# THE ROUTLEDGE HANDBOOK OF GENDER AND SEXUALITY IN BYZANTIUM

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## Chapter 21

# NEGOTIATING GENDER IDENTITY THROUGH THE VISUAL ARTS

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# 21

# NEGOTIATING GENDER IDENTITY THROUGH THE VISUAL ARTS*

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'Gender consists of the meanings ascribed to male and female social categories within a culture. When people incorporate these cultural meanings into their own psyches, then gender becomes part of their identities. Through these gender identities, individuals understand themselves in relation to the culturally feminine and masculine meanings attached to men and women, and they may think and act according to these gendered aspects of their selves'.[1]

Gender identity, then, refers to an individual's self-definition and self-awareness in relation to and internalisation of their society's cultural construction of gender. However, identity in general and gender identity in particular is constructed, experienced, and presented not only in relation to the self, but also in relation to others. Gender identity thus concerns both how individuals perceive and express their gender, and how this gender is recognised by others. As a deeply personal experience that is nonetheless informed and shaped by continuous engagement between individuals and social groups within a specific socio-cultural milieu, gender identity is neither static nor monolithic. Rather, it is dynamic and mutable, constantly redefined as individuals move from one stage in their life course to another and as their socioeconomic status changes. Considering that gender interconnects with other socio-cultural structures and components of individual and group identity, such as age, sexual preference, health condition, race, ethnicity, religious beliefs, class, domicile, and cultural affiliation, in any given culture and society multiple gender identities can and do co-exist. Some, whether dominant or subaltern, become accepted and promoted by the established order as normative or 'natural', and others, are perceived as 'unnatural' and, are by extension, marginalised. Consequently, the concepts of hierarchy, power, control, conformity, and non-conformity, as well as antagonism and complementarity, become central in any discussion of gender identity/ies and their construction, expression, and perception.[2]

Already as children, individuals are actively taught, but also acquire from their environment, the gender norms that are considered as appropriate for men and women in their particular society. These norms concern the way they should behave and interact with other individuals either of the same gender group or another, as well as the roles and responsibilities they should undertake as useful members of society. Circumscribed by these social

expectations and consequent pressure to conform, individuals continuously negotiate their gender identity, shaped by their experiences and their constantly evolving self-perception. Some espouse their society's gender norms, exploiting or, even, pushing the limits of acceptable behaviour in order to claim a degree of self-determination over their life choices. With regard to Byzantium, for instance, Leonora Neville has demonstrated how certain Byzantine women were able to exploit specific gender stereotypes about 'normal' female behaviour in order to pursue their own personal agendas and objectives.[3] Others ignore or openly reject social gender norms, thus risking criticism or ridicule and being relegated to the margins of society, if not actively persecuted and oppressed as potentially threatening to that society's stability.[4]

In their daily lives, individuals embody and express their gender identity through the manipulation of their external appearance, through their postures and gestures, through their manner of speech, and through specific behaviours and activities, as well as through the physical spaces they inhabit and through which they move and the spheres of activity in which they function. Not least, individuals negotiate and perform their gender identity through the artefacts they own, use, or gift to others, and through the works of art they create, commission, and consume as patrons, readers, and viewers. Indeed, when it comes to the exploration of such a deeply personal lived experience as gender identity in a past society, the study of such material witnesses becomes essential. This is especially valid in the case of Byzantium, where other forms of evidence, especially the written sources, provide mostly the male point of view, being predominantly written by and addressed to men.

However, for artefacts and works of art to be informative in such an enquiry, they have to be adequately contextualised. While the use of specific types of artefacts, the preference of a certain type of image, or the participation into a particular activity may have a certain gender bias, these are neither intrinsically gendered nor can they be associated solely with a specific gender group or understood automatically as 'signs' of this or that gender identity.[5] Any correlation between material culture and gender identity is situational and contextual, rather than straightforward or inherent. Considering the losses wrought by the passage of time, on the one hand, and the tendency to treat and publish Byzantine archaeological material in terms of typologies rather than assemblages on the other, contextual studies that could shed light on the construction and expression of gender identity through material remains become a challenge. That is not to say that the application of gender theory to the study of Byzantine material culture is not gradually gaining ground. Gender as an analytical tool is employed not only as a means of bringing to the fore social groups that are hardly ever represented in the extant written record—for example, children, adolescents, lower-class women and men—but also because it can provide insights into the dynamic relationships—sometimes antagonistic, sometimes complementary, always hierarchical—between the different gender groups that animated and sustained Byzantine society both at the micro- and the macro-level.[6] Relevant studies have focused on the gendered use of particular categories of artefacts or on tracing gendered practices in the public, private, and funerary spheres, with an emphasis on the gendered roles of women.[7] Less attention has been devoted to the exploration of the expression of gender identity through material culture, with discussions privileging dress and personal adornment.[8]

Important advances based primarily on the analysis of funerary contexts have been made by scholars focusing on the western part of the early Byzantine Empire and the period of transition from antiquity to the Middle Ages.[9] When it comes to medieval Byzantium, an important contribution is Sharon Gerstel's interdisciplinary and more holistic approach to

the study of the lives of village women and men, in which a careful analysis of the material and the visual evidence are given centre stage.[10] An equally significant aspect of Gerstel's contribution is that she draws attention to the importance of the osteoarchaeological material for elucidating the gendered identities of Byzantine villagers as a lived, embodied experience, literally inscribed in their bones.[11] Indeed, if we are to move towards a more fruitful enquiry of questions of individual behaviour, experience, and agency in the study of Byzantine gender and gender identity, it is important to apply the lens of gender not only to the study of ecclesiastical and domestic spaces and household assemblages, but also to funerary contexts, including skeletal material.[12]

The use of the artistic and especially the visual evidence for the study of gender identity in Byzantium can be equally fraught. Byzantine art operated with its own set of conventions, which circumscribed the potential for individual self-representation within a given set of acceptable parameters, artistic as well as societal. Still, its contribution to the study of gender and gender identity is paramount, as the artistic evidence can provide insights into those aspects of the self that individuals attempted to communicate through the commissioning or consumption of a work of art.[13] Furthermore, though Byzantine figural art was not invested in the representation of the social realities of the temporal world, neither was it disengaged from them. A number of art-historical studies have explored the visual arts of Byzantium as a source on the realities of the life, especially of Byzantine women.[14] Other studies have attempted to trace how the Byzantine construction of gender informed the treatment of women, girls, men, boys, and eunuchs in Byzantine representational art and how this art in turn served to 'naturalise' this construction and to promote paradigms of both 'proper' and 'improper' gender behaviour.[15] There have also been investigations into whether and how Byzantine women claimed agency through patronage of the arts and the Church.[16] It is in these latter studies that questions concerning the negotiation of gender identity through the administration and disposal of material resources and through self-representation by means of inscriptions and donor portraits are more systematically addressed. One specific category of visual representation that has drawn the attention of scholars, not necessarily as an avenue for exploring the expression of individual gender identity, but as a locus where gender and power intersect, is imperial portraiture, especially the representation of the empress.[17] Men and eunuchs remain underrepresented in all these discussions, the latter, one assumes, because their representations are rare and often difficult to identify with certainty and the former because Byzantine gender art-historical studies still remain largely concerned with 'making women visible'. This situation, however, has to change if we are to achieve a more balanced understanding of Byzantine society as a whole: the lives of subaltern gender groups, women included, cannot be fully understood without the men.[18]

In what follows, I propose to engage with the constitution and expression of gender identity in Byzantium more closely by focusing on four case studies selected from Byzantine portraiture. I choose portraiture because, however, stylised and selective in the aspects of personal identity singled out for communication through art, it remains an eloquent form of self-representation and no less informative for adhering to the topoi of the genre: however truistic, established conventions are meaningful within their specific sociocultural context, and so are the individuals' attempts to manipulate them—by appropriation, negotiation, or contention—in order to articulate and present aspects of their gendered self. It should be noted here that we ignore the nature and the degree of input that the painters had in guiding and shaping the patrons' choices. Still, the following discussion is based on

the assumption that, though these choices were mediated by the presumably male painters, the end result must have met with the paying patrons' approval as an acceptable and representative visual articulation of the public image they wished to convey and, as such, is amenable to the type of analysis undertaken below. The examples I have chosen come from different periods and geographical regions within the Byzantine Empire and are presented in chronological order. As the commissioning of a portrait entailed a certain degree of affluence, the examples I discuss are biased in terms of the elevated socioeconomic status of the persons represented. However, they are not meant to be representative of wider trends, nor are they designed to help trace diachronic developments in the constitution and expression of gender identity through the visual arts in Byzantium. My aim, rather, is to test how far and in what directions the analysis of this particular category of evidence can take us in the exploration of gender identity in Byzantine society.

My first example takes us to the Danubian border of the empire at the beginning of the Byzantine millennium. In the first half of the fourth century, an anonymous man and his wife were portrayed in a vaulted burial chamber in Silistra, Roman Durostorum, in present-day Bulgaria (Figs. 21.1 and 21.2).[19] No inscriptions survive that could help identify the figures, nor are we in a position to know who it was that devised the iconographic programme of the tomb or, at least, who gave the final approval, though it clearly revolves around the man. This uncertainty as to whose intentions lie behind the ensemble circumscribes its potential in a study of gender identity, but it also opens the way to alternative interpretations depending on whether one chooses to privilege the husband's or the wife's point of view.

No children accompany the couple, which is flanked instead by four female and four male servants, all younger than their lord and lady. With the exception of the pair that shares the central panel on the western wall directly opposite the entrance, all the other figures are represented in separate panels, though turning towards the couple. The male servants form a distinct group, closer to the tomb's entrance, while the female servants are depicted further in, also in a distinct group, flanking the couple. The male owner of the tomb is depicted standing, dressed in what is easily identified as the attire of an early Byzantine dignitary or official owing to his characteristic mantle, or *chlamys*, fastened at the right shoulder with a crossbow fibula.[20] He holds a scroll with both hands, either a reference to the codicil of his appointment or a sign of intellectual pursuits. His head turns slightly to the left and his gaze meets that of his wife, who stands half hidden behind him. Over an inner garment with long tight sleeves, she wears an ankle-length, light-blue tunic with broad sleeves. Her hair is covered by a two-piece fabric headdress. The wife's left hand rests on her husband's shoulder, while in her raised right hand she holds a flower, perhaps a rose, a symbol of beauty traditionally associated with Aphrodite.[21] The theme of beauty is reiterated by the objects associated with beautification and the bath that the four female servants hold in their hands, as they approach the couple.

As opposed to their mistress, the young women have their hair uncovered and the voluminous sleeves of their slightly shorter tunics are gathered with a belt that goes under or over their breasts to allow them freedom of movement as they carry out their duties. The procession of servants is completed by the four young men, who carry the items of dress that constitute the official attire of their lord. In contrast to him, they do not wear mantles and their long-sleeved, belted tunics reach only above their knees, as sign of a lifestyle demanding energetic movement in the service of their master. Four more male youthful figures are represented, on a much smaller scale, on the vault of the chamber, engaged in hunting
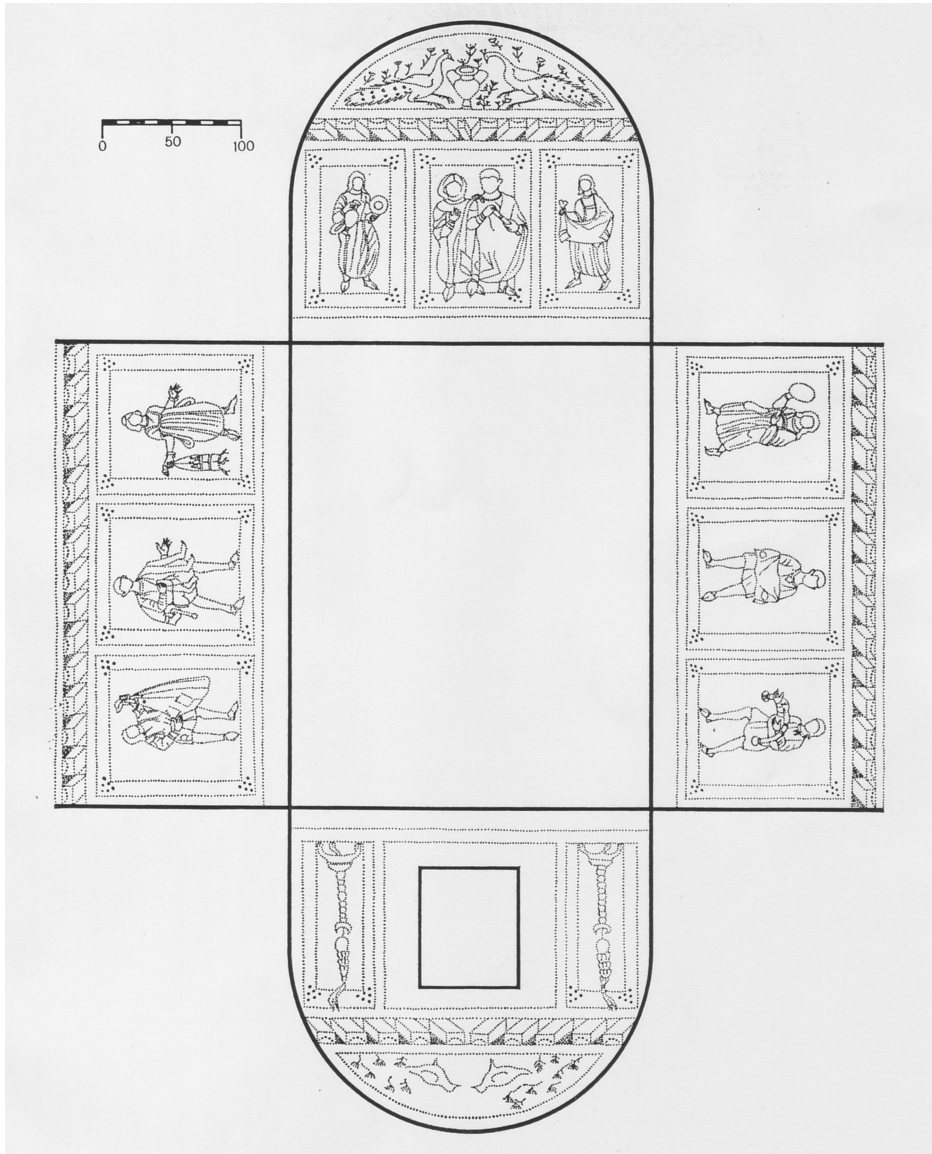
*Figure 21.1*  Plan of painted decoration on the interior wall surfaces (top: west), vaulted chamber tomb, Silistra, Bulgaria, first half of fourth century. Photograph: Prof. Dr. Georgi Atanasov.

amidst images of plants, birds, and animals, which evoke the richness and diversity of the natural world.[22]

The artistic language employed here—the procession of servants carrying objects and the evocation of the bath and the hunt—makes use of well-known schemes of late Roman art, though adjusted to reflect the new social and political realities of the fourth century.[23] Nonetheless, I contend that the careful balance between male and female figures and their

*Figure 21.2*  Married couple, west wall, central panel, vaulted chamber tomb, Silistra, Bulgaria, first half of fourth century. Photograph: Prof. Dr. Georgi Atanasov).

spatial arrangement, with the women concentrated in the more intimate, interior part of the tomb away from the entrance and the outside world, suggests an inflection of the familiar theme in more considered gendered terms. Assuming that the drive behind this programme was the husband's will, the male gender identity that is expressed here appears constructed around the successful fulfilment of a variety of gender roles in different spheres of activity, defining the man's earthly existence and supporting his claims to eternity.

The first sphere of gendered achievement for the man is the private, domestic one, which is articulated here through his relation to his wife and the servants in his household. The manner in which the couple is represented clearly visualises the hierarchical nature of their relationship, with the wife in the subordinate position. He is her lord and protector, half-covering her with his body, while her hand resting on his shoulder could be understood as a gesture of dependence but also of intimacy and support. The fact that he turns to look at her is, I would argue, an acknowledgement of her supporting role and her contribution to a harmonious marriage, a contribution that is predicated on her beauty, dignified bearing, and, one may assume, obedience. In this fourth-century context, the flower in her hand may have also alluded to childbearing—another important prerequisite for harmony in the marriage—as it could have referenced the effigy of Spes (Hope) holding a flower on coinage, often associated with the birth of an imperial heir.[24] The question of children aside, the manner in which the female servants seem to offer the towel, the hand-washing set, the

casket with the perfumed oils, and especially the mirror, to both the man and the woman, intimates that the wife's beautification, meant for her husband's enjoyment, also reflected positively on him and on his ability to provide her with all the comforts and luxuries behoving the wife of a successful man.[25] In such a marriage, the murals seem to assert, the wife finds fulfilment and empowerment vis-à-vis other women—here represented by the youthful female servants—through her dependence on and support of her husband. Yet, within his household, the man was not dominant only over the women, but also over other men, here represented by the male servants. Their subordinate position is indicated not only by their dress and their activities, but also by their age. As youths, they had not yet grown into men;[26] they had to be guided and controlled—just like the women. This guidance was provided by the man as the head of the household, who, compared to his male servants, is represented as a mature and experienced man, a man in control of himself and, thus, in the Byzantine construction of gender, capable of controlling others (including women and youths) lacking—by their very nature, it was believed—his propensity for self-control.[27]

The second sphere of gendered achievement for the man was the public arena. By his distinctive dress, he is shown as an active participant in public affairs. His status and wealth are derived from his service to the state. His pride in this service and the centrality accorded to it in the constitution of his identity is demonstrated by the emphasis on his official attire in the murals. As for the scroll, if not yet one more allusion to office, it could be an intimation of engagement with intellectual activities, another thing that would have distinguished him from his wife, who is presented here as more concerned with matters of the body. Finally, the male gender identity of the owner of the tomb, whom we have seen so far in the gendered roles of the husband, the *dominus*, and the state official, is complemented by the indirect reference to the manly ideals of courage and physical strength through the scenes of the hunt depicted on the vault of the tomb. Though not privileged over self-control and pursuits of the mind, physical prowess, readiness for energetic action, and the courage that these implied were still part of the conceptualisation of the masculine ideal of the layman in the early Byzantine period,[28] hence, I would suggest, their evocation here.

Whether the painted decoration of the tomb had any actual relation to the specificities of the life of this anonymous man's household, we cannot say. If his was indeed the will behind them, then what the murals imply is that he had internalised the Byzantine gender norms for the appropriate behaviour of an upper-class man—or, at least, that he wished to appear as if he had done so. We could make a similar claim of internalisation and observance of current gender norms if we choose to see the wife as the instigator of the programme. In either case, man and woman, husband and wife, would be presented claiming empowerment through conformity to the social expectations of the behaviour appropriate to their gender and their socioeconomic status, both inseparably linked. What I find particularly interesting is that empowerment derives from subjugation to another's authority: the wife's from the husband, but also the husband's from the emperor, the source of the man's office. In the new order of things, ushered in by Constantine I (306–337), office, status, and the resulting wealth and degree of autonomy depended not on lineage and family ties, but on state service and the will and favour of the emperor. This favour and everything that it entailed could have been withdrawn at any point, thus depriving a layman of the foundations on which his gender identity was built.[29] This restriction or control on Byzantine hegemonic lay masculinity as well as the uncertainty under which upper-class men lived and functioned and its potential impact in the construction of Byzantine male gender identities are issues that are worth exploring further.

Our second example takes us from the border of the early Byzantine Empire to its capital, Constantinople, in the first half of the tenth century. The reference is to the famous *Bible of Leo sakellarios* (Vat. Reg. gr. 1), the first volume of an originally two-volume work containing the full text of the Old and New Testaments.[30] What makes it unique among surviving Byzantine manuscripts is the combination of its impressive dimensions ($41 \times 27$ cm), its choice of subject matter—the complete Bible—and the large number of epigrams commissioned by Leo (16 for the extant volume alone) to record his act of donation and to accompany and explicate the miniatures in the codex.[31] To these one may add that Vat. Reg. gr. 1 includes the only securely identified, self-commissioned portrait of a Byzantine eunuch; hence its special interest for our discussion.

On folio 2v, the eponymous Leo is portrayed in 'semi-proskynesis' offering his gift of the codex to the much larger Virgin, who, in turn, refers it to Christ, represented blessing from a segment of heaven in the upper right-hand corner of the miniature (Fig. 21.3).[32] Leo's long, grey hair and beardless face,[33] combined with his titles, *sakellarios* (chief finance minister), *protospatharios, patrikios*, and *praipositos*, leave no doubt that he was a eunuch.[34] According to the dedicatory epigram on fol. 1r-v, he commissioned his magnificent Bible to expiate his sins and wished to present it as a gift to the Mother of God and to his 'good protector', St Nicholas.[35] In actuality, the Bible was destined for an as yet unidentified monastery of St Nicholas, founded by Leo's brother, the 'bearded' (i.e., fully male, not castrated) *protospatharios* Constantine, deceased by the time that the dedicatory miniatures were executed.[36] Constantine and Makar, the abbot of the monastery, were portrayed in *proskynesis* at the feet of St Nicholas, on folio 3r, facing Leo's portrait (Fig. 21.4).

What 'secure' information we have on Leo is derived from the work that he commissioned.[37] The language used in the inscriptions to refer to him is male-gendered, while his dress, consisting of a long-sleeved, long white tunic and a red chlamys, both with gold trimming, and black boots, is distinctive of his rank, not of his being a eunuch; his bearded brother, on the facing folio, appears in the same type of dress.[38] Both brothers also share the same hairstyle, with long hair falling down their shoulders, possibly a fashion for both lay bearded men and eunuchs at the time, though not followed by Abbot Makar, whose hair is cut short. The cardinal importance of Leo's office and rank in the constitution of his identity is evident not only in his choice of dress, but also in the fact that his titles are repeated four times.[39] Could this emphasis have been related to his being a eunuch, since it was that feature that enabled him to enter the imperial court, to ascend to his prestigious position, and to amass the wealth that made his luxurious gift possible? Moreover, could his choice of St Nicholas as a patron, a saint well known for protecting those falling afoul of imperial authority as a result of calumny,[40] also have been informed by an exacerbated feeling of vulnerability regarding the endemic dangers of the imperial court because he was a eunuch?[41] We cannot really say. Nor can we, with any degree of confidence, ascribe Leo's ostentatious self-promotion as a pious individual and as a patron of the arts and letters to a desire to claim agency and fulfilment because, as a eunuch, other avenues for gendered accomplishment, such as that of a spouse or parent, were not open to him.[42] The extravagance of his gift, of which he is obviously proud, could have equally been a function of personal inclination, ambition, or his guilt for the sins he mentioned in the dedicatory epigram, rather than of a specifically eunuch gender identity or behavioural trait. Indeed, there is nothing to really distinguish Leo's choices from those of other affluent, pious middle Byzantine patrons, including bearded office-holders, some of whom also chose to be portrayed in their official dress.[43]
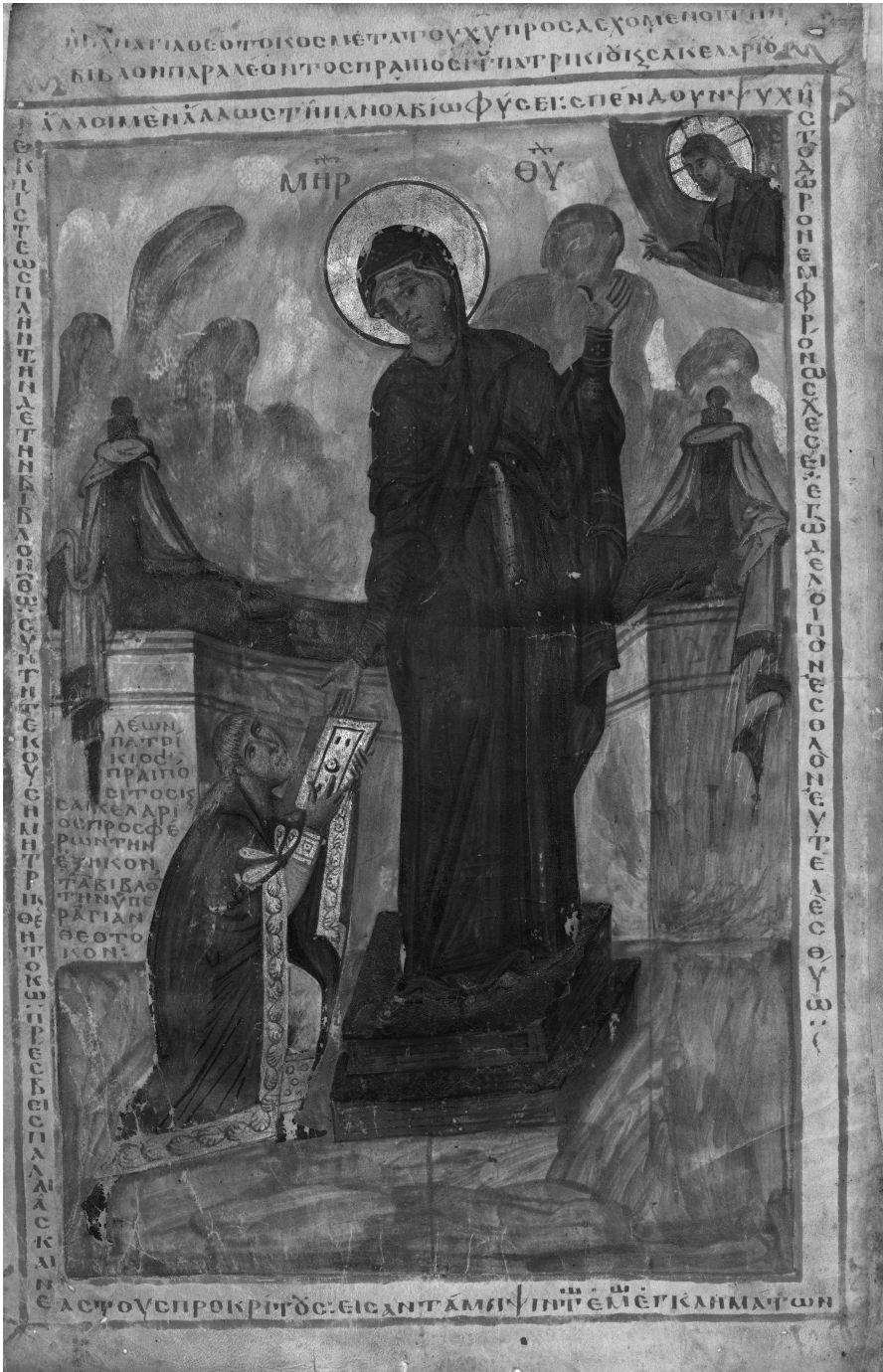
*Figure 21.3*   The sakellarios Leo offering his gift to the Virgin, Bible of Leo sakellarios (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol. 2v), Constantinople, first half of tenth century. Photo: © 2022 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.
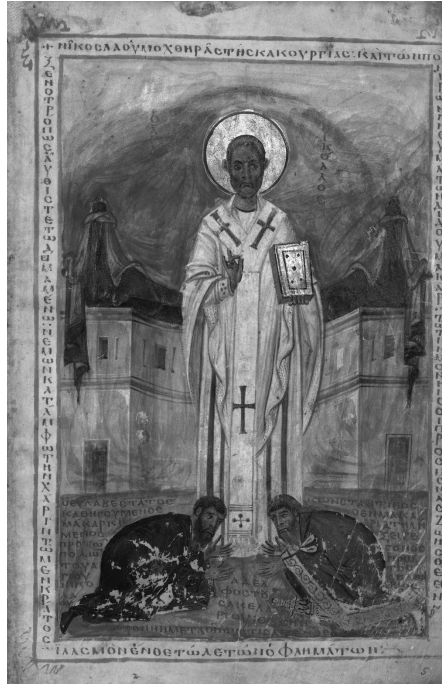
*Figure 21.4*  Abbot Makar (left) and the protospatharios Constantine (right) at the feet of St Nicholas Vatican City, Bible of Leo sakellarios (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol. 3r), Constantinople, first half of tenth century. Photo: © 2022 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City.

It has been claimed that one of the reasons that eunuchs were entrusted with important roles in imperial administration was that there was no question of divided loyalties, given that eunuchs did not have familial ties.[44] Although this may have been true for eunuchs of servile origin, it did not necessarily apply to Byzantine eunuchs, who did have other family connections that retained their importance even after the eunuchs' integration into court society following their castration.[45] Without spouses or children of their own, they could still seek and find validation as providers for their family of descent. This appears to have been the case for Leo as well. Though in the dedicatory epigram and in his portrait, he is represented alone, it is to a monastery founded by his brother and dedicated to St Nicholas (a shared preference between the siblings?) that he chose to make his gift.

Constantine, who may have been alive at the time of the commissioning of the epigram on fol. 3r,[46] along with Abbot Makar are depicted on the page across from Leo's own portrait as the recipients of his generosity and of his intercessory prayers to St Nicholas. The difference in the postures of the figures—Leo half-standing looking up at the Virgin, Constantine and Makar in full *proskynesis*, looking down—make the hierarchical relationship among the three clear. Here, the eunuch imperial courtier and minister Leo presents himself integrated into a network of social relationships based on familial bonds and patronage, through which he claimed empowerment over full men. Rather than contesting,

he adopted or, some would say, exploited the norms and patterns of behaviour current in Byzantine society at the time—capitalising on rank at court, conspicuous expression of piety, patronage of monastic foundations, concern for family—to constitute and express an individual gender identity that defied any notion of his being marginalised as a eunuch. What the abbot and the monks of the monastery of St Nicholas thought of all this and how they perceived Leo and his gift is an entirely different question, for which we do not have the answer.

For our third case study, we move west from Constantinople to the prosperous provincial city of Kastoria (Greece).[47] There, in the 1180s, an affluent member of local society, Theodore Lemniotes, restored the church dedicated to the pair of saintly doctors SS Cosmas and Damian, known as the Holy Anargyroi (= not accepting money), and had it adorned with a new layer of painted decoration.[48] This small foundation was apparently destined to serve the devotional needs of Lemniotes and his family and to house their tombs.[49] The portrait that is of interest to us belongs to this phase of decoration and is located on the lower zone of the south wall of the north aisle of this small, three-aisled basilica (Fig. 21.5). Three members of the donor's family are portrayed on either side of the taller, standing figure of the Virgin with the Christ Child. To the left (the Virgin's and Christ's right) and closer to the prothesis to the east, is a woman identified by inscription as 'Anna Radene and wife of the donor (*kteror*)'. To the right, stands an adult, fully bearded man, identified by inscription as 'Theodore Lemniotes and donor' and, next to him, a younger man, probably an adolescent judging by his incipient beard, identified as 'John, son of the donor'.[50] The three figures raise their hands in supplication towards the Virgin and the Christ Child, the latter responding by raising both His hands in blessing. As opposed to the gestures, the gaze of all the five figures is turned unwaveringly towards the viewer.

Among extant portraits of lay ecclesiastical patrons, this example is exceptional because of the prominent position accorded to Anna. Not only is she larger in scale than her husband and son, but she is also distinguished by her maiden name and she alone is given the place of honour—customarily reserved for the man—at the right hand of the sacred figures and closer to the sanctuary, the holiest part of the church.[51] One could also imagine that in the gloomy northern aisle, Anna's face would have drawn the beholder's eye more readily, framed as it was by her luminous, golden-hair wig and original white, fan-shaped hat.[52] This unique emphasis on the woman has intrigued scholars and has inspired different interpretations.

Maria Panayotidi has argued that the initiative for the conceptualisation of the portrait lies firmly with the husband and donor, Theodore Lemniotes.[53] According to this interpretation, Anna, as a member of an important Constantinopolitan family,[54] is put on display to boost the status of her husband, whose own familial associations were apparently less prestigious than those of his spouse. The aristocratic woman, wife, and mother becomes an attribute in the construction and expression of the man's identity—at least, of the public face of that identity, which, judging by the way he chose to insert himself into the decoration of his foundation, is grounded in claims of piety, erudition, and familial connections. Expounding on this interpretation, one could point out that Theodore, in contrast to the other laymen and the one eunuch we have met so far, was not a state official. In the five inscriptions that immortalise his donation, there is no mention of a state title or dignity,[55] and his dress is that of an aristocrat, not an imperial official. Indeed, one may wonder whether the reference to Constantinople in the fragmentary inscription in the sanctuary,[56] as well as the exceptional position accorded to Anna, accompanied by the proclamation of her maiden

*Figure 21.5*    Donor portrait with Anna Radene (left) and Theodore Lemniotes and John (right) flanking the Virgin with the Christ Child, Kastoria, Holy Anargyroi, north aisle, south wall, lower register, 1180s. Photo: ©Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund – Ephorate of Antiquities at Kastoria / Byzantine Church of Aghioi Anargyroi.

name, were not, in fact, attempts to compensate for Theodore's lack of a more direct link to the capital and the imperial court. Not having a title to bolster his accomplishments as a man in the public sphere, he followed other socially acceptable paths open to Byzantine males in order to do so: conspicuous display of wealth—not least in the richness of the fashionable attire of all three figures in the portrait—and emphatic expression of piety through the patronage of the Church, the arts, and letters. One may note the absence of references

to any feats of physical prowess in the construction of the male gender identity projected here. In a society that had come to privilege the spirit and the intellect over the body and to celebrate prudence and wisdom as cardinal male attributes, this absence would have made Theodore neither less masculine nor less successful in the eyes of his peers.

There is no part of the church, where Theodore did not make his presence felt either in word or image.[57] In addition to his portrait in the north aisle, where he was originally portrayed in the richly appointed garments of a male member of the Byzantine provincial gentry, he had commissioned at least three erudite epigrams to commemorate his foundation, expressing his contrition for sins committed and his search for health in this life and salvation in the next.[58] His self-representation as a successful, pious, and cultured man is complemented by his 'achievements' in the family sphere. In the most publicly displayed of the inscriptions, the one above the entrance leading into the naos, Theodore, cast as the narrator, speaks proudly of being the offshoot of the Lemniotes family, while his prayer for protection and mediation addressed to the Holy Anargyroi is also offered on behalf of his wife and child or children, who thus appear dependent on him and remain unnamed in the poem.[59] The importance of familial connections is made more readily apparent in the portrait in the north aisle, where not only the wife, but also his adolescent son are brought to the fore. John, no longer a child in his mother care, but not yet an independent man, is represented as his heir and his hope for the family's future at his father side and under his control.

The foregoing interpretation that ascribes agency to Theodore, however plausible, does not really offer a satisfactory explanation for the difference in scale between Theodore and Anna in the portrait. If Theodore was so invested in self-promotion as an accomplished man, why endorse a portrait in which he appears so obviously 'in second place' compared to his wife, running the risk of being deemed unmanly? Dionysios Mamagkakis has argued that the privileging of the wife in the portrait would be better explained if one saw Anna as the person behind its conceptualisation.[60] This interpretation transforms the woman from a prized possession on display to an individual exercising her will in order to express her awareness of her own importance within the context of her family. According to current scholarship, the twelfth century was a time when Byzantine aristocratic women were becoming increasingly confident in their role in establishing and maintaining the Byzantine hereditary aristocracy of blood that came to rule the empire from the time of the Komnenoi onwards. This they did by advancing their families' interests through marital alliances between noble houses and producing heirs.[61] Against this backdrop, Anna Radene, as the instigator of the portrait's unusual composition, could be perceived as one of those self-confident aristocratic women, who was conscious of and proud to proclaim the social advantages she brought to the comparatively lowborn Theodore Lemniotes through their union. In the portrait, she does not contest the traditional female roles of wife and mother, while, with her gorgeous dress and headdress and abundant jewellery, she seems to be fulfilling every Byzantine male stereotype about the vanity of noble women and their inordinate concern for the body, rather than the mind. This alternative view of the portrait's authorship invites us to see Anna as claiming these roles and behaviours for herself, owning and proclaiming them as constituent elements of her female gender identity. Her aristocratic descent and Constantinopolitan connections ensured that she was validated and empowered rather than being constrained or objectified by them.

The portrait read thus would be making quite a different statement regarding the balance of power in the Lemniotes household from that articulated in the inscriptions—including

the one in the north aisle where the portrait is located—which unquestionably prioritise the man. But to whom was this statement addressed? Mamagkakis contends that the primary audience for the portrait were the women of Kastoria, given that written and painted sources often locate women attending services in the north aisle or north part of the naos of Byzantine churches.[62] If this were indeed the case, then the portrait could be perceived as an attempt by Anna to empower herself not so much vis-à-vis her husband, but vis-à-vis the women of Kastoria, among whom—one assumes—there would not have been many with a comparable distinguished pedigree. Truth be told, the absence of contemporary surviving nonimperial family portraits from Constantinople does not allow us to ascertain whether Constantinopolitan ladies had adopted similar strategies of self-promotion or whether what we are seeing at Holy Anargyroi is indeed better understood within the framework of the dynamics of provincial society. In Kastoria, the latter interpretation, in combination with the portrait's relegation to the north aisle, might go some way to explain why Theodore, who alone is proclaimed as the donor in the original inscriptions accompanying the figures, apparently did not object to his wife's pictorial prominence. It would also imply that, though Anna was pushing the boundaries of established norms in her search for self-actualisation, she never actually broke them, since undermining her husband's authority publicly would have had a negative effect on both herself and her family, on which her own status depended. It should be noted, however, that the presence of women in the north aisle at Holy Anargyroi cannot be ascertained, since its painted decoration does not include any of the markers that Gerstel has identified as signifying the potential use of an ecclesiastical space by women.[63] As things stand, the question of the authorship of the portrait at Kastoria must remain open. Whether it was Anna or Theodore, in the end all we can do is speculate about their intentions and assume that the reception of their projected gender identities then, as now, was very much in the eye and mind of the beholder depending on his/her own gender, education, status, and awareness of local social dynamics and power games in which both men and women were actively engaged.

Our last case study takes us to another Byzantine city and a major centre of intellectual life and artistic efflorescence in the last centuries of Byzantium, the fortified settlement of Mistra in the Peloponnese.[64] The small, single-aisle chapel of Aï-Giannakis ('Little Saint John') lies outside the lower city walls. A tomb located in the floor in front of its southern entrance, as well as another tomb and two ossuaries outside the chapel reveal its funerary function.[65] The portrait that is of interest to us is in the western shallow blind niche of the south wall (Figs. 21.6 and 21.7). Like the mural decoration of the chapel to which it belongs, it has been variably dated to the second half of the fourteenth or the fifteenth century.[66] The composition is dominated by the monumental central figure of the standing Virgin, who holds the Christ Child in her left hand, in a type that is reminiscent of the Hodegetria but for the figures' gestures. The Virgin extends her right hand downwards, presenting the female figure at her right (viewer's left) to her Son, while Christ extends both hands in a gesture of blessing and acceptance of the supplicants at the holy figures' feet. These supplicants, depicted lower and on a smaller scale, are a mother and her two children. The mother is identified by inscription as the lady (*kyra*) Kale Kabalasea, who at a later stage in her life assumed the monastic habit in the name Kallinike. She is represented here twice, once as a lay woman accompanied by her daughter, Anna Laskarina, and her son, Theodore Hodegetrianos to the Virgin's right, and once as a nun, standing alone to the Virgin's left (viewer's right). Though she must have been a woman of means to have her portrait included here, the simplicity of her blue dress, worn over a long-sleeved chemise

*Figure 21.6*   Funerary portrait of Kale Kabalasea, represented as a laywoman accompanied by her two children to the left and as the nun Kallinike to the right of the Virgin with the Christ Child, Mistra, Aï-Giannakis, south wall, west blind niche, late fourteenth or fifteenth century. Photo: the Ephorate of Antiquities of Lakonia, © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Hellenic Organization of Cultural Resources Development.

with red cuffs, and her plain white kerchief wrapped around her head and shoulders has been taken to imply that she was not a member of the high aristocracy of the city.[67] Her daughter, standing between her and the Virgin, wears a dress of similar cut, though red in colour, and a white kerchief that covers her head but falls loosely on her shoulders. Though much smaller than her mother in scale, the fact that Anna Laskarina is portrayed with her hair covered suggests that she had already reached puberty.[68] Both mother and daughter— and Kale as the nun Kallinike—stand facing the viewer with their hands crossed in front of their breast in a gesture of prayer and respect.[69] By contrast to the female figures, the boy, smaller in scale than his sister, is shown in *proskynesis* at the feet of the Virgin, with both his hands raised in supplication. Theodore Hodegetrianos, like his sister, wears a red garment.

The current consensus is that this is a family funerary portrait, as both the double portrayal of Kale/Kallinike as a laywoman and a monastic and the gestures of the figures find parallels in the funerary portraiture of the late Byzantine period.[70] Based on the difference in attitude, Sarah Brooks argues that Theodore Hodegetrianos was actually alive at the time, but Ursula Weißbrod has shown that the deceased could also appear in *proskynesis* in Byzantine funerary portraiture.[71] The son's different posture and his more energetic act of supplication can perhaps be explained by a special relationship to the Virgin, implied
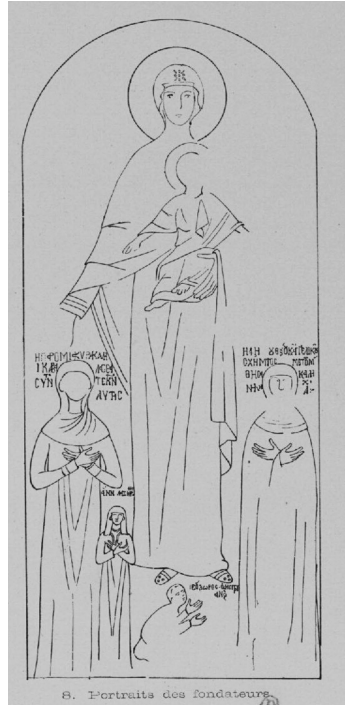
*Figure 21.7*    Drawing of funerary portrait of Kale Kabalasea, represented as a laywoman accompanied by her two children to the left and as the nun Kallinike to the right of the Virgin with the Christ Child, Mistra, Aï-Giannakis, south wall, west blind niche, late fourteenth or fifteenth century. Photo: after Millet, *Monuments*, pl. 107.8).

by his second name 'Hodegetrianos' derived from the Virgin's famous epithet. Given the prominence of Kale/Kallinike in the portrait—the only adult in the family group—I think that it is safe to assume that she was the one who commissioned the portrait, at the time or following her assumption of the monastic habit, which may have been prompted by the loss of her children. The manner in which she is represented isolated to the right—in her sombre black monastic habit and with her hands crossed before her—certainly bespeaks the severance of all earthly, familial bonds, as does the elision of her family name in the accompanying inscription.

   Weißbrod, I believe, is correct in assuming that Kale Kabalasea was a widow.[72] The absence of any reference to a husband or other adult male relative in the inscriptions and in the iconography of the portrait certainly lends credence to this hypothesis: as a widow, Kale/Kallinike would have had the freedom to take the initiative for this commission and to administer the necessary funds without the need for male supervision or endorsement.[73] How, then, did Kale/Kallinike go about her self-representation and how may that be connected to a projected female gender identity? Through the double-portrait format, Kale/Kallinike chose to highlight two aspects as central in the constitution of her public persona: that of the widowed mother and that of the pious woman. Her gendered achievements, as proclaimed through the portrait, are grounded primarily in the spheres of family and

personal devotion. As a lay mother and widow, she projects an air of propriety. The honorific that precedes her name in the inscription and the family name that accompanies it establish her as a respected member of the local community, while also proclaiming familial associations that protected her from potential censure in the absence of a male adult figure in the picture. Her attire, whose sombre blue colour (as opposed to the bright red of her children's dress) may be as much a sign of widowhood as of 'low social status', and her closed gesture enhance the impression of modesty and respectability. Her own social standing and virtue reflected on and functioned as shelter for her children, who are dependent on her as their smaller scale and positioning in relation to her in the portrait make apparent. At the same time, Anna Laskarina and Theodore Hodegetrianos, dressed in their bright red garments, and in attitudes of prayer, the girl mirroring that of her mother and the boy, more active, enhance Kale's status as a good mother, capable of providing for her children but also of educating them in proper behaviour according to their own gender. As the portrait also makes apparent, the concern of Kale as a Christian mother went beyond her children's material and social needs, to making provisions for the salvation of their souls by entrusting them to the care and protection of the Mother of God and, one assumes, by making the necessary donations to the church to ensure their continued commemoration. Once her children no longer needed her, Kale, the portrait informs us, chose to follow the well-established and respected, not to say expected, path for a virtuous woman alone and with no familial demands upon her: the path of the religious. Indeed, whether as a laywoman or a nun, Kale/Kallinike, in her choices, projected the image of proper, virtuous womanhood. While the portrait does reveal a degree of self-determination, it also bespeaks of conformity to current social norms and expectations that Kale/Kallinike adopted as a means of negotiating the challenges of being a widowed woman and mother in late Byzantine patriarchal society.

With the portrait of Kale/Kallinike, we have reached the end of our survey. These four portraits of lay men, women, and one eunuch represented in family or wider household groups were selected with purpose, as gender identity, while a personal lived experience, is constructed in relation to others, being grounded in and sustained by notions of hierarchy, control, and dependence. Far from comprehensive or definitive, the discussion presented here is designed to highlight both the questions we may ask of the material at our disposal and the kind of answers we might expect to receive. As has become apparent, these answers are circumscribed by the limitations of the surviving evidence. Especially our ignorance of the role of the—mostly—male painters in giving pictorial form to the patrons' intentions raises the possibility that the visual evidence at our disposal may be as coloured by the male point of view as we consider the written evidence from Byzantium to be. This methodological cautionary note notwithstanding, I would argue that Byzantine portraiture can enrich our understanding of the constitution and expression of gender identity in the empire, provided that one remains aware both of the constraints of the evidence and of one's own expectations or prejudices shaped by the current understanding of Byzantine gender, which still relies largely on textual sources. In respect to limitations—of the evidence as well as our own—, I should point out that I was unable to identify and thus include in the discussion portraits of nonconforming, trans, or genderqueer individuals. This inability may be a function of us, modern researchers, being as yet poorly equipped to 'recognise the signs' of the visual expression of such nonbinary gender identities. Alternatively, one should consider the possibility that the marginalisation of such individuals did not allow them easy access to the type of 'mainstream' form of self-representation we have been examining here,

especially when it came to incorporating their images in a public, religious space such as a church. Whatever the case, our failure to identify them is in itself a problem that has a direct bearing on our understanding of (the limits of) the construction and the public performance of gender identity in Byzantium. Yet, despite all these caveats, the image that emerges—and the one that we have to continue to pursue—is one of dynamic complexity, adjustment, and negotiation, where the traditional view of unilateral male dominance and oppression of subaltern groups is becoming more nuanced and qualified. How? With the painstaking tracing of the life-stories and choices of individual men, women, and eunuchs striving for self-actualisation within the established boundaries of Byzantine gender norms, often by internalising or exploiting them rather than by openly rejecting them.

## Notes

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1 Wood and Eagly, 'Two Traditions', 461.

2 In addition to the work cited in the previous note, a useful overview of developing attitudes towards the study of gender and gender identity, though focused mostly on masculinity, is Tosh, 'The History of Masculinity'; see also the Introduction to the present volume. For a call to consider not only power relations and the resulting inequalities, but also the possibility of complementarity when attempting to understand gender and the social structures of past societies, see the classic study of Gilchrist, *Gender and Archaeology*.

3 Neville, 'Adventures'; eadem, *Byzantine Gender*, 64-77.

4 For Byzantium, see Betancourt, *Byzantine Intersectionality*.

5 For a note of caution against assigning gender to artefacts and activities as potentially oversimplifying 'the social complexities of gender', see Gilchrist, *Medieval Life*, 24. In general, for the use of gender and gender identity as an analytical category in archaeology, see Díaz-Andreu, 'Gender Identity'.

6 Cassis, 'A Restless Silence'; Germanidou, *Secular Byzantine Women*.

7 For example, Kalavrezou, *Byzantine Women*; Pitarakis, 'Female Piety'; Vionis, 'The Materiality of Death'.

8 For example, Harlow, 'Clothes Maketh the Man'; Parani, 'Look like an Angel'; eadem, 'Optional Extras'; Metaxas, 'Unheard Voices'; Evangelatou-Notara and Mavrommati, 'Not Even a Band'; and Bente Kiilerich's article in the present volume.

9 For example, Halsall, 'Gender and the End of Empire', with additional references.

10 Gerstel, *Rural Lives*.

11 Ibid., 73-77, 105-08. For the potential contribution of skeletal remains in studying the lives of women in Byzantium, see also Tritsaroli, 'Ordinary Women'.

12 On grave goods and their interpretation, see Ekengren, 'Contextualizing Grave Goods'.

13 For an insightful exploration of the performance of self—though without a specific emphasis on gender identity—through the commissioning and the dedication of works of religious art in medieval Byzantium, see Drpić, *Epigram, Art, and Devotion*, esp. 67-117.

14 One may mention Gerstel, 'Painted Sources' and the numerous contributions by Mati Meyer, among which her monograph *An Obscure Portrait*. On some of the challenges presented by the use of the visual evidence for the study of the realities and *realia* of gender and its constitution in Byzantium, see Bjørnholt and James, 'The Man in the Street'.

15 For example, Barber, 'The Imperial Panels'; Betancourt, *Byzantine Intersectionality*; Brubaker, 'Gender and Gesture'; eadem, 'Images of Byzantine Adolescents'; Meyer, 'Porneia'; eadem, 'The Levite's Concubine'; Teteriatnikov, 'Gender and Ritual'; Walker, 'Laughing at Eros'.

16 For example, Cormack, 'Women and Icons'; Gerstel and Kalopissi-Verti, 'Female Church Founders'; Gerstel and Talbot, 'Nuns'.

17 For example, Brubaker and Tobler, 'The Gender of Money'; Hatzaki, *Beauty and the Male Body*, 26-32; James, *Empresses and Power*, 26–45, 133–45; eadem, 'Displaying Identity and Power?'

18 James, 'Introduction', xx-xxi; Barber, 'Homo Byzantinus?'. Myrto Hatzaki's *Beauty and the Male Body* is exceptional in its focus on male figures in Byzantine art, though her primary concern is to unpack Byzantine perceptions of the beautiful male body, rather than the Byzantine construction of masculinity.

19 Dunbabin, 'The Waiting Servant', 461–62; Atanasov, *Roman Tomb*; Anđelković, 'Funerary Images', 270, 272. I am grateful to Prof. Dr. G. Atanasov for generously sharing with me his plan and photographs of the tomb.

20 Parani, 'Defining Personal Space', 500–04.

21 Kiilerich and Torp, 'Hic est: hic Stilicho', 363-64. For an alternative interpretation of the flower as a 'symbol of the happiness of wedlock', see Anđelković, 'Funerary Images', 270.

22 For colour detailed images, see Atanasov, *Roman Tomb*.

23 Dunbabin, 'The Waiting Servant', esp. 461–64.

24 Kiilerich and Torp, 'Hic est: hic Stilicho', 359.

25 On the objectification of upper-class wives as prime possessions of their husbands, see Elsner, 'Visualising Women', esp. 31.

26 Neville, *Byzantine Gender*, 25. The intersection of age, the life course, and gender in Byzantium is an issue that requires further investigation.

27 On the ability to control one's passions, desires, and emotions as the most important distinguishing feature of the man in Byzantium, see Neville, *Byzantine Gender*, 33–34; Andreou, '"Emotioning" Gender'.

28 Stewart, 'The Soldier's Life'.

29 On these developments, see, for instance, the analytical overview by Smith, 'Imperial Court'.

30 The manuscript is now available through the Vatican Library's repository of digitised manuscripts, at https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.gr.1.pt.B. For the ascription of the manuscript to the 940s, see Mango, 'The Date'.

31 Mathews, 'The Epigrams', esp. 98–100. Mathews's hypothesis that it was Leo who actually composed the epigrams has been refuted. For the epigrams and their authorship, see Lauxtermann, *Byzantine Poetry*, 191–96; Mango, 'The Epigrams'; Rhoby, *Ausgewählte Epigramme*, 471–92.

32 This and the accompanying portrait on fol. 3r are described in detail by Spatharakis, *The Portrait*, 7–14, who uses the term 'semi-proskynesis' to describe Leo's half-kneeling posture.

33 For beards and the eunuchs' lack of them, see the discussion by Mati Meyer and Lora Webb in this volume.

34 Magdalino, 'Court Society', 220, for the *sakellarios* being appointed from among the eunuchs of the imperial household in the tenth and eleventh century.

35 Mango, 'The Epigrams', 59–64; Rhoby, *Ausgewählte Epigramme*, 472–76.

36 Mango, 'The Epigrams', 65–66; Rhoby, *Ausgewählte Epigramme*, 477–79.

37 For the proposed identification with a Leo *sakellarios*, presumably active in the 940s, see Mango, 'The Date'.

38 As discussed by James and Tougher, 'Get Your Kit On', 156; in general, for the dress of eunuchs at court, Leo included, see Parani, 'Look like an Angel'.

39 In the dedicatory epigram, the heading on fol. 2v, and the identifying inscriptions accompanying his and his brother's portraits.

40 See the reference to St Nicholas as 'the victory of the people over wretched wrong-doing' in the epigram on fol. 3r: Mango, 'The Epigrams', 66.

41 On the negative portrayals of eunuchs, especially court eunuchs, and the often virulent critiques against them by bearded, male authors, in the early and middle Byzantine periods, see, selectively, Tougher, 'Images of Effeminate Men'; Sidéris, 'La comédie des castrats'. See, also the contribution of Charis Messis in the present volume, 'Gender and Transgressive Sexuality'.

42 Cf. Magdalino, 'Court Society', 221: 'court eunuchs were munificent patrons of monasticism and the associated art and literature, all the more so because they did not have the same family obligations as their "bearded" senatorial colleagues'. Another tenth-century court eunuch, well-known

as a liberal patron of monasticism, the arts, and letters, though at a much grander scale than our Leo, was Basil Lekapenos; see Boura, 'Βασίλειος Λεκαπηνός'.

43 For instance, the *proedros* John (eleventh century), in Princeton, Theological Seminary, MS 11.21.1900, fol. I*r, see Kotzabassi, Patterson Ševčenko, and Skemer, *Greek Manuscripts*, 273, fig. 276.

44 For example, Smith, 'Imperial Court', 207.

45 Magdalino, 'Court Society', 220.

46 Mango, 'The Epigrams', 66.

47 For the city of Kastoria, see Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*; eadem, 'Kastoria'.

48 Pelekanidis and Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, 22–49.

49 Gerstel, 'Painted Sources', 99.

50 Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, 50–52.

51 The only other comparable example known to me is found in another provincial monument of the late twelfth century, the church of the Panagia Krena on Chios: in the funerary portrait of the male donor's family in the narthex, the wife, in this instance accompanied by a child, is likewise given the position of honour at the right hand of the Virgin and Child and is identified by her maiden name in the accompanying inscription. However, she is not larger in size than her husband: Pennas, *The Byzantine Church*, 122–26, figs. 284–286. Examples of imperial portraits on coinage and other media, where, for dynastic reasons, the empress appears in the place of honour to the viewer's left, will not be considered here: see James, 'Displaying Identity', 202–03.

52 On the dress of all three figures, see Parani, *Reconstructing*, 58, 73–74, appendix 3 no. 27 (329–30).

53 Panayotidi, 'Donor Personality Traits', 158–65; eadem, 'Η προσωπικότητα', 159–62; eadem, 'Σχόλια', 263–64.

54 On the Radenoi, see Campagnolo-Pothitou and Charalampakis, 'The Radenos Family'.

55 One above the door leading from the narthex to the nave, one above the door leading from the north aisle to the narthex, one on the south wall of the sanctuary, and the inscription (in both versions) accompanying his portrait in the north aisle: Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, 46–51; Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, 161–68.

56 Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, 167–68.

57 In his desire to imprint his foundation with his personality and presence, he is not exceptional among elite male provincial donors of the twelfth century. The *magistros* Nikephoros Ischyrios, founder of Asinou (Cyprus) in 1105/1106, readily comes to mind, see Patterson Ševčenko, 'Metrical Inscriptions', 77–81.

58 See above, n. 55.

59 Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme*, 162. The ending of the Greek word for 'child/ren' in the inscription is not preserved, so it is uncertain whether it referred to one child, as Rhoby suggests, or many, as Drakopoulou believes; Drakopoulou, *Η πόλη της Καστοριάς*, 45–46.

60 Mamagkakis, 'Άννα Ραδηνή'. See, also, Campagnolo-Pothitou and Charalampakis, 'The Radenos Family', 74-75.

61 As first expounded by Laiou, 'The Role'; for more recent references, see Mamagkakis, 'Άννα Ραδηνή', 71 n. 2.

62 Mamagkakis, 'Άννα Ραδηνή', 86–87.

63 Gerstel, 'Painted Sources'.

64 For an overview, see Kalopissi-Verti, 'Mistra'.

65 Drandakis, 'Ὁ Ἀϊ-Γιαννάκης', 64.

66 Etzeoglou, 'Quelques remarques', 518; Drandakis, 'Ὁ Ἀϊ-Γιαννάκης', 81–82; Papamastorakis, 'Ἐπιτύμβιες παραστάσεις', 298; Brooks, 'Commemoration', 344–49; Weißbrod, *'Hier liegt'*, 137–39.

67 Drandakis, 'Ὁ Ἀϊ-Γιαννάκης', 78. I am deeply grateful to the nuns Agne and Elisavet of Pantanassa Monastery, Mistra, for sharing with me their photographs of this poorly preserved portrait for study purposes.

68 Brooks, 'Commemoration', 93.

69 On this gesture, which is associated with both living and deceased in Byzantine portraiture, see Weißbrod, *'Hier liegt'*, 81–82.

70 See above, n. 66.
71 Brooks, 'Commemoration', 147; Weißbrod, *'Hier liegt'*, 87–94.
72 Beyond the commissioning of the portrait and, probably, being buried there with her children, the connection of Kale/Kallinike with the chapel is unclear; there is no evidence, iconographic or other, to suggest that she was actually the chapel's founder. For references, see above, n. 66.
73 See Gerstel and Kalopissi-Verti, 'Female Church Founders'.

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