

Études byzantines et post-byzantines

Nouvelle série, tome I (VIII), 2019

# Études byzantines et post-byzantines

Nouvelle série

*Études byzantines et post-byzantines* continuent, sous la forme d'une revue à parution annuelle, la série homonyme, éditée par la Société roumaine d'études byzantines, dont le premier tome est paru en 1979, sous l'égide de l'Institut d'études sud-est européennes, par les soins de Nicolae-Şerban Tanaşoca et Eugen Stănescu.

## Rédacteur / Editor

Andrei Timotin

## Conseil scientifique / Advisory Board

Ivan Biliarsky (Sofia)	Athanasios Markopoulos (Athènes)
Brouria Bitton-Ashkelony (Jérusalem)	Paolo Odorico (Paris)
Elena Boeck (Chicago)	Andrei Pippidi (Bucarest)
Lia Brad Chisacof (Bucarest)	Srđan Pirivatrić (Belgrade)
Marie-Hélène Congourdeau (Paris)	Claudia Rapp (Vienne)
Vincent Déroche (Paris)	Antonio Rigo (Venise)
Bernard Heyberger (Paris)	Juan Signes Codoñer (Valladolid)
Paschalis Kitromilides (Athènes)	Tereza Sinigalia (Bucarest/Iaşi)
Alexandru Madgearu (Bucarest)	Tudor Teoteoi (Bucarest)
Paul Magdalino (St. Andrews)	Pablo Ubierna (Buenos Aires)

## Comité de rédaction / Editorial Board

Vlad Bedros, Ovidiu Cristea, Mircea Duluş, Ioana Feodorov, Petre Guran,  
Oana Iacubovschi, Mihail Mitrea, Simona Nicolae, Ovidiu Olar,  
Bogdan Tătaru-Cazaban, Ionuţ Alexandru Tudorie, Mihai Țipău

## Adresse de la Rédaction

Société roumaine d'études byzantines  
Institut d'études sud-est européennes  
Palais de l'Académie, Calea 13 Septembrie n° 13  
050711 Bucarest, Roumanie

## Édition – Diffusion

Herlo Verlag UG  
Am Dorf 38, 69124 Heidelberg

ACADÉMIE ROUMAINE  
INSTITUT D'ÉTUDES SUD-EST EUROPÉENNES  
SOCIÉTÉ ROUMAINE D'ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

ÉTUDES BYZANTINES ET POST-BYZANTINES

Nouvelle série  
Tome I (VIII)

Faith and Community around the Mediterranean  
In Honor of Peter R. L. Brown

Editors

PETRE GURAN and DAVID A. MICHELSON

2019

# Contents

<i>Avant-propos</i> .....	5
<i>Contributors</i> .....	9
<i>Introduction: Dynamics of Faith and Community around the Mediterranean</i> .....	11
<b>Peter R.L. Brown</b> <i>Reflections on Faith and Community around the Mediterranean</i> .....	19
<b>Claudia Rapp</b> <i>New Religion—New Communities? Christianity and Social Relations in Late Antiquity and Beyond</i> .....	29
<b>David A. Michelson</b> <i>“Salutary Vertigo”: Peter R.L. Brown’s Impact on the Historiography of Christianity</i> .....	45
<b>Craig H. Caldwell III</b> <i>Peter Brown and the Balkan World of Late Antiquity</i> .....	71
<b>Philippa Townsend</b> <i>“Towards the Sunrise of the World”: Universalism and Community in Early Manichaeism</i> .....	77
<b>Petre Guran</b> <i>Church, Christendom, Orthodoxy: Late Antique Juridical Terminology on the Christian Religion</i> .....	105
<b>Nelu Zugravu</b> <i>John Chrysostom on Christianity as a Factor in the Dissolution and Aggregation of Community in the Ancient World</i> .....	121
<b>Mark Sheridan</b> <i>The Development of the Concept of Poverty from Athanasius to Cassian</i> .....	141
<b>Kevin Kalish</b> <i>The Language of Asceticism: Figurative Language in St. John Climacus’ Ladder of Divine Ascent</i> .....	153

<b>Jack Tannous</b>	
<i>Early Islam and Monotheism: An Interpretation</i> .....	163
<b>Uriel Simonsohn</b>	
<i>Family Does Matter: Muslim–Non-Muslim Kinship Ties in the Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Periods</i> .....	209
<b>Thomas A. Carlson</b>	
<i>Faith among the Faithless? Theology as Aid or Obstacle to Islamization in Late Medieval Mesopotamia</i> .....	227
<b>Maria Mavroudi</b>	
<i>Faith and Community: Their Deployment in the Modern Study of Byzantino-Arabica</i> .....	239
<b>Hegumenos Dionysius Shlenov</b>	
<i>Images of Royal Power in Byzantine Ascetic Literature: “King” and “Penthos” in the Works and Background of St. Symeon the New Theologian</i> .....	251
<b>Matthew J. Milliner</b>	
<i>Emblems of the End: Byzantium’s Dark Angels</i> .....	275
<b>Peter R.L. Brown and Petre Guran</b>	
<i>In Search of the Génie du christianisme: An Interview with Peter Brown about Teaching and Research</i> .....	291
<i>Abstracts</i> .....	311

## Contributors

Peter R. L. Brown is the Philip and Beulah Rollins Professor of History, Emeritus at Princeton University, US.

Craig H. Caldwell, III is Associate Professor of History at Appalachian State University, US.

Thomas A. Carlson is Associate Professor of Middle Eastern History at Oklahoma State University, US.

Petre Guran is a Research Fellow at the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy, Romania.

Kevin Kalish is Associate Professor of English at Bridgewater State University, US.

Maria Mavroudi is Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley, US.

David A. Michelson is Associate Professor of the History of Christianity at Vanderbilt University, US.

Matthew J. Milliner is Associate Professor of Art History at Wheaton College, US.

Claudia Rapp is Professor of Byzantine Studies at the University of Vienna and Director of the Division of Byzantine Research in the Institute for Medieval Research at the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Austria.

Mark Sheridan, OSB, is a Benedictine monk living in Abu Ghosh in the Holy Land and Professor Emeritus in the Faculty of Theology at the Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, Rome, Italy.

Dionysius Shlenov is the Director of Greek Christian Literature in the Department of Christian Literature at Moscow Theological Academy, Russia.

Uriel Simonsohn is Senior Lecturer in the Department for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies at the University of Haifa, Israel.

Jack Tannous is Associate Professor of History and John Witherspoon Bicentennial Preceptor in the Department of History at Princeton University, US.

Philippa Townsend is Chancellor's Fellow of New Testament and Christian Origins at the University of Edinburgh, U.K.

Nelu Zugravu is Professor of Late Antique History and Civilization and leads the Centre for Classical and Christian Studies at the Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iași, Romania.

# Introduction

## Dynamics of Faith and Community around the Mediterranean

In the wake of Samuel Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" there has been much scholarly discussion on the religion's role in creating conflict in contemporary society. In popular imagination, the monotheistic traditions of the Mediterranean world—Judaism, Christianity and Islam—are seen as irreducible causes of social friction. And yet, nuanced attention to history reveals that such a view is itself a myopic product of modernity. Historians of pre-modern Mediterranean societies have shown that religious identity was a source of conflict but also of community. Over the past century, the work of Peter R. L. Brown has repeatedly offered insightful and new models for understanding the centrality of religion in the Mediterranean cultures of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. This inaugural issue of the new series of *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* in honor of Peter Brown, is composed of essays by an international group of scholars whose work both refines and challenges his legacy.

"Late Antiquity," the era of Mediterranean history between the classical world and the Middle Ages, is a period of history receiving increasing scholarly attention. For the majority of the twentieth century, this period was thought of as being "dark ages" of little interest to scholars who considered it merely a period of civilizational interlude and decline. Beginning with his groundbreaking work *The World of Late Antiquity* (1971), Peter R.L. Brown is responsible for conceptualizing Late Antiquity as a new periodization worthy of study in its own right. In particular, Brown's work is notable for its keen attention to the dynamics of religion in forming both individual and communal identity in Late Antiquity. As Brown notes, there were no societies without religion, no regulation without religious sanction, and no authority without appeal to some divine glimmer.



While religious identity was often a source of conflict it was equally a source of continuity for communal identities across time and through historical contingency. Identities forged around salvation communities led to their survival as communities.

Late-antique quests to adhere to various cults of the one true deity could at times promote a certain separation from society (as salvation communities became exclusive cultic communities, halakic bodies, monastic organizations, or social centers of religious dissent). Nevertheless, these same religious communities were also *loci* of social and cultural continuity between ancient and medieval societies. This historical movement was not linear. Religious communities alternately emerged and departed making religion at the same time a source of peace and regulation *and* a source of turmoil and conflict. In the wake of these transformations, historians can chart trajectories of religious diversity and tolerance and also map periods of religious unification and political exclusion of the dissenters. It is within this pattern of historical movement that the work of Brown has suggested that historians must take a wide-angle approach to the study of faith and community around the Mediterranean and look for continuities across religious boundaries: How did Christianity continue Greco-Roman communal structures? How did Judaism and Christianity provide strands of continuity within Islam? How did various forms of all three monotheistic faiths compete against and within each other?

The articles in this volume were born out of a conference which wrestled with these questions: “Faith and Community around the Mediterranean,” organized by Petre Guran in March 2016 at the New Europe College in Bucharest and the Mihai Eminescu Central University Library in Iași. Over twenty participants in this conference gave papers which engaged with Brown’s work from a variety of humanities disciplines: anthropology, theology, religious studies, political, and social history. This range of approaches was modelled after Brown’s own methodological breadth:

Scholars whose methods and whose approaches to the late antique period are often very different from our own, methodologies whose relevance to the study of late antiquity we had not hitherto considered: these frequently prove to be the grain-ships which sail into port to end our famine.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the grain-ship of disciplinary diversity, one of the outstanding results of this conference was its intentional effort to put an international focus on the reception of Peter Brown’s scholarly work. The contributors are diverse in national origin, location of academic training, and current institutional affiliation—having academic appointments or institutional affiliations in the following countries: Austria, Egypt, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, Romania, Russia, the United Kingdom, and the United States. The core of the volume is formed by essays from a younger generation of scholars trained by Peter

1 P. BROWN, “Conversion and Christianization in Late Antiquity: The Case of Augustine,” in *The Past before Us: The Challenge of Historiographies of Late Antiquity*, ed. C. STRAW and R. LIM, Bibliothèque de l’antiquité tardive 6 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), p. 103.

Brown, many of whom first met in the first decade of the current century in Princeton. The editors themselves were part of this milieu and their aim in gathering the participants for this conference and volume was to bear witness to a non-Girardian triangulation of community, one that has the virtue to bind rather than split. The editors also desired to call up all the spirits of Late Antiquity by means of friendship, knowledge, and empathy. Thus, the contributors also include other scholarly voices, both from a slightly earlier generation as well as scholars from a monastic background—in recognition of the continuity and vitality of our object of study. By design, the resulting volume highlights perspectives from academic contexts which have not previously been featured in the Anglophone reception of Brown's work.<sup>2</sup> Following Brown's own example, this volume models how to put the best of European and international scholarship in conversation with the sometimes too insulated Anglophone historiography of Late Antiquity.

This volume begins with Brown's own historiographical reflections in 2016 on the study of religion and society in Late Antiquity and its continued value today. Brown draws our attention to the contribution of Romanian scholarship to the study of Late Antiquity and Byzantium, including the insight of Gheorghe Brătianu: "On a débattu maintes fois le procès de l'Empire romain."<sup>3</sup> This observation not only drew Brown into the debate himself, but is one which Brown has helped to make true again and again as he has inspired multiple generations of new scholarship on Late Antiquity. Brown's essay also highlights an enduring theme of his work which we have taken as a central point of the essays that follow: "we should see community building and intolerance as part of the same process. The one was generated by the other." Brown encourages a *pointilliste* approach to writing history, a level of nuance that allows us to see "a far more humane and flexible side" of late antique and Byzantine orthodoxies. Reflecting on the current cultural and political crises which beset our young century, Brown vows:

We must, for instance, insist on the common ground which we have discovered between apparently impermeable religious communities. We must learn to place the almost visceral, violent reactions of self-definition in each group at the expense of the other (such as occur only too often in Late Antiquity) against the wider picture of mercifully blurred boundaries

---

2 This special issue of *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* joins the following *Festschriften* and symposia proceedings which reflect on Brown's scholarly achievement: J. KREINER and H. REIMITZ, eds., *Motions of Late Antiquity: Religion, Politics, and Society from Constantine to Charlemagne* (Brepols, 2016); P. ROUSSEAU and M. PAPOUSAKIS, eds., *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* (Burlington, VT: Routledge, 2009); A. SMITH, and K. ALT, eds., *The Philosopher and Society in Late Antiquity: Essays in Honour of Peter Brown* (Swansea: Classical Press of Wales, 2005); P.A. HAYWARD and J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, eds., *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); a special issue of *Journal of Early Christian Studies* (vol. 6, no. 3, 1998) on "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity, 1971-1997"; and a special issue of *Symbolae Osloenses* (vol. 72, no. 1, 1997) on "The World of Late Antiquity Revisited".

3 G.I. BRĂTIANU, *Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1938), p. 77.

revealed to us by nuanced research. In so doing, we can at least try to modify the vehement black and white stereotypes that circulate all too easily in a frightened Europe [today].

Brown's vision sets a tone for the essays that follow even though they range widely in topic covering historiography, Christianization, Manichaeism, legal history, rhetorical analysis, political theology, Islamic studies, and iconography.

Brown's opening essay is followed by Claudia Rapp's study of how late antique Christian communities both appropriated existing Greco-Roman social structures for community (such as the *polis*, marriage, and adoption) and in a few cases created new social institutions, such as baptism (and godparenthood) and *adelphopoiesis* (brother-making). Rapp concludes that this process of Christianization was largely incremental and much more inclined to work with existing social structures or by analogy to them than through the revolutionary creation or overturning of norms. Rapp's article, with its close attention to the social context of Christianization, is a model of the sort of fruitful inquiry which Brown has inspired.

In the next article, David Michelson turns to directly examine Brown's historiographic method. He surveys Brown's unique approach in its emphasis on unsettling modern sensibilities and assumptions about Christianity. Michelson points to Brown's phrase "salutary vertigo" as a shorthand for this effort to show modern scholars that religion in Late Antiquity should be appreciated in its paradoxical strangeness rather than treated merely as the progenitor of Christian Europe. Michelson also highlights Brown's work to push the geographic boundaries of Late Antiquity, constantly showing that "peripheries" were actually *loci* of cultural change and dynamism. This same insight is made specifically for the Balkans in Craig Caldwell's article. Caldwell reveals that in Brown's method a region which might be mistaken for peripheral (i.e. the Balkans) could actually be quite central in terms of the insights drawn from it, especially if one does not assume later historical developments as inevitable. Following the same logic but in a different chronological direction, Philippa Townsend's article pursues the early history of the Manichean community by offering a revision of our assumptions about Mani's opponents. Townsend convincingly shows that Mani's vision of community was a break with earlier forms of Judaism and Christianity, in that Mani rejected the value of ethnic communities in preserving and transmitting divine revelation.

Petre Guran's article draws our attention back toward the process of Christianization which has so long had a central place in Brown's own scholarship. Guran re-reads well-known legal texts but with a Brownian eye to what these texts can tell us about religion and what religious responses can tell us about the influence of Roman law. Guran demonstrates how the weight of Roman juridical vocabulary came to shape Christianity's own conception of community. It is this interplay which puts into light the necessity to distinguish between a salvation community and a survival community, sorting out from common religious vocabulary different meanings for each community. The social concept of Church itself

emerged from this fight over the right word and the awareness that survival and salvation communities might overlap, but should be prepared to part their ways.

This analysis is followed by Nelu Zugravu's detailed terminological study of John Chrysostom's homilies in fourth-century Antioch. Zugravu traces the paradoxical rhetoric with which Chrysostom sought to dissolve the communal structures of the ancient *polis* and yet also form a new peri-urban sacred topography. A similar argument of social change and renewal is made by Mark Sheridan, but with regard to monasticism in Egypt. Joining in a debate which Brown's most recent work has made richer, Sheridan examines how Cassian imported concepts of monastic poverty from Egypt into the Latin West. These essays focused on Christianization and language are capped by Kevin Kalish who disrupts with canny insight the mistaken assumption that Christian ascetic literature was not concerned with literary style. With copious examples from *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* of St. John Climacus, Kalish demonstrates that the "plain, straightforward style" of monastic literature was actually a conscious genre and well-wrought craft which succeeded through its careful and intentional use of figurative language.

Jack Tannous' article brings us to earliest Islam in order to overturn our assumption that "monotheism" was a uniting characteristic of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Instead, Tannous offers a careful, historicizing account of how the proclamation, "there is no god but God", changed in meaning as Islam spread and encountered religions beyond the Arabian Peninsula. Tannous argues that we must see competing conceptions of monotheism as defining the difference rather than the common thread between the so-called "Abrahamic" religions. With a related emphasis on understanding the distance between communities in the diversity of the medieval Middle East, Uriel Simonsohn offers a study of the family as a social and legal institution in the eighth and ninth centuries C.E. with special attention to how Jews, Christians, and Muslims managed marriage and kinship across religious lines. Simonsohn's article reflects an effort by many of Brown's students to open up our eyes to the intense complexity of the medieval Middle East, an era which is all too often erroneously assumed to be monolithic and Muslim. Thomas Carlson's article takes up this essential task as well with a call for scholars to pay more nuanced attention to how religious identification markers served to define medieval communities. He argues that it is a uniquely modern bias to see "belief" as "an ecumenical common ground among distinct religious confessions." Instead, Carlson argues that we must understand how the communities saw their own religious boundaries, i.e. as separating the faithful on the inside and all others as the faithless on the outside. Further underlining the importance of attention to the diversity of the medieval Middle East, Maria Mavroudi's article offers a historiographic review of the development of *Byzantino-Arabica* as a field of study in the modern Middle East, Europe, and North America. Mavroudi makes a compelling case, one also found often in Brown's own work (such as his 2008 Kluge address), for the need to study the Middle Ages without regard for the artificial cultural and political boundaries

which all too often have separated the study of Arabic/Islam and Greek/Byzantium into two non-overlapping disciplines.

The final articles in this collection turn to one of the well-known heirs of Late Antiquity, Byzantium. Dionysius Shlenov traces the development of two late antique themes, the image of the Emperor and the monastic virtue of *penthos*. Shlenov reveals a rich afterlife in which these two seemingly disparate themes (one of honor, one of abasement) found a fusion in Byzantine political theology and even a *dénouement* in the last days of Byzantium. Matthew Milliner's study of the iconography of the Virgin of the Passion traces an icon type which emerged from the suffering and demise of Byzantium at the end of the imperial period. Milliner demonstrates how to read the history of this icon type in light of the social contexts of the fall of Byzantium. Moreover, Milliner's article is offered in both the spirit of Peter Brown's reminder that "Late Antiquity is always later than we think" and Nicolae Iorga's call for attention to *Byzance après Byzance*.<sup>4</sup> To that end, Milliner documents the surprisingly long afterlife of the Virgin of the Passion icon type, an image which continues to find prominent echoes around the world today.

The last contribution in this volume gives the final word back to Peter Brown in the form of an interview conducted by Petre Guran in Princeton in 2006. The interview is an intellectual snapshot of a formative era at Princeton University in which several of the studies published here were first taking shape, some in the form of dissertations written under a circle of faculty which included Brown, Averil Cameron, Michael Cook, Slobodan Čurčić, Maria Mavroudi, Manolis Papoutsakis, and Brent Shaw among others. The interview also offers insight into the origins of Brown's own vision of Late Antiquity. As Brown notes: "I write like a medievalist with a real sense that one's duty is to conjure up a world, which, you just know instinctively, is broader than what you see." This is perhaps Brown's greatest scholarly legacy. He has shown us how to write history while always remembering that we are—all of us—studying a world broader than we can see. It is with gratitude for this insight that this inaugural number of the new series of *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* is dedicated to Peter Brown.

The preparation of an edited volume has much in common with the euergetism which maintained the urban centers of the ancient world. In both cases, the final result is weighty and the names of the benefactors are prominent, but those whose labor made it possible are too often unknown. In this case, however, the editors would like to prominently and profoundly thank William L. Potter of Vanderbilt University, without whose efforts as a copy editor this volume would not have been possible. The editors are confident that in a different era he would not have been out of place among the East Syrian translators of Aristotle, whom Peter Brown described as: "learned Christians who had retained

---

4 P. BROWN, *The Making of Late Antiquity*, Carl Newell Jackson Lectures (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 9.

knowledge of Syriac... [and] could tap the vast subterranean reservoir of medical, scientific, and philosophical knowledge which had slowly seeped into the Syriac churches.”<sup>5</sup>

In addition, the editors would like to renew their gratitude to the sponsors of the conference: the New Europe College in Bucharest, organizer of the event within the “Europe Next to Europe” program, funded by the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, The Swedish Foundation for Humanities and Social Sciences; the Mihai Eminescu Central Library in Iași; and the Saint Nicholas College of the Metropolitanate of Moldavia and Bucovina.

The editors were glad that the Romanian Society of Byzantine Studies, under the chairmanship of Dr. Andrei Timotin, has taken the decision to start in 2019 a new yearly series of its periodical *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* and was pleased to publish the papers of the aforementioned conference together with other contributions in honor of Professor Peter Brown.

Finally, the editors wish to express their gratefulness to the various institutions whose funding made the publication of this volume possible: the Institute for South-East European Studies of the Romanian Academy and its director Dr. Andrei Timotin, the Herlo Verlag UG (Heidelberg) and its director Mr Cristian Brutaru, and the Research Scholar Grant program at Vanderbilt University under Provost Susan Wentze.<sup>6</sup>

Petre Guran, Bucharest  
David Michelson, Nashville  
Feast of St. Euthymius of Mount Athos, 2019

---

5 P. BROWN, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000*, Second Edition (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 2003), p. 316–17.

6 Following the terms of the Research Scholar Grant, this introduction (which is copyright Petre GURAN and David A. MICHELSON, 2019) is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International license (CC BY 4.0) in order to facilitate future academic research.

# Abstracts

## **Petre Guran and David A. Michelson**

*Introduction: Dynamics of Faith and Community around the Mediterranean*

Over the past century, the work of Peter R.L. Brown has repeatedly broken new ground as a model for understanding the centrality of religion in the Mediterranean cultures of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. This article is the introduction to a special issue of *Études byzantines et post-byzantines* in honor of Peter Brown. The article summarizes the findings of essays by an international group of scholars whose work both refines and challenges Brown's legacy.

*Keywords:* Peter R. L. Brown, Late Antiquity, Judaism, Christianity, Manichaeism, Islam, historiography, survival community, salvation community, clash of civilizations, Christianization, Roman Empire

## **Peter R.L. Brown**

*Reflections on Faith and Community around the Mediterranean*

This article was delivered as the closing address given by Peter Brown to the symposium "Faith and Community around the Mediterranean (300-1500)" organized in his honor by the Institute for Advanced Studies, New Europe College and held in Bucharest and Iasi, Romania, March 7 – 10, 2016. The article describes the contribution of Romanian scholarship to the author's own study of Late Antiquity and Byzantium and calls—with renewed urgency—for a *pointilliste* approach to writing history, a level of nuance that allows us to see a far more humane and flexible side of late antique and Byzantine orthodoxies and a rejection of the vehement black and white stereotypes which circulate all too easily.

*Keywords:* Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Late Antiquity, Gheorghe Brătianu, historiography, clash of civilizations

### **Claudia Rapp**

*New Religion—New Communities? Christianity and Social Relations in Late Antiquity and Beyond*

This article takes a fresh look at the oft-repeated claim that the novel character of Christianity caused major changes in Late Roman society. It follows current scholarship in emphasizing that change was gradual until a ‘totally Christian society’ (Peter Brown) was achieved by the early middle ages and draws attention to two social relationships that have no precedent in previous times: baptismal sponsorship and ritual brotherhood.

*Keywords:* Christianity, Late Antiquity, law, social relations, concepts of society, baptism, ritual brotherhood (*adelphopoiesis*), Peter R. L. Brown

### **David A. Michelson**

*“Salutary Vertigo”: Peter R.L. Brown’s Impact on the Historiography of Christianity*

This article examines the impact which Peter R.L Brown’s half century of scholarship has made on the historiography of Christianity. The author surveys five recurring motifs or theoretical approaches to Christianization which epitomize Brown’s interpretive method as an historian of Christianity: Christianization as social change, Christianization as continuity, Christianization as revolution, Christianization as simultaneously diverse and universal, and Christianization as unfamiliar. Individually, these themes challenge monolithic interpretations of “Christianization” in Late Antiquity. Taken as a whole, these themes reflect Brown’s emphasis on the paradoxical aspects of Christianity in Late Antiquity. As Brown himself has put it, his goal in constantly overturning scholarly assumptions about Christianization was to achieve “a sense of the salutary vertigo” in which the historian encounters ancient Christianity with “the same combination of wonder and respect that makes for fruitful travel in a foreign land.”

*Keywords:* Peter R.L. Brown, historiography, Christianity, Christianization, presentism, Late Antiquity, *The World of Late Antiquity*, *The Rise of Western Christendom*, History of Sexuality, Medieval Christianity, Roman History, World Christian History

### **Craig H. Caldwell III**

*Peter Brown and the Balkan World of Late Antiquity*

From the beginning of Peter Brown’s career, when he reviewed W. H. C. Frend’s portrait of the emperor Galerius, through the publication of *The Rise of Western Christendom*, where he explained Severinus of Noricum as a “saint of the open frontier” on the Danube,



Brown's conception of Late Antiquity has embraced the Balkan region and its people. This article explores the recognition and reinterpretation of southeastern Europe in the work of Peter Brown, who has cherished both its distinct ferocity, particularly embodied by its bears, and its integration within the wider Mediterranean world, as exemplified by the service of Balkan natives in late Roman government.

Keywords: Peter R.L. Brown, Balkans, Danube, frontier, Late Antiquity, historiography, *Innocentia*, *Mica Aurea*

### **Philippa Townsend**

*"Towards the Sunrise of the World": Universalism and Community in Early Manichaeism*

This article focuses on the *Cologne Mani Codex* (CMC), a collection of stories about Mani's early life, his break from the baptist sect of his upbringing, and the beginning of his mission, to explore how Mani's universalism shaped new conceptions of community formation. Ultimately, what emerges from the CMC is not just a description of why Manichaeism is better than other religions, but a reconceptualization of what a religious community should be.

Keywords: Manichaeism; Early Christianity; universalism; ethnicity; community formation

### **Petre Guran**

*Church, Christendom, Orthodoxy: Late Antique Juridical Terminology on the Christian Religion*

The article is a terminological analysis of the legal literature produced in the Roman Empire from the IVth to the VIth centuries related to Christianity as the new religion of the Empire. From a legal point of view, conceptual theology (i.e. philosophically formulated doctrine) is reduced to an extremely simple outline, which merely points to the Trinity or refers to the Nicene creed. The terminology of the Theodosian and Justinianic codes are conservative, the Empire thinks of Christianity as a public cult. Thus we encounter terms like *religio divina*, as the religious organization of the Empire; *fides* as a reference to the Nicene Creed; the believer, *christianus catholicus*, as member of a *religio catholica*, where an imperial universality is also implied. In the first section of Justinian's code, two terms deserve special attention: "catholic", which appears 32 times, and "orthodox", 45 times. The first term is used more frequently before the council of Chalcedon, the second term predominates after. Meanwhile, "*christianitas*" appears only twice. There is just one occurrence where "ecclesia" means the Church as institution of Christianity. It is not an institution which stands up in front of the Empire, but merely the Empire's official cult. Only by the time of Justinian—after the long Acacian schism with Rome—does

*sacerdotium* appear as object of special care of the emperor, his partner in the fulfillment of God's will. This emerging distinction between a community whose preoccupation is its survival in time and another community concerned with the necessary conditions of individual salvation finds its fulfillment in medieval Christianity.

*Keywords:* Roman Empire, Church, Christendom, Orthodoxy, Catholicity, Constantine, Theodosius I, Theodosius II, Marcian, Zeno, Anastasius I, Justinian I, The Council of Ephesus, The Council of Chalcedon, *Codex Theodosianus*, *Codex Justinianus*, *religio*, *fides*, *christianitas*, survival community, salvation community

### **Nelu Zugravu**

*John Chrysostom on Christianity as a Factor in the Dissolution and Aggregation of Community in the Ancient World*

In a polemical and engaged manner, John Chrysostom often evoked in his homilies and exegeses two of Christianity's multiple facets: on the one hand, its role in undermining and breaking down the traditional values (social, family, moral, cultural, religious) of antique communities, and, on the other hand, its constructive ability to transform and bring together these communities around new values, to create new identities, to shape new behaviors. The first part of article examines the domains whose existence was undermined by Christianity (state, communities, ethno-religious groups, juridical and political entities, socio-political and professional categories, family, kinship, civil law, customs, habits, traditional religion with its entire underlying structure) and the lexicon employed by John Chrysostom for underlining the subversive action of the new religion. The second part of this study concerns the opposite phenomenon: the ways by which Christianity—once officially established—reconstructed the unity and identity of communities around new values, practices and behaviors. The following rhetoric is found in the works of John Chrysostom: a constant emphasis on the Christian identity of Antioch; implementing a true peri-urban sacred topography through the celebration of feasts, particularly of martyrs, in the churches of the *khôra*; the constant instructing of the believers to avoid profane gatherings and areas, particularly the theatre and the hippodrome; incessant advice to the public to constantly attend church; the sustained study of the Scriptures, as a weapon “against pagans, and against Jews, and against many heretics”; finally an exhortation to believers to embrace a conduct guided by the two fundamental values of Christianity: love and peace.

*Keywords:* John Chrysostom, Hellenism, Christianity, Christianization, dissolution, aggregation, Antioch, Christian identity.

## Mark Sheridan

### *The Development of the Concept of Poverty from Athanasius to Cassian*

In a series of wide-ranging studies on poverty and wealth in the Early Church, Peter Brown describes the idea of the “working monk” as developed in Egyptian monastic literature: “Monks in Egypt were expected to create...surplus and to give it to the poor. Briefly, they were to act as ideal Christian householders.” Brown also notes that: “papyrus evidence from the fourth century shows that monks often owned property. Despite the insistence of later theorists such as John Cassian (who wrote in the 420s in distant Marseilles), monks were not expected to divest themselves of private wealth in favor of their monastery. This did not happen until the age of Justinian.” This article proposes a clarification to Brown’s work. John Cassian was bilingual and had lived for some time in Egypt, probably in the monastery of St. Macarius in the Wadi Natrun (Abu Makar). He had a first-hand knowledge of how the monks lived. This article engages traces the development of monastic concepts of poverty from Athanasius, to Pachomius, to John Cassian. Both the Pachomian cenobitic monks and the hermits like Antony as portrayed by Athanasius were committed to making their own living through work. They were actually charitable institutions and provided employment opportunities to many as they do today in many countries including Egypt. This article argues that Cassian’s program of renunciation must be understood through his key idea of the “inner man.”

*Keywords:* poverty, wealth, monasticism, monastic labor, Athanasius, Pachomius, John Cassian, “inner man”, Peter R.L. Brown

## Kevin Kalish

### *The Language of Asceticism: Figurative Language in St. John Climacus’ Ladder of Divine Ascent*

Sprinkled throughout the *Ladder of Divine Ascent* of St. John Climacus are striking and unexpected uses of figurative language, often in the form of similes and analogies. These frequently take the form of constructions along the lines of “x is like a man who” followed by an absurd situation. This article considers the role of these literary devices in the text and how they function within the larger ascetic teaching of the Ladder.

*Keywords:* ascetical literature, St. John Climacus, *Ladder of Divine Ascent*, figurative language

## Jack Tannous

### *Early Islam and Monotheism: An Interpretation*

This article attempts an account the evolution of belief in One God among Muslims, from the earliest revelations of the Qur’an into the eighth century AD. It suggests that Islamic notions of monotheism received more precise definition as the Muslim community

came into contact with other groups that also professed belief in One God. Particularly important for this development were Muslim interactions with Christians who held to a Trinitarian understanding of monotheism.

*Keywords:* Qur'an, early Islam, monotheism, Christian-Muslim interaction

### **Uriel Simonsohn**

*Family Does Matter: Muslim–Non-Muslim Kinship Ties in the Late Antique and Medieval Islamic Periods*

Instances of confessionally-mixed family ties from the early and middle Islamic periods, specifically of ties that endured the conversion of a family member to another confession or the choice of individuals to marry outside the confessional fold, tend to remain at the margins of modern historiography. A common anticipation is that conversion to Islam and exogamous marriages resulted in the severance of family and communal ties with former confessional peers. The notion finds support in the ideals and legal principles that dominate Christian, Islamic, and Jewish legal and narrative texts. Yet it was a notion which had first and foremost evolved in the minds of confessional leaders who sought to sustain communal demarcation vis-à-vis inter-confessional integration. Its origins are to be traced in Late Antiquity, a period that saw the convergence of social and spiritual sentiments within the meaning of communal membership. Rather than citizenship, ethnicity, or tribal affiliation, the late antique legacy of the rabbinic *qahal*, Christian *ecclesia*, and Islamic *umma* signify the dominance of a new type of communal life that evolved around faith and cult. Accordingly, believers were called upon to prioritize God upon parents, siblings, and children (Mat. 10:37; Q 58:22), and offer undivided loyalty to their confessional community. Yet despite clerical endeavors, threats and dangers of various kinds, there is much to suggest that kinship was not easily suppressed and that family ties remained intact despite confessional differences. This article highlights this tension between the notion of communities of faith and kinship sentiments as it shows up in the early and middle Islamic periods.

*Keywords:* family, mixed marriages, religious conversion, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, Late Antiquity, Legal History

### **Thomas A. Carlson**

*Faith Among the Faithless? Theology as Aid or Obstacle to Islamization in Late Medieval Mesopotamia*

“Faith” was an important component of medieval group identity, but its social dynamic remains obscure. While Muslims and Christians both called themselves “believers,” the term seemed more important to Christian minorities than to dominant Muslims in the fifteenth century CE. Yet beliefs were shared with different scopes, and

Christians in fifteenth-century Mesopotamia emphasized the Trinity and Incarnation over sectarian difference, perhaps to hinder Islamization.

*Keywords:* faith, theology, Islamization, conversion, Church of the East, Syriac, medieval Middle East

### **Maria Mavroudi**

*Faith and Community: Their Deployment in the Modern Study of Byzantino-Arabica*

The article outlines scholarly developments of the last thirty years in the study of Byzantium and the Arabs and places them within the political, social, and economic considerations of this period. It explains why Byzantium is important in order to avoid crude oppositions between an Islamic “East” and a Christian “West”. Further, it asks how present concerns may safely guide investigations of the past and uses the scholarship of Peter Brown to propose an answer.

*Keywords:* Byzantium and the Arabs, “East”-“West”, postcolonialism, presentism, philology

### **Dionysius Shlenov**

*Images of Royal Power in Byzantine Ascetic Literature: “King” and “Penthos” in the Works and Background of St. Symeon the New Theologian*

This article offers insights into royal power and its inner spiritual as seen by hermit monks and Christian writers in the middle Byzantine period. This article is the first study to offer a comparative analysis of the connection between *penthos* (“lamentation”) and “the king” in the *Catechetical Discourses* of the Venerable Symeon the New Theologian. The article also examines historical descriptions of Byzantine imperial imagery including the king’s white robe as a sign of mourning, the tradition of the king’s lament for his family, and the people’s lament for the king. These descriptions offer a vivid background for the study of lament as a key virtue of Christian asceticism. As historical background to the works of St. Symeon, the article examines how the rule of Basil II, the Bulgar Slayer, could have inspired the royal imagery in the *Catechetical Discourses*. Similarly, the posthumous fate of the remains of Emperor Basil during the destruction of Constantinople by the crusaders in the thirteenth century offers a postscript which illustrates the main subject of the article.

*Keywords:* Byzantine imperial imagery, king, kingdom, Byzantium, ascetical literature, *penthos*, St. Symeon the New Theologian, Basil II, the Bulgar Slayer, humility, lamentation, suffering

**Matthew J. Milliner**

*Emblems of the End: Byzantium's Dark Angels*

While scholarly discourse describes the behavior of icons after the fall of the Byzantine Empire in 1453 as their “afterlife,” this article argues that the truth is closer to reincarnation. Icons do not die so much as they are reborn, retaining their original meaning and force. This paper traces the Virgin of the Passion icon as it reappears in the Renaissance, Rome, and Romania, a timely companion to varying epochs of suffering and collapse.

*Keywords:* Post-Byzantine, Icons, Byzantine Art, Virgin of the Passion, Our Lady of Perpetual Help, Pius IX, Papal States, Moldavia, Moldovița, Titian, Bellini, Giorgione, Neamț

**Peter R.L. Brown and Petre Guran**

*In Search of the Génie du christianisme: An Interview with Peter Brown.*

This article is an interview with Peter R.L. Brown about teaching and research which was conducted by Petre Guran in Princeton, USA in 2006. The interview is an intellectual snapshot of a formative era for the study of Late Antiquity and Byzantium at Princeton University under a circle of faculty which included Brown, Averil Cameron, Michael Cook, Slobodan Ćurčić, Maria Mavroudi, Manolis Papoutsakis, and Brent Shaw among others. The interview offers insight into the origins of Brown's own vision of Late Antiquity including his training as a medievalist, his own religious experiences, and changes in his thought and scholarship over time.

*Keywords:* Peter R.L. Brown, Late Antiquity, Christianization, Medieval Studies, historiography, Princeton University, Oxford University, C.S. Lewis, Imam Rezah, The University of California, Berkeley, Holy Man, Paideia, H.-I. Marrou