This year we are again delighted to welcome new members to our fold, namely Cecily Hilsdale, an Assistant Professor in the Department of Art History and Communication Studies at McGill, and Conor Whatley, a sessional assistant professor in the Department of Classics at Winnipeg University. In accord with our custom their full curricula vitae may be found in “Activities of Members”.

Congratulations are due to Linda Safran on being awarded a Visiting Fellowship at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, to Jim Payton for his appointment as Calvin Lecturer, to Andrew Faulkner, Greg Fisher and Cecily Hilsdale on being awarded three-year SSHRC Standard Research Grants and to Andrew also for his Alexander von Humboldt fellowship for an 18-month sabbatical stay in Heidelberg Germany between 2011 and 2013 (note also that Andrew would be very happy to hear from any member or student interested in his project on the “Metaphrasis Psalmorum attributed to Apollinaris of Laodicea or in Late Antique/Byzantine classicizing poetry in general).

Since it is high time that somebody with fresh ideas took over, I am resigning this month as president of our group, which henceforth will be in the invigorating care of Geoffrey Greatrex. Greg Fisher has kindly consented to take on the burden of being secretary/treasurer. This, then, will be my last newsletter; and I wish to thank members for their tolerance of my quirks such as refusing to list publications chronologically backwards.

Antony Littlewood
ACTIVITIES OF MEMBERS

E.C. BOURBOUHAKIS:
Publication:
He also taught this last term a course entitled “Griechische Geschichtsschreibung in der Spätantike und in Byzanz” and is due to teach one this Spring on “Hellenismus im Mittelalter: griechische Vorbilder von Byzanz zu Gross-Brittanien”, both at the Albert-Ludwig Universität Freiburg.

S. CAMPBELL:
Lecture:
“The Cistercian Monastery of Zaraka”, at the Canadian Institute in Greece on October 5, 2010 ("This lecture focused on the daily life of the monastery, in the early 13th century, and formed the basis of one of the chapters in the forthcoming publication of the excavations at Zaraka").
Sheila further writes that she is also about to submit for publication a book entitled “Writing Sermons in Colour” written in collaboration with Andreas Andreopoulos (University of Winchester) and Adelina Angusheva-Tihanov (University of Manchester). This book contains a detailed study of twelve Russian icons from the point of view of an Art Historian, a specialist in mediaeval Slavic literature and hagiography, and a theologian.”

M.C. CASSIS:
Publications:
Reviews:
R. Sabbagh, F. Ayash, J. Balty, F.B. Chatonnet and A. Desremaux, Le martyrion Saint-Jean dans la moyenne vallée del'Euphrate: Fouilles de la Direction

Lectures:
“Beyond Churches and Palaces: New Directions in Late Antique and Byzantine Archaeology”, Department of Archaeology Seminar Series, Memorial University, March 5, 2010.

M. DIMNIK:
Publications:
The Apocrypha of Adam and Eve in Russia: The Forbidden Fruit (VDM Verlag Dr. Müller, 2010).
“Ryurik Rostislavich (d. 1208?): the Unsung Champion of the Rostislavichi”, Ruthenica VIII (2009), pp. 31-65.

A.T. FAULKNER:
Publication:
Lecture:
“Metaphrase des Psaumes d'Apollinaire de Laodicée et la poésie grecque chrétienne de l'Antiquité Tardive”, at seminar on Late Antique Poetry and the Metaphrasis Psalmorum at the Université Laval.
Andrew further writes: “I was this year awarded a three-year SSHRC Standard Research Grant for my project to produce a critical edition and study of the Metaphrasis Psalmorum, traditionally attributed to the fourth-century bishop Apollinaris of Laodicea. I also received an Alexander von Humboldt fellowship for an 18-month sabbatical stay in Heidelberg Germany (to be taken in two stages: 1 Aug. 2011 - 31 Aug. 2012 and 1 April 2013 - 31 Aug. 2013) to complete this project. If any of the members or their students are interested in my project or Late Antique/Byzantine classicizing poetry in general, I would be very happy to hear from them.”
G. FISHER:
Lectures:
“Arab allies of Rome and Iran in Late Antiquity”, at Queen’s University, March 10th 2010.
“Trapped on a rock between two lions: the Arabs between Rome and Iran in Late Antiquity”, at conference Beyond Borders: Ancient Societies and Their Conceptual Frontiers at the University of California, Santa Barbara in April 16th-18th 2010.
“Berber leaders in post-Roman Algeria: some Near Eastern parallels, some possibilities and more questions”, at University of Cambridge Byzantine Seminar, October 13th, 2010.
He has been awarded a three-year SSHRC standard research grant (2010-2013) for work on “Rome, Iran and their clients, A.D. 400-750); and has signed a contract with O.U.P. for a monograph entitled Between Empires. Arabs, Romans, and Sassanians in Late Antiquity which is due to appear in April 2011.

P. T. R. GRAY:
Publications:
Lecture:
He is continuing work on his Claiming the Mantle of Cyril and has “actually written some of it”.

G. GREATREX:
Publications:
“Patriarchs and Politics in Constantinople in the Reign of Anastasius (with a Re-
edition of O. Mon. Epiph. 59)” (with Jitse Dijkstra), Millennium 6 (2009), pp. 223-
264.
“The fall of Macedonius reconsidered”, in J. Baun, A. Cameron, M. Edwards and
“Procopius and Pseudo-Zachariah of Mytilene on the fall of Amida and its
aftermath (502-6)”, in H. Börm and J. Wieshöfer (edd.), Commutatio et Contentio,
Festschrift für Zeev Rubin (Düsseldorf, 2010).
Reviews:
J. Wieshöfer and P. Huyse (edd.), _r_n ud An_r_n. Studien zu den Beziehungen
zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt (Stuttgart, 2006), in Phoenix
63 (2009), pp. 208-211.
P. Pourshariati, Decline and Fall of the Sasanian Empire. The Sasanian-Parthian
Confederacy and the Arab Conquest of Iran (London/New York, 2008), in
Speculum (forthcoming).
D. Brodka and M. Stachura (edd.), Continuity and Change. Studies in Late Antique

He also attended a conference in Istanbul in late May entitled 'Byzantine Days in
Istanbul' organised by the Turkish Historical Society as a celebration of Istanbul's
year as European city of culture. There were three days of papers, including one in
the church of St Eirene, as well as an excursion to the Black Sea Coast and the
Anastasian Walls. Some 40 Byzantine scholars were present from Turkey, Greece,
France, Britain, Australia, the U.S., Germany and elsewhere, and the papers should
be published in 2011.

R.P.H. GREENFIELD:
Richard writes: “I spent much of the year completing the draft translation of
Niketas Stethatos’ Life of Symeon the ‘New’ Theologian for the new Dumbarton
Oaks Medieval Library series. Hopefully this will be forthcoming in 2011. During
my leave I was able to take trips to Greece and Istanbul, where I gave a lecture at
Bogazici University with my wife, Dr Anne Foley (see article in this issue). In
August one of my Master’s students, Simon O’Riordan, completed his degree with
a research project on ‘Byzantine popular urban processions: the creation of a holy
space to connect with the Divine’. I currently have three other Master’s students
working with me (James Morton, Mary Smida and A.J. Thomson) on topics which
include ‘Byzantine political and religious relations with Southern Italy’ and
‘Attitudes to wealth and poverty in the Byzantine church’. Graduate interest in
Byzantium and the Middle Ages continues to develop at Queen’s (I have five MA
students in my seminar on the Crusades this year) while I am delighted to be teaching a new undergraduate lecture on Byzantium to a class of 130.

C.J. HILSDALE:
Assistant Professor, Department of Art History and Communication Studies, McGill University, Montréal (tel.: 514-398-3651).
Education:
B.F.A. Concordia University, 1993.
M.A. in Art History, University of Chicago, 1996.
Teaching Positions:
Antioch University, Los Angeles – Lecturer, 1999-2000.
University of Chicago - Preceptor in Masters of Arts Program, 2002-2003.
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor - Visiting Assistant Professor and Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Art History, 2003-2005.
University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas - Assistant Professor, Department of Art History, 2005-2006.
Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois – Assistant Professor, Department of Art History, 2006-2009.
McGill University, Montréal – Assistant Professor, Department of Art History and Communication Studies, 2009 –.
Select Honours and Awards:
Alice Kaplan Institute for the Humanities, Faculty Affiliation, Northwestern University, 2007-2008
Individual Research Grant, University Research Grant Committee, Northwestern University, 2008
National Endowment for the Humanities, Summer Stipend, Summer 2008.
Alice Kaplan Institute for the Humanities, Junior Fellowship, Northwestern University, 2008-2009.
SSHRC Standard Research Grant, 2010-2013 (Project: The Ends of Empire: Byzantine Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline).
Major Research Interests:
Cultural exchange in the medieval Mediterranean, in particular the circulation of Byzantine luxury objects as diplomatic gifts.
Languages:
Modern (reading knowledge): French, German, Italian, and Spanish.
Ancient: Greek (including palaeographic training) and Latin.
Publications:
*The Ends of Empire: Byzantium Art and Diplomacy in an Age of Decline* (book manuscript in progress).
Reviews:
Review Essay:
http://www.greekworks.com/content/index.php/weblog/extended/late_byzantine_artistic_identity_negotiating_faith_and_power/.
Lectures:
“Alienating the Inalienable: The Exchange of Gifts and Brides between Byzantium and the West”, Late Antique and Byzantine Studies Workshop, University of Chicago, Chicago, May 2003.
“A Perfect Gift from Above: The Procession and Return of Pseudo-Dionysios”, Late Antique and Byzantine Studies Workshop, University of Chicago, November 2003.
“Before the Third Rome: Dynastic Politics and Iconography on the Early
Fifteenth-Century Sakkos of Metropolitan Photios”, Late Antique and Byzantine Studies Workshop, University of Chicago, May 2007.


“Staging the Diachronic City” (with Hannah Feldman), Northwestern Faculty Seminar, Istanbul, Turkey, June 2008.


“Byzantine Art in Chicago”, Conference on Medieval Art in Chicago area collections held in conjunction with the Medieval Academy of America Annual Conference, Loyola University Art Museum Chicago, March 2009.


Research Teams and Workshops:

Member of the Interdisciplinary Workshop on Boundary Crossings and Cultural Exchange in Early Modern Societies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 2003-2004.

Member of the Late Antique and Byzantine Studies Workshop, University of Chicago, 2006-2009.

Participant in Northwestern University’s Faculty Seminar in Istanbul, Turkey, June 2008.

Member of the “Transmission, Translation, and Transformation in Medieval Cultures” Research Team supported by the Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture (FQRSC), McGill University, Fall 2009-. 
Course Offerings:
Survey Courses: Art History I: Ancient to Medieval Art; Art History II: Renaissance to Modern Art; Ancient Art and Architecture; Medieval Art and Architecture; Late Antique and Byzantine Art and Architecture.
Specialized Courses: Arts of Medieval Spain; Art and Crusade; The Medieval City: Constantinople; Medieval Pilgrimage: Creating Sacred Landscapes; Visual Monstrosities.
Graduate Seminars: Advanced Pro-Seminar; Istanbul Imagined (co-taught on site in Istanbul); Medieval Encounters with Islam; The Medieval Gift: Anthropological Theory and Art Historical Practice; Image and Sovereignty.
Professional Affiliations and Service:
Byzantine Studies Association of North America, member (elected to the Governing Board, 2010-2014).
Canadian Committee of Byzantinists, member.
Canadian Society of Medievalists, member.
College Art Association, member.
International Center of Medieval Art (member of the Nominating Committee, 2007-2008, Membership and Promotion Committee, 2009-2011, elected to the Board of Directors, 2009-2012).
Medieval Academy of America (member of the Kalamazoo Program Committee, 2009-2012).
Medieval Mediterranean Seminar, UC Santa Cruz, associate.
Renaissance Society of America, member.

D. KRALLIS:
Reviews:
Lecture:
“Harmless Satire, stinging critique: a new reading of the Timarion”, at the 43rd Spring Symposium at the University of Birmingham, March 2010.
Dimitris further writes: “During 2010 I submitted my book manuscript at the Arizona Center of Medieval and Renaissance Studies. After two positive reviews I am waiting for the board meeting in mid-December to make their final decision on it. The title will be: Attaleiates and the politics of imperial decline in eleventh century Byzantium. Over the last year I worked with Anthony Kaldellis of The Ohio State University on a collaborative translation project of Attaleiates' History.
Our text is now at DO for assessment and we are working on introductions, glossaries and other accompanying material. I am currently finishing a larger review of Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper's Empire's in World History, focusing specifically on the representation of the Roman Empire, Byzantium, the Caliphate, the Carolingians and the Ottoman Empire, and the implications of what these eminent historians of the modern world (Russian and Colonial African history) produce for our field and for the public's conception of Byzantium. I have yet to decide on the venue for this review and I will happily entertain suggestions on that.”

A.R. LITTLEWOOD:
Publication:
Review:
Lecture:

E.M. McGEER:
Eric writes that his “main event remains the project to create a digital, online catalogue of the seals in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, and its eventual integration into a larger database containing the seals from all major collections. We are having a general meeting of sigillographers and numismatists in early December to establish procedures and standards and we hope to begin the process early in 2011.”

J. OSBORNE:
John writes: “The highlight of the past year was the international conference on the church of Old St Peter’s, held in Rome in March 2010, which I co-organized with Rosamond McKitterick, Joanna Story, and Carol Richardson. I also presented a paper entitled ‘Plus Cesare Petrus: the medieval understanding of the Vatican obelisk’. The papers are currently in the process of being edited for publication.”
J.R. PAYTON:
Publications:
Lectures:
ARIHE (Association of Reformed Institutions of Higher Education) appointed him the Calvin Lecturer for 2009-2010, the 500th anniversary of Calvin’s birth. In that capacity, he presented multiple lectures on Calvin at New St. Andrews College (Moscow, Idaho); Geneva College (Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania); Trinity Christian College (Palos Heights, Illinois); The King’s University College (Edmonton, Alberta); and Redeemer University College (Ancaster, Ontario).
Jim further writes: “CAREE (Christians Associated for Relationships with Eastern Europe) is a UN-endorsed NGO which has worked in and for Eastern Europe in the pursuit of peace, justice, and reconciliation for more than 50 years. From 1998-2006 I served as Executive Secretary; since 2006 I serve as President. In that capacity: (a) I organized and led a conference, "After Twenty Years: Religion in Post-Communist Eastern Europe," which met in New York City on November 20, 2009. (b) I attended, by personal invitation from the Honorable Elizabeta Kanchevska-Milevska, Minister of Culture of the Republic of Macedonia, the Second World Conference on Inter-Religious and Inter-Civilization Dialogue, held in Ohrid, Macedonia, May 6-8, 2010 [at which he delivered a paper "Recognizing a Problem, Challenging a Pattern"].”
Also “In 2008, I was elected Christian co-chair of the National Muslim/Christian Liaison Committee of Canada. In that capacity: (1) I helped to organize and lead the event, ‘Religions’ Role in Keeping Peace: Responses to “A Common Word Between Us and You”’, held at the Multi-Faith Centre, University of Toronto (October 7, 2008). (2) I organized and led the event, ‘Lita’arafl: Getting to Know Each Other’, held at the Multi-Faith Center, University of Toronto (October 1, 2010).”

G.PEERS:
Publications (these can be found in pdf format at http://utexas.academia.edu/GlennPeers):


Translation:


Reviews:


Lectures;

"Gold and Face: Living Members of the Menil's Byzantium," at the Menil Collection, Houston, in February 2010


Series of lectures at the Tbilisi State University, November 2010.
L. SAFRAN:
Publications:
Reviews:
Lectures:
“Recovering Jewish Life in Medieval Southern Italy”, at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
“The Late Medieval Salento: Beyond ‘East’ and ‘West’”, at the Ben Gurion University of the Negev.
“Lessons from Li Monaci”, at IMAGO medieval conference, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
“Donation and Commemoration in Medieval Mediterranean Art”, Robert H. Smith Memorial Conference plenary address, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.
As a visiting professor at the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Cyprus (Nicosia), she spoke also on “Painted Prayers in Medieval Southern Italy”, “The Social Life of Things in the Salento”, and “Gender in Medieval Italy”.
Linda further writes, “This year I am a Visiting Fellow at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto, where I am happily finishing my book on Art and Identity in the Medieval Salento. I shall also be teaching a course for York University on Jewish art in (late) antiquity. I have completed a four-year term on the Board of the Byzantine Studies Association of North America (BSANA) and am pleased to say that two other Canadians, Cecily Hilsdale and Dimitrios Krallis, were elected to the Board at the recent BSC in Philadelphia. Dimitri has also taken over my former role as keeper of the BSANA website (www.bsana.net).

C. WHATELY:
Sessional Assistant Professor, Department of Classics, University of Winnipeg
Education:
M.A. in Classics, McMaster University, 2005 (dissertation: The Movement and Emplacement of the Legions and Auxiliary Units of the Roman Army in Moesia from 29 BC to AD 235).
Ph.D. in Classics and Ancient History, the University of Warwick, 2009
(dissertation: *Descriptions of Battle in the Wars of Procopius*).

Honours and Distinctions:
Dean’s List, McMaster University, 2001-2003.
A.G. MacKay Award (for classics), McMaster University, 2003.
Bursaries, Classical Association, for the Annual Conferences in Newcastle (2006), and Birmingham (2007).
Humanities Research Centre, the University of Warwick, Doctoral Fellowship, 2007-2008.

Research Interests:
War in the ancient and medieval worlds (Greek, Roman, Byzantine — military thought, war and culture, battles, strategy, war and society, etc.), historiography (especially Greek and late antique through middle Byzantine), foreign relations, frontiers, epigraphy.

Publications:
“el-Lejj_n: Logistics and Localization on Rome’s East Frontier in the Sixth Century,” in N. Christie, L. Lavan, and A. Sarantis (edd), *Late Antique Archaeology: The Archaeology of War in Late Antiquity*, Leiden (forthcoming).
“Mitchell, Catastrophe, and Warfare in the Sixth Century”, in R. Bhola and R. Edwards (edd.), *The Later Roman Empire Into Perspective* (forthcoming, publisher to be confirmed).
Bibliographic Essay (with A. Sarantis, title tbc), in N. Christie, L. Lavan and A. Sarantis (edds.), *Late Antique Archaeology: The Archaeology of War in Late Antiquity*, Leiden (in preparation).


Further work in preparation comprises: “The Historian and the General: Narrative and Battle in Procopius’ Wars” (book manuscript – proposal very well received by CUP; strongly encouraged to submit manuscript for publication by CUP); “The Organization of the Moesian Army from Augustus to Constantine” (book manuscript tentatively accepted by BAR/Archaeopress); “Antoninus Pius and the Fall of the Roman Army” (journal article); “Military Education for Emperors in Late Antiquity” (journal article); “Agathias on Battle” (journal article); and in later years research on War in the Age of Justinian; Soldiers and Civilians in the east from Arcadius to Heraclius; War and Culture in Late Antiquity – Visual representations of war in Late Antiquity; Military Education; Literacy; Religion; Logistics of the Roman Army in late antiquity; Army and Authority in late antiquity – emperor, church, military command; Late Antique and Byzantine Historiography – Agathias, Jordanes, Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite; Reception of Late Antique Historiography in Middle Byzantine Era (9th – 12th centuries); and The Crisis of the Third Century.

Reviews:


Lectures:

“Troop Movement and Supply in the Moesias from Augustus to Vespasian”, McMaster Department of Classics, Graduate Work in Progress Graduate Seminar Series, January 2005.

“Procopius and the Battle of Dara”, Warwick Department of Classics and Ancient History, Graduate Student Symposium, May 2006.

“Procopius, Maurice, and the Discipline of the Roman Army in the Sixth Century”, ‘Beyond the Battlefields’ Graduate Conference, the University of Oxford, July 2006.

“Battle Narratives in the Wars of Procopius: Some Observations”, Byzantine Spring Symposium, the University of Birmingham, April 2007.
“Logistics and Localization on Rome’s East Frontier in the Sixth Century,” University of Warwick, Department of Classics and Ancient History, Research Seminar Series November 2007.
“Numbers, Characterization, and Rhetoric in Procopius’ Gothic Wars”, University of Warwick, Department of Classics and Ancient History, Graduate Student Symposium May 2008.
“Textual Unity in Procopius’ Wars,” Late Antique and Byzantine Historiography Colloquium, Cardiff University, January 2009.
“The Militarization of the East Roman Elite in the Sixth Century”, Queen’s University, Belfast, February 2009.
“Jordanes, the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains, and Constantinople” Political Discourse and History Colloquium, Department of Classics and Religious Studies, the University of Ottawa, October 2010.

Courses Taught:
Teaching assistant for Introduction to Greek and Roman Literature and Mythology, Introduction to Roman History at McMaster University, 2003-2005.

Professional Memberships:
Classical Association of Canada.
Canadian Committee of Byzantinists.
Canadian Section of the Association for Late Antiquity.
Canadian Society for Syriac Studies.
American Philological Association  
Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.  
Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies.

J. WORTLEY:  
Publications:  
*Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*, Ashgate, Variorum 2009.  
John writes of this: “The present volume is the result of a somewhat unusual piece of Anglo- (or rather Canadian-) French cooperation. Skylitzes composed his /Synopsis/ in Greek, a language no longer widely read these days. Three Byzantinists, two French, one Canadian, meeting in the summer of 1991, resolved to render the work accessible to modern students. One of the French scholars, Bernard Flusin, would make a French translation of the text while the Anglophone, John Wortley, generated an English version. More to the point, they were to exchange their work, chapter by chapter, each using the other’s work to control his own; they both also independently checked their translations against the partial German text of Thurn, the creator of the critical edition of the Greek text from which both translators were working. What advantage Monsieur Flusin reaped from this process is not for the present writer to say, but he can unhesitatingly and gratefully acknowledge that, for his part, he benefited enormously from the superior skills of his French colleague and long time friend.

While the translators toiled at their twelve year task, the third triumvir, Jean-Claude Cheynet produced the excellent set of notes which already grace the French edition of the text. These have now been turned into English and (slightly augmented in a very few places) appended to the text which is now before you. May you find as much joy in reading it as I had in the making of it.”

S. YOUNG:  
Susan has been studying the mediaeval glass from the Cistercian monastery of Zaraka in the valley of Stymphalos.

MEMBERS' E-MAIL ADDRESSES

Emmanuel Bourbouhakis - bourbouh@fas.harvard.edu
David Buck - dbuck@upei.ca
Sheila Campbell - sheila.campbell@utoronto.ca
EXCAVATIONS AT BATUREN IN 2010

In 1669 Baturyn became the capital of the Cossack Hetman State and rivalled Kyiv and Chernihiv, the largest cities in central Ukraine. Baturyn’s prosperity was undermined when Hetman Ivan Mazeppa (1687-1709) rebelled against Russia’s control over the Cossack land. In retaliation Tsar Peter I sent his troops against the rebel base in 1708 and razed it.

Last summer the Canada-Ukraine archaeological expedition carried out its annual excavations in Baturyn. The project is sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS), the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (PIMS)
in Toronto, and the Shevchenko Scientific Society of America (SSS-A). Prof. Zenon Kohut, Director of CIUS, heads the undertaking. Prof. Orest Popovych, President of SSS-A, is its patron and academic adviser. Dr. Volodymyr Kovalenko, University of Chernihiv, leads the expedition. Dr. Volodymyr Mezentsev (CIUS), Prof. Martin Dimnik (PIMS), and Huseyn Oylupinar, Ph. D. candidate (University of Alberta), participate in this research and publicize its results. About 100 students and scholars from the universities and museums of Chernihiv, Nizhyn, Kyiv, Baturyn, Hlukhiv, Sumy, Kharkiv (Ukraine), Toronto and Edmonton (Canada) took part in the 2010 expedition.


The team continued investigating the site of Mazepa’s residence in Baturyn’s suburb of Honcharivka. The hetman had constructed this fortified palatial complex over eight years before the tsar’s troops destroyed it. The archaeologists almost completed excavating the foundations and the debris of the brick palace (measuring 20 m. by 14.5 m.) and prepared graphic reconstructions of the building’s exterior and ground plan. Its architectural design and decorations were modelled on those of Baroque palaces and villas of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth but modified with ornamental features of the early modern Kyivan architectural school. The palace’s facades were adorned with polychrome glazed ceramic rosettes and massive plaques featuring Mazepa’s coat of arms and monogram. The heating stoves were revetted with refined terracotta and glazed ceramic tiles bearing floral and geometric relief patterns and representations of
angels or *putti*. The decorative ceramic details were most likely fashioned by Kyivan tile-makers.


Around the palace the team discovered and partially unearthed the remnants of a spacious wooden dwelling, possibly a guest-house or servants’ quarters, a kitchen or storage room, and what was presumably a domestic church. Earthen ramparts and bastions protected this residential complex. Additional archaeological and historical research is needed to establish the dimensions, layouts, architectural designs, and functions of these timber structures. Three Polish silver coins, two Russian copper coins, two bronze buttons, and numerous fragments of glass table ware from the 17th and 18th centuries have been found at the palace. Near the “church” site the archaeologists uncovered a valuable billon pendant cross (8.2 by 5.4 cm.), known as quatrefoil and *napersnyi* and made in the Byzantine tradition. It has reliefs of the Crucifixion and of saints and dates to the 17th century. Such a cross was normally suspended on a chain and displayed over a cleric’s vestments. It probably belonged to a church hierarchy of the Mazepa era.

Billon quatrefoil cross with reliefs of the Crucifixion and saints of the 17th century. 2010 excavations in Baturyn. Photos by V. Mezentsev.
The three-storied palace in Baturyn, constructed and richly embellished in an innovative composite Western and Ukrainian Baroque style, had no counterparts in the Cossack Hetman State. It represents the largest, the most important, and the best examined hetman’s residence in Ukraine. The Canada-Ukraine expedition plans to resume its excavations in Baturyn next summer.

*Martin Dimnik and Volodymyr Mezentsev*

**PATIENT ENDURANCE: THE NEA MONI, GALESION, AND THE IMPORTANCE OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION**

This, told very briefly, is the tale of two important Byzantine monasteries and the authors’ frustrated desire to study the remains of one of them. A relatively short distance – around 130 kms as the crow flies – separates the site of the Nea Moni on the upper slopes of Mount Povatás in central Chios and that of the Resurrection on Mount Galesion near Ephesos. Both have strikingly similar stories associated with their foundation. Both were developed and became prominent in the mid eleventh century through some sort of close association with the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos and his entourage. Both have remarkably parallel histories down to the early fourteenth century as part of the same complex and highly developed monastic web of monastic communities and holy places that embraced the islands, coastlines and hinterland of the eastern Aegean. But, while one is now still in use, renowned and studied as one of the best preserved and most important examples of eleventh-century Byzantine style and decoration, and a significant tourist attraction, the other is quite literally a pile of stones on a deserted hill-top, its site lost until the past few years and prey to the casual depredations of wandering charcoal-burners and treasure-hunters when we last saw it in the summer of 2008. Perhaps a brief historical comparison of these two foundations, which began with such close connections but ended so differently, will help to show why our project to organize the archaeological exploration of Mount Galesion is both important and exciting.

The venerable institution of Byzantine monasticism saw something of a resurgence in the tenth and eleventh centuries and the foundation of both Galesion and Nea Moni was thus part of a broader pattern in which new communities were established. One factor to note in this development was the lavish scale of imperial support as a succession of late tenth- and eleventh-century emperors, among them the empress Zoe and her husband Constantine IX Monomachos, poured money into the restoration of old monastic communities and the creation of new ones. Another was the development of monastic communities grouped in locations that became renowned as holy mountains. While Bithynian Mount Olympos was
already beginning to wane in the early eleventh century as the star of Athos rose, other important mountains, such as Latros and Mykale (Barachios), developed at about the same time and in the same general region as Galesion.

Although the sources are not particularly good, the history of the Nea Moni on Chios is relatively well known. The monastery was founded, or re-founded, shortly before 1042 by two or three ascetics who were already living near the spot tradition associated with the miraculous discovery of an icon of Mary that had survived a forest fire. Miracles continued to be performed by virtue of the icon including one which allowed at least one of the founders, Niketas and John, to predict to the aristocratic and powerful Constantine Monomachos (then in exile on the nearby island of Samos) that he would soon become emperor. When their prophecy came true the monks were richly rewarded and won respect at the court and, now with imperial money behind them and the all-important influence that came with such support, their new foundation flourished.

As with most such stories there are some serious problems, in this case not least because documentary evidence indicates that the monastery was already in existence and being supported by Zoe prior to Constantine's accession to the throne. But, whatever the true origins of the foundation and the inspiration for funding, there can be no doubt that a substantial amount of imperial money flowed to the Nea Moni in the 1040s and the following decades, permitting the construction of the main monastery (and at least one dependent establishment for nuns). The central church, or katholikon, with its lavish and now much admired and studied program of decoration was completed over a twelve-year period, and this was accompanied by the contemporary construction of a range of essential monastic buildings. Documented imperial largess, tax and legal breaks, as well as the acquisition of significant land holdings and the income that these produced, soon made it an extremely valuable economic concern, while the evidence of the surviving eleventh-century table of the cenobium, which seats between 45 and 50 people, suggests that it was quite a substantial establishment as monasteries of the time go.

While all this funding allowed the Nea Moni to blossom in the wilds of Chios, away in Constantinople Monomachos' lavish, arguably spendthrift and irresponsible, policies came under criticism and attack, and many of those who enjoyed and benefited from it became entangled in the murky politics of the capital. The founders of the monastery, Niketas and John, evidently spent quite a lot of time in Constantinople during Constantine's reign, engaged in the role of what we might today describe as lobbyists, as they sought to develop and maintain their interests and influence. Like many of their modern counterparts, the two monks appear to have owed their place in the corridors of power to their reputation as reliable predictors (or prophets). But, like all unfortunate advisers who get
things wrong or become too closely associated with a particular regime or faction that then falls from favor, the two founders of Nea Moni seem to have ended up on the wrong end of a dispute within the entourage of the empress Zoe and then become entangled in the vicious power struggle between Patriarch Michael Keroularios and various occupiers of and contenders for the imperial throne. Whatever happened exactly, the two were exiled around 1055/6, shortly after Monomachos' death, on charges of various illicit religious activity, and their monastery's property was temporarily confiscated – a reminder of both how easily prophecy may be spun into divination and paganism and the extent to which success and failure of monastic communities could depend less on religious circumstances than on economic and political considerations. Afterwards the history of the Nea Moni grows extremely vague and confused, but it was obviously not the end of the story for, despite other setbacks, it struggled on and has managed to survive, at least in some form, to the present day.

Now, a lot of this sounds rather familiar to anyone who has read the *Life* of Lazaros, the founder of the monastery of the Resurrection and the other communities on and around Mount Galesion at much the same time. Thanks to this lengthy and detailed *Vita*, written by one of his disciples (Gregory the Cellarer) shortly after his death, we know much more about Lazaros than we do about Niketas and John. What is essential here is that Lazaros, after spending a monastic childhood in the vicinity of Ephesos and then twenty-five years in monasteries at Antalya and Jerusalem, came back home around 1010, when he was in his mid-forties, and established himself as a holy man, first living in the open air on top of a pillar at a small monastery just outside the town and then on the barren, and hostile but (for him) attractively tranquil mountain of Galesion. During the subsequent thirty plus years that he spent on the mountain before he died in 1053, by then in his eighties, he founded three separate monasteries around each of the pillars on which he lived there as well as a number of others in the valley below. The first two of those on the mountain were evidently quite small, but the third, that of the Resurrection, was a much more substantial and ambitious venture, right on the top.

Lazaros seems to have conceived the idea for, and moved the site of, the Resurrection monastery at pretty much exactly the same time as Niketas and John were living at the site of Nea Moni on Chios, that is just before Constantine IX Monomachos married the empress Zoe and became emperor in 1042. There are some fascinating problems with the *Vita* at this vital point that cannot be discussed here, but the story does make clear that, with or without Lazaros' own involvement, one of the monks from Galesion who happened to be up the coast in Izmir (just across from Chios) somehow learned of Monomachos' impending elevation and managed to slip across to Samos, where the future emperor was in
exile. There this monk (just like Niketas and John in the other story) “predicted” to Monomachos, in Lazaros’ name, that he would soon become emperor. Here two things are of particular interest. One, given the reputation evidently acquired by Niketas and John in the capital, is that the unnamed monk is also said to have set himself up as a prophet, having left Galesion on an earlier occasion and traveled far and wide in the Byzantine world proclaiming that Lazaros (and he himself) could foretell the future. A second is that, from around this time, and whether or not he was in on the original prediction, Lazaros’ reputation (like that of Niketas and John) was established at the imperial court and material benefits began to flow to Galesion, just as they did to the Nea Moni. After a short time, Romanos Skleros, the powerful brother of the emperor’s mistress, thus paid a visit to the mountain. This seems to have gone very (possibly suspiciously) well, and the outcome seems to have been a very substantial gift of ten pounds of gold by Romanos’ sister Maria Skleraina. This donation, which is likely dated between 1042 and early 1046, was, however, not for the Resurrection, but for another of Lazaros’ foundations down in the valley. At some point around this time too we know that Constantine himself granted Galesion the valuable land on which that other monastery, or yet another nearby, was constructed.

So it is clear that, like the Nea Moni, Lazaros’ projects on and around Galesion enjoyed very substantial support from Monomachos’ court in the mid 1040s. But, as with the foundation of Niketas and John, there are problems both with the story itself and with the imperial funding. In terms of the story, later versions of the vita, in particular that by the thirteenth-century patriarch Gregory II, are quite happy to link Lazaros himself directly to the prediction made to Monomachos, although the earlier one refuses to do so. Further claims are made that the foundation of the Resurrection monastery was the result of a vision that established its site by means of a fiery pillar, and the fact that the account is so similar to the one concerning the origins of the Nea Moni has prompted some scholars to suggest that the Galesion story may in fact have been the source for the other. Even more importantly, while later versions expressly link construction of the Resurrection to Monomachos’ support, it is by no means clear from what is left of the story in the early vita that the emperor ever actually did fund its construction. Monomachos and members of his entourage certainly funded some of the other projects associated with Lazaros, but there is nowhere a direct record to link him to the Resurrection. In fact there is actually quite good reason, as I have argued elsewhere, to suppose that the later story that the monastery of the Resurrection was built with imperial money was true, but not in the sense that the emperor intended this to happen or even knew for what his money had been used. As at the Nea Moni, too, imperial funding was withdrawn at one point very early in its history, and at Galesion the emperor actually ordered Lazaros and his
community off the mountain. In this case we know that he refused to go and, by means of some skillful lobbying and “fixing” by members of the community who traveled to Constantinople, some of his flock managed to stay put after his death, maintaining their precarious grip on this prime monastic real estate and eventually managing to secure the foundation’s future for the next two hundred years. Like the Nea Moni, then, Galesion experienced serious problems in the later eleventh century but was able to rebound. Unlike the Nea Moni, however, it became a truly major center in the thirteenth century but was then completely destroyed in the early fourteenth and was never re-established.

The point of recounting the tale of the two monasteries here is to show that, if both were indeed funded directly (or indirectly) by Monomachos, then one might reasonably expect to be able to shed light on one by study of the other, something which, to this point, has been impossible. And to do so will be important. It is thus true that the particular quality and wonderful preservation of the Nea Moni and its decorations has made it one of the most studied monuments of the period, one that has been seen as crucial for our understanding of Byzantine culture in the eleventh century. But the fact remains that the Nea Moni was never one of the great monasteries of the Byzantine world, and so what it can tell us in broader terms is limited. Galesion, on the other hand, was a monastic center of enormous importance between the eleventh and the early fourteenth centuries. During Lazaros’ lifetime it had become a very large community indeed containing at least six separate monasteries which housed over 300 monks and it had had already gained a reputation across much of the Byzantine world that rivaled other contemporary holy mountains. Lazaros’ solutions to the inherent tensions of monastic life as expressed in the rules, whether written or oral, appear to have been very influential on other foundations of the time. And, after a period of evident decline, Galesion’s reputation revived under Nicene and Palaeologan rule and it once more became one of the monastic powerhouses of the empire, numbering three patriarchs among its alumni and producing prominent participants in high-level religious disputes of the day, as well as housing an important library and scriptorium. With Galesion, however, the problem is that, despite its great importance, the fact that the site was permanently destroyed in the early fourteenth century and then entirely disappeared from view has meant that it has never been given the attention that is its due. Comparison with the Nea Moni and places like it has simply not been possible.

But, now that the site of Galesion has been identified, and despite its poor state of preservation, it seems likely that a study of its remains, particularly in comparison with those of the Nea Moni, will prove extremely valuable. By looking at the Nea Moni we may be able to learn something about the monasteries on Galesion but by studying the remains on Galesion we might even shed some
light on the early period of the Nea Moni. For example, one serious problem with
the later site is that it has been occupied pretty much continuously since its
foundation, and so what survives is the result of centuries of renovation and
rebuilding, making it very hard to understand what it was really like in the eleventh
and twelfth centuries. Another is that the church, with its splendid decoration, has
received nearly all the attention and so, while we know of five buildings that seem
to date back to the first period – the katholikon, cistern, refectory, defensive tower,
and cemetery chapel – in Bouras’ 1982 publication 11 pages out of a text of 196
are devoted exclusively to the katholikon, the rest being given very short shrift.
The Resurrection on Galesion was, however, abandoned or destroyed in the early
fourteenth century, never to be used again, and so its remains, when properly
studied, should provide a very good idea of the monastery in its heyday. Without
all the later additions, constructions and renovations to obscure things we may thus
gain a much better understanding of the history and construction of other similar
monasteries in the same general region, like the Nea Moni.

And then, of course, a survey and excavation of this unstudied site would
certainly help us understand the many interesting and important questions raised,
but left unanswered, by the surviving written sources concerning the Resurrection
and the other monasteries on Galesion itself. Was the original church constructed
of mud brick, as a twelfth-century source suggests, something that (in sharp
contrast to the katholikon at the Nea Moni) was clearly an embarrassment that
needed explaining in a foundation that was supposedly imperial? Is there any
trace of Lazaros’ column? If so, how was it constructed, and was it actually built
against the church wall as the Life seems to imply? Is there any evidence of the
peculiar paired apsidal cells mentioned by the twelfth-century source? Is there
any trace of particular buildings mentioned in the vita: the guesthouse/hospital,
bakery, storerooms, pantry, and archontarion (‘deluxe’ accommodation for worthy
visitors – it had a bed!)? Was it walled? Is what certainly looks like the remains
of a refectory really one? How exactly did the monastery’s water supply function
and change over time in this notoriously barren location (there is evidence of many
cisterns in the surviving ruins, but in the early days water was evidently carried up
every day by mule)? Is there any indication of influence in the construction of
Lazaros’ past in the monasteries of the Judean desert? Are there any parallels with
other contemporary foundations with which we might expect links, St
George at Mangana in Constantinople for instance? How does the plan of the
monastery in its thirteenth-century heyday compare with the original eleventh-
century layout? How did the Resurrection relate, at this later time, to Lazaros’
other two monasteries on the mountain (we believe that we have located one of
these)? Did they develop in parallel or decline? Is there evidence for the cult of
Lazaros and continued pilgrimage to the site? Is there evidence of the scriptorium
? What did actually happen at the abandonment of the monastery in the early fourteenth century?

Patient endurance was evidently the virtue that Lazaros saw as most essential for his monks if they were to live on the barren mountain. Despite much encouragement over the past four years from many quarters, our international project, involving Turkish, Austrian and Canadian scholars, still languishes in the webs of archaeological and international politics. But, hopefully, with some further patient endurance there will before long be news in these pages that it is underway! And any help in making this happen would be much appreciated.

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(This article represents a considerably abbreviated version of a paper originally given at Bogazici University, Istanbul, in the Fall of 2009)

INVISIBLE ARCHAEOLOGY: BYZANTIUM AND THE RURAL REMAINS OF AN EMPIRE

One of the most exciting changes occurring within the field of Byzantine studies is the increased research in the field of Byzantine archaeology. Although there have long been important Byzantine excavations at various sites in Greece and the Near East, the majority of them have focused primarily on religious and elite sites. Thus there has been important work done in Constantinople and Madaba, Athens and Thessalonica, but what has generally been lacking is the archaeology of the secular and the everyday. Yet such sites have the potential to provide insight into the worlds of Byzantium not readily available in texts and more monumental archaeology. Since 2004, I have been involved with two projects in Turkey – one in central Anatolia at Çadir Höyük and one on the Black Sea at Cide – which are beginning to illustrate just how significant such sites are.

In 1990 Marcus Rautman published an important article titled “Archaeology and Byzantine Studies” [ByzF 15 (1990), pp. 137-54]. The deceptively simple title obscures the fact that the article essentially asked Byzantinists to move beyond the traditional research fields and views of Byzantium to include the rest of the Byzantine world and new methods of exploring them. Rautman’s article highlights the fact that archaeology is one of our only options for finding the ordinary citizens of the Byzantine world, because these populations generally do not appear in the written sources. Further, he argued, Byzantine archaeology needed to learn to incorporate the methodologies and theories used in other archaeological disciplines. In 2009, almost twenty years after Rautman’s paper, Mark Whittow published another extremely important article in the Journal of Agrarian Change titled “Early Medieval Byzantium and the End of the Ancient World” [9, pp. 134-
In this article he questions the traditional concept of Byzantine continuity with the urban Roman past stretching from the end of Late Antiquity through to the fall of Constantinople, seeing this period rather as one of radical shift towards the medieval and the rural. Like Rautman, he also calls on Byzantinists to consider the importance of the archaeology of the secular and the rural as ways of more clearly illuminating the period. He observes that all conclusions for the Byzantine period must remain provisional "as long as the archaeology of this period remains a low priority" [p. 134]

Happily, this is beginning to change. An increasingly vocal group of historians and archaeologists are reconsidering the history of this period through a new engagement with the physical evidence for Byzantium. The archaeological record of rural and secular Byzantium, long ignored by excavators of earlier periods or simply missing from Byzantine narratives, is being explored with new types of questions, including those involving gender and agency theory and landscape archaeology. This has been particularly evident, for example, in the survey work of Kostis Kourelis in the Peloponnese and of the Euchaita-Avkat Project in central Anatolia. Increased exploration of domestic, rural, and isolated structures is providing a view into a world not visible in the written sources, widening our understanding of the populations present in the Byzantine Empire. Here we can include the projects of Kilise Tepe in southern Turkey and the long running project of Amorium on the western edge of the Anatolian Plateau. These approaches have also allowed for a new consideration of the Byzantine use of space. Byzantine archaeology is characterized by small-scale reuse and rebuilding within local environments, helping to confirm Whittow’s thesis about the changing nature of the Byzantine world. Overall, these new approaches create a much needed, more nuanced view of the history of the Byzantine period, including a much stronger understanding of the differences between the Early and Middle Byzantine periods.

Çadir Höyük

My first encounter with the importance of re-approaching our understanding of the rural and secular Byzantine world came out of my involvement with the ongoing excavations at the site of Çadir Höyük, a site now jointly run by the University of Chicago, University of New Hampshire, and SUNY
Cortland. I have been involved with the site since about 2004, when I was asked to assess the material associated with the Byzantine periods. When I was first asked to analyze this data, our assumption was that it was an ephemeral layer on top of the extensive earlier settlements, since the site has multiple periods of occupation ranging from the prehistoric through to the Byzantine. We also believed that the site had been initially fortified and was probably a *kastron* or military outpost. What became increasingly clear, however, was that these standard assumptions were not enough to explain the site fully. Indeed, as excavation continued, it became clear that this was not a military or elite site, but rather, simply, a rural Anatolian village. Indeed, the more important fact of the site was what it represented: the continuous occupation of a rural Byzantine site extending from approximately the sixth century through to the eleventh century.

The initial excavations were opened on the top of the mound, which is indeed a small fortified tell. To date, we have excavated primarily the southeastern section of the mound, which has produced some fortification walls, a large storage chamber, a stable, and a large courtyard area. Although the fortified *kastron* was indeed a common architectural type in the Byzantine world, as we excavated I was increasingly troubled by the fact that there were some notable artefact types missing. In the first place, there was nothing on the hill which spoke to a military population - no weapons; no evidence for a siege; no bodies. There was also nothing that spoke to an elite context: no fine ware and no luxury items. What I did find were storage jars, cooking pots, small religious amulets, glass bracelets, and a number of other small domestic artefacts. In other words, the artefacts of daily life.

Perplexed by this, we began to wonder about the life of the entire site, not simply the “fortified” structure on the mound. Since there was clear evidence for a settlement of some sort on the northern terrace, we turned to this area as a way of trying to isolate the nature of the settlement.
The structure that has begun to emerge is incredibly complicated. The building is a large domestic complex, complete with courtyards and kitchens, storage rooms and stables. We found dishes and lamps, tools and toys, storage jars and farming implements. But again, we found no luxury items and almost no fine ware.

But the terrace gave us a new clue. The terrace was the first place where I saw laid out clearly the techniques of reuse and rebuilding alluded to by Rautman, by authors like Eyice and Ousterhout who write on domestic houses [S. Eyice, “Observations on Byzantine Period Dwellings in Turkey” in Housing and Settlement in Anatolia: A Historical Perspective. 206-220. Istanbul, 1996; R.G. Ousterhout, “Secular Architecture” in The Glory of Byzantium, eds. H.C. Evans and W.D. Wixom, 193-199. New York: 1997], and most recently by Whittow. The original structure had strong, well constructed walls, and in the earliest layers we found a few examples of Late Roman/early Byzantine fine ware and elite artefacts. In the early sixth or seventh century, then, this was probably a major structure. But as the Anatolian Plateau became increasingly isolated from the rest of the Byzantine world in the late seventh and eighth centuries, the population turned inwards. It is not clear that this was represented by a decline so much as a change, since the next phases of walls in the eighth and ninth centuries reflected strength and ability, if not money. Further, there were some poor local imitations of fine ware. Nevertheless, the house was divided to represent a rural village population with a communal kitchen and work area. However, by the end of the life of the site, true decay had set in, and by the last periods of occupation in the tenth and eleventh century, money had clearly become tight, and skill had been lost, as the repairs were done with less strength and ability. Yet people still lived here.

Armed with this knowledge, we returned to the top of the mound, again to be surprised with what we found. Careful excavation on the mound revealed that the same processes were in play. The initial construction on the mound had been done with some skill, and then reused as long as possible. What was interesting, though, was that the original occupation - the early Byzantine period - seems to be missing on the mound. The first occupation appears to date to the eighth and ninth centuries. In fact, this occupation sequence again seems to mirror the history of the Byzantine Empire. In the sixth century, this region was secure, and there probably was a fairly extensive land-owning aristocracy. But they would not necessarily need a fortified enclosure. However, by the eighth and ninth centuries, the Arab invasions onto the Anatolian Plateau did necessitate some sort of safe haven, which may explain why the mound was fortified in this period. The initial incursions, followed by the Seljuk invasions, provide the best reasons for understanding the need for fortification.
From the excavations themselves, we find further confirmation that the life of this site was representative of a small rural population defending itself in the face of a changing world. The mound provides a snapshot of the final days of the occupation of the site. On the mound itself, we found a lead seal belonging to Samuel Alusianos, a rather shadowy figure who served as a general around the time of the Battle of Manzikert. The seal indicates that whatever the population was, they received a message from Constantinople or the army in the area.

This communication may have involved some sort of indication that the Seljuks were coming. In roughly the same stratigraphical layers we also find evidence of a hurried departure. Jars are broken, others are left behind, but valuable objects seem to have been taken with the community and there is no evidence for human death. What remains, however, are the items that the community did not or could not take away with them. Most significantly, the stable was full. The excavation of the stable revealed a number of species of animals tied up and left to their fate, often with Christian amulets tied around their necks. The community either could not take these animals, or thought they would be back. The animals died where they stood. The remains of these animals, oxen, goats, sheep, and pigs, are the final legacy of a small undocumented rural community on the Anatolian Plateau.

**Cide Project**

Many of these patterns were confirmed for me on a wider scale through my involvement with an intensive survey project on the Black Sea in northern Turkey.
This project, run jointly out of the University of Glasgow, Leiden University, and Çanakkale Onsekis Mart University in Turkey, is an extensive survey project on the Black Sea. These areas have never had a full survey before, and so the project is extremely important for filling in a major gap in Turkish archaeology, and, more specifically for my purposes, the project is yielding an important amount of Roman and Byzantine material. The structures visible through survey once again represent the reuse and the rebuilding common in later Byzantine archaeology, and help to define the important transition from the Early to the Middle Byzantine period.

The changes are visible in two major types of architecture: churches and fortresses. At least two churches have been identified over the last two years, as well as spolia such as column bases reused as wells that indicate other, now lost, churches in the region. The two extant churches are both in fairly poor shape, and both looked as if they had originally been Early Byzantine churches which were reused on a smaller scale in the Middle Byzantine period (although further exploration will be needed to prove this). This was a common practice in many places in Anatolia, where large Early Byzantine basilicas were cut down and reused as chapels in the Middle Byzantine period.

Similar development is evident when we look at “military” establishments or fortifications. These are perhaps the most commonly identified structures of the Late Byzantine world in particular, and are indeed ubiquitous along the coastlines of the Byzantine Empire. These types of fortresses are found along the Black Sea coast, and there is no question that several of them served a primarily military function. Kazalli Kale, for example, is a structure that seems to have been in use from the Roman period. The structure was clearly designed as a military fortress, and this is visible in its architecture, its placement on a prominent outcrop extending into the sea, and the visibility from the tower itself. Interestingly, however, although it was almost certainly constructed in the Roman/Early Byzantine period, surface survey
shows little evidence of use in the Middle Byzantine period (although excavation might prove otherwise). Yet it clearly returns to usage in the Late Byzantine period, since Late Byzantine pottery is found at the site. This site has a very different lifespan from that of the kale at Okçular, however, which is almost certainly late Early Byzantine or Middle Byzantine. Located inland, it has a much smaller visible range of the sea and seems to serve as a small fortification for the rural populations living at its base.

Overall, the same patterns in architectural development and site use visible on the Anatolian Plateau at Çadir Höyük are also visible on the Black Sea. Although the original structures were constructed by a stable population in the Early Byzantine period, the nature of the settlements in the region changed at the end of this period and into the Middle Byzantine period. The settlements shrank, moving away from large, elite structures, to ones more related to local activities and security. This is visible in the shrinking of religious structures and the use of safe storage, and in the increase of coarse ware and implements associated with farming. This again speaks to changes in the economic and social stability of the Byzantine Empire as it faced increased incursions first from the Arabs and then from the Seljuks, resulting in a population increasingly dependent on its own local economy.

In large part, the field of Byzantine archaeology has been relatively underdeveloped until recently. Seen initially as the descendent of classical archaeology, its original function in Byzantine studies was conceived of as being illustrative of Byzantine historical literature. However, we are coming to understand that Byzantine archaeology is not only about the excavation of elite and large scale structures. Rather, through the use of new theory and methodology, archaeology can be used to illustrate the subtleties of Byzantine society and to find the “invisible” Byzantium of the secular and rural worlds.

Marica Cassis

[Figures courtesy of the Çadir Höyük project and the Cide Archaeological Project]

It is not only Marica’s types of everyday life that tend to be ignored: I have myself called for archaeologists of Byzantine sites to look for evidence of gardens rather than “automatically interpret(ing) disturbance of the soil in suburban and rural settings as evidence for farming, when around palaces and even homesteads it may often indicate horticulture”; but this is still not often being regularly done [Ed.].

ARMENIA AND NAGORNO-KARABAGH

A visa is required for travel in Armenia. For Nagorno-Karabagh a visa must be obtained either beforehand at the embassy in Yerevan or upon arrival in the modern capital Stepanakert at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In either case it
takes about half an hour (but its presence in one’s passport precludes subsequent entry to Azerbaijan). A form listing places one wishes to visit is provided for inspection, but I was told (on my visit in June 2010) that this rarely happens and mine was never asked for. Areas close to the Azerbaijani border are off limits. The Armenian land-border crossing with Turkey is little used and closed to Turks and Armenians, those with Azerbaijan all closed and the rail link with Georgia discontinued, but the crossing by road into Iran east of the Azerbaijani exclave of Nakhijevan is open and much used for transportation. I flew in from Vienna and flew out to the south. In Armenia there are many good roads, but in Nagorno-Karabagh very few indeed.

For Byzantinists the main attraction of Yerevan is the Matenadaran, which has a small but excellent public display of manuscripts and staff very willing to provide information on its vast holdings; but note also the Erebuni Fortress (begun in 782 B.C. by the Urartu king Argishti I according to a cuneiform inscription) and its associated museum. Those interested in things more modern should not miss the imposing twentieth-century buildings (including a museum and art gallery) of Hanrapetutyan Hraparak (Republic Square), the eighteenth-century mosque off Mesrop Mashtots Poghota, the Opera House, the numerous unusual statues and other public sculptures (especially at the bottom of the Cascade) and, in the gorge of the Hrazdan River, the Children’s Railway, which was built by the Soviets in 1937 to teach children aged from nine to fifteen to drive real trains. The Genocide Museum is situated atop a hill with magnificent views north to Aragats, at 13,419 feet.
the highest mountain in the republic, and south to Ararat (16,946 feet) which, being in Turkey, is at present inaccessible to Armenians.

Just outside the capital to the west are sites very easy to visit. At Echmiadzin St Gregory the Illuminator built for the world’s oldest officially Christian country its first Mother Church, whose present largely fifteenth-century cathedral houses what are claimed to be the spear that pierced Christ’s side and a fragment of Noah’s ark. Outside is a small but very interesting collection of khatchkars (crosses). Just over a mile away is the seventh-century church of Saint Hripsime, which has architectural details of considerable interest. Closer to Yerevan and completely different is the unique (to Armenia) but ruined (in the earthquake of 930) round church at Zvartnots sponsored by the Katholikos Nerses II in 641-646. Its columns and capitals are reminiscent of Syrian workmanship and obviously derive ultimately from near-eastern Graeco-Roman exemplars.

To the east of Yerevan lie two remarkable complexes. The nearer, at Garni, is the only surviving (but restored) true Graeco-Roman building in Armenia, a peristyle structure with twenty-four columns topped by Ionic capitals. It has been claimed as a first-century A.D. temple of Helios or Mithras and as the tomb of Sohaemus, a local Romanized ruler, from the late second century. On the site lie also the remains of a four-aisled seventh-century church, a palace and a bath-house with a Greek inscription on a mosaic claiming that “We worked but did not receive anything”. Ironically this is almost the only site in Armenia that charges for admission. Further east up a gorge is the spectacularly situated Geghard (Spear) monastery, now largely from the twelfth to thirteenth century and backed by a rupestrian church and over twenty rock-hewn chapels. Of particular interest are numerous carvings and many outstanding khatchkars.
I made one lengthy trip north of Yerevan, principally to the Debed Gorge. The most notable sights on the way to this lowest part of the country were the memorial to Mesrop Mashtots in the form of the sculpted individual letters of his invention, the Armenian alphabet, at Oshakan; two thirteenth-century monasteries on the edge of the picturesque Kasagh Gorge, Hovhannavank and Saghmosavank of rather different styles with the latter having a doorway to the gavit in some ways reminiscent of Islamic architecture; and the modern Zoroastrian Yezidi cemetery (one of several in the area) at Aparan. The road over the Pambak range into Lori by the Spitak Pass has been washed away and the new road leads further west over the Pambak Pass (7,060 feet) to Spitak, Vanadzor and the Debed Gorge. Often ignored in the southern reaches of the gorge are two sites. The first is the late twelfth-century monastery of Kobayr which soon after its foundation came under Georgian rule and possesses many Georgian features in architecture and frescos, although the southern parts of the monastery have tumbled down into a deep ravine below. The monastery is approached by a very steep and slippery path, but the second site can be driven to in a vehicle. This is the church at Odzun, built in pink felsite in the sixth century (but reconstructed about two hundred years later). Still surviving is one of the two cloisters, a feature unusual in Armenia. In the surrounding cemetery is a funerary monument consisting of a platform surmounted between double arches by two tall, slender stelae sculpted with biblical scenes. On stylistic considerations it may be dated to the sixth century: the only comparable monument in Armenia is at Aghuni in Syunik.

Further north, to the east of the gorge above Alaverdi, are the first sites in the country added to UNESCO’s World Heritage List, the monasteries of Sanahin and Haghpat. The village of Sanahin was the birth-place of the Mikoyan brothers, Anastas, the longest-serving member of the Soviet Politburo, and Artem who was
involved in the development of fighter aircraft (the first two letters of MiG-15 are from his surname); but for Byzantinists its attraction is the monastery, founded in 966 by Queen Khosrovanush, wife of the Bagratid King Ashot III, and incorporating two slightly earlier churches. It has many important features such as the library of 1063, possibly the oldest bell-tower in the country (early thirteenth-century), the first sculptural relief of a model of the church (held by Khosrovanush's sons Smbat and Gurgen) and some non-religious *katchkars*. The complex is accessible by a path which begins with the crossing of the medieval bridge in Alaverdi and also by a road, as is Haghpat which too was founded by Khosrovanush, is decorated with a relief of her sons holding a model of the church and has architecturally interesting features such as a free-standing gavit, an unusually formed refectory and a three-storied bell-tower whose ground floor (a chapel) has the form of a cross-dome church while the second storey is octagonal and the third heptagonal.

I did not, unfortunately, have time to visit the very different monastery of Akhtala, where a Georgian church was built in the thirteenth century on an Armenian site, but returned to Spitak, near the epicentre of a devastating earthquake in 1988, turned west to Gyumri and then south to the monasteries north of Mount Aragats, most notably Harichavank which boasts the seventh-century church of St Gregory, the umbrella-domed
church of the Mother of God from 1201 and an orientally inspired porch to the intervening gavit, while in the ravine below is a small chapel now, as a result of seismic activity, perched precariously on top of a precipitous rock.

Another journey, to the east, began with perhaps the most photographed monastery in Armenia, that of Khor Virap (Deep Dungeon) on a hillock a few yards from the Turkish border and in full view of the two peaks of Mount Ararat. Its name refers to the underground cell, which can be visited down a steep iron ladder but is, fortunately, no longer infested with snakes as when King Trdat the Great imprisoned Gregory the Illuminator there, only to be converted by him to Christianity.
The present monastic church, dedicated to the Mother of God, dates, however, only from 1661; and just outside the walls is an even more recent structure – the place of regular animal and avian sacrifices. The eastward road continues to Nakhichevan, but, this border being closed, turns now abruptly to the left, crosses the Tukh Manuk Pass (5,889 feet) and descends into the very scenic Areni Valley, south from which one can enter the narrow gorge of the Amaghu. After passing a restaurant situated in a cave with no sign indicating its purpose (“because everybody knows”) one reaches the outstandingly picturesque monastery of Noravank, founded perhaps in the ninth century but developed largely in the thirteenth and later in the fourteenth by the architect Momik. Most spectacular, perhaps, are the exterior steps leading to the upper storey of the Mother of God church, but the complex abounds with fine sculpture and many graves (some of Orbelian princes). On the return journey I took a different route, going north over the Selim Pass (7,907 feet), just below the summit of which is Armenia’s best-preserved caravanserai (dating from 1332), and on to the vast Lake Sevan the Soviet plan to reduce the extent of which, inaugurated in 1933, was fortunately reversed in the late 1950s. Although billed as Armenia’s holiday centre, there is little evidence of this, and its height of about 6,250 feet makes for a refreshing swim.
Still on my outward journey I crossed into Syunik over the Vorotan Pass (7,690 feet) on a good road much used by Iranian lorry-drivers but originally one of the routes of the Silk Road. My main goals here were the astronomical observatory of numerous stones (many with holes pierced through) erected something over 4,000 years ago at Karahunj, the rupestrian village of Khndzoresk and the monastery of Tatev. This last, high above the Vorotan Gorge, is approached by a spectacular road which, unfortunately, there are plans to replace for visitors by an “aerial tramway” of a few miles in length. Enclosed in protective walls are the church of Sts Peter and Paul from 895-906, two later churches, a bell-tower (for whose restoration a rusting
The regular entry point into Nagorno-Karabagh (Mountainous Black Garden: note the combination of languages) is through the Lachin corridor to Berdzor. When wandering round this country beware of snakes and unexploded mines left from the bitter war of 1989-1994 (the Halo Trust has put up signs to indicate where land has been cleared). I made my base (in the house of a painter) in the former capital of Shushi, a town still half in ruins atop a gorge which was amazingly scaled in an attack by night in 1993 which proved a turning-point in the war. Time did not allow a visit to the large and important monastery of Dadivank in the north, while Tigranes I’s capital of Tigranocerta (later Martyropolis) I was told was inaccessible except by a four-wheeled drive vehicle and is usually off limits because of its proximity to Azerbaijan. Nonetheless, I was able to visit, in the extreme north-west of the district of Askeran high above
the Khachenaget river, the restored and now once more working monastery of Gandzasar, dedicated in 1216 to John the Baptist, the burial place of Khachen rulers and the seat of the *katholikos* of eastern Armenia until the nineteenth century. The outstanding feature is the sculptural reliefs, both delicate abstract designs and also human (and animal) figures, especially notable being those on the tambour two of which sit in an oriental position with their feet hidden beneath them.

*Antony Littlewood*  
Gandzasar Monastery (photograph: A.R. Littlewood)

### CENTRAL ASIA

Although the area of the ex-Soviet republics of central Asia hardly impinged upon the Byzantine consciousness apart from containing some routes of the Silk Road and giving birth to Timur the Lame, who probably delayed the Ottoman capture of Constantinople for about fifty years through his invasion of Anatolia and, in 1402, capture of the Ottoman Bayezid II, members may be interested in some recent information on travel there (my information dates from a trip made with a friend in the summer of 2009). One delight was the almost complete absence of western tourists apart from in Bokhara and Samarqand (and, to a much lesser extent, in Khiva): one was seen in Tajikistan, one (and some Chinese mountaineers) in Kyrgyzstan, a few (mainly Russians) in a brief visit to Almaty in Kazakhstan, and none in Turkmenistan.

Enquiries to embassies suggest that visas must be obtained in advance, but this is true only for Turkmenistan (and since the civil war in Kyrgyzstan probably there too), in which country a “minder/guide” must be arranged and paid for before the embassy will issue a visa. When crossing borders by land be aware that some posts close for a long meal at mid-day, that some officials may be fascinated by foreign bank-notes and want all the pictures on them explained at length and that it is wise when entering a country to ensure that all documents that you are given have their full complement of stamps to avoid possible complications upon departure. Uzbekistan is fairly well served by trains and ‘buses, but travel is often
difficult elsewhere and roads may be closed for months or even years for reconstruction. In most Central Asian countries the word for train station is Woksal (or similar spelling), i.e. Vauxhall. Trekking may be done alone, but guides are required in the Pamirs.

My friend and I met in Ashgabat, the capital of Turkmenistan and a city with the most striking modern architecture including a huge golden heliotropic statue of President Saparmyrat Niyazov. Outside lies the ancient Parthian capital of Nissa, dating from the third century B.C. Despite its razing by the Mongols in the thirteenth century, there are still substantial remains of its walls with 43 towers, the royal palace and buildings with narrow streets which are currently under Italian-directed excavation. Easily reached in an eight-hour train journey from Ashgabat is Mary, the country’s third-largest city, whose museum contains artefacts from Gonur sixty miles to the north, which has claims to be the fifth great ancient centre of civilization with Egypt, Mesopotamia, China and India, although I understand that, at least as yet, there is little very substantial to see at the site. More accessible are the nature reserve of Repetek and the huge site of Merv (Margiana when Alexander II of Macedon was here) on the edge of the Karakum Desert. The earliest city at Merv (Erk Kala) is Achaemenid, now within the walls of the Sassanian Giaur Kala which contains also the remains of a Buddhist stupa and monastery marking the westernmost penetration of Buddhism before modern times. Even larger than the Giaur Kala is the Sultan Kala, the Seljuq capital in the eleventh and twelfth century when it was known as Marv-shah-jahan (Merv, Queen of the World) and of which there are still substantial remains, including those of the citadel, despite its destruction by the Mongols. In its centre is the spectacular mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar (built after the destruction of the city), around which lie innumerable fragments of turquoise tiles and a ruined Zoroastrian library. Among the many sites outside the walls of the Sultan Kala are, set amid saxaul trees, the restored mausoleum of the twelfth-century sufi Mohammed ibn Zeid, the tomb of the contemporaneous dervish Yusuf Hamadani (now augmented with a recent mosque as a pilgrimage site), ice-houses and, most interesting, two seventh-century koshks (forts) of a style not found elsewhere.
A little to the south lies the huge Karakum Canal, which carries three and a half cubic miles of water per annum from the Amu Darya (Oxus) 680 miles westwards to serve the country's agriculture and the capital's extravagant fountains. Travellers cross into the ancient Transoxiana east of Turkmenabat just before reaching Uzbekistan. The Amu Darya (photography officially forbidden) is here still a mighty river, but further north depredations, begun in the 1920s, of its water (and that of the Syr Darya [Jaxartes]) for the Uzbek cotton industry have resulted in the almost complete devastation of the Aral Sea.

The *shakhristan* (old town) of Bukhara on the Zaravshan River has a wealth of mosques, madrasas, bazaars and other monuments, including the exquisite early tenth-century Samanid mausoleum with highly elaborate brick-work, the twelfth-century Karakhanid Kalon minaret (at 155 feet the highest building of its time in Central Asia) with its splendid largely sixteenth-century mosque and, opposite, the Mir-i-Arab madrasa of similar date. The Ark, the royal town originally built in the fifth century but largely destroyed by the Red Army in 1920, is remarkable for its restored wall, but it also contains various small museums and a somewhat dilapidated but still very interesting seventeenth-century throne-room. Seventy per
cent of the site (badly ruined) is out of bounds, but it is not hard to find someone to open the gate to let you through for a small tip. Less visited but not to be missed sites just outside the city are the spectacular complex of the mausoleum of the sufi Bakhautin Naqshband from the sixteenth-century at Kasri Orifon, the contemporaneous Shaybanid necropolis of Chor-Bakr at Sumitan, and the nineteenth-century Russian-built Sitora Mokhi Hosa (Palace of Moon-like Stars), the summer palace of the last emir, Alim Khan, who is reputed to have thrown an apple to his chosen damsel for the night from among those disporting themselves in the pool outside a pavilion (a museum here now has many good examples of suzani embroidery).

The most visited areas of Timurid Samarkand are the Registan with its three great madrasas from the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the oldest of which, Ulugh Beg's (1420), now contains some good museums; and the marvellously decorative complex of mausolea of Shah-i-Zindah on the site where, according to tradition, Muhammad’s cousin Kussam ibn Abbas was beheaded by fire-worshippers in 676 after converting Zoroastrian Sogdiana to Islam. The vast congregational mosque of Bibi-Khanym, finished shortly after Timur's death, is now in a very precarious state, but the Gur Ami mausoleum, which houses his tomb, has a magnificent interior (well restored) indubitably worth the price of admission. Two other sites also are not to be missed. One is the
observatory of Timur's grandson Ulugh Beg with its quadrant 36 feet long carved deep into the rock (there is a museum here also). The other is Afrasiab, or Marakanda as the Greeks called it, founded in the fifth century B.C. and the Sogdian capital at the time of its destruction by Alexander in 329. Although there is little to see here, except for a trained archaeologist (while our compulsory "guide" was interested only in picking up coins and pieces of ancient pottery to sell), the attached museum contains Zoroastrian ossuaries and other artefacts from the Kushan period and fascinating Sogdian frescoes of the late seventh century A.D. depicting foreign envoys bringing gifts to King Varkhuman and what may be a New Year's procession to the mausoleum of his parents.

Detail of fresco of ? New Year's Procession in Afrasiab Museum (photograph: A.R. Littlewood)

Across the border in Tajikistan lies Penjikent, another important Sogdian centre until it was abandoned in the eighth century when the Arabs conquered the area. Very poorly preserved remains of houses and Zoroastrian temples are to be found, while the nearby museum has little to offer, most frescos, sculpture, manuscripts and pottery having been taken away mainly to St Petersburg. The gorge of the Zaravshan becomes increasingly dramatic further east in territory traversed by Alexander. We eventually turned south into the often spectacularly rugged Fan mountains for a little mild trekking near the snow-fed Iskander-Kul
(Lake Alexander at 7,218 feet), which made for a somewhat chilly swim. Here, at an old turbaza (Soviet holiday camp), an orator addressed us as compatriots of the Macedonian and a professional bard on holiday made up songs about us and Alexander at an out-door party. The best museum in the capital Dushanbe further south over the Anzob Pass at 11,063 feet (on the main road from Tashkent which was being rebuilt by the Chinese and therefore closed during the day) is that of National Antiquities, which contains Graeco-Bactrian material and a reclining Buddha, huge but not as large as some Burmese examples. West of the city at Hissar are the remains of an eighteenth-century fort (now with reconstructed towered gatehouse) and a basmachi base until it was destroyed by the Bolsheviks. Its interior is still used for buzkashi, a game akin to polo in which the “ball” is the carcase of a goat. If you wish to trek in the Pamirs allot plenty of time for this: the road from Dushanbe to Khorog is not always open, and the journey is a very long one; tickets on the daily flight are not available until the morning of the flight, and the small aeroplane is often full. The spectacular road across the eastern side of the Pamirs north into Kyrgyzstan is usually closed. Because of the constraint of time we merely explored a little of the Almasi-Shamal Valley in the southern Fan Mountains before reluctantly leaving the country to fly to Bishkek in Kyrgyzstan (having marvellous views to the south of the edge of the Pamirs) where we did a little trekking in the Ala-Archa canyon in the Kyrgyz
Alatou mountains of the Tien Shan chain (Celestial Mountains), saw the petroglyphs (many of ibex) dating from c. 1500 B.C. to the tenth century A.D. at Cholpon-Ata, and swam in Issyk-Kul, at over 100 miles long and over 2,000 feet deep the second-largest “alpine” lake after Titicaca (in which I had swum in 1961). Our trip concluded with a day’s trekking in the Almaya-Almatinka canyon just south of Almaty, the old capital (Alma-Ata, i.e. Father Apple) of Kazakhstan, where on the previous day the curators of the splendid museum of indigenous musical instruments had been persuaded to give us an hour-long private concert.

Antony Littlewood

Bridge in Ala-Archa Canyon, Kyrgyzstan
(photograph: A.R. Littlewood)

Kazakh musician with kyrtobyz (photograph: A.R. Littlewood)
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Monk in transit at Skete of Saint Anne, Mount Athos (photograph: A.R. Littlewood)