au XIV^e siècle, est également promue l'unité des deux Églises qui imprègne durablement l'iconographie. Bien que les Latins investissent l'iconographie de leurs cathédrales de portraits des saints locaux illustres et célèbres, les Chypriotes en revanche restent fidèles au culte de leurs saints orthodoxes byzantins et résistent fermement à toute vénération de saints latins : les données iconographiques de notre enquête en témoignent remarquablement !

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A Shepherd's Crook and a Stone Cut Out without Hands: The Changing Character of Attributes in the Iconography of Byzantine Saints

An attribute – an object associated by a textual source with a person with the aim of identifying and defining the depicted person – has been known in art since ancient Egyptian and Greek art. As observed by André Grabar, in Imperial Rome, it became an important element in official portraiture that determined the public status of the models. Early Christian Fathers were fully aware of its function and meaning. In his *Exhortation to the Greeks* (IV 56), Clement of Alexandria noticed: if one were to go round inspecting the paintings and statues, he would immediately recognize your gods from their undignified figures; Dionysus from his dress, Hephaestus from his handicraft, Demeter from her woe, Ino from her veil, Poseidon from his trident, Zeus from his swan. The pyre indicates Heracles, and if one sees a woman represented naked, he understands it is “golden” Aphrodite. Christian art created its own repository of symbols and signs that allowed beholders to identify a crowded pantheon of new heroes – prophets and saints. While some of the pictorial patterns (such as round and square halos, or St. Theodore's dragon, which replaced Athena's Erichthonius) were borrowed from pagan antiquity, their literary sources were generally Christian: the Bible, apocrypha and hagiographic legends. Between the fourth and sixth centuries, the structure of the new iconography became well established. Easy to understand, the system was widely accepted, as evidenced by the words of the sixth-century homily *On the Cross and Transfiguration* by Timothy of Jerusalem: How is it known who Moses is, and who Elias? Thanks to the signs (τεκμηρία). Elias is taking off on the chariot and Moses holds the Tablets of the Law. (PG 86, 261C, BHG 434h, CPG 7406).

Following Iconoclasm, a significant change in the use of attributes in Byzantine art occurred. Objects held by saints were shown repeatedly and they identified them as belonging to a specific category (holy physicians, martyrs, iconophoroi – defenders of images, warriors, etc.) rather than revealing their individual identity. In some cases, symbols related to a specific event or saint (e.g. the Gospel codex in the hands of John Calybite, BHG 868–69) are vague and are not helpful in identifying depicted figures. This function was amply fulfilled by the inscription with the name, which at that time became almost mandatory. However, it would be a simplification to state that the descriptive function of attributes was abandoned in seeking to avoid redundancy and repetition in formulating visual messages. It should be interpreted conversely: Canon 82 of the Council in Trullo and the fact that religious symbols had



replaced figurative art during Iconoclasm gave rise to an aversion to symbols in visual arts. On the other hand, inscriptions with names were unambiguous and they did not leave room for interpretations.

This is not to say that Byzantine artists abandoned attributes as a visual method of clarifying the subject. In some cases, e.g. depictions of personifications, they were not only used as traditional iconographic elements but also as the only acceptable means to identify a figure. Over time, objects held in hands by saints and prophets became more significant. The process was especially intensified in the Palaiologian period, probably under the influence of Western, Late Gothic art. Along with the reinvention of traditional attributes (e.g. St. Peter's keys related to Mt 16:18–19), new ones appeared which were sometimes derived from very old hagiographic sources (e.g. St. Mercurius with a bow and three arrows, according to P'awstos Buzand, *History of the Armenians*, IV 10).

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L'enseignement des Pères de l'Église

En analysant les sources textuelles, cette étude propose que les termes source, fleuve et canal pourraient devenir le lieu commun pour désigner: la Parole de Dieu et de Christ, l'Évangile et les enseignements des pères et des archiprêtres de l'Église. Du plus, les comparaisons qui lient les notions du texte et du discours avec l'eau ont été utilisées quelquefois pour présenter la compréhensibilité de la parole. Ce groupe des métaphores est formé en prenant comme le point de départ les textes bibliques (Genèse 2, 10-14; 2Moïse 17, 1-17; Jean 7, 37-38) ou les questions sur la particularité littéraire. La littérature serbe médiévale connaît aussi l'image de la source et fleuve pour la parole de Dieu. Danilo II l'utilise dans la prière enfin que son écriture soit confirmé dans la parole du Christ. Quant à la poésie liturgique, la comparaison est faite pour les archiprêtres de l'Église serbe Sava et Arsenije par Teodosije et Danilo II.

La formation du thème qui est nommé dans l'historiographie Source de la Sagesse des Pères de l'Église pourrait être sous l'influence de ce lieu commun de la littérature. Dans la peinture serbe médiévale ce thème est présenté dans les pendentifs des dômes secondaires en narthex, dans les églises des monastères Lesново (1349) et Psača (1365-1371); dans les conques de naos à Poganovo (1499), dans une miniature du Psautier serbe du Munich comme illustration de Psaume 49, 1-3 (14e siècle). Les inscriptions préservées déterminent le thème comme: l'enseignement de saint Jean Chrysostome, de saint Athanase le Grand, de saint Basil le Grand, de saint Grégoire le Théologien; les sources de la sagesse de saint Jean Chrysostome et Grégoire le Théologien. Deux autres inscriptions dans la peinture du cercle byzantin le définissent comme: Chrysostome écrit l'épître (le précepte) de Paul pour les moines et saint, saint Grégoire écrit l'épître (le précepte) d'apôtre Jean pour les moines dans le monastère d'Euphrosyne à Polotsk (1161); En buvant la sagesse de saint Jean Chrysostome et de saint Grégoire le Théologien dans l'église de saint Nicolas, dans village Mrzen Orevec (1584). D'une part, en poursuivant les inscriptions et les exemples préservés on pourrait supposer que



L'origine du thème a été liée au culte de saint Jean Chrysostome. Si on prenait en considération la thèse, acceptée en science, que l'iconographie a été développée du thème La vision de Procle, le motif de la transformation du texte à l'eau, initialement pourrait être inspiré par la comparaison de l'œuvre d'apôtre Paul avec fleuves dans l'exégèse de Chrysostome. Cependant les images des fleuves, de la source intarissable et de l'inondation de la terre entière ont été attribuées à Chrysostome et à Grégoire le Théologien. Au 11^e siècle, d'après la vision de Jean Mauropous la fête Trois Hiérarques a été instaurée et il a écrit le canon et l'éloge dans lesquels il soulignait l'égalité entre eux. Par conséquent, il est possible que l'iconographie premièrement formée pour Chrysostome devienne l'archétype pour les autres pères. Au 14^e siècle, Philothée Kokkinos, patriarche de Constantinople, aussi bien que Jean Mauropous, a écrit l'éloge aux Hiérarques dans lequel il a appliqué la comparaison avec l'eau seulement à saint Chrysostome. Les exemples étudiés témoignent que l'influence du culte de la fête Trois Hiérarques sur la présence du thème Source de la Sagesse était restreinte bien que la présence du culte se mette en évidence en Serbie.

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Unusual Iconography of the Holy Five of Sebasteia in the Wall Paintings of Archangel Michael Cathedral of Moscow Kremlin. Towards the Problem of Warrior Saints in the Byzantine Tradition

Our paper deals with the subject raised firstly by Ch. Walter in his study of the warrior saints in Byzantine art and tradition. The question was: who actually are the warrior saints? Walter shows that the obvious answer, which is “those, who were warriors according to their Lives”, is wrong. Some warrior saints, among them St Demetrius, did not have anything to do with military service according to their Lives; they “became” warriors in iconography during their veneration.

The same happened in Russian post-Byzantine art to The Holy Five, mentioned by Walter as well. They have turned into warriors about the middle of the 16th century. The Holy Five were often depicted in the Byzantine art since 11th century, but in the Russian art of Byzantine time we can see very few of their depictions. However, they became more popular in the late 15th century. Since the middle of 16th century the Holy Five were particularly venerated in the tsar family, as on December, 13, 1546, on the day of their memory Makarius the Metropolitan of Moscow blessed young prince Ivan Vasilyevich (future Ivan the Terrible) to marry Anastasia Romanovna. In honor of this event, the tsar stablemen have founded a church of John the Baptist (patron saint of Ivan the 4th) with side altar of The Holy Five of Sebasteia.

We will concentrate on depiction of The Holy Five on the pillars of Archangel Michael cathedral. The existing wall paintings created in 1652–1666, reproduce the program and presumably iconography of decoration created in 1564/1565. Three of the martyrs, Auxentios, Eugenios and Eustratios are depicted as warriors with arms and armor, although they were not soldiers. Mardarios wears civil dress. Orestes, who was the only warrior among them, according to the Life, wears civil



dress too, but his figure is a late reconstruction. Such “militaristic” iconography is very ridiculous and rare, and we do not know any examples of it in the Russian art earlier than the second half of the 16th century. One can suppose that the existing wall painting repeats not only the program, but iconography of the saints as well. Moreover, in the original decoration, all the five martyrs could be firstly depicted as warriors. Wall paintings and icons of late 16th – 17th centuries with all the five in military dress, confirm this.

Our presumption looks more probable, taking into account lists of banners of Tsar Regiment, preserved in the 17th century documents. They have depictions of warrior saints, holy Byzantine Emperors and Russian princes on the horseback with arms and armors. The banners must repeat the earlier ones and among them figure ones with Auxentios, Mardarios and Orestes.

To sum up, we suppose that in the middle of the 16th century, the Holy Five Martyrs of Sebasteia appeared on the pillars of Archangel Michael cathedral as military saints. It was done on purpose and for the first time in the Russian art. We think that here one can see the same mechanism working as in the case of St Demetrius of Thessaloniki, but in the Russian post-Byzantine art of 16th century. The Holy Five are not the only accident, for example, the military iconography of St Tryphon appears in the Russian art at the same time.



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Drama and Pathos in Psellos's Chronographia

In recent discussions of Psellos's *Chronographia*, Lauritzen has proposed a schematic rigidity in its approach to the idea of character, while Kaldellis has traced a very different, highly consistent sub-text and subversive structure, but both find a marked stability in the work.

Papaioannou, on the other hand, has uncovered a wonderful metamorphic play and mobility in Psellos's writing, particularly in the Orations but also in the *Chronographia*. This paper springs from Papaioannou's analysis but looks in a preliminary way at one source of relative stability in the *Chronographia*: Psellos's use of drama and dramatic framing to control at once the flux of events and the labile play of empathy and viewpoint in his sensibility.

One main by-product of his dramatic method in the *Chronographia* is his use of pathos. Psellos is famous for seeing a mix of good and bad in human beings but in this work he so frames or stages moments in their lives as to reveal an almost unprecedented pathos, even dignity, in the notably unworthy or flawed. In this, as in so much, his writing bridges a distant past and distant future.

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Deux lettres de l'empereur Michel Ducas Parapinace, composé par Michel Psellus : la question du destinataire qui aime la paix

Ces deux lettres étaient publiées par C. Sathas. Il considérait que leur destinataire était Robert Guiscard (C. SATHAS, *Deux lettres inédites de l'empereur Michel Ducas Parapinace à Robert Guiscard, rédigées par Michel Psellus*, Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France 8 (1874) 193–221; Reéd. K. SATHAS, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, v. V. Venice-Paris, 1876, nr. 143, nr. 144, pp. 385–392). Après la publication V. Vasilievskij argumentait que les lettres étaient adressée au Prince de Kiev Vsevolod Jaroslavich (В. Г. ВАСИЛЬЕВСКИЙ *Два письма византийского императора Михаила VII Дуки к Всеволоду Ярославичу*, Журнал Министерства народного просвещения (1875) декабрь, 270–315).

En même temps l'opinion de A. Kazhdan pensant que V. Vasilievskij, qui identifiait le Prince de Kiev Vsevolod (m. 1093) comme le destinataire des Deux lettres «however was wrong» ne supporte pas la comparaison avec le texte des lettres. A. Kazhdan supposait que les lettres sont consacrées à la perspective des fiançailles du fils de l'empereur, attestée plus tard par la chrysobulle, composé aussi par Michel Psellus. Rg. : A. KAZHDAN, *Rus'-Byzantine Princely Marriages in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, in: Proceedings of the International Congress Commemorating the Millennium



of Christianity in Rus' – Ukraine [= Harvard Ukrainian Studies 12–13 (1988/1989), O.Pritsak, I. Ševčenko (ed.), Cambridge/Mass. 1990, 418–419: «V. Vasilievskij, who identified Vsevolod, Prince of Kiev (d. 1093) as the addressee of two letters, dispatched by Michael VII to an unnamed ruler concerning the betrothal of Michael's son Constantine however was wrong. The text of the document devoted to the betrothal of Constantine (Now in Michael Psellos Scripta minora, vol. 1, Milan, 1936) was published by Bezobrazov. It is explicitly addressed to Robert (Guiscard) and not to Prince Vsevolod, the emperor's son (not brother «frère», as he is called by F. Chalandon: F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande*. Vol.1. Paris 1922, p. 210) Constantine was engaged to «your daughter» (p.141. 15–16 Bezobrazov)».

Mais dans le texte des Deux lettres il s'agissait de «frère», comme le notait F. Chalandon ainsi que les autres chercheurs (K. SATHAS *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη*, nr.143, p. 386: καὶ μίαν τῶν σῶν θυγατέρων τῷ ἐμῷ ἀδελφῷ κὺρ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ πορφυρογεννήτῳ βασιλεῖ εἰς γάμου κοινωνίαν ἀρμόσασθαι); nr.144 p. 390-391; Deux lettres, p. 208). D'après P. Bezobrazov «В письмах Византийский император предлагает женить своего брата Константина на дочери того, кому пишет, в хрисовуле речь идет о его сыне Константине. Если бы указанные письма были действительно посланы Роберту Гвискару, они имели бы значение предварительных переговоров и в них, конечно же, говорилось о тех условиях, которые затем были включены в брачный договор. На самом деле этого нет»

Il est significatif que dans le texte de chrysobulle l'affirmation sur la communauté dans la vraie foi (ἡ ὁμοδοξία τῆς ἀληθοῦς πίστεως), sur le même rite et la même confession est absent.

Telle affirmation est très caractéristique pour les lettres.

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Changer au gré des circonstances : vice ou vertu de Psellos?

Changer son discours au gré des circonstances, c'est là le grief majeur fait à Michel Psellos aussi bien par ses contemporains que par les historiens. Cette capacité trouve sans doute son exemple le plus manifeste dans les deux discours qu'il compose avec pour sujet le patriarche Michel Cérulaire – l'Acte d'accusation du patriarche devant le synode et l'Eloge funèbre – puisqu'à l'instar des sophistes, et de son propre aveu, Psellos y tient sur un même sujet deux discours aux intentions contradictoires.

Notre communication a pour but d'exposer comment cet auteur parvient à concilier, dans ses écrits, cet usage discutable de son éloquence avec l'image de philosophe qu'il veut laisser de lui.

Michel Psellos, en réponse au jugement de ses contemporains, va en effet renverser cette accusation qui lui est faite en proposant une approche nouvelle de la parrhésia qui distingue nettement la valeur sociale et politique du terme – la parrhésia comme privilège accordé par l'empereur – de sa valeur morale – la parrhésia comme franc-parler. Dans la défense de sa conduite au regard de ces deux aspects, Psellos pose la question de la possibilité d'une parole personnelle



et franche quand le droit d'exercer sa parole dépend de la volonté d'un personnage plus puissant, d'un empereur ou d'un patriarche. La solution proposée par Psellos consiste dans l'introduction de la rhétorique dans la parrhésia : discours voilés, à double entente ou en apparence contradiction, changements de ton et de registre en fonction des circonstances sont autant d'instruments pour transmettre un message dont le temps fera paraître l'unité aux yeux de la postérité : le fait d'adapter son discours aux circonstances n'est plus le vice qui désigne le flatteur mais une « attitude spirituelle et philosophique », que Psellos revendique pour lui-même.

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A Patmos Scroll Containing Proclus. Notes on Editorial Skills and Proclus's Reading in the Age of Michael Psellus

The anonymous scribe of the Patmos scroll transcribed from the manuscripts provided with a rich apparatus of scholia a large piece of the commentary of Proclus on the *Timaeus* on paper sheets joined by kolleseis to form a long scroll (more than seven meters). The scroll belongs to the traditional line represented by Marc. gr. 195, the result of a transcript from an ancient manuscript (errors beta / my, according to the analysis Diehl). It appears as a transcription made in an environment accustomed to the practice of the documents: professors, scholars and readers of Proclus, who for the third book was widely used by Michael Psellos (e. g. in the treatise on the generation of the soul preserved within the corpus of his works, as noted already by Diehl), and that experienced a significant fortune in the XI and XII centuries. The finding opens new lines of research on the practices of reading / writing in Byzantium.

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The *Epitaphios Logos* as a Source for Its Author's Personal Philosophical Views, with Particular Reference to Michael Psellos and Gregory of Nazianzus

The present contribution looks at the genre of the *Epitaphios Logos*, especially as it appears in the works of Gregory of Nazianzus and Michael Psellos. The central idea of this paper is to show, that the *Epitaphios Logos* is not merely a pre-structured rhetorical literary exercise which follows special rules and forms, in describing a concrete person or persons, but could be a unique source for the personal philosophical ideas and opinions of its author. Thus the *Epitaphios Logos* can offer us unique insights into the philosophical and theological outlook of its author, which are often ignored and not taken into account in contemporary works and analysis when there is a



reconstruction of the thought of a given author. The Epitaphios Logos thus becomes a testimony of the personal opinions of its author rather than a mere description of someone else. This aspect is especially important in such authors as Gregory Nazianzus and Michael Psellos. While much has been said as to the philosophical and theological positions of these two authors, more insights can be gained from their funerary orations as to their personal views and philosophies. This enables us to reconstruct a more personal philosophical outlook in these authors. The present contribution looks at some of the philosophical opinions of authors such as Gregory Nazianzus and Michael Psellos as are indicated in their funerary orations. We conclude that from these orations we can gain new information regarding Psellos' and Nazianzus's ideas regarding what is the goal of philosophy and what it consists of, and how philosophy should be approached.

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Bilinguisme, Savoirs-connectés et transfert culturel à Byzance : le cas de Syméon Seth

La figure de Syméon Seth est celle d'un intellectuel encyclopédiste, comparable à celle de son contemporain Michel Psellos en ce qui concerne son attachement aux grandes familles constantinopolitaines. Seth se consacre à développer la science médicale plus que les autres branches du savoir, néanmoins, il ne se limite pas à pratiquer la médecine dans le milieu privé des empereurs puisqu'une bonne partie de sa vie il l'a dédiée à l'écriture de textes divers dans son couvent du mont Olympe, des 1038 et jusqu'à sa mort autour de 1081.

Or, au-delà des écrits médicaux qui ont été déjà traités pour l'historiographie, nous voulons nous concentrer aussi sur le bagage astrologique et alchimique que les sources littéraires lui ont attribué. De même que sur le goût de Seth pour la littérature arabe, élément de capitale importance au moment de comprendre les circuits de transmission du Savoir, juste avant les deux premières Croisades, conjoncture historique qui a entraîné une rivalité mais en même temps certains échanges culturels entre l'Orient et l'Occident.

Le but de cette communication est de mettre en lumière deux aspects étroitement liés. Dans un premier temps on examinera son rôle de traducteur. Quel est le public visé par Seth avec son ouvrage «Stephanites kai Ichnelates» et son traité de diététique ? Quelles sont les compétences requises pour cette démarche intellectuelle ? Seth représente un parcours typique dans le monde des lettrés de l'époque ?

Dans un deuxième temps, on peut se poser la question de son système de pensée.

D'après certains extraits on peut concevoir un séjour de Syméon Seth en Egypte. Est-ce que cela peut expliquer son intérêt pour l'astrologie et l'alchimie, ainsi que sa maîtrise de l'arabe ? Il ne faut pas oublier le passage du VI^e livre de l'Alexiade (éd. Leib, II, pp. 57-59) où Anne Comnène accuse Seth d'avoir prédit la mort de l'aventurier normand Robert Guiscard en 1085 :



« Un devin (μαθηματικός) nommé Seth, qui se vantait fort de ses connaissances astrologiques, avait prédit sous forme d'oracle la mort de Robert après sa traversée en Illyrie, et avait consigné sa prédiction sur un papier, qu'il remit scellé à des familiers du basileus en leur recommandant de le garder quelque temps. Puis, quand Robert fut mort, sur son invitation ils ouvrirent le document. L'oracle était ainsi conçu : «Un grand ennemi d'Occident, qui a causé bien des troubles, mourra subitement». Aussi tout le monde admira la science de cet homme, qui était en effet parvenu à la perfection de cet art (ζοθία). »

Comment un seul auteur pouvait-il écrire sur des sujets si divers et variés ? Je proposerai donc une approche par le biais des termes Savoirs connectés et transfert culturel, le premier afin de comprendre les possibles rapports entre les sciences dites « obscures » (l'astrologie et l'alchimie) avec la médecine, et le concept de transfert culturel pour expliquer comment les traditions orientales ont eu leurs places au sein de la société byzantine avec un certain degré d'appropriation.

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Changing His Own Mind.

A Theologian and a Philosopher in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century

The aim of my research is to investigate the rhetorics behind two oppositional patterns of behaviour in eleventh-century Byzantium – one presenting a theologian inspired only by God and ignorant of the worldly wisdom, the other being that of the philosopher, skilled not only in rhetorics and logic but also in metaphysics and theology field, but ignorant or even dismissive of the mystical experience.

The opposition between these two rhetorical patterns can be observed, on the one hand, in the Introduction to saint Symeon the New Theologian's Hymns, composed by Niketas Stethatos and, on the other hand, in the famous letter addressed by Psellos to patriarch Kerularios. Nicetas and Psellos are using the same dichotomy and the same *topoi* but with different connotations. Among these prominent is the ability to move, to change – from a place to another, from one social class to another, to change one's behaviour, purposes and thoughts, to spread one's ideas all over the *oikoumene* - a key to success in eleventh century Byzantium but a sign of futile worldliness in the eyes of the theologians. On the otherside there is the *stabilitas loci* representing the immobility of the mind, and a stress on the fidelity to the traditions, considered by the philosophers a frozen attitude dangerous for the fate of the Empire. What did it mean to be mobile or immobile in Byzantium? To what extent mobility and immobility were seen as essential qualities in shaping an identity in the Byzantine world?



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Towards a Genesis of Byzantine Church Canonical *Erotapokriseis* by Niketas, Metropolitan of Herakleia (XI C.): Epistolary Trace

Genre determination of Byzantine erotapokritical literature is a very important aspect of studying of texts in format of question-and-answers that was widespread in Byzantium and became one of the most preferred ways of organizing and imparting knowledge. Unfortunately, this topic is little-studied. Since genre nature of questions and replies is subtle the very decision of the problem is in the research of their content. The subject of our research is a genesis and genre nature of Byzantine church canonical ἐρωταποκρίσεις by Niketas metropolitan of Herakleia (XI c.) unexplored as a monument of ecclesiastical thought because of its marginality. The text of the metropolitan Niketas' canonical replies consists of 13 questions and answers. It has a complex manuscript tradition. Four editions of various redactions are presently at our disposal. Nonetheless the text is very poorly studied.

Existing in the canonical erotapokritical collection 13 twains of questions and replies are divided into four theme clusters:

1. Marriage law (twains of questions and replies №№ 1–5 and 11).
2. Monkhhood (№ 6, 7, 8, 9; № 6, 7 are dedicated to the high degree of the monastic ministry – great schema).
3. Merits of ordinands (№ 10 и 12).
4. Official malfeasance of a clergyman (a question-and-answer's pair №13 is not able to be brought into correlation with those theme clusters).

A content-analysis of the text let us conclude that the actual practical («businesslike») correspondence between Niketas metropolitan of Herakleia and an unknown for sure person (it may well be that it was a bishop of Pamphylia — the diocese was under the jurisdiction of metropolitan of Herakleia — by name Constantine) is the basis of the text:

- the very form of the text resembles and looks like an exchange of letters;
- a hint at a correspondence in the reply №5: καὶ πρότερον ἀπεκρίθημεν, διὰ τοῦ ἀνεψιοῦ σου, ἔγγραφον ἐρώτησιν δεξάμενοι;
- retention of epistolary etiquette terms of courtesy, greetings and solutions with personal pronouns of the 2-nd person in the Genitive: τῆ θεοφιλία σου (resp. 4), δέσποτά μου (quest. 3), [λύσεως] τῆς ἀγιωσύνης σου (quest. 13);
- using (rarely) of the Vocative: θεοφιλέστατε (resp. 1), ἅγιέ μου δέσποτα (quest. 6).
- 9 out of 13 questions contain a personal request to solve problems, to resolve doubts, to settle ambiguous occurrences in church practice. The questions 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 13 are concluded and the questions 4, 7, 8 are started with expressions that characterizing these texts: ζητῶ λύσιν γενέσθαι μοι περὶ τούτου, διὰ τοῦτο ζητῶ λυθῆναι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἀγιωσύνης, Ἐτι καὶ τοῦτο ἐρωτῶ.

Thereby this evidence could be regarded as relicts of correspondence between actual persons on different questions of church life, for instance: liturgical practice, problems of interpretation and understanding of passages from Holy Scripture or patristic writings or church canons, solution to private cases which do not have church canonical regulations.



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THE LATE BYZANTINE EMPIRE – PART 1

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Some Remarks on Imperial Ideology, Practice, Politics

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Aspects of Prosopography and Centres of Power



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Match-Making in the Palaeologan Dynasty (1258–1453): Some Remarks on Imperial Ideology, Practice, Politics

During the two centuries that the Palaeologan emperors ruled the Byzantine Empire, diplomatic marriages were one of their most powerful weapons in order to gain allies and avert costly warfare.

The nearly hundred royal marriages negotiated between the Empire and other states from the ascend of Michael VIII to the throne, in 1258, until the Fall of Constantinople, in 1453, reveal aspects concerning foreign affairs and diplomacy, imperial ideology and correlation between religion and politics. Other matters like prosopography, implications concerning canon law and doctrine, as well as the married life of the «grooms» and «brides» in question, are also taken into consideration.

The key factor to all the parameters mentioned above is the political profit made out of such marital unions. The Palaeologi utilized every member of their family, from the emperor to his distant in-laws, to ensure an appropriate and politically useful spouse. A mere browse of the royal proposals, betrothals and marriages, both attempted and concluded, portrays in detail the place of the Empire in the world from the 13th to the 15th centuries.

The aim of this paper is to roughly present the politics involved in the negotiation and realization of diplomatic nuptials. The matter is dealt mainly in two axes. The first is the imperial ideology and its place in the diplomatic strategy of political unions. To what extent was the imperial family willing to disregard nobles of “inferior birth” compared to the emperor? The second axis concerns the implications brought by the role of religion in the domestic and international relations of the Byzantine emperor. In which cases were the Palaeologi able to set aside obstacles raised by the civil and canon law? And how the empire was coping with the hesitation of Roman Catholic rulers, led by the Pope, to form lasting alliances with an Orthodox state?

In this context we are able to briefly address to these matters referring to characteristic examples as described in various Byzantine sources, historiographical, legal and other. The emperors themselves, imperial confidants, scholars and historiographers of the Palaeologan era, all provide information in their writings about the imperial match-making between the 13th and the 15th century. The combination of these sources depict the necessary diplomatic manoeuvres in Byzantium’s contacts with Central and Western Europe, the Italian maritime cities, the lands of the Balkans, the Mongols and the Ottomans, that helped the Empire to stay temporarily intact, before the inevitable fall.



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Strategies of Usurpation:

Boril, Ivan Asen II and the Concept of Legitimacy in Bulgarian Royal Accession

In the history of Bulgaria, very few kings have been as much vilified as Boril, who ruled the country from 1207 to 1218. Following the contemporary sources (mainly Akropolites and Henry de Valenciennes), historians have generally accused him of being an usurper, a weak ruler who lost land to the Latins, to the Hungarians and to internal seceders, and a useful tool in the hands of the Church, oppressing his own people with councils against the Bogomils. He tried to pursue the same aggressive politics of his predecessors, but was defeated at Philippopolis in 1208 by the Latin emperor of Constantinople Henry I, and had to settle for peace. His name has become a paradigm of bleakness, crushed between the achievements of his predecessor, his uncle Kalojan, and of his successor Ivan Asen II.

Without any doubt, the strongest accusation that had been cast against Boril is that he had usurped the throne. He has been suspected of plotting against Kalojan, and even of organizing his murder on the verge of his greatest triumph, the capture of Thessalonika. After Kalojan's death his three nephews, Boril, his brother Strez and their cousin Slav, were the most viable candidates to the throne: Boril quickly gained the upper hand marrying Kalojan's wife, a Cuman princess, and securing the assistance of the Cuman troops; Strez took refuge in Serbia while Slav retired to his appanage in southern Bulgaria, beginning a small-scale war against Boril who, according to Henry de Valenciennes, took Slav's land 'by treason'. According to Akropolites, however, the legitimate heir to the Bulgarian throne was Ivan Asen, the firstborn son of Asen, the first tsar of the dynasty. Still a minor, he was taken away from Tărnovo and brought first in the lands of the Cumans, then to Galicia, because the faction loyal to him feared for his life.

In 1217, Ivan Asen returned "to take back his father's inheritance", according to Akropolites, and besieged Tărnovo with an army of Rus' mercenaries. The Bulgarian aristocracy abandoned Boril, and Ivan Asen II ruled Bulgaria until his death in 1241.

Interestingly enough, Ivan Asen's violent actions are not considered an usurpation, neither by Akropolites nor by modern historians; on the contrary, his invasion has always been considered a necessary act to restore the legitimacy of the Asenid dynasty. But it is necessary to remember that, in that period, there was no established procedure for the royal succession. Since the beginning of the kingdom, power passed from brother to brother, that is, from the deceased ruler to the oldest male relative. It is unknown who was the oldest between Boril, Slav and Strez, but we cannot say that Boril usurped the throne because he ousted from power the child of Asen who, should we apply the same logic, should have been chosen as king in the moment of his father's death, already in 1196.

The aim of the paper is to analyse the concept of 'legitimate' succession in the first decades of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, looking for the patterns of accession to the throne. The Bulgarian situation will be compared to that of the neighbouring nations, especially Serbia.



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Infertility and Statesmanship: The Case of John VIII Palaiologos (1392-1448)

This paper aims to analyse how John VIII's Palaiologos health problems affected the way he ruled. His infertility is of special interest because of the importance of having a child by an emperor and the impact being childless may have had on his state and ruling. John VIII Palaiologos (b.1392) was the eldest son of Manuel Palaiologos and his wife Helena Dragas, a Serbian princess. John VIII who died childlessly in 1448, ultimately succeeded to the Byzantine throne as a sole ruler after his father's death in 1425. His life could be seen from two transcending perspectives. The binding agent of these two perspectives would be the illness John VIII greatly suffered from and which influenced the emperor's private and political activities. The first perspective concerns his diplomatic actions and decision to establish the union between the Greek East and Latin West churches. The second perspective involves his marriage alliances. Despite being married three times, firstly to Anna of Moscow, then to Sophia of Montferrat and finally to Maria of Trebizond, he was not able to father any children. It is suggested here that the reason for this seems to lie in John VIII's illness and its treatment. John VIII suffered from gout. The author suggests that his childlessness was a result of the implemented medical treatment of gout. John VIII's illness was treated according to prescriptions of the Byzantine medicine, which advised using colchicine – a toxic substance obtained from the plant called *colchicum autumnale* that was a strong and fast painkiller for joint inflammation. Demetrios Pepagomenos, the physician at the court of the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, John VIII's father, wrote a medical treatise devoted to the treatment of gout. He was also responsible for the treatment that John VIII underwent. The author of the paper claims that John VIII received regularly throughout his lifetime significant amounts of colchicine, which nowadays is known to have the potential of causing reversible infertility. His lack of offsprings can be then seen as a temporal fertility disorder.

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Political Elite under Manuel II Palaiologos

Following the restoration of Byzantium in 1261, the former court hierarchy and the system of titles and offices were revived. Pseudo-Kodinos' ceremonial book which lists more than 80 titles and offices shows multiple levels of hierarchy of dignitaries in the Early Palaiologian Period. From the late thirteenth century to the 1380s, most positions in the list of offices were occupied. Generally, one can say that the organizational system of commanding elite relatively stable functioned throughout the period in question. However, political, socio-economic, and demographic processes



in the fourteenth century influenced the structure of power, the functioning of the administrative machinery, and the shaping of the ruling elite. This paper will focus on the political elite of Byzantium in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries and the changes in its structure.

According to the analysis of prosopographic data, the number of the ruling elite considerably decreased under Manuel II Palaiologos. The hierarchy of titles and offices declined so that many of them, even of supreme level (sebastokrator, caesar, megas domestikos, protovestiarios), were not granted anymore, and later disappeared from political life. The central administrative machinery reduced to the size of the imperial court. The ruling elite incorporated the descendants of famous Byzantine families, thus confirming the hypothesis about the aristocratization of the late Byzantine society. The emperor's close court included, apart from his relatives, persons who established friendly relations with Manuel II. The emperor considerably raised the role of his intellectual retinue. Often without official titles and positions, the intellectuals, nevertheless, became key figures in the empire's political affairs as οἰκείοι, councillors, diplomats, and basileus' plenipotentiaries.

However, in parallel to the ruling class that concentrated in the capital, Morea and Thessalonike developed their own local political elites. The hierarchy of officeholders doubled at the level of despotates, where positions from the former all-empire administration still existed. Although Manuel II retained the supreme power over the empire, the despots actually governed their lands independently, surrounding themselves with their own courts.

The changes mentioned resulted foremost from objective factors. The system of administration of separate parts of the empire that developed, the reduction of territories, limited financial resources, economic stagnation, and the decline of taxable population caused the degradation of the hierarchy of dignitaries, the simplification of the administrative system, and the change of the nature of mutual relations of the emperor and his courtiers.

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Monemvasia and Despot of Morea, Theodore I Palaiologos

Monemvasia is a town in Peloponnese which was, according to historical sources, founded by inhabitants of Sparta in the 6th century. Through the history, the town was granted a lot of privileges by a lot of Byzantium emperors. Such privileges, relating to administering and ruling the town and its territory, as well as to trade freedom, contributed to the economic growth of the town. This statement refers to the description of founding and development of the town, and also to Monemvasia during the rule of despot of Morea, Theodore I Palaiologos, the products they traded, the powerful family Monemvasiot and Monemvasia Metropolitan Church.



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Emperor, Patriarch, and the Catalans.

A Triad of Power in Byzantium at the Beginning of the 14th Century

As a result of the arrival in 1303 of the so-called Catalan Company in Constantinople, the Byzantine Empire faced major challenges. The emperor Andronikos II had reckoned with a small group of mercenaries, but they arrived in numbers exceeding his wildest expectations. He tried to deal with the unstable situation in accordance with a time-honored tradition, namely by attempting to integrate the newcomers into the political structures of the Byzantine Empire. This soon alerted Andronikos's son and co-emperor, Michael IX, as well as the patriarch Athanasios, who were irritated by these actions. The present paper looks at the acting – and interacting with each other – of those political actors, and probes into the way they construed their office and their respective political roles.

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**How Byzantine Was the Cypriot Aristocracy in the 15th Century? –
Aspects of Prosopography and Centres of Power**

In 1192, in the course of the third crusade, king Richard the Lionheart conquered the Byzantine province of Cyprus and sold it to the French noble Guy de Lusignan. In the following years, the Lusignan family invited settlers from France and the Levant into Cyprus and built a new crusader state there. The families who followed the call came to be the nobility of the new state, which was to exist until 1489, when Cyprus was taken over by the Venetians. At the end of the 14th century, the aristocracy still comprised mostly originally French crusader families. In the course of the 15th century, the composition of this social group visibly changed, as newcomers and Greek- as well as Syrian-Orthodox families from Cyprus ascended the social ladder to become part of the aristocracy. But just how and to which degree the aristocracy and its composition changed exactly, is still under discussion. The communication aims to analyse these changes on the basis of prosopographical data. Which families really were part of the aristocracy at that time – were there many Greek-Cypriot families, or was this a marginal phenomenon? Which centres of power can be made out? Who belonged to these power-centres, and did cultural background play a role in the process of acquiring power? In how far did Greek-Cypriot families bring a Byzantine element into the group?



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ART OF MEDIEVAL GEORGIA

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“Majestas Domini” in Medieval Georgian Sculpture

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“Majestas Domini” in Medieval Georgian Sculpture

The composition of the Lord’s Glory (Majestas Domini) – a scene where Christ is seated on a throne and glorified by angels – was quite widespread in Medieval Christian art. This theme was also very popular in Medieval Georgian art, with the possibility of stating that it represented one of the most favourite scenes of Georgian master artists. It can be seen for quite an extensive period of time, from the early period to the late Middle Ages (up to 19th cent.). Consequently, a variety of iconographic versions of Majestas Domini can be found in Georgia (ex. The scene of Majestas Domini being connected to the mystery of the Eucharist – Svetitskhoveli, 11th cent.; a representation of a relation to Solomon’s Temple – the ruins of the “Black Village”, 8th -9th cent., etc.).

Due to the triumphal, theophanic nature of the theme, the locations for placing the scene were basically the sacred areas immediately captivating to the viewer: the altar conch, the dome, the architrave, the tympanon, etc. This scene was the most frequently represented on the altar conch in medieval Georgian wall painting throughout the centuries (from the first half of the 7th century to the end of the 10th). Compositions reflecting the Majestas Domini in Georgian sculpture are encountered on the facade décor of churches (the ruins of the “Black Village”, 8th-9th cent; the Borjomi tympanon, 9th cent; Svetitskhoveli, 11th cent; Ananuri, 17th cent; “Gigo’s Church”, 17th cent; Peter and Paul at Sagarejo, 18th cent.), as well as on altar screens and stellae (Khandisi Stella, 6th cent; the Tsebeldi iconostasis, 8th-9th cent.). The representation of the enthroned Lord being glorified by the angels is the most laconic version of this scene, whereas a comparatively more extensive variant is implied by images of the Evangelists, or more frequently their tetramorphic symbols: an angel, an lion, an bull and an eagle – and the inclusion of figures of the Cherubim and Seraphim (with wheels of fire) as well (the Tsebeldi iconostasis, 8th-9th cent; the Svetitskhoveli iconostasis, 10th-11th cent). The number 4 is frequently prominent in scenes of Majestas Domini as a symbol of the four Gospels, the order of the cosmos, of wholeness, constancy, and the heavenly Jerusalem. The angels glorifying Christ, however, chant the Trisagion hymn (which is sometimes reflected in inscriptions accompanying the images): “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Sabbaoth! The entire earth is filled with His glory” (Is. 6:3).

It is apparent that the theological essence of the Lord’s Glory is based foremost on the prophetic Biblical texts of Isaiah (2:19, 6:1-4), Ezekiel (1:4-28, 43:4) and the apocalyptic visions of John’s Revelation (4:2-9) as a revelation of God, where the premonitions of the Lord’s Second Coming have also been pictured in regard to the Last Judgment along with the Lord’s eternal Glory.

It is almost impossible to clearly set apart the images of the eternal glorification of the Lord as the Creator of the Universe and its beginning, and of Christ seated upon a throne, having come again for the Last Judgment as described in the Holy Scripture. From an iconographic point of view, these phenomena have been uniformly consolidated through a similar iconographic motif,



having been fused together within this sudden moment and space (ex. Nikortsminda, 11th cent.). It is precisely the merit of its essential idea that *Majestas Domini* becomes an indivisible part of extensive fresco compositions of “Judgment Day”, as well as sculptures on the portals of western European churches (mostly the western facade featuring an eschatological theme).

This iconographic theme often appears on the upper register of another theophanic theme – the Ascension of Christ. In that case, *Majestas Domini* can be understood as a prefiguration of the mystical, eternal Ascension (Ps. 23:7) (ex. Kvemo Bolnisi, 6th cent; the Cross at Mtskheta, 6th -7th cent; Zedazeni, 7th cent.). Thus, it can be stated that the composition of *Majestas Domini* had become an archetypal, paradigmatic image visually expressing the generalized, unified revelation of God as a single transcendental phenomenon in accordance with the laconic, conventional, metaphorically expressive language of the medieval Christian art in general, as well as Georgian art of the same period.

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Concealing and Revealing Sacredness: Architectural Church Façades Sculpture in Georgia. The Church of St. John the Baptist in Oshki

Façades decoration of medieval Georgian churches, from the ninth to the twelfth century, developed particular architectural forms, consisting of intricate blind niches and arches, incorporating specific sculpted Christological motifs, symbols, signs, foliage, and geometric forms. This idiosyncratic system of architectural spatial and visual organization had never been studied to date in regard to its meaning, function, and performative character.

In this paper I will suggest that this system developed into a kind of symbolic “veil,” unfolding on the churches from top to bottom and from all sides, including the dome, in a manner equivalent to the *parochet* – the veil that covered the entrance to the Holy of Holies in the Tabernacle – as described in the Book of Exodus. It is my contention that these Georgian architectural ornaments cannot be treated as merely decorative elements but, rather, that they were designed to confer upon the façades and their surroundings a sense of sacredness, defining them as a holy space, and thereby revealing the Divine Presence.

Focusing on the Church of St. John the Baptist in Oshki (958–966), I address the Neoplatonic ideas that were rooted in Georgian Christian philosophy and Pseudo Dionysus the Aeropagite’s mystic theology, as embodied in the *parochet/veil* motif: dematerialization of the church walls; crossing physical and mental thresholds; and the relations obtaining between landscape, the church edifice, and the liturgical performance. In the contemporary devotional practices, the façades of the Oshki church served as a background, a *mise en scene*, in transforming the viewer’s spatial perception from the visible to the invisible, from daily life to a world of holiness in the Divine Presence, playing a significant role as a mnemonic device and repository of memory of the spiritual transformation.



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Khakhuli Icon and Building of the Regency

David IV Bagrationi (1089–1125) transferred Khakhuli Icon from Khakhuli monastery to his newly established monastery Gelati.

What was the reason of transferring exactly the Khakhuli Icon is a question.

Khakuli icon is a triptych of the Mother of God Icon and is one of the largest enamel works of the Byzantine world. The gilded frames and wings made of floral and geometric ornamentation includes a large number of enamel icons, reliquaries of Georgian and Byzantine work. Originally Icon was created in the 10th c and was in the Church of Khakuli Monastery, built by the King David III Curopalates (+1001) in the Southern region of Tao, the central place of Georgian Kingdom at that time.

David IV, inherited nation ravaged by Seljuk Turks. The King only had power over the western and small parts of central Georgia. The capital city Tbilisi was under Arab control, and Kutaisi, second largest city was where the King ruled. The kingdom was going under turmoil inside and outside of the borders. However, Davit IV managed to change course of his country. Before he started construction of Gelati Monastery, Davit already put the country through numerous successful reforms. The state, the army, and the church were fully reformed and the Georgian Kingdom was economically and politically uprising. With the effective military expeditions, Davit managed to unify Georgian lands including the capital city of Tbilisi. Furthermore, he liberated Armenia and Albania from the Muslim control. Davit IV broke away from Byzantine shadow by declining the royal titles in favor of the Georgian ones. Georgia was transformed into an influential kingdom. Surrounded by Islamic nations, Davit promoted himself as a Christian leader in the region. To legitimize his ideals Davit founded a new monastery, regarded as “the second Jerusalem and another Athens” and was “much superior to all previously constructed”.

Gelati is built outside of Kutaisi on an evaluated hill. Church is dedicated to St Virgin Merry and “filled it with holy things, relics of the saints, holy images and holy vessels that were totally glorious.” But the most valuable gift to the church was the Khakhuli Icon.

According to the recorded will, Davit IV gifted the church a piece of True cross. King Demetre I (r. 1125-54) who owned this relic was responsible for the embellishment of the Khahuli Icon with the gilded silver wings that was indicated in the inscription on the lower bands of the icon.



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The 12th Century Painted Epistyle with Georgian Inscriptions on Mount Sinai and Sinaitic-Georgian Icons in Svaneti (On the Georgian Artistic Workshop at Sinai)

St. Catherine's monastery of Mount Sinai was a very important site of the spiritual life of the Georgians. Traces of their cultural activities have been most explicitly preserved there. The monastery houses hundreds of Georgian manuscripts, big part of which is already published. As It is known, the treasury of monastery also contains several icons that are related to Georgia and the Georgian brotherhood which, according to the written sources, lived in the monastery throughout centuries (see: six icons complex of the 11th-12th century created by the Georgian monk Ioane Tokhabi, two icons of St. George with the images of Georgian King David the Builder (11th-12th cc.) and Georgian priest and monk Ioane Iberian (XII-XIII cc.) and polyptych (XIV c.) with the images of Georgian Saints accompanied with only Georgian explanatory inscriptions, etc).

Some years ago I discovered Georgian inscriptions on the very well-known 12th century Sinaitic epistyle with the Dodecaorton, which earlier was attributed to Cyprus workshop by K.Waitzmann. One of them – the painter's autograph – is easy to read, others are badly damaged. They are written on two scenes of Dodecaorton with Old Georgian alphabet "Asomtavruli" by good calligrapher. The inscriptions are clear evidence of Georgian origin of the epistyle. From this point of view it is very important to know that the images of this wooden beam have the closest parallels among patterns of the 11th -12th centuries Georgian icons, murals and miniature-paintings (see: the icon of the Zarzma Virgin, paintings of the Ateni Sioni, illustrations of the Gelati Gospel etc.)

More importantly, I was able to find a group of icons in Svaneti that are closest analogues to Sinaitic ones. They are very similar in typology, iconography, style, configuration of boards, and ornamental motifs of their back-side decoration.

There are many other facts and arguments to confirm that the Georgian monks at St. Catherine's monastery had their icon-painting workshop there. They maintained close ties with their homeland and those compatriots who traveled to the holy mountain to pray to God before starting their own work in Georgia.

The artistic production of the Georgians at Sinai is a significant part of both the Byzantine and Georgian cultural heritage and ecclesiastic art that I want to present to the attention of my colleagues on the congress.



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Self-Representations of Artists in Medieval Georgia

Works of the religious art could be considered as one of the main markers of identities in the Byzantine world. The issues of identities of patrons and artists are widely discussed in recent scholarly publications. However the complex, multi-facet social inter-relations developed within Orthodox Christian culture still needs further investigation. In this connection it is important to consider self-representations of artists in visual arts of medieval Georgia as this material sheds more light on dynamics of formation and expression of identities in pre-modern societies.

The textual and visual material demonstrates various forms and strategies applied by artists for declaration of their self-identification. The identities of artists/masters are revealed not only through their inscriptions placed on the works of art, but also by various tools involving sophisticated interplay of inscriptions and imagery, spatial constructions and liturgical reenactment. I will try to reconstruct the environment of artists and to retrace the correlation between their identities and works of art created by them.

The artists' "autographs" (inscriptions) preserved on their works communicate the information about them, which was intended to be viewed by "present" and future beholders. The indication of artists' (masters') identities facilitated their public recognition and involvement in the religious ceremonies (liturgies, commemorative services, etc.) even in their physical absence or after their deaths. A special attention will be paid on formation of verbal and visual patterns demonstrating the artists' identities. I will argue that together with religious (redemptive) motivation the tradition of placing of the masters' inscriptions on the works of religious art was determined by their desire to demonstrate their status and recognize their place in the strictly hierarchical feudal society. Self-identities of mentioned individuals are intended both for terrestrial (laymen and clergy) and heavenly realms. In other words artists designed and displayed their identities for those who perform church services and those, who attend/participate in them. Such investigation provides additional material for the study of devotional practices and elucidates new aspects of interactions between officials and other members of medieval society.

Comparative study of Byzantine and Georgian inscriptions of artists will allow to retrace shared patterns of their self-presentation, as well as to single out local peculiarities conditioned by social, historical and cultural developments taking place in both countries.



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Georgian Coins with Byzantine Iconography and Imperial Titulature of the Georgian Kings

The paper deals with the monetary issues of Georgia in the 10th-15th cc. The aim of the research was a precise attribution of numismatic data and consideration of the corresponding historical information.

The period under discussion is very important in view of the Byzantine-Georgian relationship. The numismatic expression of this conjuncture forms a special interest – particularly, as Georgian money was struck in Byzantine style and Georgian kings claimed their imperial titles stressing this way a formal integrity of the Orthodox World – Byzantium and Georgia were regarded to form unique Orthodox space.

It is appropriate to split the whole period into two stages: I. the 10th c.-the beginning of the 13th c. is a time of very strong imperial feelings; II. and the 13th-15th cc. – of their reminiscence.

The Byzantine imperial titulature was long established in the Georgian political reality. Court titles were bestowed upon kings and princes of Medieval Georgian states. The Georgian nobles were among them as well. Those who received those titles were the most vivid members of Medieval Georgian aristocracy living in Georgia or outside her borders. It is also important to point that all Byzantine titles in Georgia from the beginning up to the end of the 11th century were granted by the Byzantine Emperors.

The situation was changed during the reign of David IV the Agmashenebeli. From that time the court titles had disappeared and the Georgian rulers are styled with those Byzantine imperial titles, which were preserved for the Byzantine Emperors. The latter were hereditary and the Georgian sovereigns held them without official approval of the Byzantine Emperors. Consequently, the study of the Byzantine titles is important to discuss some aspects of the political status of the Georgian sovereigns within “the Byzantine Commonwealth”, or in the medieval world generally.

Important Byzantine titles appear on the Georgian coins. Hence the study of numismatics is essential for proper understanding of distribution of the Byzantine imperial titulature in Georgia.



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LITERATURE IN THE AGE OF THE KOMNENOI

Chairs: Elisabeth Jeffreys, Nikolaos Zagklas

Varvara Zharkaya,

Lexical Innovations and Literary Networks in the 12th Century Byzantium

Luisa Andriollo,

Le roy est mort, vive le roy: Imperial Succession and Imperial Legitimacy
in Kallikles' Funerary Poems for Alexios I and John II Komnenoi

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Whether Theodoros Prodromos Invented the Russel Paradox?

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Drosilla and Charicles:

An Instance of the Ambivalent Conception of Literary Emulation in Middle Byzantine Context

Alexey Kryukov,

Byzantine Homilies of the Comnenian Time: Atticism and Asianism



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Lexical Innovations and Literary Networks in the 12th Century Byzantium

The paper focuses on the language of the 12th century Byzantine poetry. As we know, the Comnenian period witnessed an unprecedented blossoming of daring experiments covering, among other literary layers, the lexical level of the texts produced by learned poets of the epoch. In a search for new form of poetic expression, they introduced vernacular elements into high-brow poetry and coined new words, some of which were adopted by the subsequent poetic tradition, whereas others remained hapax legomena. These innovations were possible due to a deliberate giving up of the Ancient system of versification and purposeful simplification of the syntax.

In addition to the words deriving from the informal register and consciously created neologisms, the lexicon of the 12th century poetry includes items adopted from the scholarly philological tradition. Obsolete words, with scanty occurrences even in Ancient sources, retrieved, explained, and commented upon by commentators and scholiasts — often themselves poets as well (e.g. John Tzetzes) — penetrated into the poetry of the epoch. A typical pattern can be observed: a given lexeme has 1 occurrence for Antiquity, 1 occurrence for the 12th century scholarly sources, and several occurrences for poetry of the same epoch (Constantine Manasses, Theodore Prodromos) and then virtually disappears.

The nascent poetic language influenced the language of the learned prose too. Neologisms and previously forgotten words created or actualized within the poetic experiments were taken over by, e.g., Michael Choniates in the Epistles.

The paper presents a few case-studies of lexical interplay between the 12th century Byzantine texts and questions the possibility of tracing otherwise unattested networks of learning and literary circles.

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Le roy est mort, vive le roy: Imperial Succession and Imperial Legitimacy in Kallikles' Funerary Poems for Alexios I and John II Komnenoi

The death of Alexios I Komnenos, on 15 August 1118, and the contested accession of his son John have been the object of a number of historiographical discussions. Modern commentators have relied mainly upon the historical accounts of Anna Komnena, John Zonaras and Nicetas Choniates to highlight weaknesses and wavering in the transmission of power within the newly established Komnenian dynasty, and to bring forth possible forms of Kaiserkritik embedded in Byzantine historical writings.



The poems of Nicholas Kallikles, a court physician and poet under Alexios I and John II, provide an alternative – and often neglected – perception of these events, one that voices the official court narrative about imperial mourning, dynastic succession and the bequeathing of power in the Komnenian lineage. In particular, Kallikles’ epigram *On the chrysotriklinos* (ed. R. Romano no 25) addresses the theme of imperial succession through the staging of grief, its inscription into the architectural space and the connection between poetry, visual art and court ceremonial. In this text, as well as in the epitaph *ante mortem* composed for John II Komnenos (ed. R. Romano no 31), the traditional motifs of funerary poetry are reemployed and reshaped to support the public display of dynastic power and the official claim for imperial legitimacy. I will analyze Kallikles’ funerary epigrams for Alexios I and John II in the light of their relation with previous examples of imperial epitaph and with other texts of the same author; in doing so, I will examine how a personal poetic language was created by adapting traditional rhetoric models to the needs of imperial commissioners and to the expectations and of the intended audience.

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Whether Theodoros Prodromos Invented the Russel Paradox?

“Xenedemos, or Voices” (Ξενέδημος ἢ Φωναί), a little-known philosophical work by Theodoros Prodromos, is dedicated to the analysis of the five “voices” or predicabilia (φωναί) definitions made by Porphyry in “Isagoge”. The way to discuss the definitions of Porphyry that Theodoros Prodromos uses is to make a presentation of logical puzzles just to invite the reader to produce the outlines of their possible solutions. The logical content of «Xenedemos» might be substructured into three levels: didactical, analytical and philosophical one.

Analytical level.

“Xenedemos” offers a critical analysis of the five Porphyrian predicabilia definitions. According to this task the dialogue is divided into five main parts, each of them is dedicated to genus (γένος), species (εἶδος), differentia (διαφορά), property (ιδίον) and accident (συμβεβηκός). By the end of each part the participants of the dialogue come to aporia or a mistake using the apparatus of Porphyry. It is very interesting to determine the logical status of Theodoros Prodromos critical receptions of Porphyrian definitions: whether they are paralogisms, sophisms, aporias or paradoxes?

Didactical level.

It is not hard to demonstrate that “Xenedemos” is an educational dialogue written as a series of logical puzzles which could be objects for the reader’s possible solutions.

Philosophical level.

The philosophical level represents the problem of self-reference as a basic feature of predicabilia notions in the situations when they are applied to define themselves. It should be noted that Theodoros



Prodromos might have formulated the Russel paradox using the five “voices” of Porphyry. So this dialogue can be regarded as the text on the foundations of logical theory of definition.

It should be mentioned that the dialogue is an original work, which reflects new trends in the 12th c. Byzantine literature. Such Byzantine intellectuals as Michael Psellos, John Italos, Michael Italikos and Theodoros Prodromos himself could be prototypes of the protagonists of the dialogue. It should be noted that the ideas of Theodoros Prodromos are interesting in historical, logical, philosophical and literature development perspectives.

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A Transtextual Analysis of the ‘Katomyomachia’

My paper presents a transtextual analysis of the ‘Katomyomachia’ by Theodore Prodromos. I intend to explore intertextual relationships between the ‘Katomyomachia’ and its ancient models (hypotexts). I will argue that Prodromos, similarly to what he did in his ‘Bion Prasis’, plays with literary conventions and creates multilayered literary games. My aim is to discuss the functions of these games and what purposes the ‘Katomyomachia’ was meant to serve in Prodromic interpretive community, to use Stanley Fish’s term.

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Il concetto pittorico e il drammatico nel romanzo del Macrembolita

Nell’esposizione la massima importanza sarà data all’idea, finora assai erroneamente intesa, del drammatico nel romanzo antico e bizantino, come anche alle conseguenze deficitarie che se ne ritraggono per la comprensione della sua designazione generica di drama, ovvero plasma, e in definitiva anche per la valutazione poco adeguata di questi prodotti letterari. La lettura microscopica del testo stesso del romanzo antico e di quello bizantino del Macrembolita ha prodotto un risultato di lunga portata, ovvero il fatto che i suddetti romanzi sono collegati mediante migliaia di fili con la completa produzione del teatro drammatico greco, con il che si creano le condizioni per spianare la via a una nuova interpretazione del tutto fondata, non solo di questo genere antico e bizantino, bensì anche delle epoche intere a cui appartengono. La condizione chiave per una apertura di questo tipo è costituita dalla lettura integrale, in ottica microscopica, di tutti i grandi rappresentanti del genere drammatico della tragedia e della commedia nel periodo classico, quali Eschile, Sofocle,



Euripide, Menandro e Aristofane, ed è appunto a quest'autore menzionato per ultimo che spetta l'importanza decisiva per quanto riguarda la rielaborazione e la trasposizione di motivi drammatici, ovvero poetici, e il loro inserimento in un altro genere, qual è in questo caso quello prosastico del romanzo. La stessa designazione generica del romanzo, vale a dire drama, rimandava effettivamente ad una ipotesi di questo tipo, ma nelle ricerche su questo genere finora effettuate non si era andati più in là di una specie di registrazione a mo' di quella di catalogo, manifestantesi di regola nell'elenco delle citazioni, delle allusioni e dei topoi di provenienza tragica, e qui va sottolineato che così si era negletto in modo fatale un autore chiave come Aristofane. Il deficit di codesto tipo si è verificato appunto perché la maggioranza dei ricercatori era convinta di poter raggiungere il proprio scopo e ottenere il proprio risultato attraverso le definizioni, di natura assai scarsa, contenute nei manuali di retorica e di grammatica, del tipo di narrazione denominato dramatikon, con la conseguenza che di nuovo veniva elusa in modo piuttosto fatale la definizione chiave del succitato tipo di narrazione proveniente dall'undicesimo secolo bizantino e dal suo eminente rappresentante Dossapatre, nella cui ottica il già menzionato tipo di narrazione è proprio quello che acquista carattere di adattamento e di rielaborazione di tutta quanta la materia poetica per le esigenze del componimento prosastico, e qui si tratta di nient'altro che di quella materia il cui rappresentante per eccellenza è lo stesso genere drammatico. L'importanza delle commedie di Aristofane per la poetica del romanzo si rispecchia nel fatto che esse hanno influito in modo decisivo sul primo manifesto del simbolismo nella letteratura europea, quali le Ekones di Filostrato, in cui il concetto pittorico diventa la metafora della letteratura stessa, come avviene del resto nel romanzo di Macrembolita.

Un'analisi accurata delle concordanze letterali e stilistiche del romanzo del Macrembolita con le opere di Aristofane e Filostrato crea di per sé stessa inaspettate possibilità per una nuova interpretazione del romanzo antico e bizantino in quanto rende possibile la decifrazione e la spiegazione della sfera dei simboli, i quali con luce splendente illuminano le opere stesse e l'epoca della loro nascita.

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Drosilla and Charicles: An Instance of the Ambivalent Conception of Literary Emulation in Middle Byzantine Context

It has already been established that the ancient novel, as a genre, largely represents a kind of patchwork, made of various literary allusions which refer to classical mythology, historiography, epic poetry and comedy, partly reflecting all these genres at the same time. This type of literary references was very aptly defined as the "aesthetic of reception" (C. Müller). On the other hand, the same literary procédé is also likely to be assigned to the Byzantine authors of the so-called learned novels in the 12th century, since for them the Aristotelian conception of the mimesis of the real world was of far lesser importance in comparison to the mimesis of literary products as such. This characteristic of the Comnenian novels, as has already been noticed, is supplemented by another quality, in the sense that they may reflect literary allusions originating from their ancient models, too.



All three completely preserved Byzantine novels – namely Theodorus Prodrromus’s *Rodanthe* and *Dosicles*, Nicetas Eugenianus’s *Drosilla* and *Charicles*, and Eustathius Macrembolites’s *Hysmine* and *Hysminias* – abound with more or less direct references to ancient literary products, but a lot of such allusions, rather citations, are to be found especially in the second mentioned novel. The fact of the matter here is a speech of more than 200 verses from the 6th book of the Eugenianus’s novel, delivered by a somewhat rude character (*Callidemus*) in an attempt to seduce the novel’s heroine: in view of that he uses, as arguments in persuasion, a wide repertoire of famous classical and hellenistic love-stories, whose enumeration assumes a comical effect, having in mind that the speech was devised as formal in keeping with prescriptive rhetoric. The most interesting feature in this passage is that here, besides Homer, Plato, Musaeus and Theocritus, he is referring to, or directly citing from, two ancient, so-called sophistic novels, originating from the late imperial Roman period, namely *Heliodorus’s Theagenes* and *Chariclea* and *Longus’s Daphnis* and *Chloe*, whose protagonists and some of their antagonists are explicitly used as examples whose purpose is to persuade, in a sort of interplay with the older tradition of the genre.

For this occasion we shall attempt to make a connection between this treatment of the classical novelistic genre with other middle Byzantine literary-historical and literary-critical evaluations of some representatives of the same genre by such important figures as Michael Psellus in his essay on *Heliodorus* and *Achilles Tattius*, but also by some less influential authors, such as Philip “the Philosopher“ in his allegorical interpretation of the *Aethiopica* (if we assume his identification with *Philagathus* of *Cerami* and thereby date this opusculum back to the 12th c.). As for *Longus’s* novel, on the other hand, it is much more difficult to find the reason for this procedure, having in mind that *Daphnis* and *Chloe* was far less commented on and did not nearly enjoy the fortune of the manuscript tradition of *Heliodorus* or *Achilles Tattius*; but it seems plausible that the intertextual use of *Longus’s* text by *Eugenianus* depends on the overall impression that bucolic atmosphere dominates in *Drosilla* and *Charicles*. Finally, it does not seem unreasonable that *Eugenianus’s* heavy relying on some themes and motives from *Theocritus* reflects the beginning of renewed Byzantine writers’ interest in pastoral poetry, whose influence will in the following centuries rise primarily as a result of its reading in an allegorical key.

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Byzantine Homilies of the Comnenian Time: Atticism and Asianism

In 1881, Bishop Anthony Vadkovsky suggested the existence of two parallel trends, “didactic” and “solemn”, in the Byzantine Homiletics. According to his opinion the second tendency receives strong predominance starting from the 5th century AD. More than 100 years later this distinction still remains relevant and is shared by most researchers of the Byzantine sermon. Among generally considered features of the “ceremonial” flow one can mention the predominance of festal sermons and the preacher’s commitment to a specific ancient rhetoric toolkit characteristic of the epideictic eloquence. According to V. Valiavitcharska (2013), the Byzantine Homiletics at some degree succeeds the so-called “Asianic” oratory, characterized by splitting the speech to short cola, connected by common rhythmical patterns and rhymed endings.



It should be noted that most of the theoretical arguments concerning the Byzantine Homiletics expressed so far are mainly based on the material not later than the 10th century. Thus it might be interesting to examine their applicability to a later time. The Byzantine Homiletics of the 12th century is primarily characterized by the appearance of great homiliaries, containing a large number of relatively short sermons which combine binding to a specific holiday with the exegetical orientation. However, this type of preaching is not found in the works of educated bishops of the period in question, such as Eustathius of Thessalonica or Michael Choniates. Keeping the commitment to the festive teachings, these authors attempt to harmoniously combine the “ideas” described in Hermogenes’ theory of eloquence. For this reason homoeoteleuta, isokola and similar rhetorical devices are only of limited use in their sermons. The same applies to rhetorical questions, exclamations and inner dialogue. However, even more typical for their heritage are so called cathecheseis, devoted to the theme of the Lent. These teachings, including an element of the solemn eloquence (panegyrics, praising the merits of fasting), for the most part deal with the explanation of the moral norms, mandatory for the Christian. The preacher, exactly conforming the requirements of ancient rhetoric, was trying to convince his audience with the power of his arguments, rather than to charm his listeners’ ears. These features seem particularly significant in comparison with the style of St. Neophyte the Recluse, who, not possessing a classical education, at the same time often demonstrates his commitment to so-called “hymnic passages” (the term proposed by T. Antonopoulou).

These considerations lead us to the question whether it is possible to talk about a sort of revival of the “Attic” style of eloquence in the Byzantine preaching of the Comnenian time, while “Asianism” remained the choice of less educated preachers.



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The Earthly Order: Social Stratification in Late Byzantium



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Paradise Lost or Negligent Shepherd? Constantinople and Byzantine Identity after 1204

This paper examines the role of Constantinople in the conceptualization of Byzantine identity after the imperial city fell to the army of the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Constantinople is traditionally considered as a cardinal point of reference for Byzantine self-perception, particularly for the elite. However, in the extraordinary circumstances of displacement occasioned by the conquest, its image was radically reassessed, sometimes in ways that have not been fully appreciated by earlier scholarship.

For the first generation after the Fall, Constantinople was the lost paradise to be reclaimed, the ancient home to which the Rhomaioi ought to return. The shocking events of the conquest, nevertheless, soon prompted contemporaries to seek foci of identity other than the collapsed imperial state apparatus which the capital encapsulated. At the highpoint of the Nicaean Empire, and particularly under Theodore II Laskaris (1254-1258), the lustre of the Queen of Cities was considerably dimmed; for a brief period, at least, even the official imperial self-representation broke free of the Constantinople-centred outlook. The old capital was accused of failing its duty as guardian of the empire and was likened to a negligent shepherd who did not protect his flock. However, the myth of Constantinople was later revived and used to full propagandist effect by the Palaiologan regime in order to promote its achievements and bolster its legitimacy.

Thus, rather than being a constant of Byzantine self-identification, the significance of Constantinople ebbed and flowed for more than a century. The paper explores the political and ideological context of these transformations and their impact on Byzantine collective identity. It looks into the role of particular groups and individuals in adopting and promoting specific attitudes towards the imperial city.

Contemporary epideictic oratory, such as imperial encomia and praise of cities, constitutes a key corpus of sources for evaluating the 'public' image of Constantinople. The comparisons and contrasts, for example, between Theodore II's encomium of Nicaea and Theodore Metochites' encomia of both Nicaea and Constantinople are revealing of the attitudes of their authors as well as of the priorities of the audience and the mental climate of the time.



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Warfare in the Conflicts between the Orthodox Successors States of Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century

In this paper I will analyse the warfare in the conflicts between the so-called Orthodox Christian successor states of Byzantium in Balkans and West Anatolia after the Fourth Crusade. I will concentrate on the wars between “Nicaea”, “Epiros”, and Bulgaria, but I will also take into account their conflicts with the more short lived or secluded political entities (such as Nicaea’s rivals in Anatolia or Serbia). These realms competed and fought against each other to maximise their gains from the collapsed Byzantine and fading Latin Empires. As we know, eventually it was Nicaea, which took Constantinople and re-established Byzantium, but even after that the other Orthodox states in the region could challenge its power throughout the whole century.

I will show, for example, how in the warfare between these Orthodox polities the element of surprise played a vital role not only at the operational and tactical, but also at the strategic level. Wars were often committed, when the enemy was not prepared, and even by suddenly breaking a treaty. The idea of “Reconquista” probably provided ideological backing for this. Such an opportunistic strategy could bring maximum benefits with little cost, but there was little to prevent an opponent from doing the same when the opportunity arose. Surprise attacks were often used to gain an upper hand in an engagement. This fits with the traditional view about Byzantine methods and “doctrine” of warfare, but it may also have been result of other considerations.

The effectiveness of fortifications was often compromised by the willingness of many leaders, soldiers, and especially the common people to switch sides. This may not be surprising. There was probably little reason, above all for townspeople, to risk their lives and property in order to support one Orthodox Christian ruler against another, especially if these even shared a similar ethnic background. This may have been the most decisive issue, which shaped the warfare.

It seems that the Nicaean armies were more willing to engage battles than their adversaries, but this may simply result of the fact that almost all sources reflect their point of view. This also hampers estimations about the relative strength of armies involved and the influence of that on warfare. In the later half of the thirteenth century Epiros and its filial realm Thessaly began to rely more on Latin allies, which also reflected on type of warfare, which arguably could be described as more battle seeking one. With the help of Latins and their victories in field, Epiros and Thessaly could maintain their independence from Byzantium, although on the other hand it led to a growing dependence on the Franks.



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The Status of War Prisoners in Late Byzantium

The present lecture aims to present the status of war prisoners in the last period of the Byzantine Empire. The wars led by the rulers of Constantinople were directed against pagans, seen as obvious enemies, and often against Christian peoples. Byzantine authors mention the differences in treatment among captives according to their religious affiliation. When fighting with opponents of another religion, the Byzantines used to take slaves whom they accepted to release for ransom or whom they used in prisoner exchanges. During the 11th-13th centuries they did not hesitate to take also co-religionists into captivity, in fights in the Balkans. According to contemporary sources, over the last two centuries of existence of the Empire, Christian armies had to refrain from enslaving the co-religionists whom they defeated, and mostly they were not allowed to take civils into captivity. On some confrontations among armies of Orthodox kingdoms there is evidence that the winners took the armies of defeated soldiers and then released them. One can assume that the change of attitude regarding the confrontation among Christians occurred amid the Ottoman pressure, when there aroused the concept that the just war was against pagans, whom to oppose the idea of Christian solidarity. The present study aims to analyze the changes in attitude towards the war prisoners in late Byzantine period.

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Τίτλοι, αξιώματα και προσωπογραφία στο ύστερο Βυζάντιο: ο στρατιωτικός οίκος των Λάσκαρη και το οφίκιο του Μεγαδούκα

Παρότι δεύτερο στο βυζαντινό *cursus honorum*, ελάχιστες είναι οι πληροφορίες που παρέχουν οι βυζαντινές πηγές για το περιεχόμενο του αξιώματος του Μεγάλου Δουκός τον ύστατο αιώνα της βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας. Σε μια εποχή που τα αυλικά αξιώματα αντιστοιχούσαν περισσότερο σε τιμητικούς τίτλους ή αφορούσαν υπηρεσίες αναγκαίες μόνο για την τελετουργική πλευρά του αυτοκρατορικού θεσμού, η έκταση και το είδος των αρμοδιοτήτων του ανώτατου διοικητή του στόλου παραμένει προς διερεύνηση.

Οι διαδοχικές αλλαγές που έχει υποστεί ο θεσμός τον 15ο αιώνα αντανακλούνται εν πολλοίς στα πρόσωπα που τον υπηρέτησαν. Ασφαλώς, το πιο γνωστό ήταν ο μεσάζων Λουκάς Νοταράς. Κατά τα λοιπά, μνημονεύονται ορισμένα ονόματα που έχουν σχέση με το Δεσποτάτο του Μορέως: κάποιος Μαμωνάς της Μονεμβασίας, ένας Μανουήλ, ένας Παρασπόνδουλος.



Στο πλαίσιο ευρύτερης έρευνας που διεξάγουμε για τον στρατιωτικό οίκο των Λάσκαρη, αναζητήσαμε πληροφορίες για κλάδο του οίκου που φέρει το «Μεγαδούκας» ως συνοδευτικό του επωνύμου. Στηριζόμενοι σε δύο ομάδες τεκμηρίων, προσπαθήσαμε να ανασυστήσουμε το γενεαλογικό δέντρο του οίκου τον 15ο αιώνα. Η πρώτη ομάδα αφορά σε τεκμήρια προερχόμενα κυρίως από τη δράση των απογόνων των Λάσκαρη στη Βενετία ως αρχηγών ελληνικών και αλβανικών μισθοφορικών ομάδων που οι Βενετοί αποκαλούσαν *stradioti* (από τον ελληνικό όρο στρατιώται). Εντοπίστηκαν στο Κρατικό Αρχείο της Βενετίας. Η δεύτερη ομάδα αφορά σε μια *saga* της οικογένειας –τυπικό λογοτεχνικό είδος στην Ιταλία από τον 17ο αιώνα και μετά– που παρήγγειλε και συνέβαλε στη δημιουργία της ο Γεώργιος Λάσκαρης, κυβερνήτης σώματος μισθοφόρων στρατιωτών το 1656.

Βάσει των εγγράφων αυτών και διασταυρώνοντας εξαντλητικά τις πληροφορίες που παρέχουν τόσο μεταξύ τους όσο και με τις υπάρχουσες βυζαντινές πηγές, είμαστε σε θέση να προσδιορίσουμε την ταυτότητα και το γενεαλογικό δέντρο ενός άγνωστου Μεγαδούκα: πρόκειται για τον Μανουήλ Λάσκαρη Παρασπόνδυλο, πατέρα του πρωτοστράτορα Ισαάκιου Λάσκαρη Παρασπόνδουλου, κουνιάδου του Δημητρίου Παλαιολόγου Δεσπότη του Μυστρά. Είναι το δεύτερο μέλος του οίκου που αναλαμβάνει το αξίωμα, μετά τον Μιχαήλ Τζαμαντούρο Λάσκαρη, αδελφό του Θεοδώρου Α' αυτοκράτορα της Νίκαιας.

Από τα αρχειακά τεκμήρια προκύπτει επίσης η θεσμική σύνδεση του τίτλου του μεγαδούκα με εκείνον του πρωτοστράτορα, του διοικητή της εμπροσθοφυλακής του στρατού. Επί Παλαιολόγων, ο πρωτοστράτωρ διοικούσε το ελαφρό ιππικό των ελλήνων και αλβανών ιππέων του Δεσποτάτου, τους οποίους θα χρησιμοποιήσουν αργότερα οι Βενετοί ως *stradioti*. Το αξίωμα του πρωτοστράτορα αποτελούσε εφελτήριο για εκείνο του μεγάλου δουκός. Η εγγύτητα επεκτείνεται και στα δηλωτικά των δύο αξιωμάτων (π.χ. το δεκανίκιον), σύμφωνα με το πρωτόκολλο της αυλής. Επιπλέον, η σταθερή σύνδεση των αξιωμάτων που έφεραν οι Λάσκαρη (μεγαδούκας, πρωτοστράτωρ) με την επικράτεια του Δεσποτάτου προσδιορίζει και το περιεχόμενο του αξιώματος του μεγαδούκα γεννώντας περαιτέρω ερωτηματικά για την ταυτότητα και άλλων προσώπων που αυτοαποκαλούνται «μεγαδούκες» στα βενετικά έγγραφα της συγκεκριμένης περιόδου.

Αν τελικά, όπως προκύπτει, ο τίτλος του «μεγάλου δουκός» την παλαιολόγεια περίοδο υποδήλωνε απλώς την έκταση της ισχύος, ήταν δηλαδή συνώνυμο του μεγάλου άρχοντα, τότε το περιεχόμενό του παύει να δηλώνει θεσμό· επανέρχεται στην αρχική, δημόδη απόδοση του κατόχου αξιώματος με ευρείες εξουσίες, ως «μεγάλου δουκός». Ένα από αυτά τα αξιώματα –που έχει όμως συγκεκριμένο περιεχόμενο– θα μπορούσε να είναι και εκείνο του πρωτοστράτορα, το οποίο συνοδεύει με αξιοσημείωτη σταθερότητα, στα προαναφερόμενα έγγραφα, τους τελευταίους φορείς του τίτλου του «μεγαδούκα».



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New Approaches for the Byzantine-Ottoman Relations (1284 – 1302)

The main problem for the foundation of Ottoman state is question of sources. The first Ottoman Chronicals about Pre-Ottoman Era was written after the XV century. On the other hand, the first source about Byzantine-Ottoman struggle was written by a contemporary Byzantine Historian George Pachymeres who wrote the events starting with Bafeus War, 1302. However, this date is too late to explain the foundation of Ottoman State. Because until 1302, the Ottomans pass over the east of Karasu Valley and occupied the Byzantine places of Bilecik, Yarhisar, İnegöl, Yenişehir and Köprühisar. Thus the Ottomans became an important power and started invasions over the city of Nicaea. This knowledge which is not detailed had started to be written after more than a hundred years later of foundation. Consequently an important question appears; how Ottomans conquered all these places? There should be a preapeiring process for Ottoman invasions of course.

In our field researches, we have discovered important and stratecigal castles in Bilecik region which used by pre-Ottomans. These castles were on the important roads which were connecting Bilecik-İnegöl and the others, played a crucial role in between Byzantine-Ottoman struggle. In this article we are going to discuss about these castles ant its roles during pre-Ottoman era.

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For the Recovery of the Dwindling Empire.

The Great Palaeologan Strategy for the Westernmost Parts of Via Egnatia

Situated in Via Egnatia's westernmost regions of the restored empire, the triangle Ochrid, Durrës, Vlorë was the crucial passage leading from west into the heart of the empire through Macedonia and as such, its strategic importance is evident. In the course of the 13th century and until 1281 the local populations had experienced many changes, different rules and diverse policies. Following their return under Byzantine imperial control, their political and religious identity had to be confirmed and consolidated anew. In this vein, the imperial patronage and support aimed at re-integrating the remote audiences and reinforcing their sense of belonging to the empire and Orthodoxy.



At the virtual absence of any fiscal vitality, the Palaeologan court was forced to resort to alternative strategies of ‘winning the hearts’ of their subjects. The chain of imperial images across this geographic line is noticeable and apparently not coincidental. Furthermore, the pro-ecclesiastic stance of Andronicos II, as expressed with the construction or restoration of churches, their endowment with holy utensils and precious manuscripts, the circulation of particular coinage and the confirmation of privileges in the area, suggests that the westernmost provinces of Via Egnatia benefited from the focal policies exercised on a central level in Constantinople and other centres (Thessaloniki, Ochrid). The use of subject-matter and types (i.e. warrior saints) encountered in prominent contemporary monuments suggest that the artists were conscious of the main artistic tendencies and symbolisms. Finally, the pro-monastic character attested in the surviving iconography suggests that the intellectual and spiritual explorations of the metropolitan centres were introduced in this remote province, while the local population was invited to share them, through art and imagery, in a last attempt to salvage the dwindling Byzantine Empire by winning over the hearts of the Empire’s westernmost provinces, whose centrifugal leniencies eventually fractured the Empire.

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Τοπαρχίαν Πολόγους: Location and Chronological Framework

Historiography considers North-western Macedonia, respectively Polog, entered within Byzantine borders at the same time with the restoration of the Byzantine Empire in 1261. Namely, it is believed that with the peace agreement signed between Nicaea and Bulgaria in 1258, Bulgarians returned to the Nicaeans earlier conquered territories. Previously agreed Nicaean-Bulgarian border (Regina peace agreement of 1256) was established and Nicaean administration in Polog was restored.

It seems that the relevant contemporary sources, as is undoubtedly John Cantacuzene, challenge such findings. Thus, one might argue that John Cantacuzene’s information about “τὴν Δαλματίαν... τοπαρχίαν Πολόγους” refers to north-western Macedonian region Polog and it could indicate that Polog fell under Byzantine rule later than 1261.

Also this information might refer to Polog, located in Albania – according to the Geogre Acropolites written records about the conquest of Polog in 1259!

The ground for locating and chronological framework for the existence of τοπαρχίαν Πολόγους could be found in the following contemporary sources:

- The well-known Skopje Monastery of St. George – Gorg Chrysobull issued by Bulgarian tsar Constantine Tikh Asen (sometime around 1258);
- George Pachymer’s information about Polog during his visit to Serbia.

Bearing in mind these source information I am raising the issue of existence of a separate short-term government in Polog and I am offering its chronological time frame.



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Byzantine Pontos and the Kartvelians in the XIII-XV Cc.

One of the most important directions of contemporary Byzantine studies is the comprehensive research of various historical, geographical and cultural regions of Byzantium as areas of interaction and mutual influence of different cultures and civilizations. Such studies allow to reveal the peculiarities of regional development of byzantine civilization and to determine the reasons, both political and sociocultural contributing to the identity of these regions.

In this regard, the Pontos, which in a number of other historical and cultural parts of the Byzantine world is characterized with a complex of sociocultural features, seems to be of a great interest. In our view, the regional peculiarities of the Byzantine Pontos, along with occurring in the Black Sea region political and migration processes have been to a great extent caused by the geographic and ethnic characteristics of this region.

In all historical times, Pontos was the scene of fierce military struggle for geopolitical and economic dominance in the Black Sea region between various empires and kingdoms of Antiquity and the Middle ages. At the same time, it acted as a contact zone between different cultures and civilizations of East and West, North and South. As a result of their interaction and mutual influence a special - Pontic type of polyethnic society of the Middle Ages was formed.

Along with that, since the times of the ancient colonization of the Black Sea, political and cultural development of the Pontos has been defined by the Greeks. The process of Hellenization here was not as active as, for example, in the Northern and Western Black Sea region and was associated not with the influx of immigrants from Greece, but with the spread of Greek culture and its influence on customs and lifestyle of local – Kartvelian population.

The Empire of Trebizond may serve as a vivid example of this. Based upon its type of civilization the Kingdom of Great Komnenos, created with an active participation of Tamar's Kingdom, was a Byzantine state, basic elements of which were the Orthodoxy, the Greek language and the Byzantine concept of power. The commitment to Hellenic, or rather to the Greek-Byzantine art may well demonstrate the civilizational belonging of the Empire too. Besides, in our opinion, a striking proof of this is the existence of Greek as an official language of clerical work and worship.

However, the Pontic Byzantium was formed as a result of mutual influence and interaction between Byzantine civilization and local, in particular Kartvelian, historical, cultural and civilizational space. Architectural monuments and toponyms of the region, anthroponymics, traditions, culture and the language of the Pontos population, as well as administrative-territorial organization and social structure of the Empire of Trebizond serve as a perfect evidence of the foregoing.

Without overstating the role and importance neither of the Georgian Kingdom nor of the Kartvelian population of the Pontos in the historical fate of the Empire of Trebizond, we should mention that namely the local indigenous population, obviously along with the Greeks, shaped significantly the sociocultural identity of the Pontic polyethnic society, as well as the cultural image of the Kingdom of the Great Komnenos and the Pontic region in general.



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The Earthly Order: Social Stratification in Late Byzantium

The paper intends to analyse the basic principles that governed the social relations and through which Byzantine society was constructed and perceived by the Byzantine themselves. It will, moreover, attempt to identify the basic traits of the Late Byzantine social structure. Special emphasis will be placed on gestures and on verbal or corporeal performance as indicators of social status.

Deference was expected by the social superiors and failure to exhibit it on behalf of the social inferiors was remarked and often had repercussions. This deference was exhibited verbally through flattery, while corporeally were being used a number of gestures, such as proskynesis or bowing. The degree of social gap was denoted with analogous gestures. A simple man, for example, would need to perform proskynesis in order to show his deference to a higher aristocrat, whereas a lesser aristocrat would only need to bow to the latter. On the other side of the social ladder, the upper strata of society were expected to share part of their (financial/political) surplus with the lesser strata under the concept of philanthropy.

As has been already remarked in the past, Byzantine society lacked clearly defined social groups, especially regarding the upper stratum, as someone would normally expect. But this lack did not prevent Byzantine society from becoming a highly hierarchical one. Hierarchy governed not only the domain of court ceremony, but regulated interpersonal relations as well.

On the other side, this hierarchy was individualistic, meaning that it did not rank groups of relatively equals, but rather unequal individuals. This created in fact an obstacle to the development of groups of people sharing a relatively equal social position. Another factor contributing to the under-development of group consciousness was the fragmentation of the upper and middle classes into factions. Byzantine society was a typical society where patron-client relations proliferated and the establishment and maintenance of a social network was necessary not only for the higher aristocrats, the politicians, but also for other social groups such as the literati or the churchmen. Already, in the mid-thirteenth century Theodoros II Laskaris in his writings saw Byzantine society divided into two, the masters and their friends, the latter understood as in fact the servants, but in a relationship governed by the Aristotelian principle of friendship. An aristocratic oikos was usually surrounded by a fairly large network of relatives, (political or social) friends, house servants, employees and other dependents. Thus, there was little room left to social equals to achieve collective action based on common interests.

During the late Byzantine period, there was an increasing effort to define the borders of the socially upper stratum under certain principles. Poverty, for example, was evolved into a concept for reproach, regardless of the validity of the claim. The exhibition of wealth, on the other side, and of enrichment was usually a matter of praise; and although older social standards might have considered certain ways of enrichment (such as the trade of taxes) as pejorative, the reality showed



that these did not constitute signs of social position, since people of higher rank continuously conducted them throughout this period. Family lineage and birth, an important factor since the eleventh century, remained at force and were in fact strengthened. At the same time there was an effort to view the social inferiors as imprudent and uneducated, members of the “mob”. Like in the previous centuries social position and social ascent was also realised through state service and imperial favour. Both were usually translated to additional wealth, privileged marriages and social esteem. In fact, state service and imperial favour remained in this period perhaps the most important factor in determining the social position.

There was a fair degree of openness of the society which allowed social ascent. This social ascent, however, was never that sudden neither too high. It might for example mean that a family of lesser aristocracy managed to ascent into the higher aristocracy, or the upper middle class into the lesser aristocracy. This openness produced a certain degree of renewal to the higher aristocracy, the elite of the empire. Eventually, though, it meant little for the social profile and attitude of that person, since he would generally imitate the way of life of his new position in the social system.



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THE CHURCH BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST – PART 1

Chairs: **Nichkiphoros Tsougarakis, Anna Karamanidou**

Charles Yost,

An “Increase of Truth...Not the Abolition of Former Things”:
Change and Continuity in the Religious Identity of Byzantines United to Rome

Daniele Tinterri,

Orthodox and Catholic Church in Venetian Negroponte and in Genoese Chios:
The Same Issue, Two Different Solutions

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An “Increase of Truth...Not the Abolition of Former Things”: Change and Continuity in the Religious Identity of Byzantines United to Rome

The union of Greek Christians with the Latin Church, despite the long-standing schism between Rome and their own ancestral see, though seemingly familiar to scholars of Byzantine religious history remains to be fully understood. Scholars frequently treat these Greeks as “converts to Catholicism” or label them as “Latinophrones,” the insult hurled at them by their medieval adversaries, thus insinuating that these figures have no real place as objects of inquiry in the field of “authentic” Byzantine religious culture and thereby preempting an impartial hearing of their religious convictions and identity. As Alexandra Riebe has demonstrated in the case of Patriarch John Bekkos, such labels and treatments foster misreadings of the figures to whom they are applied. In the vein of Riebe’s 2005 monograph, as well as a few other scholarly contributions (e.g. Judith Ryder, Yury Avvakumov), this paper will strive toward a fuller understanding of these elusive and intriguing figures by means of a perspective frequently neglected though altogether indispensable: their own words. This paper will examine their own articulations of their identity as Greeks united to Rome, with special attention to the way in which they navigate the seeming contradictions of their religious status and present it in terms of change or stasis. Specifically, I will examine these articulations of self-understanding as they appear in the writings of men such as Manuel Kalekas (c. 1360-1410) and Ioannis Plousiadenos (c. 1430-1500), i.e. Greeks united to Rome both before and after the watershed Council of Florence. In these writings, the relationship between change, the self-conscious adoption of a novel religious status against a well-worn tradition of rejection of the Latins, and continuity, in terms of fidelity to the ancient faith as understood by the unionists themselves, will be considered and proposed as a tension potentially marking “unionist discourse.” Despite the apparent contradictions entailed by the religious status of these figures, and the tendency of hostile critics to portray their religious convictions as opportunism or a transgression of the religio-cultural boundary between Latin and Greek, men such as Kalekas and Plousiadenos argued that the best part of the Greek theological tradition was not only consistent with, but demanded union with Rome. I would suggest that Maximos Planoudes’ dictum, “Πάντα μὲν γὰρ μεταβάλλεται, ἀπόλλυται δὲ οὐδέν,” the motto of this International Congress of Byzantine Studies, may apply in surprisingly suitable way to the religious identity of these united Greeks, as they themselves understood it. This dynamic between change and continuity, along with their concerns for ethnic solidarity, doctrinal inerrancy, and obedience to the Church as exhibited by the words of the united Greeks themselves, reveals their profile to be far more complicated and their role in Byzantine religious history far more intriguing than is implied by much of the conventional scholarship treating them as mere “converts” or “Latinophrones.”



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Orthodox and Catholic Church in Venetian Negroponte and in Genoese Chios: The Same Issue, Two Different Solutions

In the regions of Greece under Latin control after 1204, the issue of the relations between Catholic and Orthodox Church represent a major theme. How can this question be tackled and can different approaches be detected?

In this paper, I want to take into account the cases of the Venetian colony of Negroponte and of the Genoese colony of Chios. The policies which are put into being differ deeply from one another, a fact which is a clear index of a different conception of power and authority, largely dependent on ideology of the dominant classes in the two Italian cities.

As in Crete, ecclesiastical issues in Negroponte are considered as a most important feature of the organization of the State. The local orthodox clergymen are put under the control of Venetian magistrates, and no interference is accepted on the part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, also after the restauration of the Byzantine capital in 1261. The number of orthodox clergymen depends on the decisions of Venetian government, which wants to avoid an excessive amount of members of the local Orthodox church. This can be explained not only with the preoccupation of limiting the influence of an institution which represents an important feature of the identity of the local population, but also with fiscal reasons, as orthodox clergymen enjoyed various tax exemptions. Besides, the local Greek church is obliged to coexist not only with the Latin church, but also with an institution such as the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, residing on the island from 1314. In the years around 1453, Bessarion is charged with the titularity of the Latin Patriarchate, in order to press for the union of the Catholic and Orthodox Church.

Under this respect, Genoese Chios reveals to us a clearly different scenario. The Giustiniani, the familiar group ruling the island, in their effort to limit the expenses for the settlement and in order to maintain good relations with the local population, do not hesitate to act in favour of the Orthodox local church, even at the risk of causing the protests of the Papacy. During the first half of the 15th century, Catholic bishops such as Leonardo Pallavicini complain with the Papacy for the lack of the financial means the local Latin church is exposed to, a situation which puts at risk the very dignity of the institution. The Giustiniani are even accused to attend religious functions in Orthodox churches, while the Papacy tries to oblige the rulers of Chios to observe rules which are present overall in Europe, but are not complied with in Chios, such as the obligation for Jews to indicate their belonging by putting a yellow sign on their clothes. In some cases, we get the impression that the Giustiniani are much more sensitive to the indications of the Orthodox church and of the Greek Patriarchate of Constantinople, than to the impositions of the Pope, an attitude which is also often attributed to the Genoese Gattilusio of Lesbos.

In consideration of numerous documents of the Venetian and Genoese government and of Papal institutions, two clearly different approaches to the present issue can be detected. While Venice considers ecclesiastical issues as a major part of the life of the State, to be used to promote the political influence of the magistrates, the Genoese Giustiniani consider good relations with the Orthodox population to be much more important than complying with Papal policies.



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Le dialogue entre l'Est et l'Ouest menée par Barlaam le Calabrais : problème de Filioque

Barlaam de Seminara (XIV siècle, l'Empire Byzantin, l'Empire Romain), ayant comme son but le dépassement de la division des Eglises, lui-même a fait son chemin de l'orthodoxie au catholicisme. Dans les œuvres composées au cours de ce voyage, il défendait sincèrement et d'une manière originale les vues des deux côtés. Qui a causé ce changement radical? La position de Barlaam était-elle vraiment honnête et cohérente dans les deux périodes de son activité? De quelle valeur est son argumentation? Après l'analyse et la comparaison de ses raisonnements à propos de la doctrine sur la procession du Saint-Esprit dans les périodes orthodoxe et catholique de son activité, nous espérons s'approcher des réponses à ces questions.

La clé pour résoudre le problème est fournie par deux principes méthodologiques de Barlaam, lesquels il explicite dans son œuvre.

En premier lieu, c'est une exigence de la croyance raisonnable: les vérités supérieures théologiques ne seront adoptées que par la foi, ne sont ni accessibles par la raison humaine ni soumises à la critique rationnelle. Cette croyance dans telle ou telle doctrine théologique doit être fondée sur des bases solides, et la raison doit être utilisée pour l'analyse de ces bases. En outre, sur la base de cette étude il est possible de prendre une décision de changer sa foi. Église grecque, à qui Barlaam à son avis est resté fidèle, s'est compromise par les événements des années 1341-1347 par rapport à l'Église romaine plus stable. Par conséquent, l'autorité de la tradition catholique l'a muni des motifs plus solides pour sa foi que l'orthodoxie déchiré par les conflits politiques et théologiques.

En second lieu, c'est un principe, qui peut être appelé la construction négative de la théologie: la théologie se développe en accumulant les assertions, qui ne sont pas contraires à ce qui a été accumulé par les différentes sources de la théologie: l'Écriture, le consensus des pères, les documents des Conciles. Dans les conditions, de l'ambiguïté dans l'interprétation de l'Écriture et de la position des saints Pères pas très bien définie, ce principe permet de défendre avec succès les deux points de vue, parce que ni la présence ni l'absence de Filioque n'est pas contraire à la Tradition. Pour un argument décisif on ne peut proposer qu'un consensus des saints Pères bien établi ou un Concile œcuménique, dont le rôle, selon Barlaam, appartient au concile de Lyon de 1274.

Ses arguments en faveur des deux côtés sont fins et intéressants. Il considère méthodiquement et honnêtement les objections possibles des côtés opposés. Parfois il laisse les réticences, provoquant la confusion. Nous croyons cependant que ces incohérences sur certaines questions dans la deuxième période de son travail ne sont pas causés par un comportement opportuniste, mais par le manque de temps et de force chez un évêque âgé obsédé par les conflits diocésains.



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The Participation and Role of the Metropolitan of Lacedaemonia, Methodios, in the Synod of Ferrara-Florence (1438 – 1439) and His Subsequent Stance on the Florentine Union (1439 – 1442)

For the Medieval World, the Synod of Ferrara-Florence (1438 – 1439) was the last major opportunity to bridge the gap between Eastern and Western Christianity. Any facts associated with the organization and, above all, the proceedings of this Synodal Council have been recorded on a day-to-day basis by eye-witnesses and are further supported by other evidence. Historians and theologians are therefore in a position to thoroughly examine and interpret the facts and also reconstruct the theological thinking and active action of important and less important personalities who played a significant role in the synodal proceedings. On the contrary, personalities who participated in the synodal proceedings but do not seem to have played a vital role in theological discussions and doctrinal debates that occurred during the Synod, have not attracted, at least not until now, the interest of the scientific community. These personalities were essentially of less importance to the Synod, since they were overshadowed by the actions of leading personalities and this is exactly why their participation and role in the synodal proceedings has not been, at least not until now, the subject of any study.

Among the less important personalities of the orthodox delegation who participated in the synodal proceedings was the then Metropolitan of Lacedaemonia, Methodios. This hierarch is known to the scientific community solely for his participation in the synodal proceedings, while no other personal information about him neither any information about his primacy has been found. Any evidence referring to the participation of Metropolitan Methodios in the synodal proceedings is mainly drawn from the Memoirs of Sylvester Syropoulos and less from the *Acta Greaca* or *Acta Latina*.

Although the available evidence on the participation of the Bishop of Lacedaemonia Methodios in the synodal proceedings is weak, it proves that the hierarch is not among the leading personalities of the orthodox delegation. Still, this poor evidence is enough to confirm that this bishop, like most of the orthodox hierarchs who participated in the synodal proceedings, was often characterized by theological incompetence and maybe also a flexible ecclesiastical conscience, leading him to a rather passive attitude. More specifically, although he does not seem to have engaged in the doctrinal discussions, he fits easily to the pro-union party and he ardently supported the perspective of the subordination, essentially, of the Orthodox Church to the Roman Catholic Church, possibly in an effort to reinforce the prestige of his ecclesiastical see. However, this did not prevent him from regretting his actions and revoking his signature, like other orthodox hierarchs, when the orthodox delegation returned to Constantinople, and he did so with equal ease as with the signing of the Florentine Decree.



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Ενδιαφέρουσα επιστολή του πρώην Πατριάρχου Ιεροσολύμων Νεκταρίου προς τον τσάρο Αλέξιο Μιχαήλοβιτς

Ο Πατριάρχης Νεκτάριος Ιεροσολύμων (1661-1669) με το λόγο και το έργο του σφράγισε την ιστορία της εποχής του στον ευρύτερο χώρο της καθ' ημάς Ανατολής.

Το 1661 εκλέχθηκε Πατριάρχης Ιεροσολύμων και το 1669 παραιτήθηκε από τον Πατριαρχικό θρόνο λόγω ασθενείας. Συνέχισε όμως με την ιδιότητα του πρώην Πατριάρχου Ιεροσολύμων, την πολυποίκιλη δράση του και την ορθόδοξη βιωτή του μέχρι το θάνατό του στις 14 Ιουλίου 1676.

Κατά την οκτάχρονη παραμονή του Νεκταρίου στον Πατριαρχικό θρόνο των Ιεροσολύμων τον απασχόλησε εκτός των άλλων θεμάτων και η αντιμετώπιση διαφόρων εκκλησιαστικών προβλημάτων, τα οποία προσπαθούσε να διευθετήσει, είτε με προσωπικές του περιοδείες, είτε με την εκτενή επιστολογραφία του. Στις επιστολές αυτές καταφαίνεται το εκτεταμένο φάσμα των φιλικών του σχέσεων με σημαίνοντα πρόσωπα της εποχής και η επίδραση που ασκούσε στο υπάρχον εκκλησιαστικό και κοινωνικοπολιτικό γίγνεσθαι της κρίσιμης εκείνης περιόδου.

Η επιστολή προς τον τσάρο Αλέξιο Μιχαήλο-βιτς (1645-1676) αποτελεί απάντηση στα «πανσέβαστα και άγια γράμματα της ιεροαγίας δεξιάς» του τσάρου Αλεξίου. Το κύριο πρόσωπο των μνημο-νευομένων στην επιστολή γεγονότων είναι ο Πατριάρχης της Ρωσικής Εκκλησίας Νίκων, ο οποίος παραιτήθηκε από τον πατριαρχικό θρόνο εν μέσω έντονων και αλλεπάλληλων εκκλησιαστικών και πολιτικών καταστάσεων. Η προϋπάρχουσα άρρηκτη σχέση των δύο ισχυρών αυτών προσωπικοτήτων της Ρωσίας διερράγη εξ αιτίας πολλών παραγόντων, οι οποίοι οδήγησαν τον Τσάρο σε σύγκληση έκτακτης Συνόδου, όπου μέσα σε εχθρικό κατά του Νίκωνος κλίμα εκδόθηκε καθαιρετική ακόμη και από την αρχιερωσύνη απόφαση. Επειδή όμως η καταδικαστική κρίση δεν ήταν ομόφωνη, αυτό έδωσε την ευκαιρία στον Νίκωνα να αντε-πιτεθεί χαρακτηρίζοντας αντικανονική τη σύνοδο και τις αποφάσεις της.

Λόγω των συνεχιζομένων εντόνων διχαστικών προβλημάτων στη ζωή της Ρωσικής Εκκλησίας ο Τσάρος αποφά-σισε να συγκαλέσει νέα Μεγάλη Σύνοδο με τη συμμετοχή όλων των Ορθοδόξων Πατριαρχών προς διευθέτηση του θέματος, αποστέλλοντας στον καθένα ξεχωριστή επιστολική πρόσκληση.

Οι Πατριάρχες απέφυγαν την κοινή μετάβασή τους στη Μόσχα σύμφωνα με την επιθυμία του Τσάρου και έτσι ματαιώθηκε η σχεδιαζόμενη Με-γάλη Σύνοδος. Αντ' αυτής συντάχθηκε ο περίφημος «Τόμος των τεσ-σάρων Πατριαρχών» του 1663 στον οποίο επισυνάφθηκε προσθήκη του Νεκταρίου (Φεβρουά-ριος του 1664), ακριβώς για να αποτελέσει τη βάση επίλυσης της «υποθέσεως Νίκωνος», σύμφωνα με τους θείους και ιερούς Κανόνες των Συνόδων της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας, τα αγιοπατερικά συγγράμματα και τις αποφάσεις Βυζαντινών Αυτοκρα-τόρων.

Τα κείμενά του εντάσσονται σε μία ύστατη προσπάθεια να πρωτανεύσει η καλή διάθεση ειρηνεύσεως της Εκκλησίας της Ρωσίας και με προτεινόμενη απόφαση του Τσάρου να καλέσει τον Νίκωνα να επανέλθει στον πατριαρχικό του θρόνο, διότι «η εκκλησιαστική στάσις και ταραχήφοβερωτέρα παντός πολέμου καθέστηκε». Ο Πατριάρ-χης Νεκτάριος επεχείρησε να



εντοπίσει ελαφρυντικά στοιχεία και σημεία προσέγγισης των δύο αντιμαχομένων πλευρών στο σύνολο των τότε γεγονότων και επέκτεινε την επιχειρηματολογία του στην άποψη ότι «δέχεται συγγνώμην το πράγμα, γίνεται γάρ πολλάκις και παραίτησις άκυρος».

Η επιστολή του Νεκταρίου προς τον τσάρο της Ρωσίας Αλέξιο αποτελεί συν τοις άλλοις θαυμαστή απόδειξη της ευρυτάτης αιοογρα-φικής και αιοοπατερικής του παιδείας, καθώς χρησιμοποιεί με διάκριση και νηφαλιότητα κάθε δυνατό μέσο προκειμένου να επιτευχθεί η ειρήνευση της τεταραγμένης Εκκλησίας του Χριστού στη Ρωσία.

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Venetian Attitudes towards the Union of the Churches: A Letter in Praise of Cardinal Bessarion

The timeline extending from the 12th to the 15th century, during which the Byzantine emperors raised the question of the Union to the pope, concurs with the period of the configuration of Republic of St Marc in an autonomous state and its gradual consolidation as economic, political and military hegemony in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is quite certain that since the 12th century the Venetian Republic had understood the way in which the Byzantines were handling the Union issue. According to the actions of the Venetians for the transfer of the relics of St Marc from Alexandria to Venice in the early 9th century and the construction of their imposing ducal chapel in the name of the Evangelist modeled in consonance of SS Apostles' church in Constantinople, someone might consider that Venice tended to adopt the 'theocratic' archetypal of the Byzantine Empire's governance. However, as the historical-religious events demonstrated, the emblem of the St Marc's lion was actually independent from the political perceptivity of Venice and should be considered as one more side effect of the Byzantine Empire's past splendour.

As it is known, during the last hundred years of the Palaeologan emperorship, the issue of the Union of the Churches constituted the main field on the diplomatic discussions between the byzantine emperors and the Holy See. From the mid-14th century the city of Venice was the place of reference for the byzantine emperors who were moving to the West seeking help in order to bear down the Ottoman threat from the East. However, evidence that could prove a religious homogeneousness on this major issue does not exist. Only in the mid-15th century, after the fall of Constantinople, Venice seems to support the papal attempts to experiment the acceptance of the catholic faith in the Levant. The island of Crete, under Venetian rule, was the ideal place for the fulfilment of this project and Cardinal Bessarion of Nicaea, Latin patriarch of Constantinople since 1463, primarily encouraged the finance support of the filo-catholic group of priests in favour of the preservation and the propagation of the unionism among the Cretan-venetian society. Even if the Venetians concurred with Bessarion's political and religious concerns of that period, the finding of an unknown letter of condolences sent from the doge of Venice to the pope for the Cardinal's death in 1472, presents a worthy occasion to remark some significant elements of the Venetian policy in relation to the Uniate Era of the 15th century.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

FRIDAY, 26TH AUGUST

NEW INSIGHTS ON AN EARLY BYZANTINE CITY: CARIČIN GRAD (JUSTINIANA PRIMA)

Convener: Vujadin Ivanišević

RHETORIC AND HISTORY – RHETORIC IN HISTORY. CREATING DISCOURSES IN BYZANTIUM – PART 1

Conveners: Stratis Papaioannou, Anthony Kaldellis

RHETORIC AND HISTORY – RHETORIC IN HISTORY. CREATING DISCOURSES IN BYZANTIUM – PART 2

Conveners: Stratis Papaioannou, Anthony Kaldellis

THE PORTRAIT IN BYZANTIUM AND IN THE BYZANTINE WORLD: ITS POLITICAL, SYMBOLICAL AND CEREMONIAL CONTEXTS

Conveners: Aleksandr Preobrazhenskii, Dragan Vojvodić

MUSIC AND HYMNOGRAPHY, MELODIES, THEIR COMPOSERS AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Convener: Vesna Sara Peno

MODALITIES OF BYZANTINE PSALMODY IN THE CHANTING TRADITIONS OF THE ORTHODOX NATIONS – BYZANTINE AND POST-BYZANTINE ERA

Convener: Vesna Sara Peno

BYZANTIUM BEYOND BORDERS

Convener: Aleksandra Vraneš

BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST

Conveners: Georgia Xanthaki-Karamanou, Erika Juhász

AUTOCÉPHALIES : L'EXERCICE DE L'INDÉPENDANCE DANS LES ÉGLISES SLAVES ORIENTALES (X^E-XX^E SIÈCLE)

Conveners: Marie-Hélène Blanchet, Frédéric Gabriel, Laurent Tatarenko

BYZANTINE ARTISTIC TRADITION AND THE WESTERN WORLD

Chairs: Günter Paulus Schiemenz, Dubravka Preradović

BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL WEST LITERATURE

Chairs: Michael Jeffreys, Peter Toth

THE LATE BYZANTINE EMPIRE – PART 3

Chairs: Günter Prinzing, Brendan Osswald

APPLIED ARTS OF THE BYZANTINE WORLD – PART 2

Chairs: Ionna Koltsida-Makri, Leonela Fundić

CIVIL AND CANON LAW IN BYZANTIUM AND MEDIEVAL SERBIA

Chairs: Srđan Šarkić, Paolo Angelini

HYMNOGRAPHY

Chairs: Stig Frøyshov, Alexandra Nikiforova

THE BYZANTINES, SOUTH SLAVS AND HUNGARIANS

Chairs: Georgi N. Nikolov, Panos Sophoulis

THE CHURCH BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST – PART 2

Chairs: Radomir V. Popović, Giorgi Macharashvili

STUDIES IN BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY – PART 2

Chairs: Mirjana Gligorijević Maksimović, Piotr Ł. Grotowski

SERBIAN MEDIEVAL ART

Chairs: Ida Sinkević, Ioannis Sisiou

BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE – PART 3

Chairs: Robert Ousterhout, Marina Mihaljević

BYZANTINE ARTISTIC TRADITION AND THE WESTERN WORLD. MEDITERRANEAN DOMAIN – PART 1

Chairs: Branislav Cvetković, Livia Bevilacqua

NUMISMATICS

Chairs: Zeliha Demirel Gökalp, Bruno Callegher

POST-BYZANTINE ART – PART 1

Chairs: Angeliki Strati, Bojan Miljković

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND HERESIES

Chairs: Demetrios Kyritses, Jonel Hedjan

THE LATE BYZANTINE EMPIRE AND THE WEST

Chairs: Ivayla Popova, Ionut Alexandru Tudorie

BOOK ILLUMINATION IN THE BYZANTINE WORLD

Chairs: Engelina Smirnova, Smiljka Gabelić

VARIA ARCHAEOLOGICA

Chairs: Vesna Bikić, Özgü Çömezoğlu Uzbek

LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

Chairs: Elizabeta Dimitrova, Skënder Muçaj

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Chairs: Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić, Elena Kountoura Galaki

SIGILLOGRAPHY

Chairs: Christos Stavrakos, Archibald Dunn

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Chairs: Soultana Lamprou, Gianluca Ventrella

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23rd

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Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

NEW INSIGHTS ON AN EARLY BYZANTINE CITY: CARIČIN GRAD (JUSTINIANA PRIMA)

Convener: Vujadin Ivanišević

Rainer Schreg,

Urban Ecology as a Matter of Archaeology: The Case Study Caričin Grad

Constanze Röhl,

Caričin Grad as a Study in Space Syntax

Ivan Bugarski – Sonja Stamenković,

Housing and Storage District at the Northern Plateau of Caričin Grad

Miriam Steinborn,

Elementary Habitation –

Archaeological Investigation of a Small-Scale House in Caričin Grad Case Study Building 23

Anna Elena Reuter,

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Nemanja Marković,

Archaeozoology of Caričin Grad: Preliminary Results and Potential

Henriette Kroll,

The Enemy within: A Collection of Commensals from Caričin Grad

Jago-Jonathan Birk, Miriam Steinborn, Ivan Bugarski, Rainer Schreg,

Soil Analyses at Caričin Grad – Element Mapping and Biomarker Analyses



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Urban Ecology as a Matter of Archaeology: The Case Study Caričin Grad

Ecological approaches gain in importance in all fields of archaeology. Modern challenges of climate change as well as of increasing urban agglomerations raise awareness for the complex interaction of men and environment. Regarding urban archaeology Caričin Grad provides an outstanding example how this theoretical can be used to bring together results of different methods of environmental archaeology such as archaeobotany, archaeozoology and soil sciences. In order to understand the town as an ecosystem we need to have a closer look on the daily life not only of the elite, but also of the inhabitants. We aim for this by looking closer at small buildings, waste deposits as well as on environmental data taken from the excavations within the city as well as from off-site research in its surrounding.

This paper presents methodological and theoretical aspects using the ongoing research at Caričin Grad as a case study.

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Caričin Grad as a Study in Space Syntax

Space Syntax is a method which can be applied to settlements (Alpha analysis) as well as single buildings (Gamma analysis) in order to analyse spatial layouts, and was devised in 1972 at the Faculty of the built environment at the University College London by Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson.

By quantifying potential patterns of movement it is possible to make statistically sound assumptions as to the accessibility of specific areas within a settlement, set up a hierarchy of use for rooms within a building, spot safe and unsafe regions or parts of a building (equivalent to low and high permeability in urban planning), calculate traffic and potential paths of movement of outsiders within a settlement etc.

40 years of continuous application and improvement as a method to represent, simulate, analyse and compare spatial layouts and their respective social impact, leave a wide range of possibilities to apply Space Syntax Analysis as an empirical method, i. e. for contemporary settlements respectively city planning, calculating traffic and pedestrian movements, interaction of land use and settlements etc. Space Syntax Analysis has also been used in archaeological and ethnographical contexts, but never achieved a use as widespread as within contemporary settings.



The method will be applied to the architectural remains found outside the northern Acropolis Wall, focusing on the patterns of movement in this part of the settlement.

Hereby, a scenario reconstructing potential social groups present in this area and their function within the overall societal structure is envisioned. Furthermore, it will be discussed who instigated the building process in this area and how it might have developed within the course of time.

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Housing and Storage District at the Northern Plateau of Caričin Grad

Ongoing since 2009 and followed by remote sensing, the excavations of the Upper Town's northern slope have revealed a dense settlement which differs greatly from the city's other habitation quarters. The buildings discovered were linked to the Acropolis and the main city square. Some of the two-storey buildings leaning on the Acropolis rampart were used as both houses and workshops, judging by the traces of furnaces and slag, while the large horreum and some of the elongated buildings sloping towards the north were used to store food – namely building 15C, producing pithoi and carbonised fruits. Numerous millstones found in the area testify that this was a storage district as well. Unlike other parts of the city with their wide porticoes, this quarter was traversed by small streets and narrow passages.

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Elementary Habitation – Archaeological Investigation of a Small-Scale House in Caričin Grad Case Study Building 23

Building 23 is a modest example of architecture in the upper town of Caričin Grad.

It was excavated in 2014-2015 with integration of archaeobiology and soil science. The excavation technique adapted their requirements as well as the methodology of household archaeology. Since one key aspect was the identification of cultural formation processes, a high resolution documentation of small finds was applied.

The house was a semi-detached building with one room, constructed in a characteristic mix of masonry and mud brick. Antique and contemporary analogies indicate an attic storey. It was built



in an advanced phase of the settlement and orientated in consideration of the acropolis fortification and an established road. A small fire place and a storage possibility as well as the assemblage of finds reflect a habitational function, which is stressed by fragments of a rough cut bone fitting that might have belonged to furniture. A sickle illustrates connections of the household to agrarian production. It seems as if the house was left orderly. The talk will focus on the methodological and theoretical framework of household archaeology and its potential regarding the archaeological investigation of social and economic life in the early byzantine era. It is based on the preliminary results of the excavation in Building 23 which provide insights into common life in a 6th century urban context.

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Archaeobotanical Research in Early Byzantine Caričin Grad

The Early Byzantine town Caričin Grad (530-615 AD) is now in focus of archaeological research for more than 100 years. To gain more information about the human daily life, archaeobotanical research was conducted between the years 2013 and 2015 for the first time. The excellent preservation due to the undisturbed occupation layers provides an interesting insight in the plant material of a very short occupation period of only about 85 years. In the three years of investigation 233 soil samples were collected systematically from occupation layers and features in different parts of the town. Mainly from different structures ex. streets, buildings of the Upper Town Area in the north of the Acropolis. Besides, 35 hand-picked samples from the Upper and the Lower Town Areas, collected during former excavations were available for analysis. So far more than 200,000 plant remains, mainly preserved in charred condition could be determined. The plant spectrum is dominated by crop species mainly by cereals like bread wheat (*Triticum aestivum*), broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) and rye (*Secale cereal*). But also the spectrum of fruits and nuts is very diverse in the Upper Town Area. Especially grape vine (*Vitis vinifera*) occurs in high numbers and abundant in the samples. The whole plant spectrum gives a good insight into different activities of the inhabitants of the town, ex. crop processing, stock keeping or waste deposition. Compared to the results of other archaeobotanical investigations of Early Byzantine sites in the Balkan Area, mainly from the region of the lower Danube, the results of Caričin Grad help to characterize the crop spectrum of the entire region and to compare it to the other regions of the Byzantine Empire. Especially the Balkans cereal spectrum differs from the other regions of the empire. Bread wheat or durum wheat (*Triticum durum*) and barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) were most widely used in all regions of the Empire during the Early Byzantine Period, but the cultivation of a greater variety of cereal species including the intensive cultivation of broomcorn millet and rye seem to be unique to the Early Byzantine Balkans.



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Archaeozoology of Caričin Grad: Preliminary Results and Potential

Caričin Grad are believed to be the site of the once important regional centre of Justiniana Prima, the city built by Emperor Justinian I (527-565) to honor his birthplace. Since it lasted a very short time, only 80 years, and the area has remained uninhabited until today, the site has yielded well-preserved monuments and material culture remains. Current research on early Byzantine site of Caričin Grad is aimed at the reconstruction of food supply, economic importance of animals in everyday life and changes in the strategy of exploitation of animals. This research represents pioneer work in the field of early Byzantine archaeozoology in the central Balkans. Animal remains comes from three locations in the city: the complex of the South-Eastern corner tower of the Lower Town, the intramural housing in the Lower Town and the intramural housing in the Upper Town. The main part of the material originated from the occupation layers which are dated in the second half of the 6th century. Preliminary archaeozoological results indicated differences in animal exploitation strategies in Caričin Grad between the first half and the second half of the 6th century. Also, these changes are visible between different parts of the Upper and Lower Town from the same chronological phases. The city was affected during the second half of the 6th century by the process of economic degradation. The transformation is also evident through the animal remains. This phenomenon is commonly known as the “ruralization” of Illyricum. These modifications are well documented through the changes in architecture and other findings.

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The Enemy within: A Collection of Commensals from Caričin Grad

Of all the wars the Byzantines had to fight there was one which proved impossible to win: The war against animal pests. These enemies remain undefeated until today and still cause considerable economic damage. For the Byzantine Period, there are no reliable estimations of the crop loss animal pests caused but it certainly was no less substantial than it is today. Unsurprisingly, the Byzantine farming handbook *Geoponika* dedicates one of its 20 Books to animal pest control. The Byzantine economy relied on long distance grain shippings and on a subsistence strategy based strongly on the storage of staples. These distribution systems entailed new challenges to pest control because they offered the animals plenty of food, shelter, and a means of transportation when populations were under pressure. The inability of the Early Byzantine economic system to counter these challenges appropriately and to contain this everyday threat had devastating consequences: The Justinianic Plague was spread by a flea carried by a major commensal, the Black rat.



The state of research in this field, however, is still weak. Little is known about the commensal faunas in Byzantine cities and storage facilities and the measures the Byzantines took to keep them at bay. In 2015, the vestibule of a *horreum* was excavated on the North Plateau of the Early Byzantine city Caričin Grad and extensive sieving was carried out. The occupation level dating to the earlier decades of the city's short existence yielded a considerable amount of rodent bones. Their archaeozoological analysis sheds a unique light on the commensal fauna scurrying in and around a Byzantine granary, among them a high share of Black Rats – an ominous animal in times of the Plague.

The paper aims to assess the damage potential of the commensal fauna and to better understand the colonization process of the newly erected city by these opportunist species.

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Soil Analyses at Caričin Grad – Element Mapping and Biomarker Analyses

The potential of soil analyses in archaeology was recognized at the beginning of the last century. However, soils and sediments were analysed only in a relatively small number of excavations. The applicability of these analyses in archaeology is still restricted by a limited knowledge of their validity. In an ongoing project at the Caričin Grad site, soil analyses are performed that were classically proposed in an archaeological context as well as more recently developed analyses. Soil samples were collected in dense grids in middle class buildings and adjacent open areas, which were excavated 2014 and 2015. Areas that received high inputs of organic residues are divided from other areas by classical mapping of phosphate concentrations. The results of these analyses are compared by the results of more recently developed simultaneous analyses of several elements (multi-element mapping). In selected samples from areas with high organic inputs, specific organic molecules are analysed. These biomarker analyses are performed to identify more precisely areas of food production and consumption, places of waste disposal and latrines as well as animal husbandry. Furthermore, it is aimed to use biomarker analyses for the identification of animals that were kept within the settlement. First results of element-mapping showed that areas with high and areas with low element concentrations were grouped in distinct clusters. These results showed that element mapping can be successfully applied at the Caričin Grad site. Additionally, first results of ongoing biomarker analyses will be presented.



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RHETORIC AND HISTORY – RHETORIC IN HISTORY. CREATING DISCOURSES IN BYZANTIUM – PART 1

Conveners: Stratis Papaioannou, Anthony Kaldellis

Theresia Raum,

“When Events, like Streams, Flood the Earth” – Threat Discourse in the Reign of Heraklios

Laura Borghetti,

When Rhetoric Tells a Story. Beauty and Grace in Cassia’s Female Euchologic Discourse

Dragoljub Marjanović,

Is there a Hero in the *Short History* of Patriarch Nikephoros?

Daria Resh,

From Ioannes of Sardeis to Symeon Metaphrastes: Rhetorical Rewriting in Its Social Contexts

Jovana Anđelković,

Epistolographic Memoirs – The Case of Storms in John Mauropous’ Letter Collection

Milena Repajić,

Intellectual (Self)advertizing: Some Remarks on the *When* and *Why* of Psellos’ *Chronographia*



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“When Events, like Streams, Flood the Earth” – Threat Discourse in the Reign of Heraklios

The seventh century is widely regarded as a time of epoch-making changes in Byzantium: old economic and administrative structures perished, human and financial resources were drastically reduced while ancestral traditions are thought to have been broken. Students of the period speak of “crisis”. But what means “crisis” and can its definition help us draw a sharper picture of Byzantine society? Social theory regards the establishment of a “threat discourse” as the first step towards successful crisis management: current, real or alleged threats dominate the public debate entirely; the time factor plays a crucial role, the search for solutions is urgent. It is only after such a threat discourse has become predominant, that it would be possible to mobilize people in order to overcome the crisis. This paper considers the evidence for the development of such a threat discourse in the reign of Heraklios (610-641). During the first decades of the seventh century the Byzantine Empire faced major threats from the outside and the inside: the Avars and the Slavs attacked the northern territories and in 626 the capital itself while the long-lasting war with the Sasanian Persians exerted massive pressure on the eastern borders. Shortage of grain supply and money, military defeat, and internal strife led to frustration among the population. Those tensions are mirrored in contemporary numismatic and literary sources: the poems of Georgios Pisides, the emperor’s court poet; the homily on the siege of Constantinople of 626 commonly attributed to Theodoros Synkellos; the work of the historian Theophylaktos Simokates. All three were staying in Constantinople and thus eyewitnesses to the present turmoil. For example, in the words of Mary Whitby Georgios Pisides in particular acted as intermediary between the population of the capital and the emperor. The aim of the paper is to describe on this basis how contemporaries perceived the current threats and what or whom they blamed them on. Moreover, a distinction can perhaps be drawn between the perception of threat by the emperor, the authors, and the population. Furthermore it is important to look at the prognosis of future and provided solutions. From the beginning Heraklios is presented unanimously as saviour. It is argued that specific aspects of the threat discourse created a sense of community among the Byzantine population and a bond of trust between the people and the emperor. This association finally was able to concentrate all available forces, be they human or material, to handle the crisis and save the Byzantine Empire. In sum, the aim is to better identify and describe successful communication strategies, their agents, and audience in early Byzantium.



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When Rhetoric Tells a Story. Beauty and Grace in Cassia's Female Euchologic Discourse

In the field of Byzantine studies, Cassia's *μηνναῖα* have always drawn scholars' attention due to the highly expressive and evocative features in her poetry. Nevertheless, the study of the text and the manuscript tradition of these liturgical hymns, which date back to the early 9th century, have raised neither a modern critical edition nor a complete commentary. My current research focuses on the study of Cassia's poems having a woman as main character and aims to bridge this gap.

Cassia's conception of woman's role is plainly stated in her *corpus* of epigrams and gnomic verses. The shortness of these poems, in most cases couples of verses, allows her to express her ideas quite unequivocally and incisively. On the one hand, in fact, the γνῶμαι clearly define the value that beauty, industriousness and composure should have in women's life. On the other hand, they state to what extent these three qualities can be an aid in order to gain grace.

Since it has been observed that Cassia tends to imprint her personality, ideas and, sometimes, even life experiences in her verses, aim of this paper is to investigate if and how her conception of women's role, by being transferred from the gnomic verses to the properly liturgical ones, has contributed to constitute a particular kind of rhetoric in her female euchologic discourse. If Cassia managed to inset biographical elements and personal points of view in a rigorously structured poetical canon, it could be stated that Cassia let her history talk through rhetoric.

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Is there a Hero in the *Short History* of Patriarch Nikephoros?

The main focus of this paper is an attempt to determine whether Nikephoros of Constantinople as the author of the *Short history* displayed an overall and totally positive image of the Byzantine emperor among characters whom he depicted in his work. From our previous research it was determined that emperors Herakleios and Constantine V receive most attention in the narrative and together occupy more than half of the entire *Short history*. However, these emperors were presented in a complex manner with positive and negative elements in their reigns, providing valuable authorial messages on basis of the entire work. Among fourteen Byzantine emperors mentioned in the *Short history*, there exists a relatively short portray of the reign of Constantine IV. Nikephoros mentions that it was during his reign that both *East and West* found peace after the emperor concluded peace treaties with



Arabs and Bulgarians, successfully ending the two year siege of Constantinople and convening the Sixth ecumenical council and thus reintroducing orthodoxy in the Church of Constantinople after a long Christological polemic which arose from the monothelitic doctrine propagated by emperor Herakleios earlier in the 7th century. In connection with Nikephoros' own time, when he wrote his *Short history*, most probably soon after the Seventh ecumenical council in 787 and his own adherence to the ecumenical ecclesiology of the patriarch Tarasios, the image of the emperor Constantine IV who was the last emperor to convene an Ecumenical council from the perspective of the 8th century, and also able to introduce peace in his empire, argues towards a conclusion that his might be an image of the ideal emperor on the pages of the *Short history*, and on a literary level and its narration a specific type of a *hero* who could provide a type of a ruler in the time of Nikephoros' literary feat to present his view of the past which could engage his own contemporaries.

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From Ioannes of Sardeis to Symeon Metaphrastes:
Rhetorical Rewriting in Its Social Contexts

Starting from the ninth century onwards, circles and writers within the Constantinopolitan literary elite engaged in the rhetorical rewriting of old Saints' *Lives*, a practice that was later labeled with the generic term *metaphrasis*. From a social perspective, this production brought hagiography to a different level of discourse: first, the composition of new renditions of Saint's *Lives* became an important accessory to an intellectual's portrait; and, secondly, hagiography itself developed into a type of high rhetoric.

The present paper seeks answers to the following questions: by whom, when, and why hagiographic rewriting was introduced within the array of elitist intellectual practices; how a previously marginal activity ascended to the highest level of literary hierarchy, and later, represented by Symeon Metaphrastes, became an object of imperial attention; furthermore, how a genre, which by default was preoccupied with the past, served the current interests of its authors and readers, and how hagiographic *metaphrasis* corresponded to similar trends in historiography. By answering these questions, I hope to reconstruct, to the degree possible, the social contexts of the metaphrastic activity in the ninth- and tenth-century Constantinopolitan school milieu, patriarchate, and imperial quarters.



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Epistolographic Memoirs – The Case of Storms in John Mauropous' Letter Collection

This paper relies on two well established premises in contemporary Byzantine studies – autobiographical framework of eleventh-century literature and the understanding of storm imagery as a frequent symbol for both private and public turbulences. Guided by this outline I will try to analyze which events John Mauropous chose to reveal through an epistolary form (rather than through poetic, oratory or even historical compositions), and what rhetorical techniques are used to construct a continuous narration of his downfall. With a careful employment of tempest metaphors this story emerges clearly and as a whole, regardless of apparent vague, ornamental and commonplace rhetoric formations.

In accordance with the questions – the *why* and the *how* – the approach must be twofold. Firstly, it requires some structural remarks. Having a fully preserved master copy from the XIth century at hands, the possibilities for understanding the author's intentions and conceptions are vast. Vaticanus Graecus 676 is a carefully edited manuscript that contains a collection of selected poems, letters and orations. Therefore, it is a three-part, three-genre and three-function work. Mauropous chose to illustrate and emphasize different aspects of his life via three different genres. The biographical logic is recognized behind the smaller circles of his epigrams, even though they often seem as a discontinuous sequence. Having in mind the observations on genre and on other books or authors (apparent in poems 51, 93, 96) while also contemplating the matters of truth that are, from Mauropous' point of view, not guaranteed even in chronographic works, epistolography, being the relic of an actual event, serves this truth-loving intellectual better. In an arranged and enumerated collection, we are presented with a line of "evidence" that holds some information on the author's actions. Standing behind his moderate principles, and by that amplifying the presumed veracity of the text, he left out almost all the names and dates from the letters, since they are of no use in this allegedly purely aesthetic-purposed collection.

Like in the case of epigrams, the arrangement of letters seems discontinuous. However, if we assume that the author – who personally arranged his work, counted 24 verses per each page, demonstrated at length the importance of utmost precision in reading and writing (letters 17, 18) and included in his edited selection a poem on the grammatical correctness of his previous work (poem no. 33) – is a man who did not, in fact, leave his letters scattered randomly in the book, we can find certain regularities. That brings us to the second part of this analysis, i.e. writer's rhetorical techniques. The *Storm storyline* is one of the threads of his careful narration. The circle of downfall is framed by the verb καταποντίζω, and the undisrupted plotline of Mauropous' journey to his metropolitan see is grouped to a number of letters, conjoint by the storm-based mileposts in letters 44, 54 and 64. Within such a cycle some of the previously vague accusations can be set in context. In this way, the narrator keeps his moderate and modest authorial persona, leaving at the same time his own version of truth. Combining veracity of the genre and rhetorical skill Mauropous puts persuasion to its best use subtly, knowing its true power. As he himself states: *if I bring myself to obey someone, I do so because I have been so persuaded, and not because I have been compelled.*



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Intellectual (Self)advertizing:

Some Remarks on the *When* and *Why* of Psellos' *Chronographia*

Michael Psellos is a paradigm of self-promotion in Byzantine literature. He blatantly emphasizes his many skills – physical, intellectual and political – in almost every work he's written. *Synepainein heauton* (which translates as *praising oneself alongside the encomium of others*) might be the most striking characteristic of his *encomia*. This particular trait of his writing has brought him most severe criticism of contemporaries and modern historians, but also a lucrative career in court, which seems to have started with a barefaced claim for a position in the palace at the end of a praise dedicated to emperor Michael IV around 1040 (Poem. 16).

Psellos applied a similar technique, although in a much longer praise and in a more self-promotional manner, attempting to procure a job of an (official) historian for emperor Constantine Monomachos (Or. Pan. 2). This oration, which can be called *historical encomium*, shows striking structural, lexical and theoretical similarities with author's later and more famous *Chronographia*. Psellos constructs a historiographical narrative within a rhetorical piece in order to stress his competence to write history, and he does not hide his agenda – the speech ends with a note on the importance of historians for creating ruler's image for future generations, and an open plea to the emperor to choose one, preferably the rhetor himself. Not coincidentally, Psellos' narration in the encomium begins with Basil II, the first protagonist of his history-to-be. The first part of my paper will be dedicated to mapping the connections between the two texts and attempting to date both the speech and the history, using inter- and intratextual references Psellos makes. My thesis is that the historian has a clear notion of his future history already while writing the *encomium* (around 1043 or later in the forties?) and that, therefore, his original plan was to cover reigns from Basil II to Constantine Monomachos.

The second focal point of the paper will be self-referentiality as one of the most important traits of Psellos writings. Several scholars have touched upon this phenomenon, with very fruitful results, but this might be one of the most understudied aspects of Psellos' work. Throughout his vast opus, he makes more or less subtle references to his other works and, while changing his authorial persona and stating contradictory facts, remains, as I will argue, consistent in his most important arguments. I will take up the example of Monomachos, comparing speeches and a biography the author dedicated to this emperor in his *Chronographia*. Just as he constructed a historiographical narrative within a rhetorical piece in the oration 2, the author created a rhetorical narrative within history in Monomachos' biography in the *Chronographia*. In this part of the paper I will examine ways in which his self-referentiality operates and the reasons he had for composing said narratives in such a manner.

Finally, I will raise (rather than answer) the question of the means eleventh-century Byzantine intellectuals had at their disposal for advertizing their knowledge and skills to those holding power. This was the time of unprecedented rise of the intellectuals in political life, often based solely on their education. It was a period of the revival of epideictic rhetoric, paving the way for the Comnenian so-called *third sophistic*. What enabled such emergence of men of letters and how they acquired their positions is a question important for understanding Byzantine social mobility, education, rhetoric (both as literature and in its wider social context), and power structures.



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RHETORIC AND HISTORY – RHETORIC IN HISTORY. CREATING DISCOURSES IN BYZANTIUM – PART 2

Conveners: **Stratis Papaioannou**, **Anthony Kaldellis**

Larisa Vilimonović,

The Importance of Being Doukas –

Creation of an Alternative Imperial Discourse in the 12th Century Byzantium

Tomasz Labuk,

Niketas Choniates and the “Silence of History”: Historical Discourse on the Fringe

Milan Vukašinović,

Whose Ideology? Whose Rhetoric?

Matthew Kinloch,

Narratives, Significance, and Nodal-Points: The Many Battles of Pelagonia (1259)

Bojana Pavlović,

Rhetoric in *History*: Nikephoros Gregoras and His Portrayal of Andronikos II Palaiologos



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The Importance of Being Doukas - Creation of an Alternative Imperial Discourse in the 12th Century Byzantium

Story about the Doukases still presents the inscrutable case from the perspective of political discourses that were created in the 11th and 12th century Byzantine literature. The aura of the illustrious lineage, political power and, eventually, the imperial legacy of the Doukases *oikos* has prevailed in the histories of both Nikephoros Bryennios and Anna Komnene. Specific political discourse about the preeminence of the Doukases over Komnenians was, I argue, initiated in the circle of cesar John Doukas and his friend Michael Psellos. First traces of the rhetoric of Doukases imperial legitimacy and their political agenda are apparent in Psellos *Chronographia*, but it was fully elaborated in the 12th century Byzantine histories. The Doukases' discourse varied in between two most important political issues of the 11th and 12th century – the contentious disposition and destiny of the emperor Roman Diogenes and the struggle for preeminence of their imperial legitimacy over Komnenian *oikos*. This latter issue was the dominant discourse of the 12th century, although the problematic disposal of Diogenes and shameful act of the Doukases has turned into a legend and found its way to the 12th century Byzantine satire. Nevertheless, in some other literary compositions, association with the Doukases' *oikos* was regarded and celebrated as equal as if it was with the Komnenians. This discourse was created in the circle of cesar John's granddaughter Eirene Doukaina, and it treasured and preserved that aura of political dominancy of the Doukases' *oikos*, although the facticity of their political endeavours does not come into terms with the picture that was created in this conspicuous alternative imperial discourse.

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Niketas Choniates and the “Silence of History”: Historical Discourse on the Fringe

The seizure of Byzantine throne in 1204 and its disastrous consequences appear to be plain historical facts for us – they are perceived as grievous results of specific historical factors. Yet, what we seem to acknowledge guilelessly as an ending of yet another sorrowful chapter of history, for the Byzantines it was a catastrophe in its most literal meaning – a *katastrophe*, an act of *overturning* which toppled the entire edifice of their reality. And it is thanks to Niketas Choniates' Χρονική Διήγησις, himself an eyewitness of Constantinople's collapse and a subsequent refugee to the court of Nicea, that we possess a sole Byzantine first-hand narrative of these events.

There existed a number of models of historical discourse that Choniates could adapt in his writing – be it of classical authors or of his near or not-so-distant predecessors – Michael Psellos,



Anna Komnene, or Eustathios of Thessalonike to name the most prominent ones. However, apparently neither of them could have served alone as a satisfactory guide as to how to construct a satisfactory account of the fall of the entire state. For, how such an adversity could be 'put vividly (ἐναργῶς) before the eyes of the listeners/readers', in line with a basic rhetorical concept of *enargeia*? How could an unthinkable catastrophe be conveyed within the bounds of Byzantine/classical historiographical tradition, or was it even possible? To be sure, Niketas was struggling with such discursive limitations of history-writing: throughout the work he overtly states that a detailed narrative of the fall of Constantinople is impossible, hence he resolved simply to summarise the events (ibid: ἐν ἐπιτόμῳ). Later, when asked in January 1204 what ought to be done to escape the hindering doom, Choniates simply stood in silence and tears. Finally, his very first response to the sack of Constantinople was a refusal to continue his historical narrative and remaining in silence.

Taking the above declarations at their face value and treating them as overt declarations on both personal and authorial level, I would like to propose a preliminary analysis of how such traumatic experiences might have shaped the discourse of the final version of *Χρονικὴ Διήγησις*. Hence, if A. Angelou urges to analyse how historical discourses were created, then maybe an inverted question should be posed as well — what were the limits of such a discourse? Was silence and verbatim narrative all Choniates was left with? Also, if, as modern psychological researches show, traumatic experiences have profound influence on the memories (and hence representations) of them, then how such a trauma shows itself within Choniates' work? In my paper, I would like to propose preliminary answers to the above questions which could open up a discussion about new insights into the boundaries of historical discourse.

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Whose Ideology? Whose Rhetoric?

When discussing ideology in Byzantium, researches tend to present it as a monolith whole, spanning over, connecting and comparing different times, spaces and discursive levels. They also choose, more often than not, not to define this term before taking and applying it, whether as main topic of their studies or only as a side-wheel. Ideology tacitly blends in with rhetoric, even outside of rhetorical compositions, and what they both seem to represent is a series of false beliefs, that had no practical purpose, but were dear to the medieval Romans, for some reason. Thus, what we usually get from the studies dedicated to ideology is a catalogue of the metaphors for the emperor that might have had a causal link to the society which produced them, but were completely disconnected from the social and political reality in a consequential string. For example, in the case of Nicaea and Epiros, we have a comparative collection of backstage whispers from different time spans, while the main narrative of state organization and conflicts was being developed in front of us.

To mend this misconception, I would like to suggest looking into the vivid ground of ideological negotiations in the so-called Nicaean Empire. The first step of research is to apply the



discourse analysis to the Nicaean context and examine who had the approach to discourse and the possibility to shape the *ideology*, as described above, of this state in formation. What was a patriarch, an emperor or a courtier *allowed* to say by the rules of the production of discourse, when they were writing a letter or delivering an oration? And what was the use of the elaborate image of the Emperor, if it was completely divorced from the political *reality*, and available to only a narrow circle of courtiers?

The second step is comprised of the close look at the Nicaean orations and letters in search of the process of creating and negotiating ideological concepts between the public actors. Here, ideology is not understood as a row of representations and literary images, but rather as a consensual (though not always conscious) and dynamic substructure that enabled the production of those or any other discursive representations. I believe that the rereading of the writings of such powerful and productive figures as Michael Autoreianos, Germanos Nauplios, Theodor II Lascaris, Nikephoros Blemmydes and George Akropokites in this way shed light on discursive side of the power relations that were distributed in a network-like, reciprocal and non-hierarchical order. The dynamic context and the originality in organization that we often deny to Nicaea by seeing it only as a bridge between two Byzantiums, lies exactly in making those structures which surely existed before only more visible. In consequence, we might find a way out of the dead end of perpetual repeating the formulas of the imperial ideology and non-innovative political thought.

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Narratives, Significance, and Nodal-Points: The Many Battles of Pelagonia (1259)

In 1259 a series of skirmishes occurred, somewhere in the region of Pelagonia and Kastoria, between, on the one side, Epirot, Moreot, and Hohenstaufen forces and, on the other, Nikaian forces. Modern historians of the thirteenth-century Byzantine world have almost universally singled out the so-called battle as a singularly decisive and significant event in their narratives. It functions as a nodal- or turning-point within these narratives, after which the dominance of the Nikaian polity and the so-called 'reconquest' of Constantinople by Nikaian forces became 'inevitable'. The significance of the so-called battle of Pelagonia in modern scholarship thus relies, in large part, on the causal link postulated between the events of 1259 and 1261. In this communication I demonstrate that the allocation of significance in this way and the postulation of this causal link says more about the narrative goals of modern historians than the source material they claim to represent.

When interpreting the battle of Pelagonia, historians have always implicitly started from the positivist premise that it is possible to reconstruct, at least in part, the 'true' event. Historians have argued extensively over the exact date that the confrontation occurred, the 'true' number, ethnicity, and disposition of the combatants, the location of the battle, the exact routes of the armies to the battlefield, the diplomatic relations of the rulers of the polities involved, and the correct titles and offices of the Nikaian generals. To this end the narratives of Akropolites, Pachymeres, Gregoras,



the various versions of the *Chronicle of Morea*, and a number of other sources have been mined for ‘facts’ and mixed together to get as close as possible to some kind of ‘ur-battle’. This approach usefully demonstrates contradictions in the source material. However, it constructs a conglomerated ‘faux-true’ event that is not attested in any individual text and can never be verified.

More can be learnt about the thirteenth century Byzantine world, by rejecting this attempt to reconstruct the ‘true’ battle, and, instead, setting each representation of the confrontation within the context of each text’s narrative trajectory. This approach reveals a multiplicity of battles of Pelagonia, each of which has been constructed to serve a different purpose in a different narrative context. For example, Akropolites’ account of the battle is the culmination of two narratives within his text, about the consolidation of Michael Palaiologos’ power and Akropolites’ own incarceration in Epiros. Akropolites fails to postulate a causative link between 1259 and 1261, instead dwelling on the Nikaian reversals of 1260. Similarly, in the often overlooked accounts of the *Chronicle of Morea*, the battle of Pelagonia constitutes a turning-point, but not in a narrative of Nikaian ‘reconquest’, but in the history of the principality of Achaia, with which the author is more concerned. Indeed the authors believed that Constantinople had already been occupied by Michael Palaiologos before the battle. This ‘mistake’ demonstrates a complete disinterest in the fundamentally modern narrative that seeks to link 1259 to 1261.

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Rhetoric in *History*:

Nikephoros Gregoras and His Portrayal of Andronikos II Palaiologos

The Roman History of Nikephoros Gregoras, a work which deals with approximately 150 years of the Empire’s history, is one of the chef oeuvres of Byzantine historiography. However, apart from historical narrative, which is predominant and forms the central part of his history, Nikephoros Gregoras also included rhetorical works he wrote for specific occasions. These are (to mention only a few of them relevant for this analysis) the *basilikoi* and *èvpita, fioj lo, goj* for emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos (1282-1328), *èvpita, fioj lo, goj* for the grand logothete and Gregoras’ teacher, Theodore Metochites, as well as the *èvpita, fioj lo, goj* written on the occasion of emperor Andronikos III’s (1328-1341) death.

The fact that the mentioned rhetorical works have been, in their entirety, included into Gregoras’ *Roman History*, is a thing which is itself very interesting and deserves a more detailed analysis. Historical works generally abound in speeches of the emperors, generals or other distinguished characters, they are very often rich in *evkfra, seij* and excurses of various kinds, but the integral *basilikoi*. and *èvpita, fioi lo, goi* within a certain historical work are rarely to be found. Therefore, in order to answer the question whether or not their inclusion served certain purpose or whether the author’s intention was only to praise his own literary skill, one must analyze the historical context, the leading characters of the works in question, as well as the position these rhetorical works occupy within the *Roman History*.



The main focus of the paper are rhetorical works dedicated to emperor Andronikos II, who is the leading character in three of the *logoi* as well as in the introductory part of Gregoras' history, in a speech performed at the court of Andronikos II by the emperor himself. The portrayal of this Byzantine ruler in the rhetorical works included in the *History* as opposed to (or in relation to) his portrayal in the frame of historical narrative predominant in the mentioned work is of special importance for apprehension of Gregoras' own attitude towards Andronikos II. In addition to that, special attention shall be given to the description of Michael VIII and his younger son and emperor Andronikos II's brother, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, for it has been noticed that Gregoras' preference lies with the two mentioned Palaiologoi and not with Andronikos II. Bearing in mind the problem posed by the more precise dating of certain parts of Gregoras' historical work, which could have influenced the attitude of the writer, the portrait of Andronikos II will be outlined by posing various questions and by analyzing and contrasting the two narrative forms: rhetoric and history. Several important aspects must, therefore, also be born in mind: various levels in which rhetorical forms can be expressed (not necessarily a speech, or a funeral oration, etc.), the fact that rhetorical works contain numerous *topoi*, as well as the well-known characteristic of a historiographical work that, in spite of its *sine ira et studio* postulate, it does not tell us the exact truth, but leaves us rather with the subjective perception of the author.



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International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

THE PORTRAIT IN BYZANTIUM AND IN THE BYZANTINE WORLD: ITS POLITICAL, SYMBOLICAL AND CEREMONIAL CONTEXTS

Conveners: Aleksandr Preobrazhenskii, Dragan Vojvodić

Lauren Wainwright,

Portraits and Processions: Images of Helena in the Streets of Constantinople

Andrea Torno Ginnasi,

The Horses of Justinian I: Equestrian Images as a Symbol of Authority
between Military and Ceremonial Models

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The Iconography of the Divine Investiture of a Ruler with Military Insignia in Byzantine Art –
Origin and Meaning

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Saints as Donors and Donors as Visionaries.
On Some Modifications of Donor Portraiture in Byzantine World

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The Spatial and Programmatic Context of the Noble Portraits: Byzantium-Serbia-Bulgaria

Elisabeta Negrău,

Policy and Prophecy. The Emergence of the Iconography
of Ruler Crowned by Angels in Wallachia (1543)



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Portraits and Processions: Images of Helena in the Streets of Constantinople

Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, is one of the most well-known women from the Byzantine period. She was proclaimed *augusta* in 324AD and her image appeared on coins throughout the reign of her son, and even after her death, during the reigns of her grandsons. However no monumental statuary, which can undoubtedly be identified as Helena, survives, yet there are Byzantine texts which give examples of these statues existing in Constantinople.

Written five to six hundred years after the life of Helena, the *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* and *Patria* (the two best examples of this type in this period), are patriographic texts known to be quite inconsistent and chapters are often full of errors. Yet what is important, however, is that the authors of these texts were still, time after time, attributing statues dotted around the city to Helena, and more so than any other *augusta*. By bringing different types of information together – from patriographic texts to records and descriptions of the ceremonial – it can be seen that the statues ascribed to Helena were not only in key places of political importance, but also in the nodal areas of imperial and ecclesiastical processional routes; an integral part of public life in the city. This paper will therefore examine not only the placement of the statues that are purportedly of Helena and the importance of these locations, but also how these statues became interwoven into the cityscape of Constantinople.

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The Horses of Justinian I: Equestrian Images as a Symbol of Authority between Military and Ceremonial Models

The paper aims to discuss equestrian representations depicting Justinian I in art and numismatics, through the examination of different iconographic reference models. Based on the chronological sequence generally followed by scholars, we encounter the well-known ‘Barberini ivory’. The relief, often connected to the peace treaty signed with the Persians in the 532, shows a ‘dynamic scheme’ with the victorious rider on a rampant horse, clad in military attire and surrounded by offering figures. The famous lost gold medallion, kept in Paris until its theft in 1831, is fortunately documented in detail by electrotypes and graphic restitutions. The piece, possibly related to the victory on the Vandals in 534, would reflect an interim step towards a more ceremonial connotation of the equestrian iconography. Despite the military elements – such as the sovereign’s dress and the spear – the still pose of the horse, the exhibition of the *toupha* and the lack of references to



the battlefield reveal the donative purposes of the object. An even more explicit cohesion to the 'ceremonial scheme' is traceable on the bronze statue once standing in Constantinople, most likely set in 543/544, attested by literary sources and graphic restitutions. The complex history of the monument, a reused and probably reworked statue of the Theodosian period, does not prevent to recognise the commemorative value of a solemn image, by now totally deprived of military aspects. The gradual regression of warlike characters in favour of ceremonial meanings emerges through the comparison with earlier works, from both the Eastern and the Western spheres, pointing the importance of the subject as a symbol of authority.

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The Iconography of the Divine Investiture of a Ruler with Military Insignia in Byzantine Art – Origin and Meaning

Imperial weapons, like the sword or the spear, were important insignia of the basilei of the Rhomaioi and of the rulers of Orthodox Christian countries, which were under the Byzantine cultural influence during the Middle Ages. Therefore, a particular iconographic formula was sometimes implemented in visual art, on portraits of Byzantine emperors - divine investiture by arms. Byzantine and other medieval rulers were represented in the act of receiving a sword and a spear, besides the *stemma*, from the angels or warrior saints. Such iconography is a very complex iconological phenomenon. In this paper, we shall direct attention to its actual origin and basic meaning. By origin, it is almost certainly connected with the ancient patterns of the inauguration ceremony of the Rhomaeian sovereigns. It may be concluded on the basis of certain testimonies that the sword was given to the emperor during the proclamation and elevation on a shield by the troops. However, like the iconography of the investiture by a crown, the iconography of the investiture by arms also did not have the purpose of immortalising a particular event in the emperor's life. It was not an evocation of the memory of a particular victorious battle or war of the basileus, as is commonly believed. In the period of the Paleologues, "the living image" of the investiture by the sword was renewed each year at Christmas, before the eyes of the subjects, as part of the imperial ceremony called *Prokypsis*. Besides, written sources and preserved representations lead to the unambiguous conclusion that the goal of the iconography of the investiture by arms was actually to indicate all the emperor's victories (plural!), great and small, accomplished or potential, i.e. the triumphant nature of imperial authority as such.



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Site-Specificity of Portraits in Kyivan Rus'

The portraits of the Rurikids created in Kyiv between the end of the tenth and the end of the twelfth centuries have been discussed in the art-historical scholarship as a rather disparate set of iconographically varied representations. Outwardly, they have little in common except that they originate from the same city and depict the members of the same dynasty. Drawing on Miwon Kwon's theorization of site-specificity developed from the analysis of modern art practices, this paper reveals a substantial commonality of Kyivan portraits as political artworks.

A usual understanding of the site-specificity, which Kwon defines as 'phenomenological', applies to an artwork determined by the physical three-dimensional space around it. For instance, Yaroslav's family portrait in Saint Sophia of Kyiv is site-specific because its location on the upper level of the west part of the nave under the galleries directly refers to the place in the church reserved for the ruler and his family; or further, because this location enables the juxtaposition of the portrait with the scene of the Communion of the Apostles depicted in the apse. But since other Kyivan portraits were intended for different spatial settings and, for that reason, are 'phenomenologically' site-specific in different ways, the approach from this angle reveals rather differences than commonalities.

Kwon, however, has also introduced the notion of another kind of site-specificity, which engages a 'site' not as a physical but as a discursive realm. This lens provides a common ground for each of the individual cases. Indeed, along with the dependence on the places of their display, the Kyivan portraits were firmly rooted in the discourse of power struggle around the throne, and prestige stemming from both the internal and foreign policies of the ruling family. This discourse informed the sociopolitical contexts of the portraits' creations and even influenced the choices of iconographic schemes and details. The essential aspect of the 'discursive' site-specificity shared by all of the Kyivan portraits was the focus on the legitimization of the authority gained (or hoped to be gained) in an equivocal way. Thus, the portraits were not just reflecting but also constructing the concept of power in Rus', along with militant actions, palace intrigues, ceremonies, sermons, and other political gestures.

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Saints as Donors and Donors as Visionaries. On Some Modifications of Donor Portraiture in Byzantine World

Byzantine art provided the medieval culture of Orthodox lands with a few iconographical types of donor portraiture including widely used image of donor holding the church he has built, as well as image of donor or deceased person praying before Christ, the Holy Virgin or saint. While having



a constant meaning, sometimes these formulas could be subject to substantial changes introducing new ideas into traditional schemes. Though the transformations in question were characteristic mainly for the Late Medieval or Early Modern period, especially for the Russian visual milieu, their first examples appeared much earlier, that is in the Middle Byzantine era.

The first group of these compositions covers the images of saints as church *ktetors*. These pictures are rather often based on historical facts such as the fact of construction of the church or donation of the icon by a certain person who later was acknowledged as a saint. Such images can be found in Post-Byzantine Greece and in the Balkans where they coexist with “normal” donor imagery. In Late Medieval Russia they became more widespread while the life-time donor images ceased to be produced. Alongside with such images of Russian saints another type of their depictions imitated the iconography of votive and tomb compositions with donor in prayer. Having substituted the donors, the praying saints would turn in mediators and intercessors for the faithful and witnessed appearance of holy persons of the highest rank or communicated with them at the liminary zone between heavens and earth. It seems rather significant under these circumstances that sometimes such symbolic compositions would obtain a secondary and literal interpretation as images of specific historical events like vision or apparition of the Virgin before the saint. The cases of such misreading or rereading of ancient formulas can be found not only in Russia but in Post-Byzantine world as well.

The images just discussed were in fact retrospective portraits of the real founders, sometimes based on their lifetime depictions. Being used as icons, they proclaimed the saintly founders’ role as protectors of their churches and monasteries. A very similar idea was basic for images of the second group which can be qualified as “pseudo-donor portrait” of a holy person who holds a church although he has never built or founded it. Usually such compositions feature a church dedicated to the saint in question (like some 12th c. Russian images of holy princes Boris and Gleb), a city guarded by the saint (images of St Nicholas of Mozhaisk), or the edifice standing for Ecumenical Church (apostles Peter and Paul). All these variants with their local or universal meaning can be of different origin which needs investigation, and possibly should be compared with Western iconographical tradition. However, together with images of real saintly donors they demonstrate flexibility and ambiguity of Byzantine donor iconography, as well as specific features of local traditions, and allow to explore the ways of interpreting the donor imagery by Medieval or Late Medieval audience.

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Die Ktetor Bilder aus Bojana als Zeichen der Geschichte und Kultur seiner Zeit

Die bekanntesten Darstellungen aus der Bojana Kirche sind die von Sevastokrator Kalojan und vor allem seiner gemahlin Dessislava, genau wie diese von der bulgarischen herrschern Konstantin Tich Assen und Irene Laskaris. Alle diese formen eine eigenartigen Komposition mit dem Bild vom Kirchenpatron Hl. Nikolaos und christus Chalkites. In der Fachliteratur werden die zwei Figuren auf der Ostwand des Nartex separate von einander betrachtet. Meiner Meinung nach, sollten sie



aber als eine Einheit verstanden werden. zusammen mit den zwei Ehepaaren bilden sie eine im kirchlichem Raum eine einheitliche Komposition, die eine wichtige politische Botschaft trägt. Die Malerschicht der ersten Register auf der Ostwand ist stark beschädigt. Bis vor kurzem herrschte die Meinung, dass diese Fresken vom 12. Jh. stammen. Die letzte Restaurierung zeigte, dass diese Unterschicht zum 13. Jh. gehört. Aus irgend einem Grund wurde der ursprüngliche Plan der Kirchengemälde im Durchgang zwischen dem Naos und dem Nartex un auf dem unterem Teil der Ostwand der Nartex geändert. Es könnte sein, das eine Änderung der gesellschaftlichen Position von Kalojan Ursache dafür war – er ist Sebastokrator geworden wegen ihres Verdienstes des Königs.

Bei Betrachten von Dessimslavas Bild man erkennt breiten kulturellen Kontext ihres Gewands was führt zu der Annahme, dass Kalojan tatsächlich ein Enkel vom Hl. Stephan König von Serbien “par alliance” war.

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Quelques observations sur le portrait du tsar Jean Alexandre à l'église-ossuaire de Bačkovo

Fondé en 1083 par le sébaste et grand domestique d'Occident Grégoire Pakourianos, le monastère de la Vierge Pétritziotissa attire l'attention de la communauté scientifique depuis le XX^e siècle. Plusieurs études sont consacrées à la personnalité et à l'origine de son fondateur, au *typikon* et aux domaines du monastère ainsi qu'à une de ses églises, connue actuellement comme l' « ossuaire de Bačkovo ».

L'ossuaire fut construit à la fin du XI^e siècle et décoré de peintures murales vraisemblablement au cours du XII^e. Un siècle et demi plus tard semble-t-il, les quatre baies percées dans le mur nord de son narthex, au premier et au second étage, furent obturées afin d'accueillir de nouvelles images. Celles-ci représentent des donateurs, l'évangéliste Jean le Théologien et son homonyme, le tsar bulgare Jean Alexandre (r. 1331-1371), qui exerça son autorité sur la région entre 1344 et 1364.

Nous nous proposons ici de présenter de nouvelles réflexions sur le portrait du souverain bulgare, compte tenu de son iconographie et fonction. L'image en question sera mise en parallèle avec d'autres représentations impériales et sera examinée à la lumière des tensions politiques et territoriales entre le Second Empire bulgare et Byzance qui animent la première moitié du XIV^e siècle.



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The Family Portrait of the Kralj of Serbia Stefan Dušan at the Monastery of St John the Forerunner in Serres

The monastery of St John the Forerunner was founded in the second half of the 13th century by Ioannikios, a monk on Mount Athos who was from Serres. It is located outside the city of Serres, on Mountain Menoikion.

The Serbian ruler Stefan Uroš IV Dušan conquered the city of Serres on the 25th of September of the year 1345, after a long siege. He conquered a large and wondrous city' as written by Ioannes Kantakouzenos

The Serbian king Stefan Dušan after the capture of Serres established himself as the most powerful ruler in the Balkan Peninsula. He also reasonably expected to rise in the hierarchy of the orthodox kings and eventually replace the Byzantine Emperor. Within this ideological framework, he declared himself emperor initially in the city of Serres and a few months later he received the title of emperor of Serbia and Romania at a formal ceremony. This was the title he used from then on in all documents he issued in Greek.

Under this light, he exercised his authority at the Monastery of St John in Serres as well. Originally he confiscated much of the land property owned by the monastery, but afterwards he returned it with the addition of new donations and privileges. The latter were confirmed with an official decree (chrysoboullon) in November of the year 1345.

In November 1371, the later Emperor Manouel II Palaeologus recaptured Serres ending the power of the Serbs in the region after 26 years. The city was occupied by the Ottomans in 1383.

The Greek Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala and Thasos with funding from the European Union funds (NSRF program 2007-2013) has recently completed a conservation project of the wall paintings of the main church (katholikon). As part of this project, the early 19th century overpainting covering the second narthex from the west (otherwise known as mesonyktikon) and the nave was removed.

The removal of the newer overpainting, revealed a single mural layer, which can be dated, based on an inscription, to 1616 in the case of the mesonyktikon and 1615 in the case of the nave.

It was also established that the newest pictorial layer was absolutely identical with the older one, except in the case of the south wall of the mesonyktikon, just where the historical evidence placed the panel of Stefan Dušan.

The 1805 layer depicted a winged St John the Baptist in frontal view in the middle, the founder Ioannes on his right and Saint Spyridon on his left. After the removal of the overpainting, underneath the image of St John the Baptist and Saint Spyridon, the inscribed imperial family portrait of the Serbian ruler was revealed.



The iconographic type of the composition and also the title of the Serbian ruler as King Emperor Faithful in Christ the God express the Byzantine state ideology of God given kingship.

The composition is completed with the image of the founder Ioannes-Ioakeim at the eastern end of the wall, which, however, belongs to an older layer. It was found just below the image of the founder of the 1805 layer, but in a slightly different position. The figure of the older layer is facing right and holds a church model in his hands. Below the images of the Serbian Kings we can distinguish part of the horizontal element of a right wing, the tip a left wing and the inscription 'IN THESSALONIKI' at the west end of the wall.

The panel can therefore be identified with the founder of the monastery, Ioannis-Ioakeim, offering the model of the main church (katholikon) to the honoured Saint John the Forerunner, who occupies the middle of the composition. Based on the inscription, 'IN THESSALONIKI' we assume the figure of Saint David in Thessaloniki on the right.

The similarity of the two-color background with the rest of the revealed wall-paintings of the mesonyktikon dates the composition of the Founder with Saint John and David to the painting layer of 1616.

Based on the succession of the painting layers, the family portrait of Dušan is dated between 1616 and 1815, when first mentioned by the French Consul Cousinery. The relatively few stylistic observations that can be drawn lead to the conclusion that the composition departs from the Byzantine tradition and is related more with the artistic tendencies of the second half of the 18th century.

The dating of the composition to the second half of the 18th century raises new questions regarding the choice of the subject matter in this particular period and the relationship of the monastery with the Serbian ruler as preserved in the oral tradition.

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The Spatial and Programmatic Context of the Noble Portraits: Byzantium-Serbia-Bulgaria

The portraits of mediaeval nobility were located in various parts of the interior of Byzantine, Bulgarian and Serbian churches, most frequently the naos or narthex. Very often such portraits were also placed on church façades, as can be seen in St. Marina in Karlukovo and in the church of the Taxiarches of the Metropolis in Kastoria. In mediaeval Serbia this was a frequent practice during the reigns of King and later Emperor Stefan Dušan, and his successor to the imperial crown, Uroš (Pološko, Treskavac, Mali Grad, Sušica). The lower zone of the wall paintings in both the naos and the narthex were the usual location for the portraits of the nobility in Byzantium and the countries within its cultural sphere, but noble portraits also appear in the second zone on the church façades and in the narthex. In the surviving examples of Byzantine art, such as the western façade at Kurbinovo and the eastern wall of the narthex of the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitzi in Kastoria, the royal and noble portraits are located in the upper zones from as early as the 12th



century. In Serbian wall-painting however, the aristocratic portraits do not appear in the second or third zones until after 1355, in the reign of Emperor Uroš (the western façade of the church on the island of Mali Grad in Lake Prespa, the southern façade of the church of the Virgin at Sušica and the narthex of the church of the Virgin at Vaganeš).

Naturally the portraits of members of the nobility were incorporated into the thematic programme of mediaeval churches. The likenesses of the nobleman and his family would frequently be placed alongside that of the patron saint, the saint who the aristocrat particularly respected, along with certain other religious compositions. In addition, members of the higher ranks of society would be grouped with secular and spiritual dignitaries. The positioning of the nobleman near to the sovereign and heads of church was intended to emphasize his social status and shows how the nobleman understood his position in relation to both secular and spiritual hierarchies. The examples preserved in the narthex of the church at Boyana portray the Bulgarian ruling couple opposite the noble couple while on the façade at Kurbinovo the ruling couple and the nobleman were painted one opposite the other on the same wall. Of particular interest are several portrait compositions painted in Serbia during the fourteenth and early fifteenth century in which the portraits of the nobility which decorate the walls of the aristocratic foundations are accompanied by depictions of the sovereign. Judging by the surviving examples the portraits of the rulers and their subordinates were located on the opposite walls (Dobrun, Pasača, and probably Jošanica) either one next to the other or one opposite the other on the same wall (Kučevište, Karan, the chapel of St Gregory in the church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid, Veluče, Ramaća, Kalenić) and also one above the other (former western façade at Pološko). The portrait compositions in Pološko and Lesnovo, when compared to aristocratic foundations from the Byzantine milieu, introduce significant novelties and unique approaches. Later, in a few noble foundations made during the Moravian Serbia we see the relationship between the sovereign and his subordinates presented in a completely original manner unseen up to that time (Rudenica, Kalenić).

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Policy and Prophecy. The Emergence of the Iconography of Ruler Crowned by Angels in Wallachia (1543)

This paper discusses the occurrence in the Principality of Wallachia, at the end of the first post-Byzantine century, of a vetust Byzantine iconography: a state ruler being crowned by an angel.

In the nave of the infirmary chapel of Cozia Monastery (1543), on the western wall there is a portrait of Wallachian voivode Radu Paisie, accompanied, on the left, by a representation of Saint Methodius of Patara. In front of the voivode, on the southern window jamb is depicted St. Andrew Strateilates in a martial pose. Marco, son and co-regent of voivode Radu Paisie, is represented on the west wall, at the left of his father, and has vis-à-vis, on the northern window jamb, a representation



of St. Lupus aiming a dragon. Both Radu Paisie and Marco are crowned by an angel, iconographic element that here appears for the first time in Wallachia.

Saint Methodius of Patara is known in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine tradition as the alleged author of a prophetic text of Syriac origin, known as the Apocalypse. A coronation episode is found in the medieval editions of the Pseudo-Methodian Apocalypse, in the passage which regards the prophecy about the providential emperor who frees Constantinople from Agareans. There, the election and the coronation of the Emperor liberator of the Christians is accomplished by angels.

At the infirmary chapel of Cozia Monastery, the presence of the military saints in martial attitudes facing the two voivodes crowned by angels, along with the representation of St. Methodius of Patara alongside the Wallachian Prince, are strong indices to presume that the Pseudo-Methodian text was the inspiration source for the images.

The apparition of this coronation iconography in Wallachia takes place in a time when anti-Ottoman war plans were becoming stringent in Central and South-Eastern Europe following the occupation of Buda (1541). During 1543, the foreign policy of voivode Radu Paisie, initially pro-Ottoman, shifted decisively in favour of the Habsburg Empire. The martial iconographic context of the two voivodes' portraits at Cozia alludes to the new anti-Ottoman policy of Wallachia. The political moment coincides with the completion of the paintings in the infirmary chapel, at which the Prince joined as donor alongside hieromonk Maxim, the presumptive founder of the chapel. The presence of spatharios Stroe of Orboești's portrait in the narthex helps to date the paintings between the months of May (when Stroe became spatharios) and August of the year 1543 (the end of the Byzantine year 7051, found in the dedicatory inscription).

Pseudo-Methodius' Apocalypse had never circulated in Wallachia. The textual inspiration source for the paintings seems to come from Mount Athos, where the text was still copied during the 15th century. Hieromonk Maxim, mentioned in the dedicatory inscription as "magister", had a superior theological training, obtained most likely on Mount Athos. The iconographic program inspired by the Pseudo-Methodian text must have had him as the main author.

Our study case brings a light on the reception and reinterpretation of the Byzantine apocalyptic literature during the 16th century. It pictures the mentalities and the atmosphere of the period, imbued with eschatology and with aspirations that aimed at putting an end to the rule of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. It was also the time when the Emperor Leo the Wise's Oracle, a text largely influenced by Pseudo-Methodius, was illustrated by painter Giorgios Klontzas, following the victory of the Holy League at Lepanto.



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International Congress of
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MUSIC AND HYMNOGRAPHY, MELODIES, THEIR COMPOSERS AND MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Convener: **Vesna Sara Peno**

Maria Alexandru – Christian Troelsgård,

Strategies of Editing ‘Living Texts’: The Case of the *Papadike*

Svetlana Poliakova,

The Commemorations of the Publican and Pharisee
and the Prodigal Son in the Oldest Russian Neumatics Sticheraria

Yulia Artamonova,

Possible Sources of the Hilandar *Podobia*

Nicolae Gheorghita,

An Encomium Dedicated to Peter the Great (1672–1725)

Silvia Tessari,

Cirillo Martini and Byzantine Music in the Nanian Collection
at the Marciana National Library in Venice

Daniel Mocanu,

Macarie the Hieromonk – Composer and Keeper of the Byzantine Musical Tradition.
Case Analysis: Pentecost Heirmos

Stefka Venkova,

Polyphonic Chants and Religious Songs in Bulgarian Church Music in the Early 20th C.

Maria Voutsas,

An Iconographical Approach of Post-Byzantine Musical Instruments



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Strategies of Editing ‘Living Texts’: The Case of the *Papadike*

In this paper we intend to focus on facts and on challenges encountered during the work on the critical edition of the elementary musical educational material (‘Protheoria’) of the Akolouthiai-manuscripts (‘Papadikai’). After a brief introduction presenting manuscripts, numbers and orders of theoretical Papadike-elements, as well as a list of Methods and of Diagrams, some historical links between this propaedeutic material and the Sticherarion, the Akolouthiai-manuscripts and the Anastasimatarion are explored. Models of editing for some selected theoretical paragraphs, for the echemata and the parallage-diagrams (wheels, tree and other afferent exercises) are going to be presented, in order to discuss the larger issue of modern editions of theoretical material concerning Byzantine music through the centuries.

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The Commemorations of the Publican and Pharisee and the Prodigal Son in the Oldest Russian Neumatics Sticheraria

The oldest surviving Russian neumatic manuscripts date from the end of the 11th – beginning of the 12th centuries. More than a century separates them from the beginning of Christian worship in Russia. The paper raises the question of the recovery of certain aspects of generations of old Russian books that no longer survive and the illuminating of possible links between Greek and early Russian traditions. The sources are the full set of preserved ancient neumatic Sticheraria with the chants of the moveable cycle and a number of Greek manuscripts, corresponding in their date of creation to the Russian mss or older.

The sequences of stichera dedicated to the commemorations based on the two Gospel readings of the Publican and Pharisee and of the Prodigal Son served as a material. These commemorations mark the first and the second preparatory Sundays and the third and second Sundays of Lent. The study proceeds through a comparative analysis of the composition of the sequences of the stichera, their textual versions, their neumatic notation and the codicological particularities of the respective manuscripts.

As a result, it is possible to reach some conclusions about the formation of the singing tradition of this commemoration in the early Russian period.



From the point of view of notation, one particular notated Greek Sticherarion influenced the process of the creation of the oldest Russian Sticherarion. This source may be dated to the 10th century; it was considered by Russian masters to be the most respected and served not just a copy, but as the guiding tool for the development of the Russian style of notation. The oldest style, as may be seen from the analysis of the notation in Russian manuscripts, was subjected to a process of internal development and correction according to the younger generation of Greek paleobyzantine sources.

In terms of composition and arrangement of the stichera, the early Greek source which determined the future Russian neumatic style apparently did not contain the preparatory Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee, and the composition of the preparatory Sunday of the Prodigal Son underwent a thorough revision.

Overall, the present paper represents the initial stage of a complex research project into the oldest neumatic Russian Sticheraria of the Triodion cycle and their integration into the process of the adoption of Greek chant in Russia.

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Possible Sources of the Hilandar *Podobia*

The communication is focused on a group of manuscripts from the collection of the Hilandar monastery (Mt. Athos, Greece). This is a group of complete manuscripts and manuscript fragments that dated from the period of the 17th to the 19th century and all of them content sets of automela or so-called *Podobia* in Slavonic tradition. This group of hymnographical source is characterised from the point of view of chronology, codicology, a way of content arrangement. Wide range of both Cyrillic and Greek material is explored in order to present the Hilandar *Podobia* in the context of the Orthodox hymnography and to discover the connection between local traditions of the Byzantine world.

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An Encomium Dedicated to Peter the Great (1672–1725)

As his apprentice Pavlos Hieros relates, Petros Bereketis – the famed *protopsáltis* (first cantor) of St Constantine at Hypsomatheia Church in Constantinople and the "father of the Calophonic Heirmoi" – composed in about 1699, when he was around 33-35 years old, a remarkable encomium dedicated to Peter the Great and his family.



Written in the fourth mode, following the finest tradition of the genre, the encomium is based on a text consisting of versets composed in the well-known 15 syllable hymnographic technique by *sakellarios* Kyr Krallis Hiereos of the Great Church in Constantinople. Bereketis' encomium is the only known monodic work dedicated to the charismatic tsar by the any *psaltes* from Constantinople.

Besides looking at the composition from a strictly musicological perspective, the present paper also explores the relations between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Russian Church, the ecclesiastical context that determined the production of the work, as well as the liturgical mechanisms through which the image of Peter the Great – as a victorious Orthodox tsar – managed to stabilise and solidify a large part of the Eastern Church, in order to construct a pan-Orthodox solidarity that could simultaneously function against both Ottoman aggression and the eastward offensive of the Catholic Church, an offensive that was intensified once the Orthodox Church under Hapsburg authority entered Full Communion with Rome.

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Cirillo Martini and Byzantine Music in the Nanian Collection at the Marciana National Library in Venice

«Para entender [...] el estado de la Música entre los griegos, no se hallan en otra parte tantos monumentos como en la biblioteca naniana, donde se ven sucesivamente, desde hacia el siglo X hasta estos últimos, varios códices con sus notas musicales». These words, written by the well-known Jesuit Juan Andrés in the late 18th century, will be the starting point of my presentation. The library collected by the Venetian patrician family Nani, now at the Marciana National Library, preserves in fact Greek Lectionaries with ecphonic notation and hymn books with melodic notation. Many of the neumated mss. (mostly written after 1453) show peculiar features, because they – collected mainly in the Ionian Island – belong to a large extent to the postbyzantine Cretan musical tradition. After a summary of the features of these *testimonia*, I will explain which role played the Florentine abbot Cirillo Martini, who accompanied G. Nani in the Levant, in the discovery and acquisition of these musical manuscripts. He also provided first hand information to the main musicological enterprises of the 18th century about theory and practice of that he called *la musica dei Greci dei bassi tempi*. I will offer some data, hitherto unknown, about the biography of Martini, a pioneer Byzantine musicologist in the Italian Enlightenment.



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Macarie the Hieromonk – Composer and Keeper of the Byzantine Musical Tradition. Case Analysis: Pentecost Heirmos

In the 17th century, at the same time with the acceptance of Romanian as a liturgical language within the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, a musical repertoire adapted to new hymnodic texts was indispensable. The process of adapting the original Greek melody to the Romanian text, while keeping the original melody within the limits imposed by the differences of emphasis, number of syllables and the word order of the Greek and Romanian texts, would be appointed, beginning with Anton Pann, through the concept of *Romanizing the song*. An outstanding figure of the 19th century, Macarie the Hieromonk (1750-1836) was one of the most important main psalm singers in Wallachia. He established the methodological patterns that would allow the transposition of the liturgical Byzantine musical repertoire into Romanian. Starting from the specific feature of the *Romanization* process, which was present throughout Macarie the Hieromonk's entire compositional activity, our writing aims at analysing the 9th heirmos from a musical point of view. The starting point is the Matins of the Pentecost feast, depending on many analytical parameters, which include elements of the literary form (the notions prosodic structure and the ideational structure of the hymnodic text) and elements of the musical form (the functional and modal concatenation, the melodics, the cadence system, the neume spelling).

The sources used by Macarie the Hieromonk in order to transpose the melody of the heirmos of the 9th hymn into Romanian were to be identified in Petros Peloponessiou Lampadarios' work: Ειρμολόγιον των καταβασίων. Hence, Macarie's books, the *Anastasimatar* and the *Irmologhion*, transposed for the first time the musical repertoire of the great Church in Constantinople into Romanian. A comparative analysis of the two musical variants reveals Macarie's method of adapting the original Greek melody to the hymnodic texts in the Romanian language. Thus, by adapting the heirmos of the 9th hymn at the *Pentecost* feast to the Romanian hymnography, Macarie attempted to comply, as far as possible, with the composition rules of the Greek original. As for the elements of the literary form, the Romanian hymnodic text was divided into melodic phrases, in order to match the final cadences within the Greek text.

In terms of musical form elements, one can distinguish three procedures that Macarie used in order to transpose the Greek melody into Romanian.

The first procedure involves matching the melodic and prosodic accents between the two languages. If the melody of the heirmos differs from the Greek original to a certain extent, it results from the word order of the text, the length and position of word accents within the Romanian hymnodic text.

The second one involves the cadence system. Macarie used the melodic and cadential themes of the Greek original up to a great extent. He observed both the same succession rules of musical phrases and the correlation rules of stressed syllables with strong beats of measures from cadence phrases.



The third procedure of transposition refers to the adaptation of the Greek original to the Romanian language through constraints and freedoms assumed by the author. With artistic genius, Macarie assumed the freedom to estrange a lot from the initial melodic text. Thus, he composed a new melody, that is the third version of the heirmos from the 9th hymn of the Pentecost Canon, which is present in the *Irmologhion*. In terms of the melody, the hymn is different from the Greek original, but it is based on the same Byzantine principles, which highlights the composer's mastery.

The compositional process of adapting a melody taken from the Greek repertoire, which has already been consecrated within the great Church of Constantinople, to the linguistic peculiarities of the Romanian hymnodic texts, by rigorously keeping the original melodic line, qualifies Macarie the Hieromonk as a preserver and promoter of the Byzantine music within the Romanian ecclesial space.

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Polyphonic Chants and Religious Songs in Bulgarian Church Music in the Early 20th C.

Bulgarian composer's Church polyphonic music in the first half of the XX century is reviewed in the paper.

The leading creative ideas, which form the basis of the active composition of new chants for the liturgical practice, are analyzed. Influenced by the Russian and Western European traditions, they are composed based on different types of melodic sources – examples from the monodic Orthodox music, originating in Byzantine music and also from “Bolgarskij rospev”, as well as author's melodies.

The other focal point is the emergence and development of the religious songs genre, which gained wide popularity in the non-liturgical practice. Songs with religious content written in modern-day Bulgarian language but with non-clerically sounding music, close to the city singing are written. Some of them have gained huge popularity as school songs and in the Christian brotherhoods and societies activities.

The new ideas in the Bulgarian music from the late 19th and the early 20th century reflected on the development of the Bulgarian Church music. They interacted with the specific characteristics of the millennium old Bulgarian Church tradition, based on the accepted in Bulgaria Byzantine Eastern model of Christian culture, as well as with the Western European and Russian influences.



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An Iconographical Approach of Post-Byzantine Musical Instruments

Our knowledge on the post-Byzantine secular music and instruments, unlike the liturgical chant tradition, is limited to information that comes from visual representations and lesser from references to textual sources. Iconographical material, from late 15th to early 19th centuries, contains an important number of elements of everyday life. A number of features appear to be directly derived from contemporary musical practice and seem to have been chosen in order to render the scenes more vivid and lifelike. The iconographical sources come from religious works – paintings in monasteries and churches. The geographical area of the source material is mainly North Greece (and the monastic center of Mount Athos), and in general, extends from Epirus to Thessaly. In spite of the considerable number of depicted musical instruments, because of the religious character of paintings, information about them relate to their shape, musical practice, the players and the ensembles. The type, construction evidence or function of instruments must be considered with reserve.

The structure of communication follows two intertwining parameters:

- 1) Thematic. In certain religious themes such as: *The Transportation of the Ark of the Covenant*, *Psalms of Praise–Ainoi*, *Nativity of Christ*, *Mocking of Christ*, *Parables and Miracles etc.*, are included musical scenes and the depicted instruments showing in which occasions they were played and which other instruments they were used with.
- 2) Organological. Is attempted an organological classification studying the morphological aspects of contemporaneous representations of post-Byzantine musical instruments.



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Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

MODALITIES OF BYZANTINE PSALMODY IN THE CHANTING TRADITIONS OF THE ORTHODOX NATIONS – BYZANTINE AND POST-BYZANTINE ERA *

Convener: **Vesna Sara Peno**

Costin Moisil,

Romanian Chant and Byzantine Chant: Two Musics or Only One?

Vesna Sara Peno,

Serbian Folk Church Chant / Its (Post)Byzantine Roots and European Grafts.

Discourse on “National” Features of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Music Tradition

Jaakko Olkinuora,

Rhetoric in Byzantine Chant and Its Transmission to Other Languages

Galina Alekseeva,

Theotokion “Ten Pankosmion Doxan” in the Byzantine, Russian and Korean Traditions
of the Christian Singing: Experience of Comparative Study of the Adaptation Process

Petar Kozakijević,

Models of the Adaptation of Byzantine Musical Melodies in the Church Slavonic Language

Constantin Gordon,

The Adaptation of Greek Byzantine Chants into Romanian by Macarie Ieromonahul.

An Overview of the Second Soft Chromatic Mode Compositions

* This session and the previous one (Music and Hymnography, Melodies, Their Composers and Musical Instruments) are actually two parts of the single musicological session. Each part, however, has its own title.



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Romanian Chant and Byzantine Chant: Two Musics or Only One?

The Byzantine origin of Orthodox Romanian chant was acknowledged by music historians in the last two hundreds years. Opinions, though, vary in respect to the details: are there any significant differences between Byzantine and Romanian church music? Are they two distinct musics displaying particular features or is it just one and the same music sung to Greek and Romanian words respectively? If they are indeed two separate musics, then which were the causes and processes that shaped the Romanian chant? This paper explores the opinions of cantors and musicologists on the relationship between Byzantine and Romanian chant, and the reasons for which these opinions varied throughout the last two centuries.

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Serbian Folk Church Chant / Its (Post)Byzantine Roots and European Gifts. Discourse on “National” Features of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Music Tradition

In the nineteenth century, as part of the tendencies which helped to shape Serbian national cultural identity, a theory was construed about a “distinctive, extraordinary beautiful church chant” created by the Serbian people. In the process of finding a name for the chants which accompanied Serbian church worship, the adjectives “Serbian”, “karlovački” (derived from the name of the town Sremski Karlovci where this tradition allegedly emerged in recent history), and, above all, “folk” thus acquired a special significance. Cantors and fans of “Serbian sacred chants” did not dispute their Byzantine origins. Many of them also did not ignore the proven historical facts about the Greek influence on the development of the newer chant, the so-called “karlovačko pjenije” (Karlovac chant). However, one belief was shared by all: that the liturgical music of the “folk” Serbian church was “a reflection of the Serbian soul” and of “national pious feelings”, and that it was distinguishable from other Orthodox vocal variants precisely because it had been shaped by the Serbian *ethnos* since its inception. The epithet “folk” was also assigned to polyphonic church compositions in which a monophonic folk melody — whether in a simplified harmonization or treated more freely — nevertheless remained recognizable.

The fact that the phrase *Serbian folk church chant* became an axiom both in Serbian scientific circles and amongst the general public was confirmed by the situation found in Serbian church chant practice in the late twentieth century, when the stereotypes of the “foreign”, i.e. Greek, and “our own”, i.e. “folk” Serbian ecclesiastical music, resurfaced.

A paper discusses a peculiar movement against “Greek” chanting in the recent Serbian church history, as well as the reflections of determined false belief of decadent Post-Byzantine psalmody which is present since nowadays in some church circles and among rare, but influential Serbian musicologists who are dedicated who are dedicated to the study of church music.



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Rhetoric in Byzantine Chant and Its Transmission to Other Languages

In recent scholarly work, it has become almost a cliché to state that rhetoric is the most dominant art form of the Byzantine Empire. It affected all artistic creation, from literature to visual arts, architecture and music. However, there have been very few studies that concretely demonstrate the different rhetoric functions of Byzantine chant. As the recent doctoral dissertation of the author of this paper shows, musical rhetoric can be deciphered through different musical elements, including the selection of melodic formulae and their parallelisms, the use of *Tonmalerei* and modulations. Even the use of cheironomy could be seen as a musical parallel for the use of gesture in rhetoric declamation. However, much more research is needed in order to create a complete image of the different rhetoric processes in Byzantine chant, including its performance.

Guided by the topic of the thematic musicological session, the present paper aims at expanding this idea to the adaptations of Byzantine hymnography and chant into languages other than Greek. Similar studies have been conducted in the field of homiletics, for instance, but the analysis of the role of the art of eloquence in the translation of hymnography and music still remains a *desideratum*. The purpose of this study is to observe whether or not the rhetoric of music survived in these translation processes, and to speculate how aware the adaptors were of these rhetorical structures. Examples will be drawn from Slavonic and Romanian sources, dating from both Byzantine and post-Byzantine eras. Due to the preliminary state of this on-going study, the presentation aims at posing questions rather than providing conclusive remarks.

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Theotokion “Ten Pankosmion Doxan” in the Byzantine, Russian and Korean Traditions of the Christian Singing: Experience of Comparative Study of the Adaptation Process

Patristic texts influenced to the genre of Theotokion, since each of the samples should convey a certain dogma set forth by the Fathers of the Church. Singing Hymnography, being in subjection, should convey the essence of homiletics and patristic text.

These rules have become fundamental to maintain texts in hymnography transmission to other lands, from Byzantium into ancient Rus’ and the Latin West, and then into other lands who took Christianity. At the same time, in the each of the states, taking Christianity, have been create for Hymnography features characteristic of its own tradition of reading, singing, mental comprehension.



One of these countries, which embraced Christianity and now are develops it in the Asia-Pacific region – Korea. According to statistics from 2015, 55.1% of Korea's people preaches Christianity.

In this connection, the adaptation mechanisms of textual structure and singing tradition of Theotokion in different traditions have great interest to researchers. Recorded late Byzantine notation, the Theotokion of the first Echos, by the author of this work with help Emanuel Gianopoulos in the manuscript of the New Anastasimatarion was found, published in Bucharest by Peter of Ephesus in 1820. In the preface to this publication the name Gregory Lampadariy, was specified, and therefore are likely to be considered, that the Theotokion transmits musical style as Gregory Protopsalt and Three schoolteachers of music in general.

At the same time, 16 manuscripts of the Theotokion in the Russian znamenskiy tradition of XVI-XIX centuries were analyzed. Author has found (with help of friend Olga Rapovka) Korean staff notation of Theotokion and made an audio recording of Theotokion singing in the Korean language.

It is important that the laws of homiletics and patristic laid down in the text, and led to the vicinity of the musical content. Comparative analysis of the Russian melodies of the Theotokion in deciphering of the manuscripts of XVIII-XIX centuries from the Russian National Library, from the Russian State Library (National Library of Russia, the QI number 188, Russian State Library, F. 210 number 19) and Korean records of Theotokion reflects similar patterns of creation and repetition of musical formulas, as well as Modal structure proximity. It is unlikely that these results are random. Certainly, they reflect the canonical principles of Christian singing of traditional culture, which has the national diversity, but maintains the fundamental principles of the preaching of the text and its theological basis.

Cultural interaction processes are evident from these examples. In the congress author will be show full comparative partiture of the Theotokion translate text in different traditions. It is clear that the promotion of the Theotokion notation and to this day retains vestiges of the desire for tracing endings. Byzantine first line completes the duo apostrofos with klasma; Russian version of the first line terminates Khamila, close in shape. Different mentality leads to different internal melodic singing lines, but it is clear the desire to preserve the inclination of Song Mode in all versions (the end of the first line on the D, closes ambitus lines (especially Greek and Korean) and emphasizes the zone of culmination in the same homiletics fragments in transmitted text.

Paradigms of the theological text, created by John of Damascus, in different countries are decorated across the Homily of the text on the almost the same principles. Musical options offer brighten the uniqueness of each singing culture, keeping the Metatext of a Hymn structure as immutable canon of the Christian tradition.



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Models of the Adaptation of Byzantine Musical Melodies in the Church Slavonic Language

In recent decades a noticeable tendency to return to the Byzantine musical tradition has led to challenges in specific orthodox communities. The article considers the corpus of printed books in Byzantine notation that exist in Church Slavonic and analyzes the two models that their authors have used while preparing those publications: the literary following of the musical original while adapting poetic text to the music on the one hand; and free composition on the other - that is, the adaptation of music to the poetic text itself. The musical examples in the article demonstrate how this process led to the creation of unique musical motives, and also shows how the melodic accentuation of the text, which varied even in the works written in late-Byzantine notation, was adopted in just a single form by those authors. Conclusions show that usage of these two rhythmical approaches can easily resolve those issues, giving much more artistic freedom to future composers.

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The Adaptation of Greek Byzantine Chants into Romanian by Macarie Ieromonahul. An Overview of the Second Soft Chromatic Mode Compositions

The adaptation of Greek Byzantine chants into Romanian by Macarie Ieromonahul. An overview of the Second Soft Chromatic mode compositions.

Macarie Ieromonahul (Macarie the Hieromonk) was the first church music composer who adapted into Romanian the Greek Byzantine chants of the New Method. He translated and published the *Anastasimatarion* and the *Heirmologion argon* (1823), the 2nd tome of *Anthologion* (1827) which contained chants for the Orthros, and the *Epitaphios* (1836), while many of his translations and original compositions remained in manuscript. Macarie's work is undoubtedly and widely acknowledged as essential to the development of the Romanian Byzantine chant.

In my research I compare and analyze the original Greek chants and their translation into Romanian, trying to shape the 'hidden' mechanism of adaptation. Following Costin Moisil's methodological approach applied to the *Anastasimatarion's stichera* of the first mode, I conduct my investigation on the following steps: a. the analysis of the structure of the chant (period, phrase, cadence); b. the uncovering of the connection between the cadence and the particular accentuation of the text which corresponds to the formula; c. the disclosure of Macarie's adaptation possibilities. I restrain my inquiry to the soft chromatic genre of the second mode - syllabic, short melismatic and melismatic chants.



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BYZANTIUM BEYOND BORDERS

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Photios' *Myriobiblon* – The Source of Bibliography

Erudition and versatility of book connoisseurs, combined with an awareness of the need to acknowledge artistic and scientific achievements of nations, caused the formation of bibliography in the Byzantine era, embodied in the Photios' work *Bibliotheca* or *Myriobiblon*. *Bibliotheca* represented an overview of 280 works of classical authors, including Christian spiritual, and secular - historical, philosophical, rhetorical, medical, grammatical, literary prose texts, while the poetry was completely neglected. In a historical perspective, each bibliography reveals the initiation of awareness of the importance of our own nation through the recording of data on its spiritual heritage. After Photios' efforts, the bibliography has not attracted the interest in the framework of science and enlightenment of inclined individuals for a long time, hence it was rooted in Europe only in the Middle Ages, resting primarily on religious criteria. It gained importance at the time of the French Revolution and it widely branched during the 19th century. The paper is dedicated to the analysis of Photios' *Myriobiblon* and its importance for the development of bibliography.

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Byzantium on the Silk Road

The Silk Road represents an early example of not only commercial, but also exchanges in the field of culture, literature and art between the Mediterranean and East Asia. Chinese Empire and all other countries that have found themselves on the Silk Road had access to cultures that differ from their own, which incited the cosmopolitan spirit. Although the Silk Road as a term officially began to be used only in the 19th century, it was already used in a similar form at the time of the Byzantine Empire. Byzantium was the central place of exchange of goods coming from the east after conquering new territories in Asia, which were located on the Silk Road. The Silk Road actually had its peak in terms of exchange of goods with the West during the Byzantine Empire era. Having in mind the special contribution that Byzantium made in the field of literature and art, but also in the preservation of classical literature, efforts that were later taken over by representatives of humanism and renaissance in Western Europe, it is of outmost importance to study the influence that Byzantine literature and art had on countries that were part of the Silk Road. In addition, during the exchange of goods between the countries of the Mediterranean and East Asia the coins have been put into use whose more detailed study can lead us to a better understanding of the political map and cultural characteristics of the above mentioned countries. This paper is primarily intended to highlight the



valuable influence that Byzantine culture, literature and art had on the countries of the Silk Road. It is my intention to emphasize the characteristics of the money that was used in the exchange of goods, i.e. the patterns and ornaments that can be found at the Anvers and the Reverse of coins, as this is the only way to understand all the peculiarities that characterized the Byzantine Empire and the countries that found themselves on the Silk Road.

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Visions of Heaven and Hell in Byzantine and Buddhist (Japanese) Tradition

This contribution deals with the issue of how the images of heaven and hell are presented in Byzantine and Japanese Buddhist art. It contemplates, above all, form, style and theme-motive connection - but only in the sense and only to the extent that, due to the differences and similarities between the languages of art, canons and civilizational codes, such comparisons can be considered as possible and methodologically correct: as the most attractive sign of feeling of life, which dramatically warns, invokes, redeems or conceives tragedy of historical experience, but also as a sign of the state of mind and consciousness of different social communities.

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Serbian-Byzantine Cultural Heritage and Modern Drama (*Kraljeva jesen* by Milutin Bojić or the Triumph of a Victim)

The main objective of this paper is an overview of the basic aspects of the appearance of the Serbian-Byzantine heritage in our modern drama through all the creative transitions and transformations. On the example of *Kraljeva jesen* by Milutin Bojić, using literary-historical, literary-theoretical and cultural method, we will prove that our modern writers searched for the essence and meaning in past epochs, out of which the most inspiring for the writers of the 20th century was the epoch of Serbian Middle Ages, whose presence is felt in the topics, motives, genres and other literary procedures. Relationship towards this epoch and its spiritual-cultural heritage represents an important segment in our pursuit of establishing integrity in the construction of national identity and also speaks about the transformation of traditional into modern, which implies a certain continuity of national being constituted on the Serbian-Byzantine heritage as “the fact of our own literary history”. Thus, this paper will indicate how modern ideas are formed on the base of history and myth represented in the European literary and cultural scene in the first decades of the 20th century.



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Early Christian Church Art, Byzantine Frescos and Cappadocia

Cappadocia is in central Turkey. After the eruption of Mount Erciyes about 2,000 years ago, ash and lava formed soft rocks in the Cappadocia Region, covering a region of about 20,000 km². The softer rock was eroded by wind and water, leaving the hard cap rock on top of pillars, forming the present day fairy chimneys.

Cappadocia means the Land of Beautiful Horses in Persian language. This area's history starts from the Paleolithic period to modern Turkey. Also this history includes the Hittites, Phrygians, Persians, Romans, Byzantines, Seljuks and Ottomans. By this way Cappadocia has been an important trade, culture and art bridge from east to west with the Silk Road where it was a meeting area for different philosophies and religions. So the first Christians who had left Jerusalem in the 2nd century AD passed from Antakya to Central Anatolia, Cappadocia.

Early Christians, facing the oppression of the Roman Emperors, found refuge against raids in the subterranean cities of Cappadocia. Cappadocia is rich with soft rock that allowed the excavation of elaborate dwellings, food stores and churches. It has been claimed that there were more than one thousand churches in Cappadocia.

This essay will be focused on early Christianity and Byzantine frescoes that are on the walls of the rock churches in Cappadocia. These churches contain many examples of Byzantine art from the post-iconoclastic period.

It can be seen very colourfully and realistically in frescoes to understand early Christianity, life, religion, rules and classical Byzantine art philosophy from Elmalı Church, Barbara Church, Yılanlı Church, Karanlık Church etc.

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„I greci“ nella letteratura italiana da G. Boccaccio fino alla prima metà del secolo XV

Nel presente contributo, attraverso l'analisi degli esempi tratti dal „Decameron“ e dalla commedia rinascimentale, l'autrice cercherà di dimostrare che, a differenza degli studi filologici e teologico-filosofici, la produzione prettamente letteraria mantiene il nucleo essenziale dell'immagine del „greco“ ereditato dal periodo precedente che impersona la dimensione retorica – da leggere come autosufficiente e sostanzialmente falsa – del discorso. Gli esempi potrebbero assumere una



valenza in più se si considera che, parallelamente, proprio sulla spinta di G. Boccaccio e della sua cerchia preumanistica formatasi a Firenze sul finire del Trecento, e poi grazie a Giovanni Pico della Mirandola e a Marsilio Ficino, fino al celebre tipografo Aldo Manuzio, l'interesse rinnovato per la lingua e gli autori greci, nonostante la centralità della tradizione latina, cresce in quantità e in qualità, colmando la lacuna creatasi nei secoli precedenti.



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BYZANTIUM AND THE WEST

Conveners: Georgia Xanthaki-Karamanou, Erika Juhász

Gyula Mayer,

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Un livre destiné à l'enseignement ?



Gyula Mayer

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Der Plutarch des Janus Pannonius

Janus Pannonius (1434-1472), the most talented humanist in the Kingdom of Hungary, is best known for his Latin poems of different genres (epigrams, elegies, panegyrics). As an integral part of his curriculum in Ferrara, he studied also Greek. In a letter of 1467 Battista Guarino testifies, that he *velut diuturnam sitim explore cupiens uno anno a primis eius linguae rudimentis ita prorsus hausit, ut Graeca volumina in Latinum converteret, et de Graecorum Latinorumque poetarum excellentia velut certissimus et aequissimus arbiter iudicaret.*

Not long after his death scholars – both in Hungary and abroad – began to collect his extant works. Adrian Wolfhard informed Joachim Vadian in 1517 about his successful researches: *Placuit diis immortalibus me Ioannis Pannonii compluria ingenii monimenta et suo Marte nata et e Graeco versa in Latinum sermonem invenire: Plutarchi De Utilitatibus Inimicitarum libellum, item eiusdem De Negotiositate alterum, Homeri quasdam fabulas, elegeias elegantissimas necdum Viennae impressas plures, epigrammatum libros duos – alii desiderantur –, quibus sic Martialem secutus est, ut nec lac lacti similis sit, de Marcellis quoque panegyricum, poema adeo varium, adeo multiplex, adeo eruditum, ut circulum, quem quaerimus, doctrinarum facile sit deprehendere.* Some years later Wolfhard published these translations, adding one more piece, a speech of Demosthenes. A manuscript containing the translation of a further (and much longer) work of Plutarch (Βασιλέων ἀποφθέγματα καὶ στρατηγῶν) has been published only in 1880.

The fourth volume of an ongoing new critical edition of the works of Janus will contain these Latin translations with the Greek original on facing pages. The Latin text shows, that the Greek version used by Janus is – not surprisingly – significantly different from the text of modern critical editions. The textual tradition of Plutarch's *Moralia* is quite rich, and classical philologists tend to neglect the *codices deteriores*. In order to get as close as possible to the Greek text Janus has seen, one has to examine these neglected branches of the tradition, especially the numerous later manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries. Beside textual variants known from the Greek tradition, some passages in Janus have additional words or even syntagmata.

Two excerpts from Πῶς ἂν τις ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν ὠφελοῖτο may serve as illustration:

1) Plut. 88D: μή τις σοί ποθεν ὑποφθέγγηται κακία τὸ τοῦ τραγωδοῦ

<<ἄλλων ἰατρὸς αὐτὸς ἔλκεσι βρύων>>.

(+ εἰ δὲ ὁ ἐχθρὸς λοιδορεῖ σε J q Y mg.) ἂν ἀπαίδευτον εἶπη σε (εἶπης edd.), ἐπίτεινε τὸ φιλομαθὲς ἐν σεαυτῷ καὶ φιλόπονον·

Janus p. 10 Teleki: ne quis tibi succlamet illud tragicum:

'Aliis medetur, ipse plenus ulcerum.'

Sin autem inimicus tibi detrahit, si te dicat ineruditum, erige in te ipso cupiditatem discendi, et industriam;



2) Plut. 92E:

<<ἄπας>> γὰρ <<ὁ ὑπὲρ γῆς καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς χρυσὸς ἀρετῆς οὐκ ἀντάξιος>> κατὰ Πλάτωνα, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος ἔχειν αἰεὶ δεῖ πρόχειρον <<ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς αὐτοῖς οὐ διαμειψόμεθα / τῆς ἀρετῆς τὸν πλοῦτον>>, οὐδέ γε βοαῖς (βοὰς edd.) (+ χρανθησόμεθα J² ρq) δεδειπνισμένων θεάτρων (+ χρανθηψόμεθα F² mg.), οὐδέ τιμὰς (+ δηλώσομεν Jρq (mg.)) καὶ προεδρίας παρ' εὐνούχοις καὶ παλλακαῖς καὶ σατραπείαις (σατράπαις edd.) βασιλέων.

Janus p. 21 Teleki:

Quia 'omne quicquid supra terram sub terrave est auri, aequè pretiosum non est ac virtus' secundum Platonem. Illud etiam Solonis par est habere semper in promptu: 'Nos virtutem opibus non permutabimus unquam, nec vociferationibus contaminabimur ineptientium theatrorum, nec honoribus cuiusquam aemulabimur et potentatibus apud eunuchos vel pellices vel satrapas regum.

The origin of these additions lies obviously in the well known phenomenon, that less understandable passages are first explained by marginal or interlinear glosses, and then during the process of successive copying at some point these glosses creep into the “main text” of the author. In that way, the “extra work” of byzantine scholars help identify the branch of the textual tradition followed by Janus and makes possible to reconstruct his Greek original.

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Changing Tradition: On Psellos' Didactic Poem on Medicine

Among the works of the 11th century Byzantine polymath there is a didactic poem on medicine (*De medicina* ed. Westerink). The modern reception of the text is not unanimous, among other questions it is disputed whose works the author used as a source and which 'tradition' or 'school' he belonged to. After the analysis of a few characteristic passages and the thorough examination of a word which seems to be a *hapax legomenon* we have come to the conclusion that Psellos' work is not so much a part of the changing tradition of the technical literature of medicine but rather a valuable text for those who are interested in what general knowledge (*enkyklios paideia*), changing even in Byzantium, involved and how it developed. Michael Psellos seems to have returned to the ancient Greek-Roman tradition which considered medicine to be one of the sciences (*artes liberales*) that could be cultivated by *homines liberi*.



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Der alte Ritter

Der Vortrag setzt sich zum Ziel, im Rahmen einer textkritischen und philologischen Analyse die wichtigsten Charakteristika und Forschungsschwerpunkte des griechischen Gedichts Πρέσβυς Ἰππότης erneut unter die Lupe zu nehmen und die einschlägige Forschung hoffentlich um neue Erkenntnisse zu bereichern. Seit der Entdeckung des Gedichts sind bis heute nun beinahe zweihundert Jahre vergangen. Während dieser Zeit sind für den Text zahlreiche – sowohl sprach- und literaturwissenschaftliche wie auch kulturhistorische – Deutungsversuche und Interpretationsvorschläge entstanden.

Für die Erforschung und Edition des Textes resp. seiner Überlieferung waren von vornherein – ganz besonders im 19. Jahrhundert – heftige Fachdebatten charakteristisch, die es sich zweifelsohne auch in philologischer Hinsicht aufzuspüren lohnt. Der Germanistikprofessor Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen (zunächst Breslau, später Berlin) berichtet über den Fund in einem seiner im Jahre 1821 veröffentlichten Briefe aus Rom (datiert vom 21. April 1817) über seine – Goethes Reisen gesucht heraufbeschwörenden – Italienaufenthalte. Das im vatikanischen Codex überlieferte, 307 Zeilen umfassende griechischsprachige Gedicht beschreibt eine Episode des Arthur-Legendenkreises – und zwar, wie später von Struve festgestellt werden konnte, nach dem Muster der Einleitung des französischen Ritterromans *Guiron le Courtois* (nach dem vermutlich ursprünglichen Titel *Palamède*).

Die zwei selbständigen, den Tristan-Roman einleitenden Episoden – unter ihnen die Legende vom alten Ritter –, die sich jedoch nicht organisch in die Haupterzählung fügen, wurden dann vom Pisaner Rusticius, dem Mitgefangenen des Marco Polo, zusammengefasst, dessen Bearbeitung auch als unmittelbare Quelle für das griechische Gedicht gedient haben muss. Von der Hagens Textausgaben von 1821 sowie 1824 sind nicht nur auf schonungslose Kritik gestoßen – der Editor wurde dabei andeutungsweise sogar der Fälschung bezichtigt (Verweis von Gidel, 1866).

Die Textausgabe, die Breillat (1938) und Rizzo Nervo (2000) – nebst grundsätzlicher neuen Kollationierung des Manuskripts – ihren eigenen kritischen maßgebenden Textausgaben zugrunde gelegt haben, wurde 1846 von Ellissen angefertigt. Von der Hagen selbst hat Ellissens Arbeit im Jahre 1848 negligiert, wodurch er den ignorierten Experten zu einer beispiellosen Attacke gereizt hatte (1871).

Aus textkritischer Sicht sind von einer neuen Kollationierung des Manuskripts weitere Erkenntnisse und Ergebnisse zu erwarten. (Die Zusammenstellung der Testimonien, vor allem der Reminiszenzen aus der griechischen Literatur sowie die Veröffentlichung der kritischen Ausgabe in der *testes*-Spalte könnte auch für weitere Forschungen von Nutzen sein.)

Der Vergleich mit dem französischen Vorbild, die erneute Untersuchung der Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschiede sowie der homerschen und sonstigen griechischen literarischen Anklänge – vor allem unter lexikalischem und grammatischem Aspekt – können die Forschung den vorerst



unerschließbaren Geheimnissen der Entstehung dieses einzigartigen Gedichts (ohne unmittelbare griechische Vorlage und ohne nachweisbare Nachfolger) hoffentlich doch etwas näher bringen. Dies erweist sich als um so notwendiger, als ein zufriedenstellender Forschungskonsens bislang weder bezüglich der griechischen literarischen Anklänge, noch im Hinblick auf den Einfluss des französischen Ritterromans sowie der Homerschen Epen, ebenso wenig aber die dichterische Zuordnung und Adaptation betreffend erzielt werden konnte.

Ort und Zeit der Entstehung des Textes (Ende 13. Jh. bis 2. Hälfte 15. Jh.) gelten ebenfalls als unsicher (vgl. den Hinweis von Breillat auf eine mögliche Bindung des Werkes und/oder des Autors an Zypern und die umsichtige Analyse von Rizzo Nervo). Andererseits kann das Gedicht als ein besonders bedeutendes – zumal in mehrfacher Hinsicht einzigartiges – Denkmal für die interkulturelle Adaptation: die *interpretatio Graeca* betrachtet werden (vgl. Goldwyn 2012).

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On the *Life of Chalcocondyles*

We have little information about the life of Laonikos Chalkokondyles. The main group of sources is represented by the allusions the author makes to himself and his family. Though the eight letters addressed by Michael Apostolios to Laonikos were also counted among the biographical sources (É. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique des XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Paris 1885; H. Noiret, *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, Paris 1889), it seems today more likely that the addressee of those epistles was not the Athenian historiographer but another Laonikos, from Chania. As the third and last source, the traditional biography written by an unidentified author, extant in two manuscripts, can be mentioned.

Monacensis Graecus 150, the manuscript including Laonikos Chalkokondyles' historical work, includes, on folios 1^r through 3^v the alleged biography about him and his relative Demetrios, attributed to a physician and natural scientist, Antonios Kalosynas. The short account does not really include any new data about the author. The title of the work, written in red ink, reads: Ἀντωνίου τοῦ καλοσυνᾶ ἱατροῦ φυσικοῦ προοίμιον καὶ εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ χαλκοδύλου. On the margins of the sheet, but in black ink, one can read the following remark: εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ χαλκοδύλου ἰωάννου κυζίκου. The work was published on the basis of the manuscript in Ch. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romaines inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873. The insertion at the end of the codex states: Ἐτελειώθη τὸ παρ(ὸν) χρονικ(ὸν) τοῦ νικολάου τ(οῦ) | χαλκοδήλου λαονικέως, ,ᾠφᾠξζ' | μηνὶ νοεβρίου στὰς κα' | ἐν τῷ τωλέτῳ | τῆς ἰσπανί(ας). That is, the copying of the codex was finished in Toledo on November 21, 1567; unfortunately, the scribe does not introduce himself.

Folios 2^r through 7^r of codex *Parisinus regius Graecus 1779* also presents the biography of the two Laonikos'. Apart from some insignificant differences, the text is identical to the text of the



manuscript in Munich; its title, however, is εἰς τὸν βίον τοῦ χαλκονδύλου ἰωάννου κυζίκου. The manuscript adds a table of contents before each of the first and second books of Laonikos' work. In the table of contents to book one, immediately after the shortened title, the enigmatic Ioannes Kyzikos is mentioned once again: προοίμιον ἰωάννου κυζίκου καὶ εἰς τὸν βίον αὐτοῦ.

Despite the numerous similarities – the title, the image of the readings, or the marginal synopses quoting individual sentences from the work – the respective manuscripts from Munich and Paris come from different scribe. This is proved beyond any doubt by the substantial differences in the Paris codex, where the author's name is consistently spelt differently: instead of χαλκόδουλος and χαλκόδηλος, we have χαλκόνδουλος and χαλκόνδηλος. Moreover, the name of Antonios Kalosynas remains unmentioned here in the context of the biography. The scribe of the Paris codex also used black ink exclusively, probably inserting the name of Ioannes Kyzikos into the Munich codex as well. At the same time, the copier of the Paris manuscript can be identified on the basis of the entry into the codex as ὑπὸ ἀνδρέου δαρμαρίου τοῦ ἐπιδουρίου.

Andreas Darmarios was the most famous copier in the 16th century, having produced more than a hundred manuscripts. The swiftness of his work, however, is not proportionate with his reliability. In keeping with the famous proverb: “ita scelestus erat Andreas Darmarios, ut nihil illi credere debeamus, nec titulis eius”. The name of Ioannes Kyzikos is probably also fictitious; at the very least, the adjectival form derived from a topographical name (Κυζικηνός) seems mistaken despite all expectations.

Besides discussing general questions concerning the text, this paper attempts to reconstruct the text of the biography on the basis of the two manuscripts.

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Analyse manuscritologique complexe du codex d'Ivroun No. 463

Le codex d'Ivroun N^o. 463 – manuscrit byzantin conservé au Mont Athos, qui contient une version abrégée en grec du roman de *Barlaam et Joasaph* – se caractérise par une présentation singulière : tout au long de ses 135 feuillets, le texte grec est accompagné dans la marge d'une traduction française. La documentation sur le texte français est assez limitée. En raison de la difficulté d'accès au manuscrit, il n'a jamais connu d'édition, à l'exception de quelques fragments transcrits par Paul Meyer en 1886. C'est cette lacune que nous envisageons de combler par l'établissement d'une édition critique. À l'époque, Paul Meyer a daté la traduction française au commencement du XIII^e siècle. Néanmoins quelques particularités linguistiques et graphiques font penser qu'elle serait peut-être encore plus ancienne. La langue et la graphie, ainsi que la manière de traduire, témoignent d'une grande exigence de qualité. Il s'agit d'un travail élégant – exécuté visiblement par une seule main –, et d'une traduction bien précise. L'auteur anonyme avait selon toute apparence une solide connaissance



du grec : son texte français rend assez précisément l'original, présentant parfois même des traductions en miroir. Le texte français est soigné et bien construit, composé de phrases complètes, il ne s'agit donc pas d'une traduction dite « mot à mot », à savoir sans prise en compte des règles linguistiques. Nous supposons que l'auteur a travaillé en deux étapes : ayant exécuté la traduction française sur un support à part, il l'aurait ensuite copiée dans les marges du codex, ce qui peut expliquer l'écriture propre et fluide. Le texte français est écrit en koïnè littéraire de l'époque, en « francien ». Toutefois nous pouvons y déceler également des traits dialectaux, notamment ceux du picard, du normand et du dialecte de l'Est, mais peut-être est-ce le normand qui l'emporte. Ainsi supposons-nous que le traducteur anonyme fut probablement d'origine normande, issu soit de la Normandie, soit du sud de l'Italie ou de Sicile (parmi les Normands d'Italie, nous trouvons sans doute des personnes trilingues maîtrisant à la fois le latin, le grec et le français). L'existence d'établissements latins dans la capitale de Byzance est bien attestée : de grandes communautés d'Italiens vivaient à Constantinople et ailleurs dans l'Empire byzantin. En ce qui concerne le codex lui-même, des recherches récentes ont prouvé qu'il fut préparé à la fin du XI^e siècle (vers 1075) dans le monastère Lophadion à Constantinople d'où plus tard, sans qu'on puisse dire exactement quand, il fut apporté au monastère d'Iviron du Mont Athos. Il comporte 135 feuillets de parchemin de 23 sur 17 cm, rédigés sur une seule colonne, et ornés de 80 enluminures magnifiquement élaborées. En raison des graves mutilations subies par le manuscrit – surtout dans les marges latérales – la traduction française présente bien des lacunes. Cependant, dans la plupart des cas, il nous paraît possible de la compléter à l'aide du texte grec. Que ce soit le texte grec à partir duquel le traducteur a exécuté sa traduction – et non par l'intermédiaire d'une traduction latine – cela ne fait aucun doute. Reste pourtant à savoir quel texte avait-il sous les yeux en la réalisant, autrement dit si ce fut bien le texte grec du manuscrit d'Iviron tel qu'il y apparaît aujourd'hui qu'il a utilisé pour sa traduction. Car, bien que la traduction française suive dans la plupart des cas fidèlement la version grecque du codex d'Iviron, elle en diffère tout de même sur certains points. Il semblerait que ces divergences surviennent surtout là où le scribe grec commet une erreur. L'exemple le plus intéressant en est celui où la traduction française cite un mot qui – bien que figurant dans toutes les versions connues – manque au texte grec du codex d'Iviron. Une analyse manuscritologique complexe (paléographique, codicologique, structurelle, et iconographique) du livre semble importante, non seulement du point de vue philologique, mais aussi dans la perspective des sciences sociales, dans la mesure où elle nous amènera sans doute à éclairer plusieurs points restés obscurs de ce manuscrit bilingue unique. Ainsi, dans notre communication nous intéresserons-nous également à comprendre le contexte social et historique dans lequel une telle entreprise – assez grandiose par ailleurs – a pu se révéler utile et surtout réalisable, ainsi que le milieu de production, de circulation et de lecture du livre, lequel semble être marqué par une touche interculturelle, tout comme l'œuvre qu'il renferme, témoignant de manière tangible de la rencontre évidente entre le monde grec/byzantin et le monde occidental à une époque relativement précoce.



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Das Byzanzbild der modernen ungarischen Literatur

Byzanz als Motiv bildet einen vielseitigen und vielfach interpretierbaren Bestandteil der modernen ungarischen Literatur. Der Vortrag untersucht die byzanzbezogene ungarische Literatur von der Epoche der Aufklärung bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts, den Symbolwert von Byzanz in den einzelnen literarischen Werken, sowie das Verhältnis der dargestellten byzantinischen Epochen zu den Ereignissen des 19.-20. Jahrhunderts. Es wird versucht, durch die Literatur einen Einblick in die zeitgenössische ungarische Byzanzrezeption zu verschaffen.

Das 19. Jahrhundert

Das negative Byzanzbild der Aufklärung wird im 19. Jahrhundert durch die ersten Forschungen bezüglich der ungarischen Landnahme unterstützt, die ersten wissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen hinterlassen ein dichotomes Bild: die tapferen, aber naiven Ungarn, eben angekommen im Karpathenbecken, stehen den schlauen, hinterlistigen Byzantinern gegenüber. Byzanz erscheint also als eine den Ungarn gegenüber feindliche Macht, und dieses Bild bleibt bis in die Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts in den historischen Romanen vorherrschend.

Das 20. Jahrhundert – historische Romane mit und ohne Bezugnahme auf Ungarn

Die erste Gruppe der historischen Romane bilden die ungarnbezogenen Byzanzwerke, in denen Byzanz häufig als eine verfallene und unmoralische Großmacht dargestellt wird, der gegenüber Ungarn tapfere Helden aufweisen kann. In diesen Werken werden zwei Epochen behandelt: die ungarische Landnahme bzw. das Zeitalter der Ungarneinfälle in Ost- und Westeuropa, sowie die Epoche der Árpáden. Zur zweiten Gruppe gehören Byzanzwerke ohne Bezugnahme auf Ungarn: sie behandeln die Epoche Theoderichs, die Epoche von Justinian und Theodora, die Komnenenzeit, den vierten Kreuzzug und den Fall Konstantinopels.

Das rote Byzanz - Symbol für die Sowjetherrschaft

Der Dichter György Faludy, der eine stark antikommunistische Meinung vertrat, widmete während der stalinistischen Ära einen ganzen Band seinen antikommunistischen und antistalinistischen Gedichten mit dem Titel *Emlékkönyv a rőt Bizáncról* („Erinnerungen über das rote Byzanz“), und schuf damit eine neue Art der Byzanzinterpretation. Das rote Byzanz ist mit der Sowjetunion gleichzusetzen, einer diktatorischen Großmacht, die sich früher selbst als zweites Byzanz definierte. Die Gedichte des Bandes werden durch die gemeinsame Metapher von Byzanz verbunden. Das überaus suggestive Bild des roten Byzanz lässt also eine zweifache Interpretation zu: Rot ist die Farbe des Kommunismus und der Fahne der Sowjetunion, aber auch die Farbe des Blutes der unschuldigen Opfer. Die von Faludy geprägte Metapher *Byzanz gleich Sowjetunion* finden wir auch in dem Novellenband *Torkig Bizáncsal* („Satt mit Byzanz“) von Mátyás Sárközy. Die Novellen des Bandes handeln von der Revolution 1956, von dem Volksaufstand der Ungarn gegen die Sowjetunion.



Die sozialistische Ideologie

Eine andere Möglichkeit der Byzanzinterpretation ist in den historischen Romanen der sechziger Jahre zu beobachten. In den zwei Byzanzromanen von Miklós Szentkuthy, *A megszabadított Jeruzsálem* („Das befreite Jerusalem“), bzw. *Bizánc* („Byzanz“) werden die Ereignisse aus der Perspektive der unteren Schichten der Gesellschaft dargestellt. In diesen Werken kommt die kommunistische Terminologie des 20. Jahrhunderts häufig vor: es geht um Ausbeutung der Armen durch die Reichen, um die Gleichsetzung der Religion mit dem Aberglauben, und sogar auch um das Proletariat. Das Zielpublikum dieser Romane ist leicht zu bestimmen: Da die Erzählung gute Vorkenntnisse in der byzantinischen Geschichte voraussetzt, und ohne diese nicht nachvollziehbar ist, richten sie sich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach an die linken Intellektuellen der 1960-er Jahre.

Prokop als Hauptquelle

Die Herausgabe der ungarischen Übersetzung der *Anekdota* von Prokop im Jahre 1984 stellt einen Wendepunkt in der Geschichte der ungarischen Byzanzliteratur dar. Nach diesem Zeitpunkt handeln alle byzanzbezogenen historischen Romane, bis zum Ende des 20. Jahrhunderts, ausschließlich von der Epoche Justinians und Theodoras, und der größte Teil dieser Romane stellt eine Paraphrase von Prokop dar. Die Ereignisse werden aus einer einseitigen Perspektive dargestellt, wobei die düstere Atmosphäre von Prokop vorherrschend bleibt.

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Exzerpte aus dem *Chronicon Paschale*

Das im 7. Jh. n. Chr. entstandene *Chronicon Paschale* (Osterchronik) ist nach unserem gegenwärtigen Kenntnisstand in einer einzigen Handschrift: in dem im 10. Jh. kopierten *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941* überliefert. Im Laufe des 16. Jhs. wurden von der Chronik mindestens vier Abschriften angefertigt. Drei von diesen sind das Werk des Andreas Darmarios (*Codex Monacensis Graecus 557*; *Codex Holmiensis Graecus Va. 7,1–2*; *Codex Upsaliensis Graecus n. 2* – von der früheren Fachliteratur in einer wahrscheinlich inkorrekten Reihenfolge der Kopien angegeben); der Verfasser der den Experten wohl am wenigsten bekannten, jedoch besten und nachweislich vom Vatikaner Codex angefertigten Abschrift (*Codex Matritensis Graecus 4860*) ist bis jetzt unbekannt. Zurzeit wird an einer zeitgemäßen und sachgerechten Beschreibung und adäquaten paläographisch-kodikologischen Analyse der Handschriften gearbeitet, bei der weitere Codices mit aus der Chronik stammenden, kleineren, zusammenhängenden Textpartien bzw. thematisch gesammelten Daten ebenfalls nicht außer Acht gelassen werden dürfen. Diese Bruchstücke sind nicht nur an und für sich interessant, zumal sie auch im Hinblick auf die schon bekannten Handschriften des *Chronicon Paschale* sowie ihre Entstehungsgeschichte weitere wertvolle Erkenntnisse liefern können.



Grundsätzlich wichtig ist die Unterscheidung zwischen den Auszügen aus dem Text der Osterchronik selbst vs. solchen, die auf von späteren Schreiberhänden in den Codex aus dem 10. Jh. eingetragene Textteile zurückgehen. Im Vortrag wollen wir uns auf Erstere beschränken (d.h. die in der Fachliteratur irrtümlicherweise auf die Osterchronik zurückgeführten Textabschnitte ausklammern).

Der umfangreichste der Auszüge ist eine Textpartie im *Thesaurus Temporum* des Joseph Juste Scaliger, die nach einem Exzerpt von Isaac Casaubon in das Werk aufgenommen wurde. Casaubons – heute in der Oxforder *Bodleian Library* aufbewahrtes – Exzerpt ist auch in überlieferungsgeschichtlicher Hinsicht von großer Bedeutung: Höchstwahrscheinlich nach einer Abschrift des Andreas Darmarios angefertigt, stellt es einen wichtigen Meilenstein in der Geschichte der von der Forschung bislang inkorrekt rekonstruierten Darmarios-Handschrift dar.

Ebenfalls wegen Darmarios' Kopien interessant, jedoch auch für den Weg des *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1941* belangvoll sind zwei weitere Handschriften (*Codex Ambrosianus Graecus 814 [A 175 inf.]* und *Codex Vaticanus Graecus 1949 VI*), die aus dem *Chronicon Paschale* nur die Konsullisten überliefert haben. Die Vatikaner Handschrift wurde von dem aragonischen Wissenschaftler Jerónimo Zurita y Castro 1551 in Sizilien entdeckt, der den Codex nach Rom und später – unter anderem – nach Zaragoza mitnahm. Die nach ihrem Fundort auch als *Fasti siculi* bekannte Chronik hat wegen der in ihr enthaltenen chronologischen Daten – besonders wegen der Konsulliste – in zeitgenössischen wissenschaftlichen Kreisen großes Interesse erweckt; mehrere Forscher haben sich die Handschrift ausgeliehen, um daraus Abschriften oder Exzerpte anzufertigen (bzw. anfertigen zu lassen). Die Identifizierung der Konsulnamen und ihrer Quellen ist eine außerordentlich komplizierte Aufgabe. Diese Auszüge sowie die sich auf sie beziehende Korrespondenz humanistischer Historiker können sich allerdings nicht nur bei der Beseitigung eventueller Abschreibfehler als nützlich erweisen: ihre Bedeutung wird auch durch den Umstand signalisiert, dass sie auch den Verfassern epochemachender Zusammenfassungen zum Thema – Panvinius, Sigonius etc. – zugrunde gelegen haben. Die älteren Katalogbeschreibungen der Codices sind bis heute allerdings revidierungsbedürftig geworden, wobei die neueren Forschungen die früheren Ansichten auch bezüglich der Datierung von Exzerpten mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit modifizieren könnten.

Eine neue Gruppe von Auszügen bilden die noch späteren – im 17.–18. Jh. entstandenen – Texte, die, sofern sie tatsächlich auf die Osterchronik zurückzuführen sind, ebenfalls zur Erhellung des Schicksals von Handschriften mit dem Gesamttext des Werkes beitragen können.

Im Vortrag sollen – nach den obigen Gesichtspunkten gruppiert – die einzelnen Exzerpte untersucht, des Weiteren gewisse Ungereimtheiten und Widersprüche der einschlägigen Fachliteratur korrigiert werden.



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Τίς ὁ ἀποστείλας;

Les deux fragments exégétiques du *Supplément Grec 182*
de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Vienne

Le *Supplément Grec 182* fait partie de la *Collection des fragments grecs* préservée à la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Autriche, plus précisément du groupe des huit objets rassemblés sous le titre de *Supplementum Graecum* par Herbert Hunger enregistré en 1951. Le document est constitué de deux feuillets de parchemin mat et jaunâtre d'une dimension de 260x210 mm datant du XII^e siècle ; le miroir d'écriture est de 200x160 mm. L'ensemble des deux feuillets qui semblent ne faire que protéger un autre manuscrit comporte cent lignes de texte grec. Ces lignes sont disposées d'une manière équilibrée sur le recto et le verso du parchemin, de sorte que chaque page comporte 25 lignes d'écriture.

En ce qui concerne le comportement graphique et les caractères propres au copiste, on peut constater que le texte grec est visiblement écrit par une seule main, avec de l'encre noire. Minuscule, légèrement inclinée à droite et sans division entre les mots, l'écriture est régulière et soignée : la proportion et l'espacement des lettres, sont équilibrés. L'alternance des formes majuscules et minuscules est très limitée. La substitution d'une lettre par une autre est également un phénomène ponctuel dans le texte. La division en paragraphes est absente à une exception près. Les signes de ponctuation utilisés sont la virgule et le point supérieur, les deux figurant à cheval sur les lignes rectrices.

L'usage des abréviations par suspension se limite à un nombre restreint de noms sacrés.

On peut observer une grande irrégularité dans l'emploi des signes auxiliaires. L'usage des accents n'est pas toujours conforme aux règles canoniques de l'accentuation : on trouve des mots sans ou avec plusieurs accents. L'emploi des esprits échappe également à toute régularité : les rudes et les doux figurent d'une façon apparemment aléatoire, parfois sur des voyelles autres qu'initiales.

Qu'est-ce que les propriétés physiques du document nous laissent comprendre par rapport au contenu et surtout : par rapport à la réception de ce dernier ? Autrement dit : le fait que le document ait servi uniquement à protéger un autre manuscrit peut-il être considéré comme un indice par rapport à la valeur attribuée au texte qu'il contient ?

Quel est, en effet, le contenu de ces 100 lignes de texte grec ? Le support transmet deux fragments de textes exégétiques de dimension identique (d'un feuillet chacun), mais de deux auteurs différents. Lors de la description du document dans la partie 4 du catalogue des manuscrits grecs établi en 1994, Hannick et Hunter n'identifient pas les auteurs, mais ils attirent l'attention sur la parenté thématique et lexicale entre le premier fragment et le texte de la troisième des *Questions à Thalassios* de Maxime le Confesseur. Dans ce passage, le père de l'Église développe une exégèse symbolique du passage évangélique sur l'homme portant une cruche d'eau sur sa tête (Lc. 22, 7-15 ; Mc. 14, 13 ; Matth. 21, 23). La progression du texte est régie par la logique érotapocritique. Le



deuxième fragment est essentiellement constitué de citations provenant des quatre évangiles et d'une énumération en asyndète des miracles de Jésus.

Sans décoration et sans marques liminaires, les deux textes se présentent sous la forme d'une seule unité et s'interrompent brusquement. Restent les questions : qui est l'émetteur du texte ? Dans le premier fragment, qui est la personne qui interroge, qui est la personne interrogée ? Quel contexte imaginer, quel public supposer pour mieux comprendre les textes ?

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Un livre destiné à l'enseignement ?

L'objet de la présentation est un manuscrit du quatorzième siècle : le Harley 5735 qui contient une collection de textes rhétoriques pour les études rhétoriques. Ce codex se trouve à la British Library. Le premier possesseur qu'on connaît était le Collège de la Compagnie de Jésus à Agen au dix-septième siècle.

Le manuscrit est composé de 144 feuilles et est rédigé en grec ancien. Il contient soixante-dix épîtres de Theophylactos Simocattés, des parties des œuvres de Mythoi, de Diégései et d'Éthopoiia du patriarche George II de Chypre, des épîtres de Libanios et Synésios, des commentaires de l'Alexandra de Lycophron et d'un texte poétique, et pour finir, des trois premiers chapitres d'*Expositio capitum admonitoriorum* d'Agapète avec des commentaires.

La composition du codex montre que ce livre pouvait être utilisé à l'école et il pouvait remplir des nécessités d'enseignement. Il y a des marges larges où on peut écrire des commentaires. Les textes ont des espaces élargis entre les lignes pour accueillir les commentaires. En raison de ces données nous pouvons affirmer que ce livre n'était pas seulement lu (comme aujourd'hui) mais utilisé aussi pour certaines études et pour écrire des commentaires et des réflexions.

Certes, le livre a été conçu comme un produit de prix : il y a des décorations ornementales, des lettrines calligraphiques à l'encre rouge et il est fait de parchemin qui était très rare à cette époque. Il semble que ce livre était trop cher et trop précieux pour un étudiant ordinaire.

La moitié du manuscrit, environ soixante-dix feuillets, contient des épîtres de Libanios. Il y a d'abord le texte en caractère gras et entre les lignes, il y a un texte secondaire. Ce dernier est constitué surtout des commentaires des mots du premier texte et a été écrit à l'encre rouge. Les lettrines au début de chaque épître et la phrase *Desunt caetera* écrite à la fin des épîtres au verso du feuillet quatre-vingt trois ont aussi été écrites à l'encre rouge. Le texte en rouge n'est pas daté exactement.

C'est intéressant noter que le manuscrit n'est pas fini. Il y a des pages où il n'y a pas de commentaires entre les lignes, en outre, dans les mêmes pages, il n'y a pas de lettrines écrites à l'encre rouge.



J'ai commencé à faire un tableau dans lequel je collecte les commentaires. Mon but premier est de constituer une base de données et j'espère qu'avec l'aide de cette base de données, je pourrai répondre à plusieurs questions.

D'après la constitution de cette base de données et d'après la division des commentaires en catégories, en montrant des commentaires écrits sur les lettres de Libanios je voudrais présenter la méthode avec laquelle les lecteurs byzantins ont utilisé ce livre et je voudrais avoir une plus profonde connaissance sur le processus d'enseignement à l'époque des Paléologues.



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AUTOCÉPHALIES : L'EXERCICE DE L'INDÉPENDANCE DANS LES ÉGLISES SLAVES ORIENTALES (X^E-XX^E SIÈCLE)

Conveners: Marie-Hélène Blanchet, Frédéric Gabriel, Laurent Tatarenko

Marie-Hélène Blanchet – Konstantinos Vetochnikov,

Les usages et les significations du terme “autocéphale” (αὐτοκέφαλος) à Byzance

Konstantinos Vetochnikov,

Les relations des évêques avec leur primat d'après quelques actes du patriarcat œcuménique au Moyen-Âge

Jonel Hedjan,

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L'autocéphalie dans les histoires ecclésiastiques de l'Europe moderne

Alessandro Milani,

The Issue of the Greek Catholics in Galicia and Transcarpathia within the Bilateral Relations between the Holy See and Interwar Poland and Czechoslovakia (1919-1929)



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Les usages et les significations du terme “autocéphale” (αὐτοκέφαλος) à Byzance

L'adjectif αὐτοκέφαλος n'est pas attesté en grec classique ; dans l'ensemble des textes byzantins conservés, il n'apparaît qu'au début du VI^e siècle de notre ère, dans des récits relatifs au statut autocéphale qu'a obtenu l'Église de Chypre en 431. En vertu de ce statut spécifique, l'archevêque de Chypre a plein droit d'ordonner les évêques de sa juridiction (« les chefs des saintes églises de Dieu en Chypre resteront sans être inquiétés ni exposés à la violence, si, observant les canons des saints et vénérés pères, ils procèdent par eux-mêmes, selon l'ancienne coutume, à l'élection des très pieux évêques », canon 8 du concile d'Éphèse, troisième concile œcuménique). En dépit du caractère officiel du statut reconnu à l'Église de Chypre, le terme αὐτοκέφαλος ne figure dans aucun canon (ni dans les décisions des conciles œcuméniques ni dans celles des synodes locaux). Il est employé dans la littérature canonique seulement à partir du XI^e siècle, à plusieurs reprises – et pas uniquement à propos du cas chypriote – dans les commentaires canoniques de Michel Balsamon.

On trouve deux autres contextes où le terme αὐτοκέφαλος est utilisé dans les textes byzantins des VII^e-XV^e siècles. Dans le premier cas, il revêt un sens politique et désigne le statut indépendant de certains peuples (plusieurs occurrences, notamment dans le *De administrando imperio* de l'empereur Constantin VII Porphyrogénète au X^e siècle). Enfin, et c'est son sens le plus courant à Byzance, l'adjectif αὐτοκέφαλος appartient à l'expression « archevêque autocéphale », qui désigne le détenteur d'un siège épiscopal élevé à la dignité d'archevêché sans suffragant. Ces archevêques autocéphales se caractérisent par le fait qu'ils dépendent directement du patriarche et non du métropolitain de leur juridiction. Nous examinerons ces divers emplois du terme αὐτοκέφαλος, tenterons d'en définir le sens pour essayer de savoir s'il s'agit d'une notion juridique précise appartenant à un vocabulaire technique ou si c'est une notion plus floue, pas très clairement définie en droit.

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Les relations des évêques avec leur primat d'après quelques actes du patriarcat œcuménique au Moyen-Âge

L'autocéphalie comporte la fonction de primat, c'est-à-dire de premier évêque de la juridiction concernée. La base des relations entre les évêques et leur primat se trouve dans le canon 34 des apôtres : « Les évêques de chaque nation doivent reconnaître leur primat et le considérer comme chef ; ne rien faire de trop sans son avis et que chacun ne s'occupe que de ce qui regarde son diocèse



et les campagnes dépendant de son diocèse. Mais lui aussi, qu'il ne fasse rien sans l'avis de tous ». Les commentateurs classiques affirment que le respect du primat provient du fait que c'est lui qui préside aux ordinations des autres. Les prérogatives des primats ont été aussi confirmées par les canons suivants : 4, 6, 7 I CO, 2 II CO, 8 III CO, 28 IV CO, 36 et 39 VI CO, 9 Ant. Dans plusieurs actes nous trouvons que les métropolitains doivent obéir à leur patriarche et au synode. Pour cette raison sont utilisés différents termes : ύποταγή, στοργή. Ainsi, dans certains actes, nous trouvons les formules suivantes :

- « obligation de soumission (τὸ χρέος τῆς ύποταγῆς) à la sainte Église » (MM I, No 151 ; Das Register, III, n° 193, p. 104-117).
- « soumission (ὀφειλομένην ύποταγήν) due à notre médiocrité » (MM I, No 183, 425-430 ; Das Register, III, n° 259, p. 520-537).
- « faire preuve d'un attachement convenable et de soumission (προσήκουσαν στοργήν καὶ ύποταγήν) à elle <l'Église> » (MM I, No 185 (bis), 434-436 ; Das Register III, n° 262, p. 548-557).

Les documents concernant les relations entre le métropolitain et les évêques emploient, quant à eux, les termes εὐπειθεια, ύποταγή, τιμή, εὐλάβεια et στοργή, qui se trouvent dans les formules suivantes :

- « avoir une obéissance convenable (προσήκουσαν εὐπειθειαν) ... lui obéir (ύπακούειν αὐτῷ)... » (MM I, No 120, 267-271 ; Das Register II, n° 170, p. 487-498).
- « l'hommage convenable et l'obéissance (ὀφειλομένην τιμήν καὶ εὐπειθειαν) » (MM I, No 156, 347-350 ; Das Register, III, n° 194, p. 116-125).
- « l'obéissance qui lui est due, comme on dit, ainsi que la soumission et l'honneur (εὐπειθειαν καὶ ύποταγήν καὶ τιμήν) » (MM I, No 156, 347-350 ; Das Register, III, n° 194, p. 116-125).
- « toute piété et obéissance (πᾶσαν εὐλάβειαν καὶ ύποταγήν) » (MM I, No 156, 347-350 ; Das Register, III, n° 194, p. 116-125).
- « rendre ... la soumission (ύποταγήν), que tu as par obligation » (MM I, No 156, 347-350; Das Register, III, n° 194, p. 116-125).
- « tu dois te soumettre à lui et à son jugement (ἵνα ύπόκεισαι εἰς τὴν ύποταγήν καὶ διάκρισιν αὐτοῦ) ... en ne disant rien de contraire, sans être désobéissant (έν μηδενὶ ἀντιλέγων μηδὲ ἀπειθῶν) » (MM I, No 156, 347-350 ; Das Register, III, n° 194, p. 116-125).
- « l'obéissance qui lui revient de droit (ἀνήκουσαν ύποταγήν χρεωστικῶς) » (MM I, No 156, 347-350 ; Das Register, III, n° 194, p. 116-125).
- « la soumission et l'obéissance requises (ὀφειλομένην ύποταγήν καὶ εὐπειθειαν) » (MM I, No 157, 350-351; Das Register III, n° 195, p. 126-131).
- « comme tu en as l'obligation, l'obéissance, la piété et la soumission (ὄπερ ἔχεις χρέος, εὐπειθειαν καὶ εὐλάβειαν καὶ ύποταγήν) » (MM I, No 157, 350-351; Das Register III, n° 195, p. 126-131).
- « respect et soumission et obéissance (αἰδῶ καὶ ύποταγήν καὶ εὐπειθειαν) » (MM II, No 337, 12-18).

Dans les actes cités nous voyons l'application du droit canon concernant les privilèges des primats, des patriarches et des métropolitains à l'intérieur de leur juridiction.



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L'autocéphalie et l'autocrator.

La place du pouvoir royal dans la formation et l'évolution
des Églises serbe et bulgare (XIII^e-XIV^e siècle)

Durant la période médiévale, la conception orthodoxe d'un État pleinement indépendant présupposait l'existence sur son territoire d'une Église autocéphale ayant l'autorité nécessaire pour consacrer et soutenir le pouvoir politique en place. Les États indépendants qui réclamaient une Église autocéphale justifiaient leur démarche par les conceptions ecclésiastiques byzantines. Pourtant, le patriarcat de Constantinople ne donnait une suite favorable aux demandes d'autocéphalie que lorsqu'il était soumis à une pression ou dans l'espoir d'en tirer des bénéfices politiques importants. D'ailleurs, le patriarcat considéra toujours ces concessions comme temporaires, guettant patiemment la première occasion pour renouveler son autorité sur les Églises devenues autocéphales. En tant que résultat d'une négociation politique, l'indépendance des Églises bulgare et serbe fut par conséquent fortement dépendante des intérêts et du destin du pouvoir local en place. Le dessein de la présente étude sera donc de mettre en lumière et d'analyser les multiples intérêts politiques qui amenèrent à l'obtention et au maintien de l'autocéphalie des Églises slaves des Balkans durant les XIII^e et XIV^e siècles.

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Autocephaly and the Diptychs

One of the most conspicuous expressions of autocephaly comes during liturgical celebrations. Apart from preparing chrism and canonizing saints, commemorating the hierarchy during the liturgy is an immediate indication of a church's jurisdictional and canonical status as autocephalous. This paper will investigate the practice of liturgical commemorations of the hierarchy during the Divine Liturgy in Greek and Slavonic liturgical books, with particular attention to the Litanies (i.e. Synapte and Ektene), the Diptychs at the end of the Anaphora, and the "Great Praises" (Gr. ἡ φήμη, Slav. великая похвала) associated with the Trisagion at hierarchal services. The historical development of these elements of the Divine Liturgy reveals a movement from the simple commemoration of the bishop of the local Church in earlier liturgical manuscripts to more developed commemoration of hierarchal structures in later manuscripts and contemporary liturgical books. In this later form, the liturgical expression of autocephaly and jurisdictional divisions (i.e. the commemoration of the head of an autocephalous Church) is no longer reserved exclusively for bishops, but has been passed down to all liturgical commemorations, including those made by priests and deacons.



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**Autonomie/autocéphalie :
l'histoire comme critère canonique.
La fin des patriarcats bulgare et serbe, fin XIV^e-début XVI^e siècle**

Il y a un double écueil que l'histoire critique ecclésiastique devrait s'efforcer d'éviter : d'un côté, l'analyse des concepts canoniques limitée à une approche purement abstraite, de l'autre, l'usage instrumental du passé pour légitimer des programmes théologico-politiques contemporains. Le concept d'autocéphalie, largement utilisé à l'époque moderne et contemporaine avec l'avènement des nationalismes dans les terres d'Orthodoxie, fait partie de ces concepts-clés. Or l'homonymie du sens antique et du sens contemporain n'en recouvre pas moins pour autant deux contenus diamétralement opposés.

Afin de saisir le glissement de sens et la rupture sémantique qui les oppose, une analyse d'un dossier spécial s'impose : le cas des patriarcats balkaniques et de leurs rapports avec le patriarcat œcuménique à la fin du Moyen Âge. Une analyse récente de ce cas de figure nous a mis en présence de l'utilisation, dans les sources, du couple conceptuel *autocéphalie* – *autonomie* ecclésiastique, ce dernier terme épousant une acception proche de l'emploi moderne de la notion d'autocéphalie dans le contexte de l'aménagement canonique des rapports entre ces institutions ecclésiales au XIV^e siècle. L'intention de la présente étude est de poursuivre la réflexion en abordant l'autre versant de la question, à savoir la disparition des patriarcats bulgare (1395) et serbe (c. 1529 / 1532) après la conquête de la Bulgarie et de la Serbie par les Ottomans. Selon notre hypothèse, c'est durant cette période – qui a tout d'une époque charnière – que la rupture sémantique évoquée a dû se produire.

Nous montrerons que la réalité des sources présente un déroulement différent de celui d'une certaine vulgate nationaliste, qui établissait un rapport de cause à effet entre la disparition des deux patriarcats et une supposée instrumentalisation du patriarcat œcuménique par le pouvoir ottoman. Ces rapports complexes peuvent jeter une nouvelle lumière sur la distinction fine, mais décisive, entre autocéphalie et autonomie ecclésiastiques.

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**Justice et fiscalité dans les Églises slaves autocéphales :
quelques réflexions sur les pratiques de l'indépendance ecclésiastique**

Si la proclamation de l'autocéphalie correspond à un acte canonique, elle s'exprime surtout dans la pratique institutionnelle d'une Église locale dotée, entre autres, d'une indépendance juridique et financière. À partir du cas de la métropole autocéphale de Moscou (1448-1589), ou de ceux des Églises autocéphales de l'Europe centrale et orientale, qu'elles soient reconnues (comme l'Église



orthodoxe de Pologne en 1924) ou non (à l'image de l'Église autocéphale ukrainienne, établie officiellement en 1921) par leurs Églises mères, il s'agira d'évaluer l'influence de ce régime canonique sur le fonctionnement des structures du clergé.

Cette approche examinera également le rôle législatif des instances ecclésiastiques, entre la volonté de construire un droit canon local et la nécessité de se conformer aux fondements juridiques de l'Église universelle. Enfin, l'un des aspects de la problématique consistera aussi à analyser jusqu'à quel point l'autocéphalie favorisa une forme de mimétisme, et parfois d'entremêlement, entre l'administration laïque et le gouvernement de l'Église.

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L'autocéphalie dans les histoires ecclésiastiques de l'Europe moderne

L'autocéphalie engage l'identité d'une Église, elle fait coïncider son autorité hiérarchique à sa géographie précise. Mais plus encore, c'est l'histoire qui est au centre des enjeux : la simple description des faits ou de la reconnaissance de cette indépendance détermine grandement la légitimité de ce phénomène et reste un sujet très sensible. Or, aux XVI^e-XVII^e siècles, l'histoire et ses « preuves » prétendent à l'objectivité : dès lors, comment sont décrites et comprises les autocéphalies dans les histoires ecclésiastiques de cette période, de Baronius et Bzovius à Farlatti ? Comment la confessionnalisation de l'époque moderne perçoit-elle cette pratique orthodoxe ? Comment l'Europe moderne, sensible au renforcement des structures étatiques, réagit-elle à cette conjonction entre entité politique et autonomisation ecclésiastique ?

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The Issue of the Greek Catholics in Galicia and Transcarpathia within the Bilateral Relations between the Holy See and Interwar Poland and Czechoslovakia (1919-1929)

This paper analyzes my ongoing research about claims that governments meddled in the Church affairs of Western-Ukrainian Greek Catholics in interwar Poland and Czechoslovakia between 1919 and 1929. By "Western Ukrainians" are meant Eastern Slavic populations living in both Polish Galicia and Czechoslovakian Transcarpathia, even though the latter are generally referred to as Rusyns. Belonging to two separate Byzantine Churches in communion with Rome, Ukrainian Galicians and Transcarpathians were never able to merge into a unitary entity from the collapse of



Kiev onward (except for the short-lived West Ukrainian Republic 1918-1919). My research mainly focuses on the relations between the Holy See, Polish and Czechoslovakian episcopates, the secular governments then in power in Warsaw and Prague, the Greek Catholic hierarchies, the Roman Curia and their efforts to preserve Eastern traditions. In particular, I examine the appointment of bishops and the control of their pastoral activities before and after the 1925 Polish Concordat and the 1927 Modus vivendi between Prague and the Holy See. These two countries enacted two opposing ethno-religious policies.



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Influences de l'art occidental sur la représentation de l'Annonciation
dans des icônes post-byzantines du XV^e au XIX^e siècle



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The Unintended Monument – Byzantium in Western European Heritage

Not quite western and not quite eastern. Placing Byzantium has proved difficult, and renowned historian and byzantinist Averil Cameron has recently argued that Byzantium is perhaps best read as a subaltern in a postcolonial perspective, with the caveat that it is a subaltern which has been pivotal in the formation of European identity and culture. The result is that Byzantium has acquired the role of the Other, though it is an Other which in topography, language and spheres of influence is more European than anything else.

This presentation will consider the reception and influence of Byzantium in the formation of European ideas of heritage and history. Whereas the place of ancient Greece and Rome, as well as Western Medieval Europe has been acknowledged as well as given scholarly attention, the role of Byzantium has only recently been given the same consideration. Here the focus will be on the role of Byzantium and byzantine art and heritage in the formation of significant art historical texts such as John Ruskin *The Stones of Venice* (1851-53), and on Alois Riegl essay *Der moderne Denkmalkultus* (1903). With their origin in work on respectively Venice and Diocletian's palace in Split, both texts have byzantine connections, as well as being seminal texts within the conceptualisation of heritage and preservation, with a recent publication highlighting Riegl's place in developing "both theory and public policy in the emerging discipline of historical preservation at the beginning of the twentieth century." (Cordellione, 2014: 3-4)

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A Theoderican Capital in Wiltshire

The acanthus capitals from the lost church of Sant' Andrea dei Goti in Ravenna, with their distinctive Theoderic monograms, are among the most recognisable material remains from the Ostrogothic period in Ravenna. When the Venetians destroyed the church in 1457, six of the capitals were prominently displayed in the newly-created Piazza del Popolo. The original number is unknown: the later church of Santo Spirito, which may have had the same proportions, has a nave arcade of fourteen columns. Four more of the Sant'Andrea capitals are now in the National Museum of Ravenna. And one forms the centrepiece of an English country garden, at Ifold Manor in Wiltshire.

The story of the capital's acquisition in 1903-5 by landscape architect and collector, Harold Peto, and its recognition in 1913 by art historian Martin Conway, offers an interesting example of the revival of interest in Byzantine antiquities in northern Italy and in England at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.



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Les débuts de la peinture monumentale en Hongrie : Constantinople – Kiev – Visegrád

Dans les années 1978-79, les parties basses d'une église furent retrouvées près de la forteresse romaine à Visegrád, dans le coude du Danube, en Hongrie. La seconde phase de cette église, nommée erronément „église de l'archidiaconat” était recouverte de fresques de haute qualité, dont la majorité était tombée et retrouvée en dizaines de milliers de morceaux, tandis qu'à la base, quelques dessins géométriques avec des figures (de combats) d'animaux ont été retrouvés in situ. Jusqu'ici, la chronologie et même le style des ces fresques antiquisants restait obscure. La stratigraphie des fouilles montre pourtant que cette église ne servait qu'à une ou deux générations entre le milieu de 11ème siècle et le début du suivant. En outre d'un tombeau de fondateur réinstallé au milieu de l'église, on a notamment retrouvé le tombeau intact d'un hermite avec un cilice en fer, et aussi celui d'un prêtre avec calice et patène. Les nouvelles recherches en cours des fresques ont révélé des inscriptions byzantines avec des caractères grecques, permettant aussi de conclure à un cycle de l'enfance de la Vierge. Tout amène à supposer que l'église était réédifiée sous le règne d'André I (1046-61) et de sa femme, Anastasie de Kiev pour des buts spéciaux, ensemble avec le monastère orthodoxe dédié à St André fondé par eux, situé à quelques kilomètres de là. Les fresques de l'église, comme probablement ceux du monastère, disparus pourtant à quelques traces près, étaient dûs vraisemblablement à des peintres byzantins amenés de Kiev. Cette communication veut présenter les résultats provisoires de ces recherches, et essaiera de situer les fresques parmi les productions des peintres métropolitains byzantins du milieu du 11ème siècle. La présence éventuelle de bénédictins slaves, exilés de Sázava (en Bohême) à cette époque, rend possible un rôle d'intermédiaire pour Visegrád entre les orthodoxes slaves et ceux de tradition latine.

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The Gothic Psalter in Munich – A Witness in the Case of the Orthodox *ai*voit Wall Paintings

The psalter consists of 150 psalms, but only the psalms 148-150 have been chosen for wall paintings in Orthodox churches. The fact has been ascribed to the liturgical use of these psalms, either in the morning service or in obsequies. The hypothesis is probed by a cross-check: Restriction to the last psalms is observed in the Gothic psalter in Munich which is not Orthodox and was never in liturgical use and whose miniatures are not wall paintings. The miniatures illustrate all verses of the three psalms quite literally. The wall paintings do not exhibit additional features which point to an influence of liturgy. It is concluded that the proposed explanations, though not ruled out, are not supported by internal evidence.



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On the Alleged Portrait of Despot Stefan Lazarević in Ptujška Gora

The early 15th C. Gothic altar (3 x 2 m) from the well-known pilgrimage church on the Black Mount of Ptujška Gora has long been in focus of scholars' attention due to its complex structure. A number of kneeling figures under the Virgin's mantle are thought to be portraits of various royals, aristocrats, and church dignitaries of the time. Since modern scholarship claims that amongst the royalty figures there is also an alleged portrait of the Serbian despot Stefan Lazarević, this paper firstly examines evolution of the hypothesis, provides analysis of iconography and historical context and challenges the very issue of the suggested identifications.

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Vignetten von Konstantinopel auf mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Weltkarten

Vignetten von Konstantinopel befinden sich auf sehr vielen mittelalterlichen Karten, seltener erscheinen sie jedoch auf frühneuzeitlichen Karten. Die Vignette von Konstantinopel auf mittelalterlichen Karten haben gelegentlich einen sehr komplizierten Charakter, weil sie aus vielen architektonischen Elementen, urbane Vignetten, bestehen. Diese Ansammlung von einigen architektonischen Elementen basiert am häufigsten auf zwei Grundsätzen: auf dem symmetrischen und eurythmischen Grundsatz. Die kompliziertesten urbanen Vignetten stellen eine Verbindung von Elementen sakraler Gebäude, Verteidigungsanlagen und administrativen Bauten dar. Dieser Vignettentyp ist zum Beispiel auf folgenden Karten anzutreffen: Peutingeriana, römische Straßenkarte (4. Jh., Kopie 13. Jh.); Ebstorfer Weltkarte (um 1300); Hereford-Karte (nach 1300); Johann von Carignano: Portolan-Karte (1329) und Sallust-Karte von "Chroniken von Saint-Denis" (1364-1372). Den Gegensatz dazu bilden Vignetten, die die Stadt in Form eines schematischen Umrisses von Verteidigungsmauern mit Türmen darstellen. Diese Art von Vignetten befinden sich beispielsweise auf folgenden Karten: Hieronimus: Karte zum Alten Testament, gen. Orientkarte (um 400, Kopie 12. Jh.); Hieronimus: Karte zum Neuen Testament, gen. Heilig-Land-Karte (um 400, Kopie 12. Jh.); Cottoniana (um 1030), Sawley Map = Karte von Heinrich von Mainz (um 1180) und Francesco und Marco Pizigano: Portolan-Karte (1367). Ein weiterer Vignettentyp ist ein Schema eines bestimmten Elementes von Verteidigungsarchitektur (zum Beispiel Tor) oder auch ein Schema eines konkreten Typs von einem mittelalterlichen Verteidigungsbau (zum Beispiel Donjon). Dieser Vignettentyp ist gegenwärtig unter anderem auf den folgenden Karten: Beatus-Karte von Burgo de Osma (1086); Giraldus Cambrensis: Europa-Karte (um 1200); Rotulus von



Vercelli (um 1270); Ranulph Higden: Große Weltkarte (um 1342). Neben den Karten mit auf Schemata von Verteidigungsbauten basierenden Vignetten gibt es noch eine Gruppe von Karten, wo Konstantinopel das Schema eines sakralen Gebäudes hat. Zu dieser Gruppe zählt zum Beispiel die Ökumene-Karte der Viktoriner nach Isidor (12. Jh.). Neben den bereits oben erwähnten Vignettentypen von Konstantinopel, bei denen architektonische Elemente die Dominanz haben, existieren noch zwei, man könnte sagen, extreme Arten, wie diese Stadt präsentiert wird. Der erste Typ ist eine maximal dadurch schematisierte Vignette, dass der Kartograph ihr die Form einer einfachen geometrischen Figur gab, zum Beispiel ein Rechteck oder ein Dreieck. Solche Vignetten befinden sich unter anderem auf der sogenannten Großen Vatikanischen Ökumene-Karte (um 775); Beatus-Karte von Oña (12. Jh.) und Psalter-Karte von London (um 1260). Die zweite extreme Art der Darstellung von Konstantinopel sind Vignetten in Form von Veduten (wirklichkeitsgetreue Abbildung einer Stadt), wofür Henricus Martellus Germanus ein Beispiel sein kann: Weltkarte (1489). Im Falle der Veduten muss man anmerken, dass innerhalb der vorliegenden Analyse der berühmte Plan von Konstantinopel (Karte von Konstantinopel), geschaffen von Cristoforo Buondelmonti (1386-um 1430), nicht berücksichtigt wird. Generell analysiert das vorliegende Referat die Form und das System einzelner architektonischen Elemente auf den Vignetten von Konstantinopel. Gegenstand dieser Analysen sind einige Dutzend mittelalterlicher und frühneuzeitlicher Karten. Das Ziel der Analyse ist ein vertieftes Verständnis nicht nur von der inneren Logik der Vignetten von Konstantinopel, sondern auch der Versuch, die potentiellen Entwicklungsrichtung bei den Schemata der Metropole am Bosphorus zu begreifen. Man darf auch nicht vergessen, dass jede analysierte Karte ihr eigenes Vignettensystem besitzt, und die Vignette von Konstantinopel ist ein Element dieses Systems. Dementsprechend muss man diese Vignetten nicht nur mit den Vignetten von Konstantinopel auf anderen Karten, sondern auch mit dem System von Kartenvignetten, auf denen sie abgebildet sind, vergleichen. Diese diachronischen und synchronischen Analysen, wobei man gleichzeitig den historischen Hintergrund der Epoche berücksichtigt, in der diese Vignetten und von Vignettensysteme entstanden, sollen zu einem tieferen Verständnis der Rolle der Vignetten von Konstantinopel auf den mittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen Karten führen.

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Influences de l'art occidental sur la représentation de l'Annonciation dans des icônes post-byzantines du XV^e au XIX^e siècle

Ce travail vise à indiquer trois catégories de représentations d'Annonciation post-byzantines qui présentent beaucoup d'influences de l'art occidental.

I. Dans une icône d'Annonciation du Musée Civique à Vicenza (Italie), datant du troisième quart du XV^e siècle, nous constatons l'existence de plusieurs éléments d'origine occidentale, comme l'archange Gabriel représenté de profil et portant un habit somptueux orné de motifs végétaux. Dans le fond de l'image, le bâtiment central a beaucoup de caractéristiques gothiques. Un oiseau et deux animaux remontent à la tradition de l'art vénitien du XV^e siècle. Sur les coins supérieurs, de



petits anges nus, volants ont l'air occidental, tandis que cinq anges en buste, sortant de l'hémicycle du ciel, sont de conception byzantine.

Très semblable à cette icône est celle de Mytilène, signée par le peintre Markos Troulinos et datée de 1646. Il est très probable que les deux œuvres aient en commun le même anthivolon.

II. Dans la représentation de l'Annonciation qui coexiste avec celle de la Dormition de la Vierge sur une icône de très grandes dimensions (202 x 169 cm), de 1636, peinte par le peintre Georghilas Maroulis de Rethymnon, en Crète (Collection de l'École des Beaux-Arts d'Athènes), nous signalons beaucoup d'influences de l'art occidental, à savoir l'attitude de la Vierge en oraison et le lutrin, à droite de la Vierge, avec le livre où on lit la prophétie d'Isaïe concernant l'Incarnation. Ce prophète était très familier aux peintres Siennois du XIV^e siècle sous l'influence de textes latins de la même époque, comme celui de Pseudo-Bonaventura intitulé "Meditationes Vitae Christi".

La gestuelle et l'attitude de l'Archange, qui montre vers le ciel avec la main droite levée et offre la fleur de lys avec la main gauche, son attribut par excellence en Occident, remonte à un modèle occidental du XIV^e siècle, qui fut adopté d'abord par le peintre Crétois Georges Klotzas, au XVI^e siècle. De même, les bâtiments au fond ressemblent à ceux que l'on rencontre aux œuvres de la Renaissance, quoique l'espace pictural de notre icône se forme d'après les règles et l'esthétique byzantines.

Il paraît que du même anthivolon dérivent deux icônes du XVII^e siècle, au Musée de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise.

Ce type d'Annonciation, mais de synthèse plus simple et de caractère provincial, a survécu au XVIII^e (voir une très petite icône de la Collection Oekonomopoulos, actuellement au Musée de Civilisation Byzantine de Thessalonique) et au XIX^e siècle (icône du Musée d'Antalya en Turquie, celle du Musée Ecclésiastique à Adamas dans l'île de Milos et un anthivolon dans le Dossier d'André Xyngopoulos au Musée Benakis, à Athènes).

III. L'icône qui date de 1675, signée par le peintre Crétois Elie Moskos, au Musée Byzantin d'Athènes, suit directement, avec peu de modifications, un modèle occidental, soit une chalcographie de 1603 par le graveur Francesco Villamena, d'après un dessin d'Ippolito Andreasi.



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BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL WEST LITERATURE

Chairs: Michael Jeffreys, Peter Toth

Aleksandra Smirnov Brkić,

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Greek Tradition on Pannonian Martyrs

In tetrarchic persecutions Pannonian martyrs distinguished themselves by a plenitude of martyrdom cases as well as by copious literary tradition that followed and left a great mark in Christian culture. Extensive Latin tradition recording their deaths has been much thoroughly examined, while Greek, though copious, remains almost unexplored and scattered among manuscripts of diverse libraries of the world. The paper shows the relationship between Greek and Latin tradition on Pannonian martyrs, especially the question of seniority among the two. Furthermore, the paper argues the importance of Greek tradition and points to the problems and possible solutions in collecting this opulent source, which is relevant for the research in cultural heritage of Roman Pannonia.

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“Navigatio Sancti Brendani” and “Narratio Agapii”: Possible Interconnections

The paper is dedicated to the possible interconnections between the Latin version of the Irish “Navigatio Sancti Brendani” dated from the 9-10th cent. and the “Narration of Our Father Agapius”, Byzantine apocryphon, presumably, attested to the area of Palestinian monasticism 5th-6th cent.

In both cases the diverting form, recalling the one of the fairy-tale, reveals a story of the monastic life.

Some episodes of the “Navigatio” (the events before monks’ departure to Paradise; the monastery of St. Ailbe and the Promised Land) are supposed to prove an influence of the “Narration”. The whole set of motives and their sequence in the scenes mentioned above seems to be traced back to the corresponding episodes in the “Narration”. If the author of the “Navigatio” indeed used the “Narration” as a source, certain tendency in its’ adaptation is discerned: motives and images that formed in the “Narration” a unique description of a symbolic ascent to Christ and to Wisdom, in the “Navigation” lost their symbolic substance and were plunged back into folklore.

This relation of unique and symbolical in one case and standard and folk in the other is systematically followed in the paper. For example the snow white bread as the main symbol of Christ, brought by Agapius from Paradise back to earth in the “Navigatio” is replaced by white and wonderful food of the otherworld. To the symbolical sequence of helpers in the “Narratio” representing the Holy Trinity (the eagle, the child, the handsome man) in the “Navigatio” correspond just a handsome man and a youth, met by Barinthus and Brendan in the Promise Land; they are simply helpers similar to standard characters of the fairy-tales.



In case that our hypothesis turns to be true, it clarifies the origin of some motives of the “Navigation” and the text of the “Navigation” in its turn testifies that the plot of the “Narration” was known in the Celtic world. Thus the discussion on the relations between Ireland and Eastern Orthodoxy in the early period that goes on nowadays, acquires a new source.

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The Restoration of the Holy Cross by Heraclius in the Eastern and Western Medieval Traditions

The Emperor Heraclius (610–641) won a long and exhausting war with the Persians, returned the True Cross, which was previously captured by the enemy, and restored it in Jerusalem in March 630/631.

That event has found different interpretations in different Medieval cultures. The Greek textual tradition, beginning with the seventh-century panegyrist and ending with the last Byzantine chronicles, didn't pay much attention to that event, usually mentioning only the fact itself and praising the Emperor by means of bombastic language and images.

The Western Medieval tradition however has developed a legend about the miraculous Restoration of the Cross by Heraclius. The legend can be found in various sources, including the seventh-century anonymous homily called *Exaltatio seu Reversio S. Crucis* (BHL 4178) and the later Medieval novels about Heraclius, written by Gautier d'Arras and Otto. Summarizing, the legend says:

Heraclius was returning home from his victorious campaign against Persia, bringing the Holy Cross with him and surrounded by his guard. He was going to enter Jerusalem riding his horse and wearing the imperial robes, a golden crown on his head and purple shoes on his feet. A huge crowd was waiting for him at the gates. Suddenly a certain obstacle appeared, so that Heraclius could not move forward. While he was perplexed, an angel appeared to him above the Golden Gates saying: “How dare you enter the City so solemnly, the City, where Our Lord bore his Cross and suffered for us in flesh?” Heraclius dismounted from his horse immediately, took off his golden crown, purple shoes, imperial robes, and barefooted, wearing only a chiton, came up to the gates. The obstacle disappeared at once, and the Emperor, having entered Jerusalem, restored the Holy Cross on Golgotha.

Most of the modern scholars have not asked themselves one question: why such a well-developed legend, which is clearly using some original Oriental material, is present only in the Western tradition and not at all present in the Greek one?

I believe that it is not the discordance between the legend and historical reality that made the Greek authors avoid it constantly: the rule of depicting the events *wie sie eigentlich gewesen sind* was not usually followed even by the chroniclers.



The total unfamiliarity of the Greek authors with that legend could be explained if we take into account the religious policy of Heraclius and his successors. In the 620-630s Heraclius adopted the new policy of Monothelitism, designed to unite different Christian groups into one imperial Church. The policy didn't face any resistance at first and was considered to be truly Orthodox. That is why all the Greek authors praised, in verse or prose, the political and religious activities of the Emperor. Such a position does not make it possible for them to include in their works the legend which contains some criticism: it denounces the Emperor's pride and contrasts it to his coerced humility.

Monothelitism remained state policy of the Byzantine emperors till 681, when it was condemned as a heresy at the VI Ecumenical Council. Since then, Heraclius began to be considered a heretic by the Byzantine chroniclers, and depictions of him showing Christian humility became rather inappropriate.

The Western authors were never affected by the Monothelitic controversy; therefore Heraclius was thought to have been totally pious both by the seventh-century authors and by the later ones. That is why the Western tradition could so easily adopt and develop the original Eastern legend about the miracle at the gates of Jerusalem.

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The Veiled Influence of Byzantium on Alcuin of York Byzantium at the Frankish Court

The Byzantine influence on the West in the Early Middle Ages has been a topic that interested many scholars, especially concerning the Carolingian period. However, less attention has been given to the Byzantine influence on one of the most important persons that flourished at the Frankish Court during the VIII century – Alcuin of York. The purpose of this paper is to show how much of Alcuin's ideas are due to Byzantine thinking, to analyze to what extent he was aware of their importance and to what degree he influenced others.

Alcuin was educated at York, in a century when the study of the classical authors was prosperous in the Anglo-Saxon environment. Therefore, he had the possibility of studying Latin and to some extent Greek, even though he was not a master of the later. However, he thus acquired not only a solid classical culture but he also had access to the writings of the Church Fathers. This made him one of the most influential scholars and theologians of the West, and determined Charlemagne to invite him to his Court. There, Alcuin became the main actor to fulfill Charles' plans regarding education and religion.

Whereas education is concerned, one of the most important works of Alcuin is his *Ars grammatica*. Grammar was considered the most important liberal art to serve theology, because it ensured the correct use of Latin and thus the avoidance of erroneous liturgical and theological speech. Alcuin was the first to bring into use in the Frankish Kingdom Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* (after a long period in which it was given to oblivion on the Continent) by abbreviating



and using it as a chief source for his own compiled Grammar. Having in view the fact that Priscian produced his work in Constantinople in the early sixth century, there can be traced some Byzantine influences that were bequeathed by Alcuin. One of the most beautiful passages that breathe the Byzantine spirit is the comparison of the vowel with the soul and of the consonant with the body.

As far as theology is regarded, Alcuin got to know the works of some very important Eastern Church Fathers. For instance, there are references to John Chrysostom in Alcuin's 'York poem' and quotations from the same Father's Homilies in *Contra haeresim Felicis*. There are passages in Alcuin's moral works (and not only) that remember of Gregory Nazianzus' writings, such is the case of the passage from *De virtutibus et vitiis* that speaks of the 'penitential shedding of tears'. Another patristic influence on Alcuin is that of Gregory the Great (especially his Homilies and his exegetical works) – and it can be argued that Gregory is representative of the Byzantine theological thinking. Nonetheless, it has to be mentioned that many of these works were known by Alcuin indirectly, either through translations into Latin or through the writings of other scholars and theologians, such as Bede. However, the important thing is that Alcuin used the Eastern teaching in educating the Franks and, what is very important, in the fight against the heresies that threatened Orthodoxy during that century.

All in all, the thesis of my paper is that Byzantium influenced the West through Alcuin's works too. Either it was in the field of education, in that of theology or to serve Charlemagne's political plans, the influences come from East are traceable in Alcuin's writings and they do not lack consequences in the social context of the Frankish Empire.

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Rapporti tra l'innologia greca di Bartolomeo di Grottaferrata per i santi Savino e Vitale e la relativa agiografia latina

La fama di Bartolomeo di Grottaferrata (981?-1055 ca.) quale abile versificatore risale al suo discepolo, Luca, che nella *Vita Bartholomei*, tradizionalmente attribuitagli, esalta la sapienza compositiva innologica del maestro definendone gli inni πάνσοφα μελωδήματα [...] γέμοντα γνώσεως καὶ εὐαρμοσσίας. Sulla scorta dell'autore del *Bios*, a due secoli di distanza, Giovanni Rossanese celebrerà in un celebre encomio e in quattro canoni il santo cofondatore dell'abbazia criptense «quale nuovo Giovanni Damasceno o Giuseppe Innografo».

La feconda attività compositiva di s. Bartolomeo è testimoniata dagli antichi *Menei* e *Triodi* di Grottaferrata, risalenti tutti al periodo compreso tra la fine dell'XI secolo e l'inizio di quello successivo, eccezion fatta per il *Meneo* di dicembre *Crypt. Δ.α.IV*, vergato da Macario di Reggio nel 1265. Essi tramandano come opera del santo criptense un cospicuo numero di versi appartenenti a diversi generi dell'innografia (canoni, *exapostelaria*, *photagogaria*, *sticheri* *prosomi* e *idiomeli*, *contaci*) nei quali egli cantò – come ricorda l'agiografo – «αὐτὴν τὴν ὑπεράχραντον τὸν Θεοῦ Λόγου μητέρα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς τοὺς ἁγίους». Alcuni dei canoni composti da s. Bartolomeo, infatti, sono dedicati alla celebrazione della *Theotokos* e di importanti feste in Suo onore, altri all'esaltazione di santi e martiri occidentali, cari alla comunità criptense in quanto venerati a Grottaferrata o in territori e monasteri



giuridicamente ad essa pertinenti. Rientrano fra questi i canoni dedicati a Savino, vescovo di Spoleto, e a Vitale, miles consularis di Milano, la commemorazione dei quali è prescritta dal *Typikòn* di Grottaferrata (il codice Crypt. Γ.α.Ι) rispettivamente al 7 dicembre e al 28 aprile. L'analisi comparata dei due canoni e dell'unica fonte agiografica relativa al martirio di Savino e Vitale disponibile (rappresentata, rispettivamente, dalle *Passiones latine* BHL 7451-7454 e 8703-8704) rivela la stretta dipendenza del testo greco degli inni dalla prosa latina delle *Passiones*, che Bartolomeo traduce in più casi quasi ad litteram, mostrandosi fine conoscitore del latino e confermando, al contempo, la sua abilità nella trasposizione di testi prosastici in composizioni poetiche innografiche.

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Η σύζυγος προσεύχεται για τον σύζυγο: δύο περιπτώσεις εκτενούς προσευχής στο βυζαντινό έπος του Διγενή Ακρίτη (χφ. Εσκοριάλ) και στο καστιλιανό Τραγούδι του Ελ Σιντ

Το 2009, στα πλαίσια της διδακτορικής μας διατριβής, παρουσιάσαμε μία εκτεταμένη συγκριτική μελέτη ανάμεσα στον Διγενή Ακρίτη του χειρογράφου Εσκοριάλ (Ε στο εξής) και το Τραγούδι του Ελ Σιντ. Πρόκειται για κείμενα των μέσων του 15ου και του 14ου αιώνα αντίστοιχα που διασώζουν αυθεντικά το πνεύμα των αρχικών επικών συνθέσεων των αρχών του 12ου και του 13ου αιώνα αντίστοιχα στο Βυζάντιο και την Καστίλη.

Σε κείνη την εργασία σημειώναμε, μεταξύ των άλλων, πως το θρησκευτικό στοιχείο είναι βέβαια παρόν στα δύο έργα, αλλά ο ρόλος του είναι σχετικά περιορισμένος. Δίναμε, δε, περισσότερες λεπτομέρειες για διάφορες όψεις του θέματος μία από τις οποίες είναι και η επίκληση στο Θείο μέσω της προσευχής.

Υπάρχουν, μάλιστα, δύο περιπτώσεις, μία σε κάθε έργο κατά τις οποίες η προσευχή είναι εκτενής. Αυτές οι προσευχές θα αποτελέσουν αντικείμενο της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης με την οποία προεκτείνουμε τις σκέψεις που εκθέσαμε στη διατριβή μας και δίνουμε αφορμή για περισσότερη συζήτηση σε ένα ευρύτερο επιστημονικό πλαίσιο.

Μετά από τα σχετικά εισαγωγικά στοιχεία για τα δύο έργα, η εισήγηση περνά στα δύο προς εξέταση αποσπάσματα, τα οποία καταλαμβάνουν τριάντα έξι στίχους στον Ελ Σιντ και πενήντα τρεις στον Διγενή Ε.

Στη συνέχεια, περιγράφεται η δομή των δύο προσευχών οι οποίες ακολουθούν γενικά τα γαλλικά πρότυπα της διάκρισης σε τρία μέρη: επίκληση στο Θείο, αφήγηση των θαυμάτων και αίτημα. Ακολουθεί η σχετική συγκριτική ανάλυση.

Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις είναι η σύζυγος που προσεύχεται για τον σύζυγό της. Διαφέρει, όμως, ο χώρος (το μοναστήρι στον Ελ Σιντ, η περιοχή του Ευφράτη στον Διγενή), η περίσταση, το αίτημα, αλλά και η θέση της μέσα στα δύο έργα. Στον Διγενή ο ήρωας είναι ετοιμοθάνατος και η γυναίκα του ζητά κατά βάση τη Θεία βοήθεια για τη σωτηρία του λίγο πριν το ποίημα τελειώσει.



Στον Ελ Σιντ, ο ομώνυμος ήρωας βρίσκεται σε κίνδυνο, καθώς σε λίγο θα φύγει από την πατρίδα του εξόριστος από το βασιλιά, και η γυναίκα του ζητά από τον Θεό να τον βοηθήσει στην εξορία και να συμβάλλει ώστε κάποτε να ανταμώσουν σώοι και αβλαβείς. Αυτό γίνεται σε αρχικό σημείο του τραγουδιού.

Η εισήγηση παρακολουθεί τις ομοιότητες και διαφορές ανάμεσα στις δύο προσευχές, υπάρχει αναφορά στις πηγές τους, ενώ στα συμπεράσματα διατυπώνονται κάποιες σκέψεις σχετικά με τον ρόλο τους στα δύο έργα.

Η προσευχή στον Διγενή Ε φέρνει άμεσα αποτέλεσμα, τουλάχιστον ως προς το δεύτερο αίτημα της συζύγου: ο Άγγελος του Θανάτου την παίρνει κι αυτή μαζί με τον ψυχορραγούντα Ακρίτη. Η προσευχή αυτή, που είναι πολύ εκτεταμένη για ένα έργο στο οποίο το θρησκευτικό στοιχείο είναι σχετικά περιορισμένο, διαφέρει και ως προς το ύφος σε σχέση με το υπόλοιπο έργο. Για κάποιους μελετητές, όχι αβάσιμα, συνιστά ψευδοαρχαϊζουσα προσθήκη στο αρχικό κείμενο. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, πάντως, εξυπηρετεί την πρόθεση του δημιουργού να τονίσει την αγάπη του ζεύγους, κλείνοντας το έργο χωρίς εκπλήξεις.

Η προσευχή της γυναίκας του Σιντ θα έχει θετική κατάληξη. Άγγελος Κυρίου εμφανίζεται σε όραμα και δίνει τις σχετικές διαβεβαιώσεις. Παρά, όμως, την θετική έκβαση της προσευχής, ο ήρωας επιβιώνει, αλλά και φτάνει σε κατορθώματα κυρίως χάρη στις δικές του δυνάμεις. Έτσι, μέσα από την προσευχή ο ποιητής καταφέρνει να κάνει μία ακόμη επίδειξη θρησκευτικότητας και μάλιστα σε ένα μοναστήρι στενά συνδεδεμένο με τον θρύλο του Σιντ, τονίζοντας παράλληλα την αγάπη της συζύγου προς τον ήρωα.

Οι δύο προσευχές εκπληρώνουν απόλυτα και με τον τρόπο τους τις ποιητικές στοχεύσεις.

Η εισήγηση κλείνει με παράρτημα που περιέχει τα σχετικά αποσπάσματα, αλλά και την βιβλιογραφία.

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Late Medieval Spiritualities: Gregory Palamas and Francis of Assisi

The Life of St. Gregory Palamas by Philotheos Kokkinos is a monumental work which played a critical role in the propagation of Gregory's memory and theological legacy in the late Byzantine period. As one of the defining figures of late Palaiologan theology, Palamas' biography, as interpreted by his most influential disciple, embodies the very doctrines and spirituality defended by St. Gregory in his own lifetime. To the extent that hagiography is a theological, and not merely historical genre, the vita of St. Gregory Palamas thus constitutes an important articulation, in a unique format, of the principles endorsed by the Palamite synods held between 1341 and 1368.

As a representative text, Gregory's vita serves as a useful point of comparison with alternative spiritualities similarly contained in hagiographical accounts. Less than a century before Palamas,



Bonaventure of Bagnoreggio had composed the authoritative *Life of Francis of Assisi*, which served as the official biography for the Franciscan Order of the community's founder. Like Kokkinos, Bonaventure was not only a biographer, but a theologian, and as a Scholastic Master is one of the premier representatives of the theology of his era.

While it has become something of a commonplace to compare and contrast Eastern and Western spirituality, and while such exercises often center precisely on the figure of Francis as a model of medieval Latin piety, examinations of Western asceticism and devotion have rarely looked to the *Legenda Sancti Francisci* as a definitive source of Franciscan spirituality. Likewise, Byzantine spirituality has often been approached through the lens of explicitly ascetical texts or treatments of mysticism and divine contemplation. But as self-conscious, paradigmatic examples of late medieval sanctity, the *Vitae* of Francis and Palamas deserve attention as landmarks of Greek and Latin spirituality respectively.

This paper examines Kokkinos's *Life of St. Gregory Palamas* and Bonaventure's *Legenda Sancti Francisci* as authoritative expressions of two distinct spiritual systems in an attempt to explicate the theology of their authors. The relationship and deeper compatibility between Palamite and Franciscan thought is explored through an analysis of sources and an elucidation of underlying theological principles. This allows for a comparison of Eastern and Western spiritualities that is more deeply rooted in concrete sources and thus results in a richer, and less stereotyped articulation of the relationship between two important but very diverse cultures.

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Отражение в романе «Тирант Белый» падения Византии

«Лучшая книга в мире» - так в «Дон Кихоте» (глава 6) охарактеризовал рыцарский роман Жуанота де Мартуреля Мигель Сервантес. Книга Мартуреля увидела свет ещё в XV веке, но затем, казалось, она была совершенно забыта. Только к концу XIX века интерес к ней вернулся.

Интересно, что сокращённой французской версией «Тиранта Белого» воспользовалась русская императрица Екатерина II, оставившая в своих мемуарах запись, что первой книгой, прочитанной ею в замужестве, был именно «*Tirant le Blanc*».

В 2005 г. знаменитая каталонская книга стала доступна российским читателям, после того, как она была переведена М.А.Абрамовой и ею же была подготовлена диссертация об этом произведении (М.А.Абрамова. Роман Ж. Мартуреля «Тирант Белый»: к проблеме типологии жанра романа. М., МГУ, 1986).

В настоящее время «Тирант Белый» считается одной из вершин каталонской средневековой словесности. Некоторые исследователи даже считают, что Мартурель бы «первым романистом» в современном понимании этого слова.



Рыцарский роман Мартуреля содержит лишь намёки на исторические события различных походов европейцев в Средиземноморье. Эта книга должна была стать и стала «сокровищницей наслаждений и залежами утех», как писал о ней сам Сервантес. Однако в настоящем выступлении нас интересуют именно отголоски величайших исторических событий XV века – падения Византии, прежде всего. Кроме того, в докладе использованы уже имеющиеся у автора разработки о знаменитом походе каталонцев на помощь Византии, которая уже не могла противопоставить турецкому завоеванию ничего, кроме обороны.



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THE LATE BYZANTINE EMPIRE – PART 3

Chairs: **Günter Prinzing**, **Brendan Osswald**

Anastasia Kontogiannopoulou,

Εσωτερικές μεταναστεύσεις στο ύστερο Βυζάντιο (1204-1453)

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Εσωτερικές μεταναστεύσεις στο ύστερο Βυζάντιο (1204-1453)

Οι τελευταίοι αιώνες του Βυζαντίου αποτελούν μια περίοδο κατά την οποία το κράτος είναι κατακερματισμένο εδαφικά, εξασθενημένο πολιτικά και οικονομικά αλλά και ευάλωτο στις ξένες επιδρομές. Οι Τούρκοι πιέζουν ολοένα και περισσότερο τις ανατολικές περιοχές της αυτοκρατορίας και από τον 14ο αιώνα αποκτούν σταθερές βάσεις στα ευρωπαϊκά εδάφη του κράτους. Οι Σέρβοι για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα κυριαρχούν στα εδάφη της Μακεδονίας και της Θεσσαλίας και της Ηπείρου, ενώ λατινικά κρατίδια είχαν ήδη μετά το 1204 σχηματιστεί σε πρώην βυζαντινές κτήσεις. Επιπλέον ο πληθυσμός του Βυζαντίου είναι εξουθενωμένος από τις πολεμικές διαμάχες, όπως και από τις σιτοδείες και τις επιδημίες της πανώλης που ενέσκησαν τον 14ο αιώνα.

Στη διάρκεια της παραγμένης αυτής περιόδου συντελούνταν πληθυσμιακές μετακινήσεις στο εσωτερικό του Βυζαντίου. Τα αίτιά τους ποικίλλουν: πολιτικές και οικονομικές εξελίξεις, φυσικές καταστροφές, αυτοκρατορικές πρωτοβουλίες. Απόρροια αυτών των άλλοτε απρογραμμάτιστων και άλλοτε ελεγχόμενων μετακινήσεων, οι οποίες είχαν παροδικό ή μόνιμο χαρακτήρα, ήταν η πληθυσμιακή ανανέωση των πόλεων στις οποίες οι πληθυσμοί αυτοί κατέληγαν. Σκοπός της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να εντοπιστούν οι περιοχές προέλευσης και υποδοχής των μεταναστών στην υπό μελέτη περίοδο και να αναδειχθούν οι παράγοντες που υπαγόρευσαν τις μετακινήσεις. Επίσης θα διερευνηθεί η ορολογία των πηγών για τις πληθυσμιακές αυτές ομάδες, η θέση των μεταναστών στις πόλεις υποδοχής, καθώς και ο πολιτικός ρόλος τους.

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On the Origin of the Provincial Aristocratic Families from the Territory of the State of Epirus during the Reign of Theodore Doukas

The most complete survey of local aristocratic families in the Balkans from the late tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth centuries is given in the book *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance* by Jean-Claude Cheynet. It shows that sources provide very little information on this particular segment of the Byzantine society. On the contrary, the data for the beginning of the thirteenth century provided by the court records and letters of John Apokaukos, the metropolitan of Naupaktos, and, especially, Demetrios Chomatenos, the archbishop of Ohrid, are abundant, since many persons mentioned in them apparently belonged to the provincial aristocracy.



The purpose of this communication is to present some important conclusions regarding the origin of provincial aristocratic families, notably from Byzantine Macedonia, Epirus and the island of Corfu. The conclusions are partly based on the accounts of the two ecclesiastics, but in the first place on an analysis of their family names. Apokaukos' and Chomatenos' writings indicate changes in the local society caused by the catastrophe of 1204, such as war damages, frequent changes of local authorities, losses and (often illegal) acquisitions of property, cases of fleeing a hometown and a later return to it. Yet, Chomatenos' court records (not those of Apokaukos) clearly demonstrate that persons mentioned in them belonged to the families that had been established in the same town for at least two or three generations, sometimes even longer. The family names themselves show that a considerable percentage of the families mentioned by both authors were probably branches of (more or less) prominent Byzantine aristocratic families of the eleventh – twelfth centuries. Among them are, for example, Komnenoi, Pakourianoï, Argyroi, Krateroi, etc. On the other hand, there are many families that are unknown from the previous period, but were notable during the Palaeologan Era. To the third category belong those families that do not appear either before or after the Apokaukos and Chomatenos' time, but solely in their writings.

In this paper a special attention is paid to the fact that more than twenty family names are derived from the names of various cities and regions, since they indicate the origin of these families. The majority of these family names are derived from the names of the cities or regions in the eastern provinces of the Byzantine Empire (e. g. Attalioi, Atramytenoi, Achyraitai, Gabadonitai, etc.), while there are only a few that derived from the geographical names from the Balkans and South Italy. Surprisingly, there are several family names of that kind that are derived from the names of the Constantinopolitan quarters (e.g. Chrysobalantitai, Paradeissiotai, Skoutariotai, etc). Their existence itself opens the question of when and why certain Constantinopolitan families moved from the capital to the Balkan provinces. One should note that it is clear that it did not happen because of the fall of the City as they left prior to 1204.

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The Monastic as an Element of Late Byzantine Constantinople

The period between the re-conquest of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261 and the beginnings of the second civil war in 1341 witnessed not only a political struggle to re-establish the Byzantine power in the region as it once was with its administrative center at the capital, but also a religious endeavor to establish the patriarchal see as well as the glory of the monasteries back in the city. The diversity of the backgrounds of the monks and nuns, their daily lives, political interventions and seeking (or in some cases providing) patronage deserves particular attention in this period when their social and political power was growing. Although individual names and stories are relatively well known, it is hard to take a great leap forward in understanding monasticism, an essential Byzantine institution, without employing a systematic investigation of



the known monastics. In this presentation, I will seek to discuss the diversity of the monastics, both monks and nuns, in Constantinople in the early Palaiologan period; how they identified themselves in the society and how their identities reverberated in politics at the capital. In addition to the monastic typika dating to the period in question, the histories and chronicles of the period, the patriarchal register and monastic archives are utilized to represent numerous contemporary perspectives. This presentation will also open to debate whether or not the religious denominations such as monk, nun, and monastic, still refer to a homogenous category beneficial in illuminating the complexity of the Byzantine society.

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State Intervention in the Monastic Archives under the Early Palaiologoi: The Case of Patmos

The monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos has conserved numerous Byzantine imperial documents from its foundation in 1088 until the middle of the fourteenth century when the Ottomans occupied Patmos. At a glance into the monastic archive, we notice that the number of imperial documents from the twelfth century and the period under the Laskarids is remarkably small compared to the end of the eleventh century and the period of the early Palaiologoi (11th c.: 12 documents; 12th c.: 8 doc.; Laskarids: 7 doc.; Palaiologoi: 27 doc.). Almost twenty years ago, N. Oikonomides, who examined the composition of the monastic archive in Patmos, insisted that such an imbalance originated from the method of archival management by the monks, rather than it reflecting the actual number of documents issued to the monastery. Comparing a list of documents possessed by the monastery of Patmos from around 1200 with the present state of the archive, Oikonomides supposed that the monks had intentionally disposed of a large number of the twelfth-century documents. They periodically put aside documents having temporal effects, such as administrative orders and pronoia granting documents, which increased from the twelfth century, while they carefully conserved older privileges (chrysobulls) confirming monastic fundamental properties as well as most of the documents issued by the Palaiologoi, the last Byzantine authority to which the monastery was subordinate (N. Oikonomides, 'Byzantine Archives of the Palaiologan Period, 1258–1453' in R. Britnell, ed., *Pragmatic literacy, east and west, 1200–1330*, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 189–197).

Oikonomides' thesis is persuasive on the point that not only internal and/or external accidents, but also the monks' intentions, could disperse the documents. Nevertheless, in the above study, he takes an ambivalent attitude toward the reason why the imperial documents during the Laskarids have hardly been transmitted. In fact, he discusses the Laskarids' documents together with twelfth-century documents when those paucities are concerned, while when talking about the abundance of imperial documents of the Palaiologoi, he explains that it was caused by the number of new property acquisitions of the monastery during the thirteenth century. If one follows the latter argument, it seems



likely that more imperial documents from the Laskarids would remain in the monastic archive of Patmos. Oikonomides, however, did not seem to notice the contradiction. Therefore, we need another explanation for the paucity of imperial documents by the Nicaean emperors in the Patmos archive.

In this presentation, I examine the relationships between the transmitted and dispersed Nicaean imperial documents in favour of the monastery of Patmos. In fact, Nicaean Emperors Theodore I Laskaris and John III Vatatzes conferred new properties and privileges, respectively, to the monastery by their chrysobulls. Remarkably, the two imperial acts seem to have had lost their effects during the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos and eventually disappeared from the monastic archive. This point leads us to the possibility that the Palaiologan state intervened in the formation of the monastic archive of Patmos in some manner, aiming to consolidate their dynastic legitimacy and to eliminate the memory of the Laskarids. Our study will hopefully hint at the process of formation of other Byzantine monastic archives.

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Les liens spirituels entre la Russie et les territoires byzantins (y compris le Mont Athos) (1350-1500)

L'orientation spirituelle du royaume de la Moscovie qui se renforçait progressivement au cours du XIV^e-ème et surtout du XV^e-ème siècle supposait des relations constantes avec Constantinople et, en conséquence, avec le domaine du Patriarche œcuménique – l'Athos.

L'examen des relations russo-byzantines de cette époque suggère trois principaux domaines de la relation dans le domaine spirituel :

1. Le niveau supérieur de l'interaction présentent les relations diplomatiques spirituelles liées à la nomination des Grecs au trône des métropolitains de toute la Russie (une place particulière occupe ici est la figure de Cyprien, métropolitain de Kiev et de toute la Russie).
2. Le deuxième niveau d'interaction – les contacts des monastères du Mont Athos et de la Russie, dont le développement particulier on observe au temps de gestion de la métropole de toute la Russie par l'évêque Cyprien (on peut noter les visites des moines de l'Athos en Russie, mais aussi les pèlerinages des ascètes russes qui apportaient alors les statuts cénobitiques de l'Athos dans leurs monastères).
3. Avec les deux premiers niveaux est étroitement lié le processus du déplacement des valeurs spirituelles – principalement des livres et des icônes – de Constantinople et des monastères du Mont Athos en Russie.

L'étude des principales directions de manuscrits, apportés et envoyés à la Russie de Constantinople et du Mont Athos, révèle une coïncidence intéressante: alors que presque tous les manuscrits de Constantinople sont allés à Moscou ou dans les monastères de la région de Moscou, la grande majorité des manuscrits de l'Athos, en contournant Moscou, sont arrivés dans les monastères de Novgorod et de Tver.



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Nicéphore II, despote d'Épire, comte de Céphalonie et citoyen de Venise ? À propos d'un document vénitien du 5 septembre 1357

On a longtemps cru que la Sérénissime avait officiellement accordé à Nicéphore II sa protection le 5 septembre 1357, avec la confirmation de sa citoyenneté vénitienne ainsi que la reconnaissance de son titre de comte de Céphalonie. Cette décision aurait été prise dans le cadre du règlement de la révolte de Leucade, soutenue par Nicéphore, contre Graziano Zorzi, citoyen vénitien ayant loué la seigneurie de l'île aux Angevins. Cette opinion, défendue notamment par Donald Nicol et Spyros Asonitis, et à partir de laquelle ont été extrapolées diverses théories, doit cependant être abandonnée.

En effet, prétendûment basée sur une délibération du Sénat vénitien du 5 septembre 1357 (Misti, 28, fol. 13), elle repose en réalité sur le regeste que Freddy Thiriet en fait (Régestes des délibérations du Sénat, t. I, n° 317, p. 86) : « Réponses à l'ambassadeur du despote Nicéphore II, comte de Céphalonie : le despote doit accepter un noble vénitien comme recteur de ses domaines (...) ; il peut lever la bannière de Saint-Marc à son gré puisqu'il est citoyen vénitien. » Or, l'examen du texte original (éd. Valentini, AAV, t. I/1, n° 169, pp. 152-153) montre d'une part que le titre de « comte de Céphalonie » n'y figure pas, d'autre part que le personnage en question n'est pas explicitement désigné comme étant Nicéphore II, mais uniquement en tant que « despote ». Le regeste de Thiriet, utilisé comme preuve, n'est donc en réalité qu'une hypothèse de lecture.

Or, la décision du 5 septembre fait écho à une décision du Conseil Majeur, prise le 31 août (AAV, t. I/1, nos 167-168, pp. 151-152), soit moins d'une semaine plus tôt, et qui concerne explicitement le despote de Valona Jean Comnène Asên, despote de Valona et citoyen vénitien depuis le 2 mai 1353 (AAV, t. I/1, n° 153, p. 141). D'autres savants considèrent depuis longtemps que le document du 5 septembre concerne Jean Comnène Asên. Les deux textes traitent en effet de la même question, à savoir si ce dernier a le droit d'employer un recteur vénitien. Le document du 5 septembre n'ayant aucun lien avec le despote d'Épire et en l'absence d'autre document, il faut donc se rendre à l'évidence : Nicéphore II n'a jamais porté ni tenté de faire reconnaître le titre de comte de Céphalonie, de même qu'il n'a jamais été citoyen vénitien.

Quelles conclusions tirer de cette rectification ? Pour ce qui est de Venise, cela signifie qu'elle ne conclut aucune alliance avec Nicéphore. L'hypothèse selon laquelle Venise, déçue que les Angevins aient refusé de lui vendre les îles Ioniennes, aurait envisagé de prêter main forte à Nicéphore afin que les îles passent sous le contrôle d'un citoyen vénitien, supposé docile, s'effondre donc à son tour.

Pour ce qui est de Nicéphore, cela confirme le récit des sources grecques, qui mentionnent toujours son projet de reconquérir son héritage épirote mais jamais celui de s'emparer du comté de Céphalonie dont il aurait pourtant pu à bon droit se prétendre l'héritier. L'affaire de Leucade doit d'ailleurs être interprétée en ce sens puisque l'île appartenait théoriquement à l'Épire et non au comté. Surtout, cela montre bien que Nicéphore se considéra tout au long de sa vie comme un prince byzantin et jamais comme le rejeton d'une lignée italienne.



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Despot Stefan Lazarevic, the Gattilusio Family and the Byzantine Emperors (1402-1405)

The topic of this paper is related to my PhD thesis, which is dedicated to despot Stefan Lazarevic and his diplomatic relations with the other countries. This report will address the marriage of Despot Stefan and Helena, Gattilusio's daughter, the ruler of Lesbos Island (Mitylene). The emphasis is on the importance of the marriage for obtaining despotic title by the co-emperor John VII Palaeologus and its confirmation by Manuel II, the full Byzantine emperor. The report presents the impact of the alliance between Stefan Lazarevic and Helena Gattilusio in determining the successor of the Serbian state as well as a possible cause of the unrest in Moravian Serbia.

Among the main sources used are *The Life of Despot Stefan Lazarevic* by Constantine the Philosopher, a short Byzantine chronicle, Ducas, and the correspondence of Despot Stefan and Princess Milica with the administration of Dubrovnik.

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Some Aspects of the Pro-Ottoman Position of George Amiroutzes

George Amiroutzes is one of those Byzantine intellectuals who continued an intellectual activity at the court of the Ottoman Sultan after the fall of Byzantium in 1453. According to the Byzantine historian Kritovoulos, Amiroutzes was a «great philosopher who has encyclopedic knowledge, besides the orator and poet», he was recognized by Mehmed II, who been impressed by his wisdom and invited him to the service.

The purpose of this paper is, on the one hand, to follow a career path of Amiroutzes and to identify the causes which pushed the writer for approchement and cooperation with people of other faith; on the other hand – to consider from his writings, what characteristics and epithets were used by the author in relation to the figure of Mehmed II and what else indicates for a philosopher's pro-Ottoman position.

Amiroutzes appears as an active and pragmatic person. His main writings are «A Dialogue with the ruler of the Turks about the Christian faith» and several poems dedicated to Mehmed II. In his writings the author designated Mehmed as the heir and successor of the Byzantine emperors, calling the Sultan «The Lord of the ecumene» and «basileus of the Hellenes». In «A Dialogue» Amiroutzes talked about the disasters that have befallen on the Greeks, but in the words of the Sultan urged them not to fight the invaders and to understand the principles of their faith, customs



and practices, speaking about the importance of humility and submissiveness. Literary activity Amiroutzes shows the author's desire to demonstrate his loyalty to the Sultan, get reward from the Turkish ruler for his laudatory passages.

However, there are some evidences which called into question the sincerity of pro-Turkish and pro-Muslim sympathies of Amiroutzes. These data demonstrate the existence of cryptochristian trends in Byzantium during the second half of the XV century and indicate the seeming turkophile of adventurous Amiroutzes. This allows us to look at his ideological and religious position from the different angle.

Thus, we would consider an activity of George Amiroutzes at the court of Mehmed II not only from the point of view that the service to the Sultan could bring benefits and promotion to the writer, but also in the context of the spiritual quest of the Greek intellectuals in a post-Byzantine era.

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Les amulettes byzantines trouvées en Crimée

Les amulettes destinées à protéger contre la force maléfique, les diverses maladies et le mauvais œil étaient largement répandues à l'époque du Haute Moyen Age chez les habitants du Cherson, du Bosphore et du Sud-Ouest de la péninsule.

Les phylactères avec les conjurations spéciales protégées et gardées du mal, écrites sur un morceau du tissu ou gravées sur une plaque métallique ont été mis dans un étui cylindrique en bronze ou en argent, munie de deux bélières de suspension. Ils proviennent des alentours du Bosphore et sont datés de la deuxième moitié du V^e et du VI^e siècles. Les étuis de même forme, datés du VII^e au IX^e siècles et provenant du Sud-Ouest de la Crimée, contiennent à l'intérieur les restes du bois ou du tissu. À Lutchistoé, dans l'inhumation féminine de la première moitié du VII^e siècle a été mis au jour une boucle d'oreille, dont le pendeloque polyédrique a compris une amulette de papyrus, plié plusieurs fois et maintenu par de la ficelle.

Les médaillons à l'effigie estampé du saint cavalier transperçant le démon femelle (à l'un côté) et du saint Menas (à l'autre côté) provenant des inhumations des VII^e et VIII^e siècles de la nécropole Loutchistoé, étaient destinés à préserver son propriétaire contre diverses maladies et à protéger contre les menées d'une diablesse Gellô (Gylou), qui provoquait la mort des enfants en bas âge et menaçait aux femmes enceintes. On attache ces amulettes au cou des nouveau-nés. Les femmes les portaient au niveau du cou, dans un collier avec des perles. Le saint cavalier transperçant une diablesse ou un serpent est un sujet, qu'on souvent gravait au VII^e siècle sur le chaton des bagues.

Le médaillon en plaque de bronze, qui montre divers signes «magiques» et quelques lettres grecques, était trouvé à Skalistoé, dans un caveau de la seconde moitié du VIII^e et du IX^e siècle. C'est une imitation primitive des amulettes, nommées «Sceaux de Salomon». Le médaillon original «sceau de Salomon» était trouvé à Cherson, dans la cave d'une maison des XII^e-XIII^e siècles. Les bagues, dont le chaton porte un pentalpha gravé, sont aussi liées avec la magie de Salomon.

La bague en bronze du premier quart du VII^e siècle (Loutchistoe) à représentation gravée de Chnoubis, le serpent à tête de lion nimbée est attribuée au groupe des amulettes magiques médicales. L'image imite les gemmes magiques, largement répandues en Egypte à l'époque romaine impériale et destinées à améliorer la digestion et traiter les maladies du ventre. La bague faisait partie d'un collier et était portée au niveau de l'estomac.

Les sujets apotropaiques on peut voir sur les accessoires vestimentaires. Ainsi, au Sud-Ouest de la Crimée durant le VII^e siècle étaient populaires les plaque-boucles rigides, dont le plaque circulaire est décorée des figures incisées d'un lion et au-dessous, d'un serpent. Dans le champ, en haut, figurent une étoile à cinq ou six rayons, et représentation stylisée du mauvais œil. Les



plaque-boucles similaires sont connues en Sicile et en Asie Mineure. Cette composition est bien connue d'après des amulettes magiques (médaillon et bracelets) provenant de la Syrie, Palestine et l'Asie Mineure. Les plaque-boucles de ce type étaient portées par des enfants.

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The Collection of Byzantine Bread Stamps in the Loulis Museum, Piraeus, Greece. A First Approach

The paper presents the preliminary results of the study of the collection of Byzantine bread stamps in the Loulis Museum in Piraeus. The Museum belongs to the Loulis Mills Corporate, a major company in the Greek flour industry, and is housed in the Agiou Georgiou Mills building in Keratsini. The Museum aims to preserve the history and the tradition accompanying the preparation and use of bread, the basic daily human food in the Mediterranean diet since the Prehistoric times.

The collection consists of 500 bread stamps covering a long period from the 5th to the 20th century. The majority are of known origin, some being heirlooms and others having been purchased from antiquarian shops. The paper focuses on the several stamps of the early and middle Byzantine period. They are made of different materials like stone, clay, wood and metal and in various sizes and shapes. They present a variety of designs and decorations, such as crosses, representations and inscriptions, with the prevailing symbolic invocation of the Eucharistic bread: ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΝΙΚΑ. They offer a valuable piece of information concerning the everyday and religious life during the Byzantine era.

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The Byzantine Toreutic of the XI Century in the Light of the Will of Eustathius Boilas (1059)

The Will of the protospatharius Eustathius Boilas gives a detailed account of the estates of a large landowner from Asia Minor. This document is to be found in the eleventh century manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (ms. Coislin 263, fols 159-165), where it follows the Spiritual Ladder of John Climacus. This manuscript was written in 1059 by the Cappadocian monk Theodulus at the request of Boilas.



It was V. Beneshevich who published the Greek text in 1907, the short translation in Russian with an incomplete commentary was published by P. Bezobrazov in 1911. The translation in English was made in 1957 by Spiros Vryonis.

Three groups of items in the inventory of objects in the Boilas's Will are interesting by the using of special terms in their description:

1. Twelve icons of bronze - εικόνες σαρούτια δώδεκα
2. The holy cross inlaid with gold and ... with six medallions – βλεμιά ἕξ
3. The calice – δισκοποτήρη

In the X-XI centuries in Byzantium two kinds of bronze icons are known: massive cast icons with further chiseling and engraving and second – embossed from a thin layer of bronze chising and engraved as well. The icons of the first kind are traditionally regarded as icons of the Constantinople circle. Icons made from a thin layer of bronze fixed onto a wooden board are considered to have been made in Asia Minor. Such attribution has been proved iconographically/ The facts from the biography of the Cappadocian magnate Boilas, who in his Will left 12 bronze icons to the church of Our Lady located in Salem (near by Antiochia), testify to the fact that these icons, if not made by Cappadocian masters, were at any rate made in Asia Minor's workshop. Just these bronze icons were named σαρούτια. (See the Dictionary of Du Cange under σαρούκτη).

Among the byzantine processional crosses from the middle byzantine period there are a number of crosses with similar structure and mode of decoration. These crosses are made of thin silver or silver gilt sheets fitted around an icon core. On both the front and the back the silver gilt or gold medallions with the holy images occupy the intersections and the ends of the crossarms. Such a composition was a common Byzantine iconographic theme represented on processional crosses. One of these crosses had come from Eskişehir in Turkey and it provides a basis for the attribution of the whole group of crosses to the region of northeastern Anatolia. In the Will of Eustathius Boilas the medallions decorating the crosses are named βλεμιά – from the word τό βλέμμα – the look.

A calice – δισκοποτήρη this refers to the chalice only. The paten (δίσκος) is listed separately here. At the same time Boilas left the chalice with the equipment, which consisted of a strainer, an asterisk, two spoons and three cloths for covering the sacred and holy objects. This cloth is described as σπονδητήρη. This word appears to be a form of σπονδή “libation”. Hence it possible refers to the cloth covering the communion chalice.



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Working Stucco in Byzantium: Some Evidence from the Written Sources

The use of moulded stucco for the interior decoration of Byzantine buildings is a topic that lies in a grey area of scholarship. The lack of material evidence and its ephemeral nature could give the impression that stucco was not frequently used. However a considerable number of churches show such decorations. In some cases, there is a double presence of both stucco and marble sculptural decoration that lead us to think about craftsmen and about building-site organization.

There was a specific production of stucco mouldings or sculptures? Were artisans who worked stucco specialized craftsmen? This paper focuses on passages from written sources of the Middle Byzantine period that provide glimpses of the artisans who worked gypsum and stucco within their contemporary society and allow us to visualize their artefacts.

“Human forms made of stucco” were current in the houses of the élites: Theodore Balsamon, in his Commentary of the Council in Trullo (12th century), complains about the “immoral practice” of decorating walls with indecorous scenes in stucco. In addition, people who ‘had to do’ with gypsum and stucco are mentioned in Regulation books, such as the Book of the Eparch, in the Life of Saint Lazarus, in some Lexika and, incidentally, in some passages of the Church Fathers. The emerging blurry picture induces a reflection on the value of written sources for visualizing Byzantine art and for understanding Byzantine artistic culture.

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Le revêtement en stuc des icônes à Chypre au XIII^e siècle

À la fin du XII^e siècle, la production chypriote d'icônes est caractérisée par le développement d'un décor en stuc. Les historiens de l'art ont tenté d'attribuer une origine occidentale ou orientale à cette technique. Cette communication vise à reconsidérer cette approche. Pour ce faire, nous l'appréhenderons comme un mode artistique commun aux différentes cultures du bassin méditerranéen. Le contexte historique permettra d'avancer des hypothèses d'explication quant à son usage fréquent, au XIII^e siècle. Enfin, nous tenterons de comprendre son succès en s'interrogeant sur les techniques de mise en œuvre des stucateurs ainsi que sur la façon dont ils ont su tirer partie d'un contexte particulier pour multiplier les commandes.



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Χρυσό βυζαντινό άγιο ποτήριο με λατινική επιγραφή από το Μουσείο Κύκκου

Από τις συλλογές του Μουσείου Κύκκου στην Κύπρο παρουσιάζεται για πρώτη φορά χρυσό άγιο ποτήριο. Αυτό έχει βάρος 194.39 γρ. και διαστάσεις 11,5 εκ. ύψος, 8,7 εκ. διάμετρο βάσης και 9 εκ. διάμετρο λεκανιδίου. Τα τοιχώματά του έχουν κυμαινόμενο πάχος 0,75-0,85 χιλιοστά. Απαρτίζεται από τρία αρθρωτά μέλη, την κυκλική βάση, η οποία βαθμιδωτά διαμορφώνεται σε πολύλοβη, το ημισφαιρικό λεκανίδιο και μικρή σφαίρα (διάμ. 3,5 εκ.), η οποία παρεμβάλλεται μεταξύ τους. Είναι κατασκευασμένο από χρυσό 22,7 καρατίων με ελάχιστες προσμείξεις άλλων μετάλλων. Φέρει εγχάρακτη, έξεργη και σκαλιστή διακόσμηση. Το σφυρήλατο έλασμα κοσμείται με εγχάρακτη διακόσμηση στις εξωτερικές όψεις του ποτηρίου και έξεργη, φουσκωτή σκαλιστή στη σφαίρα.

Στο λεκανίδιο εικονίζεται η Σταύρωση και η Ανάσταση του Χριστού, χωρίς όμως ονομαστικούς τίτλους. Η Σταύρωση δίδεται μόνο με τα τρία κύρια πρόσωπα. Ενδιαφέρον εικονογραφικό στοιχείο αποτελούν οι γωνιόσχημες απολήξεις της οριζόντιας κεραίας του σταυρού. Η Ανάσταση εικονίζεται όπως την αναφέρουν τα ευαγγέλια. Οι τρεις Μαρίες προσέρχονται στον τάφο του Χριστού, βαστάζοντας ληκύθια με αρώματα. Απέναντί τους πάνω στον τάφο κάθεται άγγελος, ο οποίος τους αναγγέλλει την Ανάσταση.

Περιμετρικά στο χείλος του ποτηρίου γράφεται η κεφαλαιογράμματη λατινική επιγραφή: +SUMUNT UNGUENTUM VENIUNT SIMUL AD MONUMENTUM SURREXIT VERE DOMINUS MINUS NOLITE TIMERE (Λαμβάνουσι το μύρον και έρχονται εις το μνημείο. Ανέστη αληθώς ο Κύριος. Μη φοβείσθε). Ο χαρακτήρας αγνοεί το αυθεντικό κείμενο και κάνει λάθη. Χωρίζει κακά, αλλοιώνοντας τις λέξεις.

Πυκνός ανομοιόμορφος, σχηματοποιημένος φυτικός διάκοσμος σε σιγμοειδή περιστροφή γεμίζει κάθετα τις δεκαπέντε συνεχόμενες ταινίες, που καλύπτουν τη βάση. Όμοιου τύπου διακοσμητικό στοιχείο εντοπίζεται σε εικονογραφημένα βυζαντινά χειρόγραφα (Vat. Gr.2 - 1125, Sinait. Gr.220 - 1167, Athos, Dionysiu 589 -1201), καθώς και στην εντοιχία ζωγραφική. Όλα τα μεταλλικά σκεύη στις τοιχογραφίες του ναού της Παναγίας του Άρακος στην Κύπρο (1192) καλύπτονται με παρόμοιου τύπου διακόσμηση. Το ίδιο στο ναό του Χριστού Αντιφωνητή στην Καλογραία της Κερύνειας και στον ναό του Αρχαγγέλου Μιχαήλ στα Λεύκαρα (και οι δύο γύρω στα 1200).

Η σφαίρα στο μέσο του ποτηρίου φέρει διακόσμηση από φυτικά καρδιόσχημα στοιχεία, τα οποία σε επιμέρους σημεία διανθίζονται με πετράδια.

Η όλη δομή της βάσης και της σφαίρας του ποτηρίου προσομοιάζει με τη βάση θυμιατηρίου, που βαστάζει ιεράρχης στη σκηνή της Κοίμησης της Θεοτόκου στον ναό της Παναγίας του Άρακος στην Κύπρο (1192).

Ελάχιστα τέτοιου τύπου χρυσά έργα έχουν διασωθεί. Ως προς τη μορφή διατηρεί τον βυζαντινό χαρακτήρα, ενώ η λατινική επιγραφή και κάποια στοιχεία της διακόσμησης παραπέμπουν σε δυτικές επιδράσεις.



Μάλλον πρόκειται για επαρχιακό έργο, μη αποκλεισμένης της δημιουργίας του στην Κύπρο, που κατασκευάστηκε στη βυζαντινή Ανατολή μέσα στο ευρύτερο κλίμα ώσμωσης Ανατολής – Δύσης την περίοδο των Σταυροφοριών. Χρονολογικά θα προτείναμε την ένταξη του στα τέλη του 12ου με 13ο αιώνα.

Επισταμένη μελέτη του γραφικού χαρακτήρα του κειμένου καθώς και της όλης διακοσμητικής δομής του έργου θα οδηγήσει σε πιο σαφή συμπεράσματα.



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La peine de l' ἀειφυγία : analyse lexicale, juridique et historiographique d'un terme mal connu

La peine de l'exil se manifeste très souvent dans le droit byzantin; elle est imposée pour un grand nombre de crimes de gravité moyenne. Dans la littérature juridique byzantine, on trouve plusieurs termes signifiant une peine d'exil soit perpétuelle soit d'une durée déterminée. Εξορία, υπερορία, περιορισμός, ρελεγατευεσθαι, deportatio, relegatio, etc ; le pluralisme des termes ne manque pas dans la production juridique byzantine. Cependant, cela ne signifie pas que tous ces termes ont exactement la même définition; même si quelquefois la différence entre les deux formes d'exil n'est pas si évidente à préciser.

Selon la hiérarchie des peines, existe l'exil temporaire, l'exil perpétuel et pour finir, le « περιορισμός », qui implique la confiscation des biens et la perte du droit de cité. Le περιορισμός se présente comme une peine plus rigoureuse que celle de l'exil car elle est obligatoirement perpétuelle.

C'est dans la nouvelle XI de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète qu'apparaît pour la première fois, — ou plutôt quasi pour la première fois — un autre terme désignant la peine d'exil, celle de ἀειφυγία. On pourra concevoir que ce terme ne contient que le même contenu que celui de l'exil perpétuel. Cependant, Constantin dans la nouvelle X utilise aussi le terme traditionnel d'exil. Par conséquent, l'empereur utilisant le terme ἀειφυγία dans une autre de ses nouvelles, implique que les deux termes se différencient sémantiquement par leur contenu. Le terme n'apparaît pas seulement dans la Nouvelle de Constantin ; Manuel I Comnène, dans sa Nouvelle sur les homicides l'utilise également. Mais, quelle est la signification de ἀειφυγία ?

La peine d' ἀειφυγία n'est pas introduite par Constantin VII. C'était la peine d'exil perpétuel suivi de la confiscation chez les Grecs. Cette peine était déjà connue à l'époque d'Homère et on pouvait la discerner de la peine d'exil provisoire. Mis à part la confiscation, elle a aussi produit comme effet celui de la perte du droit de la Cité. Les condamnés à l'ἀειφυγία pouvaient revenir à Athènes et reprendre le droit du citoyen uniquement dans le cas où la Cité leur offrait l'amnistie. En plus de cette règle, il faut tenir compte des exemptions de la législation de Solon, où les tueurs avec préméditation ainsi que les citoyens qui ont essayé de devenir des tyrans, sont privés du bénéfice de l'amnistie. En bref, on peut remarquer que la peine d' ἀειφυγία a été imposée à ceux qui blessent corporellement un citoyen, à ceux qui provoquent un dommage aux matériaux sacrés ou destinés à l'usage du culte, à ceux qui entreprennent un renversement du régime politique, où encore qui commettent un homicide intentionnel. Cette dernière clause se retrouve aussi dans la Nouvelle de Constantin VII. Plus particulièrement, Constantin VII dans cette Nouvelle s'occupe des assassinats intentionnels qui demandent asile dans l'Église. Manuel I à son tour s'occupe aussi de ce même crime.

Dans cette communication, nous proposons d'entreprendre une analyse du terme de ἀειφυγία : Analyse lexicale, juridique et historiographique, afin de pouvoir éclairer le contenu de la peine dans le droit byzantin.



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Status and Civil Condition of Early Byzantine Monk

This paper will deal with the problem if there was a change in the status and civil condition of a layman after his becoming a monk. Apophthegmata says us about a hermit whose relatives told him that his father was at death's door, and suggested that he should come and receive his inheritance. The answer of hermit was: "I had died before him for the world: the dead do not inherit from the live".

The sense of this story is that the monk renouncing the world dies for it. However, in the papyri we can see that the monk who has "died" for the world acts as though he were quite alive. So, for example, in P. Herm. Land I G505/F722, an apotaktikos Makarios owned ca. 350 16 arouras of land.

To what extent do the law and juridical sources corroborate the idea of the civil death of a layman after taking his/her monastic vows?

According to law, the monks could receive property *mortis causa* or by *donatio inter vivos*. The evidence *a contrario* is CTh. 16. 2. 20 (AD 370). See also CJ 1. 2. 13 (455).

According to a Justinian law, the parents could not deprive a son (or a daughter) of his (her) inheritance for "ingratitude", but were to give him/her the *Falkidios* part. In 546 Nov. 123.37 prescribed: if someone had left a will upon the obligatory condition of assuming the inheritance on entering into a marriage, the birth of a child ..., but the heir apparent had become a monk, the inheritance was to be given to the person it was destined for. The only reservation was that the inheritance had to be spent piously or become the monastery's property.

The settlement of the relations between the person possessing the *patria potestas* and the person subject to it, was also undertaken for the first time by Justinian. CJ 1. 3. 54.5 allows making the assumption that on entering a monastery the parents' power (*parentium potestas*) was abolished.

Novel 123. 40 gives the clearest expression of the legislator's intentions: "If ... the husband or the wife should become monastic, the marriage shall be dissolved without divorce". B. Granić draws the conclusion that "at the time of the announcement by one of spouses of his/her desire to become a monk/nun there comes the natural end of the matrimony analogous to the legal consequences of the physical death of one of the spouses". See also 5. 5 (AD 535) and C. 1. 3. 54. 4.

But the principle of a layman's legal death after his becoming monastic is not carried out consecutively by the legislators themselves.

There is an interesting passage by Basil the Great. In his Letter 284 he concerns the matter of taxes. Here we can see once again that the monk is not "dead" for the state authorities, he is very much alive for fiscal purposes.

Let's return to the question whether there was a change in the status of a monk on entry into the monastery. F. (B.) Granić may be seen as the spokesman of the first point of view. He states that



becoming a monk was legally equivalent to death. After taking the vows, the monk/nun in the strict sense of secular and ecclesiastical law, isn't legally capable. The second point of view is represented in monograph of Russian scholar Hierom. Mikhail (Semenov): "Taking the monastic vows as the transition to a new status ..., presents as a matter of fact none other than *capitis deminutio ...*", so the monk becomes a person *alieni iuris* and thereby his rights pass to a new legal entity.

The problem requires a further study, first of all, of documentary and literary sources. It appears that the capability change, if there was any, could only concern the monks of the coenobitic monasteries with the strictest Rule (like, for example, those of Pachomios).

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Critical Remarks upon the Law of Asylum during the Early and Middle Byzantine Periods

In the history of Byzantium, the institution of asylum was often a point of conflict between State and Church. This fact is strongly attested in the historiographical sources from the Byzantine period, where, in the recorded cases, the extent to which this institution was applied seems to have depended directly on the person who ordered the prosecution, the identity of the asylum-seeker and the timing. The first regulation specifically mentioned in the law of asylum, granted that such a law was in force was issued in the time of Theodosios I. The subject of asylum also preoccupied the emperor Justinian, who, on the one hand, was concerned with the general validity of the right and, on the other, restricted the scope of its application. Even the legislation of the Isaurians dealt with asylum and proceeded to make fundamental changes to the existing regime. Thus, through a relevant provision of the *Eclogē*, the application of the right of asylum was restricted so severely that it could be said to have been effectively abolished. This legislation was modified by the *Prochiros Nomos* which provided that in future, the violator of asylum was to be punished with a beating, tonsure and exile for life, provided that, in removing the asylum-seeker, he had acted on his own accord.

The Church, on its part, has always believed that sincere repentance, the confession of sins and hence the performance of the penances prescribed for the unjust act that has been committed, are much more preferable to the penalties imposed by criminal law, since the latter – and in particular the death penalty – do not give the perpetrator a chance to reform his soul or to receive atonement and forgiveness. So, it is self-evident that the Church willingly embraces those seeking asylum in it. This is not to say, of course, that nowadays the Church believes that the penances it imposes for sinful or unlawful acts should replace the penalties imposed by the state courts. In the past the Church was concerned with ensuring the sanctity and silence of its places of worship, which would certainly have been disturbed if the organs of the State, in their pursuit of alleged criminals, had acquired the right to follow them into the churches where they had sought refuge. Therefore, the Church continued to provide protection indiscriminately to whoever took refuge in its temples in



pursuit of asylum, even to willful murderers, despite the fact that state legislation explicitly excluded from asylum the perpetrators of this (and not only this) crime.

At this point, it should be noted that, in order to gain a proper understanding of the institution of asylum, one should not take into account merely the present-day reality, in which human rights are largely respected and the dispensation of justice is characterised by a clear proportionality between the sentence and the crime. In the period with which we are dealing, the judicial system of the State prescribed exceptionally strict sentences. Therefore, the asylum granted by the Church largely served as a refuge for the protection of human rights, the only place where anyone persecuted could feel safe and for this reason it was justified as an institution in the Byzantine consciousness.

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The Reception of Byzantine Criminal Law in Serbia through the *Syntagma* of Blastares

The *Syntagma* of Blastares is a nomokanon redacted in 1334-1335. Composed of canon and secular law, this juridical encyclopaedia was utilized both by the church and by the secular authorities.

In consequence of that its contents were enacted as law in force in the empire of Stephan Dushan, when the tripartite codification was enacted by the first Serbian emperor. The *Syntagma* of Blastares had been translated into Serbian language in 1348-1349 and the introduction of Byzantine law was a major change in Serbian society.

According to Greek-Roman law, the mutilations, as well as the physical punishments, and of the supreme penalty were introduced in the penal system. Homicide, rape, theft, sacrilege, the belonging to a heresy and several other criminal subjects were disciplined according to Greek-Roman law.

The Code of Dushan itself was strongly influenced by Greek-roman law and its contents have to be considered an integration of the juridical discipline provided in the Serbian version of the nomokanon redacted by Blastares. The introduction of the criminal system based on Byzantine law contributed in making Serbia part of the Byzantine commonwealth. Serbian society was probably largely based on customary law, and the adoption of the new juridical system supported the creation of the central state system. Following the Byzantine model, the justice was administrated in the name of the emperor and any other kind of self-justice was forbidden.

The process of Byzantinization had already started in the first part of the 14th century, but during Dushan's reign the process was strongly improved and the adoption of the tripartite codification gave a significant contribution in developing the Serbian-Byzantine empire.



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A “Thing” – The Concept and Division in Serbian Mediaeval Law

The Serbian mediaeval law of property was concerned essentially with things (*res*), their acquisition and their transfer. The things were considered as objects and as rights in objects, that had economic value. However, Serbian mediaeval law does not abstractly use the idea of a thing (“*stvar*“ in Serbian language). In every case, Serbian legal sources quote and name any single thing that was the object of the transaction.

I

The oldest expression to designate property was “*dobitak*“. Literally, the word means gain, asset, but in the legal documents from the 13th and 14th century, the term was primarily understood as cattle, livestock, which was considered the most primitive form of a man’s fortune.

In several cases Serbian legal sources differentiate between “*živi dobitak*“, literally live gain, live asset, i.e. cattle, livestock, and “*mrtvi dobitak*“, literally dead or inanimate gain, i.e. the immovable things.

The term which most frequently designates the whole property is “*imenije*“ or “*imanije*“ = property, holding, estate, homestead. In Serbian legal document “*imanije*“, as the object of property rights is often opposed to the “*glava*“ (lit. head), as the subject of legal acts (natural person, individual).

II

Roman law had a very detailed division of things, but among the sources of the Serbian mediaeval law, only one fragment in the *Syntagma* of Matheas Blastares mentions the Roman division on *res mobiles* and *res immobiles* (movable and immovable things). However, in the original Greek text of *Syntagma* of Matheas Blastares, beside the division on movable and immovable thing, we can find the idea of selfmovable (πράγματα αὐτοκίνητα) things, which was omitted in the Serbian translation. Although the Serbian translators of *Syntagma* omitted to mention selfmovable things, they were present in Serbian legal sources as “*živi dobitak*“ (live gain, live asset).

Among other, Roman law knew for the division of things vested in private ownership (*res in nostro patrimonio*, *res in commercium*) and things not owned privately (*res extra nostrum patrimonium*, *res extra commercium*). In Serbian mediaeval law we can not find such a division, but the legal documents mention some objects that could be *res in commercio*. Those objects were mostly churches, built by the natural persons (individuals) – noblemen or clergy, who were landlords and had hereditary estate (“*baština*“) over their manors. Churches on private estates were the property of their owners and could be things in trade (*res in commercio*).

It seems that Serbian mediaeval law recognized the division between the *res corporales* (physical, corporeal things), i.e. tangible objects and *res incorporales* (non-physical, incorporeal things), i.e. right to which an economic value attaches. Testimony could be found in several documents.

Serbian legal sources make clearly difference between the principal thing (*res principale*) and the accessory thing (*accessorium*), that which belongs to a principal thing, or is in connection with it. As the principal thing the sources usually indicate a village and beside it different accessory thing were quoted.



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Christian Temple in Greek Law under the Light of the Rights to Culture and to Freedom of Worship. A Tense Relationship or Harmonious Co-Existence?

This is a summary of the homonymous M.Sc. thesis in Canon and Ecclesiastical Law which I drafted, in 2013, at the School of Theology of ATh, under the supervision of Asst. Prof. Dr. Nikolaos Maghioros.

In Greek Law, the matter of setting the boundaries between the jurisdiction of State and Church in the protection of worship's buildings with cultural value is of great interest. When, according to the definition of the Greek Archaeological Law (ArchL), a Christian temple is considered a cultural monument, then a conflict can arise between the individual rights that govern its double nature. This communication is a theoretical approach of the synchronisation within the constitution of the right to free religious practice and the right to culture. This issue is being resolved with the use of the Principle of Proportionality, which is introduced in the Greek Constitution 1975/1986/2001/2008 by the article 25, § 1, sect. d.

The above mentioned rights are being protected at international, European Union and national levels. In Greece, the L. 3028/2002 "For the protection of Antiquities and Cultural Heritage in general" is the main statute for this protection. Some protection regulations are also included in the legislative and regulatory sources of the Church of Greece (Constitutional Map, Regulations and Circulars of the Holy Synod).

To the extent that the Christian temple, constitutes also a monument, it belongs to a particular category of religious cultural assets (*res religiosae*) with a religious practice function, as it brings together two values in one notion of undivided unity (*res mixtae*). This union of cultural/artistic value with their religious/holy nature is the cause of the conflict of interests which can often be noticed.

Religious freedom presupposes the conservation and the promotion of the religious building's ritual function, while the State is protecting its historical, scientific and artistic value for the promotion of the public interest.

Although its purpose as a place of religious practice (*deputatio ad cultum*) is, in terms of public usage, of a narrower scope than its cultural purpose (*dicatio ad patriam*), there is, certainly, in administrative action an obligation for a conciliatory interconnection of both. Besides, the dynamic-functional rather than static-exhibitional protection of religious immovable monuments which preserve or might re-acquire their ritual function, constitutes a practical application of a teleological interpretation of the new ArchL's fundamental principles, which stem from the Constitution and the International Conventions validated by Greece. Therefore, the non-respect or exclusion by the State, without sufficient grounds, of a monument's ritual use is unconstitutional.

The constitutionally vested Principle of Proportionality is the most appropriate methodological tool for resolving this conflict. The common legislator is then called to specify this abstract legal



notion that belongs to the Constitution. However, the use of criteria coming from other scientific fields creates once more abstract notions, which the Administration and the Judge are in concreto called upon to further specify taking into account the latest scientific data. The temple of Saint George (Rotunda) at Thessaloniki, is, e.g., a “cultural asset of religious character with a primarily monumental-historical and secondarily ritual function” whose further or different usage depends upon the Archaeological Service’s approval.

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Criticism of Venationes and Ecclesiastical Attitudes towards Hunting in the 12th Century Byzantium

“The canon calls fighting with wild beasts ‘spectacles of hunt’; these, however, are forbidden.” With these words the twelfth-century canonist Theodore Balsamon comments on canon no. 51 of the Quinisext Council from the year 691/92. The canon, forbidding clerics as well as laymen to visit or participate in theater performances and animal fights, is part of a tradition of ecclesiastical criticism of public spectacles originating in Late Antiquity. This criticism also included hunting activities, especially the publicly shown hunts for animals called “venationes.”

From the twelfth century there are two rather detailed comments on this canon, one of them written by John Zonaras, the other by Theodore Balsamon cited above. They repeat the ban of public spectacles, yet clearly excluding the case of hunting for food. However, reading their comments one gets the impression that the criticism of the hunting spectacles refers to conditions belonging to the remote past in the eyes of their authors. This leads to the question how far these comments were meant to match the current situation of the twelfth century.

The presentation will discuss several sources with regard to the question whether public hunts and animal fights still took place in the 12th century or not. Especially the traveler’s account of Benjamin de Tudela provides evidence for the existence of these activities in the hippodrome of Constantinople at the time of the two canonists. The fact that the commentaries avoid mentioning these events could be a hint that, despite de Tudela’s report, animal fights were not really important anymore at that time. However, it is also possible that the commentaries deliberately remained silent about these events. A similar approach can be discovered in the commentary by Balsamon on canon no. 24 of the Quinisextum banning public horse races, where he explicitly excludes contemporary races from the prohibition. Most obviously, in some cases the canonists did not have a strictly rigorous attitude towards the regulations formulated by old canons and rather tended to spare certain practices from severe criticism in favor of fitting in with social realities. The fact that in these cases practices organized by the emperor are concerned could be a further reason for this treatment.

While the two canonists comment on venationes and hunting for food, they do not mention hunting activities as sports of the aristocracy. In twelfth century court society these activities had



developed into events with public appeal, being important elements of aristocratic representation and rather popular within the entire Byzantine élite. Contemporary sources show that ecclesiastical members of this élite express this positive attitude just as their “colleagues” from the secular aristocracy do. This can be confirmed, amongst other things, by the literary works on hunting at that time, one of which was written by the metropolitan bishop of Philippoupolis, Constantine Pantechnes. Furthermore, an analysis of the court poetry shows that ecclesiastical authors like Eustathius of Thessalonike and Theophylact of Ochrid included the topic of imperial hunting with all its representative aspects into their panegyrics and praised the hunting exploits of their imperial clients without hesitation. As a whole, élite society apparently did not leave much space for criticism of hunting activities. The same situation can as well be found in the European west at that time.

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Η ηθική αυτουργία στους Ιερούς Κανόνες της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας

Η ηθική αυτουργία, καταρχήν, δεν αποτελεί αυτοτελές κανονικό αδίκημα αλλά είναι τιμωρητέα μορφή συμμετοχικής δράσης κατά την εμφάνιση κάποιου (οποιουδήποτε) κανονικού αδικήματος.

Επειδή το δίκαιο των ιερών κανόνων, διαμορφώθηκε κατά τη βυζαντινή περίοδο και είναι δίκαιο κατά τα πρότυπα της εποχής του δίκαιο περιπτωσιολογικό δεν υπάρχει γενική κανονική διάταξη που να τιμωρεί την ηθική αυτουργία όπως συμβαίνει στο σύγχρονο κοινό ποινικό δίκαιο.

Παρά την έλλειψη ειδικής διάταξης είναι δεδομένο ότι οι Ιεροί Κανόνες τιμωρούν τον ηθικό αυτουργό με την ποινή του αυτουργού, και, μάλιστα, σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις αυστηρότερα. Συνοπτικά, το κολάσιμο της ηθικής αυτουργίας, το οποίο θεμελιώνεται στη βιβλική διήγηση της Γενέσεως περί της τιμωρίας του όφεως ως ηθικού αυτουργού στο προπατορικό αμάρτημα, προκύπτει από την περιπτωσιολογική έρευνα πολλών Ιερών Κανόνων. Αναφέρονται τα εξής χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα:

1. Ο όρος «συναιρούμενοι» στον Δ΄ 27, με ερμηνείες Ζωναρά και Βαλσαμώνα) και στον Πενθ. 92 στο αδίκημα της αρπαγής γυναικός και το όρος «συνειδότες» στον Αγκύρας 25 επί αθεμιτογαμίας, οι οποίοι μάλιστα κατά τον Βαλσαμώνα τιμωρούνται αυστηρότερα γιατί δεν έχουν το ελαφρυντικό της «ερωτικής ακολασίας» (πάθους) των αυτουργών.
2. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρονται επίσης: τον Μ. Βασιλ. 8, και Πενθ. 91 στο αδίκημα της άμβλωσης, Μ. Βασ. 9 στο αδίκημα της μοιχείας, Πενθ. 63 στο έγκλημα της απιστίας, τους περί σιμωνίας κανόνες, και τον Πενθ 19 (χρησιμοποιώντας στο συγκεκριμένο κανόνα το *argumento a contrario*).
3. Οι πιο χαρακτηριστικοί Ιεροί Κανόνες που περιγράφουν και τιμωρούν την εγγύτερη στη σύγχρονη ποινική έννοια της ηθικής αυτουργίας συμμετοχική δράση είναι οι 8 και 9 της Πρωτοδευτέρας Συνόδου, οι οποίοι αναφέρονται στην τιμωρία εκείνου που δίδει «ἐπίταγμα» (διαταγή, εντολή) για την τέλεση των αδικημάτων του ευνουχισμού και της άσκησης σωματικής βίας. Εξίσου χαρακτηριστικός είναι και ο Αποστ. 36, ο οποίος τιμωρεί τον κλήρο της πόλης που δεν διαπαιδαγώγησε σωστά τον λαό με αποτέλεσμα αυτός να δείχνει ανυποταξία και να μην δέχεται, αλλά να διώχνει τον εκλεγμένο (και χειροτονηθέντα) επίσκοπο του.



Όπου λέγεται και προβλέπεται ρητά τιμωρία για τον ηθικό αυτουργό μιας πράξης, δεν απαιτείται η αναδρομή στη γενική αρχή περί του τιμωρητού της ηθικής αυτουργίας, αλλά ο υπαίτιος τιμωρείται ως αυτουργός ενός αδικήματος του οποίου η αντικειμενική υπόσταση πληρούται όταν πείθει ή εντέλλεται ή υποχρεώνει κάποιον να γίνει αυτουργός ενός αδικήματος ή όταν εκ προθέσεως και κατόπιν σχεδιασμού γίνεται πρωταίτιος προκλήσεως της εγκληματικής συμπεριφοράς τρίτου. Η παρατήρηση αυτή επιλύει το πρόβλημα του τιμωρητού ή μη των πράξεων αυτών ακόμη και αν δεν τελεστεί το έγκλημα που επιδιώκει ο ηθικός αυτουργός, αλλά παύσει η εξέλιξη της εγκληματικής συμπεριφοράς του, στο στάδιο είτε των προπαρασκευαστικών πράξεων ή της αποπείρας.

Ωστόσο, επειδή στο Κανονικό Δίκαιο πηγή κανόνων δικαίου είναι και η Αγία Γραφή, από την οποία θεσμοθετείται το τιμωρητό της ηθικής αυτουργίας ως μορφή συνεργίας στην αμαρτία και στο έγκλημα, η ηθική αυτουργία είναι τιμωρητή σε όλα τα εκκλησιαστικά εγκλήματα, η δε οριοθέτηση της έννοιας της λαμβάνεται κατά αναλογία από την περιπτωσιολογία των παραπάνω εκτεθέντων υποστασιοποιημένων αυτοτελών αδικημάτων.



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The Image of St. Constantine the Great in the Unpublished Canon, Saved in Sinaitic Manuscripts

The author of this article had a possibility to investigate Sinaitic manuscripts, namely manuscripts ΜΓ 5 — an Uncial Tropologion of the second half of the VIII- first half of IX century and in Sin. Greek 637, which contain an unpublished canon in honour of St. Constantine. This canon presents also in the manuscript of Paris National Library Paris. Graec. 1566 (XII-XII c.).

This canon has a very interesting and intricate textological fate — all three manuscripts demonstrate three different redaction. ΜΓ 5 and Sinaitic Greek 637 are closer to each other, for they don't have Theotokia, but in some features ΜΓ 5 and Paris. Graecus 1566 are much in common, whereas Sinaitic Greek has a very peculiar 8 ode.

The authorship can be stated according to Parisinus Graecus 1566, where the author is denoted as Ιωάννης Μοναχός (F.62). There is a great probability, that it is St. John of Damascus (+754). If it is so, the situation with the canon appears to be very interesting, for the author pleads the Lord to subdue alien tyrants «to our most faithful Emperor».

ὥσπερ

σταυροτύποις ἔτρεψας•

ἐν Σινᾷ παλάμαις Ἀμαλήκ τὸν ἀλλόφυλον,

τοὺς τυράννους τῷ πίστωτάτῳ

βασιλεῖ, Χριστέ, υπόταξον.

As you turned down Amalek in Sinai

with hands clasped in form of the cross

So, Christ, subdue the tyrants to the most faithful Emperor.

If we use method of biblical thematic keys, elaborated by Ricardo Pikkio, then the comparison of tyrants with Amaleke, the king of people, who tried to stop Jews to their way to the Holy Land (Exod.17, 8-14), will lead us to Arabs, concretely to the Arabian Caliphate.

If the author was really St. John of Damascus, it is very notable, that the former Grand Vizier of the caliph of Damascus prays the God to give victory to the Christian Empire, in spite of the fact, that it was governed by heretics iconoclasts. However, the emperor is called “most faithful” - πιστώτατος, which seems to be impossible to apply to an emperor heretic. There are two possibilities. First is that the canon was composed before 726, before iconoclastic persecutions and thus it shows a very low level of his loyalty to Caliphs and Moslem power in general.



The second possibility is that this canon in the time of revolt of Artavazdos, who proclaimed himself to be iconodule. If it is so, then the canon is written in 741-742. To sum up, if the author of this canon is really St. John of Damascus, it can be written either before 726, or in 741-742.

If we try to determine the features of image of St. Constantine the Great, the first is that St. Constantine is not the only finder of the True Cross:

Ζωοποιόν σταυρόν
ποθήσας
ως• ἀναφαίρετον ἐκ γῆς
ὠρύξω πλοῦτον ἄναξ
Thou didst desired
the life-giving Cross.
Thou dug it out of the ground,
As unperisheable treasure, o king.

We know that in reality it was St. Helen, the mother of St. Constantine the Great, who found the true Cross in 328. So the question rises – how can we interpret this stroph of the canon?

The first possibility is connected with a peculiar understanding of invention of the Cross. The author might understand it so, that St. Constantin did it using his mother's mission and St. Helen was just a tool in his hands and the main importance was the order (πρόσταγμα) of St. Constantine. But this opinion is opposed by a very high status of St. Helen, who was Augusta and the mother of St. Constantine and ἰσαπόστολος (equal to Apostles). Besides the sense of words "Thou dug it out of the ground as imperisheable treasure)" (ως• ἀναφαίρετον ἐκ γῆς ὠρύξω πλοῦτον ἄναξ) doesn't allow us to suspect such an abstract mental construction. Then there is another possibility for interpretation: a certain legend about invention of the True Cross by St. Constantine himself could take place. This legend is of Jerusaleme origine.

In this stroph we can determine two important features.

At first St. Constantine ardently wishes to find the life-giving Cross (Ζωοποιόν σταυρόν ποθήσας). So the author underlines both piety of Constantine and his love to the true life, which can be only in Christ.



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Per l'edizione critica di un canone (Acefalo) per la traslazione delle reliquie di S. Nicola

Il Crypt. B.β.IV (gr. 276), un codice palinsesto di probabile origine apulo-lucana, ascrivibile, per quanto attiene alla scriptio superior, alla fine dell'XI secolo o alla prima metà del XII, costituisce una raccolta agiografico-innografica quasi interamente dedicata a s. Nicola (fanno eccezione i ff. 154v-156v, che attestano un canone per la traslazione delle reliquie di s. Stefano). Essa tramanda, infatti, alcuni testi in prosa dedicati al santo e una serie di inni in forma di canone, la maggior parte dei quali è stata edita da Atanasio Kominis nel quarto volume (per dicembre) degli *Analecta Hymnica Graeca*. Fra i canoni pubblicati negli AHG, tuttavia, manca un ulteriore inno per s. Nicola tramandato dal codice criptense, e restato di fatto quasi del tutto sconosciuto agli studi: un componimento acefalo, trådito ai ff. 110r-115v del manoscritto, dedicato, più precisamente, alla traslazione delle reliquie del santo da Mira a Bari, del quale abbiamo solamente le odi dalla VI (mutila) alla IX. Da quel che rimane del testo è possibile ricostruire almeno la parte conclusiva di un doppio acrostico: quello costituito dalle iniziali dei tropari delle odi, che termina con le parole [... Νι]κόλαε, δούλοισ σου, e l'acrostico dei theotokia (e del penultimo tropario, soprannumerario, dell'ode IX), ove leggiamo le lettere conclusive del nome dell'innografo al genitivo, probabilmente [Βασιλ]είου. Che si tratti di un canone per la traslazione delle reliquie di s. Nicola lo si comprende – in assenza della rubrica – dal contenuto di alcuni tropari, che fanno variamente riferimento alla presenza di una σορός del santo a Bari, fonte di miracoli e guarigioni, e alla traslazione delle sue reliquie dall'Oriente. In questa comunicazione si intende discutere della paternità dell'inno, inquadrandone l'autore tra i numerosi innografi omonimi di nome Basilio, e valorizzare finalmente questa precoce testimonianza letteraria della traslazione delle reliquie di s. Nicola a Bari e del suo culto in terra di Puglia.



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Jerusalem in Constantinople: The Hagiopolite Divine Office in the Imperial City

In many Byzantine liturgical manuscripts one finds rubrics characterizing a ritual element as being ‘Hagiopolites’, for instance “kata tèn hagiopolitên”. The epithet ‘Hagiopolites’ denotes a particular liturgical tradition adhered to in Constantinople. As the term tells, the Hagiopolites tradition stemmed from Jerusalem and was adopted in Byzantium, where it existed side by side with the local “Ekklesiastes” tradition. The Constantinopolitan Hagiopolites was limited to the Divine Office (Book of Hours, hymnography, Psalter), but was combined with the Constantinopolitan Lectionary and Euchologion to constitute the Byzantine Rite which gradually gained ground in Byzantium and eventually became the one Orthodox liturgical tradition.

This paper challenges the reigning paradigm according to which the combined Byzantine Rite was the result of a Studite reform of the late eighth – early ninth century. The hymnography which was composed by Germanos I of Constantinople and Andrew of Crete a century earlier, and which could hardly have been used in anything but an integral Hagiopolites rite, testifies to the existence of the latter in Constantinople at least by the early eighth century. There are signs suggesting an even earlier adoption of the Hagiopolites in Constantinople.

Another part of the received view that needs to be revised is the assumption that the Hagiopolites Divine Office was a monastic rite. The biography of Hagiopolites hymnographers shows that at least a part of the Great Palace observed Hagiopolites, and so at least from the eighth century. In addition to the imperial patronage of Hagiopolites, it seems that the patriarchate of Constantinople from a much earlier time than usually thought embraced Hagiopolites as a canonical rite, to begin with as a supplement to the rite of Hagia Sophia. By the eleventh century the Byzantine rite (with its Hagiopolites Divine Office) was observed by most churches in Constantinople. The Hagiopolites liturgical tradition was therefore neither monastic in character nor practiced only by monasteries.



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Ο Νεόφυτος, επίσκοπος Γρεβενού, είναι μια λίγο γνωστή προσωπικότητα των 14ου-15ου αι. Από ένα βραχύ χρονικό πληροφορούμαστε ότι πέθανε στις 6 Δεκεμβρίου 1422 (Londinensis, Addit. 22492). Αυτό είναι το μόνο σίγουρο στοιχείο για τη ζωή του.

Με το έργο του σχετίζονται τέσσερις κώδικες: ο Parisinus gr. 2315, ο Londinensis, Egerton 2744, ο Athoniticus, Protatou 92 και ένας κώδικας που περιγράφηκε το 1903 από τον H. Gelzer, και είναι πιθανώς χαμένος σύμφωνα με την Annaclara Cataldi – Palau, ενώ σύμφωνα με τον Καθηγητή Β. Κατσαρό βρίσκεται στο Ιστορικό και Εθνικό Μουσείο της Σόφιας.

Στο συγγραφικό έργο του Νεοφύτου περιλαμβάνονται επιστολές, ομιλίες, υμνογραφικά κείμενα και ένας κανόνας αστρολογικού περιεχομένου. Στις επιστολές και τις ομιλίες του οφείλει το χαρακτηρισμό του από τον ανώνυμο χρονικογράφο ως δεύτερο και νέο Χρυσόστομο. Ο κανόνας αστρολογικού περιεχομένου επιγράφεται «ποίημα Νεοφύτου επίσκόπου Γρεβενού», και ανήκει σαφώς στη διδακτική ποίηση καθώς σε πολλά σημεία του συναντάται η αποστροφή «μαθητά».

Το υμνογραφικό του έργο είναι πλούσιο και δεν έχει μελετηθεί μέχρι σήμερα. Σε αυτό παρουσιάζεται το εξής οξύμωρο. Ο υμνογράφος από τη μια χρησιμοποιεί σπάνιες και εξεζητημένες λέξεις (π.χ. λαφύξαι, άκεσίπονον, εϋδράνεια, ένέκυρσα) και από την άλλη κάνει σοβαρά ορθογραφικά και συντακτικά λάθη (π.χ. άκέστωρσι, τίθημοι, μητρώοις σου έντεύξεις). Γίνεται προσπάθεια να ερμηνευθεί αυτό το περίεργο φαινόμενο.

Ο Νεόφυτος ασχολείται προσωπικά και με την ανακαίνιση κωδίκων. Αυτό είναι φανερό και στον κώδικα Londinensis, Egerton 2744 και στον Athoniticus, Protatou 92. Στον τελευταίο μάλιστα υπάρχουν αρκετές σημειώσεις από το χέρι του που το αποδεικνύουν.

Συμπερασματικά, με την εισήγηση αυτή προσπαθούμε μέσα από τα χειρόγραφα και το έργο του να γίνει γνωστός ο λόγιος αυτός ιεράρχης των Γρεβενών και να ερμηνευθούν τα σχετικά προβλήματα.



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Neophytos, Bishop of Grevena (15th C.), and His Hymnographic Activity

This paper presents Neophytos, Bishop of Grevena in Macedonia (PLP 20121) (d. 1422), and his hitherto unknown hymnographic work. Aside from his ecclesiastical duties, the multifarious Neophytos was also a scribe and author of several religious sermons, epistles addressed to various recipients including the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, and ecclesiastical hymns (particularly canons). The vast majority of his hymns are transmitted in codices Egerton MS 2744 and Athous, Protaton MS 78, both containing Menaia, revised significantly and expanded with new compositions by Neophytos.

Although we are fortunate to have Neophytos' autograph parts in these two codices, their critical edition remains a desideratum, and poses significant challenges. For example, we frequently encounter orthographical errors in the acrostics of hymns by Neophytos' own hand, leaving no doubt that orthographical skills were rather limited in our poet. Notwithstanding this and other shortcomings, his material is important for it offers a glimpse of his level of literacy as well as hinting at his perception of contemporary historical events (such as the expansion of the Turks). From linguistic and stylistic point of view, his *graecitas* is noteworthy, since he makes use of rare forms of words throughout his hymns. These might be either Homeric, or stem from Ancient Greek lyric and tragic poetry. Of special importance is a kind of mixture in linguistic registers, since every now and then certain phrases are mingled with forms that lead towards Modern Greek.

The picture of Neophytos' hymnographic activity is further illuminated by an unusual *kanon* 'On the cycles of Sun and Moon,' which is transmitted in MS Par. gr. 2315 (16th c.). The text belongs to the still neglected genre of didactic poetry. It is a rather telling example on how someone can find the dates of major feasts such as Easter, by chanting a hymn which contains all this information.

Analysis and study of the aforementioned hymns offer us insights on how a scholar of the 15th century in a rather remote place (Grevena), not so close to the capital, perceived hymnography. Despite the fact that Neophytos felt the superiority of his predecessors in hymnography, he did not remain a slavish imitator of their works and style. On the contrary, he expressed himself by composing new hymns, which deserve editing and further appraisal.



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The Image of St. Prince Vladimir as a New Constantine in the Old Russian Hymnography

The author regards the image of St. Equal to Apostles prince Vladimir as new Constantine in hymnographic dedicated to the baptizer of Russia.

The image of St. Equal to Apostles emperor Constantine was very important for medieval Christian world both in virtue of significance of his activity for the benefit of Christianity and the Church and due to the unusual character of his conversion.

Common features of St. prince Vladimir with St. Emperor Constantin are the preaching of Christianity and maintenance of the Church, a hearty character of their faith and paternal way of their power.

«КОСТАНИНА ВЪРНАГО ПОДОБНИКЪ АВИСА

Христа въ сердци восприимъ

и Его заповѣди

Акоже отецъ всеа Руси наоучилъ еси

Thou hast appeared as an imitator of faithful Constantin

having received Christ in thy heart

and as the father of all the Russia

Thou has taught His commandments.

From the other side both St. Constantine the Great and St. Prince Vladimir are founders of blessed dynasties and there is a parallel between the Temple of St. Apostles in Constantinople and Desiatinnaya Church in Kiev.

The cause of such links is also an idea of sacred magisterium and apostolicity, which dates back to the image of the Byzantine Emperor Priest.

The image of St. Constantine the Great also provides a link with King David and King Solomon, which are biblical archetypes of sacral power.

Дастъ человеколюбъче

богочестивому ти оугодънику

премоудрость солomonю,

давыдову кротость

апльское правовѣрие

іако цесарь цесаремъ

и господь господствующиимъ



с нимиже ти милосръдноіе съмотрение славимъ (Стихира на Господи, възвах)
Thou hast given, oh men-loving Lord
to Thy servant
Wisdom of Solomon,
meekness of David
apostolic orthodoxy
as the King of kings
and the Lord of lords,
so we glorify
thy merciful providence (Stichera. God I cried to Thee).

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The Hymns of the Georgian Holy Fathers of Mount Athos in the Liturgical Book of the 18th Century

Iviron monastery of Mount Athos and activities of Georgian holy fathers there left the deep imprint on the development of the Georgian literature, culture and on the establishment of public opinion as well. That was the reason why in the 11th century synaxarion (A-97) the names of Ioane the Athonite, Euthimius the Athonite and George the Athonite were first mentioned. There their hymns in liturgical books were also preserved.

In the 18th century the national tendency strengthened in the Georgian Orthodox Literature. This led to the direction that Church started to evaluate the activities of Georgian saints according to the new viewpoint and so, Anton I Catholicos wrote and inserted several hymns of Georgian saints in his Feast Hymn Book (S1464); among them are Canons and small hymns of Euthimius the Athonite (S1464 607v-612r), George the Athonite (S1464 665r-671r), Ioane the Athonite and Gabriel (S1464 701v-706r). He left untouched the old Canons and small hymns of Euthimius and George the Athonites. Anton Catholicos has not change the commemorative day of Euthimius the Athonite (May 13), but he shifted the commemoration of Ioane the Athonite from July 14 to July 12 and instituted commemoration of Gabriel at the same time. In the old redactions of Feast hymn Books the commemoration of George the Athonite was celebrated on June 30, but in Anton's Feast Hymn Book and in one typicon of 1749 (A122) the commemoration was fixed on June 27.



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THE BYZANTINES, SOUTH SLAVS AND HUNGARIANS

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Παρατηρήσεις στην εθνοφυλετική και πολιτική της συγκρότηση



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Смерть болгарских владетелей в византийских источниках

Византийские источники содержат в себе информацию о смерти нескольких болгарских владетелей в средние века. В некоторых случаях это и есть единственное сведение об их земном пути. Согласно византийским источникам причиной смерти некоторых болгарских владетелей (Крума, 13 апреля 814, Симеона, † 27 мая 927, Самуила, † 6 октября 1014) стали происки константинопольских императоров. Любопытно отметить, что византийские авторы указывают в качестве причины смерти царя Симеона на имитативную магию, сделанную Романом I Лакапином (920–944). В двух случаях смерть болгарских царей мыслится следствием вмешательства небесных сил и, в частности, св. Димитрия. Этому святому приписывается убийство царя Гавриила-Романа Радомира († август 1015) и царя Калояна († октябрь 1207). Сюжет смерти царя Калояна переходит и в произведения византийской иконописи. На своем смертном одре в миниатюре изображен умирающий царь Самуил в Joannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum (Codex Matritensis Graecus Vitr. 26–2). Больше сведений византийские авторы дают о болгарских владетелях раннего Средневековья (VIII–XI вв.). Смерть болгарских владетелей в XIII–XIV вв. сравнительно бегло описана в произведениях византийских историков. О конце некоторых из них нет никакой информации. В многовековых отношениях между Болгарией и Византией только один болгарский владетель – Иоанн-Владислав († февраль 1018), пал в бою во время битвы с ромеями. Он был коварно убит у стен крепости Драч во время конного поединка с Никитой Пигонитом. В отличие от подробных сведений относительно судьбы византийских императоров и красочных описаний их гибели византийские историки в отношении болгарских ханов и царей довольствовались лишь краткими сообщениями, без каких бы то ни было подробностей. Причиной, очевидно, с одной стороны является отсутствие информации, а с другой – слабый интерес к последним дням и часам уже умершего противника.



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Negative Perceptions about Byzantine Emperors in the Writings of Medieval Serbian Writers

This paper represents an attempt to consider negative perceptions of medieval Serbian writers about two Byzantine emperors. The first one was Andronicus I (1183-1185), representative of the Comnenus dynasty, while the other, Michael VIII (1259-1282), belongs to the Palaiologan ancestry.

During his short reign, which had a brilliant beginning and difficult ending, Andronicus I Comnenus did not commit any sins that caused skepticism of Serbian writers. However, Stefan Nemanjic and Domentijan, describes this ruler as a mad emperor, emperor of blood-letting and emperor of bloodshed. The cause of the terminological similarity between their descriptions certainly lies in the fact that Domentijan wrote his biography almost a half century after Stefan Nemanjic's biography and that he took over a huge part of the text from his predecessor. In an attempt to clarify the cause of such writing, there is a question raised from where or from whom Serbian writers of the 13th century took the data about the last Byzantine emperor from the Comnenus dynasty. This dilemma becomes significant considering that none of the two writers was the emperor's coeval. This implies that they could only obtain data about him indirectly. Their source was most likely Sava who was a monk on the Holy Mountain at that time and who later became the first Serbian Archbishop. He could learn about negative perceptions about Andronicus Comnenus from Emperor Alexios III Angelos or someone from his court surrounding. It is necessary to emphasize that Andronicus I Comnenus took anti-aristocratic course in the beginning of his reign and the Angelos family was affected by such a policy. Members of this family did not have much reason to like Andronicus Comnenus. The monk on the Holy Mountain Sava was many times in a position to get unreliable information on Andronicus I. He travelled several times in the last decade of the 12th century to Constantinople in order to obtain permission for building the Serb monastery Hilandar.

The literary character of Michael VIII, founder of the last Byzantine dynasty is very interesting from a medieval Serbian writer's point of view. He was not liked by medieval writers, both Byzantine and Serbian, due to his politics of reconciliation with Rome and reunion of Churches in Lyon in 1274. His religious policy was based on an attempt to preserve the restored Byzantine Empire from a new crusade from the West. However, the majority of medieval writers did not understand this political strategy and, therefore, this emperor was negatively described in their writings. For example, the stance of Archbishop Danilo II towards Emperor Michael VIII is extremely hostile with many harsh and insulting words. In the biography of King Milutin, Michael VIII was first unduly criticised for his campaign against Serbian kingdom in the last year of his reign. The Serbian writer never found out that his son and heir Andronicus II sent Tatar mercenaries to Serbia after the sudden death of Emperor Michael VIII. In the writing of the Serb Archbishop, the restorer of the Byzantine Empire was characterized as an abusive emperor, persuaded by the devil, similar to



one foxy felon who deviated from light to darkness. I assume that monks from the Holy Mountain were those who exclusively transferred negative perceptions towards Emperor Michael VIII from Byzantine to Serbian literature. During his spiritual career, Danilo II visited the Holy Mountain several times and talked to them.

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The Portrayal of Byzantium in the *Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević*

The paper will analyze the portrayal of Byzantines and the Byzantine Empire in the *Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević* (1377-1427) by Constantine the Philosopher (Constantine of Kostenets). This biography is not, as was common in Serbia at the time, a hagiographical depiction of the life of a canonized ruler, but a fully-fledged historical work written about a ruler praised first of all as a warrior and politician. Given the nature of Despot Stefan's relations with the Byzantine Empire, his life is also a valuable source for the study of Byzantine history in the last decades of the Empire's existence.

Naturally, the *Life* is not chiefly concerned with the portrayal of Serbia's Byzantine neighbours, since their direct political influence on Serbia of Despot Stefan's time is less pronounced than that of the Ottoman Empire, the good (or ill) will of which frequently affected the welfare and threatened the very existence of both Serbia and Byzantium. However, a much deeper cultural and ideological influence can already be seen in the initial chapters of the *Life*. Its author provides us with an apocryphal genealogy of the Serbian Nemanjić Dynasty, supposedly tracing back its origins to Constantius Chlorus, the father of Constantine the Great.

In the present, however, Constantine the Philosopher acknowledges the decline of the Byzantine Empire. He mentions that its power has already been long waning in the time of Prince Lazar (Despot Stefan's father), and his description of Constantinople during Stefan's visit in 1402 is that of a city ravaged by hunger, whose wealthier inhabitants fear to leave their houses after nightfall.

It is no surprise, then, that Stefan's receiving of the title of despot (first granted by John VII and later confirmed by Manuel II) is not described as a great honour bestowed upon the Serbian prince, but as the awarding of a title that was justly deserved by Stefan Lazarević's brave deeds. Constantine underlines how the Byzantines were impressed by the young ruler's prowess: it is obvious that he was welcomed as a potential saviour of the declining Empire. His betrothal to Helena Gattilusio, the daughter of Francesco II Gattilusio and sister-in-law of John VII Palaiologos, is presented as significant for Serbia because of her relation to the imperial family, but is also, although more subtly, shown as significant to the Byzantines as a method of keeping Stefan close to the Empire with ties of marriage.

Still, despite these sad facts showing the Empire's decline (as well as others, which will be discussed at greater length in the paper), its power does not seem to be entirely presented as a thing of the past. When describing Sultan Bayazid's futile attempts to conquer Constantinople, the biographer describes it as a city protected by God. The combination of this phrase with the short



description of two attempts of conquest in which Bayazid “could not succeed” leads one to think that Constantine believed that, despite the hardships Byzantium was enduring, it was God’s will that Constantinople would not and could not fall.

The paper will thus conclude that the Life of Despot Stefan painted a grimly realistic picture of the contemporary position of the Byzantine Empire – yet that it also attributed to it a great historical and ideological significance, as well as the belief (or, perhaps, merely hope?) that the Empire would prevail over its foes and hardships and, perhaps, rise to power once more.

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Serbia and Hungary in Relations with the Byzantine Empire and the Crusaders in the Context of Western Chroniclers

The Crusades represent one of the most cardinal processes which occurred during the Middle Ages. This complex process with its political, economic and religious aspects reflected on the Balkan Peninsula. The aim of this paper is to examine the role of Serbia and Hungary in mutual relations with the Byzantine Empire and the Western crusaders. By analyzing historical sources, as well as available literature, we will try to reconstruct how the voyage of a crusader through the territories of Serbia and Hungary looked like during the first three Crusades. Special attention will be paid to the area of southern Hungary (present day Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, Autonomous Province of the Republic of Serbia) which represented the main land line wherewith the Western crusaders travelled on their way to the East.

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Ottoman Conquest of Hungary in the Mirror of Byzantine Short Chronicles

The objective of this contribution is to enlighten how the Byzantine Short Chronicles (Βραχέα χρονικά, Kleinchroniken) did write about the Ottoman conquest of Hungary. These chronicles are very often providing just scarce notes, or brief inscriptions, considering very wide period from the 15th all to the 18th century. They provide mostly data on the resistance of the Christian rulers to the Turkish attacks, but also a lot of interesting information on the post-Byzantine period can be found in them.

It is important to stress that there is not up to modern times a systematic study on these chronicles as a source for Ottoman conquest of medieval Hungarian state, or for Hungarian-Turkish relations whatsoever. In Serbian (former Yugoslavian) historiography, e. g. only both Turkish sieges of Belgrade



were treated, as well as some data of Short Chronicles on Serbian medieval state. A thorough study considering these chronicles as sources for Ottoman-Hungarian relations has not been made yet in any historiography, even though in Hungary there were scholars dealing with them as sources, even with a partly critical edition in Hungarian. Besides that, some partial data provided by these valuable sources have been scarcely used by prominent scholars from Turkey, Serbia, etc.

Vast number of Byzantine Short chronicles testifies the Ottoman conquest of Hungary. Mostly, they cover some key battles and sieges. John Hunyadi and his combats against the Turks are treated, as well as Turkish campaigns on Serbia, Wallachia and Moldova and Hungarian role in those campaigns. The chronicles give also some valuable, though scarce, facts considering other Ottoman campaigns towards Hungary during the reign of Ottoman sultans Selim I and his son Suleiman the Magnificent, as well as to Wallachia, but also in 16th century Transylvania. Battles of Mohács (1526) and the death of the last medieval Hungarian king Louis II from the Jagellonian dynasty, and the whole campaign over Hungary in 1526 are very much represented in the Short chronicles. Sultan Suleiman's campaigns in 1532/33 were also mentioned in the Chronicles as well as falls of important cities and fortresses in once strong medieval Hungarian realm. Besides already mentioned sieges of Belgrade, there is also brief data on the conquest of Buda back in 1541 or on battle of Szigetvár in 1566 and the death of sultan Suleiman the Magnificent. Last data on the Ottoman-Hungarian relations in the Byzantine Short chronicles derive from the 1596 and are dedicated to the siege of the town of Eger.

The aim of this contribution is not only to provide and collect data on the Turkish campaigns against Hungary, but also to compare these pieces of information with other contemporary Greek, Latin and Turkish sources. Necessary comments and notes on the chronology of the Short Chronicles, considering especially its' accuracy will be provided alongside the information. The paper tends to give newest and hopefully most exact overview considering Ottoman-Hungarian relations in the frames of 15th and 16th century.

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Η Βοσνία από την κάθοδο των Σλάβων έως τον 13^ο αιώνα. Παρατηρήσεις στην εθνοφυλετική και πολιτική της συγκρότηση

Ένα από τα ερωτήματα που συχνά τίθενται στη σύγχρονη βοσνιακική και γιουγκοσλαβική ιστοριογραφία είναι αυτό της θέσης της Βοσνίας στον ευρύτερο χώρο στα βόρεια του Βυζαντίου ήδη από την εποχή της καθόδου των σλάβων στη Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη.

Στο πλαίσιο της παραπάνω διερευνητικής θέσης έχει διατυπωθεί η άποψη από σύγχρονους βοσνιομουσουλμάνους ιστορικούς ότι η Βοσνία και κατά συνέπεια οι κάτοικοί της υπάρχουν στον χώρο ως μία ξεχωριστή εθνική οντότητα ήδη από την εποχή της εγκατάστασης των σλαβικών φυλών από τον 6ο αιώνα. Ωστόσο μια προσεκτικότερη ανάγνωση των πηγών γύρω από το θέμα, ιδιαίτερα



των βυζαντινών και λατινικών, μας οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι η Βοσνία δεν υφίστατο με τη μορφή κρατικής συγκρότησης τουλάχιστον ως την εποχή της διαμόρφωσης των μεσαιωνικών κρατών.

Η προέλευση του εθνοτικού ονόματος «Βοσνία» παρουσιάζει μία μεγάλη ποικιλία ήδη από τους πρώτους χρόνους της εμφάνισής του (10ος αι.) τόσο στις βυζαντινές όσο και στις λατινικές πηγές. Είναι δε σαφής η πληροφορία πως κατά τις πρώτες δεκαετίες του 11ου αιώνα δεν υπάρχει οργανωμένο βυζαντινό θέμα στην περιοχή, που να διοικείται από τοπικούς ηγεμόνες. Έως την εποχή του βασιλείου του Βοδίνου (1101) το κρατίδιο αυτό ταύτιζε τη μοίρα του με την πορεία των γειτονικών και ομόφυλών του λαών, άλλοτε των Σέρβων και άλλοτε των Κροατών. Η επιλογή της συμπόρευσης του πολιτικά και εθνικά δεν ήταν τυχαία. Εν μέρει ή εν όλω οι επαρχίες της λεγομένης παλαιάς Βοσνίας (Stara Bosanska Država) μετατόπιζαν τα εσωτερικά τους σύνορα σε σχέση με τις επιδιώξεις των ισχυρότερων γειτόνων της.

Την εποχή του μεγάλου ζουπάνου Stefan Nemanje (1166-1196), όταν ενοποιούνται τα σερβικά κρατίδια, μένει εκτός του κρατικού σώματος της μητροπολιτικής Σερβίας. Είναι γεγονός πάντως πως από τα πρώτα βήματά της φάνηκαν ο περιφερειακός χαρακτήρας αλλά και η γεωστρατηγική σημασία του χωροθέματός της στην πολιτική σκηνή, όπως επίσης και η εξάρτησή της κυρίως από το δυτικό παράγοντα και πιο συγκεκριμένα από την ανερχόμενη ουγγρική δύναμη με την οποία συνδέθηκε κατά περιόδους στενά και αναπτύχθηκε παράλληλα.

Η προσωπικότητα, ωστόσο, που θα φέρει μπροστά στο ιστορικό προσκήνιο τη Βοσνία και θα της προσδώσει, για πρώτη φορά στην ιστορία της, αίγλη και κύρος μεταξύ των ομόφυλών της λαών είναι αυτή του μπάνου Kulín (1180-1204). Υποτελής αρχικά στους βυζαντινούς κινήθηκε στη συνέχεια με διπλωματία και κατάφερε να εμφανίσει μία Βοσνία ανεξάρτητη με έντονα τα στοιχεία μιας πρώτης κρατικής οργάνωσης. Περί τα τέλη του 13ου αιώνα εμφανίζονται μία σειρά δυναμικών ηγεμόνων που επωφελούμενοι των πολιτικών αναταραχών και της γενικευμένης πολιτικής αστάθειας καταλάμβαναν μεγάλες περιοχές της Βοσνίας και ικανοποιούσαν τις προσωπικές τους φιλοδοξίες.

Στην ανακοίνωσή μας επιδιώκουμε να φωτίσουμε πτυχές της σλαβικής συμβίωσης στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της Βοσνίας κατά τον πρώιμο και μέσο μεσαίωνα ως ένδειξη των αμοιβαίων και συνάλληλων διαφυλικών σλαβικών σχέσεων στην Νοτιοανατολική Ευρώπη. Το στοιχείο αυτό συμβάλλει στην περαιτέρω έρευνα για την επίλυση και κατανόηση των σύγχρονων εθνολογικών προβλημάτων στο χώρο της Βοσνίας όπως αυτά προέκυψαν στους νεότερους χρόνους.



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THE CHURCH BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST – PART 2

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Considérations sur les apocrisiaires romains à Constantinople

La présente communication concerne une importante institution liée à la communication politique entre Constantinople et Rome pendant l'antiquité tardive et le haut moyen âge : les apocrisiaires romains établis à Constantinople. Le but de cette étude est d'analyser les différents aspects du fonctionnement de cette institution, et plus particulièrement la relation entre l'empereur et le pape.

En premier lieu, j'essaierai de définir cette institution. Les apocrisiaires romains à Constantinople n'étaient pas des ambassadeurs d'un pouvoir étranger, mais des représentants d'une ville qui faisait partie de l'empire byzantin. De même, ils n'étaient pas des envoyés avec un but spécifique : ils demeuraient à Constantinople pendant longtemps, et ils étaient en charge de tout type d'affaires en tant que représentants de la papauté.

En deuxième lieu, j'analyserai les domaines dont ils étaient responsables. L'apocrisiaire était l'intermédiaire entre le pape et les institutions politiques et ecclésiastiques de Constantinople, et il avait une fonction en tant que canal officiel de communication entre les deux institutions. Ainsi, il était responsable de différents sujets théologiques, ecclésiologiques et politiques. Un aspect particulièrement intéressant de sa position était qu'il devait représenter les intérêts du pape, mais en même temps maintenir une bonne relation et communication avec l'empereur byzantin, étant donné que ce dernier était le chef de l'église universelle dont la papauté faisait partie.

Finalement, je présenterai la périodisation chronologique de cette fonction. De toutes les hypothèses concernant l'origine de cette institution, la plus valable est celle de l'établissement de la fonction par Justinien dans les années 530. Il est cependant plus difficile d'en établir la fin, bien qu'après la controverse monothélite des années 640, il me semble improbable que des apocrisiaires aient encore existé à Constantinople.

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Emperor Anastasius and His Web of Relationships between the East and the West

This paper will focus on the intercommunal position and international activities of the Emperor Anastasius at the turn of the fifth to sixth centuries. Anastasius has long been associated with the establishment and subsequent survival of the Syrian Orthodox church in the easternmost parts of the Roman Empire. There was a period of pro-miaphysite dominance also at court and



the capital during Anastasius' reign. The subsequent period, the reigns of Justin and Justinian, saw the rise and solidification of Chalcedonian orthodoxy at the capital and elsewhere in the western provinces. Anastasius came to enjoy celebrated memory in the east while in the west he almost received a *damnatio memoriae*. The paper will dwell on the circumstances of this contrast in the emperor's impression on the historical record.

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Le rôle de l'empereur sur les conciles oecuméniques — exemple de l'empereur Constantin le Grand

Dans l'histoire pré-byzantine de l'Église chrétienne du IV^e au VIII^e siècle, les conciles ecclésiastiques, en tant que les conciles oecuméniques ont un rôle très important. Cette époque des conciles oecuméniques commence avec l'empereur Constantin le Grand, dans l'empire qui vers la fin du IV^e siècle devient un empire chrétien. C'est par cela même que le rôle de l'empereur dans la vie de l'Église fut très significatif. C'est lui qui, entre autres, fait convoquer les conciles ecclésiastiques en y prenant part en personne ou par l'intermédiaire de ses représentants. Toutes les résolutions, soient-elles dogmatiques ou ecclésio-dogmatiques furent signées par l'empereur et cela en même temps par les évêques participant aux conciles.

C'était le cas du Premier Concile dit le Concile de Nicée de l'année 325 sur lequel fut condamnée l'hérésie du prêtre Arius. Par le fait que les résolutions des conciles furent signées par l'empereur lui-même, elles eurent ainsi la force et l'autorité non seulement en tant que les stipulations ecclésiastiques concernant la foi ou le dogme et le fonctionnement de l'Église, mais également en tant que les lois officielles auxquelles sont soumis tous les citoyens de l'Empire.

Les hérétiques ainsi condamnés sont sanctionnés selon les lois de l'état, expulsés et privés des droits civiques. C'est justement dans ce segment que se reflète le mieux une relation mutuelle entre le pouvoir spirituel et séculier dans l'époque pré byzantine qui commença avec Constantin le Grand, avec la promulgation de l'Edit de Milan et avec ses conséquences positives concernant la vie de l'Église chrétienne tout au long du Moyen Âge.



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Theodulf of Orléans: Analysis of the Relationship of Rome and Constantinople before and after the Seventh Ecumenical Council

Iconoclastic conflict at the end of the 8th century in the East and the West came up with a series of complex situation, that have created an interactive relationship between Constantinople, Rome and Frankish Empire. It should be noted that Constantinople, on one hand, and Rome and Aachen, on the other hand, reflect the political views in the aforementioned theological conflict. Pope Hadrian and Theodulf of Orléans showed their attitudes before and after the Seventh Ecumenical Council (787), which divided the West on the issue of respect for icons. The answer to the question, whether the Theodulf of Orléans in their learning attitude embodied Frankish Court that the unity of the Church depends on the opposition to theological unbalanced teachings (Adoptionism and Iconoclasm) rather than depending on agreement between East and West on the occasion of these theological teachings, we should analyze the theological dialogue in Europe in the late 8th century.

Seventh Ecumenical Council had restored the Byzantine East to an iconophile position and this decision met with approval of Pope Hadrian. After that consensus between Constantinople and Rome, Latin version of the proceedings of Seventh Council arrived in Aachen where Charlemagne and his theologians read out at Court. Infuriated by its contents, Charlemagne drew up a reply to alert the Pope in Rome to the error-filled findings of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, probably delivered to Rome in 792 by Angilbert on a mission related to the Adoptionist heresy. Theodulf, still ignorant of the pope's iconophile decision, wrote the most fundamental critique of the Seventh Ecumenical Council. So, his document became *Libri Carolini*. When Pope Hadrian replied, it must have caused great disappointment at the Frankish Court.

Libri Carolini which was Theodulf of Orléans probably the author of the original draft around 790, accused the Eastern theologians of distorting the Tradition and from that moment Greeks are seen as deviant on major theological, political and ecclesial issues, notwithstanding the fact that the Seventh Ecumenical Council against which the *Libri Carolini* so vehemently react had met with approval of Pope Hadrian. *Libri Carolini* dismiss the testimony of the Cappadocian Church Fathers in such a manner so as to forge an effective alliance between East and West cannot disguise the fact that Carolingian intellectuals lacked adequate theological resources. The way made the Carolingian period a real beginning for the new aspect of Christianity, thus warranting the term "renaissance," totally unlike its actual historical origin. So, because of reception of Seventh Ecumenical Council on the East and West the Carolingian period created division of Christianity between Aachen and Constantinople even though a formal schism does not occur between Rome Constantinople. The lack of correspondence between the universal nature of the Carolingians claims and their meager support testifies to another characteristic: the enormous confidence with which many Carolingian attempts at theological reasoning were carried out.



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The Concept of Theophany in Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and John Scotus Eriugena – Differences between Byzantine and Carolingian Monastic Thinking

The aim of my paper is to compare the concept of theophany (θεοφάνεια – vision of God, divine manifestation) in the Dionysian Corpus and Eriugena's Periphyseon. Both Dionysius and Eriugena show that God reveals Himself in the invisible and the visible realities of the universe, which have their cause and purpose in Him, and are called to participate in Him, during the process of reversion towards the divine unifying simplicity. While expressing their teaching both authors point out two major stages: the descend of Godhead towards human beings (I refer here only to men, although angels are also receivers of the divine manifestation) and the ascension of human beings towards God. This bivalent process depends on a sum of moral and intellectual conditions that a person needs to accomplish in order to be able to contemplate God throughout the creation. Here comes out one of the main differences between Dionysius and Eriugena: while the former emphasizes the practical life and the struggle against sins as a starting point towards gaining the true knowledge, the latter seems to pass cursorily over purgatio and to deal extensively with illuminatio and deificatio. My paper intends to investigate to what extent the Carolingian monastic tradition contrasts with the Byzantine counterpart in this peculiar Eriugenian reception of Dionysius, and to analyze the circumstances in which these differences appear.

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Locality and Cross-Border Exchange in the Middle Ages

The Communication has an aim to introduce the work and the results of the summer school organized by the European Graduate School for Ancient and Medieval Philosophy (EGSAMP) and the Faculty of Theology in Skopje, planned to be held in Ohrid immediately before the 23 International Congress of Byzantine Studies in the period between 15 and 22 August 2016. The work covers the two major conceptual fields: borders (divisions) and exchange in the context of medieval philosophy and culture. The first field focuses on the following topics: the mental isolation between East and West; the foreigner as a conceptual figure in medieval philosophy; the otherness of Byzantium, as perceived in Scholasticism (Contra errors graecorum, the Byzantine antologia Damascenica, Bessarion as a teacher of philosophy); the non-philosophical and non-theological motives behind dialogue (the Latin and the Byzantine world). The Second field focuses on issues and intellectual processes like: translations and interpretations in the middle ages, including the self-rediscovers of the western medieval culture through the mediations of the Arab, Byzantine



and Jewish worlds; the circulation of manuscripts from the Byzantine/Arab world to the Latin and vice versa; the “fermenting processes” in medieval culture (like the medieval “renaissances”, The Latin empire in Constantinople (1204-1261), The Greek emigration in Italy after 1453).

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Two Monuments of Georgian Hagiography Concerning the Western Christians

This work deals with new interpretation of the evidence about Western Christians found in Georgian hagiographical monuments of the Great Schism period, namely in *The Life of John and Euthimios* and *The Life of George the Hagiorite*.

From the first text we learn that the Georgians played important role in settling of Benedictine monks from Italy on Mount Athos. In the beginning of the 11th century Georgian fathers gave shelter to the Italian Benedictines in Iviron and later on helped them to build their own monastery. We will buy land for you and will give you all you lack – they said to the Italians. Here follows an important chronology: in the beginning of the 11th century the Pope of Rome officially inserted Filioque clause into the Creed. This had led to the schism between Eastern and Western Christians. Communion between East and West Churches broke in early 11th century, though this did not distort the friendship between the Georgian and Italian monks.

No less interesting is an evidence of the second hagiographical monument: despite the existing schism, George the Hagiorite did not reproach Western Christians in heresy. Heresy did not take its rise among them - he said at a meeting held at the Byzantine imperial court. By that time Filioque was long spread throughout the West. Therefore, a significant part of the researchers took these words as a direct support of the Catholic doctrine. Based on the above-mentioned hagiographical materials, they considered that in the 11th century the Georgians had sympathy towards Roman Catholicism, and that they did not share the position of the Greek Orthodox Church concerning Rome.

Our study revealed entirely different picture. It turned out that the Italian Benedictine monks, who lived on Mt. Athos, were not Catholics and opinion of George the Hagiorite about the Western Christians was not unacceptable to the Greek Orthodox. For example, Greek hagiography, *Acts of Mount Athos*, the *Chronicle of Leo of Ostia* corroborate the fact that the Athonite Benedictines were the Orthodox Christians. Works of the Greek anti-Latin fathers give evidence that George the Hagiorite just repeated their opinion about the Western Christians at the meeting in the Byzantine imperial court.

The Georgian hagiography of the Great Schism period reveals how the Georgian Athonite fathers reacted to theological issues of religious polemics with Rome. It is emphasized in these monuments that the Georgians and Greeks had the same faith. At the same time, Georgians had friendly relationships with Western Christians; they just tried to restore communion between East and West to the former state, as it existed before the Schism. This does not imply that they supported Roman Catholicism.



23rd

International Congress of
BYZANTINE STUDIES
Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

STUDIES IN BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY – PART 2

Chairs: **Mirjana Gligorijević Maksimović, Piotr Ł. Grotowski**

Maria Kazamia-Tsernou,

The Presence of the Mother of God in Byzantine Art: A Liturgical Approach

Agnes Kriza,

The Life-Giving Body of Christ: The Leaven Debate and Byzantine Sanctuary Decoration

Maria Alessia Rossi,

Christ's Miracle Cycle in the Fourteenth-Century Thessaloniki:

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An Imperial Komnenian Depiction of the Last Judgment: Kallikles' Testimony Revisited

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Resurrection of the Dead as Conceptual Basis for the Representations of Last Judgment in the Monastery Churches St. Nikola, Manastir and St. Bogorodica, Manastirec

Mirjana Gligorijević Maksimović,

Classical Elements in the Paintings at Saint Niketas near Skopje



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The Presence of the Mother of God in Byzantine Art: A Liturgical Approach

The iconography of Panaghia has been an object of various scientific approaches from historical, archaeological and theological point of view. A great number of scholars focused on this, that is why the relevant bibliography is particularly extensive.

Our acquaintance with the person of Panaghia is primarily based upon the New Testament text and secondarily on the apocryphal literature. It is well-known that Panaghia holds a “peripheral” role in the New Testament in the sense that relative connotations are fragmentary and laconic. This is due to the character of the New Testament text through which the historically substantiated earthly presence of Jesus Christ comes first and mostly his teaching in the context of divine economy for man’s salvation. Nevertheless, the patristic literature, the ecclesiastical poetry and the orthodox liturgical tradition in general, reserve for Theotokos a special highlighted position. This is wisely demonstrated by the phrase of St. John Damascene: “we rightly and truly call holy Maria, Theotokos. Because this name constitutes the whole mystery of compensation (oekonomia)”. The worship is exceptionally offered to Theotokos (Holy Oblation, Divine Liturgy of John the Chrysostom) as being above all holiness.

Taking into account that the Byzantine art is mainly a liturgical art, in a sense that it is interrelated dialectically with the liturgical experience, we wanted to explore how this art comprehends Panaghia’s exceptional position in the Divine Liturgy and other holy services (akolouthies). My aim in the present communication is a liturgical approach of Virgin’s images presented through characteristic selected examples from a variety of media of Byzantine art.

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The Life-Giving Body of Christ: The Leaven Debate and Byzantine Sanctuary Decoration

Christopher Walter described the apse decorations of the Sophia churches of Ohrid and Kiev as “the eleventh-century watershed” in the history of Byzantine art: the beginning of the transformation of Byzantine sanctuary program in the course of which it became increasingly more ritualized. Although there is a striking coincidence in time with the Schism in 1054, Alexei Lidov’s suggestion about the link between the conflict with Rome and the new iconographic processes has been largely rejected or overlooked. Although one of the focal points of the medieval disagreement between the two Churches was the Eucharist, especially the symbolical question of the leaven in



the Eucharistic bread, art historians, theologians and historians argue that the leaven debate was dogmatically irrelevant, serving only as a pretext in a church political conflict. Accordingly, recent scholarly consensus is that there were multiple factors – liturgical, theological and social – which influenced Byzantine sanctuary iconography after the first Millennium, amongst which the Anti-Latin Eucharistic debate is one, but definitely not the most important.

In this paper, I challenge this stance and suggest a reconsideration of the so-called Azyme Controversy: although it seemingly touched upon only formal and ritual questions, it was a complex debate which brought to the surface some fundamental disagreements between the West and the East regarding the Eucharist. An overlooked aspect of the Azyme Controversy revolved around the principal Byzantine concept of Christ's Life-giving body as the source of deification of man. The foundations of this doctrine was elaborated by Cyril of Alexandria and constituted the basis of the Eucharistic theology of Symeon the New Theologian, whose biographer and follower was Niketas Stethatos, a protagonist of the leaven debate. Consequently, what the Byzantines defended in this symbolical debate is their doctrine of theosis which is inseparably intertwined with the Eucharist in Symeon's theology: the leaven is the soul "in the dough of our human nature" which was taken by Christ to deify the human nature completely. So the unleavened Host cannot be an antitype of Christ's body as it is dead, without living force and unable to deify. The texts of the Azyme Controversy suggest that this debate was not only relevant, but became the main stimulator of Byzantine theological thought, as well as an important driving force of liturgical and iconographic developments after 1054.

Accordingly, the principal message of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine apse decoration after the Schism is that it is only the leavened bread, the life-giving body of Christ which elevates the deified human nature to the right of the Father. This message is expressed by an emphasized central axis leading the eye up from the real altar through the painted altar with leavened bread in the centre of the Communion of the Apostles to the gold-robed Christ of the Ascension. In later decorations, this central axis is further emphasized by another painted altar: the Church Fathers in the lower register, hitherto frontally depicted, turn towards it, some holding the scroll with the text of the Anaphora prayer, others the Eucharistic lance. The Melismos, the naked living Child-Christ on this altar, strikingly reflects Niketas Stethatos's words: when Christ's flesh "being pierced by the lance... the living and Holy Spirit remained in his deified flesh, which in eating... we live in him".

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Christ's Miracle Cycle in the Fourteenth-Century Thessaloniki: In-between Religious Policies and Artistic Trends

This paper will focus on the second city of the Empire, Thessaloniki, in the early Palaiologan period and will explore the dialectic between the latter, Constantinople, and the thriving Serbian Kingdom, from an art historical perspective.



Three churches in Thessaloniki, all housing Christ's Miracle Cycle, will be considered: the parekklesion of St Euthymios, the church of St Catherine, and that of St Nicholas Orphanos. This paper will firstly investigate the sudden proliferation of episodes depicting miracles performed by Christ, rarely found in monumental decorations before the late thirteenth century. Then it will examine how this Cycle was interpreted and developed in each case, paying particular attention to the function and meaning it came to bestow.

The comparison of the status and the cultural milieu of the patron(s) as well as the function of the building will reveal how this same iconography assumed different meanings in different contexts, ranging from a vehicle of religious propaganda to that of cultural identity. The comparative framework proposed will also offer an insight into the artistic exchanges between the Byzantine Empire and the Serbian Kingdom.

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An Early Fourteenth-Century Visual Theology: First 'Hesychastic' Mandorlas

Because of the complex interrelations between word and image in general, there is a penetrating correlation of the theological thought of the time with the art in every specific epoch, especially what concerns Byzantine culture, which has always been profoundly religious and visual in its character. Here accent is putted on the Hesychasm and its influence over Byzantine iconography in the first half of the fourteenth century AD, and more specific, over the formation of a new, unusual form of mandorla as a visual symbol of God's glory, called "hesychastic" type. In order to explain its rise and further development in Byzantine and Post Byzantine iconography, we will discuss the earliest few patterns of 'hesychastic mandorla' from the very beginning of the century and will compare them with several subsequent examples. Central point of our research will be to find out which one is the earliest known 'hesychastic mandorla', and where this type of mandorla has emerged. Generally shared view claims that the new form has been produced firstly in Thessaloniki, and the mandorla in a partially survived Transfiguration mosaic from the Holy Apostles Church there, dated c. 1312-1314 AD, but most probably created after 1328 AD, is declared as the earliest known example. Here we will proceed from the assumption that the prime model originates in Constantinople, caused by the theological and artistic milieu in the metropolis, and probably found its place first in the wall paintings of the Chora Church dated c. 1320-1321 AD or in the mosaics of Pammakaristos Church, dated around that time or earlier. In order to support this hypothesis we will pay special attention to the complex relationships between the first and the second city in the Empire as well as to the development of the Hesychastic doctrine in the beginning of the fourteenth century. We will discuss also striking intervisuality between iconographic models, used in both the Chora Church and the Holy Apostles Church in Thessaloniki. Here we will accent on recent studies on the time of construction of the Holy Apostles Church, showing that it was built in one phase and completed



after 1329 AD. Therefore, its iconographic program should be attributed most probably to the period 1328-1334 AD, when the monastery was ruled by hegumenos Paul, known as the second ktetor of the church. Hence, we will propound a new interpretation of the theory of the emergence of the 'hesychastic mandorla', which should be created as a model of the metropolis, under the current theological and artistic trends, and not of the periphery, even when we speak about the second empire city of Thessaloniki. Considering the intervisuality between the iconographic programs of the Holy Apostles Church and the Chora Church, we could assume that the Transfiguration mosaic in the Thessalonikean Church succeeded a lost Constantinopolitan model.

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An Imperial Komnenian Depiction of the Last Judgment: Kallikles' Testimony Revisited

The twelfth-century physician and poet Nicholas Kallikles describes in an epigram entitled *On the Second Coming in the Palace* a now lost Last Judgment scene that was located in the imperial palace, probably in the Blachernae. It exhorts judicial officials to be rightful in their arbitrations and stresses the most prominent position of Alexios I Komnenos, who is positioned adjacent to Christ, the Judge. The value of this testimony lies in its significance for appreciating the political self-fashioning of the early Komnenian period, which advances – in this mural painting – a typological connection between Christ as the ultimate judge and the emperor as the supreme earthly arbiter. At the same time, its value goes beyond its apparent political message.

In this paper we focus on the textual as well as iconographical contexts of this Last Judgment depiction. First, we attempt to identify intertextual parallels with written sources and, secondly, to analyze iconographical similarities with Last Judgment representations in Middle Byzantine art. Thus, we present how Kallikles' testimony provides us with an epigram that is a work of both visual as well as textual traditions.



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Resurrection of the Dead as Conceptual Basis for the Representations of Last Judgment in the Monastery Churches St. Nikola, Manastir and St. Bogorodica, Manastirec

The Last Judgment is the most significant visual representation of eschatological beliefs of Christianity in the Byzantine art. The individual motives and scenes of this complex composition give us an opportunity to understand the hopes and the faith of the medieval man for the destiny of his own soul in the afterlife and the fate of humankind at the end of the world.

The content of the composition is a reason for its including as main segment of painted decoration in compartments with funerary function. Usual emphasis of the didactic dimension of the Last Judgment doesn't give an answer to the choice of this composition as a decoration in this context. Primary theological message of the Last Judgment can be revealed only if we relate the composition with the other themes in a painted program, donor portraits and through analysis of the individual motives included in the particular compositions.

The studying of the only preserved examples of the Last Judgment from 13th ct. on the territory of Republic of Macedonia in monastery churches St. Nikola in v. Manastir, Mاريو and St. Bogorodica in v. Manastirec, Poreche, can allow us to realise some of the most important aspects of the composition. The donor of St. Nikola church in Manastir was abbot Akakios, who is represented in the north nave of the basilica, where he was buried. There are no written sources about the chronological determination of the building and frescos in the Manastirec church. The composition in the arcosolium on the south wall of the narthex indicates that the donor of the church was monk Meletij, and his grave was located in this part of the church. Common to the both examples is their strong soteriological message that refers on the resurrection of the dead at the Judgment day. In St. Nikola – Manastir, this theological premise is indicated in a more complex way, by including representations of the prophets with texts that refer on the sacrifice of Jesus Christ on the cross. Prophetic texts have been read on the services during the Passion Week, and they refer on sacrifice of Christ as a primary reason for victory over Death with his resurrection. Connection of the texts with the composition of Last Judgment clarifies the causal link of resurrection of Christ and final victory over Death, which will be realized with his Second coming. In Manastirec church, this message of the Last Judgment is depicted more directly, by reserving the whole surface of the western wall for representation of the rising of the dead on the Judgment day, which is one of the most extensive representations of this motive in Byzantine art.

The relation between Last Judgment and the themes with soteriological message appear in many examples in the Byzantine art. This leads to conclusion that the main message of the theme in the program of funerary chapels refers more to the faith in bodily resurrection on the Second



coming of Christ than on the act of trial on the human kind. With the selections of the scenes and motives that illustrate victory over Death for the decoration of their burial place, the donors represented their hope for eternal life in unity with God after his Second coming. The lack of concrete iconographical pattern to illustrate this doctrine leads to a variety of different solutions. It has been conditioned by the theological education, wishes of the donors and by inventiveness and visual experience of the painters.

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Classical Elements in the Paintings at Saint Niketas near Skopje

No text



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SERBIAN MEDIEVAL ART

Chairs: **Ida Sinkević, Ioannis Sisiou**

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Founded, Re-Founded, Reendowed. Construction and Continuity
in the Late XII Century Architectural Patronage in Serbia

Velimir Matanović,

Origin of Architectural Décor from the Cathedral Monastery of Studenica

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The Monastery Rudenica Church and Its Place in the Morava Serbia Architecture

Radmilo Petrović,

Serbian Art in the XVI Century



Jelena Jovanović

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Founded, Re-Founded, Reendowed. Construction and Continuity in the Late XII Century Architectural Patronage in Serbia

The paper examines the practice of re-foundation and re-endowment of older structures and of foundation of new religious edifices in Serbia at the time of Stefan Nemanja.

The aim of the presentation is not only to cast light on the dynamics, the motives and the context of the late XII century religious patronage but also to diachronically deal with the phenomenon of despoliation, imitation, surpassing and continuity, wide-spread in the medieval architectural practice.

The XII century architectural commission in Serbia is briefly evidenced by encomiastic written sources and is in few occasions filled with historical and archaeological records. What the sources do not say, but what is nevertheless apparent through remaining materials and artifacts, postulates a multiplicity of interrelated motives behind a florid building activity undertaken by both Stefan Nemanja and the members of his family. The religious edifices still in place will be considered and examined by their distinctive hallmarks, function and location.

Convenience and availability seems to be the factors that lie behind the building practice of Serbian patrons but the choice of specific materials and shapes can entail a more meaningful purpose. The paper also aims to question the origins of architectural elements that shaped the visual identity of the above mentioned churches, with the attempt to trace the routes of their transmission within the range of more or less wide geographical area and to reframe their significance from the perspective of terms of 'old' and 'new'.

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Origin of Architectural Décor from the Cathedral Monastery of Studenica

In the first part of the paper the focus is on the entire previous studies, analysis of the development of Romanesque sculpture during the Middle Ages, the definition of Romanesque sculptural forms and determination of the origin of iconographic motifs. The second part establishes the connection between certain iconographic details on the double bronze doors in Gniezno and sculptural plastic in the monastery Studenica.

Determination and pointing to influences other than Italian, such as the Roman influence, to the overall development of Serbian origin and Romanesque art in science so far have not been done thoroughly. Former synthetic representations sought genesis of Roman influence mainly in Italian and Dalmatian art centers.



In all the monuments of Romanesque architecture and sculpture in Serbia, elements and stylistic characteristics of Italian origin are mostly identified. In this way, the Italian art is one of the most influential factors for the formation and shaping of Romanesque art in Serbia. The monuments in which there have been found elements of Italian origin are defined as “Italianization movement” of Romanesque art in Serbia. Direct and strong artistic influences of Italy in those regions that are with this country historically and culturally linked - Istria and Dalmatia. In other parts Italian influences had an indirect character.

We do not possess information that testified on direct contacts which connect Serbia with the Italian medieval art. There are no historical sources that speak of the stay of Italian artists in Serbia.

New scientific research has enabled the recognition of new geographical, influential regions of significant architectural forms in Serbia. These are the architecture and sculptural decoration that developed on the basis of inherited medieval architecture and the developed principles of Romanesque architecture.

The rationale of applying the results of research is based on improving the quality of analysis of the impact of general European-Roman style on the development of Serbian medieval architecture and art in general.

The research results can be the basis for exploring the genetic flows of creative nature, architecture and sculpture of medieval Serbia. This allows the identification of the logical lines of continuity and influence in the analysis of Serbian origin of Romanesque art. Consideration of the broader area of influence, which directly or indirectly is in constant contact with the development of medieval Romanesque architecture in Serbia, provides a better understanding of the specific development of original artistic creativity. The study of this development is of particular importance for the overall trends and historical overview of the Serbian medieval architecture. This, along with scientific interest, achieved significant practical application of research results.

Typological classification of Romanesque sculpture in medieval Serbia and specificities compared to other potential impacts are established, and the value of the overall contribution of foreign influence on the Serbian Romanesque art is determined.

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About the Dating of Sopoćani, Its Painters and Purpose

For more than half a century the dating in 1263-1268 of the wall paintings in the nave and the narthex of the church of Holy Trinity in Sopoćani monastery has been widely accepted, with the exception of several scholars, who chose a slightly later period between 1272 and 1276. The results of our investigation led to the conclusion that the latter (and later) date was more accurate, and allowed us to precise the time of the execution of those frescoes in 1275-1277. Such a conclusion was based on a careful examination of the historical portraits, both royal and ecclesiastical, in the nave and in



the narthex. Among the criteria which encouraged us to correct the previous and usual dating one should mention the appearance of the archbishop Sava II as a member of the Officiating Bishops in the main apse, where he couldn't have been included as an actual prelate and a living person. Therefore, *terminus ante quem non* was pushed further up to 1272. Moreover, the investigation of the donor's representation was concentrated on the question: why and when had it been repainted (without obvious reason)? This study analyzes several possibilities of the original content, among which the most likely lead to the year 1277 for this very scene, as well as 1275 and 1276 for the nave and the narthex, respectively. It also demonstrates that the stature of the young princes Dragutin and Milutin as a criterion for establishing their actual age is unreliable, and therefore worthless for the dating of the wall paintings in Sopoćani.

The new dating of the frescoes allowed us to reconsider the relations of Sopoćani with the contemporary monuments in Serbia, namely their stylistical and iconographical similarities. With the newly proposed years of 1275-1276 for Sopoćani, the chronological gap between the wall paintings in several churches is drastically diminished or even disappears altogether. That leads to the conclusion that Sopoćani, Gradac, Saint Peter in Bogdašić and the narthex in Morača were all decorated in continuity, in only three years. Based on that, it is natural to assume that the same workshop of painters executed the frescoes in all of them, although with some alterations during those several seasons. Obviously, the workshop came from Constantinople, as had been previously supposed and unanimously accepted.

Analyzing both the programme and the iconography of the frescoes in Sopoćani, especially in its narthex, former scholars observed that they showed all the features of a bishopric church. But the lack of any historical evidence supporting this hypothesis, thwarted any further investigation. However, the new dating in 1275-76, combined with historical events of those years (Union of Lyons in 1274), gives the old assumption a new life. It seems that the great crisis and tension caused by the Union set the mind of king Uroš, who then decided to decorate such a temple in which the ideas of truly orthodox church and a holy and faithful lineage should have clearly expressed itself. For those reasons Sopoćani were very likely meant to become the new center of the Serbian church and the see for its archbishop Joanikije, probably the ideator of the programme of its decoration. But that project was never realized, because king Uroš was overthrown by his son and his friend Joanikije has retired as soon as the frescoes were finished.

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Clothing and Textile during the Serbian Queen Helena the Great (1250-1314)

The appearance of medieval rulers is apparent on frescos. Biographical texts are valuable sources, as the abstracts of writings, kept in the archives of our neighboring states. Up to the middle of the 13th century, in accordance with the status in the Byzantine Empire, Serbian rulers wore a combination of the Byzantine imperial and ruler vestments. From the second half of the 13th century Serbian rulers



were dressed in vestments according to the Byzantine model. At the times of Helen of Anjou, trade of the material (fabric, ako je u pitanju tkanina) took place in the East, and, even more, in the West, particularly through coastal cities. Handmade pieces of garment, as well as the luxury fabrics, were imported in her country. There was an artistic workshop at her court, and later also a school for girls, where they were able to learn how to sew and embroider, among other things.

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Jacobs' Wrestling with the Angel in Virgin Ljeviška Church

First example of Paleologan monumental art in medieval Serbia can be seen in the Virgin Ljeviška Church at Prizren. In its exonarthex (1310–1313), inner space is architecturally divided into three bays frescoed by mainly symbolic compositions visualizing three stages of the economy of salvation “chronologically” presented from the North to the South.

Northern bay elaborates the idea of Christ's incarnation through the Virgin via illustrations of the first sticheron of the second canon that St. John of Damascus wrote for the feast of the Virgin's Dormition, Jacob's Ladder, Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, and the Tree of Jesse. Mid-bay is dedicated to the Baptism as a first sacrament that introduces every human into the Christian community of potentially saved; it is illustrated by Christ's Baptism and the cycle of Preaching of St. John the Baptist. Southern bay is decorated by numerous episodes of the Last Judgment, showing the eschatological outcome that awaits every human at the End of Times.

Main subject of my presentation is the new interpretation of the motif of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel (Gen. 32: 24–30). It will be put in the context of the fresco decoration of northern bay and exonarthex as a whole. In Christian interpretation, Jacob Wrestling with the Angel is always related to his dream about Ladder (Gen. 28:10–17), since both visions are parts of his dreams. Dream about the ladder that connects earth and heaven is more appropriately understood as a Virgin type: she is the one who makes a link between earth (humans) and heaven (divinity). Although Jacob Wrestling with the Angel was not so successfully interpreted in the same sense, two episodes were often paired in fresco programs in Paleologan times. They were seen as Virgin prefigurations and that notion was based on exegesis, sermons and liturgical poetry and related to the idea of Incarnation.

Although not extensive, previous research on images of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel in Byzantine painting pointed out that this motif was added to his dream of ladder more by inertia than because it was convincingly related to Virgin. Nevertheless, there are texts providing that connection but they were less popular than texts explaining the link between the Virgin and the ladder of Jacob. In any case, Jacob's battle remained for Christians somehow devoid of meaning. Quite the opposite, originally, in the Torah (Pentateuch), this was an important motif that determined basis for shaping Jewish national identity as a chosen by God.



If we, even only for the sake of an intellectual argument apply results of the most recent psychoanalytic interpretation of the episode of Jacob Wrestling with the Angel combined with the one it was traditionally held for Jews, we would notice that this new sense that certainly *a priori* feels incorrectly – or at least alien for the Christians – in fact perfectly fits into the context of fresco decoration of Virgin Ljeviška exonarthex and its concept of three main stages of Christian economy of salvation.

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Images, spatialité et cérémoniel dans le narthex des églises serbes

L'espace d'entrée des églises serbes occupe une place singulière dans l'architecture byzantine des XIII^{ème} et XIV^{ème} siècles. Les souverains némanides et les hauts dignitaires de l'Eglise lui accordent, en effet, une attention particulière : le narthex, doté de dimensions spacieuses, est fréquemment enrichi d'aménagements spécifiques, – exonarthex, chapelles, tribunes, tours –, prévus dès l'origine ou ajoutés. De plus, orné de peintures aux sujets nouveaux ou revisités, le narthex des églises serbes apparaît comme un point essentiel de l'édifice. Les programmes, d'une grande richesse thématique et d'une teneur spirituelle élevée, portent souvent l'écho des controverses théologiques de l'époque et révèlent l'empreinte idéologique et culturelle de leurs commanditaires.

Cependant, pour révéler toute sa complexité sémantique, chaque image ne saurait être dissociée du programme décoratif d'ensemble dans lequel elle est insérée ni de la configuration architecturale du lieu (narthex, exonarthex, chapelle, tour, galerie) où elle apparaît, qui possède lui-même une valeur fonctionnelle et liturgique propre.

Cet exposé se propose, en conséquence, de présenter quelques exemples d'interactions possibles entre image, espace et cérémoniel qui se font jour dans le narthex des fondations monastiques des Némanides et de réfléchir à leur portée dans un espace ecclésial au carrefour du profane et du sacré.

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Representations of the Table of Wisdom in Serbian Churches of the Fourteenth Century

During the height of Byzantine monumental painting from the end of the 13th throughout the entirety of the 14th century, a tendency towards complexity is clearly noticeable in fresco compositions. Of particular popularity were themes taken from the Old Testament. Using the language of symbols, they expressed the evangelical truth of the incarnation of God and asserted



the role of the Virgin Mary within the economy of salvation. In this context a representation of the Table of Wisdom appears as an illustration of the first verses in the ninth book of Proverbs. This section, within the prescribed readings from the Old Testament, was read several times throughout the liturgical year, mostly on feasts dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The first preserved fresco of the Table of Wisdom can be found in the narthex of the church of the Mother of God Perivlepta (known today as St. Clement of Ohrid) in Ohrid, dating from 1295. Thereafter, this theme was also painted in monasteries of Gračanica, Chilandar, the chapel of the Transfiguration in Rila, Dečani and Marko's Monastery. The representations themselves highly differ in the iconographic sense, as well as their location within the temple in which they were painted. Similar compositions can also be found in Russia and Georgia during this period, but we will not deal those examples in this report. The most significant influence on the appearance and development of this theme in Byzantine painting came from commentaries on Proverbs in the texts of the Holy Fathers, church hymnography, as well as in works by knowledgeable theologians that were produced parallel to the hesychastic disputes and apologetics of those times. In each of the above, the figure of Wisdom is identified with Christ as the Logos of God. The House of Wisdom can be interpreted in three ways: as the body which the second hypostasis of the Holy Trinity assumed; as the Virgin Mary, whose womb became the first home of the Incarnate Logos; and as the Church – the mystical body of Christ, where the faithful gather to participate in the Eucharist – the Table of Holy Wisdom. A poetic example of this patristic interpretation can be found in the Canon of Great Thursday Matins that was written by St. Cosmas of Maiuma, who left a significant mark on the iconography of this representation. The theme of Holy Wisdom was an item of frequent discussion in the dispute between the Hesychasts and Humanists. St. Gregory Palamas, arguing against his opponents, pointed to the importance of differentiation between Wisdom as a Divine Person and Wisdom as a Divine Trinitarian Energy. According to Palamas' teaching, Wisdom is an Energy, i.e. an ontological manifestation of the Holy Trinity, without excluding the fact that Christ, as God the Son, is also the incarnate Wisdom. Such statements can also be found in the work of Patriarch Philotheos Kokkinos of Constantinople in one of his three treatises, where he offers his exegesis of the text of the ninth book of Proverbs.

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The Monastery Rudenica Church and Its Place in the Morava Serbia Architecture

The Monastery Rudenica church was built at the turn of the 15th century, which is indicated by the ktetors' portraits painted between 1403 and 1405. It is an endowment of Lord Vukasin, a Despot Stefan's treasurer, and his wife Vukosava. Its ground plan is in a shape of a reduced triconch, with one dome. A narthex built in the same period is vaulted without window openings. The dome square drum is circular on the inside and octagonal on the outside. Horizontal façade is split with a string course, above which are rosettes and blind arcades, while in the lower section there are



bifora windows with stone tracery decorations. The church was built of undressed sandstone and limestone and only the edges were reinforced with dressed sandstone blocks. The plastered façades in fresco technique try to imitate the alternating stone and brick style.

Through centuries, the upper sections of the structure were destroyed and later on restored when restoration and conservation works were conducted first in 1936-1937 and in 1994-1995. Rudenica came into focus quite early, so already in 1877 there is a note that it is “one of the beautiful flowers in a fragrant wreath that has not yet taken its rightful place in the history of architecture.” Soon after that, its indisputable similarity with the Ljubostinja church was noticed, reflected in shaping the exterior façades. Then a question is posed, what are the reasons for it? There had already been some earlier examples of noblemen’s endowments modelled by the rulers’ ones, so the Rudenica church is not an exception. Research in the architectural heritage of the Morava Serbia show that Ljubostinja was not the only possible model and that analogies of its architectural elements – ground plan, upper structure, openings, material used, technique and manner of construction, stone tracery and painting decorations – could be found on chronologically and topographically similar churches, as well as on those more remote ones. And that very study of elements makes it possible to view Rudenica in a new light and to give a more precise answer to the question of its place in the Morava Serbia architecture.

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Serbian Art in the XVI Century

Longin, the monk who was infected with leprosy, tried to find his salvation in different church labours like theology, church poetry, miniature illuminations, icons and fresco paintings.

In the second part of the 16th Century, Longin worked on Peć’s Patriarchate in 1563, frescoes in Studenica in 1568, antimins in 1563, Mileševa frescoes in 1570, and worked at Gračanica in 1771, something similar in same time in Priboj Banja and finally participated in Piva monastery (Montenegro) in 1573.

Longin in his original native monastic place where he was born at Dečani he made many double icons for church light illumination. His best work in 1577 was important, biographic king Stephan Dečanski’s, icon.

Longin’s theological dogmatic inspiration was liturgical achievement of the evangelist John Apocalypse.

In this chronology of his works, fresco paintings at Poganovo, was normal consequence of his colossal artistic activity.



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BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE – PART 3

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Sponsorship of Religious Institutions in Mistras: A Re-Evaluation



Robert Ousterhout

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Three Cappadocian Hermitages Reconsidered

Buildings are forever in the process of becoming, their meanings often manifest in their temporal dimensions. In this short communication I reconsider the development of three rock-cut complexes in Byzantine Cappadocia, all of which are known to scholarship, however incompletely examined. As I argue, a clue to understanding the complicated design at each site comes by unraveling its relative chronology. Critical to all three is the respect paid to the presence of an isolated hermitage. This is reflected in the architectural design of the later phases and accounts for numerous irregularities in planning.

At the well-known Tokalı Kilise in Göreme, the Old Church is dated ca. 913-20 and the New Church before ca. 963/4 (both on the basis of painting). A hermit's cell, usually dismissed as a storeroom, must have existed before the carving of the Old Church and accounts for its irregular trapezoidal plan. The entrance to the hermitage was aligned with the entrance to the Lower Church and its burials. More importantly, a small window in the northwest corner of the Old Church allowed the hermit to see directly into the sanctuary. When the large, transverse barrel-vaulted New Church was added, it was set at an odd angle to the Old Church, but this maintained the sightline from the hermit's window into the central sanctuary of the New Church. At the same time, the axis of the Old Church was aligned with a niche in the New Church containing a venerated image of the Theotokos.

Church 2 in the Kepez Valley, near Ürgüp, has a similarly complex design that may be divided into two distinct phases, perhaps late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The first included two tiny cruciform chapels – one easily accessible at the lower level, the other much higher in the rocky outcropping, part of a small, isolated hermitage. In a second phase, the two chapels were connected by the carving of a transverse barrel-vaulted church with three sanctuaries. The apse of the lower chapel was removed, so that it became the narthex of the new church. Two of the three sanctuaries of the new church are set below the upper chambers, with the south sanctuary below the chapel, and the central chapel below a burial chamber – presumably to align the altar with venerated tombs above.

The same separation of spaces must have characterized the first phase of the Karabaş Church in the Soğanlı Valley, now an odd complex with four interconnecting spaces on different levels. The first phase – perhaps late ninth century – consisted of the accessible north chapel on the lowest level and the isolated southern two spaces on the upper level. The southern space was the hermitage, accessed from the adjacent chapel by means of a low tunnel and a small window. A narthex originally opened to the exterior, probably with steps cut into the rock face. In the second phase, another chapel was added at mid-level, connecting to the flanking naves through an open arcade and a narrow staircase. The openings strategically align the window into the hermit's cell above with the entrance to the sanctuary in the north chapel below.



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The Problems of Middle Byzantine Cross-in-Square Churches: Towards a Better Understanding of the Locality and Development of Byzantine Architecture

The gap—or ‘dark age’—between early and middle Byzantine architecture is one of the most serious problems facing scholars. Few buildings remain from the period, which makes it difficult for us to understand the continuity of early and middle Byzantine architecture. In other words, we do not know where Byzantine architecture’s particular characteristics, which appear after the dark age, come from. For example, the so-called cross-in-square, one of the most generalised and favoured church types in middle Byzantine architecture, is clearly different from earlier buildings because of its three-dimensional characteristics. Moreover, prior to this cross-in-square, buildings with similar plans existed outside the Byzantine Empire. Therefore, the cross-in-square has been considered a key to our understanding of the development and locality of Byzantine architecture. However, recent studies dealing with the cross-in-square have tended to focus on buildings in certain areas and specific sites rather than the buildings in their entirety. This may be a result of the uneven geographical spread of the remaining churches and their uncertain dates of construction.

Previous studies have reported on or mentioned 154 cross-in-square churches in the middle Byzantine period. More than 80% (127) of these still retain their upper construction. The majority of these (91) are located in modern Greece, with others found in Turkey (24), Cyprus (12), Bulgaria (11), Italy (8), Macedonia (4), Albania (1) and Montenegro (1). Greece not only contains most of these buildings, but it also has various types of cross-in-square. However, we do not know whether Greece contained more of these churches or whether these buildings have survived better there than elsewhere.

The construction date of most of these 150 churches is debated. Even though they are regarded as middle Byzantine buildings, only 25 of them have an inscription with a foundation date or literature referring to the building. Another 17 can be determined as middle Byzantine by the date of painted icons, coins, or used timber. The others are regarded as middle Byzantine because of their similarity in design, materials or construction methods to other buildings in other places. They are often compared for dating purposes to buildings in Constantinople, which has less than 10% of the existing cross-in-square churches and almost no variation in cross-in-square types. They are also compared to other buildings in nearby areas without sufficiently considering the nature of these areas, although such consideration may be important for our understanding of the locality of Byzantine architecture. Deciding whether different cross-in-square churches are similar is problematic because we are often compelled to rely on non-objective criteria. In addition, similarity itself does not always indicate the contemporaneity of buildings; sometimes an influence from one to the other may take time, and sometimes newer buildings may be constructed based on retrospective ideas.



Given these problems, it is time to reconsider—even if somewhat tentatively—cross-in-square in its entirety based on various recent studies. It is necessary to compare each building with the entire body of cross-in-square buildings, focusing especially on the three-dimensional characteristics of cross-in-square which have often been overlooked in previous studies. This will enhance our understanding of the locality and development of Byzantine architecture. It will also help remedy the problems associated with dating the construction of these churches.

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Dwelling within the Holy: Accommodation of a Monastic Cell in the atēchoumena at Great Lavra (Mount Athos) and Other Middle Byzantine Monasteries

To Prof. Slobodan Ćurčić, for his 75th birthday

The gallery above the narthex, usually referred to as *katēchoumena* or, alternatively and less frequently, *hyperōa*, is often included in monastic churches of the Middle Byzantine period, notably those of Mount Athos. They still exist in the *katholika* of Ivērōn and Vatopedi, and once existed at the Great Lavra and St. Procopius, and most likely at St. Demetrius and Voroskopou. In a series of his articles and focusing on few Late Byzantine cases, Slobodan Ćurčić has shown that upper chambers were “specially made in churches as eventual retreats for their patrons [...] who aspired to a monastic form of retirement and eventual burial within their own foundations.” The *katēchoumena*’s resident could live and pray in seclusion and, in the same time, follow or even control everything done inside the church. However, due to the cell’s position, the seclusion was never complete. The habitation inside the *katholikon* manifested an importance of the constant presence and occasional apparition of a revered spiritual figure during the communal liturgical services. On the other hand, an elevated place of *askēsis*, which recalled pillars of the stylite saints, but was located inside the church, points to a type of asceticism and seclusion permissible within the coenobitic community and inside the confines of the monastery, even within the very *katholikon*.

Agreeing with Ćurčić’s conclusions and arguments, I here use Athonite and some other contemporary examples, such as Theotokos tou Libos and Eski İmaret Camii in the capital, Çanlı Kilise near Çeltek and Karagedik Kilise near Belisırma, both in Cappadocia, and a few churches of the Old Rus’, which confirm the existence of the same concept in the Middle Byzantine period, to further explore, turn attention to additional features and aspects, and propose origins and meaning of such accommodation within the church building. Special emphasis is put on the presence of a chapel in the *katēchoumena*, its liturgical features or the lack thereof, and coupling with a monastic cell and, occasionally, *skeuophylakion*. These are examined in relation to the apparent sanctification of the gallery space, which equates the monastic habitation there with the dwelling within the holy. Such a meaning seems to have developed gradually, as a way to justify the presence and living of a monk within the church, and was reinforced by the elevated position of these chambers. But the actual origins can be traced in the exclusivity of galleries, particularly in the example set by the imperial usage in certain Constantinopolitan churches.



In the Late Byzantium, there are fewer examples featuring the *katēchoumena*, perhaps witnessing to the gradual discontinuation of their use by founders. But those that exist, witness to further merging of a cell with a chapel. Certain functional alternatives were provided by chambers flanking the *bēma*. They assume the role of either *skeuophylakia* or, in some cases, monastic cell-cum-chapels. Both alternatives, with their association with the sanctuary, testify to the eventual prevalence of the sacred over the profane component in these functional features and their dissociation from the narthex area. And exactly the previous balance of the sacred and profane in them most likely was what recommended their accommodation in the over-narthex in the Middle Byzantine period.

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Regarding the Dating of the Church of Panaghia Gorgoepikoos in Athens

The small church of Panaghia Gorgoepikoos in Athens is a unicum in the Byzantine Architecture and it has been correctly linked to a Byzantine “classicism”. The uniqueness of the monument lies not only in the use but also in the organization of a large number of ancient sculptures for the embellishment of the exterior surface of the walls, like an ancient temple or a church resulting from conversion of an ancient temple.

The dating of the church has been a point of argument, as it has been dated from the 9th to the 15th century. However the end of the 12th century is proposed as the dominant dating of the monument. This last dating has been based on the construction and the morphology of the church, but it has been mainly linked to the action of the scholar bishop Michael Choniates.

The recently proposed dating to the 15th century has been based on an ancient inscription on a block of the epistyle in the western corner of the south wall of the church. This inscription was read by Cyriacus of Ancona, who first visited Athens in 1436, but he did not make any reference to the church. So it has been suggested that this inscription was elsewhere when Cyriacus read it and, therefore, the church was erected after Cyriacus had visited the town, probably after the Ottomans’ occupation of Athens (1456).

However, neither this evidence nor the quality of the construction allows us to assert that the church was erected during this period. On the other hand the connection with Michael Choniates is totally hypothetical and should not be taken for granted. So the dating of the monument seems that it still remains an open issue. Structural and morphological data and especially the dating of certain sculptures (*spolia*), that are fitted to the exterior walls of the church entertain the presumption to date it after the 12th century and during the period of the Latin rule. Of course, it is not always easy to distinguish between churches that were built after 1204 from those ones of the end of the 12th century, as previous construction methods and formats are reproduced and some western influences are not always visible.



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Uchayak Double Church. Questions of Dating

Uchayak Church is located in the central part of the Anatolian uplands. The temple consists of two churches which are united by a single wall and with narthex. The church was thought of as double one. Double churches are known in the territory of Cappadocia, Mesopotamia, Greece and Armenia in the Early and the Middle Byzantine era. Usually, their size is small and the nave stretches on east-west axis.

The dating of the church given by scholars is very wide. For example, S. Eyice dates Uchayak from the 10th to beginning of the 12th centuries. M. Mihaljevic, based on stylistic features, suggests that the church was built in the second half of the 11th century. Our attention will be focused on the revision of dating of the church, based on a typological and stylistic features of its architecture, as well as on the written sources.

Uchayak consists from two cross-domed church of square atrophied cross type. This fact could be testified an orientation to the Constantinople type of monuments, such as Gul Jami of the late 11th or early 12th century and the katholikon of Monastery Choir of the 12th century. The presence of *bema* in Uchayak is also typical metropolitan cross-domed churches. However, the absence of cornices, which disarticulated inner walls on three levels, distinguished Uchayak from the churches of Constantinople. Together with the features of metropolitan architecture, the monument combines features of the Armenian and Georgian architecture. One of them is the construction of three times ledged under-dome arches, typical for this region. For example, in the late 9th and the first half of the 10th century this form of arches was created in the Armenian Church of Sts. Paul and Peter in Tatev, Sts. Apostles in Kars and Astvatsatsin in Sanahin Monastery. A similar example of Georgian architecture is in the church Alaverdi, dates from the 11th century. The same feature is occurred in the Byzantine church of Panagia Hrisokefalos in Trabzon and in Abkhazian churches in Mokvi and Lykhny, both from the 10th century. All this took possible to suggest the architecture of Uchayak as a result of the relations between the metropolitan and local (Cappadocian) traditions.

Of special interest is the episode of the rebellion of Bardas Skleros against the imperial power in 976-979. The crucial battle took place in 979, when the imperial army won. It happened in a place called «Saravanea» identical «Sarvenis» in a neighborhoods of Uchayak. It is pointed out by the lapidary inscription of the Georgian monastery Zarzma, written in Asomtavruli (979-980). Due to this fact, we suppose that church was built in honor of the victory of Imperial Army over the rebels.

The latest dating of the construction of the church seems before 1071, the date of the battle of the Byzantine army of Romanus IV Diogenes against Alp Arslan, after which Asia Minor falling under sway of Seljuks.

Thus, Uchayak is a memorial monument. Taking into account its architectural features, as well as the written sources and the historical events, I believe that Uchayak Church was built between the period of the revolt of Bardas Skleros and 1060s, and most probably in the turn of the 10th and the 11th centuries.



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The Byzantine Library Buildings of the Sinai Monastery

The significance of the context of the Sinaitic library that includes a unique collection of manuscripts, incunabula and early printed books has been noticed and evaluated by many scholars since the nineteenth century. More recently several distinguished scholars such as K. Weitzman, G. Galavaris and N. P. Ševčenko have included in their studies views on how these reached the remote monastery of St. Catherine in Sinai. Some were donated directly by Constantinopolitan Emperors, others arrived through the dependencies (metochia) of the monastery or were offered by pilgrims and travelers. Obviously a substantial number of manuscripts were produced in the scriptorium of Sinai. An epitome of the context of the library has been published by P. Nikolopoulos, while the most detailed publication on how these collections had been formed and in which places they have been accommodated inside the Sinai monastery's building complex was included in an extensive article published in 1993 by the former librarian Bishop Demetrios Digbasanis.

The present communication focuses on the further identification and graphic architectural reconstruction, where possible, of the buildings that housed the Sinaitic library throughout its long history and before its organization during the 18th century.

It is well known that abbot Pachomius from Upper Egypt, who lived in the 4th century, is considered the founder of monastic coenobitic life and more particularly he established the use of books in the daily life of the monks. He placed certain rules concerning the obligatory study of the scriptures, educating the illiterate and taking special care for the handling of the manuscripts by the monks. Reliable written sources and the writings of Sinaitic monks imply that a similar situation must have been the case in the early period of Sinai monastery (6th and 7th centuries) when many of the monks were well educated. Thus the formation of the Sinaitic library goes back to the early years of its foundation in the 6th century. It has been claimed that the 4th century Codex Sinaiticus was a gift of emperor Justinian to the newly established monastery. Anonymous of Piacenza during his mid-6th century visit to Sinai describes the presence of three distinguished multilingual elders at the Skete of the hermits of the Holy Bush that preceded the Justinian monastery. One of them was probably Martyrius, the spiritual father and teacher of St John Sinaites known as Climacus or of the Divine Ascent (525 - 600). Scholars indicated that John's writings presupposes the existence of a rich updated library in terms of the prior to him ecclesiastical literature mainly of the 4th century and even more the presence of texts of ancient writers. On the other hand the posterior writings of Anastasios Sinaites in the 7th century reconfirms the existence of ancient Greek literature texts in the Sinaitic library.

It is generally accepted that during the early Christian and the Byzantine era the "place of the books" was located in safe places in monasteries, such as the upper floors either of the church's narthex or in the towers and not in a specially built library room. Notes in some manuscripts reveal that there were indeed offerings to the Church of Sinai. Examining the plan of the Justinian basilica it seems that



the place where books had been originally stored could be the sacristy room located at the east end of the south aisle, where the original simple niches preserved in the walls could have been used for scrolls and codices. Similar niches exist in the walls of the Church's present oil storeroom in the north aisle. The original form of these rooms has been identified and reconstructed graphically.

After the Arab conquest of the Sinai Peninsula in the 7th c., all the manuscripts belonging to the numerous permanently abandoned hermitages in the surrounding mountains were gradually gathered in the fortified enclosure of the monastery and this might have been a turning point to the increase of the number of volumes in the library and to find additional storage space.

Apart from the monastery's main Church there is strong possibility that books were stored also in the central pre-Justinian tower, which was totally incorporated to the needs and life of the monastery from the very beginning of its foundation. Following the strong tradition of the "tower-keep" found in the other monasteries in Egypt, it is most likely that valuable objects of the community including the manuscripts were kept in the upper floors. This tradition survived until the 20th century and books were safely kept in rooms related to the Abbot's lodgings.

In the lower levels of the tower of St. George, which is preserved attached to the middle of the north wall of the fortress, there are some small medieval rooms that housed for a long period part of the library. These are raised about one floor over ground level. Their access was through a set of rooms and the chapel of Sts Apostles that were built between the Church and the fortress wall demolished during the early 20th century. The early dating of the rooms' structure, which is one of the main construction phases of the tower, is supported by later graffiti dated in the early 16th century. The rooms preserve their original plasters on the walls and were furnished with poorly made bookshelves using simple planks, reeds and clay. These rooms could be dated back to the repair of the tower that followed the 13th century (1201) strong earthquake. The earliest known account for a Library inside the tower of St. George could possibly be that of Michael Eneman from Uppsala in 1712 who recorded "books stacked one above the other" in a "room along the wall and near to the main monastery's Church".

It seems that this extraordinary place had been a secondary library or a crypt for books, an extension to the stores of the nearby Church until 1734. It was this year when the knowledgeable Archbishop Nikephoros Marthalis and his bookkeeper monk Isaias collected and organized all the scattered books and housed them in a purposely built Library with the help of monk-masons Philotheos and Symeon. These new rooms were located at the south side of the Monastery, next to the chapel of St. Antony. After this it seems that the rooms in the tower of St. George were reserved to store only worn books that were no longer in use, loose folios from manuscripts, for instance those of Codex Sinaiticus, and parchment fragments meant for the repair of manuscripts.

Nevertheless, the destruction of the tower of St. George during the great flood of 1798 caused the fall of debris from the earthen floors and terrace of the chapel of St. George into the interior of the library rooms and the "burial" of their contents. The tower was extensively reconstructed in 1801 by the monastery, assisted by Napoleon's engineer Kleber and the original use of the place forgotten. After the disastrous fire during November 1971 and the excavation that followed in 1975 the valuable remains of the old library were revealed and are known today to the scholarly world as the "New Finds".



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Sponsorship of Religious Institutions in Mistras: A Re-Evaluation

Mistras' history has been studied intensively. Yet there are many persisting questions regarding its fate and changing status. It has been called “a new capital” for the province of Morea, a notion that equates Mistras to the other late Byzantine cities which acquired the status of peripheral administrative centre (i.e. Trebizond, Arta or even Thessaloniki). But when examining its particular historical circumstances, Mistras is a different case altogether. To a great extent this observation offers a starting point for exploring the history of its religious foundations again.

The paper aims at exploring the historical context of the major churches in Mistras in connection to the city's history and the way it developed from the 13th to the 15th c. The goal is to investigate the particular circumstances that led individual sponsors into making specific choices regarding the form and function of the institutions they financed as an expression of their desire for their work to be visible and part of the city's image.

Re-examination of the city, its monuments and the sponsors responsible for them, leads into challenging certain notions regarding art and architectural production in the area. More specifically there have been certain characteristics of the monuments that are classified either as part of the ‘Greek School’, the ‘School of Constantinople’ or they are seen as foreign and therefore imported. Their application is usually explained through linking them to specific patrons that are locals, Constantinopolitans or foreigners. As there is no clear barrier in the classification of these features, the explanation offered for their introduction is usually too simplistic and fails to account for a process that is far more complex. We are in need of a re-evaluation of the forces and sources that shape artistic production in Mistras.

A re-examination of the data available in the study of the Hodegetria and the Pantanassa *katholika* offers interesting results. By revisiting their art, architecture, funerary monuments and inscriptions we propose a new revised chronology for both of them. In both cases all evidence points to the sponsorship of the Palaiologan family whose prominent members resided in Mistras in the last decades of the 14th c.

Therefore, it is indicated that we are in need of a comprehensive study of the history of Mistras' religious foundations focusing on sponsors and their motives in order to better understand the way patronage shaped architectural production in the city.



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BYZANTINE ARTISTIC TRADITION AND THE WESTERN WORLD. MEDITERRANEAN DOMAIN – PART 1

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The Question of Byzantine Input to the Crusader Architecture of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem in the 12th Century: The Case of the Holy Sepulchre

Despite the fact that the Byzantine Empire lost Palestine province in the first half of the 7th century, it supported the Christian churches and shrines there during the reign of Rashidun, Umayyad and Abbasid Caliphates. In the context of Levant culture Christian churches became mixed monuments contained several disjoint features of Byzantine and Near East architecture.

The continual contact between Levant and Byzantine culture can be seen in the architectural features of the Holy Sepulchre complex (D. Pringle, J. Folda, R. Ousterhout). One of the most striking events was the Constantine Monomachos' restoring program in the mid-11th century when masons were sent from Constantinople for rebuilding the main Church for Christian world (R. Krautheimer, R. Ousterhout, and J. Bogdanović). Unfortunately the reconstruction of all byzantine stages of the Holy Sepulchre is impossible because of the frequent destructions and of the last greatest rebuilding by crusaders in the 12th century.

The main target of this research is the definition of Byzantine input to the building process of Crusader complex of Holy Sepulchre rarely received the focused attention it deserve.

According to the narrative sources, the scholars mention that by the early 12th century a Byzantine Church of the Holy Sepulcher was in ruins, barring the Rotunda Anastasis, a number of other chapels and the surviving fragments of a northern part of triportico (L.-H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, V. Corbo, D. Pringle, R. Ousterhout, and D. Bahat).

The remains of the complex, built by Constantine Monomachos, were preserved and integrated into the structure of a new domed Crusader church that was built in two basic stages (D. Pringle, J. Folda). The first phase of restoration work was carried out under Patriarch Arnulf of Chocques during the reign of Baldwin I; the second phase – under patriarch William of Malines during the Fulk and Melisenda's reign (J. Folda, C. Enlart, A. Borg).

There are archaeological confirmations of the movement to the eastern side of several chapels, the destruction of eastern apse of the Rotunda, and the shifting of omphalos position to the west. More precise definition of the architectural composition of the eastern part of Monomachos' Holy Sepulchre requires separate consideration: it is known that the Byzantine tradition of architecture helped to establish the forms of the crusaders' building and suggested some structural forms for the 12th-century additions (R. Ousterhout).

Determination of the katholikon's prototype is also still an open question. There was no proposition about domed church prototype derived from architectural heritage of Eastern Christian world, despite the fact that the possibility of existence of such prototype was mentioned very often in the scholars' literature (J. Folda, R. Ousterhout, and N. Kanaan-Kedar). Likewise the composition of



Crusader katholikon requires comprehensive consideration of using of groin vaults, slightly pointed arches, arcature on the inner surface of the light drum, etc.

In spite of traditions' novelty brought by crusaders from the west to the Holy Land, the continuity of the byzantine traditions in Crusader architecture within the context of the European impact on the Levant cultural heritage is evidence.

By the second half of the 12th century architectural features of Holy Sepulchre complex which was consisted of Rotunda Anastasis, erected during Monomachos' rebuilding program, and katholikon, erected during crusaders reign after the conquest of Jerusalem, had a strong influence on development of churches' compositions both in Europe and Near East world.

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“Leo da Molino Hoc Opus Fieri Iussit”: A Bronze Door between Byzantium and Venice

The outstandingly rich heritage of documentary material preserved in the State Archives in Venice is extremely precious for the Byzantine art historian, since it helps reconstruct several peculiar aspects of the artistic interrelations between Byzantium and Venice. One among those is the problem of the ways and modes of circulation and patronage of art works promoted by the Venetians in their establishments throughout the Byzantine empire. The study of these documents, however, can be profitably complemented by the material evidence, namely the surviving art works which may be regarded as coming from such context. A remarkably interesting case is that of the Byzantine bronze doors in the atrium of St. Mark's basilica in Venice.

Two inlaid bronze doors can be mentioned amongst the numerous masterpieces of Byzantine origin preserved in the Venetian ducal church. They were produced in the last quarter of the 11th and in the first decades of the 12th century respectively. While the former, which now closes the south-western entrance to the church (the so-called Door of St. Clement), is unanimously considered the work of a Byzantine workshop, several doubts have been raised in the past, as for the provenance of the most recent one, that marks the central entrance from the atrium to the naos. Although it is now generally and correctly accepted that the latter is Byzantine as well (on the basis of technical features), a number of problems have not been sufficiently discussed as yet, especially those concerning the patron, Leo da Molino, whose portrait is displayed on one of the door's panels, together with a brief dedicatory inscription. Despite such visual testimony, his identity is still elusive, and his role in the economic and political connections between his homeland and Constantinople is unclear.

On the background of a wider research that I have started in 2013 – which is focused on the artistic production and circulation in the Venetian “quarters” in the Eastern Mediterranean cities before and after the Fourth Crusade – this communication aspires to shed some new light on the role of Leo, in the wider historical context of the venetian presence in the Byzantine Levant, and with the support of new, previously overlooked documentary evidence.



I will consider the door's technical and stylistic features (highlighted after several restorations) and iconographic program, and I will try to contextualize this work in the milieu of the continuous changes and redecorations, carried out in the aftermath of the 11th-century reconstruction of St. Mark's basilica, as well as in the light of the complex relationships that the Serenissima was interlacing with Byzantium and the other maritime powers of the time.

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The Mosaics in Context.

**Preliminary Report on a Multi-Methodological Study
of the Inner Porch of San Marco, Venice**

This contribution represents the first communication about the research in progress. The working team is a multi-disciplinary group of scientists from the Department of Cultural Heritage and from the Department of Geosciences of the University of Padua. The focus is to study Early Christian and Medieval mosaics with a multi-methodological approach, by correlating the data coming from the historical investigation of artistic documents with the results of material analysis (glass tesserae and mortar), and with the data obtained by multi-spectral analysis and non-destructive radar. The purpose of this research is to study the mosaics in their context, considering not only the external decoration, but also the constitution materials of the architectural structure, experimenting with new technological applications in the mosaics study.

In my communication I intend to discuss the research method and the preliminary results of the project, referring to a case study the inner portal of the basilica of San Marco in Venice, actually under restoration.

The first concern of this research is the architectural structure of the portal. The portal is an exedra composed by three superimposed levels. The lower one displays symmetrically niches with the four standing figures of Evangelists, two on each side. The second level shows the Virgin Mary with the Child in the middle of the composition, with eight Apostles, four on each side. The higher layer, which corresponds to the apse, is decorated by a figure of Saint Mark arranged in 1545 by the brothers Zuccati on a gilded background. Scholars do not agree about the original articulation of the portal, assuming that the original structure was lower than the actual one.

Trying to confirm this assumption or to introduce another hypothesis, we have tried to investigate the materials under the surface of mosaic in the three levels of the portal using the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and an innovative Holographic Subsurface Radar which has never been used in mosaics study before. The instrument was invented to search for buried objects in the fields of civil engineering and mine detection. Its further developments provide high-resolution plan-view subsurface images. In this phase of the project, it is necessary to understand how to interpret the specific signal data collected from mosaics. Thanks to collaboration with the restorers,



we have learnt a lot of technical data about the mosaics as for example the density and thickness of the mortars. Moreover, we know that in Saint Mark Basilica it is used a particular internal stair-like structure called “scaletta”, which can considerably compromise the interpretation of the signal. In order to complete our studies of the three layers and to obtain full and real radar information it is necessary to determine the bricks composition of the apse decorated with the orant figure of Saint Mark. By the direct in-situ observation of the extrados of this apse we documented that the brickwork of the higher level of the portal has a herringbone pattern. This structure is typical of the period in which the lower layers of the portal of the basilica were realized. The same pattern type is used in the main apse of the church and in other ancient parts of the basilica.

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Santa Fosca on Torcello and the Middle-Byzantine Tradition

The church of Santa Fosca on Torcello, an island located on the Northern side of the Venetian Lagoon, shows several interesting peculiarities that make it unique in Italy. It is characterized by a Greek cross plan, where, at the intersection of the arms, it occurs the transition from the central square plan to the octagonal organization of the supports, and finally to the circular base of the drum, by means of uncommon couples of pendentives. Furthermore, a wooden roof currently covers the central naos, which several scholars assumed originally vaulted by a masonry dome.

Many uncertainties are related also to its construction epoch, because of the lack of documentation: a large debate still tries to define the period of its erection, as well as the possibility of successive structural modifications that have brought the church to look like nowadays. The first reliable document that gives information about Santa Fosca, indeed, belongs to the 1011, when two sisters, Bona and Fortunata, made a donation act in favour of a Church in Torcello dedicated to Saint Fosca.

Moreover, several authors have identified some analogies between Santa Fosca and a group of churches, which developed in Greece during the Middle-Byzantine period. In fact, they show the same spatial organization of the Venetian church, with the transition from the square to the circle throughout the octagonal disposition of the supports. The comparison was mentioned starting from the end of the Nineteenth century, and was taken into account up to nowadays. Several scholars, who focused their studies on Santa Fosca church, took into account this assumption and never challenged it. In addition, recently this comparison has been further supported through the analysis of the analogies between the mosaics of the closer Basilica of Santa Maria Assunta - the ancient Dom of Torcello island, whose foundation dates back to 639 AD - and some of the churches of the octagonal domed type. Nonetheless, the relation between Santa Fosca and the Greek typology should be carefully analyzed in order to contextualize it to the period of its elaboration. At that moment, indeed, travelers were starting to discover medieval architectures and to classify them on the basis of a merely typological approach.



However, in order to demonstrate the real connection between Santa Fosca and the Middle-Byzantine churches, not only the typological analogies but also the constructive resemblances have to be taken into account. The socio-economic context plays a fundamental role as well: architectures in Constantinople, the main cultural and economic centre of the Byzantine tradition, have therefore to be considered. Although during the XI century northern Italy was not under the Byzantine Empire control, indeed, the Eastern culture influenced the Venetian flowering in art and architecture, thanks to their very close commercial ties. Thus, the aforementioned analogies would be also validated by finding some Constantinopolitan constructions, used as models for the Venetian and for the Greek culture as well.

The aim of the present contribution is therefore to analyze the relation between Santa Fosca and the Greek churches from different approaches (socio-economic, typological, etc.), and to examine the possibility that both Santa Fosca and the Greek churches could refer to an earlier construction, perhaps located in Constantinople.

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The Last Judgement Mosaic at Torcello, Venice – Exploiting the Resources of Byzantium

On the west wall of the Cathedral of Torcello in the Venice lagoon a full height gold-glass mosaic shows the Crucifixion, the Anastasis and the Last Judgement. The mosaic is normally described as Byzantine. This paper asks what it means to call it Byzantine and then considers how the Venetians used the Byzantine material to introduce their own innovations.

The Cathedral in its present form was dedicated in 1008. There is no surviving documentation for the date of the mosaic, but stylistic and archaeological data suggest the last half of the eleventh century.

I argue that the iconography of the Last Judgement is Byzantine, as were the craftsmen who made it, and the materials used. The iconography is clearly based on the cluster of motifs that became the standard model for the Eastern Last Judgement around the beginning of the eleventh century. It contrasts sharply with the Western model as seen in the near-contemporary west wall fresco at Sant'Angelo in Formis near Naples. The mosaic technique is Byzantine: the same workshop may have worked, first at Daphni and then at Torcello. Analysis of the Torcello tesserae indicates that they were not produced locally: the raw glass probably come from Syria.

In the second half of the eleventh century it was to Venice's advantage to portray itself as an ally of the Byzantine emperors. It boosted trade and gave the city extra leverage against threats from the German empire, from other Italian states and from the Normans in the south. Part of the propaganda campaign was the redecoration of Torcello Cathedral, starting with the Apostles in the main apse, continuing with the Ravennate South Chapel, and culminating in the west wall.

Prestige demanded mosaic, but the native mosaic revival in Italy was not effective until the twelfth century: the Venetians had to look East for craftsmen.



At the level of the individual motif the craftsmen followed the standard Eastern iconography, making a clear statement of common interests between Venice and Constantinople.

The Venetian innovations came in the overall layout. The monumental Last Judgements in the Eastern Mediterranean up to the end of the twelfth century were almost always found in narthexes and funerary chapels; participants in the liturgy were literally in the midst of the events depicted. Flat images were confined to icons and painted panels, books and ivories. For the Torcello west wall it was necessary to design a convincing flat composition to put across the desired religious messages.

The second innovation is the unique combination of Crucifixion, Anastasis and Last Judgement. Anna Kartsonis sees the Anastasis as prompted by the presence of the baptistery just outside the west door, a traditional pairing of Baptism and Anastasis picked up later in the Baptistery of S. Marco.

Together these innovations allowed the Venetian patrons to achieve a new and complex image for both meditation and instruction. Reading from the Crucifixion downwards the viewer saw the cosmic drama of salvation, out of time and authenticating the timeless reality of Christ in the sacraments, in the church and in the resolution of history. Reading from the bottom upwards the viewer, as he left the church or watched the newly baptised enter, was confronted with the choice of virtue or vice, Paradise or punishment, with a message of hope in God's mercy and of threat in God's judgment.

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The Fresco Cycle of St. Francis in Constantinople

One of the major turning-points in the history of the world was the Crusades. While the political, economic, and social impacts of the Crusades redefined the trends of the Middle Ages, the Fourth Crusade marked one of the most dramatic moments of the Byzantine history: the Sack of Constantinople in 1204. Although the Latin occupation of Constantinople is remembered by the plunder and destruction of the rich art works of the imperial city, there is one example of artistic activity of the Latins from this period. The fresco cycle of St. Francis of Assisi, an Italian Catholic friar and the founder of the Franciscan Order, was discovered in 1967 after being sealed in a chapel for seven centuries at the Kalenderhane Mosque, a former Byzantine church which was part of the monastic complex of Virgin Kyriotissa.

The frescoes portraying Francis's life were painted shortly after the canonization of the saint in 1228 and prior to the reconquest of 1261. They are regarded among the earliest depictions of Francis's life on fresco. Thus, the cycle is both the earliest preserved fresco cycle of Francis and also the only example of artistic activity from the Latin occupation of Constantinople. Besides it is an intriguing example of the hybrid works of art, which emerged in the post-Crusade Eastern Mediterranean. The joint existence of Western and Byzantine elements is generally considered to be the intent of the patron to promote a common cultural and spiritual stance between the Latins and Greeks in the broader context of their commitment to the union of the churches and missionary



activities in the East. The resemblance of the fresco cycle to the format of the Byzantine *vita* icon with the central figure of Francis flanked by ten scenes from his life is striking. The choice of the *vita* icon format is interpreted as an attempt of the Franciscans to legitimize the sainthood of their recently canonized founder at the hearth of the Greek Orthodox world since the Byzantine *vita* icons typically displayed the portrait of one of the most popular saints in the Orthodox calendar, such as Nicholas, George, or John the Baptist. But perhaps more intriguing are two other Byzantine components of the fresco program, which surround the narrative of Francis's life. The first is the Theotokos and Child with Angels scene depicted on the vault directly above the central figure of the saint. The second is the depiction of two Greek Church Fathers on the arch leading to the semidome of the chapel. The size of the Greek Church Fathers, twice the central figure of Francis, along with their prominent inclusion in the program cycle of a Catholic saint, is particularly noteworthy since archaeological evidence leaves no doubt that they were painted at the same time with the remainder of the cycle. One of them is identified as John Chrysostom, with whom St. Francis is associated because of his efforts to restore the church union and the parallels established between his asceticism and Byzantine monasticism, of which Chrysostom was one of the key figures.

Can these Byzantine components only be explained by the cultural climate of the unionist politics? Do they have any other significance beyond their interpretation as references to the common origins of the two churches and the legitimization of St. Francis? This paper aims to look beyond the visible and decipher the ongoing negotiations of power and ideology in the post-Crusades Mediterranean by taking a fresh look into the iconographic and stylistic elements of the cycle.

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Byzantine Layers in the Reliquaries from the Cathedral Treasury of Dubrovnik

The Cathedral Treasury in Dubrovnik is one of the wealthiest church collections in the Mediterranean in which Byzantine objects occupy a special place. The oldest reliquary in Dubrovnik belongs to a later period, namely to the 9th and 10th centuries. The reliquary of the True Cross, or so-called 'gold staurothece,' is the oldest and most important object in the Cathedral Treasury and was likely an imperial gift to one of the important cities in the western Eastern Roman Empire. It dates from the 10th century and at some point after the 12th-13th century it was placed in a cross-shaped cavity in a silver, rectangular reliquary whose design is associated with the adriatic-byzantine, 12th century style. A special place was reserved in the cathedral's treasury for reliquaries of the Foot of St. Petrunjela and St. Domicila. The latter are decorated with elements taken from an older silver reliquary, which contained imperial portraits, apparently based on those found on the golden solidus of emperors Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos and Romanos I Lekapenos. The Byzantine emperor Constantine VII was the first to mention the existence of the relics of St. Pancras in Dubrovnik, and it is obvious that the original reliquary, which was kept in the church of St. Stephen in Dubrovnik, also originates from the same period.



Reliquaries from the church of St. Stephen and the Cathedral were the most valuable in the entire collection of reliquaries in Dubrovnik. According to local tradition, the arrival of the original head reliquary of St. Blaise took place during the reign of Byzantine Emperor Constantine VIII Porphyrogennetos (1025th to 1028th). The translation of the relics of St. Blaise to Dubrovnik confirms the importance of the city for Byzantine politics in the Adriatic area. The reliquary head of St. Blaise, which was restored in 1694 following damage caused by the great earthquake in 1667, kept its original form of a Byzantine imperial crown and was repaired with parts from other reliquaries. It was originally designed for a Latin city in the Byzantine ecumena, since the inscription is written in the Latin alphabet to imitate Greek letters. Another reliquary of the Hand of St. Simon the prophet with a ribbon bearing five medallions with images of St. Theodor also originates from the 11th century. Byzantine artistic influence continues even after the definitive break with nominal Byzantine rule in Dubrovnik in 1204.

This paper will further examine other objects from Dubrovnik that can be related to late Komnenian and Palaeologan production. Certainly, one should mention the extremely valuable examples of Byzantine goldsmiths housed in the National Archives in Dubrovnik, such as the silver and gold seals of Michael II Komnenos Doukas, Despot of Epirus from 1251 and a chrysobull of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Dragases Palaiologos from 1451. This object marks the end of Byzantine artistic influence on the Dubrovnik goldsmith tradition.



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NUMISMATICS

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Sergio Basso,

Ten Little Coins

Bruno Callegher,

Un trésor de solidi (Jérusalem) et la monnaie d'or d'Héraclius en Syrie-Palestine

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Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ.:

Justinian II, the Image of Christ and Taxation

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Byzantine AE Coin Finds from Phrygia



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Ten Little Coins

In 1973, during the work of preparation of a vineyard, they found the remnants of what seemed a Roman villa at Casino Vezzani, near Ortona on the Adriatic Sea, in Abruzzo, central Italy.

In the context of the villa, during the excavation campaign in 1988-1991, they located and excavated a canalized cistern, and consequently emptied it from the mud that had filled it over the centuries.

Because of the difficult condition of the excavation, they had to consider the whole cistern as a single stratigraphic unit.

What I want to concentrate on in this talk is the ten bronze coins they found, apparently corroded to the point of being unreadable. They can be read, though.

Not only were they unpublished so far; I could not find any mention of their recovery in the catalogue of the exhibit following the excavations.

On the basis of archaeological and literary elements, Staffa 1993 hypothesized a Coptic influence in several Crecchio products, a probable result of a privileged maritime trade route, or evidence of a direct Egyptian presence, due to Egyptian elements of the Byzantine troops of Justinian, landing in Italy for the campaign against the Goths.

Crecchio, a farm with a continuous existence from Late Republican times, would have been used as the basis for a Byzantine garrison during the military movements in the Picenum, the historical region corresponding to present day Marche and Abruzzo.

Staffa's hypothesis in 1993 triggered a sort of mutual conditioning in several scholars' reconstructions, for example Zanini 1998 and C. Pavolini 1998.

Consequently, several SU in archaeological sites in Abruzzo have been dated to the II half of VI c. using Crecchio pottery as an archaeological fossil.

The analysis of the coin hoard found in the cistern will dismantle Staffa's thesis completely and shed new light on the market economy of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine Empire in central Italy.



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Un trésor de solidi (Jérusalem) et la monnaie d'or d'Héraclius en Syrie-Palestine

Ce trésor a été découvert dans un petit pot en terre cuite au couvent de Saint-Etienne à Jérusalem dans les années 1880-1890. Il s'agit de 53 solidi d'Héraclius, frappés entre le 22^e année du règne (632) et le bref règne de Héraclonas (641), une période plutôt brève, d'environ huit ans. Leur poids ne diffèrent pas de plus d'un décigramme (4,35-4,45 g), avec des variations négligeables, principalement pour des valeurs plus faibles. On n'a pas identifié de liaisons de coins ni dans le trésor ni avec les solidi d'Héraclius récupérés dans de nombreux autres trésors de la région. Les trouvailles isolées et les trésors montrent que le règne d'Héraclius se caractérise par un afflux accru de monnaies d'or. En effet près de 1000 pièces (environ 700 en Israël) ont été mises au jour en Syrie-Palestine et elles présentent de très rares liaisons de coins ce qui indique une frappe abondante et soutenue. Selon les estimations les plus récentes, le volume de la monnaie d'or d'Héraclius (610-632) se serait monté à plusieurs centaines de milliers d'exemplaires, approximativement deux fois plus que sous Phocas (602-610). Si on y ajoute le montant frappé pendant la dernière décennie du règne d'Héraclius (632-641), la production totale s'élèverait à plus de deux million de solidi. Les découvertes isolées (Césarée, Horvat Rimon, Jérusalem, Hamat Gader, Beyrouth et Jordanie) et les trésors (Giv'ati Parc, Beth Shean, Horvat Kab, Ginnesar, Rehob, Shoam, Jordanie) donnent une preuve cohérente de cette énorme production.

La thésaurisation de la monnaie d'or, d'ailleurs, doit être liée directement à des événements militaires : conflit avec les Perses, réoccupation byzantine, conquête arabe. Sur seize trésors du VII^e siècle, recensés en Syrie et Palestine, sept se terminent avec des pièces d'Héraclius. Dans ceux de la seconde moitié du VII^e siècle, qui comprennent des solidi de Constant II, Constantin IV et Justinien II, la présence d'Héraclius demeure remarquable, en particulier le type aux trois empereurs. Une composition analogue s'observe dans les trouvailles et les trésors de monnaie en cuivre. Cela témoigne d'une demande de monnaie pas seulement précieuse, mais aussi en bronze, tous indicateurs liés à des événements militaires, à la fiscalité, mais aussi à des échanges demeurés intenses en dépit des conflits. On envisagera enfin le pouvoir d'achat de la pièce d'or au cours du VII^e siècle en rapprochant les trouvailles monétaires des sources hagiographiques.



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Ἀπόδοτε οὖν τὰ Καίσαρος Καίσαρι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῷ Θεῷ. Justinian II, the Image of Christ and Taxation

The appearance of Christ on regular issues of Byzantine gold and silver coins under Justinian II is one of the most discussed topics in Byzantine numismatics. The event even appears in the accounts of the Greek and Arabic writers Theophanes the Confessor and Baladhuri. The appearance is linked by these ninth century authors to relations between the Byzantine Emperor Justinian II and the Umayyad Caliph 'Abd al-Malik, and by some modern Byzantinists to Canon 82 of the Council in Trullo. Yet there is another possible factor at play.

Matthew 22:21, Mark 12:17 and Luke 20:25 told the Byzantine Christians to do both their financial duty to Caesar and their spiritual duty to God, but what happens when Caesar is the representative and servant of God? Could it be that the appearance of Christ on the coins used for taxation as the *rex regnantium* and Justinian II as a *servus Christi* was intended to make the link that by doing your financial duty to your Christian Caesar, you were simultaneously doing your spiritual duty to God?

If this was the case, why was the image rejected at the provincial mints (excepting Sardinia), by subsequent emperors before the advent of Iconomachy, and even by the empress and emperors of the Iconophile interlude, returning only following the 'Triumph of Orthodoxy' in 843?

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A Hoard of the Fragments of Byzantine and Imitation Coins XIII Century from the Territory of South-West Rus'

The paper is devoted to the hoard, found by chance in 2011 near the town of Kamenetz-Podolsk (Ukraine). Now it is kept in a private collection in Moscow.

Lately this hoard was provided me for studying. It consists of 297 fragments of the concave billon coins with a total weight of 95.17 g. Fragments have different shapes: square, rectangular, triangular, and trapezoidal. They got such a result by cutting coins on several pieces.

Weight of the fragments ranged from 0.06 g to 0.78 g, but 2/3 of its form a group of the weight range from 0.21 g to 0, 40 g.

Preliminarily it is possible to recognize some coins of Latin States types T and U, small module type A, probably Empire of Thessalonica, Manuel Comnenus-Ducas.



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The “Ağacık Hoard”: Billon Trachae Coins from the Nicean and Latin Empires

When Constantinople was captured by Western European and Venetian Crusaders in 1204, the imperial family, nobles and many residents of the Byzantine capital escaped death or persecuted by abandoning the city. Constantinople became the capital of the new Latin Empire in the region.

Many nobles fled to the city of Nicaea, and a new Byzantine Nicaean Empire was established by Theodore I Lascaris. The Nicaean Empire continued its sovereignty until Constantinople's reconquest by the army of emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus in 1261. Both the Nicaean and Latin Empires continued to control their territories and boundaries between 1204 and 1261, each issuing their own types of coins.

The Kuva-yi Milliye Museum at Balıkesir in the Republic of Turkey has a collection of 285 examples of billon trachy coins from the Nicaean and Latin Empires which is called the Ağacık Hoard. The coins were found in the village Ağacık in the Burhaniye/Balıkesir region. The Ağacık Hoard will be presented and compared iconographically with the help of graphs and diagrams.

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Zwei neue numismatische Quellen für die Geschichte von Thessaloniki und Epiros nach 1230

Hier werden zwei Münzen veröffentlicht, die wichtige Informationsquellen für die Ereignisse in Thessaloniki nach dem überwältigenden Sieg von Ivan Asen über Theodor Komnenos Dukas in 1230 darstellen.

Die Beschreibung der ersten Münze ist wie folgt:



Inschriften : ΜΑΝΩΗ ΠΡ ΑΓΓΗΝ auf Avers und ΚΕΡΟ ΗΘΕΙ, ΙC ΧC auf Revers.
Durchmesser von 26.8 mm, Gewicht von 3.21 gr.



Besonderheiten der Inschrift: Im Namen Asen ist der erste Buchstabe **A** in einer für den 13. Jahrhundert typischen Form dargestellt. Der Münzenschneider hat den zweiten Buchstaben C fehlerhaft mit I ersetzt. Der dritte Buchstabe im Namen ist der einzigartige für das alte bulgarische Alphabet **Ъ**. So soll hier der Name des Zaren **АЦЪН** gelesen werden. Mit dem Buchstaben **Ч**, auch bulgarisch, wird der Titel Zar als **ЧР** ausgeschrieben. Da in dieser Inschrift zwei typisch bulgarische Buchstaben vorhanden sind, kann man davon ausgehen, dass sie kyrillisch ist. Michael Hendy identifiziert diesen Münzentyp fehlerhaft als „Manuel Komnenos Dukas mit dem heiligen Konstantin.“

Die zweite Münze ist ähnlich.



Die Vorderseite ist identisch mit dem Avers der oben beschriebenen Münze. Die Inschrift neben der linken Figur ist **MANЪНA**, aber von oben nach unten sind die Buchstaben **MIX** zusätzlich im Stempel geschnitten. Der Durchmesser beträgt 25 mm und das Gewicht – 2.2 gr. Bendall identifiziert 1996 den Münzentyp ohne Zögern als Michael II mit Johannes Dukas Vatatzes und seit dem ist diese Identifikation führend.

Nun identifiziert die erste Münze eindeutig den Seniorherrscher als Zar Ivan II Asen. Sein Titel und sein Name sind mit einer Inschrift in bulgarischer Sprache geprägt. In analoger Weise stellt die zweite Münze, die in der Hauptstadt von Epirus, Arta, geprägt wurde, die gleiche ikonographische Szene dar: die vom bulgarischen Zaren Ivan II Asen durchgeführte Krönung von Manuel Dukas zum Despoten.

Bemerkenswert in der zweiten Münze ist es auch, dass später, durch eine Korrektur im Stempel, der Name „Manuel“ mit „Michael“ ersetzt worden ist. Die Kontinuität des Münztyps ist das Ergebnis einer tatsächlichen Änderung, die in Epiros und Thessalien nach 1231 stattgefunden hat, als Michael II Dukas als Despot des Zaren Ivan II Asen die Verwaltungsfunktionen von Manuel Komnenos Dukas übernahm.

Die beiden neuen Münzen, die als historische Quelle behandelt werden sollen, veranschaulichen dokumentarisch die politischen Ereignisse in Thessaloniki nach der Schlacht von Klokotniza. Nach der Entthronung des Kaisers Theodor setzt der Zar seinen Schwiegersohn Manuel als Despot in Thessaloniki, Michael als Despot in Epiros, und mit diesen Akten vernichtet er das Kaiserreich von Thessaloniki und integriert die Territorien von Thessaloniki, Epiros und Thessalien unter die bulgarische Supremation. Die Ansprüche des Kaiserhauses in Thessaloniki als Nachfolger des Byzantinischen Reiches werden in Rechte transliert, die jetzt dem Zaren - Suzerain gehören. Nur so kann der neue Aufruf des bulgarischen Zarentitels erklärt werden - Ivan Asen, Zar der Bulgaren und Griechen.



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Entre Byzance et l'Occident : les monnaies de Jean Sratsimir (1356-1396)

Deuxième fils du premier mariage du tsar bulgare Jean Alexandre (1331-1371), Jean Sratsimir, après la mort de ses frères Michel Assen et Jean Assen III, était le prétendant principal à la couronne bulgare. Mais pour des raisons inconnues, son père céda le trône à Shishman, fils porphyrogénète de son deuxième mariage avec Théodora-Sara. Ainsi Sratsimir devait se contenter de la région Nord-Ouest des territoires bulgares, dont il est devenu gouverneur à partir des années 1355-1356, comme en témoignent les sources. De cette même période daterait aussi son mariage avec Anna de Wallachie, nièce de sa mère ; alliance qui aurait été une réponse de Sratsimir au divorce de ses parents.

Il faudrait aussi noter les rapports que Sratsimir établissait avec Serbes, Hongrois et Wallachiens : liens de parenté, de voisinage, d'alliance et de rivalité qui détermineront l'avenir de son royaume. Les conflits politiques pendant cette période étaient aussi à mettre en relation avec le danger approchant : l'invasion des Turcs ottomans. Deux exemples majeurs : dans les années 1360, le tsarstvo se trouvait pendant 3 ans sous la domination hongroise ; Sratsimir et sa famille furent capturés à Humnik et furent obligés de se convertir au catholicisme. Puis, dans les années 1380, Sratsimir dut combattre les Ottomans et fut obligé de devenir leur vassal afin de pouvoir garder son royaume. Enfin, en 1396 la célèbre bataille des Croisés à Nicopolis puis le siège de la ville de Vidin mirent fin définitivement à l'existence du tsarstvo Vidin ainsi qu'au Deuxième empire bulgare.

Dans sa production monétaire Sratsimir émit comme tout souverain des monnaies qui tentaient d'affirmer et de démontrer sa place dans le plan politique. On distingue dans ses émissions deux types de monnaies, en argent et en cuivre, avec neuf modalités iconographiques, qui sont parvenues jusqu'à nous. Sur l'avvers, le tsar est debout ou assis, seul ou en compagnie de son épouse, ou bien on trouve seulement son monogramme ; sur le revers, le Christ, un aigle bicéphale, un lion ou une croix. Mais ce qui attire notre attention, c'est la ressemblance de ces monnaies avec les exemples occidentaux.

Sur les pièces en argent, on constate une ressemblance avec l'iconographie et la disposition des détails. Ainsi, la monnaie en argent de Charles II d'Anjou ou celle de Charles Robert ou encore celle d'Uroš II, sur lesquelles le roi est assis sur un trône tenant deux objets dans ses mains en symbole de son pouvoir, est semblable à nos exemples. Les inscriptions sont situées entre l'image centrale et la bordure de la pièce, en ligne continue, disposition nouvelle pour le monnayage bulgare. Cependant, les exemples en cuivre suivent l'iconographie «traditionnelle» des monnaies bulgares, influencée par les exemples byzantins : l'image au centre de la pièce est encadrée d'une inscription ou d'une abréviation de part et d'autre ; l'extrémité de la pièce est marquée par une rangée de perles. On remarque quelques détails originaux : la fleur de lys qui figure souvent en lien avec l'image de Sratsimir, ou une petite étoile disposée à côté de sa figure ou encore le monogramme du souverain remplaçant totalement sa figuration.

Dans notre propos, nous allons proposer des vues nouvelles sur les qualités artistiques de la production monétaire qui reflètent les échanges du souverain avec l'Orient et l'Occident et s'inscrivent dans le contexte de ses relations avec le monde byzantin.



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Byzantine AE Coin Finds from Phrygia

In this study, the Byzantine coins that are among the collections of Kütahya and Bolvadin Museums, located in the geography encompassing the Phrygia region in the Middle Ages, and the Byzantine coins which were acquired in the Amorium and Aizanoi excavations will be discussed. The aim of this notice is to determine the statistics of the Byzantine Coins in the Ancient Phrygia according to their periods and to evaluate the coins within the limits of the general economic history of their region. Also, these findings will be examined and compared to the other published museum collections, and excavation finds in Turkey. The periods that make Phrygia special will be tried to be determined in the light of the two museums in the area and the finds of the two ancient city excavations, of which excavations are in progress.

The Phrygian region in the Middle Ages is roughly the area surrounded by the provinces of Eskişehir, Kütahya, Afyon, Denizli and Uşak. Phrygia is considered to be one of the important points of the operation carried out against the Arabs in the 8th and 9th century. As from the second half of the 9th century, we see a complete Byzantine sovereignty in Anatolia and therefore also a period of peace and tranquility. And as of the second half of the 11th century, the region became an area of conflict between the Christian and Muslim military forces. The coin finds support this as well. The majority of the coins located in the area represent a group reflecting the different periods of the Byzantine Empire uninterruptedly. The Byzantine coins, discovered in the area bearing great historical, political and economic importance, consist of samples indicating the commercial connections in the area regarding numismatics. In addition, the fact that there are many samples, and they are definable makes them statistically usable data groups.

Firstly, the statistics of the Byzantine coins found in the museums and the excavations in the region were calculated according to periods and the data were graphed out. The obtained data were compared to the other areas, and it was observed that the Byzantine Empire was a common feature for most of the regions in Anatolia and that different parts portrayed local differences. As a result, in the notice, the circulation of the Byzantine bronze coins throughout Phrygia and Anatolia will be evaluated with a statistical approach. In the comparison, although the places of comparison were different and distant from one another, the results and discordant points that are widely similar throughout the Byzantine Empire will be discussed.



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BYZANTINE STUDIES
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POST-BYZANTINE ART – PART 1

Chairs: **Angeliki Strati, Bojan Miljković**

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A Case Study of the 'Praise the Lord' Icon from the Museum of Macedonia (Skopje)



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Some Issues of Terminology Concerning the Study of Post-Byzantine Painting

The natural delay of the development of the study of the Post-Byzantine church painting in comparison to that of its “natural” predecessor, i.e. of the painting of the Byzantine era, manifests itself by a certain confusion or inaccuracy concerning some aspects of terminology currently or, at least, frequently in use. This issue should be addressed now that the study of the art of the Orthodox populations of the Balkans following the Fall of Constantinople (1453) has attained a degree of maturity. As a result, there is a need for a widely accepted, scientifically correct art-historical vocabulary, adapted to the specificities of the field of Post-Byzantine Art.

One of the terms needing to be revisited is the synonymic expressions “anti-classical painting” and “anti-classical trend”. These are frequently - and often with little consideration - used in order to describe the artisan and sometimes even openly naïve byzantine-style painting dating from late 15th to the early 18th century. Indeed, the “hardening” and simplified rendering of the forms is a quite common feature of the church painting in the Ottoman Balkans and it is especially apparent between ca. 1570 and 1730. However, the above-mentioned trend seems to reflect more a lack of artistic efficiency, or, at least, an inadequate training, rather than a conscious will of the painter to distinguish himself from the classicizing forms inherited by the past, as might the expression “anti-classical” imply.

Some objections could also be put forth regarding the simplified expression “Western influences” in cases of motifs and subjects copied from western stamps and constantly incorporated into the Post-Byzantine painting as early as the 16th c.

The lack of an accurate and generally accepted terminology might be pinpointed in other thematic frames too. The terms “School of North-Western Greece” or “Local School of Epirus” have been being used for decades in order to designate the artistic trend of the 16th c. represented, among others, by the painters Frangos Katelanos and the Kondaris brothers, all of them originating from Thebes, Boeotia. The above-mentioned expressions were adopted on the grounds that in Jannina and in the neighboring regions a considerable amount of these painters’ work has been preserved. However, the last research results on the George and Frangos Kondaris’ workshop have brought to light quite a few tokens of their activity in Attica and Boeotia. Therefore, a more “general” term, such as “Continental School” (in distinction to the “Cretan School”), might be appropriate to define the “erudite” church painting produced by artists emerging from the Orthodox communities in the Ottoman Balkans during the aforementioned period.



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The Corpus of Icons from the 14th – 16th Century in the Collection of the National Museum in Krakow

The grant from the National Programme for the Development of Humanities, obtained in 2015, enabled the preparation of the corpus of the oldest icons from the collection of the National Museum in Krakow. It is one of the oldest collections in Europe, accumulated since the 1880s. The research field concerns a collection of about forty icons which – thanks to the allotted resources – are currently being subjected to comprehensive technological testing combined with an iconographic and comparative analysis, which determines the milieu, time and circumstances of creation of each of the listed works. The oldest item is the Greek icon of Saints Anargyroi, whose origin dates back to the second half of the 14th century. It was acquired only a few years ago by means of bequest and represents a high level of the Palaeologian style. The overwhelming majority comprises, however, local works from the 15th - 16th century, originating from the Ruthenian lands of the former Polish Republic, diverse in terms of iconography. Among them are icons depicting the Mandylion, Hodegetria in various representational varieties (with prophets, apostles), Pantocrator, St. Nicholas and St. Paraskeva, surrounded by scenes from their life and martyrdom, as well as monumental icons illustrating The Last Judgement. On the one hand, the collected material represents a high level of post-Byzantine art, and on the other, it constitutes an example of a gradual adaptation of Western iconography models and styles through printed ephemera. The publication, planned for 2017, aims to present the splendour of this collection, using the widest possible research methods (photographs in various wave ranges, analysis of pigments and wood) with particular attention to the impressive content of the Orthodox Church and Slavic inscriptions.

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Άγνωστα ιστορικά στοιχεία για κυπριακή εικόνα του 16ου αι.

Μία σημαντική κυπριακή εικόνα του 16ου αι., στην οποία απεικονίζεται η Κοινωνία των Αποστόλων, χάρη στα στοιχεία που περιέχει και με βάση πρωτίστως την αρχαική έρευνα καταγράφονται και διασώζονται σημαντικές ειδήσεις, όχι μόνο απλά για την κυπριακή ιστορία, αλλά και για τον κυπριακό ελληνισμό της διασποράς. Η εικόνα προέρχεται από την εκκλησία της Παναγίας της Χρυσανιιώτισσας, στην εντός των τειχών Λευκωσία, και σήμερα βρίσκεται στο Βυζαντινό Μουσείο του Ιδρύματος Αρχιεπισκόπου Μακαρίου Γ'. Κατά την άποψή μας η εικόνα μεταφέρθηκε από την Παναγία την Οδηγήτρια, καθεδρικό ναό επί βενετοκρατίας των ορθοδόξων, ο οποίος εσφαλμένα ονομάζεται Άγιος Νικόλαος ή Bedestan, επειδή ο πατέρας του δωρητή της



εικόνας υπηρετούσε εκεί ως πρωτόπαπας πριν εκλεγεί επίσκοπος Αμαθούντος. Ας υπομνησθεί εδώ ότι ο επίσκοπος Αμαθούντος (ή Αμαθουσίας ή Αμαθούντων), Νεμεσού και Κουρίου, κοινώς Λευκάρων, του οποίου η έδρα ήταν τα Λεύκαρα είχε πνευματική εξουσία στους κατοίκους των κυπριακών επισκοπών Αμαθούντος, Νέας Πόλεως ή Νεαπόλεως, Νεμεσού και Κουρίου, οι οποίες υφίσταντο πριν τη φραγκοκρατία.

Από τους ειδικούς η εν λόγω εικόνα συγκαταλέγεται στα έργα ιταλοβυζαντινής τέχνης. Στην παρούσα ανακοίνωση ωστόσο δε θα ασχοληθούμε ούτε με την περιγραφή, ούτε με την τεχνοτροπία της εικόνας, εργασία η οποία εν πολλοίς αφορά στους αρχαιολόγους και τους ιστορικούς τέχνης, αλλά θα παρουσιάσουμε και θα σχολιάσουμε τα όσα νέα ιστορικά στοιχεία μας πρόσφερε η ίδια εικόνα και το αρχαιακό υλικό.

Η εικόνα φέρει επιγραφή στο κάτω μέρος της, στην οποία δηλώνεται εν μέρει η ταυτότητα του δωρητή. Τα στοιχεία αυτά μας επιτρέπουν, με βάση πάντα την αρχαιακή έρευνα, όχι μόνο να ανακαλύψουμε πλήρως την ταυτότητα του δωρητή, αλλά και να εμπλουτίσουμε τις γνώσεις μας για τον πατέρα του δωρητή, ο οποίος δεν ήταν ασήμαντη προσωπικότητα, αφού επρόκειτο για τον ορθόδοξο επίσκοπο Λευκάρων – Λεμεσού- Αμαθούντος. Παράλληλα, η επιγραφή την οποία φέρει η εικόνα βοήθησε στην αδιαμφισβήτητη ορθή χρονολόγησή της, αφού ο πατέρας του δωρητή αναφέρεται ως αείμνηστος (μακαρίτης) και όπως γνωρίζουμε από αρχαιακή πηγή είχε πεθάνει το 1546, ενώ το ίδιο έτος είχε εκλεγεί νέος επίσκοπος Αμαθούντος, ο Ιωάννης Σμερλίνος. Άρα, η χρονολόγηση της εικόνας δεν μπορεί ασφαλώς με κανένα λόγο να τοποθετηθεί πριν το 1546 αλλά, οπωσδήποτε, μετά το προαναφερθέν έτος.

Η αποκάλυψη του επιθέτου του επισκόπου Πέτρου Αμαθούντος, το οποίο αναφέρεται σε πηγή σχετική με την εκλογή του ως επισκόπου Αμαθούντος το 1533, δεν είχε δυστυχώς αποδοθεί σωστά, αλλά παρεφθαρμένο, γεγονός που δεν επέτρεπε μέχρι πρότινος περαιτέρω έρευνα, για την οικογένειά του και για την τύχη της μετά την απώλεια της Κύπρου, στην εξουσία των Οθωμανών. Εκτός από την επιγραφή του δωρητή παρουσιάζονται επίσης στην εικόνα και δύο πανομοιότυπα οικόσημα δεξιά και αριστερά της ίδιας επιγραφής. Η ανακάλυψη στη συνέχεια και άλλων αρχαιακών πηγών, οι οποίες αναφέρονται στον επίσκοπο Αμαθούντος/Λεμεσού κατά την ίδια εποχή και με το ίδιο όνομα, αλλά με επίθετο διαφοροποιημένο, μάς προκάλεσαν ερευνητικό οίστρο, γεγονός που μας ώθησε στη διερεύνηση και ταύτιση του οικοσήμου. Η προσεκτική μελέτη, σύγκριση και αντιπαράθεση των οικοσήμων, τα οποία φέρει η εικόνα καθώς και του οικοσήμου της οικογένειας του επισκόπου και του δωρητή γιου του, με πυξίδα το ορθώς αναφερόμενο επίθετό τους σε αρχαιακή πηγή, μας οδήγησε σε ξεκάθαρες και διεξοδικές απαντήσεις στα μέχρι πρότινος ερωτηματικά μας, και φώτισε πλήρως το θολό τοπίο γύρω από την εικόνα της Κοινωνίας των Αγίων Αποστόλων.

Η ταύτιση του οικοσήμου της εικόνας με το οικόσημο της συγκεκριμένης οικογένειας, μας έφερε ακολούθως στις απαρχές και ρίζες μίας πολύ σπουδαίας κυπριακής οικογένειας, που διέπρεψε σε πολλούς τομείς στους μετέπειτα αιώνες, στη Βενετία. Ένας από τους γιους του επισκόπου, ο Ιωάννης είχε εγκατασταθεί ως έμπορος στην πόλη των τεναγών. Η οικογένεια αυτή, τουλάχιστον ο κλάδος που εγκαταστάθηκε στη Βενετία, είχε ως γενάρχη και προπάτορα τον επίσκοπο «Αμαθούντων» Πέτρο.

Τέλος, τόσο η επιγραφή του δωρητή όσο και η ταύτιση των οικοσήμων έδωσαν μία ουσιαστική προέκταση στις έρευνές μας, προσφέροντας πλούσιο σε ιστορικές ειδήσεις αρχαιακό υλικό.



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Peindre sous l'influence de l'art crétois : une icône historiée de saint Nicolas portant la signature du peintre Christodoulos Marietis

L'icône fait partie d'une collection privée athénienne. Elle a été répertoriée par D. Sisilianos en 1935 et M. Chatzidakis et E. Drakopoulou en 1997 dans leurs ouvrages sur les Peintres grecs après l'an 1453, sans avoir fait jusqu'à présent l'objet d'une étude détaillée.

L'icône suit la typologie habituelle de l'icône-vitae : la représentation du saint occupe le centre et elle est entourée sur les quatre côtés par des compartiments de dimensions réduites où sont illustrés des épisodes de sa vie.

Saint Nicolas figure assis sur un trône en bois richement décoré. Il bénit de la main droite et tient de la main gauche l'évangile ouvert. La représentation suit l'iconographie du saint hiérarque en trône telle qu'elle a été établie par les peintres crétois du XV^e siècle.

Le cycle iconographique inclut dix épisodes : sur le registre supérieur la dotation des trois filles, la participation du saint au Concile Œcuménique de Nicée et sa querelle avec Arius et son emprisonnement ; sur le registre vertical gauche deux miracles maritimes – le sauvetage de Démétrios de la noyade et le miracle d'Artémide ; sur le registre vertical droit le saint sauve les trois innocents de la décapitation et apparaît au sommeil de l'empereur Constantin ; sur le registre inférieur sont situés la Destruction des idoles, la Dormition du saint et la Présentation des trois généraux devant l'empereur.

La signature du peintre ainsi que la date 1677 sont inscrites sur la partie basse du compartiment central.

Dans le cadre de la présente communication on va aborder en premier lieu le rapport des épisodes illustrés avec les sources hagiologiques, le choix des sujets et surtout leur traitement iconographique en comparaison avec les cycles iconographiques précédents et contemporains, en particulier ceux des ateliers crétois. Enfin, un troisième axe constituera l'étude des rapports iconographiques et stylistiques de la présente icône historiée avec celle d'un saint moins souvent représenté, Méнас, signée également par Christodoulos Marietis.



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Εικόνες του ζωγράφου Φράγκου Κατελάνου στην Καστοριά

Στο επισκοπείο της Μητρόπολης Καστοριάς φυλάσσονται δύο φορητές εικόνες του Χριστού Παντοκράτορος, διαστάσεων 106 χ 78 χ 4,5 εκ., και της Παναγίας Οδηγήτριας, διαστάσεων 106 χ 78 χ 3, 5 εκ. με τις επιγραφές ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ Ο ΒΗΘΛΕΕΜΙΤΗΣ και ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ Η ΡΑΣΙΩΤΙΣΣΑ αντίστοιχα. Οι εικόνες αυτές σύμφωνα με τους Καστοριανούς μελετητές Π. Τσαμίση και Γ. Αλεξίου ήταν τοποθετημένες, ως δεσποτικές, στο αρχικό τέμπλο του ναού της Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας ενορίας Σερβιώτη στην Καστοριά, μεταφέρθηκαν προφανώς για λόγους προστασίας και ασφάλειας τους, άγνωστο πότε, στο σκευοφυλάκιο της Μητρόπολης και συντηρήθηκαν από τους συντηρητές της αρμοδίας Εφορείας Βυζαντινών Αρχαιοτήτων το 1995 η πρώτη και το 2002 η δεύτερη. Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του εν λόγω ναού, χρονολογημένος σύμφωνα με την κτητορική επιγραφή στα 1553, αποδίδεται σύμφωνα με τον Μ. Χατζηδάκη, το μελετητή της αείμνηστο Γ. Γούναρη (1980) αλλά και τους νεότερους ερευνητές στον ονομαστό Θηβαίο ζωγράφο Φράγκο Κατελάνο.

Τόσο οι διαστάσεις των εικόνων οι οποίες προσαρμόζονται με μεγάλη ακρίβεια στις αντίστοιχες του αρχικού τέμπλου του ναού, όσο και η επωνυμία της Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας στην εικόνα μας που παραπέμπει στον ομώνυμο Καστοριανό ναό, οδηγούν ανεπιφύλακτα στην υιοθέτηση της άποψης των παραπάνω μελετητών. Ειδικότερα ο αγιογράφος της εικόνας της Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας αντιγράφει πιστά, παρά τις εκτεταμένες επιζωγραφίσεις και την δεξιοκρατούσα στάση της Θεοτόκου, την τοιχογραφία της Παναγίας, σε αβαθή κόγχη του νότιου τοίχου κοντά στο τέμπλο, θέση που συνήθως καταλαμβάνουν οι άγιοι στους οποίους αφιερώνεται η εκκλησία. Η επιγραφή ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ Η ΒΛΑΧΕΡΝΑ είναι νεότερη προσθήκη του 1903 όπως και η συνολική επιζωγράφιση.

Η εικόνα της Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας είναι αδημοσίευτη, ενώ για την αντίστοιχη του Χριστού Βηθλεεμίτη υπάρχει σχετικό λήμμα στον κατάλογο της έκθεσης Μυστήριον Μέγα και Παράδοξον, Αθήνα 2002, σ. 204-205, του καθηγητή Ε. Ν. Τσιγαρίδα, ο οποίος εντάσσει την εικόνα σε εργαστήριο της βορειοδυτικής Ελλάδος που δραστηριοποιείται κάτω από την επίδραση τρόπων της κρητικής σχολής και την χρονολογεί στο δεύτερο μισό του 16ου αιώνα. Ο ίδιος σε ομιλία του για τις εικόνες της Καστοριάς το Μάρτιο του 2016 στην Αθήνα, αναθεώρησε την άποψή του και, κάνοντας απλή μεία, απέδωσε τις εικόνες μας στον Φράγκο Κατελάνο.

Τα κοινά τεχνικά και τεχνοτροπικά χαρακτηριστικά, όπως οι περίτεχνοι ανάγλυφοι φυλλοφόροι φωτοστέφανοι που λειτουργούν κατά μίμηση των πολύτιμων μεταλλικών της βυζαντινής περιόδου, οι φυσιογνωμικοί τύποι, ο επιμελής σχεδιασμός του προσώπου, η επικρατούσα πλούσια πτυχολογία, το επιμελημένο πλάσιμο, η τεχνική της έντονης φωτοσκίασης με τα τριγωνικά φωτεινά επίπεδα, η ισορροπημένη κατανομή των λαμπρών και διάφανων χρωματισμών, το πλούσιο λαμπρό χρυσό βάθος, ο ίδιος τύπος γραφής τεκμηριώνουν την αρχική μας άποψη της απόδοσης των εικόνων στον ίδιο εμπνευσμένο δημιουργό.

Τα παραπάνω σε συνδυασμό και με τα επιμέρους φυσιογνωμικά γνωρίσματα που συνοψίζονται στο ωοειδές πρόσωπο που στηρίζεται σε ψηλό λαιμό, στα αμυγδαλωτά μάτια, στο μικρό σαρκώδες στόμα στην μακριά και λεπτή μύτη, στα αβρά χέρια με τα μακριά κοντυλένια και εύκαμπτα



δάχτυλα, αλλά και στην διάταξη της κόμης, στο κοντό φροντισμένο γένι και στο μουστάκι στον Χριστό απαντώνται τόσο στη μνημειακή ζωγραφική, όσο και στις εικόνες που εντάσσονται στην καλλιτεχνική δραστηριότητα του Κατελάνου. Ειδικότερα παρατηρείται πολύ στενή σχέση των εικόνων με τη ζωγραφική του ναού της Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας αλλά και με τα ζωγραφικά σύνολα που προσγράφονται στο έργο του Θηβαίου καλλιτέχνη. Πιο κοντά στις εικόνες της Μητρόπολης Καστοριάς βρίσκονται οι εικόνες είτε δεσποτικές είτε επιστυλίου τέμπλου είτε προσκύνησης που έχουν αποδοθεί από την επιστημονική έρευνα στο έργο του Κατελάνου.

Στον ίδιο ζωγράφο αποδίδουμε και τμήματα του επιστυλίου του τέμπλου της Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας, παρά την κακή κατάσταση διατήρησής του. Έτσι χρονολογούμε τις εικόνες και το επιστύλιο τέμπλου περί τα μέσα του 16ου αιώνα.

Οι άγνωστες εικόνες της Παναγίας Ρασιώτισσας και του Χριστού Βηθλεεμίτη της Μητρόπολης Καστοριάς εμπλουτίζουν, με δύο ακόμη λαμπρά δημιουργήματα το καλλιτεχνικό έργο του μεγάλου ζωγράφου του 16ου αιώνα Φράγκου Κατελάνου.

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Εικόνες του 15^{ου} και 16^{ου} αιώνα από την Ξάνθη

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή παρουσιάζονται 7 εικόνες του 15ου και 16ου αιώνα, οι οποίες βρίσκονται στη Μονή Παναγίας Αρχαγγελιώτισσας, στο Εκκλησιαστικό Μουσείο της Μητρόπολης Ξάνθης και στο Ναό του Ακαθίστου Ύμνου της πόλης αυτής.

Ο 15ος αιώνας εκπροσωπείται από τρεις εικόνες: του Χριστού στον τύπο του Μεγάλου Αρχιερέα, και της Δεόμενης Θεοτόκου που βρίσκονται στο τέμπλο του καθολικού της Μονής Παναγίας Αρχαγγελιώτισσας, καθώς και της βρεφοκρατούσας Θεοτόκου στον τύπο της Ελεούσας, που βρίσκεται σε προσκυνητάριο του Ναού του Ακαθίστου Ύμνου της Παλιάς Ξάνθης. Πρόκειται για ιδιαίτερα επιμελημένα έργα, τα οποία φιλοτεχνήθηκαν από εργαστήρια που ακολουθούσαν κρητικά πρότυπα και αντανakλούν τις καλλιτεχνικές τάσεις που επικρατούσαν στην εκκλησιαστική ζωγραφική στα τέλη του 15ου αιώνα.

Είναι ενδιαφέρον ότι τα έργα αυτά, όπως και οι εικόνες του 16ου αιώνα, αντανakλούν περιόδους ακμής, αλλά και περιόδους μεγάλων ιστορικών αλλαγών που σημειώνονται στην Ξάνθη. Τον 15ο και τον 16ο αιώνα η Ξάνθη αποτελεί το καταφύγιο των Χριστιανών της ευρύτερης περιοχής. Η πόλη γνωρίζει έντονη αστικοποίηση, παραμένει, ωστόσο, μια μικρή πόλη με αμιγή όμως χριστιανικό πληθυσμό.

Ο 16ος αιώνας εκπροσωπείται από μια σειρά εξαιρετικής ποιότητας φορητές εικόνες, που διακοσμούσαν μοναστικά ιδρύματα, όπως η εικόνα της Δέησης, δύο εικόνες της Θεοτόκου στον τύπο της Οδηγήτριας, και ο εντυπωσιακός ξυλόγλυπτος και ζωγραφιστός σταυρός τέμπλου με τα Λυπηρά, που προέρχεται από τη Μονή των Ταξιαρχών και χρονολογούνται στα τέλη του 16ου αιώνα. Πρόκειται για έργα ζωγράφων που ακολουθούν με συνέπεια και άριστη τεχνική κατάρτιση καλά κρητικά πρότυπα, ενώ στις εικόνες αυτές μπορούν να ανιχνευτούν και τα ιδιαίτερα



προσωπικά καλλιτεχνικά χαρακτηριστικά των ζωγράφων. Ορισμένα από τα έργα αυτά είναι πιθανό να προέρχονται από το Άγιον Όρος, ενώ άλλα μπορούν να αποδοθούν σε τοπικά ή και βορειοελλαδίτικα καλλιτεχνικά εργαστήρια.

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Εικόνες του 17^{ου} αιώνα από την Άσσηρο Θεσσαλονίκης

Η Άσσηρος, οικισμός στην ύπαιθρο χώρα της Θεσσαλονίκης, αποτελεί χώρο με αρχαιότητες χρονολογημένες από την προϊστορική έως τη νεότερη εποχή. Στις γραπτές πηγές ονομάζεται Γ(κ) ιουβέζνα και μνημονεύεται τουλάχιστον από το 1568/69 και ακολούθως στο 1724-1725, 1752, και αρκετές φορές στο 19ο αιώνα, ως μικτός οικισμός με πλειοψηφούν το χριστιανικό στοιχείο. Ο ενοριακός ναός που εξυπηρετούσε τις θρησκευτικές ανάγκες του οικισμού βρίσκεται σε χαμηλό λόφο στην άκρη του χωριού και είναι αφιερωμένος στον Προφήτη Ηλία. Η υφιστάμενή του μορφή μπορεί να χρονολογηθεί στον 19ο αιώνα. Τυπολογικά, πρόκειται για τρίκλιτη ξυλόστεγη βασιλική με περίστω, φραγμένο σήμερα, νότια και δυτικά. Η είσοδος στο ναό γίνεται από τη δυτική και τη νότια πλευρά του, με τη βοήθεια κτιστής ολιγόβαθμης κλίμακας, στοιχείο που μαρτυρεί την παλαιότητά του και την ενσωμάτωση ή ανέγερσή του στη θέση παλαιότερου κτηρίου.

Στο ναό αυτό καταγράψαμε 122 φορητές εικόνες, 26 μεταλλικά στοιχεία σκευής, 2 παλαίτυπα, 4 υφάσματα, 1 ενεπίγραφη πλάκα και 1 ξυλόγλυπτο προσκυνητάριο. Η αξιόλογη σκευή του, όπως φανερώνει η σώρευση έργων του 18ου, των μέσων του 19ου αιώνα, του δ' τέταρτου του 19ου και του διαστήματος 1918-1922, τεκμηριώνει ότι στη νεότερη ιστορία του γνώρισε τουλάχιστον τέσσερις ανακαινίσεις ή εμπλουτίσεις του εξοπλισμού του.

Ιδιαίτερης σημασίας για την ιστορία του παλαιότερου ναού είναι οι φορητές εικόνες του αγίου Ιωάννη του Προδρόμου (E34), του Προφήτη Ηλία (E38), του αγίου Νικολάου (E44) και του εφίππου αγίου Γεωργίου δρακοντοκτόνου (E46), οι οποίες και αποτελούν το θέμα της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης. Οι εν λόγω εικόνες παρουσιάζονται λεπτομερώς και, με βάση εικονογραφικά και τεχνοτροπικά κριτήρια προτείνεται να χρονολογηθούν στο 17ο αιώνα, ειδικότερα δε οι τρεις πρώτες στο α' ήμισυ αυτού, ενώ η εικόνα του αγίου Γεωργίου στα μέσα-β' ήμισυ του 17ου αιώνα.

Στον ίδιο αιώνα, ή και στο 17ο-18ο, ανήκουν επίσης οι ασυντήρητες εικόνες με την Παναγία βρεφοκρατούσα E27 και E28, λαϊκότροπα έργα, μακεδονικού πιθανότατα εργαστηρίου, και ο αρχάγγελος Μιχαήλ (E39), και ενδεχομένως η επιζωγραφισμένη σήμερα εικόνα με τη Σύναξη των αρχαγγέλων (E45).

Συνοψίζοντας, οι εικόνες που παρουσιάζουμε, αποτελούν έργα μακεδονικών εργαστηρίων που συνεχίζουν τη βυζαντινή εικονογραφική παράδοση, μετά το Βυζάντιο. Για την περιοχή ειδικότερα της Θεσσαλονίκης, τεκμηριώνουν τη δυναμικότητα τόσο των εργαστηρίων της υπαίθρου χώρας της όσο και τη δραστηριότητα επιδέξιων καλλιτεχνών από μακρινότερες περιοχές στην όψιμη σχετικά εποχή που συνιστά ο 17ος αιώνας. Για τη μικροπεριοχή δε της μεταβυζαντινής Γκιουβέζνας ή Ασσήρου υποδεικνύουν την ευπραγία του χριστιανικού πληθυσμού της και την ύπαρξη σ' αυτήν αξιόλογου ναού με σημαντική σκευή τουλάχιστον από το 17ο αιώνα.



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The Kosmas Cosmos and Representations of Psalm 148, 149 and 150: A Case Study of the 'Praise the Lord' Icon from the Museum of Macedonia (Skopje)

Scholarly analyses of a theme which is among the most complex in Byzantine visual syntax – the illustration of Psalms 148, 149:1 Praise ye the Lord (KJV) and 150:6 Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord (KJV), integrated in a single painterly unit – must undertake an interdisciplinary approach encompassing theological (eschatological-eucharistic), philosophical, linguistic and musico-logical research if they hope to ascend to its mystical-dogmatic dimension. Central to our approach regarding the analysis of the visual aspects of the 'Praise the Lord' theme is the recognition of the cosmological theory of Kosmas Indicopleustes elaborated in his *Christian Topography* (especially in Book IV and Book V) as a conceptual diagram where we discern the sections *πρώτος οὐρανός, στερέωμα, ὕδωρ, γῆ, ὠκεανός*. Namely, Kosmas proposed (Kominko 2013: 2, 215) "a cosmology where the physical and the temporal structure of the world were determined by the function of the cosmos as a setting for the divine plan of salvation. The universe, based on the flat, rectangular earth, was covered by the vault of heaven, and divided by the firmament into two superimposed spaces, which corresponded to two conditions of human existence - the earthly present and the heavenly future. The form of cosmos was symbolically revealed in the structure of the tabernacle built by Moses, while the progression of humanity towards the heavenly condition was marked by patriarchs, prophets and saints, who in words and deeds confirmed the reality of the heavenly things to come."

The main subject of our observation in the context of the approach previously outlined is the icon titled *Praise the Lord*, originating from the Kučevište Monastery of the Holy Archangels, a precious jewel in the collection of the Museum of Macedonia in Skopje (inv. no. 372), its visual composite having not yet received the scientific attention it so richly deserves.

While the depiction of this complex thematic unit is rarely found in the Central Balkans, the icon is one of four preserved illustrations of Psalms 148, 149 and 150 on the territory of present-day Republic of Macedonia. The others are found in the narthexes of the Church of the Presentation of the Holy Virgin in the Temple/Holy Salvation (1332-1337) in Kučevište, of the Lesnovo Monastery (1349) and of the Pološko Monastery (1609). Representations are also found in applied art, on two doors in the Slepčë and one door in the Treskavec Monastery. All will be included in the study as comparative materials.

Neatly divided in zones, the icon's three registers – one heavenly and two earthly – depict nearly every line of the psalms. The dense pictorial content of the icon renders the cosmological diagram which is the formal basis for the scene almost invisible. We discern iconographic correlatives to its rich visual narrative in post-Byzantine wall painting in Epirus, Thessaly (Metēora) and Mount Athos (Koutloumousiou), while the cosmological concept based on the treatise of Kosmas Indicopleustes we regard as dominant in a number of Russian icons on the 'Praise the Lord' theme from the 16-19 century. In addition, our case study should allow for greater precision in the dating (around 1591) and the attribution of the icon.



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POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND HERESIES

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Heresy and Social Structure: The Case of Bogomil Communities



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The Byzantine Empire in the Typology of States (Typical Medieval State, Byzantine Republic, Modern Absolute Monarchy)

The theory of the state and the typology of states have a long tradition. Plato's and Aristotle's state typologies have not lost relevance even today. Political philosophy (ancient as well as modern) has the state as the focus of study. The state is an object of analysis in political philosophy, political science and law. The general theory of the state (*Allgemeine Staatslehre*) analyses basic issues concerning the formation of the state and its historical types.

According to the theory of the state, elements of the state are people, territory and sovereignty. The state is a compulsory organization with a centralized government that has a monopoly on the legitimate use of force in a certain territory. This definition has a very wide extension. The state may be a city-state, polis, or a Kelsenian (Stoic, Ch. Wolff's) *civitas maxima*, a global state. It is a state in both cases. If a state does not hold firm and unique power in the whole territory it claims, that does not mean it is not a state. The state may be a union of states, a federal state (confederation is not a sovereign state) or a state that has devolved some of its original statehood attributes upon lower levels. A state can lose a part or even all of its territory, and still be a state.

A state is born, lives and dies. According to Thomas Hobbes's metaphor, the state is "mortal God" (*deus mortalis*). In comparison to humans, the state is divine and long living, but it is not eternal. The death of the state may be its destruction, but also its unification with other states.

If we take look at the Byzantine Empire as a type of state, we can say that it lasted for a very long time and that it was part of the history of Rome. As a matter of fact, "the Byzantine Empire" is a modern term. The Byzantine state was a Roman state, and the "Byzantines" considered themselves to be Romans. Byzantium was not the ancient Roman Empire, but it undisputedly was a Roman state. This is very important since the Roman state became an ideal model for Renaissance theorists of the state (Machiavelli). The Roman background and the Roman legal (etc.) character of the Byzantine state were not denied, but they were not taken into account in theories of the state.

The basic difference between premodern (medieval) and modern states is most obvious in the concept of sovereignty. Premodern states did not exercise full sovereignty. By sovereignty we understand internationally recognized (external) sovereignty of the state (nation) and the internal sovereignty of the state, the supreme power. A state is sovereign if it manifests or exercises sovereign power over its territory. As we have already noted, a state is sovereign even if it temporarily does not exercise its power over parts of its territory.

The Byzantine state exercised sovereign power over its territory. It is less important how large the territory was at different periods of its history. Byzantium suffered great territorial losses, but imperial rule continued to be based on the bureaucracy: "The structure of government retained the outlook and the body of theory which it had inherited from the unitary Rome state". The government succeeded in maintaining direct subordination and avoided the hierarchy of independent vassals



and subordinate sub-vassals which became characteristic of the West-European middle ages. “We shall not be far wrong if we think of Byzantium as having persisted as a single structure of society ruled by a state which was in slow decline but which was saved for centuries from disruption, though not from vast losses of territory, by the resilience of the agencies and attitudes it had inherited from Rome” (F. H. Hinsley).

On the other hand, the spiritual power of the papacy and the universal and supreme power of the elected (Holy) Roman Emperor (of German nations) in the west were not sovereign powers.

The modern sovereign state is a contemporary state. The modern state is actually absolute monarchy. Supreme power is one and unique in the whole territory and over all of its inhabitants. The legislator has the right to make, change and abolish laws.

If we look at a broader picture, we may conclude that Byzantium has much more in common with the modern sovereign state (created at the time of the western absolute monarchy and the Reformation) than with the western medieval state. This is quite obvious. Yet, influential, mainly Protestant historiography (from Whig to Hegelian) usually considered Byzantium as a side track of world history, a decadent, dying remnant of the Roman Empire. There was a strong anti-Byzantine sentiment. It was unthinkable to say that the Byzantine state model was a “progressive” one, in fact a model that could have been an example for western states. On the contrary, historiography framed Byzantium as a retrograde state, the worst of all medieval states. It is not a conspiracy against the Byzantine Empire; namely, all modern historiography rested on ideas that were basically anti-medieval (anti-Catholic). There is a whole set of mainly Protestant prejudices as well as prejudices of the French Enlightenment that are built into contemporary historiography. This is a major issue for the philosophy of historiography. The problems of medieval history raise historiographical and methodological questions of the utmost importance, starting with the well-known “tyranny of concepts” (e.g. the concept of feudalism). Byzantium was placed lower than less developed countries (in terms of legal and state organization) because liberal and revolutionary historians were fighting the “absolute monarchy” which the Byzantine Empire actually represented. There was no empathy for Byzantium. Since Byzantium was dead and gone, it was placed lower on the ladder than the western states.

Certain limits to imperial power tend to be taken as a proof that the Byzantine state was not an absolute monarchy. Such limits, however, existed in modern western absolute monarchies too. The royal prerogative in the absolute monarchy is usually described as “absolute” in the sense that it was not subject to restriction or control by any other power.

Byzantium was a monarchy as Rome had been. A monarchy could be a kind of lifelong dictatorship or just a nominal monarchy. In ancient times the Roman Kingdom was an elective monarchy. Different combinations of monarchy and aristocracy or oligarchy or democracy were well known in ancient Greece (in philosophy as well as practice). If there was a certain “democratic” impact on the legislative or executive powers in Byzantium, that does not mean that Byzantium was not a monarchy. If supreme executive power in Byzantium was centred in the ruler, monarch, it is quite obvious that it was an absolute monarchy. Certain popular interventions in the politics of the New Rome, or periodical rebellions, cannot be taken as a proof that sovereignty was vested in the people (“extralegal sovereignty”). It is anachronistic to argue for popular sovereignty in Byzantium since it is an 18th-century Rousseauian concept. Can we say that official power was delegated to the emperor by the people or that “Rousseau’s view of republican sovereignty perfectly reflects Byzantine norms” (A. Kaldellis)?



As far as Rousseau's theory is concerned, we first have to understand basic concepts: the people, the general will, natural rights, the social contract etc. For Rousseau, the "people" are somehow outside the state, or opposed to the state. The people are therefore abstract people. There is no place among the people for the state structure (the monarch, the church and clergy, the bureaucracy, the nobility). Actually, for Rousseau, primitive rural people are the people. It is not wrong to say that his ideal is the primitive noble savage (although he does not use that term). Rousseau sees "the state of nature" as true freedom. We could say, however, that the people (or nation) are not outside the state structure, as it was conceived in Rousseau's theory. Rousseau's concept of the people was not the concept of the American Revolution. Thomas Paine transferred and interpolated French revolutionary ideas and terminology into American states (including his attacks on Christianity). Edmund Burke, the first critic of the French Revolution, was not critical of the American Revolution. Those revolutions were very different in their ideologies.

Republic as *res publica* (*Res publica Romana*), commonwealth, is not contradictory to monarchy. Monarchy can be a commonwealth. The Queen of the United Kingdom is the Head of the British Commonwealth (Commonwealth of Nations). Monarchy could have some republican institutions (republican in the Roman sense, by its origin). A monarchy as *res publica* is not contradictory to the Western modern absolute monarchy either. The weight of the king's legislative sovereignty in West-European absolute monarchy (French) has been miscalculated since it occupied a less prominent position in legal theory and practice than previously assumed.

It is attractive and provoking to speak of republican features of the Byzantine state. Democratic influence on the Byzantine monarch does not mean that Byzantium was a republic. There is another term hiding under the term republic, and that is democracy. The term "republic" is not synonymous with the term "democracy". A republic was usually the republic of the aristocracy or oligarchy (e.g. the Roman Republic, the Republic of Venice, the Republic of Ragusa).

Medieval history opens a set of complex theoretical and methodological questions that the philosophy of historiography should deal with. It is not only Byzantium that has been misinterpreted from the frame of reference of the Reformation and Enlightenment, but all of the middle ages. A historical period should first be interpreted from the "inside", from its own time, from the perspective and concepts of the people of the past. To understand how people of the past responded to an event, we have to understand how it was viewed from their perspective, not our own. To see Byzantium as a state modelled according to Rousseau's theory of the state could be refreshing or challenging (against stereotypes), but it will not solve the problems. On the contrary, it will bring new ones, confusion to begin with. Byzantium was a modern absolute monarchy in the best sense of the word, the kind of state that had not yet emerged in the West. Basically, the modern sovereign state.



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The Palace and the City as Political Stage: The Theatrics of Public Deliberation in Byzantium

Decision-making at the highest level in Byzantium usually entailed consultation within a counseling body, in the presence of the emperor. Whether we have to do with a standardized political institution or with an ad hoc summoning of counselors, the emperor's council usually convened in the palace, or wherever the emperor happened to be present, away from the public eye. On certain occasions, however, the emperors opted for a public deliberation, with the participation of a large number of dignitaries and, sometimes, representatives of the Church, the army, etc. Such open gatherings did not really entail active deliberation, but were a means of extracting and displaying the consensus of the body politic towards policies that had already been decided.

This paper focuses on the topographical aspect of these public gatherings examining the locations in which they occurred, and the practical, as well as symbolic reasons that determined the choice of venue. The most usual location was within palace grounds (either the Great Palace, or, later, that of Blachernae), but they could also occur in public places such as the hippodrome or Saint Sophia. The venue of a gathering could determine the number of participants, the hierarchical allotment of place, as well as the process of this deliberation, for example who could be seen, who could speak and who could be heard. The paper will examine some exemplary instances from the seventh century to the Late Byzantine period. By focusing on the spatial aspect of these gatherings and by approaching the deliberation as a staged display, the paper will attempt to contribute to the investigation of both persistent and innovative aspects of Byzantine political theory and practice.

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Plethon's Reformatory Proposals of the Despotate of Morea. A Paradigm of Early Modern Political Thought?

The aim of this paper is to propose a new interpretation of Plethon's proposals about the political and social reformations of the despotate of Morea. Following Foucault's path breaking analysis of the early modern monarchical state I investigate the role of monarchy in Plethon's memoranda about the Peloponnese as a "reformatory" crucial factor for the canonization and the control of the economic, social and political life. Plethon's outlook is closely associated with the political program of Manuel II Palaeologus and his efforts to impose the rule of Constantinople in a frontier society where the local magnates strongly opposed the byzantine authority. In my view this need for regularizing and disciplining the local society also caused the production of new knowledge in Plethon's circle about the history, the geography and the populations of the peninsula in order to transform a liminal zone into an early modern kingdom with a distinct political and ethnic identity.



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Two Models of Byzantine Monarchy

The Byzantine monarchical pattern is linked to two models: the orthodox theological model of Messianism Christ, developing the testimony of David and Solomon through Christ, this being autocracy, and the roman military model.

These two models developed into an interesting symbiosis after the IV crusade, when Serbia arose as a kingdom and when Byzantium fell in its imperial symbolism by the conquest of Constantinople. Facing the crisis of the destruction of the immutable of the empire by the conquest of Constantinople, Saint Sava developed a new and more coherent model of monarchical Christianity, in his written life of his father, Saint Simeon Nemanja. This life emphasizes the model of Christ inspiration and combative defense of dogmatic orthodoxy through political and military action with a great freshness coming from the rediscovery of the true faith through baptism and fight against the western heresy. This model is intertwined with the monastic vocation and with hesychasm, and will be continued by all the members of the Serbian dynasty, as an orthodox reaction to the westernizing influences exercised upon Byzantium by the Italians and franks.

Serbia continued its model of holy dynasty sanctified by military and political defense of orthodoxy against Catholicism in both combat with Hungarians or with Byzantines, model recognized by the church in the form of the canonization.

This influences Sigismund of Luxemburg in recognizing Lazarevic Stefan a great position in the hierarchy of European royalty, even founding the Order of the Dragon that was ruled by him, who was the first knight. Great nobility, including Sigismund, became related to the Serbs (by families such as the Garay of Cilli), and people spoke about Sigismund's orthodox baptism, which was reflected in the byzantine tendencies of Sigismund's party at the Councils of Basel and Konstanz.

Byzantium was in fear of being eclipsed. The importance given to the Serbian dynasty in the time of the two Dragasses Paleologues shows this growth of European influence, but also stirred up envy. To prevent a recentralization of Europe around orthodoxy as envisaged by Lazarevici and Sigismund, fact which would give the orthodox church central control, confirming Dushan's imperial thinking, the Byzantines accepted the papal supremacist theology at Florence, alongside other Serbian pretenders like the Hunyadi's and the dynasty of Skanderbeg. This made Brankovic's Serbia, as successor to both Dushan's empire and to the orthodox hesychast empire of Cantacuzino, the center of imperial orthodoxy, and thus subject to attack, which led to its fell, although some continuation of its politics could have been preserved in Matyas Corvinus's Hungary.

This paper will show that the Florentine union was the culmination of the conflict between the roman military model of emperor, more and more influenced by post-Carolingian feudalism having a peripheral position in its constitution as a direct consequence of the principles governing



the role of the Holy Roman Empire and papacy in the west, and the Serb model that wanted to conserve and even improve a total orthodox monarchical model, of Christ and biblical inspiration, which was manifested in the form of the holy dynasty and holy martyr war, essential in the ideology of Vidovdan, which was eventually in the XVI century transmitted to Russia and influenced in the basis of some of the Russian's tsar European genealogy, the concept of the Third Rome, the final and true orthodox Rome heir to the Nemanjic testament.

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Innovation, Intrigue and Intertextuality: The Paulicians and Byzantine Heresiology

Byzantine heresiology is commonly conceived of as a superficial and derivative genre, which is often of little interest even to scholars of Byzantine religiosity. In her article *How to Read Heresiology*, Averil Cameron made a concerted effort to rehabilitate the genre, but even she considered the Byzantine sources of the Paulician and Bogomil heresies to be unoriginal and superficial. Using the example of texts concerning the Paulicians, the following paper seeks to contribute to her rehabilitation of the genre by arguing that even these supposedly uninteresting sources are nuanced and innovative. Numerological and onomastic references throughout these texts create links across the corpus as a whole, as well as linking the constituent parts of individual texts. These intertextual and intratextual links are invaluable in that they provide evidence for showing us how Byzantines read, wrote and received heresiological texts, as well as in demonstrating that these texts possess a level of literary sophistication with which the genre of heresiology is not usually credited.

In presenting this argument, I will primarily employ Peter of Sicily's *History of the Paulicians*, one of the most complex and misunderstood Byzantine heresiological texts. The authenticity of the *History* has been fiercely disputed, but it is at least recognised that the work is valuable for preserving an authentic Paulician account of their history. Existing historiography has argued that Peter has left this source largely intact, but a close reading of the text reveals that he has appropriated and reworked numerological and onomastic references from the original Paulician exemplar in order to denigrate the Paulicians and symbolically link them with earlier heresies. A closely related text – the *Contra Manichaeos* of Pseudo-Photios – shows that contemporary authors developed these meanings and reworked them for their own purposes, which in this case is best explained by an attempt to undermine the authority of the *History* and the extreme punishment it advocates for Paulicians. Thus, by looking at the sources of the heresy as a whole, we can see that these contain nuanced literary readings and are framed in regard to contemporary religio-political disputes.



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Heresy and Society in East Roman Caucasia, c. 1000-1071 Re-Imagining 'Paulicianism' and the 'T'ondrakian Movement'

The 'T'ondrakian movement' has been typically analysed as a moment in the longer history of 'Paulicianism,' the regional offshoot of coherent practices and beliefs like the Balkan 'Bogomil heresy.' Traditionally seen as dualist, in her magisterial 1967 monograph Nina Garsoïan employed T'ondrakian sources to argue that Paulicianism was an adoptionist creed that became dualist on imperial territory, remaining unchanged in Caucasia. Conversely Vrej Nerssesian's 1989 study of the tenth- and eleventh-century 'T'ondrakian movement' emphasised their distinction from Paulicians, also providing a socio-political explanation for this alleged movement, though unfortunately through an uncritical Marxism. More recently Seta Dadoyan, in her ground-breaking re-situation of medieval Armenianness in its borderland and Islamic contexts, emphasised heterodoxy as a prominent, even defining feature. Nevertheless her analysis still operated within a frame of 'Armenian orthodoxy' versus 'sectarian dissidence.'

Thus these issues are ripe for re-consideration – particularly the question of heterodox practices and beliefs as necessarily embedded in theologically coherent, strongly bounded, and self-reproducing 'heretical groups.' This communication, therefore, begins a re-imagining of 'Paulicianism' through the eleventh-century Armenian sources for T'ondrakians in East Roman Caucasia. In Aristakes of Lastivert's *History*, written c. 1072-79 near Theodosiupolis, the vardapet provides two chapters detailing the spread of heresy in the theme of Iberia. Though highly literary and purposeful, these chapters remain the only witnesses to specific eleventh-century actors identified as T'ondrakian. As such they are essential for imagining the actual figures (re)producing and propagating heterodox practices and beliefs. These are revealed as fully integrated into broader networks and power structures, including bishops, local magnates, and monastics – important actors with sway over whole regions and communities.

Aristakes' testimony can be compared and contrasted with the letters of Grigor Pahlavuni magistros, proud Armenian Christian, aristocrat and *doux* of Mesopotamia c. 1048-1054. Responding to a letter from the Syriac patriarch of Antioch, whom refugee T'ondrakians had approached for sanctuary, Grigor details how he drove these 'New Manicheans' from the 'holy kingdom of the Romans.' In another letter addressed to the exiles he emphasises their total separation from the Armenians, their Church, and its traditions. In conjunction with Aristakes' chapters, these texts provide important evidence for the nature of heterodoxy in eleventh-century Caucasia, including the supposed heretics' self-image as well as the strategies used to exclude them – even involving imperial judges. Crucially, these sources reveal that so-called T'ondrakians represented themselves as Armenian Christians in the tradition of Grigor the Illuminator. Thus the challenge of opponents was not to uncover some distinct 'sect,' but to create a salient boundary for the exclusion of heterodox actors and networks within Armenian Christianity's mainstream.



Ultimately, therefore, this communication outlines a theoretical model for understanding heresy-in-society, able to situate the T'ondrakians in their proper context as products of their social system. I propose a constructivist and network-based model that allows for the (re)production of truly heterodox practices and beliefs, able to coalesce into bounded groupness under certain conditions, without pre-supposing coherence or dogma as a permanent reality.

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Bogomils and Moral Instruction: Rethinking Kozmas' Discourse against Heretics

The two major strands of scholarship on the Bogomil heresy have tended to focus either on the social, political and economic circumstances which affected the emergence of the heresy (Obolensky, 1948; Runciman 1947; Denkova, 1993), or the theological tenets of the heresy in comparison with other dualisms like that of the Paulicians or the Manicheans (Stoyanov, 2002). There has been an insufficient amount of focus on the main and earliest source for the theology of 'Bogomilism', and its internal polemical and rhetorical limitations.

The paper will seek to utilise some of the methodology first introduced in R. I. Moore's 2011 *The War on Heresy* which poses that the medieval resurfacing of the Cathars is best understood as a polemical invention for particular political and social purposes. In doing so, it will ask whether Kozmas's *Discourse* is trying to reveal the theologically consistent set of ideas of the coherent movement of 'Bogomils'. And further, whether the treatise is a useful source for establishing whether there were 'Bogomils' in 10th century Bulgaria, let alone what they believed. This has three main tenets.

The paper will focus firstly on the text and its manuscript transmission. Retained in 25 full copies, the treatise is unusually consistent in its content. The most significant alterations across its MSS attestations are the appearances of headings and variations in titles of the treatise. Some of these introduce the word 'Bogomilism' otherwise absent from the text. Instead, the text briefly mentions a pop 'Bogomil' and notes it will return to his heresies. It is unclear whether that is to be done immediately, or later in the text but Bogomil is not mentioned again. Thus the treatise, although it certainly became an anti-Bogomil handbook, was not obviously aimed at a coherent Bogomil-ism in content.

Secondly, I will explore heretical ideas mentioned predominantly in the first half of the treatise. The paper will argue that these theological stances do not add up to a single coherent heretical movement, but rather to a conglomeration of heretical beliefs projected (only for the purpose of rhetoric) onto a universal, heretical 'other.' This is seen both in the fact that not all the beliefs listed are purely dualist in nature, and in the fact that the heretics being exposed seem to have ideas which are internally contradictory.

Finally, the paper will turn to the latter half of the text, which roughly half way through, sees a change in tone – from pure denouncement, to notably more dominant additions of didactic



instruction. Although the address remains in either the plural ‘you’ or in some cases, ‘we’, the addressees listed are priests, the wealthy, the book-owning, and the lesser men and women who work the land. These are addressed in turn, offering useful guidance on how to read the former half of the text – that is, also as a conglomeration of disparate groups and practices addressed in turn. In both cases however, there is as little specific historical reality to the wealthy man instructed to share his books, as there is to the heretic who performs fake miracles.

The paper will seek to conclude that the Bogomil myth as a coherent movement was an invention emerging from existing heretical behaviours and the expansion of literacy, but also political necessity, polemical convention and, to an extent, a misunderstanding of the Discourse against the Bogomils.

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Heresy and Social Structure: The Case of Bogomil Communities

Bogomilism represents a spiritual manifestation, with a dualistic nature, of a religious expression, and a social and philosophical orientation. Its dynamic of alternating expansion and decline, adjusting the method of existence to the current social and political conditions, allowed it to survive on the historical scene until the 15th century when the last impulses of its existence were realized.

Actually, the aim of the paper as the title suggests is to treat the phenomena of Bogomilism from the point of view of its social structure. Reconstructing this issue on the basis on relevant source material the first impression arise that the followers of heresy from the very beginning of its existence were mainly people with lower social status. But the situation have changed with the evolutionary tendencies of the movement, especially during the period between the 11th - 12th century.

The presence of philosophical ideas and interpretations in the Bogomil religious and ideological system attracted the attention of representatives of the higher social class or, as Ana Komnina used to say, the “wealthy people” and “some high priests”. A typical example is the Byzantine philosopher John Italus, an intellectual and Michael Pselus’s student, who founded the department of dialectics and history of philosophy. His teaching, despite the philosophical dimensions of metempsychosis, the Resurrection and the Last Judgement exegesis, was confronted with the official Christian normative and attempted to introduce rational behaviour in theology. All that contributed Italus’s teaching to be anathematized at the Synod held in the year 1082. A similar example is the Patriarch Eustatij Garida of Constantinople who, under the influence of John Italus’s philosophical theology, believed in the metempsychosis of souls and denied the power of icons. On account of his religious beliefs, Eustatij Garida held the position of a Patriarch in Constantinople only for a short period (1081–1084).



The Bogomil existence in the period between 13th – 15th century is also confirmed. There are the data from the Kratovo's prayer-book and the Hagiography from Theodosius Trnovski, where we can read about the certain nun Irina of Salonica, probably one of the perfect Bogomils, to whom a great number of monks came with a tendency to infiltrate the adopted dogmas into the monk's centres on Mount Athos. The spreading of Bogomil tendencies in the monasteries on Mount Athos lasted for a very short period, but that is an irrelevant fact in comparison with the historical reality that this teaching penetrated the strongest monk's centre of the Orthodoxy.

To summarize, the paper will explore the issue who actually were heretics from the social point of view and what was the aim of their participation in the Bogomil communities. Additionally the focus will be on the question if the social status had an impact of their categorization such as ordinary followers, believers or perfect ones, or priority was given to their commitment of asceticism.



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Ἐμφύτευσις = feudum



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Latin West in the Eyes of the Orthodox East: The Paradigm of the Archbishop of Ohrid Demetrius Chomatenus

This paper aims to contribute to the issue of the relations between the Latin West and the Orthodox East after the conquest of Constantinople by the crusaders in 1204. It focuses on the attitudes of Demetrius Chomatenus, a prominent Archbishop of Ohrid in the first half of the 13th century, towards the Latin Church. At that time the Latin invasion in the Byzantine territories and the concomitant collapse of the Byzantine rule instigated anti-Western feelings and strengthened the anti-Latin party among the Orthodox clergy. Despite mutual perceptions of the Other as enemy and heretic, however, on the political field short-lived alliances were formed between the newly emerged Latin, Greek and Slavic dominions which strove for predominance and hereditary rights to the throne of Constantinople. Given that, according to imperial tradition, the head of the Church legitimized the rise to imperial power, the Orthodox high priests were also involved in this political and ideological conflict. An indicative case is that of Demetrius Chomatenus who encouraged the political aspirations of the ruler of Epirus Theodore Doukas, while at the same time laid claim to Patriarchal status. In this context his views towards the Latin Church are contradictory which is a clear manifestation of the overall confusion that reigned in the East after the events of 1204.

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Le serment de vassalité de Nicéphore I^{er} d'Épire au roi Charles d'Anjou (1279) : à propos d'un document angevin qui n'a jamais existé

Au printemps 1279, le despote Nicéphore I^{er} d'Épire conclut avec le roi de Naples Charles I^{er} d'Anjou un accord selon lequel le premier prêtait hommage au second et lui remettait certaines places-fortes, en échange de quoi le second apporterait au premier une aide militaire conséquente contre l'empereur byzantin Michel VIII Paléologue.

Le récit faisant actuellement autorité à propos des négociations entre le despote d'Épire Nicéphore et le roi Charles d'Anjou comporte deux invraisemblances de taille. D'une part on y apprend que le despote, resté en Épire, aurait prêté serment de vassalité le 14 mars 1279, sans que l'on sache devant qui, alors même que ses ambassadeurs se trouvaient en Italie auprès du roi en train de négocier un accord. D'autre part, on y voit Charles envoyer le 10 avril 1279 une ambassade chargée de recueillir un serment identique à celui déjà prêté un mois plus tôt.



Un réexamen des sources et surtout de la bibliographie existante permet néanmoins de comprendre l'origine de ce récit défectueux et de le corriger. On peut en effet constater qu'une série d'erreurs et d'approximations, dont certaines remontent au XIX^e siècle et ont été reprises par la suite, a conduit la communauté historique à croire en l'existence d'un document angevin daté du 14 mars 1279, établissant que le serment eut lieu à cette date. En réalité, ce document, jamais retrouvé, n'est autre qu'un document bien connu par ailleurs, daté du 14 mars 1280 et dont le contenu est tout autre.

Une fois écartée cette pseudo-source, il est possible de reconstituer un enchaînement plus logique des événements. Il ne s'est rien passé de spécial le 14 mars 1279 ; en revanche, une fois un accord conclu avec les ambassadeurs de Nicéphore, Charles envoya le 10 avril ses ambassadeurs recevoir le serment de fidélité du despote. Ce serment eut donc lieu au printemps 1279, à une date inconnue, nécessairement entre le 10 avril et le mois d'août.

L'intérêt principal de cette correction, outre qu'elle permet un récit beaucoup plus cohérent que le précédent, est qu'elle donne une vision plus équilibrée des négociations qui eurent lieu entre les deux souverains : Nicéphore était certes suffisamment affaibli pour se déclarer le vassal de Charles, mais pas au point de se déclarer vassal de façon unilatérale, sans même attendre le résultat de négociations cruciales pour l'avenir de son État.

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Political Opportunism vs. Ecumenical Project: A Reassessment of Michael VIII Palaiologos' Attitude towards the Church Properties

According to those who view Michael VIII Palaiologos as a political opportunist (mainly Peter Charanis, in his two articles published in 1948 and 1951), several stages can be identified in his attitude towards the Church. Thus in the early years of his reign (1259-1261), the emperor attempted a rapprochement with the Church, especially the monastic clergy, perceived as an important element in the Byzantine society. Then, after his return to Constantinople, a military success that strengthened the position of the Palaiologan usurper, he adopted a more reserved stance towards Church property (1262-1273). Finally, the stage that confirms this hypothesis spans between 1274-1282, when Michael VIII faced criticism against his religious policy and he revealed his true feelings, starting to persecute the monastic circles.

Is, however, this hypothesis in agreement with the reality described by the documents issued by the imperial chancellery, regarding the Church properties under Michael VIII Palaiologos? By investigating in detail the contents of these documents and examining the statistical data in the context of the imperial ideology of the founder of the Palaiologan dynasty, Peter Charanis' view could be questioned. Thus, some of the documents signed by the first Palaiologan emperor re-acknowledging the rights of particular monasteries cannot be taken as absolute proof of Michael VIII Palaiologos' intentions to gain the support of monastic clergy, but rather, he simply continued



the process of reconstructing the archives that had been lost when Latins conquered the Byzantine capital (1204). Also, in many cases, to the documents acknowledging ownership of estates previously held, and taxes and fees exemptions granted to monasteries, Michael VIII added either donations or privileges (plots of land or various grants such as money or products necessary for daily life). Not least, the willingness of the novus Constantinus to renovate some monastic settlements established by his Komnenos dynasty predecessors (e.g. Kastoria and Apollonia) confirms that throughout his reign he pursued a major project – that of restoring the ecumenical character of the Empire and reestablishing its former glory, lost during the Latin occupation.

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Why Genoese Galley of Pietro Longo Went to Sozopol and Nessebar in January 1352? New Observations about the Relations of the Genoese Republic and Bulgarian Kingdom in the Middle of the Fourteenth Century

In the second half of the XIV century in the Balkans and particularly in the West part of Black sea starts the War for the Straits. In this war the eternal rivals - Genoa and Venice, supported by numbers of allies, are competing against each other and are trying to impose their influence in an area that once belonged to Byzantium, but now turned into Genoese lake. Along with the pandemic plague called the Black Death, the war gives no fewer victims and exhausts additionally both sides. Venice and the Byzantine Empire, supported by Pedro III of Aragon are trying to regain the former status quo of the region. But on the other side Genoa, which a century earlier imposed its dominance in the region and established good trade and political relations in this region, does not want to draw back and is desperately trying to impose its hegemony and for this reason is allying with the countries that then surround the Black Sea. This becomes the perfect situation, caused by the exhaustion of the both sides, in which the Bulgarian kingdom becomes one of the main political and economic allies of the Ligurian Republic. Some new documents from the Archivio di Stato di Genova unequivocally testifies for the enormous role of the diplomacy of Genoa and for her trade relations by this time. In this context in January 1352 as a result of these arrangements a Genoese galley, whose patron is Pietro Longo, sails to Sozopol and Nessebar with the special errand of Admiral Paganino Doria of the Genoese fleet. This move is not accidental, but one very clever that did not stay unnoticed by the enemy camp and soon received its counterstrike, turning the Bulgarian kingdom in the „apple of discord“ between the two naval forces. Certainly the movement of the galley and the implementation of the specific order by its captain have its great importance for the development of the region in the future.

Based on newly discovered documents we make an attempt to give another point of view on the last years of the War for the Straits and to demonstrate the enormous role which it has for all countries in the region on the West Coast in the late fourteenth century before the arrival of the Ottoman Turks.



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Manuel II Paléologue en occident (1399-1402) : la perspective de l'échec confrontée aux sources

En 1399, l'empereur Manuel II Paléologue entreprend son célèbre voyage en Occident. Pendant plus de deux ans, le souverain byzantin parcourt le monde latin, séjournant longuement en France et en Angleterre. Ce moment fort de la diplomatie tardo-byzantine a suscité l'intérêt des historiens depuis le XIX^{ème} siècle. Malgré les avancées dans la recherche et dans l'édition de source, l'historiographie actuelle maintient la même perception de l'entreprise depuis les cent dernières années. Tout en reconnaissant sa notabilité, le voyage y est présenté en tant qu'échec. Pourtant, ce jugement ne semble pas reposer sur une identification préalable des objectifs réels du projet. Il est possible de se questionner si cette perspective émane des attentes des historiens plutôt que des attentes des acteurs médiévaux. Un retour aux témoignages de l'époque s'avère nécessaire pour comprendre la perception et la représentation de l'évènement dans les sources. Une mesure acceptable des enjeux et de la portée de la mission diplomatique impériale n'est possible qu'à travers un tel exercice.

Cette communication traitera du sujet en deux étapes. D'abord, les différentes perspectives adoptées par les sources, tant les byzantines que les occidentales, seront présentées. Il sera ainsi possible de dégager les désaccords et les faiblesses existant dans les témoignages. Ensuite, différents objectifs possibles de l'entreprise seront identifiés. Il sera alors possible de mesurer la capacité de la mission à répondre à ceux-ci.

En fonction d'une telle approche, il sera possible de nuancer la perception actuelle de l'échec et considérer le déplacement de l'empereur en tant que manifestation de l'état social et politique de son territoire à l'aube du XV^{ème} siècle. Malgré les conjonctures passionnantes et les liens causaux qu'il peut être tentant de dégager des derniers évènements de l'Empire byzantin, il ne suffit pas de simplement y constater l'histoire d'un déclin et d'une chute. Libérée des jugements hâtifs, l'entreprise diplomatique apparaîtra alors comme une réponse pertinente et adaptée aux difficultés auxquelles était confrontée Constantinople.

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The Image of the West in the 15th Century Byzantine Sources

The 15th century, more precisely the period between the beginning of the reign of Manuel II Palaeologus (1391) and the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks (1453) is a time of the hopelessly decline of the Byzantine state. Lacking real ability to decide its own fate, Byzantium became the object rather than the subject of the events that are taking place in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean area.



Meanwhile, Byzantines attitude is marked by a feeling of discouragement, but also by a willingness to rescue; people react, but each according to its own social condition, level of culture and their interests. A part of Byzantine society becomes less intolerant towards the Westerners, starting to look to the West as the only source of military aid. What we want to emphasize in our work is the manner in which the western world is viewed by the Byzantine authors and if the sources of that period really reflects a desire for closer rapprochement with the West.

Having the image of the Other as a topic for our study, it is necessary to examine the alterity in connection to the identity, first to define the Byzantine citizen's typical features before taking the Other into discussion. During their empire's existence, the Byzantines defined themselves in connection to the realities that the Byzantine world's unity relied on, which is the State, the culture, and especially the Church. Consequently, the characterization of the alterity supposes the same respects approaching, although together with the physical and moral features also important in the process of the Other comprehension.

Under the circumstances of the crisis produced by the Turkish conquests and especially of the fall of Constantinople, the Byzantine perception on the Western world is radically changed compared with that of the 12-13th centuries: the Westerners are no longer in the field of the barbarian otherness, and even if they remain hostile and fierce from some viewpoints, they are seen as a dialogue alterity and the political and cultural discrepancies between them and the Byzantines gradually lose their importance.

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The Image of the Other – Byzantium and the Balkans through the Eyes of Western Travellers of the 14th and 15th Centuries

Our communication will summarize the most intriguing information the western travellers and pilgrims provide us about the Balkans during the 14th and 15th century. Their accounts could be systemized as follows:

1. Texts providing geographical, historical and archaeological information.
2. Texts describing cities, their plans, fortifications, military warehouses, shipyards, outstanding buildings, water supply, aqueducts etc.
3. Texts referring to churches and monasteries, relics and holy places.
4. Texts containing data about the population of the Balkan Peninsula.

Here we shall concentrate our attention on the last issue, i.e. on texts containing data about the population of the Balkan Peninsula, e.g. about the local ethnic enclaves and isolated social groups, specific customary practices, language, religion, manufacture, costume, agriculture, trade, wine production, richness or poverty, lack of suitable shelter or food for the guests.



We shall pay special attention to the texts written by Konrad Grünemberg (1486), Pietro Casola (1494), as well as to the intriguing data provided Felix Fabri, (1480 and 1483-1484), Bernard von Breidenbach (1483-1484), George Lengerand (1485 - 1486), Arnold von Harff (1496 – 1499), Anonymous German nobleman, travelled 1494.

Most pilgrims point out that the majority of the populace was of Slavic origin or Slavic-speaking. Another basic ethnicity the travellers comment on are the Greeks or, more precisely, the groups of Orthodox population speaking Greek.

Yet, some intriguing accounts refer to other minorities. For instance, Felix Fabri, Arnold von Harff, George Lengerand, Pietro Casola, speak of a large Jewish colony in the Venetian port of Modon (Methone), as well as of a gipsy settlement at its suburbs. Bernard von Breidenbach, Konrad Grünemberg and Dietrich von Schachten refer exclusively to the gipsy community of Modon.

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Ἐμφύτευσις = feudum

In der Byzantinologie schon lange Zeit dauert die Diskussion, ob es ein Feudalismus in Byzanz existierte. Ein Teil der Byzantinisten bejahte, das andere verneinte diese Behauptung. Am 19. internationalen Byzantinisten Kongress in Kopenhagen ist eine spezielle Rundtafeldiskussion dieser Frage gewidmet. Während die jugoslawische Teilnehmer der Diskussion bzw. des Kongresses; prof. Maksimovic und Rokai haben für Existenz des Feudalismus in Byzanz argumentiert, prof Karayannopulos das entschieden negierte. Die bisherige Diskussion beschäftigte sich überwiegend mit dem Charakter der Pronoia. Dieser Aufsatz sollte ein Beitrag zu der Diskussion.

Inzwischen wurde nämlich eine bis Heute unbekannte Quelle die Klärung dieser Frage aus ganz anderem Aspekt belichtet. In einem Dokument des Kapitols von Titel in Südungarn (heute, Vojvodina, Serbien) von Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts, hatte diese kirchliche Institution eine seine Possession einem seinen Untertanen „in emphiteusim“ ausgegeben. Nach Georg Ostrogorsky Ἐμφύτευσις in Byzanz bedeutet langzeitige Ausmietung. In dieser Diplom aber nach diesem griechischen, in ungarischen Feudalismus ganz und gar unbekanntem Termin, stehen, als Klärung seiner Bedeutung, die folgende Wörter: „seu in feudum“.

Ἐμφύτευσις ist also, mindestens in Ungarn dieser Zeit ohne Zweifel mit Feudum identifiziert. Das bedeutet natürlich nicht das auch für Byzanz gilt, aber es ist wahrscheinlich daß die ungarische Herrsteller (Notar?) der Diplom schon fertig aus griechischen Sprache entnommen, und nicht selbst ausgefunden hatte. Übrigens in diesem Fall handelt es tatsächlich über langzeitige Vermietung, und nicht ewigen Alienierung der genannten Possession, was überstimmt mit der Definition dieses Termins von Ostrogorsky. Jetzt haben wir also ein neues Argument für das Bestehen des Feudalismus in Byzanz gefunden!



23rd

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Belgrade, 22-27 August 2016

BOOK ILLUMINATION IN THE BYZANTINE WORLD

Chairs: **Engelina Smirnova**, **Smiljka Gabelić**

Armin Bergmeier,

The So-Called Last Judgment Miniature in the *Topographia Christiana* (Vat. Gr. 699)
and the Emergence of “Eschatological Time”

Guentcho Banev,

On the Miniatures of the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard in the Byzantine Manuscript
Paris. Gr. 74 and Its Slavonic Replicas and Parallels

Nino Kavtaria,

Byzantine and Georgian Cultural Relation of the 12th Century:
Gelati Gospel (Q-908) from the National Centre of Manuscripts and Cod. 93
from Athens National Library

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Joseph of Arimathea as the “Blessed Man who Walks Not in the Counsel of the Ungodly”:
The Visual Exegesis of Psalm 1 in the Serbian Psalter

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On the Miniatures of the Novgorod Psalter of Simon of the 2nd Quarter of the 14th Century
(Moscow, State Historical Museum, Chlud. 3)

Snežana Filipova,

Palaeologan Art and Its Legacy in Post-Byzantine Art
(Case Study of Benče Manuscript from Makedonski Brod)



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The So-Called Last Judgment Miniature in the *Topographia Christiana* (Vat. Gr. 699) and the Emergence of “Eschatological Time”

This talk will challenge the traditional narrative of the emergence of eschatological thought in images from and prior to the ninth century. It will do so by reconsidering a miniature in Kosmas Indikopleustes’ *Topographia Christiana*, a sixth-century cosmological text, preserved in three manuscripts, the earliest from the ninth century (Vat. gr. 699). The *Topographia* miniature has often been discussed as the earliest depiction of the Byzantine Last Judgment iconography (Herbert Kessler, “Gazing at the Future: The Parousia Miniature in Vatican gr. 699”, 1995). However, in this paper I will argue that tempting as the visual similarities might be, the miniature showing the enthroned Christ above angels, the living, and the dead was not in fact a Last Judgment.

I will argue that the *Topographia* miniature was conceived not as an image of the future, but rather as an image of the present condition of the world. In order to explain how this misunderstanding happened, I will consider the miniature alongside both the original text and other images from the eighth and nine centuries, which have similarly been ascribed eschatological meaning in the art historical literature. Some of these, such as the Al-Moallaqa lintel from Cairo, share the fate of the *Topographia* miniature. Others however, such as an illumination from the ninth-century *Sacra Parallela*, actually offer proof of the emergence of true eschatological imagery. By analyzing the late antique homiletic text quoted in the manuscript in relation to the accompanying image, I demonstrate that the meaning of the text shifted to focus on the end of times. These latter examples show essential differences to the *Topographia* miniature, which characterize them as actual Judgment scenes. The *Topographia* miniature, however, never participated in this development and instead visualized the present condition of the world in accordance with the sixth-century text it illustrates.

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On the Miniatures of the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard in the Byzantine Manuscript Paris. Gr. 74 and Its Slavonic Replicas and Parallels

The scene of the Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard (Matthew 20: 1-16) in the Byzantine manuscript Paris. gr. 74 is probably the most known picture depicting agriculture life scenes in Byzantine art. It also appears in the Slavonic replicas and parallels (Gospels of Tsar Ivan Alexander, Elisavetgrad etc.) in variations, with few, still significant, differences in details, which sometimes repeat the Byzantine prototype and other times introduce new elements.



This paper examines the tradition of the scene, on the base of the archaeological evidence and the typology of viticulture tools, as well as the picture's text context in the manuscripts. Furthermore, suggestions are made, in attempt to contribute to the research of the viticulture and rural implements in Byzantium and the Balkans, but also to restore the stemma of the manuscripts mentioned above.

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Byzantine and Georgian Cultural Relation of the 12th Century: Gelati Gospel (Q-908) from the National Centre of Manuscripts and Cod. 93 from Athens National Library

The paper is focused on the study of main artistic aspects of two important manuscripts of the 12th century, Georgian Gospel book from Gelati (Q-908) and Greek manuscript (Cod.93) from Athens National library, on their attraction towards each other, their meeting points and the cultural and artistic influences from Georgian and Byzantine points of view.

The so-called Gelati Gospel (Cod.Q-908 with 254 miniatures, kept at the National Centre of Manuscripts, Georgia) is one of the distinguished among the 11th-12th century manuscripts, marking the most significant stage in the history of book illumination. System of decoration and illustration is akin to that of Byzantine and Georgian manuscripts dated to the ca. 12th century.

The text of codex 93 is adorned with 20 miniatures. The manuscript lacks colophons and its date, the 12th century, is identified based on the comparative of data provided by its text, calligraphy and miniatures; neither ascertained is the place of its creation (supposedly, Mount Athos or Constantinople). It is true that miniature selection principle is quite different from narrative cycle of Gelati gospel and follows the liturgical sequence.

I attempt to explore main tendencies in miniature painting of the 12th century, identify main characteristics and draw parallel between the local artistic traditions and of milieu.

Our research is directed towards the investigation of parallels in Byzantine, Georgian and East Christian art. This investigation leads to specific conclusions on the iconography of the different Christological cycles (His Infancy, Healings and Miracles, Passion cycle, Major Feasts, events after Resurrection, as well as cycle of St. John the Baptists).

The aim of the paper is to survey the principles of the illustrations in the framework of one artistic circle (or even school); establishing the typical artistic features and iconographic program deriving from the miniaturists, help us to reconstruct the process of evolution of Georgian book illumination in the context of 12th century Byzantine Book Art.



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Joseph of Arimathea as the “Blessed Man who Walks Not in the Counsel of the Ungodly”: The Visual Exegesis of Psalm 1 in the Serbian Psalter

Joseph of Arimathea stands at the very beginning of the Serbian Psalter (Munich, BSB, Cod. slav. 4, 14th c.), facing the beginning of Psalm 1. He appears to be holding the shroud. The identification of the character and the cloth and his standing as an impersonation of the “Blessed Man” are made explicit by the Slavic inscription that runs on the right of the figure. Therefore, the illustration is providing the reader with a typological interpretation of the New Testament: Joseph is seen as a fulfillment of the Psalmic prophecy; he is the “blessed man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly” (Ps 1 :1).

Interpreting the Psalms by drawing New Testaments figures in the margin is common in Byzantine Psalters. However, the visual exegesis offered by the Serbian Psalter stands clearly apart from the illustrative tradition as well as from the most common patristic exegesis of Psalm 1: it is usually claimed that the Man is Christ himself or the – anonymous – believer made righteous by Christ, and that is how Psalters are usually illustrated.

Therefore two questions can be raised: are there other iconographic witnesses of Joseph of Arimathea linked to the first verse of Psalm 1 in Byzantine Psalters? Are there any textual attestations to an exegesis of Joseph as the “Blessed Man”? This paper will address both questions by focusing on iconographic and literary sources.

The first question has been partially answered by Ševčenko in the commentary to the Faksimile Ausgabe of the Serbian Psalter (Wiesbaden, 1978); this material will be the ground for a comparison of different psalters. Iconographical study of this theme will also include a reverse use of the link between the figure of Joseph and Psalm 1 – not only Joseph as an illustration for Ps 1:1 but also Ps 1:1 as a biblical quote under a depiction of Joseph.

No extant study has been devoted to the presence of Joseph of Arimathea in the exegesis of Psalm 1. To Ps.-Athanasius mentioned by Ševčenko should be added a reference by Tertullian (Spect. 3), both of them transmitted by or belonging to Latin literature. Among Greek texts the link between Joseph and Psalm 1 is displayed in apocryphal literature, mostly in the *Narratio Iosephi*. Hence the Serbian Psalter appears to have preserved a typological reading that was not kept in main stream Byzantine literature but was textually transmitted on the side.



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On the Miniatures of the Novgorod Psalter of Simon of the 2nd Quarter of the 14th Century (Moscow, State Historical Museum, Chlud. 3)

Russian Psalter of Simon (the manuscript got its name after the presumed *ktitor*) is one of the most lavishly illuminated manuscripts that have come down to us from the Byzantine world. It contains 26 headpieces (mostly in teratological style), a great number of decorative initials, three full-page frontispieces (one of them was painted by a prominent miniaturist who worked in the Paleologan style), 25 scenes inserted in the text illustrating mostly the life of King David, and dozens of marginal miniatures that, according to a recent hypothesis, reflect the commentaries on the Psalter text by Athanasius of Alexandria. Despite the abundance of decoration and important place of the manuscript among the works of art belonging to the Byzantine tradition, both in Greek and in Slavonic languages, the Psalter of Simon has not yet got a printed edition. Only a few of its miniatures are known to scientific community.

The study of the Psalter of Simon is not yet completed. At the present state of research it can be claimed that various components of its decoration are connected with different iconographic traditions. Thus, the miniatures of the Bible Odes belong to the tradition based on the Byzantine prototypes of the Macedonian period (including motives from the Paris Psalter, BNF, gr. 139 of the mid-10th century, and Vatican Menologium, Vat. gr. 1613). The miniatures replicate ancient models in a markedly simplified manner and replace the ancient personifications (e.g. of the Night and of the Mount Sinai) with images of angel and demon. Ancient models were also sometimes used for the illustrations to the life of King David, for instance, the scene with David playing lute near sleeping Saul (cf. the Psalter, Marc. gr. 17 of 1004). Some miniatures of the manuscript have extremely rare subjects, which, it seems, have no counterparts in Byzantine cycles of images (e.g. David's refusal to drink water courageously brought by the three mighty men from the well of Bethlehem – see 2 Sam. 23:16; silver bucket in the illustration to the story with cutting off a corner of Saul's robe – see 1 Sam. 24: 3-8). Among the marginal images there are some groups that follow some particular concept. One of them is Christianization of peoples (pagans). In a number of miniatures the unity of divine and human natures in Christ and the presence of the image of God in a human being are emphasized. Numerous images of churches (several variants) not only illustrate the ideas expressed in the text, but also symbolize the presence of the Divine grace.

The style of most part of the miniatures reveals tendency to primitivization apparent in the Russian art of the 13th century, which laid beyond the Paleologan artistic concept. It is known that in 1330s-1340s in Novgorod there have appeared works of art based on the principles of the Palaeologan art. The miniaturists, who embellished the Psalter of Simon, knew such works. In one of the marginal miniatures the iconography of the icon of Christ Enthroned (1337) was used; its composition goes back to the Paleologan principles. So, we may define the dating of the Psalter of Simon – after 1337. However, the miniatures have frontal compositional structures, accentuated gestures and juxtaposition of contrast tints. The illumination of the Psalter of Simon is one of the brilliant examples of the pre-Paleologan style in the Russian art.



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Palaeologan Art and Its Legacy in Post-Byzantine Art (Case Study of Benče Manuscript from Makedonski Brod)

Antique allegoric figures are part of the renewed interest towards classicism in Palaeologan art and the later renewal of some of its characteristics. The architectural context of the compositions is also very powerful element of the picture. Holy Archangels in Lesnovo is great example of these classicistic stylistic characteristics that in the region of Macedonia started with Holy Virgin Perivleptos ensemble.

16th and 18th centuries icon painting in Macedonia shows several resurrections of the Palaeologan style, and great icon painters who show very well knowledge of the Palaeologan treatment of human figures and architecture common for the late 13 and first half of the 14th centuries. This is not so common to find in medieval illuminations coming from the region and the cultural centers of Macedonia. One of these rare manuscripts is the Four Gospels (Tetraevangelion) from the church of Holy Archangels in Benče, Makedonski Brod, discovered in 1988 by Mihajlo Georgievski. It is written in semi uncial script and contains 360 folios, today kept in the University Library in Skopje (inventory number 167).

The oldest and most valuable manuscripts written and once part of the church libraries on the territory of Macedonia are to be found outside of Macedonia, nine Glagolitic manuscripts and four fragments of Cyrillic manuscripts from the late 10th century/ 11th century; around fifteen manuscripts from the 12th century, more than a hundred from the 13th century; around 220 from the 14th century; around 120 from the 15th century, and around 170 old Macedonian manuscripts from the 16th century. This statistics makes the manuscript from Benče very important.

Each Gospel of the Benče Tetraevangelion is preceded by a full page masterly illumination of the corresponding Evangelist. Their style is described as neo byzantine and Balkan style. The colors used are light green, red, blue and light brown that resembles gold. Each evangelist has next to him the image of the muse, the inspiration represented as small female figure with a kind of shall making an arch above her head. The background is painted in yellowish- orange color. The architecture and the thrones follow the fashion of the late 13 and 14th centuries. St. John and his pupil drawing (pose) resembles their position on the pendentives of Holy Archangels, Lesnovo. The wall behind St. Marc has light drawing of cat like-human face. The roof of one of the building in this illumination is semi barrel. Together with the animal drawing, it remind us of the interesting details in the 14th C. Ohrid icon of Annunciation with the colossi and the human-animal masks of the capitals that were transformed into humoristic faces on the capitals of the 14th C. Russian icon with the same composition, from the Tretyakov Gallery.

The inks and pigments used in the manuscript have been analyzed by Micro-Raman spectroscopic analysis, water stempes recognized and precise date made. Yet, the leaves with the



evangelists' images are added later to the manuscript. The time when the manuscript was written is probably when archbishop Prochorus was the head of the Ohrid Archbishopric (ca.1525-1550), or during his predecessors, Nicholas III or Zaharie. Prochorus was one of the most eminent archbishops from the period of the Turkish rule who enabled the blossom of the scriptorium in the monastery of St. John the Forerunner in Slepče near Demir Hisar.

In the early 18th century the painter David from Selenica would make another strong comeback of the Palaeologan style inspirations and that was the end of these popular late 13th-14th centuries style reminiscences in the Macedonian sacral painting.



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VARIA ARCHAEOLOGICA

Chairs: Vesna Bikić, Özgü Çömezoğlu Uzbek

Dejan Gorgievski,

Living among the Ruins:

Medieval Settlements and Late Roman Towns in the Area of Vardar and Bregalnica

Olga Dimitriou,

Συνθήκες υγιεινής στην ιδιωτική κατοικία του Μυστρά (13ος -14ος αι. μ.Χ.)

Ljubinka Džidrova,

A New Personality in the Prosopography of Late Medieval Skopje

Özgü Çömezoğlu Uzbek,

Byzantine Finds from Adramytteion, on the North Aegean Coast of Turkey

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Some Remarks on the Archaeology of Judaism in Khazaria

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The Rotonda of Thessaloniki:

Completion of Restoration and Enhancement Works of a Unique Monument

Alessandra Ricci,

Bridging Local Institutions, Communities and Archaeology:

The Küçükaly ArkeoPark in Istanbul

Krassimira Magdalino,

Attention : « Site archéologique en construction » ! Un passé restauré ou réinventé ?



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Living among the Ruins:

Medieval Settlements and Late Roman Towns in the Area of Vardar and Bregalnica

The continuity of the habitations of the late roman cities in the medieval period on the Central Balkans (today`s Republic of Macedonia) has long been neglected for several reasons. Surprisingly, although there were several indicators of medieval settlements build on the late antique remains, their modest appearance, compared with antique luxury below them, often resulted with “archaeological destruction” during the process of their excavation in the first half of the XX century. Another problem was to define the typical features of the medieval everyday life and how to recognize them. For instance, one of the “authentic” remains of early medieval period (connected with the Bulgar religious practice) are the so-called amulets with mask on horseback, although the newest findings are indicating a different date. However, in the meantime, some of the medieval artifacts were wrongly been attributed to late antique period, and therefore, the whole contexts have been negligible. In this paper, we will look at the most important settlement in the area bordered by two important rivers – Vardar (Upper Vardar) and Bregalnica. The latest research clearly indicates that if the towns weren’t completely destroyed in the roman period, most of them were used in the medieval ages. Although only the scattered traces survived, they witnessed of continuity of the cities, while their fate was mostly depending on internal factors rather than the migrations.

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Συνθήκες υγιεινής στην ιδιωτική κατοικία του Μυστρά (13ος -14ος αι. μ.Χ.)

Στην πόλη του Μυστρά, στην Πελοπόννησο, που συνοικίστηκε το δεύτερο μισό του 13ου αι. μ.Χ., σώζονται ερείπια κατοικιών που μαρτυρούν μεγάλο αριθμό αστικών ανέσεων, σε αντίθεση με τις κατοικίες άλλων γειτονικών ή μη περιοχών της αντίστοιχης περιόδου. Πρόκειται προφανώς για οικίες των αρχόντων, που βρίσκονται στην Άνω Χώρα, κοντά στο συγκρότημα των ανακτόρων. Χαμηλότερα έμεναν οι απλοί πολίτες, για τις κατοικίες των οποίων δυστυχώς δεν έχουμε στοιχεία.

Ερευνήσαμε τέσσερις οικίες που χρονολογούνται όλες τον 13ο-14ο αι. μ.Χ.:

- α. Αρχοντικό Α ή «Μικρό Παλάτι», που βρίσκεται στην Άνω Χώρα, δυτικά της εκκλησίας του Αγ. Νικολάου.
- β. Αρχοντικό Η, που βρίσκεται πάνω από την πύλη της Μονεμβασιάς, αριστερά της εισόδου.
- γ. Αρχοντικό Ο, που βρίσκεται στη συνοικία της Μητρόπολης, με ισόγειο και όροφο.
- δ. Αρχοντικό στην Άνω Χώρα, που βρίσκεται απέναντι από τη βόρεια πτέρυγα των Παλατιών, με ισόγειο και όροφο.



Στις οικίες αυτές διαπιστώθηκε αποχωρητήριο, σε άμεση επικοινωνία με ένα σημαντικό δωμάτιο της κατοικίας, που αποτελούσε χώρο υποδοχής και συγκεντρώσεων αλλά και καθημερινής διαβίωσης, σε μια κόγχη που προεξέχει από το ορθογώνιο της κάτοψης, με θολωτή στέγαση και συνήθως ορθογώνιου σχήματος. Σε δυο απ' αυτές η οπή απόδευσης βρισκόταν σε δάπεδο κατά μια βαθμίδα ψηλότερο από αυτό της αίθουσας ενώ σε όλα συνδέεται με κτιστό αγωγό και στις τέσσερις πλευρές του, έτσι ώστε να υπάρχει μια πυργοειδής διαμόρφωση στην έξω πλευρά, που άδειαζε σε υπέργειο στεγανό βόθρο. Στις οικίες που διέθεταν και ισόγειο και όροφο διαπιστώθηκε αποχωρητήριο και στα δυο επίπεδα. Το γεγονός ότι χωροθετείται κοντά σε κεντρική αίθουσα του σπιτιού και χώρους υποδοχής υποδεικνύει ότι εξυπηρετούσε σαφώς τους ιδιοκτήτες αλλά και τους φιλοξενούμενους και επισκέπτες.

Σε καμία απ' αυτές τις κατοικίες δεν υπήρχε δωμάτιο με τρεχούμενο νερό, ούτε ο χώρος του αποχωρητηρίου διέθετε. Σε άλλες οικίες, που δεν διέθεταν βόθρο, είναι πιθανό τα λύματα να έπεφταν έξω ελεύθερα. Καθώς ο Μυστράς αποτελούσε μια πόλη-κάστρο, με ιδιαίτερες εδαφικές συνθήκες και στερούνταν κεντρικής αποχέτευσης, το πρόβλημα αυτό λυνόταν κατά περίπτωση. Δεν διαπιστώθηκαν λουτρά δημόσια ή ιδιωτικά, ωστόσο στον Μυστρά υπήρχε ένα από τα ελάχιστα υδραγωγεία της περιόδου. Από τις πηγές πληροφορούμαστε ότι κατά τη διάρκεια της βυζαντινής περιόδου, όπως και σε άλλες χρονικές περιόδους, χρησιμοποιούνταν φορητά σκεύη, αγγεία γυάλινα, λίθινα, πήλινα, ασημένια και χρυσά αλλά και καθημερινά αγγεία που προορίζονταν για άλλη χρήση, τα οποία είτε κάλυπταν το κενό του συγκεκριμένου χώρου ή ήταν και αυτά σε χρήση για τις δύσκολες νυχτερινές ώρες. Βέβαια, μια άλλη πρακτική ήταν η χρήση του εξωτερικού χώρου.

Τα σπίτια που εξετάζουμε σαφώς δεν αποτελούν τον μέσο όρο. Προφανώς ανήκαν σε πλούχιοντες και ήταν σε άμεση ή έμμεση σχέση με το συγκρότημα των ανακτόρων, γι' αυτό και δεν μπορούμε να διατυπώσουμε ασφαλή συμπεράσματα για τον τρόπο δόμησης γενικά των οικιών της περιοχής. Προφανώς πρόκειται για την εξαίρεση που επιβεβαιώνει τον κανόνα για τη συγκεκριμένη χρονική περίοδο, καθώς η κατασκευαστική τους ποιότητα και δομή είναι αναβαθμισμένες σε σχέση με κατοικίες άλλων πόλεων. Η πλειοψηφία των ανθρώπων πρέπει να ζούσε σε στοιχειώδεις ή μηδενικές συνθήκες υγιεινής, πιθανότατα χωρίς ιδιαίτερο χώρο αποχωρητηρίου ή λουτρού.

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A New Personality in the Prosopography of Late Medieval Skopje

The early photographs of Kale at Skopje often display its neglected south-east plateau in late nineteenth-early twentieth century, surrounded by almost fully demolished ramparts, where recent archaeological excavations revealed a multistratified complex. Former settlement area existed there continuously in several phases, the earliest dated in late ninth-early tenth century, and a later from the eleventh century onwards, abruptly terminated about the end of the thirteenth century.



The remains of a large civil residential settlement were erased from the ground during military conflict, leaving this ground on the outskirts of interest for even half a century during the flourishing decades of the Serbian Kingdom. Only later, about mid fourteenth century, it became a site of an ecclesiastical building. Architectonically it belongs to the group of churches densely concentrated within the north half of the Republic of Macedonia and southern Serbia. It has a spatially united extended cruciform ground plan composed of a naos with a high dome held by monolithic columns, unseparated from the narthex apart from the massive pillars that once existed along the dividing line, both spaces coherently articulated along a common longitudinal axis. Raised shortly before forthcoming tumultuous historic events, it survived and extended its existence in several phases well into the Ottoman times, when the church continuously converged Christian religious life and rite inside the walls of the Upper Town. Its identity unconfirmed by a written source, and of unpreserved trace of devotion to a particular saintly figure, demonstrates its significance through a large multilayered necropolis developed in even three phases of urban organization.

Its prominence is best judged on its identification as a patrimony of a high dignitary of the Serbian kingdom, almost completely preserved in an epitaph inscription found at the site. It informs of the death of Vlatko in the days of Milosh in the year 1378, sixth indiction, and calls to his memory. Within the narthex were unearthed the graves of the ktetorial family, which allow their identification with a part of a recognised ktetorial family depicted on a fresco painting in the St. Nicolas church at Psacha in Macedonia. A family of three generations of dignitaries, the elders knez Paskach, after whom possibly the present day village was named, with his wife Ozra, representatives of the landed aristocracy of modest status, accompanied by their son Sevastokrator Vlatko following his promotion to the status, and his wife Vladislava, as well as their three sons: Stephan, of questionable identification, Ugljesha, at the age of 7-9, the probable future ruler of Vranje and the surrounding district, and an anonymous youngster. The fresco was painted around 1358-1360, and it may be presumed that about this date Vlatko probably had already raised his ktetorial at Skopje. The new data clarify the ktetor's local origin, a member of well-established landed aristocracy, his relationship to Skopje, and finally the family's place among the governing aristocracy during the late fourteenth-early fifteenth century.

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Byzantine Finds from Adramytteion, on the North Aegean Coast of Turkey

The excavations in Adramytteion, which is located on the south shore of the bay of Edremit, restarted in 2012. During these new seasons, architectural components and small findings have been unearthed in five different sites and related sondages in the city. Adramyttion has been an important center from the classical period and during the Roman and late Roman era. The majority of the Byzantine findings have been unearthed from the 12-13th century layers. This revival may be correlated with the restoration of the area from the beginning of 12th century. The first results indicate that the settlement shrunk towards the central area of the city during the Middle Ages. For this period there is evidence that pre Byzantine buildings were modified and reused. The city is



important with the middle and late Byzantine findings that indicate the relations between the Aegean sites and Konstantinopolis. The site was abandoned and the settlement moved to the modern Burhaniye in the beginning of the 14th century.

Storage buildings related with the harbour; residences and church remnants are some of the architectural evidences from the Byzantine period. Among the ceramics there are many examples of the Aegean type and Zeuxippus group pottery which are common in the area during the 12th and 13th centuries. Also many unglazed vessels have been found in the same locations and layers with the glazed pottery. The form, clay and technical unity among those unglazed ceramics give clue for the ceramic production in the area in this period.

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Some Remarks on the Archaeology of Judaism in Khazaria

It is now relatively common knowledge, for scholars of Byzantium, Kievan Rus' and the early Islamic Caliphate, that a series of rulers in the Pontic-Caspian steppe, known as the Khazars, converted to Judaism sometime between the 8th-10th centuries. Often, it has been treated as an historical "anomaly" vis-à-vis the conversions of other potentates: a ruler could convert himself and his people to Christianity or Islam, but to Judaism? Newer scholarship has recast the event with improved contextualization; it was not an anomaly so much as one of many such narratives of conversion and polity generation. Though some reject this, most scholars now agree that variegated and independent textual evidence confirms the conversion of the Khazarian khağans to Judaism. While the precise dating is widely disputed due to the sources, which I will discuss, I will focus on the social extent of conversion based on archaeological evidence. To what extent might newly discovered archaeological indications agree with primary sources for the Judaization of Khazaria?

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The Rotonda of Thessaloniki:

Completion of Restoration and Enhancement Works of a Unique Monument

The Rotonda, a monument emblematic of Thessaloniki, built at the beginning of the 4th century, when the pagan world was giving way to the Christian, finally opened its doors to the public in December 2015. After nearly four decades of serious, highly specialised restoration work on several different levels, which began after the earthquake that struck the city in 1978, the imposing monument which records in its fabric 17 centuries of the turbulent history of Thessaloniki, has now regained its ancient majesty.



The final phase was studied and executed in 2015 by the new Ephorate of Antiquities, Thessaloniki, whose primary aim, from the day it was established, in October 2014, was to complete the restoration of the Rotonda and return it to the public. Carried out decisively and with targeted interventions, this final phase of the project displayed a new approach conceived in a new spirit, designed to preserve the whole history of the monument and its particular nature as monument, museum and place of worship.

In this final phase the last steps in the conservation of the roof and the mosaics were completed and the sanctuary was restored. This included the cleaning and lighting of the mihrab built when the monument was converted into a mosque (1591) and remaining in use until the liberation of the city in 1912. This intervention combined the possibility of liturgical use with the immediate archaeological experience of an open archaeological cut and a simple but striking presentation. Special lighting was installed to spotlight the unique mosaic decoration of the monument, and explanatory notices written for a non-specialist public were posted. The south side of the enclosure and the Early Christian additions were landscaped, as well as the monumental main entrance and the buildings around it, and the opening in the modern enclosure widened to improve visual contact with the Arch of Galerius and the palace complex to the south. The study, which was unanimously approved in its entirety by the Hellenic Central Archaeological Council, also calls for the conversion, in the immediate future, of one of the outbuildings into a multimedia centre relating to all 15 UNESCO monuments in Thessaloniki and the use of virtual and augmented reality applications as a means of information for the public, in what is essentially a totally contemporary approach to the use of the new technologies. The Ephorate has already proposed the implementation of this project through a funding programme within the EU CSF 2020.

Restoration and enhancement works continue on the archaeological site around the Rotonda, but this does not interfere with the daily operation of this unique monument as an extended-hours museum, ensuring that it is always open and accessible to the public. Once a month, significant cultural events are hosted in the Rotonda, thanks to the collaboration of the Ephorate with renowned musical ensembles that specialise mostly in the classical repertoire. In addition, music events are hosted in the monument's courtyard in the summer months. Its ecclesiastical character is also preserved, since a Sunday service is held here once a month, following recent UNESCO guidelines concerning the protection and continued use of religious monuments as well as respecting the sacred character of the monument throughout its seventeen centuries life.

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Bridging Local Institutions, Communities and Archaeology: The Küçükyalı ArkeoPark in Istanbul

The Küçükyalı ArkeoPark is an urban archaeology project situated in the midst of a densely populated neighborhood on the Anatolian side of Istanbul. Containing the remains of a former Byzantine monastic complex consisting of a number of valuable architectural features, some of



which are highly monumental, including a relatively well-preserved cistern and a rare example of ecclesiastic architecture. It dates to the second half of the 9th century CE, with occupation phases spanning into the early 14th century.

Until some decades ago and prior to the urban transformations affecting the city of Istanbul, the remains were part of a well-balanced, extended, green suburban setting. By contrast, today Küçükyalı stands as a densely built neighborhood, with the protected archaeological site representing the sole surviving green space for the local inhabitants. The archaeological site experienced neglect for several decades, from the beginning of its urban transformation in the 1980s until 2001, when the first archaeological survey of the area began. The survey was followed in 2009 by excavations, which have depended on irregular funding. Despite funding limitations, archaeologists have addressed from the outset issues of heritage and public awareness.

In 2014 and 2015 thanks to EU and local funds, an enhancement program for the site was launched. Individual project components included: systematic and open-to-the public excavation seasons; the preparation of a site management plan for its long-term sustainability; site development for tourism and recreational purposes; public outreach and social, cultural, and educational community engagement activities; and the development of strategies to connect the site to cultural tourism attractions in other locations of the city.

The presentation will address the challenges related to engaging local institutions and the local community in a Byzantine-period urban archaeological context in contemporary Istanbul. This will be followed by a discussion of sustainability issues related to long-term site management and the legislative framework for urban archaeological parks in Turkey.

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Attention : « Site archéologique en construction » ! Un passé restauré ou réinventé ?

Tout en étant consciente de ne pas pouvoir révolutionner le monde, il me semble utile de rappeler durant 15 minutes les problèmes que pose la conservation des monuments dans un pays comme la Bulgarie, et qui malheureusement, n'est qu'un exemple parmi d'autres.

En effet, depuis 2007, la Bulgarie reçoit des fonds de la Communauté européenne pour la sauvegarde de son patrimoine. Depuis cette époque, les restaurations abusives ou plutôt les constructions de « vieux » monuments se multiplient à grande vitesse. Malgré la déclaration de l'ICOMOS bulgare en 2014, la situation dans le pays ne change pas. La liberté que prennent les dirigeants politiques, le manque de transparence dans l'utilisation des fonds fait que le pays se couvre de parcs d'attraction appelés « sites archéologiques », sans oublier les « miracles » qui se produisent après leur construction (telles sources guérisseuses, apparitions etc.)

Je m'arrêterai plus particulièrement à trois sites : L'Eglise des Quarante martyrs de Veliko Tarnovo et les monuments de Pliska et Preslav.



Après une longue « martyrisation » du bâtiment, l'église des Quarante martyrs a été pratiquement reconstruite et transformée en mausolée de khans christianisés. La majestueuse grande basilique de Pliska, reconstruite à l'aide de pierres blanches, est digne de faire partie d'un Disney land. L'église dorée de Preslav, après avoir été peinte en jaune (puisque dorée) a été blanchie, murs, colonnes et arcs inventés, alors que nous ne savons pratiquement rien de ce bâtiment.

Les exemples sont très nombreux, les dépravations des monuments, multiples.

La communauté scientifique doit-elle laisser les politiciens à continuer d'utiliser des millions pour satisfaire leurs ambitions nationalistes au lieu d'assurer des vraies fouilles archéologiques, et des salaires dignes de ce nom aux archéologues ?



23rd

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BYZANTINE STUDIES
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LATE ANTIQUE AND EARLY BYZANTINE ARCHITECTURE

Chairs: **Elizabeta Dimitrova, Skënder Muçaj**

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Νικόπολη, Βασιλική Α του Επισκόπου Δουμετίου. Αναπαραστάσεις και Συμβολισμοί στην Τέχνη του Ψηφιδωτού. Μία νέα Προσέγγιση και Ερμηνεία

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Le monument de 40 Martyrs de Sebaste (Albanie),
un centre important de pèlerinage pour l'Antiquité tardive



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Νικόπολη, Βασιλική Α του Επισκόπου Δουμετίου. Αναπαραστάσεις και στην Τέχνη του Ψηφιδωτού. Μία νέα Προσέγγιση και Ερμηνεία

Ένα από τα πρώτα κτίρια που ερευνήθηκαν ανασκαφικά στη Νικόπολη της Ηπείρου κατά την πρώτη περίοδο των ανασκαφών μεταξύ των ετών 1915-1918, είναι η Βασιλική Α, γνωστή και ως Επισκόπου Δουμετίου• ναός του 6ου μ.Χ αιώνα, αφιερωμένος στη μνήμη του μάρτυρα Δημητρίου.

Οι ανασκαφικές έρευνες έφεραν στο φως τα αρχιτεκτονικά λείψανα μιας τρίκλιτης βασιλικής, στην οποία σώζονται περίτεχνα ψηφιδωτά δάπεδα, που καλύπτουν το σύνολο, σχεδόν, του ναού. Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον, ωστόσο, παρουσιάζουν οι ψηφιδωτές παραστάσεις που κοσμούν τα δύο πλευρικά διαμερίσματα της αψίδας (παστοφόρια), η ερμηνεία των οποίων απασχόλησε αρκετούς ερευνητές.

Οι μέχρι τώρα μελέτες, στηριζόμενες σε υφιστάμενα αρχαιολογικά και επιγραφικά δεδομένα αναφέρουν, ότι πρόκειται για ψηφιδωτές παραστάσεις, που αναπτύσσουν την ακόλουθη θεματολογία: Στο βόρειο παστοφόριο την αναπαραστάση γης που περιβάλλεται από Ωκεανό, όπως δηλώνει και η έμμετρη αφιερωματική επιγραφή και αντίστοιχα, στο νότιο παστοφόριο, ζώνες με θαλάσσιες σκηνές και στιγματότυπα κυνηγίου.

Ωστόσο, λόγω των εκτεταμένων φθορών που εντοπίζονται σε τμήματα των παραστάσεων και, κυρίως, στην επιγραφή του κεντρικού τμήματος του νότιου παστοφορίου, παραμένει επισφαλής η εξαγωγή οποιουδήποτε τελικού συμπεράσματος, όπως υποστηρίζει στη μελέτη του και ο Ernst Kitzinger. Θεωρείται βέβαιο, όμως, ότι τα δυο ψηφιδωτά αποτελούν τμήματα ενός ενιαίου θεματικού συνόλου.

Σκοπός της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι να παρουσιάσει μία διαφορετική ανάγνωση των ψηφιδωτών αυτών παραστάσεων, με γνώμονα τις αρχές των επιστημών της Θεολογίας και της Αστρονομίας, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη το κοινωνικοπολιτικό πλαίσιο της εποχής φιλοτέχνησης των ψηφιδωτών.

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Механизмы формирования раннехристианских комплексов Северной Далмации и островов Кварнера

Раннехристианская архитектура Северной Далмации и островов Кварнера – удаленных провинций Империи между Римом и Константинополем – прочно укоренена в позднеантичной традиции адриатического культурного круга, где пересекались художественные течения



Востока и Запада. Они приходили морскими путями из Италии и отчасти из эгейского акватория, а также опосредованно с христианского Востока и Африки. Восточное побережье Адриатики представляло собой достаточно стабильную зону в отношении сохранения античного континуитета в силу длительной истории этого региона «адриовизантизма» (по выражению Э. Диггве) как части средиземноморской культуры, где процессы взаимопроникновения различных традиций протекали чрезвычайно интенсивно благодаря постоянным морским связям восточного и западного берегов Адриатики.

Несмотря на то, что Далмация относилась в этот период к западной части Империи, она была в составе византийской провинции на Западе (Равеннского экзархата), а префектура и викариат Иллирика находились в Салониках. При этом еще с античных времен установились тесные церковные контакты Далмации и Аквилеи, которые продолжились в V веке, особенно в области церковного искусства. Кроме того, для Византии этот регион на протяжении всей истории служил своеобразным ключом к Адриатике и спокойному плаванию по ней. Эти обстоятельства также объясняют сложные культурные течения и формы, проявившиеся в далматинской архитектуре. Стилистические характеристики этих сооружений следуют образцам в метрополиях, но в период от Теодориха до Юстиниана в провинциальных центрах Истрии и Далмации уже отражаются влияния из региональных центров равеннско-аквилейского ареала, а после Юстиниановой реконкиты – и черты ранних византийских образцов, что подтверждает развитые связи с региональной архитектурой на македонских землях.

Раннехристианские сакральные комплексы Северной Далмации и островов Кварнера формировались на античной основе тремя способами: на фундаментах языческих культовых объектов; с использованием профанных античных объектов или их частей; на основе частных мавзолеев в частных виллах.

Первый способ является уникальным для данного региона и представлен христианским центром Задара с базиликой Св. Анастасии. Его здания строились с IV в., начиная с трансформации помещений еще функционировавшего римского форума для нужд христианской общины, и сложились постепенно в епископальный комплекс.

Второй способ достаточно распространен в Северной Далмации, примерами чему могут служить базилики как церковных диоцезов на островах Кварнера (Св. Марии в г. Крк на о. Крк, Св. Марии в г. Осор на о. Црес), так и малых городских центров (двойные церкви Св. Троицы в Нине и в Сриме).

Третий способ характерен для христианских сооружений в сельских центрах адриатического региона и представлен двумя фазами формирования. В первой фазе возникают частные орагии и мемории в рустичных виллах богатых городских жителей (не позднее V в.). Во второй фазе происходят адаптации первоначального сакрального ядра для нужд приходских церквей (не ранее VI в., есть примеры и VII в.), включавшие пристройки к ним различных помещений, в том числе баптистериев. В Северной Далмации этот способ представлен в основном архитектурным типом однефных триконхов, что связано с почитанием усопших христиан; он сформировался в результате многократного пристраивания эдикул к первоначальной целле. К этой традиции относятся комплексы в Мулинах, Придраге, Билицах и Гате.



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Il rivestimento marmoreo del fonte del battistero di Nocera Superiore nuove considerazioni

Il battistero dell'antica cattedrale di Nocera Superiore è uno dei monumenti più interessanti della Campania paleocristiana. La fondazione dell'edificio risale al periodo immediatamente successivo alla conquista bizantina della città nel 555. Di recente, però, è stata avanzata la proposta di retrodatare la costruzione dell'edificio al 498, mettendola in relazione con l'episcopato di Lorenzo, antagonista di Simmaco per il soglio pontificio.

Il battistero, di dimensioni notevoli, ha una pianta circolare coperta da una cupola sorretta da quindici coppie di colonne senza tamburo. Tutti gli elementi del decoro architettonico – basi, capitelli e cornici – sono di reimpiego, probabilmente provenienti dall'antica Nuceria Alfaterna. La monumentale vasca battesimale ha la forma di un ottagono con i vertici tagliati. In questo intervento si intende soffermare l'attenzione sul rivestimento marmoreo del fonte, che era in origine composto da lastre appositamente realizzate, delle quali solo nove oggi sopravvivono.

Le lastre rettangolari sono decorate al centro da una croce gemmata e in un caso dai bracci della croce pendono le lettere apocalittiche di A e W. Le lastre angolari presentano, invece, un decoro più elaborato, che campisce l'intera superficie con motivi geometrici: rombi, quadrati, triangoli, cerchi concentrici e cornici dentellate, in taluni casi arricchiti da croci. Tali decori sono realizzati mediante la ben nota tecnica a *champlevé* o a incrostazione di mastici, che prevedeva il riempimento degli alveoli con una resina colorata la quale aveva il pregio di replicare l'effetto visivo dell'*opus sectile*, diminuendo di gran lunga i costi d'esecuzione. Nel periodo protobizantino, tale tecnica fu largamente utilizzata specialmente nei territori del Mediterraneo orientale e i casi più significativi sono rappresentati dal *martyrium* di Seleucia Pieria presso Antiochia e dalle numerose chiese di Cipro, dove l'incrostazione di mastici ha avuto un indubbio successo fin dal V secolo.

Le lastre di Nocera costituiscono un *unicum* non solo in Campania, ma anche in tutta la penisola italiana. Questa peculiarità non è stata finora sottolineata, in quanto i confronti che sono stati suggeriti riguardavano unicamente i motivi iconografici, ma non la tecnica di esecuzione. È dunque necessario inquadrare le lastre di Nocera nell'ambito della ricca produzione di scultura a *champlevé* d'area bizantina, perché esse, oltre a fornire una testimonianza della diffusione di tale tecnica anche nell'Italia meridionale, potrebbero offrire utili indizi per la datazione del battistero stesso.



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Early Byzantine Domestic Architecture and Infrastructure from Stobi

During the recent extensive archaeological excavations at Stobi, the remains of the early Byzantine settlement were discovered almost everywhere. Although some of the considered modest households have taken part in past preliminary studies, the justification for their review in this paper is to determine their relation with the earlier urban system and their role in the overall evolution of this provincial capital. Stobi is a very fine example, a model for the processes of transformation of a late Roman Balkan city into an early Byzantine settlement, as an outcome of the general complex context of events. This study is an attempt to investigate the attitude of the inner population of this early Byzantine settlement to the monuments from the earlier stages of development. Also, an attempt is made to link the early Byzantine domestic buildings to the cultural, historical and socio-economic framework of the period, seen through the aspects of a functional settlement complex, with people as the main carrier of all activities within it. At the same time, this is the layout in which, in the future, should be incorporated the very few movable finds excavated inside these buildings, as the only scientific approach to answering questions considering the evident decline in the living conditions quality. In a situation of climate change, depopulation, earthquakes and constant barbarian raids, no one, not even the state was power enough and in a position to fund and provide effective social organization. Before the end, everything comes down to self-supporting and survival through decentralization and local management of defense and production. The results from the excavations made in the multi-functional complex with residential destination use in Stobi present a clear image of decay, disintegration, ruralisation, rustification and general reorganization of the settlements, made by, and for the needs of the local community during its struggle for survival. As a basis of this study is used the synthesized elaboration of the architectural environment and infrastructure, and an analysis of the construction system (building constructions, materials, and techniques) of the walls, floors and roof constructions. There is an analysis of other immovable architectural and infrastructural elements, contents, and furniture, such as openings in the walls (entrances, corridors, and windows); fireplaces and kilns; stairs, storeys, and basements; porches; yards and their barriers; water and drainage systems and the fortification. The functional characteristics of some rooms inside the buildings will be presented, based on the available archaeological data and additional views on the possibility for typological classification of the domestic buildings will be given. At the end, the last surviving inhabitants of the generally abandoned residence quarters were slain in one final blow to the early Byzantine settlement life on this site. The crucial arguments that support the elaboration of the abandonment thesis are the well-documented layers of windblown dust or sand found on the floor levels in the almost all excavated residences. Additional evidence is found in the absence of movable finds inside and the multiple reuse of the building materials. This is also evident in the documented scattered parts and even fully preserved human skeletons on the site. There is very little exact information`s for the continuous dwelling occupation after this event. The situation of long and slow decay of abandoned houses makes it difficult the determination of the exact time of the final settlement abandonment.



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A New Baptistery in Cilicia: Korykos City G Church Baptistery

In this study, the architectural, material and technical features of baptistery of G Church (Transept Basilica) in Korykos City will be introduced. Since the structure came to light via unlicensed excavations there isn't any information about aforementioned baptistery in previous releases. In the wake of unlicensed excavations the north-eastern corner room is considered as baptistery of G Church (Transept Basilica). The baptistery is rectangular planned in east-west direction. Cross shaped baptize pool of the structure is monobloc marble and half broken.

Korykos G Church Baptistery shows similarities with other baptisteries which are known as being built in Early Christianity Era (4-6th cent.) in the region and shines light on Byzantium Era of Korykos city. Seven churches, one monastery, one chapel and a guest house are the architectural examples of the city belonging to this period. Churches, dated back to 5-6th century, were reconstructed in 7th century after Sasanians attacks. Church A (Cathedral), Church B, Church C, Church D (The church over the cistern), Church E, Church F, Church G (Transept Basilica), Church H (The Funerary Church), Church I (The Great Armenian Church), Church J (Monastery), Church L, Church K (The North-west Church) Demirciören Church and The Funerary Chapel are the examples of religious architecture of the city.

Among the churches in the city Church H (The Funerary Church) having a baptistery has already been known and on the eastern side of this Church G's (Transept Basilica) having the second baptistery will throw light on the process of Evangelization and Early Byzantium Period of Korykos city in considerations. At the same time the drawings of the present condition of the baptistery, supported with photographs; serves new information and data for other researchers studying in this region and this enables to add another structure to religious architecture of Korykos city.

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Le monument de 40 Martyrs de Sebaste (Albanie), un centre important de pèlerinage pour l'Antiquité tardive

Les ruines du Monastère de 40 Martyrs ont été trouvées au sommet de la colline qui s'élève à l'est de la présente ville de Saranda (ancienne Onhezmi), une position dominante, commandant un large vu sur la mer et la terre. Le monument a été un point de référence pour les navires qui naviguaient sur la route maritime reliant l'Occident à l'Orient, et qui passaient par la baie de Saranda et le Canal de Corfou. La plupart des murs du corpus principal ont été conservés d'une hauteur considérable jusque vers la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, quand le monument a été détruit par les bombardements. À partir de l'année 2002 et jusqu'en 2013, une équipe de l'Institut d'Archéologie de Tirana a mené des fouilles sur le site, découvrant tout le monument dédié aux 40 Martyrs de Sébaste.

Les données archéologiques recueillies sont nombreuses et très variées: architecture, sculpture, peinture murale, inscriptions, monnaies, céramiques (mille d'amphores et des centaines de lampes), des objets métalliques, de l'os, de verre, etc.

Le monument avec ses parties aériennes et souterraines se compose d'une église avec un plan particulière (poli-conque, donc munies de sept Conques), des portiques, le baptistère avec de nombreux endroits et des cuves baptismales, des installations pour le logement (hôtels, cantines, termes), des citernes, et une cuve de dimensions important qui imite le lac où se sont martyrisés les soldats de Sébaste, la chapelle, les environnements de méditation et des lieux pour la conservation des reliques. Le complexe souterrain (la crypte) se trouve dans en bon état de conservation. Il forme un labyrinthe circulaire et se compose des alcôves, des salles, des chapelles, des citernes et la cuve baptismale. Les dômes et les demi-dômes à grande échelle qui couvrent la nef centrale marquant le premier cas d'une telle construction en Albanie, datant de la seconde moitié du V^e siècle ap. J.-C.

Les planchers ont été pavés simplement de briques ou de dalles de pierre, tandis que les murs étaient couverts de peintures murales. Des fragments de ces peintures sont conservés dans les environnements souterrains. Les inscriptions sur les murs de l'église nous indiquent que pour la construction du monument ont aussi participé des membres de la communauté juive, présent à cette période dans la ville d'Onhezmi (Saranda). Ce fait est bien supporté par la présence d'une synagogue dans la ville de Saranda.



À partir du matériel archéologique obtenu lors des fouilles, on peut suggérer que le monument a été fondé dans la seconde moitié du V^e siècle ap. J.-C. et qu'il a servi comme un centre important pour les nombreux pèlerins du VI^e siècle av. J.-C. Le long d'un trois quart de siècle, des nombreuses reconstructions et modifications de pièces particulières ont été faites en fonction de l'augmentation du nombre de pèlerins. Le flux de pèlerins semble avoir continué jusqu'à la destruction des parties aériennes dans l'année 551 par les Goths de l'Italie dirigé par Totila. Après cette destruction, des parties spécifiques des installations souterraines sont réutilisées par la communauté des moines, jusqu'au son abandonnement finale vers le milieu du VII^e siècle av. J.-C. Le Monument des 40 Martyrs à Saranda constitue à ce jour, le modèle le plus complet d'un centre de pèlerinage pour la période de l'Antiquité tardive qui est entièrement fouillée.



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Is the Byzantine *Vita of St. Paraskevi of Epibatae* (BHG3 1420z) the “Lost” *Vita of Deacon Vasilikos* from the 12th C.?

The great researcher of the literature tradition of the cult of Saint Paraskevi of Epibatae E. Kalužniacki considered, that the Byzantine *Vita* of the saint, written by the deacon Vasilikos at the order of Patriarch Nikolaos IV Muzalon (1147-1151), has been lost and only the Slavonic translation has been saved. The communication tries to prove that this *vita* has not been perished and is the Byzantine *Vita* of St. Paraskevi of Epibatae (BHG3 1420z), preserved in only two Byzantine manuscripts - Cod. Gothoburgensis 4 and Cod. Conventi Soppresi, B1, Camaldoli 1214. The specific head arguments, supporting the hypothesis, are: a) the use of titles, which are typical for the 12th c. as the title „αὐσονάναξ“ for the Byzantine emperor and the title “ἄρχων” for the Kievan knjaz, who is mentioned in one of the miracles in the *Vita* - “the miracle with the lame son of the Russian ruler”; b) a certain passage in the prologue of the *Vita*, where the writer says, that he was unwilling to neglect the words of his “father”, an indication that the composition of the text was an implementation of an order; d) the *Vita* doesn't mention the transfer of the saint's relics in Tarnovo, Bulgaria, between 1230-1231, which was an important event in the history of her cult; e) the *Vita* has been used as a source and a model for the composition of the oldest Slavonic canon for St. Paraskevi of Epibatae, which was written in the first half of the 13th c. The above *Vita* must be the so called Byzantine “praise”, that has been brought together with Byzantine hymns and *vita* (synaxarion) of the saint from Kallikrateia to Tarnovo, according to the Short Bulgarian Chronicle from the 13th c., and has been translated in Slavonic, although this translation has not been found up till now. The hagiographical tradition of the above mentioned Byzantine *Vita* has been revived and continued in the 17th c. by Meletios Syrigos, who composed a concise Modern Greek variant of the text.

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Travel in Mid-Byzantine Hagiography: Literary Representation

The paper focuses on the motif of travel in Mid-Byzantine hagiography, and is particularly related to its literary implementation. For a long time travel research in hagiography has concentrated on the problem of whether the lives of saints can be considered a reliable historical source of information on travel practice in Byzantium, and if so, to what extent. Such an approach omits one crucial constituent of the texts, i.e. their literary characteristics and value. There is evidently a perspective in broadening discourse of the research towards literary analysis. Moreover, my approach implies observations on the diachronic changes in the authors' manner of describing the travels, which enables us to evaluate the evolution of literary tastes in this respect within the 8th - 12th c.



Travel depictions are widely represented in the saints' lives of Mid-Byzantine period, thus there is vast material to explore. My work is based on 37 hagiographic texts, most of which are saints' vitae, with several translations taken into consideration as well.

It is traditionally believed that the travels in Byzantine hagiography are basically represented in a sketchy way. Alexander Kazhdan associated this peculiarity with the Byzantine writers' general endeavor to express the idea of stability, which made them describe the travel not as a process, but as a pair of two static conditions: the moments of departure and of arrival. However, we try to argue that Kazhdan's statement was not completely true for different stages of the literary process development.

The earliest chosen texts, vitae of SS. Theodore of Edessa (BHG 1744) and of Gregory of Agrigentum (BHG 707), comprise rather distant journeys, but the hagiographers tend to present merely the main points of the saints' routes without adding many details on the process of the travel. A few episodes where we can take a closer look at the heroes moving are caused by the authors' need to organise the plot or to mention the supernatural forces of their saints in overcoming versatile perils on the sea or on the road.

The 9th, 10th and the first half of the 11th centuries were a flourishing period in the history of hagiography, and we inherited a considerable number of texts from those times. On the one hand, the authors continue to use travelling opportunities for the same purposes as in the earlier vitae, but on the other hand, some of them appear to pay more attention to the travel itself. The vitae of SS. Gregory of Decapolis (BHG 711), Gregentios (BHG 698), Theoktista of Lesbos (BHG 1723), Nikon Metanoite (BHG 1366), Lazaros of Galesion (BHG 979) demonstrate a highly increased volume of the travel episodes, and in many cases they turn into a picturesque ekphrasis. Moreover, we can spot a certain tendency looking through a number of travel dangers and difficulties described in later narratives. Miracles seem to lose their priority, giving way to more realistic methods of problem solving.

The tendency develops in the 12th c., when the hagiographers enrich their travel narrative with the emotions of the travellers and some features of their personal perception. In this respect, vitae of Cyrillos Phileotes (BHG 468) and Leontios of Jerusalem (BHG 985) have something in common with the travel accounts, which appeared in the Byzantine literature in the 12th c.: the pilgrimage story of Ioannes Phocas, the poem of Constantine Manasses, letters of Nicholas Mesarites and Gregory of Antioch.

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La Vie de Cyrille le Philéote : un idéal du don ?

La Vie de Cyrille le Philéote a souvent attiré l'attention des historiens, particulièrement en ce qui concerne sa relation à la famille impériale et à la haute aristocratie de l'époque d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène. Cet ascète du village de Philéa, croise, en effet, dans le récit de sa Vie, rédigée un demi-siècle plus tard par Nicolas Katasképénos, les membres les plus importants et les plus fameux de l'aristocratie de son temps : la future basilissa Anne Dalassène, Constantin Choïrosphaktès, alors



praitôr d'Hellade, Eumathios Philokalès, doux de Chypre, le protostratôr Michel Doukas, Georges Paléologue, le sébaste Jean Comnène et enfin l'empereur lui-même et toute sa famille à deux reprises.

Le but de la présente communication est de tenter d'interpréter les rapports entre le saint et la politique de donation de ces aristocrates, pour tenter de comprendre ce que sous-entend ce document hagiographique. Il semble, en effet, que la Vie de Cyrille reflète plus un désir d'idéal monastique propre à la politique de Manuel I^{er} Comnène que les pratiques du temps de son grand-père. L'auteur de la Vie, Nicolas Kastaképénos, est lié au monastère de Katasképénè, fondé par l'empereur ; or, le chroniqueur Nicétas Chôniatès mentionne clairement que cette fondation doit uniquement vivre de donations impériales en numéraire, sans doute dans le but de limiter le pouvoir et la puissance des grands aristocrates, a contrario de la majorité des fondations aristocratiques de l'époque de Cyrille. Le saint refuse en effet les donations de terres de ces hauts personnages, comme celle de Constantin Choïrosphaktès. En revanche, Cyrille accepte de la part d'Alexis Comnène un chrysobulle impérial et surtout six livres d'or. Lors d'une famine, le saint distribue aux pauvres toute cette donation, ainsi que le fruit du travail des moines, alors qu'immédiatement après, Georges Paléologue apparaît au monastère de Philéa et offre miraculeusement une bourse remplie d'or à la communauté. Ces épisodes mettant en scène l'importance des dons de numéraires aux moines face à l'inanité d'un don de terre renforcent le lien entre la Vie de Cyrille le Philéote, le monastère de Kastasképénè et la politique de Manuel Comnène. Ce texte pourrait donc être une œuvre de communication d'un moine de la Katasképénè, rattachant un saint au fonctionnement de son monastère et renforçant la politique impériale en reconstruisant les rapports du saint et de l'aristocratie.

D'autres indications viennent renforcer cette idée. Tout d'abord, tous les hauts personnages présents dans la vie le sont aussi dans l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène, qui aurait pu servir d'inspiration pour l'hagiographe. Il n'existe en réalité qu'une seule rupture fondamentale entre les deux textes, le portrait d'Eumathios Philokalès, adulé chez Anne Comnène, détesté par Cyrille le Philéote, qu'il faut sans doute mettre en relation avec le conflit ayant opposé le futur patriarche de Constantinople Nicolas Mouzalôn au doux de Chypre, connu par le long poème de résignation du siège de Chypre du prélat, ce qui interrogerait aussi sur les rapports entre la Katasképénè et le siège patriarcal. En somme, il nous semble que la Vie de Cyrille le Philéote, ne permet sans doute pas d'analyser les rapports entre la haute aristocratie et le monachisme sous Alexis I^{er}, mais donne sans doute une bonne image de ce qu'aurait dû être l'attitude de ces personnages vis-à-vis du monachisme pour l'empereur Manuel Comnène.

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The Monastic Community of Alypius the Stylite: Double or Twin Monastery?

The “mixed,” “twin,” and “double monasteries” are the three coenobitic establishments traditionally referred to in scholarship. What distinguishes the “twin monasteries” from the “double” ones (διπλᾶ μοναστήρια) is that in the case of the “double monasteries,” the group of monks and the group of nuns were subjected to the spiritual authority of the same person. Even if they have been



the object of the Justinianic imperial legislation, the “double monasteries” flourished in the middle and late Byzantine period throughout the empire.

Daniel Stramara is the first scholar who included among the “double monasteries” the monastic community which emerged around the pillar of Alypius, the prominent stylite saint who allegedly died during Heraclius’ reign. Based on Alypius’ earliest biography extant (BHG 65), the only source attesting the existence of this monastic community, my paper challenges this assumption. Through an thorough analysis of the text, this paper offers an interpretation of those details which concern the emergence of the community, the ascetic routine, and the ‘monastic rules’ imposed by the pillar-saint. By hypothesizing a structure of the monastic complex that fits the details of the *vita*, one can conclude that the description provided by the anonymous author does not fit into a coherent image. Moreover, besides the overemphasis that the biographer gives to the complete separation of men from the female ascetics, the presence of the nuns receives more attention than the one of the male ascetics. Based on these observations, the paper concludes that, while there is not enough evidence for including the community in the category of the “double monasteries,” the author of the *Life* defends it and, in addition, Alypius.

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La présence de données matérielles dans l’hagiographie : le cas de Saint Syméon le Stylite le Jeune et la *Vie de S. Marthe*

Même lorsque des textes hagiographiques développés peuvent être rapprochés de vestiges archéologiques bien identifiés, comme c’est le cas avec les constructions du Mont Admirable, près d’Antioche, où se déroula le gros de la carrière de Saint Syméon le Stylite le Jeune, la compréhension du détail des textes peut rester problématique. Dans la *Vie de S. Marthe* (BHG 1174), la masse des éléments d’une historicité douteuse n’a toutefois pas empêché les savants, et en particulier Paul van den Ven, l’auteur de l’édition critique du texte, de relever la présence d’informations précises qui sont cohérentes avec les constatations archéologiques et les données, plus sûres, de la *Vie ancienne de S. Syméon le Stylite le Jeune* (BHG 1689).

Nous proposons un réexamen de la *Vie de S. Marthe*, en mettant l’accent sur la fonction des divers éléments d’information concrète dans le récit et en les comparant aux parties pertinentes de la *Vie ancienne de S. Syméon le Stylite le Jeune*. L’importance relative des divers éléments mentionnés, la variation dans le degré de détail et la précision des données architecturales et chronologiques seront analysés dans le but de faire ressortir la logique du récit hagiographique d’une part, et le rapport, aitiologique ou dérivatif, entre des *realia* connus de l’hagiographe et de son public et leur mise en œuvre dans les textes d’autre part.



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Some Features of Everyday Life in Slavia Orthodoxa at the Beginning of the X Century (According to the Old Bulgarian Hagiographical Cycle “Tale of the Iron Cross”)

The hagiographical cycle of stories – “Tale of the Iron Cross” is relatively well-known, but as a source of information for everyday life it still has not been studied properly. Such a fact is somewhat surprising. Even a glimpse at Tale’s texts gives an opportunity many questionable aspects of daily life to be shown. Here can be revealed different kinds of journeys either individual and in small, or in bigger groups – including travels caused by religious stimulus, pilgrimage and travelling of clergy members and non-clerical persons or journeys which have nothing to do with religion.

A serious look at the cycle’s data is very fruitful. Except for some descriptions of food and drinks consummation or craft activities, there are recorded features of various types of illnesses, reasons of health disorder and treatment skills. In striving to reveal skills, habits and peculiarities of everyday life, the registration of unknown or unexplored by archeological way diseases and cure methods is essential. At the same time the mentioned hagiographical cycle is in touch with law’s real condition in the tenth century Slavia Orthodoxa. The importance of this feature increases when scholars take into consideration the historical database which left unknown many sides of juridical regulation of family ties, estate exchanges, inheritance, prosecution and punishments. A good reason for this is fact that the practice of translation and application of the eighth and the ninth century Byzantine civil and penal codes does not inform enough about the exact application and influence of those laws in force in rudimentary life.

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Banditry in the Balkans (9th-14th C.): The Evidence of Saint’s Lives

It is generally accepted that during the Middle Ages brigandage was widespread throughout the Balkans. For the most part, the Balkan brigands operated in rural settings, in remote and inaccessible areas such as mountains and forests, and were attracted by trade-routes and major highways. Their prime targets were travelers, merchants and hermits. Although their motive was strictly economic, it is clear that many bandits came from communities for whom raiding was part



of the normal way of life. Such communities are known to have existed in several parts of the Balkans during the Middle Ages. Thus, Stefan Dušan's law code (*Zakonik*) prescribed heavy penalties to localities on the assumption that a brigand could not survive without the support, shelter, and food of local inhabitants. As a result, in allegedly supporting the brigand, the locality shared in his guilt and deserved to share the punishment.

Numerous sources of Byzantine, Bulgarian, Serbian, Dalmatian and Latin origin provide valuable information for this phenomenon, especially regarding the period between the 9th and 14th centuries. They include most types of written evidence such as chronicles, letters, legal documents, treatises and Saint's Lives. The latter deserve special attention. Monks, hermits and hesychasts, who shunned the fortified but crowded monastic centres in favour of the Balkan wilderness, frequently found themselves being attacked by brigands. Although episodes of this kind as reported in *Vitae* are often regarded as hagiographical clichés, there can be no doubt that they shed important light on the conditions attendant in the Balkan countryside during the period in question. Along with the other sources, Saint's Lives offer much interesting material at the intersection of banditry and the question of statehood. An obvious question to be posed is how far did Medieval states in the Balkans actually reach, or, to put it another way, how able were they to maintain order in rural areas. By drawing attention to a number of hagiographical accounts, this communication seeks to, at least in part, address this issue.

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Byzantine Women in Serbian Medieval Hagiography

Serbian medieval hagiographies were aimed to celebrate the spiritual, but also the secular achievements of their heroes. Although these hagiographies were primarily consecrated to prominent rulers and spiritual leaders of the Serbian medieval period, and none of these Byzantine women had a major role in any of them, they are mentioned in some parts casually or with the intention of completing the picture, in a good or a bad light, of a certain event or person being described. The aim of this work is to show how Byzantine women are represented in this type of Serbian medieval sources and to compare the image of women of Byzantine origin with that of the other women who are mentioned, and to provide examples. In eight hagiographies seven women are mentioned, all of whom were found to have been of Byzantine origin. The names of most of these women were not registered, but their names are known from other, mainly Byzantine, sources. From the perspective of historical sources not all of them were of the same importance, and so it is somewhat expected that we were not given the names of all the Byzantine women referred to there in.

In general, the attitude of medieval literature towards women was binary, ranging between two extremes: that of the negative image of the sinful Eve, who was responsible for human suffering, and Virgin Mary, free of all sin. In this context one can also discuss the presentation of Byzantine women



that are mentioned in Serbian hagiographies. What is particularly interesting and pronounced is the description of a single woman in a different light in two different hagiographies. The descriptions ranged from extremely positive to extremely negative. Byzantine women which were presented in a good light include Empress Irina Laskaris in *Life of Saint Sava* by Domentian, Simonis in *Life of Queen Jelena* by Danilo II and in *Life of King Milutin* by Danilo II, as well as Mary Paleologina in *Life of Stefan Dečanski* by Daniel's successor and in the *Life of Stefan Dečanski* by Gregory Camblak. Their mention is accompanied by epithets such as God-loving, pure of faith, Christ-loving and blessed. Displayed in a completely opposite, negative way are Anna Angelus in *Life of Saint Sava* by Theodosius and Simonis Palaiologina in *Life of Stefan Dečanski* by Gregory Camblak. In the two hagiographies mentioned these two women are described by the adjectives ill-natured, cunning and shameless. In this paper the possible motives of the authors to characterize those Byzantine women as villains will be discussed. In some hagiographies, Byzantine women were presented in a third, neutral way which does not let us easily conclude whether they were good or bad. Such is the image of Empress Jelena, mother of Emperor Constantine the Great in *Life of Emperor Uroš* by patriarch Pajsije Janjevac, Evdokia in *Life of Saint Simeon* by Saint Sava, Anna Angelus in *Life of Saint Sava* by Domentian, Irina Laskaris in *Life of Saint Sava* by Theodosius, and Theodora Palaiologina, sister of Emperor Andronicus III Palaeologus in *Life of Stefan Dečanski* by Danilo's successor.

What particularly arrests our attention is the lack of any mention of Evdokia in *Life of Saint Simeon* by Stefan Nemanjić, although this marriage was a very important event that took place during the reign of Stefan Nemanja, to whom the work was dedicated. The question arises why he neglected to write about a Byzantine woman that he was married with.

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In the Footsteps of Moses: St Sava of Serbia's Sinai Pilgrimage

In recent years, the question of pilgrim-saints has been addressed by medievalists in a number of scholarly works, notably those pertaining to the field of Byzantine studies. The reason why peregrinations of holy men and women are never deprived of academic interest lies in the peculiar character of the relevant source material, which offers more than enough space for innovative methodological approaches. In the most general sense, travel could be defined as movement within the confines of a particular time-space continuum; in hagiography, however, both these categories – spatial and temporal – are more often than not bent and distorted in order to fit the refined hagiological bedrock of the narrative. What this premise implies is that behind the accounts of pilgrimage made by saintly figures there is always an underlying meaning which, at times, relates to the very essence of their cults. The present paper aims at implementing this theoretical framework in the case of St Sava of Serbia (c. 1175–1236), who, according to his *vitae*, ventured to the Holy Land twice in his lifetime. Of course, since a comprehensive insight into his travels would demand a study of much larger scope, we shall limit our inquiry to a single episode, one which recounts the saint's pilgrimage to Mount Sinai.



Not unlike other holy mountains of the Eastern Christian world, Sinai comprises three sacred foci, namely the bottom, the peak and the space in between that simultaneously connects and separates the former two; moreover, each of the three segments is reminiscent of the momentous events of the Old Testament, particularly those related to the prophets Moses and Elijah. For the pilgrim, the act of ascending the top of the mountain involved deeply symbolical implications – in line with the influential teachings of John Klimax, the way up was interpreted as the path towards spiritual perfection and closer understanding of the divine. In this respect, it is clear why the hagiographer would shape the image of his saintly protagonist after Moses. Indeed, Sava's Sinai pilgrimage is depicted through a succession of references to the Biblical exemplar, in a narrative structure that encompasses the elements of sacred landscape, liturgy and Scripture. The parallel, drawn masterfully by the author of Sava's first *vita*, rests on two main points – the experience of theophany at the holy summit, and the fact that, just as Moses was the leader of the original Israel, so was Sava the spiritual guide of the new “Chosen people”, i. e. the Serbs, whose souls came under his care when he became the first archbishop of the Serbian Church. However, although during most of the journey the analogy between Sava and Moses was based on the former's endeavour to emulate the actions of the latter, its dynamic took a significant turn as the saint reached the mountain peak. To wit, he who had previously been following in the prophet's footsteps has now come to surpass him – as an adherent to both Testaments, that is to say, a Christian, Sava was able to perceive a clearer, more direct vision of God, the sort of which could never have been bestowed upon Moses.

The “new Moses paradigm”, as elaborated in the original *vita* of St Sava allows a glimpse into the purpose of contemporary Serbian Athonite hagiography and the intellectual world of its authors. Several important topics, some of them with considerable ideological consequences, are addressed in this segment of Sava's peregrinations alone – discovering the Holy Land and its sanctuaries, promoting the collective identity of the Serbs, and, finally, defining the hagiological layers of one of the most revered cults of the Serbian Middle Ages.

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Models of Martyrial Hagiography in the Post-Byzantine Balkans: St. George of Kratovo

St. George was born in the town of Kratovo, in the region of renowned monasteries of local hermit saints and the endowments of Serbian rulers and noblemen. He was executed in the Bulgarian town Sofia for refusing to convert to Islam in 1515. Soon after his death, a hagiography and sermon were written for the new cult.

The hagiography takes the model of the earliest martyr narratives, seemingly adjusted for the reading and listening audience by an extensive introduction and ending. In the opening paragraphs, where the history of Salvation is to be found, the influence of local religious and cultural traditions is notably present. There, the author uses examples of illustrious Christian and Balkan saints, most



of all Serbian ruler-saints, in order to create the interpretative framework for the following story. The holy despots of Branković family are mentioned, with the reference to their Nemanjić origin, as the last leaders of Balkan Christians. The second is martyred prince Lazar, who died fighting the Ottomans at the battle of Kosovo. The placing of George on the line with Serbian saints is also indicated by manuscripts, in which we find this hagiography and the liturgical texts of the Serbian ruler-saints and martyrs, the latter being St. Lazar and Stephen of Dečani. Also, an early diptych depicts Lazar and George, thus demonstrating the same idea in fine arts.

Even though the cult was considered as a part of the pantheon of Serbian saints, the hagiography, detached from its frame, mirrors Acts of the Martyrs. Just as with any example of the genre, the interrogation, trial, torture and death followed by a miracle are carried out in front of a reluctant local power-holder, while the hostile people shape the course of events. Since the questioning is at the center of the story, at first, it seems like it serves the presentation of the polyphony of the social groups in Sofia. Nonetheless, even though it illustrates independent worldviews, they are not equal, as they determine the 'right' Christian learning opposed to the 'wrong' Muslim.

Furthermore, the hagiography reflects the tradition of Asia Minor that shaped the Byzantine experience of martyrdom. The resemblance between The Martyrdom of Polycarp and this text supports this thesis. Both of the saints were questioned three times, both were burned, to both the mob brings death and for both God presented miracles in flames. Additionally, the Scripture's citations are the same, relying on Pauline epistles and the Gospel of Matthew. The mimetic, sacrificial and pedagogical aspects come into the forefront of both texts, as well as the undoing of existing power structures and building Christian ones.

As in the case of the early martyr accounts, this text is the key site for identity construction. It serves a continual establishing of the boundaries among social groups whose identities would otherwise remain fluid. This results in depicting simple, binary, distinctiveness between them, that is heightened with current victims by the oppressors. Finally, the social memory based on these texts, by means of localization and commemoration, had the capacity to fix these identities.

Therefore, this hagiography stands at the cultural crossroads. Although in some aspects it continues inherited Serbian tradition, it stands on the bricks of the early Christian and Byzantine one. The text, written by using models of early writings, marks, in the eyes of contemporaries, the beginning of a new era of persecution.



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The Last Eparch of Italy: An Interpretation of the Sigillographic Evidence

In this paper I will discuss the seal DO 55.2.2768 which belongs to a certain John ὑπατος καὶ ἑπαρχος Ἰταλίας. This intriguing piece of evidence is dated to the first half of the eighth century, almost a century after the last mention of an eparch of Italy in 639. The absence of any reference to the office in written sources, the non-existence of any seal attested it, and our knowledge of the political developments in early eighth century Italy indicate that the seal in question shows a reintroduction of the office, rather than its continuous survival to that date. I will, therefore, explain this occurrence by placing this seal into the framework of the Italian policy of Leo III, who was the last emperor to attempt bringing central Italy under actual imperial control. Early in his reign he levied taxes upon Italy provoking the intense reaction of Pope Gregory II. As I will suggest, it is possible that Leo III reintroduced the office of the eparch of Italy, whose duties involved fiscal administration and supervising tax collection, in order to take direct control of the province revenue from the Pope, who until this period seems to have been in charge of the aforementioned functions. The failure of Leo III to control central Italy signaled a change in Byzantium's priorities and triggered a process of re-orientation for the Papacy, which led to its gradual estrangement from the empire and its turn towards the Franks.

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Byzantine Seals from the Fortress 'Kale' in Skopje Discovered during the Archaeological Excavations in the Period between 2007 and 2012

The Byzantine seals found in the fortress of 'Kale' in Skopje are the largest collection of such items in the Republic of Macedonia. It includes some eighty lead seals discovered in archaeological excavations in the period between 2007 and 2012. This collection represents an important and authentic epigraphic source shedding additional light on the history of Byzantine and pre-Ottoman Skopje and its surrounds. The prominence of the Byzantine fortress of 'Kale' at Skopje was due to its excellent strategic position, on the crossroad of the Morava-Vardar corridor and it was connected with the Adriatic coast on the west, the Via Militaris on the east, and the Via Egnatia on the southwest.

As it happens, the chronological sequence was frequently interrupted. Last moment finds indicate that this collection of almost eighty Byzantine seals is neither final nor exhaustive. There follows a study supported by the Museum of Macedonia in Skopje and a catalogue of these rare sigillographic finds which aims to enrich Byzantine prosopography with new personalities; with new and hitherto unknown information, and a bulk of unique sfragistic data containing imperial, administrative, military and clerical representatives. The finds of Byzantine, Bulgarian and Venetian seals at the 'Kale' fortress are setting new frontiers for the medieval history of the Balkans and the Byzantine world.



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A Lead Seal of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople Baldwin II Discovered in Bulgaria

The aim of this communication is to present a newly discovered lead seal of the last Latin Emperor of Constantinople Baldwin II (1228-1261). The molybdo-bul comes from the area near the town of Popovo, Targovishte Region. It is not particularly well preserved as it is pierced and partially truncated, which suggests that at some point it was used second-hand as part of a necklace or “medallion” worn round the neck, and after that maybe even used third-hand as a lead weight. In its present truncated state its dimensions are: height 31 mm, length 32.7 mm, weight 35.30 g.

The obverse of the seal shows the emperor in full size with divitision and loros, sitting on a throne without a backrest with a crown (*stemma*) with pendilia, holding a labarum in his right hand. Around the image can be seen traces of a circular inscription in Latin, between two lines: **B[alduinus Dei gratia Im]p(er)at(or) Roman[iae S(emper) Au(gustus)]**.

This type of seal of Baldwin II has a standard formula of the legend, which allows the reconstruction of the latter despite the small number of preserved legible letters. This part of the Latin inscription, which is located to the right of the image of the enthroned Baldwin II, is written inversely, which is an interesting feature that distinguishes it from other seals of this emperor, suggesting that perhaps the engraver did not know Latin and simply “copied” the incomprehensible to him letters of the Latin legend.

The reverse side of molybdo-bul depicts Baldwin II with a crown (*stemma*) with pendilia on horseback moving at a relaxed pace towards the viewer’s right. In his right hand the emperor holds a long scepter surmounted by a cross inscribed in a circle, and in his left hand - the reins of the horse. Around the image there is a circular inscription: [ΒΑΛΔ]8ΙΝΟC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗ[С ΠΟΡΦΙΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟC Ο ΦΛΑΝΤΡΑ]C.

The seal was reported by the author at a conference in Shumen, Bulgaria, and published in 2015, together with professor Konstantin Totev (Кънев, Н. – К. Тотев Новооткрит оловен печат на латинския император Бодуен Втори. – В: *България в европейската култура, наука, образование, религия*”, ч. 1, Шумен, 2015, 374-380). This is the second lead seal of Emperor Baldwin II discovered on the territory of Bulgaria. It is noteworthy that this specimen is quite rough and imperfect compared to other similar seals of Baldwin II, including his other famous seal from Bulgaria published in 1985. It also differs in the implementation of the typical of the Baldwin II’s seals legend on the obverse. On this basis it can be argued that the molybdo-bul was cut using a different bulloterion from the previously known specimens of this type of seal of the last Latin Emperor, and that the bulloterion was hastily and not very precisely made by a craftsman who had neither the necessary experience and/or technology, nor knowledge of the Latin letters. Most likely the seal presented here (and the bulloterion used for its setting) is directly related to the passage of Baldwin II through Bulgaria in 1239 on his way to Constantinople.



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Institutions, Socio-Economic Groups and Urban Change in the Sigillographic Assemblage of Middle Byzantine Corinth

The 280 Byzantine seals so far discovered in the American School of Classical Studies' excavations at Corinth (subsuming a few Papal and Eastern Frankish seals, and including some blank commercial seals, and some almost illegible but approximately datable seals) now constitute one of the largest groups derived from controlled excavations of urban settlements in the Byzantine world.

The epigraphic content, the numbers of seals involved and, to a still-limited extent, the topography of lead seals' findspots, now enable us, I believe, firstly, to identify two or three lost urban archives, intramural and extramural; secondly, to bring into focus the problem of the nature of Middle Byzantine urban governance; thirdly, to identify the two rising and mutually competitive groups arguably at the core of the development of the Middle Byzantine town or city, namely, a new or re-emergent, essentially urban, landowning elite, and the merchants, professionals, and other people of the commercial world, ΟΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ / ΟΙ ΑΓΟΡΑΙΟΙ of eleventh- and twelfth-century sources.

The dispersed archives probably include that of a Thematic praitorion, and certainly include the traces of the archive (i.e. the deed-box) of a small excavated suburban monastery of Middle Byzantine times. The "Thematic" archive illustrates all of the three documented levels of subdivisions of a province (tourma, droungos and vandon), as well as arkhonteiai, and the connectedness of such an organisation with all parts of the Middle Byzantine empire.

The total assemblage traces the steady rise to numerical dominance of a group which did not define itself by public office (if it held such offices) while emphasizing lineage, revealed by, so far, 40 legible patronyms of the 11th, 12th, or 12 – 13th centuries. Meanwhile the chronology, numbers, and epigraphic content of seals recording neither public office, nor official rank, nor patronyms (misleadingly labelled traditionally "private" seals) indicate a growing need among a different urban stratum or group for durable metallic seals. This evidence of growing economic "complexity" coincides with rising coin-circulation and increasing material cultural display at Middle Byzantine Corinth.





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The Radenos Family: Sigillographic and Literary Evidence

Over the last years, researchers focus more and more on Byzantine prosopography and administration, these two topics being very important for the understanding of Byzantine history in general and Byzantine social history in particular. Three major prosopographical dictionaries have recently come to light, aiming to cover – together with the older *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* (mid-3rd to the late 7th century) – all periods of Byzantine history: the *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit* (641-1025), the online *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* (officially it covers the period of 1025-1150, but in fact from the very late 10th to the mid-13th century), and the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (1261-1453). It has been made clear to scholars working on prosopography and administration that the traditional study of literary texts is now not sufficient. None of these topics can be properly investigated separately from sigillography that is the study of Byzantine seals made of gold, silver or – as in most cases – lead. Sigillography is very important to prosopographical studies, because each seal carries information about its owner that would otherwise remain unknown to us. It is thus inevitable that, together with prosopography, sigillography attracts the attention of the scholars.

The Radenos family originates from central Asia Minor. Clearly belonging to what scholars describe as “the civil aristocracy” in Byzantium and related to the famous and powerful Argyros family, the Radenoi managed to occupy several posts and be involved in every aspect of Byzantine administration and society for quite a long time. Sometimes we encounter them in imperial service in Constantinople, where they held high dignities in civil hierarchy; sometimes their presence is located in Asia Minor, where they served as provincial judges or landowners; sometimes they appear as high military officers, both as provincial (thematic) strategoi and commanders of the imperial fleet. Scholars have confirmed that individuals from the 11th and 12th century “civil aristocracy” could also occupy posts in military service and vice versa. It seems that the Radenoi had taken advantage of this and thanks to their connections but also their skills they achieved to ascend to the highest ranks. On the other hand, we also encounter them as simple priests or scribes. And not only male but also female members of the family are known, mostly through sigillographic evidence.

Our topic is divided in two parts: an overview of the history of the Radenos family, from the 10th to the 15th century, with special references to the most prominent members as evidenced through both sigillographic and literary sources; the material sources, establishing a sigillographic corpus of the Radenoi and discussing some issues related to identification of specimens and individuals.

Presenting the Radenoi as a family group is an important contribution to the study of Byzantine history, society and prosopography, placing them next to those already studied such as the Argyros, the Doukas, the Melissenos, the Xeroi, the Palaeologos.



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The Imperial Kin: The Seal of Theodore Doukas Palaiologos and Its Symbolism

Theodore Doukas Palaiologos was a less-known member of his family, the Palaiologoi. The only clear evidence of his life is a lead seal dated to the last decades of twelfth century. The seal testifies that Theodore married his child to the offspring of the emperor. Thus Theodore not just belonged to one of the most influencing Byzantine families of the period, but he was able to build kinship with the head of the empire. However, the fact that contemporary historians, especially Choniates, and other clerks ignored Theodore in their works implies he was not a notable member of the imperial court. This ignorance may have a connection to the nature of his seal.

Due to the relative obscurity of Theodore's fate, this study gives more attention to the seal itself. We know two parallel specimens of the bulla, which contains a metrical verse at least on its reverse side. The analysis focuses on the well-preserved iconography and metrical verse in order to reveal the symbolism and the concept of the seal. The bulla bears a more complicated message than the pure representation of his kinship with the emperor. This characteristic raises several questions.

The symbolism of the seal provides an emphasized representation of power beside the portrayal of kinship. It is not surprising that an imperial relative chose this combination instead of the enumeration of titles and offices in the twelfth century. Political authority and influence were highly connected to the kinship with the emperor after the ascension of the Komnenoi to the imperial throne. Nevertheless, the symbolism of the seal is strongly personalized. Thus it raises the problem how much the symbolism on Theodore's bulla resembles the pattern of similar seals or differs from that. It requires a brief comparative analysis upon the metrical seals of the period symbolizing the authority of the imperial kin. However, it is slightly difficult to understand the concept of Theodore's bulla without its social and political circumstances.

The study seeks to investigate briefly the social and political milieu, in which Theodore issued his metrical seal. These two aspects strongly correlated with one another in regard to the creation of the seal that requires a common analysis. The social and political milieu is a well-studied area of the history of the twelfth-century Byzantium (by Kazhdan, Magdalino, Cheynet), yet one cannot forget the complexity of their connection. The reigns of several emperors from 1183 to 1204 (the period, to which Theodore's seal is dated) had their own characteristics, making differences in the conditions of the imperial kin. The seal (not surprisingly) ignores the emperor's name that, together the obscurity of Theodore's career, makes it more difficult to connect the bulla with a certain regime. Investigation on the marriages of the imperial offspring provides some candidates, yet it does not give absolute certainty. At this point, the study returns to the analysis of symbolism on Theodore's seal. Here the paper attempts to find the reign whose political milieu fitted the symbolic representation and the message of the bulla.

From a wider perspective, this study seeks to reveal how much the personalization of concept on Byzantine metrical seal could cause a departure from a pattern. Another important question is how a metrical seal with symbolic representation was used as a reaction to contemporary political environment in the twelfth century.



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Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Molybdobullae from Provincial Archaeological Museums in Turkey

Byzantine lead seals (molybdobullae) are considered a significant type of historical evidence, because they provide new information about history, prosopography, administration, as well as culture of Byzantine Empire.

Despite the contribution of sigillographic data to (the writing of) the administrative and ecclesiastical history of all the regions of Byzantine Anatolia from various perspectives, sigillography is a new area of interest among historians in Turkey. In fact, the possibility to discover the unknown personage of Byzantine Anatolia, through the examination of the seals belonging to the members of different ranks of civil, military and ecclesiastical bureaucracy, suffice to underline the importance of this discipline.

By using new data offered by lead seals, the historian is able to start filling the gap left by written sources, which do not cover all the periods of Byzantine history. The majority of the sigillographic material in the provincial museums in Turkey remains unpublished to this day.

Thanks to the financial support of Anadolu University Scientific Project Unit and a scholarship granted by Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations (RCAC) of Koç University I have been conducting a research project to identify and locate sigillographic material associated with several regions of Anatolia in order to get new data on the transformation of administrative units of Byzantine Anatolia.

The project comprised research at forty-five museums and units across Turkey, which led to the documentation and study of previously unpublished seals associated with different regions of Byzantine Anatolia.

This presentation aims to introduce some new material and evaluate their data on Byzantine prosopography and history of Byzantine provinces.

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A Selection of Unpublished Lead Seals from the Antep Archeological Museum: Seals Issued by State Officials

Gaziantep Archeology Museum collection contains almost 140 unpublished lead seals. The collection partially has been seen by several scholars but remained unpublished entirely. Gaziantep lies at the south east border of Turkey and it is quite near to Syria. It is surrounded by Maras,



Adiyaman, Urfa and Antakya. Most of the outstanding discovery of the present study is a group of seals that exactly have same inscription and belong to the same person. Ten seals that belong to Gregory Doukas or Doux are dated to 11th or 12th century and they were found in the necropolis area called Kurt Ini. It can be suggested that this small group can be a sign of an archieve that scholars still not aware of. Besides this group the collection contains several provincial administrator seals such as Michael Marachas, Basileios Apokapes and Christophoros Mytilenaios.

This study was conducted by the financial support of Onassis Foundation and collaboration of Gaziantep Archeological Museum. This is also continuation of the project that aimed to collect the Byzantine lead seals from South and South East Anatolia.



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BYZANTINE ARTISTIC TRADITION AND THE WESTERN WORLD. MEDITERRANEAN DOMAIN – PART 2

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Das kretische Kloster Balsamonero im Strom kulturellen Austauschs
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Naxos in the Thirteenth Century: Visual Explorations of an Island's Society and Devotion

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the island of Naxos became the centre of the Duchy of Naxos, established by the Venetian adventurer Marco Sanudo and his companions. The military conquest of the island was followed by other historical events, such as the operation of Byzantine navy against Naxos, and generated social, economic and topographical changes, such as the installation of a new ruling Latin and heterodox elite, and the transfer of the capital on the site of the main classical city. Yet the breadth and nature of these developments, as well as their impact on the island's socio-cultural milieu, particularly on the artistic production, remain largely unclear, mainly due to the absence of written testimonies and the limited scholarly attention paid to the visual and inscriptional record from this period.

The picture can be reversed by an in-depth analysis of this available evidence and the decoding of its cultural and social meanings. This paper focuses on the painted decoration of the church of Panaghia at Archatos. Located approximately 7 km SE from the village of Kato Sagri, the church, a single-aisled domed church with two chapels, is set on the slope of a high hill, facing northward to a large valley. Built in the eleventh or twelfth century, it was partly reconstructed and extensively redecorated in 1285, according to one of the preserved dedicatory inscriptions. Laypeople, priests and their families were involved in the renovation of the church.

Of the wall paintings of this phase, the pictorial program of the north chapel is of particular interest. The program includes, among other representations, the depiction of Saint John the Baptist ὁ ῥυγοδιώκτης (lit. "he who repels the shivers"), Saint George Diasoritis [ὁ σωτήρ ("the savior") in military apparel, and the prominent depiction of a bishop called Kyriakos, followed by the inscription ὁ ἱατὴρ τῶν ῥευμάτων ("the healer of the rheums"). The latter can be identified with the patriarch of Constantinople Kyriakos II (596-606), whose cult, however, is not well-attested, or the legendary bishop of Jerusalem Kyriakos, the Jew named Judas who helped Saint Helene to find the True Cross, according to the version of the legend of the Finding of the True Cross favored in the West. Kyriakos' depiction next to Saint George provides us with additional evidence for the saint's identification; it is possible that the priest, patron of the fresco, was acquainted with the Latin feast day of the bishop of Jerusalem Kyriakos on April 30 or May 4, both days close to the feast day of Saint George. Of more interest is the saints' capacity to heal and relieve, as underlined by the inscriptions.

In this paper I discuss the cultural associations of these specific iconographic choices, as well as the rich inscriptional evidence of the church within the local and wider historical context. I raise the issue of patronage in the new historical setting and its relation to the visual adaptation to current theological ideas and legends, devotional cults and needs. This approach sheds new light on the complex reality and identity of the island and situates its artistic production within the wider cultural framework of the eastern Mediterranean world.



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Naxos. Sparse Western Influences at Naxos

Present-day scholarship only hesitantly admits the existence of western influences in the 13th century Byzantine paintings at Naxos. Yet there do exist some paintings there where western influence is somewhat pronounced and consequently rather indisputable. At the church of Saint John the Theologian near Agia there survives a wall-painting with a figure of Saint Mary holding the child Christ in her arms. The markedly wide shape of the beautiful face of Saint Mary, the huge eyes wide apart, the somewhat ungraded colouring of the flesh and the suavity of expression are vaguely reminiscent of the painting of Saint Mary in the Nativity at Purgg.

The rendering of the infant Christ is also somewhat peculiar. His head is tossed backwards away from the face of His Mother (a rather rare posture) while His blessing right hand is raised in a vigorous upward movement quite different from the dignified and masterly gesture of a blessing hand. Also quite peculiar is the ingenuous expression of the infant Christ.

The rest of the figures depicted in the church, though sharing the suavity of expression of Saint Mary, are more conventional.

Another church out of the common run is that of Saint Nicholas at Sangri. Its wall-paintings have been touched upon time and again in the past. Yet there is more to be said about them.

This church has three if not four overlapping strata of painting and a dedicatory inscription (among others) that gives a dating corresponding to A.D. 1269-1270. We take it for granted that this attribution is correct, though the layer of stucco underlying the inscription does not connect directly with any of the layers of stucco underlying the different strata of painting.

It is the last stratum that mostly survives in the church and that displays certain peculiarities. It comprises mainly a Baptism, a Nativity, a Saint Mary Vlachernitissa in the conch of the apse and an Annunciation on the pilasters on either side of the apse. The somewhat surprising uncouthness of the two figures of the Annunciation is due to unlucky restoration work attempted in the past as is apparent in the artless overpainting of the borders of the composition and of the overlapping wing of the angel.

It is in the scene of the Nativity that western influence is blatantly in evidence. The western traits in the dress of the young shepherd in this scene have already been observed and have been attributed to a painter who was depicting the style of dress current at the time at Naxos. However it seems more likely that the painter was here only employing an imported draught. If there was any originality in the painting it would have been also evident in the depiction of the rest of the figures. Intimation about the use of foreign draughts is afforded by the overall setting of the scene in an idyllic verdant landscape with the young shepherd nonchalantly playing his flute impervious to the seriousness of the occasion.

Further examples of western influence are attested in the 13th century Naxos.

Of the two cases mentioned above the first one is I believe attributable to the taste and choice of donors who were possibly in awareness of western works of art of a more worldly character as opposed to byzantine aloofness, while the second one is evidently attributable to a more or less mechanical adoption of ready-made forms.



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The Meaning of Byzantine Relics within the Florentine Cultural Context

The rich literature dealing with the huge and long lasting phenomenon of the Westerners' appropriation and exhibition of the holy relics coming from the Byzantine Empire has widely analysed the strong political value that the Byzantine relics acquired in the West. Considered as religious trophies, relics had an enormous importance because of their prestige and their miraculous properties. To the Western eyes, the provenance from the Byzantine Empire added the fundamental benefit of authenticity and the connection with the power of the Byzantine Emperors was perceived as a crucial element. This connection, and the movement in order to hoard the relics, were reinforced during the Crusades and during the ephemeral existence of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204-1261), which were important occasions for Westerners to travel and to grab the sacred remains with their precious containers. Especially the loot of 1204 was an important moment for transferring to the West the legendary holy treasure of Byzantium, seen as the "New Jerusalem". In this context, the city of Florence is quite a peculiar case, since the majority of the Byzantine relics today preserved in the city did not arrive in 1204 as part of a plunder or through the Crusades, but between the end of the 14th century and the beginning of the 15th. Moreover, the relics were mainly carried by clergymen or Tuscan officers of the Byzantine Imperial Court, and then gifted or sold to Florentine institutions: they appear more as the symbols of the commercial and diplomatic achievements of the city than of its military supremacy. This paper starts from a general survey of the Byzantine relics today existing in Florence, mainly preserved in the Opera del Duomo Museum (coming from the Baptistery of San Giovanni and from Santa Maria del Fiore) and in the complex of the Medici chapels (coming from the Basilica of San Lorenzo). The main aims are the definition of the consistency of the Florentine patrimony of Byzantine relics and the individuation of the most important channels and moments of arrival. In second instance, the appreciation of the Byzantine relics and the resonance of their acquisition are investigated, basing on different possible sources: their mentions inside the Florentine medieval chronicles (14th-15th century), their consideration inside the publications about the city and its monuments, their practical use, reuse, restoration or rearrangement.

Individuating the paths which brought the relics into the city and deepening the kind of appreciation they received means to clarify which kind of significance Byzantine relics acquired within the Florentine cultural context, especially in connection with the raise and the affirmation of the power of the city during the communal age and during the Signoria.



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Between Apulia and Cyprus: The *Madonna della Madia* in Monopoli

The present paper will probe a thirteenth-century panel preserved in Apulia that is considered import from Cyprus. The work is the *Madonna della Madia* held in the cathedral of the coastal town of Monopoli and displays the Virgin and Child with two supplicants. The Monopolitan panel along with a group of icons of the Virgin *Hodegetria* preserved in Tuscany, Lazio and southern Italy are considered Cypriot ‘commodities.’ Their style situates them in a criss-cross of relations between southern Italy, Cyprus and the artistic production that the Crusaders developed in the Crusader States of the East, conventionally known as Crusader art. Still, these panels present something of a thirteenth-century conundrum apropos their provenance and the assumed exchanges that Cyprus had with those Italian territories.

As already noted, the paper will concentrate on the panel from Monopoli, which, although very well known in academic publications, has not received due scholarly attention and is usually studied as an isolated object. The current study will examine the *Madonna della Madia* systematically for the first time, taking into account not only stylistic quests, but also issues of iconology and iconography. It will firmly place the panel within its religious and social context, and link it to the cultural practices of its era. Most importantly, the paper will revisit the prevalent view that the panel is Cypriot, by affording a close examination of its iconography, supplicants’ portraits, style and technique, and by introducing into the conversation comparative material from Cyprus.

By sieving through the Apulian *Madonna*, broader issues vis-à-vis the role of Cyprus as distributor of art in southern Italy will also be problematized. The ‘Cyprus question’ in southern Italian art of the thirteenth century is a vexed issue, one that has been previously studied through a somewhat limited method that confined itself to outworn stylistic conventions. The *Madonna della Madia* will be viewed here as cult image that interacted with a net of social, cultural and religious contexts, which dictated its production and function.

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The Vow by Ivan Crnojević to the Virgin Mary in Loreto in the Shadow of Turkish Conquests

The paper will analyze the vow made by Ivan Crnojević to the Virgin Mary in the Italian pilgrimage sanctuary of *Santa Casa* in Loreto to erect a temple in her honor in Cetinje if he should return safely to the homeland, which he fled due to Turkish conquests. Ivan imparted his vow in the founding charter of the Virgin Mary monastery in Cetinje in 1485. On the way towards Loreto, Crnojević took the usual migration route from the Balkans to Ancona and the trade center of Recanati. There were



confraternite degli schiavoni already in that region. In order to understand the wider context of this phenomenon, it is of the utmost importance to separate and identify the Orthodox elements in the culture, spirituality and art which the *Schiavoni* brought into Italy from Serbian areas. A special accent will be placed on the Loreto cult's religious significance within the *resistenza antiturca* in light of the historical circumstances of Ivan's founding activities and the transposing of the seat of the Metropolitanate of Zeta. Conducting arduous diplomatic, political and military battles with the Turks as well as Venice, Crnojević managed to attain in Cetinje a short-lived rendering of the Orthodox spiritual seat.

The cult of the house at Nazareth in which key events took place from the lives of the Madonna and Christ was from its very start marked by a strong anti-Islamic character. According to legend, just before the final expulsion of the Crusaders from the Holy Land, angels conveyed the house first to Istria (Trsat, near Rijeka) and then to Italy. From the end of the 15th and especially the 16th century, a singular religiosity of *Our Lady of Loreto* proliferated, with a variety of manifestations. Among them was also the endeavor to build a chapel and churches according to the Loreto prototype. Based on the attempt to reconstruct Ivan's church, elements which may well permit the assumption of a likely wider symbolic significance and impact of the Loreto prototype can be recognized. However, that which undoubtedly beholds the strength of the Loreto cult which in hard times underlay the division of the confessions were the words of Ivan Crnojević in the founding charter of the Virgin Mary monastery in Cetinje.

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Das kretische Kloster Balsamonero im Strom kulturellen Austauschs zwischen Byzanz und dem Westen im Spätmittelalter

Als relevante Quelle zum Verständnis byzantinischer Kultur stellt die Byzantinische Kunstgeschichte und Archäologie Objekte in den Fokus, die bei Weitem nicht nur als Werke frommen Schaffens betrachtet und interpretiert werden. Insbesondere bei der Deutung von Schlüsselmonumenten, an denen kritische Reflexionen und rege Wechselwirkungen zwischen der byzantinischen und ihren Nachbarkulturen ablesbar sind, zeigt sich ein vielschichtiges Bild.

Kaum ins Blickfeld einer fundierten Untersuchung gerückt ist beispielsweise das Phanourios-Kloster Balsamonero, das in Zentralkreta, an den südlichen Ausläufern des Ida-Gebirges gelegen ist. Als bedeutende Bildungseinrichtung mit nachweisbarer Bautätigkeit und qualitätsvollen Wandgemälden wurde die Anlage in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten vom 13. Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities (Greek Ministry of Culture) aufwändig restauriert.

Das Kloster wurde innerhalb von hundert Jahren von etwa 1330 bis 1450 in mehreren Etappen errichtet und mit Fresken ausgemalt. Der Gebäudekomplex besteht aus vier Bauteilen. Der älteste Raum ist das heutige Nordschiff, das im frühen 14. Jahrhundert erbaut, freskiert und der Muttergottes geweiht wurde. Das südliche Kirchenschiff ist Johannes dem Täufer geweiht und entstand nach dem Umbau von 1406/07. Seine Ausmalung dürfte um 1428 vollendet gewesen sein.



In den darauffolgenden Jahren wurde die Kirche nach Westen durch das Phanourios-Schiff und den Narthex erweitert. 1431 wurden die Dekorationsarbeiten im Phanourios-Schiff, zwei Jahrzehnte später jene im Narthex vollzogen.

Mit Genehmigung des Griechischen Kultusministeriums verfolgt das vorliegende, schwerpunktmäßig mit der Analyse und Interpretation der Freskenbilder befasste Projekt einen formästhetischen und einen bildprogrammatisch-ikonologischen Ansatz, in dem der byzantinische und der westlich-italienische Bildungskontext als Referenzgrößen dienen.

Hier ist zunächst auf den Aspekt der vielseitig gebildeten und auch als Schreiber tätigen Mönche des Klosters und der damit verbundenen Klosterbibliothek hinzuweisen. Daran anknüpfend stellt sich die Frage nach den ideenprägenden Tendenzen von Stiftern und Auftraggebern und nach ihrer Objektplanung sowie nach der möglichen Umsetzung von theologisch-philosophischem Gedankengut in der Kirchengestaltung. Ein weiterer Anknüpfungspunkt ist, dass sich sowohl vor als auch nach der Entschärfung der konfessionellen Konflikte zwischen Venezianern und Kretern gegen Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts die kulturelle Wechselwirkung als eine spannende Konstellation erweist, die gute Rahmenbedingungen für interessante Gegenüberstellungen liefert. Einen vierten, für die vorliegende Fragestellung zentralen Anlass bietet der Kult des „neu erscheinenden“ Heiligen Phanourios, der in Balsamonero gepflegt wurde.

Im Hinblick auf die komplexen Bildprogramme der Anlage gilt es, die kunst- und kulturhistorische Position von Balsamonero innerhalb Kretas zu präzisieren und die wechselnde Abhängigkeit zwischen byzantinisch-kretischen und westlich-venezianischen Kunstleistungen aufzuzeigen.

Eine gesonderte Betrachtung erfordern die Bildthemen, die Ideen aus dem Wirkungskreis des Hesychasmus zum Ausdruck bringen. Diese Spiritualitätsform führte im 14. Jahrhundert zu schweren Auseinandersetzungen unter byzantinischen Intellektuellen und erregte bei westlichen Kritikern stärksten Anstoß. In einem parallelen Arbeitsschritt werden die in großer Anzahl erhaltenen, an verschiedenen Stellen des Kircheninneren angebrachten Inschriften untersucht und deren Bezug zu den bildlichen Darstellungen sowie zur asketischen Kommunität des Ortes erschlossen.

Das Projekt umfasst zentrale Forschungstendenzen der gegenwärtigen Byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte. Es will darüber hinaus aber auch einen Beitrag zu dem fächerübergreifenden Diskurs um den Zusammenhang und Übergang zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit und speziell um die Deutungsmuster von Kulturkontakt und Kulturkonflikt im mediterranen Raum leisten.



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POST-BYZANTINE ART – PART 2

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Einige Überlegungen zu einer Darstellung im Narthex der Klosterkirche in Dragalevci (1475)

Der Beitrag untersucht eine seltene Szene im Narthex des Dragalevciklosters in Bulgarien: Ein Abt verlässt den Athos und folgt einem Teufel, um sich den irdischen Vergnügungen zu widmen. Ein Engel beobachtet von oben das Geschehen und weint um die verlorene Seele. Zur Interpretation der Szene können die Klostergründungsurkunden, die Typika, herangezogen werden. Sie geben an, dass im Narthex die Büsser der Liturgie beiwohnten, zu denen auch die Mönche zählten, die sich unbegründet außerhalb des Klosters aufhielten. Diese Regel galt sogar für den Abt selbst, wenn er sich ohne wichtigen Grund außerhalb des Klosters aufhielt.

Die Szene warnte also die Mönche vor den Gefahren des Austritts aus dem Klosterleben und wies die reumütigen Mönche auf den Hintergrund ihres Ausschlusses aus der Klostersgemeinde hin; sie steht somit mit dem behrenden Charakter der Narthexprogrammatisierung in Einklang.

Im Narthex wurden nämlich vor allem Bilder ohne sakralen Gehalt angebracht, die den Gläubigen als illustrative Vorbilder der Glaubensstärke dienten. Das Bildprogramm des Narthex unterlag nämlich nicht den strengen theologischen Vorschriften, wie sie für den Naos und prinzipiell auch für den Altarraum bestanden. Dieser Raum lag am meisten vom Bema, dem heiligsten Raum der Kirche entfernt. Deswegen kam ihm eine geringere Bedeutung in der Hierarchie der Kirchenräume zu. Weil der Narthex der Eingangsraum zur Kirche war, stellte seine Bildausstattung eine Art Einleitung in die wichtigsten Stufen der Erlösung dar. Aus Berichten in Schriftquellen geht zudem hervor, dass dieser Raum als Bindeglied zwischen der Außenwelt und dem Naos diente.

Die Narthex-Programmatisierung führte außerdem Beispiele vor, die erbauten und moralischen Rückhalt gaben. Als Exempla und Vorbilder lassen sich die Lehren aus den Gleichnissen Christi verstehen sowie auch, was die Heiligen den Menschen mit ihrem Handeln beigebracht und erduldet haben. Deswegen wurden das Jüngste Gericht und die Vita des Kirchenpatrons oft in die Bildausstattung dieses Raums integriert. Die Tatsache allerdings, dass im Narthex die reumütigen Mönche bzw. Gläubige der Liturgie beiwohnten, legt die Vermutung nahe, dass diese Gläubigen sich während ihres Aufenthalts von seinem Bildprogramm belehren lassen sollten; das Bildprogramm des Narthex sollte zu ihrer geistigen Erbauung beitragen.

Im Rahmen des behrenden Charakters der Narthexprogrammatisierung lässt sich die Wiedergabe von weiteren Darstellungen interpretiert; Bildthemen mit einer Vorbildrolle, wie die Heiligenviten, die Konzilien, die Gleichnisse und die Wunder Christi, die Darstellung des Gastmahls der Göttlichen Weisheit können in diesem Kontext gesehen werden.

Das Bildprogramm des Narthex in Dragalevci lässt sich ebenfalls in diesem Kontext interpretieren. Es hat einen starken didaktischen Charakter. Das Jüngste Gericht steht im Zentrum und viele Mönchsheilige erscheinen in seinem Rahmen.



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Dompter les fauves.

**Aspects de l'iconographie du martyr de sainte Thècle
dans la peinture murale du 16^e siècle**

Sainte Thècle, disciple et collègue de l'apôtre Paul, se range parmi les saints les plus vénérés pendant les premiers siècles du Christianisme. Honorée comme apôtre, elle fut la première femme martyr, le pendant féminin de son émule Etienne le Protomartyr. Pendant l'époque byzantine et post-byzantine la sainte et son martyr figure parmi les scènes des ménologes peints pour l'illustration de la date du 24 Septembre.

La communication porte sur les représentations du martyr de sainte Thècle dans les grands ménologes post-byzantins, notamment ces du 16^e siècle. Tous les exemples connus présentent une iconographie qui combine à la fois l'illustration des deux épisodes de la Vie de la sainte, le supplice dans l'arène d'Antioche et sa miraculeuse disparition dans les rocs de sa grotte. Il s'agit d'une formule iconographique qui se distingue des exemples byzantins connus, dans lesquels les deux épisodes sont illustrés séparément. De plus, l'image post-byzantine réunit des éléments d'origines différentes, parfois des éléments anciens et rares, non attestés dans la tradition byzantine du sujet.

Notre étude examine l'iconographie, les différentes versions et les particularités du type iconographique en question ainsi que leurs liens avec la tradition antérieure du sujet. Elle essaie aussi de déceler la relation entre les différentes approches iconographiques des deux épisodes illustrés et la tradition littéraire de la Vie de la sainte et de sa légende.

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In the Twilight of an Era:

The Frescoes in the Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour at Dolichi (1516)

The Church of the Transfiguration of the Saviour is situated in Dolichi near Ellassona in central Greece. The church is a single-nave building and has a narthex with a dome and an exonarthex. Its original construction phase dates from the 10th-12th century, while it assumed its final form in the early 16th century.

The mural decoration in the church's interior is mostly in good condition and particularly rich. According to the founder's inscription, the paintings were executed in 1516 by the painter Dimitrios and his brother Boyko.



Apart from the Eucharistic scenes in the sanctuary, the iconographic programme includes the Dodekaorton, the Passion of Christ, a few episodes from the Eothina and the Dormition of the Virgin Mary. In the narthex, apart from the Pantokrator in the dome, there are mainly depictions of prophets and saints, most of whom are holding scrolls with inscriptions relating to the Last Judgement. Also of interest are the larger-than-life figures of Christ Enthroned and the Archangel Michael on the south and north walls, respectively. Finally, the mural decoration is completed by a representation of the Last Judgement in the exonarthex.

The structure of the iconographic programme, both in the naos and the narthex, derives from that used in similar monuments situated mainly in northern Greece. The iconographic and stylistic features of the decoration also appear to have been drawn from the same source. The quality of the painting attests to the painters' high level of training and the refined artistic milieu in which they learnt their trade.

The church's mural decoration represents the twilight of the Palaeologan painting tradition in Macedonia, having been executed at a time when one painting tendency was in decline and was soon to be replaced by a variety of new tendencies that would come to prevail in the great monastic centres of the 16th century.

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Nouvelles remarques sur les peintures murales de l'église de la Dormition de la Vierge, dite "Portaréa", Mont-Pélion (Thessalie)

L'église à nef unique couverte d'une serpente à deux pentes dédiée à la Dormition de la Vierge au village de Portaria sur le Mont-Pélion, est plutôt connue dans la bibliographie sous le nom de la Vierge dite « Portaréa ». L'église actuelle date du XVI^e siècle et fut érigée sur les ruines de l'église du monastère byzantin homonyme, existant même avant 1272 et connu, dans des sources écrites, sous le nom de « Panagia Portaréa ».

L'église conserve partiellement son décor intérieur, dont la qualité artistique mérite une attention particulière, d'autant plus qu'il est précisément daté du 1581 grâce à l'inscription dédicatoire du monument, parfaitement préservée sur la paroi nord du naos. En effet, la lecture attentive de cette inscription a mis en lumière des éléments nouveaux, le plus important étant le déchiffrement du nom du deuxième peintre qui a travaillé dans l'exécution des peintures murales, tandis que jusqu'à présent l'ensemble du décor était attribué au peintre Daniel, moine dans le monastère voisin de la Sainte-Trinité (dite « Sourvia »), dont le nom figure en premier sur la ligne treize de l'inscription.

A partir de cette nouvelle remarque, nous reprenons la recherche tant sur l'iconographie que sur le style de certaines peintures, afin de pouvoir distinguer les sources d'inspiration de deux peintres par rapport aux courants artistiques contemporains. Le choix, par exemple, et même la distribution



des sujets iconographiques sur le mur sud du naos, ainsi que l'iconographie de l'hymne marial « En toi se réjouit », démontrent clairement que les peintres appliquent des formules identiques avec celles que les frères Georges et Frangos Kondaris adopteront cinq ans plus tard au katholikon du monastère de Galataki en Eubée (1586). D'autre part, les scènes de l'Enterrement de la Vierge et de son Assomption se répètent de façon identique dans la décoration du katholikon du monastère de « Korona », dédié à la Naissance de la Vierge (Karditsa, Thessalie) et peint en 1587, c'est-à-dire à peine six ans après la décoration de « Portaréa ». En plus, notons que la décoration de « Korona » est signée par un peintre et moine appelé aussi Daniel, à la différence près qu'ici la majorité de scènes suit tant dans l'iconographie que le style la peinture crétoise, tandis qu'un nombre restreint de scènes, comme par exemple l'Enterrement du Christ et celui de la Vierge, renvoient aux modèles des frères Kondaris.

Est-ce que le peintre Daniel de « Portarea » peut s'identifier à celui du même nom au monastère de « Korona » ? Quels sont les contacts entre les deux peintres qui ont travaillé à l'église de « Portaréa » et l'atelier des deux frères thébains Georgios et Frangos Kondaris ? Est-ce que le décor peint de « Portaréa » représente enfin un témoin éloquent de coopération des artistes venant de différentes traditions picturales ? Voici certaines questions auxquelles notre communication essaiera de répondre.

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De nouveaux éléments à propos du travail des peintres de l'école crétoise en Thessalie occidentale

En Thessalie occidentale et particulièrement dans le domaine de Kalambaka et Trikala, on a identifié certains ensembles de peintures murales datés à la fin du 16^{ème} siècle, qui en raison de certains détails iconographiques similaires, d'uniformité absolue et d'expression stylistique commune, constituent en un seul groupe.

Les peintres apparemment utilisent librement des compositions à partir d'un contenu riche, à laquelle ils avaient accès et en conformité avec les propositions et l'accord qu'ils avaient fait avec les donateurs de chaque église. Leur art, cependant, est fortement influencé par l'art de l'école crétoise, non seulement en raison de sa proximité avec les importantes peintures monumentales de Météores, mais il est plus que vraisemblable que les fresquistes anonymes aient appartenu à un atelier qui travaillait sous la direction de maître Neophytos Strelitzas Mpathas, fils de Théophane.



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Νέα στοιχεία για τον τοιχογραφικό διάκοσμο της Παναγίας Ενορίας Αγίων Αναργύρων στην Καστοριά

Στην περιοχή του Ξενία, πλησίον του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Καστοριάς και εντός της βυζαντινής οχύρωσης βρίσκεται ο ναός της Παναγίας. Ανήκει στον αρχιτεκτονικό τύπο της μονόχωρης ξυλόστεγης βασιλικής με ημικυκλική κόγχη στα ανατολικά και μεταγενέστερο πλάγιο νάρθηκα στα βόρεια. Άγνωστη παραμένει η χρονολογία οικοδόμησης του μνημείου, καθώς απουσιάζουν σχετικές πληροφορίες.

Σε άγνωστη χρονική στιγμή ο ναός υφίσταται εκτεταμένη φθορά και ανακαινίζεται πλήρως το Σεπτέμβριο του 1634, εκτός του ανατολικού τοίχου, με τη συνδρομή τεσσάρων αρχόντων, σύμφωνα με την κτητορική επιγραφή. Σε επόμενη οικοδομική φάση που από δεύτερη επιγραφή στο νάρθηκα τοποθετείται στις 25 Απριλίου 1657, προστίθεται πλάγιος νάρθηκας σε μεσοτοιχία με το βόρειο τοίχο του ναού, λόγω της ιδιαίτερης γεωμορφολογίας του εδάφους.

Το εσωτερικό του μνημείου διακοσμείται με τοιχογραφίες εξ' ολοκλήρου ή αποσπασματικά σωζόμενες, εκτός του ανατολικού και βορείου τοίχου του νάρθηκα που ήταν καλυμμένοι με επίχρισμα. Επιπλέον, στον κυρίως ναό και στο νάρθηκα είχαν προστεθεί μεταγενέστερες ξύλινες ψευδοροφές μετά την απομάκρυνση των οποίων αποκαλύφθηκαν και άλλα τμήματα του ζωγραφικού διακόσμου.

Η αρχική φάση τοιχογράφησης του μνημείου στον ανατολικό τοίχο περιλαμβάνει τις καθιερωμένες για την εικονογραφία παραστάσεις. Στην κόγχη του Ιερού εικονίζεται η Παναγία Πλατυτέρα στον τύπο της Βλαχερνίτισσας με το Χριστό μέσα σε δόξα με οξυκόρυφη απόληξη. Στην κατώτερη ζώνη παριστάνονται οι Ιεράρχες, Ιωάννης Χρυσόστομος και Βασίλειος με την παράσταση του Μελισμού ανάμεσά τους.

Στο αέτωμα του ανατολικού τοίχου ιστορείται η Ανάληψη, χαμηλότερα ο Ευαγγελισμός σε δυο τμήματα εκατέρωθεν της κόγχης του Ιερού και πιο κάτω ο Πρωτομάρτυρας Στέφανος. Στις κόγχες της Πρόθεσης και του Διακονικού απεικονίζονται σε προτομή ο Χριστός της Άκρας Ταπείνωσης με λόγιο επίγραμμα εμπνευσμένο από τη Θεία Λειτουργία και ο αρχιδιάκονος Ρωμανός, αντίστοιχα. Η επιφάνεια κάτω από την κόγχη του Ιερού καλύπτεται με διακοσμητικό μοτίβο, φυτικό και γεωμετρικό, όπου διακρίνεται και δεύτερο στρώμα με φυτικό διάκοσμο.

Όλες οι τοιχογραφίες αποτελούν έργο του ίδιου ανώνυμου ζωγράφου που διακρίνεται για την ποιότητα των τοιχογραφιών του. Κυριαρχούν οι ήρεμες μορφές με τις γλυκιές εκφράσεις, όπως στην απεικόνιση της Παναγίας και του Αγγέλου στην παράσταση του Ευαγγελισμού, ενώ στα πρόσωπα διακρίνονται εξατομικευμένα χαρακτηριστικά. Οι μορφές είναι ραδινές αποδοσμένες με έντονη σωματικότητα και σχετικά μικρό κεφάλι, όπως στη μορφή του αποστόλου Πέτρου στην Ανάληψη. Η κόμμωση είναι επιμελημένη, ενώ η πτυχολογία συχνά στροβιλίζεται σε μια προσπάθεια να αποδώσει την κίνηση και την ένταση, όπως στον όμιλο των αποστόλων της Ανάληψης.



Το βάθος στις παραστάσεις σχηματίζουν δυο ζώνες σε ανοιχτό πράσινο και μαύρο χρώμα. Το αρχιτεκτονικό βάθος και η απόδοση του φυσικού τοπίου ακολουθεί τα κλασικά πρότυπα όπως είχαν καθιερωθεί από την παλαιολόγια περίοδο. Ξεχωρίζει η παρουσία κίωνων στα τρίβηλα ανοίγματα με φυτική διακόσμηση και η απόδοση πολλών λεπτομερειών σε μονοχρωμία, όπως το περιβραχιόνιο στο δεξί χέρι του Αγγέλου του Ευαγγελισμού. Ο ζωγράφος προτιμά τους απαλούς χρωματισμούς στην ενδυμασία και για την απόδοση της σάρκας στα πρόσωπα χρησιμοποιείται πράσινος προπλασμός και μαλακές χρωματικές μεταβάσεις. Οι τοιχογραφίες του ανατολικού τοίχου του Ιερού αποτελούν έργο άγνωστου αγιογράφου και βάσει των τεχνοτροπικών χαρακτηριστικών θα μπορούσαν να χρονολογηθούν στο πρώτο μισό του 16ου αιώνα.

Μετά την ολοκλήρωση των εργασιών συντήρησης αποκαλύφθηκαν νέες τοιχογραφίες που ανήκουν στη φάση τοιχογράφησης του 17ου αιώνα, όπως το κάτω τμήμα αρχαγγέλου στο δυτικό τοίχο του κυρίως ναού πλησίον αρχικού ανοίγματος, ενώ ταυτίστηκε και η μορφή του Αγίου Τρύφωνα στη ζώνη με τους ολόσωμους αγίους. Ακόμη, εντοπίστηκε χάραγμα του 1741/2 με ενθύμηση καιρικού φαινομένου στο βάθος της παράστασης των αγίων Κωνσταντίνου και Ελένης. Τέλος, τοιχογραφίες με παραστάσεις ατομικών κολασμών αποκαλύφθηκαν στο κάτω μέρος της Δευτέρας Παρουσίας στο νάρθηκα. Οι απεικονίσεις αυτές απαντούν με λίγα παραδείγματα από τη μεσοβυζαντινή περίοδο για να αυξηθούν, κυρίως, τα μεταβυζαντινά χρόνια εμπλουτίζοντας συνεχώς το θεματολόγιό τους.

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Artistic Aspects of the Cultural Transfers in the Adriatic Region (18th-19th C.)

The complex historical reality of the Adriatic region, a region that even today stands on the border between the eastern and the western world, can be traced in the works of religious painting and in the movements of the painters. The artistic influences arrived in the Orthodox regions mainly from Venice, but also from the rest of Italy, to the Ionian Islands, where a unique art was formed. Over the course of the 18th century, the political and economic conditions allow the Orthodox communities of Italy to grow. Their members oscillate between the art of the land where they live and prosper and their desire to preserve the “pittura romeica” in the decorations of churches and in the icons used for their personal worship. From Naples to cosmopolitan Trieste, orthodox painters, coming mainly from Epirus and the Ionian Islands, shape an art adapted to the new environment and mark once more the Adriatic region as a privileged area for cultural exchanges.



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Протоевангельские сюжеты в иконописи Беларуси XVII-XVIII вв.

Среди тем, получивших распространение в искусстве Византии и связанных с ней регионов, можно назвать сюжеты, основанные на апокрифических текстах. Известные на территории Беларуси с XII века, о чем свидетельствуют образы Иоакима и Анны фресок верхней зоны алтарной части Спасо-Преображенской церкви Евфросиньева монастыря в Полоцке (рубеж 1150-1160-х гг.), они получили воплощение в ряде памятников поствизантийского периода. В XVII - начале XVIII в., отмечается исследователями, в проповедях на Богородичные и Предтеченские праздники украинских и белорусских авторов Кирилла Транквиллиона-Ставроецкого, Антония Радзивиловского, Иоанникия Гялятовского, Лазаря Барановича, Симеона Полоцкого неоднократно использовался текст Протоевангелия Иакова [4, с. 571]. Изложение ряда сюжетов этого апокрифа через посредство латинских источников вошло в состав «Неба нового с новыми звездами» Иоанникия Гялятовского (Львов, 1665). Названное сочинение было напечатано и в Беларуси в могилевской братской типографии в 1699 г. Издававшиеся в Украине и Беларуси Минеи праздничные, содержащие тексты на церковные праздники, в том числе вошедшие в их число Зачатие Богоматери, Рождество Богоматери, Введение во храм, сопровождалось в ряде случаев соответствующими гравюрами, что способствовало развитию иконографии протоевангельских сцен.

Рождество Богоматери как одно из описанных в Протоевангелии событий, получивших воплощение в искусстве стран Византийского мира, представлено на ряде белорусских икон XVII-XVIII вв. Наряду с фигурой Анны на ложе в окружении служанок и женщин, омывающих новорожденную Марию, в них присутствует изображение Иоакима, которое распространилось в византийском искусстве в сценах Рождества Богоматери с XIV в. Он может быть представлен сидящим за столом (иконы «Рождество Богоматери» из с. Голынец (1649 г.), Ничипоровичи (около 1700 г.) на Могилевщине) или наблюдающим из верхнего помещения («Рождество Богоматери» (сер. XVII в.) из с. Ляховцы на Брестчине). Частью изображения сюжета «Рождество Богоматери» могла являться сцена Ласкания младенца Марии. Одним из примеров в белорусской иконописи является упомянутая выше икона «Рождество Богоматери» из с. Ляховцы.

Сцена Рождества Богоматери представлена на иконе из включавшего 24 иконы праздничного ряда иконостаса церкви Рождества Богоматери (XVIII в.) г.п. Шерешево Брестской обл. В изображении сцены с фигурой Анны на ложе, которой служанка подносит чашу с питьем, и женщинами, омывающими новорожденную Марию, прослеживается близость композиционному решению, описанному в Ерминии Дионисия Фурноаграфиота начала XVIII в. [1, с. 554]. Отсутствующее здесь изображение Иоакима встречается, как уже отмечалось, на большинстве известных белорусских икон XVII-XVIII вв.



На иконе из праздничного ряда иконостаса из с. Оброво Брестской обл. Иоаким изображен подходящим к Анне в месте со служанкой.

Основанное на тексте Протоевангелия изображение Введения во храм как одна из праздничных сцен вошла в состав иконостасов из Шерешева и Оброва. Композиционное решение сцены «Введение во храм» определяется уравновешенными по пластическим формам фигурами первосвященника Захарии и стоящих перед ним Анны с Марией, за которыми просматриваются голова Иосифа и еще нескольких участников события. Большое внимание уделено мастером изображению архитектурного пейзажа в виде двух сооружений с арочными проемами.

Сюжеты «Целование Иоакима и Анны» и «Благовестие Анне», основанные на протоевангельских текстах, представлены на иконе из Олтуша Брестской обл. первой половины XVII века. В ее левой части изображены обнимающиеся у Золотых ворот Иоаким и Анна. Их позами передается мотив радостной встречи, звучащий в памятниках византийской живописи. В правой части изображена молящаяся на фоне пейзажа коленопреклоненная Анна, которой является ангел. В изображении этой сцены мастер отходит от композиционной схемы с фигурой Анны в полный рост, встречающейся в живописи Византии, Древней Руси.

Изображения сцен «Целования» и «Благовестия Анне» входили в состав праздничного ряда иконостаса из церкви Рождества Богоматери г.п. Шерешево.

Решение сцены «Целования» в основе своей близко одноименным образам византийской и древнерусской живописи. В то же время, иконописец, испытывая, вероятно, затруднения в изображении архитектурных мотивов, указывающих на место, где согласно апокрифу, произошла встреча, показывает фигуры на фоне развертывающегося в глубину пейзажа.

В сцене Благовестия Анне ее повернутая вправо фигура изображена на переднем плане в полный рост на фоне пейзажа со зданием, деревьями и виднеющимися за ними горами. Молитвенное состояние Анны подчеркивается жестом ее вытянутых перед грудью рук.

На той же панели с двумя рассмотренными изображениями представлена сцена Благовестия Иоакиму. Фигура отца Марии, сидящего среди скал и деревьев, повернута в левую сторону. Поза святого с вытянутой вперед рукой предполагает наличие фигуры обращающегося к нему ангела, как это можно видеть на мозаике церкви Успения Богородицы монастыря Дафни, фреске нартекса церкви св. Апостолов в Салониках.

Эпизоды, предшествующие Рождеству Богоматери, иллюстрируют еще два изображения из праздничного ряда шерешевского иконостаса. Первый сюжет, возможно, представляет сцену встречи Иоакима и Анны. Его трактовка отличается лаконизмом и выразительностью художественного решения. Фигуры Иоакима и Анны, расположенные на переднем плане на фоне гористого пейзажа с деревом, обращены в разные стороны. При этом ощущение диалога создается поворотом их голов, движением прижатых к груди рук Анны.

Другое изображение, представляющее святого на фоне скал, отождествляется с образом молящегося Иоакима. Согласно Протоевангелию Иакова, перед рождением девы Марии он «...ушел в пустыню, поставил там свою палатку и постился сорок дней и сорок ночей» [2, с. 14]. В отличие от известных изображений этого сюжета, где Иоаким представлен молящимся



коленопреклоненно, на белорусской иконе святой запечатлен так, как будто он на мгновение обернулся назад в стремительном движении.

Описанные в протоевангельских текстах сюжеты Благовещения у колодца и Встречи Марии и Елизаветы (известен также по Евангелию от Луки) представлены на иконах из праздничного ряда Шерешева. Возможно, в центральной части панели представлен вариант Благовещения. Фигура Богоматери изображена на переднем плане левее центра на фоне пейзажа с холмами и горами. Она представлена в молитве перед благославляющей десницей, изображение которой располагается в верхней правой части иконы.

Эпизод Встречи Марии и Елизаветы у белорусского иконописца получает оригинальное и выразительное художественное решение. На переднем плане изображены обращенные друг к другу фигуры Елизаветы и Марии, последняя частично скрытой стеной забора. На ее груди просматривается лик младенца. Фоном для фигур служит изображение традиционных «горок» и здания под черепичной крышей.

Обобщая, можно сказать, что среди белорусских икон, иллюстрирующих Протоевангелие Иакова, особый интерес представляют изображения Рождества Богоматери 1640-50-х гг., являющиеся вариациями сложившейся в византийском искусстве схемы.

Отдельные протоевангельские сюжеты (Рождество Богоматери, Введение во храм), и даже более пространные циклы могли включаться в состав праздничного ряда иконостаса, что находит себе аналогии среди памятников Греции и Кипра [3, с. 470]. Уникальным примером обращения к протоевангельским сюжетам в белорусской иконописи являются изображения апокрифического цикла из праздничного ряда Шерешева.

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Nouvelles recherches sur la genèse de l'iconographie melkite au XVII^e siècle : Le peintre Youssef Al-Musawwer

Youssef Al-Musawwer (fin XVI^e s.-1660) est un peintre melkite alépin dont nous conservons quinze icônes et quatre manuscrits illustrés. Son œuvre s'inscrit dans le cadre de la renaissance de l'Église melkite au XVII^e siècle, initiée à Alep en Syrie grâce aux métropolitains Malatios Karmé (+1635) et Malatios Zaïm (+1672, patriarche Macaire III) qui collaboraient avec Youssef Al-Musawwer et qui furent patriarches d'Antioche.

Parcourir ses différentes œuvres permet de montrer à la fois la fidélité de Youssef Al-Musawwer à l'art post-byzantin grec et sa créativité. Ma contribution émettra de nouvelles hypothèses sur la formation de ce peintre, son style et ses sources iconographiques. Je présenterai les résultats de l'analyse d'une partie du corpus de ce peintre : les deux icônes des saints stylites Syméon l'Ancien et Syméon le Jeune, qui se distinguent par les nombreuses scènes narratives, Ad-Durr Al-Manzoum, la chronique universelle de Matthieu Kigalas traduite en arabe et riche de 80 miniatures des



empereurs byzantins et de 14 miniatures des sultans ottomans (Saint-Pétersbourg, Institut des Manuscrits Orientaux, C 358), un psautier de 32 miniatures (St-Pt, IMO, A 189), les icônes de l'Hymne Acathiste, de la Vierge Hodigitria avec douze saints et de Saint Elian de Homs.

Cette analyse permettra de mettre en valeur le talent de Youssef Al-Musawwer, souvent sous-estimé : on avait tendance à considérer que son œuvre est un retentissement de l'art post-byzantin crétois. Les miniatures de la chronique universelle révèlent le fait que ce peintre arabe sous domination ottomane maîtrisait le code vestimentaire des empereurs byzantins. La représentation des sultans ottomans montre que Youssef excellait dans une tradition iconographique autre que la sienne. Le peintre s'est inspiré des traditions iconographiques grecque et russe pour représenter les saints stylites tout en demeurant fidèle aux sources textuelles. Les miniatures du Psautier montrent sa solide connaissance du corpus iconographique vétérotestamentaire et son grand talent à emprunter plusieurs schémas iconographiques pour composer de nouvelles iconographies. Youssef interprétait délibérément quelques stances de l'Hymne Acathiste et incluait le prophète David après la stance 12. Nous proposerons également une hypothèse pour la représentation équestre de saint Elian, un médecin et saint local, et nous identifierons les scènes narratives. La représentation de saint Martin, de l'épi de blé dans la main de sainte Barbe et du prophète Jérémie dans l'icône de l'Hodigitria fournissent des éléments sur l'identité du commanditaire de cette icône et mettent en exergue l'influence de la tradition légendaire locale et de l'hagiographie occidentale sur l'art de Youssef Al-Musawwer.

La diversité des thèmes iconographiques abordés par Youssef Al-Musawwer nous fait pencher pour une formation artistique à l'étranger : il est difficile de concevoir que Youssef Al-Musawwer eut été initié sur place par un peintre « grec ». En outre, les différents styles adoptés dans ses icônes et ses miniatures nous laissent supposer que Youssef était un iconographe itinérant, qui a profité de ses séjours pour visiter maintes églises ornées de fresques et d'icônes. Les peintres grecs circulaient souvent au Proche Orient, mais on envisage difficilement la possibilité de pouvoir acquérir sur place une vaste culture iconographique identique à celle de Youssef Al-Musawwer, d'autant plus que les icônes melkites antérieures au XVII^e siècle sont rarissimes. Mon analyse suggère également la présence d'un atelier de peinture dirigé par Youssef Al-Musawwer : l'intervention de plusieurs miniaturistes dans Ad-Durr Al-Manzoum et le Psautier appuie cette hypothèse.



23rd

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BYZANTINE PHILOLOGY

Chairs: **Soultana Lamprou, Gianluca Ventrella**

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The Florilegium Atheniense and the Florilegium Coislinianum

This communication aims to describe two 9th–10th century Byzantine anthologies, the Florilegium Coislinianum (FC) and the Florilegium Atheniense (FA). Although the first one has received considerable critical attention in the last decade, the second remains practically unknown. More specifically, I will show how both anthologies are related: in all probability, the FA drew part of his material either from the FC or from a common source.

This communication is rooted in a larger research project, which underscores hitherto neglected relationships between different Byzantine anthologies, trying to shed light on one of the most important ways of circulation of knowledge in Byzantium.

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Iconophile Florilegia and Diplomatic Correspondence: Adversus Constantinum Caballinum Text Tradition

The text tradition of *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* is placed within diplomatic relationships and correspondence between the East and West historical context. Linguistic analyses and the icon descriptions in ACC provide us with identification of the original text location in order to trace the path of iconophile documents and floregia circulation in the period from 768 to 780.

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Byzantine Editors and Publishers: Texts, Works, and Reading

Literature in Byzantine heresiology was compiled as a sort of theological florilegium (anthology) that involved multiple methods of text editing. Byzantine heresiologists and their readers were primarily editors of texts written by other authors. Readers also often offered comments in the margins of folios. This has been regarded as the typical form of premodern manuscript editing, and has been criticized in modern times for its lack of authorial originality or innovation. This paper argues that the practices of Byzantine text editors and publishers were precursors to those to



which we are accustomed in contemporary digital editing. It focuses on manuscript editing and the publication of a twelfth-century (CE) text on heresiology.

In his *Dogmatike Panoplia* (ca. 1115), Euthymios Zigabenos compiled fragments of texts “copied-and-pasted” from the works of various Church fathers. Most of the *Panoplia* chapters have been evaluated thusly. One exception is a chapter composed by Zigabenos, which was popular for its detailed descriptions of contemporary Byzantine Bogomils in Constantinople. It would not be accurate, however, to overly emphasize the Zigabonian “authorship” of the Bogomils chapter. This paper argues that the editing style and author-/editorship of the *Panoplia* do not represent a typical premodern example, but rather are more similar to collective editorial practices in our postmodern digital age, with our digital databases and e-dictionaries such as Wikipedia.

Apart from heresiology, in other literary genres, publication databases were used as sources from which editors “copied-and-pasted” selected text fragments. Popular examples include the lexicography of the *Suda* and the *Zonaras’ Lexicon* and, among legal collections in jurisprudence, the *Basilicorum Libri* and the *Constantinian Excerpta*. Features of our contemporary editing systems such as the existence of databases, the entry of keywords for reference, and the collection of text fragments were all critical components of the Byzantine publication process as well. Thus, it is not only the process of manuscript duplication but also remarkable text editing that must be considered in comparison to our digital editing era.

This paper will situate the *Dogmatike Panoplia* in the context of this rich Byzantine publishing history and in comparison to the contemporary moment of digital publishing. Byzantine authors and manuscript scribes functioned as both editors and publishers, taking advantage of imperial, institutional, and personal libraries with their rich codification techniques. The circulation of manuscripts in which they were involved activated book-market networks in the East Mediterranean, Western European, and Northwest Eurasian areas.

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Le Commentaire d’Elie de Crète sur l’Echelle sainte : une nouvelle méthode d’exégèse

Elie métropolitain de Crète (XI^e-XII^e ss.) est connu comme l’auteur de deux commentaires (chacun plus de 300 folios de grand format) sur une série de *discours* de Grégoire de Naziance et sur l’*Echelle sainte* composée par Jean l’higoumène du Sinaï. Ces deux textes avaient été l’objet d’un abondant travail des scholiastes ; le premier objectif d’Elie a été de rassembler les scholies dispersées dans de nombreuses éditions en un seul codex afin de mettre à disposition des lecteurs l’exégèse la plus complète.

Le commentaire d’Elie sur l’*Echelle sainte* paraît avoir eu plus de succès que son autre commentaire (un seul manuscrit byzantin est conservé) : il nous y est parvenu dans 17 manuscrits, la plupart en parchemin, dont le premier témoin (*Plut.* 9.11) est contemporain de son auteur. Elie n’a



pas travaillé avec un ou deux manuscrits comportant des commentaires, mais il a comparé plusieurs familles de scholies : « ἐν ταῖς σχολικαῖς παρασημειώσεσιν », « ἑκατέροις δὲ τοῖς σημειωμένοις », « τινὲς μὲν... τινὲς δὲ... ». Le fait qu'il ait eu accès à une riche collection de textes de l'*Echelle* conduit à penser qu'il a composé son commentaire plutôt à Constantinople avant d'être ordonné métropolitain.

Quelle est méthode de travail d'Elie ? N'est-il qu'un compilateur de scholies ? L'originalité de son commentaire par rapport aux scholies consiste à proposer un exposé systématique dans un cadre scolaire, très vraisemblablement institutionnel. Les scholiastes ont laissé des explications fragmentaires, tandis qu'Elie propose une lecture continue devant un auditoire, comme en témoignent de nombreuses liaisons logiques et des marques d'oralité, comme par exemple : « εἴρηται μὲν καὶ πρὸ μικροῦ ἡμῖν, μνησθήσομαι δὲ καὶ νῦν ».

Elie de Crète poursuit la même finalité que les scholiastes : éclaircir les passages obscurs et allégoriques de l'*Echelle* : « εἴ τι τὲ ἀσαφὲς ἐν τούτοις, διασαφήσομεν ». Mais Elie procède d'une façon plus méthodique, parfois critique en se distanciant des scholies (« ἐγὼ δὲ φημι ... δοκεῖ δέ μοι ») ; il propose même différentes variantes de lecture de l'*Echelle* en se référant aux codices anciens (« πάντα τὰ ἀρχαίόγραφα βιβλία »). Il procède en grammairien en proposant plusieurs définitions des mots rares, mais aussi il exhorte ses frères à suivre la voie de l'ascèse (« ὄρα μὴ καὶ σύ, ἀδελφέ », « ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον καὶ λυσιτελὲς ἅπασιν, ἀδελφοὶ... »), ce qui laisse penser qu'il se situe dans un cadre monastique.

Si les scholiastes recherchent dans l'*Echelle* des parallèles avec d'autres traités d'ascétisme et inscrivent ainsi le texte de Climaque dans une « *Philocalie* » des écrivains ascétiques, Elie de Crète est surtout attentif aux allusions de Climaque aux Psaumes, aux Evangiles et aux Epîtres de saint Paul. Cela pourrait être l'écho des trois didascales de l'école du Patriarcat de Constantinople sous l'empereur Alexis Comnène. En outre, Elie rapproche l'*Echelle* de la philosophie profane, notamment en citant à plusieurs reprises l'*Ethique à Nicomaque* d'Aristote.

Le commentaire d'Elie de Crète sur l'*Echelle sainte* est un exemple unique d'une exégèse systématique d'un texte religieux issue de l'analyse de scholies. L'approche du commentateur consiste à interpréter l'*Echelle* dans un cadre d'enseignement institutionnel et devant un public constitué plutôt de moines-érudits, qui ne s'intéressaient pas seulement à la Bible et aux pères de l'Eglise, mais aussi aux dictionnaires des grammairiens et aux recueils d'extraits de traités aristotéliens.

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*Πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πατέρα. Ανέκδοτο ἔργο του αυτοκράτορος
Μανουήλ Β΄ Παλαιολόγου*

Ο Μανουήλ Β΄ Παλαιολόγος (1391-1425) συνέγραψε πλήθος μελετών και επιστολών. Το συγγραφικό του ἔργο συγκροτεῖται ἀπὸ θεολογικά, φιλοσοφικά και ηθικά, ομιλίες, λειτουργικά, φιλολογικά και ρητορικά ἔργα. Μεταξὺ των ανεκδότων ἔργων του αυτοκράτορος συναριθμεῖται



το έργο με τίτλο Προς τον εαυτού πνευματικόν, το οποίο εντάσσεται στα λειτουργικά του έργα και παραδίδεται από τρεις χειρόγραφους κώδικες.

Στην παρούσα μελέτη παρουσιάζονται η χειρόγραφη παράδοση του έργου, οι ιδιαιτερότητες των χειρογράφων και η μεταξύ τους σχέση, καταγράφονται τα περιστατικά συγγραφής και ο χαρακτήρας του έργου, αναπτύσσεται, ωσαύτως, και σχολιάζεται το περιεχόμενό του.

Ο Μανουήλ, κατά τη μετάβασή του από την Πελοπόννησο στην Κωνσταντινούπολη μεταξύ Οκτωβρίου και Μαρτίου του έτους 1415, επισκέφθηκε τη Θεσσαλονίκη. Εκεί συνήντησε τους οσιωτάτους και πνευματικούς πατέρες, τους ιερομονάχους της Ιεράς Μονής Βατοπαιδίου Δαυίδ και Δαμιανό, στους οποίους υποσχέθηκε να αποστείλει, μόλις ολοκληρωθεί, το ημιτελές έργο του, το οποίο συνέγραψε υπό τύπον εξομολογήσεως λόγω της αναρρώσεώς του από σοβαρή ασθένεια.

Ένα έτος αργότερα, το 1416, αποστέλλει δύο επιστολές προς τους εν λόγω ιερομονάχους, εκ των οποίων πληροφορούμεθα σχετικά με τη συγγραφή του έργου του Προς τον εαυτού πνευματικόν. Στην επιστολή, η οποία εξεδόθη από τους R. J. Loenertz («*Epître de Manuel II Paléologue aux moines David et Damien 1416*», *Silloge Bizantina in onore di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, Studi Bizantini e neoellenici* 9 (1957) 294-304) και G. Dennis (*The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, *CFHB* 8, *Dumbarton Oaks, Washington* 1977, σσ. 207-217), ο αυτοκράτωρ εξηγεί τους λόγους καθυστέρησεως της αποστολής του συγγράμματός του· εν πρώτοις επιθυμούσε να μην είναι άωρο. Με την περιγραφή, ωσαύτως, των ασχολιών του με το έργο του Ισθμού στον Μοριά, όπως και της προσπάθειας αντιμετώπισεως των αντιδράσεων των εκεί αρχόντων, καταδεικνύει ετέρα αιτία καθυστέρησεως της ολοκληρώσεως του συγγράμματος. Βεβαίως δεν παραλείπει να προσθέσει μεταξύ των λόγων και την χρεία μικράς αναπαύσεως.

Η δεύτερη επιστολή, η οποία προηγείται στη χειρόγραφη παράδοση του έργου και είναι ανέκδοτη, συνοδεύει το αποσταλέν σύγγραμμα. Οι δύο επιστολές, όπως και το έργο, χρονολογούνται το έτος 1416.

Ο Μανουήλ συνέγραψε το εν λόγω έργο υπό τύπον εξομολογήσεως, λόγω της αναρρώσεώς του από σοβαρή ασθένεια. Του έργου προτάσσεται Υπόθεση, η οποία κατέχει θέση σύντομου εισαγωγικού σημειώματος, όπου διαφαίνεται ο λόγος της συντάξεως του έργου, δηλώνεται ο σκοπός και παρουσιάζεται συνοπτικώς το περιεχόμενό του.

Το έργο δεικνύει την ανάγκη προπαρασκευής και τις προϋποθέσεις συμμετοχής του πιστού στα ιερά μυστήρια της Εξομολογήσεως και της Θείας Ευχαριστίας. Το περιεχόμενό του αναπτύσσεται σε ξ' κεφάλαια με κυρίαρχο θέμα τη μετάνοια.

Ο άνθρωπος εξέπεσε με την παρακοή του στον Θεό, συνέτριψε την εικόνα και αποκόπηκε από τη θεία κοινωνία. Ο φιλόανθρωπος Θεός ενηθρώπησε, ο Σωτήρ θωράκισε τη φύση του ανθρώπου με τη θεότητα και τη φανέρωσε απρόσιτη στους εχθρούς. Η σωτηρία, όμως, του ανθρώπου είναι αποτέλεσμα και της θελήσεώς του, ώστε να μην καταλυθεί το αυτεξούσιο. Η μεταμέλεια και η ομολογία της αμαρτωλότητος αλλά και το μέγεθος της φιλανθρωπίας του Θεού οδηγούν τον άνθρωπο στη σωτηρία. Τη δε διαλλαγή μεταξύ ανθρώπου και Θεού επιφέρει η δύναμη των μυστηρίων, η οποία φανερώνει τον πρώτο συγκληρονόμο του Σωτήρος, και κοινωνό των απορρήτων αγαθών. Η προσέλευση στα ζωοποιά μυστήρια προϋποθέτει κάθαρση, δέος και φόβο Θεού.



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Εγκώμιο σε έναν δάσκαλο και φίλο.

Ανέκδοτο κείμενο εκ του βατοπαιδινού κώδικα 63

Στο φύλλο 4r του βατοπαιδινού κώδικα 63 περιέχεται χειρόγραφο εγκώμιο σε έμμετρο στίχο, γραμμένο σε τρεις στήλες. Χρονολογείται στον 15 αι, και μολονότι δεν περιέχει υπογραφή, το περιεχόμενο του επιτρέπει την εξακρίβωση του προσώπου του εγκωμιαστή μετά σχεδόν πλήρους βεβαιότητας. Πρόκειται για τον Γεννάδιο Σχολάριο, Οικουμενικό Πατριάρχη, γνωστό και ως Πατριάρχη της Αλώσεως. Από την κειμενική ανάλυση, και με δεδομένο το γνωστό της ταυτότητας του συντάκτη, του έργου και των βιογραφικών στοιχείων του, καταλήγουμε σε συμπέρασμα και ως προς την ταυτότητα του εγκωμιαζόμενου. Πρόκειται για τον Μάρκο Ευγενικό, δάσκαλο και φίλο του Γενναδίου. Μετά την παράθεση κωδικολογικών και παλαιογραφικών στοιχείων, παρουσιάζεται το περιεχόμενό του, αναδεικνύεται η αρτιότητα έκφρασης και λογοτεχνική αξία του εγκωμίου, αξιοποιούνται οι πραγματολογικές πληροφορίες προς την κατεύθυνση της ιστορικοφιλολογικής έρευνας, προσδιορίζεται με μεγαλύτερη ακρίβεια η περίοδος χρονολόγησης του κώδικα. Στο τέλος της εισήγησης παραδίδεται για πρώτη φορά στη βιβλιογραφία το μεταγεγραμμένο κείμενο.

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Θρήνοι της Παναγίας για τη σταύρωση του Ιησού.

Συγκριτική θεώρηση τριών ηθοποιών

Σημαντικό εγχειρίδιο για την εκπαίδευση των νέων στο Βυζάντιο υπήρξαν τα Προγυμνάσματα, τα οποία ήταν ασκήσεις που συνέβαλαν στη βελτίωση της ρητορικής ικανότητας των μαθητών. Μεταξύ αυτών συγκαταλέγεται και η ηθοποιία, η οποία μάλιστα αναγνωρίζεται ως ένα από τα πιο διαδεδομένα είδη ρητορικής άσκησης.

Η συστηματική μελέτη των E. Amato και G. Ventrella, με τίτλο «L'éthopée dans la pratique scolaire et littéraire», η οποία αποτέλεσε αφορμή για την ομιλία αυτή, βοηθά σημαντικά στην παρακολούθηση της παραγωγής του είδους της ηθοποιίας στο πέρασμα των αιώνων, καθώς οι δύο μελετητές έχουν καταρτίσει έναν πλήρη κατάλογο, με τα ονόματα όλων των συγγραφέων που συνέταξαν ηθοποιίες από τον 4ο αιώνα μ.Χ. έως και τον 15ο αι. μ.Χ. Μελετώντας λοιπόν τον κατάλογο αυτό διαπιστώθηκε ότι υπάρχουν τρεις ηθοποιίες που γράφτηκαν σε διαφορετικές χρονικές περιόδους, από διαφορετικούς συγγραφείς, έχοντας όμως κοινή θεματολογία: το θρήνο της Παναγίας για τη σταύρωση του Χριστού. Οι τρεις ηθοποιίες στις οποίες θα γίνει αναφορά είναι οι εξής:



α. η ηθοποιία του Νικηφόρου Βασιλάκη με τίτλο: Τίνας ἄν εἶπη λόγους ἢ Θεοτόκος, περιπλακεῖσα κηδευομένῳ τῷ ταύτης υἱῷ καὶ σωτῆρι Χριστῷ.,

β. η ηθοποιία του Γεωργίου Λαπίθη με τίτλο: Ἡθοποιῖα. Ποίημα κυροῦ Γεωργίου Λαπίθου. Τί ἄν εἶπεν ἢ Θεοτόκος, βλέπουσα τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλη Παρασκευῇ,

γ. η ηθοποιία του μητροπολίτη Ρόδου, Νείλου, με τίτλο: Ἡθοποιῖα ὡς ἐκ προσώπου τῆς Θεομήτορος πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱόν, ὅτε τοῦτον ἑώρα πάσχοντα.

Πέραν της κοινῆς θεματολογίας, σημαντικό κριτήριο για την επιλογή των τριῶν αυτῶν ηθοποιῶν, για τις οποίες θα γίνει λόγος, αποτέλεσε και η δυνατότητα κατάταξής τους στο εἶδος της ηθοποιίας. Στο σημείο αυτό είναι σημαντικό να διευκρινιστεῖ ὅτι οι τρεις αυτές ηθοποιίες αποτελοῦν αυτοτελεῖς συνθέσεις και δεν είναι ενσωματωμένες μέσα σε μια ευρύτερη σύνθεση, ὡπως παρατηρεῖται με ἄλλες ηθοποιίες. Κατά τη διάρκεια των αἰῶνων γράφτηκαν πολυάριθμοι θρήνοι για τη σταύρωση του Ἰησοῦ, οι οποίοι θεωρητικά λέχθηκαν ἀπὸ τη Θεοτόκο. Οι τρεις ὅμως αυτοὶ λόγοι, οι οποίοι θα τεθούν προς παρουσίαση και μελέτη, μπορούν να διαχωριστοῦν ἀπὸ τὸ σύνολο των λόγων που ἔχουν σχετικὴ θεματολογία, διότι συντάχθηκαν για να χρησιμοποιηθοῦν ὡς ρητορικά προγυμνάσματα και ἀνήκουν στο εἶδος της ηθοποιίας.

Στην παρούσα ομιλία, εφόσον προηγηθεῖ μια σύντομη παρουσίαση του περιεχομένου των τριῶν ηθοποιῶν, θα γίνει προσπάθεια να διαπιστωθεῖ αν οι τρεις ηθοποιίες τηροῦν τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά σύνθεσης του εἶδους της ηθοποιίας, ὡπως αυτά ορίστηκαν ἀπὸ τους θεωρητικούς του εἶδους Αἴλιο Θέωνα, Ερμογένη και Αφθόνιο. Τέλος, θα γίνει προσπάθεια να εντοπιστοῦν ομοιότητες ἢ ἀκόμη και διαφορές μεταξύ των τριῶν ρητορικών συνθέσεων, τόσο ὡς προς τη δομὴ, ὅσο και ὡς προς τὸ περιεχόμενο.

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Dating *Νουθεσία γέροντος* and Boris Melioranskij Theory Revalidation

The arguments for *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* prior to *Νουθεσία* are provided along with Boris Melioranskij theory correction based upon contemporary approach. Discussion on the concept of textual interdependence within historical trends of Byzantine literature. The role of Rome in the VIII century Greek iconophile literature dissemination process according to linguistic and textual criticism data.



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BYZANTINE SCULPTURE

Chairs: **Olga Gratsiou, Nikolaos Papageorgiou**

Claudia Di Bello,

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Byzantine Spolia in the Ottoman Capital in the Light of New Evidence



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I capitelli imposta del tipo cosiddetto “a pannelli” nell’ambito della produzione scultorea postgiustiniana

Prendendo spunto dalle esigue testimonianze sopravvissute, il mio intervento intende proporre alcune riflessioni sulla diffusione dei capitelli imposta del tipo cosiddetto “a pannelli” nel periodo compreso tra la fine del VI secolo e gli inizi del IX, e, nel contempo, integrarne il catalogo con una serie di interessanti reperti ancora inediti.

Lo studio dei capitelli “a pannelli” s’inquadra nell’ambito di una mia più ampia ricerca sulla produzione scultorea bizantina in epoca postgiustiniana, un campo d’indagine in larga parte ancora da approfondire.

All’indomani del lungo regno di Giustiniano, infatti, il panorama della scultura bizantina appare alquanto problematico. Nei tre secoli che seguono, il numero di testimonianze datate o databili è assai esiguo e quasi tutte sono, tra l’altro, decontestualizzate. Eppure, nonostante lo scenario disomogeneo e frammentario, grazie ad alcuni studi è stato possibile evincere che, già da questo periodo, le tipologie di capitelli di tradizione classica furono gradualmente soppiantate da quelli a imposta. In particolare, sembrano aver riscontrato particolare fortuna quelli del tipo cosiddetto “a pannelli”, categoria già diffusa nel VI secolo e ampiamente documentata nei secoli di transizione da una serie di esemplari, tra i quali costituiscono dei sicuri punti di riferimento i capitelli siglati dai monogrammi di Giustino II e della moglie Sofia nell’*esedra di Yalova Termal*, il grande capitello del museo di *Afyonkarahisar* che reca il monogramma dell’imperatore Foca e quello siglato dall’*Augusta Irene* nel Museo Bizantino di Atene.

Verranno esaminate le alterazioni che nelle forme e nell’ornamentazione essi subiscono in questo intervallo di tempo. La componente decorativa, già ridotta nei modelli di VI secolo alla semplice presenza di forme quali croci, dischi, foglie di vite e quadrilobi al centro dei pannelli, sembra adattarsi alla consuetudine sempre più frequente di contrassegnare con dei nomi o delle invocazioni in forma monogrammatica i pannelli del capitello, riducendo a volte a questi unici elementi la decorazione. Questo aspetto potrà essere meglio affrontato alla luce di nuovi e interessanti esempi inediti conservati a Istanbul che contribuiscono, peraltro, a ridurre la carenza di testimonianze dalla capitale bizantina in questo contesto.

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Constantinople Chapitels from Excavations in Veliko Tarnovo

In Bulgaria there are not so many chapters with figural images of saints. Our attention is focused on some of them from the Late Byzantium period. They are made from marble and found during archaeological excavations in the medieval capital city of Bulgaria – Tarnovo (1185-1393). The study of different in nature sculptural monuments or architectural details, found during



archaeological expeditions, is difficult mostly because it does not always involve reliable information about their overall appearance and in many cases their exact place in the church or secular interior remain unknown.

The first chapter is tetrahedral, with multi figure composition and origin from the Palace of Tsarevets Fortress. What is interesting about it is its iconography. In the place of the angular edges between the walls are arranged figures of archangels in full height. In his right hand the archangel hold sphere and in his left – probably labarium. In the middle, over one of the chapter's walls is situated considerably bigger half-length figure of saint-martyr. In his right hand he holds a cross in front of his chests and the left palm is facing forward in prayer gesture. On the neighboring wall, between the wings of the two archangels, situated in the angular edges, there is a medallion in a round frame. The disposition of the saint-martyr is identical to several images of warrior saints from similar chapters in Cluny Museum and the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul. They are all represented with one hand turned in prayer gesture with the palm facing forward and the other holding sword.

A Chapter with similar form and decoration is discovered during the excavations of the Great Lavra “St. 40 Martyrs” in Veliko Tarnovo. The presented image is of a half-length young warrior saint wearing a scaly cuirass and cloak. He is holding a spear in his right hand, leaning on his left shoulder, and with his left hand clutching a sword handle in front of his chests. The images on the chapter are located on adjacent walls while on the other two walls are situated medallions with ornamental decoration or crosses

Another small tetrahedral chapter with an image of a warrior is discovered during excavations of the Patriarchal Church “Ascension of Christ”. Only the bottom part of a half-length figure of a warrior is preserved. He is wearing scaly cuirass, holding sword handle in his left hand and in his right – a spear, leaning on his left shoulder.

The reviewed chapters with figural images of saints are made in Constantinople atelier in the 14th century which production is preserved in one of the most significant churches in Byzantine capital city – Church of the Holy Savior in Chora, the church “Pammakaristos”, Church “Theotokos Kyriotissa” and the monastery of Constantine Lipps alongside with chapters stored in the Cluny Abbey.

But the question how these chapters actually reached Tarnovo still stands. The fact that the chapters are discovered in architectural complexes suggest that the most probable scenario are specific orders, executed in Constantinople and delivered to the Bulgarian capital city in the early decades of the 14th century for the construction of secular and church buildings. Another possibility of gaining such works of a monumental sculpture to Tarnovo is that they were brought as trophies from demolished, abandoned or looted buildings in the territory of Byzantine settlement network (in contemporary borders of South Bulgaria or The Black Sea coast). Of course the specific dating associated with the atelier, which has provided services in Constantinople in the beginning of the 14th century, rather supports the first possibility. Their function should be connected with the decoration of certain interior parts, ordered by their donors, such as annexes, tombs, entrances, galleries and etc.



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Early Christian and Byzantine Sculpture on Samothrace

An island possesses the distinctive particularity of a “closed” archaeological unit. The jigsaw puzzle of its past relics, irrespectively of their epoch, especially regarding the marble members, could have been re-distributed in many ways through all these centuries and become henceforth more and more complicated. However, its pieces, with the exemption of those that have already decomposed into lime, remain on it waiting for us to combine them.

The vast majority of the architectural ecclesiastical sculpture on Samothrace, dated throughout the medieval era, is to be found and seen, scattered as it is, all over the productive zone of the island, in and around the hundreds of ruined small churches, the majority of which has been erected in the 2nd half of the 14th c., distributed according to a certain detected model of space organization. A very small amount of it has been unsystematically collected and safeguarded either at the local Museum or in a nearby curatorial establishment.

The stock of the Early Christian sculpture on the island derives from its six derelict or vanished basilicas, the two of them already known prior to our survey, two more located by our survey, plus other two the existence of which we presume. Precisely, the majority of this Early Christian recycling material might come from the three of these basilicas: the one partially excavated in Palaiápolis, and the two destroyed ones: this in Kamariōtissa and the other in Thérma. In one case, this of the basilica in Palaiápolis, we have managed to detect in various sites all over the island many architectural members, such as columns, capitals, imposts, bases, presumed with almost certainty that they have been sprung from its original ensemble.

Comparatively, less to be found (or recognized) are the members (mainly panels and capitals) attributed to either the Transitional or the Middle-Byzantine Eras. Some of them are to be seen still scattering around in the few detected middle-byzantine church or monastic sites on the island, as is the case of the Middle-Byzantine basilica of “St. George” in Striverós of Apánō Meriá. A local Middle-Byzantine sculpture workshop has been ascertained beyond any doubt.

A cross study of all these Early Christian and Middle-Byzantine scatters could come down to interrelations and groupings, as many of them derive from the same, yet unrevealed, buildings.

A re-composition and mingling of Early Christian and Middle-Byzantine members is to be noticed in the Palaeologean Era. The local tradition is carried on in the late byzantine era, as a tradition of ashlar-masonries, mainly for the curved parts of the churches: vaults, apses, and arches. And beyond that: A multitude of bas-reliefs spolia – drums, fragments of architraves with fascias, triglyphs, gable cornices, guttae, simas, capitals, pilaster-capitals, sepulchral altars, gravestones, water-basins pedestals, inscriptions – hailed from the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, are found today dispersed inside the devastated Paleologean churches, mixed with Early-Christian and Byzantine marble members. Few of them are being brought to be embedded, either modified and re-chiselled or not. Most of them are just laid down, used simply as offerings, revealing a part of the amazing re-casting of the Antiquity by the medieval man, an inseparable and essential part of the Samothracian historical landscape.



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Acanthus Ornament in the Wall Sculpture of Tayk/Tao in the 10th-11th Centuries

Tayk/Tao made a part of historical Armenia in early Middle Ages, after joint united Georgian kingdom (present Turkey). In the X-XI centuries the region was undergoing a period of cultural flourishing based on the traditions of three cultures: Armenian, Georgian and Byzantine. Particularly it was connected with Byzantine orientation of local governor David III Bagratuni (961-1001), and with the political and geographical situation of the region.

In the 10th-11th centuries Tayk/Tao was considered as a theme of Byzantine Empire the rulers of which had Byzantine titles. Tayk/Tao used to keep its autocracy, at the same time being a stronghold for Byzantium to protect its eastern borders against Arabic invasions. Under such self-governing conditions it is natural that a unique culture with rich traditions has formed in Tayk.

The reliefs used especially in the outside décor of the monasteries of Tayk/Tao have their parallels in the monuments of the late Antiquity and the Early Christian periods, while more developed ones are comparable to the choicest Byzantine and Sasanian samples. The most common patterns for relief decorations here are vegetal and geometric ornaments and their various configurations. An original style that was created in the region, based on the layers of Armenian, Georgian and Byzantine richest cultures, is particularly evident through geometrical and vegetal ornaments. The acanthus ornamentation that had newly flourished in Byzantine decoration art in the 9th-11th cc. was especially remarkable (Church of St. Gregory Theologian in Thebes, Monastery Hosios Lukas in Phocis, etc.). It is presented here in two forms: realistic and stylized, where acanthus has almost lost its vegetal origin. Acanthus motifs are depicted on the most vivid and significant parts of the façade: window and door frames, tympanums, drums.

In the studies published up to date the ornamentation was considered only as a means of emphasizing the architectural forms. However, the ornaments that appear independently have deep symbolism and their own way of development. Acanthus ornament at monasteries Ishkhan (Ishkhani (in Georgian)) and Chordvan (Ot'ht'a Eklesia (in Georgian), Dörtkilise (in Turkish)) has iconographic parallels especially in the Byzantine art, in particular on the pavement, reliefs, in smaller architectural forms, metal works and evidently in manuscript decoration.

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Παρατηρήσεις σε μαρμάρινα μεσοβυζαντινά τέμπλα στη βόρεια Ελλάδα και στη Θεσσαλία

Στην ανακοίνωση παρουσιάζονται τα μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των μαρμάρινων τέμπλων της μέσης βυζαντινής περιόδου στη βόρεια Ελλάδα και στη Θεσσαλία. Ακολουθώντας και με βάση, όχι μόνο τα χαρακτηριστικά αυτά αλλά και ορισμένες κατασκευαστικές λεπτομέρειες, καθώς και στοιχεία του διακόσμου, επιχειρείται η αναζήτηση της αρχικής μορφής των εν λόγω τέμπλων.



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Byzantine Spolia in the Ottoman Capital in the Light of New Evidence

With the Ottoman Turks, from 1453 onwards, the city's urban reconstruction with monumental buildings – as a new capital – demanded a huge mass of construction material, which included that from the previous Byzantine monuments.

The use of spolia, which was quite common in most Islamic States such as that of the Anatolian Seljuks and the principalities (Beyliks) of Asia Minor, gained a different dimension with the Ottomans. This use presents different aspects in the earlier and in the so called 'classical' periods of Ottoman architecture, with changes in the concept of its use.

Just before 1453, we can see in Bursa a significant development in the production of Ottoman architectural sculpture: the appearance of the first typical capital during the reign of Beyazıd I (1389-1403), is an important example of this development, which as probably a creation of the non-Muslim masons whom Beyazıd I had acquired after his conquest of western Anatolia.. The 'visibility' of the spolia materials used, such as capital, plinth, parapet and pillar, gradually disappears in Ottoman architecture as it begins to develop its individual style.

In the 16th century, spolia has been re-used and kept hidden. An intense use of re-cut of colored marbles shows a hierarchical placement in the planimetric formation of the building. In fact, a color-based arrangement seems to have become one of the rules (e.g. use of corner columns).

The relationship of the Ottoman Turks with the City after 1453 provides interesting aspects of social and cultural life. It is also surprising how some structures, representatives of Byzantine architecture and art in the city, have parallel significance for the Ottoman Turks. The similar descriptions of Paulos Silentiarios in the 6th century and Tursun Bey in the 15th on the marble lining in Hagia Sofia is an obvious example of this. Similarly for the use of plates of early Byzantine craftsmanship in Vefa during the restoration of Kilise Mosque during the Ottoman period.

The marble imitations in the mihrab of Sokullu Mehmed Paşa Mosque, and in the tile panels of the Mausoleum of Hürrem Sultan resemble the marble-cover slabs of Hagia Sofia or the Chora church. An interesting example of marble descriptions on tiles is the mihrab description which appeared in the tile panel in the Dervish Pasha Mosque dated to 1574.

We have recently been working on the reuse of Byzantine material in Ottoman buildings of Istanbul. Much unknown and interesting material has come to light; capitals, columns shafts and column bases have all been used. Slabs and even decorated soffits have been used in the furnishings of mosques.

We will present here for the first time some of this material, collected in this corpus, and some Middle-Byzantine period cases - very important given their relative scarcity.



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STUDIES IN BYZANTINE ICONOGRAPHY – PART 3

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Greek and Roman Landscape and the Byzantine Art



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Christ, Melchizedec, David and the Controversy about the Azymes: A Reinterpretation of a Sinaitic Icon

Among the many icons of the Sacred Monastery of the God-Trodden Mount of Sinai is included an icon with three holy figures dated to the beginning of the 12th century. Based on the icon's inscriptions modern researchers recognized Christ portrayed in bust and also the full-standing figures of Abraham and Melchizedec. However it is possible that the inscriptions were repainted during a restoration made in the 18th century. There is also the possibility that the inscriptions copied the previous ones. It is also true that the narrative scene of the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedec, an event which is described in the book of the Genesis of the Old Testament, can be found in illustrated manuscripts. For example the scene is depicted in a miniature found on fol. 68r of the codex Vat. gr. 746. However the purpose of this paper is to prove that the two depicted full-length holy figures are in fact that of priest-king Melchizedec and prophet David. This is another scene of Byzantine art that is found mainly in decorated manuscripts. An almost identical composition to the Sinaitic icon, with Melchizedec and David turning toward the roundel of Christ, is represented on a miniature now kept in Saint Petersburg that originally belonged to the codex 61 of the Pantokrator Monastery on Mount Athos, which is dated to the end of the 9th century. Similar compositions can be found on fol. 25r of the manuscript Par. gr. 20, now kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale, dated to the 9th century, and on fol. 152r of the manuscript Add. 19.352 in the British Library, commonly known as the Theodore Psalter and dated to 1066. Another example is a miniature on fol. 194r of the codex Barb. gr. 372 (Barberini Psalter) of the Vatican Library, which is dated to the second half of the 11th century. The scene is connected with the Holy Communion, as in the last three manuscripts the Communion of the Apostles is represented between Melchizedec and David. Then the Sinaitic icon reproduces a composition which is connected with Holy Communion and is also linked with a theological controversy between the Orthodox and the Latin Church that had begun from the 11th century and continued during the 12th and 13th centuries. The Orthodox Church supported the practice of using leavened bread for the Holy Communion, while the Latin Church used unleavened bread (azymes). Many theological works were written at this period. For example at the end of the 11th century Nicholas of Andida wrote treatises on azymes. Furthermore the Patriarch of Constantinople Nicholas III or IV addressed a letter to the Patriarch of Jerusalem in which he refuted the use of azymes by the Latins. It seems possible then that there was also a dispute between Orthodox and Latins in the Holy Land. This is not a mere speculation. The Russian pilgrim abbot Daniel, who visited the Holy Land in the 12th century, records a church at Mount Tabor dedicated to Melchizedec. Daniel also stresses that at this place Melchizedec performed a sacrifice with leavened bread and wine, in fact a prefiguration of Christ's celebration of the Holy Communion, and he did not offer azymes. We must also note that in the scenes of the manuscripts and the icon Melchizedec holds an ewer with wine and a paten with bread, because the text of the



Genesis mentions that he made an offering with bread and wine. It is then likely that the donor of the icon, who is a bishop depicted in prostration before David, wanted to make clear that he was following the doctrine of the Orthodox Church.

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Heracles' Knot in the Medieval Sacral Art

Some scholars consider Heracles' knot as iconographical symbol and not abstract decorative motif. In many cultures the tying or untying of knots marks moments of transition, either from maiden to married woman or from life to death. It originated as a healing charm in ancient Egypt.

There are many Medieval churches containing church furniture, decorative sculpture on the façade or inside that bear the sign of the knot as a kind of protection from the evil. The knot is also painted in the illuminations representing Byzantine church and within ciboria in embroidery, once decorating altar tables etc.

In the middle Byzantine period this motif has been used on twin columns, which indicates it has preserved its ancient protective power and received new religious meaning. It goes not only for the Christian but also for Muslim (as proved by the Ulu Mosque in Bursa, 1399) and Jewish temples.

Pliny in his Natural History notes the belief that wounds heal more quickly when bound with a "Hercules knot". Its popularity in Hellenistic jewelry suggests that it was thought to have the power to avert evil. Almost every major world religion has practices or traditions relating in some way to the magic of the knot. The symbolism of the knot can be followed outside its religious use, and was a very common symbol in Medieval and Renaissance love tokens. It was also popular in Byzantium, especially in architectural sculpture, depicted also in manuscripts. The byzantine knotted column has specific associations with those of the temple of Solomon.

There are numerous examples of synagogues that employ Heracles knot usually on door lintels, but also Muslim temples, like Ulu Mosque Bursa (1399).

The earliest medieval examples of usage of Heracles' knot in Byzantium seem to come from manuscripts (Menologion of Basil II of around 1000, and Slavic manuscripts: Dobrejšo Tetraevangelium, National Library of Sophia, 13th C., that originally comes from Macedonia, the Vani Gospel from Tbilisi, originally from Constantinople, folio 3, around 1200, Codex par. Gr. 1208, folio 3v, 12th C., Paris, National Library, and the illustration of Saint Gregory writing his Homilies, from the codex 339, fol. 4v, from Sinai, Monastery of Hagia Ekaterina, 12th C.).

There are many art works bearing Heracles' knot from Macedonia. The fresco in the altar with the Holy Communion from Hagia Sophia in Ohrid, (early 11th C.), is the earliest fresco example, then



come the frescoes from St. George, Kurbinovo (1191), with painted knotted column, as part of the ciborium over Christ the lamb, like in the fresco of St. Athanasius from Mousaki, Greece (1386/7).

Within the decorative sculpture there are: window columns from St. George, Staro Nagoričino (11th C.) and St. George, Mlado Nagoričino (late medieval period), ciborium of the ambo of St. Sophia in Ohrid (around 1314), wooden altar screen from St. Kosmas and Damian in Ohrid (15th C.).

There are many examples in Greece (the cathedral of Mystras iconostasis, churches in Arta, Nafplion, sarcophagus of St. Theodora (empress Theodora), Church of St. Theodora, Arta, sarcophagi from Thessaloniki etc.), dated in the 14th C.

The cult of St. Theodor may be related to the knot, as illustrated by the relief plate from Vinica, where the holy soldier is represented bearing the dragon shaped flag with the dragon tail shaped as knot. Several tombs and larnaxes in Greece are related to the cult of St. Theodor (Serres, Mani), remnants of sculptural decoration of Panaghia church next to Hosios Loukas, the wall icons of Protaton on Mt. Athos, framing arches of two mosaic icons on the pilasters of the church Porta Panaghia in Trikala, Thessaly (1285). From the bishopric of Volos comes an example of column used as spolia to function as door jamb at the main portal of the church, thus accenting the role of this motif and symbol of protection. The oldest one so far seems to be the steatite icon with Koimesis from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (2/2 of the 10th C.). More examples come from the north and south proskynetarion of the templon, at Mount Athos, Protaton, framing the Virgin and Child and Christ Pantokrator, or the carved screen from St. George, Geraki Castle.

The relation of the cult of St. George and St. Theodor and the knot of Heracles' may lie in their image of brave deity, killing the evil-personified in the dragon. As for the icons, there are several with saints represented under arch, looking like real architectural columns, as it was the case in the fresco paintings. The earliest steatite icon with knotted columns that support the baldachin under which St. George is depicted can be dated to the 11th C., from the treasury of Vatopedi Monastery of Athos. This feature is very common in the 11th C. steatite icons. Yet, even in the 15th C. we can see Christ enthroned under arch with Heracles' knotted columns (Mistra, Museum, inv. no. 1166).

The protection, and healing is also a service provided by the Holy Doctors, St. Cosma and St Damian (Sveti Vračī, Ohrid, wooden iconostasis of the church, 15th C.).

Heracles knot became iconographical symbol, in the mid Byzantine era according to the usage and place of the knotted columns the knot has not only preserved the ancient protective power but received a new religious meaning.

In the churches the most frequent position of the applied on sculpture or painted Heracles' knot is the line that separates the nave and the altar, then the façade of the temple, outer façade of the altar=cancel that closes the holiest space of the church. The function to protect from evil, can be seen also by the usage of the knot at the iconostases, usually on columns that are part of an arch or separate the main icons of the altar screen. Its occasional usage on the apsidal windows denotes the function to protect the holy space from the outer world with which it communicates through these openings.

Probably Heracles' knot motif, frequently used in all visual arts was "must have" decoration in every important church with high class patrons.



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Les astres et la temporalité actuelle de la théophanie - déisis presbytérale

En Orient, la théophanie presbytérale la plus récurrente est la théophanie - *déisis*. Le Christ trône entre sa Mère, Marie, et saint Jean-Baptiste qui, tous les deux, intercèdent en faveur de l'humanité. Cette imploration a souvent été cantonnée par l'historiographie au jugement universel. C'est ainsi que la théophanie - *déisis* a été généralement interprétée comme une anticipation de la seconde Venue du Sauveur le jour du Jugement dernier. Cependant, certains motifs iconographiques associés à ce thème ainsi que son emplacement au-dessus de l'autel majeur où se déroule le sacrifice eucharistique permettent d'ancrer la théophanie et l'intercession de la Vierge et du Prodrome dans les temps présents. Le soleil, la lune et les étoiles qui sont largement associés aux programmes absidaux, sont, à mon sens, parmi les motifs iconographiques qui peuvent rapporter la théophanie, avec ou sans les intercesseurs, à la temporalité des temps présents.

Les astres ont été souvent considérés comme les attributs des visions prophétiques qui confèrent à l'image de la théophanie un sens eschatologique bien que les textes prophétiques n'en fassent aucune mention. En effet, l'Écriture insiste sur la disparition des astres à la fin des temps. C'est ainsi que ces êtres sidéraux n'apparaissent dans les scènes du Jugement dernier que sur le ciel replié par l'ange pour marquer leur disparition définitive.

Dans cette perspective le soleil, la lune et les étoiles permettent d'écartier la dimension eschatologique accordée habituellement à la théophanie absidale à laquelle ils sont souvent associés. En effet, le cours du temps s'arrête et l'histoire atteint son terme à la fin dernière ; c'est ainsi que les astres, qui forment l'horloge qui définit le temps courant, s'évanouissent définitivement. Cela expliquerait leur absence totale dans le thème de la théophanie eschatologique du Jugement dernier et conférerait, en revanche, une temporalité actuelle à la théophanie absidale. Cette lecture tendra ensuite à inscrire l'intercession de la Vierge et de Saint Jean Baptiste dans les temps présents. Mais pour pouvoir appliquer cette interprétation, il faut cerner le rôle des astres, qui aurait pu motiver ou justifier leur présence au sein des programmes absidaux, tant dans l'Écriture que dans la tradition exégétique, hymnographique et liturgique.

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Battle Shields in Byzantine Art, 10th – 15th Century

Despite the almost total lack of written material on the subject and the fact that not even one specimen of Byzantine shield has survived, medieval iconographic sources provide a broad typology of forms for these defensive weapons. The purpose of this paper is to propose an initial classification based on shapes and motifs of the shields appearing in Byzantium from the 10th to the



15th century in order to provide a useful instrument in determining the dating of Byzantine works of art. The connection between battlefield practice and formal aspects of the Byzantine shield and its relation to technological conservatism and/or evolution will be addressed also through the analysis of contemporary Western and Arabic written and artistic sources.

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Greek-Rite Churches in Medieval Hungary: Observations on the Iconography of Two Sanctuaries

This communication analyzes the iconography of the sanctuaries of the Orthodox church of St. Nicholas at Ribița (Hunedoara County) and the Orthodox church of the Dormition of the Virgin at Hălmagiu (Arad County). In the Middle Ages, they were situated in the Hungarian kingdom, in the Zaránd County, close to the border with the Transylvanian voivodate. The paintings may be dated to the early fifteenth century in the case of Ribița and to around 1400 or the first decades of the fifteenth century in the case of Hălmagiu. The style of the paintings is of Byzantine tradition at Ribița and International Gothic at Hălmagiu. Both churches were of the Greek rite and their patrons were local knezes or voivodes, who had relatively limited economic resources. The paintings have been partially preserved or uncovered, but the iconographic programs of the sanctuaries can largely be reconstructed and are similar in the two churches. The iconography shows some deviations from the late Byzantine “canons.” Some of them are due to the rectangular plan of the sanctuary, the absence of a dome in the naos, and the influence of Western art. Particular iconographic details may be interpreted against the local religious and political background. For example, a special scene showing St. Nicholas officiating and defeating a heretic (Arius) was painted in both churches on the south wall of the sanctuary. The depiction, which is similar to that of the Vision of St. Peter of Alexandria, is a statement of orthodoxy and could be related to a real heretical threat. However, the regional social, political, and ecclesiastical context hardly supports the interpretation of this scene and other details of the program at Hălmagiu as carrying an anti-Latin message, as it has been proposed in the past. Also, the image of a saint depicted using the Western iconography of the Apostle Bartholomew, flayed and carrying his skin, next to the prothesis niche at Hălmagiu may suggest that some Christians of the Greek-rite had knowledge about certain aspects of Bartholomew’s Latin cult. At the same time, the iconography of the lower registers of the two sanctuaries asserts adherence to the Greek-rite liturgy and the orthodox faith. The period when the churches were painted was one of tolerance towards the Greek-rite Christians in Hungary and interest in the union of Churches, mainly due to the increasing Ottoman threat. The donors of the paintings were landowners with limited privileges, aspired to full nobility, had military duties, and lived close to the southeastern borders of Hungary. To sum it up, the special iconographic features of the two sanctuaries fit well into the historical picture of this, from many points of view, peripheral society, characterized by increased religious tolerance, focus on common enemy, and matching interests.



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Greek and Roman Landscape and the Byzantine Art

Not much of the imagery of landscape (weather alone or as part of larger compositions) in the arts of the European antiquity is preserved. An analysis of the texts of the five art historiographers of antiquity: Vitruvius (*De Architectura*, 1st century BC), Pliny the Elder (*Historia Naturalis*, 1st century AD), Philostratus the Elder (*Eikones*, 2nd century AD), Philostratus the Younger (*Eikones*, 3rd century AD) and Callistratus (*Descriptiones*, 3rd or 4th century AD), reveals the existence of possible categories of landscape in Greek and Roman art history that correspond to the preserved visual material. Among such categories are landscape as an allegory, landscape as a sign, vistas, the unknown (and imaginary) landscape and the ideal landscape.

Representations of landscape in Greek and Roman art are not exclusive to painting - several sculptural examples can be seen as personification of a landscape. Amongst them are the preserved sculptural representations of the river Nile, the Ocean and others. This tradition, described by Philostratus the Elder as a painterly tradition, in the Byzantine art practice can be seen in some of the imagery of the River Jordan and other allegorical imagery.

Landscape as a sign in Greek and Roman art, also described by Philostratus the Younger and Callistratus, is perhaps best observed in the imagery of larger compositions, such as the numerous preserved examples largely dating from the 1c BC to the 4th c AD of the imagery of Orpheus playing music to mesmerised beasts within a landscape that is only indicated. In the Byzantine art, such indications of a landscape can be traced in the imagery of compositions such as *Entry into Jerusalem* and others.

The preserved imagery of the Roman vistas described by Pliny, and Vitruvius and Philostratus the Elder's descriptions of the Greek/Hellenistic vistas can be traced in the Byzantine imagery of representations of the urban environment of Jerusalem. Similarly, the landscape interspersed with the genre-scenes as described by Pliny and preserved in the Pompeiian painting, features in the imagery of the many diverse monuments of the Byzantine art to especially great effect in the glimpses of a rustic landscape.

The Byzantine imagery of unknown, imaginary landscape (by itself, or featuring monstrous creatures) appears to be part of a long tradition of Greek and Roman art described by Vitruvius and Philostratus the Elder and including Pompeiian painting with the episodes of Ulysses' travels and with other unknown and imaginary landscapes.

The tradition of the representations of ideal, ethereal landscape embraced to a great significance in Byzantine art can be observed in many Greek and Roman artworks. These include the negative space of numerous Greek vases especially from the 5c BC, several examples of reliefs of the imperial columns, and some examples of Pompeian art. The writings of the five art historiographers of



antiquity, especially of Philostratus the Elder, provide much material for understanding the construct of an ideal landscape.

Significantly, these authors' descriptions of the ideal space are directly correlated with their descriptions of the representations of another construct – that of time - in the visual arts.

This paper examines this heritage of landscape imagery from the European antiquity as reflected in the corresponding monuments of the Byzantine art.



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A Documentary Evidence (Survey)



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Seaside and Shipboard Evidence for Byzantine Maritime Religion

Byzantine seafarers took to the sea in ships both large and small for many different purposes: fishing, trade, pilgrimage, warfare or piracy. Yet whether they sailed from the grand Theodosian Harbor or a remote island cove, all Byzantine sailors shared one thing in common: they practiced both seaside and shipboard religious rituals to request a safe return to shore. Recent harbor-side and underwater excavations provide important new evidence for Byzantine maritime religious practices, from pre and post-travel votives deposited ashore, to prayers or icons engraved on ships and cast overboard with their anchors. In this paper I report on preliminary results from a new survey of material evidence for Byzantine maritime religion, from remains of harbor-side churches in major Mediterranean port cities to votive inscriptions at dangerous promontories and protective amulets retrieved from shipwrecks. This evidence is significant for understanding the distinctive material culture of both the practical and ritual activities of Byzantine mariners, from Late Antiquity up to the First Crusade. However it also casts light on the long-term development of the Byzantine maritime network, which even in the 'dark ages' transmitted innovative technologies, exotic trade goods and successful techniques of obtaining divine favor far afield from Constantinople. One of the main drivers of continued maritime trade was the Church, which benefitted from material goods and the sailors who brought them. Most ships carried images and relics of maritime protector saints, while the entire bodies of saints Mark, Nicholas and Spyridon were eventually carried off by sea to lend blessings to new harbors. Ruins of seaside shrines and wrecks of humble fishing boats alike can help to reconstruct the harbor-side festivals, shipboard rituals and religious culture which Byzantine mariners once disseminated all around the medieval Mediterranean.

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The Maritime Infrastructure of Byzantine Dalmatia and Albania

The current research project „Ports and landing places along the Balkan coasts of the Byzantine Empire. Monuments and technology, economy and communication”, funded by the DFG and run by the Roman Germanic Central Museum Mainz (duration: 2013–2018), tries to establish a map of all anchorages testified by written or archaeological evidence along the shores of the Adriatic, the Ionian, the Aegean and the Black Sea between the 4th and the 12th centuries. The collection of data comprises geographical, nautical, archaeological and historical features for each site. The information gained shall be put together in order to obtain further results regarding ways of



communication, trade volume and motivations for choosing certain locations as harbours while dismissing others. One of the main questions is that of continuity or discontinuity of antique centres in the Middle Ages. For this reason also environmental changes have to be considered. Basically the aim is to depict an accurate and realistic image of ports of different dimensions on the background of environmental conditions, edificial structures and the documentation of the trading volume. The weighting of these categories of local and over-regional significance and the distribution of the representatives of different types of ports will allow us to develop further the concept of separate, but overlapping “shipping-zones” and to better understand the interaction of ports with the hinterland.

The transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages in Dalmatia and Albania shows basically the same features as most parts of the Roman world: the abandonment and depopulation of once productive areas, the loss of territories to foreign people, the ruralization and fortification of urban centres are by no means unique for the Adriatic. However, here we can see how this transition evolved in an almost exclusively sea-orientated part of the Roman/Byzantine oikumene that was soon reduced to more or less isolated outposts on peninsulas and off-shore islands. Circulation of people and goods decreased considerably in the course of the 6th century, but still, the Adriatic periphery remained part of the supply network of the Byzantine world. At first sight, the maritime infrastructure conveys an image of relative continuity: many important harbours of Roman antiquity (Durrës, Zadar) kept their role in the Early Middle Ages while others (Salona, Epitaurum) were replaced by others nearby (Split, Dubrovnik). The shift of settlements, however, was in most cases not necessitated by deterioration of their harbour conditions but usually due to hostile pressure (even if local foundation myths unduly exaggerate the drama of the flight).

A closer look, however, makes more drastic changes of infrastructures obvious. Harbour towns of secondary importance sometimes cease to exist after having suffered demolition by invaders or economic downfall without being substituted by a nearby settlement. Even more telling is the disappearance of the rich networks of small-scale landing places connected to the once large number of flourishing villae and production sites. However, due to their often favourable location from a nautical point of view, many of them were revived in the Early Middle Ages and used as fortresses, settlements or monasteries. Yet, contrary to Roman times, there is a remarkable renunciation of veritable harbour architecture (quays, moles, warehouses) already from the 5th century onwards.

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Tracing the Impact of Environmental Changes and Political Transition on the Harbours at the Western Black Sea Coastline

Studying the history of the ancient settlements that lie on the Western Black Sea coastline one can trace the impact both environment and politics had on the role of harbours in different areas of human life. These factors could enhance or decrease the importance of a harbour and they often caused the change of settlement pattern in a certain region. This paper presents some remarks on



the impact of nature and politics on the towns in the area of the Danube Delta in Romania (Orgame and Histria) and the city of Anchialos (Bulgaria) from the 3rd to the 13th Century.

All three of the settlements were founded by the Ancient Greeks and their harbours had played an important role in the economy of the Black Sea region for centuries. Histria and Orgame lied in the lagoons in the south of the Danube Delta and in this way both of them were naturally protected from the currents and the north and northeast wind that blows from the sea. However, the sediments from the Danube River and the activity of the winds caused the building of a barrier that impeded the transport in the region and eventually cut the connection of Histria and Orgame to the main sea routes. Another reason for the decay of urban life in the northern parts of Dobrudja during the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages was the Great Migration of Peoples. The Roman Empire was able to recover from the assaults of the Goths in the 3rd and 4th century, some of which had maritime character and affected the settlements at the Western Black Sea coastline. The collapse of imperial defences in the northern regions of the Balkans was a result of the Avar and Slav invasion in the late 6th and the early 7th century and the foundation of the Bulgarian state in 680. Since the new border between Byzantium and its new neighbours followed the slopes of the Stara planina mountain the Empire needed such harbours that could play the role of trade and logistic centres in its relations with Bulgaria. It was the cities of Mesembria and Anchialos in Thrace that had fulfilled this function for centuries but it seems that a natural disaster—may be an earthquake—caused the relocation of Anchialos from its older place to the very end of the peninsula in the 12th or 13th century. May be it is this disaster that lead to the formation of the Lake of Pomorie where some of the scholars search the remains of the ancient harbour. Another possible location of the harbour of Anchialos (or may be one of them) is the bay in the south of the modern town.

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Abydos of Hellespont: Organizational Changes in an Important Port and Customs Station of Byzantium

Abydos was an ancient and medieval city (πόλις) situated on the Asiatic coast of Hellespont, in the cape Nara area, near modern Çanakkale. It was founded predominantly by Miletus, somewhere between 680-650 BC, in the middle section and (once) the narrowest point of the Straits. The city's location made its port the most vital point for the passage from Europe to Asia and vice versa. This factor, combined with the existence of a well-protected natural harbor, gave Abydos special geostrategic and economic importance, that lasted until the 13th c. AD (the settlement ceased to be inhabited in the early 14th c.). The additional capabilities provided by the primary and secondary sector of economy, benefited by the exploitation of rich natural resources and especially the local gold mines, ensured the sustained prosperity of the city. The ancient mint of Abydos functioned continuously from the 6th c. BC to the 3rd c. AD. This is another indication of the economic vitality and significance of the city, later a bishopric and metropolitan seat. Abydos was a walled and well protected settlement. Its harbor



had major importance, not only for the control of navigation in the Straits and the communication between the Black Sea and Mediterranean, but also for the supply of ancient Athens and other Greek areas. Much later, its control was vital for the security and the strategic defense of the capital of the Byzantine state, Constantinople, and the Empire's economy and revenues.

The busy port (λιμὴν or ἐμπόριον) of Abydos had indeed a continuous and large commercial activity. The city served as a toll station since the classical period. According to the *lex portorii Asiae* (62 AD), Abydos was one of the *τελώνια* / *stationes* of the roman province of Asia. From the later 5th c. AD, Abydos served as the headquarters of an ἄρχων or κόμης τῶν Στενῶν. This official stopped illegal transport of weapons, checked travel documents and, most of all, made inspections to the cargoes of the ships that transferred each year the *annona civica* and other basic foodstuffs for the needs of population of the capital and, maybe, for the imperial army (*annona militaris*). The so-called Edict of Abydos, probably a decree of emperor Anastasius I, determined the variant small amounts for the inspections (*γνώσις συνηθειῶν*, probably fees for the local officials) and the fines that would be imposed, if the necessary inspections were not made. Some years later though Justinian I established there a more organized customs station (*δημόσιον τελωνεῖον* or *δεκατευτήριον* or *κομμέρκιον Ἀβύδου*) at the beginnings of his reign (ca. 527/28). The toll and its appointed commander (κόμης Ἀβύδου) levied larger than before duties on the movement of all products and imposed sales taxes on commercial transactions and import / export taxes on shipping trade going to and from the capital by sea. From there on, the port of Abydos constituted one of the two boundaries of the special economic zone of Constantinople (the other was Hieron on Bosphorus). Between those limits applied a different tax regime for Byzantine and foreign merchants. Consequently, the customs station of Abydos provided an important source of revenues to the Empire (the tax known as *κομμέρκιον* or *δέκατον* or *δεκατεία* amounted to 10% of commercial goods value). An imperial ἀποθήκη (i.e. storehouse) based in Abydos covered fiscally the area of Hellespont between mid. 7th - early 8th c.

According to the variant testimonies of the sources, the Byzantine officials and other state employees appointed in Abydos were as follows: An highly rank ἄρχων or κόμης τῶν Στενῶν with his subordinate *κλασσικοί* served there between ca. 3rd - early 6th c. and a κόμης Ἀβύδου between ca. early 6th - 8th c. In the later period (ca. 7th - 9th c.) the sphragistic data mention the *κομμερκιάριος ἀποθήκης Ἀβύδου* or *Ἐλλησπόντου* (ca. mid. 7th - early 8th c.) and again an ἄρχων (the late 8th - early 9th c.). Military *παραφύλακες* and subordinate to them *στράτωρες* and *κένταρχοι*, and many lower financial or port officials and employees, as *luminarhi* (= *λιμέναρχοι*?), *φορολόγοι* and simple *κομμερκιάριοι*, *χαρτουλάριοι*, *ἀβυδικοί*, *ἀβυδιτικοί* and *ἀβυδάριοι* (the last three served in Thessaloniki's port [mentioned indeed in the seals as *ἄβυδος*] and other imperial harbors, perhaps in Abydos too), *βικάριοι* (?), *ἐπεϊκται*, *ὑπολόγοι* and *μετρηταί*, *νοτάριοι παραθαλάσσιοι*, *ξυλοκάλαμοι*, *ταβουλάριοι*, *γραφεῖς* and simple *νοτάριοι* also served in the customs station, the port or the fort of Abydos (ca. 7th - 11th c.). Finally, the later higher officials based in Abydos were as follows: *στρατηγός*, possibly with subordinates *κένταρχοι* and *τουρμάρχει*, *κατεπάνω* (the late 11th c.) and *δούξ* (the early 13th c.).



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The Konstostephanos Family – Worst or the Best Mega Dukes of Komnenian Navy in the 12th Century

The Family of Kontostephanos reached many, by binding their fate with the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118). This ruler entrusted to its members vital tasks, mainly the safety of Byzantium at sea. Alexius gave them the command of naval forces in the rank of *mega doux* of Byzantine fleet. Isaac Kontostephanos was designed to block the straits between Italy and the Balkans, during the war with Boemond I in the years 1107-1108. But this task was too difficult to him, so he was dismissed from his post. Another representative of this family, Stephan, whose grandson of Alexius, Manuel I (1143-1180), saddled at the same position and a similar task, as Isaac, which was the naval war against the Normans from the south of Italy, also proved to be incompetent in maritime matters and before his dismissal from this post, the *mega doux* was spared by his death in 1148. Next member of the Konstostephanos family, Andronicus began his career as a *mega doux* with the naval actions on the Danube, and subsequently served as commander of naval forces of Byzantium by nearly twenty years, to both Manuel and his successors from the Komnenian dynasty. His command on the naval forces were full of failures, from failed expedition to Egypt in the year 1169, through inept defense of the Aegean Sea against the Venetians in 1172, to finally, the betrayal, he has committed supporting the usurper Andronicus Comnenus (1183-1185).

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Some Remarks on the History of the Navy of the Empire of Nicaea in the Light of the *Chronicle* of Georgios Akropolites

The Empire of Nicaea was the successor state of the Byzantine Empire, and was founded after the Fourth Crusade by the Laskaris family. The History of the Empire of Nicaea lasted only from 1204 to 1261, when Michael Palaiologos (1259-1282) recovered Constantinople. In Nicaea, among the many relics of the Byzantine world, also survived the Byzantine maritime tradition. The Nicean Emperors created their own naval forces on the East Coast of the Aegean Sea. The main objectives of this paper is to show, an account of Nicaean statesman, chief-in-command and historian, Georgios Akropolites (1217 or 1220-1271), about the role of the Navy of the Empire of Nicaea. I will try to answer, where was beating the heart of shipbuilding industry of this state, and how large were the fleets of Nicaea. This is important from point of view of maritime history, because the fleet of the Empire of Nicaea, filled the gap created after the fall of Constantinople and Byzantine Empire, which was the local naval power in previous centuries.



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The Giustiniani of Chios and Byzantium as a Means of Validation

The island of Chios is conquered by a group of Genoese merchants in 1346. After founding a commercial company, the Maona, to rule the island, thanks to the large concessions of the hometown, these merchants, belonging to different families, decide to take the name of Giustiniani. The military and commercial conquest thus brings to the birth of a new parental group, which would become an important aristocratic family in Medieval and Modern Europe, with interests spanning from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean. Why has the name Giustiniani been chosen to define this new group?

The identification of the name of the new Genoese family with the name of the most renowned Byzantine emperor can be hardly seen as a coincidence. Actually, under many points of view the merchants ruling Chios appear to seek an authentication of their power from the Byzantine Empire. Their attitude towards the conquered Greek population is far from intimidating: religious orthodox authorities keep their position, and the same happens with the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, who keeps appointing local bishops; properties belonging to the local population remain almost untouched, and the settlement of the newly arrived Genoese does not deeply affect local assets; relations with local elites are rapidly and tightly developed, without those forms of separations between Greeks and Latins that can be observed in many other contexts. Thus, it is not by chance that, at the beginning of the manuscript containing the documents of interest for the company, a chrysobull by John V Paleologue testifies of the concession of the island to the Genoese rulers, in exchange of a symbolical tribute: Byzantine authorities are evoked to validate the position of the Maona in Chios.

That the name of Giustiniani has not been chosen by chance, appears clearly from the documents belonging to the family from the 16th century onwards. As it becomes more and more necessary to demonstrate the aristocratic origins of a family, which was actually born from the merging of different families of non-aristocratic descendance, the possibilities the name Giustiniani offers become immediately evident. Genealogies, tales and narrations are invented to demonstrate the direct descent of the members of the family from Justinian's relatives, if not from Justinian himself. Thus, a Genoese family who has built its fortunes by conquering a Byzantine island, seeks authentication for its power from Constantinople itself, following a pattern which is not unusual in other Genoese contexts. We can mention, for instance, the case of the Gattilusio, ruling the nearby island of Lesbos, and their tight connections with the Byzantine imperial dynasty.

Perfectly aware of the distance and of the relative weakness of the Genoese Comune in sustaining their position and their power, and of the necessity of keeping good relations with the local population, whose support is necessary to maintain a firm grip on Chios, the participants to the Maona, the Giustiniani, do not hesitate to look to Byzantium to affirm and to validate their power. Genoa, for its part, does not impose a strict control on its merchants, letting them rule their conquests almost as private, independent powers, in a conception of the State which is radically different from the one pursued by Venice.



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The Mediterranean Policy of the Angevins and the Aragonese in the 14th Century. A Documentary Evidence (Survey)

The aim of this research, based on archival material, is to examine the juxtaposition of the two western powers in the 14th century under the rule of Charles II, Robert the Wise of Anjou and James II of Aragon in the Mediterranean. As it seems, through the study of archival material, both rival powers tried, by treaties and marriage agreements, to appease unsuccessfully their confrontation. The Sicilian problem never really ceased after 1282, even though the Pope still claimed suzerain authority, as well as their claims in Sardinia and Corsica. On the other hand the eastern question concerning their territorial rights and their predominance in the Latin dominions in the eastern Mediterranean had impact in all aspects of their policy during the century. The Aragonese kings had ambitious plans for Romania and seem to have shown a great interest in the situation by diplomatic approaches to the Byzantine emperor as well as the Pope, the Hospitallers of Rhodes and the Angevins and continuous interventions with regard to their subjects in Romania. On the other hand, we assume that Catalan imperialism cannot be explained as an organized plan, but as individual attempts for fortune-seeking and profit. Unpublished documents from the Archivo della Corona de Aragon shed light and enrich our knowledge for the Mediterranean history of the period.



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Svetlana Maltseva,

The Artistic Image of a Church and Its Reflection in Mural Painting of Medieval Serbia and Old Rus’



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The Architectural Layout of the Middle Byzantine Monastery of Satyros in Constantinople

Results of archaeological surveys, three excavation campaigns, analysis and on-going research are corroborating identification of present-day Istanbul's Asian side largest surviving archaeological area with the patriarchal monastery of *Satyros or Anatellon*. The site, located in the modern neighborhood of Küçükaly, stood by the ancient Marmara seashore and across the *Prinkipo* islands.

According to the *vita Ignatii* (col. 560D), Ignatios begin construction of the most lavish of his monasteries during his second patriarchate. *Satyros* was on the mainland not far from *Prinkipo* where Ignatios was exiled further deposition of his father, the emperor Michael the First Rangabes in 813. It is at *Satyros*, according to the *vita*, that the patriarch's body was translated after his death on, October 23 877 and buried in a small chamber located to the south of the *katholikon*.

Modern construction in the area of Küçükaly has spared what might have been the main core of the ancient complex, a rectangular-in-plan platform organized on two levels and framed by retaining walls. The lower level being occupied in part by an underground cistern and the upper level preserving traces of a built environment not explored prior our research. There, archaeological work lead to the exposure of the remains of a church whose structure survived above the cistern's uncollapsed eastern portion. The building bears the likely characteristics of a cross-domed church with side compartments and a compact square outlook. By its south-eastern flank a small funerary chapel was object of excavations with further work carried out on the south-eastern corner of the platform. There, a large square-in-plan buttressed tower was brought to light. In 2010, work outside the platform to the north revealed continuation of architectural structures beyond the platform's limits. Analysis of the unearthed architectural features demonstrated they were all built concurrently, likely part of a cohesive building program that took place in the second half of the 9th century.

The presentation proposes to discuss the architectural features of the single buildings thus far excavated, their chronology, organization and function. Emphasis will also be placed on the significance of this discovery within the rather modest panorama of surviving 9th century ecclesiastical buildings and monastic complexes in the city of Constantinople.



Illustrations:



Plan of the archaeological site at Küçükyalı (KYAP, 2011)



The archaeological site seen from south, 2010 excavation season (KYAP, 2010)



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О возможных прототипах архитектурной композиции Десятичной церкви в Киеве

Десятичная церковь в Киеве не сохранилась до наших дней, и о ее облике можно судить по реконструкциям, выполненным на основании материалов археологических исследований. Материалы, полученные при архитектурно-археологических исследованиях 2005-2011 гг. позволили по новому реконструировать плано-пространственную композицию первого монументального памятника Древней Руси. Исследования показали, что храм возведен в рамках единого строительного процесса. Его ядро – наос надо реконструировать как квадратный четырехстолпный объем окруженный с трех сторон сложной системой компартиментов.

Уточнение объемной структуры храма позволило обратиться вновь к поиску источников архитектурной композиции Десятичной церкви в Киеве. Говоря о возможных прототипах Десятичной церкви, надо отметить, что речь идет о совокупности архитектурных и конструктивных решений, обуславливающих архитектурную композицию. Образцом для формирования композиции Десятичной церкви должно было стать одно из наиболее значимых зданий византийского мира, точнее его образ, намеченный исходя из своих представлений заказчиком, и исполненный зодчим, на основании своего видения заданного прототипа.

В предлагаемом варианте реконструкции Десятичной церкви сквозит базиликальная основа с развитым трансептом. При этом правильнее говорить не о базиликальности храма, с его единым пространством и пронизывающей осевой линией, акцентированной в средокрестии куполом, а о копировании базиликальной идеи развития композиции, когда осевые линии являются основой для размещения на них обособленных объемов и конструктивных единиц, не свойственных для базилики, а основное пространство храма – наос развивается на основе центрального подкупольного объема, поставленного на пересечении осевых линий композиции.

Одной из самых значимых построек в Византийском мире, безусловно, являлась церковь Апостолов в Константинополе. Впервые точка зрения о том, что «идеологическим» прототипом для Десятичной церкви мог быть храм Апостолов, была высказана А. М. Высоцким в 2002 г. Архитектурная композиция Десятичной церкви, реконструируемая на основании археологических исследований 2005-2011 гг., позволяет говорить не только о копировании образа церкви Апостолов, но и о том, что зодчие, возводившие храм в Киеве заимствовали основные принципы ее архитектурной композиции, переработав их в соответствии со своим представлением о типологических и конструктивных схемах. В Десятичной церкви, создавая большой храм с подкупольным квадратом, равным почти 8 метрам, и с интегрированными хорами, зодчий, опираясь на конструкцию храма с четырьмя колоннами, скомпоновал объем наоса в виде храма с обходом, а затем расширил его за счет дополнительных компартиментов, имитировав пространственную схему храма Апостолов.



Этот дуализм понимания композиции Десятинной церкви, безусловно, обязан своим происхождением несоответствию между арсеналом архитектурных форм, которыми владели зодчие, и теми функциональными задачами и образцами, которые были перед ними поставлены заказчиком храма. Именно такой подход позволил зодчему, возводившему Десятинную церковь, обратившись к образам архитектурного наследия более раннего периода, создать не просто копию, а своеобразный и глубоко индивидуальный памятник архитектуры, отражающий свое время.

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The Tithe church in Kiev: A Byzantine trace

The Byzantine origin of the architecture of the first masonry church in the Old Rus, built by Prince Vladimir in the late 10th century and preserved only at foundation level, is widely claimed. However, this influence shows difference in various aspects of design and building technology of the church. The more accurate tracing of the Byzantine features could help in the definition of the origin of the Tithe church.

The building technique of the church is Byzantine in a rather wide sense, it includes the wooden logs and piles at the base of the foundations, the wooden reinforcements, and *opus sectile* floor pavement, widely used in Middle Byzantine period. The brick used in the masonry was made locally after the one of Byzantine techniques, with the skew edges (using the unmountable moulding box). The closest analogs for the brick type can be found in the churches of Asia Minor : Uchayak and, partly, Dere Ağzı, however, the dating of the building ceramics of the latter is not clear. The Tithe church still stays one of the earliest known examples of the recessed brickwork technique, which is usually considered as a feature of Constantinopolitan origin.

The constructions of the church were not complicated as in Byzantine capital. Narrow foundations (not wider than 1 m) of the spacious central core could not bear any sophisticated and clustered masonry conglomerates. The absence of the bema and the widely opened pastophoria point to the possible reconstruction of a provincial type of the building. Cross-shaped buttresses (one of them revealed in the gallery) were used in Middle-Byzantine church buildings mostly on the Black Sea : in Trebizond (St. Anna, Nakip Camii), Abkhazia (Lykhne, Mokvi, etc.) and Cherson (churches No. 21 and 34). The latter is mentioned in chronicle in connection with the Tithe church: the Cherson priests, liturgical vessels and ancient statues were brought to the church after Prince Vladimir had captured Cherson in 988, and he himself founded a church in Cherson.



The role and quantity of the Byzantines at the building site of the Tithe church stay questionable. The problem can be enlightened by Greek inscriptions revealed in the course of the archaeological excavations from 19th to early 21st centuries. The new interpretation is given for the Greek text stamps on the building ceramics of the church, which probable contents is “ΠΑΤΙΣ Θ(ΕΟΤΟ)ΚΟΥ” (“Of the tiles of the God-Bearer”) and is pressed on the original ceramic rooftiles. The fragmented and unreadable façade Greek inscription, composed of blocks made of local stone, had been preserving on the old wall of the church till 1828. Recent research made it clear that this wall was the result of the repairing of the early 12th century, with the inscription blocks inserted secondarily and out of order, while the palaeography of the inscription points to the 10th century dating, being very close to that of the rooftile stamp inscription. Finally, the previously unknown Greek graffiti, on the fresco fragments, with the liturgical quotations from Psalms are considered, which belong to the earliest, Greek period of the history of divine service in the Old Rus.

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К вопросу о византийских традициях в зодчестве Западной Руси XII века (Гродно, Витебск, Полоцк)

Зодчество западных территорий Древней Руси – Полоцкой земли и Гродненского княжества занимает совершенно особое место в истории древнерусской архитектуры. Оно настолько самобытно, что историки архитектуры вот уже в течение почти полутора веков пытаются определить его истоки. В последнее время многие исследователи в этих поисках пытаются обратиться к романскому Западу, однако, в романской архитектуре, если и можно найти какие-то совпадения с особенностями зодчества архитектурно-строительных центров Западной Руси, то они будут либо весьма опосредованными, либо лежащими в плоскости общих закономерностей развития средневековой архитектуры, которые далеко не всегда предполагают наличие прямых контактов между различными традициями средневековой архитектуры.

Вместе с тем в зодчестве Витебска, Гродно и Полоцка присутствуют черты, сходство с которыми имеет совершенно определенный адрес, лежащий совсем на другом конце христианского мира эпохи средневековья – в странах восточнохристианского (византийского) мира. В рамках этого сообщения мы не ставим своей целью подробно рассмотреть пути их проникновения в зодчество Западной Руси, а хотим лишь обратить внимание на это обстоятельство.

Начнем с зодчества древнего Гродно.

Гродненская школа зодчества складывается позже всех остальных школ зодчества Древней Руси и существует очень недолго. Точной датировки гродненского строительства не существует, так как ни один письменный источник о нем не сообщает. П.А. Раппопорт относит время ее существования к 80-м-90-м годам XII века [1, 87], однако, на наш взгляд



хронологические границы развития гродненского строительства могут и должны быть уточнены, хотя они и не выйдут за пределы рубежа XII и XIII веков.

Город Гродно был центром княжества, расположенного на западе Руси в бассейне реки Неман к северу от Волынского княжества и к западу от Полоцкого [2, 9-15; 3, 22-24]. С середины XIV века эта территория в источниках обычно называется Черной Русью [4, 17]. В состав княжества входило несколько городов: Волковыск, Слоним, Здитов, Турейск, Вевереск, Новогрудок [3, 13]. Время возникновения этого княжества неизвестно, однако городенские князья упоминаются летописью уже с 1116 года [2, 13]. Практически все упоминания Гродно и Гродненского княжества в XII-XIII веках говорят о том, что, будучи самостоятельным, оно, тем не менее, постоянно входило в орбиту политической истории Киевской земли и Волыни [2, 13-15]. Показательно при этом, что упоминаемые летописью гродненские (городенские) князья происходят из потомства волынского князя Давида Игоревича [5, 30]. Правда, на протяжении XII столетия определенные политические связи у Гродно и его князей возникали и с соседней Полоцкой землей, хотя это и не дает основания вслед за В.Е. Данилевичем считать, что Гродненское княжество было одним из ее уделов [6, 258].

Первая попытка начать строительство на территории этой земли относится еще к 1130-м годам и связана с созданием храма в Новогрудке. Этот памятник носит двойственный характер – с одной стороны, он обязан своим происхождением артели мастеров, пришедших из Витебска, находившегося в Полоцкой земле, а также мастерам, пришедшим из самого Полоцка, а, с другой – инициатива его создания принадлежала волынским или киевским князьям, так же, как и его тип, связанный с традициями киевского зодчества. Впрочем, строительство храма в Новогрудке стало всего лишь эпизодом и в дальнейшем на протяжении почти полувека никаких попыток строительной деятельности на территории Гродненского княжества не предпринималось. Тем более удивительна та вспышка строительной активности, которая произошла в Гродно уже в самом конце XII столетия.

В эти годы в Гродно один за другим создаются несколько храмов – Борисоглебская на Коложе (Коложская), так называемая Нижняя церковь на Замковой горе и Пречистенская церковь, терем в Детинце, а также каменные стены Детинца. Судя по характеру плинфы, из которой они возведены, все эти постройки по времени своего создания хронологически далеко не отходят друг от друга и были построены на протяжении сравнительно небольшого промежутка времени.

Плинфа гродненских построек весьма характерна и опознаваема [2, 121-122, 130-135, 138-139], в ней без всякого труда мы узнаем руку полоцких плинфотворителей [1, 87], в то время как архитектурные формы гродненских построек весьма своеобразны и не повторяют в буквальном смысле ни киевские, ни полоцкие памятники. Особой же оригинальностью отличается кладка гродненских построек – они возведены в технике, которая не находит себе прямых аналогий ни в одной из школ древнерусского зодчества домонгольской эпохи.

Несмотря на то, что все гродненские памятники возведены в равнослойной технике, что казалось бы выдает ее киево-волынское происхождение, тем не менее, показывают совершенно необычный вариант этой техники. Наряду с плинфой в гродненских постройках использовано большое количество крупных валунов, образующих собой (особенно в



нижних частях кладки) целые ряды, в которых плинфа фактически используется для выравнивания. С одной стороны, такой прием отчасти напоминает принцип использования валунов в кладке «opus mixtum», особенно в том ее варианте, который использовался в киевской архитектуре XI века, однако там валуны сочетались не с равнослойной кладкой, а с константинопольской кладкой со скрытым рядом. С другой стороны, - использование рядов камня с выравнивающими рядами плинфы в какой-то степени напоминает провинциально-византийскую кладку, которая, была характерна для ряда областей Греции, Малой Азии, Болгарии и Крыма, и, которая еще в первой половине XII века, то есть примерно за 50 лет до ее появления в Гродно, появилась и на Руси – в Витебске и в находившемся в той же Черной Руси Новогрудке. Однако и в провинциально-византийских памятниках, и в Витебске и Новогрудке, основной массив стены состоял все же из камня, причем тесаного, в то время как ряды плинфы использовались только для выравнивания кладки и устройства арок и сводов, а в Гродно основной массив стены сложен все же из плинфы, тогда как вставленные в плинфаную кладку валуны играют, скорее декоративный, чем конструктивный характер. В еще большей степени декоративность их использования подчеркивалась тем, что выступающая на фасадную поверхность плоскость этих валунов была гладко отшлифована, а сами валуны подобраны не одного, а разных цветов таким образом, чтобы создавать эффект полихромной декорации, «синеватая, зеленоватая и красная поверхность камней создавала яркие пятна, контрастирующие с кирпичной фактурой стен» [1, 92]. Еще более эффект полихромии усиливался тем, что в кладке фасада в чисто декоративных целях были использованы многочисленные поливные керамические плитки, образующие на плоскости фасада целые композиции в виде крестов и орнаментальных фигур. Такой способ использования поливных плиток – явление совершенно уникальное во всем древнерусском зодчестве домонгольской эпохи – во всех остальных случаях этого широко распространенного в Древней Руси декоративного материала, он использовался только для устройства полов и никогда не выходил на фасады зданий [7, 47-51, 96-97]. И уже совсем уникальным декоративным приемом украшения фасадов в гродненских памятниках является использование в системе их декорации наряду с полихромными шлифованными камнями и композициями из разноцветных майоликовых плиток вставленных в плоскость фасадов и цветных керамических блюд с поливой [8, 129].

Применение в кладке большого количества огромных тяжелых валунов привело к существенному утяжелению массива стеной кладки. По видимому именно это обстоятельство привело к тому, что строители гродненских зданий (особенно хорошо мы видим это на примере сохранившейся на значительную высоту Коложской церкви) использовали в кладке стены большое количество голосников – керамических сосудов, выходящих своими устьями на внутреннюю плоскость стены, то есть внутрь помещения [7, 52]. Конечно, же такие сосуды могли служить (и служили) прекрасными резонаторами, усиливающими акустические эффекты в храме, однако истинная цель их использования была иной. В византийской архитектуре уже с очень раннего времени пустотелые керамические сосуды использовались в кладке сводов для облегчения веса этих конструкций [9, 72; 10, 46]. Из Византии этот прием приходит и на Русь, где начинает применяться уже в самых ранних памятниках и используется в дальнейшем практически на всем протяжении развития архитектуры Древней Руси [7,



51-53], однако во всех этих случаях голосники использовались только для кладки венчающих частей здания и применялись, в основном, в кладке сводов и пазух между ними. В Гродно же, как мы видим это на примере Коложской церкви, включение голосников в кладку начинается уже с высоты около 1,5 м от основания стены [7, 52]. Еще более показательное применение голосников в тех частях Коложской церкви, в которых их использование в качестве резонаторов вообще не имело смысла, например, в ступенях лестниц, ведущих на хоры и расположенных в толще стен, а также в перекрывающих лестницу сводах [2, 98].

Точно такая же система кладки с использованием в ней многочисленных голосников была применена и в Нижней церкви [2, 122-123]. Памятник этот дошел до нас в виде руин, сохранившихся лишь на высоту около 2-3,5 м [2, 108, рис. 56-58], но, тем не менее, уже в этих, самых нижних, частях ее стен мы встречаемся с включенными в кладку голосниками, судя по обилию целых голосников и их фрагментов, найденных в ходе раскопок памятника, Н.Н. Воронин сделал заключение, что они «были широко применены в кладке верхних частей стен» [2, 123].

Такая система использования керамических сосудов в кладке не только убеждает нас в том, что основная цель этого заключалась не в создании акустического эффекта, а в облегчении кладки стен, перегруженных обильным использованием в них больших валунов, но имевших при этом довольно небольшую толщину

Н. Н. Воронин, анализируя характер кладки Нижней церкви, обратил внимание и еще на одно обстоятельство, приведшее к необходимости использования в кладке гродненских памятников большого количества голосников. «Для кладки Нижней церкви» - писал исследователь, - «характерна бессистемность в использовании тычка и ложка; перевязь, как правило, не соблюдается. Эта техническая погрешность должна была особенно сказываться при очень небольшой толщине стен» [2, 122]. Он обратил внимание и на то, что при такой системе кладки и небольшой толщине стены «фасадные декоративные вставки больших валунов не содействовали стойкости стен» [2, 122]. Все это и обусловило использование мастерами, возводившими гродненские постройки столь оригинального конструктивного приема, как введение в кладку стен большого количества пустотелых керамических сосудов – голосников.

Система использования голосников в кладке конструкций здания, как мы уже отмечали, является обычным приемом, как для византийской, так и для древнерусской архитектуры, однако нигде кроме Гродно в архитектуре восточнохристианского мира мы не увидим приема использования голосников в кладке стеновых конструкций причем в столь обильном количестве. Совершенно очевидно, что эта особенность кладки стен гродненских построек явилась результатом творческих поисков местных мастеров, использовавших широко известный конструктивный прием в невиданном до этого контексте, в результате чего появилась совершенно оригинальная, свойственная только для Гродно система кладки.

Перейдем теперь к рассмотрению архитектурных особенностей гродненских храмов и начнем с лучше сохранившейся церкви Бориса и Глеба на Коложе (Коложской). Типологическая схема плана Коложской церкви лежит в русле традиций древнерусского зодчества, однако имеет и некоторые особенности которые выделяют ее из общего потока развития



зодчества домонгольской Руси. Она представляет собой трехнефный шестистолпный храм с тремя полукруглыми апсидами, характерный для архитектуры Руси XII века. Однако детали ее композиционного решения не находят себе аналогий ни в одной из школ зодчества домонгольской Руси.

Первый неожиданный прием композиционного решения проявляется уже на фасадах здания. В Коложской церкви наружные углы западных пилястр здания скошены. Прием использования скошенного наружного угла здания впоследствии становится отличительной чертой именно гродненских построек – мы видим его и в Нижней церкви, и в Пречистенской.

Другой необычной особенностью Борисоглебской церкви на Коложе является форма ее столбов. Все ее столбы на уровне основания имеют не прямоугольную или крещатую, а круглую форму, однако на определенной, причем довольно значительной, высоте форма столбов приобретает традиционно крещатое сечение [13, 104].

Необычную форму имеют и углы западных отрезков межапсидных стен – все их углы (учитывая, что межапсидные стены прорезаны проходами из центральной апсиды в боковые, и образуют предалтарное пространство – виму – их западные окончания превращаются как бы в еще одну, дополнительную, пару столбов и, таким образом, каждый из этих участков стены имеет не по 2, а по 4 угла), скошены.

Столь же необычно и обилие ниш (со стороны интерьера) в нижней части северной, западной и южной стен храма. Назначение этих ниш определить затруднительно. Казалось бы, их можно было бы считать аркосолиями, то есть нишами, предназначенными для погребений, однако еще Н.Н. Воронин отмечал, что «для аркосолий они мелки и узки», к тому же ни в одной из них не открыто никаких следов погребений. Высказывалось предположение, что эти ниши были устроены как места для сидения, однако практика устройства таких сидалищ не известна ни в восточнохристианской, ни в католической литургической традиции, и предположить, что Гродно выступал здесь с какой-то совершенно нетрадиционной канонической инициативой было бы неоправданно большой натяжкой. Точно также нельзя принять и объяснения, предложенного А.И. Некрасовым, высказавшим предположение о том, что эти ниши предназначались для установки в них статуй. Традиция установки внутри храма скульптуры в нишах возникает только в западноевропейской архитектуре эпохи Возрождения, а до этого не существовала ни в византийской, ни в романской или готической архитектуре, и предположить, что Гродно выступает в этом отношении в качестве пионера, введшего подобную стилистическую практику, совершенно невероятно.

Наш взгляд, наиболее вероятное объяснение этого нетрадиционного композиционного элемента было предложено Н.Н. Ворониным. Он совершенно справедливо указал на то, что при условии обильного использования голосников в кладке было бы весьма сложно найти место на стенах храма для размещения росписи, поэтому он высказал совершенно правильное, по нашему мнению, предположение о том, что «эти единственные свободные от голосников участки стен в нишах были использованы и для фресковых изображений отдельных фигур в рост или погрудных».

Если же искать какие-то возможные аналогии особенностям этого памятника, то, несмотря на все своеобразие его форм и приемов, мы найдем их либо в самой архитектуре Древней Руси, либо в архитектуре восточнохристианского, византийского, мира.



Попробем теперь очертить круг этих аналогий. Для этого обратимся сначала к одной из интереснейшей конструктивных особенностей памятника – круглой форме ее столбов и изменению их формы и сечения на прямоугольное примерно на той высоте, на которой должны были располагаться ее своды. В древнерусском зодчестве домонгольской эпохи такой прием практически не использовался, однако в архитектуре Византии IX-XII веков именно такая композиция предстает перед нами в типе храма, обычно определяемом как «храм на четырех колоннах». От традиционно византийского варианта, представленного такими памятниками как, например, северная церковь монастыря Липса и церковь Богородицы монастыря Осиос Лукас, церковь Асоматон «Тесеу» в Афинах, церковь в Мессении (Греция), храм монастыря Кесариани близ Афин, вариант этого типа, представленный в Коложской церкви, отличается тем, что он имеет еще дополнительную пару западных столбов, превращающих здание в шестистолпный храм. В византийских памятниках, в тех случаях, если в них имелся нартекс, последний четко отделялся от основного, четырехколонного, объема храма, представляя собой самостоятельный объем. Именно в этом объеме и помещались хоры. Пример такого решения мы можем увидеть в северной церкви монастыря Липса в Константинополе. В Коложской же церкви нартекс четко не выделен, и западное членение храма на уровне первого яруса сливается с его основным объемом, в то время как на уровне второго яруса хоры, главный объем которых располагался как раз над дополнительным западным членением, судя по всему, были совершенно изолированы от храмового пространства, в результате чего пришлось устраивать дополнительные деревянные хоры над боковыми нефами. Единственным примером в архитектуре Греции XII века, где так же, как и в Коложской церкви в Гродно, появляется дополнительная, западная, пара круглых опор является церковь Като-Панагия в Арте в Северной Греции, однако и в ней, судя по сильно выступающим западным пилястрам в интерьере храма, находящимся на одной оси с западной парой круглых опор, нартекс представлял собой четко выраженный самостоятельный компартимент, что еще больше заметно при взгляде на внешний вид здания, в котором нартекс предстает перед нами как самостоятельно выделенный объем со своим перекрытием.

Отмеченная особенность говорит о том, что создателем Коложской церкви был мастер, хорошо знакомый с искусством византийского мира, однако вряд ли следует видеть в нем непосредственно византийского мастера. Зодчий, работавший в Гродно, не менее хорошо был знаком и с традициями собственно древнерусского зодчества. Тип шестистолпного храма, в котором западная пара столбов, лишь имитирует пространство нартекса, а не выделяет его в самостоятельный объем, как мы видим это на примере Коложской церкви, характерен именно для архитектуры Древней Руси, где он, начиная еще с Успенского собора Киево-Печерского монастыря, то есть со второй половины XI века получил широкое распространение. Само построение плана и объема Коложской церкви говорит о том, что строивший ее зодчий вырос в традиции, где такое решение храмового пространства было глубоко укорененным и сам собой разумеющимся, но, в то же время, он был хорошо знаком и с построением пространства византийского храма на четырех колоннах. В своем творении – Борисоглебской церкви на Коложе в Гродно – он соединил как русский, так и византийский приемы решения храмового пространства, создав в итоге совершенно оригинальное произведение.

Если с этой точки зрения посмотреть на другие, кажущиеся нам совершенно необычными чертами Коложской церкви, то и им мы найдем если не прямые аналогии,



то предшествующие им по своей сути приемы решения, прежде всего в памятниках византийского круга. Так, применение больших валунов в кладке стен церкви Бориса и Глеба на Коложе, очень напоминает кладку «opus mixtum», хорошо известную не только византийскому, но и древнерусскому зодчеству уже с конца X века (см. такие памятники как Десятинная церковь, Спасский собор в Чернигове, Софийские соборы в Киеве, Чернигове и Полоцке). Правда, на Руси кладка «opus mixtum» активно использовалась лишь в зодчестве конца X-начала XII века, в основном, в киевском строительстве и уже к началу XII столетия фактически выходит из употребления. Как правило, в технике «opus mixtum» в кладке сочетаются ряды камня с массивом плинфяной кладки, уложенной со скрытым рядом. В Коложской же церкви принцип употребления валунов в кирпичной кладке лишь внешне напоминает технику «opus mixtum» - валуны применены здесь не в сочетании с плинфяной кладкой со скрытым рядом, а использованы как элемент основного массива конструктивной основы стены, которая сложена в равнослойной технике. В этом плане техника, в которой сложены стены Коложской церкви, гораздо ближе другой системе кладки, также получившей широкое распространение в Византии, преимущественно в ее провинциальных областях, особенно, на Балканах и в Причерноморье (в Греции, Малой Азии, Болгарии и Крыму) и в другое время – в XII, XIII и XIV веках, причем, начиная со второй половины XII века и, особенно в Греции, доля каменных блоков в смешанной каменно-кирпичной кладке начинает заметно преобладать.

Как мы уже знаем при такой системе ряды камня перемежаются двумя или тремя рядами плинфы. В XII столетии Русь уже смогла познакомиться с греческой системой кладки в таких памятниках как церковь Благовещенья в Витебске. Можно было бы предположить, что кладка именно этого здания и послужила прототипом кладки гродненских построек, однако и здесь мы не видим прямой аналогии. В Витебске, так же, как и в большинстве греческих и болгарских памятников, использованы ряды правильных или почти правильных каменных квадратов, в то время как в Гродно использованы валуны настолько неправильной формы, что ни о каких регулярных рядах плинфы, сочетающихся с валунами говорить не приходится (регулярный характер плинфяная кладка Коложской церкви принимает лишь в верхних частях здания, то есть там, где валуны уже не используются).

И, все же, весьма близкую аналогию кладке Коложской церкви и других гродненских памятников XII века мы можем указать, и находим мы ее также на Балканах - в Греции, причем только в очень четко очерченном регионе: в Северной Греции, в районе Арты, Монемиасии и Кастории, а также в ряде памятников Македонии и Болгарии, где с XII по XIV век кладка велась, в основном из крупных, грубо обработанных, блоков камня и даже валунов, а плинфа использовалась в конструкции стены лишь для выравнивания рядов и в конструкциях сводов и арок. Р. Краутхаймер даже предложил рассматривать памятники этого региона как самостоятельную строительную школу Арголиды и Навплиона, функционировавшую с середины XII по XIV век включительно, хотя основы ее мы можем увидеть еще в строительстве этого региона XI-начала XII веков. Примеры этого типа кладки мы можем увидеть в таких памятниках как церкви Агии Анаргири, Панагии Кувелитиссы и Кумбелидике в Кастории, церковь св. Созона в Гераки, церковь в Скала близ Гитиона, церковь Влахернского монастыря и церковь св. Феодоры в Арте. Правда, и в этом случае в гродненских памятниках мы видим



не буквальное повторение северно-греческой кладки, а, скорее, стилизацию под нее – почерк гродненских мастеров показывает, что будучи хорошо знакомыми с кладкой, применяемой в Греции, они все же работают в русле уже сложившейся строительно-технической традиции, лишь внешне имитируя либо понравившуюся им, либо откровенно заказанную фактуру стеновой поверхности. О том, что использование в них структуры кладки, применявшейся, в основном, в архитектуре Греции, не было прямым переносом греческой техники кладки на русскую почву, говорит и такое смелое, в конструктивном отношении решение, как активное введение в стеновую кладку голосников, необходимость чего, как мы уже видели, была вызвана задачей максимально облегчить массу стены. В самой Греции такой прием никогда не применялся, и стены греческих построек рассматриваемого времени отличаются большой толщиной и массивностью, в то время как стены гродненских построек, как мы видим это на примере Коложской церкви, наоборот, необычайно тонки. Поэтому у нас есть основания считать, что создатели Коложской церкви лишь имитировали структуру кладки, свойственную архитектуре Греции средневизантийского времени, а сами привыкли работать с другой системой кладки – равнослойной кладкой из плинфы, зная при этом и характер кладки построек Северной Греции, и уже хорошо известную на Руси, но ставшую ко времени начала строительства в Гродно анахронизмом кладку «opus mixtum». Используя и смело сочетая особенности всех известных им типов кладки, гродненские мастера в итоге создали совершенно самостоятельный, не имеющий прямых аналогий вариант каменно-кирпичной кладки.

Говоря о возможном знакомстве создателей гродненских памятников с архитектурой Северной Греции, нельзя не вспомнить и о такой особенности построек древнего Гродно, как использование в декорации их фасадов орнаментальных композиций, выполненных из поливных керамических плиток, а также декоративных вставок, в роли которых выступают поливные керамические блюда. Как мы уже видели, аналогии такой декоративной системе убранства фасада мы не можем найти ни в одной из школ древнерусского зодчества. Однако именно такой способ декорации стен был характерен для той же Северной Греции. Именно школа Арголиды отличалась от архитектуры все остального византийского мира использованием вставок в кладку фасадных поверхностей стен керамических плиток, образующих целые орнаментальные композиции. В качестве примера можно привести такие памятники этого региона как церковь Агии Анаргии в Кастории, церкви св. Феодоры и св. Василия в Арте, церковь Агиос Харалампос в Каламате, церковь в Мербаки. Особой декоративностью отличались постройки, возведенные в Арте. Помимо уже упомянутых церквей св. Феодоры и св. Василия можно назвать еще такие храмы, как церкви Богоматери, Пиригоритиссы, Николая Родиа, Коккинис, Като-Панагии.

И уже, несомненно, именно со знакомством с системой декорации фасадов в Северной Греции связан столь необычный для Древней Руси, но типичный именно для этого региона прием использования в качестве фасадных украшений вставок поливной керамической посуды. С этим приемом мы сталкиваемся в таких памятниках Северной Греции как церкви в Лукизии (Беотия), Гастуни и уже упоминавшейся нами церкви в Мербаки, где они сочетаются с орнаментальными композициями из керамических плиток. В XII же столетии



этот прием был позаимствован из Греции в Болгарию (церковь Дмитрия в Тырново), где приобрел особую популярность в архитектуре XIII-XIV веков. На Руси же единственным центром, где прием декорации фасадов керамическими плитками и поливными блюдами нашел свое отражение, стал Гродно (Коложская и Нижняя церкви).

Однако, несмотря на поразительное совпадение приемов украшения фасадов в гродненских постройках и постройках Греции, следует признать, что и здесь, как это было в случае с самим характером кладки, гродненские мастера не заимствуют эти приемы буквально, а применяют их по своему – так плитки, из которых выполнялась фасадная декорация греческих храмов в большинстве случаев (за исключением церкви св. Василия в Арте) были не поливными, а терракотовыми, иногда – с рельефом (т.н. «керамопластика»), в то время как в Гродно для украшения стен были использованы традиционные для Руси поливные керамические плитки, которые, однако, нигде кроме Гродно не помещались на фасадные поверхности, а служили только для набора полов.

Говоря о церкви Благовещенья в Витебске следует отметить, что, пожалуй, наиболее характерным признаком, свидетельствующим о прямой связи витебской церкви с архитектурой византийских провинций на Балканах, является кладка, в которой она возведена. Ее стены сложены из рядов тесаных квадров, перемежающихся сдвоенными или строеными рядами плинфы. На территории Руси эта техника нигде не применялась, но в византийских провинциях – Греции, Болгарии, Сербии, Македонии, Крыму – она получила широчайшее распространение и была основным типом используемой там кладки с X по XV век.

Обратимся теперь к собору Спасо-Евфросиньевского монастыря в Полоцке. Введение в конструкцию завершения здания тяжеловесной конструкции постамента значительно увеличила нагрузку на традиционную конструкцию, состоящую из подпружных арок, опирающуюся на четыре подкупольных столба. Поэтому зодчий пошел в этом здании на то, что в ущерб его внешним формам он пожертвовал интерьером. Стремясь максимально передать нагрузку массивного барабана не только на столбы, но и на стены здания, он сделал боковые нефы необычайно узкими, а стены массивными. Ничего подобного ни в предшествующем Спасскому собору древнерусском зодчестве, ни в архитектуре Византии не было. Поэтому неудивительно, что исследователи нередко сравнивали почерк зодчего, создавшего этот собор с почерком скульптора.

Именно это обстоятельство и дало повод А.И. Некрасову говорить о том, что Спасский собор Евфросиньевского монастыря представляет собой здание-примитив, в котором воплощено «сознание примитивной среды, содержащее отзвуки родового быта». Н.И. Брунов, в отличие от А.И. Некрасова, считавший Спасо-Евфросиньевский собор выдающимся произведением, предвосхитившим дальнейший ход развития русского зодчества, тем не менее, сходил с ним в том, что отход от византийской традиции в этом памятнике был вызван примитивизмом зодчего, создавшего этот собор. По мнению Н.И. Брунова, создателем собора был «не только русский мастер, но мастер, не получивший вполне законченного византийского архитектурного образования ... самоучка или, может быть, плотник, наспех обучившийся кирпичной технике и не успевший еще глубоко с ней



освоиться». Правда, именно это, по мнению Н.И. Брунова, и определяет исключительно важное значение памятника в истории всей русской архитектуры: «Наш архитектор при этом легко мог видоизменять византийские формы и вносить свои добавления. Последнее оказалось очень ценным, так как мастер был бесспорно художественно одаренным человеком, мыслившим очень самостоятельно». Н.Н. Воронин, возражая Н.И. Брунову, писал, что «никакой надобности в «византийском архитектурном образовании» для русских зодчих XII в. не было и быть не могло: за их спиной стоял длительный опыт с а м о с т о я т е л ь н о г о каменного строительства». Считая, что своеобразие архитектуры собора Спасо-Евфросиньевского монастыря в Полоцке является не следствием слабости и неопытности «художественно одаренного», но «необразованного» самоучки-зодчего, а, напротив, результатом «большого творческого подъема в полоцком зодчестве XII в.», Н.Н. Воронин поставил перед исследователями задачу найти истоки этого своеобразия и проследить пути дальнейшего развития в древнерусском зодчестве стилистики, заложенной в архитектуре Спасо-Евфросиньевского собора.

Обращает на себя внимание и то обстоятельство, что внутри Спасский собор был не только тесным, но и темным. Открытие галерей, окружавших храм с трех сторон, привело к пониманию того, что их существование не давало возможность осветить храм через окна, которые могли бы располагаться на фасадах.

Эти черты (жертвование пространством интерьера, сильная затемненность храма), а также умение мастера создавать из архитектурного объема пространственно-пластическую массу заставляют нас вспомнить о таком необычном типе храма, как скальные храмы, получившие распространение в горных районах византийских провинций – особенно, в Каппадокии (Малая Азия). Здесь объемы крестовокупольных храмов высекались внутри скал, а зодчим приходилось откровенно выполнять роль скульпторов. Внутри пространство этих храмов столь же стесненное и темное, как и в соборе Евфросиньевского монастыря. Однако в отличие от полоцкого памятника, в котором интерьер заведомо приносился в жертву внешнему облику здания, в храмах Каппадокии, внешний облик храмов сам по себе вообще не существовал в качестве архитектурно решенной структуры.

Есть ли какая-либо связь между миром монастырских церквей Каппадокии и Спасским собором Евфросиньевского монастыря, сказать сложно. Однако вполне возможно допустить, что мастер Иоанн – создатель полоцкого храма – мог быть знаком с каппадокийскими храмами и вдохновляться ими, создавая свое творение. Однако при этом, он создал совершенно оригинальное архитектурное сооружение, оказавшее существенное влияние на последующее развитие всего древнерусского зодчества.



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Русские и византийские черты в архитектуре Полоцка XII века

Поиск своеобразия архитектуры Древней Руси долгое время был важной темой русской историографии средневековой архитектуры. Это своеобразие часто виделось в противопоставление «русских» и «византийских» традиций. Древняя русская церковная архитектура представлялась состоявшейся в разрыве с византийской традицией. Сейчас архитектуру Древней Руси принято рассматривать в контексте искусства византийского мира искать почти в каждом памятнике «византийский источник».

Полоцк город в западной части Руси. Здесь в XI-XIII веках велось строительство храмов из плинфы. Археологические исследования позволили обнаружить и изучить остатки 8 построек, еще одно здание - церковь Спаса (XII в) - сохранилось до наших дней. Небольшое число памятников не мешает считать полоцкое строительство важным этапом в формировании древнерусской архитектурной традиции

Проблему соотношения византийских и русских традиций в архитектуре Полоцкой земли вновь сделали актуальной археологические исследования церкви Спаса, проведенные в 2015 году. Они полностью изменили наши представления об этой постройке

Архитектурные формы церкви Спаса, уточненные в ходе исследований, находят аналогии в византийской архитектуре. К ним можно отнести объемно – пространственную композицию постройки и применение отдельных конструктивных и декоративных решений. Однако следует обратить внимание, что те же черты, за редким исключением характерны для ряда храмов других регионов Руси. Это еще раз свидетельствует о невозможности проложить четкую границу между византийской и древнерусской архитектурой XI – XIII вв.

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Three Rock-Hewn Churches of “Tigray Cross-in-Square” Type

Three rock-hewn churches of “Tigray cross-in-square” type have some characteristics that distinguish them from other rock-hewn churches of Ethiopia. They are untypically large; the east part is hidden in rock as usually in hypogean architecture, but the west part is separated of rock and has three facades; they have barrel-vaults. All these features indicate that these churches have more in common with the churches of Lalibela than with another tigrean rock-hewn monument.



But, there is no trace or imitation of first floor, differently than in the churches of Lalibela. In Lalibela complex, wooden structures, like windows and doors frames are completely made in rock. In “Tigray cross-in-square” churches doors and windows frames are made of wood and fixed in the rock. However, this feature can be not a marker of dating of their creation, but regional feature of Tigray.

The transept of “Tigray cross-in-square” churches is a particular feature, unknown in other rock-hewn churches of Tigray and Lasta region including Lalibela. It is punctuated by barrel-vault and axumite frieze (a frieze of false windows), and not indicated in the exterior.

The largest one of the pastofories, as noted by several authors, intended for the storage of relics, and arises from the funerary churches of valley type - the earliest example of which is considered to be complex in Degum.

But, in contrast to the earlier funerary churches of valley type, where the central part of maqdas (sanctuary) marked by an imitation of semi-cupola with ribs or brackets, here is an imitation of dome located west of maqdas conch.

These churches also differ for its rich ornamental decoration of a particular type. It remained in the best condition in Abreha-Atsbeha and almost lost in Mikael Amba. It has similarities with ornaments of carved wooden panels of the liturgical barriers. These patterns have similar decoration with wooden haykals of churches and monasteries of Coptic Egypt. In the church Abreha-Atsbeha also found patterns that have probably Islamic origin. All this features can show parallels with the decoration of Islamic Egyptian architecture of the VII-XIII centuries. It can indicate an influence of Islamic Art through the Coptic one.

Ornaments of Islamic origin and painting of Coptic craftsmen’s, as the scholarlies note, are known for the church of Yemrehanna Krestos of the XI - the middle of the XII centuries. Also, the influence of the Egyptian Coptic and Islamic art ornamental subjects observed in the decoration of the church Beta Maryam in Lalibela and other churches of complex.

There are parallels between the plans of “Tigray cross-in-square” churches and the Christian churches of the states of medieval Nubia. For example Church of granite columns in Dongola, where is noted the similarity of a transept.

There is another church in makurian city of Dongola, which is known by their cross-shaped plan. It also can be compared with the considered type of tigrean churches.

The appearance of barrel-vault in Ethiopia can be connected with Coptic influence. In Egypt, we know wooden barrel-vault in the nave of the church of El Muallaqa in Cairo.

Purpose of these churches as a funeral, reliquaries, and pilgrimage destination, can show parallels with the crypts of some Egyptian churches.

The report examines the version of relation of medieval Nubian and Ethiopian architecture at the question of genesis of plans of “Tigray cross-in-square” churches. Also message examines the influence of Egypt in the design and decoration of the vaults and walls.

Chronology of Ethiopian architecture, including “Tigray cross-in-square” churches, is sophisticated question, and author hopes this report may add some new details to this subject.



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The Eleventh Century “Renaissance” in Church Architecture of the Aegean Islands

Revival of Early Christian architecture, often referred to as “Renaissance”, has been observed in several Byzantine churches of the eleventh century. In the Aegean islands, this trend is best illustrated by the katholikon of Nea Moni in Chios. On other islands, although the architecture is not comparable to that outstanding edifice, a similar trend can be detected in certain notable churches.

On the island of Naxos, the church of Hagios Mamas in Potamia, which can be dated to the mid-eleventh century, demonstrates an attempt to create a monumental building, inspired by an Early-Christian prototype. The intention of the ktetor is clearly illustrated in the metrical dedicatory inscription of the church, written in an archaistic style of expression. The Justinian church of Katapoliani, on the nearby island of Paros, seems to have served as a prototype for Hagios Mamas. This impressive Early-Christian building, the largest church to have ever been built on the Cycladic islands, was very much admired in the Middle-Byzantine period, as is demonstrated in the tenth-century Life of Saint Theoktiste of Lesbos. Comparison of the two churches leads to the conclusion that the ktetor of Hagios Mamas attempted to create a monumental building that differs from local tradition and is in some ways reminiscent of the great Parian church.

The church of Hagioi Apostoloi in Argos on the island of Kalymnos has a similar layout and many features in common with Hagios Mamas. Hagioi Apostoloi, which has been recently studied by M. Kappas, has been dated to the late tenth or eleventh century. Although a specific Early Christian model for this building cannot be identified, many features characteristic of Justinian architecture bear witness to a deliberate attempt to revive antique architecture just as at the Naxian church.

On the island of Santorini, the church of Episkopi in Mesa Gonia has provoked a debate regarding its date as well as the question of whether it is the result of the transformation of an Early-Christian basilica. The church was most likely erected in the eleventh century, and no pre-existing building has been integrated in its construction. However, many features demonstrate that it attempts to imitate Early-Christian architecture. The model for the church of the Episkopi must have been the massive basilica of Hagia Eirini in Perissa. The basilica, recently published by E. Gerousi, was transformed into a domed cruciform structure, possibly in the Justinian period. The general arrangement of the Episkopi, as well as specific construction details, point to the conclusion that there is a deliberate reference to the great Justinian church. In the Middle-Byzantine period Hagia Eirini was only partially preserved, but there is evidence that parts of it were still in use. Admiration for this church in the Middle-Ages was such that it gave its name to the island of Thera.

These three monuments reveal the eleventh-century trend for revival of the glorious past in the Aegean islands. This effort is undoubtedly associated with the prosperity of the region after the definite extinction of the Arab threat. With the exception of the case of Chios, where the illustrious



katholikon demonstrates direct introduction of models from Constantinople, the high aspirations of ktetors are realized with limited technical means and local craftsmen, following local prototypes. This tendency renews local tradition, contributing to the crystallization of a special regional architectural character, to be continued and developed further through the following century.

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Excavations on Mt Athos: Shedding Light on the Building History of Some Athonite Foundations during the Byzantine and the Early Ottoman Period

In this paper I will summarize the results of the old and recent excavation works which was carried out in the monasteries of Vatopedi, Philotheou and St Paul.

In Vatopedi, the part of the courtyard between the bell-tower and the refectory, the chadler's workshop, the south wing and the surrounding area in the kyriakon of the skete of St Dimitrios were excavated. In the courtyard it was revealed a part of a strong precinct that closed the monastery's complex from the south side (probably from the 10th c.). Next to the bell-tower the foundation of the kitchens, which, according to the sources, was built by the Wallachian ruler Neagoe Basarab, came in the light. In the south wing the remains of a building dated in the early Ottoman era, which, as it seems, had auxiliary use, were revealed. In the skete of St Demetrios (the former old monastery of Chalkeos, mentioned in the sources from the early 11th c.), in the south side of the kyriakon the remains of a porch which can be dated in the older phase of the church (11th c.), before the narthex added, as well as three shaft graves, were revealed.

In the monastery of Philotheou the surrounding area of the katholikon and the west wing were researched. In the east side of the katholikon a part of the conch of the pre-existed middle-Byzantine church was revealed. In the west wing a part of the foundations of the Byzantine south precinct and the south wing, the remains of the old kitchens (17th - early 18th c.) but also a parts of the foundation of the north lost part of the edifice (with the refectory on the upper floor), constructed in the first half of the 16th c. under the patronage of the king of Kachetia Leon, were revealed. At the same period can be dated the auxiliary structures fragmentary revealed next to the 16th c. building (north side). The latter was founded above the older building, such as a tower and an older circular building with uncertain use, probably related to the early monastic extensions from the 11th c. onwards.

In the St Paul the south part of the courtyard and the sea side fort were excavated. The excavation's results in the courtyard were recently published.

In the sea side fort the older constructional phases came in light. In the tower one more underground level with saucer dome and an entrance with semicircular lintel in the south side (with enigmatic interpretation), closed in uncertain period, were revealed. In the enclosure added in the west side, a well, but also the wall with the ladder leading to the entrance of the tower and the



entrance leading in an underground space with auxiliary use, were revealed. Taking into account the archaeological data as well as the documentation of the study of the monument's architecture the construction of the tower in the first decades of the 16th c. but also a not much later erection of the enclosure (also in the 16th c.) can be proposed. So, I believe that the known removed dedicatory Cyrillic inscription kept in the monastery can be recognized as the dedicatory inscription of the sea side fort: the sea side tower could be built by Neagoe Basarab and the enclosure could be added by the Wallachian Petru de la Arges or the Moldavian Petru Rareș.

The small findings came in the light by the disturbed archaeological layers in the above-mentioned excavations doesn't help obviously to the dating and the interpretation of the revealed architectural remnants. This lack can be covered as much as possible by the co-evaluation of the given information of the written sources, the Vasilji Barskij drawings and the old photograph depictions.

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The Artistic Image of a Church and Its Reflection in Mural Painting of Medieval Serbia and Old Rus'

Byzantine mural painting often contains the scenes in which the donators are depicted. Curiously, though these images were various and popular, there were no particular place on church walls designated for it, so far as it was not a part of the set of pre required scenes. The previous study (A. Grabar, S. Radojčić, T. Velmans, and others) explained the variety of iconography of these images as follows: people depicted on it had different social status, played different roles in the construction of a church. The images themselves could have different meaning. For example, it could be the part of a donor's burial site inside a church.

With time, a few regional variants of a donator portrait were developed in medieval Serbia and Old Rus', the areas which had close ties with Byzantine Empire (V. Đjurić, M. Tatić-Đurić, G. Babić, A. Stojaković, B. Todić, Vojvodić, Č. Marinković, A. Preobrazhensky). These two areas had some differences in iconography and mural painting style, in particular the style of donator portraits. These differences occurred due to local political and cultural traits. Thereby, the donator portraits are the important source of historical data on the social status of a donator, the importance of a construction, costumes, details of church interior, etc. The distinct feature of the Serbian tradition is the portrayal of a donator with the model of a church in his hands. There are dozens of known images of that kind. This type of image came to Serbia from Byzantium, where these models are always depicted very realistic, detailed, and with great precision. By those images we can judge about stages of the construction and the artistic perception of a church in that epoch.

On the opposite, in Old Rus', despite the connection between Russian and Byzantine traditions, the images of a church model in the hands of a donator are rarely seen; especially, the ones that



look precise and realistic. One of the earliest surviving examples of this particular kind of donator portraits is the composition in the second layer murals of the Monastery of the Savior in Polotsk (first half of the 13th century).

During the latest research, we confirmed that details of the image of the church model in the hands of the hegumeness St. Euphrosyne of Polotsk matches the one of the monument itself. Another good example of the detailed image of a church model comes from Novgorod the Great. The model of the Volotovo Church of the Dormition shows the specific features of the original structure, such as its composition and proportions.



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Saint Thecla in the South Slavic Hagiographical Tradition

Collection of Martyr Acts (Lives) and Miracles of Saint Thecla written in Old Church Slavonic, defining the status of Saint Thecla as an “equal to the apostles” and one of the first women saints in the Christian tradition – with an excursion to the pre-Renaissance period with a rewriting of Thecla’s Life

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Introduction

Saint Thecla is known as the main character of *The Acts of Apostle Paul and Thecla*, which was considered an apocryphal text at the time of the canonization of the holy texts. According to previous researchers this text is to be dated back to the apostolic period, which makes the cult of Saint Thecla one of the oldest Christian saint’s cults.

The goal of this research is to point out her representation as a woman, saint, preacher and martyr and how these different components coexisted in one and the same individual. I attempt to answer the question how her story gained an independent status outside the *Acts of Apostle Paul*. Next, I will try to explain why her text became so popular in the Byzantine and Slavic tradition. Afterwards, I want to show how and to what extent Saint Thecla entered and survived in the South Slavic tradition during the Middle Ages, for little research is done about this saint in the medieval Slavic literature.

Perspectives

The first part of my research will concern the Byzantine tradition, for most of the texts about Saint Thecla in the Slavic tradition are considered to be translations from Greek originals. I will start my research with the narrative material of Saint Thecla in Byzantine Greek hagiographic and panegyric collections. Further on, my research will try to elucidate the origin and spreading of the hagiographical narratives of Saint Thecla in the South Slavic literary tradition. As such, the project will concern three specific areas: (1) the composition of this particular Life and its literary context, (2) the specific content and style of the concrete works, and (3) the linguistic characteristics of these texts. In this project all the traditions within the Slavic Middle Ages (Bulgarian, Serbian, Russian) will be mentioned and studied.

One of the perspectives of this project shall be the preparation of a critical edition of the diverse narratives of Saint Thecla in the South Slavic manuscript tradition, accompanied by linguistic and paleographic commentary. These *editiones principes* will represent the three Lives and two Wonders, which have been preserved in ten different manuscripts.



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The Palace of Byzantine tradition of Pla de Nadal (Ribaroja, València, Spain). The residence of the last Visigoth Governor

The Pla de Nadal was an exceptional palatine building, situated in Ribaroja de Turia, near València. It was built between the end of the 7th century or with more probability in the beginning of the 8th century. It was excavated between 1981 and 1989 by the Museo de Prehistoria of València with the direction of Empar Juan. This palace was accidentally discovered by works in the fields of this area. This agricultural activity destroyed more than the half of the building. The main facade and the whole southern part is the only area that has been preserved.

The palace was a monumental building with two towers on the façade, a central courtyard, and a luxurious top floor of aristocratic and representative character. The ground floor was of utilitarian function. We can highlight its extraordinarily rich architectural decoration from the collapsed upper floor.

The walls are nearly a meter thick and they have been kept in a height of 2.35 meters, with the windows. The walls have not foundations, and they supported on the solid natural soil, which was also the paving of the lower floor. The most of the walls are of masonry with the surface plastered. The architectural decoration highlights, because it constitute the most important collection, both by the number and the quality of its size, of the Visigoth Kingdom and one of the most significant of the entire Western world. They present a great functional and typological diversity, and a very specific iconography. We could speak too about the very interesting signs of the work of sculptural workshops techniques. Moreover, by the circumstances of its discovery, these sculptural pieces were found in situ in the levels of destruction of the building.

There are almost 800 pieces, which we could divide into two groups. On the one hand, the reused Roman stones of good quality and large size, which are the least. They had mainly architectural and structural function. On the other hand, the numerous sculptures who were worked directly on-the site for several hands or workshops, that developed the iconographic program of the building. About 400 of them, more than half, are ornamental and decorative, and they would be in the main room on the upper floor. The sustentation elements are also very numerous: capitals, columns and bases, some of them without authentic architectural feature, because of in the most of them prevailed the decorative function. We can see a constant repetition of the themes of scallops and the *trifolias* in the inner parts of the arches. There are some unique pieces, such as openwork crosses, the rosettes and the merlons.

The architecture of this building has a very clear Eastern influence of the Byzantine world.

Pla de Nadal is an exceptional ensemble of Palatine character in the territory of *Valentia*, which was the B.l.nt.la of the Arabic texts of the Theodemir Pact. Their architecture responds to the model



of the Late Antiquity *villae* with Gallery and corner towers on the flanks, and a central peristyle. The compact ensemble with angular towers has the aspect of a Palace-fortress.

By archaeological and Epigraphic documents, we can link this building to Theodimir, the dux of this territory in the dawn of the Visigoth Kingdom and the beginnings of the Arab domination. Theodimir would represent the rise of the nobility in the front of the Royal power, at the same time that the historical sources reflect the failure of centralization and a State strong Visigoth. These *duces* provincial focused civil and military power in his hands. This early proto-feudal aristocracy would use a model house with porches, open areas of representation and copious use of the architectural decoration.

The building was used little time, less than a century. A great fire provoked the collapse and the destruction, which was been preceded by the total looting of furniture elements.

By a lot of studies about his historical, archaeological and architectural modulation, we can propose a new interpretation of the ensemble. There was another nearby building, Plan de Nadal II, which had been destroyed by the construction of a motorway.

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Contextualizing Late Antique and Byzantine Architectural Sculpture in the Capital's Hinterland: the Küçükaly ArkeoPark Project

The archaeological site of Küçükaly is located on the Asian side of the modern city of Istanbul, close to the Marmara sea shoreline facing the Princes' Islands. With its massive retaining walls, the remains of a large cistern, a relatively large sized *katholikon* and other architectural features, the monument displays the characteristics of high ranking Middle Byzantine patronage. Küçükaly is currently identified as the monastery of *Satyros* or *Anatellon* founded by the Constantinopolitan patriarch Ignatios between 867 and 877 CE. During the Middle Ages this area was part of the agricultural and wooded hinterland of Constantinople, integrated into a network of suburban structures.

After extensive work in 2009 – 2010, the Küçükaly remains have been object of continued stratigraphical excavation and conservation works in 2014, 2015 continuing in 2016.

From the perspective of architectural sculpture research, the Küçükaly excavations offer a unique opportunity for a better understanding of Constantinopolitan architectural sculpture, particularly for the Middle Byzantine period. Material retrieved at the monastery of *Satyros* displays some of the elaborate patterns and features documented some decades later at the northern church of the monastery of Constantine Lips. This poster aims at presenting the architectural sculpture retrieved at Küçükaly, analyze its features and the architectural context it was part of.



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Contextualizing Late Antique and Byzantine Ceramics in the Capital`s Hinterland: the Küçükaly ArkeoPark Project

The archaeological site of Küçükaly is located on the Asian side of the modern city of Istanbul, close to the Marmara Sea shoreline facing the Princes' Islands. With its massive retaining walls, the remains of a large cistern, a relatively large sized *katholikon* and other architectural features, the monument displays the characteristics of high ranking Middle Byzantine patronage. Küçükaly is currently identified as the monastery of *Satyros* or *Anatellon* founded by the Constantinopolitan patriarch Ignatios between 867 and 877 CE. During the Middle Ages this area was part of the agricultural and wooded hinterland of Constantinople, integrated into a network of suburban structures. After extensive work in 2009 – 2010, the Küçükaly remains have been object of continued of stratigraphical excavation and conservation work in 2014, 2015 continuing in 2016. From the perspective of ceramics research, the Küçükaly excavations offer a unique opportunity for the enhancement of knowledge of Late Antique to Middle and Late Byzantine ceramics of the former Byzantine capital and its immediate surroundings.

This poster aims at presenting the main finds and their archaeological context.

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О реконструкции мартирия св. Василия ранневизантийского Херсона

Херсонес—Херсон — провинциальный византийский город на краю ойкумены, на границе Византийского мира и мира варваров. Он расположен на берегу Северного Причерноморья (современный город Севастополь, Крым). В отличие от многих других центров, таких как Салоники, Афины, Равенна, Константинополь, на его территории ведутся системные археологические исследования уже более ста лет. В нем сформировался уникальный научный комплекс, включающий в себя лаборатории, хранилища, музей, что является редкостью для памятников Византийской эпохи. В результате было накоплен значительный объем материалов, нуждающихся в изучении.

К настоящему времени среди исследователей сформировалась точка зрения, связывающая склеп, который находился меньше чем в четырех метрах с севера от крещальни-мартирия Западной базилики, с местом погребения Св. Василия, первого епископа Херсонеса, принявшего мученическую смерть. По свидетельству херсонесского агиографа VI в., тело епископа было выброшено «вне стен на запад от города» и погребено примерно близ



оборонительных стен. Расположение, конструкция и особое отношение к склепу, а позже и возведенной над ним часовни, - все это убеждает в том, что он занимал значительное место в религиозной жизни херсонитов, и косвенно подтверждает предположение о принадлежности погребального сооружения Св. Василию.

В 1891 и 1901 гг. К.К. Косцюшко-Валюжиничем был открыт и исследовался данный памятник, позже в 1965 г. Е.Г. Суоров доисследовал комплекс Западной базилики, но повторно раскопок часовни не проводил. Основными источниками, позволяющими провести реконструкцию внутреннего убранства гробничного мартырия св. Василия вместе со склепом, стали отчеты раскопок, архивные материалы и работы Айналова Д.В., Бертъе-Делагарда А.Л., Якобсона А.Л., Суорова Е.Г., Сорочана С.Б., в которых частично описываются находки внутри помещений.

Материалы христианских базилик и храмов предоставляют возможность реконструкции их с помощью современных технологий. На примере данного памятника была произведена реконструкция с помощью программы 3d Studio Max, предназначенной для трехмерного моделирования.

История возведения церкви-мартырия начинается с создания склепа рядом с античной оборонительной стеной в IV в., котором по всей вероятности после своей мученической смерти был погребен епископ Херсонеса, Василей. В V или VI вв. склеп перестраивается и над столь почитаемой могилой возводится часовня. В период правления Юстиниана I в Херсоне производится реконструкция укреплений и происходит изменение линии крепостных стен. За счет прирезки дополнительной территории площадью 0,3 га начавший создаваться архитектурный комплекс оказывается заключен в своеобразной «цитадели» между античной и более поздней стенами. Со временем, над погребальным сооружением была построена часовня, которая к концу VI в., со строительством комплекса Западной базилики, была перестроена в небольшую гробничную церковь – мартырий. Возведение храма над могилой мученика или святого было распространено в Византии повсеместно.

Несколько к северу от Западной базилики расположено гробничное сооружение. Часовня «Г» или № 12 по списку Императорской Археологической Комиссии представляет собой небольшое квадратное в основе сооружение длиной 6,4 и шириной 4,6 м, с пристроенной позднее маленькой полукруглой апсидой. Вероятно, апсида имела кирпичный свод. Кладка стен храма позволяет предположить возможную пристройку апсиды во время перестройки здания. Толстые стены были сложены из обработанных крупных блоков, которые отличались от кладки более тонкой апсиды. *Якобсон А. Л. обращает внимание на усиленные восточные углы, что, очевидно, указывает на перекрытие постройки сводом, вероятно куполом, сложенным из кирпича, как и в склепе, над которым построена часовня.*

В церквушке уцелела на своем месте алтарная преграда из каменных плит (0,78 м высотой) и мраморный порог. В мощеной каменными плитами алтарной части на месте находилось плоское квадратное углубление для основания престола. Пол в алтарной части был выложен каменными плитами. Остальную его часть украшал мозаичный пол, как отмечал заведующий раскопками, что он был очень поврежден и сохранившиеся фрагменты были



изъяты. А.Л. Бертье-Делагард характеризовал изображения мозаики как «очень красивого и... древнейшего рисунка». Её техника и изображения были схожи с мозаикой Уваровской базилики, что позволяет отнести мозаику часовни «Г» к VI - VII вв., хотя само сооружение (без апсиды), вероятно, более раннее. В 1901 г. был обнаружен в часовни небольшой голубь – скульптурный символ Св. Духа из инкерманского камня с круглым отверстием для укрепления на стержне. Скульптура сохранилась не полностью - лишь средняя часть небольшого голубя со сложенными крыльями, недостает головы.

Склеп имел «превосходный кирпичный свод особой, еще не встречающейся, кладки», как отмечал Косцюшко-Валюжинич К.К. Арочный вход вел в тщательно оштукатуренную погребальную камеру (2,25 x 2,25 x 1,7 м). Не только свод, но и стены склепа, вырубленного в скале имели цилиндрическую форму. Дромос (1,8 м длиной и 0,85 м шириной) вырублен в скале до свода, но закладная плита находилась не в вертикальном положении у входа, а была положена горизонтально и закрывала весь дромос, как это видно по пазам в специально положенных по верхнему краю дромоса плитам из известняка. Вверху с высоты 0,9 м от пола фигурно выложен полуцилиндрическим сводом из светло-желтой, сравнительно тонкой плинфы, скрепленной розовой цемянкой. Упомянутый Косцюшко-Валюжиничем и Айналовым мраморный порог, представлявший собой пьедестал статуи с греческой надписью, рассмотрен Латышевым, но не обозначен ни на планах, ни на разрезах, вероятно он являлся закладом. Свод склепа заглублен в скалу до 70 см. Он облицован плоскими кирпичами (0,26x0,25x0,02 м), положенным на ребро по отношению плоскости свода. Кирпичи преимущественно из желтой, немного зеленоватой глины и из красной глины. Свод был оштукатурен белым раствором. На стенах склепа следов штукатурки не обнаружено. Против входа находится широкая продолговатая лежанка (1,25 м длина и менее 0,4 м высота) для нескольких погребений. Внутренний вид и устройство склепа указывает, что он был предположен для высших чинов херсонеситов.

Исходя из вышеуказанных материалов была спроектирована архитектура мартирия. В основу реконструкции положен план А.Л. Якобсона, вычислены толщина стен (от 0,7 до 1,2 м), дверной проем (0,9 м) и его приблизительная высота (1,6 м). А также высота здания (приблизительно 2,4 м). Во внутреннем убранстве часовни восстановлены элементы декора – мраморные плиты, напольная мозаика, место для возможного престола, предалтарная преграда. Рисунок напольной мозаики выполнен схематично, по единичному фотоматериалу данного заведующим раскопок. Что касается склепа, все величины были даны и восстановлены на своих местах. Стоит отметить о совмещении конструкции склепа и мартирия в один функционирующий комплекс.

Подобным образом, в общих чертах представляется реконструкция внутреннего убранства гробничного мартирия св. Василия и склепа, находившегося в основании. Подробное рассмотрение, уточнение деталей внутреннего декора часовни и склепа, *позволяют говорить о храме, где совершались не только поминальные службы, но и могла отправляться литургия*, на что указывает наличие алтаря и алтарной преграды. Данный памятник следует отнести к ранним христианским церквям Херсонеса.

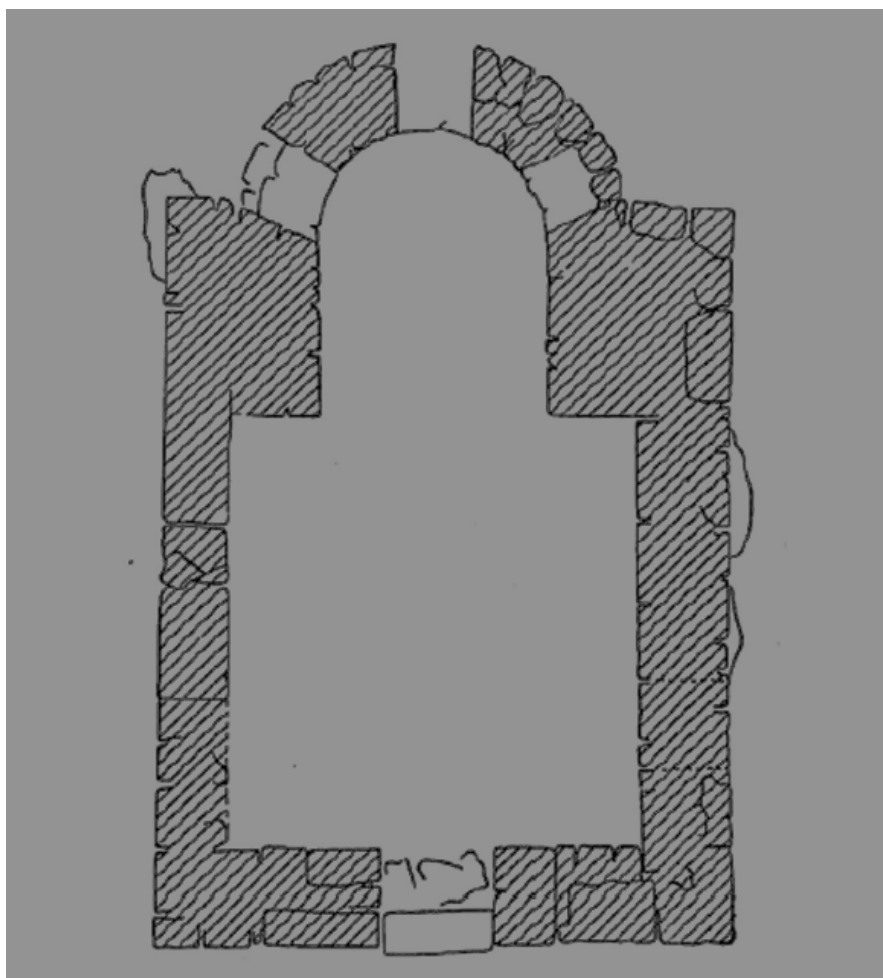


Рис. 1. План часовни «Г» (№ 12), входившей в комплекс Западной базилики
(Якобсон А.Л. Раннесредневековый Херсонес //МИА, 1963. – С. 165.)

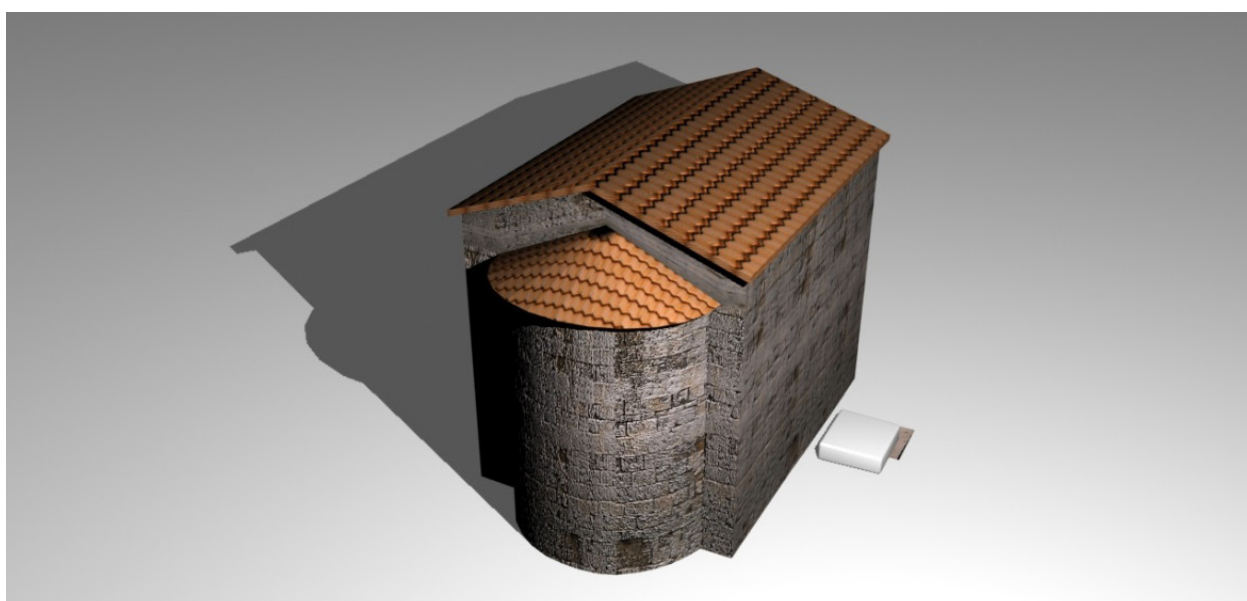


Рис. 2. Реконструкция склепа и мавририя св. Василия ранневизантийского Херсона
(реконструкция автора)



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Hierotopy of the early «Basilica, 1935» from byzantine Kherson (Northern Pontic littoral of Crimea)

Internal space of the Byzantine sacral monuments was the whole complex, including mosaics, murals, elements of sculpture and marble plastics, illumination. All these elements were logically united. The basilica itself might be perceived as a special embodiment of this rule: the whole space, embedded between the walls and lacking internal partition, and rhythmic colonnades, directing the way straight to the sanctuary. Each group of church service members had a precise place to embrace and thus all the zones were united. Altogether, this was forming the special atmosphere.

Modern researches in the field of Christian and Church archeology are using the wide variety of methods and approaches, based on the interdisciplinary connection of history, archeology, art history, theology and other related studies. This example is using the interpretation of the sacral space from the hierotopical point of view. This allows us to systemize the isolated features given about the «Basilica, 1935» from the byzantine Kherson. In the year 2001 A. M. Lydov suggested to use the term «hierotopy» (from Ancient Greek ἱερός – sacred and Ancient Greek τόπος – place, space) for the special field of historical and cultural research, revealing and analyzing the examples of sacral spaces which are seen as a special type of creative activity. Hierotopical approach is supposed to unite and complete the reconstruction of internal space, including not only tangible (material) elements. Illumination, singing, and visual elements are interworking to create the special atmosphere during the Church Service. This is the very atmosphere that was surrounding the legates of Vladimir the Great in the Hagia Sophia Cathedral in Constantinople (modern Istanbul).

Among the significant sites of Chersonesus (called Kherson in the byzantine period, modern Sevastopol, Crimea) the early complex “Basilica, 1935” is of a special interest. It was called this way by the year of discovery by G. D. Belov. Archeological excavation has discovered the pieces of its murals, a detail of mosaic floor, a part of “Good Shepherd” (“Dobriy Pastyr”) sculpture, all dated around IV – V century.

Having studied the murals fragments O. I. Dobrovsky has found the painting architectural elements: festoons of branches, painted with green and black color on the ivory background with yellowish fruits, grey and red ribbons, bird silhouettes, peacocks. The reconstruction completed by G. M. Manto and L. G. Kolesnikova suggested also geometrical ornamental motives.

The mosaic had hid four separate parts, joined together with the grapevine. Two of them contain compound geometrical motives: two with an image of kantharos and kylix and the other two with two growing grapevines with bunches.

The internal space possible reconstruction analysis allows one to refer to the poem by Efrem Sirin “About the Heaven”. Botanical elements are strongly associated with the Heaven itself. The symbolic image of birds embodies the Spirit or souls, the peacocks – the immortality, grapevine – Teachings of Jesus while images of kantharos and kylix are most probably symbolizing the Mystery of Eucharist.



Pretty large space of the Basilica allows us to assume the former existence of the second floor. The light could enter the building through the windows, illuminating the sculpture, the murals and the mosaic.

Christian cathedral can be seen as the reflection of the Heaven on Earth. Based on the assumption the symbolic images of “Basilica, 1935” are completely embracing this approach. The sacred space was perceived on three levels: the lower level – the believer saw the mosaic floor while entering the basilica, the middle level – walls with murals, the top level – free space between windows and sanctuary conch. These means managed to have created the sacral space. Using this architectural site as an example, we can go on and analyze other countless churches of the Byzantine Kherson. Hierotopy methods allow us to demonstrate the interconnection on all available elements.

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**Zaldapa (South Dobrudja) and the Surrounding Late Antique Landscape:
A Preliminary Study to Fieldwork**

At the beginning of the XXth century, Karel and Herman Škorpil have published the first plans of Zaldapa (then misinterpreted as Abritus) and the surrounding Late Antique sites. For many of these sites, their exploration was the first and the last. Regarding Zaldapa, it was also perhaps explored between the two World Wars by Romanian scholars, but their discoveries were never published. In 1951, a tank has been released on the occasion of the building of an artificial lake. Despite this discovery, there was no attempt to put this structure on the plans of Zaldapa subsequently published. In reality, the old plans of the Škorpil brothers are systematically reprinted, without modification. With the resumption of excavations in 2014 by a Bulgarian team – directed by Georgi Atanasov and Valeri Yotov, with the collaboration of Yoto Valeriev Yotov – and the prospect of an international research program with French and Canadian scholars – Dominic Moreau, Nicolas Beaudry and Pascale Chevalier –, we expect an improvement in that matter. In this perspective, the authors have decided to present the progress that can be achieved simply by using satellite images in free access on the internet, as preliminary study for future fieldwork.



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Les études byzantines de Kharkiv: l'histoire et les perspectives

On considère l'Université de Kharkiv comme un des plus considérables centres provinciaux de la Russie par les études byzantines de seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle et du commencement du XX^e siècle. En ce moment là une série de recherches apparaît à l'Université, on peut les diviser en deux grands groupes : 1) où il s'agit de l'histoire des relations byzantines et slaves; 2) où il s'agit de l'histoire politique et de l'histoire d'église de la Byzance.

C'est la thèse de magistrat de A. Lavrovskiy (1825–1899) «Sur l'élément des études byzantines dans le langage des contrats entre les russes et les grecs» (1853), qui représente avant tout une excellente analyse philologique des textes et des accords. M. Drinov (1838–1906) a analysé les relations byzantines et slaves en raccourci historique. Son ouvrage principal sur ce sujet est «Les Slaves du sud et la Byzance au X^e siècle» (1876).

Au second groupe d'observateurs on peut attribuer avant tout les livres du célèbre historien de cette époque A. Zérnin (1821–1866) «L'empereur Basile I Macédonien» (1854), «La vie et les ouvrages littéraires de l'empereur Constantin Porphyrogénète» (1858), «Un essai sur la vie du Patriarche de Constantinople Photios» (1858) et un essai de V. Nadler «Justinien et les parties du cirque en Byzance» (1876).

Célèbres professeurs d'études byzantines qui ont travaillé à Kharkiv à la fin du XIX^e – au commencement du XX^e siècle, ont fait leurs études aux autres universités du pays: E. Redine (1863–1908), F. Schmitt (1877–1937), V. Savva (1865–1920), E. Tchernousov (1869–?). Dans les ouvrages de ces savants on peut observer l'analyse des relations slaves et byzantines, de l'histoire politique de l'empire Byzantin, mais aussi des nouvelles directions apparaissent: 1) l'apprentissage de l'art et de la culture de la Byzance et des pays du cercle de l'influence byzantine; 2) les recherches socio-économiques de l'histoire de l'empire.

Après la réorganisation de l'Université de Kharkiv en 1920 devenue en fait liquidation du système éducatif universitaire, des recherches byzantines spéciales à Kharkiv ont été interrompues pour longtemps.

Les années 1990–2000 sont devenues une période de la régénération des traditions d'études byzantines de Kharkiv. S. Sorotchan publié d'une série d'articles sur l'histoire du commerce byzantin et de la monographie «La Byzance des siècles IV–IX: des études du marché. La structure des mécanismes d'échange» (1998, 2001); et dans les recherches de thèse des ses élèves K. Bardola («Byzantins système fiscal IV–IX siècles», 2003), A. Domanovskyi («Le contrôle de l'Etat vers le réglage du commerce en Byzance au IV–IX siècle», 2007), K. Sorotchan («La nourriture, les matières premières et produits artisanaux à Byzance 4–9^e siècles: spécialisation professionnelle dans la production et le commerce», 2015).



En même temps S. Sorotchan a continué les recherches historiques et archéologiques de la Chersonèse (la monographie «La Chersonèse byzantine (la seconde moitié du VI siècle – la première moitié du X siècle)» (2005, 2013). Ces travaux de l'explorateur sont devenus base pour la fondation d'un autre courant des études byzantines à Kharkiv dans les recherches de thèse des ses élèves A. Latisheva («L'église chrétienne et la vie religieuse à la Chersonèse byzantine (VI–X siècles)», 2009), M. Fomin («La tradition funéraire et la cérémonie à la Chersonèse byzantine (VI–X siècles)», 2010) et A. Romensky («La Rus» dans la politique étrangère de Byzance au dernier quart du X siècle», 2015).

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Medieval Glazed and Coarse Wares from Albania

The Albanian territory during the middle ages is one of the most important areas of Byzantine Empire. In this poster we are represented the most typical wares that are found in old and new excavations in different parts. The pottery during this period includes different types such as byzantine imports represented by *Fine Sgraffito*, *Measles Ware*, *Champleve Ware*, *Green and Brown Ware* ect., and the italic imports represented by *Protomaiolica Ware*, “RMR” Ware, *Italian Polychrome Graffito Ware*, *Metallic Ware*, *Double Dipped Ware* and *Maiolica Ware*. Also important are the coarse ware from local and imports productions.

The material presented here may be attributed to the XIIth - XVIth century, coinciding with the Byzantine Empire, Norman conquests and the Sicilian emperors, Angevines, and the Venetians.

The medieval ceramics show a high level of domestic use involving fine and coarse wares during the XIIth – XVIth century taking into consideration the historical data in these periods.

The excavated sites such as Durrës, Vlorë, Lezhë, Butrint, Berat ect., clearly show that the earliest wares date from the XIIth century represented by *Sgraffito Ware*. The others types were mostly imported from the western Mediterranean and are represented in large quantities of *Protomaiolica Ware*, and “RMR” Ware. These wares imported mainly from Apulia in southern Italy which may relate this influx of ceramics with the campaigns of Manfred of Sicily in 1257, and later by his successor, Charles of Anjou, in 1279. During the XIVth century, table wares were followed by small – scale of *Maiolica* and *Italian Polychrome Graffito Ware* imports from northern Italy, which seem to have poured into the city in the late XVth and early XVIth centuries. These imports also seem to reflect historical events, namely the influence of the Republic of Venice after the death of Charles III of Anjou in 1386. The imports from northern Italy seem to stop at the end of the 16th century.

As a conclusion, the Albanian territory taken in consideration by us seems to have been related with the Byzantine Empire and from the XIIIth century until the beginning of the XVIth century with Italic Peninsula, reaching their zenith during the XIIIth and the late XIVth century.



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New Byzantine graffiti from Cappadocia

In my poster I want to present the more interesting of the near 35 the Byzantine Greek graffiti from the cave church on the southeast side of the Aktepe Hill near Ortahisar, which was found by Dr Bobrovsky T.A. and Chueva E.E. on 2014 year. Also some of the near 150 which were found by me and these my colleagues on 2010 year in other parts of Cappadocia. All the presented graffiti will be shown with paleographical, orthographical and linguistic analysis.

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Byzantine Naxos – A Case Study for Insular Contact Networks

The role of the sea for islands has been described as ranging from insulator to hyper-conductor, leaving islands concurrently more isolated and more interconnected than comparable inland areas. At the same time as the sea marks a frontier, it also opens wide-reaching networks. In practical terms, the sea creates connectivity, where land – dominated by mountains, woodland and rugged terrain – inhibits contact, but in mental, and political, terms water often represent borders, while belonging to the same land mass gives a feeling of shared identity. The continuum includes also large temporal variations either due to natural factors, such as weather and sailing seasons, or due to changing political climates, but potentially equally large differences between groups or individuals within a society.

While Naxos is well-known for its density of Byzantine churches, less is known of the general settlement structure and political organisation. Several large-scale archaeological survey projects have recently been started, however, and the amount of data on the late antique periods from Naxos and the Lesser Cyclades is increasing radically. The poster aims at showing the potential for integrating the information from these new projects in creating a better understanding of daily life, economic activities and exchange networks, and, in turn, of concepts of insularity in the Byzantine world more broadly. Positioned centrally in the Cyclades, Naxos could prove a useful case study for local, regional and inter-regional interaction of island settlements in the Late Roman to Middle Byzantine Aegean.

The ambivalence of island connectivity entails that despite being a clearly demarcated entity on a modern map or satellite image, Naxos cannot *a priori* be assumed to be the most meaningful unit of study, and even if it turns out to make sense in some situations, it might not in others. Whereas costal fishermen might feel closest to their colleagues across the strait to Paros, or exploit hunting



and grazing resources on the Kouphonissia, inland farmers in Filoti might not extend their network beyond Sangri, and Chora might have been better connected with Thira than with Apeiranthos.

Understanding the variation in these social and economic networks and how they change over time can only be achieved by considering a broad set of data. The combination of excavation and survey from both urban and rural contexts, inland and coastal areas, as well as from nearby islands and islets provides an opportunity to gain a unique knowledge of internal organisation and settlement patterns on Naxos in late antiquity, and provide insights into the wider contact networks within and beyond the Cyclades.

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Tombstone in the Churchyard of Bela Crkva (the White Church) in Karan

In the fertile valley of Lužnica, in the village of Karan near Užice, there is a famous medieval church from the mid-fourteenth century, dedicated to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. The founder of the church was the mayor Brajan, a rich landowner, a contemporary of King Dušan. Portraits of the king and the nobility with their families, along with other important nobility and clergy are represented by the frescoes in the church. The frescoes with figures of holy warriors, painted in the spirit of the mid-fourteenth century painting, stand out among others. The place where the church was built has the tradition of *sacer loci* - probably the existence of an ancient temple with the necropolis whose age-old monuments and multi layer medieval necropolis have been preserved.

In 1998, during excavations in the churchyard conducted by archaeologists from the Užice National Museum, in the probe I, west of the church, a preserved gravestone with Cyrillic inscription BRAIŠINA (БРАИШИНА) was discovered. Braišin was a name that was often encountered in toponymy, along with Brajan, Brajko and Brajšina.

The stone is well processed as well as the inscription field with seven regular rows of text with the approximate size letters that are clear and tight. The letters **III** and **И** are wide, while the letters **T** and **M** are lower than the others. The letters **Б** and **Г** have a triangle in the upper end of the horizontal line, **P** and **У** were inscripted in single strokes with triangular loops and sickle arches. The letter **У** has hooks at the top. The right part of the letter **K** is separated from the vertical line. The letter **A** has a vertical or curved line that crosses the loop. The letters **E** and **C** are rather shallow. The morphology of letters, according to the latest analysis of epigraphic inscriptions, belongs to the end of XIV and the beginning of XV century. At the beginning, the inscription has a characteristic 'a se kami' formula that can be seen on the epigraphic monuments on the territory of medieval Bosnian state in the period from XIII to XV century.



By the end of XIV and in the first decades of XV century, the time from which the tombstone Braišina originated, Karan was a village like many others mentioned in the charters and the first Turkish census from the mid fifteenth century. Characteristics of the inscription on the tombstone indicate that it belonged to the person who occupied an important place in the society. Records on the frescoes in the White Church from the end of the fourteenth century and the mid XV century mention spiritual persons.

Tatars, who are mentioned in the inscription, are probably related to smaller groups and troops that often declined and inflicted damage on the local population within the new historical and political events of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. Traditionally nomads, with the aims to rob and to get hold of the prey, they resembled the former great power, widely known in XIII century.

For medieval necropolis, located in the courtyard of the White Church in Karan, the inscribed plate Braišina defines one level of the necropolis in late XIV and the beginning of XV century.

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Византийская и славянская гимнография св. Трифона Апамейского (IX-XX вв.)

Византийская и славянская гимнография св. Трифона Апамейского представлена оригинальной греческой службой и ее славянским переводом, неопубликованными двумя греческими икосами и кондаком, русскими тропарем, седалном, тремя молитвами и четырьмя акафистами.

Служба. В славянской минее под 1/14 февраля находится шестеричная служба св. Трифону и предпразднству Сретения Господня, состоящая из вечерни и утрени. В ней мученику посвящены четыре стихиры на «Господи, воззвах», тропарь, канон (без 2-й песни), включающий 22 тропаря и 8 богородичнов, кондак, седален, икос и светилен. Имя песнописца указано лишь у стихир-славника на «Господи, воззвах» - Киприан Студит (IX в.).

Известно также авторство мученического канона на утрени, которое принадлежит св. Феофану Начертанному (IX в.), т.к. его именем надписано краегранесие «Сладости причастится сподоби мя, Трифоне». Таким образом, мученические песнопения службы датируются, в основном, IX в., что, очевидно, связано с составлением Византийской Минее.

Св. Трифону не был составлен тропарь — в службу вошел общий тропарь «Мученик Твой, Господи...». Лишь в 1981 г. в русских «зеленых минеях» был помещен особый тропарь «Пищи Божественныя, треблаженне, наслаждаяся на Небесех неоскудно...», включающий прошение «отженить вредящих нивам животных» и заканчивающийся припевом «радуйся, Трифоне, мучеников укрепление», характерным для проимиев. Также в России был составлен седален св. Трифона «Воина Христова непобедимаго...», не получивший, однако, богослужебного употребления.



Расположенный после 6-й песни канона икос «Священная трапеза предлагается...» — единственное в службе песнопение, посвященное как предпразднству, так и св. Трифону, упоминающемуся в конце икоса: «...и честна страдальца память...». В греческом Кондакаре XII-XIII вв., есть два не вошедших в печатные минеи икоса, посвященных непосредственно св. Трифону: 1) «Как о цветении полевом помыслив о наслаждениях мира, славный Трифон...», 2) «Непостижимою десницею создавший всё творение...». Кроме того, Кондакарь содержит кондак мученику «С неба сегодня звездою просияв через знаменья лучами чудес», который, как и второй икос, завершается воззванием «Величайший Трифон, сохрани рабов твоих».

В славянской минее после 6-й песни канона отсутствует имеющееся в греческой минее двустушие Христофора Митиленского (XI в.), хотя оно было переведено с греческого языка и вошло в славянский пролог, в частности, в его древнерусский список 1469 г.

В песнопениях службы восемь раз «обыгрывается» имя св. Трифона: в акростихе и тропарях 1-й, 4-й, 8-й и 9-й песней канона, в стихире на «Господи, воззвах», в седальне и светильне. В греческом тексте здесь стоят однокоренные с именем св. Трифона слова.

Молитвы. Общераспространенная молитва «О, святыи мучениче Христов Трифоне, скорый помощниче всем, к тебе прибегающим...» написана в России. Она известна с 1868 г., но, скорее всего, имеет древнее происхождение. В XIX — нач. XX вв. она читалась в церкви св. Трифона в Москве и регулярно печаталась на отдельных листах. Позже она вошла в акафист, составленный в 1891-1892 гг., вместе с которым была заимствована другими Поместными Церквями, в частности, Сербской Церковью.

Известна еще молитва «О святой мучениче и дивный чудотворче Трифоне!..», написанная неизвестным автором, и молитва «О, великий мучениче Божий и преславный чудотворец...», о которой будет сказано ниже.

Акафисты. Первый опыт акафиста св. Трифону относится к 1874 г., но его текст не был утвержден для общецерковного употребления.

Распространение получил акафист, написанный в 1891-1892 гг. преподавателем 1-го реального училища в Москве В.А. Богдановым, впоследствии принявшим сан священника и постриг, в связи с тем, что в его семье св. Трифона почитали особенно.

Свой акафист он представил в 1891 г. в Московский духовно-цензурный комитет, который сделал в нем исправления. В 1892 г. автор повторно представил акафист в комитет с новыми исправлениями. Комитет вновь нашел в нем недостатки, но, одобрив, отправил его на утверждение в Святейший Синод.

В Синоде акафист рассмотрел епископ Гермоген (Добронравин), внесший в него исправления. В 1893 г. акафист был одобрен. Первое его издание церковно-славянским шрифтом вышло в 1893 г., а гражданским шрифтом — в 1894 г. Этот текст получил распространение как в Русской, так и в Сербской Церкви.

Третий вариант акафиста св. Трифону был написан Л.И. Денисовым в 1893 г., когда акафист В.А. Богданова уже находился в Синоде. Видимо поэтому он не был одобрен.



С середины XX в. известен еще один акафист, вошедший в обиход Знаменской церкви в Переяславской слободе в Москве. Его авторство приписывают протоиерею А. Ветелеву — клирику этого храма в 1955-1966 гг. и профессору МДА.

Текст этого акафиста составлен на основе богдановского акафиста, даже припев проимия (рефрен) такой же. Хайретизмы оставлены тоже почти без изменений, но частью переставлены. Число их сокращено в каждом икосо вдвое. Однако тексты кондаков и икосов, большей частью, написаны заново. Кроме того, в акафист добавлена вторая молитва «О, великий мучениче Божий и преславный чудотворец...», упоминающая, в отличие от первой, чудо св. Трифона о соколе.

Таким образом, православная гимнография св. Трифона Апамейского, в основном, сформировалась в Византии в IX в., а в XIX-XX вв. была дополнена в России.

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Byzantine Kotor. Researches 1982-1999

From the period of the Byzantine rule in Kotor, which, like in the rest of Dalmatia, was long with varying intensity, in the researches conducted after the last earthquake (1979), was found not such a large number of objects, but in a wide time range.

Although Kotor, as well as the whole Bay of Kotor, after the formation of the province Praevalitana (in the late 3rd century), remained in the province of Dalmatia, from the reign of Constantius II (337-361), which ruled in the Eastern part of the Roman Empire, in the church of St. Tryphon was found one coin.

The border between the provinces of Dalmatia and Praevalitana, which ranged slightly south of the Bay of Kotor, after the Theodosius division of the Empire (396) became the border between the Western and Eastern Roman Empire. From the time when Dalmatia was within the framework of the Ostrogoth state (after 493), in the Cathedral of St. Tryphon was found one almost illegible coin, probably smaller half-follis of the Anastasius I (491-518).

Mentioned border is lost after the Justinian's conquer and incorporation the province of Dalmatia to the Byzantine Empire (535), when Kotor became the most important trading center of Bay of Kotor, which will remain during the long Byzantine rule (up to 1185). From the early Byzantine period were discovered the remains of the early Christian basilicas found under the Romanesque churches of St. Mary and St. Michael, as well as the most likely buildings below the Cathedral of St. Tryphon and the pre-Romanesque church complex from the 9th century.

From the time when Kotor was already within the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia and when it were ruled by emperors of the Macedonian dynasty, in the church of St. Tryphon, were found three folles of Constantine VII (913-959) and five anonymous folles from the Emperor Basil II (976-1025)



to the Empress Theodora (1055-1056). From the time of Duka (1059-1078) and Komnenos dynasties (1081-1185) were found four more anonymous folles. Of the other coins of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) were discovered two more histamenon and eleven tetarteron.

In the Cathedral of St. Tryphon, in the altar area, at the bottom of the tomb 13, was discovered a reverse side of the reliquary cast in bronze. In the central part of the cross was carved completely schematized figure of the Virgin. Production of such crosses was linked to the eastern Mediterranean part of the Byzantine empires, mainly Palestine, and especially Jerusalem, from the 10th of the 12th century. Based on analogies items, the reliquary from Kotor has been dated to the 12th century.

From the period of the 12th and 13th centuries in Kotor's cathedral appears the Scent bottles, which were used for keeping and storing fragrant oils and ointment balms and may have been used in the cult of St. Tryphon, or during church ceremonies. The seven small glass bottles had a long cylindrical body with a greater or lesser narrowed part at the bottom. The decorations on these fine bottles are diverse, with colored enamel and perhaps gilding, up to the ones with applied thread or without any decoration. The scent bottles from Kotor may have been made in some Eastern-Mediterranean glassmaking center – on Byzantine soil, Egypt (Fustat) or the Levant. The earliest possible period when they were likely to have been brought over to the Cathedral in Kotor was in the year 1166 when the church was consecrated, i.e. during the second half of the 12th century.

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The Churches of Chersonese in the 4th Century

The issue of the early Christian community formation in late antique Chersonese remains disputable despite more than a hundred years of research. That is why construction activity of religious buildings in this most early period of Christianity in the city is of significant interest now.

The materials of archaeological diggings indicate that Christian temples were raised there as early as at the late 4th century. Two churches are mentioned in *The Lives of Holy Bishops of Cherson*. The first one was created by the bishop Aetherius. He was a founder of the Chersonese see (eparchy) and his name was mentioned among the participants of the Second Ecumenical Council (the First Council of Constantinople) in 381. Presumably the church was located in site of the so-called “The 1935 Basilica”. Some authors suggest that a late antique synagogue had been there before which is confirmed by the archaeological finds and the text of *The Lives of Holy Bishops of Cherson*. With the rise of Christianity the synagogue was reconstructed into a church. It could happen before 393 – the date of the act forbidding deconstruction of synagogues.

As a result of the reconstruction a five-sided apse was added to the rectangular building, the walls were decorated with frescos similar to decorations of early Christian crypts of Chersonese, the floor was ornamented with mosaic. Moreover a sculpture could stand in the church. The fragment of the composition “Good shepherd” was discovered near the basilica.



Also the Saint Peter's church raised by the saint bishop Capiton on the site of the pagan temple of the Virgin – Parthenos is mentioned in the text of *The Lives*. Some experts suggest the church preceded the later East basilica. During the excavations that were carried out here since 1876 the strata was moved away up to the rock. The eastern part of the building descended in the sea.

The architectural details that could be parts of the Saint Peter's church were excavated in Chersonese. Among them there are three panels that once formed a single construction. The front of the first one reveals the image of Christ as a beardless youth with the nimbus reaching out a hand to drowning Peter. There is a sail on the right and the frame and the remains of the cross on the back. The text says "The Lord Jesus giving his hand to Peter". The panel is stored in Saint-Petersburg. The second panel, known as the "Paris panel" is stored in Louvre. It displays the image of Jesus as a beardless youth with a nimbus reaching out his right hand as a gesture of blessing. The text says "The Lord Jesus saying to Peter and his companions: cast the net on the right side of the boat, and you will find some". The third panel of Chersonese was found beside the East basilica. It displays the part of a frame and the traces of the image of a head under it. The text is "The Lord Jesus...". The panels are dated 4–5th centuries. The positions of Jesus figure indicate a reflective symmetry of the whole composition.

There is one more artefact: "Dedication of Martyrios". The ktitor inscription was revealed during the excavations of the Odessa Society of History and Antiquities in 1876 and obviously relates to the Saint Peter's church. There are also two pieces of altar screen with the relief wide-ended cross and the text "For the prayer of Martyrios and all his near and dear". They are dated to the end of the 4th – early 5th centuries, too. One can assume the church was a basilica with an attached or located nearby baptistery in which Chersonesitans were baptized.

Thus, it is possible to affirm that two Christian churches of late antique Chersonese are known as for today and presumably they were raised in late 80^s – early 90^s years of the 4th century.

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The Early Christian Art of Late Antique Chersonese. The Origin of the Art Tradition

The unique monuments of early Christian art were discovered on the site of antique Chersonese. To them belong decorated crypts, frescos and mosaics of the 1935 Basilica. They are dated from the middle of the 4th to the 5th centuries. The monuments make possible to trace the origin of the art tradition and its development in the late antique, or early byzantine center.

In the 3rd – 4th centuries Chersonese kept its bonds with the north regions of Asia Minor: Heraclea Pontica, Synop, Amisos. The trading channels were also the ways of spreading new ideas and trends, the means of cultural dialogue.



The Lives of Holy Bishops of Cherson indicate the bond between Chersonese Christians and the ones of Syria and Palestine. Worship of the Saint Phocas of Synop (died 117), Warrior Saint - Theodore Stratelates who suffered in Heraclea (died 319) also submit the fact. Obviously that influenced the formation of the art tradition of Chersonese.

The wall paintings include the images of geometric figures, plant-based ornaments, garlands and birds; imitation and incrustation are the common styles here. Some images of people occur; and traces of the Chi Ro are found in eight of thirteen crypts.

The composition with a peacock (crypts on “the earth of N.I. Tur”, 1912, #1 1998-1999) is of special interest. It is close to the 1935 Basilica and mosaics of the northern Syria by its subjects and technics.

The style and art technics of the 1935 Basilica mosaics is similar to the mosaic of more late temples. There are elements of imitation in the fragments of wall painting, marbling in particular, and the images of geometric figures, garlands, birds (peacocks among them) that are close by their technic and subjects to the painted crypts of Chersonese.

The mosaics of Chersonese have many similarities to the ones of the Christian buildings of Syria. The study of technics and subjects indicate the semantic and aesthetic closeness. In some cases it is possible to say the paintings are identical.

Thus may be stated that early Christian art tradition of Chersonese could have been brought from Syria and Palestine and developed under the influence of their art tradition. And that is quite natural taking into account how Christianity was brought to the city.

The art system imported to the Chersonese soil in the Late Antique period developed in crypt decoration art, frescos and floor mosaics in the early Christian environment. The tradition is traced in more late mosaics, too. The similarity of the compositions elements could indicate the existence of a certain art school in which graphic sketches, or line drawings were used and they could have been brought from the Middle East area. The early Christian plots of the 1935 Basilica crypts were developed in the more late mosaics. That make it possible to suggest an art school that emerged and developed in this region.

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The Last Eparch of Italy: An Interpretation of the Sigillographic Evidence

In this paper I will discuss the seal DO 55.2.2768 which belongs to a certain John ὑπατος καὶ ἑπαρχος Ἰταλίας. This intriguing piece of evidence is dated to the first half of the eighth century, almost a century after the last mention of an eparch of Italy in 639. The absence of any reference to the office in written sources, the non-existence of any seal attested it, and our knowledge of the political



developments in early eighth century Italy indicate that the seal in question shows a reintroduction of the office, rather than its continuous survival to that date. I will, therefore, explain this occurrence by placing this seal into the framework of the Italian policy of Leo III, who was the last emperor to attempt bringing central Italy under actual imperial control. Early in his reign he levied taxes upon Italy provoking the intense reaction of Pope Gregory II. As I will suggest, it is possible that Leo III reintroduced the office of the eparch of Italy, whose duties involved fiscal administration and supervising tax collection, in order to take direct control of the province revenue from the Pope, who until this period seems to have been in charge of the aforementioned functions. The failure of Leo III to control central Italy signaled a change in Byzantium's priorities and triggered a process of re-orientation for the Papacy, which led to its gradual estrangement from the empire and its turn towards the Franks.

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The Experience of Uncreated Light from Isaac Qatraye to Simeon the New Theologian; Narsai and Shenoute on the Council of Chalcedon: Comparative Reactions

This paper seeks to demonstrate the continuity and similarity of visionary praxis between Middle Eastern Christians and Byzantine Christians from Isaac Qatraye (of Nineveh/ the Syrian) in the late seventh century and John Dalyatha (late eighth century) to Simeon the New Theologian (late tenth, early eleventh century). The focus will be on those passages on the “uncreated light” and the balancing of cataphatic and apophatic language used by each author to describe and explain their experience. The transmission of Middle Eastern Christian language and practice was transmitted through Palestine in those monasteries that translated these works both for a “Melkite” or Chalcedonian Syriac-speaking audience, as well as for a Byzantine Greek-speaking audience passing on the works of Isaac with some of John's writings as well. Even with this process of transmission, it will be demonstrated that the underlying practices of encounter with the light without form and its interpretation is remarkably stable. After briefly detailing the transmission of texts and their echoes in Symeon, their articulation of both the practices of prayer and the experience of divine encounter will be compared, laying the groundwork for both later monastic practice and the defense of those practices.



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Byzantine Heritage in the Valley of Drinos (Hadrianapolis), Gjirokastra

The historical sources of the late antiquity that mention the region of the Drinos valley, inform us about a strong structure of the church, organized on the basis of the administrative provinces of the Diocletian period (245-313). In the center of each province was the metropolitan church, together with the bishopric see, having under his jurisdiction the bishops of the suffragan bishoprics. The archbishop of Nicopolis (Epirus Vetus) had 9 bishoprics under his jurisdiction, among those, Hadrianapolis. In 458, in the letter of the Synod of Epirus Vetus directed to Emperor Leon I, the name of bishop Hypatius of Hadrianapolis is present; on year 516, on the letters sent to Pope Hormisdas, among the signatures is present that of bishop Constantine (of Hadrianapolis).

On 625, when Pope directs a letter to the synod of the Epirus Vetus, namely, to the four left bishops of the region, discussing the question of the Metropolitan of Nicopolis, chances are that the bishop of Hadrianapolis was among the addressees.

During the years 610-649, which were marked by massive movements of people and ethnic changes, a serious phenomenon hit the Byzantine Empire, the religious conflict, which was caused due to different interpretations of the role of icons for the Christian faith. Due to the lack of evidences, it is unknown the degree that iconoclasm had in the Albanian milieu. It is known only the fact that Emperor Leon III (717-741) disconnected the local church from the jurisdiction of Rome, placing it under the Patriarchate of Constantinople on 732.

When the Council of the year 869 was held, among the participants was also the bishop of Hadrianapolis. According to the Notitia 8 and 10, published by J. Darrouze, dating between 886-912, Hadrianapolis is part of the bishopric of Naupactus (Nikopolis). The Archbishopric of Ohrid, in the time of the Bulgarian tzars, enlarged its territories by involving under its jurisdiction the bishopric of Hadrianapolis, detaching it from Naupactus; the latter continued to exist even after the year 1018, as it is proven by the sigil of Basil II. After the official Schism of the churches (1054), Hadrianapolis was under the strong influence of the byzantine orthodoxy. During the 14th century, according to *Notitiae Graecorum Episcopatum*, Hadrianapolis belongs to Naupactus.

The city of Hadrianapolis has been built on an earlier settlement of the late classic – early Hellenistic period, being a center of services along the Drinos valley. During the period of Hadrian (117-138) the antique settlement gained the features of a city. After a period of crisis, the urban Hadrianapolis experienced a temporary revival during the period of Justinian (527-565). Eventhough the city started to be abandoned by the people during the 7th century, latter it became a bishopric named *Drinopolis*.

From the 16th century and on, a large number of monasteries were built on the Eastern side of the Mali i Gjerë, 8 of which have survived until nowadays. Amongst those, the most distinguished is the Monastery of Driano, build on the height of the Mali i Gjerë, above Zervat village.



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The Prestige of Manuscripts: From Venetian Crete to Holkham Hall and Beyond. A Descriptive Online Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts from Holkham Hall Now in the Bodleian Library

With this project, the Holkham Hall collection of Greek manuscripts, now in Oxford's Bodleian Library, is thoroughly explored and analytically described in an electronic catalogue whose preparation began in October 2015. Holkham Hall (UK) houses a renowned library built up mainly between the years 1712 and 1718, when on his Grand Tour of Europe, by Thomas Coke, later first Earl of Leicester. Coke was primarily interested in printed books, but he purchased over 700 manuscripts, of which 118 were in Greek. As the result of transactions in 1954, 1956 and 1981 all but one of these are now kept in Oxford.

Ranging in date from the 10th to the 17th century, included are patristic and Byzantine as well as classical texts. Some of them are adorned with beautiful illustrations. A major drawback to their wider use is the lack of a proper, analytical catalogue, since the existing hand-lists make no pretensions to completeness. The new catalogue conforms to current bibliographic standards with use of TEI and xml mark up, and it will be presented on-line on the Bodleian Libraries' website.

Examination of the dynamics of the collection and the reason for the creation of its several strands fall within the project. Manuscripts are examined in their pre-1954 context as a 'country' house collection. Questions are asked concerning their contribution to English cultural and intellectual life from their first appearance in England to the present day, and also on Coke's motives in acquiring manuscripts in addition to printed books. More interesting results are likely to come from examination of the antecedents of the collection before it came into Coke's possession.

Most of the Greek manuscripts derive, via an official on the staff of San Marco in Venice, from a sixteenth-century library formed in Venetian Crete by the Orthodox priest Ioannes Morezenos (d. 1613) and his family. This aspect of the collection has barely been noticed by modern Greek scholars and totally ignored by other specialists. It is obvious from a cursory glance that the manuscripts will in themselves reveal much about intellectual networks in Venice and Crete in the years immediately before Crete's fall to the Turks. There one can see various ownership marks, miscellaneous notes with some scribal signatures too.

Crete had a vibrant intellectual culture and the bilingual Venetian-Greek symbiosis of the Cretan Renaissance generated literary masterpieces such as Kornaros' *Erotokritos*. This spirit did not survive into the Turkish period (1669-1913) and its libraries are now uniquely represented by two manuscript collections, both in the Bodleian, those of Holkham Hall and of Francesco Barocci (acquired in 1629). Investigation of the role of the Holkham Hall material in its English and Venetian contexts will be examined in the project.



Further, a collected volume will be published, presenting conclusions on the nature, origins, material evidence, purposes and reception of the Holkham Hall Greek manuscripts, with reference to analogies from the Barocci manuscripts.

The conclusions will be more immediately available to the public with exhibitions of selected manuscripts and ancillary material in the Bodleian, in Crete and Holkham Hall itself.

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