

Painting the Bodiless: Angels and Eunuchs in Byzantine Art and Culture

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Few figures in Byzantine culture are as superficially dissimilar as angels and eunuchs, yet their iconography was closely linked, a result of their similar occupations and the traditions brought to bear on the problem of depicting angels, traditionally bodiless. Textual evidence on the roles and appearance of each group begins to reveal these connections, but it is only when the art itself is examined that the close relationship between angels and eunuchs becomes clear. For while angels were celestial beings of imagination, Byzantine court eunuchs had a very particular appearance based on the inevitable physical manifestations of castration. The artistic sources give clues about this physical appearance, their dress, functions in court ceremonial, and role in Byzantine society. Then in the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, or most other scenes with angels, Byzantine artists drew, consciously or not, on this iconography of the court eunuch. This borrowing was part of the larger influence of imperial iconography on Christian Art, yet it is fascinating for what it reveals about angels and eunuchs, their roles in society and the Church, and the evolution of Early Christian Art and the Byzantine Empire.

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At first glance, no characters in the Early Byzantine Empire were as dissimilar as angels and court eunuchs. The first were heavenly creatures, literally the messengers of God, who brought Luke 2:10's "good tidings, of great joy" to humanity in the Bible and after; the second were usually characterized as the venal, corrupt, and evil "friend of prostitutes,...corrupter of virgins," who were, in popular opinion, "monsters."ⁱ Under these circumstances, it would hardly be surprising for court eunuchs to be depicted in art as well as demons; however, the fact is that during the Early Byzantine Empire, the iconography of angels and eunuchs became inextricably linked, as a result of their similar occupations and the traditions brought to bear on the problem of depicting angels.

An examination of some textual evidence on the roles and appearance of each group begins to reveal these connections, but this is limited to chance references here and there. It is only when the art of the period itself is mustered that the close relationship of angels and eunuchs becomes clear: when Byzantine painters depicted the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, or many of the other Christian scenes which feature angels, they drew, consciously or not, on the iconography of the court eunuch. This borrowing was only one part of the larger influence of imperial iconography on Christian Art, yet it is fascinating for what it reveals about angels and eunuchs, their roles in society and the Church, and the evolution of Early Christian Art.

The angels of the New Testament were the successors of the angels and spirits of the Old Testament, and appeared in both works in a variety of roles, but most often as messengers of God. They were led by the Archangel Gabriel, the chief attendant and messenger of God, and the Archangel Michael, the healer, 'great captain' and special guardian of Israel.ⁱⁱ Official Christian belief in angels was codified at the Council of Nicaea in 325, but they were a part of Christianity from its very beginnings. They were the intermediaries between humanity and God, as fully defined in the *De Coelesta Hierarchia* of Pseudo-Dionysios, and Clement assigned them to the third divine hierarchy, specifically charged with attention to humanity.ⁱⁱⁱ In sum, they were "messengers or guardians, inspired beings or instruments of the divine will;...the guardians of Christ or the Virgin or...participants or representatives on ceremonial occasions."^{iv} The Church Fathers variously chose to emphasize one or the other role, but they might serve all of these functions. The cult of the angel developed during the fourth century, and there were many early churches dedicated to them; they moved between the human and divine spheres, and although they were common in the New Testament, only the truly holy ever saw them after that.^v

Hagiography reflects all of these roles that angels assumed, and sometimes gives clues to their perceived appearance. Although St. Antony was plagued by demons constantly, he also acknowledged the presence of angels, and informed his flock about how to differentiate them from demons: "The true angel of the Lord, had no need of hordes, nor of visible apparitions, nor of crashing sounds.... He wielded his authority quietly, and at once destroyed a hundred and eighty-five thousand foes."^{vi} While demons made a lot of noise stirring up trouble, angels did their jobs in peaceful efficiency. A human might know an angel by this outer peace, and an inner peace; failing that, it was also acceptable to have "The fear...from awareness of the presence of superior beings," which the angel would soon dispel.^{vii} Angels most often appear in hagiography in the guise of messengers like this. Legend even attributed the inspiration for the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople to the message of an angel.^{viii} While in the third century Antony conceived of angels mainly as these messengers to the holy, by the fifth century their roles had expanded slightly.

In a vision of that era, St. Daniel the Stylite saw: “a huge pillar of cloud standing opposite him, and the holy and blessed Simeon standing above the head of the column and two men of goodly appearance, clad in white, standing near him in the heights.... Then the Saint said to the young men standing near him, ‘Go down and bring him up to me.’ So the men came down and brought Daniel up to him and he stood there. Then Simeon... was borne up to heaven leaving Daniel on the column with the two men.”^{xix} When he awoke, Daniel’s companions advised him to mount a column, where he might be “supported by the angels.”^x Here, angels appear as guardians of both the dead Simeon, and the live Daniel. Angels often also appeared to convey the dead to heaven, and were subject to a hierarchy just like humanity. When St. Theodore of Sykeon fell ill, the angels came to take him to heaven, and were only dissuaded by the healing Saints Cosmas and Damian, who interceded for Theodore, and brought an Archangel to command the lesser angels: “a very tall young man, like in appearance to the angels that were there, though differing from them greatly in glory.”^{xi} In hagiography, then, angels were usually messengers and guardians, still appearing to the holy ones in the fifth century.

Eunuchs appear in hagiography as well, in both official and unofficial capacities. Historically, court eunuchs gained power under the Roman Empire, and possessed a variety of offices and powers under the succeeding Byzantine Emperors. Some Imperial offices, like Grand Chamberlain, were almost always filled by eunuchs, while others were filled equally by both eunuchs and bearded men. Only three offices in the Imperial hierarchy, however, were reserved strictly for bearded men.^{xii} Eunuchs at court were often trusted advisors, who “acted as ‘masters of ceremonies,’ controlling access to the emperor; as doorkeepers (and) as servants in charge of...cooking, serving and care of the wardrobe.”^{xiii} They were the intermediaries between men and women, the court and the world, and the living and the dead, since they supervised the laying out of the dead for burial. They had religious functions as well, for they protected the sacred space around the Emperor, served as intermediaries between the realms of imagination and reality, and often became members of the clergy.^{xiv} Although some church authorities were uneasy about the unfair advantages eunuchs enjoyed when it came to celibacy, many eunuchs imitated angels by being celibate as well as not procreating, and they were generally accepted by the church.^{xv}

St. Daniel the Stylite, whose pillar was close to the capital of Constantinople, had fairly frequent contact with eunuchs. He cured the daughter of the former consul and praetorian prefect Cyrus, who had been undone by a plot of the Spatharius Chrysaphius, a powerful eunuch under Theodosius II. The eunuch probably did actually act as a bodyguard to the Emperor, although later the title of Spatharius or Sword-Bearer became mainly ceremonial; if Cyrus is to be believed he certainly had a remarkable degree of influence over the Emperor and the court.^{xvi} Not all eunuchs were such dominant figures; most seem to have acted as messengers and intermediaries. The late-fifth-century Emperor Leo “sent his spatharius Hylasius, who was a eunuch, to inform the holy man about Genseric and of the Emperor’s intention to dispatch an army to Egypt.”^{xvii} After receiving Daniel’s advice the eunuch returned to the Emperor. Not every visit was of such import; after a storm Leo also “sent his chamberlain, Andreas by name, to inquire whether the holy man had suffered any harm from the violence of the winds.” The chamberlain, probably a eunuch, returned to the Emperor with news of Daniel’s condition.^{xviii} Eunuchs, then, were trusted messengers, for both the monumental and the trivial concerns of the Emperor. Their interactions with Daniel also reveal their sometimes difficult position as bearers of bad news. When the chamberlain Daniel was sent for the holy man’s blessing upon the usurper Emperor Basiliscus, Daniel the Stylite refused, and the eunuch begged for his refusal in writing to protect his own health.^{xix} Eunuchs also appear as the personal servants of the Emperor; Emperor Zeno took some when he fled Constantinople with his wife. Above all, however, they were messengers and guardians, the link between the common people and even the holy men, and the Emperor.^{xx}

In hagiographical texts, then, angels and eunuchs serve almost identical roles, as messengers and intermediaries between those of exalted status (God, Christ, Saints, the Emperor) and the rest of humanity, and guardians of all. These connections in function certainly go part of the way to explaining how their iconography came to be so similar. The second set of connections, however, involve the actual appearance of eunuchs, and the Biblical and Pre-Christian traditions associated with the appearance of angels. While angels were celestial beings who could ostensibly look however they chose, Byzantine court eunuchs had a very particular appearance, reflected in both textual and artistic sources of the period. The artistic sources, additionally, give clues not only about their physical appearance, but also about their dress and function in court ceremonial.

Both Byzantine and modern sources agree on the results of castration: “those castrated in infancy or childhood developed a distinctive skeletal structure, lacked full masculine musculature, body hair and beards, had an elevated voice range and rarely went bald.”^{xxi} Legislation of Justinian regulating the trade in eunuchs reveals that most of them were castrated young, and came originally from the Eastern areas of the Empire, specifically Abasgia, the modern Caucasus. As a result, besides having the physical characteristics associated with castration, many eunuchs had light eyes, hair, and skin, as well as the “comely features and fine bodies” desired by the slave traders. There were eunuchs who were native Romans, or did not start life as slaves, but the active trade in beautiful blond boys from the Caucasus must have produced a group of court eunuchs with fairly similar physical characteristics, and probably also led to a popular impression of the typical eunuch.

Contemporary authors also remarked upon the pleasant smell of eunuchs, in comparison with normal men, and their tendency to get fat later in life.^{xxii} By the seventh century, at least, court eunuchs also wore characteristic garments: “a white tunic adorned with gold in a special pattern and a red doublet with gold facings.”^{xxiii}

These physical traits help to identify the eunuchs in representations of court scenes. While in the Early Byzantine Empire it was still usual for soldiers to be beardless, eunuchs are usually clearly distinguishable. In the mid-sixth-century dedicatory panels of Justinian and Theodora from San Vitale in Ravenna, eunuchs appear with both the Emperor and the Empress. The man immediately to Justinian's right is bearded, but behind him stands a beardless man in the same tunic and chlamys: a eunuch, a spatharios or a general, perhaps Justinian's famous eunuch general Narses.^{xxiv} The soldiers who cluster off to the left are beardless, and there may be eunuchs among them, but this is probably due to fashion. In the facing panel, Theodora is flanked by her ladies on her left, and her eunuchs on her right. These men, probably chamberlains, also wear the tunic and chlamys. The first, older man wears a white chlamys, and has a slightly pudgy face; the younger man behind him holds the curtain for the procession, and wears a golden chlamys. The white tunics of all the eunuchs are adorned with patches signifying rank, and their red belts are visible under their outer drapery. In the Byzantine Empire, at least, eunuchs were among those in attendance to both the Emperor and the Empress. In both panels, either Justinian or Theodora is clearly the center of attention: brightly colored, gem-encrusted, they stand in front, through the overlapping of the other figures. Both the attendant eunuchs and the richly bedecked royal figures were elements that made their way into Early Christian Art. The physical and official characteristics of eunuchs, then, were represented fairly consistently in both the literary and the artistic sources of the period. Eunuchs were messengers, guardians or attendants of the Emperor and the Royal Court, who dressed in white robes and had certain physical characteristics.

Christian sources and the Bible, however, never describe angels either clearly or consistently.^{xxv} This is understandable, as angels were by their very nature *asomatoi*, bodiless, and only assumed form when necessary. According to Psellos, their incomprehensible nature was meant to encourage the faith of humanity, who could not perceive them.^{xxvi} In hagiography they are often completely incorporeal, appearing as natural phenomena, especially lightning or fire, after Biblical paradigms.^{xxvii} In these cases, “Fire is a textual veil for the difficult nature and aspect established by scripture.”^{xxviii} In the world of human beings, though, they might also appear as a helpful human stranger, like the mysterious man in the dream of St. Daniel the Stylite.^{xxix} They were, however, most often young men, as in Daniel's dream of St. Simeon, distinguished by their appearance and clothing.^{xxx} The description closest to their representation in Christian art appears in *Acts* 1:10-11, after the Ascension of Christ: “They (the Apostles) were gazing intently into the sky as he went, and all at once there stood beside them two men robed in white, who said, ‘Men of Galilee, why stand there looking up into the sky? This Jesus who has been taken from you up to heaven will come in the same way as you have seen him go.’”

Sometimes, however, they appeared in the clear guise of court officials. For instance, Michael, “dressed in the robe of a praepositus, or court official,” appeared as “a fearful man as out of the heaven, with a rush descending on horseback on a white and terrible steed” to a frightened chandler.^{xxxi} When they are not strangers, angels frequently appear as eunuchs or Imperial chamberlains, or, often, with the appearance of their icons. Since those icons usually depicted them as Imperial officials, this was often the same thing as appearing as an official in the first place.^{xxxii} Angels always appear suddenly in the texts, often from the sky, and this was no doubt a factor in the addition of their wings. The texts, then, lead back to the iconography of angels.

When and how did this recognizable iconography develop? After all, “Making images of angels is not a matter of transcription of visual information (or even textual description), since clearly visions of these beings are nearly impossible to process or comprehend.”^{xxxiii} The most important part of the depiction was for it to be clear and understandable. From the very beginning of Christian art, clarity of presentation was far more important than aesthetic concerns. After all, the icon was a direct link to the person or creature depicted. Agathias, the advisor to Justinian, described a good icon of an angel: “The wax, greatly daring, has represented the invisible, the incorporeal chief of the angels in the semblance of his form. Yet it was no thankless [task] since the mortal who beholds the image directs his mind to a higher contemplation.”^{xxxiv} Little iconography came from Judaism, so it was left to Christian artists to attempt the depiction of angels, and pagan sources to influence that art. Christianity embraced representational art from the second century at the latest, and the desire to depict scenes from the Bible, and create icons, led inescapably to the representation of the angel. That representation drew on a number of different sources, including pagan sources, Imperial iconography and the depiction of eunuchs.

The basic Byzantine angel has clear antecedents in winged pagan figures like Victory, Eros and Attis.^{xxxv} However, the first was female, and wore a long tunic girdled under her breasts, while the second two were young boys, usually mostly nude. In the earliest Christian art of the catacombs, angels were always hovering, male messengers, dressed in long, white robes. By the fourth century, however, they were standing on the ground, as guardians and attendants of Christ, “dressed in the costume of the court and holding various insignia or emblems in keeping with the context.”^{xxxvi} This representation was hardly accidental, and the

physical appearance of these angels, along with their narrative roles, reveal their connections to the representation and function of court eunuchs.

Byzantine Angels in art fall roughly into two categories, within which there are further divisions. The first category consists of 'winged,' heraldic or architectural angels, those in the divine sphere who are usually shown in flight, often in even numbers, holding aloft medallions in the manner of two-dimensional caryatids.^{xxxvii} These angels always wear a long white robe and mantle, are shod with sandals, and are iconographically connected with Pagan motifs of victory. The second, and larger, category consists of angels acting in the human realm, with their feet on the ground, literally and metaphorically. They are oriented upright in relation to the human figures, and function within their space. These angels always appear as young, blond men, sometimes with long hair held back by a headband and sometimes with short curls. They wear a variety of clothing, most often long white robes, and carry the orb and the staff (or just the staff), the symbols of imperial power.

These standing angels fall into two broad categories: attendant or heraldic angels, and angels in narrative scenes. In the first type the two Archangels, Gabriel and Michael, usually flank the main character of the scene, either Mary or Christ.^{xxxviii} In the iconography of the Ascension, for example, they are garbed in white robes and mantles, hold long staffs and flank Mary; in the apses of many churches they turn towards the central figure with their robes over their hands. In some older representations of this second type, they hold victory wreaths.^{xxxix} The second category, that of angels in narrative scenes, is very broad, and includes representations of every Biblical story that includes angels and many which do not. Notable in this category are the Annunciation, often in the apse as well, with Mary to one side and the messenger Gabriel to the other, and the Baptism of Christ, where one or more angels hold their robes over their heads to dry him.^{xl} There are angels which do not fit into these categories, but they broadly include most of the iconography of angels in Byzantine art from a very early era. Before the scenes were formalized, however, in the fourth through seventh centuries there was still a certain amount of leeway, and these scenes often provide clues to the sources of their iconography. Three individual angels give the range of their appearance and dress, while three narrative scenes with multiple angels expand upon the connections.

An early sixth-century ivory diptych of the Archangel Michael is the most basic representation: young man in robes, winged, with a staff and orb. However, two other examples wear ceremonial garb which links them to palace officials. The ninth-century mosaic of the Archangel Gabriel, on the south side of the apse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, is dressed in the manner of an official of the Byzantine court, and bears a close resemblance to the eunuch officials in the panels of Justinian and Theodora from Ravenna. The Archangel wears a white *clamys* with a gold *tablion*, elegantly draped over his left arm, in which he holds the orb. His right shoulder is decorated with a badge, and he holds a staff in that hand. Although his clothing is rich enough for an Emperor, his youthful, beardless face is that of a eunuch, and his wings clearly make him an angel. In a third example angels are depicted even more like Emperors, straying perilously close to pagan sources. This ninth-century mosaic of the angels Dominion and Might, from the vault of the Church of the Assumption in Nicaea, presents two frontal angels wearing long bejeweled robes, and carrying banners and orbs, as if in attendance at some Imperial ceremony.^{xli}

Some clerics, preferring representation that conformed to Scripture, opposed representations which were so obviously Imperial. At the Seventh Ecumenical Council, in the sixth century, Severus the Patriarch of Antioch argued for angels in white robes alone, as "the insolent hand of painters, favouring as it does the inventions of pagans, decks out Michael and Gabriel, like princes and kings, in a robe of royal purple, adorns them with a crown and places in their right hand the token of universal authority", like the angels from Nicaea, or depictions of the emperor himself.^{xlii} But even before the adoption of explicit court dress, narrative scenes from the life of Christ were already depicted as Imperial ceremonies, with angels standing in for eunuchs more often than emperors. This is clear from a comparison of the depiction of eunuchs and angels, and the ways in which angels first appear in Christian art.

The fifth century mosaics of the Childhood of Christ and the Adoration of the Magi from the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome contain two Imperial scenes with a thin wash of Christianity. The top scene depicts Mary at home, seated on a throne wearing the garments of a Roman Empress. Her five attendants are basically eunuchs with wings and haloes, dressed in Roman tunics and togas with the thin purple stripes of the upper class. They exemplify the attendants of an Empress on earth, transferred into heaven. In the lower scene, four guardian angels are arrayed behind the elaborate throne of Christ like the bodyguards of a Child Emperor, as Mary, the regent, looks on from the right.^{xliii}

This sort of Imperial iconography, with angels taking on the roles of eunuchs, quickly became standard, even if it was not always so explicit. One mosaic in particular, the sixth century apse mosaic of San Vitale in Ravenna, showcases the influences of Imperial iconography, while also juxtaposing anachronistic elements. Christ, enthroned on an orb in an Imperial purple tunic and toga, extends a crown to the figure of St. Vitalis, who is clad in a contemporary *chlamys* and tunic. Between the two stands the Archangel, also in tunic and toga: he is the intermediary, and the patron of the saint, with his hand on the saint's shoulder. On the other

side of Christ, the other Archangel presents his petitioner, the Bishop Ecclesius with the church.^{xliv} It is a scene which must have played out in the Imperial court every day, as sycophants sought the attention of a eunuch who would introduce them to the Emperor.

While Imperial iconography never really recovered after the Iconoclasm of the seventh to ninth centuries, its progeny, Christian iconography, continued to spread and become more stylized. In this early era, however, there were clear and close connections between the two, exemplified by the close association of eunuchs and angels. Besides their similar occupations, this identification must have been hastened on by certain non-physical similarities between eunuchs and angels, such as an inability to procreate and, perhaps, their traditional magical powers.^{xlv} A Late Antique spell for summoning an angel reads: “[A blazing star] will descend and come to a stop in the middle of the housetop, and when the star [has dissolved] before your eyes, you will behold the angel whom you have summoned.... After first preparing the house in a fitting manner and providing all types of food and Mendesian wine, set these before the god with an uncorrupted boy serving and maintaining silence until the [angel] departs.”^{xlvi}

As time went on the process of adoption was forgotten, and later Byzantine authors speculated creatively as to the meaning of the orb carried by the Archangels.^{xlvii} Indeed, in a tenth century foundation legend of the Hagia Sophia, the builders of the church mistake the Archangel Michael for a court eunuch.^{xlviii} The chain of associations had come full circle. In the end, despite this commonly accepted iconic representation, the iconography of angels continued to change, as artists continued to perceive that their images were only one possible means of depicting the imageless.

ⁱ Theophylact of Ochrid quoted by S.F. Tougher, “Byzantine Eunuchs: An Overview, with Special Reference to their Creation and Origin” in L. James, *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, London, Routledge, 1997, p. 173. For unpopularity of eunuchs see: K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1978, p. 37; K.M. Ringrose, “Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium” in G. Herdt, *Third Sex, Third Gender: Beyond Sexual Dimorphism in Culture and History*, New York, Zone Books, 1994, pp. 85-109, p. 93.

ⁱⁱ See Luke 1:19 for Gabriel and Daniel 12:1 for Michael. Both Archangels appear for the first time in Daniel, as individuals, warriors and messengers. Later, they both appear in the New Testament as well, and in popular superstition. For Michael see: C. Mango, “St. Michael and Attis” *Deltion tis Chritianikis Archaialogikis Etaireias*, 4, 1984, pp. 39-62, p. 54.

ⁱⁱⁱ G. Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel*, Stockholm, Almquist & Wiksell, 1968, p. 13.

^{iv} *ibid.* p. 14.

^v The cult enjoyed a marginal Orthodox status, because of its Jewish roots; it was prohibited in the sixth century, then reinstated at the Seventh Ecumenical Synod in 787.

^{vi} Athanasius, *The Life of Antony*, tr. R.C. Gregg, Mahwah, Paulist Press, 1980, p. 53; the Bible passage referred to here is 2 Kings 19:35.

^{vii} *ibid.* p. 58; Antony usually takes NT examples: Gabriel appearing to Zacharias and Mary, and the angels who appeared to the women at the tomb.

^{viii} C. Mango, “The Construction of St. Sophia: A Semi-Legendary Account” in *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312-1453: Sources and Documents*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1972, p. 96.

^{ix} “St. Daniel the Stylite” in *Three Byzantine Saints*, tr. E. Dawes and N.H. Baynes, Crestwood, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996, pp. 18-19.

^x *ibid.* p. 19.

^{xi} “St. Theodore of Sykeon” in *Three Byzantine Saints*, tr. E. Dawes and N.H. Baynes, Crestwood, St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1996, p. 116.

^{xii} Tougher, “Byzantine Eunuchs: An Overview”, p. 171.

^{xiii} Ringrose, “Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium”, p. 96.

^{xiv} *ibid.* p. 97, p. 99.

^{xv} *ibid.* p. 100.

^{xvi} “St. Daniel the Stylite”, p. 25.

^{xvii} *ibid.* p. 40.

^{xviii} *ibid.* p. 35.

^{xix} *ibid.* p. 50.

^{xx} *ibid.* p. 48.

^{xxi} Ringrose, “Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium”, p. 91.

^{xxii} Tougher, “Byzantine Eunuchs: An Overview”, pp. 176-7.

^{xxiii} Ringrose, “Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium”, p. 513, n. 32.

- xxiv *ibid.* p. 97; Illustration 1: J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1970, pp. 114-115, ill. 92-93.
- xxv G. Peers, "Apprehending the Archangel Michael: Hagiographic Methods" *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 20, 1996, pp. 100-121, p. 101, p. 110ff.
- xxvi *ibid.* pp. 114-5.
- xxvii Peers, "Apprehending the Archangel Michael: Hagiographic Methods," p. 111.
- xxviii *ibid.* p. 112.
- xxix "St. Daniel the Stylite," p. 14.
- xxx For example: "His face shone like lightning; his garments were white as snow (Mat. 28:3)."
- xxxi Peers, "Apprehending the Archangel Michael: Hagiographic Methods", p. 115.
- xxxii *ibid.* p. 112.
- xxxiii *ibid.* p. 116.
- xxxiiii *ibid.* p. 116.
- xxxv Epigram of Agathias, tr. in *ibid.* p. 120.
- xxxvi Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel*, pp. 21, 57; Victory, at least, continued to appear in Imperial iconography far into the Byzantine period. For Attis: Mango, "St. Michael and Attis", p. 55; Attis was only the last in a long string of winged Near Eastern Gods.
- xxxvii *ibid.* p. 15.
- xxxviii The earliest angels appear in this manner. For examples see: Berefelt, *A Study on the Winged Angel*, p. 8ff.
- xxxix Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 89, p. 95.
- xl Byzantine Ascensions occur in the domes of Hagia Sophia in Thessaloniki and San Marco in Venice, among other places. For angels with wreaths see the Ascension in the Rabula Gospels.
- xli For the latter, see the pilgrim's box, c. 600: Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 61, ill. 44; also a beautiful pink angel in the twelfth c. scene of the Baptism in the Church of Hosios David, Thessaloniki: E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou and A. Tourta, *Wandering in Byzantine Thessaloniki*, Athens, Kapon Editions, 1997, p. 96.
- xlii Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 85, ill. 68 (Michael); p. 187, ill. 155 (Gabriel); p. 194, ill. 160 (Dominion and Might).
- xliii Mango, "St. Michael and Attis", p. 40-44.
- xliv Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 37, ill. 22.
- xlv Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art*, p. 112, ill. 90.
- xlv Ringrose, "Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium", p. 92.
- xlvi The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, H.D. Betz, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1992, p. 5.
- xlvii Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," p. 39.
- xlviii Ringrose, "Living in the Shadows: Eunuchs and Gender in Byzantium", p. 95.

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