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A Time for Dissidence. The Politics of John Damascene's Anti-Iconoclastic Theology: Contextual and Comparative Perspectives

The politics of the Byzantine 'icon controversy' have been studied and analysed extensively at the levels of imperial religious policy, State - Church power relations, social control and the ideological construction of collective identity (Ostrogorsky 1964; Irmscher 1980; Brubaker 2012; Brubaker and Haldon 2011; Karahan 2014; Eshel 2018). However, the particular political theologies that explicitly or implicitly informed or even sustained this controversy remain as yet understudied and barely analysed. The present paper intends to explore such a political theology in the case of the pioneering anti-iconoclastic thought of John Damascene by bringing to the fore its contextual conditions of possibility, and at the same time utilising it as a point of reference to make some comparative remarks regarding late antique and early medieval Christian political theory. The focus of my approach is not on the Damascene's theological argumentation per se or even on the latter's implications for socio-political praxis, but on the political performativity of his iconology.

John Damascene's explicit objection to the icon policy of Leo III – an objection ranging from criticism to censure to anathema – would suffice to present an outline of the politics inherent in his *Three Orations against Those Who Defame the Holy Icons*. But one wonders if this opposition was the only reason he was vilified by the Council of Hieria (754) as 'Saracen-minded' and *manzer*, i.e., bastard. It is reasonable to assume that to imperial Byzantine eyes there was a substance of truth in this vilification: the Damascene's work was seen as reflecting not only dissidence of religious consciousness, but also dissidence of political consciousness; for them he belonged to a different world, so to speak. In writing against the emperor, John Damascene was distancing himself from a virtual context in light of his actual context or, to put it otherwise, due to circumstances operative in the Caliphate he was able to disentangle himself from traditional patterns of religiously sanctioned political behaviour. But could he also have been engaging in an implicit criticism of Umayyad religious policy?

The early imperial icon policy became for John Damascene truly a time for dissidence; firstly, because he felt he had to safeguard faithfulness to religious tradition against theocratic politics and, secondly, because he lived in a life-world that allowed him to re-envision the integrity of the call of faith within history. In writing his *Three Orations* John Damascene opened up a new chapter in the political consciousness of Christianity. This can be fully appreciated once he is juxtaposed to the trajectory of ideas from Eusebius (4th century) through the *Sixth Novel* of Justinian I (6th century) to the *Epanagogē* of Basil I (9th century). Over against all these instances of *synallēlia* theory regarding State – Church interdependence, John Damascene articulated the conditions for the political emancipation of Christianity; the conditions for reviving the eschatological utopianism of its origins...

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The Dissidence of Learning: Justinian and an *Anonymous Treatise on Political Science*

Written by a Neoplatonic philosopher and government official at the Byzantine court, the anonymous *On Political Science* is a sixth century text that reworks the Platonic idea of the philosopher king in the Christian context. The treatise was potentially influential because it aired an apparently popular notion at the time and thus, Donato (2013: 24) urges readers to study it in conjunction with Boethius' *Consolation*. The work, from which only one and a half books survive of an original six, was composed sometime between 529 and 535. Although it does not target directly Justinian's imperial policies, it certainly offers suggestions that "would ameliorate the impact of those politics for the most discontented social groups" (Bjornlie 2012: 100). Given that Justinian was known for his autocratic methods which according to Procopius had led to "the earth [being] constantly drenched with human blood" (*Secret History*, 18.30) and his aversion to Hellenic learning (e.g. Rapp 2005; Bell 2013: 246-52; Zonaras, 14.6.31-2), the work is a response to the imperial ways (Bell 2009; cf. Fotiou 1981: 547) and perhaps even an admission that Justinian's famous edict did bring about the closure of the School of Athens, a matter still debated in scholarship (Cameron 1969; Hällström 1984; Blumenthal 1978; Watts 2004 and 2006). Moreover, the emphasis of the text on the important role that the elite classes, distinguished by their possession of *paideia*, should play in the leadership of the state, to the point that the emperor should be explicitly chosen from among them, certainly invites us to read it in light of Justinian's tumultuous relationship with the senatorial class whose influence he sought to minimize. The paper aims to examine *On Political Science* and its relationship to Plato's *Republic* as much as Cicero's *De Re Publica* by focusing on the author's attempt to provide a Christian philosophical response to the use of violence, especially internal violence.

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The Concept of Crucifixion of the Christ. A case study of El-Bagawat Necropolis

The Bagawat Necropolis in Kharga Oasis is considered to be one of the most important examples for the study of the early Christian art in Egypt. Indeed Kharga Oasis and its neighbor Dakhla to the north-west were known as places of exile from Pharaonic times until late antiquity when they became a distant place for the banished Christians especially during the Christological controversies of the fourth and fifth centuries. About two hundred and sixty-three mud-brick chapels were built at the necropolis of El-Bagawat from the fourth to the seventh centuries, on which many identifiably Christian; twenty two chapels with painted decoration, the others contain just painted crosses or the like.

The aim of this paper is to seek the concept of Crucifixion of the Christ within the funeral art at the necropolis of El-Bagawat for although there existed many figurative scenes that were stemmed mainly from the Old and New Testaments the Crucifixion theme was not depicted on the mural art of the main chapels at El-Bagawat or even considered as a principal theme on the Christian funeral art there. Consequently investigating the concept of the Christ's Crucifixion through the art of El-Bagawat necropolis could shed more light on the specific Christian faith of its society as well could reveal the main reason for their banishment by the imperial authority at that time.

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The 'Philosophy of Martyrdom' in Eusebius' *Praeparatio Evangelica*

Having been born after the persecutions of Decius and Valerian, much of the early life of Eusebius of Caesarea (ca.260-339) was spent at a time when the Church enjoyed relative peace in the Roman world – a period of concord that came to a sudden end in early 303 with the start of the so-called 'Great Persecution'. Whatever his views on martyrdom may have been prior to 303, it is unsurprising that, after living through persecution himself and witnessing various atrocities, the martyr's experience would become a very relevant subject for him. This perspective finds its expression mainly in the long recension of the *De martyribus Palaestinae (MP)* (ca. 315/16), but also in the *Historia Ecclesiastica (HE)* (313/141; 315/162; 325/263), which includes the short recension of the MP in two versions. Scholarly interest in the history of Christian persecution and the evolution of martyrdom as a social phenomenon has resulted in focus being on these texts and Eusebius' visceral descriptions. As a result, observations on Eusebius' own ideology of martyrdom tend to be limited to his idealistic veneration of martyrs and emphasis on voluntary martyrdom.

The present paper examines the ideology that Eusebius expounds in the *Praeparatio Evangelica*, the composition of which overlaps chronologically with the editions of the *HE* and the *MP*. By his own statement, the intended audience of the *Praeparatio* is educated new converts from Hellenism and sympathetic 'pagans' curious to know more about what Christianity is. It is quite appropriate, then, that Eusebius would attempt an explanation as to why Christians choose to die for their faith.

In keeping with his method in the text, Eusebius does not make his views known through his own words, but those of other, primarily non-Christian, authors. On the issue of martyrdom proper, he uses select quotations from Plato's *Republic*, and the Socratic dialogues the *Crito* and *Apology*, to explicate the necessity of Christian martyrdom, as well as its virtues, in terms comprehensible to the Hellenistic mind. In so doing, not only does he align the Christian martyr with the most recognised and well-respected example of 'martyrdom' in the Greek world, namely Socrates, but he also constructs

something of a 'philosophy of martyrdom' that conveys the motivations of the martyr through dialectic. Where this idealised portrayal in the *Praeparatio* differs is in the consideration of the alternate scenario of those who choose to apostatise when faced with martyrdom; a topic which Eusebius expressly declines to explore in the *HE*, opting instead to concentrate on those who serve as admirable models of piety. At a glance, in addition to communicating the rationale for martyrdom, Eusebius' discussion in the *Praeparatio* amounts to a condemnation – not attributable to him directly – of those Christian leaders who, confronted with the realities of persecution, decided to renounce their faith rather than die for it.

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Dissidence and heresy seen as threats to the State in Psellos' *Chronographia* and Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*

This paper will briefly examine ways in which the *Chronographia* and the *Alexiad* see religious dissidence as threats to State power. Their ideas of what constitutes such dissidence differ greatly, despite Komnene's literary apprenticeship to Psellos: their times and their agendas are not the same, but the differences also testify to the expanding literary freedoms in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Byzantine culture.

The *Chronographia* is not concerned with heresy as such but with the nexus between religion and state power, and the ways in which these are confused and abused. Psellos examines many twists of self-interest, ignorance and wilful delusion expressed in forms of piety, astrology, and magic, but he tends to see these diagnostically, as psychological weaknesses in the imperial leadership. He is savage, however, towards proponents of the ascetic, other-worldly version of religion associated in his time with the patriarch Keroullarios. Behind that savagery lie centuries of tension and argument and a particular struggle with Keroullarios over his narrow version of religion and hunger for political power. The struggle appears clearly in other texts but elliptically in the *Chronographia*: for instance, the patriarch is kept apart from Psellos' wild attack on Theodora's advisers, yet they are understood to be the patriarch's men, and Keroullarios is cleverly aligned with sedition before Isaak's rebellion takes hold. Religious dissidence, in the *Chronographia*, turns on the rivalry between philosophically trained advisers and ambitious churchmen who profess to be above the world; religion, in their hands, threatens the State.

Psellos is more open-minded but Komnene's sense of empire is wider: she writes in different ways of trials for various heresies over a longer period and in many contexts. Even so, to her, all dissidence threatens the State. She sees her father's empire as integrated philosophically as well as structurally, so that Italos, who succeeded Psellos as State Philosopher until he was convicted of heresy, is seen as guilty on all fronts. He is a foreigner of treasonable leanings, cannot pronounce Greek correctly, and lacks self-control; he is a flawed dialectician; and his arguments tend equally towards such heresies as metempsychosis and towards rebellion. He is in himself a threat to philosophic and religious truth, to culture, and to State security.

The Paulicians or Manichaeans, on the other hand, are a military time-bomb, known heretics who are quietly living on their territories when Alexios decides to break their numbers up. He exiles their leaders while enrolling others in his own armies: it is part of a military expansion in the West as well as a pre-emptive strike. The Bogomils, by contrast, represent an active threat: their heresy is endemic even in the City and their simulation of early Christianity undermines all institutions by denying imperial authority. This heresy is dealt with in a big apocalyptic public burning presided over by the emperor and may show western influences, at least in the way it is framed.

The *Alexiad* is compendious, clear and consistent: it condemns heresy in many forms. The *Chronographia* avoids the term and records a struggle to stabilize the empire through flexible, informed advisers; the *Alexiad* places the seat of judgment under the emperor. The writers' empires differ, but so does the spirit and reach of their thinking and it is some tribute to the freedoms of their culture that they practise self-censorship so little.

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Dissidence, the Council of 1166, and the decree of Manuel I Komnenos

What provoked a decision that a difference of theological opinion needed to be resolved formally? By what process and criteria was an opinion judged to be orthodox or heretical? How was this decision promulgated? How was conformity enforced? How were dissidents identified? How was their dissidence confirmed? How were sanctions decided and enforced?

The Council of 1166, its origins and its aftermath, will be examined for possible answers to these questions. The issue was how to interpret Jesus' words, "*The father is greater than I*" (Jn 14:28). Our main source is an ekthesis which concludes with the autograph signatures of the patriarch Loukas Chrysoberges and forty-five hierarchs. The ekthesis seems to have been sent to all metropolitans: it was read at an 1167 local synod in Ephesus and signed by the bishops of the archdiocese. Plenary sessions of the Council, attended by the emperor, were held on 2 and 6 March. At the first, the emperor, three patriarchs, thirty-nine hierarchs and thirteen patriarchate officials spoke; thirteen were asked to clarify their positions. At the second, the emperor signed the record of the first session, as did the patriarchs and hierarchs; twelve more hierarchs added their signatures later.

Four chapters were added to the *Synodikon tes Orthodoxias* and, before he was consecrated, the nominee for the see of Neocaesarea was required to declare his acceptance of the Council. All future nominees were to be required to do likewise. But a lot was going on behind the scenes. At a synod on 20 March, chaired by the patriarch, the *megas skeuophylax* read and signed a statement (*eilitarion*) declaring his acceptance of the Council and anathematising three interpretations voiced in the first plenary. He received a certificate clearing him of all suspicion. In the following days, another seven hierarchs signed similar statements.

On 4 April Samuel the kanstresios of the patriarchate signed the statement. But an anonymous pamphlet had appeared which was critical of the synod, so Samuel added an anathema against this too. A fifth chapter was then added to the *Synodikon tes Orthodoxias*. A synod of 6 May determined the punishment of George, metropolitan of Nicaea, with the emperor recommending clemency. The emperor issued a chrysobull edict endorsing the council and specifying sanctions against dissidents. This was endorsed by a synod. It was soon engraved on marble plaques set up inside Hagia Sophia.

In 1170 Konstantinos of Corfu was anathematised for his monophysite interpretation of the gospel passage. Soon after, the abbot Ioannes Eirenikos was found to have written against the Council and the emperor's edict; he sought forgiveness and was not immediately condemned. Another four chapters were added to the *Synodikon tes Orthodoxias*. It is in the records of these events that answers will be sought to the questions posed above.

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The Avenging Sword? Imperial Legislation Against Temples in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

Late Antiquity is often seen as a period rife with religious violence. This is not least because our literary sources are full of bloody conflicts between Christians and violent actions by zealous Christians against temples, statues and even 'pagans'. In recent years, however, scholars have begun to realize that religious violence is a much more complex phenomenon than previously thought that involves various (not just religious) factors and needs to be studied in its particular local and historical circumstances. Moreover, scholars have become more and more sceptical of the sources describing these events, which are often biased and have a tendency to exaggerate. This is confirmed by the rich archaeological material that is now available, showing for instance that the destruction of temples and their conversion into churches were exceptional rather than routine events, and usually only happened from the second half of the fifth century onwards.

One type of source that is often adduced to back up the picture of widespread religious violence in the fourth and fifth centuries is the imperial legislation collected in book 16 of the *Codex Theodosianus*. Yet significant progress in the study of the law codes has demonstrated that this legislation should be seen as mostly normative and cannot be taken to reflect what was happening 'on the ground'. In this paper, I will argue that imperial legislation against temples was uneven and not aimed at the destruction of temples, at least not until 435, when most temples were already abandoned. At the same time, these measures could, indirectly, have a significant impact on local constellations, as can be demonstrated by the 'destruction' of the Serapeum at Alexandria in 391/392.

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The mission of Abbot Martin in Dalmatia and Istria 641: A New Interpretation

This paper will revisit the mission of Abbot Martin, who was sent by the pope John IV (640-642) in Dalmatia and Istria to collect the relics of local saints. This event, likely occurring in 641, is recorded in the Pope's life from *Liber Pontificalis* and also mentioned in the *Codex of Curzola* (12th century) and *Historia Salonitana* by Thomas of Spalatum from 13th century. The mission is additionally confirmed with the frescoes showing images of the Dalmatian and Istrian saints in the Lateran chapel, built during the time of John IV and his successor Theodore. The scholars generally agree that the Pope, who was of Dalmatian origins, sent Abbot Martin to his *patria* to bring the relics into safety from the province recently devastated by the Slav invaders. References to St Domnio, St Venantius, St Asterius, St Anastasius and others in the sources and the images from the Lateran Chapel indicate that Martin almost certainly visited provincial capital Salona, which was the centre of their cults.

The problem with the existing interpretations is an assumption that at some point in time between 612 and 639 occurred massive migration of the Slavs in Dalmatia, which destroyed capital Salona and ended the Byzantine rule over the province, with exception of eastern Adriatic islands and very few coastal cities. Recent archaeological and historical research into this period seriously questions such assumption, providing viable evidence that there was no Slavic invasion and settlement in the Adriatic hinterland at this time. Furthermore, it is also established that the Byzantine military outposts in the hinterland of major Dalmatian cities, such as Salona and Iader, continue to function in 7th and 8th century, while the survival of imperial administration in Salona throughout 7th and perhaps even first quarter of 8th century today seems much more realistic.

Taking into consideration changing picture of this period, which eliminates the Slavic invasion and settlement in 7th century Dalmatia, this paper will explore other reasons why this Pope was so keen to send Abbot Martin across the Adriatic. Scarce sources on short papacy of John IV agree that his main policy was stout opposition to the Monothelistic doctrine enforced by the emperor Heraclius' decree *Ecthesis* from December 638. The analysis of contemporary sources and establishment of chronology of events provides good grounds to re-assess the mission of Abbot Martin and see it as papal dissidence against Constantinople and a part of political offensive against the Monothelism in the West, rather than a mission to save the relics from non-existing danger.

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The long shadow of Byzantine persecution in Christian Egypt

What light can be shed on dissidence and persecution in Byzantium by a 13th century Copt writing in Arabic and living in the Muslim world several centuries after the last vestige of Byzantine power was eliminated from Egypt? 'The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and some surrounding countries' attributed to Abū al-Makārim, a Copt, was written in late Fatimid and early Ayyubid Cairo at the time of the Crusades. This historical topography of Christianity in Egypt and beyond celebrates the scope and depth of the Christian presence manifest in churches, monasteries, holy relics and the landscape markers of holy people from long ago.

Churches of all sects of Christendom are documented for posterity. Many are dated by the name of the rulers, including Roman emperors, in whose time they were built. But the memory of Roman persecution remains embedded in stories from specific churches in Egypt. Copts are butchered in their own church, and the Romans waded in their blood.

The Islamic conquest of Egypt in the 7th century which saw the Romans leave Egypt for good, is a pivotal story. Abū al-Makārim weaves his account from a range of sources. From the official Coptic church history comes the view of the Romans as the cause of the suffering of the Copts, while from Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam the earliest Muslim source, come the stories of cordial relations between Mohammad and the Copts. There is no suggestion however that Copts were instrumental in the fall of Egypt to the Muslims. For Abū al-Makārim the persecution by the Romans and their ultimate defeat is followed by the return of the Coptic Patriarch Benjamin who is welcomed by the Muslims. With the withdrawal of the Roman troops, government and many supporters in 646 went official support for what became the Melkite (the King's) church. The Copts regained much church property and rebuilt their base.

This is chronologically the first example of the optimistic rhythm of Abū al-Makārim's text, destruction or repression followed by renewal or restoration. The Roman oppressors are followed by others including the Fatimid 'mad caliph' al-Hakim and Saladin's Ghuzz and Kurds. But in Abū al-Makārim's rhythm, each of these waves of destruction is followed by reparation. And yet the legacy of division fostered by Roman persecution remained in two rival church hierarchies, the Copts and the Melkites. As 'protected people' they both managed their own affairs and properties, had their own patriarch, and jostled periodically for support of the Muslim rulers. It was now a more even playing field, but the division of the Egyptian church was there to stay. Indeed, the longest section in the entire work describes the threat to the church of Marcus Ibn al-Kanbar, a radical populist cleric who espoused many Melkite beliefs.

The Coptic church is known as the Church of the Martyrs. But while using the '*Anno Martyrum*' dating from the accession of Diocletian, as one of his dating systems, Abū al-Makārim does not emphasise persecution as marker of Coptic identity. He is writing in a time of Coptic cultural flowering in Egypt, during which Copts were part of the social establishment and proudly sponsoring community and

church development. For Abū al-Makārim, persecution is a phase which is followed by revival, and the defeat of the Byzantine persecutors by the Muslims is his archetypal example of this pattern.

Stephanie Forrest
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**Between the Emperor and the Caliph: Byzantium, Armenia, and the Politics of Orthodoxy in the
later Seventh Century**

Armenia occupied an uncertain place between Byzantium and the Umayyad Caliphate for much of the later seventh century. Though a textbook narrative will claim it was nominally incorporated into the Islamic empire in the middle of the century, this initial ‘conquest’ did not spell the end of Byzantine involvement in the region; close interaction between Byzantium and Armenian elites appears to have continued, and Constans II (r. 641-668) and Justinian II (r. 685-695, 705-711) both occupied the region – the latter, according to a later Syrian tradition, for as long as ten years.

Although Armenia clearly remained a major point of contention, Byzantium’s policy towards Armenia in this period remains severely understudied, and many of the relevant sources – including the *Narratio de Rebus Armeniae* (c. after 690), the *Anonymous Chronicle* (c. 687-8), and a discourse attributed to the Catholicus Sahak III (f. 677-703) – remain poorly understood and underused. In light of this gap, this paper will present some preliminary findings on one aspect of Byzantine relations with Armenia in the final two decades of the seventh century: namely, its negotiations with the Armenian church and apparent attempts to impose religious orthodoxy.

Over the course of Byzantine history, negotiations with the Armenian church over doctrinal matters frequently accompanied diplomatic and military activity in the region. The later seventh century was little different in this respect, and the above sources attest, directly or indirectly, to ongoing negotiations between Byzantium and the Armenian church between 685 and 705 and disputes over both Chalcedon and Monothelism. Focusing on these sources and the canons of the Council of Trullo, this paper will illustrate the nature of the Byzantine state’s attempt to impose religious unity upon the Armenian elites in the final years of the seventh century, both in a doctrinal and liturgical sense. It will also attempt to show that, although this movement met with some opposition, it attracted some support in Armenia itself; indeed, the sources hint at the fluidity of belief of many Armenian leaders at the time, as well as the diversity of attitudes towards Chalcedon (and Monothelism) current among the Armenian clergy and nobility. As a final note, it will argue that Byzantium’s Armenian policy should be understood in the context of broader ideological and eschatological discourse regarding the role of the Byzantine state.

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In Defence of Christian Truth: Christian Constructions of Islam in Post-Conquest Dialogues

The Arab invasions of Syria, Palestine and Byzantine North Africa in the seventh century were hailed by Jews and mourned by Christians as heralding the end of the Roman empire and the advent of the eschaton. Apocalyptic literature blossomed and expectations of further turbulence were high. But gradually, as the end of the world did not eventuate, Syriac- and Coptic-speaking Christians had to come to terms with their new situation: Christians were now subject to a non-Christian power. This had significant implications for Christian truth claims and Syriac Christians turned, as they often had in intra-Christian conflicts, to the dialogue form to flesh out these problems. We can see in Christian dialogic and epistolary texts of the mid-seventh to early ninth centuries a progression in Syriac

Christian understanding of their Arab rulers: from military and political leaders whose favour should be sought; to Islam emerging first as a heresy and then as a religion in its own right; to Islam as a religious threat to Christianity and Muslims as formidable arguing partners in the fight for supremacy of beliefs.

In this paper, I want to look at two different approaches to the problem of Christian apostasy to Islam and the challenge Islam presented to Christian claims to truth as they appear in two key Syriac dialogue texts: *John and the Emir* and *A Disputation Between a Muslim and a Monk of Bēt Hālē*. Both these texts are written in a climate of Muslim proselytizing of Christians. The powerlessness of Christians under Islamic rule is a key theme in both as the Christian characters (to differing degrees of subtlety) attempt to counter significant criticisms levelled at them by their Muslim opponents. I argue that the Christian authors of these texts characterize their Muslim opponents and Islam itself in a way that aims to strengthen Christian world-views and make Christianity more appealing to those considering the politically expedient move to Islam.

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Resistance and Persecution in the *Life of Hypatios*

Byzantine Hagiographies are an important source of evidence for both persecutions and resistance against the imperial authorities. Readers of the hagiographies find examples of not only actions that were taken against the common targets of persecutions, such as pagans and heretics, but also resistance against both ecclesiastical and secular authorities.

One such hagiography that contains examples of both resistance and persecution is the *Life of Hypatios*, written by his student Kallinikos around 450. Hypatios was a monk from Phrygia who later had moved first to Thrace and then to Bithynia, where he became the leader of the monastery in Rufiniana close to Chalcedon. Through the deeds of Hypatios, the hagiography gives its readers accounts of survival and persecution of pagans in Bithynia. Hypatios destroys sacred trees, converts pagans and even fights with a manifestation of Artemis. However, the hagiography also consists of accounts where Hypatios clashes with the secular and ecclesiastical authorities. These sometimes coincides with Hypatios' desire of persecution such as in the instance of Olympic games in Chalcedon.

This paper examines the hagiography of Hypatios from two perspectives; the conditions of the persecuted and the conflicts and struggles of the persecutor. Hypatios was in a peculiar position where he was both a persecutor, but also a dissenter who challenged the established authority.

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A consideration of early Christian attitudes towards pagan temples

Although pagan activities were in decline up to and including the 4th century, conversion of pagan temples into Christian churches became widespread only from the late 5th and into the 6th century (excluding the case of churches constructed on the sites of razed pagan temples). In other words, Christians avoided the re-use of pagan temples until the late 5th century. My aim is to discuss key influences on the attitudes of Christians towards pagan temples.

Historically, before the Edict of Milan (313) there were no public churches in Europe, but only private house churches such as the church in Dura-Europos. As this and other examples show, church structures at this time might be identical to residential houses except for certain ornamentation and decoration indicative of Christianity. The way churches were decorated might even show the influence

of Jewish or of Roman paganism. After Christianity attained legal status under the Edict of Milan, Christian churches chose basilica-type structures as their usual liturgical locations. Normally, the reason given for using the Basilica form was that the Basilica was a familiar building type for gatherings in non-religious contexts. In other words, they chose a building type to contrast with pagan forms. Although some churches used a centralised plan, whether following Roman mausoleums or audiences, the number of those were quite rare compared to the Basilica form, which became the most popular type during the early Christian period. After Christianity was legalized in 313 and especially when it became the state religion of the Roman Empire in 380, a great many churches were constructed all over the Roman Empire by the end of the 4th century. Architects were few in this period, and the prolonged civil war during the 3rd century may have affected the traditional patterns of apprenticeship for master builders and the arrangements needed to supply building materials. Therefore, various spolia, including pagan temples, could have been increasingly in demand for construction, regardless of whether Christians disliked paganistic elements or whether they simply regarded such ways as traditional.

As basilica churches were increasingly distributed throughout the Byzantine empire, traditional elements such as entablature or classical ordered unified columns were replaced by arcades and irregular columns. The last example that survives, which may not be far from the last example built, that follows the unified, classical architectural tradition is the monastery church of St. John of Studios, completed in the middle of 5th century. Most churches built in the 5th century used spolia and therefore relied on varied and irregular building materials. Probably, the increasing use of spolia and the arbitrary juxtaposition of building materials interacted with each other. Thus, the pagan temples might be seen simply as aggregates of spolia, rather than places Christians had formerly avoided using, after a century of prohibition of Paganism so that the vestiges of Roman culture had almost been demolished and pagan traditions clearly pose.

Michael Ibrahim

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A Symbiotic dimension to Chalcedonian/non-Chalcedonian Christology

The standard interpretations of the post-Chalcedonian conflict have traditionally followed partisan/confessional lines. The dominant view is that pro-Chalcedonian Christology articulated with greater clarity the pre-Chalcedonian position, particularly the Cyrillian vision of Christ, whilst guarding against a latent potential within Alexandrian Christology to minimise the humanity of Christ (as evidenced by the so-called 'Eutychians'). Conversely, the minority view maintains a similar perspective regarding anti-Chalcedonian Christology, but this time with respect to a thinly-veiled 'Nestorianism' supposedly propagated by the council of Chalcedon.

These standard interpretations ultimately base their conclusion of Christological divergence on the calcification of Christological terminology, and the eventual creation of parallel ecclesial structures. However, by careful analysis of the texts from this period a different and novel interpretation is possible, namely that of a theological symbiosis of the emerging Christological schema. In fact, it can be argued that the 'shape' of the so-called 'neo-Chalcedonian' Christology developed in reaction to non-Chalcedonian critiques and vice versa.

In this analysis a few markers point to this convergence. Following the initial chaos produced by Chalcedon, Peter the Fuller's modification to the Trisagion created a Theopaschite rallying cry intended to highlight a perceived weakness in the Chalcedonian position. Subsequent to this, Zeno's *Henotikon*, produced during the following decade, stressed the unity of subject of all of Christ's acts. At the beginning of the next century, Chalcedonian Scythian monks seemed to have adopted a

Theopaschite position. Finally, Justinian's Theological program integrated Theopaschitism into the edict of 533, and finally into conciliar canon in 553.

Secondly, the liturgical hymn ὁ μονογενῆς is another interesting point of convergence between the two parties. A ninth century reference of Theophanes the Confessor attributes the hymn's composition to Justinian in 535 or 536. This seems to contradict both the Syrian and Coptic traditions of Severian authorship. Nonetheless, the integration of this hymn within both Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian liturgies, and the reverence accorded to it as an Orthodox Christological confession, mark this text as another area of convergence, having achieved a unifying role to which Zeno had aspired for his *Henotikon*.

Thirdly, the reception of the Pseudo-Dionysian corpus is an interesting example of the flow of texts. These texts are considered to be amongst the most significant texts of the period and are considered by some to be have been produced within the non-Chalcedonian Severian circle, and whose utility amongst Chalcedonians was contingent on the 'wrest[ing] [of] this weapon from the hands of the heretics.' The relative integration of these text thus serves as an interesting point of study.

Finally, the four adverbs central to the Chalcedonian confession ἀσυγχύτως ἀτρέπτως ἀδιαιρέτως and ἄχωρίστως, whilst having pre-Chalcedonian antecedents are strongly associated with the council. Nonetheless, they were also embraced by non-Chalcedonians and were even integrated within liturgical texts. These aspects of this historical period suggest that as opposed to divergence, the development of post-Chalcedonian Christology was in fact convergent, precisely as a result of the conflict.

Jewell Homad Johnson
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Medieval Pop: Disguising Warhol's Byzantine Iconography

Bob Colacello realised, after accompanying Andy to a Shrine of the Virgin Guadalupe in Mexico, that 'Andy's religion' "*was not an act.*" (Dillenberger 1998: 35) Encounters with Warhol's overtly religious artworks herald the semiotics behind his total body of work: POPular and Byzantine in appearance while thoroughly Medieval in meaning and practice. All of Warhol's work focused on American post-war materialist culture through a religious lens and placing him amongst the radical and opinionated modernists. Why Warhol hid his religious inclinations is seen when New York Abstract Expressionist Robert Motherwell (1915-1991) spoke at Mount Holyoke on 10th of August 1944 declaring the twentieth century's 'dissidence and persecution': "*artists were the last spiritual guides in a world of property*" and would need to form a "*spiritual underground.*" For publication, Motherwell's own essay was retitled for publication as 'The Modern Painter's World' rather than his original 'The Place of the Spiritual in a World of Property.' (Motherwell 1944). A known US painter and sculptor with four decades professional experience (and many commissions, grants and fellowships to her name) stated, while wishing to remain anonymous:

... it is not appropriate or necessary that every artist explore the relationship of spirituality and related theories to their work, this field of study has been extensively and deliberately undervalued. Relatively few contemporary artists have been able to surmount the inherent resistance to the subject and remain viable. Any acknowledgment of the relevance of spiritual philosophies or practices for artists has been reluctantly revealed, leaving a gaping hole in the story of the work and its place in the long arc of art history.
(Correspondence with the author, October 10, 2018)

The artist's innermost beliefs direct their perception and experience of the shared world. As a devout Byzantine Catholic in America, Warhol's "Last Supper Camouflage" (1986) is a selfportrait of a quiet and confounding man whose faith was private while his art held a medieval mirror up to American

culture. To avoid public and popular persecution, if not relegated to remain an unknown, Warhol's secular iconography was aesthetically of his time while Byzantine in its tendency to remove shadows and symbolise this aesthetic flatness through 20th century technology (the high contrast photograph) and processes (the silk screen). As with Alexander Nagel's *Medieval Modern* (2015) and its concept of history 'shot through' with 'secular time,' can be seen with Warhol's Campbell Soup Cans which objectify transformation through new 'ritual' objects of the cult of modern 'Convenience', and his Brillo Boxes confronting capitalism with an esoteric truth behind secular existentialism. Illustrating the salvation of the cross replaced by the retribution of the electric chair indicates Warhol's images document the co-opting of religion, her church, objects and rituals for secular individualism, seeking not redemption but the 'pursuit of happiness' and the 'American Dream' though without knowledge of a visual Byzantine language this continues to go unknown.

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Daniel Lemeni
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Ascetics and Ecclesiastics in Gazan Monasticism: Conflict or Cooperation?

In this paper we examine the issue of spiritual authority in the early Byzantine monasticism. As we know, the Byzantine monasticism was characterized by a significant conflict between ascetic authority and ecclesiastical authority. As a source of spiritual authority distinct from ecclesiastical authority, monks could support or undermine the work of clerical hierarchy. From this perspective, monasticism at this time became an important reservoir for the involvement of monks in Byzantine ecclesiastical agenda. This period was characterized by a series of ambiguous relationships between monks and ecclesiastics. Though these interactions may have only been occasional, this conflict provided the inspiration for the rival constructions in hagiographies set in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In this sense, one of the most striking chapters in the history of Byzantine monasticism is provided by the Correspondence of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza. The correspondence between the monastic leaders of Gaza offers valuable insight into the rhetoric of spiritual authority in Byzantine monasticism. The two monks Barsanuphius and John collaborated in their practice of spiritual guidance over the ascetic community and the lay Christians of Gaza. Thus, the two Great Old Men provides a network of spiritual authority that was very flexible in the Byzantine world.

This paper is divided in two sections: in the first section, we will characterize the ascetic authority and ecclesiastical authority, and their specific way of interaction in Byzantine society. In the second section, we will examine the model used by the Letters of Barsanuphius and John of Gaza to harmonize institutional and ascetic sources of spiritual authority. From this perspective, the Correspondence is a unique source and a remarkable document for understanding the dynamic relationship between monks and ecclesiastics in the Byzantine ascetic tradition.

Meaghan McEvoy
Macquarie University

Forced tonsuring as a form of persecution of imperial contenders in the fifth century AD

This paper will examine the rise of forced tonsuring as a means of barring political candidates from the throne in the early Byzantine empire. Prior to the fifth century, murder was a more common form of

disposing of a political rival, as the purge of Constantine I's extended family following his death in 337 and as part of the succession of his three sons attests. From the early fifth century onwards however, we begin to see the practice of forced tonsuring used as a new means of political exclusion in both the western and the eastern Roman empire. This paper will examine a number of cases across the course of the fifth century, such as the tonsuring of the usurper Constantine III in the 410s, of the dangerously popular urban prefect Cyrus of Panopolis in the late 430s/early 440s and of Fl. Marcianus, the rebellious son of the emperor Anthemius, in the late 470s. It will consider firstly, why this new mechanism for the management of dangerous imperial rivals may have arisen from the fifth century onwards; secondly, what the position and influence of such political rivals following their tonsuring might be; and thirdly, what the repercussions of such practices were for imperial attitudes towards dealing with political rivals in Byzantium in the centuries to follow.

Mark Masterson
Victoria University

Sex and Desire between Men in Byzantium: Civil Law, Dissidence, and (the Lack of) Enforcement

In the mid-eighth century in the *Ekloge*, the Amorian law code, we read a law against sex between males: "*The aselgeis, both the one doing it and the one receiving it, let them pay the penalty by the sword. But if the one receiving is discovered to be less than twelve years old, he should be excused, as his age shows that he did not understand this thing he had undergone*" (Οἱ ἀσελγεῖς, ὃ τε ποιῶν καὶ ὁ ὑπομένων, ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθωσαν· εἰ δὲ ὁ ὑπομένων ἦττων τῶν δώδεκα ἐτῶν εὐρεθῆ, συγχωρεῖσθω, ὡς τῆς ἡλικίας δηλοῦσης μὴ εἰδέναι αὐτόν, τί ὑπέμεινεν.) (17.38). Understood here is that the *aselgeis* are males who have sex with one another. While there is some consideration given to the very young, and while it is not as severe in its rhetoric as enactments in the earlier Justinianic and Theodosian codifications, it is all the same a cruel law that mandates execution (in addition, of course, to promising persecution and the crushing of dissidence). It is therefore interesting that we have no record of this law ever being used (Laiou 1992: 68; Messis 2006: 779 n.170; Pitsakis 2008: 8) and it appears too that it was merely copied into successive law codes with but insubstantial changes in phraseology (Troianos 1989: 35-37; Messis 2006: 776-78, 781): *Eklogadion* 17.6 (Ὁ ἀσελγῆς ὃ τε ποιῶν καὶ ὁ ὑπομένων ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθω· ὁ δὲ ἦττων τῶν δεκαπέντε ἐτῶν τυπτέσθω καὶ μοναστηρίῳ εἰσαγέσθω, ὡς τῆς ἡλικίας δηλοῦσης τοῦτο ἀκουσίως πεπονθέναι αὐτόν, Simon and Troianos 1977: 71)(early ninth century), *Epanagoge* 40.66 (Οἱ ἀσελγεῖς, ὃ τε ποιῶν καὶ ὁ πάσχων, ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθωσαν· εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ πεπονθῶς ἔλαττον ἢ τῶν ἑβ' χρόνων. τότε γὰρ τὸ ἐνδεὲς τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτόν ἐξαρπάξει ποινῆς, Zepos & Zepos 1931: 365) (886), and *Prokheiros* 39.73 (Οἱ ἀσελγεῖς, ὃ τε ποιῶν καὶ ὁ πάσχων, ξίφει τιμωρεῖσθωσαν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα ὁ πεπονθῶς ἔλαττον εἶη τῶν ἑβ' χρόνων. τότε γὰρ τὸ ἐνδεὲς τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτόν ἀπαλλάττει ποινῆς, Zepos & Zepos 1931: 225-26) (907).

In this paper I will discuss this evidence, especially the lack of enforcement, and argue that we should follow Laiou (1992: 78) when she wrote the following in 1992: "*Il est possible que, en dépit de tout son zèle normatif pour prohiber les actes homosexuels, la société byzantine les ait en fait tolérés tant qu'ils ne faisaient pas scandale*". Prefiguring this comment, Mullett (1988: 11 n.41) notes that possible sexual expression between men was not as weighty an issue as we now might imagine it was. Pitsakis (2008: 9) underscores the nonchalance in the sources about sex between men, while being uncertain whether this means that same-sex desire was thought unimportant or if there was wide-ranging tolerance that we, dealing with the weight of our history, can hardly understand now.

I believe that we have a situation, at least in the middle centuries of the empire, of broad toleration of the kind that Laiou proposes. Among the benefits of taking this view is that evidence that shows homoeroticism, e.g., narratives of the rise of Basil I, or epistolography in general becomes much more understandable. The liberalizing situation in the penitentials is likewise easier to understand.

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Heirs of Roman Persecution: Common threads in discursive strategies across the late-antique East

In Latin, the original sense of “persecutio” could mean “to prosecute” (Cic., *Orator* 41.141), but with Roman prosecutions of Christians, a slippage operated to understand *persecutio*, with negative connotations, to mean attacking a specific group for their religious beliefs. Hence the common understanding of the word ‘persecution’ today, according to which all post-Constantinian emperors should be labelled as persecutors. Yet this is not the case in modern scholarship. At the same time, after Constantine, despite the cessation – more or less – of the state prosecution of religious groups, claims of persecution appear not to have declined. This was especially the case amongst religious groups, Christian or otherwise, who perceived themselves as embattled minorities. The guiding assumption of this paper is that there is a disjunction between these claims and political reality and that such claims of persecution were often rhetorical, part of a discursive strategy.

Indeed, it seems that when late antique Christians claimed to be victims of persecution, they deployed a literary context of polemic that cast the authors of unfavorable measures as the heirs of Decius and Diocletian. Instead, in the context of Christian claims to be persecuted despite living under Christian rulers, ‘persecution’ came to identify a larger set of actions perceived as unfavourable to the Christian faction of the observer, for whom coercive measures regarding the faith constituted persecution. As the Christian East progressed, the Christian Roman state attempted to impose the confession it considered orthodox through various levels of coercion, based on claims of a monopoly of truth. The reaction to this coercion was the counter-claim to be a victim of persecution. Such strategies of resistance consisted mainly in depicting as persecutors the authors of religious policies deemed to be deleterious to or to target the faction of the observer. A common theme among late-antique Christian authors was to depict contemporary events as the repetition of the pagan past, and to deploy a discourse of persecution that echoed the language of earlier Christian authors who faced Roman religious policies they considered hostile.

Drawing on a series of case studies assembled for a collective volume pursuing this topic (É. Fournier and W. Mayer, eds, *Heirs of Roman Persecution: Studies on a Christian and para-Christian discourse in Late Antiquity*, London: Routledge, in progress), in which important elements of continuity between the pre- and post-Constantinian eras in both methods and strategies of resistance are analysed, this paper draws together and summarises the strategies of resistance that have emerged. It concludes by pointing towards some explanations for the commonalities. Given the complexity of the topic and the brevity of the time allowed, this paper will doubtless pose more questions than it answers.

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Martyrdom or Birth? The Erotic Death and Liturgical Afterlife of Fevronia

The *vita* of Fevronia does not withhold the gruesome details of her death but it also portrays her martyrdom as an act of passion, as the consummation of her love for her lover. Stripped naked and dripping with blood, Fevronia is steadfast and heroic as she looks to her heavenly Bridegroom and rebukes her imperceptive tormenter. Similarly, the Byzantine hymns for the feast of Fevronia recall her tribulations but also evoke her beauty, passion and asceticism. As the lamb of Christ, she suffers with him, is crucified with him and experiences a mystical baptism. The baptismal blood destroys her body but brings forth another body of lightning, pearls and fire. Fashioning her flesh into what Irenaeus of Lyons called "*the living human being*" (*Against the Heresies* 4.20.7), her martyrdom enacts the Passion of Christ and impregnates history with the eschaton. This paper explores how the emotional discourse and performativity of hagiography and hymnography invited the faithful to experience the sufferings of Fevronia as the salvific acts of Christ. It argues that the sensual and affective story of Fevronia shaped an emotional and liturgical community. The cult of St Fevronia emerged in sixth-century Nisibis but soon spread to Constantinople and eventually made its way to Italy and France. In her *vita* and hymns, Fevronia became the embodiment of Christ and an exemplar for those who heard her life and sang her song. While her martyrdom seems to have inspired conversion during the time of persecution, reducing her spectators to tears and groans, the celebration of her death during the sacred rituals of the Byzantine rite, became an affective script that continued to fashion the liturgical experience of dying to be born.

John Melville-Jones
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Modern Australian banks were not the first to charge excessive fees

In the later Roman Empire the practice of collecting taxes in gold coins was modified because the weights of these coins might vary if they had been subject to wear or to clipping. So the Roman government mandated that taxes of this kind should be paid in bullion, in the form of ingots, and if they were paid in coin a deduction should be made to allow for loss of weight, and the possibility that some coins might be not of pure gold (*Codex Theodosianus* 12.6.12 = *Codex Justinianus* 10.72, AD 366). The earliest record of this practice can be dated to A.D. 306 (*P. Oxy.* 1653), where a reasonable deduction of 1/18 (1 1/3 *keratia per nomisma*) is mandated. However, it seems that by the time of Justinian the officials in Alexandria who were responsible for calculating this deduction or fee, which was called *obryza*, had been inflicting an enormous charge of one-eighth (nine gold coins for each pound of seventy-two *chrysoi* or *aurei*) on those who tried to pay their taxes in gold coins. The emperor therefore ordered (Justinian, *Edict XI*, AD 559) that this *obryza* charge should no longer be made, but that instead gold coinage should be bagged, and the bags sealed and provided with a statement of the exact weight of the coins that they contained. Officials in Alexandria who disobeyed this command would be punished by being put to death.

It appears that it was only the *zygostatai* and *chrysones* in Alexandria who had engaged in this practice of overcharging their customers. Elsewhere *obryza* continued to be charged at a more reasonable weight; for instance, in the 7th century (*P. Oxy.* 1907) it seems to have been charged at 1/16 (1 1/3 *keratia per nomisma*).

It remains to be seen whether in Australia the penalties that might be imposed on financial advisers who overcharge their clients will lead to better behaviour.

Robert Mihajlovski and Ljiljana Mandić
La Trobe University

The tombstone epitaph at the church of Annunciation of the Holy Virgin in Karan

In 1998 an archaeological excavation was conducted at the church of Holy Annunciation of the Virgin Mary or 'White church' (*Bela crkva karanska*), in the village of Karan, by the Museum of Užice (Republic of Serbia). The church known as the 'White church', was the endowment of the *župan* Petar Brajan. It was built in the middle of the 14th century on the remains of an earlier building and some portraits of the medieval Serbian nobility were painted on the walls. By the 14th century the medieval necropolis was established in the courtyard of the church in Karan, mainly for the nobility and the clergy.

During the archaeological excavations in the church yard a rare preserved tombstone with Cyrillic epitaph was uncovered. The preserved Cyrillic inscription contains seven lines with letters that are clear and tight. The morphology of the letters according to the latest analysis belongs to the period between the 14th century and the 15th century. At the beginning of the inscription it has a characteristic *Asi kamina* epigraphic formula that can be seen on the gravestones of medieval Bosnian state in the period between the 13th and 15th century. It seems that the entombed person named Braišna was executed by the group of Tatars, usually employed as auxiliary troops by the Byzantine, Bulgarian and Serbian armies. Tatars, mentioned in the inscription sometimes in small groups inflicted terror on the local population within the new historical and political events in the Balkans, resembling the former great power, widely feared in the 13th and 14th century.

Koji Murata
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Political Corruption and Anticorruption in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium

The history of corruption and anticorruption has become an increasingly major research topic, as reflected by the current interest on these matters. In the field of pre-modern history, a recently published volume, *Anticorruption in History: From Antiquity to the Modern Era* (Kroeze et al. 2017) is "the first long-term historical overview of corruption and anticorruption in Europe." However, there has been no parallel work in Byzantine studies. Byzantinists have struggled with the label "byword of corruption" that Montesquieu and Voltaire affixed to Byzantium. They have centered on corruption in the court and judicial corruption (for example, Chitwood 2017; Saradi 1995; Kresten 1993). These studies have mainly examined laws and literary sources.

My paper deals with documentary sources transmitted largely from the thirteenth century onward. They are preserved as originals, single-copies, cartularies, and insertions to a literary source. In particular, the cartulary of the Lembiotissa monastery, which contains copies of more than two hundred official and private documents, mainly from thirteenth century, provides us with more than a few examples of political corruption by state officials, especially *doukes* of the Thrakesion theme. Such officials had sometimes exploited their power in order to appropriate some portion of state taxes and to infringe upon people's rights. Moreover, imperial ordinances have shed light on anticorruption measurements taken by Lascarid and Palaiologan emperors, especially by means of written threats.

In this presentation, after reviewing the social norms that helped to define Byzantines' use of power, I will examine forms of political corruption engaged in by state officials and how these affected society. Then, I will explore anti-corruption measures taken by the government, with a focus on the penalty clause included in imperial ordinances. This work will deepen our understanding of corruption and anticorruption in Byzantium more comprehensively.

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Bronwen Neil
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Visions of Heaven and Hell: A Bridge to the Other World

From early Christianity to middle Byzantium, societies in crisis responded with increased eschatological anxiety. Crises in the natural environment, upheaval of political and social systems, and wars led to speculations about the end of this world and the nature of the next. By studying various genres of apocalyptic and other literature from the mid-third to tenth centuries, we can gain a more accurate picture of Byzantine concerns about the Afterlife and how these manifested in literature and art.

One symptom of this eschatological anxiety was a concern for who was going to heaven and who was destined for eternal punishment. Second, disaster was more likely in this context to be construed as punishment for 'sin'. Both concerns are revealed in the production and increased consumption of apocalyptic literature in the Middle Byzantine period. These purport to pass on revelations of hidden knowledge about the end of human history, the Last Judgement and the Afterlife.

I will sketch out the main features of Christian eschatology in the first millennium and expectations of the Afterlife in other contemporary religions (e.g. Hellenistic and late antique Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Germanic religions, early Islam) of the Mediterranean and Middle East. My aim is to identify common motifs and new developments across time in the Christian traditions (early Christian, Byzantine, and western medieval) of 650-1000.

Matthew O'Farrell
Macquarie University

The Emperor, the Shah and the Priest of Priests:

From Diocletian to Justinian and beyond, the rulers of the Roman Empire saw Manichaeism as a pernicious cult. Between the third and the sixth centuries the religion's adherents were repeatedly censured through a string of laws and the imposition of harsh penalties. Despite this, the historians John Malalas and John of Ephesus tell of a remarkable incident under Justinian in which a number of Manichees, including members of the elite, disputed with, and were put to death by, the emperor himself. Justinian is presented here as a champion of Orthodoxy, willing and able to argue theology with those who had strayed from the imperial faith.

Roman officialdom's consistent rejection of Manichaeism in general, and this incident in particular presents a striking contrast to the confrontation between Manichaeism and Empire in the other cosmocratic monarchy of late antique west Eurasia. As is well known Mani himself was executed by Bahram I (r.271-274), an act that came to be seen as a righteous one: yet the tangled historiography emerging from the Sasanian period suggests very strongly that the prelates serving the King of Kings had to work much harder than their western counterparts to cast Manichaeism, and indeed themselves, in the "correct" light.

This paper will contrast Justinian's disputation with the "trial" and death of Mani proffered by the poet Ferdowsi in his eleventh century *Šāhnāme*, an epic incorporating a great deal of Sasanian historiographic material. Tracing the development of this scene against Manichean and other Perso-

Arabic accounts of this episode, it will argue that the core of this scene was a later post construction designed to glorify the priestly estate. Particular attention will be paid to the peculiarities of the role of the King of Kings in this episode: most notably his incompetence to decide the issue.

Read together the two (possibly contemporary) portrayals of imperial persecutors provide an enlightening commentary on the very marked differences in the development of Roman and Sasanian “state” religions, their roles in imperial ideology and attitudes towards religious minorities.

David Olster

University of Kentucky

The Idolatry of the Jews and the Anti-Jewish Roots of Seventh- and Early Eighth-Century Iconoclasm

K. Schwarzlose’s seminal, nineteenth-century study of the Iconoclast controversy identified Jewish and Moslem aniconism as directly influencing Leo III’s decision to ban (or partially ban) icons. And while modern scholars no longer accept direct Jewish influence on Leo III, the subtler socio-cultural interchange between Jews, Moslems and Christians might have had the same effect. As L. Brubaker/J. Haldon recently explained, “*Influences which in one sense might have been seen as ‘external’ were...part of a [social] continuum that did not respect political boundaries.*” In both cases, the logic behind ‘Judaizing’ assumes that seventh-century eastern, Roman Christians understood the Jews as aniconic and that at some level, Christian iconoclasm was in part a defensive reaction.

But was this in fact the case? When Patriarch Germanus defended the use of icons, he asserted that Christian veneration of icons should be contrasted to the idolatry of Jews and Moslems. Germanus’s construction of the Jews was not aniconic, but rather was based on the numerous Old Testament texts that blamed their idolatry for the fall of the Jewish kingdoms. Indeed, the idolatry of the Jews was a long-standing trope in Christian rhetoric that went as far back as the Epistle of Barnabas. In succeeding centuries, charges of idolatry and the murder of prophets and Christ were rhetorical mainstays of Christian, anti-Jewish polemic. As G. Dagron succinctly explained, “*The Jews are condemned: that is their function.*” And idolatry was one of the primary causes of their condemnation.

In the seventh century, the theme of sin and divine retribution became dominant in Christian literature because, as Walter Kaegi explained: “*Obviously such a major historical event as the loss of Egypt, Palestine and Syria would greatly have impressed the Byzantines and would have caused them to ponder its significance.*” Seventh-century Romans saw the hand of God behind the Persian and Arab victories, and sought for new rhetorical models with which to explain them since the triumphalist rhetoric based on traditional Greco-Roman models would no longer serve. They found them in the Old Testament.

The sudden surge of Old Testament, apocalyptic tropes across literary genres was part of a far broader shift in Roman imperial rhetoric as eastern Romans sought to redefine their relationship as a Christian people and Empire to God. Old Testament models came to the fore in the areas of rulership, empire and the empire’s enemies. New Rome became New Jerusalem, barbarians became Amalekites and Assyrians, and emperorship became ever more associated with the priesthood.

The debate over icons needs to be understood in the light of this broader, seventh-century cultural discourse. Leo III’s iconoclasm was not simply a continuation of the debate over icons that had gone on since Clement of Alexandria; seventh-century imperial collapse gave that debate a critical importance in contemporary attempts to redefine Romanity. Whatever the role of the cult of the saints, the ‘propaganda war’ between the Empire and the Caliphate, and the social intercourse between Christians, Jews and Moslems in the development of seventh- and early eighth-century attitudes toward icons, I would suggest that the seventh-century debate over icons was part of the

evolution of what H.-G. Beck has called Byzantium's 'political theology', and that the iconoclasts, at least in part, sought to reject the Old Israel and its idolatry once and for all.

Katherin Papadopoulos
Australian Lutheran College / University of Divinity

Remembering the Egyptians: policies, politics and personalities in the memory of persecution

In this paper I examine the commemoration of Egyptian martyrs in the writings of three bishops active in the Byzantine era – Eusebius of Caesarea; John Chrysostom and Severus of Antioch. For each of these ecclesiastics, I focus on questions of policy, politics and personalities in the memory of persecution. How and to what extent did their ideology of persecution and memory shape their commemorations of Egyptian martyrs? How did imperial and ecclesiastical politics and persecutions influence the content and form of their commemorative output? How did posthumous designations of these bishops as saints or heretics colour subsequent generations' reception of their martyr commemorations? While each of these factors has been previously explored to various depths—more often in relation to the Latin West – this study attempts to analyse their interrelationship, trajectory and influence on martyr commemorations over time.

Why memory of persecution? Persecution is a localized affair. Even state-initiated, state-wide, systematic persecution is tempered by local policies, politics and personalities, as was the case for early persecutions of Christians. The memory of persecution in the form of martyr commemorations is likewise often coloured by the policies, politics and personalities of the local commemorating community. Over time, memories are lost, recovered, reconfigured and transformed; memories intersect and cross-fertilise within and across communities. Commemorations are reshaped by and for each successive generation; even the relationship between commemorator and commemorated may change: today's heretic may become tomorrow's saint. This complex dynamic constructs an interconnected and entangled web of memories representing hybrid, overlapping or even false histories, a form of cultural memory which is also reflected in martyrologies. Memory helps explain history.

Eusebius, Chrysostom and Severus are natural subjects for this study. All three were fierce, erudite apologists for Christianity and foundational figures in the commemoration of Christian martyrs in the East. Not only did they promote the memory of martyrs – Eusebius chiefly through his historiography, Chrysostom through oratory and Severus through both oratory and hymnography – their commemorative output undergirded martyrologies, hagiographies and cult activities for centuries to come. At the same time, their own ideology of martyrdom was informed by their first hand observations or experience of persecution. Each, too, were dissidents at various times and were either exiled or self-exiled. Each navigated ecclesiastical and imperial labyrinths to advance their theological factions' influence, protect their ecclesiastical community from persecution, and inoculate them against dissidence or apostasy.

Egyptian martyrs were chosen as a suitable yet manageable subset for analysis. In the Byzantine Christian imagination, Egypt was the source of idolatry, polytheism, magic and heresy, nevertheless Eusebius thought Egyptians worthy of remembering because of their martyrdom, which he witnessed. At the same time, Byzantine Christians had inherited an intellectual tradition – via Origen of Alexandria – of plundering the Egyptians, that is, of the selective appropriation of pagan learning in the service of the church. During inter- and intra-Christian conflict, various Christians come to be seen as heretics or apostates by their opponents – metaphorical Egyptians – yet were still found worthy of appropriating as martyrs.

Ken Parry
Macquarie University

Philosophy as Heresy in Byzantium

Many of us are familiar with the renewed interest in Neoplatonic philosophy in Byzantium in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the trials that took place in Constantinople which condemned John Italos and Eustratios of Nicaea. But to understand how Greek philosophy came to be treated as heresy in Byzantium we need to go back to Christianity in the early and late antique periods. For some early Christian authors Platonism was the next best thing to Christianity, whereas Aristotle came in for criticism for his cosmology and his logic was condemned when used by heretics. Tertullian's famous quip: "*What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?*" was intended to show there was no concord between the Academy and the Church, but like other Christian authors this did not prevent him from using philosophical ideas himself. Christian intellectuals established an ambivalent relationship with Greek philosophy in the early period and this was maintained through late antiquity. The pagan schools of philosophy were often incorporated into heresiological texts as a matter of course without much attempt at refutation.

The Neoplatonic school of Alexandria, with its focus on commentating on Aristotle, continued through to the late sixth century, and exercised considerable influence on Christian authors across the christological divide. This is clearly apparent from John of Damascus in the eighth century who compiled a compendium of mainly Aristotelian philosophical terms for Chalcedonians, his *Dialectica*. This overt engagement with the 'outside wisdom' of pagan philosophy marked a change that may have been sparked by a similar endeavour among non-Chalcedonian Christians. Yet despite this, and the increasing interest in Neoplatonic texts by the eleventh century, the Byzantine authorities came to view Greek philosophy with suspicion and a threat to Christian theology. The tension between the two traditions is evident in the reaction to the renewed interest in Proclus and Neoplatonism shown by Michael Psellos, which led to the condemnation of John Italos and Eustratios of Nicaea. Yet the limitations placed on Hellenism in the Synodikon of Orthodoxy, made in the wake of the anathematising of John and Eustratios, are hardly more than advocated by Origen in his Letter to Gregory the Wonder-worker or Basil the Great in his Letter to Young Students. It would seem, then, as Michele Trizio has recently shown, that such episodes cannot be used to paint a picture of Byzantium as a totally repressive regime that stifled intellectual freedom.

Joseph Patrich
Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Early predecessors: 'The Diocletianic Persecutions'. The Case of Caesarea Maritima

The story of the martyrs of Caesarea in the persecutions of 303–311, under Diocletian and his co-rulers and successors, was recorded by Eusebius (264–349), a resident of Caesarea Maritima and later its bishop, who was an eyewitness to many of the events. The Acts of these Martyrs are narrated by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History* and in much more detail in the *Martyrs of Palestine*. The work has reached us in two recensions: a shorter, in Greek and a longer, in a Syriac translation, dated to 411. There are also some Greek fragments of the longer recension. Both were the work of Eusebius. The long one, a separate treatise, was intended for the instruction of the people of Caesarea, who were eye witnesses to the events. The shorter, intended for a wider circulation, was incorporated by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*.

The number of martyrs in Palestine during the 'Diocletianic persecutions' of 303-311 was 83. Many of them – men and women – are named, and their tortures are described in detail. Far more numerous

was the number of confessors. There were also Christians who had renounced their faith and apostatized, unable to bear the hardship and torture. Eusebius was at that time already a presbyter of the church of Caesarea.

A careful examination of the chronology indicates that the persecution at the city took the form of five intermittent onslaughts on the Church, of which four were initiated by imperial edicts and the fifth by a visit by Maximinus Daia (the ruler of the prefecture Oriens, in which the province of Syria Palaestina was included) to Caesarea for the celebration of his birthday. Each assault was followed by a period of inactivity; in all they lasted no more than three years and a half. Thereafter a similar time elapsed until the end of the persecution. But even in the intervals that were free of martyrdoms Christians were not allowed full liberty of worship, and confessors who had been imprisoned were not released.

The archaeological excavations conducted in Caesarea in the 1990s and early 2000s, unearthed several of the structures which were the scene of the persecutions. Such are the palace of the Roman governor where Christians were brought for interrogation, trial, torture and imprisonment, as well as the stadium and theater, where some of the convicted were left as prey for wild beasts. The sacellum of the stadium, unearthed as well, was converted to a Martyrs Chapel after the triumph of the church.

Nova Petrechko
University of Auckland

Evil Men and their Women: Changing Memories of Maximus and Priscillian

When Priscillian, the bishop of Avila, came to Maximus' court at Trier in 384/5, he sought protection against the faction opposing him. Less than a year later, Maximus executed him for sorcery and participating in nocturnal meetings with immoral women. Maximus was defeated three years later by Theodosius I, and the entire Priscillian controversy was immortalised by Sulpicius Severus in his Chronicle in the first few years of the fifth-century. Maximus and Priscillian have been firmly associated with each other ever since.

This paper will argue that women play a unique role in determining the utopian or dystopian memories of Maximus and Priscillian by discussing the myriad depictions of both men as well as the women who feature so prominently in their lives. These women, often unnamed, play complex roles in Sulpicius' depictions of Maximus and Priscillian, sometimes illustrations of Maximus' piety and ideal family life and other times symbols of Priscillian's heresy. Maximus, though he is pious, is a brutish tyrant. Priscillian is egotistical, heretical, and able to beguile many fickle women. To the Gallic Chronicler, however, Maximus was a good emperor who defeated barbarians in combat and created security in an insecure world. Priscillian was just one more threat Maximus had been able to remove, hardly worthy of even being named. However, to Jerome, Priscillian was a legitimate bishop caught in a terrible conflict, only later becoming an evil man who was both a follower of evil women and a creator of evil women. These evolving memories of the two opposing men illustrate the complex place of gender in remembering emperors and tyrants in the early Byzantine world.

Silvio Roggo
University of Cambridge

A dissident voice at the end of Justinian's reign: patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople and imperial Aphthartism

This paper aims at a close examination of the resistance triggered by a puzzling case of religious innovation in Justinian's last year, i.e. his short-lived move towards Aphthartism – the belief that Christ

had already been impassible before his resurrection and not subjected to decay – and of how these dissident voices were treated. The apthartic edict, promulgated in late 564/early 565, has not yet been explained satisfactorily and poses a number of problems; the majority of scholarly approaches deal with it from an exclusively theological point of view. Not only does the edict seem to contradict the staunchly pro-Chalcedonian policy the emperor had promoted throughout his reign, Justinian also failed to address the various ecclesiastical critics equally: Whereas Eutychius, the patriarch of Constantinople, was removed from his see and sent into exile already in January 565, Anastasius, the patriarch of Antioch, even managed to assemble a council, which found the imperial edict heretical, and was still not deposed when Justinian died in November 565.

I shall be arguing that this inconsistency can best be explained by disconnecting Eutychius' downfall from his – undoubtedly genuine – resistance against Justinian's latest doctrinal idea. His deposition and exile have to be situated rather within the intense power struggle between competing factions at court, exacerbated by the facts that the imperial succession was not settled and that the aged Justinian towards the end of his life did not react to challenges in the same manner anymore as he had done earlier in his reign. This last point is evident through the noticeable increase in riots of the circus factions in Constantinople, as recorded by John Malalas and Theophanes, and his failure to respond adequately to plots directed against his own life.

Basing myself mainly on Eustratius' *Life of Eutychius* and the *Life of Symeon the Younger*, I will show that Eutychius was perceived as an opponent by a circle of influential senators and clergymen around the future emperor Justin II and consequently became the victim of a carefully staged plot. The plotters used his resistance against imperial Apathartism as a pretext to achieve his removal and replacement by Justin's close friend and ally, John Scholasticus, who subsequently was to act as a secure pillar for Justin's imperial aspirations. That doctrinal reasons were not the decisive element for Eutychius' removal from the patriarchal throne is not only underlined by the fact that he was the only cleric to be deposed, but also that his successor John, according to the chronicle of John of Nikiu, did himself not embrace apthartic tenets after his accession, contrary to what one would have to expect if this had been crucial.

Thus, I shall demonstrate that the imposition of orthodoxy, freshly defined by Justinian as including apthartic views, was not the chief purpose of Eutychius' deposition. His case was one of persecution of an individual who happened to be seen as an obstacle to their aims by an important circle who managed to influence the aged Justinian accordingly.

Catherine Rosbrook
University of Queensland

A Frankish Augustine? The Augustinian Elements in Gregory of Tours' Narration of the Conversion of King Clovis

Conversion narratives of powerful historical figures abound in late-antique texts. Book two of History of the Franks, which contains Gregory of Tours' narration of the conversion to Christianity of King Clovis of France, has received particular attention in modern scholarship. Scholars have previously noted the comparison Gregory makes between Clovis and Constantine. My paper will contribute to this discussion by suggesting another possible influence: the narrative of the conversion of Augustine, as recorded in Confessions. Indeed, there are interesting similarities between the two accounts, although the most prominent among them is the influential role played by women closely related to them. Like in the case of Augustine's mother Monica, the pious entreaty of Clovis' wife Clotilde is pivotal to the King's conversion. The advice of wise, local bishops and the prompt baptism following the men's conversions are also interesting similarities that the two narratives share.

Although Gregory never directly cites Saint Augustine, scholars such as Levison (1952) and Heinzelmann (1997) have identified other aspects of *History of the Franks* that bear Augustinian influence, including its similarity in subject matter to Saint Augustine's *City of God*. We also find that within Gregory's discussion of the early Merovingian period in book two, he explicitly compares his subjects to other prominent Christian figures similar to Augustine, like Constantine and Silvester. It may therefore be reasonable to conjecture Saint Augustine too could have had an influence on Gregory's narrative. This possibility of Augustinian influence has important implications for the historicity of Gregory's retelling of Clovis' conversion. It raises questions about the level of involvement that Clotilde and Remigius (the Bishop of Rheims) actually had in Clovis' conversion, and may lead us to reconsider the sequence in which the events comprising the conversion occurred.

Roger Scott
University of Melbourne

Coping with limits to free speech in Byzantium

Although the reign of Justinian has been lavished with praise as a golden age including the richness of its literature (e.g. A. Grabar, *The Golden Age of Justinian* 1967) it has also been noted that „*the first blow against ...higher education, the Library and the School, and with them the artes liberales ... was struck by Justinian. ... The emperor and the State took them over and adopted, as a principle of government, the intolerance which was in the very nature of Christianity.*“ (Lemerle, *Byzantine Humanism*, 73). Since then there has also been greater recognition of the practical aspect of the period's literature as distinct from its literary gems, and with this the need of writers to try to shape public opinion, at times in opposition to imperial policy. But given the restrictions on freedom of speech, this was clearly dangerous, so writers fearing persecution, particularly for heresy, found various ways of disguising their authorship but in a way that would still be recognizable by the audience for whom their message was intended.

This paper will examine some of the techniques used by writers to cope with such restraints, relying heavily on several papers by the Hungarian scholar, István Perczel, which, in my view, have not received adequate attention. Some of his suggestions include authors disguising officially heretical views inside orthodox documents (Cyril of Scythopolis inside the monogenes hymn attributed to Justinian, so enabling him to support the recently condemned Theodoret of Cyr), or using a pseudonym that still allows supporters to recognize the author (Pseudo-Caesarius being Theodore Ascidas, Justinian's major theological adviser, despite having opposing Origenist views; Dionysius the Areopagite as a (slightly loose) anagram for Agapitos, bishop of Rhodes). Other authors use different methods. But it is the extent of the need for disguising criticism of the regime that helps reveal an aspect of Justinian's golden age that needs greater attention.

Kosta Simić
Australian Catholic University

On the Correlation between Martyrdom and Eucharistic Sacrifice: Examples from Hagiography and Hymnography

Comparisons between martyrdom and martyrs' body parts and the Eucharist and the Eucharistic gifts are quite widespread in hagiographical texts, including both martyrs' lives and hagiographical hymns. Martyrs' bodies are compared to and virtually identified with the Eucharistic gifts offered at the Eucharistic Liturgy. Instead of offering bread and wine, the martyrs are presented as sacrificing their own body and offering it at the celestial altar.

The concept is encountered already in the Letters of Ignatius of Antioch and the Martyrdom of Polycarp. For example, Ignatius in his letter to the Roman Church, insists on the importance of the imitation of Christ's passion through martyrdom in order to be truly Christ's disciple. He also imbues his imminent death in Rome with a clear allusion to the Eucharist by mentioning the "*pure bread of Christ*" he longs to become: "*I am the wheat of God, and am ground by the teeth of the wild beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ*" (Letter to the Romans, 4).

Based on a well-established tradition widespread in hagiographical texts and liturgical practice, Byzantine hymnographers also developed such a correlation in their hymns praising saint martyrs. The aim of my paper is to shed some light on such comparisons in hagiographical and especially hymnographic texts in the early Byzantine tradition up to the ninth century.

Gillian Spalding-Stracey
Macquarie University

Christian Persecution of Pagans: Reflections on the removal of the ansate cross from Egypt's design vocabulary

The *crux ansata*, a particularly Egyptian type cross, was only ever seen in Egypt where it was in common use until around the sixth century. It was especially prominent in Upper Egypt where it was a popular motif on funerary stelae, and in wall paintings in churches and monasteries. It would seem that it was not used in Lower Egypt, though this could well be because extant evidence in the Nile Delta and surrounds has been lost though the pressures of population growth.

The *ansate cross*, *crux ansata*, or *ankh cross*, generally considered to be an indigenised version of the fundamental symbol of Christianity, is widely believed to have derived from the Ancient Egyptian hieroglyph, the ankh, not the least because of its visual similarity. In essence the motifs bear a close resemblance, the ankh differing in its teardrop shaped loop while the 'handle' of the ansate cross is usually depicted as circular. While it is possible that the ansate cross derived solely from the ankh, it has been my view that it had another antecedent in the Roman wreathed so-called Resurrection crosses often seen on sarcophagi, and generally symbolising victory over death.

Notwithstanding its likely origin, the apparent cessation of the ansate cross from the design lexicon of Egypt has been of interest to art historians and archaeologists, with no explanations provided. Concurrent with its falling into disuse, approximately in the mid sixth century, we see the growing dominance of the better-known Latin cross, which was already in general currency in the Mediterranean world. Indeed, the modern-day Coptic cross is derived from the Latin type. The reason for this abandonment of an indigenous form has been a conundrum, given the particularly Egyptian context of the design.

In proffering a possible explanation, it is my contention that the apparent elimination of this very Egyptian type of cross occurred as a consequence of Christian persecution of pagans. The political climate in Egypt had initially not been unfavourable to the pagan elite who, in places like Alexandria, continued to exert influence. Actions against pagans were spasmodic and uncoordinated for the most part during the earlier stages of the Christian empire. Later, during the fifth century, Abbot Shenoute led, and even participated in, violent campaigns against pagans. However, it was the emperor Justinian who was more forceful in his demands for absolute adherence to the Christian faith. His general, Narses, was despatched in the mid sixth century and travelled as far south as Philae in Upper Egypt, destroying the temple there, imprisoning priests and confiscating idols. Much like modern-day conformity to a brand, it is possible to speculate that Justinian's reach sounded the death knell for an indigenous Egyptian representation of Christian faith.

In this paper I will reflect on the sometimes violent persecutions of pagans by Christians that occurred in Egypt, especially in the fifth and sixth centuries, and examine Justinian's role in ensuring that Egypt's indigenised cross was removed from circulation and replaced by the more acceptable Latin type.

Erica Stainer
University of Sydney

The Graptoi: Persecution, Punishment, and Tattooing in the Early Medieval World

Tattooed people were arguably a relatively common sight in the classical world; it was a feature of the Greek and Roman judicial and penal systems, with slaves and criminals being tattooed by their owners and/or the state. Nor was early Christianity incompatible with the practice of tattooing, with references to tattooing found in both the Old and New Testaments. However, slaves and criminals were not the only people to have been tattooed in the ancient world; various 'barbarian' tribes such as the Thracians, Scythians, and certain African and Middle Eastern people tattooed. Yet much of the ancient evidence is beset with historical and ongoing issues surrounding the translation of key words, notably the stigma group of words, as well as with cultural biases which have interpreted past cultures through the lens of the current taboo.

The first part of this paper will look at the evidence for tattooing in the Mediterranean during the late antique and early medieval periods, and the second part will look at the case of the *Graptoi*: the late eighth/early ninth-century saints and brothers Theodorus and Theophanes. Their by-name means the 'Written-Upon', and I will argue that this refers to the practice of imperial penal tattooing – a practice which had long since ended by this period.

Ryan W. Strickler
University of Queensland

The Empire's Hangover: The Creepy Memory of Phocas in Early Seventh-Century Byzantine Literature

The emperor Maurice's death at the hands of the usurper Phocas in 602 was a controversial and decisive turning point in Byzantine history. Phocas's ascent to the throne ushered in a steep decline in Byzantine relations with the Persians, beginning a protracted conflict which lasted well past his own death at the hands of Heraclius in 610, who was left to secure a costly victory in 628.

Whatever affection the people may have held for Phocas at the beginning of his seizure of power is almost completely overshadowed in the memory of surviving sources. Ranging from monstrous depictions of George of Pisidia and Theophylact Simocatta, to subtler critiques by the author of the *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, Phocas is remembered as one of the most despised creatures to occupy the imperial throne. What's more, such memory is preserved in contemporary witnesses, writing shortly after the rise of Heraclius within the living memory of Phocas's reign.

Among the most colourful depictions are those of Phocas as a destroyer of the empire, or a drunken Centaur, a comparison twice made by Theophylact Simocatta. The same historian describes Phocas's reign as "*ravaging the imperial purple*" in a drunken rage, an image with clear overtones of rape and hypermasculinity. This paper examines such creepy depictions of Phocas in Theophylact Simocatta and George of Pisidia, and what their near contemporary nature tells us about Byzantine memory and Byzantine conceptions of "bad rulers".

İlhami Tekin Cinemre
Karadeniz Technical University

A Second Apostata? Impious Papas in Christian History of Armenia

The term Apostata is one of the most remarkable and prominent terms of the Roman Empire in the late antiquity. This word basically symbolizes the last large effort of Paganism in the second half of the fourth century, when traditional belief decline rapidly, is surprisingly connected with Iulianus, the last member of the House of Constantine, which brought Christianity to a free status in the Roman Empire. Only seven years after Iulianus died, Papas, who came to power in Armenia, the fragile ally of the Romans, was described by Armenian sources as Impious (*Anawrēn*), as Iulianus described. There is clearly a direct resemblance between the conversion of Iulianus from Christianity to paganism and Papas' attempt to protect the syncretic faith of Armenia (actually Zoroastrian traditions) in clashing with Christianity.

It is usual for both Iulianus and Papas (and of course Yazdegerd I) to be regarded as opposed in historiography based on religious tradition. The question to be asked in this context is what role the internal balances in Armenia have played in characterizing the king as impious by Armenian historians. However, it should also be noted that Christian historians who wrote at least a century later have interpreted the internal affairs disrupting sensitive balances in Armenia such as the feudal system, the monarchy and the clash of the clergy. To pieces of textual evidence provided by Historians interrogated the question whether Papas was truly impious. In addition, were there economic and theological struggles (for instance, financial concerns of the aristocratic church or Arius debate) in the clashing of the monarchy and the clergy?

The depiction of the king Papas in historical records written by Armenian clergymen indicates the existence of a conflict between the church and the kingdom. But unfortunately Papas was not as lucky as Iulianus since while there are historians who represent pagan traditions in Roman Empire, there is not even a single work created in Armenia under the influence of Pre-Christian period. Therefore, every activity against the Christianity defined by the church is sufficient for Papas to be faithless. Moreover, the killing of the Catholicos by the Papas and his effort to revive the pagan churches was a strong counter argument to the Armenian historiography.

The main aim of this paper is to re-discuss whether the Armenian King Papas can be considered as a second Apostate, or not.

John Theodoridis
Macquarie University

Monastic Dissidence and Dissidents: The Case of St Athanasios the Athonite

St Athanasios the Athonite arrived on Mount Athos, or rather escaped to Mount Athos from Mount Kyminas in Bythina in the late 950s. In the two versions of the life of the Saint the reason given for his choice of Mount Athos was his wish to pursue the eremitic form of monasticism which was the prevailing type according to both versions of the life which was practiced on the mountain at that time. Less than ten years following his arrival disagreements between St Athanasios and the elders of the mountain resulted. The cause for the disagreement was the foundation by St Athanasios of the Monastery of The Great Lavra, at the instigation and financial support of the general and later emperor Nikephoros Phokas, the spiritual child of St Athanasios.

This event was seen by the Elders of the mountain as the abandonment of the old ways and the change of the monastic traditions from eremitic to the communal or coenobitic form of monasticism. The opposition to St Athanasios continued during the lifetime of the emperor Nikephoros but remained

low key only to emerge as open disagreement with the dissident Athanasios following the assassination of the emperor and the ascendancy to the imperial throne of Nikephoros's nephew and murderer John Tsimiskis.

The outcome of the first of the disputes was a victory for St Athanasios's innovations and was reflected in the issuing by the emperor of the document commonly known as the "Tragos", the most important and one of the earliest documents surviving on Mount Athos which may be compared to the foundational constitution of the holy community on Mount Athos. The differences however continued even after this imperial intervention and the two lives referred to a second attempt by the elders to bring their grievances and disagreements against St Athanasios to imperial attention following the coming into power of Tsimiskis's successor, the emperor Basil II but again the outcome was favourable to St Athanasios. The importance of the Monastery of the Great Lavra remains to this day and it is still the largest monastic community on Mount Athos to this day with almost 400 of the 1800 or so monks who reside in the communities of this Holy Mountain.

Charles Thorne
Macquarie University

'φύσις and marital life in Justinian's Novels'.

My research investigates the Christian influences upon the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* of Justinian I (r. 527-565). One method is to contrast the use of φύσις in the Novels with the φύσις/natura of the Patristic tradition. To illustrate the parity between these two forms of evidence, this paper looks at the polarised function of law, nature and piety in the contexts of marriage, divorce and intercourse. Importantly, this polarity also engenders a wide variety of legal penalties.

If adherence to Nature fostered intimacy with God which was therefore also civilly lawful, a rejection of Nature therefore, logically, entailed a separation from God and civil law – a polarity manifest in the emperor's claim to be promulgating law in God's name. As a key concern of the Church Fathers was to establish the 'best way' for a Christian to conduct him/herself in this worldly life, the questions of marriage, divorce and intercourse were of foundational importance. The aim of this paper is twofold: firstly, express the notional parity between certain Church Fathers and the Novels in regard to their treatment of marriage, divorce and intercourse, and how these concepts related to φύσις; secondly, highlight the legal penalties for contravening the natural/pious construct.

Building upon exegesis, early Christian writers conceptualised a Christian impression of Natural law, and readily 'applied' it to contemporary society. Beginning with Clement of Alexandria (c. 150-215) and continuing through to John Chrysostom (c. 349-407) Nature/Natural law was equated with or explicitly stated to be a product of God, meaning that anything acting in contravention of Nature, i.e. anything that was deemed to be unnatural, was also framed as ungodly. Marriage and intercourse were now subsumed under the wider paradigm of Christian Natural law. Theological perceptions of marriage and intercourse varied greatly, especially from East to West, but generally, marital intercourse was spared the stain of sin if it was undertaken primarily for procreation (St. Augustine adopted a much firmer view in the West due to his notion of Original Sin), while divorce and remarriage were both abhorred owing to the perceived, fundamental singularity of Christian marriage (especially so in the East).

Following this framework, I illustrate how the Novels distinguish between natural/pious – unnatural/impious marriage and natural/pious – unnatural/impious intercourse, while also highlighting the spiritual seniority (a seniority which fosters greater intimacy with φύσις) of unmarried widows.

Alfred Vincent
University of Sydney

Satire and Subversion in the *Donkey's Chapbook*: A post-Byzantine treatment of Byzantine themes

The *Donkey's Chapbook* (Η Φυλλάδα του Γαδάρου) is a masterpiece of early modern Greek satirical verse, first printed in 1539 but probably composed several decades earlier. It was reprinted numerous times and assimilated to some extent into oral tradition. The Chapbook is an anonymous narrative poem in vernacular Greek, in 540 lines of fifteen-syllable verse, arranged in rhyming couplets, and generally considered to be of Cretan provenance. It is a clever re-working of an older poem, *The Life of the Esteemed Donkey* (Συναξάριον του τιμημένου Γαδάρου), which has survived in a single manuscript version.

In the Chapbook, Fox and Wolf decide to go hunting together. As a potential victim they pick on an old, worn-out Donkey who has been retired to a meadow. In order to isolate and eventually kill him, they invite him to become their business partner on a trip to Tana in the Black Sea region. Despite his suspicions, Donkey accepts. As they sail north Fox, who claims to have been a student of Lord Leo the Wise (the Emperor Leo VI, famous for his alleged prophetic powers), pretends to foresee a terrible storm. At this moment of mortal danger, she says, they must all confess their sins. So Fox and Wolf confess the most heinous crimes, for which they say they have done penance, and each absolves the other. Donkey can think of nothing to confess, except that he once stole a lettuce-leaf from the load on his back. This leads to the immortal couplet in which Fox exclaims:

Να φας το μαρουλόφυλλον εκείνο χωρίς ξίδι;
Και πώς δεν επνιγήκαμεν ετούτο το ταξίδι;
(You didn't have vinegar with that lettuce-leaf?
How come we've not all drowned upon this voyage?)

Donkey is duly condemned to death, but finds a way to get the better of the two carnivores.

Although Donkey's 'sin' is often considered to be purely gastronomic, I will argue that it can be interpreted in the context of the satire on hypocritical monastics and exploitative erudition. In the poem, canon law is faked and weaponised. The Chapbook's satire can be seen as a late manifestation of a theme in Byzantine and early modern Greek vernacular writing, familiar from the poems of Ptochoprodromos and continuing into late- or post-Byzantine works such as Bergadis' *Apokopos*. In the Chapbook, however, there are intriguing variations.

The carnivores consider Donkey easy prey for persecution and manipulation simply because he is weak and unsophisticated — or so they think! In this allegory he clearly represents the unprivileged masses. Fox is the intellectual, claiming to be an expert in canon law and “quoting” from a standard manual. Wolf for his part represents a different elite group, relying on brute force to exploit and tyrannise. In the end both are humiliated, and Fox (in character) underlines the moral lesson: brains are not a monopoly of the few, their plotting was a crime and God's justice extends to all.

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Sailors and Partisans: Dissidence, Advocacy and Empire-Wide Calls to Action

In the *Doctrina Jacobi*, the young sea-merchant Jacob became involved in factional confrontations and skirmishes in various port cities that he visited. Able to assimilate seamlessly into the partisan groups he encountered at each port, Jacob rarely had to travel far from the docks to find trouble. To date, the

study of civil unrest in the Late Roman and Early Byzantine periods has largely been confined to the terrestrial environment and those who inhabited it; however, there is evidence to suggest that many sailors, itinerant merchants and dockyard workers were also allied to one or other of the factions or political groups. In addition, sources record that factional activity sometimes occurred offshore. Fifth to seventh-century historians note that there were partisan sailors who were engaged in naval combat, piracy and a variety of criminal acts at sea.

This paper will demonstrate that those involved in civil disturbances, including circus faction members, were not only recalcitrant and unruly locals. These men could also be seafarers with navigational skills, knowledge of ports and coastlines, and ready access to a range of maritime resources. Seafaring men had access to, and often facilitated, vast long-distance communication networks. Maritime expertise could be extremely valuable and, as a result, it was often harnessed by political, ecclesiastical and factional leaders. A good example is Heraclius' amassing of Green faction supporters, many of whom supplied him with ships and other necessary provisions and sailed with him on his voyage to reclaim Constantinople in the early seventh century. The sailors of the state-sponsored Alexandrian fleet also demonstrate that groups of mariners could become extremely influential. Alexandrian sailors and shipowners provided both political and physical support to a number of factional and ecclesiastical leaders throughout the fourth to sixth centuries.

The extensive and effective maritime communication network that existed throughout the Mediterranean was utilised by political, ecclesiastical and factional leaders alike. This maritime network helped to maintain factional and political cohesion over a vast region, but it also enabled the rapid spread of ideology, protest and dissent. Alongside their cargoes, sailors, merchants and other travellers carried a range of ideas and information; not all of which were conducive to a harmonious and balanced state.

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The *Dekanneakkoubita* as a setting for the statement and contestation of power

The *Dekanneakkoubita*, or Hall of Nineteen Couches, is mentioned in the tenth-century *Patria* as one of the palace buildings constructed by Constantine I. It is likely, but not certain, that it can be identified with the 'Great Triclinium' in which the body of Constantine I lay in state, prior to its removal to his tomb at the location of the Church of the Holy Apostles. It appears within the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogennitus as a pivotal location in the chronologically earlier chapters of the book, for example as the backdrop for the disputed succession to emperor Zeno which took place in its portico, before the intercession of Zeno's widow. The Hall's significance is highlighted by the perceived need for Constantine VII, the descendant of the usurping Macedonian dynasty, to make the major commitment of restoring the building, after it had evidently fallen into ruin, along with the palace ritual, as he highlights in his opening remarks. It was evidently symbolic of his ambition to restore the Roman traditions of the palace. A gilded ceiling had been installed to replace the old roof, and from a room above it, golden platters were lowered to provide a spectacle to the diners beneath. The hall was evidently impressive enough to warrant inclusion in Luitprand's acerbic account of his embassy in Constantinople. In this paper I will review the evidence provided by the *Book of Ceremonies*, and Luitprand's *Anapodosis* for the hall's significance as a setting for political representation and disputation. Textual evidence will be supplemented with comparative typological, and topographical evidence. Here archaeology is only of use in providing building examples which appear to be analogous to the *Dekanneakkoubita* as revealed by the texts. Aside from some unidentifiable remains located by ground penetrating survey in the forecourt of the Sultanahmet Mosque (Evren *et al.* 2012), there is no material evidence for the hall's location and form. However,

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building on Luchterhand's important work on the eighth-century Lateran Palace (1999; 2015), and Naumann (1964) and Bardill's (1997) topographical studies of Constantinople, I will propose a formal and ceremonial reconstruction of this hall, which at up to 130 m in length may have constituted the largest palace hall of the Late Antique and Byzantine world. Reconstruction, even if necessarily schematic, is essential to the development of a plausible general topography for the Great Palace.