

Heaven & Earth

ART OF BYZANTIUM FROM GREEK COLLECTIONS

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HELLENIC REPUBLIC
MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND SPORTS



BENAKI
MUSEUM



NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART



The J. Paul Getty Museum

ATHENS 2013

The catalogue is issued in conjunction with the exhibition *Heaven and Earth: Art of Byzantium from Greek Collections*, held at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, from October 6, 2013, through March 2, 2014, and at the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, from April 9 through August 25, 2014.

The exhibition was organized by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports, Athens, with the collaboration of the Benaki Museum, Athens, and in association with the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

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Color separations PANAYOTIS VOVELIS, STRATOS VEROPOULOS
Printing ADAM EDITIONS-PERGAMOS
Printed on Fedrigony 150 gsm

Financially Supported by OPAP



SPONSOR



The exhibition is supported by an indemnity from the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities

Published by the Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports and the Benaki Museum, Athens

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ISBN 978-960-476-130-2 (HC)
ISBN 978-960-476-131-9 (PBC)

Jacket / Cover illustration Icon with Archangel Michael (cat. no. 59) • *Frontispiece* The Evangelist Matthew from the Four Gospels (cat. no. 83)

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The Christianization of the Past

ANTHONY KALDELLIS

In 1935 Getrude Stein visited her hometown of Oakland, California, but everything about the place had changed. She could not find her former house, the town reflected none of her memories, and she famously wrote that “there is no there there.”¹ Her sense of place, history, and memory had been disrupted and effaced. A European traveler might have felt that a town incorporated in 1852 could not have had a deep sense of its own history

to begin with, far less one built up over thousands of years in the presence of ancient and medieval monuments, and the relentless turnover of neighborhoods in American towns would have undermined incipient feelings of “thereness.”



Fig. 19 | *Odysseus bound to the mast*, bronze, Late Roman, 3rd-4th century. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. Adolph D. and Wilkins C. Williams Fund (67.20). Photo: ©Virginia Museum of Fine Arts/Ron Jennings.

In the western provinces of their empire especially, Roman planners did in fact design “Identikit” cities whose purpose was often to disrupt prior ethnic or political configurations and historical memories. Latin gradually replaced the local languages and native cults took on a Roman appearance and nomenclature. The eastern cities, by contrast, were already drenched in their own sense of the past, and this was the world in which most early Christians originated. The past was defined by mythical associations with founders, heroes, and oracles; by the memory of political history, recent and ancient; by monuments; and by hundreds if not thousands of statues of gods, heroes, artists, and notables. It was enhanced by literary references and sometimes recorded in works of history. The leaders of the new faith struggled to decide how much of this past could be absorbed into the Christian life, and under what terms. Was it to be understood as pagan and thus destroyed, or was it neutral (secular), in which case it could be ignored or even converted to Christian purposes? These boundaries were fluid, but the issue could not be ignored, as the past was everywhere present in the Greek cities.

The present chapter will present some fascinating ways in which the past—invariably a *pagan* past—was appropriated and Christianized in the Early Byzantine period (A.D. 330–641). Considerations of space prevent a systematic discussion, but we can present a range of different kinds of material, some of them undiscovered gems.

The new imperial capital, Constantinople, was itself a city without a past, especially after Constantine leveled the site of Byzantium and populated his new foundation with subjects from different provinces. Its own “thereness” was

built up in part by borrowing—or stealing, some argued—that of more ancient places. Constantinople acquired huge collections of statues from Greece and Asia Minor that acquired new symbolic meanings, (see A. Cutler below, 166–75) thereby creating and defining the city’s past. The Baths of Zeuxippos contained a collection of more than eighty statues of heroes, poets, and gods with a prominent Trojan theme. These linked New Rome to the older Rome via their common ancestor, Ilium.² In the Hippodrome stood a row of antiquities, each with its own associations, including the Serpent Column from Delphi (fig. 20). At first this signified perhaps the emperors’ intention to defeat Persia, thus appropriating Greek glories for the Christian emperor, but later it acquired magical functions, such as keeping snakes out of the city.³ A high official, Lausus, created a magnificent collection including Pheidias’ chryselephantine statue of Zeus from Olympia, an Athena from Lindos, and Praxiteles’ Aphrodite from Knidos (fig. 21).⁴ In their new context these pagan relics, including the Palladium of Troy said to have been moved by Constantine from Rome to his column in the forum, blended with the city’s increasingly Christian character to produce a rich symphony of historical associations. The symbolic map of Constantinople encoded the Byzantine appropriation of all pasts (heroic, Greek, Roman, and Christian), and made the city a true *caput mundi*.⁵

These museum collections made some Christians uncomfortable. Eusebios distorted their aim when he said that Constantine put these statues on display to ridicule the beliefs of the pagans.⁶ He viewed the past that they represented solely in religious and polemical terms, and some preferred to destroy such statues and the temples they stood in. Much depended

on a theological point: If the gods were held to be mere human delusions, then there could be no harm in keeping sculpted stones around. But if they were demons who dwelt in statues and haunted the faithful, then they had to be smashed. Both views are found, and indeed there was much smashing and symbolic disfigurement, especially in Syria and Egypt. Crosses were carved to keep the demons out—or to seal them in (fig. 22 and cat. no. 6) But imperial officials often took a different approach, one that would have dramatic consequences: they redefined ancient statues as “art,” which should be preserved for its aesthetic rather than religious value (*artis pretio quam divinitate*),⁷ so long as there was no pagan worship.

The same approach was being applied by Christian thinkers to ancient texts such as those of Homer, in which the gods were omnipresent: whereas many pagans believed that Homer contained important



Fig. 20 | Serpent column from Delphi, Hippodrome, Constantinople. Photo: ©Livius. org.

truths about their gods, Christian scholars viewed his poems as literature to be consumed for aesthetic pleasure, or for their symbolic value. Odysseus' Sirens became symbols of the temptations the hero of the faith had to withstand (fig. 19). Our modern categories of "art" and "literature" were largely by-products of this effort by Christians to desanctify and sanitize the pagan past for their own use



(for example, Byzantine plot summaries of the *Iliad* omit the gods, as do some modern film adaptations).⁸ But there were limits to imperial tolerance: when Justinian famously closed down the philosophical schools of Athens, he made it clear that the *contents* of Greek philosophy were still potentially subversive. As later emperors would affirm, it was best taught by Christians who could explain its errors to their students.

History was rewritten to make pagan literature more acceptable. It was said, for instance, that Achilles Tatius and Heliodoros, authors of two popular romance novels, later became bishops. This legitimized their erotically charged works for Christian audiences. One enterprising author went so far as to write a hagiographical romance, *Galaction and Episteme*, as a sequel to the two novels. Galaction he presents as the son of the protagonists of Tatius' novel, Cleitophon and Leucippe (though his parentage evokes Heliodoros' protagonists as well).

It turns out that the couple were unhappy, and did not manage to conceive a child until they converted to Christianity; their son Galaction then converted his wife Episteme so that they could live in separate monasteries, and eventually they were both happily martyred (under Decius). This retroactively claimed the literary past for Christianity, while also suggesting that paganism was "sterile" and replacing conventional erotic values with those of ascetics and martyrs.⁹ The pagan past emerges as a necessary "prequel" that is transcended, not rejected.

Art and literature, however, have unintended consequences, and a power that cannot so easily be tamed. Soon after the creation of the Lausus

Fig. 21 | Aphrodite of Knidos, Roman marble copy of the ancient Greek original by Praxiteles (4th century B.C.). National Museum of Rome, Ludovici Collection (8619). Photo: su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali-Soprintendenza Speciale per i Beni Archeologici di Roma.

collection, we hear of a painter whose hands withered when he made an icon of Christ modeled after Zeus (he was healed by the patriarch).¹⁰ Olympian Zeus may have projected an image of power that operated subconsciously. How were Christians to imagine the godhead of Christ anyway? No one knew. But there were ways to tame the past of the gods. In the sixth century John Malalas wrote a comedic chronicle that began with the Creation and extended up to his own day. He integrated the history of the Greek and Egyptian gods into his survey of the Old Testament by euhemerizing them, i.e. treating them as mortal kings who had established the first communities and taught basic arts for the benefit of mankind. This, of course, was an ancient theory, but Malalas' framework was scriptural, and his approach mostly irreverent and "demythologizing" in a literal sense. His Zeus, for example, "had many sons and daughters by beautiful women. He had mystic knowledge and astonished the women, who regarded him as a god and were seduced by him since he showed them displays by mechanical means."¹¹

Other appropriations of the past were theologically more ambiguous. In Athens, probably in the late fifth century, the



Fig. 22 | Roman funerary stele. Andros Archaeological Museum no. 245 (1975/129).



Fig. 23 | Reconstruction drawing of the Christian Parthenon by M. Korres (after Tournikiotis 1994).

Parthenon was converted into a church consecrated to the Virgin (fig. 23). This entailed very little change to the building. The pediment sculptures were retained throughout the Byzantine period, and there is almost no evidence of violent destruction of the city's pagan sites. The city's (belated) conversion presents an impression of quiet continuity. Sources from around A.D. 500 recount that when the temple was being converted, the Christians found the text of an oracle that had been delivered to Jason and the Argonauts about both the temple at Kyzikos and the Parthenon. When those temples were being built, the god Apollo was asked to whom they should be dedicated. He answered that it did not matter, as the temple would in time be rededicated to Mary. It is said that this oracle was placed to the left of the door of

the Parthenon. An inscribed block with fifth-century lettering containing the text of the oracle was found on the island of Icaria.¹² In this way, with mind-defying theology both the god and the ancient heroes were enlisted in support of the conversion. This oracle was, in fact, part of an extensive corpus of pseudo-pagan inscriptions that began to circulate circa 500 in support of Christianization (known today as the *Tübingen Theosophy*).

The Christian culture of the early Byzantine Empire did not establish itself by wiping out all traces of its predecessor. Destruction and loss there certainly were, but in myriad subtle ways Christian culture creatively established its own "thereness" amid the monuments, traditions, and literature of classical antiquity.

¹ Stein 1937, 298.

² Kaldellis 2007a.

³ Stichel 1997.

⁴ Bassett 2004.

⁵ Dagron 1984.

⁶ Eusebios, *Vita Constantini*, 1975, 3.54.

⁷ *Cod. Theod.* 1954, 16.10.8.

⁸ Kaldellis 2007b, 154–56.

⁹ Robiano 2009.

¹⁰ *Theodore Anagnostes* 1971, 107–8.

¹¹ Malalas 1986, 8 (= 1.10).

¹² Kaldellis 2009, 47–53.

Abbreviations

AAA	<i>Archaiologika Analekta ex Athenon</i>
AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i>
ABME	<i>Archeion ton Byzantinon Mnemeion tes Hellados</i>
ADelt	<i>Archaiologikon Deltion</i>
AE	<i>Archaiologike Ephemeris</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AntTard	<i>Antiquité tardive</i>
ArtB	<i>Art Bulletin</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London</i>
BMGS	<i>Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies</i>
BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CahArch	<i>Cahiers archéologiques</i>
CEMyR	<i>Centro de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas</i>
CIETA	<i>Centre International d'Etudes des Textiles Anciens</i>
Corinth	<i>Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i>
DChAE	<i>Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias</i>
DIEE	<i>Deltion tes Historikes kai Ethnologikes Hetaireias tes Hellados</i>
DOC	<i>Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection, I–V. Washington, D.C., 1966–99</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
EEBS	<i>Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon</i>
EPhSPA	<i>Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon</i>
EPhSPTTh	<i>Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes</i>
FD	<i>Fouilles de Delphes, III. Épigraphie. Paris, 1929</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i>
JbAC	<i>Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum</i>
JDAI	<i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
LCI	<i>Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
LRC	<i>Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection: from Arcadius and Honorius to the Accession of Anastasius. Washington, D.C., 1992</i>
MIB	<i>Moneta Imperii Byzantini</i>
MonPiot	<i>Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres: Fondation Eugène Piot</i>
ODB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i>
PAA	<i>Praktika tes Akademias Athenon</i>
PAE	<i>Praktika tes en Athenais Archaeologikes Hetaireias</i>
PraktikaChAE	<i>Praktika tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias</i>
PG	<i>Migne, Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca</i>
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
RbK	<i>Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst</i>
REB	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
Römische Quartalschrift	<i>Römische Quartalschrift für Christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte</i>
Saggi e Memorie	<i>Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte</i>
TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i>

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