

BETWEEN THE PAGAN PAST AND CHRISTIAN PRESENT IN BYZANTINE VISUAL CULTURE

Up to its pillage by the Crusaders in 1204, Constantinople teemed with magnificent statues of emperors, pagan gods, and mythical beasts. Yet the significance of this wealth of public sculpture has hardly been acknowledged beyond late antiquity. In this book, Paroma Chatterjee offers a new perspective on the topic, arguing that pagan statues were an integral part of Byzantine visual culture. Examining the evidence in patriographies, chronicles, novels, and epigrams, she demonstrates that the statues were admired for three specific qualities — longevity, mimesis, and prophecy; attributes that rendered them outside of imperial control and endowed them with an enduring charisma sometimes rivaling that of holy icons. Chatterjee's interpretations refine our conceptions of imperial imagery, the Hippodrome, the Macedonian Renaissance, a corpus of secular objects, and Orthodox icons. Her book offers novel insights into Iconoclasm and proposes a more truncated trajectory of the holy icon in medieval Orthodoxy than has been previously acknowledged.

Paroma Chatterjee is Associate Professor of Art History at the University of Michigan. She is the author of *Living Icons: The "Vita" Image in Byzantium and Italy, 11th–13th Centuries.*





BETWEEN THE PAGAN PAST AND CHRISTIAN PRESENT IN BYZANTINE VISUAL CULTURE

STATUES IN CONSTANTINOPLE, 4TH-13TH CENTURIES CE

PAROMA CHATTERJEE

University of Michigan





CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi - 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning, and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108833585

DOI: 10.1017/9781108985628

© Cambridge University Press 2021

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2021

Printed in Singapore by Markono Print Media Pte Ltd

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Chatterjee, Paroma, 1978- author.

TITLE: Between the Pagan Past and Christian Present in Byzantine Visual Culture: statues in Constantinople, 4th–13th centuries CE / Paroma Chatterjee, University of Michigan.

DESCRIPTION: Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2021025417 (print) | LCCN 2021025418 (ebook) |

ISBN 9781108833585 (hardback) | ISBN 9781108984874 (paperback) |

18BN 9781108985628 (epub)

SUBJECTS: LCSH: Public sculpture—Turkey—Istanbul. | Statues—Psychological aspects. |

Classical antiquities—Psychological aspects. | Art and society—Turkey—Istanbul—History—To 1500. | Christianity and culture—Turkey—Istanbul—History. |

Istanbul (Turkey)-Civilization. | BISAC: ART / General

classification: LCC Na9340.I8 C49 2021 (print) | LCC Na9340.I8 (ebook) |

DDC 701/.03-dc23

LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021025417

LC ebook record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021025418

ISBN 978-1-108-83358-5 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To my parents





CONTENTS

List of Illustrations		page 1X
Acknowledgments		xiii
1	THE BYZANTINE STATUE: PROBLEMS AND QUESTIONS	I
2	PROPHECY	43
3	HISTORY	91
4	MIMESIS	I 2 7
5	EPIGRAMS AND STATUES	168
	EPILOGUE: MANUEL CHRYSOLORAS AND THE SENSE OF THE PAST	203
N	Totes	213
Bibliography		241
Index		261





ILLUSTRATIONS

I.I	Reliquary in the shape of a sarcophagus, 400–600 CE, Metropolitan	
	Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the	
		oage 10
I.2	Translation of John Chrysostom's relics, Menologion of Basil II,	O
	11th century CE, Vat. Gr. 1613, folio 61r. Photo courtesy of the	
	Picture Art Collection / Alamy Stock Photo	II
1.3	The column of Constantine, Istanbul, Turkey. Photo courtesy	
	of White Images / Scala / Art Resource, NY	14
I.4	Gold solidus of Theodosius I (379–95), Metropolitan Museum	
•	of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the public domain	18
1.5.		
,	Baltimore. Photo courtesy of the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore	20
1.6	Bowl, enameled and gilded glass, late 10th-11th century CE,	
	Treasury of San Marco, Venice, Italy. ©Carlo Berardi	21
I.7	Bowl, enameled and gilded glass, late 10th-11th century CE,	
,	Treasury of San Marco, Venice, Italy. ©Carlo Berardi	21
1.8	Steelyard weight with a bust of a Byzantine empress and a hook,	
	400–450 CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY.	23
1.9	Marble portrait bust of a woman with a scroll, late 4th–early	
	5th century CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY.	24
2.I	The emperor and his entourage, mosaic, 6th century CE, San Vitale,	
	Ravenna, Italy. Photo courtesy of Christine Webb / Alamy Stock Photo	53
2.2	The body of Leo V paraded in the Hippodrome, Matritensis	
	Gr. vitr. 26-2, folio 26v, 12th century CE, Madrid, Spain. Photo	
	courtesy of HIP / Art Resource, NY	54
2.3	The obelisk erected by Theodosius I, Istanbul, Turkey. Photo	
	courtesy of Vanni Archive / Art Resource, NY	57
2.4	Emperor holding/handing out a wreath of victory, obelisk	
	erected by Theodosius I, Istanbul, Turkey. Photo courtesy of	
	Vanni Archive / Art Resource, NY	59
2.5	Emperor presiding with men kneeling below, obelisk erected by	
	Theodosius I, Istanbul, Turkey. Photo courtesy of HIP / Art	
	Resource, NY	60
2.6	Erection of the obelisk, plinth of the obelisk erected by Theodosius I,	
	Istanbul, Turkey. Photo courtesy of Vanni Archive / Art Resource, NY	61

ix



X LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

2.7	Chariot races in the hippodrome, plinth of the obelisk erected by	
	Theodosius I, Istanbul, Turkey. Photo courtesy of Vanni Archive /	
	Art Resource, NY	61
2.8	Gold solidus of Valentinian I (364–75), Metropolitan Museum	
	of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the public domain	62
2.9	Equestrian emperor, ivory diptych, 6th century CE, Musée du	
	Louvre, Paris. Photo: Bridgeman Images	63
2.10	Detail of charioteer base, 6th century CE, Istanbul Archaeological	
	Museum, Turkey. Photo: Vanni Archive / Art Resource, NY	65
2.11	Charioteer base, 6th century CE, Istanbul Archaeological Museum.	
	Photo: University of California, San Diego	66
2.12	View of the Hippodrome, Onofrio Panvinio, engraving based on a	
	drawing from the late 15th century. Photo courtesy of Science	
	History Images / Alamy Stock Photo	67
2.13	Procession of Sultan Suleyman through the Hippodrome, Pieter	
	Coecke Van Aelst, 16th century CE. Photo: Metropolitan Museum	
	of Art / Art Resource, NY	68
2.14	Emperor kneeling to Christ, mosaic, 9th century CE, narthex of	
	Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, Turkey. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art	
	Resource, NY	69
2.15	Gaming device, 6th century CE, Bode Museum, Berlin, Germany.	
	Photo: Antje Voigt / Art Resource, NY	71
2.16	Detail, gaming device, 6th century CE, Bode Museum, Berlin,	
	Germany. Photo: Antje Voigt / Art Resource, NY	72
2.17	Detail, gaming device, 6th century CE, Bode Museum, Berlin,	
	Germany. Photo: Antje Voigt / Art Resource, NY	73
2.18	Detail, gaming device, 6th century CE, Bode Museum, Berlin,	
	Germany. Photo: Jürgen Liepe / Art Resource, NY	74
2.19	Leaf of a diptych of the consul Anastasius, 6th century CE, Victoria	
	and Albert Museum, London. Photo: Victoria and Albert Museum	75
2.20	Charioteer and quadriga, silk, 9th century CE, Treasury of the	
	Cathedral, Aachen. Photo: RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY	76
2.21	David with Prophecy and Wisdom, psalter, 10th century CE,	
	Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Gr. 139, folio 7v. Photo: Erich Lessing /	
	Art Resource, NY	8c
2.22	David playing the lyre, psalter, 10th century CE, Bibliothèque	
	Nationale, Ms. Gr. 139, folio Iv. Photo courtesy of Snark / Art Resource	81
2.23	David battling Goliath, psalter, 10th century CE, Bibliothèque	
	Nationale, Ms. Gr. 139, folio 4v. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art	
	Resource, NY	82
2.24	The coronation of David, psalter, 10th century CE, Bibliothèque	
	Nationale, Ms. Gr. 139, folio 6v. Photo: Erich Lessing / Art	
	Resource, NY	83
3.I	Icon with the Crucifixion, ivory, 10th century CE, Metropolitan	
	Museum of Art. Photo: Open Access, image in the public domain	94



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS xi

3.2	Detail of Constantinople, Tabula Peutingeriana, 13th-century CE copy of a Roman original. Photo courtesy of Bibliotheque Nationale,	
	Paris, France / Bridgeman Images	102
3.3	Map of Constantinople, Cristoforo Buondelmonti, 1422. Photo	
	courtesy of Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris, France / Bridgeman Images	103
3.4	Detail of Jerusalem, mosaic, Church of St. George, Madaba,	
	Jordan, 6th century CE. Photo courtesy of Bridgeman Images	105
3.5	Episode from the Book of Joshua, ivory, 10th century CE,	
	Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the	
	public domain	113
3.6	Detail of the Tyche of Gibeon, The Book of Joshua, scroll,	
	10th century CE. Photo: Creative Commons CCO License,	
	public domain	114
3.7	Statuette of the personification of a city, 300–500 CE, Metropolitan	
3.8	Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the public domain Casket, ivory, 10th century CE, Treasury of the Cathedral of Troyes,	114
3.0	France. Photo: Creative Commons CCO License, author: Fab 5669	116
3.9	Detail of eagle attacking a snake, mosaic, 6th century CE,	
5.7	Great Palace, Istanbul, Turkey. Photo courtesy of © Samuel Magal,	
	Sites & Photos Ltd. Bridgeman Images	122
4.I	Veroli casket, wood overlaid with carved ivory and bone with	
	traces of polychrome and gilding, 10th century CE, Victoria and	
	Albert Museum. Photo: ©Victoria and Albert Museum	136
4.2	Detail of the Veroli casket, wood overlaid with carved ivory and	5
	bone with traces of polychrome and gilding, 10th century CE,	
	Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo: ©Victoria and Albert Museum	138
4.3	Detail of the Veroli casket, wood overlaid with carved ivory and	<i>J</i> -
1.3	bone with traces of polychrome and gilding, 10th century CE,	
	Victoria and Albert Museum. Photo: ©Victoria and Albert Museum	139
4.4	Detail of the Veroli casket, wood overlaid with carved ivory and	37
1.1	bone with traces of polychrome and gilding, 10th century CE, Victoria	
	and Albert Museum. Photo: ©Victoria and Albert Museum	140
4.5	Incense burner, gilded silver, 12th century CE, Treasury of San Marco,	
1 5	Venice, Italy. Photo: ©Carlo Berardi	151
4.6	Detail of incense burner, gilded silver, 12th century CE, Treasury	
	of San Marco, Venice, Italy. Photo: ©Carlo Berardi	152
4.7	Detail of incense burner, gilded silver, 12th century CE, Treasury	
. ,	of San Marco, Venice, Italy. Photo: ©Carlo Berardi	155
4.8	Serpent Column, Istanbul, Turkey. Photo courtesy of Alamy	22
•	Stock Photo	158
4.9.	Censer frame with inhabited vine scroll, copper alloy, 6th century,	
1.7.	Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the	
	public domain	162
4.10	Casket with warriors and dancers, ivory and bone with gilded copper	
1	mounts, 11th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo:	
	Open Access image in the public domain	163



xii LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

4.11	Detail of casket, ivory and bone with gilded copper mounts,	
	11th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access,	
	image in the public domain	164
4.12	Detail of casket, ivory and bone with gilded copper mounts,	
	11th century, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access,	
	image in the public domain	165
5.1	Fragment of arch from Hagios Polyeuktos, 6th century CE, Istanbul,	
	Turkey. Photo: Creative Commons CCO License, author: Anthémios	
	de Tralles	175
5.2	Dish, silver, 6th century CE, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg,	
	Russia. Photo: Alamy Stock Photo	190
5.3	Pepper pot, silver and gold, Hoxne Treasure, 300–400 CE, British	
	Museum, London. Photo: Alamy Stock Photo	191
5.4	Box with sleeping Eros, silver, 300-400 CE, Metropolitan Museum of	
	Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the public domain	192
5.5	Ladle, Kaper Koraon Treasure, 7th century, Walters Art Gallery,	
	Baltimore. Photo: Creative Commons License, public domain	193
5.6	Spoons, silver, First Cyprus Treasure, 7th century CE, British Museum,	
	London. Photo courtesy of Bridgeman Images	195
5.7	Spoon, silver, niello and gilding, mid-6th-mid-7th century CE,	
	Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the	
	public domain	196
5.8	Detail of spoon, silver, niello and gilding, mid-6th-mid-7th century CE,	
	Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access, image in the	
	public domain	196
5.9	Standing lamp with running dogs, copper alloy, cast, 5th-6th	
	century CE, Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY. Photo: Open Access,	
	image in the public domain	197
5.10	Patera, silver, 4th century CE, Esquiline Treasure, Petit Palais, Paris,	
	France. Photo: Creative Commons Attribution, author: Sailko	198
5.11	Silver ladle (trulla) from the Mytilene Treasure, 7th century CE,	
	Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens, Greece (inventory number:	
	BXM 899). Photo: kind permission of the Byzantine and Christian	
	Museum, Athens	200
5.12	Casket, silver with gilding, 4th century CE, British Museum, London.	
	Photo courtesy of Alamy Stock Photo	201



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book has benefited enormously from the support of various individuals and institutions. I owe a significant debt to my home institution - the Department of the History of Art at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor – for the consistent flow of resources that enabled the book to come to be. Generous research monies, including a substantial subvention fund from the department and a hefty Associate Professor Support Fund from the College of Literature, Science and the Arts under Dean Anne Curzan, assisted with the production of this work. Equally important is the intellectual nourishment furnished by my colleagues at Michigan over the years. In particular, I thank Christiane J. Gruber for her support (Department Chair at the time this was written). Additionally, I am grateful to Betsy Sears, Marty Powers, Nachiket Chanchani, Alex Potts, Susan Siegfried, Celeste Brusati, Pat Simons, Megan Holmes, Tom Willette, Achim Timmermann, Joan Kee, Ryan Szpiech, Michèle Hannoosh, Devi Mays, Mayte Greenfield Mercado, Aileen Das, and Natalie Abell. Nachiket Chanchani and Carlo Berardi both provided much-needed photographs of objects, for which I give my deepest thanks. Cathy Pense-Rayos and Matthew Quirk at the Visual Resources Center at the Department of the History of Art offered invaluable help in getting my materials together. Stephanie Triplett stepped in at a critical moment to help with the index, for which I extend my gratitude.

I am grateful to have had the chance to present portions of my research at the Universities of Hong Kong (Chinese University of Hong Kong), Oxford (England), Aarhus (Denmark), Erfurt (Germany), Edinburgh (Scotland), Yale (United States), and Northwestern (United States). The feedback from audiences at these venues was invigorating as was their camaraderie. I wish specifically to acknowledge the following individuals for having offered me their time and expertise regarding statues and other such things: Christopher Dickenson, Richard Gordon, Lucy Grig, Jacqueline E. Jung, Anthony Kaldellis, Gavin Kelly, Noel Lenski, Robert Linrothe, Poo Mu-Chou, Laura Nasrallah, Christina Normore, Rubina Raja, Susanne Rau, Jörg Rüpke, and Christopher Smith.

My grateful thanks to Beatrice Rehl at Cambridge University Press for having steered this book to publication during a most unusual year. I am

xiii



XIV ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

also indebted to Victoria Parrin, Nigel Graves, Dhanuja Ragunathan, and Abigail Rothberg for their steady support during the process of preparing the manuscript for its leap into the world of print.

Finally, I want to thank my friends and family for their unwavering affection. At a time that seems apocalyptic for the world (namely, the year 2020 CE), they have been much on my mind. To Hugh and Isabel Gibbons and their children; Raul Rodriguez; Benjamin Garber; Adrian, Anca, and Amelia Parrasca; Paolo Di Betta; Miniya Chatterji; Alla Vronskaya; Tanweer; Guo Deyou and Tao Hong; Arkady and Inna Kovelman; Nachiket and Jahnabi Chanchani; Erdem Çipa and Christy Gruber; Wei-Ping Lin; Anita Mukherjee; Tracey Baetzel; and a certain group of people in South City, Kolkata, I am deeply grateful.

I dedicate this book to my parents, Pratip and Sunita Chatterjee (as usual), because I owe everything good in my life to them (as usual). But I also wish to thank my brother, Pinaki, for being my greatest friend, and my husband, for alternating in that role with my brother. My children, Preisha and Prabuddha, are a joy. Words fail to express what they mean to me. But I trust – I hope – they don't need to read anything to fathom it.