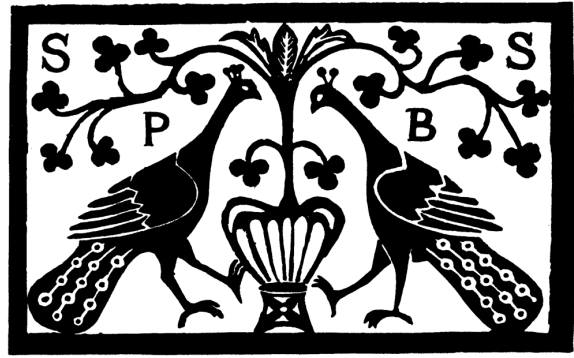




THE UNIVERSITY
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ABSTRACTS

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THE POST-1204 BYZANTINE WORLD
New Approaches and Novel Directions

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Adashinskaya, Anna (Central European University, Budapest)

Eloquence as a Gift: The Rhetoric of Piety in Donation Documents of Three Palaiologan Ladies

Female patronage, especially in relation to Mt Athos, has become a favourite topic for researchers dealing with gender issues in Byzantine history (A.-M. Talbot, S. Gerstel). However, inexplicably, the personages I am going to deal with have escaped the attention of scholarship (except a short note by A. Laiou) dealing with authors/commissioners of literary works. By literary works, I mean here three lengthy deeds addressed to the Athonite monasteries of Kutlumus (no. 18), Philotheou (Nouveaux documents, no. 6), and Xeropotamou (no. 30) by three educated ladies in 1338, 1376, and 1445, respectively. The authors or commissioners of these documents were Theodora Kantakouzene (PLP 10942), the mother of John VI Kantakouzenos; Theodora Philanthropene Palaiologina (PLP 21383), a *theia* of Andronikos III; and the nun Nymphodora (PLP 20781), wife of Markellos the second *ktetor* of Xeropotamou. Having high social status, the necessary wealth and sufficient education, they were all able, as it seems, to become not only the patroness of these foundations, but also the authors of the texts I am going to discuss.

The three donation acts have much in common in terms of content and structure. They do not follow a typical notarial protocol of private deeds, but are supplied with lengthy *prooimia* of very personal content and with unusual final clauses. All three ladies address topics related to their families, fortunes, and the reasons for making benefactions. However instead of standardized phrases or even biblical quotes, the ladies motivated their decisions by personal hopes and fears. In a quite eloquent manner, they enfolded their views on Byzantine society and concepts of afterlife. In this sense, all three deeds illustrate how Church doctrine of salvation was understood and interpreted at personal level. Consequently, the acts are furnished with very detailed demands concerning the forms of commemoration which the authors desired to be performed on their behalf. As it seems, the three protagonists, besides their common love for rhetoric, evident in their writings, also shared similar religious and pious concerns with the essence of God's grace, nature of human soul, and posthumous remembrance by family and society. For reaching their goals the ladies took the philosophic path and contemplated their own existence with the help of encompassing metaphors, platonic terms, and biblical parallels.

Moreover, all three deeds, except for being expressions of their authors' selves or at least of their literary personae, give an insight into the historical circumstances surrounding these ladies and affecting their life choices and views. To this effect, the documents are distinct from each other: the first pictures the society of wealth and power, the second is characterized by hardships experienced due to the foreign conquerors of the Empire, whereas the third represents the Greek nobility living under Ottoman rule.

This way, the close following of the texts will help one not only to trace the development of the female self during the Later Byzantium, but also to understand how the inclusion of intimate and personal rhetoric into the formal documents enriched and transformed the pious acts of the monasteries' endowments.

Akışık-Karakullukçu, Aslıhan (Bahçeşehir University)

Mehmed II's Patria of Constantinople

On the eve of 1453, Constantinople's population was a fraction of what it had been in late antiquity or before 1204. On the other hand, the late-antique and medieval Constantinopolitan monuments, constructed out of durable stones, far outlived their builders and the social and economic structures that engendered them, albeit in a dilapidated state. Complementing the resilience of the built environment, late antique and medieval literary traditions concerning Constantinople were also preserved and transmitted through the periodic eastern Roman renaissances. Fifteenth-century intellectuals entered into dialogue with these civic monuments and the accompanying texts such as Paul the Silentiary's description of the Hagia Sophia or the Macedonian compilation *Patria of Constantinople*, and in so doing sought to understand contemporary reality. Fifteenth-century Constantinople, economically integrated into the Italian trade network systems, forming western and eastern diplomatic alliances against Ottoman expansion, with strong anti-Latin and anti-unionist sentiments among the urban population, was worlds apart from its Justinianic or Macedonian counterparts. Nevertheless, the intellectuals looked into that past. This past was embedded in a radically different present through the monuments and its literary traditions were still available. The intellectuals looked at these in order to create a wide range of political identities and to support their pro-Latin, anti-Latin, pro-unionist, anti-unionist, pro-Ottoman and anti-Ottoman positions. These intellectuals, among them Bessarion, Isidore of Kiev, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Kritoboulos, and Gennadios Scholarios, also lived to witness the cataclysmic capture of Constantinople and negotiated that seminal event through the lens of historical memory. In the aftermath of 1453, the competitive discourse between those who escaped west and those who did not leave their fatherland was informed by the different ways in which they interpreted the legacy of Constantinople. Here I focus on Mehmed II's commissioning a manuscript copy of the *Patria of Constantinople* and his court's engagement with the civic monuments. I connect this to the larger context of fifteenth-century ideological positions before and after the fall, in order to delineate continuity.

Andronikou, Anthi (Princeton University)

Some Thoughts on 'Crusader Art' in the Thirteenth Century

For the regions formerly belonging to the dismantled Byzantine Empire, the catastrophic events of 1204 not

only had political and social repercussions, but also cultural and artistic consequences. One such consequence was the diffusion of a hybrid artistic language known as ‘Crusader art’, which had already emerged in the early twelfth century in the Crusader States of the East. Traditionally, scholarship has suggested that the commissioners of ‘Crusader’ works were Western Europeans residing in the Outremer and post-1204 polities, and that the artists who produced them had diverse ethnic and training backgrounds. Arguments about the artists’ ethnicity have often been supported through style-based comparisons. Coined by Hugo Buchta and Jaroslav Folda who studied a corpus of manuscripts allegedly produced in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the term ‘Crusader art’ has been questioned by scholars, among them Otto Demus and Hans Belting, who proposed the term *lingua franca*. Yet to my mind, the concept intimates a highly complex phenomenon in the eastern Mediterranean and Italy, one that is yet to be fully grasped. This paper will centre on ‘Crusader’ painting and its reverberations across the Mediterranean after the Crusader sack of Constantinople in 1204. It will cast off from established taxonomies in the field and instead propose a non-Eurocentric approach to this artistic phenomenon.

Angelov, Dimitar (Harvard University)

1261 – A Historical Break?

Historiographic convention, one rooted in dynastic politics and the fate of Constantinople, has it that the history of late Byzantium should be divided into two distinct periods: the Nicaean or Laskarid (1204–1261) and the Palaiologan (1261–1453). This paper argues that the break represented by the events of 1261 is less pronounced than it has often been assumed. Several frames of reference will be used to identify key ways in which Laskarid (Nicaean) society and culture – the economy will not be discussed – morphed smoothly into those of the restored empire in Constantinople. The first frame of reference is prosopographical. Examining the life experiences of influential individuals during the reign of Theodore II Laskaris (1254–1258), the emperor who provoked the usurpation of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1259–1282), enables us to see that a number of them retained their influence in the new regime and, in some cases, advanced with their careers. The second frame of reference is governance. Exploring practices ranging from the duty of co-emperors to the influx of new court titles and grants of privileges leads to the conclusion that the reforms introduced by the first Palaiologos, such as his reform of the judiciary, are dwarfed by the continuities with the earlier period. The third frame of reference is imperial diplomacy and *Realpolitik*. A careful consideration of thirteenth-century precedents of well-known policies adopted by Michael VIII Palaiologos vis-à-vis the Mongols and the papacy enables us to see that they were modeled on earlier diplomatic contacts and overtures. Lastly, the paper will look at the history of education, arguing that the great schools of Constantinople of the late thirteenth and

the early fourteenth century benefited from the achievements of the revived educational system in the empire of Nicaea, especially during the 1240s and 1250s. The approach is partly prosopographical (namely, the careers and scholarly interests of key teachers before and after 1261) and partly based on book history (namely, specific teaching manuscripts whose texts or copying spans the year 1261). To be sure, there were innovations in politics and ideology after the Byzantine recapture of Constantinople in 1261 and the concurrent usurpation of the throne by the first Palaiologos. Yet it is the political, social and cultural continuities from the period of the so-called empire of exile that predominate. The paper makes a strong case that the thirteenth century should be viewed as an integral and central part of the period which we call ‘late Byzantine’.

Angold, Michael (University of Edinburgh)

1204 as a Turning Point

The loss of Constantinople to the crusaders offers us a chance of seeing how the Byzantines fared without their New Rome and their New Sion, on which their sense of order and identity rested. In some ways, the loss of Constantinople was a relief because for at least twenty years the capital had failed to provide a sense of purpose, while its demands were becoming more obviously oppressive. The regions looked to local strong men to protect their interests. But they were among the casualties of 1204 because they were swept aside by outsiders. In the case of the Peloponnese and much of Greece these were Franks and Italians. Elsewhere, they were aristocratic refugees from Constantinople connected to the imperial houses of Komnenos and Angelos. They brought with them elements of a traditional ideology, which combined imperial and ecclesiastical elements. Its logic was that only the recovery of Constantinople served as proof of legitimacy.

This could, however, be postponed indefinitely, while other more practical solutions were explored. For some the watchword became ‘Enjoy your own Sparta’, meaning a devolved system of political power, which was better suited to conditions in Romania, as the regions forming the old Byzantine Empire came to be called. In the absence of elaborate fiscal machinery more wealth was retained locally and government became less remote and more equitable. The Empire of Trebizond is testimony to the advantages of the system, but it pointed to the difficulties that any attempt to reintegrate the Byzantine Empire would come up against now that local identities and interests were becoming more clearly delineated and acquiring a dynastic and to an extent an ecclesiastical base.

Because it sidelined Constantinople the new state of affairs offended an important group. It consisted of those Constantinopolitan families, who had used their social pre-eminence to seize power and estates in western Asia Minor. At their head were the Palaiologoi. Their standing was linked to Constantinople, which they emphasised by insisting on the traditional identification of the Byzantines as Romans. The weakness of this claim had become

clear in the immediate aftermath of the fall of Constantinople, when *Graikos* and Hellene were substituted for Roman, which might be applied to the conqueror. The Orthodox Church equally supported a return to Constantinople, but as a means of vindicating the Orthodox patriarchate of Constantinople against the rival Latin patriarchate; not necessarily as a return to the old order, because the gap between Church and Emperor had widened during the period of exile: the patriarch had retained his ecumenical authority, while the emperor had lost his. There was a strong current of opinion, which held that political fragmentation scarcely mattered, because the Church provided Byzantine society with the necessary bonds of unity, both spiritual and juridical.

Historians have detected the first signs of political collapse before 1204, but these look more like the inevitable strains on any system of centralised government. It was the fall of Constantinople, which opened up the possibilities – which had previously scarcely existed – of the creation of a different kind of political order. However, these were taken only to the extent of making a return to the old an impossibility. That was the tragedy of 1204.

Aschenbrenner, Nathanael (Harvard University)

*Imperial Orators as Power Brokers
in Fifteenth-Century Byzantium*

In this paper I explore the connections between imperial orators, the performance of imperial orations, and the exercise and allocation of political power in the last years of the Byzantine state, from c. 1400–1453. This period witnessed a strong revival of imperial oratory. Yet these speeches, I argue, did not only reflect a resurgence of rhetorical performances at the court and renewed engagement with learned practices of the past, they also represent the development of new strategies in the negotiation of political power under the last Palaiologan emperors. I contend that these speeches had at this time largely had lost their propagandist function, and instead served as a means of political and social negotiation between the orator and the emperor himself in more explicit and profound ways than before. Combining praise and admonishment, orators like John Chortasmenos, Isidore of Kiev, and John Dokieanos not only confirmed the social and political values of the empire, they coerced the consent of spectators to such reaffirmations. With this power to enlist the audience in the emperor's praise, orators show themselves wielding independent power to support the emperor – or one of his rivals. From this perspective, the orator was no longer a mere mouthpiece of the emperor, as in the case of twelfth-century orators, but an intermediary in the negotiation of political power: a figure who abetted the emperor's hegemony in return for material rewards in the form of patronage. Under Manuel II, such figures remained committed to the emperor's authority alone. But in the reigns of John VIII and Constantine XI, orators increasingly used their rhetorical skills to allocate power to imperial rivals and legitimate their independent political action. For as the draw of the patronage of the

Constantinopolitan court declined, such orators found receptive new princes and new opportunities for reward among other members of the imperial family.

This paper, then, argues that these intellectuals wielded greater political and social agency in the final years of the empire than previously acknowledged. Furthermore, it contends that imperial oratory was not merely a literary or intellectual endeavor, but one with profound implications for the exercise of political power in the empire.

Asp-Talwar, Annika (University of Birmingham)

Was Trebizond a 'Successor State'?

The key definition of the late Byzantine polity conventionally known as the 'Empire of Trebizond' is its classification as a successor state. This term conceals a set of problems – whilst the term 'state' generally is an ill-fitting term to describe late medieval polities, this paper will focus on the 'successor' part of it.

What did Trebizond succeed? The well-known narrative has it that the Fourth Crusade in 1204 caused the foundation of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, whereas three rivalling claimants to the title of Roman emperor established their rules in exile: in Nicaea, Epiros, and Trebizond (always listed in this order). The rulers of each of these three polities aspired to claim Constantinople back from Latin rule; the Nicaean rulers emerged as the winners after a tight contest with Epiros and initiated the rule of the Palaiologan dynasty in Constantinople between 1261 and 1453. In this narrative, the rulers of Trebizond lose this contest first, but refuse to accept their defeat until 1282, when their ruler John II marries the daughter of Michael VIII Palaiologos and gives up his imperial title. What happens between 1282 and 1461 has not been well defined in scholarship, but it has been observed that the Trapezuntine rulers imitated certain features associated with Byzantine emperors, such as attire, products of their chancery, and a modified imperial title. There is an understanding that this behaviour relates to the persistence of a degree of pretentiousness among the Trapezuntine rulers, who following this logic still in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century struggled to come to terms with their defeat to Nicaea in the early thirteenth century.

The definition of Trebizond as a successor state implies both a purpose for the existence of the Trapezuntine polity – the recapture of Constantinople from Latin rule – and a fixed ideological orientation towards the Nicaean and Epirote rulers: rivalry in a contest for Byzantine rule. When analysing the sustainability of this definition, the foundation and the continued existence of the Trapezuntine polity should be studied separately. The events that led to the Georgian queen Tamar supporting the military advancement of her nephews Alexios I and David Komnenos down the Pontic coast in 1204 differed from the motivations of existing Trapezuntine rulers to retain the support of their subjects. The understanding of Trebizond as a successor state – even long after the period of Byzantine successor states ended in 1261 – has led to a default

interpretation of events in Trapezuntine history that could be explained otherwise. This paper will discuss the relationship that the Trapezuntine polity held with Nicaea and, subsequently, Palaiologan Constantinople. It will be asked whether certain events in Trapezuntine history can be best explained through the narrative of Trapezuntine ambitions for Constantinopolitan rule or alternative interpretations focused on contextualising the actions of the Trapezuntine rulers in a local, Eastern Pontic scope. The conclusions presented in this paper hope to address the wider question of what constituted a successor state or an empire during the Palaiologan period.

Bardashova, Tatiana (University of Cologne)

Power and Dynasty in the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1461)

This paper will discuss the specificity of imperial power and its transmission in the Empire of Trebizond. Available sources confirm that, in compliance with the Trapezuntine ideology, the only possible legitimate inhabitants of the throne of the Empire of Trebizond were the members of the Grand Komnenoi family. This dynastic family was the only line in the direct succession to the imperial dynasty of the Komnenoi, which ruled Byzantium during the 11th and 12th centuries. Following the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the Grand Komnenoi claimed the legacy of Byzantium and the official title of the Byzantine emperors, namely the ‘emperor and autocrat of the Romans’.

The legitimacy of the blood rights of the Grand Komnenoi, however, was officially recognized only in Trebizond. There, usurpation by anyone outside of the Grand Komnenoi dynasty was almost impossible. The only successful case is Andronikos I Gidos, a victorious commander and the husband of the daughter of the first Emperor of Trebizond, Alexios I Grand Komnenos (1204–1222). Thus, in an oblique fashion, through marriage, he belonged to the Grand Komnenoi dynasty, and may have been thought to have rightful rule in Trebizond between 1222 and 1235. As a general rule, we can designate the system of government of the Empire of Trebizond as a hereditary monarchy. The Trapezuntine rulers generally worked to transmit rulership in the Empire to their sons and, in several known cases, crowned them as co-emperors. We should note that, while the term *porphyrogenitus* was known in Trebizond, it was presumably not used to designate the Trapezuntine emperors or their children but was reserved for the spouses of Trapezuntine rulers, who were purple-born princesses from Constantinople.

Father–son succession in Trebizond was often broken. Because of the officially recognized principle that any member of the Grand Komnenoi dynasty could claim the Trapezuntine throne, the history of the Empire of Trebizond is full of examples of emperors being overthrown. Trapezuntine rulers were assassinated (Manuel II, Alexios IV), given over to enemies (as George I was to the Ilkhans in 1280) or tonsured, forced to become monks, and later exiled to Constantinople (John III, Michael I).

Another significant aspect that needs to be questioned involves the women of the Grand Komnenoi dynasty. Unlike the case in Constantinople, women in Trebizond were probably able to legitimize autocratic rule. This is confirmed in the examples of Theodora Komnene and Anna Anachoutlou. It may be supposed that practice come from neighboring Georgia, where the rule of women (Tamar, Rusudan) was a generally accepted practice. However, the autocratic reigns of women in Trebizond were limited to only short-term periods. Power in the Empire of Trebizond always came back to the hands of men. Further, there have been no recorded examples from Trebizond of women holding regencies for their minor sons, whereas there is some evidence of this practice from Constantinople.

Bianconi, Daniele (University of Rome, La Sapienza)

Reading Ancient Texts during the Palaiologan Era: New Evidence from the Manuscripts

Reading and copying ancient texts represents an important feature of late Byzantine scholarly life, whose historical and socio-cultural background some very recent publications started revealing. By analysing some new evidence resulting from the direct examination of manuscripts containing ancient texts – old books restored and annotated by Byzantine scholars as well as new ones transcribed by them –, we will try to contextualise the study of ancient texts in late Byzantine society and to connect this learned practice to wider contemporary debates, mostly the Palamite one, in spite of an alleged hostility by the hesychasts both to scholarship and wisdom. The discussed evidence will pertain to figures such as Nikephoros Gregoras and Philotheos of Selymbria, who issued an excommunication of the former, and some other ‘shadowy figures’ like a certain *papas* Malachias (the so-called *anonymus Aristotelicus*), linked to Philotheos Kokkinos and John VI Kantakuzenos.

Blackler, Andrew (University of Birmingham)

What Is a ‘Pyrgari’? Exploring the Evidence for Communication Networks in Central Greece

Since 1937, when Antoine Bon first suggested the existence of a line of medieval towers surveying the road from Athens to Lamia, there has been vigorous debate on the possible existence of chains of communication towers in Central Greece. Johannes Koder (1973) proposed a similar network on the island of Euboea (medieval *Egrip-pos/Negroponte*), but Lock (1986, 1989 and 1996) has argued that the towers were primarily ‘feudal, personal and agrarian in their inspiration’, an interpretation that has essentially remained unchallenged over the last thirty years. No detailed survey work, however, has ever been undertaken to prove or disprove Bon’s and Koder’s hypotheses.

Using Geographical Information Systems software (GIS) this paper draws on documentary, cartographic and archaeological evidence to explore the possibility that

communication networks existed both in the middle Byzantine and Frankish periods. Information from early 14th century *portolan* charts and a 15th century manuscript *isolaro* (travel guide), complemented by 19th and 20th century Austrian and Greek military maps have been integrated by the author with reports on local sites and monuments, Venetian archival records and the historical context of the period to reconstruct the Late Medieval topography of Euboea. This research has identified over double the number of possible tower and beacon sites than have hitherto been recognised on the island.

GIS analysis, coupled with satellite imagery and elevation data, provides the basis for a comprehensive analysis of the viewsheds of each tower. The paper also examines the science behind any communication system, showing how current theories on the existence, operation and effectiveness of Byzantine tower networks in Anatolia and the Peloponnese (Rife, 2008) may need to be re-examined. Towers are referred to in various ways on both early and recent maps (*Pyrgos*, *skopia*, *vigla*, *tore*) but one term, the '*Pyrgari*', appears to provide the clue to the existence of a Byzantine network protecting the *thema* of Hellas in the 9th and 10th centuries. The author's work is still at an early stage, but it is believed that, by using software to interpret the whole landscape and the process of communication within it, we may better utilise existing published archaeological and documentary evidence to understand the military and social structure of an ill-documented period and, on the island of Euboea, to go some way to solving the puzzle of the lacuna in Procopius' list of Justinianic fortifications in Central Greece.

Chrissis, Nikolaos (Hellenic Open University)

After the Cataclysm: Transformations of Roman Identity in a Fragmented World (1204–c.1300)

Byzantine identity remains an intriguing and contested issue, as demonstrated by the growing number of recent studies on the topic and the various, often sharply contrasted viewpoints presented in them. Despite the widely different scholarly interpretations on the nature and foci of Byzantine identity, there is a general consensus that the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 constitutes a turning point. The collapse of the Byzantine state and the consequent political fragmentation created a radically different situation in Romania and had severe repercussions for Byzantine self-perception. This is particularly so, as *romanitas* was (or has been considered to be) intrinsically linked to the political order of the empire, in terms of both ideology and administrative apparatus.

This paper will explore how Byzantine identity was transformed under the dual pressure of 'foreign' domination and fragmentation. We will insist in particular on the impact of fragmentation, by exploring four themes in the writings of authors belonging to the first generations after 1204, in Nicaea, Epiros and early Palaiologan Constantinople. These themes are: first, an observable ambiguity and discomfort in the usage of the term 'Roman(s)' for self-identification; second, a fascinating, if temporary,

challenge to the centrality of Constantinople in the contemporary Byzantine worldview; third, the notion of the 'universality' of the Roman empire, which appears to be all but abandoned in the period prior to 1261; and, finally, the theme of unity and reunification which pervades much of the literature of the time and inflects the contacts between the states of Epiros and Nicaea.

Much of the material will be drawn from Byzantine orations and correspondence of the period under examination. These sources have been little used in the past in the examination of Byzantine identity. However, in anthropological and sociological terms, identity has a performative element and is a representational process, an act of communication rather than an 'objective' attribute. Therefore, these sources are particularly apt for the subject-matter, as acts of self-representation performed publicly and privately.

Overall, it will be shown that the novel circumstances after 1204 prompted a wide range of innovations and departures in terms of self-perception, particularly by the mid-thirteenth century; however, many of these elements were largely rolled back following the recovery of Constantinople in 1261 and the Palaiologan programme of imperial restoration.

Congourdeau, Marie-Hélène (Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, Paris)

Nicolas Cabasilas et l'école juridique de Thessalonique

Nicolas Cabasilas est connu principalement comme un auteur spirituel et un théologien. Or il fut aussi un juriste, dont la formation s'est effectuée dans sa ville natale de Thessalonique. Au 14^e siècle, cette ville, connue pour son rôle dans le renouveau de la culture classique et des études philologiques, était aussi un centre important de réflexion juridique et politique et de copie de manuscrits juridiques. Matthieu Blastarès et Constantin Harménopoulos sont les figures les plus connues de cette « école juridique » dont l'existence a été défendue par plusieurs historiens (Igor Medvedev, Andreas Schminck, Constantin Pitsakis). Nicolas Cabasilas, l'exact contemporain d'Harménopoulos, peut aussi être compté parmi les juristes thessaloniens de cette époque, si l'on se réfère aux connaissances juridiques qu'il exprime dans plusieurs de ses œuvres (*Aux Athéniens*, *Sur les intérêts*, *Contre les abus des autorités*, *Supplique à l'augusta*) et aux raisonnements juridiques que l'on rencontre jusque dans ses œuvres théologiques (*Vie en Christ*). C'est cet aspect moins connu de Nicolas Cabasilas que va explorer ma communication au symposium.

Nicholas Kabasilas is best known as a spiritual writer and theologian. Yet he was also a jurist, whose training took place in his hometown of Thessaloniki. In the 14th century, this city, known for its role in the revival of classical culture and philological studies, was also an important center of legal and political reflection and copying of legal manuscripts. Matthew Blastares and Constantine Harménopoulos are the most famous figures of this 'legal

school', the existence of which has been defended by several historians (Igor Medvedev, Andreas Schminck, Constantine Pitsakis). Nicholas Kabasilas, the exact contemporary of Harmenopoulos, can also be counted among the Thessalonian jurists of this period, if one refers to the legal knowledge he expresses in several of his works (*To the Athenians, On the interests, Against the abuses of authorities, Petition to the augusta*) and the legal reasoning which appears even in his theological works (*Life in Christ*). It is this less known aspect of Nicolas Cabasilas that will be explored in my communication at the symposium.

Cuomo, Andrea (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

*Cognitive Linguistics and Intertextuality
in Later Byzantine Historiography*

My paper discusses a methodology for the development of a receiver-oriented linguistics and hermeneutics of Medieval Greek language and literature.

Authors make linguistic and stylistic choices taking into account their readers' reactions and expectations. One can hence say that any text is 'a syntactic-semantic-pragmatic device whose foreseen interpretation is part of its generative process' (see Eco 1979 [1983]: 11; 3–15), and that the cooperation of the Model Reader is expected and elicited by authors for the communication to function. Whether we seek to analyse authors' linguistic choices or the pragmatic function thereof, we should take into account the linguistic and cultural competencies of the speech community, within which the analysed text had been produced and used.

After a first part aimed at outlining the theoretical framework that informs my research, in the second part of my paper, I will discuss some examples taken from the Moschopoulo-Planoudean study curriculum, and the network of books and scholars linked to the monastery of Chora in Constantinople, between the 1280s and the 1350s. The examples discussed include excerpts from Planoudes' Letters, textbooks for the teaching of Greek, Gregoras' *Roman History* and Letters, and Kantakouzenos' *Histories*.

Demirtiken, Elif (University of Edinburgh)

*Monasteries as Stages of Dissent in Early
Palaiologan Constantinople*

Emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, in his countless efforts to make peace with the Arsenites, granted them the monastery of Mosele in Constantinople as a token of his good will. Even though the schismatics happily accepted the benefaction, there remained, and even increased in number, dissident voices and irreconcilable attitudes until the end of the first decade of the fourteenth century, more than thirty years after the deposed patriarch Arsenios died in exile and not only his, but also patriarch Joseph's memory faded in the collective memory of the public and monastic communities. Contrary to what the emperor

hoped to achieve by showing imperial favor, places such as the monastery of Mosele became hubs of subversion and dissent, occupying and changing the cityscape together with numerous other aristocratic patronage activities such as Hagios Andreas *in krisei* and already extant prestigious monasteries like the Peribleptos in the Byzantine capital.

While there have been many studies of individual Constantinopolitan monasteries, their topographical distribution within the city, their participation within the social, religious, and economic life of the late Byzantine state, little has been discussed about how, especially at times of conflict, they became hubs of political dissent. By this, I refer to monasteries not only as location where people met and events took place, but also as places of symbolic importance which were carefully built, gained, connected with one another and with the rest of the city, and used to express political opinion.

In my paper I survey the evidence for the monastery of Mosele granted to the Arsenites by Andronikos II Palaiologos and further I trace back the steps of *making of a monastery*. That is to say, I question the motivations and the ways in which the monastic community and its decision-makers created meaning for their monastery to gain and maintain its symbolic importance, which could then be transferred into political power. Pursuing the answer for the second part, I bring together the contemporary evidence and contextualize the monastery of Mosele within other concessions given to the Arsenites by Andronikos II, e.g., the Church of All Saints, the transportation of the relics of Ioannes of Damascus, which was previously kept in the monastery of Kecharitomene, the transportation of patriarch Arsenios' body and then the deposition of his relics first at the monastery of Hodegoi and later at Hagios Andreas *in krisei*, and lastly the transportation of monk Kouboukleisios' relics to the Peribleptos. In all these cases, the surviving evidence offers insight into a nuanced comprehension of negotiations between of imperial power and dissident groups in the early Palaiologan Constantinople. This contextualization, moreover, complicates the monasteries, taking them away from the religious and putting them back to the political sphere that occupied a significant place in the city life in this period.

Gaul, Niels (University of Edinburgh)

*The Circulation and Display of Imperial Effigies
in (Early) Palaiologan Byzantium*

My paper examines the circulation and display of imperial portraits in the early Palaiologan period, especially during the reigns of Michael VIII (r. 1259–1282) and Andronikos II Palaiologos (r. 1282–1328), seeking to assess their frequency and purpose e.g. as compared to the later Roman empire with its near-ubiquity of imperial portraits. It takes as its starting point those – often fragmentary – images discovered and analysed by the late Anna Christidou in her 2011 Courtauld PhD and subsequent work. Quite a few of her finds were located along the western end of the Via Egnatia on the territory of modern-day Albania. This makes perfect sense in the context of

Palaiologan attempts to reestablish empire after the catastrophic events of the Fourth Crusade in this particular contested corner, from the battle of Pelagonia in 1259 via the siege of Berat in 1280/81 to the Drimys rebellion in 1304. And in fact, imperial compositions survive at both Kastoria near Pelagonia and in the citadel of Berat, alongside those at Apollonia, Ohrid, and, less well known, Perhondi. However, at a closer glance it becomes obvious that such portraits existed all along the Via Egnatia (Manastir, Treskevac, Thessalonike, Didymoteichon etc.), and in fact in other corners of the empire, too; if one adds inscriptions that make reference to the ruling emperor to the picture, an even fuller canvas emerges.

It seems reasonable to assume that these portraits were partly commissioned by the emperors themselves (or their agents themselves), partly by local patrons: as tokens of gratitude for favours and privileges received, as a visual expression of loyalty to the ruler in Constantinople, and perhaps as an evocation of imperial protection. Especially in the latter case, it seems likely that the image was transferred into the public sphere from an (illuminated) chrysobull received by the patron, such as the famous ones surviving from Andronikos II's rule for the metropoleis of Monemvasia (1304) and Kanina (1307).

Finally, I shall analyse an epigram by Manuel Philes that seems to testify to imperial semi-relief portraits at the gates of the Thracian Black Sea town of Medeia (present-day Kıyıköy): while one can only speculate about the impact the portraits surviving along the Via Egnatia were hoping to achieve, Philes' epigram ties the semi-relief statues outside Medeia neatly into early Palaiologan imperial propaganda, as surviving e.g. in Nikephoros Choumnos's *Oration to the Thessalonians on Justice*. In conclusion, the paper suggests that at least during the early Palaiologan period, imperial portraits were a surprisingly (?) common phenomenon, and played a crucial function in spatially delineating and ideologically propagating empire in an age of ever-shifting borders.

Gerstel, Sharon (University of California, Los Angeles)

Hearing Late Byzantine Monumental Painting

Over the last decades, scholars have begun to investigate the sensorial aspects of Byzantine Art. In this paper, I will consider how monumental painting of the Late Byzantine period records soundscapes – both ecclesiastical and terrestrial. This paper will draw particularly on the finds from a recent project, 'Soundscapes of Byzantium', in which a group of scholars from the United States and Greece investigated acoustics and psychoacoustics in the churches of Thessaloniki. The first part of this study, recently published in *Hesperia*, examined the early churches of Acheiropoietos and Hagia Sophia. This paper draws on the study of the city's Late Byzantine churches, in which the team investigated connections between monumental decoration and monastic chant together with the consideration of architecture and acoustics. Hymn texts and hymn representations are found in St Nicholas Orphanos, Holy Apostles, Profitis Elias, the Soterios, and the Late Byzantine phase of Panagia ton Chalkeon. These

representations join a plethora of 'sound images' within the city's churches – the clanking chains of censers, the wailing of mourning women, the inscription of unfurled scrolls with the incipits of vocalized prayers, etc. This phenomenon is not, of course, exclusive to Thessaloniki, but the prominence of sound representations in this city – a center of hymn composition with close connections to Mount Athos – merits attention. Monastic programs outside of the city showing similar phenomena will provide comparative material for the study of Thessaloniki's churches. At the same time in which monastic churches incorporate an increasing number of scenes linked to vocalized chant and prayer, village churches introduce scenes that record audible terrestrial distractions – the sound of women chattering in church, the tinkle of bells worn by flocks of sheep and goats in the surrounding fields, the grinding of millstones, etc. At the core of this presentation is the question of how sound and image worked together in a variety of ritual settings in late Byzantium, and how painters conveyed subtle clues to those who entered the church about the worlds in which they lived and listened.

Gioffreda, Anna (University of Rome, La Sapienza)

*An Unknown Work of Nicholas Cabasilas
in MS Vaticanus Graecus 16*

The sixth codicological unit of MS Vat. gr. 16 (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries), namely ff. 97r–103v, transmits an anonymous treatise on the Incarnation of God the Son under the title *λόγος εις την κατά σάρκα γέννησιν του Κυρίου και Θεου και σωτηρος ημων Ιησου Χριστου: εδλόγησον πάτερ*. A paleographical analysis allows to identify the author of the work with the well known Byzantine theologian Nicholas Cabasilas: in fact, the copyist of the text also transcribed Cabasilas' *Contra iniuria magistratum* in MS Paris. gr. 1276, ff. 65r–87v, 96r–99v, which was corrected by Cabasilas himself, as it has been already shown. Actually, an analogue set of authorial interventions – such as interlinear emendations and marginal addictions – also appear in Vat. gr. 16, ff. 97r–103v, by the same hand, i.e. that of Cabasilas, who can be now identified as the author also of the treatise on Incarnation, which he revised in a MS copied by one of his collaborators.

Grant, Alasdair (University of Edinburgh)

*Inter-Confessional Captivity and Clerical
Intercession in the Late Byzantine World*

In the later medieval eastern Mediterranean, Turkish territorial expansion and Venetian and Genoese shipping created a fluid and dangerous environment. In these circumstances, many Greek Orthodox were taken captive by one or other of these groups, and faced the threat of enslavement. In the many places where Greek Orthodox populations lived outside the empire proper, the responsibility for interceding on behalf of captives often fell to clergymen.

The focus of the communication will be on a reasonably homogeneous corpus of clerical advocacy letters for captives (αἰχμαλωτικά), of which at least a dozen survive from the later thirteenth to early fifteenth centuries. The paper will briefly explain the nature of the αἰχμαλωτικόν genre, and then evaluate the historical significance of these letters. They will be framed in the context of the reforming patriarchate of Athanasios I (1289–93, 1303–9), and interpreted with corroboratory evidence from historiographical and archival sources.

This communication will suggest that the case of clerical intercession on behalf of captives offers new perspectives on the Byzantine world after 1204 in principally three respects: First, it allows for the study of Christian-Muslim relations without undue bias towards male elites, since non-elite men, women, and children all appear in the sources as captives. Second, it challenges the traditional picture of the late medieval Orthodox Church as predominantly inward-looking and contemplative, suggesting instead that clergy could be approachable and pro-active. Lastly, it suggests that the study of late Byzantium – territorially much diminished – can be enriched by understanding clergy as ‘agents of empire’.

Horvat, Franka (University of California, Los Angeles)

Interpreting the Apocryphal Representation of Melchizedek from the Church of Saint John the Baptist, Chrysapha

The small church of Saint John the Baptist, dated by an inscription to 1367, and adjacent to the monastic church of Panagia Chrysaphitissa in Chrysapha, Laconia, contains a number of unusual representations. In this paper, I focus on one image in particular: Melchizedek, who is portrayed as a hermit with overgrown, unkempt hair and unclipped fingernails. While this Old Testament priest is usually seen as a prefiguration of Christ, the image of the wild Melchizedek comes from apocryphal writings and acts in this church as a metaphor for ascetic monasticism. As Sharon Gerstel and Ludovic Bender have demonstrated, the region around the church was known for its isolated hermitages, which were often located in caves and in ravines. The textual tradition for the wild Melchizedek is quite rich and extends to works of Greek, Coptic, Syrian, Arabic, and Slavic origin. There are, however, few visual examples of this idea: in fact, the representation from Chrysapha is to my knowledge the only preserved example from Byzantium. Aside from his unusual appearance, Melchizedek is uniquely paired with another Old Testament priest – Aaron. Based on my analysis of the images, their textual sources, the context of this church and the religious climate in this region, I argue that at Chrysapha Melchizedek and Aaron act as archetypes of the ideal hermit and priest respectively, and that each of them represents an important aspect of monasticism.

Huggins, Mark (University of Edinburgh)

A Still, Small Voice in the Fourteenth Century: Nicholas Kavasilas Amidst his Contemporaries

Over the last century, the life and works of Nicholas Kavasilas have attracted greater and more systematic interest. Moreover, scholars have consistently made his relatively less well-known and unedited writings available in both critical and non-critical editions. What has emerged from these publications, as well as from a study of his correspondence with Demetrios Kydones, Manuel II Paleologos, Neilos Kavasilas, Gregory Akindynos and others is that Nicholas Kavasilas has quite often fallen victim to the contentious nature of his era, troubled as it was by civil wars, political and spiritual unrest and eventually full governmental collapse. In an age of both physical and spiritual polemic, scholarly discourses have naturally attempted to discern which possible faction they can assign Kavasilas to: Stoic (Gouillard) or Aristotelian (Demetrakopoulos), Hesychast (Angelopoulos, Müller-Asshoff) or Anti-Palamite (Polemis, Demetrakopoulos), clerical (Angelopoulos) or lay (Ševčenko). However, as Congourdeau (2004) has perceptively noted, such attempts to relegate Kavasilas to one battle line or another are, to a certain degree, ill-conceived. First, Kavasilas himself strove to avoid controversial terminology or to name the sources upon which his thought rested. Secondly, by approaching Kavasilas in the perpetual attempt to discern his party-loyalty in the subtext of his writings, it is precisely Kavasilas himself who is overlooked. Emphasis is placed on the thought of Gregory Palamas, Gregory Akindynos, Barlaam, Demetrios Kydones or others, but not on Kavasilas himself, on his own terms. The very fact that he maintained strong and lasting connections with all of these opposing factions – and yet painstakingly avoided participation in their controversies – has yet to be fully analyzed and appreciated in its own right. The present paper contributes to this end in two ways. First, it responds to the recent, rigorous argumentation of Polemis (2013), who seeks to align Kavasilas with Barlaam and Akindynos, in opposition to Palamas. Polemis conducts a comparison of passages between the four authors in order to substantiate his claims. A close philological analysis and re-reading of these very passages will demonstrate that, while perceptive, Polemis’ argument nevertheless overstretchers itself, reaching for conclusions that the texts simply cannot support. Secondly, and in answer to the first section, Kavasilas’ own thought concerning the constituent elements of Christian life is succinctly presented. In this section, both his indebtedness to the factious literature of his age, as well as his personal creativity in departing from – and transcending – these discourses, is demonstrated. His thought is unique in the 14th century, critical of all views simultaneously and beholden to none, a conclusion which emerges naturally from the close engagement with the wide variety of writings he has left to posterity.

Kastritsis, Dimitri (University of St Andrews)

Some Ottoman Perspectives on Byzantium

Although there is still plenty of work to be done on late Byzantine and post-Byzantine views of the Ottomans and wider world, this is an area about which a fair amount is

already known. Specialists on the Palaiologan period have studied the political views and classicizing tendencies of such late Byzantine authors as Manuel II Palaiologos, who came to identify with the ancient Greeks and view the Ottomans as similar to Persians or other barbarians. There is still much to explore when it comes to an unusual author like Laonikos Chalkokondyles, whose history is unique not least because it is based largely on Ottoman sources. But what is perhaps the least studied or understood aspect of the cultural history of the period is the related question of early Ottoman perspectives on Byzantium. This lacuna is largely due to the fact that few Ottomanists study the period when Byzantium still existed. Moreover, and not without good reason, in recent decades the field of Ottoman studies has tended to focus more on the Ottoman Empire's roots in the post-Mongol Islamic world than on Byzantium. To a certain extent, this reflects Ottoman sources themselves, which tend to downplay the importance of Byzantium in favour of emphasizing the Ottomans' struggles and credentials in the greater Islamic world.

Nevertheless, there are notable exceptions to this rule. In this paper, I will consider the presentation of Byzantium in the works of Ahmedi, Aşıkpaşazade, the anonymous *Chronicles of the House of Osman*, Oxford Anonymous (*Marsh 313*), the *Holy Wars of Sultan Murad*, and several other fifteenth-century sources. I will argue that as in the case of certain Byzantine authors, what is often noteworthy apart from the focus on religious rhetoric and conflict is the practical reality of shared space, as well as a sense of curiosity about history, material culture, and the differences between peoples, religions, and civilizations. By examining late Byzantine and early Ottoman texts side by side, we may begin to understand more about what was in many ways a shared, if largely contested world.

Kinloch, Matthew (Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna)

The Reconquest of Constantinople Did Not Take Place: Towards a Postmodern Historiography of Late Byzantium

Modern historiographical reconstructions of 'what happened' in the period between 1204 and 1261 generally tell the same story. It starts with the fall of Constantinople in 1204 and the consequent fragmentation of the old Byzantine empire into a host of new Latin and Byzantine polities. In the middle, it narrates the conflicts between these new polities (as well as some pre-existing ones, such as the Seljuks and Bulgarians). Finally, it ends with the 'reconquest' of Constantinople in 1261, by the forces of the empire of Nikaia.

This narrative, which moves from exile to return, systematically privileges of the so-called empire of Nikaia, whose forces captured Constantinople in 1261, even from its inception in the early thirteenth century. Even seemingly descriptive scholarly apparatus, such as periodisation, regnal numeration, and titulature, has been subordinated to the logic of this narrative and Nikaia's privileged

position within it. The meaning (and importance) of action has become dependent on its relevance to the progression of this narrative. Consequently, Nikaian victories, such as the battle of Pelagonia, have been accorded importance, while Nikaian's defeats, such as the battle of Poimanenon, and even whole rival polities have been deemed peripheral and unimportant by the same logic.

Some Byzantinists would like to believe that this framework belongs to a cruder historiography, leftover from the nineteenth century, and that scholarship no longer depends on this distorting narrative. While it is true that Byzantinists have not been writing *Narrative Histories*, this does not mean that this narrative of 'what happened' does not still underpin almost all academic historiography engaged with the period. To the extent that this narrative artifice has been problematised, solutions have revolved around the identification and removal of the 'bias' in the Nikaian-centric textual record and the promotion of counter-narratives, 'discovered' in the textual production of other polities. For example, the *Chronike syngraphe* (*Χρονική συγγραφή*) of George Akropolites, the most influential historiographical narrative of the period, has been challenged as Nikaian-centric, pro-Palaiologian, and self-promoting. However, although historians have carefully reevaluated how the author presents action, the 'biases' and rhetoric evidenced in the *Chronike syngraphe* are always deemed extrinsic to 'what actually happened', which is still considered knowable from the text, no matter how 'biased'.

In this paper, I suggest that 'bias' is meaningless, since it is impossible for a text to be unbiased. Further, I argue that modern historians of the thirteenth-century Byzantine world need to problematise not just how past action is presented in their 'sources', but also what action is presented. Taking the polemical starting point of Jean Baudrillard in his famous essay *La Guerre du Golfe n'a pas eu lieu*, I suggest that the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 did not take place. I use this counter-intuitive position to explore the epistemological break between modern historiography and the thirteenth-century past, first destabilising some of the foundational assumptions of contemporary historiography and then exploring some new approaches offered by postmodern philosophies of historiography.

Kiousopoulou, Tonia (University of Crete, Rethymno)

Constantinople during the Palaiologan Period: Political Power and the Organization of the Urban Space

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the traces left by the powerful social groups on the structure of Constantinople. During the late Byzantine period, the principal poles of power formed in the City were the administrative centre and the religious one. This was due to the installation of the Palaiologoi and the aristocrats in the district of Blachernai as well as to the staying of the Patriarchate in Hagia Sophia. What is of interest then is to examine the

formation of these two poles and their impact on the organisation of the urban space in relation with the policy pursued by both the emperors and the patriarchs.

Kladova, Anna (Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz)

Back to the Roots: Episcopal Elections in the Late and Post-Byzantine Periods (13th–16th Centuries) from a Comparative Perspective

Unlike their counterparts in the western mediaeval and late antique fields of research, episcopal elections in Byzantium have been suffering the destiny of a scientific orphan for almost a century. Since the two lengthy articles by Russian scholar Ivan I. Sokolov appeared at the beginning of the 20th century – one concerned with the canonic law and canonistic commentaries on episcopal elections, one on the patriarchal elections –, there have been no attempts to provide a systematic and comprehensive study of this seemingly fundamental element of Church history. Sokolov's work itself focused on testimonies from the 9th century onwards, ignoring the complex questions which emerge if the evolution from the late antique to the Byzantine period (3rd–8th centuries) is to be analysed.

Throughout the 20th century, except for some short articles and entries in handbooks, the subject has been treated as if there are no questions to be asked. My project on the episcopal elections in late Byzantium and former Byzantine territories in the 13th–16th centuries led me to studying the whole development of the procedure, starting in the early Christian era, through the late antique, early Byzantine and middle Byzantine periods. There are striking parallels to be drawn between the early phase of the development and its transformation after the gradual decline of the Byzantine Empire during the 13th–15th centuries, and for that reason the long range diachronic perspective is of primary importance for the interpreting each phase of the millennial evolution. The scarcity of the secondary literature available made it necessary for me to expand my project on the earlier period as well. Understanding the episcopal election procedure in the 13th–16th centuries can only be complete if one accounts for the development of the collegial institutions of the Church, including both councils and regularly synods, which has its beginnings in the 2nd–3rd century already, as well as for the nature of the canon regulatory tradition, which at the moment of its appearance represented a completely different phenomenon compared to what it has come to be during the classical Byzantine epoch.

In this paper I would like to present some of the results of my work, focusing on the parallels between the late Byzantine/post-Byzantine period (13th–well into the 16th centuries) on the one hand and the early Christian and late antique period (3rd–7th centuries) on the other. The working hypothesis suggests a direct structural connection between the Church being able to rely on its status of a religious institution supported by a stable state structure and its tendency to reduce the procedure of episcopal appointments to a cooptation, in contrast to the broadly accepted communal participation as attested at first well into the

early Byzantine period (7th centuries) and afterwards basically every time the Byzantine state loses its domination and Orthodoxy is reduced to a minority confession/religion or a second-class confession. In Asia Minor during the Ottoman expansion, as well as in the whole of the Ottoman Empire after the fall of Constantinople, in Cyprus under the Lusignans and the Venetians, and finally in the Near East under the various Islamic dynasties, the Church hierarchy had to reestablish the participation of the laity and the clerics in the appointment of its prelates, as long as it ceased to have the Empire standing on its sides. Different perspectives on this correlation and to discuss the possibility of stating a direct casual connection are the main topics of the paper.

Kolovou, Ioulia (University of Glasgow)

Little-known Connections: Sir Walter Scott and Anna Komnene

What connects Sir Walter Scott and Byzantium? It is a little-known fact that the father of historical fiction chose Komnenian Constantinople as the setting of his penultimate novel, *Count Robert of Paris* (1832). Inspired by an episode narrated in Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* (11.18) and retold by Edward Gibbon in *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, *Count Robert* is an intriguing work of fiction whose historical inaccuracies and anachronisms, all of them results of conscious artistic choice, reveal much about the close if contested and problematic connections between historiography and historical fiction. Scott's take on Byzantium and the 'Greeks' predictably echoes Gibbon's disparaging stance, which still seems to dominate popular perceptions of Byzantium, in spite of all the progress made in Byzantine studies.

But in a surprising twist, the one Byzantine who is presented in more positive terms is the historian Anna Komnene, one of the main female characters in *Count Robert*. Scott's almost proto-feminist Anna Komnene is not the ambitious conspirator or the bitter old woman who despises her brother and mourns for her lost dreams, as the historical canon has represented her (a canon that Leonora Neville's recent biography of Anna Komnene attempts to dismantle), but a gifted and powerful writer and even a warrior in single combat against the Amazonian Norman Countess Brenhilda. Thus Scott anticipates insights of recent scholarship by two centuries. Using this novel as a starting point, it would be interesting to find a space within Byzantine studies to explore the outreach and impact of academic developments in the field on the public consciousness via historical fiction.

Kubina, Krystina (University of Vienna)

'But a Friend Must Not Sleep, When Such a Man Commands to Write ...': Motivations for Writing Poetry in the Early Palaiologan Period

The production of Byzantine poetry was always bound to specific occasions and contexts. This has long been

acknowledged by scholars who speak about ‘occasional poetry’ or ‘Gelegenheitsdichtung’, although not much is known of the commissioning of poetry. In my paper, I will demonstrate that the production of poetry should be located on a continuum between the two poles of external and internal motivation. My contribution will elucidate this continuum by looking at early Palaiologan poems and what they reveal about the context of their composition. Most of my material comes from the poetry of Manuel Philes who in some poems explicitly describes the process of commissioning and its impact on the relationship between poet and patron, for ‘a friend must not sleep, when such a man commands to write’. However, I will also include other authors like Georgios Akropolites, Maximos Planudes and Nikephoros Chumnos, who provide information about their poetic work in other writings.

I will start by looking at commissioned poetry. In recent years, scholars have made great progress in elucidating especially the relationship between donors, commissioned objects and the epigrams related to them. Although epigrams are always cited as the example *par excellence* of commissioned poetry, there is (almost) no information in Byzantine texts about the process of their commissioning. I argue that this is due to the epigram’s character as part of the *kosmos* of a larger object, about whose production one can, indeed, find information. Furthermore, not much is known about poems other than epigrams. Who commissioned what, when and why? What did the poet earn from accepting an order? Straightforward statements about the character of some pieces as commissioned poems can be found in the context of both didactic poems and metrical *metaphraseis*. In most instances, however, it seems that a combination of external and internal motivation might have stimulated the poet to write a poem. In this case, the poet would have known about the interests of his patron and expected the latter would give him a reward for his verses, but there would have been no formal commission. A (mainly) internal motivation, by contrast, forms the basis of many epistolary poems, often related to the friendship of the poet and his addressee. However, as friendship in Byzantium was often instrumentalized as a means of promoting one’s own position in society, the friendly exchange of (verse) letters was in this way, too, externally motivated by social reasons.

The close reading especially of Philes’ poems reveals that there was a whole range of external and internal motivations to write verse in the early Palaiologan period. In particular, commissioning was no fixed process, but varied from patron to patron and occasion to occasion. The production of verse was thus triggered by the upper class’s demand for poems on the one hand and by the constant effort of the authors to promote their position as skilful writers on the other hand.

Leonte, Florin (Palacký University Olomouc)

Joseph Bryennios’ Kephalaia: Constructing Didactic Authority in Late Byzantium

For centuries Byzantine authors collected and abbreviated texts for various purposes, whether practical, spiritual, or didactic. Often, the resulting compositions preserved in the form of *florilegia* and *gnomologia* included exclusively lists of wise sayings that acknowledged the influence of the source texts. Yet, in other cases, authors made a rigorous selection of inherited texts and, even if they drew on similar books of wisdom, they also elaborated their works according to specific designs. In such cases, the common lists of wise sayings were replaced by collections of brief chapters or *kephalaia* on certain topics. In the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries, these works of *kephalaia* appear to have been quite popular and sometimes there can be even detected multiple connections among them.

In this short presentation I will focus on two moralizing texts in the form of *kephalaia* penned by the late Byzantine author, Joseph Bryennios (d. 1430s): the *Seven Times Seven Chapters* and the hitherto unedited *Garden or Two Hundred Theological-Moral Chapters* (Vindob. theol. gr. 235, fols. 2–234). A court preacher with a substantial oeuvre of sermons and other theological works, Bryennios also participated in the negotiations between Greeks and Latins, which indicates his involvement with issues beyond pastoral communication. In these two texts, while adopting a moral perspective, Bryennios offers insights into further aspects of rhetorical composition and political virtues. Thereby, arguably he undertook the role of a teacher which can be detected at least in two other texts of *kephalaia* by his contemporaries, Demetrios Chrysoloras and Manuel II Palaiologos. I argue that, in writing these two books of moral chapters, Bryennios constructed a kind of didactic authority that was intended to emulate his contemporaries’ similar pedagogical roles.

McLaughlin, Brian (Royal Holloway, University of London)

A Persuasive Paradox? Anna of Savoy in the Histories of John Kantakouzenos

When the emperor Andronikos III Palaiologos died in June 1341, his son and intended successor was only nine years old. Within months, a brutal civil war erupted between the regency government led by the dowager empress, Anna of Savoy, and the followers of John Kantakouzenos, Andronikos’ court favourite and *megas domestikos*. The conflict, which would last until February 1347, was the most disastrous of all Byzantine civil wars; it arguably marks the opening of the final phase in Byzantine history. Kantakouzenos’ eventual triumph was bitter: he struggled to rule a depopulated, impoverished, and fractious state before being forced to abdicate in 1354.

In his memoirs, generally known as the Histories, Kantakouzenos lamented that the war had ‘overturned and ruined nearly everything’. Scholars have long recognised the fundamentally self-serving nature of Kantakouzenos’ account, which attempts to justify his actions and deflect blame for the devastating conflict. Far less acknowledged are his parallel efforts to systematically excuse Anna of Savoy of responsibility for the war.

Kantakouzenos set himself a paradoxical task: he sought to present the leaders of both sides in a ruinous war as essentially blameless. The war itself was therefore a tragic and unnecessary accident; both parties could be reconciled and put retribution aside. In the conditions of the 1360s, when the *Histories* appears to have been composed, this argument would have been a difficult sell, not least as the polymath and historian Nikephoros Gregoras had already firmly cast Anna as feckless, foreign, foolish and fickle. Kantakouzenos therefore applied all his rhetorical skill and learning to this audacious task.

This paper examines Kantakouzenos' literary depiction of Anna of Savoy, which has attracted little scholarly attention yet is fundamental to understanding the third – and by far the largest – book of his memoirs and is a central element of the apologetic scheme of the complete *Histories*. It will examine the techniques Kantakouzenos employed to characterise a woman who was his most determined enemy yet whom he also called his 'sister'. From beneath the superficial stereotypes of 'feminine weakness', the portrait of a shrewd and resolute female ruler emerges. Furthermore this paper will attempt to offer answers to the fundamental questions which arise: why did Kantakouzenos go to such troubles to preserve Anna's reputation? And is his paradoxical portrait persuasive?

Magdalino, Paul (University of St Andrews)

The Byzantios of Theodore Metochites

Theodore Metochites was the most heavyweight intellectual of the late Byzantine period, as well as the most munificent patron of the arts, who is known even to tourists for his rebuilding and sumptuous redecoration of the Chora church, now the Kariye Museum in Istanbul. His oration entitled *Byzantios or concerning the imperial capital* thus deserves attention for its authorship, along with the unique qualities that make it a remarkable monument of literature in a period when Byzantine art and architecture were not remarkable for their monumentality. The *Byzantios* is not only the longest Byzantine literary work devoted to Constantinople, but also the first free-standing rhetorical praise of the city to have survived from later than the fourth century. The text has only recently become available in a critical edition and begun to attract serious scholarly comment. Though disappointing as a source for topographical and architectural facts, it is interesting to read as a cultural and ideological statement with several layers of meaning. This paper discusses Metochites' reasons for composing a monumental literary tribute to Constantinople almost one thousand years after the foundation of the city. On one level, the *Byzantios* was clearly meant to be a rhetorical *tour de force*, a dazzling piece of epideictic in emulation of Aelius Aristides and Libanius, which would do, belatedly, for Constantinople what they had done for Athens and Antioch. The civic rhetoric of Late Antiquity was enjoying a comeback, and Metochites had already pronounced an oration in praise of Nicaea. On another level, the oration was a vehicle for airing the philosophical, scientific and historical interests

that Metochites shows in his other writings. Together with his other two major orations, the *Ethikos, or concerning education* and his *Encomium of St Gregory of Nazianzos*, the *Byzantios* forms a trilogy of meditation on themes that were close to the author's heart, because they were central to Byzantine cultural identity. It is on this affective level that we should primarily approach the *Byzantios*, which Metochites advertises at the outset as an expression of love for his city. My paper will explore the individual twists that Metochites gives to the conventional and dominant motifs of city encomium (situation, size, beauty, nobility and piety of the inhabitants), in emphasising the cosmic importance of Constantinople, its successful harmonization of antique grandeur and contemporary dynamism, its generosity to other peoples, and its commitment to orthodoxy, in all of which it long ago surpassed the great cities of antiquity. The author's evocation of artistry and building materials is noted, and attention is drawn both to the features that he mentions (walls, aqueducts, baths, harbours, churches of Hagia Sophia and the Theotokos) and to the notable omission of the imperial palace and the houses of the aristocracy, as well as the surprisingly short space devoted to *paideia*. Finally, the text's optimistic depiction of Constantinople is discussed in relation to the catastrophic situation of the Byzantine state that Metochites administered for Andronikos II, and its critical allusions to contemporary Rome are seen as an indication that it was fundamentally conceived as a comparison of Old and New Rome.

Makris, Georgios (Princeton University)

Monastic Presence in a Fragmented, Anxious World: The View from Thrace

Similar to other places in the late Byzantine world, Thrace offered an idyllic setting for a remarkable range of monastic experiences. This paper examines the historical lifecycle and archaeology of monasticism across the hinterland of Constantinople in the southern Balkans, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. My objective is two-fold: to explore the remarkable range of experiences and practices available to monastics in the later Middle Ages. Second is to identify the modes of interaction between ascetics and lay society through an analysis of archaeological and written sources. By transcending the political boundaries that now divide the region, this paper uniquely tells the story of some of Thrace's inhabitants – monastic and lay – and their culturally-specific environment from a multidisciplinary perspective. The presentation takes the form of an escapade which has four main stops all located in the rural Thracian landscape, some on rugged mountainous zones. Along the way, I will raise questions about architecture and spatial layout of monastic settlements in Late Byzantium; about commercial activity, patronage and regional social composition as evidenced in the archaeological and textual records; about the concept and memory of the holy mountain in the fragmented late Byzantine world; and about the relation between center, here being Constantinople and Mt Athos, and periphery, meaning Thrace, amidst the turmoil

of war between Byzantium and the Ottomans in the fourteenth century.

A burning question remains: what can the Thracian examples add to our current view of late Byzantine monasticism? When looking at the late medieval Balkans, studies of Byzantine monasticism have drawn heavily on the predominant paradigm of Mt Athos. The presence of abundant archival material and the significant number of preserved buildings in the many still-active monasteries have caused the scholarly discourse on Balkan monastic spaces to revolve around the most celebrated monastic center of the Byzantine world. By considering the archaeology of monasticism, including spaces, objects, and landscape alongside textual sources such as saints' lives, this paper also sees Mount Athos within the context of its monastic hinterland without isolating the Holy Mountain, and thus asks questions about what was typically monastic in Late Byzantium. Moreover, Thrace constitutes an attractive research context in which to investigate the practice and development of late Byzantine monasticism in the heartland of the empire, because the area remained under Constantinopolitan control throughout the Middle Ages without noticeable waning of imperial authority until the Ottoman advance in Europe.

Thrace's monastic communities served as clusters of refuge, exile, or cultural production for members of the army such as Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes (1235–1395) at Sozopolis; influential clergy such as Patriarch Athanasios I (1289–1293 and 1303–1309) on Mt Ganos; imperial figures including John VI Kantakouzenos (1347–1354) at Didymoteichon, but also local, non-elite populations. Ultimately, Thrace allows us to examine how monasticism managed to remain viable in the final centuries of the empire and consider the mechanisms by which monastic communities adapted to shifting political realities of the late medieval Balkans and new external forces.

Malatras, Christos (Democritus University of Thrace)

Networking, Petition and Philanthropia in Palaiologan Constantinople

Petition epistolography is one of the particular features of Late Byzantine literature. A. Laiou taught us through the comparison of the corpora of letters of the Patriarch Athanasios and Gregorios Kyprios, who petitioned the emperor on several issues, how justice was often viewed as a result of networking strategies and how the lack of an extensive network contributed to the downfall of Patriarch Athanasios. In our contribution we will move the ladder of petitioners further down and will analyse the networks of more lowborn intellectuals, such as Michael Gabras and Theodoros Hyrtakenos. None of these scholars acquired an important position in administration, but rather served as teachers and/or were employed by members of the elite. Their correspondents were of a broad social background, from the lower levels of administration to the top of the social elite and the higher aristocracy such as Ioannes Kantakouzenos or Theodoros Metochites. In the case of these lowborn scholars it is interest-

ing to study how they created and maintained their network, how they used their different correspondents and, above all, their patrons, in order to achieve the aims of their petitions. Moreover, what was the content of each of their petition in relation to the patron they address?

Never before was the elite more powerful socially and economically and more conscious of its position than the early Palaiologan period. In this period it was not only the emperor, but the elite too, that were in a position to perform benevolence and *philanthropia*, by distributing their surplus to whom they desired in order both to maintain their circle of friends and supporters and to preserve social peace. This practice should be distinguished from almsgiving, which has a different nature, aim and recipients.

Unlike the rhetoric of poverty, known through the poems of Ptochoprodromos back in the twelfth century, the Palaiologan scholar petitioners do not focus so much on their own misery, but rather resort to deference to their powerful correspondent, in order through the *captatio benevolentiae* to acquire what they ask for. Moreover, these scholar petitioners make use of the concepts of benevolence and *philanthropia*, as a social obligation of the powerful person they address, in order to acquire material aid, either in the form of goods or money or at times even their wage itself, and social or political capital, in the form of the right for public speech or as becoming part of the network of a powerful person.

Manolova, Divna (University of Silesia, Katowice)

The Mirror of the Moon and the Moon in the Mirror: Demetrios Triklinios' on Lunar Theory

Demetrios Triklinios' essay on lunar theory is largely unknown today except for its importance as the source confirming that Triklinios was a native of the city of Thessaloniki. This brief exposition is, however, a remarkable early example of astronomy becoming one of the principal preoccupations of Palaiologan scholars. It is also unique among the Byzantine astronomical works as it is solely dedicated to the examination of the Moon and its surface and thus, a valuable specimen of late Byzantine scientific discourse.

Triklinios relied on the interplay of text and diagram in order to convey both existent and new knowledge concerning lunar theory. In addition, he employed a number of rhetorical tools which facilitated further the processes of memorisation and learning. Based on the analysis of the latter, I argue that the text was intended for instructional purposes. Finally, Triklinios' essay describes several observational experiments involving the use of a large mirror, a scientific method traditionally considered a rare occurrence in Byzantine astronomical texts and practice. The case study of Triklinios' work and its circulation allows us to explore the interplay between science and rhetoric in Byzantine literary culture and thus, to analyse the social implications of astronomical instruction in Palaiologan Byzantium. Simply put, the curious case of a philologist who coincidentally authored a treatise on

lunar theory unique in the context of Byzantine scholarship brings forward the questions as to why the instruction and preoccupation with astronomy was deemed needed and useful during the final centuries of the empire and whether the interest in the knowledge of the heavenly bodies and their movements characteristic for Palaiologan Byzantium was something more than a scholarly vogue.

The present paper introduces Triklinios' work and discusses its instructional value based on the memory and visual aids it provides the reader with in order to impart knowledge about the lunar phases, aspects, and perhaps most importantly, an explanation concerning the nature of the dark figure that appears on the lunar surface. Within the present inquiry, Triklinios' work is discussed in the context of its preservation in its earliest extant copy, namely *Monacensis graecus* 482, produced by Neophytos Prodromenos during the third quarter of the fourteenth century. Finally, the paper concludes with an analysis of the mirror experiments Triklinios described and with observations concerning their feasibility.

Mattiello, Andrea (University of Birmingham)

Male Fashion in Late Byzantine Funerary Portraits: Threading Connections in Mystras

Fashion in the Late Byzantine period has been recognised as a cultural phenomenon shared between members of the elites of the Empire and notable individuals of other courts around the Mediterranean. More recently, Hans Belting and Cecily Hilsdale pointed out that the reinterpretation of similar standards in the design of official and notable costumes, represented a visual *lingua franca* employed by individuals expressing authority, power, influence, and wealth. This paper aims to show that the depiction of costumes of the Late Byzantine elites provides further evidence of the codification of standards belonging to both established and recognizable Byzantine designs, as well as to designs from exogenous contexts.

Archaeological evidence, descriptions in historical accounts, and pictorial depictions all frame our general understanding of the costumes of the Late Byzantine period. Notable examples include the costumes depicted in the funerary monuments in the exonarthex of the Chora katholikon, and those described by Pseudo-Kodinos in his *Treatise*. Echoes of this fashion are also detectable in the costumes of the Byzantine delegation attending in 1439 the Council of Ferrara-Florence, which was documented in Pisanello's drawings depicting members of the retinue of John VIII Palaiologos, as well as described in the *Lives of Illustrious Men in the Fifteenth Century* by Vespasiano da Bisticci.

To identify exogenous elements linked to a broader Mediterranean visual *lingua franca*, it is necessary to focus on the depicted details of these known examples. In particular, it is useful to focus on designs, found in funerary monuments depicting the fashion employed by notable individuals, who were also part of social groups connected to elites from outside the regions controlled by the

Late Byzantine Empire. While portraits of notable individuals on funerary monuments of the Late period are generally relevant to characterize the costume designs of the period, to detect the circulation and the diffusion of a visual *lingua franca*, the depictions found in Mystras are particularly significant, since they show costumes with design elements that provide important information on the network of Mediterranean trading and political connections associated with this centre of cultural production.

In this paper, we take into consideration a selection of depictions of male costumes from the churches of the Hodegetria and the Hagioi Theodoroi in Mystras, and use historical accounts such as Sphrantzes' *Chronicle* and Badoer's *Accounts book*, as well as the *Treatise* by Pseudo-Kodinos, to highlight and analyse the evidence embedded in the rendition of these costumes. We show how these Late Palaiologan costumes can be used to address and better explain the complexity of the cultural and economic exchanges that informed the life of the Imperial court in the Morea, as it related to centres of power both Byzantine as well as across the Mediterranean.

Mitreă, Mihail (University of Newcastle)

Parents in Pain: Literary Expressions of Grief in Philotheos Kokkinos' Vitae of Contemporary Saints

Philotheos Kokkinos (c. 1300–1377/8), a native of Thessalonike, student of (worldly) rhetoric, and Athonite monk with a distinguished ecclesiastical career, gracing twice the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, is the most prolific and arguably most gifted Palaiologan hagiographer. He composed numerous lives of saints, five of which dedicated to contemporary figures (Nikodemos the Younger, Sabas the Younger, Germanos Maroules, Isidore Boucheir, and Gregory Palamas). In these vitae, Kokkinos offers poignant depictions of sorrow and emotional distress in the face of illness and the threat of death, the most touching of which are the ones of parents faced with the suffering and death of their children. This paper investigates literary expressions of grief in Kokkinos' vitae of contemporary saints, especially the miracle accounts, looking at gender variations in the depiction of parents' attitudes towards the threat of (or actually) losing a child. Moreover, it inquires into the functions of such emotionally charged episodes into Kokkinos' hagiographical accounts.

Mitsiou, Ekaterini (University of Vienna)

The Empire of Nicaea Goes Digital: Possibilities and Constraints

The first half of the 13th century has attracted much attention as a transformative period for the Eastern Mediterranean. The capture of Constantinople (1204) modified the dynamics of the entire region through the formation of new states and socioeconomic changes within the former Byzantine territories. Three 'Byzantine' states "in

exile” emerged through the actions of members of the aristocracy, the “Empire of Trebizond”, the “State of Epirus” and the most successful among them, the “Empire of Nicaea” (1204–1261).

In the historical discourse, the Nicaean Empire has been analysed in various ways. The most persistent method was the collection of the information given by written and material evidence and its synthesis in a traditional narrative form. Despite its merits, this methodology does not suffice to fully analyse the historical developments on a social and political level.

Recently, however, the study of the State of Nicaea started to experience the benefits of the “digital turn” in the humanities. The Nicaean past began to be the focus of different interpretative frames based on modern tools and theories such as *Social Network Analysis* (SNA) and *Historical Geographic Information System* (HGIS). Both have been used in various studies on (medieval) social history, historical geography and archaeology in the last years, providing new insights into the actual complexity of medieval societies. Their advantage is that they enable us to capture, measure, visualise and analyse webs of human relations and interactions, also on a spatial level.

Another promising prospect is a plan for the creation of a Lascarid prosopographical database at the Austrian Academy of Sciences. This digital project will fill-in an enormous gap in Byzantine prosopography. At the same time, such a form of data collection creates a more exhaustive basis for the application of the aforementioned tools such as SNA and HGIS.

The present paper aims at presenting the benefits but also the restraints of digital approaches for the period between 1204 and 1261. At the same time, it hopes to open the discussion about further possibilities for the digital future of the study of the Empire of Nicaea.

Morton, James (University of California, Berkeley)

The Fourth Crusade and the Greek Church of Southern Italy: Legal and Cultural Consequences

Byzantinists have traditionally framed the post-1204 Byzantine world in terms of the various successor states that sprang up in the Balkans and Asia Minor, yet the Fourth Crusade also had significant indirect consequences for the Greeks of southern Italy, a matter that few historians have studied in detail. Although the Byzantine Empire had lost control of its remaining Italian territories in the 1050s–1070s, the Italo-Greek communities of Calabria, Sicily, and Apulia retained close religious and cultural ties with Constantinople throughout the twelfth century. However, the destruction of the Byzantine Empire in 1204 and the Roman papacy’s attempts to absorb its church resulted in a radical transformation of the Italo-Greeks’ position, as they were increasingly circumscribed within the administrative system of the Western church.

This paper will examine the effects of the papacy’s post-1204 ecclesiastical reforms, particularly those of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, on the Italo-Greeks’ status as a cultural and religious minority. It will approach

the subject from the perspective of legal anthropology, focusing on a large and hitherto unstudied body of Greek canon-law manuscripts from thirteenth-century southern Italy known broadly as ‘*nomokanones*’. These were part of a diverse genre of Byzantine manuscripts that aimed to collate and explicate the law of the Orthodox church; southern Italian Greeks continued to copy and read such manuscripts until at least the fourteenth century. They also provided the subject matter for several religious treatises by Italo-Greek writers, most notably Nicholas Nektarios of Otranto (c. 1160–1235).

The central argument of this paper is that 1204 fundamentally altered the way in which the Greek church of southern Italy related to its Byzantine legal heritage. Whereas the twelfth-century Italo-Greeks had retained Byzantine canon law as the basis of a formal ecclesiastical legal system, the thirteenth-century Latin church reforms resulting from the Fourth Crusade brought this to an end. Nonetheless, although the *nomokanones* had lost their authority as legal texts, Italo-Greeks came to seize on them as sources of cultural authority. The Greek community drew on the Byzantine canon-law tradition both to justify its distinctive religious rites to the Latin hierarchy and to try to prevent its own members from assimilating into the Latin majority. As a long-term consequence of the Fourth Crusade, Byzantine religious law was transformed into southern Italian cultural memory.

Ostasz, Wiktor (University of Oxford)

The Frontier Dream of Pachymeres: Why Byzantine Anatolia Had to Fall

This paper is a contribution to the question of why Byzantine Asia Minor was lost to the Turks in the reign of Andronikos II Palaiologos. A review of the literature on this subject impresses one with the contingency of this outcome. Although a host of single causes (weakness or despotism of rulers, alienation and neglect of the provinces, particularism of the elites, or Turkish demographic pressure) are proposed to explain the collapse, the authors typically find that sufficient conditions existed for a potential recovery up until the eve of disaster. The final determinant continues to elude us. The unsustainability of monocausal accounts has recently led Anthony Kaldellis to reject all internal explanations – for the analogous crisis of the eleventh century, where we already encounter all of the above symptomatically Byzantine complaints – in favour of an enigmatic and extraneous Turkish factor. Totalisation is a correct move here: unless we treat the Turks as ‘the sum of all fears’ the narrative cannot be closed. However, it veils the key question: what fissure do the Turks exploit in the imperial social structure, where do they enter into it? Only by addressing this problem can we come to appreciate the internal necessity that governed the Byzantine empire’s descent into the abyss.

A common trope of Byzantine social history is the nostalgic reference to a preceding era when the thematic troops composed of free peasant-soldiers (seen as model Roman citizens) were able to prosper and serve the em-

pire without falling into debt and dependence on the powerful. The smallholding *stratiotai* operate as an index of the polity's health and a cornerstone of its defences – yet Byzantium's crises always come hot on the heels of its expansion. It was the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261 which hurled the empire into its death throes in Anatolia. Where the Nikaian levies once were, rewarded with land and liberties on the frontier, bands of Turkic raiders emerged, which then congealed into principalities mapped onto the existing grid of small thematic provinces, as all efforts to reverse the process failed miserably. Were the emperors deliberate in alienating their troops, or the Anatolians implacably seditious? Resolving the contradictory social grievances in Pachymeres leads us to uncover a troubling identity between the frontiersman and the mysterious Turk, but also between the emperor and the Turk – and ultimately to question that the prosperous thematic soldier ever existed except as a spectral promise of success. The Roman dream, captured in the epic of *Digenis Akritis*, ensured social reproduction. It propelled Byzantium to its best efforts, but reduced to abstraction contributed to its downfall. The empire was apathetic by choice: it could only sabotage the success of its native armies and delegate own struggles to barbarians if it was to preserve the wealth and status of its ruling elites and the reigning emperor's hold on the throne. It remains to be seen what was worth rescuing from this lose-lose situation – the universal legacy of its own that Byzantium betrayed through inertia.

Pahlitzsch, Johannes (Johannes Gutenberg University, Mainz)

The Byzantine Perception of the Latin Empire of Constantinople

In my paper the reaction of the Byzantines, in particular in the Empire of Nicaea, to the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople in 1204 as a result of the Fourth Crusade will be explored. More concretely, it will analyze how the Byzantines dealt with the consequential changes which arose from the incursion of the Latins and the expulsions that at least in part resulted. How did they view the newly-founded Latin empire, and what strategies did they develop in order to survive this phase of existential danger for Byzantium, not only as a political idea but also with regard to Byzantine identity? For this purpose Nicaean ideology and propaganda that developed in this context and which was expressed in quite different textual genres, such as orations, letters and historiography, will be explored.

Pérez Martín, Inmaculada (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid)

Geography and Cosmology in the Thirteenth Century: Preliminary Remarks

Traditionally, Byzantine cosmology or, more precisely, what Byzantines understood their physical environment

was, is reduced to the notions Kosmas Indikopleustes introduced in his *Christian Topography* (6th century), where the Earth has the shape of a tabernacle or is a flat mass, floating on the Ocean. But Kosmas is just the spokesman of an Antiochian cosmology that in Byzantium was little appreciated and had a poor dissemination; the mainstream was obviously the Alexandrian tradition that developed the scientific evidence of a terrestrial sphere. Nevertheless, even inside the framework of the astronomical approach to geography, many different and even contradictory worldviews, noticeable in Byzantine manuscripts and texts, still need deep examination.

We are going to focus on some testimonies from the thirteenth century, a period that as in many other aspects, is also a break point in the approach to the human environment. This statement is based on the following points:

- some ancient authors such as Cleomedes or Aratos are recovered or spread by Nikephoros Blemmydes, Maximos Planudes, and other scholars;
- in the Aristotelian tradition, Nikephoros Blemmydes wrote three chapters of his *Epitome physica* (§ 28–30) dealing with the foundations of astronomical geography: the measurement of the earth and the belts or climates, the antipodes, the length of day and night, the seasons, and the habitability of the earth. Theodoros Laskaris' *Kosmike Delosis* (*Explanation of the World*) gathers four treatises on the elements, the celestial sphere, the representation of the world, and the boundaries of knowledge.
- maps regain a central place in scientific learning, not only through Planudes' drawing of Ptolemaic maps, but also through the combination of geographical texts and partial representations of the oikoumene; Maximos Holobolos in his encomium to Michael VIII (*or.* 1) explicitly mentions the use of maps and armillary spheres.
- Maximos Planudes translated Macrobios' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* into Greek and doing so he recovered some ancient theories on the oikoumene such as Krates' double ocean dividing the oikoumene in four parts. But in his version Planudes avoided what Byzantines considered a wrong perception of the inhabited world and changed the representation of Krates' Θ-shaped earth (which eventually will become the archetype of medieval map-paemundi) by another sphere incorporating the width of each zone in stadia.

Riehle, Alexander (Harvard University)

At the Interface between the Written and the Oral: Late Byzantine Rhetoric in Context(s)

As much of pre-modern literature, Byzantine rhetoric was inherently oral. Orations and other rhetoricized texts were composed to be performed publicly rather than read in private. Some speeches may have never been fully written down or even completely improvised (i.e., orally composed). This situation engenders several problems for the reader of Byzantine rhetoric today. First of all, contextual

elements that were an essential part of a rhetorical performance and contributed to the unfolding of meaning of the performed text – voice, gestures and facial expressions, dress, architecture and its acoustic properties, décor and light, music, etc. –, are usually irretrievably lost and hamper any complete understanding of the surviving texts. Which brings us to the next issue: as oral *transmission* is not viable in this genre, in order to be available to later generations, these orally performed text have to rely on their being committed to writing, copied and preserved. These processes are not only extremely fragile, but ultimately transform the original texts radically by providing them with a new context (the manuscript) and audience (the readers). What is more, there is evidence that authors (or their students, community, etc.) regularly edited the texts in order to adapt them to their new function in the world of books.

The Palaiologan period is particularly rich in evidence for these dynamics. We have a number of manuscripts that constitute more or less official editions of the rhetorical œuvres of their authors, in the form of autographs (e.g., Theodore Hyrtakenos (?), Manuel Gabalas, John Chortasmnos, Michael Apostoles) or of copies commissioned by and produced under the supervision of the authors (e.g., Nikephoros Choumnos, Theodore Metochites, John Kantakouzenos). In some of these cases, there are visible traces of fundamental textual revision, in others it is not clear whether the transmitted ‘speeches’ were conceived for public performance in the first place.

This paper addresses the outlined tension between orality and written-ness in Byzantine rhetoric with a case study on Nikephoros Choumnos’ *logoi* and the manuscripts in which these survive. Particular attention will be paid to the texts pertaining to Choumnos’ famous controversy with Theodore Metochites. The discussion will reveal a complex interplay between various forms of rhetorical composition and performance, which is at once elucidated and distorted by the manuscript tradition.

Rodriguez Suarez, Alex

Painted Soundscape: The Case of St Demetrios at Makrychori, Euboia

The conquest of the Byzantine capital by the forces of the Fourth Crusade and the establishment of the Latin Empire of Constantinople are usually considered the events that led to the introduction of bell ringing in Byzantium. While the use of large bells for religious purposes is actually reported in Byzantine sources before 1204, the practice only became widespread during the Late Byzantine period. The Crusaders are thought to have built a bell tower over the western entrance of the Hagia Sophia of Constantinople, a structure that may have promoted the expansion of bell ringing throughout the capital after 1261. Bell towers were also built in churches and monasteries in Mystras and other locations. Nonetheless, our knowledge about bell ringing in Byzantium is rather limited. Written sources do not provide many details while only a few bells survived the Ottoman conquest. One question that arises is if the use of bells was ever reflected

in the art of this period. In fact, a small number of artistic representations showing bells do exist. Thus, the aim of this paper is to look at one such representation that survives in the frescoes decorating the church of St Demetrios at Makrychori, Euboia (early fourteenth century).

Rossi, Alessia (Princeton University)

‘Do You Want to Get Well?’ The Politics of Miracles and the Church of Saint Catherine in Thessalonike in the Early Palaiologan Period

Christ’s miracles are rarely found in monumental art before the early Palaiologan period. Yet, by the end of the thirteenth century this cycle became suddenly extremely popular in the Byzantine Empire. In Thessaloniki alone, we find complete or fragmentary instances of this iconography in the *parekklesion* of Saint Euthymios and in the churches of Saint Catherine, Saint Nicholas Orphanos, the Holy Apostles and Saint Elia. What role did these images play and what meaning did they convey in the aftermath of the Union of the Churches? Is it possible to suggest a link between this iconography and the historical and socio-political circumstances of the Byzantine Empire in the early Palaiologan period?

This paper will tackle these questions by examining ‘one of the most unknown churches in Thessaloniki’, that of Saint Catherine. The historical sources regarding this building are scanty and its conversion into a mosque in 1510–1511 deteriorated also the monumental evidence. There is no certainty regarding when it was built or by whom; not even the original dedication has come down to us. For these reasons, Saint Catherine has been overlooked in scholarship for a long time and this contribution aims to ultimately prove its significance as a key monument for the understanding of the early Palaiologan period.

The restoration campaign that took place in the mid-twentieth century brought to life fragments of the original painted decoration of Saint Catherine. The best-preserved episodes are those depicting the miracles performed by Christ. This cycle comprises at least ten episodes, some to be identified here for the first time. The examination of the iconography of these scenes and their placement within the space of the church will raise issues such as why were these narratives chosen? What can they tell us about the nature of this church and its patronage? Central to the discussion will be the two most striking aspects of the decoration: the prominence given to these scenes, in terms of their setting, in the intermediate register of the naos at the viewer’s perfect line of sight; and, the key role played by water and the correlation between the physical and spiritual infirmity in the iconographic representation of these miracles.

By combining the in-depth examination of the miracle cycle in the church of Saint Catherine with the analysis of historical sources and the socio-political context of the time, this paper has two aims: first, to put this church on the map, tackling issues of dating, function and patron-

age; second, and on a larger scale, to suggest an innovative interpretation of the politics of the miraculous in monumental art in the early Palaiologan period.

Sağlam, H. Sercan (Politecnico di Milano)

'Disorder' in Genoese Galata: Explorations of the Early Palaiologan Townscape

The main aim of the paper is to focus on 14th century spatial changes in Galata, which was given to the Genoese as a concession by the Byzantines. After a couple of imperial edicts and notwithstanding them, mostly self-ordained attitude of its Genoese settlers, Galata had significant urban and architectural developments during a period which was relatively stagnant for the historical peninsula in this case. With the help of regulation texts, contemporary accounts, Genoese documents, slabs and finally on the spot investigations, it is actually possible to chronologically and visually demonstrate those changes in the urban fabric; a research which lacked in this extent despite the popularity of the former capital's 13th region.

Galata was subjected to several mapping attempts but some particular urban and architectural objectives have continued to remain rather vague, which can be listed as precise borders of the first concession zone in May 1303, updates in March 1304, main construction phases of tower houses in relation with fortifications, and exact positions of churches, including their -most probably undesired- ownership changes. It should also be mentioned that some post-Genoese period Ottoman and Italian documents continue to provide valuable information. In fact, those issues were partially clarified and compiled but existing primary sources are still yet to be considered together, above all with the addition of the city itself.

Although the Genoese have settled to Galata in 1267, the edict of May 1303 can be counted as the first proper spatial regulation due to giving precise borders of the granted neighborhood for the first time. Then, they were slightly changed in March 1304 and included "three unnamed churches". Both edicts emphasized some certain rules for civil and military constructions as well, which were either subtly bypassed or simply violated by the Genoese with respect to different circumstances in the 14th century. Further documents until 1390–1391 indicate that major constructions have continued through the 15th century, which was comparatively less significant in terms of territorial expansion and landmark buildings. Slabs also provide direct proofs for constructions that one of them was apparently overlooked, which does not only include a noteworthy heraldic detail for the architectural history of Galata Walls but also a final justification attempt by the Genoese for their actions. At the present time, Galata still provides some unique hints with its urban pattern and remained monuments. Hence, it is necessary to superpose all the written evidence and the city with reasonable adjustments in order to realize the aforementioned developments.

No city was established by chance but certain disorders within can also be as effective as orders, where in some circumstances the latter was replaced by the former

and eventually becomes the new order. Therefore, an up-to-dated and more detailed urban-architectural research with a cause effect relationship might better explain the case of Galata and its spatial transformation during the 14th century.

Schönauer, Sonja (University of Cologne)

Genuine, Concise, Extended and Literary Version: A New Approach to the Compilation Process of the So-Called Chronicon Maius

The so-called *Chronicon maius* was originally held to be the stylistically and literarily reworked as well as chronologically extended version of the *Chronicon minus*, diary of Georgios Sphrantzes, a top-ranking Byzantine diplomat and eye-witness of the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453. However, since the 1930s, it had been exposed as a post-Byzantine account of the Palaiologan period and the first twenty-five years of Turcocracy, compiled after the naval battle of Lepanto (1571) from different sources by a couple of Greek manuscript traders and copyists under the supervision of Makarios Melissenos, exiled metropolitan bishop of Monemvasia as well as a notorious forger of documents who had found refuge at the Spanish court of Naples. The intention of its circulation in 16th-century Europe was probably to raise a warning voice against the danger still emanating from the Ottomans, as well as to move the catholic rulers towards a new crusade, this time in order to free Constantinople and the Greek Christianity from their Islamic oppressors.

Starting from the question how the process of the compilation was performed, who was responsible for which parts, what was the personal background and individual motivation of the copyists involved and why there were produced so distinctly diverging text versions already during the first ten years, I closely examined the nine manuscripts of the late sixteenth century that are known to us (seven complete, one fragmentary and one lost but described in an old catalogue). This led to a first perception that the stemma, established by I. B. Papadopoulos in his critical edition of 1935 and, since then, never seriously doubted, cannot be maintained. By erecting a new stemma, it was possible to assign certain duties or functions to the respective scribes. Four of them are known by their names: Ioannes Hagiomauras, Manuel Glynzunios, Andreas Darmarios and Polychronios Pulischaras. It emerged which one was the eldest version of the compilation and that two branches sprout from this 'genuine' version, one of them resulting in a rather accidentally generated 'concise' version, the other one in several stages of a permanently growing 'elaborate' version, all copies of which were written by one and the same scribe who appears to be the closest henchman of Makarios Melissenos.

The most interesting version however is the youngest, written by a yet anonymous scribe. Riccardo Maisano, Naples, held it to be the last redaction of the text that was accomplished during the lifetime of Melissenos or shortly thereafter. This is the version I would call the 'literary' one, because here the complete text has been

corrected, condensed and rearranged with regard to content; even the divisions of the books are partly shifted. In my paper, should it be accepted, I am going to outline the development of the respective versions as well as to highlight their characteristics and to connect them to the personal interests of their scribes.

Schrama, Grant (Queen's University, Kingston)

Postcolonial Byzantium? The Creation and Identity of Constantinopolitan Diasporas in the Post-1204 Byzantine World

In the wake of the sack of Constantinople in April 1204, significant demographic changes occurred throughout the Byzantine world. Large numbers of secular and religious elites in the capital fled (primarily) to the Greek successor states of Nicaea and Epiros immediately after the city was sacked by Frankish knights, often bringing their families and certain possessions with them. As the crusading knights conquered other parts of the Byzantine world, including mainland Greece, the Peloponnese and the islands of the Aegean, indigenous Byzantines left their homes for the capitals of Theodore Laskaris and Michael Angelos Doukas. The result of these exiles was not only the establishment of Constantinopolitan diasporas in Nicaea, Epiros and (to a lesser extent) Trebizond, but also the construction of a new identity for these Byzantines. The focus of my study is on this diasporan identity: what it was, how it was constructed and how it was displayed in official ideology and in other written secular and ecclesiastic writings.

Despite the multicultural nature of Constantinople, and the larger Byzantine Empire for that matter, discussion by Byzantine scholars of diasporas remains very scarce. To this date, only Angeliki Laiou's and Helene Ahrweiler's *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire* (1998) and Georg Christ et al's *Union in Separation: Diasporic Groups and Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean 1100–1800* (2015) have devoted significant attention to diasporas in the Byzantine world. The former was an excellent introduction to the subject, but was brief in its scope and in any discussion of diaspora theory. The latter, although comprehensive in its geographic and temporal framework, focuses primarily on trading and commercial diasporas within the Eastern Mediterranean at large. Work on diasporic communities in the Byzantine Empire thus remains in its infancy.

My paper focuses on one specific type of diasporic community then: that of Constantinopolitan refugees fleeing the imperial capital after it was conquered by Frankish knights in 1204. Through engaging with current diaspora theory, I discuss why the successor states of Trebizond, Nicaea and Epiros constitute diasporas and the distinct identities each one adopted during their existence from 1204 onwards. Members in these regions remained connected to Constantinople, viewing it as their true homeland and dedicating their political and ideological efforts to reconquering the city and physically returning to it. Furthermore, identity in these diasporic communi-

ties was centered on traditional markers of Byzantine society: Orthodoxy, Greek language and adherence to the emperor in Constantinople. Differences between Byzantines and Latins were emphasized, while Hellenism was espoused in a more fervent fashion than before. Yet, these diasporas were not homogenous and certain characteristics were unique for each one. My paper thus brings to light a novel interpretation of the political and ideological impacts of the conquest of Constantinople of 1204 as well as a new approach to discussing communal identity, formation and maintenance during the Middle Ages.

Shliakhtin, Roman (Koç University, Istanbul)

Who Built This Fortress? Harmantepe Kalesi and Late Byzantine Fortifications in the Lower Sakarya Valley

The Byzantine–Seljuk borderland in the Sakarya valley remains uncharted territory for Byzantine Studies. During their surveys, Clive Foss and Klaus Belke described several late Byzantine fortifications in the region. These fortifications constituted part of the Byzantine border on the Sangarius as described by Pachymeres and other late Byzantine historians.

The proposed communication discusses the best preserved Byzantine fortification in the lower Sangarius valley – the fortress known under the provisional name of Harmantepe Kalesi. This massive structure with well-preserved towers and parapeted walls dominates the space between rivers Çark Su and Sakarya. Present in the landscape, Harmantepe is notably absent in the literary discourse of the era.

The aim of the paper is to investigate the position of Harmantepe Kalesi in the landscape of Sakarya valley. The viewshed analysis allows one to conclude that the aim of the fortress was not to control the river crossings but plains that lie between present-day Adapazari and the sea. This allows one to hypothesize that the fortress of Harmantepe was built not against the Turks, but against another enemy, possibly the Empire of Trebizond that contested with the Empire of Nicaea for the control of the valley in the early thirteenth century. The scale of construction at Harmantepe indirectly confirms this point. Unfortunately, the absence of a proper archeological survey on the ground makes this conclusion hypothetical.

Stathakopoulos, Dionysios (King's College London)

Alexios Apokaukos: In Defence of a Parvenu

Reviled and demonized by his opponents – his rival John VI Kantakouzenos even has his own supporters call him 'a son of the devil' – Alexios Apokaukos (late 13th century–1345) is probably one of the most despised figures of late Byzantine history. But that is only if we believe the two key historical accounts of the period written by Kantakouzenos and Nikephoros Gregoras. In my paper I will review every piece of extant evidence, including the buildings and objects associated with him and his legacy, in order to present an alternative view of his meteoric rise

and spectacular fall in the light of the major socio-economic changes in the period. To me, Apokaukos is a 'new man' with a new vision of what Byzantium could realistically aspire to be when it was clear it could no longer realistically be considered an Empire. Apokaukos paved the way for and foreshadowed the rise of aristocratic entrepreneurs in the last century of Byzantium. The irony should not be lost that once the traditionalist Kantakouzenos prevailed on the civil war against his archenemy Apokaukos, he came to adopt several measures that the latter had introduced. In a way, Apokaukos won after all.

Toma, Paraskevi (Westfälische Wilhelms University, Münster)

Bilingual Writing: The Three Syntagmata of Nikolaos of Otranto

Born in the middle of the twelfth century in Apulia (Italy), Nikolaos of Otranto received a notable education in a Greek spoken environment. Thanks to his proficiency in both Latin and Greek, he participated as an interpreter in several diplomatic discussions between Rome and Constantinople concerning the ecclesiastical union. The three *Syntagmata* (c. 1222–1225) are the result of this experience. The text summarizes the theological dialogue between the two Churches after the schism (1054) with a focus on the Orthodox argumentation. Nikolaos composed the treatise two-columned in two languages, Greek and Latin. According to R. Jakobson (1953), 'bilingualism [...] is the fundamental problem of linguistics'. It may induce some difficulties in textual criticism, too. The case of bilingual authors that write monolingual texts is customary. What happens, though, when they write bilingually? In which language did Nikolaos first pen the three *Syntagmata*? Did he compose in both languages simultaneously, or sequentially? Textual signs of the two surviving autographs could answer these questions.

Toth, Ida (University of Oxford)

A Trope in Space: Antiquity and Identity in Byzantine, Italian and Ottoman Cultures

Antiquity remained a backdrop against which medieval and early modern societies constructed their pasts and deliberated on their presents. Late Byzantine authors frequently described their cities as ancient and beautiful. They introduced to Italian Humanists the taste and the rhetorical vocabulary for viewing and describing ancient monuments. As well as cultivating the aesthetic appreciation of ancient architecture and decoration of buildings, this influence set the vogue for fostering the Hellenic and Roman past in the process of renegotiating one's own identity – a development that can be as clearly identified in the West as in early Ottoman culture, whose own appropriation of classical antiquities could be viewed as an attempt to claim the succession and the legacy of the Roman/Byzantine Empire. This paper explores commonalities in the (perhaps, competing) narratives of antiquity

across Byzantine, Italian and Ottoman cultures in the fifteenth century.

Tudorie, Ionuț Alexandru (University of Bucharest)

The Afterlife of an Excommunicated Apostate: In Search of the Uncorrupted Body of Michael VIII Palaiologos (1258–1282)

Michael VIII's short journey from legendary character to repugnantly impious figure involved his conflict with patriarch Arsenios Autoreianos (1254–1260, 1261–1265) and subsequent excommunication, and his political decision favoring the Union with the Latin Church (Lyons, 1274). The sources tackling the issue indicate that in his case the natural process of bodily decay after death was suspended because of either spiritual penance of excommunication or apostasy, or an unclear mixture of both. In the *Oratio in Sanctum Agathonicum* of Philotheos of Selymbria, probably written in 1381, a century after Michael's death, it is mentioned that '[h]is body is to be seen all swollen' (PG 154: 1237D). This morbid image was elaborated on in 1442, in the broader context of the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1439), in a polemical treatise by Theodoros Agallianos: 'his swollen and incorrupt body [...] was derision and laughter of children themselves, who rolled it on the ground like a drum, until someone, filled with pity, buried and hid it in the dark and gloom' (Blanchet 2013, 67⁵³⁸, 85^{812–815}). If the visible effects of excommunication include incorruptness but not swollenness of the body, the latter is indeed a mark of the apostates.

The Byzantine sources surveyed include Georgios Pachymeres, Nikephoros Gregoras, Georgios Metochites, Philotheos of Selymbria, Manuel Kalekas, Theodoros Agallianos, and two anonymous texts, all being compared with the Genoese Jacobus Auria and the Serbian archbishop Daniil II.

Varsallona, Jessica (University of Birmingham)

St Demetrios of the Palaiologoi: The Building and the Saint

This paper clarifies the role of the Monastery of Saint Demetrios of the Palaiologoi in Constantinople, and connects it to the politics and ideology of Michael VIII and his son Andronikos II.

Its first *typikon*, written in 1282, by the founder Michael VIII, underlines its independence and the role of Saint Demetrios, famous for his association with Thessalonike, as protector of the Palaiologan emperors in Constantinople. The first aim of this paper is to demonstrate how the new popularity of the saint was echoed in contemporary literary and material culture sources. Michael probably conceived of this church as his own burial place but, as a unionist, he was buried outside Constantinople. Instead, as Stephen of Novgorod says (1349), the body of John IV Laskaris (blinded by Michael in order to ascend to the throne) was venerated in Saint Demetrios. The presence of John IV in the church has been seen as an

attempt by Andronikos II at reconciliation of the Palaiologoi with the defenders of the previous imperial family, the Patriarch Arsenios and his followers.

What happened to the monastery after the death of Michael? Did the monastery develop into a family burial site as Michael had planned for it? What does the second *typicon* of the monastery, written by Andronikos, tell us? And what was the attitude towards this building of Theodora, wife of Michael and founder of the Lips monastery? The paper aims to explore these questions and shed a new light on the ideological importance of Saint Demetrios to the Palaiologoi of Constantinople.

White, Monica (University of Nottingham)

Late Byzantine Views of Rus Beyond the Church

The late Byzantine empire maintained close ties with the East Slavonic principalities of Rus, but these have been studied almost exclusively in the context of the crises surrounding the appointments of rival metropolitans for the East Slavonic lands in the mid- to late fourteenth century. Other types of sources show, however, that Rus was a subject of serious scholarly interest for several generations of late Byzantine intellectuals. The contemporary politics, geography and natural history of Rus, as well as its earlier conversion to Christianity under Byzantine auspices, are discussed in works of various genres written throughout the post-restoration period. This paper will investigate the diverse subject matter found in late Byzantine writings about Rus and its importance for understanding the empire's relations with its northern neighbour at this time. Although the accuracy of these writings is often limited, they reveal that the hostility which arose from the machinations in the church hierarchy was not the full story of Byzantine-Rus relations. Indeed, in the empire's weakened state post-1261, some members of the Byzantine elite viewed Rus as a powerful and reliable (if unsophisticated) supporter whose geopolitical success was thanks largely to Byzantium's civilising influence.

Zhu Ziyao (Nankai University, Tianjin, and University of Ioannina)

A Failed Attempt at Restoration: The Office of Megas Domestikos in Late Byzantium

During the Komnenian dynasty, the *megas domestikos* served as a high-ranking military official who can be regarded as part of the Komnenian system. However, the turmoil of the final days of the Komnenian dynasty interrupted the smooth continuation of this office. After the founding of the Nicaean regime, emperors tried to revive the political and military organisation of the Komnenian dynasty as much as possible. However, there were still some changes to the office of *megas domestikos* which can be summarised in the following four aspects: The remit of the *megas domestikos* gradually altered from a post with real power to a nominal title, while the selection criteria for this official became less strict. The main function

of the *megas domestikos* changed from a military commander to a witness of diplomatic affairs. Accordingly, its status was more flexible, with restrictions of obtaining a higher-ranking title abolished. The transformations of *megas domestikos* after 1204 represented a failed attempt at restoring the Komnenian system, indicating the value of exploring the reasons for those changes. On one hand, considering the harsh situation both at home and abroad after 1204, the military power of emperors and of *megas domestikos* overlapped at times, which resulted in the failure of the military function and instability of the office of *megas domestikos*. On the other hand, there were several inner drawbacks of the Komnenian system that affected the *megas domestikos*, including the tendency of forming aristocratic cliques and the problem of trust between the emperor and this official.

Živković, Miloš (Serbian Academy of Arts and Sciences, Belgrade, and University of Belgrade)

Constantinople or Thessalonike? The Frescoes of Studenica Monastery (1209) and New Artistic Trends after the Fourth Crusade

The frescoes in the Church of the Mother of God in Studenica were painted in 1209, under the supervision of Serbian monk Sava, who was archimandrite of the monastery at the time. The significance of this fresco-ensemble for the history of Byzantine stylistic trends of the 13th century has been noticed long ago. In fact, there is a general consensus among the researchers of Late Byzantine art that the wall paintings in question represent one of the most successful achievements of a new stylistic expression, so-called 'monumental style of the 13th century'. It is believed that frescoes of Studenica are done by a workshop of Greek painter who came to Serbia from one of the leading centers of Byzantine art. The ethnic origin of the main master can be reliably demonstrated, as his signature in Greek is preserved (unfortunately, very damaged), but the exact place from which he came can only be assumed.

Judging by extraordinary stylistic qualities of the Studenica frescoes, scholars have mostly suggested that the origin of their painters is to be located in Constantinople. When it comes to their place in a broader comparative perspective, they were compared to several icons from Sinai and Paphos, or to some other monuments of 'monumental style' (Kintsvisi). In our communication, we will present some interesting features of the programme and iconography of Studenica frescoes, which were not noticed in previous discussions about the origin of painters, and on the basis of which their Thessalonian origin could be thought of. At the same time, we will draw attention to several works of art, whose significance for studying the style of the Studenica frescoes has not been observed or highlighted before. This primarily relates to some very interesting illustrated manuscripts.