The City and the Cities
η Πόλις και οι πόλεις
FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE FRONTIER

The Oxford University Byzantine Society's

XVI
International Graduate Conference 2014
THE CITY AND THE CITIES
FROM CONSTANTINOPLE TO THE FRONTIER

WAS CONCEIVED AND ORGANISED BY:
Nicholas Matheou, Theofili Kampianaki, and Lorenzo Bondioli

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THE ORGANISING COMMITTEE WOULD LIKE TO THANK ALL THE VOLUNTEERS FOR
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Ὦ Πόλις, Πόλις, πόλεων πασών κεφαλή˙ ὦ Πόλις, Πόλις, κέντρον τῶν
tεσσάρων τοῦ κόσμου μερῶν…

*Ducas. Istoria Turco-Bizantina (1314–1462), ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest: 1958), 41.1–2*

Ο City, City, head of all cities’ o City, City, centre of
the world’s four parts…
GENERAL SCHEDULE

FRIDAY

9.00: Registration & Coffee
9.45: Opening Remarks
10.00: Sessions 1.1 and 2.1
11.30: Coffee
11.45: Sessions 1.2 and 2.2
13.15: Lunch
14.00: Sessions 1.3 and 2.3
15.30: Coffee
15.45: Sessions 1.4 and 2.4
17.15: Book Launch for *Landscapes of Power. Selected Papers from the XV Oxford University Byzantine Society International Graduate Conference*

SATURDAY

9.00: Registration & Coffee
10.00: Sessions 1.5 and 2.5
11.30: Coffee
11.45: Sessions 1.6 and 2.6
13.15: Lunch
14.00: Sessions 1.7 and 2.7
15.30: Coffee
15.45: Sessions 1.8 and 2.8
17.15: Closing Remarks
17.45: Wine Reception
FRIDAY 28 FEBRUARY 2014

SESSION 1.1: THE OLD ROME
10.00 Lecture Theatre

LOOKING EASTWARDS: THE REGINA ORIENTIS IN SIDONIUS APOLLINARIS’ CARMEN 2
Lynton Boshoff
The Queen’s College, Oxford

ROME IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY BYZANTINE EMPIRE: A MIGRANTS’ PERSPECTIVE
Philipp Winterhager
Humboldt University

THE DECAY OF ROME HAS BEEN FREQUENTLY ASCRIBED TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE SEAT OF EMPIRE...
James Moreton Wakeley
Lincoln College, Oxford

SESSION 2.1: CITY LIFE
10.00 Rees Davis Room

SPECTATORSHIP IN CITY AND CHURCH IN LATE ANTIQUITY: THEORIA RETURNS TO THE FESTIVAL
Byron MacDougall
Brown University

TZIKANION: THE IMPERIAL GAME IN BYZANTIUM
Nicolas Bergamo
EHESS Paris

PERFORMING VIOLENCE IN LATE ANTIQUITY: URBAN LANDSCAPE, RITUAL, AND POWER
Stephanie S. Steinke
University of North Dakota

SESSION 1.2: THE NEW ROME
11.45 Lecture Theatre

Nicholas Matheou
St Cross College, Oxford

L’IDENTITÉ BYZANTINE EST-ELLE UNE CONSTRUCTION CONSTANTINOPOLETAINE? DICHOTOMIE ENTRE CONSTANTINOPLE ET LES PROVINCES AUX VIE-VIE SIÈCLES
Vincent Tremblay
University of Montreal

MEMORIZATION AND HEGEMONY IN SOCRATES OF CONSTANTINOPLE
Rebecca Stephens Falcasantos
SESSION 2.2: EDUCATION IN THE CITIES
11.45 Rees Davis Room

ODYSSEUS, Tzetzes, and Byzantine Education
Valeria Lovato
Universities of Turin and Lausanne

Scholarship without a Centre?
Jonas J. H. Christensen
University of Southern Denmark

‘WHERE WERE THEY WRITING?’: THE CHANGING LOCATION OF SCRIBAL BOOK PRODUCTION IN LATE ANTIQUITY
Jeremaia Coogan
Oriel College, Oxford

SESSION 1.3: IMPERIAL CITIES
14.00 Lecture Theatre

MYSTRAS, CENTRE OF ARTISTIC INNOVATION
Andrea Mattiello
University of Birmingham

THE MIRACLE CYCLE BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE, THESSALONIKI AND MSTRA
Maria Alessia Rossi
Courtauld Institute of Art

THE ROTUNDA OF GALERIUS IN THE CITY OF THESSALONIKI
Anthony Sciubba
St Hugh’s College, Oxford

SESSION 2.3: CIVIC PATRONAGE AND PERSUASION
14.00 Rees Davis Room

‘FURNISH WHATEVER IS LACKING TO THEIR AVARICE’: NEGOTIATION AND BRIBERY BETWEEN ALEXANDRIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE THROUGH A PRO-NESTORIAN LENS
Walter Beers
St Peter’s College, Oxford

THE TALE OF TWO CITIES: LIU DPRAND OF CREMONA’S JOURNEY FROM CREMONA TO CONSTANTINOPLE
Andrew M. Small
Kellogg College, Oxford

STRENGTHENING JUSTICE THROUGH FRIENDSHIP AND FRIENDSHIP THROUGH JUSTICE: MICHAEL PSELLOS AND THE PROVINCIAL JUDGES
Jonas Nilsson
Exeter College, Oxford
SESSION 1.4: BYZANTION BEYOND THE FRONTIER
15.45 Lecture Theatre

KASTRON, RABAD AND ARḌŪN: THE CASE OF ART’ANUJI
Nicholas Evans
Wadham College, Oxford

Bella Radenovic
Courtauld Institute of Art

PIOUS POWER AND POWERFUL PIETY: ADAPTING THE BYZANTINE MODEL OF IMPERIAL PIETY TO BALKAN REPRESENTATIONS OF AUTHORITY
Sarah S. Simmons
Florida State University

SESSION 2.4: LITERARY CITIES
15.45 Rees Davis Room

LITERARY ACTIVITY IN MIDDLE-BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPLE: BYZANTINE ASSESSMENTS OF THE GREEK NOVEL IN THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN COURT
Nikolaos Manousakis
University of Athens

THE IMAGE OF THE CITY IN ST. SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN’S WRITINGS
Ana-Maria Răducan
University of Bucharest

NARRATIVE CITYSCAPES IN LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES’ DEMONSTRATIONS OF HISTORIES
Sergey Fadeev
St Cross College, Oxford
SATURDAY 1 MARCH 2014

SESSION 1.5: ECONOMICS, TRADE, AND THE CITIES
10.00 Lecture Theatre

CONSTANTINOPLES’ GATE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HARBOR OF THEODOSIUS IN YENIKAPI
Ayşe Erçan
Columbia University

PROVINCE IN CONTRAST TO THE CITY CONSTANTINOPLE: IRREGULARITIES AND PECULIARITIES OF THE COINAGE OF ANTIOCH (518-565)
Pavla Drapelova
University of Athens

NETWORKS OF INTERACTION AND THE MARBLE TRADE IN LATE ANTIQUITY: A CASE STUDY OF ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS FROM PROCONNESUS.
Nicholas W. Dugdale
University of Southampton

SESSION 2.5: CHRISTIAN EMPERORS IN THE CITY
10.00 Rees Davis Room

SAYINGS ATTRIBUTED TO EMPERORS OF OLD AND NEW ROME IN MICHAEL PSELLOS’ HISTORIA SYNTOMOS
Theofili Kampianaki
Wolfson College, Oxford

A BYZANTINE THEOLOGIAN’S STRUGGLE AGAINST POLITICAL INTRIGUE: GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS
Jacob E. Drake
Duke University

CELEBRATING USURPATION: ELIJAH AND “MACEDONIAN” DYNASTIC IDEOLOGY IN URBAN CONSTANTINOPLE
Christopher Timm
Florida State University

SESSION 1.6: CIVIC RESPONSES AND REPRESENTATIONS
11.45 Lecture Theatre

APOCALYPTIC PROPAGANDA OUT OF CONSTANTINOPLE: THE DISPERSMAL OF THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF PSEUDO-METHODIUS DURING THE DARK AGE CRISIS
Christopher Bonura
University of California Berkeley

CONSTANTINOPLE AND ALEXANDRIA IN THE 7TH CENTURY: THE REPRESENTATION OF BYZANTIUM IN CHRISTIAN SOURCES FROM CONQUERED EGYPT
Cecilia Palombo
Pembroke College, Oxford
FROM THE FRONTIER TO THE CAPITAL. DISCOVERY OF ISLAM IN CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 9TH CENTURY
Jakub Supiánski
Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l’homme, University Aix-Marseille

SESSION 2.6: MONASTIC CITIES
11.45 Rees Davis Room

PRACTICING THE SOLITARY LIFE IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND PROVINCES IN THE 9TH- EARLY 13TH CENTURIES: ON THE POSSIBILITY OF SECLUSION IN A CHURCH OF A MONASTERY.
Anna Freze
Saint-Petersburg State University

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE DESERT CITY: LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR IMPERIAL PATRONAGE IN THE JUDEAN DESERT
Dan Neary
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

THE PRESENCE OF MONASTERY IN CITY: URBAN POSSESSIONS OF GREAT MONASTERIES IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES
Anna Adashinskaya
Central European University, Budapest

SESSION 1.7: CONQUEST AND RE-CONQUEST ON THE FRONTIER
11.45 Lecture Theatre

THE NOBLEST PART OF OUR EMPIRE. FROM THE ITALIAN FRONTIER TO THE CITY IN THE DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO
Lorenzo Bondioli
Balliol College, Oxford

MASTER OF KASTAMON, EMPEROR OF THE UNIVERSE: JOHN KOMNENOS AS BORDER-MAKER AND BORDER-BREAKER IN THEODORE PRODROMOS’S POEM ON THE ADVANCE TO KASTAMON
Roman Shlyakhtin
Central European University, Budapest

LOPADION: 12TH CENTURY ROMAN COLONY
Maximilian C G Lau
Oriel College, Oxford

SESSION 2.7: THE CITY AND THE HOLY
11.45 Rees Davis Room

EUSEBIUS’ CAESAREA: THE WRITING OF HISTORY AND THE DYNAMICS OF ECCLESIASTICAL POLITICS IN FOURTH-CENTURY PALESTINE
Robson Murilo G. Della Torre
State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), academic visitor to the Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity for the academic year of 2013/2014.
ROMANOS THE MELODE: THE MAN WHO EXCEEDED THE CITY. DRAMATIC ELEMENTS AND NARRATIVE STRUCTURE
Danai Papaioannou
University of Athens

HYMNS IN 4TH CENTURY RELIGIOUS CLASHES IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND ELSEWHERE: SHARED CULTURAL PATTERNS OR UNIFYING DISCOURSE?
Arkadii Avdokhin
King's College London

SESSION 1.8: FROM HOLY CITIES TO THE FRONTIER
15.45 Lecture Theatre

"CITADELS OF PRAYER": SPIRITUAL MOBILIZATION IN TIMES OF SIEGE, FROM THE SUMMER OF 502 TO THE SUMMER OF 727
David Gyllenhaal
Blackfriars, Oxford

HOLY FRONTIERSMEN IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY
Douglas C. Whalin
Queens' College, Cambridge

CITIZENS BETWEEN CITIES AND FRONTIER IN WARTIME: THE AMIDENES IN THE SIXTH CENTURY
Shih-Cong Fan Chiang
King’s College London

SESSION 2.8: URBAN FORMS BEYOND THE FRONTIER
15.45 Rees Davis Room

CONSTANTINOPOLITAN INFLUENCE AND LOCAL TRADITIONS IN MONUMENTAL PAINTINGS OF THE 14TH CENTURY IN THE BALKANS. ON SOME DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ICONOGRAPHY.
Elena Nemykina
Saint-Petersburg State University

BYZANTINE ART BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THE EMPIRE: A CASE STUDY OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT CHRYSONONUS IN ZADAR
Franka Horvat
Central European University, Budapest

LATE ANTIQUE OCTAGON AT MANGUP - A DISTANT OUTPOST OF CONSTANTINOPOLITAN ART OR A PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT?
Daria Korziuk
Tavrian University, Crimea
FRIDAY 28 FEBRUARY 2014

SESSION 1.1: THE OLD ROME
10.00 Lecture Theatre
Chair: Miranda Williams, Wolfson College

LOOKING EASTWARDS: THE REGINA ORIENTIS IN SIDONIUS APOLLINARIIS’ CARMEN 2
Lynton Boshoff (lynton.boshoff@queens.ox.ac.uk)
The Queen’s College, Oxford

In the closing years of the 460s, the young Sidonius Apollinaris — member of the clarissimate of Lugdunum but with a bright future ahead of him as bishop of Clermont-Ferrand — gives the third and final in his set of imperial panegyrics at Rome. The emperor in question is Anthemius, a foreigner from Constantinople who, by all accounts, had been placed on the throne with the explicit backing of the incumbent emperor in the East, Zeno. Sidonius’ verse panegyrics, while mostly thought of as slavish imitations of Claudian, which obsequiously and obliviously praise the emperor in gilded tones, rather present us with a very particular attitude to the imperial administration through the use of intricate mythological allegory. In particular, Sidonius makes use of personified countries or cities to describe the status of current affairs — a practice which, while present in Claudian, here takes on a whole different dimension. Their representation, which often differ from poem to poem, can be taken to indicate Sidonius’ perception of these current affairs or where he considers the newly installed emperor’s focus should be. In this paper, therefore, I shall examine the figure of Constantinople, the regina Orientis, as presented in Carmen 2, in light of Sidonius’ larger narrative and other representations of cities in his and earlier poetry, in order to determine any attitudes he may have, as a representative of the Western clarissimate and their interests, toward the new regime and the changing late Antique world.

Lynton Boshoff is currently reading for a DPhil in Classical Languages and Literature at The Queen’s College, Oxford, on the subject of the mythological epyllia of Blossius Aemilius Dracontius, supervised by Stephen Harrison and Helen Kaufmann. Before coming up to Oxford in 2012 to read for an MSt in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies, he completed his undergraduate and honours degrees at the University of Johannesburg, and the University of the Witwatersrand in South Africa.

ROME IN THE SEVENTH CENTURY BYZANTINE EMPIRE: A MIGRANTS’ PERSPECTIVE
Philipp Winterhager (philipp-winterhager@gmx.de)
Humboldt University

Following the traditional narratives of historiography, we are used to seeing the relationship between Rome and the Constantinople-centered Empire along themes of loosening ties, dissociation and, in the long run, schism. The seventh century can be seen as a crucial period for this kind of histories, when one looks at the monothelite controversy in the field of theology, or, politically, the increasing régionalisme (A. Guillou) of Byzantine Italy with most of the emperors rather neglecting the well-being of the last Western provinces.
Early Medieval Rome, within this dichotomy, is either seen as a devastated and marginal city within the context of the empire (from the Byzantinists’ viewpoint of Constantinople), or, for medievalists, as the seat of a papacy struggling for independence between ‘Greeks’, Lombards, and Franks.

Such large-scale narratives can be complemented or even countered by a cross-cultural view on the Early Medieval Mediterranean. The study of migrants and migration networks gives the opportunity to look at Rome and the Empire beyond narratives of closed political or cultural entities. Via a network-based and actor-centered approach (a migrants’ perspective), the question of significance, or centrality, of a certain city can be readdressed without drawing on traditional models of dichotomy.

Therefore, throughout my presentation the example of Maximos the Confessor and his personal network is chosen to illustrate the significance of Rome in a Mediterranean context, preferring relational approaches to dichotomic and a priori ascriptions.

Philipp Winterhager, born 1986, studied Medieval History and Classical Archaeology at Humboldt University, Berlin, Germany. He graduated as Magister Artium in 2011. Since early 2012, he has been working on his PhD thesis on ‘Greek-speaking immigrants to Rome, 7th to 9th century’, in which he is studying the cultural interaction of ‘Byzantines’ in Rome with their surrounding society, considering it as social practice of integration and disintegration. Since 2012, he has had the opportunities to present parts of his work at colloquia in Berlin, Rome, and Moscow.

‘THE DECAY OF ROME HAS BEEN FREQUENTLY ASCRIBED TO THE TRANSLATION OF THE SEAT OF EMPIRE...’

James Moreton Wakeley (james.wakeley@lincoln.ox.ac.uk)
Lincoln College, Oxford

So wrote Gibbon in his chapter entitled ‘General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West’. Modern historians have also blamed the East for doing too little to support the western provinces in their hour of need. There is good reason to doubt how significant this putative tendency was, given the continued willingness of eastern rulers to invest considerable military resources in trying to buttress the West in the fifth century. Gibbon, however, may have identified a deeper truth. One of the many striking developments of the Late Antiquity was the bifurcation of the Roman world, witnessed in microcosm in the old and new imperial centres. The growth of Constantinople reverberated throughout the East. It received the Egyptian annona and seems to have exerted a positive multiplier effect along both the coasts and the hinterlands of the Levant and Asia Minor, providing the eastern Mediterranean with a huge new centre of consumption that demanded supply. Rome contracted in this period. Trade patterns shift eastwards and the dramatic reduction in population between the fourth and fifth centuries may have causes deeper than the sackings of the city, especially considering the broader context of demographic decline in the West. Should the decline of Rome as a city, therefore, be seen less as the product of the chaos of the fifth century and more the result of internal, imperial change? Did Constantinople kill Rome?
James Moreton Wakeley is reading for an MPhil in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies at Lincoln College, Oxford. He crossed over to the dark side after reading Classics at Clare College, Cambridge, and a year working for a Member of Parliament in Westminster.

SESSION 2.1: CITY LIFE
10.00 Rees Davis Room
Chair: Kirsty Stewart, The Queen’s College

SPECTATORSHIP IN CITY AND CHURCH IN LATE ANTIQUITY: *THEORIA* RETURNS TO THE FESTIVAL
Byron MacDougall (byron.macdougall@gmail.com)
Brown University

This paper explores how Late Antique rhetors - Christian and pagan - develop the festival as a literary space for the contemplation of the divine. Andrea Wilson Nightingale has shown how the Platonic dynamic of philosophical contemplation is built upon a metaphor of festival pilgrimage and spectatorship: *theoria* at the festival is used to develop the idea of *theoria* as metaphysical pilgrimage. I show how fourth-century rhetors follow earlier imperial authors in exploiting this metaphor and reinserting Platonic contemplation into its original festival setting.

From the second through the fourth centuries CE, the rhythms of urban life in the Greek East were dominated by festivals. In literature, festivals become settings for the evocation and performance of Hellenism. Since Platonic contemplation had become the feature of Hellenism with the most potent cultural currency, imperial authors like Dio Chrysostom or Aelius Aristides turn festivals into sideshows for a new main event: the rhetorical performance of Platonic *theoria*.

This tradition is crucial for understanding the “festival rhetoric” of 4th century rhetors: in an *ekphrasis* upon a festival Libanius reenacts Socrates practicing philosophy in the agora; Gregory of Nyssa reimagines the opening of the *Republic* while describing a church *panegyris* or festival; and Gregory of Nazianzus uses his orations for Christian festivals to lead his audience in the Platonic contemplation of theological truths. The festival – whether in the city or church – has become a site for the performance of Platonic *theoria*.

Byron MacDougall is a 5th year PhD student in the Classics Department at Brown University. His dissertation, “Gregory of Nazianzus and Christian Festival Rhetoric”, explores Gregory’s orations for Christian feasts and situates them against backgrounds of pagan festival rhetoric. Before coming to Brown he received his BA in Classics from Harvard and taught Greek and Latin at the Dexter and Southfield Schools in Brookline, Massachusetts. During the summer he teaches courses in Ancient Greek and Byzantine History for Brown’s Pre-College Program on Naxos.

TZIKANION: THE IMPERIAL GAME IN BYZANTIUM
Nicolas Bergamo (nicola.bergamo@ehess.fr)
EHESS Paris

The importance of the games in Byzantium is well known, many scholars have given treatments on the racing chariots at the Hippodrome, discussing the political impact they
had on the Byzantine social classes. However not so much is known about the existence of tzikanion, which was a sort of Byzantine 'polo match'. The game probably arrived from Persia and was considered an elite 'sport', as it was played by the Emperor and his family. Thanks to a small, but important group of primary sources, dating from the X and XII centuries, it is possible to reconstruct the rules of tzikanion.

My paper will look to examine the play, the place and the people who were involved in Tzikanion. It will also consider how and with what the game was played; i.e. the rules, equipment and teams, as well as the place it was staged, the tzikanisterion, and indeed where that arena was positioned within the city of Constantinople (the imperial palace). Finally I will examine the people who played tzikanion, highlighting the importance of this game within Byzantine elite society.

The paper will be given in the following format:

The play - Two teams composed by an as yet unspecified, or more accurately, unknown number of players, one of whom was the emperor, were lined up on the outside edges of the playing arena facing one another, a ball (as big as an apple), was then placed in the centre. This was the position just prior to the game beginning.

The place - The Tzikanistirion was the name of the arena in which the game was played. It was positioned in Constantinople and was housed within the confines of the imperial palace.

The people who played Tzikanion - The importance of equestrian sport in Constantinople is well known. It is also known that such things as the chariot races were experienced by most levels of Byzantine society. However in contrast to this, tzikanion was primarily connected with the imperial family, thus giving it an elite status.

Nicolas Bergamo is a second year of PhD student at EHESS in Paris. His thesis topic is focused on the recreational concept of games in Byzantium (VI-XII centuries). He has written two books “Costantino V” (2007) and “I Longobardi” (2012). He is the Editor-in-Chief of Porphyra (an international academic journal, whose sole purpose is publishing papers and conducting conferences on all aspects of Byzantine Studies).

PERFORMING VIOLENCE IN LATE ANTIQUITY: URBAN LANDSCAPE, RITUAL, AND POWER
Stephanie S. Steinké (steinkss@gmail.com)
University of North Dakota

The ancient city has been defined by the activities that went on within it. Yet urban violence is rarely studied and when it is studied, it is usually framed as a deviation from accepted norms of culture, as an aberration in the social fabric of the city, or an unfortunate escalation of another dispute. This paper will argue that the violence itself is an activity worth examination, and that the specific place it occurred is important for understanding that activity. The urban character of violence is rarely discussed or examined beyond being noted in passing. But if the focus is on the violence itself, how it is performed and where it is performed, become particularly important. This paper will use the ideas of ceremony, ritual, and performance, things which many scholars including Sabine MacCormack, Richard Lim, and Charlotte Roueche, see as crucial for understanding the cultural and social history of Late Antiquity. Violence should be seen as another cultural performance on an urban stage and embedded within the ceremony and ritual of Late Antique culture. Particularly in the context of Christian hagiography and violence, the role of the bishop and
the idea of a 'liturgy of violence' become important concepts with which to examine the way violence was structured.

**Stephanie S. Steinke** took her first degree at Pacific Lutheran University in Classics and Religion. During her time there she spent a year abroad in Athens studying Classical archaeology. She also began her archaeological career excavating in Greece, Romania, Israel, and Egypt. She took her MA degree in Greek and Roman Archaeology from the University of Newcastle upon Tyne. During this time she continued to excavate in Israel, becoming a staff member of the Jezreel Valley Regional Project (JVRP) of which she remains an active part. She is a GIS and Remote Sensing specialist for the JVRP and continues to work toward creating methodologies and survey techniques that incorporate these new technologies. Her current graduate work explores the intersection of violence, architecture, and urban topography in the Eastern Empire during the fourth and fifth centuries of Late Antiquity.

**SESSION 1.2: THE NEW ROME**
11.45 Lecture Theatre
Chair: Caterina Franchi, Exeter College

**IOANNES ZONORAS’ GENEALOGY OF THE ROMAN ETHNOS: JERUSALEM, ROME, AND THE BIRTH OF THE CITY**

Nicholas Matheou (nikmatheou@gmail.com)
St. Cross College, Oxford

Ioannes Zonaras' *Epitomē Historiōn* is the largest extant historical work in pre-modern Greek. Stretching from Genesis to Alexios I Komnenos’s death in 1118, it has been used by various disciplines in various and unconnected ways. Classicists use it for its preservation of lost sources, and Byzantinists use it primarily for the information on Alexios I. These piecemeal approaches have meant that the *Epitome* is rarely assessed as a unified work with a coherent scheme and aim. Yet this is precisely what the *prooimion* promises. After outlining his methodological approach, Zonaras goes on to discuss what will actually be in the work. He identifies two historical themes, one Scriptural, and one Roman. Through simple narrative techniques these two themes are developed, centring initially on Jerusalem and Rome, eventually encompassing Alexandria and Antioch with the patriarchates, and finally becoming one in Constantine I and the birth of the City. This paper will propose that through this process Zonaras creates for his readers a genealogy of the Roman *ethnos*, with inextricable Christian and Roman aspects. Furthermore, he establishes the symbolic geography in which this *ethnos* exists and the history takes place, focused on the cities, Jerusalem and Rome, and the City. The conclusions of this analysis will then be considered in the context of Constantinople and Romanitas in eleventh- and twelfth-century historiography, particularly how Niketas Khoniates’ deals with New Rome’s conquest in 1204. Finally, it will be proposed that these texts allow us to engage with East Roman identity, and force us to evaluate how we understand and characterise it.

**Nicholas S.M. Matheou** is in the second year of reading for an M.Phil. in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies at St. Cross College, Oxford, and is the current president of the Oxford University Byzantine Society. He graduated from the University of Edinburgh with first-
class honours in 2013, having read for an undergraduate M.A. in Ancient and Medieval History. His research interests lie in literary-critical and contextual analysis of Medieval Greek and Armenian literature of the tenth to twelfth centuries, particularly focusing on historiography. Nicholas is currently completing his M.Phil. thesis, entitled ‘The Turks and Imperial Decline in Eleventh-Century Eastern Roman Historiography’, with a view to expanding that into a doctoral thesis entitled ‘Aristakes Lastiverts’ History in Context: The Armenian and Eastern Roman Literary Response to the Turkish Invasions’.

L’IDENTITÉ BYZANTINE EST-ELLE UNE CONSTRUCTION CONSTANTINOPOLITAINE?
DICHOTOMIE ENTRE CONSTANTINOPLE ET LES PROVINCES AUX VIE-VIIIE SIÈCLES
Vincent Tremblay (vincent.tremblay@usherbrooke.ca)
University of Montreal

Par la présente, nous proposons d’étudier la différence entre le discours identitaire constantinopolitain et les identités provinciales des marges de l’empire entre les VIe et VIIIe siècles. Plus précisément, nous analyserons comment l’élite définit sa propre identité basée avant tout sur l’héritage romain et comment celle-ci est peu adaptable aux régions de l’empire. Pour aborder le problème, nous discuterons, par le biais des sources écrites, du caractère exclusif de la « citoyenneté » byzantine, qui crée l’important antagonisme entre Romains et barbares. Puis, nous étudierons le cas de la « byzantinisation des Slaves » qui a passé avant tout par l’adoption de la langue grecque, de la religion chrétienne et, en dernier lieu seulement, par une appartenance plutôt floue au lointain basileus. Cela dit, malgré leur caractère non-romain, au sens constantinopolitain du terme, ceux-ci ont bel et bien participé à l’exercice de la romanité, et comme Judith Herrin l’affirme, avoir un ancêtre slave ne devient plus un obstacle à l’élévation sociale dans la capitale. Ainsi, le caractère exclusif de la citoyenneté romaine ne témoigne pas du tout de la pluralité ethnique, linguistique et identitaire des provinces balkaniques. En conséquence, il devient important de nuancer le discours des sources écrites et d’étudier plus largement le monde provincial afin d’éviter toute forme de généralisation identitaire. Notre approche est grandement tributaire des derniers développements au sein de la nouvelle histoire politique et diplomatique ainsi que du dynamisme des récentes études sur l’ethnographie byzantine.


MEMORIZATION AND HEGEmony IN SOCRATES OF CONSTANTINOPLE
Rebecca Stephens Falcasantos (rebecca_falcasantos@brown.edu)
Brown University

During the late fourth century and the first half of the fifth century, the city of Constantinople was at the epicenter of an imperial project to define and consolidate Christianity. Among the tactics available for asserting the authority of Nicene Christianity
under the Theodosian dynasty was to lay claim to religious sites in Constantinople. This took a number of forms, including merging imperial and ecclesiastical authority at the Church of the Apostles, installing relics in Nicene churches, building new churches under imperial patronage, and appropriating the churches of non-Nicene groups.

In this paper, I examine the importance of Constantinople’s religious topography for assertions of Nicene Christian hegemony, focusing on the account of Constantinople’s ecclesiastical politics in the Ecclesiastical History of Socrates of Constantinople. A particularly striking feature of Socrates’ narrative is the extent to which he remembers violence perpetrated against Nicene Christians by other religious groups. However, Socrates does not simply recall violent incidents; he connects them to particular locations in the city’s topography, effectively constructing memorials in his narrative landscape. Drawing from modern discussions of memory and violence, I argue that Socrates uses the attacks against Nicene Christians to construct a sacred landscape in a way that asserts Nicene control of civic and ritual spaces and deprives competing factions of access to those same spaces. Ultimately, Socrates’ memorialization of anti-Nicene violence within his native city’s topography accommodates a narrative that grants hegemony to the Theodosian-backed Nicene church.

Rebecca Stephens Falcasantos is a Ph.D. candidate at Brown University in the Department of Religious Studies. She graduated from Creighton University in 2002, with a Classical Bachelor of Arts and a double major in Theology and Greek. She earned her Master of Arts in Early Christian Studies from the University of Notre Dame in 2005, and entered her doctoral program at Brown in 2009. During the summer of 2010, she attended the Summer School in Byzantine Greek at Dumbarton Oaks. Rebecca’s primary field is Christianity in Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium, and her research broadly focuses on the formulation of Christian identity and contestations over cultural hegemony in the Eastern Empire. More particularly, she studies issues of religious diversity and the strategies utilized in constructing religious identities, including homiletics, hymnography, architectural programs, ritual life, and popular piety. Rebecca’s dissertation, Cult Practice and Contestation in the Christianization of Late Antique Constantinople, examines the crucial role of public ritual life in Constantinople during the fourth and fifth centuries C.E. in shaping Constantinopolitan religious identity.

SESSION 2.2: EDUCATION IN THE CITIES
11.45 Rees Davis Room
Chair: Elodie Turquois

ULYSSE, TZÊTZÈS ET L’ÉDUCATION À BYZANCE
Valeria Lovato (valeriaflavialovato@gmail.com)
University of Turin and Lausanne

Ma communication analyse la réception d’Ulysse chez Johannes Tzétzès. Tzétzès vécut et enseigna dans la capitale de l’Empire byzantin pendant la période connue comme la Renaissance des Comnènes. Son œuvre philologique et littéraire se concentre surtout sur la poésie d’Homère, qui était à l’époque un élément essentiel de la formation de l’élite urbaine. L’attitude de Tzétzès par rapport à cette tradition présente cependant des spécificités significatives. En particulier, son mépris à l’égard d’Ulysse, surtout si l’on considère que ce
personnage est présenté sous une lumière bien différente par Eustathe, maître de rhétorique et exégète homérique contemporain de Tzétzès. En effet, alors que Eustathe compare son propre travail exégétique aux longs et périlleux voyages d’Ulysse, Tzétzès ne manque jamais l’occasion de dénigrer le héro, surtout quand il tient à mettre en relief les vertus de ses rivaux, notamment les Eacides et Palamède.

L’abaissement des mérites d’Ulysse n’est certainement pas une prérogative de l’œuvre de Tzétzès. Il s’agit en effet d’un thème traditionnel qui remonte au moins à Pindare, mais la façon dont l’érudit byzantin le remanie est sans doute originale et personnelle. Cette tendance à l’innovation, cependant, a également été inspirée à Tzétzès par d’autres raisons: n’appartenant pas au système éducatif officiel, l’érudit devait établir son autorité et sa supériorité en soulignant l’originalité de son œuvre. En dénigrant Ulysse, Tzétzès ne questionne pas seulement l’autorité d’Homère, mais, surtout, celle des commentateurs d’Homère, qui, tout comme Eustathe, n’ont pas su distinguer entre vérité et mensonge dans l’œuvre du grand poète. En définitive, aux yeux de Tzétzès, les enseignants de l’Ecole Patriarcale, à l’égal d’Ulysse, jouissent d’une réputation qu’ils ne méritent pas. De plus, Tzétzès s’identifie à Palamède, un héro qui n’apparaît pas chez Homère et qui est connu comme une des plus célèbres victimes des astuces d’Ulysse.

Valeria Lovato obtained her BA and MA (summa cum laude) from the University of Siena, Department of Classics. Her BA thesis concerned the pantomime in the Roman Empire, while her MA thesis focused on Neoptolemus in Greek epic and Sophoclean tragedy. She holds a scholarship from the University of Turin and pursues an international PhD programme conducted by the Universities of Turin and Lausanne. Her research focuses on the Aeacids in the epic cycle and the reception of the relevant myth in Byzantine scholarship. She read a paper on this topic at the conference Les Anciens des Modernes held in Besançon (September 2013)

Scholarship without a Centre?
Jonas J. H. Christensen (jonchr@sdu.dk)
University of Southern Denmark

The fragmentation of Greek elite culture after the Latin conquest disrupted a long tradition for academic concentration in Constantinople. The generations seeking education and further studies after 1204 faced both the difficulty of finding able teachers and the dispersal of Greek literature across geographical and political divides. This paper proposes to trace the career choices and challenges of a select few who eventually successfully negotiated the post-1204 academic reality. Both Nikephoros Blemmydes and Gregory of Cyprus wrote autobiographical works that allow us to catch a glimpse of the choices at hand and they will consequently form the core of analysis. Blemmydes travelled extensively throughout his life in the pursuit of knowledge and at the point when his and Gregory’s lives intersect his fame is such as to attract pupils from afar. Ironically his academic pursuits had at that point intensified to a degree that he became almost inaccessible to prospective students. Gregory describes him as completely retired in his monastic foundation in a scene that could have been inspired by Aristophanes’ Clouds. Gregory had beforehand, as he describes it, escaped Cyprus in search of a teacher and, having failed to meet Blemmydes, he continued his search which suggests both a relative centralization of knowledge in the regions under Laskarid rule and randomness in the quality or accessibility of the teachers.
‘Where were they writing?’: The changing location of scribal book production in late antiquity
Jeremai Coogan (jeremiah.coogan@theology.ox.ac.uk)
Oriel College, Oxford

In the Eastern Mediterranean under the Principate, scribal copying of literary texts centred on cities. While socio-economic factors had undergirded the primarily urban provenance of the codex, the rise of cenobitic monasticism and a broader Christian emphasis on textuality ostensibly deurbanized the locus of textual transmission, not only for Christian theological texts but also for the entire Greco-Roman literary tradition. The preservation of books disproportionately in monasteries often leads to the conclusion that scribal codex production moved out of urban centres, with the corollary that the locus of the book itself also shifted.

This paper explores the extent to which scribal book production remained urban through the end of Late Antiquity, looking at both manuscript evidence (e.g. colophia) and evidence in literary materials from the period. The Christian manuscript tradition preserved many pagan works, but distinctions in where different kinds of manuscripts were copied are particularly relevant. Although Greek, Syriac, and Latin traditions are mutually enlightening, this paper concentrates on the Greek tradition. Locating the scribal activity of the period plays into larger questions of understanding the growth of Christian monasticism and the role of the city in the literary culture of Late Antiquity.

Jeremiah Coogan concentrates on textual transmission of the Septuagint in Late Antiquity, especially its reception in the Syriac and Coptic textual traditions and the ways that the preserved manuscript evidence reflects the textual pluriformity of the Second Temple Period. Following a first degree with honours from Wheaton College (IL) in Classics, Biblical Studies, and German, and studies at the Faculty of Protestant Theology at the Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, Jeremiah came to the University of Oxford for the MPhil in Judaism and Christianity in the Graeco-Roman World, funded by the Ertegun Fellowship in the Humanities.
From early 13th century up to 19th century, Mystras was one of the most important centres of Morea. From its city palace and fortress, Frankish princes first, followed by Byzantine rulers, Ottomans, Venetians and once again Ottomans succeeded each other in controlling the surrounding territories, which were consequently divided by porous political, administrative and cultural boundaries.

Originally a small military outpost of the Villehardouin rulers, Mystras became the prosperous capital city of the Byzantine Despotate of Morea, and, during the Late Palaiologan Empire, surged to become the epicentre of a cultural and artistic production that mirrored the reformatory political campaign lead from the city by Georgios Gemistos Plethon. In an attempt to reconcile the many entities active in the Peloponnese and its heterogeneous and multicultural environment with Palaiologan rule, Plethon suggested the paradigm of Mystras as New Sparta for leading the political destiny of the whole of the Empire.

Using the urban development of the city as backdrop, and analysing a few case studies taken from the churches of the city, this paper aims to demonstrate that this paradigm had also an impact on the urbanisation of Mystras, as well as on the its architectural and artistic achievements. In conducting this analysis this paper will show that these achievements were inspired by creative factors acting autonomously in the city, rather than responding to Constantinopolitan traditions, promoting the idea that Mystras was a new political centre within the Empire, and not a peripheral entity to Constantinople.

Andrea Mattiello is a Byzantine Art and Contemporary Art historian and curator. He received a Master in History of Architecture and a Master in Visual Arts at the Università IUAV of Venice, and a PhD in Theory and History of Art at the School for Advanced Studies Ca’ Foscari/IUAV in Venice. His interests in the XIX and XX centuries range from the contribution of photography in the History of Architecture to the development of Twentieth Century American Performance Art. He is now a second year PhD candidate in Byzantine Art History at University of Birmingham at the Centre for Byzantine, Modern Greek and Ottoman studies, where he is conducting research on the artistic production in Mystras at the time of the Despotate of the Palaiologan dynasty. As a scholar he has published on a range of topics, from photography in the History of Architecture, to Twentieth Century American Performance Art in the United States. He has conducted research at the International Centre for Architectural Studies "Andrea Palladio" in Vicenza, at Harvard University, and at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He has lectured in the Department for Design and the Arts at the Università IUAV of Venice. His curatorial experience has focused on the performing aspects of contemporary visual art. While at MIT, he collaborated with the SENSEable City Laboratory for an exhibition at Kunsthaus in Graz. At the Venice Biennale in 2009, he participated in the realization of an exhibition focused on Futurists’ presence at the Biennale during the Twentieth century. More recently he has curated the Art on Film section of Italian Cinema London film festival.

THE MIRACLE CYCLE BETWEEN CONSTANTINOPLE, THESSALONIKI AND MISTRAMaria Alessia Rossi (mariaalessiarossi@yahoo.it)
Courtauld Institute of Art

The fall of the Latin Kingdom and the beginning of the Palaiologan era are both linked by one glorious event, the reconquest of Constantinople by the Emperor Michael VIII
Palaiologos in 1261. Yet, the following decades are characterized by the rise of two other cities within the Byzantine Empire: Thessaloniki and Mistra.

This paper will explore the dialectic between the City and the cities from an art historical perspective, by analysing three churches housing Miracle Cycles: the monastery of Chora in Constantinople (1316-1321), the church of the Aphendik in Mistra (1311-1313) and the Parekklesion of St Euthymios in Thessaloniki (1303). The abrupt proliferation of this iconography, rarely found before and after the early Palaiologan period, and the preservation of churches housing it in all three cities, links them together. The common features are paralleled by a number of dissimilarities: three distinct typologies of buildings were selected as different is the social ranking of their patrons. The choices made in regards to the Miracle Cycle’s iconography, selection and grouping within the interior space of the building, also suggest contrasting aims. How should we read this conflicting relationship? Are the similarities to be ascribed to the influence of the capital and the differences to independent and local trends?

The comparative framework proposed by this paper aims to investigate how this Cycle was interpreted and developed in each case, paying particular attention to the function and meaning it came to bestow and suggesting a new reading of the artistic production in the early Palaiologan period.

Maria Alessia Rossi is a second year PhD student in Byzantine art at the Courtauld Institute of Art, working under the supervision of Dr Antony Eastmond. Her dissertation concerns the development and proliferation of Christ’s Miracle Cycle in monumental decoration between the years 1290-1330 in the Byzantine Empire and the Serbian Kingdom.

María Alessia’s interest for Byzantine art has been shaped and enhanced by her origins as well as by her education and academic career. She is bilingual in Greek and Italian. After the completion of her BA in history of art with honours at ‘La Sapienza’ University of Rome in 2010 and her first-hand experience in the Byzantine and Christian Museum in Athens and the 23rd Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities in Chalkida, she enrolled as an MA student at the Courtauld Institute. In June 2012 Maria Alessia completed her MA, with distinction in her final thesis.

During the past summer she participated in the Gennadius Library Summer Session (held at The American School of Classical Studies at Athens) and in the ‘Cappadocia in Context’ Programme (organised by Koç University and The Research Centre for Anatolian Civilizations). She is currently Professor John Lowden’s assistant and the co-organizer of the 19th Annual Medieval Postgraduate Student Colloquium at the Courtauld Institute. In spring 2014 she will be the Teaching Assistant to Professor Alessandra Guiglia in the MA course on ‘The first and second Iconoclasm’ at ‘La Sapienza’ University.

**THE ROTUNDA OF GALERIUS IN THE CITY OF THESSALONIKI**

Anthony Sciubba (anthony.sciubba@st-hughs.ox.ac.uk)
St Hugh’s College, Oxford

In keeping with the spirit of late antiquity, my paper implicitly considers the motif of transition; in so doing, it might shed light on a very live debate – namely, Constantine’s intentions when leaving the Old City to found his New City. When contemplating this translation of the imperial center from Rome to Constantinople, the Tetrarchic interlude of a multi-centered empire must be taken into account. I will therefore focus on one particular Tetrarchic capital – that of Thessaloniki – the competitive center of Galerius, which served
as his power base for deploying his architectural propaganda of imperial legitimacy through monumental fortification. Galerius sensibly constructed his imperial palace at the center of his building program, incorporating the urban features of a triumphal arch and rotunda. As such, I will provide a careful architectural analysis of one of these palatine structures – the Rotunda of Galerius – in order to consider how it related to the rest of Galerius’ palace and the city of Thessaloniki. Thanks to its latter conversion into the Church of St. George, the Rotunda of Galerius still survives today, and (along with the Arch of Galerius) comprises the most architecturally complete remains of any Tetrarchic palace. Though the rotunda’s structure has gone through its own series of transitions, I believe that careful consideration of the architecture and archaeology of this historic site could shed light, not only on the palace and city as a whole, but the relationships between this city, the Old City, and later, the New City at Constantinople.

**Anthony Sciubba** received a bachelor’s in history and religion, *cum laude*, with honors in history from Pepperdine University in 2011. He then continued his studies of ancient history and early Christianity at Yale University, where he obtained a master’s degree with the divinity school. He is currently studying for the M.St. in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies at Oxford University, while teaching history of religion with Pepperdine University’s London Program, and living as a Scholar in Residence at The Kilns.

**SESSION 2.3: CIVIC PATRONAGE AND PERSUASION**

14.00 Rees Davis Room
Chair: Maximilian Lau, Oriel College

‘**Furnish whatever is lacking to their avarice**: negotiation and bribery between Alexandria and Constantinople through a pro-Nestorian lens’

Walter Beers (walter.beers@spc.ox.ac.uk)
St Peter’s College, Oxford

Included in modern editions of the letters of Cyril, patriarch of Alexandria 412-44, is a unique document: a list detailing bribes to be distributed to various civil officials and imperial *cubicularii* to ensure their cooperation in Cyril’s continuing campaign against the Antiochene bishops in the aftermath of the Council of Ephesus (c. 432). Cyril’s bribes are generous and his potential allies numerous, and modern scholars have cited the list as evidence both for the considerable resources of Cyril’s diocese, and the mores of securing influence in the late Theodosian court.

The bribe list is only preserved in a truncated sixth-century Latin version of the *Tragoedia*, a history of the Nestorian controversy composed by an exiled Nestorian partisan, Irenaeus of Tyre. Given its inclusion in Irenaeus’ work, a critical reevaluation of the letter as a source for Cyril’s own activities is long overdue. Whether or not the list is a genuine production of Cyril’s circle, however, it does offer a valuable point of insight into attempts to secure the legacy of Ephesus and to control the narrative of the ongoing controversy. This paper will attempt to return the bribe list to its context among the documents collected in the *Tragoedia*, and to its apparent place in Cyril’s negotiations with the imperial court, as well as to examine it in the wider context of communication and negotiation between bishops and the imperial bureaucracy, and bribery and gift-exchange in late antique society.
**Walter F. Beers** graduated from the University of Richmond, Virginia in May of 2013, with a B.A. in Greek, Latin, and Classical Civilization. During his time at Richmond he worked on a long-term research project, initially facilitated by a fulltime summer research grant, which culminated in his senior thesis, “Faction Politics and the Transfer of Power at the Accession of Marcian.” He presented his research at the Center for Hellenic Studies’ annual Sunoikisis Conference in April of 2013; a version of the paper has been published in the Center’s new online undergraduate research journal. While at Oxford, he is pursuing the M.St. in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies and taking two papers in Syriac language and literature, as well studying Armenian and reading Byzantine Greek texts. In 2014 he will return to the U.S. to enter the Ph.D. program in History at Princeton University, where he plans to pursue interests in ecclesiastical politics, heterodoxy, religious violence, and barbarian integration and ethnicity in the late antique east

**The Tale of Two Cities: Liudprand of Cremona’s Journey from Cremona to Constantinople**  
Andrew M. Small (Andrew.small@kellogg.ox.ac.uk)  
Kellogg College, Oxford

The importance of successful client-relations in Middle Byzantine foreign policy has long been understood as sources of manpower, buffer zones and as a prelude for annexation.  
This paper will examine Constantinople’s role as a centre for the education of the children of non-Byzantine elites in the tenth-century. This was an important part of the overall policy of long-term client-relationship building in regions outside the Empire’s political boundaries.  
Armenians, Bulgarians and southern Italians are all attested to having been educated in Constantinople but this paper will use Liudprand of Cremona as a case-study to explore the effects of a Byzantine education on a non-Byzantine.  
Liudprand’s father and step-father had served as Northern Lombard ambassadors to Romanos I Lekapenos and Liudprand himself visited Constantinople in 949 where he received an education in Greek. Unlike other cases, like Symeon I of Bulgaria, we have Liudprand’s own voice and recollection of his times in Constantinople.  
When Liudprand returned to Constantinople in 968 as an ambassador for Otto II he was not an ill-informed stranger to court ceremonies or to the Byzantine political elite. Only by understanding Liudprand’s connections to the Byzantine court can the polemical *Legatio* be fully understood.  

Andrew M. Small is currently reading for an MSt. in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies at Kellogg College, Oxford. He previously studied as an undergraduate at the University of St Andrews. His research interests span much of Middle Byzantium.

**Strengthening Justice through Friendship and Friendship through Justice:**  
Michael Psellos and the Provincial Judges  
Jonas Nilsson  
Exeter College, Oxford
The known and preserved letters of Michael Psellos number around 550 and are addressed to more than 150 different recipients, many of which were provincial kritai whom Psellos often wrote to in order to ask for various fiscal or judicial favours, motivated by their mutual friendship. In this paper, I intend to analyse a number of these letters in an attempt to discern the contemporary norms of political behaviour pertaining to the influence of friendship and the ideal of justice in provincial administration. I will argue that friendship and the influence it could bring was not necessarily seen as standing in opposition to the righteous administration of justice, but rather that they were tightly intertwined in the practise of provincial administration. The magistrates of the Byzantine state were clearly charged with bringing imperial justice to the emperor’s subjects and seem to have been expected to do so by employing their network of friends throughout the provinces. It would however also appear that the kritai were deeply concerned with maintaining a good reputation, fearing slander and finding great value in having other speak well of them, preferably in public. Given the potential for abuse inherent in the personal capacity in which provincial officials seems to have exercised their power, I will argue that reputation served, or was intended to serve, as a safeguard against officials neglecting their duties in pursuance of personal gain.

Jonas Nilsson completed his undergraduate M.A. in Ancient/Classical Greek Language and Literature at Lunds University, before coming to Oxford to read for an M.St. in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies. He is now a second year D.Phil student in History at Oxford.

SESSION 1.4: BYZANTION BEYOND THE FRONTIER
15.45 Lecture Theatre
Chair: Wiktor Ostasz, New College

KASTRON, RABAD AND ARDUN: THE CASE OF ART’ANUJI
Nicholas Evans (nicholas.evans@wadh.ox.ac.uk)
Wadham College, Oxford

A famous passage in Constantine VII’s De Administrando Imperio describes an averted diplomatic catastrophe in early tenth century Transcaucasia. The previous emperor, Romanos Lekapenos, had seized too readily on an offer from a member of the Bagratid ruling family of Iberia to take over the city (kastron) of Art’anuji. He was forced to backtrack fast when it became apparent that the local balance of forces had been badly misjudged. In reporting on this incident, Constantine VII emphasises the excellent defences of the kastron, its landed wealth and its commercial significance. He also refers to its rapatin and its arzyn. These appear to be Greek renderings of the Arabic words rabaḍ and ardūn, whose meanings this paper will explore.

This paper will set these Constantinopolitan appraisals of the significance of the kastron of Art’anuji in three overlapping contexts. The first is the contested set of political connections that linked the Iberian Bagratids to the larger urban centres of the Byzantine and Islamic worlds. The second is the Georgian monastic network: the Life of Grigol of Xancta, written in 951, describes how a process of monastic colonization turned “deserts into cities”. Georgian monks were significant actors at local levels as well as across imperial
frontiers. The third context is that of the Islamic political, fiscal and trade systems to which Constantine’s text alludes. The paper will argue that the relationship of this city to the cities of Byzantine and Islamic worlds was a peculiarly tenth-century phenomenon.

Nicholas Evans is studying for a DPhil in History at Wadham College, Oxford. His thesis title is: ‘Mountains, Steppes and Empires: A Historical Geography of the North Caucasus in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.’


Bella Radenovic (bella.radenovich@courtauld.ac.uk)
Courtauld Institute of Art

In Georgian historical accounts and court annals, the reign of queen Tamar (1184-1213) is associated with a Golden Age of military glory, material prosperity and ecclesiastical grandeur. The queen regnant is described as “fair as Aphrodite” and portrayed as a model of humility and piety as well as a great patroness of “charitable institutions, widows and orphans”. The qualities of beauty, piety and patronage given to the queen were the main virtues traditionally ascribed to Byzantine women in the writings of middle Byzantine period such as Michael Psellos and Irene Doukaina. In addition to these ‘feminine’ virtues the Georgian queen was said to possess the “serenity of David”, “wisdom of Solomon” and “forethought of Alexander”. These qualities are almost never applied to women in Byzantine historical accounts and orations, except for when commissioned by other women as, for example, the funerary oration written for Anna Komnene in 1153. In the same manner as Mary of Egypt is described in her hagiographies as “becoming like men” by virtue of ascetic training, the Georgian queen had to be lifted above other women into the realm of the superior sex, that of men. This is why she was presented as combining both ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ virtues deviating neither from the roles of Eastern Christian women nor from the expectations of a good, male ruler. This paper is an investigation of the Georgian adaption of Byzantine ideology of power to a ‘purple-born’ ruling queen in the thirteenth-century.

Bella Radenovic holds a BA in the History of Art and Architecture from the University of Cambridge. Whilst at Cambridge her main areas of research were the arts and politics of the medieval Muscovite state and their relation to Byzantine liturgy, icon veneration and political system as well as the eleventh to thirteenth century art, architecture and liturgy in Italian city states. She is currently undertaking an MA in Byzantium and its Rivals at the Courtauld Institute of Art, concentrating on the issues of patronage, power and control in the pan-Byzantine world. After completion of her MA course, she is hoping to do a PhD on mixed-media medieval Georgian icons, with a particular emphasis on phenomenology and their use in the liturgy.

PIOUS POWER AND POWERFUL PIETY: ADAPTING THE BYZANTINE MODEL OF IMPERIAL PIETY TO BALKAN REPRESENTATIONS OF AUTHORITY

Sarah S. Simmons (sarahsimmons2@gmail.com)
Florida State University
I examine the perception and reception of Middle Byzantine imperial power in the Balkan kingdoms. I present, as a case study, the reception of Byzantine cross enkolpia as diplomatic gifts in the newly converted Bulgarian and Rus’ states. I focus on Balkan double-portrait crucifixion iconography adapted from these Byzantine sources. I argue that this iconography was one part of a larger visual campaign that adapted Byzantine models of imperial piety into a new visual language of Balkan political authority.

Scholars have identified the visual and ceremonial models of Middle Byzantine imperial piety and its role in defining the ideal Orthodox ruler. The appropriation of imperial costume and regalia by the Balkan rulers upon their conversion indicates the efficacy of the imperial visual programs. I expand this discussion by returning to the issue of intent in the Balkan’s appropriation of Byzantine representations of power. My iconographic analysis of Balkan cross enkolpia demonstrates their possible political meaning within two distinct contexts: the Byzantine “coronation” of Simeon I of Bulgaria (r. 893-927) and the dynastic struggles of Jaroslav I of Rus’ (r. 1019-1054).

I argue that these rulers’ respective aspirations for external and internal recognition of authority determined how they applied the model of imperial piety. I therefore reframe Bulgarian and Rus’ representations of power as an active integration—rather than a passive appropriation—of Byzantine imperial iconography.

Sarah C. Simmons is a second-year Ph.D. student in art history at Florida State University working with Prof. Lynn Jones. Her area of specialization is Middle Byzantine art of the ninth and tenth centuries. This paper is from a graduate seminar on imperial representations of power in Constantinople.

SESSION 2.4: LITERARY CITIES
15.45 Rees Davis Room
Chair: Theofili Kampianaki, Wolfson College

LITERARY ACTIVITY IN MIDDLE-BYZANTINE CONSTANTINOPLE: BYZANTINE ASSESSMENTS OF THE GREEK NOVEL IN THE CONSTANTINOPOLITAN COURT
Nikolaos Manousakis (nikolasmanou@gmail.com)
University of Athens

Constantinople has always been the centre of the Empire’s intellectual life. During the middle-Byzantine period two acclaimed scholars dominated not only the political, but also the literary scene of the City, Patriarch Photios and Michael Psellos. Amongst their common interests was the reading and assessment of two Greek novels, *The Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon* by Achilles Tatius and *Aethiopica or Theagenes and Chariclea* by Heliodorus. The Greek novel was a literary genre ‘born’ in the *Hellenistic* period. During the *imperial* period it was developed further: most of the extant Greek novels belong to the first centuries AD. They are stories of young lovers who meet and fall in love at first sight, and then are separated by evil people and unsympathetic fate. They travel a long way to find each other, and finally be reunited. The narrative arc of all extant Greek novels can be described by the following word scheme: together-apart-together.
The scholarly attention drawn to Greek novels by these prominent individuals of the Constantinopolitan court may indicate the Byzantine interest not only in the assessment of old novels but also in the writing of new ones, especially under the Komnenos dynasty. Like their models, the Byzantine novels were set in the pagan, non-specific ancient or late-antique world. By reviewing Photios’ and Psellos’ conclusions about the two aforementioned novels I intend to present the chronological misconceptions that they have initiated about the extant Greek novels, the way they perceived their literary structure and finally their moral effect on the Byzantines.

Nikolaos Manousakis has studied Classics (University of Athens) and has done postgraduate studies in Educational Technology (University of Piraeus) and Natural Language Processing (University of Athens/ National and Technical University of Athens). He is now a Ph.D. student in the department of Classics in the University of Athens.

THE IMAGE OF THE CITY IN ST. SYMEON THE NEW THEOLOGIAN’S WRITINGS
Ana-Maria Răducan (anamariaraducan1988@gmail.com)
University of Bucharest

St. Symeon the New Theologian's life (949-1022) and activity are closely related to the City. He was destined by his family for a career at the imperial court, but he soon became a monk at the Studion Monastery and later the abbot of St. Mamas Monastery, until he was exiled due to some conflicts with church authorities. This is the reason why a number of recent studies draw a tight connection between his life path and the political crisis and changes of emperors in Byzantium. Despite these facts, one can find in his writings very few clear mentions of the capital of the Byzantine Empire. The aim of my article is to present some explanations for this visible lack of information, but also to reveal some possible allusions to and symbols of Constantinople, as framework for the religious crisis of Orthodox Christianity at the beginning of the eleventh century.

Ana-Maria Răducan (born in 1988) is a PhD student at the University of Bucharest (Romania), department of Classical Philology. Her thesis concerns the meanings of eros in St. Symeon the New Theologian's writings. She obtained a BA in Classical Philology (2009) and a MA in Medieval Studies (2011). She works at the National Museum of Romanian History (2010-present). In 2013 she obtained a research grant from the University of Hamburg, Germany – title of the project “Meanings of eros in St. Symeon's the New Theologian's works” (2013) and also a summer school scholarship in Byzantine field offered by the The Municipality of Thessaloniki and the Centre for Byzantine, Modern Greek and South-Eastern European Studies of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS, Paris) - “Communities and Groups in Byzantium”.


**NARRATIVE CIYSCAPES IN LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES’ DEMONSTRATIONS OF HISTORIES**

Sergey Fadeev (sergey.fadeev@stx.ox.ac.uk)

St Cross College, Oxford

The *Demonstrations of Histories* by the 15th-century Peloponnesian author Laonikos Chalkokondyles remains one of the most curious and poorly researched historiographic texts of the early post-Byzantine era. The world of his narrative features hundreds of cities, each with their own unique ways, lifestyles and cultures. However, the author, who proudly calls himself an Athenian in the very beginning of his narrative, does not simply relay the facts that he comes across in his enquiry. Instead he applies a very strict genre and language ideology to his accounts. Therefore a reader of his text cannot approach it without a set of keys to unlock the latches of Laonikos’ extravagant terminology, archaic style and features of genre when it comes to his accounts of cities.

In my presentation I will describe the methods that can be used effectively to restore the metanarrative of the city behind his seemingly bizarre stories and show what insights such systematic restoration of “narrative cityscapes” can provide to any scholar investigating post-Byzantine culture and its continuation beyond the geographical and historical confines of the Empire of Constantine.

**Sergey Fadeev** is a third-year DPhil student at Oxford. He received his MA in Nizhny Novgorod State University (Russia) and was a visiting student at St John’s College, Oxford. He specializes in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Byzantine intellectual history, political thinking and historiography.
SATURDAY 1 MARCH 2014

SESSION 1.5: ECONOMICS, TRADE, AND THE CITIES
10.00 Lecture Theatre
Chair: Lorenzo Bondioli, Balliol College

CONSTANTINOPLE’S GATE TO THE MEDITERRANEAN WORLD: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE HARBOR OF THEODOSIUS IN YENIKAPI
Ayşe Ercan (aysercan@gmail.com)
Columbia University

Constantinople was by all means the largest consumer city of the Medieval Mediterranean World. Accordingly, access to the Byzantine capital was strictly regulated. Two custom points on the straits leading to the capital, Hieron and Abydos, controlled the maritime traffic in the Sea of Marmara. Once access permission was granted in the custom points, the cargo carrying ships could safely sail towards the capital’s harbours, considered as the real entrance to Constantinople.

In 2004 the rescue archaeological project conducted by the Istanbul Archaeological Museums started to reveal, for the first time, the remains of the largest harbor of Constantinople, the harbor of Theodosius, in today’s Yenikapı. In the past 9 years, the archaeological excavations uncovered a great abundance of groundbreaking findings that triggered renewed interests and ample debates about the Byzantine capital’s social, economic and political networks that tied it to its vast hinterland.

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

Ayşe Ercan is a first year graduate student at Columbia University in the Department of Art History and Archaeology. Previously, she was based in Turkey, where she worked as an archaeologist in various archaeological excavations including Perge, Sagalassos, Aphrodisias, Gre Amer and several sites in Istanbul.

Based on her archaeological fieldworks, she presented two papers; one focusing on the archaeological excavations in Perge, at the Department of Architecture of the University of Sydney in 2007, and the other on the public archaeology project in Sagalassos, presented at the Research Center for Anatolian Civilisations, Koç University, in 2009, in Istanbul. The Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florence’s ‘Pisa and The Mediterranean’, and the ‘Byzantine Coins and Seals’ at the Dumbarton Oaks in 2013 are among the academic programs that she attended so far.

In her master’s thesis entitled ‘Yenikapi, A Late Antique and Byzantine Harbor in Constantinople: A Historical, Archaeological and Architectural Study of the Newly
Discovered Remains’ she examined the recently discovered archaeological remains of the harbor in Yenikapı in the light of the Byzantine historical accounts.

**Province in contrast to the city Constantinople: irregularities and peculiarities of the coinage of Antioch (518-565)**

Pavla Drapelova (pdrapelova@gmail.com)
University of Athens

The mint of Antioch started to operate in the second phase of the Anastasian monetary reform (512-518) and remained active until 610. The present paper focuses on the occurrence of specific irregularities on some Antiochene bronze coins from the period of Justin I (518-527) and Justinian I (527-565). Irregularities, such as wrongly spelled or illegible legends, iconography inspired by ancient Roman coins and different weight, were not usual on bronze coins struck in Constantinople. Some of the issues have been previously broadly studied (e.g. blundered legends on coins from the final phase of Justinian I’s reign or differences in the weights of coins struck after 540), but some of them have not been sufficiently discussed (e.g. the wrongly spelled legends on the coins from the period of Justin I).

This paper attempts to present the irregularities and peculiarities of Antiochene coinage and to answer questions why some of these irregularities did occur and on their possible placement in the historical context. In the case of issue from the capital mint would some of these features raise doubts about the authenticity of coins. However, in the case of the provincial mint of Antioch, these features were common.

This reality, shows that imperial control in the mint of Antioch was not always as efficient as in Constantinople and that the economic and political development in a province could be rather different than in the capital.

**Pavla Gkantzios Drapelova** is currently a PhD student at the University of Athens (Faculty of History and Archaeology) where she also earned her master’s degree in Byzantine archaeology (ἄριστα). She began her studies at the Charles University in Prague and received bachelor’s degrees in Classical archaeology and later in East-European studies, both summa cum laude. She specializes in the Byzantine period and focuses on numismatics, iconography and relations between the Byzantium and Slavs. The present study represents a developed continuation of a seminar work presented at the end of the Byzantine Coins and Seals Summer Program in Dumbarton Oaks (2013) and was based on the study of unpublished coins from the Protonotarios Collection which served as a topic for her Master’s Thesis (2011).

**Networks of Interaction and the Marble Trade in Late Antiquity: a case study of architectural elements from Proconnesus.**

Nicholas W. Dugdale (nwd1g13@soton.ac.uk)
University of Southampton

In this paper, I focus on the role of marble as a material used in the propagation of a distinctly Byzantine material culture through the construction of churches across the Empire in the 6th c. AD as part of Justinian’s efforts to create a shared imperial ideology centered around Christianity. I also argue that rather than a simple core/periphery model
of interaction, Justinian’s Empire actually consisted of a highly complex system in which the periphery communicated with the core via a network of secondary port cities, through which raw materials and finished goods circulated in multiple directions (both vertically and horizontally). While in a simple core/periphery model one would expect valuable commodities like marble to flow from the periphery to the core to be consumed by the Constantinopolitan elite, in many cases this material was instead shipped in export form from the quarries at Proconnesus to provincial cities and towns across the Empire—despite the fact that locally produced material was often of equal quality and lower cost. One example of this process in action is a particular form of marble chancel screen, which has been found at a wide variety of sites located throughout the Mediterranean basin. I employ various spatial and statistical modeling techniques to analyze the distribution of this form of chancel screen as a case study, in order to better understand how Constantinople was connected via the marble trade to a complex network of provincial cities, ports and local communities.

Nicholas Dugdale is a first year PhD student in the archaeology program at the University of Southampton, where he is working with Professor Simon Keay in the Computer Methods in Archaeology Research Group (CMARC). While much of Nick’s prior work focuses on political and economic development in classical Athens, his current research interests have expanded to include economic and political development, trade, maritime connectivity, and the dynamics of Empire in Late Antiquity. His proposed dissertation title is “A Spatial Mapping Approach to Maritime Connectivity, Imperial Identity, and the Marble Trade in Late Antiquity, c. 500-600AD.” Nick is a recent graduate (2013) of Stanford University, where he majored in Political Science and Classics as an undergraduate and earned his MA in Classics, under the supervision of Professors Josiah Ober and Ian Morris. He is originally from Marin County, California and has travelled and worked extensively throughout Greece, Turkey, and Southern Italy.

SESSION 2.5: CHRISTIAN EMPERORS IN THE CITY
10.00 Rees Davis Room
Chair: Andrew Small, Kellogg College

SAYINGS ATTRIBUTED TO EMPERORS OF OLD AND NEW ROME IN MICHAEL PSELLOS’ HISTORIA SYNTOMOS
Theofili Kampianaki (theofili.kampianaki@wolfson.ox.ac.uk)
Wolfson College, Oxford

“This is a brief history of those who reigned in Elder Rome and later in Newer Rome...”: thus is entitled Michael Psellos’ historiographical work known as Historia Syntomos, a chronicle recalling memories of ancient Rome within the context of eleventh-century Constantinople. It begins with the story of Romulus and reaches up to the reign of the emperor Basil II. The work provides some basic information on the history of the Roman Empire, but concentrates mainly on the emperors’ characters, either good or bad. The principal purpose of Historia Syntomos is believed to be didactic: to present the image of the ideal ruler to a member of the imperial family, probably the young emperor Michael VII Doukas whom Psellos was tutoring.
Contrary to the *Chronographia*, Psellos’ best-known and most discussed work, *Historia Syntomos* has been largely ignored. The authorship and purposes of the work have been the major focus for discussion among the scholars who have dealt with the text so far. Something that has been mentioned only in passing, though, is the numerous sayings of emperors included in Psellos’ narrative. The present paper aims to investigate how the sayings attributed to emperors of the Old and the New Rome are introduced and presented by the writer in the text, and subsequently to explore what might have been their sources. It will propose that Psellos is likely to have had access to a collection of sayings attributed to particular emperors and attempt to both specify the period in which this collection was compiled and identify its structure and content.

**Theofili Kampianaki** received a BA degree in Greek Philology from the University of Athens in 2011 and an M.St. in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies from the University of Oxford in 2013. She is currently studying for a DPhil in Medieval and Modern Languages in Oxford, supervised by the Professor Marc Lauxtermann. In her thesis she examines John Zonaras’ *Epitome of Histories* within the context of the Roman antiquarianism observed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. She is the current Secretary of the Oxford University Byzantine Society.

**A BYZANTINE THEOLOGIAN’S STRUGGLE AGAINST POLITICAL INTRIGUE: GREGORY OF NAZIANZUS**

Jacob E. Drake (jacob.drake@duke.edu)
Duke University

In Oration 42, a valediction to the First Council of Constantinople, Gregory of Nazianzus decries Constantinopolitan culture as he retires to his native Cappadocia. In the work Gregory recounts his episcopal duties regarding accusations of his ecclesial ineffectiveness, dictates a succinct doctrinal summary, and challenges the assembled bishops. The ecclesial, political, and personal struggles depleted Gregory, who often wandered away for personal retreats. As acting bishop of Constantinople, he struggled against Arianism supported by emperor Valens, and against the Alexandrian influence which threatened his see by attempting to install Maximus the Cynic as bishop under the cover of night.

Gregory’s political innocence and lack of ambition contrasted with the overwhelming ecclesial-political intrigues plaguing Constantinople: he served humbly, providing leadership to a small, marginalized pro-Nicene church, while his contemporaries concerned themselves with ecclesial prominence. His allegiances defended the orthodox faith and resisted the “churchiness” of an organized, political religion. His characterizations of city and country manifest in his personal reflections and linguistic metaphors, which contrast the city corruptions against the simplicity of the country.

This paper will examine the interplay of Byzantine religious life in the city and the country as it pertains to the leadership and theology of Gregory of Nazianzus. As a central architect of religious orthodoxy, his life and theology stand as a central beam in the framework of the Christian religion. His farewell oration demonstrates not only his personal, political directives, but also a robust theology separate from the social sins of the city life.

After studying theology and literature **Jacob E. Drake** is currently pursuing a master’s degree at Duke University. His research interests include historical theology and
church history.

**CELEBRATING USURPATION: ELIJAH AND “MACEDONIAN” DYNASTIC IDEOLOGY IN URBAN CONSTANTINOPLE**
Christopher Timm (christophertimm@gmail.com)
Florida State University

The Balkan-born Emperor Basil I (r. 867–886) and successors of the so-called Macedonian dynasty chose the prophet Elijah as their divine patron. Basil dedicated the palatine Nea Ekklesia in Constantinople to the prophet. Basil’s grandson, Constantine VII (r. 945–959), codified the prophet’s feast as a six-day celebration featuring imperial largesse, races in the hippodrome, and the relic of the prophet’s cloak. But why Elijah? I suggest that the Macedonian dynasty promoted the cult of Elijah because he prophesies divinely-mandated usurpation in the Books of Kings. I argue that the appropriation of the biblical Elijah narrative allowed Basil to legitimize his usurpation of the Amorian dynasty, his murder of Michael III, and to guarantee the continued rule of the Macedonian dynasty.

Scholars have interpreted the dynasty’s devotion to Elijah as a reference to the prophet’s appearance to Basil’s mother in the *Vita Basilii*, a tenth-century panegyric of Basil. However, this legend postdates the association of Elijah with the dynasty by almost 70 years, as evidenced by the inclusion of Elijah with Basil in the frontispiece of the Paris Gregory (879–882). I instead focus on the ways in which ninth-century illuminated manuscripts and related exegesis emphasize Elijah’s denouncement of the heretical Omride dynasty of Israel and his announcement of a new dynasty founded by the usurper Jēhu. Macedonian emperors developed Elijah’s approval of usurpation into a broader urban display of imperial ideology combining architecture, relic, and ceremony—all to legitimize the newly-established dynasty.

Christopher Timm is a doctoral candidate in art history at Florida State University working with Prof. Lynn Jones. His area of specialization is Middle Byzantine imperial art. This paper is from his dissertation, *The Visual Construction of “Macedonian” Dynastic Identity in Constantinople, 867–1056*.

**SESSION 1.6: CIVIC RESPONSES AND REPRESENTATIONS**
11.45 Lecture Theatre
Chair: Elizabeth Buchanan, Christ Church

**APOCALYPTIC PROPAGANDA OUT OF CONSTANTINOPLE: THE DISPERSEL OF THE GREEK APOCALYPSE OF PSEUDO-METHODIUS DURING THE DARK AGE CRISIS**
Christopher Bonura (bonura@berkeley.edu)
University of California Berkeley

The *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* was composed in the late seventh-century in Syriac in Mesopotamia. This highly influential work predicted the destruction of all the adherents of by the “Kingdom of the Greeks, that is of the Romans”, i.e. the Byzantine Empire, before the Second Coming. By the early eighth century it had been translated widely, as testified by four eighth-century manuscripts of the Latin translation of the work, which was in turn
based on an intermediary Greek translation. The Greek and Latin version of the apocalypse have received close scholarly attention. This paper will show, however, that by the eighth century there seem to have also been Coptic and Armenian translations of the apocalypse, both of which were based on the Greek and not the original Syriac. This paper will demonstrate that they seem to have been produced in Constantinople, indeed, on the eve of the second Arab siege of the city. The appearance of Coptic, Armenian, and Latin versions derived from the Greek translations at this decisive time suggests a movement centered in Constantinople that produced translations of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius* meant to be disseminated to the Byzantine frontier and periphery. This paper will argue that the apocalypse was seen as a prophetic guarantee of Byzantine triumph in the darkest days of the Byzantium’s conflict with the rapidly expanding Islamic caliphate and disseminated to the frontiers and peripheral peoples as a sort of propaganda, a response to the ideological challenge of Islam to Byzantium's imperial and religious supremacy.

Christopher Bonura received his BA in classics and history at the University of Florida in 2009. He remained at University of Florida, where he received his MA in 2011, writing his thesis on early Byzantine apocalyptic literature. In 2012, he began his PhD at University of California Berkeley, studying under Maria Mavroudi, where he intends to write his dissertation on the influence of the *Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius*. This past summer he took part in the Byzantine Summer Greek Program at the Gennadius Library in Athens.

**CONSTANTINOPLE AND ALEXANDRIA IN THE 7TH CENTURY: THE REPRESENTATION OF BYZANTIUM IN CHRISTIAN SOURCES FROM CONQUERED EGYPT**

Cecilia Palombo (cecilia.palombo@pmib.ox.ac.uk)
Pembroke College, Oxford

The final loss of Egypt to the Arabs in the 7th century, after decades of instability and conflict, was a point of no return in the relationship between Byzantium and the Egyptian Miaphysite élite. The separation from Constantinople entailed for the Egyptian Church a special independence, new issues and problems to deal with, and a renewed focus on Egypt and its past, thus crucially contributing to the gradual construction of a specific 'Egyptian identity.' This paper will take into consideration Christian sources from the period of the conquests and its aftermath, looking at various attitudes towards the conquerors and, especially, Byzantium. I will not discuss whether and how Miaphysite Christians actually welcomed the coming of the Arab armies, but rather the literary representation of such favourable attitude and its possible implications for the construction of a distinct identity for the Christian communities of Umayyad Egypt, no longer framed into the ideology of the Christian imperial oecumene centred in Constantinople. Special attention will be paid to the issue of "religious" versus "political" allegiance, and to the role of the Christian Emperor in the crucial crisis represented by the conquests as reflected in literary sources.

Cecilia Palombo is a second-year Master's student in Islamic Studies & History at the University of Oxford. Her background is in History of Christianity, which she studied at the University of Rome "La Sapienza", focusing on late antiquity and the relation between different monotheistic communities in the Mediterranean and the Near East. Her Master's thesis is concerned with apologetic and polemic motives in Christian religious literature from Umayyad Egypt, studying the reactions of Christian communities to the dominion of
non-Christian authorities. At the same time, she is particularly focusing on Qur'anic studies. She is currently taking part in the “Oxford-Jerusalem programme in the Study of the Abrahamic religions”; in the context of the programme, she worked last year on the debate on intercession and the saints’ cult in 6th- and 7th-century sources, including the Qur'an. She holds a Diploma in Palaeography, Diplomatics and Archival Sciences issued by the State’s Archives of Rome.

FROM THE FRONTIER TO THE CAPITAL. DISCOVERY OF ISLAM IN CONSTANTINOPLE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 9TH CENTURY

Jakub Supiánski (jakub.sypianski@gmail.com)
Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l’homme, University Aix-Marseille

A rapid evolution took place in the first half of the 9th century amongst the elites of Constantinople in their perception of Islam and Arabic culture. It is attested by:

- the first polemical treatises against Islam (and even a translation of Coran);
- the first clear references and interest in Arabic culture;
- the first examples of martyrological literature that praises the struggle Muslims conceived as enemies of the Faith (42 martyrs of Amorion)

While these phenomena (polemics with Islam, arabisation of Christian culture, appraisal for martyrs persecuted by Muslims) had been present in Post-Byzantine culture of Syria, they were something new in the imperial capital. Moreover, I want to bring attention to the internal social complexity of Constantinopolitan attitudes to Islam, which in the 9th century apparently starts to be felt as a challenge. The elites of the capital were at that time divided between iconophiles and iconoclasts and in my opinion we can clearly see that the two camps proposed two different models as an answer to the challenge of Islam. From the intellectual circles around emperor Theophile and John the Grammarian emanated the “academic” one, whereas the monastic circles of Studios produced a “religious” one (with a strong contribution of Palestinian monks that brought to the capital two centuries of experience in theologically opposing Islam).

The rule of the Amorian dynasty is a period of first-time cultural interactions of Constantinople with the Muslim world and this paper is intended as an attempt to understand what propelled those unprecedented dynamics.

Jakub Sypiański is interested in the political and social context of intercultural relations in the Mediterranean, mainly between Byzantium and the Arabic world. Upon completing a degree in Mediterranean Cultures at the Warsaw University, he moved to Paris where he wrote two Master theses under supervision of Michel Kaplan, one about the movement of manuscripts and intellectuals between Constantinople and Baghdad in 9th century and a second one about the discovery of Islam in Constantinople under Amorian dynasty. Currently he is a PhD candidate at the Maison méditerranéenne des sciences de l’homme in Aix-en-Provence (University Aix-Marseille) under supervision of Élisabeth Malamut. The topic of his PhD thesis is “Knowledge as an intercultural gift. Ideological motivations and religious reactions to transmissions of science between Byzantine emperors and Muslim rulers (9th-11th c.).”

SESSION 2.6: MONASTIC CITIES
PRACTICING THE SOLITARY LIFE IN CONSTANTINOPLE AND PROVINCES IN THE 9TH-EARLY 13TH CENTURIES: ON THE POSSIBILITY OF SECLUSION IN A CHURCH OF A MONASTERY.

Anna Freze (anna.freze@gmail.com)
Saint-Petersburg State University

The period between the triumph of orthodoxy and the conquest of Constantinople in 1204 witnessed the flourishing Byzantine monasticism, which adopted a great variety of monastic life-styles and practices. Along with the strict adherence to the “pure” forms of koinobia, lavra or eremia, in the middle Byzantine period ascetics developed the so-called “hybrid” monastic communities, which allowed the co-existence of the communal life with the heremitic practice of a few prominent monks. Due to the popularity of the “hybrid” form of monasticism a number of different patterns of its implementation emerged. One of these was the important tradition of hegoumenos being a recluse himself. Though we have several written sources on this phenomenon, like the typikon of the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis or the Life of Lazaros of Mountain Galesion, the architectural evidence which may provide with the settings of such seclusion is scarce, or still unidentified as being helpful for a scholar.

That is why it is crucial to attempt to reconcile the written sources with available architectural evidence. One of the major concerns of such reconciliation is the possibility of seclusion in a special chamber within the monastic church proper. Thus some important hints may be made concerning not only how an hegoumenos could manage a monastery being a recluse in the city of Constantinople and the Byzantine provinces, but also what function the corner chambers of the third story of Kalenderhane Camii and the “interstory” chambers of Gül Camii were designed for.

Anna Freze is a postgraduate of the History Faculty of Saint-Petersburg State University. She specializes in the Byzantine and Ancient Russian Architecture. She is currently writing her thesis which is devoted to the Middle Byzantine and Russian Premongolian Architecture. She is a regular participant in the annual conference “Actual Problems of Theory and History of Art”, jointly organized by Saint-Petersburg State University and Moscow State University. In 2013 she took part in the 20th Russian Academic Session of Byzantinists “Byzantium and Byzantine Legacy in Russia and Worldwide” in Moscow, Russia, and in the International Panel Discussion “A Text and an Image: Specifics of Interaction between Narrative and Visuality” in Kiev, Ukraine. Anna Freze is the author of a number of articles on the Byzantine and Russian Premongolian Architecture.

CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE DESERT CITY: LITERARY AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR IMPERIAL PATRONAGE IN THE JUDEAN DESERT

Dan Neary (dpneary@gmail.com)
Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
This paper will examine the literary and material evidence for patronage of the Judean Desert monasteries by the imperial government in Constantinople during the fifth-seventh centuries. It will combine a survey of the archaeological remains of the local ascetic movement with an analysis of the hagiographical Lives composed by some of its members. The Judean Desert became a major centre of Christian pilgrimage and monasticism following the conversion of Constantine. Constantinople, as the capital of a new, Christian oikumene, therefore exerted a powerful influence over the monks and clergy of the region. This paper will consider whether there is sufficient ground to argue that this influence was reinforced by the financing of the Desert monasteries by the emperor and his court.

Judean Desert monasticism has been the subject of a significant body of research. Archaeologists have surveyed or excavated the majority of sites associated with the movement, whilst the works of its hagiographical authors have been thoroughly studied. The monks’ sources of livelihood, however, remain uncertain. This paper will present the evidence for Constantinople as one such source, and consider whether sufficient scope exists to evaluate the scale of its economic contribution. Whilst acknowledging the limitations which exist in materialist analysis of this kind, this paper hopes to encourage further debate on the present uncertainties of the Late Antique monastic economy.

Dan Neary read Modern History at New College, Oxford before completing an MSt. in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He is currently studying for a PhD on the topic of ‘Hagiography, Monastic Economy, and Doctrinal Controversy in Post-Chalcedon Palestine’ at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

THE PRESENCE OF MONASTERY IN CITY: URBAN POSSESSIONS OF GREAT MONASTERIES IN THE 14TH AND 15TH CENTURIES
Anna Adashinskaya (adashik@gmail.com)
Central European University, Budapest

In the 14-15th c., Great Monasteries in Byzantium (especially Athonite) and Serbian State received as gift from emperors and aristocrats large possessions in the main cities and towns such as Constantinople, Thessaloniki, Serres, and Verroia. These possessions represented gardens, city monasteries, workshops, quays, storages, and houses for rent. The present paper is going to explore the reasons for the preference of monasteries for acquiring these urban possessions, as well as the reasons for monastery endowments both by rulers.

Relying on several brief case studies, one can deduce the following reasons: proximity to markets, where monasteries can sell their production (on the basis of Iviron Praktikon of 1341), simplified access to church and state administration, high rental rates in case of leasing (leasing contract between Iviron Monastery and Argyropoulos family, 1421) and good conditions for commerce (donations of workshops and hostels in Verroia by Thomas Preljubović to Laura, 1375).

On the other hand, three case studies of rulers’ donations will show that urban possessions were granted by them for the exceptional support provided by the monasteries during civil wars. Thus, during the period of 1321-1326, Andronikos II gave numerous urban possessions to St. John Prodromos Monastery in Serres in order to gain its support, while in 1326-1328, the monastery appeared under Andronikos III’s patronage for the very same reasons. Similarly, Psychosostria Monastery in Constantinople was given as a metochion to Vatopedi Monastery by John Kantakouzenos in sign of gratitude for the
monks’ attempt to reconcile him with John V’s party in 1346. The opposite party also found its supporters on Mount Athos: thus, in 1342-1346, John V issued several chrysobulls for Laura, passing to the Athonite monastery some lands and buildings inside and outside the walls of Constantinople, as well as Zodohos Pigi Monastery.

Thus, monasteries in 14th c. acquired large possessions both, in rural and urban milieu and became a kind of corporations controlling production, transportation and sale of goods.

Anna Adashinskaya is a 3rd year PhD Student at Department of Medieval Studies of Central European University (Budapest) and Fellow at American Research Center in Sofia. She graduated Art History and History of Slavs at Moscow State University, and got her MA in Medieval Studies at Central European University. Her Doctoral Research is dedicated to Monastic Patronage in Byzantium and Balkan States.

SESSION 1.7: CONQUEST AND RE-CONQUEST ON THE FRONTIER
11.45 Lecture Theatre
Chair: Nik Matheou, St Cross College

The noblest part of our empire. From the Italian frontier to the city in the De Administrando Imperio
Lorenzo Bondioli (lorenzo.bondioli@balliol.ox.ac.uk)
Balliol College, Oxford

By the mid ninth-century, renewed Muslim expansionism and Frankish ambitions in southern Italy had brought ‘Byzantine Italy’ to the verge of extinction. The situation was unexpectedly reversed, however, in the late-ninth century, when the foundations of the theme of Langobardia were first laid. This new territorial and administrative entity included Italian cities that had been out of the reach of imperial rule for centuries, and, moreover, bordered with the urban-based, southern Lombard principalities of Benevento and Salerno. Beyond lay the Campanian cities of Naples, Amalfi, and Gaeta which, though never having formally renounced imperial authority, had not been so territorially close to the empire since the sixth century.

This rich but complicated civic landscape for the Reigning City to control presented difficult political and ideological problems, as Constantinople had to reinterpret its role in throughout the Italian peninsula. An intellectual re-elaboration of the history of Italy between Justinian and the late-ninth century became a necessity as the situation on the ground developed. The echoes of this process are preserved for us in the treatise known as the De Administrando Imperio. This is the first extant eastern perspective on these events, comprising a systematic description of the southern Italian civic landscape, accompanied by an account of each city’s relation to Constantinople. Yet the information contained in this so-called ‘Italian dossier’ has been previously seen both as evidence of the imperial centre’s lack of understanding of historical and contemporary Italian affairs, and as representative of theDAI’s overall slapdash nature. This paper will therefore provide a re-evaluation of the ‘Italian dossier’, recognising it as a deliberate reinterpretation of the past aimed at underpinning imperial claims on southern Italy and on the politically active urban centres which characterized its landscape.
Lorenzo Bondioli studied Medieval History at the University of Rome ‘La Sapienza’. At the same time, he attended the School of Archival Studies, Palaeography and Diplomatics of the State Archive of Rome. Due to the support of the A.G. Leventis foundation, he is currently reading for an M.Phil in Late Antique & Byzantine Studies at the University of Oxford. His main research interests lie in the confrontation and interactions between the Eastern Roman empire and the Muslim powers in the central Mediterranean, and in the East Roman presence in Italy.

**Master of Kastamon, Emperor of the Universe: John Komnenos as Border-maker and Border-breaker in Theodore Prodromos’s Poem on the Advance to Kastamon**

Roman Shlyakhtin (shlyakhtin_roman@ceu-budapest.edu)
Central European University, Budapest

Byzantine poet Theodore Prodromos was one of the rhetorical masterminds of a new imperial ideology which came to the fore in the reign of John Komnenos. With his cycle of panegyric poems he created the background for imperial expansion in the first half of the twelfth century.

In the poem *On the advance to Kastamon* Prodromos described the triumphal entrance of John Komnenos to Constantinople after the capture of Kastamon from the Danishmendid emirate. Prodromos stated that the capture of the city was like a hunting expedition for the emperor, the master of the whole universe. The collective antagonist of the poem, the Persians, should hide from the Byzantine emperor in the Tartaros – and even there John Komnenos would reach them.

In my paper I study three different levels of space which Prodromos articulated in his poem: city (Castamon), country (Persia), and geographical direction (East). First, I investigate the main spatial landmarks the poem mentions to reconstruct Prodromos’s imagined map. Secondly, I study the process of imperial expansion on three levels (capture of the city, incursion into the Seljuk territory, diplomatic relation with people of the East). Third, I investigate how Prodromos depicted the process of imperial border-making (fortification of the newly conquered “Persian land”).

Last but not the least, I scrutinize how the Byzantine poet combined aspects of both border-making and border-breaking in his glorification of imperial expansion thus creating a new ideology, which influenced other rhetors of the Komnenian era.

Roman Shlyakhtin is a PhD student at the Central European University working on a project entitled “The image of the Seljuks in Byzantine literature of the eleventh and twelfth Centuries”. Previously, he received a MA degree from the Department of Medieval Studies of the Central European University in 2007. The topic of his MA thesis was “Images and perceptions of the enemy in the Byzantine-Seljuk military conflict: case study of the battle at Myriokephalon”. His sphere of interests includes Byzantine political history of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Byzantine historiography, and Byzantine poetry of the Komnenian Era. Recently he started to explore “imagined maps” in Byzantine literature. The presented paper is a direct outcome of this interest. Roman Shlyakhtin has published two articles (in Odysseus and Annual of Medieval Studies of CEU) and has presented papers at conferences including the World Congress of Byzantine Studies (Sofia, 2011). He participated in the international project “Trans-European Diasporas: Migration, Minorities,
and Diasporic Experience in East Central Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean 500-1800” (Hungary-Germany) and in the seminar on “Christians and Islam” (Moscow, Russia).

**Lopadion: 12th Century Roman Colony**
Maximilian C G Lau (max.lau@oriel.ox.ac.uk)
Oriel College, Oxford

John II Komnenos is accredited for building Lopadion on the Rhyndakos, modern day Uluabat on the Mustafakemalpasha, previously surveyed in Foss and Winfield's study on Byzantine Fortifications, where they labelled it a "fortified camp" and grouped it with John's other fortifications as a simple castle. This paradigm has been followed by subsequent scholars, who at best see it as an important supply camp, or *aplekton*. On visiting the site however, the scale is on a level with classical cities such as Nicaea and Antioch, and upon checking contemporary texts we see it described as a city - still a base for military operations, but also the see of a bishop, a large market for crusading armies, a place for the ladies of the court to spent their time while the Emperor was on operations against the Turks, and the site of a major bridge over the Rhyndakos. More than this, it's place in the rhetoric of the Imperial court established it as part of the narrative of the rebirth of the Roman Empire occurring during John's reign. Because it was built in the 12th century, historians have seen it as a small fort, but for those at the time, it was a new Roman colony. This paper will therefore show Lopadion as it was seen by those who lived at the time, and not as it has been seen by previous modern scholars, using the surviving architecture and contemporary sources to form our view.

Maximilian Lau is undertaking his DPhil at Oriel, Oxford, under the supervision of Mark Whittow. His Doctoral thesis is currently entitled ‘Emperor John II Komnenos and the Transformation of the Old Order 1118-43’. He was the President of the Oxford University Byzantine Society in 2012-3, and has been awarded the E.O. James Bequest from All Souls College, Oxford, for his research in Anatolia.

**Session 2.7: The City and the Holy**
11.45 Rees Davis Room
Chair: Anthony Scibubba, St Hugh’s College

**Eusebius’ Caesarea: The Writing of History and the Dynamics of Ecclesiastical Politics in Fourth-Century Palestine**
Robson Murilo G. Della Torre (robson_torre@yahoo.com.br)
State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), academic visitor to the Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity for the academic year of 2013/2014.

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea Maritima (c. 260-340), is arguably our best literary evidence for the civic and ecclesiastical life of the Palestinian metropolis at the beginning of the fourth century, being capable of using local ecclesiastical archives and acting as an eyewitness to the dramatic events that took place there during the Great Persecution and in the course of Constantine’s favorable policy towards the Church. However, Eusebius’ references to his city in his works, in particular in his *Church History*, are quite selective and tend to show a
much narrower picture of it than usually considered by those who think that he was more readily inclined to use material he could easily have on hand, which would also increase his tendency to focus on local history. In this paper, I aim to provide a full account of Eusebius’ references to Caesarea in his works in order to show how his presentation of it in his *Church History* is linked to a peculiar way of writing history in the fourth century, which has serious implications for his understanding of the Church at this precise moment and of the ecclesiastical dynamics of the East at the beginning of the Arian controversy.

**Robson Murilo G. Della Torre** has an undergraduate degree in History by the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP) in Brazil in 2008 and a master’s degree in History also by the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP) in 2011. He is a current doctorate student of this same university working on the ecumenical councils of the fifth century – from Ephesus I (431) to Chalcedon (451) – and on the process of formulation of ecclesiastical policies in the courts of the emperors Theodosius II (408-450), Valentinian III (425-455) and Marcian (450-457). He is now an academic visitor to the *Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity* during the academic year of 2013-2014 under the supervision of Dr. Bryan Ward-Perkins. His main research interest lays in the Later Roman Empire, especially in the relationship between Church and Empire between the third and the sixth centuries.

**ROMANOS THE MELODE: THE MAN WHO EXCEEDED THE CITY. DRAMATIC ELEMENTS AND NARRATIVE STRUCTURE**

Danai Papaioannou (danaepap@phil.uoa.gr)
University of Athens

Among other reasons Constantinople has gained a unique, undisputed place in the world of literature for its *ars poetica hymnographica*. Romanos the Melode meticulously crafted hymns in order to praise God through sacred myths based on biblical sources. Yet apart from the obvious theological outcome of the kontakia the poet introduces his audience to a narrative structure that allows himself to impersonate different roles, approaching and addressing the congregation, hiding behind the personages or even addressing to them too. His ability to dramatize himself and after a few lines to transform into an omnipresent, non-dramatized informant, indicates his talent as well as the dedication to his goal; the glory of Greek Christianity.

This rather unconventional attempt for byzantine texts which takes into consideration mostly recent treatises related to narratology, deconstructs the kontakia and enables the reader to see through the description of familiar stories that are depicted. This essay will focus on the dramatic treatment of the biblical figures as well as on the authorial presence, being primarily concerned with Uspensky’s aspects and the way these are revealed in two of the kontakia on the Crucifixion. Romanos’ hymns evoke shiver and compassion until nowadays and his recognition throughout times proves there is always more to unveil from his hymns.

Danai Papaioannou graduated from the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (2012) and she is currently working on her Mphil in the same institution. She has also taken a two-year course (2011-2013) on the Principles and Practices of General Translation from English to Greek in Hellenic American Union.
Hymns in 4th Century Religious Clashes in Constantinople and Elsewhere: Shared Cultural Patterns or Unifying Discourse?

Arkadii Avdokhin (arkadii.avdokhin@kcl.ac.uk)
King's College London

Different doctrinal parties are reported by the early church historians (Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret) to be involved in episodes of urban confrontation in course of the so-called “Arian controversy” in the 4th century AD. E.g. Socrates says that choirs of “Arians” rallied Constantinopolitan streets singing hymns to challenge the Nicene partisans (HE 6.6-7). A similar pattern of use of doxological texts to express partisan unity of the “orthodox” is followed in Alexandria in early 350-ies, according to Theodoret (HE 3.17). These accounts of use of hymnic texts to form the militant doctrinal identity of the Nicene and non-Nicene parties can be interpreted as evidence for a peculiar cultural pattern of urban religious clashes (at times violent) shared by communities across the empire, from Constantinople to the provinces.

This approach to textual evidence of the early hymnic practices has generally been privileged in the scholarship. However, such stance seems to neglect the problem of literary topos used in the presentation of the “Arian” clashes. Arguably, the early church historians were exposed to the anti-Arian heresiological discourse already in place from mid-4th c. on, and many of their accounts can be shown to have been influenced by this discourse, including those of using hymns in urban clashes. In this case, the identification of this universal cultural pattern surfacing across empire becomes problematic. A case can be made for a unifying “orthodox” discourse expressed in the early church historians rather than a unified cultural practice.

In disentangling the effects of the heresiological discourse on the early accounts of hymns in public clashes, we can approach one aspect of the cultural unity or difference between the 4th century Constantinople and other urban centres.

Arkadii Avdokhin studied Classics at the Moscow State Lomonosov University and the Russian University for the Humanities. His MA thesis was about the homiletic sources of Romanos the Melodist. Currently Arkadii is writing a PhD at the Department of Classics, King's College London. The thesis looks at the Christian hymnody and psalmody as reflected in the early narrative sources - hagiography and church histories. Besides, A.A. has wider interests in the late antique hymns, both Christians and pagans, and in the interaction between Christianity and paganism at large.

SESSION 1.8: From Holy Cities to the Frontier
15.45 Lecture Theatre
Chair: Walter Beers, St Peter's College

“Citadels of Prayer”: Spiritual Mobilization in Times of Siege, from the Summer of 502 to the Summer of 727

David Gyllenhaal (david.gyllenhaal@bfriars.ox.ac.uk)
Blackfriars, Oxford
Moments of extreme stress have the effect of highlighting a society’s key institutional and ideological coping strategies, but they can also serve as the occasion of far-reaching mutations in these strategies. This paper will examine the documentary evidence for sieges in the Eastern Empire from the Anastasian war with Persia of 502-506 to the Arab siege of Nicaea in 727. I will argue that the Christian Roman polis had three distinct—though mutually interpenetrating—strategies for spiritual mobilization in time of siege: the administrative and hortatory expertise provided by the city’s bishop, (who frequently appears both as the figure coordinating the city’s defense and as the chief representative in negotiating its surrender), the charismatic intercession of exceptionally holy individuals, (whose “citadels of prayer” are widely regarded as a city’s first and final line of defense), and the hierophanic intercession of relics and icons, (whose conspicuous display in times of siege provided both a visual locus for civic identity and an avenue of patronage towards the heavenly court). After a synchronic examination of the evidence for all three of these strategies for spiritual mobilization, I will advance some exploratory diachronic remarks on why the relatively more unstable forms of hortatory and charismatic influence represented by bishops and exceptionally holy individuals gradually decline in relative importance, as the hierophanic intercession of relics and icons takes center stage in the defense of the Byzantine city.

David Gyllenhaal is reading for an MPhil in Late Antique & Byzantine Studies at the University of Oxford. He received his undergraduate degree in Ancient History at Bryn Athyn College, in Pennsylvania, taking his junior year in the Divinity School of the University of Edinburgh. His undergraduate interests were split between religious studies and the religious historiography of the Greco-Roman world; he has published a comparative essay on the contours of the shaman’s career based on his work with Dr. James Cox at the University of Edinburgh, and produced his Senior Thesis on the theology of the Presocratics under the supervision of Dr. Wendy Closterman at Bryn Athyn College. His present research interests are oriented towards a comparative understanding of the history of intra-confessional religious controversy in the Christian, Jewish, and Islamic communities of the Abrahamic Near East of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. He is currently exploring the possibilities for understanding Iconoclasm from the perspective of the Caliphate and its Orthodox and anti-Chalcedonian subjects. He lives with his wife, Robin Wright, in Oxford.

Holy frontiersmen in the eighth century
Douglas C. Whalin (douglas.whalin@gmail.com)
Queens’ College, Cambridge

There are a plethora of saints’ lives dating from the ‘dark ages’. This paper explores instances in which a saint played a prominent role protecting two of the empire’s frontiers: the Black Sea littoral and eastern Anatolia. The most significant hagiographies for this information include those of John of Gotthia, Stephen of Sougdaia, and Romanos the Neomartyr. These particular saints were either bishops or monks. They were prominent members within local elites, and all enjoyed close connections to the imperial elite in Constantinople. In their hagiographies, we can observe certain behaviours and tropes which we would typically expect of the genre. However, this group of saintly frontiersmen are set apart by their unexpected activity, where saints break from hagiographical archetypes in
the defence of Romans and Christians. These unexpected behaviours give us insight into the interactions between individuals and groups on the frontier, and the role which ideology has to play in it.

Christian and Roman ideologies – and identities – coincided more and more in this period, and thus the act of defending one simultaneously defended the other. Frontiers were not sharp lines drawn on a map, instead representing complex regions where different identities and loyalties interacted with, competed against, and overlaid one another. Alongside the thematic armies, holy men such as these formed an integral part of that first line of defence of the Roman citizen against the barbarity which pressed in from all sides.

D.C. Whalin is a second-year PhD candidate in history at Queens' College, the University of Cambridge. His thesis explores issues Roman identity and ideology, AD 600-800.

**Citizens between Cities and Frontier in Wartime: The Amidenes in the Sixth Century**
Shih-Cong Fan Chiang (shih-cong.fan_chiang@kcl.ac.uk)
King's College London

This paper is mainly concerned with the dispersal of the Roman citizens from Amida, a metropolis in Roman Mesopotamia. While many aspects of the Romano-Persian relationship have been studied, little attention has been given to the migration of population between cities and frontier in the armed conflicts between these two superpowers. The investigation of such an under-researched issue will enhance our understanding of the political and social history of the sixth-century Mediterranean world.

The traces of the Amidenes’ emigration can be found in Greek and Syriac texts. While many of them could have chosen to take refuge in other provincial cities like Edessa, others, including notables, artisans and able-bodied ones, would have become the captives and sent to different destinations after the Sasanids’ seizure of this city in 503. Nevertheless, these displaced people could eventually have gotten a chance to return back to their homeland. Some of them were released soon afterwards, and those who were sold to the Huns at the Caucasus managed to come back in the middle of the sixth century. The war between Constantinople and Ctesiphon could thus have scattered the citizens from a frontier metropolis to different places, both inside and beyond the bounds of the Empire.

To conclude, through the close reading of available literary texts, this paper examines the possible wartime and postwar experiences of the deportees, and, more importantly, sheds new lights on the dispersal of these Roman citizens not only between different cities but also between cities and frontier.

Shih-Cong Fan Chiang read history at National Taiwan University. He was awarded an MA in Late Antique and Byzantine Studies in 2011 from King’s College London with a dissertation on the schoolrooms and paganism at late-antique Alexandria, and continued his doctoral study at the same institute in 2012. His current research examines the wartime and postwar experiences of the civilians, such as cannibalism, deportation and rape in the Romano-Persian war in the sixth and seventh centuries. His primary areas of interest include the history and culture of Sasanian Persia, Roman cities in late antiquity, and early Christianity. Also, he is interested in the social and intellectual transition in the eastern
Mediterranean world from classical antiquity to the early Middle Ages. He has delivered papers in several seminars and conferences in London, Hungary and the United States.

**SESSION 2.8: URBAN FORMS BEYOND THE FRONTIER**
15.45 Rees Davis Room  
Chair: Morgan Di Rodi, St Cross College

**CONSTANTINOPOLITAN INFLUENCE AND LOCAL TRADITIONS IN MONUMENTAL PAINTINGS OF THE 14TH CENTURY IN THE BALKANS. ON SOME DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ICONOGRAPHY.**
Elena Nemykina (tsvetynaveter@gmail.com)  
Saint-Petersburg State University

Constantinople had always been the traditional source of the innovations and stylistic impulses in the artistic life of Byzantium. To a greater or lesser degree the metropolitan-city had an impact on every state of the orthodox world, but the different regions adopted its ideas and means of their realization in different ways. To manage this the historiography has developed such concepts as “local tradition” or “regional school” of the architecture and painting of the so-called “Byzantine Commonwealth”.

The local specifics emerged and developed in the countries of the Balkans under the powerful influence of the Constantinopolitan art. The results of this process can be observed in the monumental painting of the 14th century in Serbia and Macedonia when many initial paradigms of the main stream of the evolution were revealed in more or less modified forms. It’s no coincidence that the 14th century was chosen, since this period in the history of the Serbian state may be called conditionally “the imperial era”. However, despite the conspicuous focus on Constantinopolitan art, its representation in the Serbian monumental painting varied for each Serbian ruler.

Certain iconographic compositions, redesigned according to the local tradition under the influence of the historical context in which they had been emerged, may be put in to illustrate this phenomenon.

Particularly widespread in the second half of the 14th century were such compositions as “Heavenly Court”, “Royal Deesis” and “The Queen stand upon Your right hand”.

This study touches upon the complex issue of linking the Constantinopolitan art with that in the peripheral centers and defining the frameworks of the interrelations in 14th century.

**Elena Nemykina** is a second-year postgraduate student of the History Faculty of Saint-Petersburg State University. She studies the Byzantine art, mainly the frescoes of the 14th century. The diploma was devoted to the problem of the Southern Slavic influences on the frescoes of the Ancient Russia. She participates in the conferences in Russia and Ukraine since 2009 year until now (International Conference of Young Specialists “Actual Problems and History of Art” (Saint-Petersburg, Moscow), All-Russian Research and Practice Conference “Derzavin’s Readings” (Saint-Petersburg), International Panel Discussion “A Text and an Image: Specifics of Interaction between Narrative and Visuality” (Kiev, Ukraine) etc.).
She has several published articles in Russian language concerning the medieval architecture of Bulgaria and the Byzantine monumental painting of the second half of the 14th century.

**BYZANTINE ART BEYOND THE BORDERS OF THE EMPIRE: A CASE STUDY OF THE CHURCH OF SAINT CHRYSONONUS IN ZADAR**
Franka Horvat (franka.horvat@gmail.com)
Central European University, Budapest

This paper aims to explore Byzantine artistic traditions beyond the Byzantine frontier by focusing on a case study of the church of Saint Chrysogonus in Zadar. The frescoes preserved in its interior, dated to the 13th century, show connections to Byzantine traditions in both iconography and style, although the city was by that time no longer under Byzantine rule, and despite the fact that the church belonged to a Benedictine monastery. The connections and roll-models are to be looked for in the territory of Southern Italy: in the region of Apulia.

Monumental art preserved in Apulia is interpreted a product of specific social and political circumstances. Being physical remote from Constantinople, this region was subdued to influences from other centers. On the other hand, Byzantine traditions remained strong even after the Norman Conquest, which is a complex issue that has to do with audiences and patronage, as well as cultural overlapping.

Resemblance of the church of Saint Chrysogonus and the fresco-decorated interiors in Apulia dated to approximately the same period is not restricted to style, but also refers to similar iconographic solutions. Furthermore, the exterior of the church of St. Chrysogonus finds its parallels in Apulian basilicas.

Apulian monuments are usually defined as Byzantine even if built after the Norman Conquest. On the other hand, historiography of Dalmatian monuments tends to emphasize its western influences. The case of Saint Chrysonus casts doubt on such generalizations. Apart from shedding light on artistic tendencies in Zadar, this study can contribute to a better understanding of both cultural transfer in the Mediterranean, and relations between Byzantium and its neighbors.

Franka Horvat is a 2nd year MA student of Medieval Studies at Central European University. Her research interests include history of the Byzantine Empire with a focus on Byzantine art and art between the east and the west. She is currently working on her thesis about the frescoes of the church of St. Chrysogonus in Zadar and its artistic roll-models.

**LATE ANTIQUE OCTAGON AT MANGUP – A DISTANT OUTPOST OF CONSTANTINOPOLITAN ART OR A PROVINCIAL DEVELOPMENT?**
Daria Korziuk (daria.korziuk@gmail.com)
Tavrian University, Crimea

Octagonal structure at the peninsula of Mangup (Crimea) is a mysterious building. It is part of a larger settlement which existed from the 5th-6th cc. AD into the late Middle Ages. The octagon is almost raised to the ground, only the lower line of masonry and the floor is still there. According to structural typology, it is tentatively dated into the Late Antique period (5th-6th cc.).
One of the central issues about the octagon is understanding its immediate architectural context. Did its commissioners and builders follow the architectural patterns in the Christian capital(s) or, rather, closer provincial models? On the one hand, such primitive structures as San Vitale (Rome) or the Mausoleum of Constantine I (Constantinople) must have set pace for architecture elsewhere. On the other hand, essentially provincial octagonal monuments like the domed mausoleum in modern Akkale or the double-shelled octagon in modern Ulu Bunar (ancient Isauria) might have been more readily accessible context.

The question of structural predecessors is closely connected with the problem of function of the Mangup octagon. By establishing its possible models, it could also be possible to clarify whether it may have been a mausoleum, baptistery or a church.

Clarifying the relationships between the octagonal structure at Mangup with its possible capital or provincial contexts, we could arrive at valuable conclusions about larger issues of the interaction between the capital and province in terms of art patterns, but also of patronage and power links.

Daria Korziuk finished National Academy of Nature Protection and Resort Development (Simferopol) in 2011 and got a degree in town planning and architecture. Since 2011 till now she is a graduate student at the Department of History in Tavrida University (Simferopol). Since 2013, she is a member of Ministry of culture of Ukraine Institute of the Monument Protection Research. Moreover, 8 years took part in archeological excavation (Crimea) as field architecture. She is interested in the archeology, history, art, and architecture of the Byzantine Empire.
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