Byzantium in Dialogue with the Mediterranean

The Medieval Mediterranean

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Byzantium in Dialogue with the Mediterranean

History and Heritage

Edited by

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Byzantium in Dialogue

Daniëlle Slootjes and Mariëtte Verhoeven

In June of 2016 a group of both junior and senior scholars from various disciplines such as history, art history, literature and archaeology came together at the Radboud University Nijmegen for the conference "Byzantine Studies Alive!" to unlock the importance of the Byzantine world for our current generations. The editors of this volume, who were also the organizers of the conference, had carefully chosen the title of the conference as an optimistic signal, both to the scholarly world as well as a more general audience, that Byzantine Studies is a vibrant and dynamic field of study that needs continued attention. In recent decades, Byzantine Studies in the Netherlands has come under pressure due to budget cuts that universities worldwide are experiencing in many fields. Especially since Byzantine Studies is an international flourishing field, we wanted to take the opportunity to show how "alive" our field is in organizing a meeting in the Netherlands. Nijmegen seemed to be an excellent location for such a gathering, from a scholarly perspective as the Radboud University has expertise in Byzantine History and Art History as well as the Institute of Eastern Christian Studies, and from a historic point of view. Nijmegen embodies historic Byzantine grounds: the Empress Theophanu, who as a princess had been sent from Byzantium to the West in 972 to marry the Holy Roman Emperor Otto II, died there on June 15 of the year 990. In commemoration of this event, in 1991 the castle Hernen (close to Nijmegen en home to the Byzantine *A.A. Bredius Foundation*) offered the stage to a group of distinguished scholars who met to consider various issues and aspects of Theophanu's background in Byzantium, her life in the West, and her impact on her contemporary society. This meeting led to the volume *The Empress Theophanu* (Cambridge 1995, edited by the Nijmegen Professor Adelbert Davids of the Institute of Eastern Christian Studies).

Furthermore, the "Byzantine Studies Alive!" conference fits a longstanding Dutch tradition of research in Byzantine literature, law, history and archaeology that was once blossoming at most universities in the Netherlands. While it would go too far in this introduction to mention all Dutch Byzantine scholars of the past centuries and their work, it is noteworthy to mention one specific theme that seems to have been recurring in many Dutch scholarly works and which was also part of our 2016 conference, namely interactions and exchange between East and West. Earlier publications, such as *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen, 1096–1204* by B. Ebels-Hoving (Assen, 1971), K. Ciggaar's

Western Travellers to Constantinople (Leiden, 1996), the volume of *East and West in the Medieval Eastern Mediterranean* (edited by K. Ciggaar and V. van Aalst), or *East and West in the Roman Empire of the Fourth Century: an End to Unity?* (Leiden, 2015, edited by R. Dijkstra, S. van Poppel and D. Slootjes) are illustrative for this particular focus.

Our "Byzantine Studies Alive!" conference is part of a current wave of new and successful attempts at the various universities in the Netherlands to continue and revive Byzantine studies, both in scholarship as well as in parts of the teaching programs. The Byzantine Studies Netherlands association (https://www.ru.nl/byzantinestudies/) that is part of the "Association Internationale des Etudes Byzantines" (AIEB) organizes lively annual meetings which attract a new generation of Dutch Byzantine scholars.

The fruitful scholarly meeting in June of 2016 as well as the extensive coverage of the meeting and the scholarly field of Byzantine Studies in Dutch media (national radio and newspapers) have encouraged the organizers and participants as well as some additional scholars to put together a collection of contributions based on the themes and discussions at the conference.

The title of the volume, *Byzantium in Dialogue with the Mediterranean. History and Heritage*, underlines two notions that we regard as fundamental both for the dynamic continuation of Byzantine Studies as a scholarly field as well as for the way in which the material and immaterial heritage from the Byzantine world in general is to be regarded an inextricable part of the history of the European continent and the Middle East. In regard to "Dialogue," our contributions show that throughout the centuries of its existence, Byzantium continuously communicated and exchanged with other cultures and societies on the European continent as well as North Africa and in the East. Furthermore, Byzantium continued to exist beyond its own political and physical existence as an empire by way of legal, artistic and architectural influences in later periods. Also, connections between Byzantium and the other peoples and states around the Mediterranean position our volume within a larger scholarly discussion that steps away from micro histories of lands and states, but instead calls for broader visions on the Mediterranean as an extended geographical area that is characterized by connectivity. In recent decades, especially *The Corrupting Sea* by P. Horden and N. Purcell (Oxford, 2000) and D. Abulafia's *The Great Sea. A Human History of the Mediterranean* (Oxford, 2011) have been pivotal in calling our attention to this approach.

In this volume, "History" represents not only the chronological, geographical and narrative background of the historical reality of Byzantium (what happened, when and where?), but it also stands for an all-inclusive scholarly

approach to the Byzantine world that transcends the boundaries of traditionally separate disciplines such as history, art history or archaeology. The second notion, "Heritage," refers to both material remains and immaterial traditions, and traces that have survived or have been appropriated. Byzantine heritage can be detected within the chronological period of the Byzantine Empire and beyond, as well as within the original geographical territory of the Empire and beyond.

The common thread throughout the entire volume is the relationship and mutual exchange of ideas and objects between Byzantium and its neighbours or successors, both geographically and chronologically. No empire, nation or people lives in isolation. Several notions that bring out this relationship and exchange play an important role in various contributions. For instance, Byzantium can be seen as a leading catalyst in the political, cultural, economic and religious exchange between East and West, to be detected in the relationship both between Byzantium and Latin Western Europe and Byzantium and the Islamic world. The exchange between East and West can be expressed by agents of transfer such as rulers, bishops, popes, diplomats, legal experts, pilgrims, writers or artists, and by objects of transcultural encounters and transfer such as (religious) monuments, texts (hagiography, historiography, liturgical texts, travel accounts), decorations, liturgical objects, relics or diplomatic gifts. These agents and objects can be regarded as part of the larger historical context within which Europe took shape in the Middle Ages and beyond.

Furthermore, the exchange is also expressed by way of a visual perspective on the history and heritage of the Byzantine world. The dimension and visual identity of the Byzantine Empire was not one identical continuum. In different phases of development (Arab conquests, iconoclasm, Crusader period), Byzantine monuments and artefacts were appropriated or under threat, a phenomenon that continued after the Ottoman conquest. The contributions of this volume show these notions and perspectives in medieval as well as modern times.

The volume opens with an introductory contribution by Averil Cameron who also gave the keynote lecture at the conference in Nijmegen. On the one hand, Cameron draws attention to some general issues that pertain to the study of Byzantium such as the discussion about its belonging to Europe, the role of orthodoxy, popular appeal of Byzantium and issues of its national and religious inheritance. Furthermore, recent discussions on the value of empire and global history can be applied to the functioning of the Byzantine Empire as well. On the other hand, Cameron offers a glimpse of her personal experiences while entering the field of Byzantine Studies.

Evangelos Chrysos focuses on the relations between ecclesiastical authorities in the East and West in his analysis of the decision by Pope Nicholas I (858–867) to deny recognition of the Patriarch Photius's ordination to the patriarchal throne. This particular situation, also known as the "Photian Schism," is illustrative for the application of Canon Law in the East and West as well as for possible papal aspiration of exercising jurisdiction of the Church in the East.

The contribution by Marko Petrak examines mediaeval Dalmatian Exultets, which were prayers sung for the Byzantine emperors that were part of the Western liturgical tradition. Petrak aims to show that the ritual structures of Dalmatian Exultets can also serve as a historical source for the reconstruction of certain crucial aspects of the mediaeval institutions of Dalmatia as a peripheral part of the Byzantine Empire.

Matthew Savage deals with the urban topography of Constantinople in the 9th and 10th centuries and aims to show how building projects in the city during this period actively sought both to emphasize the existing physical landscape of the earthly city and to alter it in ways to make it correspond with the Byzantine conception of the Heavenly City in the afterlife.

Elsa Fernandes Cardoso investigates the contacts between the Ummayyads of al-Andalus and Byzantium in the 10th century. She argues that we should move beyond traditional explanations that style these contacts in terms of rivalry, and instead should look for political motivations and mercantile interests as motivators for their contacts.

Another type of East and West exchange, that between Byzantines and Normans, is found in the appearance of St Nicholas of Myra and St Nicholas the Pilgrim in Southern Italy in the 11th century. In her analysis of these two saints and the churches that were built for them, Penelope Mougoyianni demonstrates that Byzantium continued to play a pivotal role during this transitional period. It becomes clear that the two cities chose their saints to promote different agendas, either to confront Byzantium, as Bari seems to have done, or to make a statement of self-identity through the attachment to Byzantine culture, as in the case of Trani.

Elena Boeck points the reader to the French romance *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*, a text commonly overlooked by Byzantinists, but fascinating in that it can be used as evidence of geopolitical competition, as a discourse on contemporary debates about imperial primacy and as a violent fantasy which prefigures the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204.

Daphne Penna takes the reader on a legal journey in her analysis and comparison of both Byzantine legal acts and Crusader charters towards Venice,

Pisa and Genoa. Penna demonstrates that the case of the Italians in the 12th century is illustrative for insights into the functioning of legal interaction between Byzantium and the Crusader states and is valuable for our explorations of the role of law in unifying the eastern Mediterranean.

Alex Rodriguez Suarez zooms in on the Byzantine court and its appreciation for the Latin West by way of a close examination of the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos, the uncle of the Emperor Manuel I (1143–80) and an important member of the Komnenian family.

Hans Bloemsma offers a re-examination of the meaning of so-called retrospective modes in 14th-century Italian painting by applying the terms "nearness" and "distance" in relation to the different stylistic modes that characterize painting of this time-period.

Cristian Caselli concentrates on Nicholas Sagundinus, a native from the Venetian colony of Negroponte, who as a diplomat in the service of Venice can serve as a notable example of contacts between the Levant and Latin Europe and the integration of Greek émigrés in Renaissance Italy.

Karen Stock, in her analysis of Maurice Denis's (1870–1943) vision of reconciliation between the Byzantine and the modern, pieces together Denis's conception of Byzantium from numerous writings while also placing Denis's ideas within the context of the French Byzantine revival that occurred at the turn of the century.

Finally, Konstantinos Chryssogelos leads our volume into the late 20th century in discussion of the use of Byzantine heritage in Greek cinema, with a particular focus on the 1987 movie *Doxobus*.

Byzantinists and Others

Averil Cameron

It is widely agreed that Byzantium has a contested place in general historical debate. Unlike Rome, or classical Greece, its very identity is uncertain; it is virtually ignored in the scholarship of many European countries, while being claimed in national and religious narratives by others. Whether Byzantium belongs to Europe is also contested, and it was not at first included in the successful European Science Foundation "Transformation of the Roman World" project in the 1990s, which covered the period AD 400–900 and was explicitly designed to promote knowledge transfer between the central and the more peripheral countries of the European Union. It has also been assigned to an "Orthodox sphere," or to "Orthodox civilisation," and is routinely omitted in histories of Western Europe, and in the many linear narratives that trace a line from the classical world to the Enlightenment and modernity.[1]

In a book published in 2011, the historian Norman Davies, author of a previous history of Europe (1996), included Byzantium (which for some reason he calls "Byzantion") as one of the "vanished kingdoms" of Europe.[2] He gives it only a short treatment and one that certainly would not satisfy any Byzantinist, with long quotations from Edward Gibbon, and having as its conclusion W.B. Yeats's melancholy poem, *Byzantium*, of 1930 (described recently as "long and notoriously obscure").[3] Davies's chapter is also surprising in other ways; among the fourteen other so-called "vanished kingdoms" in his book are Litva, Borussia, Galicia, and Rosenau, unlikely companions for Byzantium. But it is interesting nevertheless that for Davies Byzantium definitely belongs to Europe. He does not even raise the issue as a question, and there is not a word

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1 See for instance Larry Siedentop, *Inventing the individual. The Origins of Western Liberalism* (London, 2014).

2 Norman Davies, *Vanished Kingdoms. The History of Half-Forgotten Europe* (London, 2011); cf. id., *Europe: a History* (Oxford, 1996). Byzantium and Europe: Averil Cameron, "Byzantium between East and West," in *Présence de Byzance. Textes réunis par Jean-Michel Spieser*, Jean-Michel Spieser, ed. (Lausanne, 2007), pp. 113–33.

3 So Thomas Sjösvärd, "Perne in a Gyre: the Poetic Representation of an Ideal State in the Byzantine Poems of W.B. Yeats," in *Wanted, Byzantium. The Desire for a Lost Empire*, Ingela Nilsson and Paul Stephenson, eds., Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 15 (Uppsala, 2014), pp. 237–45, at p. 238, with references to the copious bibliography on Yeats and Byzantium, especially the much-cited *Sailing to Byzantium* (1926).

about the "eastern Mediterranean," Byzantium as a Mediterranean power or about the Islamic world, all of them central in other recent works. Byzantium is also by far the longest-lasting among his "vanished kingdoms," having lasted on the usual chronology from 330 to 1453, but this too is a feature that Davies does not discuss.

I have written before about the "absence" of Byzantium – the fact that it is so regularly left out of wider histories.[4] It was not for nothing that in 2014 Ingela Nilsson and Paul Stephenson called their edited volume *Wanted, Byzantium. The Desire for a Lost Empire.* But it is not only absence that is the problem, but also the strange attraction that many feel towards Byzantium – perhaps indeed a fatal attraction, because it is an attraction so often experienced for all the wrong reasons. Gold, glitter, exoticism, all these make Byzantium fascinating but also stand in the way of serious historical discussion.[5] Gold has a central place in Yeats's Byzantium poems too, and their evocation of an imagined Byzantium. When I published my book *Byzantine* Matters in 2014 my only specification for the cover design was "no gold, no purple, and no Empress Theodora."[6]

There is no doubt that Byzantium has a popular appeal. Think of the many novels about Theodora, for example, with new ones still appearing. There is a dedicated band of Byzantium-followers on Twitter, among which I suspect that academics represent a small minority. Television series enhance the appeal of Byzantium, and books of popular history are widely read, as are the increasing numbers of historical novels with Byzantine settings. But at the same time Byzantium has evoked considerable hostility. J.R.R. Tolkien, author of *The Lord of the Rings*, regarded Constantinople as "a heartless town," standing for "corrupt worldly politics and crushing of alternatives or different views."[7] The same idea of Byzantium as autocratic, or even totalitarian, was held by the Jewish Byzantinist Alexander Kazhdan, who eventually succeeded in leaving the Soviet Union for the West and found a home at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DC. Reacting against the Soviet system with whose pressures he

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4 Averil Cameron, "The Absence of Byzantium," *Nea Hestia* (Jan, 2008), 4–59 (in English and Greek), with comments by other scholars in subsequent issues.

5 Averil Cameron, *The Use and Abuse of Byzantium*, Inaugural Lecture, King's College London, 1990 (London, 1992), reprinted in *Changing Cultures in Early Byzantium* (Aldershot, 1996), no. XIII; "Seeing Byzantium: a Personal Response," in *Wonderful Things*: *Byzantium through its Art*, Liz James and Antony Eastmond, eds. (Farnham, 2013), pp. 311–18; see also M.-F. Auzépy, ed., *Byzance et l'Europe, XVIe–XX siècle* (Paris, 2003).

6 Averil Cameron, *Byzantine Matters* (Princeton, NJ, 2014).

7 Gondor represents Byzantium and the Elves and the True West the Goths and Lombards, and thus the opposition to it: Miryam Librán-Moreno, "'Byzantium, New Rome'. Goths, Longobards and Byzantium in *The Lord of the Rings*," in *Tolkien and the Study of his Sources. Critical Essays*, Jason Fisher, ed. (McFarland, 2011), pp. 84–115, at pp. 110–11.

was only too familiar, he saw in Byzantium a model of an autocratic regime in which there was no freedom for the individual.[8] Ihor Ševčenko's typically intriguing paper of 1994, "Was there totalitarianism in Byzantium?," argued that Byzantium could not truly be called totalitarian since "given the imperfections of the time" it lacked the means of thoroughgoing enforcement. His starting point was the answer he gave to a question posed by G.I. Yanaev, the then vice-president of the USSR, during the momentous international Byzantine congress of 1991, which coincided with the Moscow putsch; in answer to Yanaev's question, "was there totalitarianism in Byzantium?" Ševčenko said that "like all centralized states with a single ideology, Byzantium tended towards totalitarianism."[9]

The question of national and religious inheritance is particularly fraught. The 19th-century divisions over the place of Byzantium in the history of modern Greece are well known and have not gone away; the inheritance of Byzantium has again become a political and nationalist issue in Russia,[10] and in Turkey, where younger scholars are now keen to study Byzantium and Byzantine archaeology and the history of Constantinople, and where opportunities exist which were not been there in the past. At the same time, they are exposed to a state-supported nationalist, religious and political campaign that promotes the glories of the Ottoman past. With the end of communist rule in Eastern Europe the legacy of Byzantium has become a critical matter in the national

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8   See Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium. An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, DC, 1982). According to Kazhdan "Byzantine man" was atomized in the face of the power of the state, and could aspire only to "individualism without freedom"; it is interesting to observe that lines from Yeats's "Sailing to Byzantium" were chosen as the epigraph. See also the paper by the Russian medievalist Aaron Gurevich, "Why I am Not a Byzantinist," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 46 (1992), 89–96, especially 93: "The closer I studied Byzantine history, the more I came to suspect that I was studying something already familiar to me: that in another place and at another time, with different names and in a different language, this was the same history that had been endured and was still being endured in my own country," and 95: "can one imagine a Magna Carta in Byzantium or in Rus? Is it conceivable that a Byzantine emperor or a Russian tsar could view himself, or might be viewed by others, as *primus inter pares*?" From 1970 onwards Gurevich had been barred from academic teaching after criticizing Marxist orthodoxy on the development of feudalism, and for showing the influence of structuralism, but was reinstated and allowed to travel after 1989.

9   I. Ševčenko, "Was there Totalitarianism in Byzantium? Constantinople's Control over its Asiatic Hinterland in the Early Ninth Century," in *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, Cyril Mango and Gilbert Dagron, eds. (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 91–105. Ševčenko's conclusion (p. 105) compared "embryonic" [i.e. Byzantine] and "decomposing" [i.e. Soviet] totalitarianism.

10   Averil Cameron, *Byzantine Matters*, p. 2.

consciousness of several countries, and politics and religion can again be seen to be acting together. The common perception of Byzantium and Orthodoxy as somehow co-extensive[11] is fundamental to these developments. Finally, studying Byzantium is hard: it needs language skills most people now lack and are not well placed to acquire. Certainly in my own national experience, if Greek was ever taught in state schools in the UK, it has all but disappeared now. Translations are crucial if Byzantine literature is going to be available at all for most people. Thankfully more and more are now appearing, as Byzantinists take on the challenge of making their subject more accessible.

National differences in scholarship matter a great deal, even in our world of conferences and collaborations, and they are especially critical in the present case. But younger scholars today, including specialists on Byzantium, are far more mobile, and more international in their working methods, than they used to be. It was very different for me. For someone like me, when I was young, and a product of the British educational system, Byzantium was hardly visible. British Byzantine studies in previous generations were dominated by a handful of unusual historians – not simply Edward Gibbon (that is indeed another story), but rather, in the 20th century J.B. Bury, Steven Runciman, Norman Baynes and Joan Hussey, all of whom managed to carve out a Byzantine space for themselves, often without holding specifically Byzantine posts. Bury also wrote on classical Greece and held chairs of Greek and modern history in Dublin and Cambridge; he also taught at the school in Dublin where Yeats was a pupil. Runciman spent most of his life outside the university system as what used to be called a "private scholar." Robert Browning, who encouraged me to work on Agathias in the early 1960s, was a professor of classics and never held a Byzantine position. It is also well known that several of those who held the two named chairs in Byzantine and Modern Greek established at King's College London and Oxford in the early 20th century used their inaugural lectures to denigrate Byzantium and Byzantine culture by making unfavourable comparisons between Byzantium and classical antiquity. They included Romilly Jenkins, who held the Koraes chair at King's, while also lecturing on classical Greek archaeology, and his successor, Cyril Mango, who gave two inaugural lectures, first at King's in the Koraes chair and then at Oxford as Bywater and Sotheby Professor, both critical of Byzantium and the Byzantine heritage (and in the latter case of Byzantine literature), and finally Donald Nicol, also

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11   Averil Cameron, *Byzantine Christianity* (London, 2017) argues against the conflation. See also Averil Cameron, "Byzantium and the Limits of Orthodoxy," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 154 (2008), 139–52 and *Byzantine Matters*, chap. 5.

a Koraes Professor at King's and also originally a classicist.[12] These lectures and their later publication held a canonical status, even though they have also given rise to critical reactions, and demonstrate the problems that have been faced by other Byzantinists, especially younger ones, who were trying to escape from this negativity. I used my own inaugural lecture at King's College London in 1989 to draw attention to these conflicting attitudes and to the tension that seemed to surround the whole subject.[13]

Byzantinists in Britain and elsewhere in Europe are also suffering from national policies towards education that prioritize science, technology and medicine over the humanities. Universities accordingly make what seem rational economic choices and squeeze out small humanities subjects. Yet at the same time the subject has an undoubted resilience. To take examples only from the English-speaking world I know best, the University of Edinburgh has been able to establish a new chair in Byzantine studies in 2016, and to advertise a new position in Byzantine history, and I can vouch for the large numbers of postgraduate students studying late antiquity and Byzantium at Oxford. In Australia a determined group of Byzantinists has kept the subject alive, and in North America, where there are also rather few actual positions in Byzantine studies, the annual Byzantine Studies Conference attracts more and more participants each year. Dumbarton Oaks in Washington DC has few problems in attracting excellent applicants for its fellowships from round the world. Meanwhile strikingly large crowds are attracted to major Byzantine exhibitions in Europe and North America, even if those who attend are sometimes puzzled by what they see.

But Yeats was not alone in being attracted to the gold, glitter and mystery of Byzantium. Others, like the British writer and traveller Robert Byron in the 1920s, have admired Byzantium for the very reason that it seemed so unlike classical antiquity; its aesthetic appeal led Byron and the young David Talbot Rice to argue that Byzantine art was superior to classical. Byron's 1929 book, *The Byzantine Achievement*, published when he was still in his early twenties, followed *The Station*, published in the previous year, in which he described his experience of a journey to Mount Athos. In 1930 he and his friend Talbot Rice, who had travelled with him, published *The Birth of Western Painting*, claiming

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12   See Anthony A.M. Bryer, "Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies: a Partial View," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 12 (1988), 1–26.

13   Cameron, "Use and Abuse"; see also "Thinking with Byzantium," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 21 (2011), 39–57; "Bury, Baynes and Toynbee," in *Through the Looking Glass. Byzantium through British Eyes*, Robin Cormack and Elizabeth Jeffreys, eds. (Aldershot, 2000), pp. 163–76, and with Roderick Beaton, "Koraes, Toynbee and the Modern Greek Heritage," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 15 (1991), 1–18.

that later Byzantine art led directly to the art of Western Europe: thus the origins of European art lay in Byzantium. Patrick Leigh Fermor, another writer whose travel books are very widely read in England, was a great admirer of Robert Byron, and consciously imitated him (though Byron was not equally admired by Steven Runciman). It was also the Byzantine aesthetic and the move away from the classical, that drew members of the Arts and Crafts movement in England to the British School at Athens in its early days, and that influenced key figures of the period like Edwin Freshfield and O.M. Dalton of the British Museum.[14] As Annabel Wharton has shown, the design of the Roman Catholic Westminster Cathedral in London, built in 1903, consciously followed the Byzantine tradition, and included extensive mosaic decoration.[15]

1   A Personal Trajectory

I want to turn now to my own development. I was a classicist at Oxford, with a very thorough training in Greek and Latin, classical literature, ancient history and also ancient and some modern philosophy. I am therefore one of those Byzantinists who may be in danger of importing classical norms and classical assumptions.

In my first academic post at King's College London in 1965 I was required to teach classical texts, but from 1970 I succeeded Howard Scullard as Reader in ancient history, at the time the only post in ancient history in the department. There were as yet no archaeologists, and ancient history was regarded as strictly ancillary to classical language and literature. A year spent in New York in 1967–68 teaching in the graduate school at Columbia opened my eyes to many issues and made me many friends. At King's College there was a tiny department of Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies, headed in my day first by Cyril Mango and then by Donald Nicol, but I was in the Classics department. From 1970 I belonged to both Classics and History, and I was not yet recognized as a Byzantinist, despite the fact that I had completed a PhD on Agathias in 1966, and at the same time laid the foundation for my later book on Procopius. It was also unusual to move from a classics degree at Oxford (then known as Literae Humaniores, or "Greats," but now simply as Classics) to the 6th century A.D.,

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14   Amalia G. Kakissis, "The Byzantine Research Fund Archive: Encounters of Arts and Crafts Architects in Byzantium," in *Scholars, Travels, Archives*, Llewellyn Smith et al., eds., pp. 125–44; Christopher Entwhistle, "O.M. Dalton: 'Ploughing the Byzantine furrow,'" in *Through the Looking Glass*, pp. 177–83.

15   Annabel Wharton, "Westminster Cathedral: Medieval Architecture and Religious Difference" *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 26.3 (1996), 523–55.

but I left Oxford straight after graduating and did not return for many years until I became the head of an Oxford college in 1994.

I strongly believe in the relevance of one's own subjectivity as a scholar, and I think my trajectory shows just how important early mentors can be, often in ways not realized at the time. Arnaldo Momigliano became my supervisor in London at University College, and I attended his weekly seminars at the Warburg Institute regularly for many years thereafter. Peter Brown was also my doctoral examiner in 1966, and was later to lead me into late antiquity, but in the 1960s I was already teaching in London and was not part of his circle in Oxford. Momigliano was a stronger influence though not a Byzantinist (I do not remember him ever showing much interest in Byzantium). The foundations of my work on Agathias had already been laid at the University of Glasgow, and Momigliano was a very hands-off supervisor; his influence on me lay rather in the example he provided in focusing on a range of historical problems to which he would return over and over again.[16] Reading the ten volumes of his collected papers is like having a conversation with someone who is always puzzling over some issue that he wants to understand.[17] I absorbed this from him by a kind of osmosis, and it made me more interested in historical problems and arguments than in collecting information for its own sake. It also gave me a taste for intellectual and philosophical issues about the nature of history that formed my approach thereafter until the present day.

Momigliano was forced to give up the chair at Turin in 1938, which he had only recently occupied after a tense election, as a result of the race laws in Fascist Italy, and came to England in 1939 as a Jewish refugee scholar. Like a number of others, he and his wife and daughter spent the war years in Oxford, which he did not find easy. The prevailing positivism in Oxford ancient history was very different from what he knew in Italy and especially from the idealism he had absorbed from Benedetto Croce and others. Ancient history was taught in Oxford both then and in my own time from a close reading of the central Greek and Latin historians and with a focus on narrow historical periods and a narrow range of topics. As an undergraduate I read the whole of Herodotus and Thucydides, not to mention the whole of Homer and the whole of Virgil, all in the original Greek and Latin, but never studied anything later than the reign of the Emperor Nero and was rarely if ever introduced to major historical

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16   On Momigliano see especially Peter Brown, "Arnaldo Dante Momigliano, 1908–1987," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 74 (1988), 405–42 and Tim Cornell and Oswyn Murray, eds., *The Legacy of Arnaldo Momigliano* (London, 2014).

17   Momigliano's collected essays have been published between 1955 and 2012 in ten volumes of *Contributi alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome, 1955–2012).

themes.[18] Peter Brown, in contrast, belonged to the History Faculty (known until recently as Modern History, although it began officially in AD 284).

We were also required to study ancient philosophy, which meant wrestling directly with large amounts of Plato and Aristotle, also in Greek, and that has certainly stayed with me. It is interesting that someone Momigliano did find congenial in Oxford was R.G. Collingwood, an interesting figure who combined holding a chair in philosophy with being a practising Roman archaeologist, and with a serious interest in historiography. His book *The Idea of History* was published in 1946, after his death, and made a stir at the time. Unusually, Collingwood was influenced by Italian idealism, and argued that history was not a science or about proof, and that it needed historical imagination.

Momigliano believed profoundly that history was about truth. He and I disagreed in the 1980s, when I had been discovering literary theory after another important year in America in 1977–78, this time at Princeton. Its influence shows in the arrangement and approach of my book on Procopius, published in 1985, and much more in an edited volume on *History as Text*, published in 1989.[19] Momigliano on the other hand felt that the new emphasis on discourse rather than (as he would say), truth, was a serious threat, and strongly opposed the positions taken by Hayden White and many others after him, who have argued that history is a matter of rhetoric or discourse rather than of objective truth.[20] He disapproved of my decision to reverse the normal procedure of privileging Procopius's *Wars*, and to start instead with the so-called "minor" works, the *Secret History* and the *Buildings*.[21] Soon after the publication of my book on Procopius I gave the Sather Lectures at Berkeley in California, published as *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire* in 1991. I am still not sure what led to my choosing that topic, which entailed an investigation of New Testament scholarship. However, the lectures reflected my interest in discourse and argued that the large volume of Christian writing in the centuries up to Justinian was an important factor in Christianization and that whatever their claims,

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18   Such a training in analyzing texts in detail is indeed of crucial importance for those Byzantinists fortunate enough to have access to it, and Fergus Millar has also pointed to the advantages of an "old-fashioned" classical training in dealing with late antiquity: Fergus Millar, *Empire, Church and Society in the Late Roman Near East. Greeks, Jews, Syrians and Saracens* (*Collected Studies*, 2004–14) (Leuven, 2016), p. 801.

19   *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (London, 1985); ed. *History as Text* (London, 1989).

20   Momigliano argued against Hayden White in a notable article of 1981, "The Rhetoric of History and the History of Rhetoric: On Hayden White's Tropes," in *Comparative Criticism. A Yearbook,* vol. 3, Elinor S. Shaffer, ed. (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 259–68.

21   For reflections on recent scholarship on Procopius see Averil Cameron, "Writing about Procopius Then and Now," in *Procopius of Caesarea: Literary and Historical Interpretations*, Christopher Lillington-Martin, ed. with Elodie Turquois (Milton Park, 2017), pp. 13–25.

Christian authors followed similar rhetorical and discursive techniques to those used in contemporary non-Christian writing. The argument now seems commonplace, but it was far from obvious at the time, and it was certainly a notable departure for me; it also marked a further step in the direction of Hayden White rather than Momigliano. It coincided with a seminar I held on a crucially important work, Eusebius's *Life of Constantine,* which eventually led to a joint publication with a colleague in the Theology Faculty at King's College London,[22] and is not the only one among my publications to have started in this way. Another was the joint translation and commentary on the still puzzling 8th-century *Parastaseis Syntomai Chronikai*, which also took shape in a seminar at King's College.[23] I have also often been involved in editing collective works. Editing is hard work, but it has taught me a great deal about the bigger questions and about how different kinds of scholarship can complement each other, and indeed are necessary. One of the most important of these collective endeavours was the series of workshops starting in the late 1980s in which I tried with colleagues working on the early Islamic world to bring scholars of late antiquity together with scholars of early Islam, an idea that arose out of a conference at Madison (Wisconsin), for which one of the organizers was an Islamic historian.[24] My colleagues and I were motivated by what seemed a lack of dialogue at the time between late antique scholars and Islamic historians and archaeologists, a situation that may indeed seem surprising at present, when Islam is firmly claimed by late antique historians as part of their territory, but one that has led to a highly fertile field of scholarship.[25] By the 1970s and 1980s ancient historians had also discovered Christian texts (they played no part in the Oxford syllabus of my day), and I was myself very much involved in the move towards the burgeoning field of late antiquity. But I was already active in the Byzantine sphere, and in 1983, building on his regular symposia in Birmingham, Anthony Bryer and I set up the Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies as secretary and chair respectively, and later I became editor of its publications. I was already involved in the British National Committee

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22   Averil Cameron and S.G. Hall, *Eusebius, Life of Constantine*, Clarendon Ancient History Series (Oxford, 1999), introduction, translation and commentary.

23   Averil Cameron and Judith Herrin, in conjunction with Alan Cameron, Robin Cormack and Charlotte Roueché, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: the Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai* (Leiden, 1984), introduction, translation, and commentary.

24   The Madison conference was published as Frank M. Clover and R. Stephen Humphreys, eds., *Tradition and Innovation in Late Antiquity* (Madison, WI, 1989). For the series see Averil Cameron and Lawrence I. Conrad, eds., *Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam* (Princeton, 1992-, now edited by Lawrence I. Conrad and Jens Scheiner).

25   So recently Garth Fowden, *Before and After Muhammad. The First Millenium Refocused* (Princeton, 2013).

of Byzantinists that liaised with other national committees about the international Byzantine congresses. I well remember such a meeting held at Ouranopolis in northern Greece, the starting point for visitors to Mount Athos (which of course I was not able to visit), and the sight of two female Byzantinists from the then Soviet Russia and communist Czechoslovakia taking a dip in the sea in their bathing costumes.[26] Byzantinist colleagues in the Soviet bloc were required to conform to the official line, and this necessitated varying degrees of surveillance by academics who were also party members. But the experience of participating in these international discussions also brought home the variety among other national traditions in Byzantine scholarship that is still so much a feature of the field.

I began to teach courses on Byzantine studies only after 1989 after an internal reorganization at King's College. Even then there was still a feeling in some quarters that the 6th century was not properly Byzantine. Moreover I was closely identified with the "explosion" of late antiquity associated with Peter Brown. Accordingly, my designation was now in both late antique and Byzantine studies, thus avoiding the issues of periodization that remain main topics in late antique scholarship today. As I have argued elsewhere, the huge growth of late antiquity as a field in recent decades represents something of a threat to Byzantium.[27] Indeed, some leading Byzantine historians argue that Byzantium proper only began in the 7th century with the impact of the Arab conquests. The 6th century has also become more problematic in the light of the stress currently laid on the fall of the Roman Empire in the West in the 5th century. As Eastern emperor, Justinian has always presented problems for historians – Edward Gibbon could not decide whether he was the last great Roman emperor or the first of the weak succession of "Greeks" who ruled in the East over the next seven centuries.[28] He is often currently portrayed as an autocrat whose scheme of reconquest not only failed but was even the cause of decline. But I started my new Byzantine courses in London with the foundation of Constantinople in 330, and that gave a different angle on late antiquity.

I was also already interested enough in the problems of how Byzantium is approached to give my inaugural lecture on this theme in 1990.[29] I am not an art historian, the route by which many people come to Byzantium, but I was

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26   They were in fact Zinaida Udal'cova and Ruzena Dostálova.

27   Averil Cameron, "Late Antiquity and Byzantium – an Identity Problem," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 40.1 (2016), 27–37.

28   Averil Cameron, "Gibbon and Justinian," in *Edward Gibbon and Empire*, Rosamond McKitterick and Roland Quinault, eds. (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 34–52, and on the 6th century, see Pauline Allen and Elizabeth M. Jeffreys, eds., *The Sixth Century: End or Beginning?* (Brisbane, 1996).

29   Cameron, "Use and Abuse."

very conscious of the important role played by visual art in the characterization of Byzantium and our responses to it. But the tendency among some Byzantine art historians to keep "text historians" at arm's length, and to emphasize a contrast between art and text, is in conflict with the kind of total history that I believe is needed.

So this is the background from which I came to Byzantium, a little late, and only gradually, as a result of a mixture of personal influences and a constant fascination with historiography and the bigger questions. I have always wanted to push out to new topics and areas – a tendency that is not necessarily always a good thing, but one that illustrates again how closely scholarship relates to the personal subjectivity and curiosity of the scholar. At least, that may be the case if one is lucky enough, as I was, to be less pressured than young scholars are today by academic directives, testing, and university and department policies.

2   Future Directions

It is not surprising, then, if Byzantinists feel the need to make Byzantium interesting and sympathetic, that they choose themes that will appeal.[30] Handbooks and collective volumes can help to make a hitherto inaccessible subject more approachable, aided by the greater availability of translations, as already mentioned.[31] Again, Byzantine archaeology is now a major field with a wide appeal. But traditional scholarship is still much in demand, and there is a crying need for editions and studies of Byzantine texts; this was forcibly borne in on me again while working on the neglected field of prose dialogues in Byzantium.[32] The close analysis of texts may need a very specialist training, but it is if anything even more necessary than before.[33]

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30   A very good example is provided by Judith Herrin's *Byzantium. The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (London, 2007).

31   For instance Elizabeth Jeffreys, with John Haldon and Robin Cormack, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies* (Oxford, 2008); Paul Stephenson, ed., *The Byzantine World* (London, 2010); Liz James, ed., *A Companion to Byzantium* (Chichester, 2010).

32   Averil Cameron, *Arguing it Out. Discussion in Twelfth-Century Byzantium*, The Natalie Zemon Davis Lectures 2014 (Budapest, 2016); Averil Cameron and Niels Gaul, eds., *Dialogues and Debates from Late Antiquity to Late Byzantium* (Milton Park, 2017) contains several chapters on Byzantine texts hitherto hardly studied.

33   Though the number of published volumes in the current series *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (CFHB) has now reached 53 and Byzantine Greek texts are increasingly available online.

We ought also to be asking how Byzantium can be integrated into general history rather than remaining a minor and rather exotic niche subject. Taking a cue from a recent paper about another subject that the author considers small and still fragile, Byzantinists cannot exist alone in their own bubble: if Byzantium is to feature seriously in mainstream history its practitioners need to "find academic allies" (meaning natural linkages), and also to "insert" Byzantium into current and ongoing historical debates.[34]

When I was writing *Byzantine Matters* I identified five problem areas for Byzantium: absence from most wider historical narratives, the question of empire, what Byzantium means and has meant in relation to ideas of Hellenism, issues around visual art, and how it needs to be explained to broader audiences, and finally Orthodoxy – was Byzantium really so totally dominated by Orthodoxy? Most of these, though, are internal questions. I want to turn now to the question of how Byzantium can find a more central place in general history.

A particular problem is still that of the East-West divide. To which does Byzantium belong, East or West? I have already suggested that it has had a difficult relation with historians of Europe. For Gibbon it represented weakness, "Greekness" and decline, contrasted with the strength and power of Rome. Its reception in art, literature and theatre since the 19th century identified it with exoticism, Oriental display and complexity, in what was in fact a form of Orientalism.[35] And yet Byzantium saw itself as Rome, and grew out of the Roman Empire; as Kaldellis continues to insist, its Roman identity continued throughout the Byzantine period. Although Kaldellis emphasizes the Roman Republic as a political model for Byzantium,[36] Rome was already becoming the international empire that it remained, and a glance at a map of Byzantium in any period will show that it too belonged both in Europe and further east. It is impossible to consider the history of the Mediterranean, or the interactions of the Islamic world and the West, without Byzantium. The desire to avoid Eurocentrism – writing history from the viewpoint of Western Europe – is one of the strongest themes in current historiography, and again, including Byzantium is essential, but it must not be as the old stereotype of Byzantium. It will only be possible to give Byzantium the role it should be playing in these

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34   See Jurgen Osterhummel, "Global History and Historical Sociology," in *The Prospect of Global History*, James Belich et al., eds. (Oxford, 2016), pp. 23–43, at p. 24; Osterhummel refers here to what he considers the still small and fragile subject of global history, but see below.

35   See Averil Cameron, "Byzance dans le débat sur l'Orientalisme," in *Byzance et l'Europe*, M.-F. Auzépy, ed., pp. 227–42.

36   Anthony Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic. People and Power in New Rome* (Cambridge, MA, 2015).

discussions by presenting it as it actually was, and not how it has seemed to generations of Western European historians.

The next theme into which Byzantium can be "inserted" is that of empire.[37] There is currently a very lively interest in empires, and in comparing empires, and Rome is naturally prominent. The Roman Empire has been compared with the "American empire," and with Han China, and contemporary issues clearly have a part to play.[38] Bureaucracy, centralization, coercion and territoriality are key concepts in this debate; however Byzantium has had much less attention up to now, despite several important contributions by John Haldon. Of course we can question whether Byzantium was in fact an empire. In some publications Haldon has argued that its territory was small, and has preferred to call it a state rather than an empire, with its beginning only in the 7th century, or a "successor-state" in relation to the Roman empire, or even a "rump" state.[39] Anthony Kaldellis has gone much further and claims that it was a republic.[40] He argues however from a narrow focus on political vocabulary and from incidents involving the people of Constantinople, whoever they may be, not from structures, or regions, or indeed the features usually seen as marks of an empire. It seems to be agreed that definitions of empire cannot cover every example – empires can even exist without being territorial. But Byzantium surely qualifies in any case. We can argue about when it began and when it drastically changed; some histories of Byzantium end their coverage in 1204 with the capture of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade,[41] and indeed, after that there were plural centres, and this continued after the Byzantines from Nicaea got back to Constantinople in 1261. A longer view is nevertheless appropriate. Byzantium maintained a central governing structure for centuries, kept an administration going and was able to adapt during the difficult period after the Arab conquests, fielded armies, absorbed other peoples and at times

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37   Cameron, *Byzantine Matters*, chap. 2*;* Averil Cameron, "The Empire of Byzantium," in *The Medieval World*, rev ed., Peter Linehan, Janet L. Nelson and Marios Costambeys, eds. (Milton Park, 2017), pp. 106–25, with earlier references.

38   For discussion see Phiroze Vasunia, "The Comparative Study of Empires," *Journal of Roman Studies* 101 (2011), 222–37.

39   John F. Haldon, "The Byzantine Successor-State," in *The Oxford Handbook of the State*, Peter F. Bang and Walter Scheidel, eds. (Oxford, 2013), pp. 475–97; Peter Sarris, *Empires of Faith: The Fall of Rome to the Rise of Islam, 500–700* (Oxford, 2011).

40   Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*.

41   So also Kaldellis, *The Byzantine Republic*, and cf. Edward Luttwak, *The Grand Strategy of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2009). For this periodization and related problems see Olof Heilo, "When did Constantinople Actually Fall?," in *Wanted, Byzantium*, Nilsson and Stephenson, eds., pp. 77–92.

conducted offensive warfare; in addition it had a strong ideology and a legal framework. All these are constituent features of empires.

Does it matter whether or not Byzantium was an empire, and what kind of state it was? I think it does, because if we want it to be better recognized, and taken more seriously, need to know what sort of state and society we are dealing with. And if we wish to compare it with other political systems and other empires we need to know whether or not we are comparing like with like.

The theme of empire leads us into a further current debate, concerning global history. Global history (not the same as "world history") is a development from the study of empires (I am struck by how many historians now involving themselves in global history were once historians of empire) and from comparative history. In the broader global history sphere, indeed, empires tend to be replaced by the language of hegemony and hegemons (we should therefore be asking whether Byzantium was hegemonial, and if so in what ways). Global history works by looking at connections (connectivity, travel, migration, foreign groups, ideas, objects), by comparison (though not necessarily by comparing states), and by asking questions about long-term or contemporary developments in different societies. It tends to prefer an emphasis on the plural and local, but political and religious structures must be part of it too. Again, the Roman Empire features in works on global history (everyone has heard of it and knows something about it), but so far it has been hard to find Byzantium. I think this may be changing.[42] Considering how Byzantium can be accommodated in this debate would also be a good way of encouraging Byzantinists to ask different questions about their subject, and to look across at other societies and find ways of illuminating it. In a discussion of global history held in Oxford recently Chris Wickham said that he thought it could only really be done collaboratively – scholars with different backgrounds working together. This yet again challenges Byzantinists to move beyond their ghetto and look at questions that affect other societies as well.

Finally, what is in a name? Anthony Kaldellis would like us not to call Byzantium Byzantium – after all, it was not a name used at the time, but was coined

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42   Byzantium does not feature as such in Belich et al., eds., *The Prospect of Global History*, or in Sebastian Conrad's recent discussion, *What is Global History?* (Princeton, 2016), but it is included in its scope by the Oxford Centre for Global History and features in "Defining the Global Middle Ages," a network led by Catherine Holmes, Naomi Standen and Scott Ashley, and see also R.I. Moore, "A Global Middle Ages?," in *The Prospect of Global History,* Belich et al., eds., pp. 80–92. In view of its connection with the modern concept of globalization, the global history approach has tended to focus on the modern period, but is increasingly also being applied to pre-modern subjects.

in the early modern period, and was not meant as a compliment. The Byzantines called themselves Romans, or sometimes Hellenes (though only towards the end of the period). But we need a way of distinguishing them from the Holy Roman Empire in the East, and making it clear that the capital was not Rome but Constantinople. We could call them "East Romans," and some recent historians do. But Byzantium does have the merit of usage and familiarity, and I am myself not sure that the advantages of a change outweigh the disadvantages. It is also true that deciding when the Roman empire in the East, or late antiquity, ended and when Byzantium began are not easy matters; opinions differ. But refusing to use the term Byzantium only adds to a confusion that does not help when Byzantinists are in conversation with other historians, and certainly not when they are aiming at the general public.

Inserting Byzantium into this wider context leads to even bigger questions? Byzantium certainly belongs in histories of the Mediterranean world. Does it also belong to Eurasia? Or to "western Eurasia," or indeed to "Afro-eurasia"? The latter term is said to include besides Europe, the Middle East and North Africa,[43] but stands in contrast with an alternative Eurasian perspective that puts Byzantium at the western edge of a swathe of territory reaching through the Caucasus and the steppe and as far east as China.[44] Talking about Byzantium in such terms has the merit of deconstructing old-style history and avoiding Eurocentrism, but the risk is that it may do so at the cost of obscuring its particularity and its actual importance.

In the end, we all have to choose where we focus our attention and how. For many Byzantinists their specialism will not fit the approaches I have advocated. But it is my firm belief that Byzantium needs to take its place on the centre stage instead of in the margins. This is a task to which every Byzantinist, if in different ways, can and should contribute.

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43   James Belich et al., "Introduction," in *The Prospect of Global History*, Belich et al., eds., p. 4.

44   As in Michael Maas and Nicola di Cosmo, eds., *Empires and Exchanges in Eurasian Late Antiquity: Rome, China, Iran and the Steppes* (Cambridge, 2017).

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Rome and Constantinople in Confrontation: the Quarrel over the Validity of Photius's Ordination

Evangelos Chrysos

Οἰκονομία μίμησις τῆς θείας φιλανθρωπίας
NICHOLAS MYSTIKOS

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In a recent paper on patriarchs and popes who, in apparent violation of the Canon Law, were elected while being minors, I had the opportunity to study how ecclesiastical and political authorities in East and West dealt with the established legal prescriptions by either exploiting them as convenient tools of support of their aims or ignoring them.[1] The principle applied in these cases of compromising with the rules is the so-called "κατ᾽ οἰκονομίαν" (in Latin dispensatio) as opposite to "ἀκρίβεια" (in Latin accuratio).[2] This contribution is devoted to another case of application of the Canon Law in East and West, namely in an area where, due to local conditions, the two Churches had developed varying perceptions and priorities for the implementation of the originally common regulations. We shall examine the decision of Pope Nicholas I (858–67) to deny recognition of Patriarch Photius's ordination to the patriarchal throne because he had received the episcopal grade ἀθρόον [Latin subito], i.e. directly from the status of a layman by obtaining the other grades within one week. The controversial discussion about the application of the canonical

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1 Evangelos Chryos, "Minors as patriarchs and popes," in *Prosopon Rhomaikon: Ergänzende Studien zur Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, Alexander Beihammer et al., eds., Millenium Studies (Frankfurt, 2017), pp. 221–39.

2 Amilkas S. Alibizatos, *Die Oikonomia* (Frankfurt am Main, 1998). Francis Thomson, "Economy: An examination of the various theories of Economy held within the Orthodox Church, with special reference to the Economical Recognition of the validity of non-Orthodox sacraments," *Journal of Theological Studies* 16 (1965), 368–420. Spyros Troianos, "Akribeia und Oikonomia in den heiligen Kanones," in *Historia et Ius*, Francis Thomson, ed.,vol. 2, (Athens, 2004), pp. 783–99. Gregorios Papathomas, "Ecclesial Oikonomia. Terminological Elucidations and Hermeneutic Retrospections within the multiple ways of Economy," *Kanon* 24 (2016), 126–45.

prescriptions helps us to explain the long way the two parts of the still united Church had gone in drifting apart from one another and how this alienation, when the occasion emerged, paved the way to schisms of duration. Beyond this question lies however one further question, namely whether this case should be explained as a genuine reaction of pious and law-abiding clergymen who wanted to protect the canonical tradition from unduly deviations, or whether it was part of an effort to serve other aims and ends.

This controversy between East and West, Rome and New Rome, widely known in scholarship as "the Photian Schism",[3] included several serious issues, as the competition of the two thrones over the jurisdiction over the mission in Bulgaria and also the beginnings of the theological confrontation about the *Filioque.* However, it started with a dispute on something seemingly less important: the pope's refusal of accepting as canonical the election of Patriarch Photius. The new patriarch's consecration was a hurried affair indeed. In only one week's time (20th to 25th of December 858) he received successive ordinations from the status of a layman through the ecclesiastical grades of (a) monk's tonsure, (b) lector, (c) subdeacon, (d) deacon and (e) presbyter before he was (f) ordained and installed as bishop of Constantinople.[4]

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3 This is the title of the seminal monograph of Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend* (Cambridge, 1948, repr. 1970). French edition as *Le Schisme de Photius: histoire et légende*, Unam sanctam 19 (Paris, 1950). Dvornik's research was revolutionary in method and intention and surprised the peers with its results as compared to a long tradition of Roman Catholic historiography. Cornerstone of this tradition is the emblematic three volumes monograph of Joseph Hergenröther, the renowned scholar on the conservative side at the First Vatican Council: *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel sein Leben, seine Schriften und das griechische Schisma*, (Regensburg, 1867, repr. Darmstadt, 1966). Despite his critical stance towards Photius, Hergenröther deserves the hailing evaluation of Walter Brandmüller: "Es ist schwer zu sagen, was an seinem Schaffen mehr beeindruckt: die stupende Kenntnis von Quellen und Literatur, der methodische Scharfsinn, die eindringende Quellenkritik oder seine luzide sprachlich schöne Darstellungsweise": "Purpura Barbarica," in *Bayerische Römer-römische Bayern*, R. Becker and D.J. Weiß, eds. (St Ottilien, 2016), pp. 353–71. D. Stiernon, *Konstantinopel IV* (Mainz, 1975 [French edition: *Constantinople IV*, Paris, 1967]) pp. 349–56, offers a short *bibliographie commentée* on the scholarly discussion before and after Dvornik's several contributions on Photius. Well-balanced is the narration of the controversy in Henry Chadwick's book *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church: From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence, by Henry Chadwick* (Oxford, 2003). See further Klaus Herbers, "Papst Nikolaus I. und Patriarch Photios. Das Bild des byzantinischen Gegners in lateinischen Quellen," in *Die Begegnung des Westens mit dem Osten. Kongreßakten des 4. Symposiums des Mediävistenverbandes in Köln 1991 aus Anlaß des 1000. Todesjahres der Kaiserin Theophanu*, Odilo Engels and Peter Schreiner, eds. (Sigmaringen, 1993), pp. 51–74.

4 Reference to the tonsure is made only in the *Vita Ignatii,* a biased text against Photius composed by Nicetas David the Paphlagonian of the monastic party: Andrew Smithies, ed. (with notes by John Duffy), *Nicetas the Paphlagonian, The Life of Patriarch Ignatius*, CFHB 51,

According to the explanations Photius presented in his letters of "apology," this happened under exceptional and urgent circumstances with the result that the Byzantines considered themselves justified to depart from canonical practice.[5] As a matter of fact, since the formal end of iconoclasm in 843 the ecclesiastical and to some extent the political life in Constantinople remained in turmoil. Two parties, the "extremists" and the "moderates," were in harsh confrontation, split mainly over the issue of how to treat the numerous cases of those clergymen who had been partisans of the previous iconoclastic policy but under the new conditions had repented and were expecting to retain their offices. The government was basically in liaison with the moderates and decided to distance itself from the incumbent patriarch Ignatius, an extremist, when he raised his voice against the court on issues irrelevant to this study. Many people thought it was time for a new patriarch.[6] Due to the high tension, the electoral body in Constantinople had found it difficult to select one clergyman acceptable to both contradicting parties. Hence, when they ran out of candidates but also out of time because Christmas was approaching, the need to have a patriarch was considered imminent. Therefore they looked for an independent candidate and they found him in the person of Photius, a renowned scholar, who at that time held the rank of *prōtospatharios* and was serving as *protasekretis*, or Chief of the Imperial Chancellery and Chairman of the Senate.[7] Photius was elected by a broad majority from both the rivalling parties.

The validity of Photius's ordination was closely connected with the *causa Ignatii*, the former patriarch, who most probably had formally resigned from office after being accused of an alleged accusation against *kaisar* Bardas,[8] the strong man at the Byzantine court.[9] It was in combination to this issue that Rome welcomed the opportunity to function as a court of appeal on the question of Patriarch Ignatius, whose strong party of supporters was not ready to

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(Washington, DC, 2013), p. 36, 11. Cf. Philip Zymaris, "Tonsure and Cursus Honorum up to the Photius Era and Contemporary Ramifications," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 56 (2011), 321–45, with reasonable questions about the veracity of this information, which however cannot be substantiated.

5   B. Laourdas and L.G. Westerink, eds., *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, *vol. III, Epistularum pars prima* (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana) (Leipzig, 1983), ep. 290, a. 861, pp. 124–38.

6   Cf. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, pp. 1–38.

7   PmbZ, #6253. For historical details on the discussions that led to the election of Photius see Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, pp. 39–47.

8   PmbZ, #791.

9   Francis Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, pp. 39 ff. has clarified beyond any reasonable doubt that Ignatius resigned from his office on free will. Cf. also Stiernon, as in note 3, pp. 27 ff.

accept their leader's resignation and had asked Rome to interfere.[10] I surmise that both these issues about the two Constantinopolitan patriarchs Ignatius and Photius were exploited in the service of what was really in the centre of the quarrel: the papal aspiration of exercising factual jurisdiction over the Church in the East. Thus when an imperial embassy went to Rome with an invitation for a new general council in order to put an end to the iconoclast movement, which was still powerful enough despite the formal decision of 843, Pope Nicholas agreed to send legates to the synod on the condition that the question over the throne of Constantinople should also be addressed in a way acceptable to him.

The very first and crucial act against Photius that Pope Nicholas undertook was to decline acceptance of the new patriarch's election and ordination as canonically valid on the grounds that at the time of his election he was a lay-man and had no experience of pastoral guidance of the faithful. In his letter to Emperor Michael III of the 25th of September 860, one of the most important and influential products of the papal chancery in the Middle Ages, Nicholas declared that Photius's election and ordination was "forbidden according to the catholic order for our holy Roman Church prohibits such an election through the verdict of our predecessors, the teachers of the catholic faith. We follow their rules, because we are persuaded that they should not be violated."[11] As evidence in support for his opinion he cited canon 13 (10) of the synod of Serdica in the year 343.[12] A quotation of the main sentence of canon 13 demonstrates the force of the argument:

> If it happens that either a rich man or a jurist from the forum, or an administrator, shall have been asked for as bishop, he shall not be ordained before he has discharged the function of lector and the office of deacon and the ministry of presbyter, that he may ascend [by these] grades one by one (if he is suitable) to the summit of the episcopate.[13]

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10   PmbZ, #2666. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, pp. 39 ff.

11   MGH Epistolae 6:435, lines 3–5: *Haec itaque catholicus ordo prohibit, et sancta nostra Romana ecclecia talem electionem semper prohibuit per antecessores nostros catholicae fidei doctores, quorum nos tenorem observantes instituta ipsorum esse inviolabilia censemus.*

12   MGH Epistolae 6:435, line 11–436, line 31.

13   *Et hoc necessarium arbitror ut diligentissime tractetis: si forte aut diues, aut scolasticus de foro, aut ex administratore, episcopus postulatus fuerit, non prius ordinetur nisi ante et lectoris munere et officio diaconii et ministerio praesbyterii fuerit perfunctus; ut per singulos grados (si dignus fuerit) ascendat ad culmen episcopatus,* C.H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis Monumenta Iuris Antiquissima* (Oxford, 1899), pp. 490–531. The English translation is taken from Hamphrey Hess, *The Early Development of Canon Law and the Council of Serdica* (Oxford, 2002), p. 221. It is interesting that in the Greek text the reference to the

In addition, however, Nicholas made reference to several *decretalia* of his predecessors Caelestinus (JK 371), Leo (JK 411), Gelasius (JK 636). Further he added a letter of Pope Hadrianus I (JK 2448), with a hint against the rapid ordination of Tarasius of Constantinople. Nicholas thought that his argument was sound, even though Hadrianus had cooperated with Byzantium in regard to the Seventh Ecumenical Council despite his verbal criticism for the election of Patriarch Tarasius.[14]

This categorical refusal of Photius's ordination is however modified in the very next sentence where it is stated that the final decision will depend on the assessment of the papal legates who would investigate the facts in Constantinople and submit their report in Rome.[15] Towards the end of the letter Nicholas raises in addition a question that was not connected with the issue at stake but was of great importance for Rome.[16]

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group of candidates to the episcopacy mentioned in the Latin text as *aut ex administratore*, is missing. The fact that this reference exists in the so-called Theodosian version of the synod (dated in the 5th century) with the variant *de publico*, leads Hamphrey Hess to the conclusion that it existed in the Greek text too, but was left out at a later date (p. 157, n. 490). When this may have happened is open to discussion. My hypothetical suggestion is that the most appropriate time for the elimination was during Valentinian's and Valens's emperorship. In the time during the wave of mass Christianization that followed Julian's death pagan aristocrats in the provinces were keen in exchanging their local political and social privileges with leading positions in the Church. Anyway, in the discussion on this canon at the Council of 879–80, preserved in the Greek original, there is no trace of this phrase: Mansi XVII: 456 ff.

14   *Quia ex laicorum ordine et imperialibus obsequiis deputatus repente in patriarchatus culmen electus et apocaligus contra sanctorum canonum censuram factus est patriarcha*, Erich Lamberz, ed., *Concilium universale Nicaenum secundum*, (Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum) ser. II, vol. III, pars I (Berlin, 2008), p. 169, 4–6. This part of Hadrianus's letter is missing in the Greek version of the acts of the Council. It is revealing that Nicholas I raised a similar accusation on the way his letter to Emperor Michael III was treated at the synod of 861. Presumably the synod left out deliberately the passage concerning the pope's petition to regain control of the patrimony in Sicily and jurisdiction in Illyricum, MGH Epistolae 6:446, lines 8–15.

15   MGH Epistolae 6:436, 22–3: *His ita paulisper praelibatis in supradicti viri consecratione consensum apostolatus nostril praebare non possumus*. With the use of the word *plaulisper* in this sentence it is obvious that the rejection assumed a rather provisional character despite the fact that the deficiency in the canonical validity of Photius's ordination was a fact and could not change. Later Nicholas returned to this conditional rejection in a letter to Photius when he announced that "should his legates' findings in Constantinople be favorable, he will embrace the Patriarch of so eminent a city in brotherly love," MGH *Epistolae* 6:440, lines 17–21. Cf. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism,* p. 76.

16   It is the jurisdictional claim over Illyricum and the patrimony of Sicily, on which I shall deal elsewhere.

In his letter to Photius Nicholas praised him for his erudition and his correct catholic faith, as he had professed it in his synodical letter.[17] None the less the pope addressed Photius merely as *prudentia vestra,* which means without any ecclesiastical title, a clear indication that he refused to recognize the patriarch's episcopal election. With clear words Nicholas expressed his sorrow that Photius's election did not follow the correct order of step by step promotion that would help him familiarize himself with the correct attitude as a pastor; furthermore he repeated the reference to the synod of Serdica and to the *instituta* preserved under the names by the popes Caelestinus, Leo I and Gelasius that prohibited such ordinations. "For this reason," he concludes,

> we are at this time not in the position to agree with your elevation. We shall have to wait the return of our legates from Constantinople. With their help we shall assess your conduct and your care for the wellbeing of the Church and your ardour for the protection of the catholic faith. Only after this investigation can we honour you properly as bishop of such a great Church and will embrace you in brotherly love.[18]

Francis Dvornik has evaluated this letter as "firm in its tenor, but friendly in tone."[19] In my opinion it is actually a very provocative letter, based on subjective presumptions that were certainly not shared by his addressees. For this was actually the first time that a pope on the one hand praised one of his colleagues as orthodox (*vos catholicum … cognovimus*), and on the other demanded a judicial investigation because he raised suspicion over his personal (scil. moral) conduct (*vestrae observationis actus*), his constant care for the benefit of the Church (*ecclesiasticae utiltatis constantiam*) and his ardour for the defence of the catholic (!) faith (*quo studio circa catholicae fidei defensionem exerceatis*). In other words, Nicholas had the boldness to call a patriarchal colleague to judicial account although he acknowledged that the nature and

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17   Ep. 83, [dated on the 24th of September 860] MGH Epistolae 6:444. The editor Perels gives the wrong date of 18 March 862 and this has irritated some scholars. Cf. *Regesta Imperii Online*, http://www.regesta-imperii.de/id/d0640929-7cad-47bc-8c7e-4f51b171c9f6 (accessed 28 December 2016).

18   MGH Epistolae 6:440, lines 17–21: *Quapropter vestrae consecrationi consentire modo non possumus, donec nostri, qui a nobis Constantinopolim sunt directi, revertantur, qualiter per eos cognoscamus vestrae observationis actus et ecclesiasticae utilitatis constantiam et quo studio circa catholicae fidei defensionem exerceatis. Et tunc si dignum fuerit, ut tantae sedis praesulem, ceu convenit, honorabimus et fraterna dilectione amplectemur.*

19   Dvornik, *The Photian Schism,* p. 76.

the seriousness of his election's misdemeanour was the *subito* election to the episcopal grade.[20]

This never-heard-of attitude reveals that for Rome what was at stake was not Photius's ordination and it was the pope's determination to exercise *jurisdictio* over the Church of Constantinople.[21] As a matter of fact Nicholas uncovered his intention with the opening sentence of his letter to Emperor Michael:

> Principatum divinae potestatis, quem omnium conditor electis suis apostolis largitus est, super solidam fidem apostolorum principis, Petri videlicet, soliditatem constituens, eius egregiam, immo primam sedem deliberavit.[22]

In the same mood he asserts: *qualiter absque Romanae sedis Romanique pontificis consensu nullius insurgentis deliberationis terminus daretur.*[23] Basically this means that no *causa* may be judged without the consent of the bishop of Rome!

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20 Nicholas's arrogance was not restricted in his relations with the East. His attitude towards the archbishops and bishops in the West was not dissimilar and created remarkable animosity. Gunther of Cologne, a victim of Nicholas's arbitrariness, wrote in a letter about him "the lord Nicholas, who is called pope and who numbers himself as an apostle amongst the apostles, and who is making himself emperor of the whole world," Georg Waitz, ed., *Annales Bertiniani*, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum (Hannover, 1883), Annales Bertiniani auctore Hincmaro a. 864, p. 68: *domnus Nicolaus, qui dicitur papa et qui se apostolum inter apostolos adnumerat totiusque mundi imperatorem se facit*. On the other hand Regino of Prüm reflected the impression that Nicholas I had left by saying that "he commanded kings and tyrants and surpassed them in authority as if he were the lord of the world" (*regibus ac tyrannis imperavit, eisque ac si dominus orbis terrarium auctoritate prefuit*), Friedrich Kurze, ed., *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon cum continuatione Treverensi*, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum (Hannover, 1890), Reginonis Chronicon a. 868, p. 94.

21 Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, pp. 89–90, mentions as precedents of such an attitude two cases of papal interference in Constantinople, those of Hormisdas and Agapetus, popes of the 6th century. But these two cases were too dissimilar to count as precedents. Cf. Hagit Amirav and Evangelos Chrysos, "The Christian Commonwealth in anti-heretical Texts: The Case of the Emperor Justinian," p. 26 sq.

22 MGH Epistolae 6:433, lines 17–9. In the translation of Carol Jane Bishop, "Pope Nicholas I and the first age of papal independence." PhD diss. (Columbia University, 1980), p. 77: "The government of divine power, which the founder of all bestowed on his chosen apostles, [was] set up on the solid faith of the steadfastness of the *princeps* of the apostles, namely Peter, and his see was made the outstanding, or rather the first." He then quotes "*Tu es Petrus…*" and goes on for several more sentences to explain that it was this foundation which kept the church unharmed and that therefore no deliberation should be completed without consulting Rome.

23 MHG Epistolae 6:434, 4–5 with note 1.

As early as 1881 Carl Herrmann Föste has shown that this innovatory attitude relies on the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, the famous forgeries that were fabricated in the 9th century.[24] The research on the provenance, the sources and the transmission of this collection and of course the intentions of the compiler(s) have been subject to continuous research scrutiny for a long time.[25] In the context of this investigation it suffices to say that Pope Nicholas I was the first to

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24   C.H. Föste, *Die Rezeption Pseudo-Isidors unter Nicolaus I. und Hadrian II* (Leipzig, 1881), p. 6. It is worth noting that the letters of Caelestinus (JK 371), Leo (JK 411) and Gelasius (JK 636), invoked by Nicholas, although they belong to the genuine production of the papal chancery, presumably derive from the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. Cf. Paulus Hinschius, ed., *Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Aalen, 1963, 1st ed. Leipzig, 1863), pp. 561, 619 and 651 resp.

25   On the forgery see the classic three volume monograph of Horst Fuhrmann, *Einfluß und Verbreitung der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, Schriften der Monumenta Germaniae Historica 24 (Münich, 1972–73). See further the same author's contribution in the volume Detlev Jasper and Horst Fuhrmann, eds., *Papal Letters in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2001). Quite a breakthrough in the effort to identify the place of origin of the forgery in K. Zechiel-Eckes, "Auf Pseudoisidors Spur. Oder Versuch, eines dichten Schleier zu lüften," in *Fortschritt durch Fälschungen? Ursprung, Gestalt und Wirkungen der pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, W. Hartmann and G. Schmids, eds., MGH Studien und Texte 3 (Hannover, 2002), pp. 1–28. See also Johannes Fried, *Donation of Constantine and Constitutum Constantini* (Berlin, 2007). On Nicholas's acquaintance and use of the decretals see Johannes Haller, *Nikolaus I. und Pseudo-Isidor* (Stuttgart, 1936). Most recent is Clara Harder's monograph *Pseudoisidor und das Papsttum. Funktion und Bedeutung des apostolischen Stuhls in den pseudoisidorischen Fälschungen*, (Papsttum im mittelalterlichen Europa) 2 (Cologne, 2014) and her article on "Der Papst als Mittel zum Zweck? Zur Bedeutung des römischen Bischofs bei Pseudoisidor," in *Fälschung als Mittel der Politik? Pseudoisidor im Licht der neuen Forschung. Gedenkschrift für Klaus Zechiel-Eckes*, Karl Ubl and Daniel Ziemann, eds., MGH Studien und Texte 57 (Wiesbaden, 2015), pp. 187–206, at p. 175: "Alle Fälschungen erweitern die apostolischen Befugnisse erheblich. Die jurisdiktionellen Kompetenzen Roms werden ausgebaut. Der Papst wird als unanfechtbares Oberhaupt einer streng hierarchisch organisierten Kirche installiert. Episkopat, Synoden und weltliche Machthaber werden seiner Autorität in kirchlichen Angelegenheiten bedingungslos unterstellt." In one of the forged decretals, an alleged letter of Pope Gaius, which Nicholas avoids to mention, the issue of the ordinations is decreed: *Ut ad ordines ecclesiasticos sic accedant in ecclecia qui ordinari merentur, id est: si quis episcopus esse mereretur sit prime hostiarius, deinde lector, praeterea exorcista, inde sacretur accolitus, demum vero subdiaconus, deinde diaconus et postea presbiter, et exinde, si meretur episcopus ordinetur*, "Decreta Gai. papae," ch. VII, Hinschius, *Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae*, p. 218. Cf. Theodorus Mommsen, ed., *Liber pontificalis*, MGH, Gesta pontificum Romanorum (Berlin, 1898), p. 39. In a study in progress I try to attest the impact of the Pseudo-Isidorian forgeries on Nicholas's boastful claim to function as the supreme jurisdictional authority over the Eastern Church. Evangelos Chrysos, "New Perceptions of Imperium and Sacerdotium in the Letters of Pope Nicholas I to Emperor Michael III: Constantinople réelle et imaginaire autour de l'oeuvre de Gilbert Dagron," *Travaux et mémoires* 22/1, Paris 2018, pp. 313–339.

shape or at least to adjust his policy in accordance to the basic ends of the collection and in the spirit of the atmosphere created by those forgeries.

The recognition of Photius was of course, as we have seen, only one side
of the issue at stake. The other was the conditions of Ignatius's removal from
the throne. Followers of Patriarch Ignatius had reached Rome with charges
that their master was actually forced to resign. Hence, raising doubts about
the validity of Photius's ordination on formal grounds allowed the pope, so he
thought, to interfere as a court of appellation in the *causa Ignatii*. In addition
a deliberation and transaction by a general council was still needed to put a
formal end to the icons issue, because the decision of the council of 843 was
actually not implemented yet. Therefore it was agreed that two Roman clergymen would be commissioned to Constantinople to participate at a synod as
papal legates.

This synod, the so-called *Protodeutera,* met in the spring of 861 at the Church
of the Apostles and decided, with the agreement of the Roman legates, against
the re-instalment of Ignatius. To the canons on practical matters that were additionally promulgated on the occasion of this synod, Photius took care to include a canon that would prohibit for the future the ἀθρόον ordinations from
deacon to bishop. The canon reads as follows:

> Since we have been occupied with matters of ecclesiastical good order
> [εὐταξία], it was thought to be of advantage to decree also this, that ...
> henceforth none of the laymen or monks shall be allowed to ascend to
> the height of the episcopacy precipitately [ἀθρόον], but, on the contrary,
> by being duly examined with reference to the various ecclesiastical de
> grees or grades, let them thus attain to ordination to the episcopacy. For
> even if hitherto and up to now some laymen and some monks have been
> enabled to attain to the honour of the episcopate immediately and with
> out further ado, and they have distinguished themselves for virtuousness
> and have exalted their churches, yet the fact is that what is of rare occur
> rence cannot be made a law of the Church; we therefore decree that this
> shall no longer be done hereafter and henceforth, but that the person
> to be ordained must pass through the priestly degrees in a reasonable
> manner by fulfilling the required length of service of each order before
> proceeding to the next higher rank.[26]

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26   "Ἐν πᾶσι τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εὐταξίας φροντίζοντες, καὶ τοῦτο ὁρίσαι ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέμεθα. Ὥστε
      τοῦ λοιποῦ μηδένα τῶν λαϊκῶν ἢ μοναχῶν ἀθρόον εἰς τὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ὕψος ἀνάγεσθαι, ἀλλ᾽
      ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς βαθμοῖς ἐξεταζόμενον πρότερον, οὕτω τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τὴν χειροτονίαν
      ὑποδέχεσθαι. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀπὸ τῶν λαϊκῶν ἢ μοναχῶν τινες, ἀπαιτούσης χρείας,

Under these new circumstances Photius thought it was time to write to the pope a detailed response to his letter of September 860. The letter represents a model for high Byzantine epistolography art and is a monument of Photius's oratorical skill and eloquence.

Photius admits that he had climbed to the height of the episcopal rank directly from the status of a layman but he questions the accusation of having himself violated Church canons: "Which are the canons that were transgressed, those ones which until today the Church of Constantinople has never received? A transgression has occurred only when the canons are received. But there is no crime of transgression when rules have not been received."[27]

Joseph Hergenröther accused Photius of lying at this point because he ought to be aware of the fact that the canons of the synod of Serdica had been received in the East (at the council of Trullo).[28] There is no doubt that in the East the canons of the synod of Serdica were known and registered in Canon Collections, but they were "disliked."[29] It is also true that Rome had a special reason to hail those canons, because of the canons 3–5 that decreed the right

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παραυτίκα τιμῆς ἄξιοι γεγόνασιν ἐπισκοπικῆς, ἀρετῇ τε διαπρέψαντες καὶ τὰς κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκκλησίας ὑψώσαντες, ἀλλὰ τό γε σπάνιον οὐδαμοῦ νόμον τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τιθέμενοι, ὁρίζομεν τοῦ λοιποῦ μηκέτι τοῦτο γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ κατὰ λόγον ὁ χειροτονούμενος διὰ τῶν ἱερατικῶν προέλθοι βαθμῶν, ἐν ἑκάστῳ τάγματι τὸν νενομισμένον χρόνον ἀποπληρῶν.": G.A. Rhalles and M. Potles, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφήμων Ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν Συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων Πατέρων* (Athens, 1852), vol. II, pp. 701 ff. See the English translation in: http://www.holytrinitymission.org/books/english/councils_local_rudder.htm#_Toc72635076:, accessed July 23, 2018.

27   "Ποῖοι δὲ καὶ κανόνες ὧν ἡ παράβασις, οὓς μέχρι καὶ τήμερον ἡ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐκκλησία οὐ παρείληφεν; ἐκείνων λέγεται παράβασις, ὧν ἡ φυλακὴ παραδέδοται· ἃ δὲ μὴ παραδέδοται, οὐδὲ μὴ φυλασσόμενα παραβάσεως φέρει ἔγκλημα.": B. Laourdas and L.G. Westerink, eds., *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vol. III Epistularum pars prima, Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana, ep. 290, a. 861, p. 128, l. 128–31.

28   Hergenröther, *Photius*, vol. I, pp. 444–45: "Hier macht sich Photius einer offenbaren Lüge schuldig." To this severe judgment Dvornik, p. 92, responded with an explanation that reveals his interest in defending Photius: "Photius was justified in saying that the Church of Constantinople had not accepted the Pope's decretals quoted by Nicholas' letter to Michael, and as to the canons of Sardica Photius never pretended that his Church did not know them. All he implied was the tenth canon (…) had not been carried into practice by the Church of Constantinople." Stiernon (as note 3), p. 296, n. 7, agrees with this opinion: « Die entsprechenden Kanones von Sardica waren von der Kirche von Byzanz zwar anerkannt, aber nicht praktiziert worden ». However, as we shall see, ignorance is one thing, habitual negligence is another.

29   B.H. Stolte, "A Note on the un-Photian Revision of the Nomocanon XIV Titulorum," in *Analecta Atheniensia ad ius Byzantinum spectantia*, I, Sp. Troianos, ed., Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte. Athener Reihe, 10 (Athens, 1997), pp. 115–30, at pp. 124 ff.

of appellation to the bishop of Rome and therefore in the Roman tradition these canons were often accounted to those of the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea. In other words, the synod of Serdica was regarded in the East as a local synod, while in Rome it had gained much more value.

This discussion of the canons cited by Nicholas and commented on by Photius curiously leaves completely unnoticed the Byzantine state legislation that was also against the *subito* ordination.[30] Thus very close to the reasoning of canon 10 of the synod of Serdica Justinian's Novel 123 [a. 546] stipulates that for the election of bishop there should be selected three candidates, but

> none of the three candidates is a decurion or other official, or if one of them is liable to obligations of this kind, he has assumed the monastic habit and been the inmate of a monastery for not less than fifteen years (sed neque curialem aut officialem hunc esse cognoscunt, aut si curiali vel officiali subiacet fortunae, sciunt eum in monasterio non minus quindecim annis monachicam conversationem implesse).[31]

Further on the Novel specifies that

> if any one of the laity, other than a decurion or other official, is considered to be worthy of the above-mentioned choice, he shall be elected along with two other members of the priesthood, or monastic order, and where a layman is raised to the episcopate in this way, he shall not immediately be consecrated a bishop; but, in the first place, he shall be enrolled among the clergy for not less than three months, and instructed in its sacred canons, and the daily service of the Church, and then he may be consecrated bishop, for he whose duty it is to instruct others should not be taught by them after his consecration.[32]

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30   Apparently both ecclesiastical parties were aware of the political legislation and its validity at the time of the controversy. It is obvious that when the *Nomocanon of the XIV Titles* was (re)composed as well as the time of the promulgation of the *Eisagoge* the Novels 6, 123 and 137 were taken into account. Cf. Stolte (as n. 29), p. 119.

31   "ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βουλευτὴν ἢ ταξεώτην τοῦτον εἶναι γινώσκουσιν, ἢ εἴπερ βουλευτικῇ ἢ ταξεωτικῇ ὑπέκειτο τύχῃ, ἴσασιν αὐτὸν ἐν μοναστηρίῳ οὐχ ἧττον δεκαπέντε ἐνιαυτῶν μοναχικὸν βίον ἐκτελέσαντα.": R. Schoell and G. Kroll, eds., *Iustiniani Novellae*, Corpus Iuris Civilis, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1895), p. 594, 18–22.

32   http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr/Corpus/Nov123.htm.

In his Novel 137 [a. 565] Justinian returned to this issue and repeated that "neither of the three candidates (should be) charged with the duties of any public office, that none of them is a decurion, a taxeota, or a cohortal, or, if he is, he has, in the capacity of a monk, passed fifteen years in a monastery."[33] The so-called "Nomokanon of the 14 titles" relies on these very prescriptions and thus validates the rule for the 7th century and later that it is prohibited to ordain a bishop directly from the laymen because the canons prescribe that he must become a clergyman first and stay in that grade while studying the Bible and the canons.[34] Closer to our protagonists is the *Eisagoge*, which is dated in 886 or some years later. Here we find again Justinian's regulation. However, the three months delay of the ordination of laymen, here called "seculars" (κοσμικοί) is explained clearly on the practical need for their instruction in the canons and the (performance of) liturgy and on this basis allows for exceptions if the bishop elect is already familiar with the episcopal duties.[35] This condition would certainly apply to Photius. He was in full control of the required theological knowledge and canonical wisdom and was therefore not in need for instructions.

With the arrogance of someone who is convinced by his argument, Photius proceeded in referring to the famous precedents on the throne of new Rome. He writes that actually what he had mentioned would suffice as a defence of his case. But there was a danger that with the accusation against him, his holy and blessed predecessors would be slandered and he continues to mention Nicephorus and Tarasius, who became bishops directly from laity and who had excelled in piety and in preaching the truth and guardians of the canons.[36]

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33   http://droitromain.upmf-grenoble.fr/Anglica/N137_Scott.htm.

34   "Ἡ β΄ διάταξις τοῦ ά τίτ. τῶν νεαρῶν οὐ συγχωρεῖ ἀπὸ λαϊκῶν εὐθέως ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ πρότερον κληρικὸν γίνεσθαι καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας τὰς γραφὰς διδασκόμενον καὶ τοὺς κανόνας."

35   Eisagoge (Epanagoge) VIII 4: "Εἰ μέντοιγε ἤδη διδακτικός ἐστι καὶ ἐν τῷ λαϊκῷ ἀριθμούμενος τάγματι καὶ μηδὲν ἐλλείπων ὅσα γε εἰς ἑτέρων ὠφέλειαν καὶ καταρτισμόν, ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ παρατηρεῖσθαι χρόνον ἡ πεῖρα παρέσχεν ἀκίνδυνον": Karl Eduard Zachariae von Lingenthal, ed., *Collectio librorum juris graeco-romani ineditorum. Ecloga Leonis et Constantini, Epanagoge Basilii Leonis et Alexandri* (Leipzig, 1852), p. 78.

36   Photius in his "apology" declares in a rhetorically elegant way that he felt obliged to mention and explain the precedents in order to defend the memory of his famous predecessors from the false accusation: "Καὶ ἤρκει μέν, ὡς εἴρηται, τὰ ῥηθέντα. ἐπεὶ δὲ δι᾽ ἡμᾶς σὺν ἡμῖν καὶ οἱ πρὸ ἡμῶν, ἅγιοι καὶ μακάριοι πατέρες συνδιαβεβλῆσθαι κινδυνεύουσιν, ὡς Νικηφόρος καὶ Ταράσιος…τὰ λείποντα τῷ λόγῳ προσθεῖναι χρεὼν ἡγησάμην," ep. 290, 154 f.

Photius's election ἀθρόον was by far not an isolated case in Byzantium.[37] The patriarchs Paul III[38] in 687, Tarasius[39] in 784, and Nicephorus[40] in 806,[41] were all laymen at the time of their election, and were all consecrated ἀθρόον. It is illuminating for the balance of power behind the scene and the considerations of the electorate that all these patriarchs had, like Photius, held the highest position of *protasecretis* and the esteemed dignity of *prōtospatharios*. Dvornik regarded this fact as a "curious coincidence."[42] In my opinion it is not so curious and it was not a coincidence, because usually this position was taken by a personality respected for his high standard of education and literacy, enjoyed great authority and the court's respect and therefore someone with these qualifications was an ideal candidate for the patriarchal throne too.[43] For this reason the reference to the canon 13(10) of the synod of Serdica to "some rich man or professional advocate or ex-official," which had been crucial for the 4th century, was quite irrelevant in the 9th century.[44]

In his letter to Pope Nicholas Photius referred further to the important precedent cases of his predecessors who were ordained precipitately, especially to Paul, Tarasius and Nicephorus, because they all had been in communion with the incumbent popes of their times.[45] Photius continued his argumentation in

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37 Philip Zymaris, "*Athroon* Ordinations in the Tradition of the Church," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 53 (2008), 31–50.

38 PmbZ #5768.

39 PmbZ #7235.

40 PmbZ #5301.

41 Possibly also Theodotos Kassitaras (815–21), who is not listed by Photius because he supported the iconoclast party. Cf. Andreas Gkoutzioukostas, "Η εξέλιξη του θεσμού των ἀσηκρῆτις και του πρωτοασηκρῆτις στο πλαίσιο της αυτοκρατορικής γραμματείας," *Byzantina* 23 (2002–03), 47–93. Further cases of *subito* ordinations in East and West are discussed in Philip Zymaris's unpublished PhD dissertation in modern Greek on the historical, dogmatic and canonical significance of the Council of Constantinople (879–80): "Η ιστορική, δογματική και κανονική σπουδαιότης της συνόδου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (879–80)." [The Historical, Dogmatic and Canonical Significance of the Constantinopolitan Synod of 879–80] (Thessaloniki, 2000), http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/ 13495#page/1/mode/2up, p. 147 f.

42 Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, p. 50.

43 In his letter of apology to Nicholas Photius described what he lost by giving up his high position and with it the luxury of a peaceful life with time for his studies: "ἐξέπεσον γαλήνης γλυκείας, ἐξέπεσον τῆς φίλης ἡσυχίας," ep. 290, 49.

44 The reference to this canon was however very suitable for Nicholas's argumentation, because it was a canon of the synod of Serdica that was highly estimated in Rome for its canons 3–5 that prescribed the appellation to Rome of bishops that were condemned at local synods. As H. Hess, (as n. 13), p. 180 has stated "the historical importance of the council of Serdica for the churches of the West is pre-eminently centered in its appeal canons."

45 See above n. 36.

order to minimize the importance of what he considered as a misdemeanour by referring to some ritual practices that had been unknown and remained alien to others. With the exception of matters of faith and the canons promulgated by the Ecumenical Councils, failing to observe other regulations of local validity should not be regarded as precarious.

Then Photius moves further to mention some famous examples of bishops in the West with similar advance to episcopal ordination, as for instance St Ambrose of Milan, who was elevated to the throne of Milan under quite similar conditions.[46] As a matter of fact one would expect him to dwell longer on the case of Milan, because of the obvious similarities to his case: Ambrose was born in an aristocratic family and his father had served as *praefectus praetorio*. He enjoyed excellent studies in Rome and, as expected, had entered public administration. He was serving as governor (*consularis*) of the province Aemilia et Liguria when in 374 the Arian bishop of Milan Auxentius died. In Rufinus's narrative Ambrose went into a church as the governor to take care of order, because the two parties, of Arians and orthodox, were in a high dispute over the person to be elected as the new bishop, and "while he pleaded with the many gathered there for peace and calmness according to the law and public decorum there arose suddenly among the warring factions of people themselves a single shout and cry, 'Ambrose for bishop.'"[47] But Ambrose was still a catechumen; it means he was not baptized yet. In one week he received baptism and the three ordinations for deacon, presbyter and bishop. Canon 13 (10) of the synod of Serdica, that was convoked only thirty years earlier, did not hinder the *vox populi* to be implemented. Photius hailed Ambrose. He praised him as "Λατινίδος ὑπάρχων καλλώπισμα καὶ Λατίνων γλώσσῃ πολλὰ καὶ ψυχωφελῆ συγγραψάμενος."[48] For Photius's apologetic argumentation Ambrose was an excellent example from the West. In addition he referred to a quite similar case from the East, the case of Nectarius of Constantinople, whose election and ordination was approved, as Photius cared to highlight, by the Second Ecumenical Council of 381.[49]

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46 "(…) οἳ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν τάξιν τε καὶ ἀκολουθίαν τὰς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προστασίας ἀναδεξάμενοι, παντὸς ψόγου καὶ διαβολῆς ἁπάσης κρείττους ἐγένοντο," ep. 290, 314–15.

47 Rufinus, *Historia ecclesiastica* ii, 11. Cf. Daniel H. Williams, *Ambrose of Milan and the End of the Arian-Nicene Conflicts* (Oxford Early Christian Studies) (Oxford, 2002), pp. 112–16.

48 Ep. 290, 302–03.

49 "…οὐδὲ μὴν Νεκτάριος ὑπὸ μῶμον πεσεῖται, σύνοδον γὰρ ἔσχεν οἰκουμενικὴν κυροῦσαν αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς τὸ ἀξίωμα," ep. 290, 304–05. Nectarius was the *praetor urbanus* of Constantinople during the Second Ecumenical Council of 381. After the resignation of the bishop of the city Gregory Nazianzus, Nectarius was nominated by Emperor Theodosius and elected unanimously by the members of the Council and approved by Emperor Theodosius

Photius considered it useful to raise some general doubt about the validity of the prohibitions of the Canon Law that Nicholas had referred to. Unexpectedly, his argument was that several canons considered valid in the West were not known or officially implemented in the East and one should not expect that the East should follow regulations established in the West without their validity to be acknowledged in the East. Apparently his intention was to present the variety of customs that were developed in East and West as being of relative value, not important enough to raise disputes. Photius's whole argumentation in his "apology" was dominated by a plea for mildness and understanding. In this sense he alludes to canon 16 of the synod of the previous year that was promulgated in order to redeem the practice followed until then and prohibit for the future the ἀθρόον ordinations from deacon to bishop.[50] Thus Photius admits that he was responsible for phrasing the canon and that the initiative for submitting it aimed at the impression that he recognized that there was indeed a canonical misdemeanour at his own election. He admitted (or pretended to accept) that even if it was not a serious violation of the canons, his election raised doubts in matters of good order (εὐταξία).

If Photius was hoping to convince the pope he soon had to realize that he had failed to do so. In a letter to the Emperor Michael, dated on 18 March 862, Nicholas announced that he had disagreed with the decisions of the synod in 861 in the case of Ignatius, although they were taken with the agreement of his official legates, and that he had reached his own judgement. For this reason he felt impelled to persist in his decision against Photius who was elevated to bishop in an uncanonical way.[51] Similarly as with other letters that he sent in the same day to eastern addressees and also in a letter to Photius, whom he addressed merely as layman (*prudentissimo viro Photio*) Nicholas insisted in his judgment in the same tone.[52]

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to succeed him. Nectarius was ἀμύητος and had received baptism before rushing through the clerical grades: Sozomenus, *Historia ecclesiastica* VII, 7–8. Photius copied praises of Nectarius in his *Bibliotheca*, cod. 257. Photius mentions additionally the cases of Gregory of Nazianzus and Thalassius of Caesarea, who were elevated in a similar order (κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν τάξιν τε καὶ ἀκολουθίαν): ep. 290, 312–16.

50 "Διὸ τὸ μὲν οὐ προσηκάμεθα, ἀλλ' ἀπεδοκιμάσαμεν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀποδοκιμάζειν συνεβουλεύσαμέν τε καὶ συμβουλεύσομεν· τὸ δὲ καὶ προσῳκειωσάμεθα καὶ συνοδικῶς διεπραξάμεθα," ep. 290, 335–38.

51 MGH Epistolae 6:444, lines 7–10: *Photium autem novimus per nullos ecclesiasticos gradus ascendentem, sed tantummodo ex laicali militia episcopum pertinaciter ordinatum. Quamobrem necessario in sententia nostra, qua stetimus, persistimus.*

52 MGH *Epistolae* 6:448, lines 8–10: *Quia ex laicali ordine sine canonica approbatione ad patriarchatus dignitatem subito transcendere contra partum promulgationes non recusastis.*

Nicholas never changed his mind. The animosity rose to new heights and the phraseology became progressively rude. Photius was decorated with more contemptuous adjectives. He was given the epithets of rapacious and wicked (*rapax et scelestus*), even *scelestissimus*, and was qualified as *invasor, pervasor* or *prevaricator* and adulterer (*moecus*) because he had captured the throne of someone else! The question on the validity of Photius's ordination remained open for almost two decades, because the "schism" continued through two Synods in Rome (in 863 and 869), and four synods in Constantinople (in 861, 867, 869–70, and in 879–80: the acclaimed Eighth Ecumenical Council).

At the council of 869 in Constantinople against Photius, whose acts are preserved in the Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Photius remains the black sheep par excellence. In his preface Anastasius writes about the patriarch as *prohibentibus sacris kanonibus et venerandis legibus neminem ex laicali militia subito ad sacerdotium promoveri.*[53] In the acts of this council, action VII, we find sentences such as the following:

> ex saeculari administratione atque militia et ex foro subito tonsoratus (actio VII 540); Photius neophytus et Constantinopolitanae sedis invasor (623); neophyto et moecho et Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae invasori Photio olim iusteque damnato ac nihilominus praesentia synodali nuper eliso vel fautoribus eius, nisi a praevaricatione cessaverint, communionis nunquam praebituram esse consensum (VII 718–21 sq.); Photius forensis et curialis et pervasor Constantinopolitanae ecclesiae (VII 1733); Photio curiali et invasori anathema! Photio saeculari et forensi anathema! Photio neophyto et tyranno anathema! Photio schismatico et damnato anathema! Photio moecho et parricidae anathema! Fabricatori mendaciorum anathema! Inventori perversorum dogmatum anathema! Photio novo Maximo Cynico anathema! Novo Dioscoro anathema! Novo Iudae anathema! (VII 1811–15)

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53   Claudius Leonardi and Antonius Placanica, eds., *Gesta sanctae ac universalis octavae synodi quae Constantinopli congregate est, Anastasio bibliothecario interprete*, Edizione Mazionale der Testi Mediolatini d'Italia, 27. Ser. I, 16 (Florence, 2012), p. 9, lines 79–81. On the role of Anastasius Bibliothecarius behind the screen see E. Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius Bibliothecarius. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Papsttums in neunten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1920); C. Leonardi, "Anastasio Bibliotecario e l'ottavo concilio ecumenico," *Studi medievali*, ser. III, 8 (1967), 59–192; Bronwen Neil, *Seventh-Century Popes and Martyrs: The Political Hagiography of Anastasius Bibliothecarius* (Turnhout, 2006), and Réka Forrai, "The Interpreter of the Popes. The translation project of Anastasius Bibliothecarius." PhD diss. (Central European University Budapest, 2008), https://southerndenmark. academia.edu/RekaForrai>.

Finally we find in the *terminus* of the council the final verdict: *Photio invasori et adultero Constantinopolitanorum ecclesiae, anathema!* (x 1061). Even at the "Council of Union" that met ten years later and validated Photius as patriarch with the consent of the incumbent Pope John VIII his *subito* ordination remained an issue that needed explanation and justification. In his letters to Emperor Basil and to Photius as well as to the clergy of Constantinople John went into this I question at length before expressing his recognition of Photius as canonical patriarch and he considered it necessary to repeat for the future the prohibition of ordinations of laymen to the episcopal grade.[54]

When the papal letters were read during the third session of the council the Roman legates insisted in hearing the council members expressing formally their (positive) opinion about them and the participants responded positively. When, however, Peter, one of the papal legates, insisted in hearing the reaction of the Easterners in a more concrete form, two high ranking Byzantine bishops, Procopius, metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia and Zacharias, metropolitan of Chalcedon, decided to comment on the pope's critical statements and raise considerable doubts against them. Procopius argued that canon 10 (13) of the synod of Serdica was irrelevant because it referred to those coming from the city market, as being either wealthy merchants or lawyers, a trend that, as he said, the Church always knew how to stop. Furthermore the synod of Serdica, he maintained, was a local, not an ecumenical council, and decided on matters relevant to local realities. In quite a categorical tone Procopius refused to apologize for any wrongdoings and concluded that the variations on less important matters were not important.[55] Then Zacharias of Chalcedon took the floor and said

> the (tenth) canon defines very clearly the reasoning through which it forbade the ascendance of laymen to the episcopal throne, and does not prohibit the ordination of those who demonstrate their personal virtues and have proved their correct behaviour.

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54   For this "Council of Union" and the complicated questions concerning its acts see the monograph of Johan Meijer, *A successful council of union. A theological analysis of the Photian synod of 879–80* (Thessaloniki, 1975). The texts mentioned above are edited in two columns representing the "Constantinopolitan version" and the "Roman version," in an appendix on pp. 215–59; cf. Philip Zymaris, (as in n. 41), pp. 119–20, http://thesis.ekt.gr/thesisBookReader/id/13495#page/1/mode/2up.

55   Mansi XVII: 456 D/E.

Then he continues on to mention the well-known precedents, such as the ordination of Nectarios of Constantinople, who was even newly baptized [νεοφώτιστος], Ambrose of Milan and several other cases that were not mentioned in Photius's letter, such as Ephraemius of Antioch, Eusebius of Caesarea "and many others whom we cannot mention because they are too many" and he added immediately: "All those bishops are highly esteemed in the Roman Church." Lastly Zacharias threw his heaviest stone into the council hall, which was the Saint Sophia cathedral: "Let me say also this: even in the Roman Church are many who were positioned on episcopal thrones coming directly from the laity, whose names your holiness knows better than we do."[56] Apparently the Byzantine bishops had done their homework over the long years of the dispute and had discovered many precedents in the history of the Church of Rome!

As it appears in the issue discussed in this article, the Canon Law was a product and the expression of a long and sanctified experience. However, it was not powerful enough to offer solutions in case of a crisis, when suspicion and confrontation were the ruling forces. It was however a tool in the hands of capable ecclesiastical leaders.

For the twenty years of the confrontation, between 860 and 880, we have record of thirty – thirty! – embassies going to or from Rome to Constantinople. Fifteen of them were joint embassies of the Byzantine emperor and the ecumenical patriarch, three went to the Frankish King Louis the German, one to Emperor Louis II in Italy. At least eleven papal embassies went from Rome to Constantinople. Among the papal ambassadors were two, Marinus and Formosus, who later became popes themselves. We should keep in mind that the embassies usually included several persons. For instance: the first embassy to Rome in 860 with the mission to persuade Pope Nicholas to recognize Photius, was composed by an imperial officer, *protospatharios* Arsaber, and four metropolitans, those of the Sees of Gangra, Chonai, Amorion and Taormina. In addition we should presume that several secretaries and servants were part of the ambassadorial entourage. These embassies usually spent considerable time at

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56   "(…) καὶ πολλοὺς οὓς οὐδὲ ἐξαρισθμήσασθαι διὰ τὸ πλῆθος δυνάμεθα…καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκ λαϊκῶν τινὲς εἰς ἀρχιερατικὸν θρόνον κατέστησαν, ὧν τὰ ὀνόματα ἡ ὑμετέρα ἁγιωσύνη ἡμῶν μᾶλλον ἐπίσταται. ": Mansi XVII: 457 D. One notorious case, which, however, remained unmentioned, is undoubtedly the ordination of Constantine of Nepi in 767–68, who remained in office as pope for thirteen months. Cf. John St. H. Gibaut, "The Clerical Cursus of Constantine of Nepi: Two Accounts," *Ecclesia Orans* 12 (1995), pp. 195–205.

the place of their destination discussing the issues within a given frame of deliberations. When they went beyond the instructions they would reckon with penalties. Thus the two papal ambassadors of the year 860, the bishops Radoald and Zacharias, on their return to Rome were punished by Pope Nicholas because they were successful enough to pursue their mission and harmonize their agenda with Photius's agenda.

In this context most interesting is a *commonitorium* sent by Pope John VIII to his ambassadors at the Council of Union in 879, the bishops of Ostia and of Ancona. This unique document was read and approved at a local synod in Rome before it was carried to Constantinople in the hands of the influential cardinal presbyter Peter, and included elaborate instructions on how they should behave in Constantinople at any possible circumstance: how to address the emperor and the patriarch, which issues they should raise for the agenda of the council, how to deny offers of gifts, how to resist temptation when they were being flattered and so forth. It is a very important document indeed.[57]

In the eyes of the Byzantines the pope's appeal to Canon Law against the consecration of Photius was a pretext and this was demonstrated when Nicholas left open the option of recognition, if the patriarch would allow Bulgaria to come under papal jurisdiction. For Constantinople the pope was eager to enlarge his papal power beyond what was recognized as his canonical authority in the sense of the "highest honour among equals" [*primus inter pares*] without any sort of jurisdiction over the Churches beyond the limits of the Latin Church, which was conceived as the "Patriarchate of the West" in the sense of being equal to the other four patriarchs according to the theory of the "pentarchy."[58] This theory was quite in vogue in Photius's time in order to balance the papal claim of primacy. Therefore Nicholas's initiative to formally depose Photius at a Roman synod in 863 had no consequences in the East; on

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57   It is preserved only in Greek and published as ep. 211 of John VIII in MGH Epistolae 6: 188–90.

58   On this theory see http://www.homolaicus.com/storia/medioevo/pentarchia.htm, with further bibliography, especially with reference to publications of Enrico Morini. See now his collected Studies under the title *Primato e sinodalità in oriente ed occidente* (in press). Fundamental are further three volumes by Vlasios Pheidas in modern Greek: *Προϋποθέσεις διαμορφώσεως του θεσμού της Πενταρχίας των Πατριαρχών* (Athens, 1969), *Ιστορικοκανονικά προβλήματα περί την λειτουργίαν του θεσμού της Πενταρχίας των Πατριαρχών* (Athens, 1970), *Ο θεσμός της Πενταρχίας των Πατριαρχών* (Athens, 2012). Pheidas speaks throughout of the "institution of pentarchy," while Dvornik speaks of the "pentarchic principle" as opposite to the "Petrine principle": *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, MA, 1958).

the contrary, Photius took the unprecedented step of judging and condemning the pope – ignoring or neglecting the Roman principle *papa a nemine iudicatur*[59] and thus declaring his deposition, at a synod in 867.[60] However, with this audacious move, the excommunication of Nicholas, Photius produced a solemn rejection of the papal claims of primacy in the East, a barrier that was effective in stopping the pope's efforts to convert Bulgaria to the obedience of the Roman Church.

In conclusion, Pope Nicholas's statement that *Haec itaque catholicus ordo prohibit, et sancta nostra Romana ecclecia talem electionem semper prohibuit per antecessores nostros catholicae fidei doctores, quorum nos tenorem observantes instituta ipsorum esse inviolabilia censemus* on which he based his attitude of denouncing the canonicity of Photius's election and ordination was grounded on canonical rules fabricated within the Collection of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals. The unknown composer's major aim was to secure for the pope of Rome the role of supreme arbiter in all ecclesiastical issues. This attitude explains why for Rome at stake was not Photius's ordination but the pope's outmost determination to exercise actual *juris dictio* over the Church of Constantinople. On the other hand for Constantinople the pope was eager to enlarge his papal power beyond what was recognized as his canonical authority in the sense of the "highest honour among equals" [*primus inter pares*] without any sort of jurisdiction over the Churches beyond the limits of the Latin Church, which was conceived as the "Patriarchate of the West" in the sense of being equal to the other four patriarchs according to the theory of the "pentarchy." There was no way to bridge the two perceptions and aims. Thus the confrontation caused the clash that determined the relations of East and West ever since.

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59   The phrase was first recorded in the acts of the pseudo-council of Sinuessa (allegedly in the time of Diocletian), which were fabricated at the beginning of the 6th century. Cf. Erich Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums*, vol. 2 (Tübingen, 1933), p. 107 and Eckhard Wirbelauer, *Zwei Päpste in Rom. Der Konflikt zwischen Laurentius und Symmachus (498–514). Studien und Texte* (Munich, 1993), pp. 89–90, 217–18, and 300–01.

60   As referred to at the council of 869, canon VI: "καθαιρετικὰς συκοφαντίας καὶ διαβολὰς κατὰ τοῦ μακαρίου πάπα Νικολάου τυρεύσας καί τὸ ἀνάθεμα λαθραίως κατ᾽ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν κοινωνούντων αὐτῷ ἀποφηνάμενος": Joseph Alberigo, ed., *Conciliorum oecumenicorum decretal* (Freiburg, 1962), p. 147, lines 30–35. Cf. *Gesta* (as supra n. 53), action X, 250–51, p. 315: *depositorias accusationes et criminal contra beatissimum Nicolaum papam commovisse et anathema procaciter et audacter contra eum, et cunctos communicantes ei saepe promulgasse*. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism*, p. 121, has noted that "the meagre information we happen to possess is coming exclusively from anti-Photianist sources."

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The Byzantine Emperor in Medieval Dalmatian Exultets

Marko Petrak

1 Introduction

The *Exultet* or Easter Proclamation (*Praeconium Paschale*) is the hymn of praise sung before the Paschal candle during the Easter Vigil in the Latin Liturgy. Ever since the Middle Ages until the middle of the 20th century, the Exultet ended with a special prayer for the Holy Roman Emperor. In the last several centuries, the codified version of this liturgical commemoration of the emperor in the *Missale Romanum* had the following formulation:

> Respice etiam ad devotissimum imperatorem nostrum N. cujus tu, Deus, desiderii vota praenoscens, ineffabili pietatis et misericordiae tuae munere, tranquillum perpetuae pacis accommoda, et coelestem victoriam cum omni populo suo.
>
> (Look with favour also, Lord, on our most devout Emperor, and since you know, O God, the desires of his heart, grant by the ineffable grace of your goodness and mercy, that he may enjoy with all his people the tranquillity of perpetual peace and heavenly victory).

According to the prevailing opinion of modern scholars, it is most likely that the mentioned liturgical commemoration of the ruler was introduced into the Exultet in the year 774 by Pope Hadrian I on the occasion of Charlemagne's Easter-journey to Rome. This liturgical pattern lasted until the year 1955, when Pope Pius XII definitively removed this special prayer for the Holy Roman Emperor from the Exultet, replacing it with a generic prayer for the civil authorities.[1]

1　On the history and forms of Exultet, including the liturgical commemorations of the emperor and other political authorities, see e.g. Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica historica; papers on the liturgy and religious life of the Western church* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 296–300; Ludwig Biehl, *Das liturgische Gebet fur Kaiser und Reich. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Verhältnisses von*

Prayers for the emperor during the Easter Vigil were first and foremost religious acts and a significant long-lasting element in the rich mosaic of the Western liturgical tradition. But in the premodern era, especially in the context of the Byzantine Empire or Holy Roman Empire, ritual history was one of the most important dimensions of constitutional history.[2] This part of constitutional history was made of "key symbols and rituals of the Empire," which existed at every level of the political system, starting "from church prayers for the emperor in village parishes."[3]

Starting from the methodological standpoint that rituals were the essential aspect of the premodern constitution of the Empire, this contribution will analyse prayers for emperors in medieval Dalmatian Exultets. It ought to be emphasized, however, that in medieval Dalmatia prayers at the end of the Exultet were not sung for the Holy Roman emperor, but for the emperor of Byzantium as an important expression of his *suprema potestas* over that territory. Thus, the objective of the present piece of research is to explore this small but valuable part of Byzantine constitutional history hidden within the ritual structures of the Western liturgical tradition. Moreover, one should hope that ritual structures of Dalmatian Exultets can also serve as a historical source for the reconstruction of certain crucial aspects of the medieval institutions of Dalmatia as a peripheral part of the Byzantine Empire related to questions such as: what were the most important civil and ecclesiastical functions of that time and place, who were the current holders of those functions and what kind of hierarchy existed among them.[4]

Kirche und Staat (Paderborn, 1937), especially pp. 92 and 170–71; Gerard Burian Ladner, "The 'Portraits' of Emperors in Southern Italian Exultet Rolls and the Liturgical Commemoration of the Emperor," *Speculum* 17 (1942), 181–200; Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1946), pp. 101–03, 231–33; Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford, 1996); Guido Fuchs and Hans Martin Weikmann, *Das Exsultet. Geschichte, Theologie und Gestaltung der österlichen Lichtdanksagung*, 2. Auflage (Regensburg, 2005).

2   On the civil and ecclesiastical rituals as the essential aspect of the premodern imperial constitutional history, see e.g. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, pp. viii–ix, 82–4 and 147–51; Otto Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reischsgedanken* (Darmstadt, 1956); Averil Cameron, "The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies," in *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, David Cannadine and Simon Price, eds. (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 106–36; Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes. Constitutional History and the Symbolic Language of the Holy Roman Empire* (New York, 2015).

3   Cit. Stollberg-Rilinger, *The Emperor's Old Clothes,* p. 10.

4   Generally on the relation between liturgy and historiography, see e.g. Luisa Nardini, "Liturgy as Historiography: Narrative and Evocative Values of some Eleventh-century Mass Propers," in *Early Music: Context and Ideas II: Proceedings of the International Conference in Musicology*, Jakub Kubienec et al., eds. (Krakow, 2008), pp. 27–38.

2   The Byzantine Emperor in Medieval Dalmatian Liturgical Sources

In spite of the fact that prayers for the Byzantine emperor in the Latin Liturgy were undoubtedly some kind of *rarae aves*, especially after 1054, Dalmatian Exultets were not a completely unique phenomenon. On the one hand, there were other Latin liturgical forms in Dalmatia, notably the *missa pro imperatore* as well as *laudes imperiales*, which contained prayers for the Byzantine *basileus*. On the other hand, liturgical commemorations of the emperor in Exultets also existed in southern Italy. However, so far no study has been exclusively and systematically dedicated to constitutional and institutional aspects of all preserved Dalmatian medieval Exultets containing prayers for the Byzantine emperor.[5]

With regard to Byzantine Dalmatia, i.e. the time and space relevant to this study, the following remark should be made. In this context, it is of highest importance to point out that in cap. XXIX of his famous piece of writing *De administrando imperio*, written between 948 and 952, under the title *Of Dalmatia and of the adjacent nations in it*, the Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (r. 945–59) described in detail the once spacious Roman province Dalmatia which was reduced in his time to only eight cities and some smaller islands. This Byzantine "octapolis" in Dalmatia included Osor (Ossero, Ὄψαρα), Krk (Veglia, Βέκλα), Rab (Arbe, Ἄρβη), Zadar (Zara, Διάδωρα), Trogir (Traù, Τετραγγούριν), Split (Spalato, Ἀσπάλαθον), Dubrovnik (Ragusa, Ῥαούσιν) and Kotor (Cattaro, Δεκάτερα).[6] The "octapolis" constituted the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia (θέμα Δαλματίας), created after the conclusion of the Peace of Aachen between Byzantium and the Franks in 812. Byzantium's supreme political authority over these cities gradually waned between the late eleventh and early 13th century, and the last remnants of Byzantine Dalmatia finally disappeared with the Crusaders's capture of Constantinople in 1204.[7]

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5   Nevertheless, there is one relevant article which analyses the Dalmatian medieval liturgical manuscripts as an important historiographical source, including a part dedicated to Exultets. See Viktor Novak, "Neiskorišćavana kategorija dalmatinskih historijskih izvora od VIII. do XII. Stoljeća" [Unused category of the Dalmatian historical sources from the 8th to 12th century], *Acta Instituti Academiae Jugoslavicae scientiarum et artium in Zadar*, 3 (1957), 45–55. Moreover, a very important contribution on textual and musicological aspects of Dalmatian Exultets was given more recently by Thomas Forrest Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts in Beneventan Script," in *Srednjovjekovne glazbene kulture Jadrana – Mediaeval Music Cultures of the Adriatic Region*, Stanislav Tuksar, ed. (Zagreb, 2000), pp. 23–38.

6   Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, cap. 29, ed. Gyula Moravcsik (Washington, 1967), pp. 122–39.

7   On Byzantine Dalmatia, see Jadran Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice, 1978); cf. also Ivo Goldstein, "Byzantine Presence on the Eastern Adriatic Coast. 6th–12th century," *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996), 257–64.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the chanting of the Exultet prayer for the Byzantine emperor was observed only in the Adriatic cities that formed Byzantine Dalmatia. There are three preserved Dalmatian sources from the 11th through the 12th centuries, all written in the Beneventan script, which testify to that practice: the Evangelistary of Osor (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Borg. lat. 339); the Evangelistary of Zadar (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. bibl. lat. 61) and the Missal of Kotor (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, lat. fol. 920). In a fourth source of that kind, the 13th-century Missal of Dubrovnik (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Can. liturg. 342), also written in a Beneventan hand, the second half of the Exultet, which may have contained a liturgical commemoration of the emperor if it had been written prior to 1204, has not survived.[8]

Thus, there is evidence that Exultet prayers for the Byzantine emperor were chanted in three cities (Osor, Zadar, Kotor) of the Byzantine "octapolis" in Dalmatia, to be analysed here in more detail. Regarding the remaining five cities, no medieval liturgical sources on the Easter Vigil ritual have remained to this day, even though there are direct and indirect sources that point to the existence of some other Latin liturgical forms of prayers for the Byzantine emperor in these cities.

Firstly, one *Missale plenum*, written in Beneventan script and now located in the Metropolitana Library in Zagreb (MR 166), contained the palimpsest pages (pp. 160–63) where the text of the *missa pro imperatore* was later substituted with a text of the *missa pro rege*. There are diverging opinions on the origin of that illuminated manuscript. According to the first and older opinion, the missal was created in Dalmatia, most probably in Trogir, in the last decades of the 11th century. From the point of view of constitutional history, it is interesting to note that the proponents of the Dalmatian origin of the manuscript considered that the *imperator* in question could be Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118). According to this reconstruction, based on palaeographical research, the Byzantine emperor was replaced in the text with the Hungarian *rex* after the Árpád dynasty became the ruler of that part of Dalmatia at the very beginning of the 12th century (1105).[9] According to another more recent opinion, based on an interdisciplinary approach (combining palaeographical, art historical, liturgical and musicological insights), the manuscript was produced

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8   On the Exultet in the Missal of Dubrovnik (13th century), see Richard Francis Gyug, ed., *Missale Ragusinum* (The Missal of Dubrovnik) (Toronto, 1990), pp. 83–92.; Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," pp. 23–34.

9   See Novak, "Neiskorišćavana kategorija," pp. 41–5; cf. Branka Telebaković-Pecarski, "Iluminacija misala MR 166 iz zagrebačke Sveučilišne knjižnice" [The illumination of the missal MR 166 from the Zagreb's University library], *Anali Historijskog instituta u Dubrovniku* 6–7 (1959), 149–60; Radoslav Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte des kroatischen Frühmittelalters* (Vienna, 1999), pp. 436–37.

in southern Italy and only later transferred to Dalmatia.[10] Whatever the case, it is indisputable that this *Missale plenum* was part of the medieval Dalmatian liturgical context.

Secondly, there is evidence that *laudes imperiales*, as one of the most important medieval expressions of the supreme political authority of one ruler over a certain territory, were chanted in medieval Dalmatian cities in honour of the Byzantine emperor. By their very nature, *laudes* were Latin liturgical reformulations of ancient Roman imperial acclamations.[11] They were sung in honour of a ruler as an integral part of the Holy Liturgy, after the Gospel chanting (*post Evangelium*), on great fest days of the Church (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the feast day of the local patron saint).

Despite the fact that direct liturgical sources of *laudes dalmaticae* for the Byzantine *basileus* have not been preserved, one important historical source, the chronicle of John the Deacon (*Iohannes Diaconus*, †1009), confirmed that these imperial ritual acclamations were once really practised in the Dalmatian cities of Krk and Rab and that the chanting of *laudes imperiales* for the Byzantine emperor was a deeply rooted liturgical practice with essential constitutional consequences in that area around the year 1000.[12] Another relevant source, the chrysobull of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185–95, 1203–04) issued in 1192 to the city of Dubrovnik, restored the Byzantine supreme political authority over the city and regulated some of the most important questions of local government, jurisdiction and defence, allowing and prohibiting alliances, and granting Raguseans freedom of trade throughout the Empire.[13]

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10   See Emanuela Elba, "Between Southern Italy and Dalmatia: Missal MR 166 of the Metropolitana Library, Zagreb," *Zograf* 33 (2009), 63–71, with references to other authors who support the mentioned opinion.

11   The topic of *laudes regiae* or *imperiales* was researched in detail by the famous historian of medieval political and intellectual history Ernst H. Kantorowicz in his groundbreaking and fascinating book *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, 1946). Kantorowicz dedicated a whole chapter of his book to *laudes dalmaticae*, especially to the *laudes* chanted in Dalmatia for the Venetian and Hungarian authorities in the post-Byzantine period (pp. 147–56).

12   Iohannes Diaconus, *Istoria Veneticorum*, 4.48, ed. Luigi Andrea Berto (Bologna, 1999), p. 190. On that source, see Lujo Margetić, "Le cause della spedizione veneziana in Dalmazia nel 1000," in Margetić, *Histrica et Adriatica. Raccolta di saggi storico-giuridici e storici* (Trieste, 1983), pp. 246–47; cf. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, pp. 147–48.

13   Tade Smičiklas, ed., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, 2, (Zagreb, 1904), pp. 256–57; Franz Dölger and Peter Wirth, eds., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453. 2. Teil, Regesten von 1025–1204* (Munich, 1995), no. 1611 (June 1192), pp. 311–12. The chrysobull was not preserved in its Greek original, but as a 17th century Italian translation. On the historical context and contents of *chrysobull* of 1192, see Josip Lučić*, Povijest Dubrovnika II. Od VII. st. do godine 1205* [The history of Dubrovnik. From the 7th century to the year 1205] (Zagreb, 1973), pp. 60–2. (also available in a French

One of the fundamental issues was also the *laudes imperiales* (*... che il clero cantasse tre volte le lodi dell' imperatore nella chiesa del duomo di Ragusa ...*). Given that the normative contents of the chrysobull do not cover more than a page, the fundamental constitutional value of *laudes* for the Byzantine emperor is more than evident. All in all, the chrysobull of Isaac II Angelos is the evidence that these liturgical acclamations in honour of the *basileus* were still chanted in one Dalmatian city at the end of the 12th century, that is in the very last years of Byzantine presence in that area.

Laudes imperiales did not have a mere symbolic significance; they represented "a token of submission and public recognition of the respective overlord and at the same time a pledge binding the Church as well as the people."[14] This Byzantine pattern of *laudes*, as an element of essential importance for the relations of an urban community with its political ruler, was later taken over as such by Venetian and Hungarian authorities in Dalmatia.[15] Moreover, it should be especially emphasized that *laudes dalmaticae* represent unique preserved traces of ritual acclamations chanted in honour of the Byzantine emperor within the realm of the Latin liturgical tradition.[16]

All the aforementioned facts lead us to the conclusion that various Latin liturgical forms of prayers for the Byzantine emperor as the supreme political ruler were observed in nearly all the cities of the Byzantine "octapolis" in Dalmatia. Apart from the surviving Exultets that contain such prayers (Osor, Zadar, Kotor), there is evidence of the existence of a *missa pro imperatore* (probably in Trogir) as well as of *laudes imperiales* (Krk, Rab, Dubrovnik). If one liturgical form of prayer for the *basileus* was practised in a certain city, there could easily have existed other forms. Obviously, it is highly probable that liturgical commemorations of the Byzantine emperors in Exultets were also chanted in other medieval Dalmatian cities. Hence the possibility should not be excluded that someday further Dalmatian liturgical sources of that kind could be discovered.[17]

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translation: Josip Lučić, *L'Histoire de Dubrovnik II. Depuis de VIIeme siècle jusqu'au 1205* (Zagreb, 1974)); David Abulafia, "Dalmatian Ragusa and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 54 (1976), 423–27; Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina*, pp. 282–83; Ludwig Steindorff, *Die Dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu iher politischen Stellung und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung* (Cologne, 1984), pp. 138–39.

14   Cit. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, p. 151.

15   Cf. Miho Demović, *Musik und Musiker in der Republik Dubrovnik* (*Ragusa*) *vom Anfang des XI. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des XVII. Jahrhundert* (Regensburg, 1981), pp. 51–4.

16   See Marko Petrak, "*Nobile hoc Romani Imperii monumentum*: *Laudes imperiales* in Byzantine Dalmatia," *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité* 63 (2016), 263–78.

17   Cf. Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," p. 24, who mentioned in that context, for example, the fragments of the evangelistary of Rab written in Beneventan script (12th

As opposed to *laudes imperiales* in honour of the *basileus,* which can be found only in Dalmatian sources, the main liturgical sources of the Exultet prayers for the Byzantine emperor were preserved in southern Italy. They were written in Beneventan script, usually on long rolls decorated with fascinating illuminations. In the last century, several major studies dealing with southern-Italian Exultet rolls were published, analysing liturgical commemorations of the Byzantine emperors among other issues. The results of these detailed pieces of research have been used in this contribution as a sound basis for the analysis of comparable Dalmatian liturgical sources.[18]

There were two typical versions of prayers for the emperor in the southern-Italian Exultets. The first one is part of the Beneventan text of the Exultet, pertinent to the pre-Gregorian liturgical context and preserved in the older manuscripts. The second one is an integral part of the Franco-Roman text of the Exultet, which spread from the North during the 11th century in the context of the liturgical unification process within the Latin Church.

The liturgical commemorations of the emperor and other civil authorities in the Beneventan version of the Exultet typically contained the following text:

> Memorare Domine famulum tuum imperatorem nostrum il. et princi-pem nostrum il. et eorum exercitum uniuersum.

> (Remember Lord your servant our emperor N., and our prince N., and the whole of their armies.)[19]

The same prayer for the emperor and the local civil authorities in the Franco-Roman text of the Exultet is a bit longer and somewhat differently formulated:

> Memento etiam domine famuli tui imperatoris nostri ill. necnon et fam-uli tui principis nostri ill. et celestem eis concede uictoriam cum omni exercitu eorum.

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century), and pointed out: "… perhaps if further fragments are one day discovered, we will see that they too contained the Exultet."

18   See primarily the fundamental and profound book by Thomas Forrest Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy* (Oxford, 1996); cf. also Ladner, "The 'Portraits' of Emperors in Southern Italian Exultet Rolls," pp. 181–200; Lucinia Speciale, "Liturgia e potere. Le commemorazio-ni finali nei rotoli dell'Exultet," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes*, 112 (2000), 191–224.

19   On the Beneventan text of Exultet, see Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, pp. 53–9, 264–72.

(Remember also, Lord, your servant our emperor N., as well as your servant our prince N., and grant them celestial victory with all their army.)[20]

The most important southern-Italian individual example of prayers for the Byzantine *basileus* from the point of view of Byzantine constitutional history is undoubtedly the *Bari 1 Exultet*. Created in the first half of the 11th century and containing the Beneventan text of Exultet, it diachronically covers several generations of Byzantine emperors, until the very last days of the Byzantine Catepanate of Italy, which ended with the Norman capture of Bari (1071). The *Bari 1 Exultet* originally contained prayers for the co-emperors Basil II and Constantine VII (r. 976–1025); their names were later replaced in the text by those of the Empress Theodora (r. 1055–56), followed by Constantine X Dukas (r. 1059–67) and the Empress Eudoxia (r. 1067–68). The last ones inserted were the names of the Emperor Michael VII (r. 1071–78) and his brother Constantine.[21]

Generally speaking, the Dalmatian Exultets follow the patterns of their southern-Italian counterparts. All the four mentioned contain the Franco-Roman text of Exultet, but with some distinctive Beneventan traces. In addition, Exultets in Dalmatian medieval liturgical sources were sung to the Beneventan melody.[22] Still, there is a major difference between southern-Italian and Dalmatian Exultets: while in southern Italy Exultets frequently took the form of rolls, in medieval Dalmatia this was not the case, as Dalmatian Exultets were integral parts of standard liturgical books, evangelistaries and missals.[23]

3 Liturgical Commemorations of Byzantine Emperors in Dalmatian Exultets

3.1 *The Exultet of Osor*

The oldest Dalmatian Exultet is preserved in the evangelistary of Osor, the northernmost medieval Dalmatian city. The manuscript, today kept in the Vatican Library (Borg. lat. 339), was created in the second half of the 11th

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20   On the Franco-Roman text of Exultet, see Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, pp. 59–78, 272–302.

21   On liturgical commemorations of Byzantine emperors in the *Bari 1 Exultet* see Ladner, "The 'Portraits' of Emperors in Southern Italian Exultet Rolls," pp. 185–86; Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, pp. 214–15; Speciale, "Liturgia e potere," pp. 195–98.

22   On the texts and music of the Dalmatian Exultets, see Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," pp. 24–32, with further references.

23   On that particularity of the Dalmatian Exultets, see Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, pp. 7–8, 194–95; Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," p. 24.

century, but the exact date of its production remains a *thema disputandi*. It was written in the Beneventan script of the "Bari type" and contains the Franco-Roman text.[24] The liturgical commemorations of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities are as follows (fols 58r–58v):

> Precamur ergo te, Domine: ut nos famulos tuos, omnem clerum et deuotissimum populum, una cum beatissimo papa nostro N., et antistite nostro N., et abbate nostro N., cum omni congregatione beatissimi Nicolai, presentis uite quiete concessa gaudiis facias perfrui sempiternis. Memento etiam, domine, famuli tui impera(to)ris nostri N., cum omni exercitu suo, et famuli tui regi nostri, cum populo christiano qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis, premia eterna largire digneris.[25]

> (We pray you therefore, Lord, for us your servants, all the clergy and the very devout people together with our most blessed pope N. and our bishop N. and our abbot N., with all the congregation of the most blessed Nicholas that granted peace in this life you will bring us to the fruition of sempiternal joys. Remember also, Lord, your servant our emperor N., with all his army, and your servant our king with the Christian people who offer you this sacrifice of praise, may you deign to bestow on them eternal rewards.)

As we can observe, after the prayer for the pope and the bishop, there is the prayer for the abbot and the congregation of St Nicholas. According to the prevailing opinion, this last commemoration of the ecclesiastical authority points to the fact that the whole evangelistary was written for the Benedictine monastery of St Nicholas in Osor on the island of Cres.[26] Regarding civil authorities, there is scholarly consent that *imperator noster* can only be the Byzantine emperor, and that *rex noster* denotes the Croatian king of the time. There

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24 On the manuscript of the evangelistary of Osor and its Exultet, see Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 259; Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," p. 33., and especially Rozana Vojvoda, "Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts written in Beneventan script and Benedictine scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir." PhD diss. (Central European University Budapest, 2011), http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2011/mphvor01.pdf, pp. 347–60 with further references to the older relevant literature.

25 See Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 285–89. Local variations in the prayers for ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Osor are marked in the text by Kelly with "D3"; cf. Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, pp. 438–40.

26 See Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, pp. 438–39; Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 259; Vojvoda, *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts*, p. 84, 347–60; Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," p. 33, with further references to older relevant literature.

is no consensus however, to which particular emperor and king is referred. The precise identification of these highest political authorities depends on the exact dating of the manuscript.[27]

The key for the dating of the manuscript is the paschal announcement, which can be found in fol. 59r. The date of the announcement mentioned in the evangelistary of Osor can refer to only two years in the 11th century: 1071 or 1082, which means that the manuscript was most probably written a year earlier, i.e. in 1070 or 1081.[28] If the evangelistary of Osor had been created in 1070, the prayers for the highest civil authorities included in its Exultet would have been destined for the Byzantine Emperor Romanos IV Diogenes (r. 1068–71) and the Croatian King Peter Krešimir IV (r. 1058–74). On the other hand, if the Evangelistary had been written in 1081, its Exultet would have contained prayers for the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118), as well as for the Croatian King Demetrius Zvonimir (r. 1075–89). However, King Demetrius Zvonimir became the vassal of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–85) in 1075, and in these new political circumstances liturgical commemoration of the Byzantine emperor as the supreme political authority would have seemed highly unusual. Thus, the first possibility, i.e. that the Exultet of Osor originally referred to the hierarchy of the rulers in the year 1070, is much more viable.[29] The dating of the evangelistary to 1070 is also in accordance with the dating of clauses of preserved Croatian legal acts of the period. For example, three charters from 1070 are dated with formulas such as *Augusto regnante Romano ... tempore Cresimiri regis Chroatorum et Dalmatinorum*,[30] while in charters issued some ten years later, there is no mention of a Byzantine emperor, but only of the Croatian King Demetrius Zvonimir, at times coupled with the mention of Pope Gregory VII.[31] Therefore, from the point of view of constitutional history, it would not be inappropriate to conclude that the evangelistary of Osor represents the last testimony of the supreme political authority of the Byzantine emperor in the northernmost point of Dalmatia.

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27   Cf. Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, pp. 439–40.

28   See Anđelko Badurina, "Osorski evanđelistar," [Osor Evangelistary] *Izdanja Hrvatskog arheološkog društva* 7 (1982), pp. 202–03; Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, pp. 439–40; Vojvoda, *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts*, p. 84, all with further references to older literature.

29   See Lujo Margetić, *Hrvatska i Crkva u srednjem vijeku* [Croatia and the Church in the Middle Ages] (Rijeka, 2000), pp. 69–71; cf. Badurina, "Osorski evanđelistar," p. 203.

30   Marko Kostrenčić et al., eds., *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, 1 (Zagreb, 1967), pp. 115–20; cf. Margetić, *Hrvatska i Crkva*, p. 70.

31   *Codex diplomaticus*, 1, pp. 180–82; cf. Margetić, *Hrvatska i Crkva*, p. 70.

3.2 *The Exultet of Zadar*

The second Dalmatian Exultet is preserved in the evangelistary of Zadar, the city that was the centuries-long centre of Byzantine Dalmatia. The manuscript, now kept in Oxford (Bodleian Library, Can. Bibl. lat. 61), was written in the second half of the 11th century in the Monastery of St Chrysogonus in Zadar, even though there are different scholarly opinions regarding the exact date of its production. It is written in the Beneventan script of the "Bari type" and has Franco-Roman text with additions from the Beneventan.[32] Its liturgical commemorations of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities are as follows (fols 122r–122v):

> Precamur ergo te Domine ut nos famulos tuos omnem clerum et deuotissimum populum, una cum beatissimo papa nostro ill. et antistite nostro ill., presentis uite quiete concessa gaudiis facias perfrui sempiternis. Memento etiam domine famuli tui imperatoris ill. necnon et famuli tui prioris nostri ill. et uniuersi populi huius ciuitatis qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis. ut his omnibus premia eterna largiaris. Respice quesumus domine ad deuotionem famule tue abbatisse nostre U. totiusque congregationis sancte Marie sibi commisse. Huius tu Deus desiderii uota prenoscens ineffabilis pietatis et misericordie tue munere tranquilitatem perpetue pacis accommoda.[33]

> (We pray you therefore, Lord, for us your servants, all the clergy and the very devout people together with our most blessed pope N. and our bishop N. that granted peace in this life you will bring us to the fruition of sempiternal joys. Remember also, Lord, your servant our emperor N., as well as your servant our prior N. and the entire people of this city who offer you this sacrifice of praise, may you bestow on all of them eternal rewards. Look with favour, we pray, on the devotion of your servant our abbess U. and of the whole congregation of Saint Mary in her charge. Since you know, O God, the desires of her heart, grant by the ineffable grace of your goodness and mercy, that she may enjoy the tranquillity of perpetual peace.)

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32 On the manuscript of the evangelistary of Zadar and its Exultet, see Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 257; Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," p. 33., and especially Rozana Vojvoda, *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts*, pp. 335–40 with further references to the older literature.

33 See Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 285–89. Local variations in the prayers for ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Zadar are marked in the text by Kelly with "D1"; cf. Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, pp. 440–41.

We shall start this brief review with the last liturgical commemoration, i.e. the prayer for a certain abbess and the congregation of St Mary, which is crucial for a more precise identification and dating of the manuscript. According to common scholarly opinion, the whole evangelistary was written for the Benedictine sisters's monastery of St Mary in Zadar,[34] founded in the year 1066, during the rule of the Byzantine Emperor Constantine X Doukas (*Dukyzi Constantinopoleos imperante*), the Croatian King Peter Krešimir IV (*Cresimiro rege regnante Croatie*) and prior of the city Drago II Madius (*Drago priorante*). The monastery still exists today.[35]

Regarding the dating of the evangelistary, a very important point in the quoted text is the mention of *abbatissa nostra U.* Who was that abbess? Unanimous scholarly consent attributes the mention to Vekenega (*Uekenega*) († 1111), the second abbess of the monastery of St Mary.[36] As Vekenega was the superior of the monastery for a long time, a more precise dating criterion needed to be found. Elias Avery Lowe, the first scholar who identified *abbatissa nostra U.* as Vekenega, pointed out that the scribe of the manuscript had added neumatic musical notations above the abbreviations "ill.," related to the highest ecclesiastical and civil authorities commemorated in the text of the Exultet (*papa, antistes, imperator*); these neums match the number of syllables contained in the names of the dignitaries. By using this method to decipher their names, Lowe concluded that the evangelistary of Zadar was created in the time of Pope Gregory VII (r. 1073–85), Bishop Stephen II (r. 1073–90) and the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (r. 1081–1118). Thus, according to his opinion, this liturgical book was made between the years 1081–85.[37]

However, there is a problem with the dating as defined by Lowe. Vekenega was not the abbess of the monastery of St Mary before 1095, because her predecessor and mother, abbess Cicca, was mentioned for the last time in one preserved act of the provincial church synod from that very year.[38] Thus, the *dies a quo* of the creation of the evangelistary of Zadar is 1095. Regarding *dies ad quem*, the relevant year is 1097, when the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, in the

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34   See Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, pp. 440–41; Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 257; Vojvoda, *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts*, p. 30–4, 335–40; Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," p. 33, all with further references to the older literature.

35   *Codex diplomaticus*, 1, pp. 101–02; cf. Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, pp. 417–18.

36   See Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, pp. 440–41; Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 257; Vojvoda, *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts*, p. 31; Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," p. 33, all with further references to the older literature.

37   See E.A. Lowe, *Scriptura Beneventana*: *fascimiles of South Italian and Dalmatian manuscripts from the sixth to the fourteenth century*, 2 (Oxford, 1929), pl. 74.

38   *Codex diplomaticus*, 1, pp. 203–05.

complex circumstances of the First Crusade, temporarily handed over the rule over Dalmatian cities to the Venetian Doge.[39] Starting from these time limitations, the Croatian historian V. Novak concluded that the evangelistary was most probably created in 1095–96; he consequently proposed a new reading of the names of the dignitaries contained in the neums of the Exultet: the Byzantine emperor is the same, Alexios I Komnenos, but the names of the highest ecclesiastical authorities are different: Pope Urban II (r. 1088–99) and the local bishop of the time, Andreas.[40]

For the precise dating of the Exultet, it is also important to point out that its prayers for the civil authorities are related only to the Byzantine emperor (*famuli tui imperatoris*) and the prior of the city (*famuli tui prioris nostri*). There is no mention of the Croatian *rex* after the Byzantine *imperator* as was the case in the twenty-five years older evangelistary of Osor. This mentioning would have been impossible for two reasons. On the one hand, it has already been said that the Croatian King Demetrius Zvonimir became a vassal of Pope Gregory VII in 1075 and consequently rejected the supreme political authority of Byzantium. On the other hand, in the context of the chaotic situation in the region after the death of the Croatian King Stephen II in 1091, Byzantium became once again the only and direct constitutional superior of the Dalmatian cities. Furthermore, there is no mention either of the *dux Venetorum* in the Exultet of the evangelistary of Zadar, who would certainly have been commemorated after the Byzantine *imperator* from 1097 onward.[41]

Keeping in mind all these historical facts, one must conclude that liturgical commemorations for the Byzantine emperor and the prior of Zadar as the only two civil authorities could only have been chanted in the last quarter of the 11th century between the years 1091–96. This is also in accordance with the dating clauses of the preserved Zaratine legal acts of the period which contain the formulas such as *regnante Alexio imperatore constantinopolitano, episcopante Jadere Andrea, tercio existente Drago priore.*[42] The liturgical commemoration of Vekenega, second abbess of the monastery of St Mary, who did not exercise that ecclesiastical function before 1095, reduced the possible dating of the creation of the manuscript exactly to 1095 or 1096.

At the end of this analysis, from the point of view of constitutional history, it is worth emphasizing that the Exultet of the evangelistary of Zadar contains

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39   See e.g. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina*, p. 246 with sources and further references.

40   Novak, "Neiskorišćavana kategorija," pp. 53–4.

41   Cf. Ibid.; Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina*, pp. 245–46; Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, p. 514.

42   *Codex diplomaticus*, 1, pp. 200–02, 203–06; cf. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina*, pp. 244–46.

a unique liturgical commemoration which cannot be found anywhere else in that context. It is a prayer for the entire people of the city (*uniuersi populi huius ciuitatis*), chanted after the prayer for the prior of Zadar, which probably testifies to the high level of autonomy of the local community at that very moment in history.[43] Anyhow, the Exultet of the evangelistary of Zadar represents one of the last testimonies of the supreme political authority of the *basileus* in this longstanding metropolis of Byzantine Dalmatia.

3.3   *The Exultet of Kotor*

The supreme political authority of Byzantium over the cities of southern Dalmatia (Dubrovnik, Kotor) lasted a century longer than in the other Dalmatian cities. Consequently, it is not by chance that the third and most recent Dalmatian Exultet which contains the prayer for the Byzantine emperor was preserved in the missal of Kotor, the southernmost city of Byzantine Dalmatia. The manuscript, now kept in Berlin (Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, lat. fol. 920), was created in the first half of the 12th century. It is written in the Beneventan script of the "Bari type" and has Franco-Roman text.[44] The liturgical commemorations of the ecclesiastical and civil authorities that it contains are as follows (fols 124v–125r):

> Precamur ergo te Domine ut nos famulos tuos omnem clerum et deuotissimum populum, una cum beatissimo papa nostro ill. et antistite nostro ill. necnon et abbate nostro ill. cum omni congregatione beatissime Marie semper uirginis, presentis uite concessa in his pashalibus festis conseruare digneris. Memento etiam domine famuli tui imperatoris nostri n. et regem nostrum n. et celestem illi concede uictoriam et in his qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis, premia eterna largiaris.[45]

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43 Cf. Novak, "Neiskorišćavana kategorija," p. 54; Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 72, 287; Katičić, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte*, p. 514.

44 On the manuscript of the missal of Kotor and its Exultet, see Sieghild Rehle, "Missale Beneventanum in Berlin," *Sacris erudiri* 28 (1985), 469–510; Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, p. 255; Kelly, "The Exultet in Dalmatian Manuscripts," p. 34., and especially Rozana Vojvoda, *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts*, pp. 314–25, with further references to older literature.

45 See Kelly, *The Exultet in Southern Italy*, pp. 285–89. Local variations in the prayers for ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Kotor are marked in the text by Kelly with "D4"; cf. also Roger Edward Reynolds, "The Missal of Kotor: A Liturgical Monument of Medieval Dalmatia," *Arti musices* 45 (2014), 191–200, here p. 195.

(We pray you therefore, Lord, for us your servants, all the clergy and the very devout people together with our most blessed pope N. and our bishop N. as well as our abbot N., with all the congregation of the most blessed Mary, always a virgin, that granted this life, you will deign to keep us in these Paschal feasts. Remember also, Lord, your servant our emperor N. and our king N., and grant him celestial victory and on those who offer you this sacrifice of praise, may you bestow eternal rewards.)

After the prayer for the pope and the bishop, there is a prayer for the abbot and the congregation of St Mary. That last commemoration of the ecclesiastical authority points to the fact that the whole missal was written for a certain Benedictine monastery of St Mary. Regarding civil authorities, the prayers are chanted for *imperator noster*, which can only be the Byzantine emperor, as well as for a certain *rex noster*.

To this day, there has been no attempt to identify the key institutions and persons contained in this Exultet, which would be crucial for its more precise dating within the first half of the 12th century. The only mention is to be found in an article by R.E. Reynolds entitled "The Missal of Kotor", in which the author briefly notices that "what the congregation of the most blessed Virgin Mary is difficult to say," and that the prayer on fol. 125r is "perhaps a reference to a Byzantine emperor and local ruler," without specifying the possible names of that emperor and king.[46]

Regarding the prayer for the abbot and the congregation of St Mary, there is only one possible identification of that ecclesiastical structure within the medieval context of the city of Kotor. The church called *S. Maria de flumine*, *S. Maria Infunara* or most commonly *S. Maria Collegiata* was the only church in Kotor dedicated to the Virgin Mary that had an *abbas*. After its rebuilding and renewed consecration in 1221, that church was known as the collegiate church (*S. Maria Collegiata*), comprising an abbot and seven prebendaries. *S. Maria Collegiata* has always been and remains the most prominent church in Kotor after the cathedral of St Tryphon, consecrated in 1166.[47] However, there

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46   Cf. Reynolds, "The Missal of Kotor," p. 195.

47   See Tomislav Marasović, *Dalmatia praeromanica. Ranosrednjovjekovno graditeljstvo u Dalmaciji* [Dalmatia praeromanica. The Early Mediaeval Architecture in Dalmatia], 4, (Split, 2013), pp. 363–68; Meri Zornija, "Ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura na tlu Boke kotorske" [The early Mediaeval Sculpture in Boka kotorska bay]. PhD diss. (University of Zagreb, 2014), pp. 34–7; Richard Francis Gyug, *Liturgy and Law in a Dalmatian City. The Bishop's Book of Kotor* (Sankt-Petersburg, *BRAN, F. no, 200*) (Toronto, 2016), pp. 120–22, 130–31, all with further references to older literature.

is no scholarly consensus as to the function of the church of St Mary before its mentioned renovation. On the basis of archaeological evidence from the time of Emperor Justinian I (r. 527–65) onward, the prevailing opinion is that *S. Maria Collegiata* was originally the cathedral of Kotor, while according to a second opinion, the church was a monastic one in earlier medieval times.[48] Whatever the case may be, the importance of that church in the context of the medieval Kotor makes highly probable the conclusion that the missal of Kotor had originally been created for *S. Maria Collegiata*. Therefore, the prayer in its Exultet for *abbate nostro ill. cum omni congregatione beatissime Marie semper uirginis* is related to the abbot with the congregation of that very church.

The next and most important constitutional question to answer is to which *imperator noster* and *rex noster* the liturgical commemorations in the Exultet of the missal of Kotor were originally dedicated. A possible identification of these persons could also contribute to a more precise dating of the manuscript. During the first half of the 12th century, when the missal of Kotor was written, the city of Kotor was under the direct rule of the kings of Duklja (*Dioclea*). Without entering into the complex political relations of the mentioned time and place, it should be stressed that the only two kings of Duklja who were known as Byzantine protégés were King Grubeša (*Grubessa*) (r. 1118–25) and King Gradinja (*Gradigna*) (r. 1131–42). The son of the latter, Radoslav (*Radaslavus*) (r. 1142–63), subjected to the Byzantine emperor, bore no longer the title of king (*rex*), but of prince (*knez*).[49] Consequently, the liturgical commemoration of *rex noster* in the Exultet of the missal of Kotor can originally be related either to King Grubeša or to King Gradinja. However, there is no doubt whatsoever as to the person of *imperator noster*: it can only be John II Komnenos (r. 1118–43), whose long rule covered the whole period mentioned. If the proposed identification of the *emperor* of Byzantium and *rex* of Duklja were correct, the missal of Kotor would have been created either between 1118–25 or between 1131–42. In any case, this Beneventan liturgical manuscript includes the most recent Exultet that originally contained a prayer for the Byzantine emperor.

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48 See Zornija, *Ranosrednjovjekovna skulptura*, pp. 34–7; Gyug, *Liturgy and Law*, pp. 23, 29, 68, 89; both with further references to older literature.

49 See Antun Sbutega, *Storia del Montenegro. Dalle origini ai giorni nostri* (Soveria Mannelli, 2006), pp. 51–2; Gyug, *Liturgy and Law*, pp. 20–1, with further references. The only medieval source for the reconstruction of the rule of these kings of Duklja is Vladimir Mošin, ed., *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina* [The Chronicle of Presbyter Diocleas], cap. 44–7, (Zagreb, 1950), pp. 99–105, where their subjection to the Byzantine emperors is described with words such as ... *iussu imperatoris constitutus est rex a populo*.

4   Conclusion

After the Peace of Aachen, which was concluded between Byzantium and the Franks in the year 812, the Byzantine emperor remained the supreme political institution of the eight maritime Dalmatian cities (Osor, Krk, Rab, Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor), retaining authority over some of these urban communities until 1204. During that period, various forms of ritual worship of the Byzantine *basileus* were practised in Dalmatia within the Latin liturgy, notably *missa pro imperatore* or *laudes imperiales*.

However, the largest number of the preserved sources was related to the liturgical commemoration of the Byzantine emperor in the Exultet as the hymn of praise chanted before the paschal candle during the Easter Vigil. More precisely, there are three Dalmatian sources from the 11th through the 12th centuries, all written in Beneventan script, which testify to that practice: the evangelistary of Osor, the evangelistary of Zadar and the missal of Kotor. The Exultets from these manuscripts followed the patterns of their southern Italian counterparts, which were transferred to Dalmatia by the Benedictine order. Still, there is an important difference between southern Italian and Dalmatian Exultets: there are no illuminated Exultet rolls in medieval Dalmatia as it was the frequent case in southern Italy, but the Dalmatian Exultets were integral parts of standard liturgical books, evangelistaries and missals.

From the point of view of the local urban community, it is hard to overestimate the fundamental institutional and religious value of the prayers in Exultets for the Byzantine *basileus* in Dalmatia. These liturgical commemorations did not have a mere symbolic significance. In the premodern world, where the constitution was also made of "key symbols and rituals of the Empire," which existed at every level of the political system, starting "from church prayers for the emperor," Dalmatian Exultet prayers for the Byzantine emperors represent a small but valuable piece of Byzantine constitutional history. Moreover, in the eyes of common medieval people, these liturgical commemorations in Exultets undoubtedly also served as a source of knowledge of the most important institutional realities, the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities, the current incumbents of those positions, and the various types of hierarchy that existed among them.

All in all, Exultet prayers in the Dalmatian medieval liturgical manuscripts represent an extraordinary example of liturgical commemorations chanted in honour of the Eastern Roman emperor within the realm of the Western liturgical tradition. They were also the last ones of the kind. The *Memento* of the Byzantine *imperator noster* echoed in Dalmatian churches half a century longer than on the other side of the *Mare Hadriaticum*.

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Building Heavenly Jerusalem: Thoughts on Imperial and Aristocratic Construction in Constantinople in the 9th and 10th Centuries

Matthew Savage

If asked to identify major monuments from Istanbul's Byzantine past, a first-time visitor to the city might name the two largest and most prominent structures that survive there today: the great defensive walls, passed when entering the old city from the airport, and Hagia Sophia, very likely our tourist's first destination on arrival. What Byzantinists know that also once existed – imperial palaces, aristocratic estates, and large, urban monasteries – are largely gone or today overshadowed – literally – by the city's grand Ottoman mosques. For the casual tourist, it is the city walls and Hagia Sophia – this is Byzantium.

Interestingly, this impression is not at all removed from the manner the Byzantines themselves chose to represent their city. Both monuments – the walls and Hagia Sophia – appear in the 9th- or 10th-century lunette mosaic in the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia (Fig. 3.1): on one side, Constantine presents his city in the form of several houses enclosed within a walled fortress with a large golden gate; on the other, Justinian presents his church to the enthroned Virgin and infant Christ.[1] On an elemental level, the image draws attention exactly to the two axes of power in Byzantium that it depicts, i.e. the ecclesiastical and the imperial realms, and it was set up in a physical space that, by the Middle Byzantine period when the mosaic was created, was almost certainly accessible to these powers exclusively: that is, to the Patriarchal and the Imperial courts.[2]

These two elements of walled city and church appear again, now integrated into a single image, in a manuscript likely produced in the mid-14th century

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1 On the dating of the mosaic, see Thomas Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul: Second Preliminary Report; Work Done in 1933 and 1934; The Mosaics of the Southern Vestibule* (Paris, 1936), pp. 30–1; Whittemore, "On the Dating of Some Mosaics in Hagia Sophia," *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 5 (1946), 34–45; Philipp Niewöhner and Natalia Teteriatnikov, "The South Vestibule of Hagia Sophia at Istanbul. The Ornamental Mosaics and the Private Door of the Patriarchate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 68 (2014), 117–56, here p. 151.

2 For a good discussion of the function of the space, see Niewöhner and Teteriatnikov, "South Vestibule," pp. 151–55.

FIGURE 3.1   Istanbul, *Hagia Sophia*, southwest vestibule, mosaic depicting Emperor Constan-
tine presenting the city of Constantinople and Emperor Justinian presenting
Hagia Sophia to the Virgin and infant Christ, 9th or 10th century.
PHOTO: PUBLIC DOMAIN

to commemorate the marriage of a Byzantine emperor to a foreign child bride
(Fig. 3.2).[3] The illustration depicts Constantinople as a large, domed church,
recognizable as Hagia Sophia, surrounded by walls with towers and a large
gate. Even though the illustration seems to rely on one kind of conventional
medieval representation of a city, it shows precisely those two real structures
that still today evoke the grandeur of Byzantine Constantinople – the city walls
and Hagia Sophia.[4] The image also reminds us that it was these two supremely

3   Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1851, fol. 2r; Cecily Hennessy, "A child
    bride and her representation in the Vatican *Epithalamion*, cod. gr. 1851," *Byzantine and Modern
    Greek Studies* 30.2 (2006), 115–50. Hennessy argues that the manuscript was produced to com-
    memorate the marriage of Andronikos IV to Maria, the daughter of the tsar of Bulgaria, Ivan
    Alexander.

4   In discussing this image together with the Hagia Sophia vestibule mosaic, this point has
    been emphasized by Paul Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," in Magdalino, *Stud-
    ies on the History and Topography of Byzantine Constantinople* (Aldershot, 2007); trans. of
    Magdalino, *Constantinople Médiévale. Études sur l'évolution des structures urbaines* (Paris,
    1996), I, pp. 7–8; and Cecily J. Hilsdale, "Constructing a Byzantine *Augusta*: A Greek Book
    for a French Bride," *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 3 (Sept. 2005), 458–83, here pp. 461–63. On
    the concept of 'ideograms' of cities, both earthly and heavenly, in medieval art (with an

FIGURE 3.2 Representation of Constantinople, mid-14th century, parchment, Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1851, fol. 2r (detail).

imperial monuments that anchored some of the most celebratory and ceremonial events that made use of Constantinople's urban topography throughout its history: imperial triumphal processions, which began at the city gates and culminated at Hagia Sophia.[5]

emphasis on the West), see Chiara Frugoni, *A Distant City. Images of Urban Experience in the Medieval World*, trans. William McCuaig (Princeton, 1991), pp. 3–29. See also Helen G. Saradi, "Space in Byzantine Thought," in *Architecture as Icon. Perception and Representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art*, Slobodan Ćurčić and Evangelia Hadjitryphonos, eds. (New Haven, 2010), pp. 73–111.

5   Cyril Mango, "The Triumphal Way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 173–86; Leslie Brubaker, "Processions and Public Spaces in Early and Middle Byzantine Constantinople," in *The Byzantine Court: Source of Power and Culture. Papers from the Second International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium*, Ayla Ödekan et al., eds. (Istanbul, 2013), pp. 124–25.

Both the mosaic and the miniature effectively draw attention, directly or in-directly, to one of the key roles of the emperor, that of protector and guardian of the capital. This function extended not only to real enemies at the gates, but to the final enemies the city expected to face, namely those at the end of time. In a prophetic tradition that perhaps had its origins in the 4th century (and which appears to have been *au courant* in imperial circles particularly in the 9th and 10th centuries), at the Last Judgement, the Last Emperor is expected to travel to Jerusalem, lay down his crown and hand over his Christian Kingdom to God the Father and his son Jesus Christ.[6] Thus, the Byzantine emperor was assigned a central role within the divine plan of history, one that linked the fate of Constantinople with that of Heavenly Jerusalem through the transfer of power from the last Byzantine emperor to God.[7] In a connected tradition, Byz-antine writers, especially in texts of the 10th century, frequently imagined the Kingdom of Heaven as an "improved, purified, and infinitely successful version of the *Basileus'* earthly kingdom," specifically Constantinople, as Paul J. Alex-ander and others have demonstrated.[8] The issue I wish to explore in this paper is whether the Byzantine conception of the Heavenly City as a mirror of earth-ly Constantinople can be identified in real elements of the urban topography of Constantinople in the 9th and 10th centuries. Specifically, I will demonstrate several ways in which aristocratic and imperial building projects in Constanti-nople both conformed and contributed to the perception of the Heavenly City conveyed by Byzantine texts of the same period.

The issue at hand is closely tied to the concept of Constantinople as the 'New Jerusalem.' Constantinople was founded in the 4th century as the 'New Rome.'[9] However, by the 5th century, the identification of Constantinople as the 'New

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6   Paul J. Alexander, "The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen through Byzantine Eyes," *Speculum* 37 (1962; repr. in Alexander, *Religious and Political History and Thought in the Byz-antine Empire. Collected Studies* [London, 1978], III), 339–57, here pp. 343–44; for the version of the prophecy as it appears in the *Visions of Daniel*, see Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyp-tic Tradition* (London, 1985), p. 63. On emperors, beginning in the 9th century, consulting the Sibylline prophecies kept in the palace library, see Paul Magdalino, "The History of the Future and Its Uses: Prophecy, Policy and Propaganda," in *The Making of Byzantine History. Studies dedicated to D.M. Nicol*, Roderick Beaton and Charlotte Roueché, eds. (London, 1993), p. 23.

7   Alexander, "Strength of Empire," pp. 344–45.

8   Ibid., pp. 344–47.

9   Erwin Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae*, Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia 9 (Munich, 1968), pp. 20–86; Robert Ousterhout, "Constantinople and the Construction of a Medieval Urban Identity," in *The Byzantine World*, Paul Stephenson, ed. (London, 2010), p. 335. For a discussion of the foundation of Constantinople by the Emperor Constantine as the 'New Rome,' see also Anthony Kaldellis, "From Rome to New Rome, from Empire to Nation-State: Reopening the Question of Byzantium's Roman Identity," in *Two Romes. Rome and Constan-tinople in Late Antiquity*, Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly, eds. (Oxford, 2012), pp. 398–400.

Jerusalem' was well established.[10] A key piece of evidence supporting this identification is an oft-cited passage in the 5th-century *Life of Daniel the Stylite*. There, in the year 446, St Symeon the Elder directs Daniel not to travel the dangerous pilgrimage route to Jerusalem, but to go to Constantinople instead: "… go to Byzantium and you will see a second Jerusalem, Constantinople."[11] References to Constantinople as the New Jerusalem increase from then onwards through the 11th century.[12]

The subsequent designation of Constantinople in some sources as the New Jerusalem does not mean that an attempt was made to lay out the city with specific buildings in order to mimic the topography of Old Jerusalem, as was indeed done at several other sites, particularly in Western Europe and the Balkans.[13] The understanding of Constantinople as the New Jerusalem had more to do with the vast number of relics the city had accumulated from the Holy Land by the 5th century.[14] The New Jerusalem was just that: a city sanctified by the transfer of Christian relics from Jerusalem to Constantinople.[15] Over centuries, the process of the 'Jerusalemization' of Constantinople

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10   Magdalino, "History of the Future," pp. 3–34; Frugoni, *A Distant City*, pp. 30–53; Jelena Erdeljan, *Chosen Places. Constructing New Jerusalems in Slavia Orthodoxa* (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450) 45 (Leiden, 2017), pp. 52–62.

11   *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, 10, Hippolyte Delehaye, ed., *Analecta Bollandiana* 32 (1913), p. 132. For discussion, see Petre Guran, "The Byzantine 'New Jerusalem,'" in *New Jerusalems. The Translation of Sacred Spaces in Christian Culture*, Alexei Lidov, ed. (Moscow, 2006), pp. 17–23, esp. pp. 17–9; Bernard Flusin, "Construire une nouvelle Jérusalem: Constantinople et les reliques," in *L'Orient dans l'histoire religieuse de l'Europe. L'invention des origines* (Bibliotheque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences Religieuses), Mohammad Ali Amir-Moezzi and John Scheid, eds. (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 51–70, esp. pp. 66–8; Ousterhout, "Medieval Urban Identity," p. 336; Maria Cristina Carile, *The Vision of the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors as a Heavenly Jerusalem* (Spoleto, 2012), pp. 168–69; Erdeljan, *Chosen Places,* pp. 63–4. On other Byzantine identifications of Constantinople with Jerusalem, see Anatole Frolow, "La dédicace de Constantinople dans la tradition byzantine," *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 127 (1944), pp. 61–127.; Alexander, "Strength of Empire," pp. 346–47.

12   Guran, "The Byzantine 'New Jerusalem,'" pp. 17–23, esp. p. 22; Erdeljan, *Chosen Places,* pp. 52–62.

13   Robert Ousterhout, "Sacred Geographies and Holy Cities: Constantinople as Jerusalem," in *Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Spaces in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, Alexei Lidov, ed. (Moscow, 2006), pp. 100–01, for a discussion and examples. For the Balkans, see Jelena Erdeljan, "Strategies of Constructing Jerusalem in Medieval Serbia," in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, (Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages) 18, Bianca Kühnel et al., eds. (Turnhout, 2014), pp. 231–40.

14   Flusin, "Construire une nouvelle Jérusalem," pp. 51–70.

15   Ousterhout, "Medieval Urban Identity," p. 336; Ousterhout, "Sacred Geographies," pp. 101–05.

was continuously advanced through liturgy, hagiography, urban rituals and processions, and other traditions.[16]

In a similar manner to how the Heavenly Court came to be seen as a more glorious projection of the Earthly Court, the Byzantine concept of the afterlife (or one of several Byzantine concepts of the afterlife),[17] namely that of the Heavenly City, was conceived as a superior and glorified reflection of imperial Constantinople.[18] The Byzantine vision of Heavenly Jerusalem thus came to be tied to aspects – whether real or projected – of Constantinople, the New Jerusalem. In the apocalyptic tradition, the vision of the Kingdom of Heaven as a city dates to the 6th or 7th century, if not earlier.[19] A fairly generalized vision of the Kingdom of Heaven as a city, and specifically as Heavenly Jerusalem, is found in the *Life of Martha*, the blessed mother of Symeon the Stylite the Younger. The source text likely dates to the 7th century.[20] In a dream, Martha ascends to heaven where, after being received by the Mother of God, she rests on a special throne in an indescribably beautiful palace. From there, The Mother of God guides Martha to two further palaces, each higher up and each incomparably more luxurious than the previous one. Finally, from the Highest Heaven Martha turns her gaze eastward and upward in order to view the entire expanse of Paradise.[21] The text is short on descriptive detail, but key elements of the Heavenly City are clear, namely a succession of ever more luxurious palaces at ever higher levels of Paradise.

By the 10th century, visions of the Kingdom of Heaven as a city become more frequent, and they begin to adopt specific elements taken from the

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16   Erdeljan, *Chosen Places*, pp. 72–143.

17   For an overview of Byzantine concepts of the afterlife during the Middle Byzantine period, see Saradi, "Space in Byzantine Thought," pp. 92–7; Vasileios Marinis, *Death and the Afterlife in Byzantium. The Fate of the Soul in Theology, Liturgy, and Art* (Cambridge, 2017), pp. 28–73.

18   Henry Maguire, "The Heavenly Court," in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Henry Maguire, ed. (Washington, D.C., 1997), pp. 247–48, 257–58; Paul Magdalino, "'What we heard in the Lives of the saints we have seen with our own eyes': the holy man as literary text in tenth-century Constantinople," in *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward, eds. (Oxford, 1999), pp. 96–100.

19   On the *topos* in this early period, see Carolina Cupane, "The Heavenly City: Religious and Secular Visions of the Other World in Byzantine Literature," in *Dreaming in Byzantium and Beyond*, Christine Angelidi and George T. Calofonos, eds. (Farnham, 2014), pp. 56–7.

20   For the date of the source text, see Lucy Parker, "Paradigmatic Piety: Liturgy in the *Life of Martha*, Mother of Symeon Stylites the Younger," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 24.1 (Spring 2016), pp. 101–03.

21   *La Vie de sainte Marthe mère de S. Syméon stylite le Jeune,* 16–8, in Paul van den Ven, ed., *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–592)*, 2 (Brussels, 1970), pp. 265.1–67.2.

topography of Constantinople in general and the imperial palace in particular. Hagiographical and apocalyptic texts from this period illuminate most clearly the connection between the perceived reality of Constantinople and the Byzantine vision of the Heavenly City. Much scholarship has been devoted to these texts, and it is only necessary to present an overview of the most pertinent examples in order to convey some commonalities of the descriptions.

In the *Vision of Kosmas the Monk*, dated to 933, Kosmas is granted a vision of Paradise. After passing through a large, verdant olive grove in the company of Saints Andrew and John, Kosmas enters the Heavenly City, which is surrounded by twelve walls constructed of twelve kinds of colourful precious stones and pierced by gold and silver gates. Kosmas then visits a magnificent palace at one end of the city, where he finds a spacious reception hall containing a large marble table and a spiral staircase leading upwards to a balcony.[22] Once again, as in the vision of Martha, we find a palace set in a vast, walled garden, and in both cases, the height of the palaces is emphasized, whether, as in the case with the vision of Martha, by placing a succession of palaces at the highest level of Paradise or, as in the case with the vision of Kosmas, by referencing the ascent to an internal balcony of the palace. Specific elements in the vision of Kosmas that link the description of the palace directly to the imperial palace in Constantinople indeed include the description of this spiral staircase as well as the large reception hall with eunuchs in attendance.[23]

Perhaps the most striking connection between the topography of Constantinople and that of the Heavenly City is found in the *Life of Basil the Younger*, written in the 950s or 960s.[24] Basil, who according to the text lived in the first half of the 10th century, spent his earthly life as a resident in private houses and aristocratic and imperial palaces in Constantinople.[25] Basil's disciple, Gregory, who is also the narrator, is granted by the saint a vision of heaven, which he recounts at great length. It is in essence the vision of a vast city of palaces and churches, in the middle of which is found an enormous church many times

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22   *Vision of Kosmas*, Christine Angelidi, ed., "La version longue de la vision du moine Cosmas," *Analecta Bollandiana* 101 (1983), 73–99, esp. 85.162–86.188; for discussion see Cupane, "Heavenly City," pp. 59–60, with further bibliography n. 39.

23   Angelidi, "La version longue," pp. 85–7; Henry Maguire, "The Heavenly City in Ekphrasis and Art," in *Villes de toute beauté : l'ekphrasis des cités dans les littératures byzantine et byzantino-slaves : actes du colloque international, Prague, 25–26 novembre 2011*, Paolo Odorico and Charis Messis, eds. (Paris, 2012), p. 39; Saradi, "Space in Byzantine Thought," p. 93.

24   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger. Critical Edition and Annotated Translation of the Moscow Version*, Denis F. Sullivan et al., eds. (Washington, D.C., 2014), with a discussion of the date of the text pp. 7–11; see also Magdalino, "holy man," pp. 87–112.

25   Magdalino, "holy man," p. 97, for discussion.

larger than the others.[26] In order to set the Heavenly City apart from its earthly counterpart, exaggerations of the city's size and the splendour of materials used in its construction in relation to Constantinople figure prominently.[27] However, the great height of the buildings of Heavenly Jerusalem provides an important descriptor as well. The "all-holy and celestial divine church" at the centre of Heaven reached such a height that it had to be served by "tall youths … similar in height to cypress trees with lofty foliage, hastening to prepare the altar inside the church."[28] Not only was Heaven's most divine church of great height; the next world is described as also containing "awesome imperial palaces" whose "gates were constructed to a wondrous height."[29] In a passage from the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger* that most clearly demonstrates the reliance of the vision of Heaven on the realities of aristocratic 10-century Constantinople, at the end of time, the aristocratic elect appeal to the Lord to provide the heavenly realm with churches, monasteries, and other structures, since this elect had erected such edifices in the Lord's name in the "vain world below." Christ grants this wish, making the sign of the cross and commanding, "Come together and be manifested, all you lofty abodes."[30] Thus the height of these palaces and churches in heaven, towering over gates and other buildings, is a key element of their appearance.

This vision appears late in the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*. But a connection between earthly Constantinople and heaven is made much earlier in the text, in the very first vision Gregory has of the afterlife. Having expressed a desire to know the fate of the soul of his spiritual father's devoted attendant, Theodora, who had recently died, Gregory is informed by Basil that he will soon be able to see her.[31] Gregory is incredulous as to how this will be possible; however, that night he is directed to follow a route through the city. He soon discovers that the road he has been sent on from the imperial Palace is the road leading to the basilica of the Theotokos of Blachernae, in the northwest corner of the city. It is only once he is near the site that the road he is following is suddenly

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26   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, v.115.
27   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, v.120. For a discussion of the strategy of the exaggeration of earthly characteristics to report the size of the Heavenly City, see Maguire, "Heavenly City," pp. 39–40.
28   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, v.119.
29   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, VI.23.
30   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, v.130. The Greek μετεωρισμοί, translated by the editors of the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger* as "lofty abodes," literally means "elevation on high," "raising up of the eyes or mind" (*Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, 669, n. 256). On the passage and its relationship to Constantinople, see Magdalino, "holy man," p. 98.
31   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, II.2.

transformed into a steep and narrow ascent, for him a clear realization that what he is experiencing is a vision of heaven. He understands that the path he is on has left behind the earthly world of Constantinople and is now leading to the Other World, in this case the Heavenly City.[32] At the pinnacle of the ascent Gregory comes to a mighty gate, behind which he is able to see Basil's spiritual house, which he says is "exceedingly elegant and glorious, its construction and beauty such as no human would be able to describe," and more beautiful than any religious house or imperial palace he had ever seen, all references of comparison to the aristocratic landscape of Constantinople with which he was familiar.[33]

From the foregoing, a clear development can be detected in the hagiographic and apocalyptic literature: after the 6th century, the image of Heavenly Jerusalem increasingly takes on elements characteristic of Constantinople's existing urban topography, specifically the description of a multitude of splendid palaces and churches, many of which were raised on high and placed in the middle of a courtyard or garden, surrounded by high walls. Culminating in the *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, several direct comparisons are made between the size and splendour of Constantinople and the Heavenly City, and the specific topography of Constantinople – such as the aristocratic and topographically elevated Blachernae quarter – is referenced. By the 10th century, the landscape of aristocratic urban estates and religious foundations that is reflected in these texts was well established in Constantinople.[34] If these texts accurately project certain key elements of real palaces and churches in Constantinople onto the Heavenly City, then we would expect to find buildings in Constantinople that stood out not only through the splendid building materials used in their construction, but through their prominence in the landscape due primarily to the fact that they were raised in some fashion to tower over lesser buildings in their proximity. The question thus arises: can we detect physical remains in Constantinople that link these specific literary visions of the Heavenly City with the aristocratic topography of the 9th- and 10th-century earthly city that inspired them?

In the case of the architecture of the nobility outside of the imperial palace, little material evidence from the 9th or 10th centuries survives in Istanbul today.

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32   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, II.3. For commentary, see Cupane, "Heavenly City," pp. 60–1.

33   *Life of Saint Basil the Younger*, II.4. For commentary, see Magdalino, "holy man," pp. 97–8.

34   For further examples, see Magdalino, "Medieval Constantinople," pp. 42–53; Michael Grünbart, *Inszenierung und Repräsentation der byzantinischen Aristokratie vom 10. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften 82 (Paderborn, 2015), pp. 114–18; and Peter Schreiner, "The Architecture of Aristocratic Palaces in Constantinople in Written Sources," in *The Byzantine Court* (see above n. 5), p. 37.

FIGURE 3.3   Istanbul, *Bodrum Camii* (former *Myrelaion church*), situation in 2007.
PHOTO: MATTHEW SAVAGE

However, one site, the Myrelaion church, today's Bodrum Camii, is particularly significant, as it was constructed as a private church in the palace of the future emperor Romanos I Lekapenos, shortly before he came to the throne as a usurper, in 920.[35] The site and condition of the former church today is sad (the building as it appears today is largely the product of overzealous renovation efforts) and, now overshadowed by multi-story apartment buildings, it is completely divorced from its original visual context in the urban landscape (Fig. 3.3).

Older photographs, however, help us understand somewhat how the original context must have appeared. From the photograph shown in Fig. 3.4, which dates to the early twentieth century after a fire ravaged the area in 1911, we get a sense of how dramatically imposing the church appeared as a dominant element of the skyline. Originally, the church was placed high above the surrounding terrain atop a substructure built for this purpose, clearly visible in the photograph.[36] Evidence for this substructure can be seen today on one side

35   Cecil L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton, 1981), pp. 6–10. After his enthronement, Romanos transformed the palace with its church into the Myrelaion convent.

36   As late as 1786 the former church seems still to have been one of the most prominent buildings of Istanbul's skyline, as it was used as a triangulation point for a land survey

FIGURE 3.4   Istanbul, *Bodrum Camii* (former *Myrelaion church*), ca. 1915.
PHOTO: GERMAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE, ISTANBUL

of the building, but on the other sides it now forms an underground basement, with the ground level around the church above it now raised. The construction of the substructure was necessitated in order to raise the church to the level of the palace, which Romanos built atop the remains of an Early Byzantine rotunda.[37] Excavations of the palace site revealed foundation walls, which have allowed for tentative reconstructions of the palace based on the preserved

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conducted at that time. It is located on the only eminence in the surrounding area that breaks the even falling grade of the land on the south slope of the city. See ibid., p. 3.

37   For an identification of the rotunda with the *domus nobilissimae Arcadiae* mentioned in the *Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae*, see Rudolf Naumann, "Der antike Rundbau beim Myrelaion und der Palast Romanos I. Lekapenos," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 16 (1966), p. 206; Philipp Niewöhner, "Der frühbyzantinische Rundbau beim Myrelaion in Konstantinopel. Kapitelle, Mosaiken und Ziegelstempel, mit Beiträgen von Jenny Abura und Walter Prochaska," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 60 (2010), pp. 435–37; Niewöhner, "The Rotunda at the Myrelaion in Constantinople: Pilaster Capitals, Mosaics, and Brick Stamps," in *The Byzantine Court* (see above n. 5), pp. 35–6. Information gleaned from the Byzantine *Souda* suggests that at some point before Romanos aquired the site, it was known as the "House of Krateros." On this matter, see Striker, *Myrelaion*, p. 7; Schreiner, "The Architecture of Aristocratic Palaces," pp. 37–8.

floor plan.[38] At ground level, the palace was essentially a π-shaped structure that faced a courtyard, with the palace church located just to the south.[39] The use of the rotunda as a base for the palace and the construction of a large substructure for the church raised the palace and church high above any surrounding buildings, allowing the complex great views over the city and to the Marmara Sea to the south, while at the same time making it visible above the sea walls to ships approaching the city.

A similar design concept must have been true for many of the city's imperial and aristocratic palaces and monasteries that were built atop substructures or terraces intended to be used as platforms. Evidence for such design plans can be discerned in a number of Byzantine substructures that survived into the 20th century. Many of these substructures are today obscured by Istanbul's modern urban accretions, but photographs from the early 20th century show many of them as prominent elements in the visual landscape of the city.

A century ago, the German architectural historian Karl Wulzinger drew attention to some of these Byzantine substructures in the area of Gülhane, northeast of Hagia Sophia.[40] He pointed out that many of the structures dating from the Middle Byzantine period forward, including some that were adapted after their original construction for use as cisterns, were oriented to the east, suggesting that at least some of the buildings on top of them were churches.[41] Based on this evidence, Wulzinger concluded that these structures were built primarily as podiums to display the palaces and churches above them. In the case of substructures found in proximity to Constantinople's maritime walls, the added elevation would have made the churches atop them appear as fortified entities and as prominent features of the Byzantine skyline.

In examining some substructures along the sea walls in the Mangana Quarter identified as belonging to the Christos Philanthropos monastery, an imperial foundation, Wulzinger offered a reconstruction of the lost Philanthropos

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38   Naumann, "Rundbau," pp. 211–15. The remains were identified as belonging to the palace already by Wulzinger, who offered a reconstruction. See Karl Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel auf der Seraispitze, die Nea, das Tefur-Serai und das Zisternenproblem* (Hannover, 1925), pp. 98–108 and Abb. 41 and 44. Archaeological evidence from the site has been evaluated more recently by Niewöhner, "Der frühbyzantinische Rundbau," passim.

39   Naumann, "Rundbau," pp. 211–15 and Abb. 1; Striker, *Myrelaion*, pp. 13–6 and figs 66–9 for plans and reconstructions by Wulzinger, David Talbot Rice, and Naumann.

40   Karl Wulzinger, "Byzantinische Substruktionsbauten Konstantinopels," *Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 28 (1913), 371–74; Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler*, pp. 4–51.

41   Wulzinger, *Byzantinische Baudenkmäler*, pp. 31–2, 90–8, esp. 94.

church as one such example. In his reconstruction (Fig. 3.5), the apses of the masonry church are flanked by what appear to be massive towers.[42] Without archaeological evidence for the outlines of the church above the substructure, Wulzinger's reconstruction is indeed speculative.[43] But whatever the appearance of the church, its pairing with the walls would have presented a powerful impression of a fortified church to ships approaching from the sea and to others approaching by land from across the intervening waters. We must therefore once again acknowledge Wulzinger's contribution to our understanding of the visual landscape of medieval Constantinople – both in terms of his proposed reconstruction of the church of Christ Philanthropos and his drawing attention to its prominence above a fortified substructure in the urban and maritime landscape of the city.

The Christos Philanthropos monastery was a later Byzantine foundation and not of the 9th or 10th centuries. But its situation demonstrates that by the Komnenian and Palaeologan eras, the earlier Middle Byzantine model had been carried literally to new heights by the building projects of the burgeoning aristocracy and imperial classes. The best surviving examples of churches, monasteries, and palaces above massive substructures that allowed them to be visible from beyond the city walls indeed date to these later periods. These include foremost the Pantokrator Monastery (Zeyrek Camii), and Gül Camii, which has been tentatively identified as the Monastery of Christ Evergetis.[44] Even a smaller foundation such as the once-elegant Eski İmaret Camii, whose identity with the Byzantine Christ Pantepoptes Monastery has been recently challenged and which today is almost invisible in the warren of the modern streetscape, was originally prominently displayed through its erection above a

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42   Ibid., p. 21, fig. 6.

43   Thomas F. Mathews, *The Byzantine Churches of Istanbul. A Photographic Survey* (University Park, PA, 1976), p. 200. Mathews is highly critical of the Wulzinger reconstruction, calling it "pure fantasy." Nevertheless, Wulzinger's reconstruction presents a good generalization of larger Middle- and Late-Byzantine church edifices in Constantinople, such as evidenced at Gül Camii or the South Church of the Monastery of Constantine Lips. The flanking towers Wulzinger added might have been informed by the work of Nikolai I. Brunov, who in several publications around this time proposed that some churches of medieval Constantinople originally had flanking spaces that added subsidiary aisles, chapels, and even towers to them. See N. Brounoff, "Rapport sur un voyage à Constantinople," *Revue des Études Grecques* 39 (1926), 1–30.

44   Overviews on the scholarship of these buildings in Vasileios Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual in the Churches of Constantinople: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 143–50 (Pantokrator) and pp. 153–58 (Gül Camii). For a discussion of the imperial Pantokrator monastery and its role in the construction of the identity of Constantinople as the New Jerusalem in the Komnenian period, see Erdeljan, *Chosen Places*, pp. 118–33.
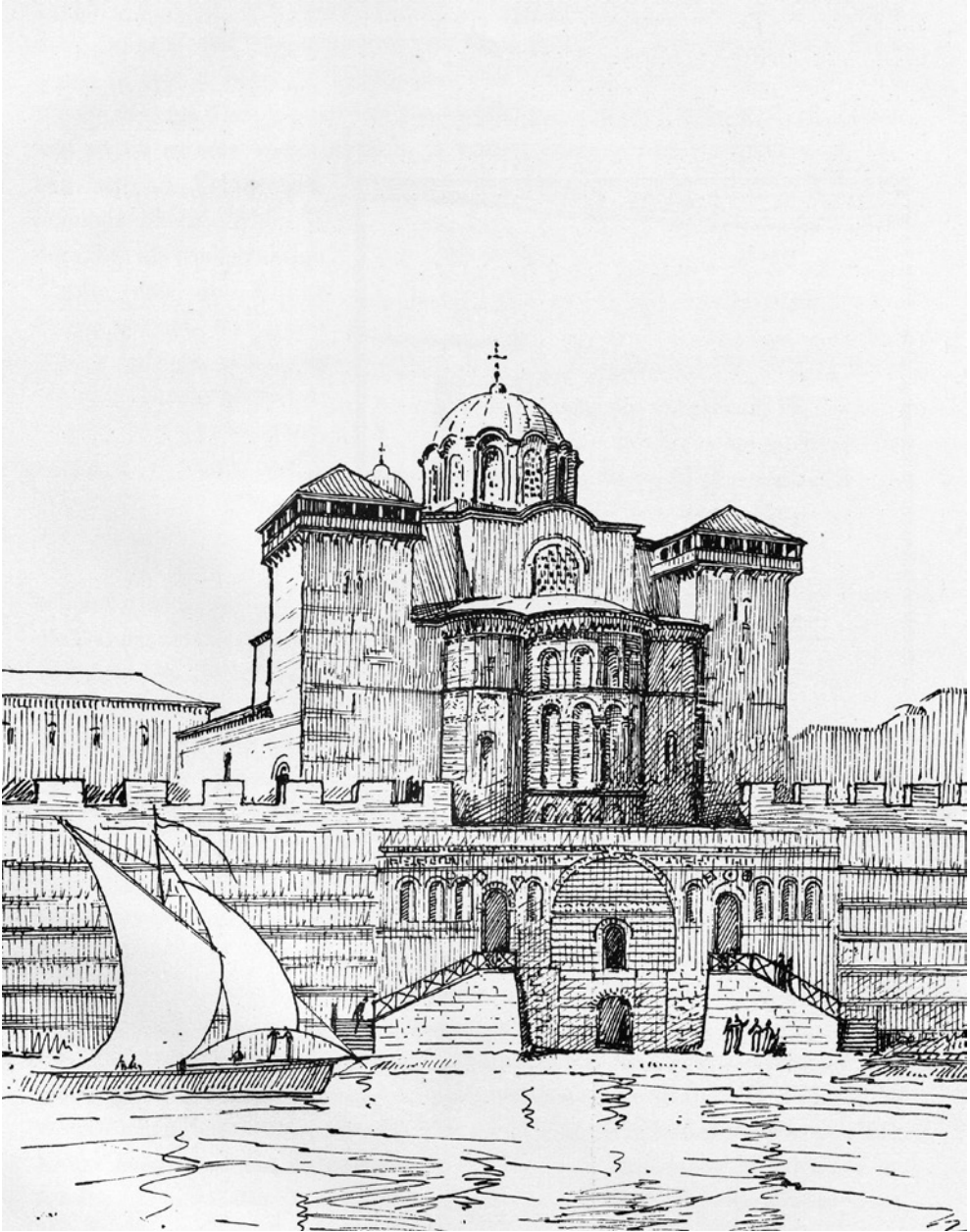
FIGURE 3.5   Istanbul, *Monastery of Christ Philanthropos*, reconstruction drawing.
From: Karl Wulzinger, Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel auf der
Seraispitze, die Nea, das Tefur-Serai und das Zisternenproblem (Hannover, 1925),
p. 21, fig. 6

substructure, as older photographs reveal.[45] Two inventories and some possible foundation remains confirm a similar situation for the aristocratic Botaneiates palace, constructed perhaps in the 10th or 11th century.[46] The palace complex was built on a slope over several terraces and had a principal church raised on a tall substructure that provided a basement. Finally, the so-called Tekfur Sarayı demonstrates the concept for Late Byzantine aristocratic palaces. Situated along the city's land walls close to the site of the lost imperial Blachernae palace, and now best viewed in older photographs (Fig. 3.6), it was constructed atop a massive substructure that provided both a podium for the palace and a visually suggestive protective fortification.[47] The substructure, which is built of massive, rough-hewn ashlars, also provided a visual contrast to the elegant palace above it, with its elaborate decorative brickwork and provisions for balconies and terraces. Likely built in the 1280s as a residence for Constantine Porphyrogennetos, the favourite son of Emperor Michael VIII,[48] the Tekfur Sarayı demonstrates that the fashion for aristocrats and members of the imperial family to build urban palaces above tall substructures remained a feature of imperial and aristocratic life in Constantinople from the 9th century and into the Palaeologan era.

When we turn to specifically imperial palaces and churches, the only significant structures that remain in the area of the old Great Palace are associated with the fortification wall that overlooks the Marmara Sea at the so-called Boukoleon Harbour. General agreement exists that the wall dates to the reign of emperor Theophilus (829–42), who also constructed terraces behind the wall in order to provide foundations and basements for several new imperial chambers,

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45   Overview in Marinis, *Architecture and Ritual*, pp. 138–42.

46   Michael Angold, "Inventory of the so-called Palace of Botaniates," in *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries* (BAR International Series) 241, Michael Angold, ed. (Oxford, 1984), pp. 254–66; Schreiner, "The Architecture of Aristocratic Palaces," pp. 37–9; Grünbart, *Inszenierung und Repräsentation*, pp. 78–9.

47   It has been recently argued that the substructure of the Tekfur Sarayı was less practical as a true fortification for the palace and served more as a function of aristocratic representation associated with Byzantine palace architecture in general. See Philipp Niewöhner, "The late Late Antique origins of Byzantine palace architecture," in *The House of the Emperor. Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism* (Urban Spaces) 4, Michael Featherstone et al., eds. (Berlin, 2015), pp. 41–2.

48   Vassilios Kidonopoulos, *Bauten in Konstantinopel 1204–1328: Verfall und Zerstörung, Restaurierung, Umbau und Neubau von Profan- und Sakralbauten* (Wiesbaden, 1994), pp. 167–69.

FIGURE 3.6 Istanbul, *Tekfur Sarayı*, ca. 1925, photo.
From: Karl Wulzinger, Byzantinische Baudenkmäler zu Konstantinopel auf der
Seraispitze, die Nea, das Tefur-Serai und das Zisternenproblem (Hannover, 1925),
p. 67, fig. 30

thus allowing them views above the walls and the harbour to the sea.[49] Later in
the 9th century, Emperor Basil I constructed a porticoed walkway that was "high
and sunbathed" ("aitherios kai hēlioboloumenos") and may have run along the
top of the fortification wall.[50] Still later, perhaps in the 10th century, a loggia
with marble-framed windows that is often misleadingly called the 'House of
Justinian' was added above the walls (best seen in an old lithograph, Fig. 3.7).[51]

49   Cyril Mango, "The Palace of the Boukoleon," *Cahiers Archéologiques* 45 (1997), 41–50; Jona-
      than Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors at Constantinople.
      Archaeology, Text, and Topography," in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterli-
      che Residenzen – Gestalt und Zeremoniell*, (Byzas) 5, Franz Alto Bauer, ed. (Istanbul, 2006),
      pp. 29–30.
50   *Chronographiae quae Theophanis continuati nomine fertur liber quo Vita Basilii Imperato-
      ris amplectitur*, Ihor Ševčenko, ed., CFHB, Series Berolinensis, 42 (Berlin, 2011), 90.20-26.
      For the translation here, see Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace," pp. 33–7.
51   Cyril Mango, "Ancient Spolia in the Great Palace of Constantinople," in *Byzantine East,
      Latin West. Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, in Christopher Moss and
      Katherine Kiefer, eds. (Princeton, 1995), pp. 648–49; Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace,"
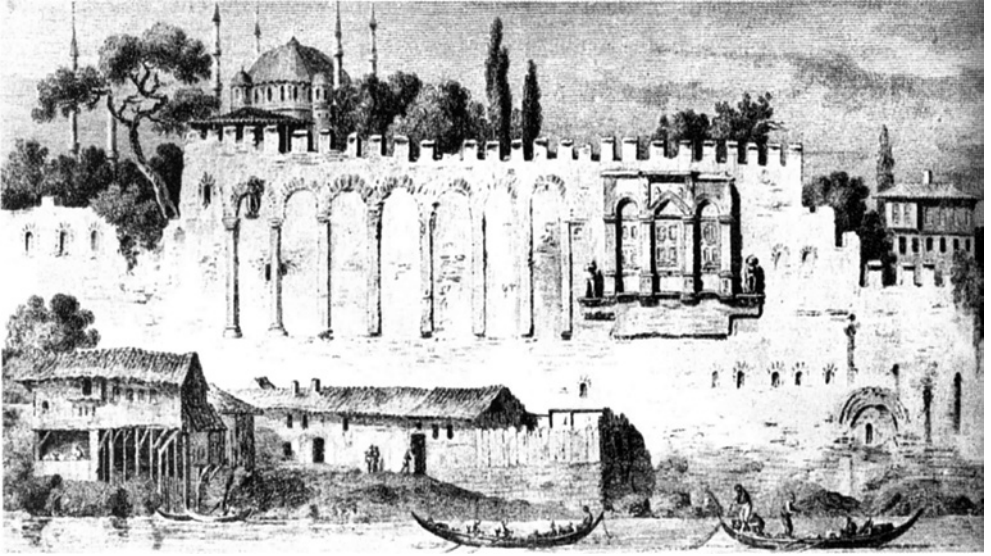   pp. 28, 37.

FIGURE 3.7   Istanbul, the sea walls between Çatladıkapı and the Maritime Gate as in ca. 1780, engraving.
From: Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque dans l'Empire ottoman, en Grèce, dans la Troade, les îles de l'Archipel et sur les côtes de l'Asie-mineure* (2nd ed., with contributions by Charles-Benoît Hase and Emmanuel Miller), Atlas II (Paris, 1842), pl. 91

In all these phases, it will be observed that through terracing and building atop the walls themselves a clear effort was made to project representative palace architecture above and beyond the walls to the sea.

To help us further understand the visual impact of such imperial buildings erected above substructures or terraces in the old city, and specifically in the 9th and 10th centuries, we can turn to early panoramas of Constantinople made by Westerners in the decades after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453. Among the most famous of these views is that of the dilapidated Hippodrome by Onofrio Panvinio (Fig. 3.8), which was published in 1600 but whose prototype dates to the 1480s.[52] It is generally agreed that the building shown just

52   Onofrio Panvinio, *De ludis circensibus* (Venice, 1600), p. 61, Plate R. Cyril Mango and others have concluded, based on the presence or absence of certain structures in the panorama, that the prototype of the image dates to the 1480s. Cyril Mango, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen, 1959), p. 180; Cyril Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople (IVe – VIIe siècles)* (Paris, 1985), p. 9, n. 9. Mango discusses the Panvinio view together with the view of the city produced ca. 1530 by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, whose prototype also dates to the 1480s. For the image of the *Nea Ekklesia* in the Vavassore view, see also Albrecht Berger, "Zur sogenannten
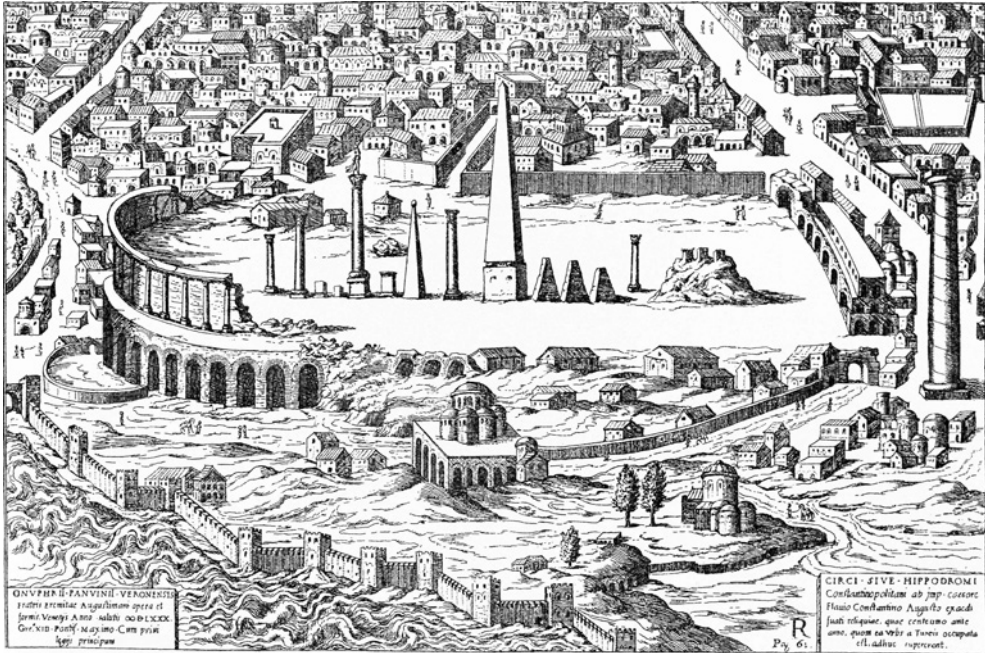
FIGURE 3.8   Representation of the Hippodrome in Constantinople (Istanbul), engraving.
From: Onofrio Panvinio, *De ludis circensibus* (Venice, 1600), p. 61, pl. R

south of the Hippodrome is Emperor Basil I's *Nea Ekklesia.*[53] Built in the 870s,
it survived the Turkish conquest, but was destroyed probably in 1490.[54] This
was the most famous and most splendid of the 9th- and 10th-century palace
churches, and we know much about its decoration and architectural design
because it received lengthy praise by Basil's grandson, Constantine VII.[55] The
Panvinio image clearly shows the five-domed church built above a massive

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Stadtansicht des Vavassore," *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 44 (1994), p. 341. Good images of both
the Vavassore and Panvinio views are in the facsimile edition of Cristoforo Buondelmonti,
liber insularum archipelagi (Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Düsseldorf Ms. G 13), Ir-
mgard Siebert and Max Plassmann, eds. (Wiesbaden 2005), Abb. 5 (Vavassore) and Abb.
8 (Panvinio).

53   Mango, *Brazen House*, p. 180; Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace," pp. 29–30 and n. 96,
and a schematic diagram showing the position of the *Nea* Church in relation to the *Aetos*
on p. 29, fig. 10. On the *Nea* Church in general, see Paul Magdalino, "Observations on the
Nea Ekklesia of Basil I," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 37 (1987; repr. in Mag-
dalino, *Studies* [see above n. 4]) V, 51–64.

54   Mango, *Brazen House*, pp. 180–82.

55   *Vita Basilii,* 83–6.

substructure that allowed it to stand taller than any surrounding buildings and be seen beyond the walls of the imperial palace from the city and the sea as a gleaming and fortified symbol of imperial splendour. In fact, so strong was Basil's desire to project imperial authority beyond and above the palace walls that another complex of buildings that he erected just west of the *Nea* was collectively called the *Aetos* – the 'Eagle' – for the reason, given in the *Life of Basil*, because "they rise to a great height into the air."[56]

The pattern of the construction of imperial and aristocratic palaces and churches above tall substructures in Constantinople in the 9th and 10th centuries is thus clear. It is one that corresponds closely to the descriptions of the palaces and churches of the Heavenly City in the texts we examined. But which came first, the chicken or the egg? I suggest it is a little of both. Clearly, when the texts were written, the model they drew on had long been present. Nevertheless, the increase in the number of these visions and in the specificity of their descriptions in the 9th and 10th centuries corresponds with a veritable building boom of imperial and aristocratic palaces and churches in Constantinople that began after the end of Iconoclasm. As the evidence for later centuries demonstrates, new aristocratic and imperial building projects continued to adhere to the earlier precedent. Were the Byzantines then actively constructing a 'heaven on earth?'

A clue may be provided by the *Nea* church itself. Basil very likely may have built and named his *Nea* Church as a reflection of another *Nea Ekklesia*: the Church of the Theotokos in Jerusalem, completed in the 530s during the reign of Justinian, an emperor who was known for his great building projects and whom Basil wished to emulate.[57] Not only did the name of Basil's church connect it with that of Justinian's *Nea Ekklesia*, but it was linked to Jerusalem and the Old Testament in other ways as well. As documented by visitors to Constantinople before the Latin occupation of the city in 1204, relics kept at Basil's *Nea Ekklesia* were all associated with Old Testament figures and with Constantine the Great.[58] Two of the primary dedications of the church were to the Prophet Elijah and the Archangel Gabriel. And Basil, who liked to be compared to David and Solomon,[59] had a statue of Solomon buried in the foundations of his *Nea*.[60] Thus, by making the *Nea* a shrine of Judaic and Constantinian traditions, Basil championed Constantinople's role as both the

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56 *Vita Basilii,* 90.7–16; discussed by Bardill, "Visualizing the Great Palace," p. 29.
57 Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia," p. 54.
58 Ibid., p. 57.
59 Leslie Brubaker, *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium. Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 178, 185–93.
60 Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia," p. 58.

New Rome and the New Jerusalem.[61] Finally, the appearance of the *Nea*, raised high on a platform and thus made visible beyond the high walls of the palace, meant that it conformed closely with the descriptions of the churches of the Heavenly City found in the texts examined here.

At the outset of this article, I drew attention to the key elements of walled city and church which were used to represent Constantinople in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods (Figs 3.1 and 3.2). When we return to these images again, the divine connection between Heavenly Jerusalem and Constantinople is made apparent when we realize that the walls of Constantinople in both the mosaic and the manuscript each have the eschatologically symbolic number twelve associated with them: the mosaic shows four towers, each with three crenellations ($4 \times 3 = 12$); the miniature shows eleven towers with the twelfth presumably obscured behind the dome of Hagia Sophia. Thus these images of Constantinople are given a similar symbolism of eternity and destiny as is projected onto the visions of Heavenly Jerusalem in the apocalyptic literature.

Unlike the map-like, bird's-eye views made by Panvinio and other Westerners, the Byzantine's themselves produced no similar topographical panoramas of their city (much to the disappointment, perhaps, of some Byzantinists). But after all, the Byzantines knew their city already; they lived in it, worshiped in it, attended to the emperor in it, they died and were buried in it, and they hoped to ascend to the afterlife from it. They had no use for a simple map of it, as foreigners from the West evidently did. Instead of making detailed topographic panoramas of their city, the Byzantines created a landscape within the city itself that reflected their *own* desire: that is, their *ultimate* desire of reaching that other Constantinople, the one beyond this world, the one that was indescribable, but which, as evidenced in the texts and the art of the Byzantines examined here, was so often imagined and yearned for. As I have attempted to demonstrate, this desire in many ways served also as a guideline not only for seeing – but just as importantly also for building – the city itself.

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61   Ibid., p. 60.

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CHAPTER 4

Politics and Diplomacy in the Mediterranean of the 10th Century: Al-Andalus and Byzantium

Elsa Fernandes Cardoso

1   Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss which political motivations brought together the Umayyads of al-Andalus and Byzantium, in the Mediterranean world of the 10th century. As political motivations are not stated clearly in the sources that narrate these exchanges, the main question of this essay is to understand mutual interests shared by both powers. Thus, which political circumstances would provide the motivation for such intense diplomatic exchanges and alliance between the Byzantine Empire and the peripheral westernmost power of the Mediterranean Sea?

Exchanges between Byzantium and the Umayyads of al-Andalus in the 10th century are not unprecedented. A first Byzantine mission sent to al-Andalus was received in Cordoba, around 840, by the ’*amīr*[1] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II (r. 822–52). However, the political situation of Byzantium and the Mediterranean in the 10th century was not the same as under the second Amorian emperor. Diplomatic contacts in the 9th century were an initiative of Theophilos, as described by Ibn Hayyān of Cordoba, an 11th-century historian who transmits the letter sent from the Byzantine capital and the description of the stay of al-Ghazāl at Constantinople.[2] Ibn Hayyān suggests that the purpose of the embassy was to establish an alliance with ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II against the ‘Abbasids, who harassed Byzantium, referring to the conquest of Amorium in 838 by the ‘Abbasid caliph, and to the loss of Crete, around 827, to Andalusi adventurers.[3] Crete was conquered circa 824–27 by a group

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1   This article uses the *Cambridge History of Islam* system for Arabic transliteration.

2   Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica de los emires al-Hakam I y ‘Abd ar-Rahman II entre los años 796 y 847* [*al-Muqtabis II-1*], trans. Mahmud ‘Ali Makki and Federico Corriente, (Zaragoza, 2001), pp. 294–98. See “Noticia de la correspondencia entre el emperador bizantino y el emir ‘Abd al-Raḥmān.”

3   I have discussed both al-Ghazāl's mission to Constantinople and the political motivations of exchanges between Theophilos and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān II elsewhere. See Elsa Cardoso, “Diplomacy and oriental influence in the court of Cordoba (9th-10th centuries)” MA diss.

of Andalusis, expelled from al-Andalus.[4] From Crete, it was possible to control the trade between the Mediterranean and the Aegean Seas, which allowed the Andalusis, at some point, to enter the Propontis Sea (nowadays the Sea of Marmara).[5]

Furthermore, Sicily was gradually being conquered, from 827 onwards, by the Aghlabid dynasty, tributary of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate, resulting in the subsequent loss of full control over the coastal regions of the Italian peninsula and the western Mediterranean, as the strait between Ifrīqiyya (nowadays Tunisia) and Sicily fell in the hands of the Aghlabids. However, diplomatic exchanges between Cordoba and Byzantium in the 9th century did not continue, as ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II could not meet the emperor's requests.[6] Furthermore, the ʿAbbasid Caliph al-Muʿtaṣim and Theophilos made a treaty in 841. Thus, what political background could have allowed the renewal of an alliance between the Byzantines and the Umayyads of Cordoba in the 10th century? After all, both powers were established at opposite ends of the Mediterranean and had coexisted in such space more than a century without any known official political contacts.

Diplomatic exchanges with Byzantium were renewed under the rule of the first caliph of al-Andalus, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III, and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, emperor of Byzantium. Both Byzantine and Arab sources account the exchange of several missions, which took place between 946 and 972. Political motivations offered the perfect excuse for the central role played by ceremonial. Although historians who research on diplomacy should not

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(University of Lisbon, 2015); "The scenography of power in al-Andalus: the embassy of Yaḥya al-Ghazāl to Constantinople," *Hamsa. Journal of Judaic and Islamic Studies* (2015), 54–64.

4   For the conquest of Crete and the history of its Emirate see Vassilios Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (*ca. 824*). *A turning point in the struggle between Byzantium and Islam* (Athens, 1984).

5   Marius Canard, "Ikritish," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, B. Lewis et al., eds., vol. 3, H-IRAM (Leiden, 1986), 1083; Hans Thurn, ed., *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, CFHB 5 (Berlin, 1973), p. 44; John Wortley, trans., *John Skylitzes: A Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057* (Cambridge, 2010), p. 46.

6   Eduardo Manzano believes that Theophilos misconceived the true power of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān II over the western Mediterranean, as the emperor understood the Umayyad *ʾamīr* possessed a naval fleet. See Eduardo Manzano Moreno, "Byzantium and al-Andalus in the ninth century," in *Byzantium in the ninth century: Dead or alive?*, Leslie Brubaker, ed. (Aldershot, 1998), p. 227. Manzano states categorically that the fourth Umayyad sovereign of al-Andalus could not set any Mediterranean policy. It is true that he did not own a naval fleet, nevertheless it appears that the *ʾamīr* controlled several costal sites, such as *ḥuṣūn* (sing. *ḥiṣn*) or *ribāṭāt* (sing. *ribāṭ*) (fortresses), as well as vessels. See Jorge Lirola Delgado, "El poder naval de al-Andalus en la época del califato omeya (siglo IV hégira/X era cristiana)" (Ph.D diss. University of Granada, 1991), pp. 88–98.

neglect ceremonial and gift-exchange, this article focus on the political dimension of these exchanges in a broader Mediterranean framework.[7]

De Ceremoniis, by Constantine VII, reports the arrival of a Cordovan mission to Constantinople between 946 and 949. These exchanges are also accounted by Arab sources, such as Ibn Ḥayyān, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn ʿIdhārī and al-Maqqarī, who report with detail the arrival and reception of Byzantine ambassadors.

The political framework of the Iberian Peninsula in the 10th century contributed for the emergence of al-Andalus in both shores of the western Mediterranean. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III succeeded his grandfather ʿAbd Allāh in 912. The Umayyad family held the Emirate of Cordoba since 756, when ʿAbd al-Raḥmān I, grandson of the Umayyad Caliph of Damascus, Hishām bin ʿAbd al-Malik, took refuge in the Iberia Peninsula, after another family, the ʿAbbasids, took the caliphal title in the East and massacred the masculine lineage of the Umayyads. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III inherited a fragmented Emirate where several governors were powerful enough to declare their independence from Cordoba. Although governors recognized nominally the central power, when the new ʾ*amīr* ascended to the throne, Cordoba and its surroundings were the only territory controlled *de facto* by the Umayyads. The central power had to deal with governors who had associated their political administrative position with their own lineage. Thus, the administrative role of the *wilaiya* (governorate) of a specific province had been affiliated within a family lineage, inherited

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7 As this article aims at discussing the political motivations of exchanges between al-Andalus and Byzantium in the 10th century, I will not debate on the number of embassies exchanged between both powers neither its ceremonial features, which are discussed elsewhere. See Elsa Cardoso, "The scenography of power in al-Andalus and the ʿAbbasid and Byzantine ceremonials: Christian ambassadorial receptions in the court of Cordoba in a comparative perspective," *Medieval Encounters. Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* (January, 2018), 1–45, DOI: 10.1163/15700674-12340007. For the debate on the number of embassies exchanged between both powers, see the thorough study of Juan Signes Codoñer, "Bizancio y al-Andalus en los siglos IX y X," in *Bizancio y la Península Ibérica. De la Antigüedad Tardía a la Edad Moderna*, Inmaculada Pérez Martín and Pedro Bádenas de la Peña, eds. (Madrid, 2004), pp. 177–246. As for the dating of the embassies see Otto Kresten, "Zur Chrysographie in den Auslandsschreiben der byzantinischen Kaiser," *Romische historische Mitteilungen*, 40 (1998), 139–86. The political dimensions of other aspects of these exchanges, such as official missives, peace treaties, ceremonial, economic aspects and gift-exchange have also been surveyed by Nicholas Drocourt in several studies, which privilege an approach of remarking several exemplary cases in order to discuss a diplomatic common language of medieval courts. See Nicholas Drocourt, "Christian-Muslim diplomatic relations. An overview of the main sources and themes of encounter (600–1000)," in *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History. Volume 2 (900–1050),* David Thomas et al., eds. (Leiden, 2010), pp. 29–72; Nicholas Drocourt, "Passing on Political Information between Major Powers: The Key-Role of Ambassadors between Byzantium and Some of its Neighbours," *Al-Masaq* 24: 1 (2012), 91–112, DOI: 10.1080/09503110.2012.655586.

from father to son. The endemic fragmentation of power was the clear result of a frontier society, such as the Iberian Peninsula, where unstable loyalties prevailed.

One of the most threatening families were the Banū Hafsūn, a lineage which proclaimed their Iberian genealogy, who had resorted to Bobastro, a mountain region quite near the capital, to declare their independence. Among other accusations, this family, at some point, had presumably declared their allegiance towards the Shi'i Ismaili Fatimid Caliphate. After a successful military campaign, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III was able to victoriously enter Bobastro, where he believed the Banū Hafsūn had converted to Christianity, and thus the family were charged with the religious crime of apostasy.

This success offered the *'amīr* the perfect moment for finally claiming the Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus. In 929, he despatched several letters to all the governors of al-Andalus, proclaiming his legitimacy to a title long overdue, taking as a *laqab* (honorific title, typically a caliphal privilege) al-Nāṣir li-din Allāh, "the champion in the faith of God." The volatile situation experienced by the central power, before the 'reunification' achieved by the first caliph of Cordoba, meant that no external policy was endured. Mediterranean diplomacy is not reported during such political fragmentation, most certainly because the *'amīr* was troubled in securing his feeble power. The recognition of the power of al-Andalus by a strong Mediterranean ally, such as the Byzantine Empire, was also part of the legitimacy and propaganda program of al-Nāṣir li-din Allāh.

Furthermore, proclaiming the Caliphate of al-Andalus was the logical consequence after the Fatimids rose to power and declared their own caliphate in 909. The Ismaili Fatimid Caliphate had first established itself in 909 in al-Maḥdiyya, then in al-Manṣūriyya and finally in Cairo when they conquered Egypt in 969. The Fatimids – a name that declared their genealogy through the Prophet Muḥammad's daughter, Fatima al-Zahra' – were able to expand their territories into North Africa, defeating the Aghlabids. They inherited their power in Sicily, where Byzantium had lost its last stronghold of Taormina in 902. Their expansion was potentially dangerous both for the eastern and western parts of the Mediterranean. Both al-Andalus, which ruled several regions in the Maghreb al-Aqṣā, and Byzantium had to pay attention to this new emergent power.

2   Politics and Diplomacy under 'Abd al-Raḥmān III

I shall now discuss political motivations for the exchanges between Cordoba and Byzantium. The declaration of a western caliphate in al-Andalus by 'Abd al-Rahmān III and his *de facto* territorial power over the whole peninsula resulted

as well in the caliph's expansionist agenda. The Maghreb al-Aqṣā and the western Mediterranean were the obvious territorial and maritime extensions of al-Andalus.[8] In fact, the Arab geographers describe al-Andalus as a new hub of the Muslim space, competitor of Baghdad, Qayrawan and later on, Cairo.[9]

The recently declared Fatimid Caliphate, in 909, and its successful expansion in North Africa, as well as in Sicily, proved to be a real threat for al-Andalus. Contrary to the political situation of al-Andalus in the 9th century, where the 'Abbasids did not present a real threat towards the existence of al-Andalus, the Fatimids were expanding to east and west of the Maghreb and at this time it was not certain that they would settle in an eastern Mediterranean axis, as in fact happened when they conquered Fustat and founded Cairo in 968. Although the Aghlabids had certainly been the 'Abbasid agents in the western Mediterranean, nevertheless their conquests never presented a real threat to al-Andalus.

With the Fatimids, this was not the case, and they even threatened directly the maritime borders of al-Andalus, as they were able to sack Almeria in 955. Indeed, it was not by coincidence that the Fatimids chose Almeria as the target of their attack. It had become the busiest port of al-Andalus and both its activity, which was only comparable to al-Maḥdiyya, and its name, al-Maḥriyya, represented the rivalry between both powers.[10]

Indeed, the preference of 'Abd Allāh for 'Abd al-Raḥmān III being his successor was influenced by this new Mediterranean power. As underlined before, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III inherited a fragmented territory, and the political sedition spread all over al-Andalus, and especially in the Marches regions, which was also a reflexion of the quarrels among the Umayyad family. 'Abd Allāh, in an unprecedented approach, presumably, had his predecessor and brother, al-Mundhir, assassinated, also instigated the death of his son Muḥammad (and father of the future 'Abd al-Raḥmān III) at the hands of his other son, Muṭarrif, and then ordered the assassination of the last, who was suspected of treason. Apparently, 'Abd Allāh nominated his grandson 'Abd al-Raḥmān as his heir apparent and political propaganda played a strong role in the ascension of the first caliph of Cordoba, who was presented as closing a cycle of seven *'umarā'*, a number with great religious significance for the Fatimid caliphs, and opening, as the eighth *'amīr* of al-Andalus, another cycle.[11]

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8   This is an idea expressed by the main supervisor of my PhD dissertation, Professor Hermenegildo Fernandes (Centre for History, University of Lisbon).

9   Christophe Picard, *La Mer des Califes. Une histoire de la Méditerranée musulmane* (Paris, 2015), p. 143.

10   Picard, *La Mer des Califes*, p. 153.

11   Maribel Fierro, "Porque sucedió 'Abd al-Rahman a su abuelo el emir 'Abd Allah," *Al-Qantara* XXVI, 2 (2005), 365–66. The Ismā'īlī Shi'a doctrine is based on the belief of seven Imams.

Thus, the expansion and the structuring of an axis of influence, especially in the Maghrebi Mediterranean shores, was not only an Umayyad ambition, but it was also a necessity, in order to maintain and endure territorial and mercantile power of al-Andalus.

Constantinople had also to deal with the Fatimid threat. Again, the Byzantine Empire had to revive the Sicilian loss. In 902, Taormina was lost, and in 909, the island's ownership falls into the hands of the Fatimid rulers. As 902 marks the fall of the last official Byzantine stronghold of Sicily, the historiography conventionally agrees that such an event also marked the end of an imperial policy over the island. Despite of the conquest of Taormina, a thorough research by Vivien Prigent has proved that neither the Byzantine presence in the island nor an imperial policy on Sicily had ceased.[12] The Fatimid Caliphate also revealed its interests towards southern-Italian shores. In 928, the Fatimids landed in Apulia, stormed Taranto and Otranto, and threatened Campania, which led Salerno and Naples to pay the Fatimid fleet to withdraw from the Italian shores and Romanos Lekapenos to accept the payment of a tribute, between 931 and 932, in exchange for the security of Calabria and Apulia.[13] It seems that the Byzantine Empire wished for this truce situation to prevail, as in October 946 Constantine VII sent an embassy to al-Maḥdī.[14] This was precisely in the same year and month that *De Ceremoniis* places ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's mission to Constantinople.[15] It seems that it was the Andalusi caliph who took the initiative to resume new exchanges between both powers, as Ibn Ḥayyān places the first Byzantine embassy to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III on 11 Rabi' al-Awwal 338 A.H. (8 September 949).[16] Evidently, the caliph of Cordoba, upon being informed of Fatimid military actions on Italian shores and in

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12   Vivien Prigent, "La Politique Sicilienne de Romain Ier Lécapène," in *Guerre et societé au Moyen Âge. Byzance Occident (VIIIe–XIIIe siècle)*, Dominique Barthélemy and Jean-Claude Cheynet, eds. (Paris, 2010), pp. 63–84.

13   Heinz Halm, *The Empire of the Mahdi. The Rise of the Fatimids*, trans. Michael Bonner (Leiden, 1996), p. 238.

14   Maribel Fierro, *Abderramán III y el califato omeya de Córdoba* (San Sebastián, 2011), p. 141.

15   Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. Ann Moffat and Maxeme Tall, vol. 2 (Canberra, 2012), pp. 570–88. The date of the first mission of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in Constantinople is still a discussed issue. Otto Kresten points out that usually receptions of ambassadors were held on Sundays, and that October 24, 946 was not a Sunday. Therefore, Kresten suggests that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's embassy was received on October 24th 947, which was a Sunday, and it was afterwards added to accounts regarding receptions of 946. See Kresten, "Zur Chrysographie in den Auslandsschreiben der byzantinischen Kaiser," pp. 31–4.

16   http://www.mela.us/committees/hegira.html. This source has been used to convert Muslim calendar dates to the Christian calendar throughout the text.

Sicily, showed his concern about the growing puissance of the new North-African dynasty. Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that the political and territorial situation of Byzantium was not the same as in the 9th century, when Theophilos's desperate situation regarding the Emirate of Crete, the Aghlabids in Sicily and the 'Abbasids in Amorium, triggered the despatch of several embassies to the western Mediterranean courts. Most certainly, upon receiving news on diplomatic relations and a truce achieved between the Fatimids and Constantinople, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III was concerned that this alliance could develop into a joint force which would defend both Fatimid and Byzantine interests in the Mediterranean and North-African shores. Nicholas Drocourt believes the nature of the diplomatic contacts between al-Andalus and Byzantium was the existence of a common enemy, the Fatimids, who were moving from the Ifrīqiyya to Egypt. Moreover, he points out a failed attempt alliance between the Fatimids and the Bulgars, which was put to an end by Byzantium, when an imperial ship captured the emissaries of both powers.[17]

As the caliph understood that Byzantium had to accept a truce with the Fatimids, he did not want to waste any time, so he anticipated any potential danger of such an alliance and probably made use of these arguments to achieve an agreement with the Byzantine emperor. If the Italian shores were one of the main concerns for the mercantile interests of the Byzantines, why not send an embassy to Constantinople and discuss mutual territorial and mercantile interests?

In fact, Amalfitan merchants arrived at al-Andalus in the end of Jumādā al-Thānī 330 A.H. (March 942), intending to open the Andalusi trade routes to Amalfitan trade, which they successfully achieved, as the caliph was pleased and acquired most of the merchandise brought to them, and from then on mercantile exchanges between Andalusis and Amalfitans developed.[18] Indeed, *al-Muqtabis V* reports another stay of Amalfitan merchants in al-Andalus, when they arrived among the members of a diplomatic delegation sent by the ruler of Sardinia, once more bringing luxury goods, such as ingots, of both silver and gold, or satin.[19] Anthony Cutler, who underlines its economic consequences, which were fundamental for negotiating trade agreements, has studied gift-exchange during receptions of ambassadors. Declassified as a part of economic history, gift-exchange was dismissed for being perceived

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17   Drocourt, "Christian-Muslim diplomatic relations," p. 51.
18   Ibn Ḥayyān, *Crónica del Califa 'Abdarraman III an-Nasir entre los años 912 y 942 (al-Muqtabis V)*, trans. Maria Jesís Viguera and Federico Corriente (Zaragoza, 1981), pp. 358–59. Ibn Ḥayyān says that among their luxury products were satin and purple.
19   Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis V*, p. 365.

as a symptom of 'archaic' or 'primitive' societies, and conventionally seen as superfluous luxury goods, without any political consequence.[20]

The Fatimid power was of course one of the main political concerns regarding exchanges between 'Abd al-Raḥmān III and Constantine VII, and the Ismaili control over the Mediterranean area, comprising Sicily and Italian shores, could not only mean the loss of Umayyad influence in the Maghreb but could also damage its mercantile interests. In fact, Amalfitan merchants were able to draw an axis of mercantile interests from al-Andalus, the Maghreb, Egypt and Syria-Palestine within the Muslim territories, connecting these trade networks to Byzantium.[21]

Juan Signes believes that an alliance based on mutual interests in the Sicilian and North-African shores is proved through the narrative of the Fatimid historian Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān.[22] In his *Book of Audiences and Travelling,* Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, records that after the Fatimid attack of Almeria in 955, the Umayyad caliph sent an embassy in 344 A.H. (April 955–April 956) to Constantine VII, asking for his help against the Fatimid hegemony, which was conceded to him, and an Andalusi fleet on the shores of Sicily was joined by a Byzantine fleet.[23] Furthermore, al-Nuʿmān accounts that the Byzantine fleet was defeated by the Fatimids and fled to the strait of Reggio, though not mentioning what happened to the Umayyad fleet. However, according to this source an embassy of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III was received in Constantinople between 955 and 956. The account of this historian is somehow obscure, as it does not mention details about such a joint expedition or what happened to the Umayyad fleet. However, this does not mean it did not take place. The attack on Almeria in 955 might have had an impact on the political power of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III. Of course this attack was intended more to provoke and serve legitimacy purposes, as the Fatimids did not intend an open military conflict against the Umayyads, who by this time had a strong and developed fleet, a caliphal attribute of power.[24]

In fact, the Fatimid attack of Almeria in 955 seems to be a direct response to an Umayyad attack against a Sicilian ship in the same year. Lévi-Provençal asserts that in 955, 'Abd al-Raḥmān III sent a ship to Alexandria, with merchandise intended for trade, and when sailing through Ifrīqiyya's shores came

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20   Anthony Cutler, "Gifts and Gift Exchange as Aspects of the Byzantine, Arab and Related Economies," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001), pp. 247–48.

21   Dominique Valérian, "Amalfi e il mondo musulmano: un laboratorio per le città marinare italiane?," *Rassegna del Centro di Cultura e Storia Amalfitana* XX (2010), p. 201.

22   Signes, "Bizancio y al-Andalus," p. 237.

23   Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, *Kitāb al-Majālis wa al-Musayarāt* [Book of Audiences and Travelling], ed. Al-Habib et al. (Tunis, 1978), pp. 166–67. This particular passage is translated by Juan Signes, "Bizancio y al-Andalus," pp. 237–38.

24   Picard, *La Mer des Califes*, pp. 154–55.

across a Sicilian ship from the Fatimid governor of Sicily to the Fatimid Caliph al-Muʿizz. The Umayyad ship attacked the Sicilian, taking its merchandise as well as official documents for the Fatimid caliph. Following this event, al-Muʿizz sent his representative in Sicily, al-Ḥassan bin ʿAlī, to attack with his fleet the Andalusi shores, devastating Almeria.[25]

If Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān mentions that an Umayyad fleet met a Byzantine fleet around 955–56 in the Sicilian shores, Ibn ʿIdhārī accounts that after the Almeria attack, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III sent the admiral of his fleet, Ghālib, in 345 A.H. (April 956–April 957), to devastate the Ifrīqiyya's shores, after curses were pronounced against the Fatimids from mosques all over al-Andalus, and letters were sent to the governors.[26] Perhaps this fleet mentioned by Ibn ʿIdhārī could be the same mentioned by Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, and while the Byzantine fleet was supposed to devastate and regain some of the Byzantine possessions in Sicily, the Umayyad fleet was devastating the shores of Ifrīqiyya, and thus making a statement that the Maghreb shores were one of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān's policies. Therefore, this attack mentioned by Ibn ʿIdhārī could be part of a planned joint attack between the caliph of Cordoba and Constantine VII, hence corroborating the narrative of Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān. While one of the fleets was devastating the Sicilian part of the Fatimid possessions, another was attacking the shores of Ifrīqiyya, and therefore both could have been mutual diversions for each other. Nevertheless, the Fatimid fleet reacted quickly and concentrated its forces against the Byzantine fleet, which was defeated, as mentioned by Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān.

Lévi-Provençal further mentions, though not providing the reader with the source, that Ghālib, al-Nāṣir's admiral, with a fleet of 70 ships, attacked Marsa al-Kharaz, Sousse and Tabarka. Due to the fact that each attack, either from the Umayyads or the Fatimids, led to a new offensive, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's North-African policy, in his last years, is described by Lévi-Provençal as bitter, since the Fatimids made sure to attack his most precious possessions in the Maghreb, such as Tahart, leaving him with only two strongholds, Tangier and Ceuta.[27]

ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III's foreign policy, regarding his interests in North Africa, was based on a chain of influences in the Maghreb, where he kept his agents. Indeed, Ibn ʿIdhārī describes that ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III kept agents in North Africa and in 946 he received Muḥammad bin Muḥammad bin Kulayb in Cordoba,

25   Évariste Lévi-Provençal, "España Musulmana, hasta la caída del califato de Córdoba (711–1031 J.C.)," in *Historia de España*, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal, vol. IV (Madrid, 1982), pp. 319–20.

26   Ibn ʿIdhārī, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagen intitulée al-Bayyano'l-Mogrib*, trans. E. Fagnan, vol. II (Algiers, 1904), p. 366.

27   Lévi-Provençal, "España Musulmana," p. 321.

who had arrived from Qayrawan to announce the death of Abū al-Qāsim bin 'Ubayd Allāh, the Fatimid caliph who died in Maḥdiyya while being sieged by Abū Zayd, and succeeded by his son Ismā'īl.[28] This was of course the Fatimid Caliph al-Qā'im bi-'Amr Allāh, or Abū al-Qāsim, who died in 946 while being sieged by the rebellious Abū Yazīd, a Zanata Berber *khārijī*, known as *Ṣāḥib al-Ḥimār* (*the possessor of the donkey*), a symbol of his humbleness. Abū Yazīd is said to have sent agents to 'Abd al-Raḥmān III as he intended to recognize the Umayyad Caliphate and obtain his military help against the Fatimids.[29] However, the Cordovan caliph did not react in time, and the Fatimids defeated Abū Yazīd. In the light of this specific political framework, which witnessed the fragility of the Fatimids, threatened at their own capital, Byzantium and al-Andalus might have seen in 946, the year in which the Andalusi-Byzantine exchanges restarted, a window of opportunity to damage the Fatimid power.

Another presumable, though secondary, topic of these exchanges was perhaps the situation in Crete. It is known that Constantine VII tried to disembark on the island at this time. *De Ceremoniis* describes the preparation of an expedition in 949.[30] Lévi-Provençal also mentions the Byzantine emperor's attempts to reconquer Crete, adding that, nevertheless, Constantine VII did not have any valid excuse to evoke the responsibility of al-Andalus towards the actions of Abū Ḥafṣ' descendants, and hence he assigns to the motivations of these exchanges a cultural role. As pointed out above, there is an unquestionable cultural role for these embassies, as chroniclers report several of such exchanges.[31] The political impact caused by ceremonial features displayed during diplomatic receptions is evident. Ritual gestures and actions translated the nature of the exchanges, either recognition of political power, truce requests, negotiation of alliances, or recognition of tributary states. A common ceremonial language was understandable between these Mediterranean courts, which influenced each other, incorporating new ritual traditions.[32] The example of the description of the reception of Byzantine ambassadors in the palatine-city of Madīna al-Zahrā', near Cordoba, evidences the high political status attributed

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28   Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayyān II*, p. 354.

29   Fierro, *Abderrahmán III*, pp. 126–27.

30   Constantine VII, *De Ceremoniis*, pp. 662–79.

31   For the intellectual dimension of Arab-Byzantine exchanges see Jakub Sypiański, "Arabo-Byzantine relations in the 9th and 10th centuries as an area of cultural rivalry," in *Proceedings of the international Symposium Byzantium and The Arab World Encounter of Civilizations*, A. Kralides and A. Gkoutzioukostas, eds. (Thessaloniki, 2013), pp. 465–78.

32   See note 6 for literature on the subject. Paul Magdalino has published comprehensively on Byzantine court society and ceremonial, see for example: "Court and Capital in Byzantium," in *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires*, Jeroen Duindan et al., eds. (Leiden, 2011), pp. 129–44.

by the Umayyad Caliphate to the representatives of the Empire. Every detail mentioned for the preparation of the reception was supervised and even a glittering *sarīr* (throne) of jewels was raised specifically for the occasion, revealing the adoption of a royal symbol, presumably non-existent in Madīna al-Zahrā', before 949.[33] Nonetheless, there are also some clues left by sources that allow us to discern political motivations.

Perhaps Constantine VII took advantage of the Cordovan diplomatic initiative to mention the situation of Crete. He also knew that 'Abd al-Raḥmān III possessed a powerful fleet, which aimed at defending his interests in the Mediterranean shores of the Maghreb and even extending his mercantile interests towards the Italian shores, through diplomatic alliances.

The Book of Ceremonies, when describing the 949 expedition of Crete, mentions the fitting out of the fleets and cavalry for other Byzantine provinces. It is quite interesting that in this passage is mentioned that from the imperial fleet, three units with the *ostiarios* and *nipsistiarios* Stephen were to be sent for service in Hispania.[34] *The Book of Ceremonies* does not add any more details to this account. It is also not possible to tell if these fleets prepared for Hispania had some relation to the expedition of Crete. *De Ceremoniis*, in the same passage, describes that fleets were also sent to Dalmatia, Dyrrhachion and Calabria, the Italian costal region to which Byzantium was still holding to, despite the loss of the Sicilian stronghold of Taormina, as pointed out by Prigent.[35]

The Cretans were still powerful enough to threaten the Aegean Sea, and between 930 and 940, the Emirate attacked Peloponnese and central Greece, sacking Athos again.[36] However, the expedition of 949 was unsuccessful. There are also accounts of diplomatic exchanges between Constantinople and Crete, in 913/914, aiming to exchange prisoners taken from raids.[37] The Cretans also damaged the Eastern Mediterranean trade interests of Byzantium.

We know that this account refers to 949, the same year in which a Byzantine embassy was received in Cordoba. Could it be the fleet in which the Byzantine

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33   Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain. Nafḥ al-tib min ghosnī al-Andalusī al-Ratīb wa Tārīkh Lisān ad-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb,* trans. Pascual de Gayangos, vol. II (London, 1843), p. 141; Cardoso, "The scenography of power in al-Andalus," p. 22.

34   Constantine VII, *De Ceremoniis*, p. 664. The translators clarify that for the fleet, one unit would either correspond to a crew or to a ship and its crew. As for the *ostiarios* and *nipsistiarios*, the first was a court title given to "a palace eunuch whose function was to introduce dignitaries to the emperor or empress," the second also refers to an eunuch "whose function was to give the emperor a basin and ewer with which to wash his hands before he left the palace or before other ceremonies." See Glossary of *De Ceremoniis*, p. 832.

35   Prigent, "La Politique Sicilienne de Romain Ier Lécapène," p. 67.

36   Canard, "Ikritish," p. 1084.

37   Picard, *La Mer des Califes*, p. 260.

ambassadors travelled in to al-Andalus? It could also be the case that after the first mission of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III to Constantinople and the acknowledgement of mutual concerns regarding the Fatimids, Constantine VII would have sent a fleet to be part of a joint action against Fatimid holdings both in Sicily and the Maghreb. However, this is just a hypothesis, as to my knowledge no other source mentions the dispatch of Byzantine naval power to Hispania. However, the reasons for such a favourable joint interest have been exposed above. This would also mean that Andalusi and Byzantine fleets would have met more than once, besides the expedition mentioned by the Fatimid historian, Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān.

3   Byzantium and al-Ḥakam II

After the death of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III in 961, his son, al-Ḥakam II, who participated actively in the political and diplomatic life of his father's court, succeeded to the throne of al-Andalus. The centralization of power was one of the most important legacies of his father, and henceforth he rarely had to leave the court in military campaigns. Al-Ḥakam II is identified as the highest cultural exponent of Umayyad al-Andalus. He is the wise and intelligent caliph, famous throughout al-Andalus and Western Europe for building his own library.

Besides bequeathing his son a unified territory, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III left his heir an efficient administration, whose economic prosperity was achieved through a systematic collection of taxes. It is most likely that it was al-Ḥakam's father who prepared him to become a distinct ruler from himself.[38] ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III and al-Ḥakam II were the only two caliphs who held actual power over their administration and territory. Maribel Fierro, although agreeing that the second caliph of al-Andalus continued his father's policies, suggests that his reign marks the beginning of the end for the Umayyad Western Caliphate, as he appointed his son, future Hishām II, as heir apparent. When Hishām II inherited the rule of al-Andalus he was only 11 years old, which meant that he had not yet achieved the legal age to rule, according to Muslim Sunni precepts. In fact, it was during al-Ḥakam's rule that Ibn Abī ʿĀmir started to develop his military and political career in the court of Cordoba, where he had a strong influence on al-Ḥakam's favourite and mother of the heir apparent, Ṣubḥ. After the death of al-Ḥakam II, he achieved the *khuṭṭāt al-ḥijjāba* (the office of chamberlain), and because Hishām was underage, he became the regent. He even took a *laqab*, which is considered as an exclusively caliphal attribute,

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38   Fierro, *Abderramán III*, p. 16.

being known as al-Manṣūr bi-Allāh, though never declaring himself as ʾ*amīr al-mūminīn,* or caliph. He founded the ʿAmirid dynasty, as he never ceased to be the actual holder of power in al-Andalus, and his sons inherited his office. It seems that Hishām never opposed the power of his *ḥājib*. Eduardo Manzano asserts that he was seen as a "half idiot relative" by the ruling family.[39]

Under al-Ḥakam II, exchanges with Byzantium were maintained, and he received several embassies each year from northern Christian principalities, asking for truces. Al-Ḥakam II was able to dedicate himself not only to the arts, but also to the construction and new projects conceived for Madīna al-Zahrāʾ, the palace-city complex, as well as to external policy and diplomacy.

Upon his succession to the throne of al-Andalus, al-Ḥakam II continued his father's policy regarding foreign relations. If motivations under ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III were both political and cultural, as he received a Greek translator, the books of Dioscorides and Orosius,[40] as well as columns and basins from Byzantium,[41] under al-Ḥakam's rule, cultural exchanges with the Byzantine Empire went even further. The second caliph not only received Byzantine mosaics and skilled artisans for the construction of the *mihrab* of the Great Mosque of Cordoba[42] but also is said to have exchanged books and intellectual discussions with the Byzantine emperor. A letter, sent by the Byzantine emperor – edited, translated and commented by S.M. Stern – was copied and kept in a manuscript of Madrid National Library, mentioning the request of the caliph for philosophy books and the scientific disposition of both rulers for sciences. Contemporary historians have identified the manuscript as a copy of *The Book of Causes* (*Kitāb al-ʿIlāl*) by Appolonius of Tyana, philosopher of the 1st century A.D. In the end of the manuscript the content of the letter, in which the (unidentified) *basileus* offers the book to al-Ḥakam, is reproduced.[43]

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39   Eduardo Manzano, *Conquistadores, Emires y Califas: los Omeyas y la Formación de al-Andalus* (Barcelona, 2006), p. 478.

40   Ibn Abī Usayb'iya, "Appendix A. v. the life of Ibn Juljul, fo. 137," in Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain*, trans. Pascual de Gayangos, vol. I (London, 1843), pp. xxiii–xxvii; Ibn Abī Usayb'iya, "Appendix n. II. Vie d'Ebn Djoldjol, extraite de l'Historie des Médecins d'Ebn-Abi-Osaïba," in Abd-Allatif, *Relation de l'Égypte*, trans. M. Silvestre de Sacy (Paris, 1810), pp. 495–500.

41   Aḥmad al-Maqqarī, *The History of the Mohammedan Dynasties in Spain. Nafḥ al-tib min ghosnī al-Andalusi al-Ratīb wa Tārīkh Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb,* trans. Pascual de Gayangos. vol. I, (London, 1840), pp. 234–36.

42   Ibn ʿIdhārī, *al-Bayyān II*, p. 392.

43   S.M. Stern, "A Letter of the Byzantine Emperor to the court of the Spanish Umayyad Caliph al-Hakam," *al-Andalus, Revista de Estudios Árabes de las Escuelas de Madrid y Granada*, vol. XXVI, 1 (1961), 37–42.

Al-Ḥakam II, recognized as the scholar-caliph, also developed the court ceremonial, and one of his first acts as a caliph was to surround "his person with all the pomp and magnificence of the empire."[44] Despite his dedication to the arts and sciences, he persisted in his father's policy in both al-Andalus and North Africa, maintaining the Umayyad interests. However, most of the political reasons which moved both Constantine VII and ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III to exchange embassies did not make sense under al-Ḥakam's rule.

In 959, Constantine VII died and his son, Romanos II, succeeded him. His state affairs were led by his *paracoemomenus* [Great chamberlain] Joseph Bringas, leaving also great military campaigns to commanders such as Nikephoros Phokas.[45] It was under Romanos II's reign that Nikephoros Phokas, together with a large squadron, was able to reconquer Crete in March 961, after a siege that lasted the whole winter, and during which the capital, Chandax, fell again into the hands of Byzantium. It was in fact an important victory for Byzantium, as finally they could control the main entrance to the Aegean Sea. Most certainly, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III knew of this Byzantine victory, as he only died in October 961 (Ramadan 350).

Signes suggests that the inexistence of exchanges from ca. 840 until ca. 946, as well as the opening of al-Andalus to Amalfitan traders, indicate mercantile interests rather than just political motivations.[46] He also advocates that a frequent exchange of embassies, from 958 onwards, between the Byzantines and the Fatimids, as well as the conquest of Egypt and the foundation of Cairo as their new capital, will determine a decrease of exchanges with al-Andalus, which becomes an inconvenient ally.[47]

Even after the conquest of Crete in 961 and the agreements that might have been the result of exchanges between Byzantium and the Fatimid Caliphate from 958 onwards, al-Andalus probably remained a safe ally for the Byzantines, who most certainly did not look favourably on the increase of Fatimid power on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. The conquest of Egypt in 968 by the Fatimids and the consequent foundation of Cairo near the settlement of Fustat, must have been regarded as a potential threat to the Byzantines. Even though Nikephorus had reconquered Crete in 961, the Fatimid conquest of Egypt in 968 created a new Mediterranean balance of power. The Fatimids now controlled Alexandria, one of the most important trade centres, which connected Italian cities, such as Amalfi, with North Africa and Byzantium. It must

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44   Al-Maqqarī, *Nafḥ II,* p. 156.
45   G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, 2nd English ed. (London, 1968), p. 284.
46   Signes, "Bizancio y al-Andalus," p. 236.
47   Signes, "Bizancio y al-Andalus," p. 239.

not be forgotten that settlers who established the Emirate of Crete arrived from Alexandria, then under the 'Abbasids, who saw the conquest of the island as the foundation of a stronghold capable of securing Muslim trade in the Mediterranean and, at the same time, a threat for the Byzantine Aegean Sea.[48] The Fatimids moving to Egypt did not only mean that the Andalusi shores and the Umayyad possessions in North Africa would cease being attacked by the Fatimids, it also meant that their attacks could harm Byzantine interests in the eastern Mediterranean. Evidently, Byzantine fears led to frequent embassies and inquiries towards the Fatimid court. Of course, the Fatimid Caliphate, upon the conquest of Egypt, redirected its policy towards more eastern Mediterranean shores. Nevertheless, Byzantium kept sending ambassadors to Cordoba, like those sent in 972 by John Tzimisces.[49] Even after the Byzantine conquest of Crete or the Fatimid conquest of Cairo, the mercantile interests of Byzantium involved political motivations and political alliances. Mercantile interests in the direction of Italy were intrinsically connected to al-Andalus, as the arrival of Amalfitan traders and ambassadors from Sardinia had already demonstrated. In fact, a chain of interests appears to be established in diplomatic relations kept by Cordoba.

It was also in 972 that Fraxinetum – a Muslim settlement also known as Jabāl al-Qilāl, located in present-day La Garde-Freinet, near Saint-Tropez, Provence – was conquered by a joint force led by Guillaume I of Provence. Nevertheless, some sources place its final conquest as late as 990.[50] This might indicate that although the conquest by Guillaume was achieved in 972, there were still some Muslim settlements or Muslim attempts to take Fraxinetum back. Ibn Ḥayyān records an embassy sent from Unyū,[51] after 940, with the intent to achieve an agreement that would provide safe conduct for merchants travelling to Andalusi dominions. For Ibn Ḥayyān it was clear that Fraxinetum remained an

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48   Several Arab sources connect the expulsion of Andalusi adventurers from Alexandria in 210 A.H. (24/4/825–13/4/826) by the 'Abbasid governor of the city, 'Abd Allāh bin Ṭāhir, with the conquest of Crete by the followers of the Andalusi Abū Ḥafs. Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Ḥayyān assert that they surrendered to the governor of Egypt who demanded their departure and settlement in a non-Muslim possession, making arrangements for their departure to Crete, island which they elected as their new destination. See 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne*, trans. E. Fagnan (Algiers, 1901), p. 199; Ibn Ḥayyān, *al-Muqtabis II-1*, p. 72.

49   Ibn Hayyān, *Anales Palatinos del Califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II, por 'Isa Ibn Ahmad al-Razi*, trans. Emílio García Gómez (Madrid, 1967), p. 93.

50   Mohamad Ballan, "Fraxinetum: An Islamic Frontier State in Tenth-Century Provence," *Comitatus* 41 (2010), p. 32.

51   Identified as Hugh of Arles or Hugh of Italy. See Ballan, "Fraxinetum," pp. 70–1; Picard, *La Mer des Califes*, p. 159.

Umayyad possession, as he mentions that direct orders were sent to its *qā'id* (military commander), Nāṣir bin Aḥmad, to ensure safe conduct for such visitors.[52] Liutprand of Cremona leaves no doubt that Fraxinetum was a tributary state of al-Andalus, as he even mentions that the possession answered directly to Caliph 'Abd al-Raḥmān III.[53]

We also know that Otto I sent ambassadors to Cordoba in 954 to "settle peace and friendship in order to cease Saracen pirate attacks."[54] Although not mentioning directly Fraxinetum, it does mention the intention of peace with the first caliph of Cordoba. Fraxinetum and its activities were of interest to Byzantium, as Hugh of Arles also exchanged embassies with Romanos Lekapenos with the intention of asking for military help, in order to end Muslim rule over Fraxinetum, which, in the end, turned out not to be necessary as he made peace with the Muslims.[55] Furthermore, when Otto I despatched his embassy to the court of Cordoba, he also sent a mission to Constantinople.[56]

Thus, during al-Ḥakam II's rule, Fraxinetum remained active in Frankish and Italian shores, where Byzantium maintained mercantile interests. It should also be underlined that the Byzantines had not yet lost hope of reconquering Sicily. It seems that Basil II, after his military success on other fronts, started preparations for a campaign against the Fatimid rule in Sicily. Nevertheless, he died in 1025, before he could attempt it.[57] We know that Nikephorus Phokas, who conquered Crete, a conquest that was considered impossible by previous emperors, did attempt a failed expedition against Sicily in 964–65.[58]

Byzantium knew that the Umayyad caliphal fleets went as far as Alexandria and even devastated Fatimid territories, as happened during 'Abd al-Raḥmān III's reign. These fleets had a double goal, as they transported goods intended for trade, and at the same time, had military and political purposes. Thus, although the cultural stance of such exchanges is undeniable, the chain of influences and alliances sought among 10th-century Mediterranean powers must be acknowledged rather than complying only with the traditional historiographical framework of rivalries.

52   Ibn Ḥayyān, al-*Muqtabis V*, pp. 341–42.
53   Liutprand of Cremona, *The complete works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. Paolo Squatriti (Washington, D.C., 2007), pp. 45–6.
54   Juan, Abad de San Arnulfo, "La embajada del emperador de Alemania Otón I al califa de Córdoba Abderrahmán III. Vida de San Juan de Gortz," trans. Paz y Melia, *Boletín de la Academia de Ciencias, Bellas Letras y Nobles Artes de Córdoba* 33 (1931), p. 145.
55   Liutprand of Cremona, *The complete works*, p. 176. Ballan, "Fraxinetum," p. 29.
56   Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 283.
57   Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, p. 314.
58   Prigent, "La Politique Sicilienne de Romain Ier Lécapène," p. 64.

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Confrontation and Interchange between Byzantines and Normans in Southern Italy: the Cases of St Nicholas of Myra and St Nicholas the Pilgrim at the End of the 11th Century

Penelope Mougoyianni

1 Introduction[1]

The Norman conquest of southern Italy in 1071 was followed by a transitional period during which significant changes took place.[2] Urban governments emerged in the cities of the region because the Norman rulers could not establish full control over the former Byzantine territories.[3] At the same time, the bishoprics were reorganized by the pope and the Normans in order to utterly pass into the jurisdiction of the Church of Rome.[4] The construction or reconstruction of the cities's cathedrals was connected with the (re)discovery and translation of the relics of patron saints. These saints were mainly of Latin origin and many of them stemmed from southern Italy's Latin past before the

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2   For the conquest of southern Italy by the Normans, see Huguette Taviani-Carozzi, *La terreur du monde. Robert Guiscard et la conquête normande en Italie* (Paris, 1996); G.A. Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard: Southern Italy and the Norman Conquest* (Harlow, 2000).

3   Paul Oldfield, "Urban Government in Southern Italy, c.1085–c.1127," *The English Historical Review* 122/497 (June, 2007), 579–608.

4   Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 260–78. G.A. Loud, *The Latin Church in Norman Italy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 181–223.

Byzantine domination (876–1071).[5] However, two Apulian coastal cities, Bari, the former capital of the Byzantine theme of Longobardia, and Trani, Bari's antagonist, turned to the Byzantine Empire to find their new patron saints. Bari chose one of the most prominent Byzantine bishops and miracle-workers, St Nicholas of Myra as its patron saint, while Trani sanctified an unknown young hermit from Byzantine Greece, St Nicholas the Pilgrim. This contribution examines the catalytic role Byzantium continued to play in southern Italy during this transitional period and analyses the means by which the two cities chose these saints to promote different agendas, either to confront Byzantium, as in Bari's case, or to make a statement of self-identity through the attachment to Byzantine culture, as in Trani's case.

2   Changes in the Religious Landscape: St Nicholas of Myra as the Patron Saint of Bari

The translation of the relics of St Nicholas from his famous church in Myra to Bari on 9 May 1087 and the establishment of the saint's new shrine in the Apulian city proved to be crucial turning points in the early history of Norman Bari. According to the two *translationes sancti Nicolai*,[6] in April 1087 with over forty sailors and two priests on board, three ships[7] departed from Bari with the purpose of selling wheat and other merchandise in Antioch. After the

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5   Jean-Marie Martin, *La Pouille du VIe au XIIe siècle* (Rome, 1993), pp. 618–21; Paul Oldfield, *Sanctity and Pilgrimage in Medieval Southern Italy*, 1000–1200 (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 56–82, 104–05.

6   Members of the Barian clergy wrote the two *translationes sancti Nicolai* after the arrival of the relics in the city. The cleric Nikephoros wrote his *translatio* at the request of Bari's magnates and church officials, while John, the archdeacon of the cathedral, wrote his text at the command of Archbishop Ursus. A critical edition of the *translationes* is not yet available. The two Latin texts with an Italian translation in Mons. Francesco Nitti di Vito, "La traslazione delle reliquie di san Nicola," *Japigia* 8/3–4 (1937), pp. 336–56 (Nikephoros), 357–66 (John); Silvia Silvestro, *Santi, reliquie e sacri furti. San Nicola di Bari fra Montecassino e Normanni* (Napoli, 2013), pp. 92–102 (John), 113–24 (Nikephoros). For a discussion on the two *translationes,* see Charles W. Jones, *Saint Nicholas of Myra, Bari and Manhattan. Biography of a Legend* (Chicago, 1978), pp. 176–202; Agostino Pertusi, "Ai confini tra religione e politica. La contesa per le reliquie di S. Nicola tra Bari, Venezia e Genova," *Quaderni medievali* 5 (June, 1978), pp. 19–26; Gerardo Cioffari, *Storia della Basilica di S. Nicola di Bari. 1. L'epoca normanno sveva* (Bari, 1984), pp. 42–8; Pasquale Corsi, "La traslazione di san Nicola da Myra a Bari," in *San Nicola. Splendori d'arte d'Oriente e d'Occidente*, Michele Bacci, ed. (Milan, 2006), pp. 89–96; Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 54–5, 89–92, 137–58, who has very convincingly challenged the prevailing view that Nikephoros wrote his text before John. Silvestro dates John's *translatio* to the end of the 11th century, while that of Nikephoros later, since the manuscripts containing his account cannot be dated before the 12th century.

7   The number of the ships is given only by John: Silvestro, *Santi,* p. 94.
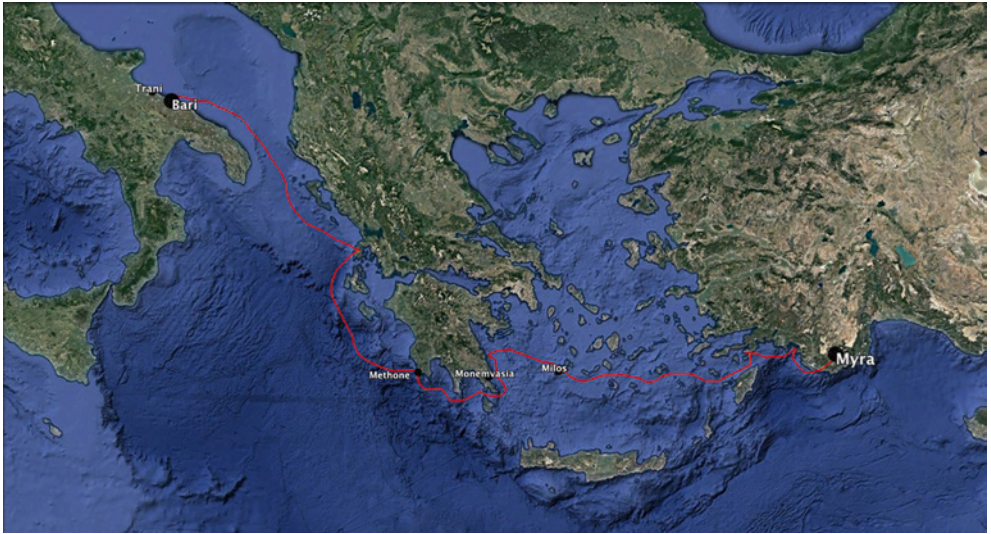
FIGURE 5.1 The approximate route of the ships carrying St Nicholas' relics from Myra to Bari in 1087.
FROM: GOOGLE EARTH

cargo had been sold, the Barians were led, either by Divine Providence[8] or by St Nicholas himself,[9] to sail to Myra, which had been conquered by the Seljuks, with the aim of taking the relics of St Nicholas and carrying them to Bari. The group entered the church of St Nicholas in Myra armed and removed the relics despite the entreaties of the Byzantine monks who were guarding the saint's tomb and the pleas of the citizens of Myra not to take the saint (Fig. 5.1).[10]

The arrival of the relics of St Nicholas in Bari on 9 May 1087 was followed by controversy among the citizens over the location where the relics should be held. The Barians eventually decided to build a church on the site of the *praitorion*, the former Byzantine administrative centre, which immediately was demolished (Fig. 5.2).[11] In June of the same year, a diploma was issued by Duke Roger Borsa (d. 1111) and Bohemond (d. 1111), sons of Robert Guiscard (d. 1085), the Duke of Apulia and Calabria. According to this diploma the *praitorion* was donated to Ursus (1080–89), the archbishop of Bari, with the purpose of erecting a church dedicated to St Nicholas.[12] Two years later, in 1089, only the crypt

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8   Silvestro *Santi*, pp. 94 (John), 114 (Nikephoros).

9   Silvestro, *Santi*, p. 115 (Nikephoros).

10   Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 95–101 (John), 114–20 (Nikephoros).

11   Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 101–02 (John), 114–22 (Nikephoros).

12   Giovanni Battista Nitto de Rossi and Francesco Nitti di Vito, eds., *Le pergamene del duomo di Bari (952–1264)*, Codice diplomatico barese I (Bari, 1897), no. 32, pp. 59–61. For this
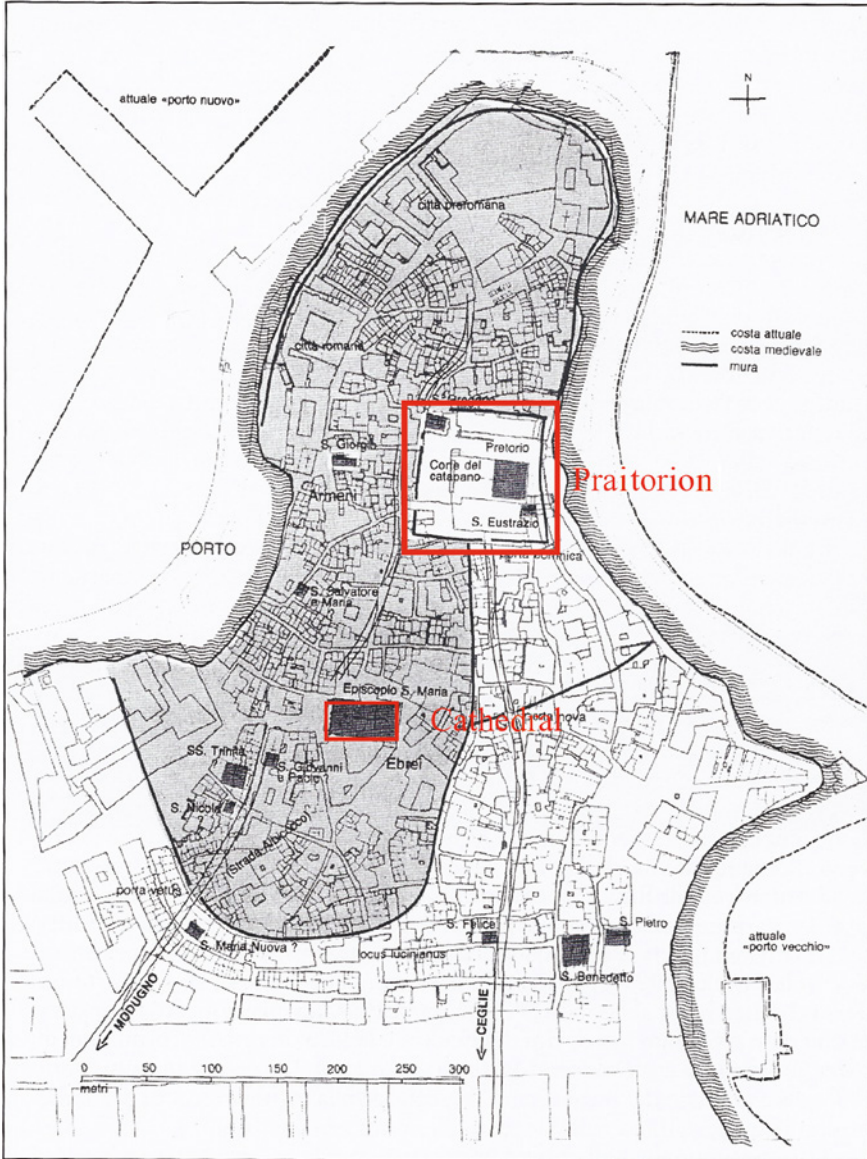
FIGURE 5.2 Site plan of Byzantine Bari.
FROM: *PUGLIA PREROMANICA DAL V SECOLO AGLI INIZI DELL' XI*, GIOIA
BERTELLI, ED. (MILAN, 2004), FIG. II

FIGURE 5.3   Bari, *Basilica of St Nicholas*.
PHOTO: CENTRE FOR ART HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION, RADBOUD
UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN

of the church was finished and Pope Urban II (1088–99) was invited by Roger
Borsa and Bohemond to translate the relics into the crypt. The basilica of St
Nicholas was accomplished thanks to the generous donations of Guiscard's
sons (Fig. 5.3).[13]

Key questions that arise concerning the translation of St Nicholas from
Myra to Bari are the following: by whom was the translation commissioned,
and what was the motive for transferring the cult centre of St Nicholas from
the East to the West? Unfortunately, the *translationes* by Nikephoros and John,

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diploma see also Jones, *Saint Nicholas,* p. 203; Cioffari, *Storia*, pp. 61–2; Silvestro, *Santi*,
pp. 10–1, 30.

13   Loud, *The Latin Church*, pp. 211–12; Oldfield, *Sanctity*, p. 59. For the basilica of St Nicholas
see Franco Schettini, *La Basilica di San Nicola di Bari* (Laterza, 1967); Pina Belli D'Elia, "Il
romanico," in *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan, 1980), pp. 152–69; Cioffari, *Storia*;
Sarah Burnett, "The Cult of St Nicholas in Medieval Italy." PhD Diss. (University of War-
wick, 2009), pp. 145–52 (hereafter cited as Burnett); Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 27–33, 159–76.

our only extant evidence, cannot be considered *a priori* as reliable sources, especially since a critical edition of the two texts is still missing. In fact, basing the study of the translation only on these two texts can be misleading, because texts of this type use certain *topoi* and present omissions and inconsistencies since they aims at justifying the action of the holy theft.[14] For instance, while both authors emphasize the key role of the citizens of Bari in the translation and the erection of the basilica of St Nicholas as well, at the same time both the authors also make a direct, albeit brief, statement that the translation was commissioned by the pope of Rome. When the Barians entered the church of St Nicholas in Myra, they told the Byzantine monks that they had been sent by the pope of Rome to carry the relics to Bari.[15] On the other hand, neither John nor Nikephoros report that the *praitorion* was donated by Roger Borsa and Bohemond. These omissions might indicate that the two authors probably overemphasized the role of the citizens of Bari and under-represented the role of the Normans and the pope. Scholars so far have limited themselves to examining the event only from the evidence that derives from the two *translationes*. As a result, Francesco Nitti di Vito,[16] Patrick J. Geary,[17] Vera von Falkenhausen[18] and Paul Oldfield[19] agree with the impression that is given by Nikephoros and John to the readers that the translation of St Nicholas was a civic enterprise, which was organized by the citizens of Bari alone. Their motive was either to acquire a new religious symbol for the city (Nitti di Vito), or to restore the city's pride (Falkenhausen) or to gain economic profit (Geary).[20] On the other

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14   For the genre of the *translationes* and its social and cultural context see Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra. Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 10–5.

15   Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 96 (John), 115 (Nikephoros).

16   Nitti di Vito, "La traslazione," pp. 308, 399–401.

17   Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 94–103.

18   Vera Von Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina: profilo di un capoluogo di provincia (secoli IX–XI)," in *Spazio, società, potere nell'Italia dei Comuni*, Gabriella Rossetti, ed. (Naples, 1986), pp. 220–27.

19   Oldfield, "Urban Government," p. 589; Oldfield, *Sanctity*, pp. 58–9, 69–70, 97–100.

20   According to the *translationes* the Barians were forced to precipitate their plan to remove the saint's relics, because the Venetians, who were sailing in the region for commercial purposes, also had the same plan, Silvestro *Santi*, pp. 95 (John), 125 (Nikephoros). Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 95, 101–03, has suggested that there was an antagonism between Bari and Venice. However, the Barians would be irrational to have the ambition to compete with Venice, not only in matters of trade, but also in matters of prestige, since Bari had never had the status of a naval power in the Mediterranean before or after the translation of St Nicholas. For Bari's maritime trade see Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina," pp. 209–13. This reference to Venice by John and Nikephoros should rather be researched in the context of the Norman-Venetian relations on which a special study has not been made yet. If this part belongs to the original texts and if it is not a later addition, it rather reflects the strained relations between the Normans and the Venetians in 1087, since the Venetians

hand, Agostino Pertusi[21] – followed by Paolo Corsi[22] – has argued, without making clear who had commissioned the translation, that the event should be examined within the context of Bari's ecclesiastical politics and any Norman interference should be excluded. According to Pertusi, the choice of the site of the *praitorion* for the erection of the basilica demonstrates that the aim of the translation was the establishment of a religious centre. Recently, Silvia Silvestro has challenged all the previous views, arguing that the translation was commissioned by Roger Borsa and Pope Victor III (1086–87), i.e. Desiderius, the former abbot of Montecassino (1058–86). The Norman Duke and the pope collaborated with Bari's archbishop, Ursus, and Elias, the abbot of the monastery of St Benedict in Bari, with the purpose of establishing a Benedictine monastery that would propagate the Church Reform in southern Italy.[23] Finally, Sarah Burnett is the only scholar so far who has referred to Byzantium by briefly pointing out that the erection of the basilica of St Nicholas on the site of the *praitorion* was a connotation of the Norman victory over Byzantium in the region.[24]

Silvestro's argument that the translation was commissioned by the Norman Duke and the pope is convincing and is supported by indirect evidence, but, as all the aforementioned scholars have done, she has restricted her research to Bari's local history. However, I argue that in order to examine the motive of the Normans and the pope, the translation of St Nicholas should be examined within the wider context of Norman-Byzantine relations. The status of Bari as the former Byzantine capital, the Latin participants in the translation, the demolition of the Byzantine *praitorion* and the specific choice of St Nicholas, and not of any other saint, carry strong anti-Byzantine implications, which provide the indirect evidence that should be taken into consideration alongside with the *translationes*. The Normans, the pope and the Latin Church in Bari, and not Bari's citizens, were the groups most interested in promoting an anti-Byzantine agenda, which would become widely known throughout the East and the West.

Bari was the most important city in Byzantine southern Italy where the catepan, i.e. the Byzantine supreme commander, the Byzantine high-ranking officials and the army were based. Despite its status, Bari was a Lombard city. It was populated mainly by Latin-speaking, Latin-rite Lombards, who were governed by the Lombard law. The Church of Bari, which had been raised by

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had been Byzantium's allies against Robert Guiscard during the latter's Balkan campaigns in 1080–82 and 1084–85. For these campaigns see below p. 119 and n. 47.

21 Pertusi, "Ai confini," pp. 17, 28, 46–7.

22 Corsi, "La traslazione," p. 96.

23 Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 8, 55, 59, 154, 201–08. For Desiderius, Ursus and Elias see also below p. 117

24 Burnett, pp. 147–48.

the Byzantines to an archbishopric in the 10th century, was Latin, but it was under indirect, and sometimes direct, Byzantine control. Greeks, Armenians and other national groups were a minority. The Byzantine-rite churches were few in the city and Byzantine clerics and monks are rarely attested. Trying to secure allies faithful to Constantinople, the Byzantines formed Bari's aristocracy mainly from the native Lombards.[25] The protagonists of the translation and of the events that followed upon the arrival of the relics are to be found within these Latin-rite Lombards, whose interest was to support the new rulers against the Byzantines, and above all to promote the interests of the Latin Church. The translators of St Nicholas who travelled to Myra to remove his relics are known thanks to the study of Francesco Babudri,[26] who has analysed the so-called Beneventan version of Nikephoros (Biblioteca Capitorale in Benevento, 12th century),[27] and the list with the names of the translators and their relatives who had been granted special privileges in the basilica of St Nicholas (second half of the 12th century).[28] The captains, the mariners, and the merchants were accompanied by *nobiles homines,* clerics and sons of priests.[29] The participation of the *nobiles homines*, who apparently were members of the Barian aristocracy and of the priests, indicates that the city's aristocracy and the Church were definitely involved in the translation.[30] Most of the participants carried Lombard-Latin names such as Iohanaccarus, Grimualdus, or Romualdus, others carried names such as Melis or Bisantius, characteristic of the local Latin-rite population, and few had names that were used by both the Byzantine and Latin rites in southern Italy, such as Elias and Iohannes.[31] From

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25   For Byzantine Bari see the excellent analysis of Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina," pp. 195–220.

26   Francesco Babudri, "Sinossi critica dei traslatori nicolaini di Bari," *Archivio storico pugliese* 3 (1950), 3–94. For a study of the lists before Babudri see Nitti di Vito, "La traslazione," pp. 367–84.

27   Nitti di Vito, "La traslazione," pp. 368–69. Babudri, "Sinossi," p. 13.

28   Francesco Nitti di Vito, *Le pergamene di S. Nicola di Bari, periodo normanno (1075–1194)*, Codice diplomatico Barese, v (Bari, 1902), no. 164, pp. 279–81.

29   For the status of the participants see Babudri, "Sinossi," p. 87. These sons of priests could have been Lombards because Latin-rite married priests are attested in southern Italy: Martin, *La Pouille* (see above n. 5), pp. 652–53.

30   Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 101, has assumed that Bari's aristocrats financed the translation and did not travel to Myra, but there is no evidence to support such an argument. Moreover, if Geary's hypothesis is true then the translation could not have been organized by the citizens as he has suggested, but only by Bari's aristocracy.

31   For the complete list of the participants, see Babudri, "Sinossi," pp. 90–4. Babudri "Sinossi," pp. 81–2, followed by Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 101, has argued that that Melis de Caloiannis, Leo de Guisanda and Leo de notario Iacobo de Guisanda were of Byzantine origin. However, the names Leo and Iacobo were used by the Latins; while for the name Guisanda it is obvious that it cannot be Byzantine. For onomastics in Bari in general, see Jean-Marie

the *nobiles homines* only *Melis de Caloioanne* seems to have been of Byzantine background, but it is impossible to ascertain which rite he practised, as another member in the same family was a Benedictine abbot.[32] Therefore, the remaining Greek aristocracy and the small Greek-speaking population in Bari do not seem to have been involved in the translation. This makes the translation itself and the building of the basilica a Latin enterprise. There is also no evidence that the Byzantine-rite, Greek-speaking population was involved in the erection of the basilica of St Nicholas. Instead, the Byzantine-rite population in Bari had their own church of St Nicholas *supra portam veterem*, which was founded by the Byzantine imperial hieromonk John, under the commission of the Byzantine emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55). In the beginning of the 13th century, this church was known as *sancti Nicolay de grecis*.[33]

The church authorities who welcomed the relics and organized the construction of the basilica were pro-Norman Lombards. The archbishop of Bari, the Lombard Ursus, was appointed to his see by Robert Guiscard himself. Ursus had strongly supported Guiscard and later Roger Borsa and Bohemond.[34] Elias (1089–1105), the successor of Ursus, was consecrated by Pope Urban II when the latter had visited Bari for the occasion of the translation of the relics into the new crypt. He had been appointed abbot of the Monastery of St Benedict in Bari just a month before the fall of the city to Guiscard in 1071 and probably with the latter's support. Elias played a leading role in the event of the arrival of the relics of St Nicholas and in the construction of the new church as well.[35] Even the pope of the translation, Victor III, the former abbot Desiderius, was also a Lombard from Benevento and a relative of Roger Borsa.[36]

Desiderius and the Church of Bari were the most interested in drawing the former Byzantine capital into the Norman and Roman orbit. The Latin Church in southern Italy under Byzantine rule was organized by the Byzantine authorities, who did not interfere in Latin religious matters, but always promoted Latin bishops who were faithful to the emperor. The pope of Rome, despite his

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Martin, "Anthroponymie et onomastique à Bari (950–1250)," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen Age* 106/2 (1994), 683–701.

32   For the Benedictine abbot Caloioannis see Babudri, "Sinossi," p. 81.

33   Nitto de Rossi, Nitti di Vito, *Le pergamene del duomo di Bari* (see above n. 12), no. 72, pp. 138–41; Jones, *Saint Nicholas* (see above n. 6), p. 166; Cioffari, *Storia*, p. 38, n. 24; Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina," p. 218; Burnett, p. 136.

34   Pertusi, "Ai confini," pp. 29–38; Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina," pp. 223–24; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, p. 265; Corsi, "La traslazione," p. 92; Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 53–4.

35   Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, pp. 202–03; Pertusi, "Ai confini," pp. 28, 38–40; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 228, 266; Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 31, 52–3.

36   On Desiderius, see more recent Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 47–51, 57–61 with the previous bibliography.

efforts, had no real authority in the region.[37] In 1059, Pope Nicholas II (1059–61) made an alliance with Robert Guiscard against the Byzantines for the conquest of southern Italy. Now for the first time since the first half of the 8th century, the papacy could really claim religious domination over southern Italy. Subsequently, the popes of Rome showed special interest in southern Italy: they kept visiting the region and in alliance with the Norman rulers, they started to reorganize the Church.[38] The translation of the relics of St Nicholas to Bari was the first event after the fall of the city to Robert Guiscard in 1071, which gave the opportunity to both the Latin Church and the Normans to assert power in the former Byzantine capital of the theme of Longobardia.

This power was confirmed through the significant choice of the *praitorion* as the place of St Nicholas's new church. The *praitorion* was the Byzantine administrative centre located near the port, a short distance from the cathedral. It was a fortified building complex, which included the residence of the Byzantine catepan and at least four churches, those of St Demetrios, St Sophia, St Basil and St Eustratius.[39] There is no direct evidence to prove that the decision to demolish the *praitorion* had been made before the arrival of the relics. According to Nikephoros, the translators had promised St Nicholas to build his new church on the site of the *praitorion* before their arrival at Bari and this generated controversy among the citizens.[40] The relics of St Nicholas could have been temporarily kept in the cathedral, until the new church was ready, or in one of the four known Latin-rite churches dedicated to him, that had already been erected in Bari during the 11th century.[41] However, the *translationes*[42] attest that there was a rush to carry the relics within the *praitorion* and to

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37   Loud, *The Latin Church*, pp. 37–1.

38   Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 186–209, 223–33, 260–78; Loud, *The Latin Church*, pp. 135–46, 181–223.

39   For the *praitorion* see André Guillou, "Un document sur le gouvernement de la province. L'inscription historique en vers de Bari (1011)," *Studies on Byzantine Italy*, Variorum Reprints (London, 1970), VIII, pp. 1–22; Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina," p. 199; Cioffari, *Storia*, pp. 62–9.

40   Silvestro, *Santi*, p. 121. Nikephoros's account is more detailed on this controversy than John's: Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 101–02 (John) 114–22 (Nikephoros). Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, pp. 193–94, commenting on the controversy among the citizens has argued that the citizens were divided into two factions, a pro-Norman and a pro-Byzantine supported by Bari's Greek aristocracy, but there is no evidence in the *translationes* to support such an argument. Pertusi, "Ai confini," pp. 43–5, has doubted the division between a pro-Norman and a pro-Byzantine faction. On the other hand, Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina," p. 225, has correctly pointed out that in Bari there was probably a part of the citizens that was pro-Norman, while another part of the citizens was supporting the interests of the city itself.

41   For the churches of St Nicholas in Bari see Pertusi, "Ai confini," pp. 11–3; Cioffari, *Storia*, p. 38; Silvestro, *Santi*, p. 22.

42   Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 102 (John), 122 (Nikephoros).

demolish the building complex, which was the symbol of Byzantine power and presence. This rush is rather indicative of the fact that the decision of the site was not made after the arrival of the relics, but at the time during which the translation had been organized. On the site of the *praitorion* St Nicholas succeeded the saints that were directly associated with Constantinople. St Sophia carried a strong connotation of the Great Church in the Byzantine capital; St Basil was one of the most important figures of the Byzantine Church, while the military saints were associated with the Byzantine army.[43] According to the inscription of the catepan Basil Argyros Mesardonites,[44] who had reconstructed the *praitorion* in 1011 and had built the church of St Demetrios, the catepan had placed the citizens and all the visitors to the city under the protection of the saint. St Demetrios was the patron saint of many Byzantine emperors[45] and his cult was promoted directly from the imperial court.[46] The protection of St Demetrios declared the power of Constantinople in Bari. However, in 1087 the church of St Demetrios was demolished.

The fact that the translation took place only two years after Robert Guiscard's death in 1085 in Cephalonia in Greece, during his second campaign against Byzantium cannot be considered coincidental. Bohemond had participated in this campaign and had taken a leading role.[47] With the translation of St Nicholas, the demolition of the *praitorion* and the erection of the basilica, Bohemond and Roger Borsa declared that they were victorious over the Byzantine Empire. During this transitional period, the urban religious landscape of the former Byzantine capital had to be transformed. Rule in southern Italy had changed and passengers on board ships approaching Bari should no longer see the building complex that manifested the presence of the Byzantine authority and therewith the presence of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Visitors

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43   On the significance of St Basil see Leslie Brubaker, "The Vita icon of Saint Basil: Iconography," in *Four Icons in the Menil Collection*, Bertrand Davezac, ed. (Austin-Houston, 1992), pp. 75–93. On the Byzantine military saints see Christopher Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot, 2003); Piotr Ł. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)* (Leiden, 2010).

44   The most recent edition of this inscription in Andreas Rhoby, *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Stein. Nebst Addenda zu den Bänden 1 und 2* (Vienna, 2014), pp. 408–12. The previous edition in Guillou, "Un document."

45   Grotowski, *Arms*, pp. 112–16.

46   T. Papamastorakis, "Ιστορίες και ιστορήσεις βυζαντινών παλληκαριών," *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 20 (1998), p. 227.

47   For Robert Guiscard's Balkan campaigns see Taviani-Carozzi, *La terreur du monde* (see above n. 2), pp. 424–49, 468–77; Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 209–23; Georgios Theotokis, *The Norman Campaigns in the Balkans, 1081–1108* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 137–84.

now caught a glimpse of the new church dedicated to St Nicholas, a building that explicitly reflected the new reality: southern Italy was under Norman rule and the ecclesiastical authority belonged now to the pope of Rome. The new religious and political rulers and their victory over Byzantium were blessed by Nicholas of Myra, one of Byzantium's most venerated saints, who gave the Normans and the pope strength and prestige, precisely in a period during which the ducal authority in the Apulian coastal cities had weakened.[48]

St Nicholas was the most appropriate saint to promote such an agenda. Until 1087, the Latin Church in Bari claimed as its patron saint St Sabinus, the 6th-century bishop of Canosa, a miracle-worker and one of the most prominent figures of the Apulian Church. Despite his prestigious status, St Sabinus was a local saint and his cult was strongly connected with the Lombards of Benevento.[49] Apparently, the Normans and the Latin Church were not interested in associating their power with the cult of a local bishop. On the contrary, St Nicholas was a Byzantine bishop who was gradually gaining international appeal during the 11th century and the occupation of Myra by the Seljuks was a great opportunity for the transfer of his cult centre from Myra to Bari. Although the cult of St Nicholas was imported by the Byzantines in the 8th century to southern Italy,[50] it was during the 11th century that his cult became popular among the Lombards. This is attested by the Latin-rite churches of St Nicholas that were founded in Bari in the period 1026–63,[51] and the fact that the cult of St Nicholas was promoted in Campania by the Benedictine monks of Montecassino from the second half of the tenth and especially during the 11th century.[52] As far as the Latin West is concerned, the cult of St Nicholas was imported from Byzantium first to Rome (from the 7th century) and then to Germany from 966. During the 11th century the cult of St Nicholas reached France (from 1020) and England (before the Battle of Hastings in 1066), while different churches

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48   For the ducal authority in Apulia in this period see Loud, *The Age of Robert Guiscard*, pp. 255–57.

49   For St Sabinus and the Lombards of Benevento see Ada Campione, "La *Vita* di Sabino, vescovo di Canosa: Un *exemplum* di agiografia Longobarda," *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo. Atti del XX Congresso internazionale di studio sull'alto medioevo, Savelletri di Fasano (BR), 3–6 novembre 2011* (Spoleto, 2012), pp. 365–403. In 1091 the relics of St Sabinus were rediscovered by the Archbishop Elias in Bari's cathedral and the text of the *translatio* was written by John the same author of the *translatio* of St Nicholas. For the rediscovery of the relics in Bari see Ada Campione, "Sabino di Canosa tra storia a leggenda," in *La tradizione barese di Sabino di Canosa*, Salvatore Palese, ed., (Bari, 2001), pp. 39–44; Oldfield, *Sanctity*, pp. 31–2, 70, 100; Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 176–79.

50   For the cult of St Nicholas in Byzantine southern Italy before 1087 see Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, pp. 79–82; Pertusi, "Ai confini," pp. 9–16; Cioffari, *Storia*, pp. 34–41.

51   For the churches of St Nicholas in Bari see above n. 41.

52   Pertusi, "Ai confini," pp. 10–1; Silvestro, *Santi*, pp. 20–2.

owned relics of St Nicholas from his tomb in Myra.[53] The Latin West was already prepared to welcome the saint's new cult centre within the Latin territory. The popularity of one of the most venerated Byzantine saints among the Latin-rite, Latin-speaking Lombards in Bari and most importantly among the Latins in Europe could secure the success of the saint's new cult centre in Bari and at the same time the successful promotion of the Norman and Papal agenda concerning their rule in southern Italy.

The translation of St Nicholas and the establishment of the second cult centre in Bari provoked different responses in Byzantium and the West. According to Nancy Ševčenko the Byzantines did not react to the translation because they seemed not to have attached any significance to the event.[54] However, the silence of the Byzantine sources could imply an attempt not to accept the translation of St Nicholas. By admitting that the saint's relics had been removed from Myra, the Byzantines would have immediately legitimized the translation and consequently the saint's new cult centre in Bari.[55] In fact, Myra recovered in the 12th century under the dynasty of the Komnenoi, the church of St Nicholas was restored and his tomb continued to attract pilgrims, even from the West.[56] On the other hand, almost every Western contemporary chronicler reported on the translation from Myra to Bari.[57] The basilica of St Nicholas was especially favoured during the Crusades considering the fact that Western pilgrimage to the Holy Land became a mass phenomenon. Bari, alongside Trani, Barletta, Brindisi and Monopoli were key transit stations

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53   For a useful overview of the cult of St Nicholas in Europe before 1087 see Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, pp. 88–154. Especially on Rome see Giorgia Pollio, "Il culto e l'iconografia di san Nicola a Roma," in *San Nicola* (see above n. 6), pp. 137–38. For Germany see Gunther Wolf, "Kaiserin Theophanu, die Ottonen und der Beginn der St. Nikolaus-Verehrung in Mitteleuropa," in *Kaiserin Theophanu. Prinzessin aus der Fremde – des Westreichs Große Kaiserin*, Gunther Wolf, ed. (Böhlau, 1991), pp. 27–38; Patrick Corbet, "Saint Nicholas dans le monde Ottonien: quatre-vingts ans après Karl Meisen," in *En Orient et en Occident, le culte de saint Nicolas en Europe (Xᵉ–XXIᵉ siècle), Actes du colloque de Lunéville et Saint-Nicolas-de-Port, 5–7 décembre 2013*, Véronique Gazeau et al., eds. (Paris, 2015), pp. 107–24. For England see Ada Campione, "Le culte de Saint Nicholas en Angleterre," in *En Orient et en Occident*, pp. 324–29. For France see Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, pp. 140–42; Élisabeth Clementz, "Le culte de saint Nicholas en Alsace," in *En Orient et en Occident,* pp. 348–49.

54   Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin, 1983), pp. 23–4.

55   The translation of St Nicholas has not attracted the interest of the Byzantinists so far and a comprehensive study on its impact on the Byzantine empire is still missing.

56   Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, p. 174; Clive Foss, "The Lycian Coast in the Byzantine Age," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 48 (1994), pp. 34–5.

57   Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, pp. 175–76; Cioffari, *Storia*, pp. 41–2 and n. 2, where a long list of the most important *Annales* is cited.

on the maritime routes to the eastern Mediterranean.[58] Consequently, the ba-
silica developed into one of the most illustrious Western European pilgrimage
sites. Both pilgrims and Crusaders needed St Nicholas's strong intercession to
cross the Mediterranean.[59] On the other hand, evidence on Byzantine pilgrims
to Bari is non-existent. The new cult centre of St Nicholas in Bari played the key
role in boosting his cult to the whole of Europe.[60]

Although St Nicholas legitimized the new rule in southern Italy, he was not
Latinized in visual arts after 1087. His cult and iconography had been firmly
established in the region by the Byzantines, as is explicitly attested in monu-
mental art. The few portraits of St Nicholas that survive from the Byzantine
period[61] convey the Byzantine conception of Nicholas as one of the most
prominent fathers of the church, one of the strongest intercessors and miracle-
workers (Fig. 5.4).[62] The translation of his relics and the new role of the Latin
Church in the region did not change this tradition. In the monumental art of
southern Italy, Nicholas of Myra remained mainly a Byzantine bishop until the

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58   Oldfield, *Sanctity*, pp. 184–89.

59   Burnett, pp. 152–67; Oldfield, *Sanctity*, pp. 202–08.

60   The bibliography on the cult of St Nicholas in Europe after 1087 is vast. See the excellent
      collected essays in *San Nicola* (see above, n. 6), and in *En Orient et en Occident* (see above
      n. 53).

61   St Nicholas's earliest surviving portrait in the region is found in the sanctuary of S.
      Maria della Croce in Casaranello (late 10th-early 11th century), see Linda Safran, *S. Pietro
      at Otranto. Byzantine Art in South Italy* (Rome, 1992), p. 65. The saint is depicted three
      times from 1020 to 1055–75 in the crypt of S Cristina in Carpignano Salentino, Marina Falla
      Castellfranchi, "La cripta delle Sante Marina e Cristina a Carpignano Salentino," in *Puglia
      Preromanica dal V secolo agli inizi dell'XI*, Gioia Bertelli, ed. (Milan, 2004), pp. 216–19, figs
      191, 193, 194. St Nicholas is flanked by St Basil and St John Chrysostom on the Prothesis
      conch in SS. Stefani in Vaste (11th century), Marina Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura monumen-
      tale bizantina in Puglia* (Milan, 1991), pp. 71–4, fig. 58. A fragmentary cycle of St Nicholas's
      life is painted in Santa Marina in Muro Leccese (mid-11th century), Falla Castelfranchi,
      Pittura, pp. 102–05, figs 86–8. The saint is depicted as a Byzantine bishop (first layer, sec-
      ond half of the 11th century) in the Latin-rite cave church of S. Nicola in Mottola, Falla
      Castelfranchi, *Pittura*, p. 74, fig. 69. Nicholas is also depicted among the Byzantine bishops
      on the liturgical roll *Exultet 1* in Bari (1025), Guglielmo Cavallo, *Rotoli di Exultet dell'Italia
      meridionale* (Bari, 1973), pl. 7.

62   For the cult and iconography of St Nicholas in the Byzantine Empire see Gustav Anrich,
      *Hagios Nikolaus. Der heilige Nikolaus in der griechischen Kirche. Texte und Untersuc-
      hungen*, 2 vols (Leipzig, 1913–17); Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas*; Gerardo Cioffari,
      S. *Nicola nella critica storica* (Bari, 1987); Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, "San Nicola nell'arte
      bizantina," in *San Nicola*, pp. 61–70; Michele Bacci, *San Nicola il grande taumaturgo*
      (Rome, 2009); Paul Magdalino, "Le cult de saint Nicholas à Constantinople," in *En Orient et
      en Occident*, pp. 41–55; Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Le culte de saint Nicholas dans l'empire ro-
      main d'Orient d'après les sceaux," in *En Orient et en Occident*, pp. 57–74; Nancy Ševčenko,
      "St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art with an Appendix on the texts in MSS Vienna, ÖNB Theol
      Gr. 148," in *En Orient et en Occident*, pp. 75–103.

FIGURE 5.4 Carpignano Salentino (Apulia), *Crypt of S. Cristina*, arcosolium, St Nicholas,
1055–75, fresco.
COURTESY SOPHIA KALOPISSI-VERTI

end of the Middle Ages. Both in Byzantine-rite and Latin-rite churches, he is depicted wearing the *sticharion*, *phelonion* and *omophorion*, he blesses with his right hand and holds the Gospel with his left.[63] Portraits of Nicholas as a Latin bishop, on the contrary, wearing the mitre and holding the crozier, are extremely rare.[64] Nicholas in the Byzantine manner is even depicted on the pilgrim badges from Bari (late 12th-early 14th centuries) (Fig. 5.5.).[65] This persistent depiction of St Nicholas as a Byzantine bishop until the Late Middle Ages demonstrates that artists in southern Italy, and even in Bari itself, followed the already established Byzantine tradition and did not transform his portraits into Latin ones. At the same time, it is telling that the donors of these works of art, even those who practised the Latin rite, preferred to order portraits of St Nicholas in the Byzantine manner. The artists, the donors and subsequently the viewers of these paintings were familiar with the image of St Nicholas as the Byzantine bishop and not as a Latin one.

3   St Nicholas the Pilgrim from Steiri to Trani: A Byzantine Hermit Evolving into a Latin Saint

On 2 June 1094, seven years after the translation of the relics of St Nicholas from Myra to Bari, another Nicholas died in Trani, a coastal city about 42 km north of Bari, known as St Nicholas the Pilgrim. According to the anonymous author of his Life, St Nicholas the Pilgrim was born in a village near the famous monastery of Hosios Loukas in Steiris in Greece in 1075–76. When he was eight years old he started chanting unceasingly the *Kyrie Eleyson*, inspired by God, while he was pasturing his sheep. He practised the ascetic life in a cave near

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63   Portraits of St Nicholas are numerous in southern Italy after 1087. His figure is painted in almost every cave or *sub divo* church in the region. For examples see Maria Stella Calò Mariani, "L'immagine e il culto di san Nicola a Bari e in Puglia," in *San Nicola*, pp. 107–16; Burnett, pp. 63, n. 160, 64, n. 163, 65, n. 167, 131–42; Valentino Pace, "Iconografia de San Nicola di Bari nell'Italia meridionale medievale: alcuni esempi e qualque precisazione," in *Sulla scia di Pantoleone da Nicomedia. San Nicola da Myra dal Salento alla Costa d'Amalfi: il mito di un culto in cammino. Atti del VI Convegno di studi, Ravello, 24–5 luglio 2009. I santi Giorgio ed Eustachio Milites Christi in terra amalfitana. Atti del VII Convegno di studi, Ravello, 23–24 luglio 2010*, Claudio Caserta, ed. (Naples, 2012), pp. 75–84; Linda Safran, *The Medieval Salento. Art and Identity in Southern Italy* (Philadelphia, 2014), p. 165.

64   Burnett, p. 141, and figs 2.8, 2.11.

65   Marco Leo Imperiale, "I signa peregrinorum della basilica di San Nicola a Bari," in *In viaggio verso Gerusalemme. Culture, economie, territori*, Anna Trono et al., eds. (Galatina, 2014), p. 174; Carina Brumme, "The cult of St Nicholas as reflected in his Pilgrim Badges," in *En Orient et en Occident*, pp. 301–05.

FIGURE 5.5   Sweden, Lund, Kulturhistoriska föreningen för södra Sverige, Pilgrim badge with
             St Nicholas from Bari, 13th century.
             FROM: MICHELE BACCI, "IL CORPO E L'IMMAGINE DI *SAN NICOLA*" IN SAN
             NICOLA , FIG. 10

his village from the age of twelve, but he was never tonsured. He was taught
the monastic practices by an old monk who appeared to him in a vision. His
mother believed that he was possessed by demons and sent him to live at the
monastery of Hosios Loukas to be cured. His almost insane behaviour and the
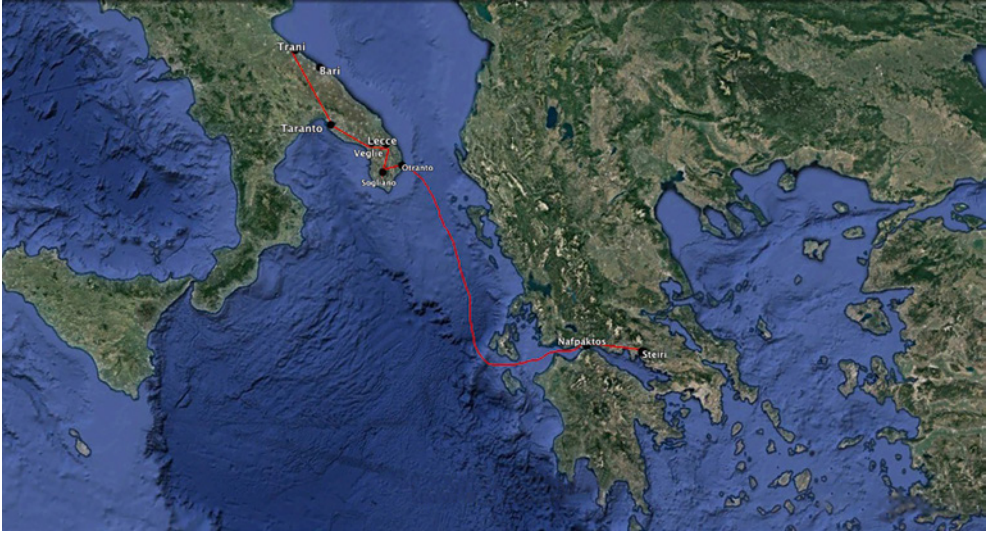constant exclamation of the *Kyrie Eleyson* enraged the monks, who treated

FIGURE 5.6   The route of St Nicholas the Pilgrim from Steiri to Trani in 1094.
            FROM: GOOGLE EARTH

him violently. Nicholas was expelled from the monastery and continued his eremitical life in the mountains near Steiris until the age of nineteen, when he decided to make a pilgrimage to Rome. He embarked at Naupaktos with other pilgrims sailing to southern Italy. Having arrived at Otranto he started wandering mainly across the Greek-populated regions of southern Apulia. Young Nicholas lived a life full of torture and mockery in Greece and southern Italy because of his behaviour, despite the miracles he used to perform during his adventure. The only place that offered him hospitality was Trani, his last stopping point (Fig. 5.6). Nicholas died in this city and he was buried in the cathedral, which was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.[66]

The Archbishop Bisantius I (c. 1071–1100) and the citizens of Trani, who acknowledged Nicholas's sanctity due to his way of life and the miracles he had performed, not only immediately started the procedure for his sanctification, but they also acknowledged him as their new patron saint. Before the death of Nicholas in 1094, Trani had claimed St Leucius as its patron saint, the first bishop of Brindisi who had lived in the 3rd or 4th century. According to *De translationibus S. Leucii,* which was written by an anonymous deacon under

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66   Anonymus, *De vita S. Nicolai in Græcia. Ex relatiu Bartolomæi, Sanctum comitati*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii I, cols 237E-244B.

the commission of Trani's archbishop, John (1053–59),[67] his relics were trans-lated from Brindisi to Trani probably in the 7th century and were deposited in a small crypt under the Virgin Mary's cathedral church.[68] Immediately after the death of Nicholas his *vita* was written by an anonymous Greek or Italo-Greek author from Salento, who must have had a solid knowledge not only of ancient hagiography, but also of contemporary middle Byzantine hagiography. This *vita* was based on information provided by Bartholomew, a Byzantine monk and Nicholas's travel companion from Naupaktos to Apulia.[69] In 1097 Bisantius started to build a new cathedral dedicated to Trani's new patron saint on the site of the old church dedicated to the Virgin Mary (Fig. 5.7). But more importantly, Bisantius, while participating in the Lateran Council in 1098/1099, asked Pope Urban II to give his permission for the sanctification of Nicholas. For this purpose Bisantius I commissioned a panegyric on the saint, which was composed by Adelferius, the future bishop of Bisceglie, who focused on the miracles Nicholas had performed. This text was probably presented to the pope.[70] Urban's permission letter was kept in the church of Trani. It is included in a third text, a homily delivered by deacon Amandus, in 1142, on the occa-sion of the dedication of the new cathedral and the translation of the relics of Nicholas to the crypt.[71]

The sanctification of Nicholas the Pilgrim has been studied within the con-text of the antagonism between Trani and Bari and it is viewed as a rival cult to St Nicholas of Myra in Bari. Seen in that light, the name that the two saints

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67   On Archbishop John of Trani see below p. 129.

68   *De translationibus S. Leucii,* in *Acta Sanctorum*, Januarii XI, cols 672–73; Gioia Bertelli, "Trani e il suo territorio tra il VI e la metà dell'XI secolo," in *III Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale, Salerno, 2–5 ottobre 2003* (Florence, 2003), p. 420.

69   Anonymus, *De vita S. Nicolai*. For a detailed discussion on this *vita* and its models see Stéphanos Efthymiadès, "D'Orient en Occident mais étranger aux deux mondes. Messages et renseignements tirés de la Vie de Saint Nicolas le Pèlerin (*BHL* 6223)," in *Puer Apu-liae. Mélanges offerts à Jean Marie Martin*, 2 vols, Errico Cuozzo et al., eds. (Paris, 2008), 1, pp. 207–23 [= Stéphanos Efthymiadès, *Hagiography in Byzantium: Literature, Social His-tory and Cult*, Variorum Reprints, 989, (Farnham, 2011), no. XIV]; Annick Peters-Custot, "La *Vita* di San Nicola di Trani o la sintesi della santità nell'XI secolo," in *Bizantini, Longobardi e Arabi in Puglia nell'alto medioevo* (see above n. 49), pp. 439–42.

70   Adelferius, *De Sancti adventu Tranum, et obitu eumque secutis miraculis*, in *Acta Sancto-rum*, Junii I, cols 244 D–248D.

71   Amandus, *De S. Nicolai Canonizatione et Translatione*, in *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii I, cols 248D-252F. For Adelferius's and Amandus's texts see Paul Oldfield, "St Nicholas the Pil-grim and the City of Trani between Greeks and Normans, c. 1090–c. 1140," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 30 (2008), pp. 170–72.

FIGURE 5.7   Trani, *Cathedral.*
PHOTO: CENTRE FOR ART HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION, RADBOUD
UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN

have in common, Nicholas, is considered to be the only motive for the sanctification of Nicholas the Pilgrim.[72] However, there are also other implications associated with the motives of Nicholas's sanctification that have to be considered. As Paul Oldfield has convincingly argued, the model of poverty Nicholas expressed in conformity with the new ideas of the Latin Church on sanctity in this period, his Byzantine origin and the attachment Trani continued to have to the Byzantine Empire under Robert Guiscard's successors were significant for the city's identity at the end of the 11th century.[73] Trani was generally considered a pro-Byzantine city.[74] During the Byzantine period Trani had a Latin population and a Latin bishopric. The Byzantines raised the city's Church to an archbishopric (c. 997) and Trani's archbishops carried the title of *synkellos*, a title that associated them, despite being Latins, with the Patriarchate of Constantinople.[75] In 1053 John, the archbishop of Trani, received from Leo, the archbishop of Ochrid, the famous letter against the Latins that preceded the schism of 1054.[76] During the Norman conquest, Trani, although Latin, had a strong pro-Byzantine and anti-Norman inclination and was reluctant to accept Norman rule. The city's archbishops continued to carry the title of *synkellos* up

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72 Émile Bertaux, *L'art dans l'Italie méridionale. De la fin de l'Empire Romain à la Conquête de Charles d'Anjou* (Paris, 1904), p. 362; Jones, *Saint Nicholas*, pp. 207–08; Burnett, pp. 176–81; Peters-Custot, "La *Vita* di San Nicola," pp. 450–51. There was an old competition between the two cities on the ecclesiastical primacy within Apulia that generated complicated church relations, Alessandro Pratesi, "Alcune diocesi di Puglia nell'età di Roberto il Guiscardo: Trani, Bari e Canosa tra Greci e Normanni," in *Roberto il Guiscardo e il suo tempo. Relazioni e comunicazioni nelle Prime Giornate normanno-sveve* (*Bari, maggio 1973*) (Rome, 1975), pp. 225–42; Oldfield, "St Nicholas," pp. 179–80; Oldfield, *Sanctity*, p. 101.

73 Oldfield, "St Nicholas," pp. 177–81. Father Cioffari has argued for religious, economic and social motives, Gerardo Cioffari, *S. Nicola Pellegrino patrono di Trani. Vita, critica storica e messaggio spirituale* (Bari, 1994), pp. 68–9.

74 Cioffari, *S. Nicola Pellegrino*, pp. 31–6.

75 Loud, *Latin Church*, p. 40 (see above, n. 4); Oldfield, "St Nicholas," p. 178. For the title *synkellos* see Venance Grumel, "Titulature de Métropolites Byzantins. 1. Les métropolites syncelles," *Études byzantines* 3 (1945), 92–114.

76 The Letter is edited in Cornelius Will, ed., *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant* (Leipzig, 1861), pp. 51–64. For John of Trani see Jean-Marie Martin, "Jean, archevêque de Trani et de Siponto, syncelle impérial," in *Byzance et ses périphéries* (*mondes grec, balkanique et musulman*): *hommage à Alain Ducellier*, Bernard Doumerc and Christophe Picard, eds. (Toulouse, 2004), pp. 123–30; [= Jean-Marie Martin, *Byzance et l' Italie méridionale* (Paris, 2014). X]. Oldfield, "St Nicholas," pp. 177–78. For the schism between the Western and Eastern Churches in 1054 see more recently Michel Kaplan, "La place du "schisme" de 1054 dans les relations entre Byzance, Rome et l'Italie," *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 29–37 [= Michel Kaplan, *Pouvoirs, église et sainteté. Essais sur la société byzantine* (Paris, 2011), 1.; Michel Kaplan, "Le schisme de 1054 quelques éléments de chronologie," *Byzantinoslavica* 56 (1995), 147–57 [=Kaplan, *Pouvoirs*, 2]; Jean-Claude Cheynet, "Le schism de 1054: un non-événement?," in *Faire l'événement au Moyen Âge*, Claude Carozzi and Huguette Taviani Carozzi, eds. (Aix-en-Provence, 2007), pp. 299–312.

to 1138 and the city's charters were dated according to the rule of the Byzantine emperor until the 1130s.[77] Bisantius I himself carried the title of *synkellos,* while Adelferius in his panegyric does not mention the Norman rulers. He dates the events described to the time of Pope Urban II and the *excellentissimus* Roman emperor Alexios Komnenos, *Catholiceque fidei cultor*.[78]

Bisantius I and the citizens of Trani, albeit Latins in rite, were familiar with Byzantine spirituality and monasticism.[79] Their new patron saint was an untonsured, almost *salos*, Byzantine hermit,[80] and he was also associated with the monastery of Hosios Loukas.[81] Not only had Nicholas lived in the monastery, but he had also been under St Luke's protection, since the latter had appeared in Nicholas's dream to cure him.[82] The anonymous author of his *vita* refers to the monastery of Hosios Loukas as *celebre monasterium*,[83] and Adelferius writes that Nicholas was living the angelic life for a very long time in the monastery in Steiris.[84] Adelferius probably intended to convey to his audience, i.e. the Roman Council, the idea that Nicholas was a member of the monastic community of Hosios Loukas.[85] The monastery was situated near the Corinthian Gulf, the maritime route that connected Italy with Corinth,[86] and it was

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77   Oldfield, "Urban Government," p. 592 (see above n. 3); Oldfield, "St Nicholas," p. 178.

78   Adelferius, *De Sancti*, Ch. 31, col. 245A; Oldfield, "St Nicholas," p. 178. For Trani and Byzantium see also, Cioffari, *S. Nicola Pellegrino*, pp. 94–5.

79   The Latin-rite inhabitants of southern Italy were very familiar with Byzantine monasticism, spirituality and sanctity. The majority of the saints who are represented in monumental painting, even in Latin-rite churches, belong to the Byzantine *Synaxarion*. For numerous examples see Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura* (see above, n. 61); Safran, *The Medieval Salento* (see above n. 63). For the Byzantine monasticism and its influence in southern Italy see David Paul Hester, *Monasticism and Spirituality of the Italo-Greeks* (Thessaloniki, 1992).

80   For St Nicholas's partial holy foolery see Sergey A. Ivanov, *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond,* trans. Simon Franklin (Oxford, 2006), pp. 196–200; Efthymiadès, "D'Orient en Occident," pp. 207–08; Peters-Custot, "La *Vita* di San Nicola," pp. 437–38, 445–46. For Nicholas's sanctity between East and West see Vasilios D. Koukousas, "Ὁ ἅγιος Νικόλαος ὁ Προσκυνητής. Ἱστορικό στιγμιότυπο τῆς κοινῆς παρουσίας Ἀνατολῆς καὶ Δύσεως μετὰ τὸ Σχίσμα τοῦ 1054," *Βυζαντινός Δόμος* 13 (2002–03), 173–89.

81   For the monastery see Nano Chatzidakis, *Hosios Loukas* (Athens, 1997).

82   Anonymus, *De vita S. Nicolai*, Ch. 13, col. 240B.

83   Anonymus, *De vita S. Nicolai*, Ch. 2, col. 237F. For the information provided in this *vita* on the monastery of Hosios Loukas and the topography of its surroundings see Efthymiadès, "D' Orient en Occident," pp. 213–17.

84   Adelferius, *De Sancti*, Ch. 31, col. 245A.

85   Father Kessen in his recent translation of St Nicholas the Pilgrim's *dossier* into modern Greek comments that some members of the Lateran Council might have known the monastery of Hosios Loukas and his view seems quite probable, F. Iason Kessen, *Νικόλαος ο Αποδημήτης ο Στειριώτης* (†1094). *Ένας Έλληνας μοναχός στη Νορμανδική Κάτω Ιταλία* (Athens, 2014), p. 73.

86   D. Gagtzis et al., "Πελοπόννησος και Νότια Ιταλία: Σταθμοί Επικοινωνίας στη μέση βυζαντινή περίοδο," in *Η Επικοινωνία στο Βυζάντιο, Πρακτικά του Β´ Διεθνούς Συμποσίου*, N.G. Moschonas, ed. (Athens, 1993), pp. 476–79.

visited by sailors, as the surviving graffiti of ships attest.[87] Travellers from and to Italy are mentioned three times within the surrounding region in the *vita* of St Luke[88] The monastery must have been known in southern Italy, as is attested by the portrait of Hosios Loukas the Steiriotes which is depicted on the liturgical roll *Exultet 1 of Bari*.[89] With Nicholas, the Church and the citizens of Trani appropriated a new patron saint who not only originated from the Byzantine Empire, but also from a prestigious monastery.

Nicholas the Pilgrim was destined by his new city to play a decisive role. He was named 'the Pilgrim' by Archbishop Bisantius 1 and the citizens of Trani, a name that was accepted by Urban himself.[90] The sanctification of Nicholas coincided with the First Crusade and the increasing popularity of Western pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Trani's aspiration was to promote the idea that Nicholas was primarily a pilgrim. Urban 11 had proclaimed the First Crusade as a pilgrimage and the first wave of the Crusaders passed through Apulia in 1096, where Bohemond, the son of Robert Guiscard, became their leader.[91] The idea of a saint who was himself a pilgrim in one of the Crusader ports fitted Urban's preaching perfectly. This can explain why the pope himself accepted the sanctification of a Byzantine *salos*, who used to carry a cross.[92] In this way Trani could be incorporated into the international pilgrimage network from the West to the East. Pilgrims who arrived at the port of Trani just before their embarkation could enter the cathedral, which lies near the seashore, and venerate a saint who was one of them, a pilgrim. Nicholas's intercession could secure a safe maritime journey.[93] The invocation of Nicholas by pilgrims, travelling from Syria to Apulia, is indicative of the saint's role: *Sanctae Nicolae Peregrine,*

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87   Otto Meinardus, "Medieval Navigation according to Akidographemata in Byzantine Churches and Monasteries," *Δελτίον της Χριστιανικής Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας* 7 (1970–2), pp. 35–6; Carolyn L. Connor, *Art and Miracles in Medieval Byzantium. The Crypt at Hosios Loukas and its Frescoes* (Princeton New Jersey, 1991), p. 118, figs 79, 81.

88   Dimitrios Z. Sofianos, *Όσιος Λουκάς. Ο Βίος του Οσίου Λουκά του Στειριώτη. Προλεγόμενα – μετάφραση – κριτική έκδοση του κειμένου* (Athens, 1989), pp. 166, 196–97, 208.

89   Cavallo, *Rotoli* (see above, n. 61), p. 52, pl. 11.

90   Amandus, *De S. Nicolai*, Ch. 53, col. 249C.

91   For Urban 11 and the First Crusade see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (1986, repr. London, 1993). Especially on the role of Bohemond in the First Crusade see Jonathan Shepard, "When Greek meets Greek: Alexius Comnenus and Bohemond in 1097–1098," *Byzantine and Modern Byzantine Studies* 12 (1988), 185–277; Theotokis, *Norman campaigns* (see above n. 47), pp. 185–99.

92   For the cross of St Nicholas the Pilgrim, see below p. 132

93   For the maritime qualities of Nicholas see Bertaux, *L'art*, p. 362; Oldfield, "St Nicholas," pp. 175–77; Oldfield, *Sanctity*, pp. 195, 209, 256–57. For Trani's new cathedral, see Bertaux, *L'art*, pp. 361–73; Belli D'Elia, "Il romanico," pp. 169–72 (see above, n. 13); Burnett, pp. 178–82.

adjuva peregrinos.[94] Amandus himself when he concludes his homily invokes Nicholas as *O Beate Peregrine ... peregrinos Peregrine guberna*.[95]

　　The cult of Nicholas seems to have had some success in the late twelfth and the 13th century, but only within the Apulian boundaries. Manuscripts containing his *vita* circulated within Apulia during these two centuries[96] and at the same time his portraits were depicted in visual arts, first only in Trani but in the 13th century also in other Apulian churches.[97] According to the written sources Nicholas appeared *graece vestitum*. He wore the monastic garment, in which the monks of Hosios Loukas dressed him with the purpose of deriding him, and a mantle. Nicholas himself hung up this mantle on an icon of St Demetrios to cure the faithful. He always walked barefoot carrying a cross, with which he performed his miracles. He handed this cross to the children of Trani just before his death.[98] His portraits, on the other hand, do not reveal his Byzantine monastic background. He is depicted beardless, wearing a knee-length tunic, carrying the pilgrim's purse and a staff surmounted by a cross, and barefoot.[99] The message his portrait conveys is that of young Nicholas as the traveller, the pilgrim. The most representative portrait of this message is a 13th-century stone relief originally walled up above the main entrance of the walls of Barletta (Fig. 5.8).[100] Barletta was one of the Crusader ports with direct contacts with the Holy Land[101] and St Nicholas the Pilgrim was welcoming and

94　　　Amandus, *De S. Nicolai*, Ch. 58, col. 250C.

95　　　Amandus, *De S. Nicolai*, Ch. 67, col. 252A.

96　　　Peters-Custot, "La *Vita* di San Nicola," p. 435.

97　　　St Nicholas is depicted for the first time on the seal of Trani's archbishop alongside St Leucius, the city's old patron saint (1180), Burnett, p. 190, fig. 3.80. His first full-length portrait is represented on Trani's cathedral bronze doors manufactured by Barisanus *Tranensis* (1179–86), Benedetto Ronchi, "Note sull'iconografia di S. Nicola Pellegrino," in *Scritti di storia e di arte pugliesi in onore dell'arcivescovo mons. Giuseppe Carata*, Benedetto Ronchi, ed. (Fasano, 1976), pp. 181–84, fig. 1; Burnett, pp. 189–90, figs 3.78, 3.79. Three saint's portraits are known in the 13th-century monumental painting, in the basilica of St Nicholas in Bari (Burnett, p. 192, fig. 3.86), in the cave church of Candelora in Massafra (Ronchi, "Note," pp. 191–93, fig. 12; Falla Castelfranchi, *Pittura*, p. 209, fig. 186; Safran, *The Medieval Salento*, p. 284, no. 63B), and in the cave church in the Masseria Iesce in Altamura, Burnett, p. 192, figs 3.84, 3.85.

98　　　Anonymus, *De vita S. Nicolai*, Ch. 24, col. 243A, Ch. 25, col. 243B, Ch. 28, col. 243E; Amandus, *De S. Nicolai*, Ch. 66, col. 251F; Adelferius, *De Sancti*, Ch. 32, col. 245B, Ch. 34, col. 245D, Ch. 37, col. 246A.

99　　　For the representations of pilgrims see Marina Gargiulo, "L'iconografia del Pellegrino," in *Tra Roma e Gerusalemme nel Medioevo. Paesaggi umani ed ambientali del pellegrinaggio meridionale*, 3 vols, Massimo Oldoni, ed. (Salerno, 2005), 2, pp. 435–87.

100　　For the relief see Ronchi, "Note," p. 184, fig. 2; Burnett, p. 190.

101　　For the port of Barletta and the Holy Land see above n. 58 and Valentino Pace, "Echi della Terrasanta: Barletta e l'Oriente crociato," in *Tra Roma e Gerusalemme nel Medioevo*, 2, pp. 393–408.

FIGURE 5.8 Stone relief with St Nicholas the Pilgrim, originally above the main entrance of
Barletta's walls, 13th century, Trani, Museo Diocesano.
FROM: NINO LAVERMICOCCA, *PUGLIA BIZANTINA. STORIA E CULTURA DI UNA
REGIONE MEDITERRANEA (876–1071)* (LECCE, 2012), P. 59

blessing the Crusaders and the pilgrims at the city's entrance. Nicholas was appropriated as a Latin saint and his portraits can be found in Latin-rite churches within the modern province of Barletta-Andria-Trani and the region of Terra di Bari (Massafra, Altamura, and Bari). So far there is no evidence for the cult of Nicholas beyond Apulia. The only references are those by Amandus and Adelferius, who mention a noble from France and Andrew from Flanders, who were cured by Nicholas and who promised to build churches dedicated to the saint in their respective countries.[102]

4   Conclusion

A few years after the conquest of Byzantine southern Italy by the Normans, two saints with the name, Nicholas, travelled from the Byzantine Empire to Apulia across the sea in order to change the religious landscape on the Apulian coast and to promote different agendas in the two cities. In Bari, the Normans and the pope commissioned the translation of the relics of St Nicholas from Myra and established the new cult centre of one of Byzantium's most venerated saints within the Latin territory. The Norman interest in St Nicholas of Myra was not stimulated as a consequence of pure religious motives, although the saint's cult is attested in Normandy before the conquest of southern Italy,[103] but for legitimation purposes, as St Nicholas enhanced the Norman and the Latin prestige not only within the region, but also throughout the Latin West. St Nicholas of Myra blessed the succession of rule from the Byzantines to the Normans, and from the Patriarchate of Constantinople to the pope of Rome. With the appropriation of St Nicholas, the Normans and the Latin Church aimed at establishing the new Norman-Latin identity in the region, following a victory over Byzantium. Bari, the former capital of the Byzantine Empire's western frontier, was the most appropriate city in southern Italy for such an agenda to be promoted. Although the Norman rule and the Papal jurisdiction were interrelated with St Nicholas and the basilica in Bari, in visual arts St

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102   Amandus, *De S. Nicolai*, Ch. 64, col. 251D; Adelferius, *De Sancti*, Ch. 44, col. 247D; Oldfield, "St Nicholas," pp. 174–75; Oldfield, *Sanctity*, pp. 242–43, 255–56. A relic of St Nicholas the Pilgrim is included in the relics list in the Monastery of St Stephen at Dubrovnic (1526), Burnett, p. 188.

103   For the Norman veneration of St Nicholas from Normandy to southern Italy see Dawn Marie Hayes, "The Cult of St Nicholas of Myra in Norman Bari, c.1071–c.1111," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 67/3 (July, 2016), 492–512.

Nicholas of Myra was not Latinized and did not acquire local characteristics. The Church of Bari and the local painters did not attempt and apparently did not intend to deviate from the Byzantine tradition with which the Latin-rite faithful in the region had been familiar. In southern Italy the saint maintained his Byzantine qualities of the significant Church Father, the strong intercessor and maritime protector.

On the other hand, in Trani the sanctification of St Nicholas the Pilgrim was decided by the archbishop and the citizens of Trani without the support of the political authorities. The Normans did not interfere with this sanctification nor with the construction of Trani's cathedral since the city refused to accept their rule. The new cathedral was erected by the archbishop and the citizens without any Norman support.[104] Trani's persistent attachment to the Byzantine Empire in this transitional period did not offer the Normans the chance to 'exploit' the city's new patron saint. It is significant to note that Bohemond visited the basilica of St Nicholas in Bari to pray for the success of the First Crusade,[105] but did not ask for the intercession of Trani's new saint in order to promote the city's new cult. With the sanctification of Nicholas, Trani demonstrated a broad notion of Byzantine culture, which helped to declare its self-identity against the new rulers by emphasizing the city's Byzantine past. During the Byzantine domination the patron saint of the city, St Leucius, was a Latin bishop, but the city chose a new patron saint of Byzantine origin precisely in the period during which it was resisting the acceptance of the Norman rule and subsequently a Norman identity. The sanctification of Nicholas by this pro-Byzantine Latin archbishopric comes as no surprise, since the archbishop and the citizens were capable of appreciating the spirituality of a Byzantine, partially *salos* hermit, who was connected with the monastery of Hosios Loukas. The role of this prestigious monastery in southern Italy is difficult to ascertain given the present state of knowledge, but the fact that Nicholas was so strongly associated with the monastery by his hagiographers is an indication that Hosios Loukas was appreciated in southern Italy and especially in Trani. With the sanctification of St Nicholas the Pilgrim the archbishop and the citizens of Trani chose by themselves not only their patron saint, but also to incorporate their city in the context of the First Crusade. Bisantius introduced to Urban a pilgrim saint who used to carry a cross and this figure was appropriate for a Crusader port such as Trani. Since a Byzantine iconographic model of St Nicholas the Pilgrim was missing, the Church in Trani and the local artists were free to emphasize the

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104   Bertaux, *L'art*, p. 372; Oldfield, "St Nicholas," pp. 173–74.
105   Cioffari, *Storia* (see above n. 6) p. 90.

qualities they needed, those of Nicholas being a pilgrim and a maritime protector for the Crusaders and pilgrims travelling to and from their port.

St Nicholas of Myra and St Nicholas the Pilgrim share the common name Nicholas and their Byzantine origin, but their figures should not be confined within the local antagonisms. The citizens of Trani could have easily found a Byzantine monk with the name Nicholas from southern Italy to sanctify. In fact it is hard to accept that the archbishop and the citizens believed in competing against Bari and St Nicholas of Myra, one of the most important saints, with an unknown *salos* hermit. Significantly, Pope Urban apparently would not have been interested in interfering in the antagonism between Bari and Trani by sanctifying a Byzantine almost Holy Fool. Both the basilicas in Bari and Trani were erected near the sea and were visible from the ships approaching the two ports, but the sites that were chosen were imposed by the location of the preceding buildings. The old cathedral of Trani had already been erected near the seashore during the Byzantine period, while the *praitorion* in Bari had been constructed near the port. From the end of the 11th century Crusaders and pilgrims on ships could see the construction of the new basilicas that were completed in the 12th century. The basilica of St Nicholas of Myra became the model for all the churches that were erected during this period in Apulia,[106] and the cathedral of Trani only partially followed this trend. The two basilicas share the same ground plan of the three-aisled basilica with the transept, but the cathedral of St Nicholas the Pilgrim is not a deliberate attempt to imitate the basilica of St Nicholas of Myra.[107] Although Trani's cathedral is closer to the sea than the basilica of St Nicholas in Bari, and Crusaders and pilgrims would have inevitably entered the church before embarkation, the cult of St Nicholas the Pilgrim is not attested outside Apulia. This demonstrates that regardless of the location of the basilica of St Nicholas of Myra near the sea, it was the appeal of the saint himself that made his basilica in Bari such a prestigious pilgrimage site.

The cases of St Nicholas of Myra and St Nicholas the Pilgrim attest to the catalytic role Byzantium continued to play in southern Italy under Norman rule and papal jurisdiction. Bari and Trani looked at the Byzantine Empire to draw inspiration in order to form their new identities, but while St Nicholas of Myra expressed the aim of the new rulers at confronting the still locally influential Byzantium through the appropriation of one of its most important saints, St Nicholas the Pilgrim asserted the connection of an anti-Norman city with Byzantine culture in order to promote the city's self-identity.

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106   Bertaux, *L'art*, p. 359; Belli D'Elia, "Il romanico" (see above n. 13), p. 152.
107   For the basilica of St Nicholas in Bari see above n. 13. For the cathedral in Trani see above
       n. 93.

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CHAPTER 6

Fantasy, Supremacy, Domes, and Dames: Charlemagne Goes to Constantinople

Elena Boeck

Scholars in the Netherlands pioneered an important area of inquiry in the field of Byzantine studies.* Bunna Ebels-Hoving, Krijnie Ciggaar, and J.P.A. van der Vin have explored notable aspects of how outsiders from the Latin West perceived Byzantium.[1] They engaged cross-cultural encounters decades before connected histories became fashionable. Their studies enriched the field by focusing on significant intellectual trends and serious diplomatic and cultural encounters of the Crusading era. This article argues that an overlooked text, which made Byzantium the focus of ribaldry and ridicule, deserves additional attention from Byzantinists. Since Byzantinists remain ambivalent about postcolonial approaches, a burlesque fictional world in which Crusaders could insult emperors and violate female imperial bodies is worthy of scrutiny. Through the hyperbolic looking glass of comedy, the destruction of Constantinople became both imaginable and desirable.

In the Crusading era, it was not uncommon for facts to become fiction and for fiction to morph into facts. The 12th century witnessed aggressive territorial conquest, an unprecedented movement of people, and a remaking of power relationships in the eastern Mediterranean. These developments are reflected in a fascinating medieval French romance *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*,[2] which was probably written soon after the disastrous

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1   Bunna Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in Westerse ogen, 1096–1204* (Assen, 1971); J.P.A. van der Vin, *Travellers to Greece and Constantinople: Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travellers' Tales* (Leiden, 1980); Krijnie Ciggaar, *Western Travelers to Constantinople: the West and Byzantium, 962–1204. Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden, 1996).

2   This title is a modern invention. In contemporary scholarship the text appears under two titles: *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople* and *Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*. Both titles were created by the 19th-century editors.

Second Crusade (1146–49).[3] Odo of Deuil, a bitter eyewitness to the misadventure in which the forces of Louis VII were devastated by the Seljuqs, laid the blame for the French defeat on the Byzantines in *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*.[4] His memorable, backhanded compliment to the imperial city summarizes an emerging attitude to Byzantium:

> Constantinople is arrogant in her wealth, treacherous in her practices, corrupt in her faith; just as she fears everyone on account of her wealth, she is dreaded by everyone because of her treachery and faithlessness. If she did not have these vices, however, she would be preferable to all other places...[5]

In this short inversion of an *ekphrasis* on Constantinople, the Byzantine capital is both repulsive and attractive. Constantinople is presented as a highly

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Paul Aebischer, *Le Voyage de Charlemagne a Jerusalem et a Constantinople* (Geneva,1965), pp. 11–2; Jean-Louis G. Picherit, ed. and trans., *The Journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople* (*Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople*) (Birmingham, 1984), p. ix. I will continue to use the title *Pèlerinage* for the sake of convention.

3   Alfred Adler, "The *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* in New Light on Saint-Denis," *Speculum* 22/4 (1947), p. 550. There is no consensus on the date of the poem's composition; the range of proposed dates span from the late 11th to the later 13th centuries. Its translation into Norse in the first part of the 13th century argues for the 12th-century date of the original. Aebischer, *Le Voyage de Charlemagne*, p. 29. The issue is further complicated by the fact that the text survives in a single, 14th-century copy in an Anglo-Norman manuscript. See Aebischer, *Le Voyage de Charlemagne*, pp. 16–29; Picherit, *The Journey of Charlemagne*, pp. iv–ix; Carla Rossi, ed., *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno a Gerusalemme e a Constantinopoli. Edizione, traduzione e commento* (Alessandria, 2006), pp. 124–28; Jules Horrent, *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne. Essai d'explication littéraire avec des notes de critique textuelle* (Paris, 1961), pp. 116–22; 140–50; Eduard Koschwitz, *Karl des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel* (Leipzig, 1913), p. xxv. See also Mari Carmen Jorge, "El campo semántico de los objetos de decoración en *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*," in *Les français face aux défis actuels: histoire, langue et culture*, Rodrigo López Carrillo and Javier Suso López, eds. (Granada, 2003), vol. 2, p. 87. *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* circulated for centuries and had international appeal, as attested by Welsh and Old Norse translations. Lucie Polak, "Charlemagne and the Marvels of Constantinople," in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic*, Peter Noble et al., eds. (Milwood, NY, 1982), pp. 160–02. It served as inspiration for the mid-15th century romance *Galien Restoré*, which was composed at the court of Philippe le Bon. Maria Colombo Timelli, "Cherchez la ville: Constantinople à la cour de Philippe le Bon (1419–1467)," in *Sauver Byzance de la barbarie du monde: Gargnano del Garda*, Liana Nissim and Silvia Riva, eds. (Milan, 2004), pp. 124–25.

4   For a useful introduction to the chronology and historiography of the Second Crusade, see Jay Rubenstein, "Putting History to Use: Three Crusade Chronicles in Context," *Viator* 35 (2004), pp. 144–46, DOI: https://doi.org/10.1484/J.VIATOR.2.300195.

5   Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem. The Journey of Louis VII to the East*, trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York, 1948), 87. For an overview of French attitudes, see Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople*, esp. Chapter 6.

charged, feminine entity. While Constantinople is desirable, the multiple vices that tarnish it can no longer be hidden. Familiarity with Byzantium has bred contempt. Odo, almost like a spurned lover, charges the city with multiple sins – arrogance, treachery, and faithlessness. Odo's Constantinople closely resembles the literary construction of Byzantium in *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople* (henceforth *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*). While Odo's work has garnered scholarly attention, *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* has been neglected by Byzantinists.

Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne can be profitably studied as evidence of geopolitical competition, as a discourse on contemporary debates about imperial primacy and as a violent fantasy, which prefigures the conquest of Constantinople, by the Crusaders in 1204. Akin to a Freudian dream, it reveals desires that are veiled in other texts. On the one hand, it offers an image of marvellous, admired and desired Byzantine things. On the other hand, it sidesteps Western cultural and technological inferiority in order to focus on martial superiority. In its humorous crudeness, *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* distils grand geopolitical concerns into individual confrontations. The narrator took the much-celebrated Charlemagne on a fictional journey to Jerusalem and Constantinople.[6]

Charlemagne was an exemplum for contemporary Western European rulers. In *Liber Floridus* Lambert de Saint-Omer claimed that Godfrey of Boulogne, the first Crusader king of Jerusalem had descended from Charlemagne.[7] *Liber Floridus* was a widely read and copied 12th century medieval encyclopaedia written shortly after the First Crusade (ca. 1120).[8] Incidentally, the autograph manuscript was accompanied by a *mappamundi* and complex diagram of

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6   A literary legend of the *Chanson de Roland*, Charlemagne's stature was further enhanced by Pseudo-Turpin who sent him on a legendary journey to Jerusalem. Charlemagne's stature was such that he was associated with buildings and objects in various French locales. The bibliography on the subject is extensive. For an introduction, see Frances Terpak, "Local Politics: The Charlemagne Legend in Medieval Narbonne," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 25 (1994), 96–110; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Forging the Past: The Language of Historical Truth in the Middle Ages," *The History Teacher* 17/2 (1984), 267–83.

7   Suzanne Conklin Akbari, "Embodying the Historical Moment: Tombs and Idols in the *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 44/3 (2014), p. 626.

8   Jay Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer and the Apocalyptic First Crusade," in *Remembering the Crusades: Myth, Image, and Identity*, Nicholas Paul and Suzanne Yeager, eds. (Baltimore, 2012), pp. 69–95; Albert Delolez, ed., *Liber Floridus Colloquium: Papers Read at the International Meeting Held in the University Library Ghent on 3–5 September 1967* (Ghent, 1973). The text circulated for centuries; seven illustrated copies survive, produced between the later 12th and early 16th centuries. See Hanns Swarzenski, "Comments on the Figural Illustrations," in *Liber Floridus Colloquium*, p. 21. See also Danielle Lecoq, "La Mappamonde du 'Liber Floridus' ou La Vision du Monde de Lambert de Saint-Omer," *Imago Mundi* 39 (1987), p. 11.

historical progression.[9] Charlemagne's verbal sojourn in *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* in key cultural spaces for the Crusaders is comparable to a verbal *mappamundi*.[10] Just as Charlemagne could be brought into the service of a king of Jerusalem, his memory was politically useful in Europe. Charlemagne was so important as an imperial model that Frederick Barbarossa orchestrated his elevation to sainthood in 1165 as part of his battle with the papacy over imperial power. This move was "intended to reinforce the idea that Frederick's imperial power came directly from God."[11] In *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* God answers Charlemagne's prayers directly. Rome's mediation is superfluous. Rome was omitted from the extensive itinerary of Charlemagne in *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne.*

The bawdy, irreverent and occasionally subversive *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* has led to it being called a "burlesque *chanson de geste*,"[12] as well as a "comic epic."[13] It is "one of the earliest *chansons de geste*."[14] The plot excoriates Byzantium, but it does not spare the famous Carolingian ruler either. The narrative is set in motion by a battle of the sexes between Charlemagne and his wife. In the opening scene she jokingly dismisses Charlemagne's narcissistic

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9   See Rubenstein, "Lambert of Saint-Omer."

10   Some commentators have suggested that the author of *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* had personal geographical knowledge, because he described Charlemagne's route to Jerusalem and referenced places like Antioch and Laodicea. Horrent, *Le Pèlerinage*, pp. 30–2; Rossi, ed., *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno*, pp. 73–86. In his discussion of the romance *Guy of Warwick* Robert Rouse argued that the places of his hero's journey "are not simply an arbitrary series of stages through which the romance hero moves. They represent real places, more or less familiar to the text's audience." Robert Rouse, "Walking (between) the Lines: Romance as Itinerary/Map," in *Medieval Romance, Medieval Contexts*, Rhiannon Purdie and Michael Cichon, eds. (Cambridge, 2011), p. 135.

11   Anne Austin Latowsky, *Emperor of the World: Charlemagne and the Construction of Imperial Authority, 800–1229* (Ithaca, 2013), p. 185; Michael McGrade, "'O rex mundi triumphator': Hohenstaufen Politics in a Sequence for Saint Charlemagne," *Early Music History* 17 (1998), 183–219.

12   David S. King, "Humor and Holy Crusade: *Eracle* and the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 109/2 (1999), p. 148. See also Jules Horrent, Le *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, pp. 11–2. For another text characterized as burlesque – the *Seege of Troye* – see Pamela Luff Troyer, "Smiting High Culture in the 'Fondement': the *Seege of Troye* as Medieval Burlesque," in *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Alan Shepard and Stephen D. Powell, eds. (Toronto, 2004), pp. 117–31.

13   Polak, "Charlemagne and the Marvels of Constantinople," p. 159.

14   Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople*, p. 175; Janet H. Caulkins, "Narrative Interventions: The Key to the *Jest* of the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*," in *Etudes de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offertes a Jules Horrent à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, Jean Marie d'Heur and Nicoletta Cherubini, eds. (Liege, 1980), pp. 47–55; Picherit, *The Journey of Charlemagne*, pp. iii–vii.

self-satisfaction with his regal appearance.[15] The furious ruler demands to know his rival's name and tells his queen that she "forfeited completely my love and good will."[16] To his dismay, he finds out that his wife believes that Hugo the Strong, "Emperor of Greece and Constantinople" appears magnificent in his regalia.[17] After threatening to behead his (unnamed) wife for this grave insult to his honour, Charlemagne sets off from Paris (by way of the church of St Denis)[18] on a journey of discovery in order to prove her wrong and to literally measure himself against his Byzantine opponent.[19] With his retinue of twelve knights, he first undertakes a chronologically extended, but narratively short, sojourn in Jerusalem. There he establishes a church,[20] is mistaken for "God himself" by a local Jew,[21] and is given numerous splendid relics by the patriarch.[22] Then, recalling his wife's words, Charlemagne proceeds to Constantinople.[23] Before encountering its ruler, he beholds "the great city of Constantinople" [une citez vaillant].[24] The first impression is overwhelming: a sweeping vista of

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15   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 1–42.
16   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 54.
17   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 47.
18   The church of Saint-Denis fostered the memory of Charlemagne. A 12th-century stained glass window represented Charlemagne's journey to Constantinople, but in this case Charlemagne came to the aid of the Emperor Constantine. The images of Charlemagne's intervention in Constantinople were most likely paired with representations of the First Crusade. The iconographic analysis is tangential because most of the Saint-Denis windows were destroyed during the French Revolution. Elizabeth A.R. Brown and Michael W. Cothren, "The Twelfth-Century Crusading Window of the Abbey of Saint-Denis: Praeteritorum Enim Recordatio Futurorum est Exhibitio," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), 1–40.
19   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 51–7. For the discussion of the legend of Charlemagne's travels in the East, see Rossi, ed., *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno*, pp. 11–24. See also Sara Sturm, "The Stature of Charlemagne in the 'Pèlerinage,'" *Studies in Philology* 71/1 (1974), 1–18. See also E. Jane Burns, "Portraits of Kingship in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*," *Olifant* 10/4 (1984–5), 161–81.
20   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 207.
21   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 139.
22   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, 139. In Jerusalem Charlemagne sat in Christ's seat in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 112–203. Charlemagne's extensive relic acquisitions in Jerusalem contrast with the complete absence of references to relics among Hugo's possessions, Polak, "Charlemagne and the Marvels of Constantinople," p. 168.
23   Of the 870 lines of the poem, 160 lines cover the route to Jerusalem and in Jerusalem, compared to 600 lines of adventures in Constantinople. The narrative redirection towards Constantinople reconnects with the beginning of the romance: "The Emperor of France, having remained there a long while, recalled his wife's words." Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 233–34. See John D. Niles, "On the Logic of 'Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,'" *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81/2 (1980), 208–16.
24   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 262.

abundance with vast cultivated orchards and gardens, twenty thousand richly dressed knights, and three thousand beautiful maidens.[25] Confused by such a splendid display Charlemagne struggles to recognize the ruler.

Following the directions to the one "sitting beneath that canopy of silk,"[26] Charlemagne meets "King Hugo the Strong, Emperor of Greece and Constantinople … [who] holds all of Persia as far as Cappadocia."[27] Their first encounter is a splendid inversion of Byzantine imperial majesty staged as an unnecessarily excessive display of wealth. Even though Hugo is magnificently attired and is surrounded by silken luxury, he is engaged in menial labour – tilling the earth and driving a contraption with golden plow blades, while sitting on a golden throne and directing two mules with a golden whip.[28] After exchanging pleasantries, the two rulers proceed to the city.[29] Before departing for the palace, Hugo astonishes his guests by abandoning the golden plow in the middle of the field. While for him it was apparently a natural action, since there were no thieves in his realm, Charlemagne was amazed by the immeasurable amount of gold contained in the plow, while one of his knights commented that in France "it would soon be destroyed with pikes and hammers" if left unattended.[30] Thus begins the tournament of cultural values that continues throughout the narrative.

In the superlative palace, Hugo offered Charlemagne lavish hospitality, astonishing food and excessive drink.[31] The protein-heavy menu of the welcome feast included "venison and boar's meat in abundance, cranes, wild geese, and peppered peacocks," as well as "the wine and claret."[32] Having feasted, the guests were led to their breath-taking bedchamber, where more wine was provided. King Hugo did this deliberately in order to entrap his guests:

> King Hugo the Strong had wine brought to them. He was wise, clever, and full of cunning, and in the chamber beneath a hollow marble slab he placed on of his men who watched them all night long through a tiny slit.[33]

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25   Ibid., lines 264–74.
26   Ibid., line 281.
27   Ibid., lines 46–8.
28   Ibid., lines 283–97. Hugo's agricultural pursuits and his throne of labor are discussed by Polak, "Charlemagne and the Marvels of Constantinople," pp. 160–01.
29   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 283–97.
30   Ibid., lines 320–28.
31   Ibid., lines 305–33; 437–38.
32   Ibid., lines 410–12.
33   Ibid., lines 437–41.

This intelligence gathering proved to be decisive for the rest of the poem.

The intoxicated Charlemagne and his knights took turns boasting for a full quarter of the poem about their martial superiority and the terrible things that they could do to Constantinople and its most notable residents. These drunken fantasies included flooding the city, assaulting the Byzantine ruler during a feast in the palace, copulating with the imperial daughter one hundred times during a single night, destroying the palace, and blowing all doors off their hinges through a single oliphant horn.[34] At the end of each boast, the spy made comments such as "King Hugo was a fool to give lodging to such men."[35] It would turn out that the spy was right.

This was the decisive moment when the two cultures irrevocably collided. For the French visitors these inebriated performative utterances – jests – were a normative part of their feasting culture, as they tried in vain to eventually explain to their host,[36] when Charlemagne literally carried an "olive branch" [ramisel de olive].[37] But the fact that they were recorded by a concealed and eavesdropping imperial spy exposed the Byzantine treachery and transformed Hugo's hospitality into a trap for undisciplined visitors.[38] Hugo had not only violated the rules of hospitality, but also the rules of chivalry. At the same time, the dispatch of the spy also revealed Hugo's concerns about the untrustworthiness of the Franks and the potential danger they represented.[39]

The resulting confrontation led to a narrative culmination: Hugo publicly challenged Charlemagne and his retinue to put words into deeds under penalty of death.[40] Following their ardent prayers in front of a relic and an angelic apparition,[41] the Western protagonists managed to complete three of their inebriated, improbable boasts. Hugo could take no more and completely capitulated.[42] Thus with divine help, Charlemagne and his knights emerged victorious over their cunning host: they destroyed the palace, submerged Constantinople in a deluge, and destroyed the reputation of a Byzantine princess. Byzantine corruption, cunning, and wealth were so displeasing in the eyes of God, that divine help was granted to drunks, louts, and nymphomaniacs.

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34   Ibid., lines 437–628.
35   Ibid., line 483. See also Horrent, *Le Pèlerinage*, pp. 79–83.
36   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 652–58.
37   Ibid., line 641.
38   Ibid., lines 440, 618–28.
39   Ibid., line 624.
40   Ibid., lines 629–61.
41   Ibid., lines 667–78.
42   Ibid., lines 799–801; Horrent, *Le Pèlerinage*, pp. 83–106.

Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne both adheres to the genre of French romances and stands apart.[43] While its bawdy humour is unique, its fascination with Byzantine objects and wealth is a recurring narrative *topos* of French romances. In the French romances, Constantinople became a kind of "other world," a place of acquisitive and erotic desires.[44] French courtly romances could include extensive descriptions of Constantinople,[45] some of which were inspired by eyewitness encounters with great imperial monuments.[46] Like *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, French romances insisted on the superiority of Western medieval culture; for instance in *Cligés* a young Constantinopolitan sets off for the court of King Arthur to learn about chivalry.[47]

The unprecedented scale of movement created by the Crusades meant that encounters with architectural monuments of unparalleled craftsmanship, skill, and aesthetic value became part of the Crusading experience. These productive confrontations had profound cultural consequences upon the Crusaders – from new perspectives upon history, to changing ways of imagining the past, to the forging of new identities, to the movement of objects. *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* includes all these elements by constructing a foreign, yet familiar Constantinople.

The Constantinople of *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* is an architectural amalgam: "They see Constantinople, a splendid city, with its bell-towers, its eagles, and its gleaming domes."[48] While domes are signifiers of Byzantium's

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43   The comical heroic feats of *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* follow the genre of heroic feats of contemporary Crusader narratives. See Sini Kangas, "First in Prowess and Faith. The Great Encounter in Twelfth-Century Crusader Narratives," in *Cultural Encounters during the Crusades*, Kurt Villads Jensen et al., eds. (Odense, 2013), pp. 119–34.

44   Jeff Rider, "The other worlds of romance," in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance*, Roberta L. Krueger, ed. (Cambridge, 2000), p. 124.

45   Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople*, pp. 62–3, 186–88, 194, 329, 344; Paul Frankl, *The Gothic Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, 1960), pp. 159–205, esp. 161–62; Margaret Schlauch, "The Palace of Hugon de Constantinople," *Speculum* 7 (1932), 500–14; Rima Deveraux, *Constantinople and the West in medieval French Literature: Renewal and Utopia* (Cambridge, 2012).

46   The great equestrian monument of the Emperor Justinian which stood by the Hagia Sophia was one such monument. It featured in the romance *Eracle*, see further Boeck, *The Bronze Horseman of Justinian in Constantinople: the Cross-Cultural Biography of a Monument*, Chapter 4, forthcoming.

47   William A. Nitze, "The So-Called Twelfth-Century Renaissance," *Speculum* 23/3 (1948), p. 467. See also Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, 2006).

48   Picherit, ed. and trans., *The Journey of Charlemagne*, lines 262–63. See also Rossi for the discussion of "Constantinopoli 'fantastica,'" Rossi ed., *Il viaggio di Carlo Magno*, pp. 108–12; Joël H. Grisward, "Paris, Jérusalem, Constantinople dans le Pélerinage de Charlemagne. Trois villes, trois fonctions," in *Jerusalem, Rome, Constantinople. L'image et le mythe de la ville au Moyen Age*, Daniel Poirion, ed. (Paris, 1986), pp. 75–82. The "gleaming domes" of

real architectural splendours, the bell-towers firmly remind us of great ecclesiastical architecture of the Latin rite.⁴⁹ The fertile imagination of the creator of *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* has been matched by its modern scholarly interlocutors, who have discerned multiple cultural influences embedded in the descriptions of its architectural glories running the gamut of the Indo-European experience – from the old Irish lore to the echoes of the Babylonian tradition.⁵⁰

Domes represent the greatest point of architectural fascination in the narrative. This is hardly surprising, for the Hagia Sophia remained the world's greatest domed edifice until the 16th century. *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* provides a verbose account of a magnificent, imperial domed structure. The rotating, circular, vaulted imperial palace was unimaginably opulent: Charles beheld the palace and the great riches: the tables, the chairs, the benches were of pure gold. Decorated in blue [azure], the palace was delightful with its fine paintings of beasts and serpents and a multitude of creatures and birds in flight. Constructed with skill and nobly secured, it was vaulted and completely covered over. The pillar in the centre was inlaid with white silver and a hundred columns of marble stood there, each inlaid with pure gold at the front. There was a sculpture in copper and metal of two children who carried in their mouths horns of white ivory. If any wind, blowing from the sea, struck the palace on the west side, it would make the palace revolve repeatedly, like a chariots's wheel as it rolls earthwards. Their horns blared, bellowed, and thundered, just like a drum or a clap of thunder or the tolling of a huge suspended bell. They looked gaily at each other and you would have sworn they were alive. Charles beheld the palace and the great riches, no longer caring one jot for his own possessions, and recalling his wife whom he had threatened so much.⁵¹

The splendour of the imperial palace had the desired effect – it overwhelmed Charlemagne and dwarfed his own trappings of opulence. Material wealth and superlative technology created a magical space, which dizzied the mind. It combined opulent materials (marble, gold, silver, ivory, azure, copper, crystal windows, and other metals), decorations executed in multiple media

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the Picherit translation become "shimmering bridges" of the Burgess translation. Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, p. 263. These variations in translation result from diverging emendations of the original text.

49   Elena Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine Past: the Perception of History in the Illustrated Manuscripts of Skylitzes and Manasses* (Cambridge, 2015), ch. 7.

50   Schlauch, "The Palace of Hugon de Constantinople," p. 512.

51   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 342–64. See also Horrent, *Le Pèlerinage*, pp. 55–60; Francis J. Carmody, *Le Pelerinage de Charlemagne: sources et paralleles* (Berkeley, CA, 1976), pp. 19–29; Polak, "Charlemagne and the Marvels of Constantinople," pp. 160–08.

(sculpture, painting), and architecturally unique forms (the central column, the dome). Here we encounter the magical materiality of Byzantine wealth, artistry and architecture – from gold furniture, to marbles, to magical statues, to superlative paintings of animals.[52]

The vaulted, domed magnificence was again repeated in the bedchamber offered to Charlemagne and his knights. It was decorated with "crystals and painted flowers" and "a carbuncle … set in a column from the time of King Goliath."[53] Charlemagne and his knights are reminded of the ancient roots of Byzantium's pedigree.[54]

At the same time, even such hyperbolic verbal accounts could reflect tangible impressions that Byzantine architecture made upon Western visitors.[55] For instance, the mid-12th century polygonal keep of Orford Castle (Oxford, England) was possibly inspired by the Theodosian walls or palatial spaces of Constantinople.[56] Similar keeps, "with projecting spaces radiating from a vaulted central hall," were also being constructed at the same time in France (such as Etampes and Provins).[57]

In *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* the imperial space induced such an overwhelming sensory response that Charlemagne confessed to his knights that no great ruler of the past – Alexander, Constantine, and Crescentius of Rome – possessed such a glorious palace.[58] The aural experience of the magical sculpted automata was heavenly: "The listener imagined himself in paradise where the angels sing so sweetly and gently."[59] Their amazed reaction was akin to the Western response to a Byzantine musical instrument that created awe in imperial ceremonials – the organ. The imperial organ was also an example of a superior technology deployed in diplomatic relations – an organ had been sent to King Pepin by the Emperor Constantine V as a diplomatic gift, and was

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52   Schlauch, "The Palace of Hugon de Constantinople," pp. 500–14; Paul Frankl, *The Gothic: Literary Sources and Interpretations through Eight Centuries* (Princeton, 1960), p. 161; David S. King, "Humor and Holy Crusade," p. 149.

53   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 422–23.

54   The architectural flourishes of the French literary imagination have generated considerable discussion. Anthime Fourrier, *Le courant réaliste dans le roman courtois en France au moyen-age. Tome I. Les débuts (XIIe siècle)* (Paris, 1960), esp. pp. 247–53; Devereaux, *Constantinople and the West in Medieval French Literature*. For a broad survey of the exotic realia in Western medieval literature, see Frankl, *The Gothic*, 159–205. For a Byzantinist perspective see Elizabeth Jeffreys, "The Comnenian Background to the *Romans d'Antiquité*," *Byzantion* 50 (1980), pp. 466–67.

55   Burgess, *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, pp. 82–3.

56   T.A. Heslop, "Orford Castle, Nostalgia and Sophisticated Living," *Architectural History* 34 (1991), p. 50.

57   T.A. Heslop, "Orford Castle, Nostalgia and Sophisticated Living," p. 51.

58   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 365–66.

59   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 376–77.

remembered by a 10th-century Carolingian courtier as the "most remarkable of organs ever possessed by musicians."[60]

In *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,* unsuspecting visitors were awed by Byzantine technological prowess. The power of the rotating architectural automaton terrified them: Charlemagne was so taken aback by the power of the automata, which were propelled by the wind, that he was unable to stand and had to sit on the floor.[61] Byzantine technology quite literally knocked him off his feet, while his comically overwhelmed posse "covered their heads" while lying on the ground face down.[62]

Though there is no evidence for the existence of such a rotating dome in the Byzantine imperial palace, amazing domes were a kind of topos in narratives of imperial spaces. For instance, Nero's rotating domed dining hall in the Domus Aurea had been interpreted as a 'dome of heaven.'[63] In *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne,* the imperial dome likely stands for unattainable technological achievement.

The Western response to the Byzantine imperial splendour is grounded in the realities of the medieval performances of power, which famously included automata and aural experiences. In the 10th century Liudprand of Cremona, the ambassador of Berengar II (d. 961) marvels at the automata in the palace of Constantinople and reported on the Byzantine throne-automaton to his own lord:

> In front of the emperor's throne there stood a certain tree of gilt bronze, whose branches, similarly gilt bronze, were filled with birds of different sizes, which emitted the songs of the different birds corresponding to their species. The throne of the emperor was built with skill in such a way that at one instant it was low, then higher, and quickly it appeared most lofty; and lions of immense size (though it was unclear if they were of wood or brass, they certainly were coated with gold) seemed to guard him, and, striking the ground with their tails, they emitted a roar with mouths open and tongues flickering. ... upon my entry, the lions emitted their roar and the birds called out, each according to its species...[64]

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60   Leslie Brubaker, "The Elephant and the Ark: Cultural and Material Interchange across the Mediterranean in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004), p. 175.

61   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 385–96.

62   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 389.

63   Hans Peter L'Orange, *Studies on the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (London, 1953), pp. 28–9; for the criticism of L'Orange see Benjamin Anderson, *Cosmos and Community in Early Medieval Art* (New Haven, 2017), p. 47.

64   Liudprand of Cremona, *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. Paolo Squatriti (Washington, D.C., 2007), pp. 197–98.

Though Liudprand told his reader that he was "not filled with special fear or admiration" because he had been forewarned about this display,[65] it was nevertheless the first detailed description of any Constantinopolitan sight that he offered to readers. Charlemagne of *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* did not have the mettle of the 10th-century ambassador. He fully acknowledged the awe created by the imperial display.

How can one assert supremacy in the face of such technological superiority? The visitors's only option for asserting power over such a space was destruction. One of Charlemagne's knights accomplished this by bowling: he picked up a giant metal ball of silver and gold that was on display in an imperial chamber, which thirty men could not move, and rolled it through the palace causing inestimable destruction. He thus neutralized the power of Byzantine marvels.[66] This comic feat previewed the kinds of destruction that would be unleashed during the sack of Constantinople in 1204.

After Hugo had challenged Charlemagne and his knights to turn their drunken boasts into sober deeds, only the power of God and angelic intervention could help the protagonists to carry them out. Although divine participation in human affairs is a standard feature of medieval literature, in *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* divine help is granted to unexpected recipients.

Though the entire Carolingian contingent leaves a lot to be desired in terms of Christian virtue, a knight by the name of Oliver stands out in that crowd. He claimed that he could copulate with the imperial daughter a hundred times in one night:

> Let the king take his own daughter, whose hair is so fair, and place us together on our own in her bedroom. If on her admission I do not take her one hundred times during the night, tomorrow may I lose my head...[67]

The narrative role of the nameless princess and he character are developed only in relation to Oliver's desires. The count first noticed her at the imperial welcome feast and desired her as one of the offerings:

> ... blonde-haired daughter whose face was beautiful and radiant and her skin as fair as a summer flower. Oliver gazed at her and began to love her. 'Would to God, in His holy majesty, that I had her in France ... Then I should have my way with her.'[68]

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65   Liudprand, *The Complete Works*, p. 198.
66   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 509–14, 745–50.
67   Ibid., lines 486–89.
68   Ibid., lines 402–07.

His wish came true, for Hugo challenged the knight to perform this boast as the first of the ordeals. In the peculiar scene of courteous decorum, Oliver did not force his way upon the lady, but she insisted that he perform the feat so as to not "dishonour" her.[69] The count remained a gentleman and enjoyed the stout imperial daughter in a more circumscribed marathon session of lovemaking: "That night the count did it to her no more than thirty times."[70] Because she loved the perpetrator, she lied to her father in a most improbable literary exchange one can imagine between father and daughter: "In the morning, at daybreak, the king arrived and called his daughter to one side, saying: 'Tell me, fair daughter, did he do it to you a hundred times?' [Dites mei, bele fille, ad le vus fait .c. feiz?] 'Yes, my lord the king,' she replied."[71] That night was the extent of her relationship with Oliver. Once Oliver had enacted his colonial fantasy, he had no more need for her. In the conclusion of the narrative the gallant knight refused to take the lady back with him, despite their private declarations of love and her public loss of face when she chased after him, grabbing on to his garments and begging to go along as he was about to ride off from Constantinople.[72] In this public rejection, he added further insult to the perpetrated injury.[73] Perhaps this conforms to some perverse Crusader rule of debauchery: what happened in Constantinople had to remain in Constantinople.

The full result of the contest was nothing less than the complete emasculation of the Byzantine ruler and subjugation of his realm. Despite his immensely dazzling wealth, Hugo's palace was first destroyed in a feat of strength,[74] and then Constantinople was destroyed in a flood that was unleashed by Charlemagne's contingent with divine help.[75] Hugo had to save his life by shutting himself in the tallest tower while Charlemagne and his posse ended up indecorously climbing a pine tree and beholding the city's destruction while clinging to a branch.[76]

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69   Ibid., line 721.

70   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 726. With its insistence on dialogue, civility and ceremony the encounter between the Byzantine princess and Oliver parodies scenes of courtly love. For the entire exchange, see Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 692–734. See also David S. King, "Humor and Holy Crusade," p. 149; Horrent, *Le Pèlerinage*, pp. 68–9, 95–100. For a discussion of women and marriage in the French romances, see Megan Moore, *Exchanges in Exoticism: Cross-Cultural Marriage and the Making of the Mediterranean in Old French Romance* (Toronto, 2014).

71   Burgess, ed. and trans, *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 727–30.

72   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 852–04.

73   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 856–07, "'Fair one,' said Oliver, 'my love is yours completely, but I shall go back to France with my lord Charlemagne.'"

74   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 745–53.

75   Ibid., lines 762–94.

76   Ibid., lines 779–84.

Only a complete capitulation of the Byzantine ruler could reverse the terrible destruction brought about by divine retribution. This was the culmination of the colonial fantasy: not once, but twice Hugo promised complete surrender within fifteen lines of the poem. Having escaped the terrible flood in the tallest tower, he cried loudly enough for Charlemagne to hear him from the pine tree that "[Hugo] would give Charles his treasure and accompany him to France; he would become his vassal and hold his kingdom from him as a fief."[77] The pleased Charlemagne "took great pity on him," and prayed for reversal of the flood.[78] His prayer was immediately answered, for "God performed a great miracle for the love of Charlemagne."[79] Once the waters receded, Hugo came to Charlemagne and pledged "to become … vassal and to hold my kingdom from you as a fief."[80] He also acknowledged the corruption of his own faith and inferiority of his title in one single sentence: "In faith, rightful Emperor, I know that God loves you."[81]

The last declaration represents the imposition of a new world order. It effortlessly resolved the centuries-long dispute between Byzantine and Western medieval rulers regarding titulature and the relative standing of each ruler within the hierarchy of kingship. Hugo not only accepted Charlemagne as his superior, but he acknowledged Charlemagne as emperor ("emperere"), and named himself a holder of a kingdom ('mum regne'),[82] even though earlier in the text Hugo bears the title of emperor on more than one occasion.[83] He submitted to the fact that the world can have only one true emperor.

The dispute over imperial titulature was no laughing matter for several centuries. The controversy was initiated when Charlemagne was crowned in 800 C.E. as emperor at St Peter's on Christmas and started to use the title *imperator Romanum*.[84] The Byzantine side was indignant, and the debate over titles continued even after the end of the Byzantine empire, when the Hapsburgs and the Ottomans battled over the title of Roman emperor.

The narrated interaction between Hugo and Charlemagne reflected another important contemporary issue: the etiquette that would be adhered to between Byzantine emperors and Crusaders from the late 11th century onwards.

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77   Ibid., lines 785–88.
78   Ibid., lines 788–90.
79   Ibid., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 791.
80   Ibid., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 796–97.
81   Ibid., line 796.
82   Ibid., lines 796–97.
83   Ibid., lines 289, 622.
84   Rosamond McKitterick, *Charlemagne: The Formation of a European Identity* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 116.

The ceremonial confrontations when Crusaders refused to follow Byzantine etiquette and stand in the presence of the emperor resonated in the *Alexiad* of the Byzantine princess Anna Komnene,[85] as well as in the Norman versified history *Le Roman de Rou*.[86] We find echoes of these civilizational collisions in the capitulation of Hugo, who has to come to Charlemagne. Hugo's repeated sobriquet throughout the narrative is 'Hugo the Strong' (Hugun li Forz) and underscores the irony of the entire adventure.[87] As we learn from the story, it was not the title that mattered, but the divine support.

Hugo's submission to Charlemagne was also in dialogue with another powerful issue of the period – the contestation of imperial titulature by the papacy and the influence of the *Donation of Constantine* in shaping the relationship between popes and their royal "vassals."[88] The literal application of the *Donation* could include papal demands that contemporary emperors (in imitation of Constantine in the text) perform a very public submission by walking the papal horse in public processions as a *strator*,[89] and popes publicly wearing a golden imperial crown.[90] Echoes of this complex dynamic can be discerned in the final act of humiliation imposed by Charlemagne upon Hugo – the joint procession of the two rulers through Constantinople. As a seal of the new power arrangement, Hugo addressed Charlemagne as "sire,"[91] while Charlemagne

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85   Anna Komnene described an episode in which a member of the Crusader delegation unceremoniously sat on the imperial throne and was rebuked by another member of his group for his inappropriate behavior. Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans E.R.A.Sewter (London, 2003), Book X, X, p. 291.

86   Glyn S. Burgess, trans., *The History of the Norman People. Wace's Roman de Rou* (Rochester, 2004), pp. 125–26. Ciggaar mentioned Robert's legendary visit to Constantinople in *Le Roman de Rou*. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople*, p. 179. The recipient of *Le Roman de Rou* was Henry II of England (formerly Henry of Anjou). His wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, was a great patron of the arts. She accompanied her first husband, Louis VII of France, on the disastrous Second Crusade which was described by Odo of Deueil.

87   For instance, Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 394, 802.

88   This forgery became highly authoritative and widely known. The bibliography on this topic is voluminous. See Wilhelm Levison, "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvesterlegende," in *Miscellanea Francesco Ehrle. Scritt di Storia e Paleografia*, vol. 2 (Rome, 1924), pp. 159–247; Horst Fuhrmann, "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvesterlegende in neuer Sicht," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 15 (1959), 523–40; Horst Fuhrmann, "Konstantinische Schenkung und abendländisches Kaisertums," *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 22 (1966), 63–178.

89   Eduard Eichmann, "Das Officium Stratoris et Strepae," *Historische Zeitschrift* 142 (1930), 16–40; Robert Holtzmann, "Zum Strator- und Marschalldienst. Zugleich eine Erwiderung," *Historische Zeitschrift* 145 (1931), 301–50.

90   Ernst Hartwig Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: a Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, CA, 1946), p. 137.

91   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 811.

called him "sire" and "my man" ('mis heoms').[92] The two rulers wore their regalia in a public procession together, and "Charlemagne was taller by a full fifteen inches."[93] The narrative had finally come full circle. Charlemagne had proven his wife wrong by more than measuring up to Hugo. This enactment of superiority evokes a processional performance of vassalage and the submission to papal authority such as the one Pope Alexander III imposed upon Frederick Barbarossa in 1177,[94] which has been interpreted as a triumph in the development of the ideology of *papa imperialis*.[95]

Conclusion

Because it distils complicated geopolitical and cross-cultural confrontations into a simplified format, the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne* offers rich material for studying both the reception of Byzantium and the emergence of colonial fantasies of supremacy. If narratives about the destruction of Constantinople could be considered funny, then there is more to this text than just a heady mixture of marvel, wealth, and perversion. The burlesque Constantinople provides a useful lens for examining how fiction prefigured the city's destruction a few decades later at the hands of the Western armies.[96] The Fourth Crusade stands as a narrative fulfilment of the *Pèlerinage du Charlemagne*.

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92   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, lines 802–03.
93   Burgess, ed. and trans., *The Pilgrimage of Charlemagne*, line 811.
94   Latowsky, *Emperor of the World*, pp. 185 ff.
95   For discussion of *papa imperialis* see Kantorowicz, *Laudes*, p. 145.
96   Polak, "Charlemagne and the Marvels of Constantinople," p. 159.

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CHAPTER 7

Similar Problems, Similar Solutions? Byzantine Chrysobulls and Crusader Charters on Legal Issues Regarding the Italian Maritime Republics

Daphne Penna

1   Byzantium, Italians and Crusades

By the end of the 12th century, the Italian maritime cities of Venice, Pisa and Genoa had gained significant commercial and financial privileges from the Byzantine emperors and thus played an important role in the Mediterranean world. These privileges were included in chrysobulls, golden bulls of the emperor in favour of the Italian cities.[1] Apart from the commercial privileges, which have been studied in the past by many scholars,[2] legal issues were also regulated in these chrysobulls: for example, maritime, shipwreck and salvage provisions, jurisdiction issues, forms of legal cooperation between both sides and grants of immovable property to the Italians.[3] At the end of the 11th century and throughout the 12th, the Crusader states were gradually created in the Middle East. Charters have survived between the Italian cities and various Crusader leaders. Without doubt, the Crusader states represent a special topic, as the legal issues are extremely complicated, especially concerning the feudal law practices in those regions.[4] Nevertheless, given the fact that the charters

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1   On this type of Byzantine act, see in detail Franz Dölger and Johannes Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. Erster Abschnitt: Die Kaiserurkunden* (Munich, 1968), pp. 94–107 and 117–28.

2   For a general overview of these documents from a commercial and political perspective, see Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi 1081–1204* (Amsterdam, 1984).

3   For the legal analysis of all preserved Byzantine imperial acts (chrysobulls, letters, decrees, etc.) to Venice, Pisa and Genoa in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries, see Dafni Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts to Venice, Pisa and Genoa, 10th–12th Centuries. A comparative legal study." PhD diss. (University of Groningen, 2012).

4   For this subject, see, for example, Joshua Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford, 1980), hereafter cited as Prawer, and J.L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge, MA, 1932, Reprint New York, 1970) and many writings of D. Jacoby; for

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between the Crusader leaders and the Italians were made in the same period in which the Byzantine emperors promulgated acts in favour of the Italians, some parallels could be made in respect to the legal content of the Crusader charters and that of the Byzantine acts to the Italians. After all, as the Italian merchants travelled and expanded their businesses the same legal issues arose: What happened to the goods of Italians in case of a shipwreck within the Empire and within the territories of the Crusader states? What happened to their estates when they died in Byzantium or in the Crusader states? Did Italians have the right to use their own judges and law in Constantinople and in the Crusader states?

In this contribution, I will focus on some examples of legal issues regulated in the Byzantine acts directed at Venice, Pisa and Genoa, and I will attempt to make some first comparisons with similar legal issues encountered in Crusader charters to the same three Italian cities. It would go too far here to present an exhaustive comparison of all the legal issues encountered in the Byzantine acts to the ones regulated in the Crusader charters or to present a full analysis of the formation and administration of the Crusader states. The source material used mainly derives from the previous research done for my dissertation, which covers the period up to 1204.[5] The aim of this contribution is to raise interest in the study of Byzantine legal matters, particularly in comparison to Crusader legal matters in respect of Italian merchants, and to open channels of cooperation with Crusader historians and especially legal historians who deal with Crusader law. The writings of Angeliki E. Laiou already offer an inspiring shift in this direction.[6] I will begin by discussing legal issues referring to grants of immovable property to the Italians by the Byzantine emperors and by the Crusader leaders. In the following, I will refer to the jurisdiction of Italian judges in Constantinople and the Crusader states and then to maritime law, shipwreck and salvage provisions concerning the Italians. In the last part, conclusions will be drawn based on the discussed examples on the role of the Italians in the formation of medieval law in the Mediterranean.

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example, David Jacoby, "The Venetian privileges in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," in *Montjoie, Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, Benjamin Z. Kedar et al., eds. (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 155–75.

5   See Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts."

6   See especially Angeliki E. Laiou, "Byzantine trade," in *The Crusades from the perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim world*, Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, eds. (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 180–87. In this direction also La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy*, pp. 227–42, especially p. 236, n. 2, Prawer, p. 244 and David Jacoby, "Venetian privileges," pp. 157 and 161.

2   Grants of Immovable Property to the Italians

A standard request of the Italians to the Byzantine emperors in the 11th and 12fth centuries was to grant them immovable property in Constantinople in order to facilitate their business and – as their community grew – their quality of life there.[7] These requests stemmed from the merchants's need for places in which they could safely store their merchandise.[8] The Byzantine grants to Venice, Pisa and Genoa consisted of areas in Constantinople, mainly landing stages (*scalai*)[9] and malls (*embola*),[10] but also churches, workshops, bakeries and other buildings. The first evidence of this kind of grant of immovable property to the Italians is to be found in the chrysobull issued in 1082 by Alexios I Komnenos in favour of Venice.[11] In 1111, the same emperor also granted property in Constantinople to the Pisans.

The Genoese were eager to receive such grants as well. In a letter of instructions of Genoa to her envoy, who was to negotiate with the emperor, we read that the Genoese authorities instructed their envoy to ask for specific kinds of property in Constantinople, similar in extent to those held by the Venetians. If the emperor would not grant these properties, the envoy was instructed to request other holdings similar to those received by the Pisans.[12] This tes-

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7   From the 11th century, only the chrysobull in favour of Venice by Alexios I Komnenos has been preserved, promulgated in 1082. The rest of the Byzantine imperial acts to Venice, Pisa and Genoa are dated to the 12th century.

8   For questions of housing travelling merchants in the Mediterranean, see Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World* (Cambridge, 2003) and, by the same author, "Funduq, Fondaco, and Khān in the Wake of Christian Commerce and Crusade," in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh, eds. (Washington, D.C., 2001), pp. 145–56.

9   On the term σκάλα, see Chrysa Maltezou, "Il Quartiere Veneziano di Constantinopoli," *Thesaurismata* 15 (1978), 30–61, here p. 32, in which a further bibliography on the term is provided. See also Paul Magdalino, "The Maritime Neigborhoods of Constantinople: Commercial and Residential Functions, Sixth to Twelfth Centuries," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 54 (2000), 209–26, here pp. 223–24.

10   On the use and meaning of the word *embolon* or *embolos* or *embolum* in the Byzantine documents addressed to the Italians, see Horatio F. Brown, "The Venetians and the Venetian Quarter in Constantinople to the close of the twelfth century," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XL (1920), 68–88, here p. 75, and Paul Magdalino, "The Maritime Neigborhoods, pp. 219, 223–24.

11   See Franz Dölger and Peter Wirth, eds., *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453. 2. Teil, Regesten von 1025–1204* (Munich, 1995), pp. 93–95, Regesten number 1081, hereafter cited as *Dölger-Wirth*, and the Regesten numbers will be abbreviated as Reg.

12   (…) *in magna urbe Constantinopolitana tot scalas et embolos cum ecclesiis et omni suo commodo quot Veneti habebant, postuletis, vel saltem ad ultimum si melius non possetis, quot*

timony proves that the Italians were very much aware of the grants given by the emperor to other Italians and that they – at least in some cases – based their requests on such previous grants. In other words, there must have been an ongoing competition between Italian cities in respect to receiving imperial grants, and the content of the Byzantine imperial acts to one city must have influenced or even dictated the content of the Byzantine imperial acts to other cities. In 1169, the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos issued the first chrysobull in favour of Genoa by which he granted *inter alia* property to the Genoese in Constantinople.[13]

In many Byzantine imperial documents, including chrysobulls, letters and decrees, we come across such grants. All Byzantine documents were promulgated in Greek and were translated into Latin by Byzantine officials.[14] In all these documents, the imperial grants of immovable property to the Italians are described as "donations." In Greek the word *δωρεά* is used, meaning "donation" (and in Latin the word *munus*), as well as words deriving from or connected to the word "donation."[15] The study of these Byzantine documents with respect to the grants of immovable property to the Italians and the legal terminology used reveals, remarkably, that no word is included in these documents relative to the idea of "full ownership" in either Greek or Latin. It is repeatedly mentioned that the Italians receive the *possessio* (*νομή* and/or *κατοχή*, the "possessio") of this property but a word reflecting the notion of "full ownership" is not included. Legally there is a distinction between ownership, possession and detention. Ownership is a right and possession is a fact. An owner is someone who is entitled to hold a good for himself. Owners are usually in possession of their goods but not necessarily. A thief is, for example, in possession of a good that somebody else owns; the thief holds the good for himself but is not en-

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    Pisani habent. These instructions are included as a footnote in the edition of the chrysobull of Manuel I Komnenos to Genoa in 1169 (Reg. 1488): C. Imperiale di Sant' Angelo, ed., *Codice Diplomatico della Repubblica di Genova*, Fonti per la storia d' Italia, 3 vols (Rome, 1936–42), here vol. II, no. 50, pp. 114–16, n. (1) "Emendationes…," here p. 114, hereafter cited as *Cod. Dipl. Genova.*

13   See *Dölger-Wirth*, pp. 255–56, Reg. 1488.

14   For the translation of Byzantine documents by Byzantine authorities during the Komnenian and Angelos dynasties, see Christian Gastgeber, "Die Lateinische 'Übersetzungsabteilung' der Byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei unter den Komnenen und Angeloi." 3 vols, PhD diss. (Vienna, 2001) and of the same author, "Die Lateinische 'Übersetzungsabteilung' der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei unter den Komnenen und Angeloi, Neue Ergebnisse zur Arbeit in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei" in *Byzance et le monde extérieur, Contacts, relations, échanges*, Michel Balard et al., eds. (Sorbonne, 2005), pp. 105–22.

15   For example, "the donated immovables" ("*δεδωρημένα ἀκίνητα*"). See for some examples Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," pp. 205–06.

titled to do so. The word "detention" is used by a jurist to describe the situation in which someone holds a good for someone else, for example the depositee holds the good not for himself but for the depositor; the depositee is neither owner nor possessor. In English, the term "possession" can mean both possession and detention, which is problematic, and that is why I prefer to use the Latin term *possessio* here.[16] The fact that no word is included in the Byzantine documents related to the notion of "full ownership" is striking because in Byzantine documents of this period, for example monastic documents in which a transfer of ownership takes place – or is confirmed – for a monastery, such a word, that is, *δεσποτεία* or *κυριότης*, is used to indicate full ownership of the property.[17] In fact very often in Byzantine documents the word "ownership" (*δεσποτεία* or *κυριότης*), is accompanied by an adjective implying that the ownership is "full" (*τελεία* or *καθαρά δεσποτεία*) and that there are no restrictions to be made (*ἀναφαίρετος δεσποτεία*).[18] Regarding the formalities of the delivery of the immovable property to the Italians, the following procedure is mentioned: An act of delivery (*πρακτικόν παραδόσεως*) describing the immovable property had to be drafted.[19] This act, usually drawn up by an imperial notary (and sometimes ratified by a Byzantine official), had to be registered together with the chrysobull at the competent Byzantine office; no other action was necessary. Having sketched the main elements of the grants of immovable property to the Italians by the Byzantine emperors, let us now turn to the grants of immovable property that were made by the Crusader leaders in favour of the Italians.

The Crusades and the formation of the Crusader states in the Middle East opened new opportunities and new markets for the Italian merchants. The Crusaders granted immovable property by their charters to Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Amalfi and Ancona. For example, by the *Pactum Warmundi*, a treaty

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16   Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," pp. 205–06. On this legal question and the use of English, see, for example, Barry Nicholas, *An Introduction to Roman Law* (Oxford 1975), pp. 107–14 and p. 168. For questions of *possessio* and its protection in Byzantine law, see Marios Tantalos, "Ἡ νομή καὶ ἡ προστασία τῆς ἀπὸ τὸ ὕστερο ρωμαϊκὸ στὸ βυζαντινὸ δίκαιο." [*Possessio* and its protection from late Roman to Byzantine law] PhD Diss. (Athens, 2016).

17   See, for example, Paul Lemerle et al., eds. *Actes de Lavra, I, Des origines à 1204* (Paris, 1970), no. 25, p. 176, lines 33–4; no. 44, p. 243, line 25; no. 45, p. 247, lines 27–32; no. 49, p. 261, line 10 and Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Documents of Patmos* (in Greek: Ἔγγραφα Πάτμου, 2. Δημοσίων Λειτουργῶν) (Athens, 1980), no. 50, p. 7, lines 72–3; no. 52, p. 51, lines 8–9 and lines 20–21.

18   See the references on n. 17.

19   Some acts of delivery referring to the Italians have been preserved. For examples see Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," pp. 215–17.

between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and Venice in 1123,[20] the Venetians were assured to receive immovable property in cities of the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[21] In 1098, Bohemond I granted to the Genoese some immovable property in Antioch.[22] In 1188, Conrad of Montferrat granted privileges to the Pisans in Acre, including immovable property there.[23] In short, the Italians created their own districts in the Crusader states just as they had done in the Byzantine capital. Hence, the "result" of both grants seems to be the same. The question arises

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20   The treaty takes its name from Warmund (also Gormond), the patriarch of Jerusalem who signed on behalf of the kingdom since the Crusader King Baldwin II was at that point imprisoned by the Muslims. On the importance of this treaty, see Prawer, pp. 221–26. See, however, Jacoby's objections in Jacoby, *The Venetian Privileges* (see above, n. 4), pp. 155–75, especially pp. 174–75.

21   *In omnibus scilicet supradicti regis eiusque successorum sub dominio atque omnium suorum baronum civitatibus ipsi Venetici ecclesiam et integram rugam unamque plateam sive balneum, nec non et furnum habeant, iure hereditario imperpetuum possidenda, ab omni exactione libera, sicut sunt regis propria.,* Gottlieb L.Fr. Tafel and Georg M. Thomas, eds., *Urkunden zur Älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig* (Amsterdam, 1964), 2 vols, here vol. 1, p. 85, lines 16–21, no. XL, hereafter cited as *TTh*, and ... *ipsas, inquam, partes beato Marco vobisque Dominico Michaeli, Venetie Duci, vestrisque successoribus per presentem paginam confirmamus, vobisque potestatem concedimus tenendi, possidendi et quicquid vobis inde placuerit, imperpetuum faciendi ...,* TTh, vol. 1, p. 87, lines 1–5, no. XL. The wording of this last fragment of the *Pactum Warmundi* from *vobisque potestatem* up to *faciendi* is repeated in the confirmation of this treaty by Baldwin II in 1125, see *TTh*, vol 1, p. 91, lines 16–18, no. XLI. The first fragment of the *Pactum Warmundi* from *In omnibus* up to *propria* is repeated in the confirmation act of Baldwin II of Jerusalem with one difference: in the last act the word *imperpetuum* is omitted after *iure hereditario,* see *TTh*, vol. 1, p. 90, lines 13–17, no. XLI. Jacoby comments: "(...) the word *imperpetuum,* used twice in 1123 (§§1, 15), was scrapped from the corresponding clauses of 1125 (§§1, 12)." Jacoby uses for the two charters the edition by Oliver Berggötz, *Der Bericht des Marsilio Zorzi. Codex Querini-Stampalia IV3* (1064), Kieler Werkstücke, Reihe C: Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters 2 (Frankfurt a/M, 1990). Jacoby explains that he uses this edition and its numbering but refers also to the *TTh* edition because the latter is more easily accessible despite the fact that the *TTh* edition has mistakes. I have not been able to consult the edition by Oliver Berggötz. In the *TTh* edition the word *imperpetuum* occurs also in the charter of Baldwin but only once, as described above. Jacoby does not refer here to pages of *TTh*. See Jacoby, *The Venetian Privileges* (see above, n. 4), p. 157 and p. 164.

22   ... *Sic dono vobis prenotatis hominibus omnia prescripta ut ea habeatis, teneatis et possideatis et quibus ea cum vestris usibus commendaveritis,* Cod. Dipl. Genova, vol. 1, p. 12, lines 5–7, no. 7.

23   *Hec omnia predicta donavi et concessi predictis hominibus prefate societatis et eorum successoribus vel quibuscumque ea eis dare placuerit ad tenendum et vendendum et pignorandum seu alienandum et quicquid eis inde placuerit faciendum,* Giuseppe Müller, ed., *Documenti sulle relationi delle città Toscane coll' Oriente Christiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno 1531* (Florence, 1879, reprinted 1966), p. 33, lines 30–35, no. XXVII.

whether the Byzantine documents share similarities in respect of granting this property to the Italians.

A first difference between the Byzantine and the Crusader grants can be found in the historical background and nature of these grants. In the case of the Crusader states, we have newly established states that were being formed from the Crusaders's conquests. The Italian districts in the Crusader states were made from the "freshly conquered" land. In fact, sometimes the Crusader leaders promised beforehand to the Italians that they would grant to them a part of the city to be conquered if the Italians would help in capturing the city.[24] The Byzantine grants of immovable property in Constantinople to the Italians were, on the other hand, very different and presumably more complicated in respect to which areas or buildings were to be granted to the Italians. In some cases, the emperor granted other people's property to the Italians, and he provided guarantees for these grants. For example, in the chrysobull of Alexios I Komnenos to Venice in 1082 the emperor stated that even if in the past the immovable property had belonged to someone else, for example, a person or a monastery, from the moment that the chrysobull was issued and the grant was made, it was the Italians who were allowed to use this property.[25] We read in some of the documents that compensation could have been asked for by the former owners from the state.[26] In fact, in two documents a legal procedure is prescribed for the former owners to ask for compensation.[27] However, in the same documents the emperor adds that if the former owners receive compensation they should be satisfied with what is given, but even if they do not receive any compensation then so it should be because "my Majesty is entitled by law wittingly to grant even that which belongs to someone else and thus grants [these areas] to the Genoese people" [… στέργειν ὡς τῆς βασιλείας μου ἐπ' ἀδείας ἐκ τῶν νόμων ἐχούσης ἐν εἰδήσει δωρεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια, καὶ οὕτω δωρουμένης τὰ τοιαῦτα τῷ τῆς Γενούης πληρώματι.].[28]

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24   See La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy* (see above, n. 4), pp. 227–42.

25   S. Borsari, "Il crisobullo di Alessio I per Venezia," in *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici 2* (1969/70), 111–31 (here version B, p. 130, lines 63–79). See in detail Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," pp. 29–32.

26   See in detail, Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," pp. 218–22, with bibliography. See especially K. Smyrlis, "Private property and state finances. The emperor's right to donate his subjects' land in the Comnenian period," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, vol. 33, no. 2 (2009), 115–32, here pp. 125–26.

27   In the chrysobull in favor of Pisa in 1192 (Reg. 1607) by Isaac II Angelos and in the chysobull in favour of Genoa (Reg. 1609) by the same emperor in the same year.

28   Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller, eds., *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, 3 vols (Vienna, 1865, reprinted Aalen, 1968), vol. 3, p. 33, lines 28–30, no. v. The same Greek text is used in the chrysobull in favor of Pisa in Müller, *Documenti*, p. 47, first column, 8–11, no. XXXIV.

There is a clear difference between the Byzantine and the Crusader grants of immovable property to the Italians with regard to the legal terminology used. In the Byzantine imperial acts, these grants are defined using Roman law terms, such as *νομή* (*possessio*). In the Crusaders charters, on the other hand, there is usually a description of what the Italians are allowed to do with the granted immovable property, something that must also be related to feudal law practices of that time. Another difference between the Byzantine documents and the charters of the Crusader leaders concerns the whole procedure of the grant. In the Byzantine documents reference is made to an act of delivery (*praktikon paradoseos*) describing the immovable property which had to be drafted. This act, usually drawn up by an imperial notary, had to be registered together with the chrysobull at the competent Byzantine office. In the Crusader charters, no reference is made to such an act.

3   Jurisdiction of Italian Judges

It was necessary for the Italian communities in the Byzantine capital to establish their own "authorities" and to appoint their own nationals who could deal with legal and other problems arising in their communities. In the case of Venice, a document has survived, dated to March 1150 and issued in Constantinople, proving that the Venetians had – at least from 1150 – a representative (*legatus*) in the Byzantine capital who was, among other things, competent to judge cases between Venetians.[29] In the chrysobull of the Emperor Alexios III Angelos to Venice in 1198, we come across this Venetian authority, the *legatus*, who was possibly the forerunner of the later *bailos*.[30] Notably, this chrysobull shows that the emperor allowed the Venetian *legatus* to judge cases that arose not only between Venetians themselves, but also some mixed cases, namely between Venetians and Byzantine subjects under certain conditions.[31] It concerns civil cases in which the defendant was Venetian, as well as mild injuries and insult in which the accuser – victim was Byzantine and did not belong to the high class. In all cases in which the defendant or the person who had committed a crime was Byzantine, a Byzantine official was assigned to judge.[32]

That foreigners appoint their own authorities to judge their cases in the Byzantine capital is not so strange. Obviously, they would rather trust their own

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29   See in detail Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," p. 66.

30   See Chrysa Maltezou, "*Ο θεσμός τοῦ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Βενετοῦ βαΐλου*." PhD diss. (Athens, 1970).

31   See in detail, Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," pp. 62–88.

32   Ibid., pp. 65–88.

authorities than the Byzantine ones and would want to apply their own laws and customs within their community. However, the fact that a foreign judge acquired by imperial order jurisdiction to judge mixed cases that also concern Byzantine subjects shows that this legal step was well thought out by the Venetian side. It is important to stress here that it was on the Venetians's initiative that the emperor allowed such jurisdiction to their representative in Constantinople, as is obvious from the wording of the document. The legal part of the document begins with a request by the two Venetian envoys. They complain to the emperor that, due to the situation that existed, Venetians were sometimes *de facto* judged twice for the same case. They request that the emperor solve this problem and allow official jurisdiction to the Venetian judge for certain cases. The emperor mentions in the following that he has accepted their request.[33] Nothing is mentioned in the document about the applicable law. Since the Venetian judge was officially acknowledged as competent to judge certain mixed cases between Venetians and Byzantines I assume that the applicable law would have been Venetian law, yet questions arise about practical issues related to the whole procedure. For example, was the Venetian judge allowed to apply only Venetian laws and customs? Were there interpreters for the Byzantine side? Was there any Byzantine official present?

In the Crusader states the Italians were gradually granted extraterritorial jurisdiction and were allowed to be judged in their own courts; criminal jurisdiction generally remained with the royal courts.[34] In the Crusader states not only Venetian judges were allowed to judge some mixed cases – namely cases arising between Venetians and others – but Pisan and Genoese judges had also obtained this privilege.[35] There is, however, a difference between the jurisdiction allowed to the Venetians by the act of Alexios III Angelos and the jurisdiction allowed to the Italians by the Crusader leaders. In the latter case, Venetians and Pisans had received a stronger autonomy based on

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33   Marco Pozza and Giorgio Ravegnani, eds. *I trattati con Bisanzio 992–1198* (Venice 1993), p. 132, line 15, p. 133, line 7, no. 11. See in detail Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," pp. 65–70.

34   See for example, the charter of Bohemond III to Genoa in 1189 in *Cod. Dipl. Genova*, vol. II, p. 354, lines 6–14, no. 184. See Marie-Luise Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener im heiligen Land vom ersten Kreuzzug bis zum Tode Heinrichs von Champagne, 1098–1197* (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 438–61 and David Jacoby, "Conrad Marquis of Montferrat, and the Kingdom of Jerusalem (1187–1192)," in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale 'Dai feudi monferrini e dal Piemonte ai nuovi mondi oltre gli Oceani'*, Laura Balletto, ed. (Alessandria 1993, repr. in David Jacoby, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Aldershot 1997, IV), pp. 187–225, here pp. 195–08 and pp. 204, 212, 214; see, however, the example of Genoa in Jacoby, *Conrad*, p. 208.

35   See, for example, Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener*, pp. 438–61 and Jacoby, *Conrad*, p. 195, pp. 207–08, pp. 212–14.

territorial jurisdiction, as is confirmed by different provisions in the Crusader charters. For example, according to the *Pactum Warmundi* of 1123, the Venetians were to receive jurisdiction *over all inhabitants* living in their quarter in Tyre, namely all people who lived within their quarter.[36] Prawer observes that Frankish nobles, vassals to the Crusader leaders, were probably an exception to this rule and were tried by the feudal court.[37] He adds that if burgesses had property in the Italian quarters, theoretically they would have been judged by Italian judges.[38] If, however, these burgesses belonged to a higher class, they would have been exempted from the Italian courts and would have been judged at the Court of Burgesses.[39] The same could have held for Italians who had property outside their own quarters; they too could have been exempted from the court of the king and would have been judged by their own Italian authorities.[40] Pisans and Genoese in the Crusader states were also allowed to be judged by their own authorities and according to their own laws.[41] In short, it seems that the so-called "principle of personality" was applied at least to some extent in the Crusader states meaning that nationals were subject to their own laws. Moreover, territorial jurisdiction was also established for the Pisan district in Tyre in 1187 since Conrad of Montferrat recognized that the Pisan representative was competent to deal with matters raised by the people living within the Pisan district there.[42] In that way, the jurisdiction granted to the Venetians, the Pisans and later the Genoese[43] created a kind of sovereignty for these districts.[44] Another difference between the chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos in favour of Venice and the Crusader charters regarding competent judges is that in the Crusader charters information about the applicable law was sometimes provided. For example, in a privilege charter by Reynald, prince of Antioch to Venice in 1153, it is regulated that the applicable law would be Venetian since it is mentioned that Venetians could apply their own laws

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36   *TTh*, vol. I, p. 88, lines 1–3, no. XL: *Preter ea super cuiusque gentis burgenses in vico et domibus Venetorum habitantes eandem iusticiam et consuetudines, quas rex super suos, Venetici habeant.* This has been discussed by Prawer, pp. 222–26. See also Jacoby, *Conrad*, p. 214.

37   Prawer, pp. 243–44.

38   Prawer, p. 243. See also the observations by Jacoby for the Pisans living outside the Pisan district in Tyre in 1187, Jacoby, *Conrad*, p. 198.

39   Prawer, p. 243.

40   Prawer, p. 243.

41   See, for example, Jacoby, *Conrad*, p. 198, p. 208 and Favreau-Lilie, *Die Italiener*, pp. 438–61.

42   Jacoby, *Conrad*, p. 198.

43   Prawer, p. 243.

44   Prawer, p. 222; see, however, the objections of Jacoby on the importance of the *Pactum Warmundi* in his article, *The Venetian Privileges*, 1997 (see above, n. 4), pp. 155–75, especially pp. 174–75.

and statutes in the court of their district in Antioch.[45] On the contrary, in the chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos to Venice, nothing is mentioned about the applicable law according to which Venetian judges had to judge mixed cases.

4   Maritime Law, Shipwreck and Salvage Provisions Concerning Italians

The first Byzantine document directed to an Italian city that regulated issues of maritime law was the chrysobull of Alexios I Komnenos to Pisa in 1111.[46] The emperor assured the Pisans in this document that in the case of a Pisan ship being plundered within the Empire and Byzantines removing Pisan goods from the ship, the emperor would take care to administer justice once proof was given.[47] In the same chrysobull it was regulated that if a Pisan ship was wrecked within the Empire, the Pisans were allowed to keep the goods that they themselves were able to recover from the ship. If Byzantine subjects helped the Pisans in recovering their wrecked goods, then the Pisans could keep these goods as well but they would have to pay the Byzantines a reward for their help.

In the chrysobull of Manuel I Komnenos to Genoa in 1169, shipwreck provisions were also included. It was ordered that if a Genoese ship was wrecked within the Empire and goods were removed by someone, the lost goods would be recovered and regained after an imperial order.[48] One year later Manuel I Komnenos promulgated a new chrysobull in favour of Genoa and included a similar provision.[49] By comparing these two provisions on shipwreck and

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45   In *TTh*, vol 1, p. 134, lines 12–14, no. LV.

46   For information of this document and a summary, see Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten*, p. 174, Reg. 1255.

47   "Εἰ κουρσευθῇ πλοῖον ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῆς βασιλείας μου καὶ ἀπολεσθῶσι τὰ πράγματα ὑμῶν ἀφαιρεθέντα παρά τινων τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν μου ὄντων, ἵνα ποιῇ ὑμῖν ἡ βασιλεία μου δίκαιον καὶ διόρθωσιν εἰς ἐνδεχόμενον καιρὸν μετὰ τὸ ἐλεγχθῆναι," Müller, *Documenti* (see above, n. 21), p. 44, lines 32–6, no. XXXIV, the Latin version on p. 53, lines 25–30: *Si depredata fuerit navis vestra in terra imperii nostri, et perditae fuerint res vestrae, ablatae ab aliquibus qui sub potentia imperii nostri sunt, faciet vobis clementia imperii nostri iusticiam et emendationem convenienti tempore, postquam probatum fuerit.* On legal questions that arise from this and other related fragments, see in detail Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," pp. 108–14.

48   Reg. 1488. ... *Et si aliqua navis Ianuensium a quacumque parte venerit, naufragium passa fuerit in Romaniam et contigerit de rebus eius auferri eis ab aliquo, fiet preceptum imperii eius **vindicandi** et recuperandi **res** amissas*, *Cod. Dipl. Genova*, vol. II, version Q, p. 112, lines 22–8, no. 50. Only a Latin translation has been preserved of this document in two versions; see in detail Dölger-Wirth, *Regesten*, pp. 255–56.

49   "... καὶ ἐὰν πλοῖον Γενουιτικὸν ἀφ' οἱουδήτινος τόπου ἐρχόμενον εἰς Ῥωμανίαν κινδυνεύσῃ καὶ συμβῇ τινὰ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραγμάτων ἀφαιρεθῆναι ὑπό τινων, ἵνα γίνηται πρὸς ταῦτα τῆς

salvage for Genoa to the earlier similar one to the Pisans, one observes in the case of Genoa a new step, a development in favour of Genoa. In the document in favour of Pisa, the emperor is vague about the help he would provide to the Pisans.[50] In the two chrysobulls in favour of Genoa, it is clearly expressed that if a ship is wrecked or in danger within the Empire and goods are removed, the goods would be recovered by imperial order. In the cited fragments, there are stronger indications that a legal procedure would follow since words such as ἐκδίκησις πραγμάτων and *vindicandi res* were included.[51] The word ἐκδίκησις (and *vindicta* in Latin) is used here rather as claiming the things back, in the sense of a *reivindicatio*, a meaning that other Byzantine legal texts contain as well.[52]

Issues of maritime law were also regulated in the privilege charters by the Crusader leaders for all three Italian cities – Venice, Pisa and Genoa. It was ruled in many such charters that if the Italians suffered a shipwreck within the region of the corresponding leader of the Crusader states, the goods of the ship would still belong to the Italians. Here is an example from the privilege charter by Raymond, prince of Antioch to the Venetians in 1140: *... et si naufragium in terra mea seu in terra baronum meorum passi fuerint, de rebus suis nichil perdant, salve, quanto melius possint, et navem et omnia sua recoligant*.[53] [... if (the Venetians) suffer a shipwreck in my land or in a land of one of my barons they

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βασιλείας μου **ἐκδίκησις** καὶ ἐπανάσωσις τῶν τοιούτων πραγμάτων," Franz Miklosich and Joseph Müller, eds., *Acta et Diplomata Graeca Medii Aevi*, 3 vols (Vienna, 1865, reprinted Aalen, 1968), vol. 3, p. 36, lines 2–6, no. V and the Latin version in Gerolamo Bertolotto and Angelo Sanguinetti, eds., *Nuova Seria di documenti sulle relationi di Genova coll' impero bizantino*, Atti della Società di Ligure di storia patria 28 (Genoa, 1898), p. 432, lines 32–6, no. IX: *Et si navigium Genuense a quocumque loco veniens in Romaniam periclitetur et contingerit ut aliquid ex iis quae in ipso sunt ablatum fuerit a quocumque, fiat de his **vindicta** a maiestate mea et restauratio huiusmodi rerum*. This document (Reg. 1498) has been preserved as inserted in a later chrysobull of Isaac II Angelos in 1192 (Reg. 1609), preserved in both Greek and Latin versions.

50 Reg. 1255. We read in the Greek version "ἵνα ποιῇ ὑμῖν ἡ βασιλεία μου δίκαιον καὶ διόρθωσιν" and in the Latin version *faciet vobis clementia imperii nostri iusticiam et emendationem*. See n. 42.

51 See the fragments quoted above, nn. 48 and 49.

52 In this respect, I do not agree with Laiou who writes "...the word *vindicta* in the text suggests punishment," in Laiou, *Byzantine Trade* (see above, n. 6), p. 182. See in detail Penna, "The Byzantine Imperial Acts," p. 250, with references to Byzantine sources.

53 *TTh*, vol. 1, p. 102, lines 10–13, no. XLVI. For similar provisions, see the privilege charter by Reynald, prince of Antioch to the Venetians in 1153 in *TTh*, vol. 1, p. 134, no. LV; the charter of privileges by the same prince and his daughter to the Pisans in 1154 in Müller, *Documenti* (see above, n. 21), p. 6, no. IV; the privilege charter by Bohemond III, prince of Antioch to the Venetians in 1167 in *TTh*, vol. 1, pp. 148–49, no. LXI; the charter of privileges by Bohemond III, prince of Antioch in 1170 to the Pisans in Müller, *Documenti* (see above, n. 21), pp. 15–16, no. XIII.

will lose none of their things provided that they recover the ship and all the goods as best as they can.]

In the *Pactum Warmundi*, the agreement between the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Venetians in 1123 we read: *Si vero aliquis Veneticorum naufragium passus fuerit, nullum de suis rebus patiatur dampnum. Si naufragio mortuus fuerit, suis heredibus aut aliis Veneticis res sue remanentes reddantur.*[54] [If however, a Venetian suffers a shipwreck he will not suffer damage to his property. If he is killed in a shipwreck, his remaining things will be given back to his heirs or to other Venetians.] By comparing the Byzantine excerpts, I have cited on shipwreck and salvage provisions to the cited fragments of the Crusader charters one observes that in the Byzantine provisions the Italian interests are better safeguarded. This is especially clear in the case of Genoa, as we saw, from the wording of the chrysobull that implies a legal procedure for the recovery of the removed goods. Perhaps this also has to do with the fact that the document in favour of Genoa was issued in 1169, hence later than the charter by Raymond, prince of Antioch to the Venetians (1140), later than the *Pactum Warmundi* (1123), and much later than the chrysobull of Pisa (1111). One would expect, in other words, a development of the clauses, from more general to more concrete, from vaguer to more demanding, and this is confirmed by the above clauses.

Finally, in the shipwreck and salvage provision included in the *Pactum Warmundi*, we observe that the shipwreck provisions were also related to succession law issues. If a Venetian died in a shipwreck, what would have happened to his goods? They would have ended up in Venetian hands: His heirs or other Venetians would receive them. This solution is in line with other *intestate* succession clauses of privilege charters of the Crusader states. For example, in a charter of Baldwin I of Jerusalem to Genoa in 1104 it was mentioned that if one of the Genoese died within the kingdom, the property of the deceased would be distributed according to his will, and if there was not a will, his associates, other Genoese were to decide what to do with it.[55]

Laiou has suggested that *intestate* succession clauses of Crusader charters must have influenced the succession law clauses included in the chrysobull

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54　　*TTh*, vol. I, p. 87, lines 24–7, no. XL. For similar provisions, see privilege charter by Baldwin, king of Jerusalem to the Venetians in 1125, *TTh*, vol. I, p. 92, no. XLI and the privilege charter by Conrad of Montferrat in 1187 to the Pisans in Müller, *Documenti* (see above, n. 21), p. 27, no. XXIII.

55　　*Et si forte aliquis vestrorum hominum vel istorum supradictorum ubicumque potestas nostra extenditur vel dilatabitur mortuus fuerit prout ordinaverit res suas (concedam) si autem morte preoccupante absque testamento deciderit socii sui violenter de suo nil auferam ...*, *Cod. Dipl. Genova*, vol. I, p. 21, lines 23–8, no. 15.

of Alexios III Angelos in 1198 in favour of Venice. Indeed, in this chrysobull we come across the same solution in a provision that refers in general to succession law (and not in relation to shipwreck as the *Pactum Warmundi* provision mentioned above). In the Byzantine chrysobull of 1198 to Venice, the emperor regulated situations in which Venetians had died within the Empire and had left no testament. The emperor ordered that in such a case, the Venetians living in the place where the Venetian had deceased were to decide what to do with the estate. Once again, as is clear from the wording of the chrysobull, the Venetians proposed this request and solution to the emperor. The emperor described the request of the Venetians and agreed to it in a rather humiliating way, including a prohibition against his own family interfering and accessing the estate of a deceased Venetian within the Empire.[56]

Finally, in this chrysobull we observe that the emperor does not appoint a specific Venetian authority to wind up the estate of the deceased Venetian. In similar succession clauses included in the Crusader charters, we also see that no specific Italian authority is mentioned who would have dealt with the estate of the deceased Italian – at least, as D. Jacoby remarks, until after the Third Crusade (1189–92).[57] In a much later Byzantine document issued by the Emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1265 and directed at Venice it is ordered that the estate of a deceased Venetian will be dealt with by the *bailos* or his substitute.[58] In other words, we see here how the succession clauses develop. In the chrysobull of 1198 in favour of Venice and in the Crusader charters the succession clauses are expressed in a general and somewhat vague way. In the act of 1265, these clauses take a more specific and formalized shape, and the Venetian interests are better safeguarded as a specific Venetian authority is appointed to handle these cases. The same pattern is followed in the Crusader charters to the Italians. One can actually see here the same kind of development of the succession clauses in the Byzantine documents and in the Crusader charters: From general and vague they become more concrete.

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56   Marco Pozza and Giorgio Ravegnani, eds., *I trattati con Bisanzio 992*–1198, p. 136, lines 10–21. See in detail Daphne Penna, "From 'douloi' to demanding negotiators: the case of the Venetians in 12th century Byzantium. An example on succession law from the chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos to Venice in 1198," in the *Yearbook-Epeteris* of the Research Centre for the History of Greek Law of the Academy of Athens 44 (2012–13), 209–25.

57   Jacoby, *Venetian privileges* (see above, n. 4), p. 163.

58   Reg. 1934. See in detail Penna, "From 'douloi' to demanding negotiators," pp. 214–15.

5   Italian Merchants: a Key in Unravelling Medieval Law in the Mediterranean

As mentioned in the introduction, this contribution offers only snapshots of comparable legal issues both in the Byzantine acts and the Crusader charters to the Italian cities in the 11th and 12th centuries.[59] From the short examples mentioned above one can see similarities in the regulated subjects but also differences. In some cases, there seems to be mutual influence between the Byzantine acts and those of the Crusader leaders, and the question arises as to whether it was the former that influenced the latter or the other way around.[60] It is difficult to point out with certainty the level of influence on each side. In certain cases, it seems that the Crusader charters influenced the Byzantine imperial acts in the regulation of certain legal issues related to Italians. Laiou has suggested that this is obvious in the case of *intestate* law provisions dealing with Venetians; such provisions are clearly included for the very first time in the Crusader charters to the Italians,[61] whereas in the Byzantine imperial acts such provisions are included only in one document dated rather late, the chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos in 1198.[62] To Laiou's observation, I add that, in the case of granting jurisdiction to the Italians, the influence of the Crusader charters on the Byzantine acts seems again to be clear – that is, if we take as a criterion the time period in which such provisions appeared for the first time in Byzantine and Crusader acts. Such clauses were included for the first time in Crusader charters,[63] whereas such issues were regulated in only one Byzantine act, that of Alexios III Angelos to Venice, rather late, in 1198. Nevertheless, it remains difficult to determine with certainty the actual influence for the following reason. Even if the same legal issues appear in the Byzantine acts in a later period than they appear in the Crusader charters, we should keep in mind that negotiations between the Byzantines and the Italians were ongoing for a very long period. Perhaps, based on these negotiations, the Italians knew better what to ask from the Crusader leaders. In other words, their experience with Byzantine diplomacy could have helped them to better formulate their legal demands to the Crusader leaders.

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59   The examples that I have used date up to 1204.

60   See Prawer, p. 244.

61   Already in 1104 in a charter of Baldwin I of Jerusalem to the Genoese, see Laiou, *Byzantine Trade* (see above, n. 6), p. 186. The year is 1104, see *Cod. Dipl. Genova*, vol. I, no. 15, pp. 20–22.

62   As early as in the chrysobull to Venice in 1198 by Alexios III Angelos; see Laiou, *Byzantine Trade*, pp. 186–87.

63   See, for example, the *Pactum Warmundi* in 1123.

In any case, the whole study of common legal issues in the Byzantine chrysobulls and in the Crusader charters towards the Italians shows that Byzantium was very much in interaction with others and was not isolated from the rest of the world. It is worth emphasizing this last point especially because, as other scholars have remarked, there is still a tendency to regard Byzantium as something obscure and exotic.[64] Especially in this period, the age of the Crusades and the rise of commerce, the interaction of Byzantium with others is more than evident in many aspects including the legal field. As mentioned already, the Italians gradually created their own districts in Constantinople. As foreigners settled in Byzantine cities and established their businesses there it was inevitable that foreign practices, customs and laws became known to the Byzantines and vice versa.[65] It is also possible that the experience of the Italians with Byzantine diplomacy affected the later drafting of charters in the Crusader states and the Italian "legal tradition."

What could help in unravelling the legal interaction between Byzantium and the Crusader states would be the study of contemporary Italian sources that could provide information on the making of the agreements – for example, the letters of instructions of the Italian envoys that were sent to Constantinople and to the Crusader states in order to negotiate the treaties and charters or various chronicles.[66] It will be interesting to find out, for example, whether in the negotiations with the Byzantines, references and comparisons were made

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64   In many of her writings A. Cameron discusses the continuous absence of Byzantium in works dealing with the history of Europe and the Mediterranean. See for example, Averil Cameron, *The Byzantines* (Oxford, 2006) especially pp. VIII–XII and 1–19 and of the same author *Byzantine Matters* (Princeton, NJ, 2014). See also Judith Herrin, *Byzantium. The Surprising Life of a Medieval Empire* (London, 2007) and of the same author *Unrivalled Influence: Women and Empire in Byzantium* (Princeton, NJ, 2013), pp. 10–11.

65   See on this, a case in which the Byzantine emperor in order to resolve a maritime conflict between the Byzantines and the Genoese, took measures that resembled a Western practice; the case discussed in Daphne Penna, "Piracy and reprisal in Byzantine waters: resolving a maritime conflict between Byzantines and Genoese at the end of the twelfth century," *Comparative Legal History* 5 (2017), issue 1: Maritime Conflict Management, Diplomacy and International Law, 1100–1800, 36–52, DOI: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/2049677X.2017.1311549.

66   I have already referred to one such letter of Genoa to her envoy; see above under *2. Grants of immovable property to the Italians.* Heinemeyer has examined the six letters of instruction that have been preserved of Italian envoys who were sent to Constantinople, see Walter Heinemeyer, "Die Verträge zwischen dem Oströmischen Reiche und den italienischen Städten Genua, Pisa und Venedig," *Archiv für Diplomatik, Schriftgeschichte Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 3 (1957), 79–161, here pp. 108–17. See also, for example, the observations of Jacoby here about the chronicle of William of Tyre and the information it provides on the making of Crusader charters, Jacoby, *Venetian privileges* (see above, n. 4), pp. 16–18 and pp. 167–68.

to grants given to the Italians by the Crusader leaders. There is certainly more work to be done. This contribution hopes to have shown that the case of the Italians is a superb tool to examine the actual legal interaction between Byzantium and the Crusader states, and between East and West, and to explore the role of law in unifying the eastern Mediterranean in that period. Furthermore, as is known, the core of most modern European civil codes is based on Roman law. The examined period and especially the end of the 11th century is considered a milestone when it comes to the development of European law because it is during this period that the medieval *ius commune* began to be formed in Europe when Roman law was "rediscovered" in Italy – of all places.[67] Perhaps, the role of the Italian merchants in creating a common legal tradition in Europe is even more influential than traditionally thought.

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67   On the "rediscovery" of Roman law in Bologna, see, for example, Peter Stein, *Roman Law in European History* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 38–70; on pp. 68–70 the author provides a list of literature for further reading on this topic. See also, George Mousourakis, *Roman Law and the Origins of the Civil Law Tradition* (Cham, 2015), pp. 233–85 and especially 243–62. For the need to examine Byzantine law also in relation to the *ius commune* – especially in this period – in order to unravel the medieval roots of European private international law and subsequently better understand the formation of our European legal identity, see Daphne Penna, "Odd Topics, Old Methods and the Cradle of the *ius commune*. Byzantine law and the Italian city-states," *Utrecht Law Review* 13 (3) (2017), 49–55, DOI: http://doi.org/10.18352/ulr.403.

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The Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos: Manuel I's Latinophile Uncle?

Alex Rodriguez Suarez

The 11th and 12th centuries witnessed significant interaction between the Byzantines and the Latins.[1] The latter, namely Western Europeans who followed the Roman rite and used Latin as their religious and scholarly language, had increased their presence in Byzantine territory from the 11th century onwards. Among them were pilgrims, mercenaries, merchants, envoys, scholars, members of the nobility and clergymen that came from a wide range of locations, such as the Italian peninsula, Scandinavia, England, France, Flanders, Germany and Hungary. The Komnenian dynasty certainly encouraged the contacts with the Latins. The difficult situation of the Byzantine Empire at the end of the 11th century forced the Emperor Alexios I (1081–1118) to request military support from Western Europe. Robert Guiscard's invasion of the Balkans in 1081 led the emperor to grant significant commercial privileges to the Venetians in exchange for their naval support against the Norman fleet. This resulted in the establishment of their own commercial quarter in Constantinople.[2] Years later, in order to regain Asia Minor from the Turks, Byzantine envoys asked help from Urban II. The pope's call set the First Crusade in motion.[3] Despite his contacts with the Latin West, it is not Alexios but his grandson Manuel I (1143–80) who is considered as the Latinophile emperor par excellence. Among the reasons for such a label, Byzantinists argue that Manuel married two Western women, Bertha of Sulzbach and Maria of Antioch. He also introduced Western tournaments in the Byzantine army in which the emperor and members of

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1   This contribution is based on sections of my PhD dissertation "The Western presence in the Byzantine Empire during the reigns of Alexios I and John II Komnenos (1081–1143)." (King's College London, 2014). I would like to thank Kallirroe Linardou who read and provided critical remarks on a previous draft.

2   M.E. Martin, "The chrysobull of Alexius I Comnenus to the Venetians and the early Venetian quarter in Constantinople," *Byzantinoslavica* 39 (1978), 19–23; David Jacoby, "The Venetian quarter of Constantinople from 1082 to 1261. Topographical considerations," in *Novum Millennium: Studies on Byzantine history and culture dedicated to Paul Speck*, C. Sode and S. Takács, eds. (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 153–70.

3   Peter Frankopan, *The First Crusade: The Call from the East* (Cambridge, MA, 2012).

his family took part.[4] Furthermore, he supported Western scholars at the Byzantine court, such as Hugo Eteriano.[5] While Manuel's pro-Western attitude may be considered a personal choice, it is clear that the contacts with the Latins had gained momentum since the reign of Manuel's grandfather. Emperor Alexios I had arranged the marriage of his son and successor, John II (1118–43), to the Hungarian princess Piroska-Eirene. Both Alexios and John used Western practices in their encounters with Latin potentates; for example, the former employed a Western oath to establish a relationship with the leaders of the First Crusade while the latter received the service of strator from the rulers of the Crusader states.[6] Moreover, Latins were employed at the Byzantine court before Manuel ascended the throne.[7] These contacts between the Byzantines and the Latins, which were a consequence of the increasing Western presence in the eastern Mediterranean, indeed culminated during the reign of Manuel but he was the product of a process that was at least two generations in the making.

The question that arises is whether this Western presence also had an impact on other Byzantine individuals. Written sources usually focus on the emperor and so it is much easier to evaluate his life and activities. Nonetheless, the presence of Latins in the empire may have led other Byzantines to employ Western imports and practices. For this reason, this contribution aims to investigate the appreciation for the Latin West at the Byzantine court. More specifically, it examines one of the most significant members of the Komnenian family, Manuel's uncle, the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos. Isaac, born on 16th January 1093, was the fifth child of Emperor Alexios I and Empress Eirene Doukaina.[8] He had an adventurous life; in 1118 he supported his brother John against their sister Anna, for which he received the title of Sebastokrator.[9] Years later,

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4   John Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn, 1836), pp. 125–26; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. J.-L. van Dieten, CFHB 11, 2 vols (Berlin, 1975), I, pp. 108–10.

5   Antoine Dondaine, "Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 27 (1952), 67–134.

6   Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. D.R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (Berlin, 2001), pp. 303, 313–14; Ralph of Caen, *Tancredus*, ed. E. D'Angelo (Turnhout, 2011), 21–22; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, Identification des sources historiques et détermination des dates by H.E. Mayer et G. Rösch, CCCM 63–63A, 2 vols (Turnhout, 1986), II, pp. 676–77.

7   Charles M. Brand, "An imperial translator at the Comnenian court," *Byzantinoslavica* 59 (1998), 217–21; A. Rodriguez Suarez, "From Greek into Latin: Western scholars and translators in Constantinople during the reign of John II," in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium: In the shadow of father and son*, A. Bucossi and A. Rodriguez Suarez, eds., (Abingdon and New York, 2016), pp. 91–109.

8   Konstantinos Varzos, *Ἡ γενεαλογία τῶν Κομνηνῶν*, 2 vols (Thessaloniki, 1984), I, pp. 238–54; Paul Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 193–95.

9   Alexios I created the title of Sebastokrator for his elder brother Isaac Komnenos. It was a senior court title that was usually granted to the emperor's siblings or children, *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, A. Kazhdan, ed., 3 vols (Oxford, 1991), 1862, s.v. "Sebastokrator."

however, he plotted to take the throne for himself and subsequently was exiled from Constantinople.[10] He spent at least six years (1130–36) wandering around the courts of the eastern Mediterranean, trying to create an alliance with both Muslim and Christian powers against his brother John. During this period, he visited the Crusader states, where he sponsored the construction of an aqueduct.[11] Isaac was an author and a major patron of the arts; not only did he restore the Chora monastery in the Byzantine capital, but also founded the Kosmosoteira monastery in Thrace, where he was buried at some point after 1152.[12] The details we know about his personal life, artistic patronage and imperial ambitions turn Isaac into one of the most fascinating individuals of the Komnenian dynasty. Isaac's patronage has left us artistic and archaeological remains that, together with his typikon for the Kosmosoteira monastery, provide us with details about his personality and taste. In this paper, I will analyse three different aspects of his patronage: the use of stained glass, of bells and of the imperial eagle. These will show that the interaction between the Byzantines and the Latins also had an impact on members of the imperial family other than the Byzantine emperor.

1   Stained Glass

After he had helped his brother John to secure the Byzantine throne, Isaac became the patron of the Chora monastery, a foundation which he renovated and where he intended to be buried.[13] While the katholikon of the monastery, today the Chora Museum, is famous for its 14th-century mosaic and fresco

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10   For more details about Isaac's plot against his brother John, see Paul Magdalino, "The triumph of 1133," in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium*, A. Bucossi and A. Rodriguez Suarez, eds., pp. 62–65.

11   Theodore Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. Wolfram Hörandner (Vienna, 1974), pp. 391–93; Ferdinand Chalandon, *Les Comnène, II: Jean II Comnène (1118–1143) et Manuel Ier Comnène (1143–1180)*, (Paris, 1912; repr. New York, 1960), pp. 152–53.

12   Filippomaria Pontani, "The first Byzantine commentary on the *Iliad*: Isaac Porphyrogenitus and his scholia," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 99 (2008), 551–96; Robert Ousterhout, "Architecture and patronage in the age of John II," in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium*, A. Bucossi and A. Rodriguez Suarez, eds., pp. 135–54; Nancy Ševčenko, "The tomb of Isaak Komnenos at Pherrai," *Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 29 (1984), 135–40 (reprinted in N. Ševčenko, *The Celebration of the Saints in Byzantine Art and Liturgy* [Aldershot, 2013], no. VIII).

13   "Typikon of the Sebastokrator Isaac Komnenos for the Monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira near Bera," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, J. Thomas et al., eds., Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35 (Washington D.C., 2000), p. 838.

decoration, the core of the monument dates to the 11th and 12th centuries.[14] During archaeological excavations in 1957, remains of stained glass were discovered in a hole found under the bema.[15] In 1961, fragments were also discovered at the south church of the Pantokrator monastery (Zeyrek Camii), the complex built by Empress Piroska-Eirene and Emperor John in Constantinople. According to Arthur Megaw, both sets of fragments share the same five colours: Blue, amber-yellow, emerald green, purple-red and colourless. The remains also included cames, the lead pieces that hold all the glass sections together. Many of the fragments show several decorative patterns. Those from the Pantokrator monastery are more numerous and, more importantly, included figurative representations; it is not certain if this was also the case for the fragments found at Chora. Both sets included inscriptions, which were written in Greek. The sets of stained glass decorated the apse windows of the churches in which they were found, while the rest of the windows were unpainted. Recent studies have concluded that the glass was probably produced locally.[16] However, the materials used for the two sets had a slightly different composition. In any case, the similarities between the two sets of fragments indicate that they were contemporary productions of the same workshop.

The glass fragments from these two imperial monasteries so far remain unique examples of figurative stained glass in the Byzantine Empire. The use of stained glass is generally associated with the decoration of churches in Western Europe, and thus the fragments found in Istanbul are a significant example of Western contribution to the artistic production of Byzantium.[17] Their discovery implies that a Western practice was employed in Constantinople under

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14 For the decoration, see Paul Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 3 vols (New York, 1966). For the architecture, see Robert Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1987).

15 Arthur Megaw, "Notes on recent work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 17 (1963), 333–71; Francesca Dell'Acqua, "The stained-glass windows from the Chora and the Pantokrator monasteries: A Byzantine 'mystery'?," in *Restoring Byzantium: The Kariye Camii in Istanbul and the Byzantine Institute restoration*, H.A. Klein, ed. (New York, 2004), pp. 68–77.

16 Julian Henderson and Marlia Mundel Mango, "Glass at medieval Constantinople. Preliminary scientific evidence," in *Constantinople and its hinterland*, C. Mango and G. Dagron, eds. (Aldershot, 1995), pp. 333–56; Robert H. Brill, "Chemical analyses of the Zeyrek Camii and Kariye Camii glasses," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 (2005), 213–30.

17 The *De diversis artibus*, a treatise by a monk called Theophilus and possibly written in Germany in the first part of the 12th century, describes the production of stained glass windows, see John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanly Smith, *On Divers Arts: The Treatise of Theophilus* (Chicago, 1963), pp. 61 ff. An early example of stained glass decoration are the apostles from the cathedral of Augsburg in southern Germany and which have been dated to ca. 1100, Louis Grodecki, *Le vitrail roman* (Freiburg, 1977; repr. 1983), pp. 50–54.

FIGURES 8.1–8.4   Fragments of stained glass from the Chora Monastery (Kariye Camii), 12th
                    century.
                    © DUMBARTON OAKS, BYZANTINE COLLECTION, WASHINGTON, DC

the sponsorship of the imperial family. The exact dating of the fragments, however, is still debated. Megaw dated them to the first decades of the 12th century, when the construction of the Chora and the Pantokrator monasteries was underway.[18] Jean Lafond suggested that the Pantokrator fragments were produced during the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–61), a period in which the monastery became a Venetian establishment.[19] Robert Ousterhout argued that the Chora fragments cannot be dated to the Latin occupation because during this period the monastery was abandoned; he had already suggested that they were part of the reconstruction sponsored by Isaac in the 1120s.[20] Discussing the patrons of the stained glass, Francesca Dell'Acqua noted

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18   Megaw, "Notes on recent work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," p. 367.

19   Jean Lafond, "Découverte de vitraux historiés du Moyen Âge à Constantinople," *Cahiers archéologiques* 18 (1968), 231–37.

20   Robert Ousterhout, "The decoration of the Pantokrator (Zeyrek Camii): Evidence old and new," in *Change in the Byzantine world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: Proceedings*, A. Ödekan et al., eds. (Istanbul, 2010), pp. 437–38; Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii*, pp. 20–21, 31.

that Emperor Manuel was married to two Western women.[21] Because of their origins, either Bertha of Sulzbach or Maria of Antioch may have been behind the introduction of the stained glass in Constantinople. This assumption is supported by the fact that Manuel was buried at the Pantokrator monastery, where he sponsored certain additions. Nonetheless, Ousterhout has noted that the only period when the two monastic complexes could have received the stained glass decoration was when John and Isaac were on good terms, that is at some point before the latter went into exile in 1130.[22] In fact, the hypothesis that attributes the stained glass to Manuel has neglected the fragments from Chora. Ousterhout has correctly pointed out that Manuel would not have decorated the Chora monastery, as this was associated with the memory of his uncle, who continued his ambition for the throne.[23] Thus, this significant case of import of Western use certainly predates the reign of the Latinophile Emperor Manuel I.

The individuals who may have commissioned the stained glass in Constantinople can be reduced to a few members of the imperial family, namely the founders of the two monasteries, Piroska-Eirene, John and Isaac. John's wife and mother of Manuel is indeed the best candidate for the introduction of this Western practice in the Byzantine capital. Piroska-Eirene was from Hungary.[24] Moreover, because of her presence in Constantinople, members of the Hungarian royal family found asylum at the Byzantine court. This was for example the case for Duke Álmos. Piroska-Eirene's contacts could have facilitated the arrival of the workshop that produced the stained glass windows.[25] In any

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21   Dell'Acqua, "The stained-glass windows," p. 73. In another article she argued that the alliances of the Komnenian emperors with the West and the Crusader Levant may explain the presence in Constantinople of the Western artisans that created the windows, Francesca Dell'Acqua, "Enhancing luxury through stained glass, from Asia Minor to Italy," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 59 (2005), pp. 209–10.

22   Ousterhout, "Architecture and patronage," p. 153. He has also demonstrated that the stained glass at the Pantokrator should be dated to the reign of Manuel's father, see "The Pantokrator monastery and architectural interchanges in the thirteenth century," in *Quarta crociata: Venezia – Bisanzio – Impero Latino*, G. Ortalli et al., eds., 2 vols (Venice, 2006), II, p. 758; Robert Ousterhout, *Master Builders of Byzantium* (Princeton, 2008), p. 154.

23   Ousterhout, "Architecture and patronage," p. 153; Kinnamos, *Epitome rerum*, pp. 53–54.

24   I am not aware of any stained glass decoration dated to this period in Hungary; however, it is worth noting that Piroska's mother was from Germany, where the practice was certainly employed.

25   In the 12th-century life of the Empress Piroska-Eirene she is mentioned as the founder of the Pantokrator monastery (βασιλίσσῃ καὶ κτητορήσσῃ): Sofia Kotzabassi, "Feasts at the monastery of Pantokrator," in *The Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople*, S. Kotzabassi ed. (Boston, 2013), p. 170. Moreover, an encomium to a megas doux of Hellas written by Nicholas Kataphloron informs us that she conceived the construction and offered the

case, because Isaac was the patron of the Chora monastery during this period he might have sponsored the use of stained glass there. It is possible that the workshop was first employed at the Pantokrator monastery and that subsequently the Sebastokrator hired the same craftsmen. The fact that Isaac used stained glass at Chora just as John had done at the Pantokrator is a reminder of the good relations between John and his brother in these early years. It also shows that, even before Isaac harboured imperial ambitions, John's brother intended his foundation to emulate the most important monastic complex of 12th-century Constantinople, the Pantokrator monastery.

The apparent lack of stained glass decoration after the imperial commissions confirms that this was a one-off experiment, the product of a foreign workshop that did not have lasting impact on Byzantine artistic tradition.[26] On the other hand, the windows probably impressed the Byzantine audience, who would have never witnessed such a decoration before. The stained glass windows proclaimed the innovative and eclectic atmosphere of the Komnenian dynasty. It is important to note that the period in which Isaac lived witnessed other courtly innovations. Elizabeth Jeffreys has recently observed that new literary trends appeared in Constantinople during the 1120s.[27] Moreover, the Mouchroutas, a pavilion inspired by Islamic art and possibly commissioned by Manuel, was built in the grounds of the imperial palace.[28] Encomia even celebrate the Byzantine emperor as "καινουργός," that is innovator.[29] Consequently, Isaac's use of stained glass at Chora did not only fit this context of cultural innovation, it also fulfilled a particular virtue praised at the imperial court.

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materials: Marina Loukaki, "Empress Piroska-Eirene's collaborators in the foundation of the Pantokrator monastery: The testimony of Nikolaos Kataphloron," in *The Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople*, pp. 194–95.

26   The only example that can be considered comparable is a window found in the Serbian monastery of Studenica. The complex, which dates to the end of the 12th century, was built under the influence of Romanesque architecture. Radivoje Ljubinković, "Sur un exemplaire de vitraux du monastère de Studenica," *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* 3 (1959), 137–41; Bojana Radojković, "Un vitrail en plomb à l'église de la Vierge à Studenica," *Musée des arts décoratifs. Recueil de travaux* 6–7 (1960–61), 19–27.

27   Elizabeth Jeffreys, "Literary trends in the Constantinopolitan courts in the 1120s and 1130s," in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium*, pp. 110–20.

28   For recent literature on this pavilion, see Alicia Walker, "Middle Byzantine aesthetics of power and the incomparability of Islamic art: The architectural ekphraseis of Nikolaos Mesarites," *Muqarnas* 27 (2010), 79–101 and Jeremy Johns, "A tale of two ceilings. The Cappella Palatina in Palermo and the Mouchroutas in Constantinople," in *Art, trade, and culture in the Islamic World and beyond: From the Fatimids to the Mongols. Studies presented to Doris Behrens-Abouseif*, A. Ohta et al., eds. (London, 2016), pp. 58–73.

29   Magdalino, *The empire of Manuel I Komnenos*, p. 452.

2   Bells

At the end of his life, Isaac focused on the construction of a new monastic complex, the monastery of the Mother of God Kosmosoteira. The foundation was located at a place called Bera, near Ainos in Thrace. Isaac's typikon for the new foundation, dated to 1152, is a significant source of information that includes interesting details about how Isaac envisaged the life of the monastic community. For instance, the monastery had four different semantra; these were the traditional instruments that the monks in Byzantium used to regulate their everyday life.[30] Notably, the document also mentions two bells. Isaac instructs the monks at his monastery as follows: "Therefore on every feast – I mean of the Mother of God throughout the year, so that [starting] with her I can make a suitable preface of my intent – I wish the monks to get ready to ring the two bells quite loudly with [their own] hands before the hymnody – I mean the two bells which I hung high up in the tower, in place of semantra."[31] The bells were to be rung after the wooden semantron had been struck. Furthermore, Isaac repeated once more: "On Sundays and on all the feast days [I] enumerated, particularly [on the day of] the holy Dormition of the Mother of God, I wish, as was said, for the two large bells hanging quite high up in the tower to be rung loudly, as long as necessary – these being the very bells that I had hung up in fervent faith and in my reverence toward the Mother of God."[32] This piece of evidence, which has not attracted much attention from Byzantinists, is one of the earliest and clear testimonies of the use of large bells in the history of the Byzantine Empire. The use of bells was a Western practice that is usually assumed to have been introduced in Byzantium in 1204, when the armies of the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople. Isaac's instructions indicate that the Byzantines had actually employed them before 1204; in fact, there is further evidence for the Byzantine use of bells before the arrival of the Fourth Crusade.[33]

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30   Louis Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosotira près d'Aenos (1152)," *Izvestiia Russkogo arkheologicheskogo instituta v Konstantinopole* (Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique russe à Constantinople) 13 (1908), pp. 25–26, 30, 32; "Kosmosoteira," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, pp. 804, 808, 810.

31   I use here the English translation of the typikon by N. Ševčenko, "Kosmosoteira," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, p. 802. For the original text, see Petit, "Typikon," p. 23; Τυπικὸν Ἰσαακίου Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ τῆς μονῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Κοσμοσώτειρας (1151/52), ed. and trans. G.K. Papazoglou (Komotini, 1994), pp. 44, 181.

32   Petit, "Typikon," p. 26; Τυπικὸν Ἰσαακίου Ἀλεξίου Κομνηνοῦ τῆς μονῆς Θεοτόκου τῆς Κοσμοσώτειρας, p. 49; "Kosmosoteira," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, p. 804.

33   Alex Rodriguez Suarez, "A new religious soundscape: The introduction of bell ringing in the Byzantine Empire," in *Religions et sensorialité. Antiquité et Moyen Age*, B. Caseau and E. Neri, eds., (Paris, forthcoming); Percival Price, *Bells and Man* (Oxford, 1983),

Reconsidering the sources, it is important to note that Isaac himself states that his typikon is modelled on the rule for the monastery of the Theotokos Evergetis.[34] However, this influential typikon, written down in the second half of the 11th century does not mention any bells, only semantra; four in fact, as many as were employed at Kosmosoteira.[35] Thus, while Isaac followed the Evergetis typikon for the number and type of semantra, he also introduced a new instrument, the bell. This is confirmed by the fact that Isaac provided details about the two bells each time he mentioned them, leading us to believe that these were not common instruments. In other words, we might argue that the bells surely represented a novelty. The way Isaac explained that he hung them up in fervent faith and in reverence toward the Mother of God is rather noteworthy. It suggests that the two bells were seen as significant items by the Sebastokrator and played an important role in his religious patronage. As a matter of fact, this is one of the few instances in which the instrument used to regulate a monastic community is given such a notable prestige. That Isaac had them in high esteem is supported by his orders to ring them on every feast of the Mother of God throughout the year, every Sunday and other important feast days that he enumerated. The rest of the days, the monks were only to strike semantra. Hence, the pealing of bells was to announce to the monks those days that Isaac considered more special. Remarkably, the two instruments were only employed on certain days. These rules provide evidence that Isaac considered the bells to be more significant than the traditional instrument of the Byzantines. The reason why the two items were held in higher esteem is not clear; perhaps it was because they were more expensive or were considered as an exclusive innovation. Furthermore, the metal that they were made of would lead to a different sound that might have been regarded more intense or powerful and thus more appropriate for special days in a monastery.[36] On the other hand, the fact that both semantra and bells were present at Kosmosoteira proves that even if Isaac employed a novelty at his monastery, he did not fail to observe the traditions of the Byzantine

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pp. 100–03; Edward V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia: History and Technology* (Princeton, 1985), pp. 21–24; Christian Hannick, "Die Bedeutung der Glocken in byzantinischen und slavischen Klöstern und Städten," in *Information, Kommunikation und Selbstdarstellung in mittelalterlichen Gemeinden*, A. Haverkamp, ed. (Munich, 1998), pp. 1–23.

34   Petit, "Typikon," p. 23; "Kosmosoteira," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, pp. 784–85, 801–82.

35   "Typikon of Timothy for the Monastery of the Mother of God Evergetis," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, pp. 475–76, 478.

36   Nonetheless, the fact that one of the four semantra of the monastery was made of bronze shows that the material of the bells was not the only reason for Isaac's preference. Because of their shape the sound of the bells was probably different.

monasteries. By dividing the days between important feasts and the rest, he created a special category so that both bells and semantra could be employed. In fact, the bells were to be rung after the semantron had been struck. Bells did not replace the traditional semantra, but the two instruments were played in conjunction.

Where did Isaac learn about the use of large bells? Before 1152, there only exist two references to the use of bells in Byzantine monasteries, both on Mount Athos.[37] While this evidence indicates that Isaac's foundation was not the first monastery in the empire to employ bells, bell ringing was originally not a Byzantine practice. On the other hand, Western churches and monasteries within the Byzantine Empire surely employed bells. The Venetian and Pisan quarters of the Byzantine capital had their own churches and clergy.[38] Thus, it is probable that Isaac heard the tolling of bells in Constantinople itself. Furthermore, the Sebastokrator visited the Crusader states, where he would also have become acquainted with bell ringing, for example at the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. While its massive bell tower was built years after Isaac's visit, it is certain that the church used bells since the conquest of the city by the forces of the First Crusade in 1099.[39] As in the case of the stained glass, the introduction of bell ringing was the result of the increasing Western presence in Byzantine territory and in the eastern Mediterranean in general. What is certainly remarkable about the use of bells at Kosmosoteira is the fact that a lay individual, Manuel I's uncle, decided to innovate in the Byzantine monastic tradition. While in the case of the stained glass Isaac probably emulated the main imperial foundation of the period, at Kosmosoteira he exceeded his brother in terms of innovation. The typikon of his brother John for the Pantokrator monastery, which is dated to 1136, does not mention any bells, only semantra.[40] It is possible that the adoption of bell ringing, being a Western religious practice, was considered as a foreign use that was against Byzantine traditions.[41] Byzantine resistance against its use was surely stronger

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37 Philipp Meyer, *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster* (Amsterdam, 1965), p. 136; Paul Lemerle et al., eds., *Actes de Saint-Pantéléêmôn* (Paris, 1982), p. 74.

38 The Venetian church of Sancta Maria of Vigla, which was located in Constantinople, had a bell tower that was destroyed before 1201, Ermanno Orlando, *"Ad profectum patrie". La proprietà ecclesiastica veneziana in Romània dopo la IV crociata* (Rome, 2005), p. 125, no. 1, 162, no. 78.

39 Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem, vol. III: The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 57; Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana. History of the journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. Susan B. Edgington (Oxford, 2007), pp. 454–55.

40 "Typikon of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator in Constantinople," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, pp. 739, 743–45.

41 At the end of the 12th century, the titular patriarch of Antioch Theodore Balsamon defended the use of semantra in Byzantine monasteries and clearly stated that the bell was

FIGURE 8.5 Pherai (Greece), Kosmosoteira Monastery, Representation of a single-headed
            eagle, ca. 1152.
            © 12TH EPHORATE OF BYZANTINE ANTIQUITIES, MINISTRY OF CULTURE AND
            SPORTS, HELLENIC REPUBLIC

in Constantinople, where, according to Antony of Novgorod, in 1200 Byzantine churches only employed semantra.[42] For this reason, the use of bells at Kosmosoteira could be regarded as an instance of Isaac's admiration for Western practices. In any case, the adoption of bell ringing at his monastic foundation is another case of a Latin practice employed before 1204.

3 Eagles

The church of the Kosmosoteira monastery is decorated with the image of a bird made of brick and depicted with outstretched wings; it is placed on one of the niches of the east façade (Fig. 8.5).[43] Stefan Sinos suggested that the bird was a dove and argued that it was a reference to an event recorded by Isaac in the typikon.[44] We are told that during the construction of the monastery the visit of a dove was considered as the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the church.[45] According to Sinos, the dove was represented on the walls of the church to commemorate the miracle. On the other hand, Ousterhout suggested that the bird was likely to be an eagle, perhaps an imperial heraldic symbol and an addition that may well postdate Isaac's construction.[46] Indeed, most representations of heraldic eagles are dated to the Late Byzantine period, when they seem to have worked as symbols of imperial power.[47] Nevertheless,

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the Latin semantron, see Amy Papalexandrou, "Perceptions of sound and sonic environments across the Byzantine acoustic horizon," in *Knowing bodies, passionate souls: Sense perceptions in Byzantium*, S. Ashbrook and M. Mullett, eds. (Washington, D.C., 2017), pp. 76–79, 82–83; Alex Rodriguez Suarez, "Interacción entre latinos y bizantinos en vísperas de la Cuarta Cruzada (1204): el testimonio de Teodoro Balsamón," *Estudios bizantinos* 4 (2016), 95–105.

42 Marcelle Ehrhard, "Le Livre du Pèlerin d'Antoine de Novgorod," *Romania* 58 (1932), p. 56.

43 Stefan Sinos, *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera* (*Vira*) (Munich, 1985), p. 143, fig. 82.

44 Ibid., p. 144.

45 Petit, "Typikon," p. 58; "Kosmosoteira," in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents*, p. 834.

46 Robert Ousterhout, review of S. Sinos, *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera* (*Vira*), in *Speculum* 63 (1988), 230–231. However, he has recently dated the eagle to the period in which the monastery was built: Robert Ousterhout, "Byzantium between East and West and the origins of heraldry," in *Byzantine art: Recent studies. Essays in Honor of Lois Drewer*, C. Hourihane, ed. (Tempe, 2009), p. 159.

47 According to the Byzantine historian Pachymeres, the eagle was an imperial symbol, *Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, trans. V. Laurent, 5 vols (Paris, 1984–2000), II, p. 631. It must be noted that the usual eagle represented in the Late Byzantine period was double-headed, see H.C. Evans, ed., *Byzantium: Faith and Power* (*1261–1557*) (New Haven, 2004), n. 298. Many articles have been devoted to the double-headed eagle and its origins, see Giuseppe Gerola, "L'aquila bizantina e l'aquila imperiale a due teste," *Felix Ravenna* 43 (1934),

if the eagle at Kosmosoteira was part of the original decoration of Isaac's foundation, it would then predate the Late Byzantine representations. For instance, one of the earliest depictions of a heraldic looking single-headed eagle decorates the porch of the 13th-century church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond.[48]

Another well-known commission attributed to the Sebastokrator is the Seraglio Octateuch, an illuminated manuscript produced by a team of artists, the so-called "Kokkinobaphos group."[49] Kept today at the library of Topkapı Palace, the manuscript has been dated to the last years of Isaac's life.[50] Folio 21r shows a crowned figure depicted in the Byzantine fashion, sitting on a throne decorated with what Kalliroe Linardou has described as a heraldic eagle (Fig. 8.6).[51] It depicts Ptolemy, the king of Egypt, giving gifts to the elders.[52] It is interesting to note that the Vatican Octateuch, which shows the same episode, does not include the eagle on top of the throne.[53] Thus, the eagle was not a detail that was always depicted on this representation, and so it may have been added by request. In fact, the throne with the heraldic eagle represented in the manuscript may well be a reflection of a real throne found at one of the imperial palaces of Constantinople.[54] The association of the eagle with the throne leaves no doubt that the bird was considered as a symbol of power. Moreover, the image of an

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7–36; Alexandre Solovjev, "Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves," *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 7 (1935), 119–64; Dan Cernovodeanu, "Contributions à l'étude de l'héraldique byzantine et postbyzantine," *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 32/2 (1982), 409–22; Charalampos Chotzakoglou, "Die Palaiologen und das früheste Auftreten des byzantinischen Doppeladlers," *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996), 60–68. The double-headed eagle had also been employed as a decorative motif before it was used as an imperial emblem. For more details on the use of eagles in the Late Byzantine period, see Ruth Macrides et al., *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and ceremonies* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 342–43.

48   Antony Eastmond, *Art and Identity in Thirteenth-Century Byzantium: Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond* (Aldershot, 2004), pp. 61–62, 147–48, 150. It had been suggested that the eagle was the "emblême spécial" of the Trapezuntine rulers, Gabriel Millet, "Les monastères et les églises de Trébizonde," *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 19 (1895), p. 428. It is interesting to note that the emperors of Trebizond descended from Andronikos I (1183–1185), the son of the Sebastokrator Isaac.

49   Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi, MS G[ayri] I[slami] 8; Jeffrey C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 36 (1982), 83–114.

50   Kalliroe Linardou, "Imperial impersonations: Disguised portraits of a Komnenian prince and his father," in *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium*, p. 173.

51   Ibid., p. 176.

52   Kurt Weitzmann and Massimo Bernabò, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint, vol. II: Octateuch, The Byzantine Octateuchs*, II (Plates) (Princeton, 1999), p. 319, fig. 12.

53   Vat. 747, fol. 10v; ibid., fig. 11.

54   In a document dated to 1272, Michael VIII (1259–82) refers to an eagle that decorates the imperial throne, A. Heisenberg, "Aus der Geschichte und Literatur der Palaiolo-

FIGURE 8.6   Ptolemy gives gifts to the elders (detail), Seraglio Octateuch, fol. 2r, Topkapı Library (Istanbul), ca. 1150.
© TOPKAPI SARAYI MÜZESI MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ

eagle in a second commission by the Sebastokrator supports the idea that the bird at Kosmosoteira was not a later addition, but part of the original project. The fact that an eagle is represented in two of Isaac's commissions suggests that the bird acted as a symbol with which Isaac may have identified himself. In addition, Isaac's use of the heraldic eagle before this practice became widespread in Byzantium shows that he was once more ahead of his time.

Representations of eagles in Byzantium were quite common. They had been depicted in Byzantine art, for example in textiles. This is the case of a Constantinopolitan silk dated to c. 1000, which is today preserved in Auxerre, France.[55] The textile is covered with eagles, the design of which combines Roman and Sassanian motifs. Here the bird functioned both as a powerful symbol of might and as a traditional decorative pattern. Eagles were also depicted in a religious context, usually in the shape of stone reliefs. For instance, a 10th-century marble panel currently on display at the British Museum shows three eagles attacking two hares and one snake.[56] This type of panels decorated churches and probably symbolized the triumph of good over evil.[57] Written sources confirm that the eagle was certainly associated with imperial power. The *Vita Basilii* tells us that when Basil I (867–86) was a baby, an eagle provided him with shade by spreading its wings.[58] The *Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, a treatise on the interpretation of dreams, explains that on the whole, the eagle is meant to signify a king.[59] The imperial symbolism is supported by a reference in the work of William of Apulia. In his chronicle, we are told that during the battle of Manzikert (1071) Romanos IV Diogenes (1068–71) could be recognized by the golden eagle that was fixed to his armour.[60] Thus, the eagle had previously been associated with imperial power; however, its heraldic looking depiction

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genzeit," *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* (Munich, 1920), pp. 37–38.

55   H.C. Evans and W.D. Wixom, eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843–1261* (New York, 1997), pp. 224–26, n. 149.

56   D. Buckton, ed., *Byzantium: Treasures of Byzantine Art and Culture from British Collections* (London, 1994), pp. 140–41, n. 151.

57   Eastmond, *Hagia Sophia and the Empire of Trebizond*, p. 150.

58   *Chronographiae Quae Theophanis Continuati Nomine Fertur Liber Quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris Amplectitur*, ed. I. Ševčenko (Berlin, 2011), pp. 22–25.

59   Steven M. Oberhelman, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams* (Lubbock, 1991), p. 239. However, other dreambooks state that the eagle signifies an angel of God, Steven M. Oberhelman, *Dreambooks in Byzantium: Six Oneirocritica in translation, with commentary and introduction* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 117, 153.

60   William of Apulia, *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, trans. and ann. Marguerite Mathieu (Palermo, 1961), p. 167.

did not become common until the Late Byzantine period.[61] Actually, the two representations associated with Isaac may be the earliest Byzantine instances in which the bird appears to be used as a heraldic emblem.

There are other 12th-century heraldic looking representations; for example, the rampant lion depicted at the church of St Panteleimon at Nerezi, which was finished in 1164. The lion decorates a shield held by the military saint Theodore Teron.[62] Piotr Grotowski has suggested that the artists who decorated the church were borrowing from Western heraldry.[63] On the other hand, Ousterhout has noted that the lion connoted power and prestige in a general way, rather than a heraldic meaning.[64] Regarding these heraldic looking representations, he has also suggested that they were the result of the "development of a common 'language of power' among the mobile Mediterranean elite."[65] This development took place because of the growing contacts between Byzantium and the West but also with the Muslims in the East.[66] Isaac may have become familiar with such symbols during his years in exile at the courts of the eastern Mediterranean where he surely met Muslim and Crusader potentates. Their increasing use may have encouraged him to adopt the imperial eagle as his own emblem. The eagles at Kosmosoteira and the Seraglio Octateuch are dated to the last years of Isaac's life. While these representations may have been used to advertise his political ambitions, towards the end of his life such images also acted as a reminder of his imperial origins. As Linardou has recently pointed out, Isaac wanted to be referred as *porphyrogennetos* and son of the great emperor lord Alexios Komnenos.[67] Thus, the eagle complemented these titles and reminded the audience of his imperial ancestry. Both titles and eagle did not only identify him as a member of the imperial family, they also placed him above much of the growing Komnenian clan.

To conclude, the patronage of the Sebastokrator provides us with details about the taste and aspirations of Manuel's uncle. The stained glass at Chora, the large bells and the imperial eagle at Kosmosoteira were novelties. The use

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61   According to a description of an artistic representation that showed a tournament in which Manuel I took part, the emperor wore shoes with depictions of eagles made of pearls, Lynn Jones and Henry Maguire, "A description of the jousts of Manuel I Komnenos," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 26 (2002), pp. 108, 127–28, 135–36. The authors argued that these eagles symbolize imperial elevation.

62   Ida Sinkević, *The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi* (Wiesbaden, 2000), fig. 62.

63   Piotr Ł. Grotowski, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints: Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 246–48.

64   Ousterhout, "Byzantium between East and West," pp. 158–59.

65   Ibid., p. 170.

66   For the possible Eastern origins of these symbols of royalty, see Scott Redford, "A grammar of Rûm Seljuk ornament," *Mésogeios* 25–26 (2005), 283–310.

67   Linardou, "Imperial impersonations," p. 157.

of stained glass and large bells were clearly the result of the Western presence in the Byzantine Empire. While the stained glass did not have any influence in Byzantine art, bell ringing was slowly introduced into Byzantine monasteries during this period. Isaac's use of the eagle as an emblem should be seen as part of the creation of an aristocratic code of authority in both Europe and the Mediterranean. The bird became, in the shape of the double-headed eagle, an imperial trademark of the Late Byzantine period. Thus, his early use of bell ringing and the heraldic eagle show that Isaac was a pioneer who benefited from the cultural exchange that took place in the eastern Mediterranean. Although the adoption of these imports and practices does not necessarily demonstrate that Isaac was a Latinophile, it certainly indicates that the interaction between the Byzantines and the Latins before 1204 was fruitful in certain spheres of Byzantine society, even if to a very limited extent. These innovations prove that Manuel was not the only Byzantine individual to appreciate Western practices; other members of the Komnenian family also had a role in their promotion.

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Byzantine Nearness and Renaissance Distance: the Meaning of Byzantining Modes in 14th-Century Italian Art

Hans Bloemsma

A well-known phenomenon to scholars of 14th-century Italian art is the grow-ing attentiveness in painting of this period to the differences between mod-ern, illusionistic modes of representation on the one hand, and more old-fashioned ones on the other.* Because of the presence of stylistic features that are traditionally associated with Byzantine and/or Italo-Byzantine art of the preceding period, such as linearity, two-dimensionality and frontality, these old-fashioned modes are often referred to as Byzantinizing. The meaning of these Byzantinizing modes has been subject of an ongoing debate ever since the pioneering studies of György Gombosi and Millard Meiss in the first half of the 20th century.[1] I engaged in this debate in my 2013 article "Byzantine Art and Early Italian Painting."[2] Following established views of scholars such as Keith Christiansen and Paul Krüger, I explained the use of retrospective modes

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1 György Gombosi, *Spinello Aretino: Eine stilgeschichtliche Studie über die Florentinische Maler-ei des ausgehenden XIV. Jahrhunderts* (Budapest, 1926); Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death: The Arts, Religion and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Centu-ry* (Princeton, 1951). Important contributions to this debate include: Bruce Cole, "Old and New in the Early Trecento," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 17 (1973), 229–48; Henk van Os, "The Black Death and Sienese Painting," *Art History* 4 (1981), 237–49; Diana Norman, "Change and Continuity: Art and Religion after the Black Death," in *Siena, Florence and Padua: Art Society and Religion 1280–1400*, 1, Diana Norman, ed. (New Haven, 1995), pp. 177–95; Hayden B.J. Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto: A Historical Reevaluation* (University Park, PA, 1997), pp. 164–91; Klaus Krüger, "Medium and Imagination: Aesthetic Aspects of Trecento Panel Painting," in *Italian Panel Painting of the Duecento and Trecento*, Victor M. Schmidt, ed. (New Haven, 2002), pp. 57–81; Victor M. Schmidt, *Painted Piety: Panel Paintings for Personal Devotion in Tuscany, 1250–1400* (Florence, 2005), pp. 141–60; Judith B. Steinhoff, *Sienese Painting after the Black Death: Artistic Pluralism, Politics, and the New Art Market* (Cambridge, 2006); Keith Christiansen, *Duccio and the Origins of Western Painting* (New York, 2008).

2 Hans Bloemsma, "Byzantine Art and Early Italian Painting," in *Byzantine Art and Renaissance Europe*, Angeliki Lymberopoulou and Rembrandt Duits, eds. (London, 2013), pp. 37–59.

of representation as a means to counterbalance the ever-increasing verisimilitude of Giottesque art. I argued that these modes allowed artists to evoke a realm that is human and approachable yet at the same time divine and transcendent; the old-fashioned, Byzantining elements in these paintings enabled the viewer to experience a higher, spiritual reality within a painting that presented itself as a vivid evocation of the visible world.

But how are we supposed to imagine the higher, spiritual reality that Byzantinizing modes evoke? Is it a reality far removed from the experience of the viewer, thus preserving the transcendental remoteness of the sacred? The implied contrast between the approachable illusionistic modes of Giottesque art and the more abstract modes of Byzantinizing art seems to suggest so. Whereas the illusion of inhabitable space and the suggestion of three dimensional form in Giottesque art give the impression of bringing the divine figures and stories nearer to the everyday experience of the viewer, the earlier, Byzantinizing modes of representation seem to prevent an undesired level of nearness, thus safeguarding the transcendental distance of the sacred. However, such a connection between stylistic abstraction and the evocation of a transcendental, timeless world has been questioned in recent years. Scholars have argued that assumptions about this connection are based on modern ideas about the relationship between abstraction and spirituality, which do not necessarily reflect the reality of people living in earlier periods. Thus, while in modern times the stylized modes of Byzantine and Italo-Byzantine art might have connotations of spirituality and remoteness, this might not have been the case in the later Middle Ages.

Taking this criticism as a starting point, I will re-examine the meaning of retrospective modes in 14th-century Italian painting. The contribution is divided into two parts. The first section will discuss the critique on the assumed relationship between abstraction and spirituality in more detail and will apply it to the specific context of the Trecento. In the second part, I will try to formulate an alternative interpretation based on this analysis, proposing a reversal of the use of the terms "nearness" and "distance" in relation to the different stylistic modes that characterize painting of this time-period. In formulating this interpretation, I will make use of insights from scholars of classical, Byzantine and Western medieval art. In most cases, their observations have not been applied to the Trecento; it is my aim to show the relevance of their remarks for the study of painting of this period. I will also point to a few instances where my observations concur with those of other scholars of 14th-century art, thus acknowledging the historiographical tradition in which my proposed reading needs to be positioned.

1   Byzantining Modes: Divine Distance or Divine Nearness?

Central to any discussion of the backward-looking tendencies in 14th-century Italian art is Millard Meiss's *Painting in Florence and Siena after the Black Death* (1951). In this classic study, Meiss presents the Black Death of 1348 as the cause of what he calls the recovery of the Byzantesque art of the Dugento. Because of the experience of death and disaster, Meiss argues, artists sought a return to images that were more intensely religious. The more hieratic and abstract forms of Byzantesque art allowed them to do so, creating paintings that were less worldly and less humanistic than those of the first half of the century.[3] For Meiss, "more religious" also means more remote. On several occasions in his book, he explicitly equates the spiritual and transcendental with distance and remoteness. Thus he describes the head of Christ on a panel which he attributes to a follower of the Cione brothers as "spiritually remote" (Fig. 9.1), and a Madonna attributed to a follower of Nardo di Cione as "a remote and visionary apparition."[4]

Modern day art historians have questioned the direct link Meiss suggested between the plague and developments in artistic style. They also believe that the old-fashioned stylistic modes that Meiss regarded as characteristic of art after the Black Death, in fact are already manifest in art of the first decades of the century.[5] However, with few exceptions, they seem to accept Meiss's interpretation of these retrospective modes. Like him, they explain the use of these modes as ways to compensate for an undesired level of closeness in Giottesque art, and to imbue paintings with a sense of spirituality and otherworldliness.

A typical example is Diane Norman's analysis of Orcagna's altarpiece for the Strozzi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, dated 1354–57 (Fig. 9.2). Orcagna's painting – which had taken pride of place in Meiss's book – famously is full of stylistic paradoxes.[6] As Norman points out, there is a contrast

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3   Meiss, *Painting in Florence*, p. 73.

4   Meiss, *Painting in Florence*, pp. 36 and 139. The Head of Christ is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. no. 1981.365.2), and is attributed to the Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia. The Madonna – the central panel of a small triptych – is in the Galleria dell'Accademia in Florence (inv. 1890, no. 8456), and is nowadays attributed to Jacopo di Cione.

5   See for an overview and discussion: Van Os, "The Black Death;" Norman, "Change and Continuity;" Maginnis, *Painting in the Age of Giotto*; Steinhoff, *Sienese Painting*, pp. 9–26. Meiss himself had made a distinction between so-called un-Giottesque masters of the first half and anti-Giottesque masters of the later part of the century. Meiss, *Painting in Florence*, pp. 6–7.

6   Norman, "Change and Continuity," pp. 183–87. See also Meiss, *Painting in Florence*, pp. 9–13.

FIGURE 9.1　Master of the Orcagnesque Misericordia, *Head of Christ*, second half of the 14th
　　　　　　century, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
　　　　　　PHOTO: METMUSEUM.ORG

between the rigid frontality of Christ's pose and the abstract device of the mandorla on the one hand and on the other hand the voluminous treatment of Christ's drapery and the three-dimensional modelling of his head. A similar tension is visible in the subsidiary saints whose three-dimensional form is juxtaposed with the emphatic linearity of their outline and with a spatial setting that gives the impression of flatness: the gold background discourages any sense of depth while the red carpet likewise lacks any suggestion of an inhabitable, three-dimensional world.

According to Norman, Orcagna's use of two contrasting pictorial modes is purposeful:

> The Strozzi altarpiece … encapsulates an ongoing tension within 14th-century religious art. Artists sought to convey a sense of mystery and awe whilst, at the same time, encouraging empathy and close involvement with the holy men and women represented.[7]

Norman thus presents the old-fashioned, abstracting features of the painting as elements that make sure that the painting maintains a sense of elevated spirituality. This is especially visible in the figure of Christ. On the one hand, the three-dimensional treatment of Christ's body and face makes Him seem human and approachable – a "palpable and 'real' presence" in Norman's words. On the other hand, Christ's frontality in combination with the abstract treatment of the mandorla makes Him appear as "a divine vision *removed* from this world in terms of space and time" (my emphasis).[8]

The question is whether we can connect the abstract, the spiritual, and the remote in this way. Are we not committing a fallacy that marks many arguments dealing with the supposed contrast between the apparent anti-naturalism of medieval art and the realism of Early Modern art: the assumption that stylized modes of representation were perceived by contemporary viewers as anti-naturalistic and capable of communicating timeless, absolute truths? In recent years, several scholars have argued that this assumed connection between stylization and the evocation of a spiritual and otherworldly realm might be based on modern ideas about the relationship between abstraction and spirituality.[9] Already Henk van Os, in his discussion of Meiss's book, argued

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7   Norman, "Change and Continuity," p. 186.

8   Ibid.

9   See for example: John Onians, "Abstraction and Imagination in Late Antiquity," *Art History* 3 (1980), 1–23; James Trilling, "Medieval Art without Style? Plato's Loophole and a Modern Detour," *Gesta* 34 (1995), 57–62; Robert S. Nelson, "To Say and to See: Ekphrasis and Vision in Byzantium," in *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw*, Robert S.

FIGURE 9.2   Orcagna, *Strozzi Altarpiece*, 1354–57, Florence, Santa Maria Novella, Strozzi
Chapel.
PHOTO: THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

that Meiss's idea that stylistic abstraction in art brought out a religious dimen-
sion was closely connected to the writings and works of Abstract Expressionist
artists such as Barnett Newman and Mark Rothko.[10] As Van Os points out, earli-
er in the 20th-century similar ideas had been expressed by Wilhelm Worringer
in *Abstraktion und Einfühlung* (1907) and Vasily Kandinsky in *Über das Geistige
in der Kunst* (1912).

     In a recent study, Paul van den Akker traces the origins of these ideas back
to the 18th century. According to Van den Akker, Johann Joachim Winckel-
mann was one of the first to make an explicit connection between stylization
and what he called "nobility of character." For Winckelmann, the more graceful
and flowing the contours of a figure, the more easily one could recognize its

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Nelson, ed. (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 143–68; Paul van den Akker, *Looking for Lines: Theo-
ries on the Essence of Art and the Problem of Mannerism* (Amsterdam, 2010).

10   Van Os, "The Black Death," pp. 239–42. See also Steinhoff, *Sienese Painting*, p. 19, who calls
these ideas a "legacy of modern Gestaltist theory."

elevated and noble character.[11] By showing the historicity of these ideas, Van den Akker convincingly argues that the link between abstraction and spirituality is not a "natural" or "universal" one. While such a link might make sense to a modern audience, it does not necessarily reflect the reality of people living in earlier periods. It is, of course, well known to historians of medieval and Byzantine art that earlier ways of seeing might be very different from ours. To allow for such a difference, they have adopted terms such as "period eye" and "visuality."[12] Whereas "vision" refers to the physiological act of seeing, and therefore suggests that sight is a natural operation which is the same for people in different times and places, terms like "period eye" and "visuality" emphasize the social and historical factors that influence the ways people see.

Medieval texts offer a great opportunity to study the "visuality" of the period. This is especially the case when it comes to Byzantine art: where modern viewers have traditionally considered Byzantine art abstract and schematic, Byzantine texts offer an entirely different perspective. The Byzantines themselves describe their art as being highly realistic and as anything but depicting a remote, far away world.[13] A well-known example is Nikolaos Mesarites's late 12th-century description of the representation of Christ in the main dome of the church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople.[14] The church of the Holy Apostles and its decorations were demolished in the 15th century. However, other decorations – such as the dome mosaic in the church of Daphni (c. 1090–1100) (Fig. 9.3) – give a good impression of what the work Mesarites describes must have looked like. Mesarites's description follows the model of a classical ekphrasis, but despite the evident literary elements, it is based on actual visual

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11   Van den Akker, *Looking for Lines,* p. 301.

12   The term "period eye" was coined by Michael Baxandall in *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth-Century Italy: A Primer in the Social History of Pictorial Style* (Oxford, 1972). "Visuality" was introduced in *Vision and Visuality*, Hal Foster, ed. (Seattle, 1988). Important for medieval and Byzantine studies is Nelson, *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance.* See also Madeline H. Caviness, "Reception of Images by Medieval Viewers," in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, Conrad Rudolph, ed. (Oxford, 2006), pp. 65–85, and Claire Farago, "Understanding Visuality," in *Seeing across Cultures in the Early Modern World*, Dana Leibsohn and Jeanette Favrot Peterson, eds. (Farnham, 2012), pp. 239–55.

13   For an overview and discussion see: Nelson, "To Say and to See."

14   On this see: Nelson, "To Say and to See," p. 156; See further Henry Maguire, "Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 28 (1974), 111–40; Liz James and Ruth Webb, "To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places: Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium," *Art History* 14 (1991), 1–17; Liz James and Juliana Gavril, "A homily with a description of the Church of the Holy Apostles," *Byzantion – Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines*, 83 (2013), 149–60; and Michael Angold, *Nicholas Mesarites. His Life and Works (in Translation)* (Liverpool, 2017).

FIGURE 9.3   Daphni, Church of the Dormition, *Christ Pantocrator*, c. 1080–1100.
PHOTO: CENTRE FOR ART HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION, RADBOUD UNIVER-
SITY NIJMEGEN

observations.[15] To modern eyes, mosaics such as the one in Daphni might ap-
pear as flat and two-dimensional: aloof images attached to the gold ceiling of
the church. However, Mesarites describes seeing a figure leaning past the edge
of heaven and down into the actual space and eye of the beholder. Moreover,
the description suggests the immediacy of Christ's presence as well as the pow-
er of his gaze:

> This dome shows in pictured form the God-Man Christ, leaning and gaz-
> ing out as though from the rim of heaven [...] Wherefore one can see

15   Maguire, "Truth and Convention," pp. 121–27. On the Daphni mosaic see: Robin Cormack,
      "Rediscovering the Christ Pantocrator at Daphni," Journal of the *Warburg and Courtauld
      Institutes* 71 (2008), 55-74.

Him, to use the words of the Song, looking forth at the windows, leaning out as far as His navel through the lattice at the summit of the dome like an earnest and vehement lover … His eyes, to those who have achieved a clean understanding, are gentle and friendly and install the joy of contrition in the souls of the pure in heart and of the poor in spirit … Such are the eyes to those who have a clean understanding; to those, however, who are condemned by their own judgment, they are scornful and hostile and boding of ill, the face is wrathful, terrifying and filled with hardness, for the face of the Lord is of this for evildoers.[16]

Mesarites's description offers an important corrective to the idea of viewing Byzantine art as distant and remote.[17] Stylized modes of representation might be read by a modern viewer as evoking a higher, spiritual reality far removed from his or her more mundane experience. For Byzantine viewers, on the contrary, these modes seem to have enabled the spectator to come into a living, effectual contact with the holy person or story depicted.

Mesarites's description is in line with iconophile theology, which maintained that there was a direct, almost magical connection between the image and the holy persons or events portrayed. Iconophiles stressed that this connection was based on a sharing of likeness with the persons or events depicted, not of essence, thus preventing icons from becoming idols.[18] Nevertheless, as Theodore the Studite (759–826) wrote, by virtue of this likeness, the image and the model were one.[19] Images were thus seen as places of encounter between the viewer and the divine, doors that allowed the worshipper to enter a holy world and Christ and the saints to move into the believer's world. As a result, the church itself became, in the words of Germanos (patriarch of Constantinople, 715–30), "an earthly heaven in which the super-celestial God dwells and walks about."[20]

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16   Nelson, "To Say and to See," p. 156.

17   See also John Shearman, *Only Connect …: Art and the Spectator in the Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1994), p. 159: "[Mesarites's text] makes us read the picture of Christ not as a distant and static abstraction but as an epiphany, a numinous presence just appearing to the spectator."

18   On this see: Hans Belting, *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst* (Munich, 1990), pp. 164–84; Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850: A History* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 772–87.

19   Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972), p. 173.

20   Robin Cormack, *Byzantine Art* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 37–39. See also Kallistos Ware, "The Theology and Spirituality of the Icon," in *From Byzantium to El Greco: Greek Frescoes and Icons*, Myrtali Acheimastou-Potamianou, ed. (London, 1987), pp. 37–39. Ware refers to the *Life of St. Stephen the Younger* for the idea that icons functioned as a doors between the

The perceived contact with the divine that speaks from Mesarites's text is typical of Byzantine "visuality" – defined by Robert Nelson as "direct, steady, penetrating, and haptic."[21] Although it could be argued that the formal characteristics of individual images are of less significance here, the direct and frontal visual address that characterizes Byzantine art encourages such seeing.[22] Moreover, the way Byzantine art is less interested in illusions of three-dimensional volume and space and more in linearity and surface patterning, allows the images break into the viewer's space and time, thus strengthening the impression of a direct confrontation between beholder and deity. Or, as Bissera Pentcheva wrote recently:

> In contrast to the familiar Renaissance model of painting as a window opening onto a vista, the Byzantine spatial icon sought to invade the physical space in front of it; its figures, pressed to the very surface in their static poses and fixed gazes, could only unfold their stories in the space of the beholder.[23]

Scholars of Western art have suggested similar links between the non-illusionistic, "abstracting" tendencies in Western medieval art and medieval ways of seeing. According to Hans Belting, for instance, the isolated gaze that characterizes late medieval devotional images is an indication that the form of these images was adjusted to enable a specific way of seeing.[24] The isolated gaze enabled an experience of direct contact ("Kontakterlebnis") between the viewer and the depicted figures that took the form of a dialogue characterized by reciprocity: the devotee not only saw the holy figures but also was equally seen by these figures.[25] In a similar vein, Jeffrey Hamburger and Michael Camille

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world of the viewer and the world of the image'. On this see also Charles Barber, *Figure and Likeness: On the Limits of Representation in Byzantine Iconoclasm* (Princeton, 2002), p. 137, and Brubaker and Haldon, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era*, p. 786.

21   Robert S. Nelson, "Descartes's Cow and Other Domestications of the Visual," in *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance*, Robert S. Nelson, ed., p. 12.

22   On this see Nelson, "To Say and to See," pp. 156–59. See also Otto Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration: Aspects of Monumental Art in Byzantium* (London, 1948), p. 7.

23   Bissera V. Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium* (University Park, PA, 2010), p. 5, with a reference to Demus *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, pp. 9–10 and 13–14.

24   Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 88–98.

25   Belting quotes the Dominican Gerardus de Frachet, who wrote in his *Lives of the Fathers* (before 1260): "they had in their cells the image of Mary and of her crucified son before their eyes, so that while reading and praying and sleeping they might look upon them and be looked on by them," Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum*, p. 96 (n. 45). English translation in Richard Viladesau, *The Beauty of the Cross: The Passion of Christ in Theology*

have argued that medieval viewers in Western Europe did not think of their art as two-dimensional or abstract, but as art that made the divine fully present, and in which the viewer could connect directly with the heavenly world. Like Belting, Hamburger and Camille stress what they call the "reciprocal presence" and "interpenetration" of image and viewer in late medieval Western art.[26]

In an important study, Caroline Walker Bynum has shown that this direct contact between viewer and image sometimes took on a more physical form. Believers responded not only with their eyes, but from time to time they also touched and even kissed images, treating them as loci of the divine. Some images even instructed believers to venerate them with mouths and fingers.[27] Bynum contrasts this idea of medieval artworks as loci of the divine with theological discussions that seemed to reduce them to merely gesturing toward the heavenly world.[28] According to her, however much medieval theologians may have insisted that there was an ontological gap between image and prototype,

and the Arts from the Catacombs to the Eve of the Renaissance (Oxford, 2006), p. 123. On this see also Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Houndmills, 2002), pp. 144–49.

26   Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Visions and Revelations of the Medieval World* (London, 1996), p. 183; Jeffrey F. Hamburger*, Nuns as Artists: The Visual Culture of a Medieval Convent* (Berkeley, 1997), p. 215. In an essay on visuality in Gothic Europe, Camille concluded: "The view that medieval art was somehow more "spiritual" and a rejection of the corporeal never seemed so wrong ...," Michael Camille, "Before the Gaze: The Internal Senses and Late Medieval Practices of Seeing," in Nelson, *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance*, pp. 197–223, here p. 217. For a modern parallel of such direct and interactive ways of seeing see: David Morgan, *Visual Piety: A History and Theory of Popular Religious Images* (Berkeley, 1998), pp. 21–58.

27   Caroline Walker Bynum*, Christian Materiality: An Essay on Religion in Late Medieval Europe* (New York, 2011), p. 65. This phenomenon is of course well known to students of Byzantine art. See Anthony Cutler, *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium* (*9th–11th Centuries*) (Princeton, 1994), pp. 23–29; Liz James, "Senses and Sensibility in Byzantium," *Art History* 27 (2004), pp. 526–27; Pentcheva, *The Sensual Icon,* pp. 6–7. For the Italian context see Joanna Cannon, "Kissing the Virgin's Foot. *Adoratio* before the Madonna and Child enacted, depicted, imagined," *Studies in Iconography* 31 (2010), 1–50. For the continuation of these practices in modern times see Francesco Zaccaria*, Participation and Beliefs in Popular Religiosity: An Empirical-Theological Exploration* (Leiden, 2010), pp. 58–60 and 68; and Nathan D. Mitchell, "Theological Principles for an Evaluation and Renewal of Popular Piety," in *Directory on Popular Piety and the Liturgy: Principles and Guidelines. A Commentary*, Peter C. Phan, ed. (Collegeville, MN, 2005), pp. 71–76.

28   Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, p. 34. For similar observations see Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment,* pp. 111–32, and Lars R. Jones, "*Visio Divina?* Donor Figures and Representations of Imagistic Devotion: The Copy of the "Virgin of Bagnolo" in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence," in Schmidt, *Italian Panel Painting*, pp. 31–55.

images did more than refer to or point to the divine: "They lift matter toward God and reveal God through matter."[29] As Bynum makes clear, this simultaneous assertion of opposites – lifting and revealing – lies at the heart of late medieval Christianity, and has not been acknowledged enough by modern scholarship. Instead, art historians have overemphasized the theological stress on "seeing through" or "pointing beyond" in medieval art.[30]

The above gives us enough reason to rethink the idea that 14th-century Italian artists used old-fashioned modes of representation to give their works an air of timeless remoteness that was lacking in Giottesque art. Perhaps the Byzantinizing elements in paintings such as the Strozzi altarpiece should not so much be read as pointing to or evoking a supernatural realm far removed from the viewer's world, but, on the contrary, as elements that make the holy present in the here and now. The rigid frontality of Christ in the Orcagna's work as well as his confronting gaze allow the explicit contact between viewer and holy figure that is typical for late medieval art. In addition, the gold background and the red carpet which both lack any suggestion of an inhabitable, three-dimensional world, can be seen as bringing Christ and the other figures forward and pressing them against the surface, thus strengthening the direct connection with the viewer. Instead of encapsulating a tension between forms that convey a sense of spiritual remoteness and those that suggest an illusion of the visible world, paintings such as the Strozzi altarpiece seem to express a contrast between medieval ways of making the divine present and more modern, mimetic modes of representation that we associate with the art of Giotto.[31] In what follows I want to explore an alternative interpretation of this co-existence of two different pictorial modes in 14th-century Italian art.

2   Nearness and Distance in Trecento Art Revisited

It is important to note that there are no 14th-century sources that express a possible concern about Giotto's stylistic revolution or his way of representing the divine. On the contrary, Trecento authors unanimously praise the naturalism in Giotto's art.[32] The one exception is Benvenuto da Imola. In his commentary

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29   Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, pp. 35 and 52.

30   Bynum, *Christian Materiality*, p. 65. For similar observations in relation to Byzantine art see: Bissera V. Pentcheva, "The Performative Icon," *Art Bulletin* 88 (2006), p. 636.

31   On this see also Nelson, "Descartes's Cow," p. 12, who refers to Michel Foucault's distinction between medieval resemblance and early modern representation and Bruno Latour's contrast between medieval re-presentation and Renaissance representation.

32   On this see most recently Joost Keizer, "Style and Authorship in Early Italian Renaissance Art," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 78 (2015), 370–85, here pp. 371–74.

on Dante's *Divine Comedy* (c. 1376), Benvenuto writes that certain authorities claim that Giotto sometimes made "great errors" in his work.[33] Benvenuto neither says who these authorities are nor what the great errors are they accuse Giotto of. Even though Meiss suggested that Benvenuto's critique reflected current criticisms of Giotto's pictorial style, more recently Norman Land has convincingly argued that Benvenuto merely employed a literary *topos* to enhance the image of Giotto as a new Apelles.[34] According to ancient authors such as Plutarch and Pliny, the work of Apelles – even though greater than that of any artist of his time – was also less than perfect and contained many mistakes.

In addition, there are no 14th-century sources that give any indication of an awareness that different stylistic modes existed side-by-side in Trecento works of art. When around 1400 Cennino Cennini wrote that that Giotto had turned art "from Greek into Latin and made it modern," he might have had an understanding that is comparable to our own of the contrast between old-fashioned, Byzantining modes of representation and more modern ones associated with the art of Giotto.[35] However, he used this distinction to illustrate the difference between the art of the Trecento and that of the earlier periods, not between old-fashioned and modern styles within 14th-century painting.

Therefore, any suggestion that 14th-century culture had an understanding of the difference between modern, illusionistic modes of representation and more old-fashioned, Byzantinizing ones, is grounded in careful study of the works themselves. It is to the great merit of scholars such as Meiss and Norman that they have made such careful analyses and have drawn attention to the stylistic contrast in Trecento art. However, while acknowledging the merits of this art historical tradition, I hope to have shown that retrospective modes

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33   See Michael Viktor Schwarz and Pia Theis, *Giottus Pictor, Vol. 1: Giottos Leben* (Vienna, 2004), pp. 364–65, with full text.

34   Meiss, *Painting in Florence*, pp. 4–5. Norman E. Land, "Giotto as Apelles," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 24:3 (2005), 6–9. More in general, late-medieval sources seem to show an increased concern with images, but these sources are not necessarily Italian, and the concerns are not necessarily about artistic innovation. For an overview, see: Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 203–20. For an interesting case of church censorship in England at the beginning of the 14th-century, see: Paul Binski, "The Crucifixion and the Censorship of Art around 1300," in *The Medieval World*, Peter Linehan and Janet L. Nelson, eds. (London, 2001), pp. 342–60.

35   Schwarz and Theis, *Giottus Pictor*, pp. 336–37. Around 1447–48, Ghiberti was one of the first to use the terms "maniera greca" and "arte nuova" to describe this contrast. Ibid., pp. 291–94. On the awareness of style in this period see: Bruce Cole, "Old and New in the Early Trecento," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 17 (1973), pp. 231–32; Steinhoff, *Sienese Painting,* pp. 210–14; Joan A. Holladay, "Consciousness of Style in Gothic Art," in *Opus Tesselatum: Modi und Grenzgänge der Kunstwissenschaft*, Katharina Corsepius et al., eds. (Hildesheim, 2004), pp. 303–14; Keizer, "Style and Authorship," 370–85.

were not necessarily employed to endow contemporary painting with an air of spiritual remoteness in the face of Giotto's stylistic innovations. As an alternative, I would like to suggest that works such as Orcagna's visualize an awareness that religious images might have fallen short in medieval directness when naturalism was explored by Giotto and his followers, and that it was for this reason that artists were reluctant to completely let go of more old-fashioned ways of representation.

Several scholars have proposed the idea that something might have gotten lost in the rise of Renaissance illusionism.[36] Michael Camille, for instance, has argued that the "spectacular interpenetration" of image and viewer that he sees as typical of Gothic art disappeared when paintings became illusionistic views through an Albertian window. According to him, "the spectator withdraws from what is no longer a 'seen,' but a scene separated from the viewer by the window."[37] Because of this withdrawal, viewers are being excluded from the image and no longer implicated in what they are seeing: from participants they become spectators.[38]

This notion of exclusion has also been observed by Jaś Elsner in his book on visuality in classical Rome. Like Camille, Elsner argues that because the world of an illusionistic painting operates in its own space and according to its own narrative logic, the viewer always remains separate from that world. According to him: "that space and logic may be realistic (like our own world, our own sense of perspective, time, form, and so forth), but looking at it is like looking through a screen into someone else's life."[39] Even if the viewer is invited to step through the screen into the world of the painting, there is no real contact. He remains a voyeur, who can only read his way into the picture through an act of his subjective imagination. In fact, according to Elsner, the more the illusion of a real world is offered and thus the suggestion of contact, the more the viewer becomes like Pliny's birds, who when flying up to Zeuxis's celebrated painting discovered that the grapes they desired were only pigment. In the end, Elsner

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36 In addition to the authors discussed below, important accounts include: Robert D. Romanyshyn, *Technology as Symptom and Dream* (London, 1989), pp. 33–64; Martin Jay, "Scopic Regimes of Modernity," in *Vision and Visuality*, Hal Foster ed., pp. 7–9; Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: The Denigration of Vision in Twentieth-Century French Thought* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 53–59; Maurice Merleau-Ponty, *The World of Perception*, trans. Oliver Davis (London 2002), p. 40; Anne Friedberg, *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft* (Cambridge, MA, 2006), pp. 46–48.

37 Camille, *Gothic Art,* pp. 181–83.

38 For comparable observations see Demus, *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration*, p. 13; Nelson, "To Say and to See," p. 158; and Péter Bokody, *Images-within-Images in Italian Painting (1250–1350): Reality and Reflexivity* (Farnham, 2015), p. 31.

39 Jaś Elsner, *Roman Eyes: Visuality and Subjectivity in Art and Text* (Princeton, 2007), p. 24.

writes, in an illusionistic painting "there is only longing, nostalgia, and even frustrated erotic desire."[40]

Michael Viktor Schwarz and Hans Belting have formulated similar ideas on exclusion in illusionistic art. Moreover, they apply them to the specific context of the Trecento. Schwarz discusses the introduction of an imaginary screen in the work of Giotto.[41] Like Elsner, Schwarz describes how this screen separates the world of the viewer from that of the painting. As a result, what Schwarz calls the "presence effect" of earlier art is replaced by a "voyeuristic effect": through the screen viewers can see what is going on in the world of the painting without having to assume that it is necessarily meant for their eyes.[42] However, because the people in the world of the painting do not seem to be aware of the viewer and are only focused on each other, this voyeuristic effect also creates distance. As an example Schwarz uses Giotto's *Lamentation* (c. 1305) (Fig. 9.4) in the Arena chapel in Padua. He describes how Christ's body in this painting is not only surrounded by mourners, but is almost hidden by them. His head, hands and feet are emphatically offered to the mourners, not to the viewer. As a result, the viewer is actually more excluded from than included in the scene. Of course, this does not mean that paintings like the *Lamentation* do not make an appeal to the viewer. However, according to Schwarz this appeal is more indirect, and more focused on stimulating his or her emotional re-enactment of the scene: "Schauend erleben wir mit, wie in einer *anderen* Wirklichkeit andere trauern und den toten Christus umsorgen" (my emphasis).[43]

Hans Belting uses the term "closed" to refer to the narrative structure of paintings such as Giotto's *Lamentation*. According to him, the Renaissance "Fensterbild" operates illusionistically in a parallel world that is not dependent on a viewer. He contrasts this with the narrative structure of earlier art. As we

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40   Elsner, *Roman Eyes*, p. 24, with reference to Jacques Lacan, *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psychoanalysis* (London, 1979) pp. 67–119. See also Jaś Elsner, "Reflections on the 'Greek Revolution' in Art," in *Rethinking Revolutions through Ancient Greece*, Simon Goldhill and Robin Osborne, eds. (Cambridge, 2010), p. 70: "No one has told the story as a lament for what was lost in archaic directness and abstraction when the Greeks discovered naturalism."

41   Michael Viktor Schwarz, *Giotto* (Munich, 2009), p. 45.

42   Schwarz, *Giotto*, p. 43, with reference to Assaf Pinkus, "Voyeuristic Stimuli: Seeing and Hearing in the Arena Chapel," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 59 (2010), 7–26.

43   Schwarz, *Giotto*, p. 45. See ibid., p. 48, where Schwarz writes that Giotto's paintings in the Arena chapel mark the beginning of a "voyeuristisch distanzierten Erleben der Heilsgeschichte." Already in 1929 Roger Fry made comparable observations on Giotto's Christ appearing to the Mary Magdalen in the Arena Chapel: "We watch it taking place in a world which is somewhat removed from the actual world, a world which we cannot enter into – wherein we shall never be actors. We cannot identify ourselves with these people; the scene remains there for our contemplation rather than for any immediate personal contact," *A Roger Fry Reader*, Christopher Reed, ed. (Chicago and London, 1996), pp. 399-400.

FIGURE 9.4 Giotto, *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, c. 1305, Padua, Arena Chapel.
PHOTO: CENTRE FOR ART HISTORICAL DOCUMENTATION, RADBOUD
UNIVERSITY NIJMEGEN

have seen, Belting interprets the isolated gaze that characterizes late medieval
art as enabling direct contact between the viewer and the depicted figures that
took the form of a dialogue characterized by reciprocity. Because this dialogue
assumes the presence of an external participant for closure, Belting calls the
narrative structure of such images "open."[44] According to Belting, in the 14th
century the experience of direct contact that the late medieval open system

44   Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum,* p. 90. On this see also Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*,
      pp. 144–45. Belting's idea of open and closed systems is comparable to Riegl's concept of
      inner and outer coherence, which in turn was adapted by John Shearman, who speaks of
      transitive and intransitive modes. On this see Shearman, *Only Connect*, p. 36. For a compa-
      rable influence of Riegl on Demus's *Byzantine Mosaic Decoration* see Nelson, "To Say and
      to See," p. 158, and Pentcheva, *The Senusal Icon*, p. 227, note 15.

FIGURE 9.5 Master of the Fogg Pietà, *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ,* c. 1330, Harvard, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum. Gift of Meta and Paul J. Sachs in memory of Grace Norton, 1927.306.
PHOTO: IMAGING DEPARTMENT © PRESIDENT AND FELLOWS OF HARVARD COLLEGE

offered came into conflict with the illusionism of the closed system. Belting illustrates this conflict with the so-called Fogg Pietà (c. 1330) (Fig. 9.5), now in the Harvard Art Museums. Like Giotto's *Lamentation,* this image shows a group of mourning people around the dead body of Christ. While the group is convincingly located in the illusionistic space of the painting, the body of Christ is not. Instead, it is turned to the viewer in an awkward way. According to Belting, the "unnatural" position of Christ's body should not be seen as a flaw of the painting, but as a purposeful choice of the artist. The artist's aim was not the creation of a perfect illusion, but rather the maintenance of Christ's ability to communicate directly with the viewer, if necessary at the expense of a "correct" realistic representation.[45] As such, the Fogg Pietà is yet another illustration of the tension between old-fashioned and more modern pictorial modes

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45   Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum,* pp. 88–89.

in 14th-century Italian art. Still, Belting's interpretation of this tension differs from traditional readings and is more in line with the one I am proposing here. Belting seems to suggest that Trecento art visualizes an understanding that religious images might have fallen short in medieval directness when Giotto and his followers explored naturalism, and that it might have been for this reason that artists were reluctant to completely abandon more old-fashioned modes of representing the sacred.

Where Belting focusses on the gaze of medieval art as enabling "Kontakterlebnis," I would like to go further and suggest that artists had a variety of retrospective means at their disposal to maintain this direct contact between viewer and work of art, including stylization, planarity and the use of a gold background. To these pictorial means could be added more sculptural ones, such as the use of relief. In an article on Pacino di Bonaguida's *Chiarito Tabernacle* (c. 1340s), Christopher Lakey has proposed that Pacino's use of sculpted relief in the central panel of this triptych is intended to endow the depicted figures with a tangible sense of presence in the here and now that allows for direct contact, and even invites viewers to touch.[46] In employing relief, Pacino makes use of a technique to enhance a divine figure's three-dimensional presence and corporeality that was well known in medieval Europe – both in the West as in the East – but that seems at odds with Giottesque illusionism.[47]

To conclude, there might have been a problem with Giotto after all. Even though his illusionistic images marvelled contemporary critics and inspired them to effusive praise, they might have left the religious and devout viewer untouched and frustrated.[48] What they saw in Giotto's art was a world in which they were invited to participate but that ultimately might have left them

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46   Christopher R. Lakey, "The Curious Case of the *Chiarito Tabernacle*: A New Interpretation," *Getty Research Journal* 4 (2012), 13–30, esp. pp. 22–25. Lakey's interpretation contrasts with that of Barbara Baert, who sees the gold relief as a way to visualize a transcendental world. Barbara Baert, "Nourished by Inwardness: The Beato Chiarito Tabernacle (c. 1340)," in *Speaking to the Eye: Sight and Insight through Text and Image* (1150–1650), Thérèse de Hemptinne et al., eds. (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 213–40, esp. pp. 216–17.

47   One could argue that where Giottesque art creates a two-dimensional illusion of the three dimensional world that appeals to the imagination, relief allows artists to present the three dimensional world as an objective material reality. On the use of relief in medieval and Byzantine art see: Lakey, "The Curious Case," pp. 29–30 (notes 31 and 32), with further references. See also Bynum, *Christian Materiality,* pp. 66–67, and Rossitza Schroeder, "Revelations in Relief: an Italo-Byzantine panel with the Virgin and Child," *The Journal of the Walters Art Museum* 68/69 (2010–11), p. 107: "the medium of relief adds to the work's material immediacy and sensual palpability."

48   Petrarch seems to have suggested as much when he wrote on a painting by Giotto that he owned: "The ignorant do not understand the beauty of this panel but the masters of art are stunned by it." However, as Michael Baxandall pointed out, Petrarch is using a classical cliché to stress the humanistic distinction between the informed and the uniformed

feeling excluded. Giotto's paintings encouraged subjective and imaginative identification with the sacred – and succeeded in doing so brilliantly – but as a result, the more direct, objective presence of the sacred was lost. I have suggested that it was to overcome feelings of exclusion and to compensate for a perceived loss of objective presence and thus direct contact, that 14th-century artists such as Orcagna brought into play earlier, retrospective modes of representation that we associate with Byzantine art.

In drawing this conclusion, I propose a reversal of the use of the terms "nearness" and "distance" in relation to the different stylistic modes so characteristic of the art of this period. Traditionally, the term "nearness" is associated with the forward-looking illusionistic mode associated with the art of Giotto: the illusion of inhabitable space and the suggestion of three dimensional form in his art are seen as bringing the sacred nearer to the everyday experience of the viewer. In the reading presented here, Giotto's art is interpreted as in the end falling short in accomplishing this. Ultimately, his illusionistic images fail to enable direct contact with the sacred and therefore, keep the viewer at a distance.

In traditional interpretations, the term "distance" is connected with earlier, more Byzantinizing mode of representation. This mode was thought to have been used by artists to make up for an undesired level of nearness, and to maintain the transcendental remoteness of the divine figures. In the interpretation presented here, this mode does not evoke distance, but on the contrary, nearness. The frontal visual address, the lack of an inhabitable space, the stylization of human form and the use of relief typical for these retrospective modes of representation ensured objective presence and thus direct contact with the viewer. To modern eyes, this may seem a paradox, but it might have been the old-fashioned conventions of Italo-Byzantine art that ensured nearness to the sacred for a 14th-century viewer

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Interpreter, Diplomat, Humanist: Nicholas Sagundinus as a Cultural Broker in the 15th-Century Mediterranean

Cristian Caselli

Σεκουνδινός, Secundinus, Sagundinus: when it comes to consulting catalogues with the aim of locating manuscripts related to the personage to be dealt with in this contribution, a scholar knows very well that it is not a trivial matter to decide which form of the name should be used in the research. As Margaret L. King pointed out, Nicholas Sagundinus's integration in the Venetian society and, broadly speaking, in the cultural milieu of 15th-century Italy during the second half of his life provides a valid argument in favour of opting for the Italian version of his name.[1] In keeping with King's statement, this article will analyse the different roles played by Sagundinus between the Levant and Italy as well as their sociocultural implications.

Nicholas Sagundinus was born around 1402 in the Venetian colony of Negroponte. Like other Greeks at the time, he entered into the service of Venice, performing a variety of duties from at least the 1430s until his death in 1464. While no extant source, that can shed light on his early years, is known to date, research has yielded abundant information regarding his later career and works.[2] Besides biographical studies, and especially in the last decade, scholarship has also considered Sagundinus from other angles by focussing on specific

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1 Margaret L. King, "An inconsolable father and his humanist consolers: Jacopo Antonio Marcello, Venetian nobleman, patron and man of letters," in *Supplementum Festivum. Studies in Honor of Paul Oskar Kristeller*, James Hankins, ed. (Binghamton, NY, 1987), pp. 221–46, here 230, n. 20.

2 On the life of Sagundinus see Franz Babinger, *Johannes Darius (1414–1494): Sachwalter Venedigs im Morgenland, und sein griechischer Umkreis*, Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse 5 (Munich, 1961), pp. 9–52; Babinger, "Nikolaos Sagoundinos, ein griechisch-venedischer Humanist des 15. Jahrhunderts," in *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Ὀρλάνδον*, 1 (Athens, 1965), pp. 198–212; Panagiotes D. Mastrodemetres, *Νικόλαος ὁ Σεκουνδῖνος (1402–1464). Βίος καὶ ἔργον* (Athens, 1970); Mastrodemetres, "Nicolaos Secundinos a Napoli dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli," *Italoellenika* 2 (1989), 21–38; Cristian Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem et invictissimum regem Alphonsum Nicolai Sagundini Oratio. Introduzione, testo critico, commento*, Fonti per la storia dell'Italia medievale 39 (Rome, 2012), pp. ix–xxx.

aspects of his life: attention has been drawn to the connection between his position in the social hierarchy in Venice and his achievements as a humanist within the intellectual circles of the city;[3] his fame as an expert in the Ottoman empire has been discussed in relation to his writings on the subject;[4] finally, his function as a cultural broker between Latin Christendom and the Turks has been suggested in recent studies.[5]

In addition to blending the aforementioned perspectives in an organic discourse, this paper aims at examining Nicholas's intertwined activities and the extent to which they enabled him to establish a network of acquaintances including some of the leading figures of his age. As a Greek native turned into intermediary between the Levant and Latin Europe, a diplomat in the service of Venice and a humanist, Sagundinus represents a peculiar and valuable example for investigating the degree of integration of Greek émigrés in Renaissance Italy.

1 Interpreter

Growing up in a multilingual environment, Nicholas profited from such a situation by acquiring familiarity with the languages other than his Greek mother tongue that were commonly spoken in his home island, namely Latin and vernacular Venetian.[6] In fact, he surfaces in the sources in the capacity

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3 See Margaret L. King, *Venetian Humanism in an Age of Patrician Dominance* (Princeton, 1986), pp. 81–91.

4 See: Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. xxx–lxvi; Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, Harvard Historical Studies 158 (Cambridge, MA, 2008), pp. 106–16, 150–53.

5 See: Cristian Caselli, "Cristiani alla corte del Conquistatore: la testimonianza di Niccolò Sagundino," in *L'Europa dopo la caduta di Costantinopoli: 29 maggio 1453*. Atti del xliv Convegno storico internazionale (Todi, 7–9 ottobre 2007) (Spoleto, 2008), pp. 189–226; Sebastian Kolditz, "Cultural Brokers in Relation with the Byzantine Court in the Later 14th and 15th Centuries," in *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages*, Marc von der Höh et al., eds., Mittelmeerstudien 1 (Paderborn, 2013), pp. 183–216, and in the same volume Claudia Märtl, "Experts, Border-Crossers and Cultural Brokers: The Knowledge of Islam and Contacts to Islamic Cultures at the Curia in the 15th Century," pp. 149–61.

6 In one of the main manuscripts bearing the text of his *oratio* to King Alfonso the Magnanimous (1454), the title attributed to the work recalls the speech being originally held orally in vernacular language: "Oratio disertissimi viri Nicolai Sagudini ad serenissimum Alfonsum regem Aragonum habita vulgari prius sermone, post modum iussu regio ad hanc formam redacta, 1453, die Veneris xxv Ianuarii in urbe Neapoli" (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Reg. lat. 1555, fols 105r–116v: 105r; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. xciv–xcv). The reference to 25 January 1453 as date of composition of the *oratio* depends

of interpreter, employed in such a task by the Venetian authorities in Negro-ponte. Dated 17/18 July 1434, the document in question is one of the earliest known records of Sagundinus's life and activity: he was in Thessaloniki when the Ottoman sultan Murad II captured the city on 29 March 1430 after it had been under the rule of Venice for seven years. Due to this event, Sagundinus had lost everything and had been taken captive by the Turks together with his wife and children, remaining a hostage for thirteen months. When he managed to return to Negroponte, the officials of Venice "once they were informed about the probity of the said supplicant and the legality of his request, accepted him as our interpreter" (*habita informatione de fide et legalitate dicti supplicantis, acceperunt ipsum pro nostro interprete*). Subsequently, "having heard the rever-ent and humble supplication of Nicholas Sagundinus from Negroponte, a wise man and a *fidelis* of our Republic, who exerted himself loyally and commend-ably in every circumstance" (*intellecta devota et humili supplicatione prudenti viri Nicolai Sagudino de Nigroponte fidelis nostri, qui fideliter et laudabiliter in omnibus occurrentibus personam suam viriliter exercuit*), the *Maggior Consiglio* ("Great Council") of Venice appointed him for three years as *advocatus curiae*[7] in his mother country: a *gratia* (i.e. an extraordinary concession) granted in response to Nicholas's plea for financial help.[8]

The fact that Sagundinus and his family were held for ransom and not sold as slaves and separated from one another might suggest that by the time Thes-saloniki fell to the Turks he was already recognized as a figure of some distinc-tion within the Venetian overseas territories. The same possibility seems to be corroborated by the fact that he was described in the source mentioned above as a *fidelis* of the Republic (a status granted by Venice to foreigners in its ser-vice who did not possess full citizenship) and as a man who had acted vigor-ously "in every circumstance" (*in omnibus occurrentibus*). Furthermore, in an account of the conquest of Thessaloniki issued on 3 April 1430 by the *bailo* of Negroponte[9] and transcribed in the so-called Codex Morosini, Nicholas is one of few people explicitly referred to as having survived the fall of the city, which shows some kind of regard for his fate on the part of the Republic.[10] Years later,

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almost certainly on the fact that the title was originally given using the Venetian calendar, according to which the new year started on 1 March.

7   An officer charged with presenting cases before the Venetian government.

8   Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Cassiere della Bolla Ducale, Grazie del Maggior Consiglio, Reg. 23 (1431–37), fol. 101r.

9   The *bailato* was the main office in the colonial administrative apparatus of Venice in the Levant.

10   Andrea Nanetti, ed., *Il Codice Morosini. Il mondo visto da Venezia (1094–1433)*, Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica 10, 3 (Spoleto, 2010), pp. 1419–20. The source also states that Sagundinus had been wounded but had succeeded in fleeing the city. However, as

his captivity was also recalled by the Venetian patrician and renowned chronicler Marino Sanudo the Younger.[11]

In 1440 and 1450, Venice renewed its confidence in Sagundinus by designating him as chancellor of the *bailo* of Negroponte.[12] Meanwhile, however, Nicholas was given the opportunity to display his mastery of Greek and Latin and his skills as cultural broker in a wider setting. In 1438–39 his career took a decisive step forward, as he was entrusted with the task of interpreter at the Council of Ferrara-Florence, where the Orthodox Church and the Byzantine Empire were to submit to papal authority in exchange for military aid against the Ottomans. Despite these pragmatic reasons paving the way to the Church Union, the ultimate achievement of this goal was not taken for granted as the assembly opened, and Sagundinus found himself in a delicate situation, while trying to render the subtle theological arguments put forth by both parties correctly. Nevertheless, at the end of the synod there was a consensus among the participants on Nicholas's qualities as interpreter being admirable.[13] The *advocatus consistorialis*[14] Andrea of Santacroce expressed effusive praise for Sagundinus's accomplishments and in the following years, he maintained friendly contacts with him, even recommending a clerical student named Marco to his care. Santacroce's opinion was decidedly confirmed by the Florentine chronicler and eyewitness to the council Matteo Palmieri.[15] However, it was Pope Eugenius IV himself who provided the most eloquent proof of Nicholas's

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explained above, the latter was not the case. On 29 April 1430 Venice instructed its captain-general of the sea, Silvestro Morosini, to negotiate peace with the Ottomans and to demand the release of the *cives* and *fideles* of the Republic. However, even in the eventuality of the latter request not being met, Morosini should have concluded a treaty nonetheless. See the text of the *commissio* in *Acta Albaniae Veneta saeculorum XIV et XV*, 14, Giuseppe Valentini, S.J., ed. (Munich, 1972), pp. 64–68, no. 3355, and in Kenneth M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1571)*, 2 (Philadelphia, 1978), p. 30, n. 95.

11 Marin Sanudo il giovane, *Le vite dei Dogi. 1423–1474*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò, 1 (Venice, 1999), p. 566.

12 Freddy Thiriet, ed., *Régestes des délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie*, Documents et recherches sur l'économie des pays byzantins, islamiques et slaves et leurs relations commerciales au moyen-âge 4, 3 (Paris, 1961), p. 162, No. 2843; Babinger, "Nikolaos Sagoundinos," p. 202.

13 Vitalien Laurent, ed., *Les «Mémoirs» du Grand Ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le concile de Florence (1438–1439)*, Concilium Florentinum: documenta et scriptores, series B, 9 (Rome, 1971), pp. 262–63, n. 3, 326–27, 335, n. 6, and 492–93; Joseph Gill, S.J., *The Council of Florence* (London, 1959), p. 165.

14 The task of this office was to plead causes before the pope and the cardinals.

15 George Hoffman, S.J., ed., *Andreas de Santacroce, advocatus consistorialis. Acta Latina Concilii Florentini*, Concilium Florentinum: documenta et scriptores, series B, 6 (Romey 1955), pp. XII–XIII, 39; Gino Scaramella, ed., *Matthei Palmerii Liber de temporibus*, RIS 2/26 (Città di Castello, 1906), p. 125.

merits, by expressly acknowledging them and by bestowing on him the office of apostolic secretary on 13 August 1339, shortly after promulgating the Union decree *Laetentur Coeli*. On 12 February and 8 July 1441 the pontiff also issued two safe conducts for Sagundinus, his family and a retinue of six people: the former interpreter was sent first "to some parts of Italy in order to attend to difficult matters that are of importance to us and to the Church of Rome" (*pro arduis nostris et Romane ecclesie negociis ad certas Italie partes*), then to Greece "in order to attend to difficult matters that are of importance to the Catholic faith" (*pro arduis fidei catholice negociis*).[16] Although the details of both missions remain unknown, the documents seem to indicate that the recipient had won the pope's trust.

It is unclear how Nicholas was selected for the duties he performed at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. A number of circumstances, however, might explain his appointment, apart from the fact that obviously he possessed the necessary skills. It is a fact that the humanist Francesco Filelfo had been originally chosen for the role, but he had declined. Pope Eugenius IV, born Gabriele Condulmer, was a Venetian, and the government of his home city may have put forward Sagundinus's name. Moreover, Nicholas may have benefited from his connection to a most influential figure in cultural and political relations between Latins and Greeks: the metropolitan of Nicaea Bessarion, who endorsed the Church Union and converted to Catholicism at the council like Sagundinus himself, being then created *cardinalis Nicenus* (i.e. cardinal of Nicaea). Judging from Nicholas's correspondence, he and Bessarion knew each other from an early age,[17] and in the decades following their meeting in Ferrara and Florence, they kept in contact. Sagundinus even acted on the cardinal's behalf in his communication with the children of his late mentor George Gemistus Pletho (1452)[18] as well as with King Alfonso the Magnanimous (1458).[19]

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16   Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano: Reg. Lat. 372, fols 79v-80v; Reg. Vat. 375, fols 201r, 257r; Reg. Vat. 382, fol. 93r. The last two documents were edited by Georg Hoffmann, S.J., ed., *Epistolae Pontificiae ad Concilium Florentinum spectantes*, Concilium Florentinum: documenta et scriptores, series A, 1, part 2 (Rome, 1944), p. 91, and part 3 (Rome, 1946), pp. 37–38. See also: Babinger, *Nikolaos Sagoundinos*, pp. 201–02; Gill, *The Council*, p. 300; Mastrodemetres, *Νικόλαος ὁ Σεκουνδινός*, pp. 46–50; Kolditz, "Cultural Brokers," pp. 204–05.

17   Giovanni Lazzaroni, ed., *A teneris propemodum annis*: *Nicolai Sagundini ad Bessarionem Cardinalem Tusculanum Epistola*, in *Miscellanea di varie operette* (Venice, 1740), 2:1–42, here 40 (the letter was written on 20 August 1460). See also King, *Venetian Humanism*, p. 86.

18   PG 161:697; Brigitte Tambrun-Krasker, "Bessarion, de Trébizonde à Mistra: un parcours intellectuel," in "*Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinos graecissimus.*" *Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen*, Claudia Märtl et al., eds., Pluralisierung & Autorität 39 (Berlin, 2013), pp. 1–35, esp. 22–23.

19   Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Real Cancillería, Curiae, reg. 2662, fols 63r-63v. See the full transcription in Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, p. XXIV, n. 46.

Whatever the case regarding the reasons of Nicholas's serving as interpreter in such a crucial synod, his appointment seems to imply that by that time he already enjoyed the trust of powerful personalities, within the Venetian world and beyond. Although a comparatively short task in duration, Sagundinus's successful activity as cultural broker in the debate over Church Union shaped nonetheless to a notable extent his fortune in subsequent years.

2 Diplomat

Persona fida et docta, et in curia Teucri pratica ("a trustworthy and learned person, who is well acquainted with the court of the Turk"): with these words the Senate of Venice introduced Sagundinus in the *commissio* (i.e. a document stating the instructions for a mission) dated 5 July 1453 to the patrician Bartolomeo Marcello, who in the aftermath of the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople was to reach sultan Mehmed II in order to arrange new agreements for the safeguard of the Venetian interests overseas. Nicholas, who at the time, as mentioned above, was chancellor of the *bailo* of Negroponte, would accompany the ambassador and lend him his expertise in dealing with the Turks.[20]

Apparently, then, at this point of his career, Sagundinus's knowledge of the Ottoman court had already earned him a reputation, to the point that the Venetian government would rely on his abilities when holding talks with the sultan in such critical circumstances as the ones following the fall of the Byzantine capital. While carrying out his duties in such a strategic outpost as Negroponte,[21] Nicholas obviously had multiple occasions to come into contact with the Ottomans and to develop skills in diplomatic practice, but in all likelihood his competence in interacting with the Turks had advanced considerably

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20 Giuseppe Valentini, S.J., ed., *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, 22 (Munich, 1975), pp. 43–47, no. 5976 (instructions given to Bartolomeo Marcello before the news of the fall of Byzantium reached Venice), 62–64, no. 5997 (a document including new instructions for Bartolomeo Marcello as well as for the captain-general of the sea Jacopo Loredan and for the *bailo* of Negroponte, Paolo Loredan). Excerpts of the second text are to be found also in *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, 2, Agostino Pertusi, ed. (Verona, 1976), p. 28 and in *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*, Agostino Pertusi and Antonio Carile, eds. (Bologna, 1983), pp. 58–59. See also Thiriet, ed., *Régestes*, 3, p. 186, no. 2923 and passim; Babinger, *Johannes Darius*, pp. 17–19; Babinger, "Nikolaos Sagoundinos," pp. 203–04; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. XV–XVI.

21 Negroponte was among the places that the news of the fall of Constantinople reached first, as eight Veneto-Cretan ships with survivors on board arrived at the island on 3 June, five days after the Byzantine capital had been taken over by the Ottomans: Agostino Pertusi, ed., *La caduta*, 1 (Verona, 1976), p. XXXIII.

also as a consequence of his captivity after the seizure of Thessaloniki by Murad II.[22]

Nicholas's experience in the Ottoman world was soon after acknowledged beyond the Venetian orbit too, as he was sent by Bartolomeo Marcello to report directly to the Senate of the Republic on the negotiations with Mehmed II and subsequently both Pope Nicholas V and King Alfonso the Magnanimous expressly demanded that Sagundinus be dispatched to them in order to share the information gathered during his mission at Marcello's side.[23] On 29 December 1453 the Sienese authorities were informed by their ambassador in Venice, Leonardo Benvoglienti, that the pontiff would soon hear important news about the Turks from Isidore of Kiev, cardinal of Russia, who was in Constantinople when the city was conquered by the sultan but had managed to escape.[24] However, according to Benvoglienti, the pope would get

> even fresher and better information [on the nature of the Turks] from this capable and remarkable man, the honourable Nicholas from Negroponte.... I have spoken to him at length and if anyone has ever surprised me with startling accounts on the Turks, it is this man.[25]

Indeed, after the fall of Byzantium, Sagundinus had been the first emissary of a Latin power to visit Constantinople and to bring news on the Ottomans to

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22 In different times and spaces captivity has proved to be not only a troubled condition, but also a potential first step towards deeper insight in the captors's world and even integration in it. As far as knowledge of the Ottoman empire among Christendom is concerned, it is worth remembering a few outstanding 15th-century figures who gained understanding of the Turks while being held prisoners and subsequently wrote accounts of their experience: Johann Schiltberger, *Als Sklave im Osmanischen Reich und bei den Tataren: 1394–1427*, ed. Ulrich Schlemmer (Wiesbaden, 2008); Konstantin Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, ed. and trans. Benjamin Stolz and Svat Soucek, Michigan Slavic Translation 3 (Ann Arbor, 1975); Franz Babinger, "Angiolello, Giovanni Maria," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 3 (Rome, 1961), pp. 275–78. See also Märtl, "Experts," pp. 149–61.

23 Valentini, ed., *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, 22, pp. 171–72, no. 6114 (15 January 1454, further instructions to Bartolomeo Marcello). See also Thiriet, ed., *Régestes*, 3, p. 194, no. 2955; Babinger, *Johannes Darius*, p. 18; id., "Nikolaos Sagoundinos," p. 203; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, p. XVI.

24 Benvoglienti had met Isidore of Kiev in Venice in autumn: see Archivio di Stato di Siena, Concistoro, Carteggio, busta 1976, no. 25 (22 November 1453). On the cardinal and Benvoglienti's accounts on the fall of Byzantium see: Pertusi, ed., *La caduta*, 1, pp. 52–119, 376–90 and 2, pp. 108–11; Pertusi and Carile, eds., *Testi inediti*, pp. 11–21. On Benvoglienti see Giulio Prunai, "Benvoglienti, Leonardo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 8 (Rome 1966), pp. 703–05.

25 ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio, busta 1976, No. 65 (29 December 1453). See the full transcription in Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, p. XVII.

Italy, thus attracting particular attention on the part of his contemporaries. The main occasion for him to spread the information he had collected was the speech he gave in Naples in January 1454 in front of King Alfonso and of an audience among which ambassadors from other Italian states were present too. Francesco Aringhieri, the Sienese emissary, was particularly impressed: in writing to the government of his home city, he emphasized Nicholas's understanding of the sultan and his empire and how not only did he tell the monarch what he was ordered to by Venice, but he also proposed, apparently of his own accord, possible strategies to halt the Ottoman expansion. Alfonso was very pleased, to the point that he urged Sagundinus to pen an *oratio* based on his previous oral exposition.[26] Aringhieri was aware, moreover, of his compatriot and colleague Leonardo Benvoglienti's conversations with Nicholas and supposed that the former had already given Siena a comprehensive account of them, as indeed he had done.[27] In order to further testify to Sagundinus's credibility, Benvoglienti had also recalled the skills displayed by Nicholas in his pivotal function as interpreter at the Council of Ferrara-Florence. The memory of Nicholas's excellent achievements in the talks between Latins and Greeks surfaces as well in two related copies of the *oratio* on the Turks composed at the request of Alfonso the Magnanimous.[28] The recognition Sagundinus had earned as interpreter at the council was now perceived and presented as a proof of his reliability, and by extension attached to his knowledge of the Ottoman Empire. Nicholas's prestige was then at its height.

At the end of 1454 Sagundinus was back in Venice, but between 1455 and 1458 the Republic would send him to Naples two more times to discuss plans against the Turks and other matters. Against his expectations and wishes, these missions stretched over quite long periods, which on the other hand gave him the opportunity to join different circles among the people who were then

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26 ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio, busta 1976, no. 77 (25 January 1454). See the full transcription in Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. LI–LII. The volume also provides the most recent edition of the *oratio* of Sagundinus to King Alfonso, based on thirty-one apographs. Two further copies need to be mentioned, which however do not invalidate the edited text: Brescia, Biblioteca civica Queriniana, B. VII. 34, fols 27r–40r; Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek, 636, fols 264r–267v.

27 Aringhieri was later employed as ambassador also by Pius II: Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Arm. XXXIX, Tomo 9, fol. 41v (2 June 1459).

28 Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana, Marc. lat. XIV, 265 (4501) and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris. Lat. 4154 (Baluzianus 205), the main apograph being the former. The title given to the *oratio* reads: "... Hic Nicolaus fuit interpres in Concilio florentino inter Latinos et Grecos mira celeritate loquendi." See Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. LXXXIII–LXXXIV.

residing at the Aragonese court.[29] As a diplomat, Nicholas conveniently made the acquaintance of other ambassadors, such as the Milanese envoys Alberico Maletta and Antonio da Trezzo, who both pictured him in a positive light in the dispatches addressed to their master, the duke Francesco Sforza.[30] Above all, however, he was able to cultivate his literary interests by cooperating with the humanists living under Alfonso the Magnanimous's protection.

3   Humanist

To date, the events of Sagundinus's youth remain unknown. However, given his skills in Latin and the knowledge of classical authors he exhibited in his later writings as well as the information emerging from his correspondence, it seems safe to assume that he had received a remarkable training in the *studia humanitatis*.

Already while holding office in Negroponte between the 1430s and the 1440s, Nicholas had had his first known contact with Italian humanism, when he had met Cyriac of Ancona during the Holy Week in 1436 and left an entry in the latter's diary. Possibly, their paths crossed again a couple of years later at the Council of Ferrara-Florence.[31]

In the same decades, Sagundinus imparted lessons on philosophy to the Venetian patrician and governor of his home island Fantino Coppo, who later asked Nicholas to transpose his teachings to a text. Sometime after being forced to move to Italy in the service of Venice in 1453, in dedicating the *De origine et sectis philosophorum* (c. 1453–55) to Coppo, Sagundinus pleaded with him for aid and financial support. Following his positive response to this or to another supplication, Nicholas wrote back to Coppo and made it clear that to him the nobleman was "not only his patron and advocate, but also the master of his destiny" (*non solum defensor et fautor, verum etiam auctor*): Sagundinus,

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29   Sagundinus was eager to reunite with his family, that he had left in Negroponte. In 1457 his wife and children were finally able to move to Venice: Archivio di Stato di Milano, Fondo Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, cartella 198, Napoli, fol. 99; Francesco Senatore, ed., *Dispacci sforzeschi da Napoli*, Fonti per la storia di Napoli Aragonese, series 1, 1 (Salerno, 1997), p. 623; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. XXIII–XXIV.

30   ASM, Fondo Sforzesco, Potenze Estere, cartella 195, Napoli, fols 107, 225, and cartella 196, fol. 105; Senatore, ed., *Dispacci sforzeschi*, 1, pp. 214–15, 259, 411–12; Sanudo, *Le vite*, 1, p. 527; Michele Jacoviello, *Venezia e Napoli nel Quattrocento. Rapporti fra i due Stati e altri saggi* (Napoli, 1992), pp. 102–06; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. XIX–XXIII.

31   Franz Babinger, "Notes on Cyriac of Ancona and some of his friends," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962), 321–23, here p. 321.

who was a commoner and a foreigner in the city of Venice – a *homo novus*, according to his own words – regarded Coppo as a patron who might help him face his difficult situation in the adoptive country.[32]

Fantino Coppo was not the only Venetian aristocrat with whom Sagundinus maintained contacts. Evidence from his surviving epistles shows that he strived to win the benevolence of a number of prominent personalities. During his first long stay in Naples, he begged not only Coppo, but also the patrician and humanist Domenico Morosini as well as the ambassador Giovanni Moro to intervene with the Senate of Venice on his behalf so that he could be allowed to return from his mission. Eventually Moro's intercession proved decisive and the Republic recalled Sagundinus. However, Morosini did not disregard Nicholas's requests for help either and subsequently even introduced him to a new potential patron, namely Francesco Contarini. For his part, Sagundinus presented Morosini with the translation of two orations by Demosthenes: the *Pro Ctesiphonte de Corona* and the *Olynthiaca Prima* (both completed before 1457).[33] In his later years, Nicholas composed a consolatory work for Senator Jacopo Antonio Marcello, whose son had died on New Year's Day in 1461. Sagundinus's *consolatio* together with other writings of the same kind addressed to Marcello by such authors as Francesco Filelfo and George of Trebizond, was included in a codex commissioned by Marcello himself, whose role as a benefactor of men of letters is clearly illustrated by their wide response to his loss.[34]

These examples suggest that to Nicholas his literary activity was also an instrument to win the favour of as well as to strengthen his ties with wealthy and powerful patrons, as was common among humanists who were not born within the social elite. Combined with the renown as an interpreter he had achieved at the Council of Ferrara-Florence and with the significance of the diplomatic tasks he carried out during his career, especially of those connected with the Levantine situation, Sagundinus's involvement in humanist culture enabled him to expand his network of acquaintances well beyond the Venetian world and into such influential spheres as the Aragonese court and the Papal Curia.

In this respect the period between the end of 1453 and the beginning of 1454 marked a new turning point in Nicholas's life, his participation in the council for the Church Union representing his previous great chance to be known in a broader context. His long speech delivered in the presence of Alfonso the

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32   Marc. lat. XIII 62 (4418), fol. 119v; King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 81–83.

33   Marc. lat. XIII 62 (4h418), fols 47v–49v (letter to Morosini), 57v–58r (letter to Contarini), 93r-v (letter to fellow-secretary Marco Aurelio asking him to intercede with Giovanni Moro, who was Aurelio's patron too,), 119v–120v (letter to Fantino Coppo); King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 83–85.

34   King, "An inconsolable father," pp. 221–46; id., *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 393–97.

Magnanimous and centred on the Ottoman conquest of Byzantium attracted the attention of the king as well as that of the humanists established under his patronage. Among them the native of Palermo Antonio Beccadelli and the Genoese Bartolomeo Facio played a major role, in that they supervised the work of scholars hosted by the Magnanimous in Naples and oriented it towards the exaltation of the monarch and of the Aragonese dynasty. A key element in the depiction of Alfonso's kingship was his commitment to defending Christendom and to extending its frontiers against Islam.[35]

In 1442, Alfonso the Magnanimous had replaced the Angevins on the throne of Naples by means of military force, while at the same time the idea of crusade was being revived within Christendom by the fear of the Turks. Among general anxiety and inconclusive talks, the Byzantine embassies to Western Europe and the repeated papal calls for a great expedition in the Levant had not managed to save the *basileus*, but they had surely resulted in the "shadow of the Crescent" affecting European mentality.[36] This process involved both humanism and popular culture, but it was primarily through the former – often connected with authority by way of patronage – that the concern about the Ottoman advance began to be exploited in political ideology. Traditional patterns of crusade mentality, focused on the clash between Christians and Muslims, merged into humanistic taste for Antiquity: by taking the Cross, a prince would be praised on the one hand as a pious sovereign fighting against the infidels, and on the other as an enlightened monarch defending the Greek-Roman inheritance against barbarity.

This treatment of the mid-15th-century crusade-oriented mood was particularly relevant to Alfonso the Magnanimous. A new attention to the recent past – largely due to Flavio Biondo's endeavours – stimulated the king himself to promote the celebration of his dynasty and his own *gesta* through humanist writings. Two precise aims stood behind Alfonso's attitude: justifying his *de facto* authority over the former Angevin reign and winning an extensive acceptance of such position. The approval of Rome was especially important, given the fact that legally speaking the pope was the overlord of the Kingdom of Naples. Legitimation through prestige was therefore the goal Aragonese humanism was commissioned to achieve, and the theme of the Crusader king

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35   Gianvito Resta, "Beccadelli, Antonio," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, 7 (1970), pp. 400–06; Paolo Viti, "Facio, Bartolomeo," ibid., p. 44 (Rome, 1994), pp. 110–21. See also the epistles by Beccadelli published in the appendix to J. Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders: Humanist Crusade Literature in the Age of Mehmed II," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 49 (1995), 111–207.

36   Robert Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent. The Renaissance Image of the Turk (1453–1517)* (Nieuwkoop, 1967).

became essential to the transfiguration of Alfonso not only in historical works, but also in poetry, oratory and even epic.[37]

It is comprehensible, then, that Sagundinus was promptly invited by the Magnanimous not only to put in written form the detailed report he had pronounced in the king's presence on 25 January 1454, but also to translate it from vernacular language into Latin, which, moreover, implied of course giving the discourse a more literary tone and potentially allowing it a diffusion on European scale. The Sienese ambassador Francesco Aringhieri, who readily had a copy of the text made and sent to his home city, noted the difference between the two versions: in a dispatch dated 2 February, the diplomat observed that "His Majesty the King wanted that honourable Nicholas from Negroponte to write down everything he had said about the Great Turk …, and he did it, although he did not write everything. But since it is nevertheless something noteworthy, I had it copied and I send it to Your Magnificence, in case you wish to know more about it."[38]

Warmly supporting the perspective of an anti-Ottoman alliance between the Papacy, Venice and the Aragonese monarchy,[39] the *oratio* presented the king, both explicitly and implicitly, as the sole Christian ruler capable of thwarting Mehmed II's plans. Even the description of the sultan – one of the earliest examples among Christian authors – in giving him great credit as a statesman ultimately served the purpose of glorifying Alfonso: the mightier the villain, the greater would appear the hero who was supposed to annihilate him. The text represented undoubtedly one of the first attempts at spreading knowledge of the Ottoman Empire in Latin Europe, but at the same time it aimed at augmenting the triumphal image of the Aragonese monarch.[40]

A significant part of Sagundinus's humanist writings was produced between 1454 and 1458 during his multiple stays at the Neapolitan court. Here Nicholas met other Greek émigrés whose presence within Alfonso's circle further

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37   On Alfonso's Eastern policy see Francesco Cerone, "La politica orientale di Alfonso di Aragona," *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 27 (1902), pp. 3–93, 384–456, 555–634, 774–852, and 28 (1903), 154–212; Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily, 1396–1458* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 290–305; Constantin Marinescu, *La politique orientale d'Alfonse V d'Aragon, roi de Naples (1416–1458)* (Barcelona, 1994).

38   ASS, Concistoro, Carteggio, busta 1976, no. 77, 82; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, p. LII. See also above, n. 6 and 26.

39   On the relations between Venice and Naples in the second half of the 15th century, see Jacoviello, *Venezia e Napoli*, pp. 43–88.

40   Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, pp. 111–12; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. 4–7, 26–28; Thomas Ricklin, "Bessarions Türke und andere Türken interessierter Kreise. Von der Schwierigkeit, ein Feindbild gelehrt zu plausibilisieren," in "*Inter graecos latinissimus*," pp. 277–300, esp. 287–88.

enhanced his reputation as a munificent patron of letters and a protector for those who had suffered the consequences of the Ottoman expansion. Together with Theodore Gaza and Bartolomeo Facio, Nicholas began drawing up a new translation of Arrian's historiographical works, and he may well have come into contact with George of Trebizond too, who resided in Naples from 1452 to 1455. Sagundinus enjoyed a close relationship with Beccadelli and Facio: the former exhorted him to prepare a Latin version of Onosander's *Στρατηγικός*, to be dedicated to the king; the latter was in especially friendly terms with Nicholas, to the point that in his *De viris illustribus liber* (composed between 1455 and 1457) he provided Sagundinus's oldest known biography, albeit a brief one. Later, on hearing about Facio's death, Nicholas declared on 1 December 1457 in a letter to his friend and (probably) relative Marco Aurelio: "I have lost a most noble friend" (*Optimum amicum amisi*).[41]

In April 1456, the then bishop of Siena Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini arrived in Naples. He certainly knew Sagundinus before this occasion, at least indirectly. In fact, they had no less than three mutual friends, who may have introduced Nicholas to the future Pius II: Bessarion, Benvoglienti and Bartolomeo Facio. While the latter could vouch especially for Sagundinus's literary aptitude, the cardinal and the Sienese diplomat would recall his talent as interpreter as well as his direct knowledge of the Ottoman Empire. This last point was of the utmost importance to Piccolomini, a relentless promoter of the idea of war against the Turks. Therefore, when he met Nicholas at the Aragonese court, he must have thought that the expertise of the latter might help convince the European princes to take up arms against the sultan. For this reason he requested Sagundinus to pen a treatise on the origins of the Ottoman empire: completed on 20 July 1456, the *Liber de familia Autumanorum id est Turchorum ad Aeneam Senarum episcopum* was one of the earliest historical works in European culture entirely devoted to the subject of the Turks. A neutral approach to the topic, however, was out of the question: Nicholas resorted to the classical antagonism between civilization and barbarism, portraying the Ottomans as descendants of the Scythians, the barbarians par excellence, in order to demonstrate their enmity towards Christendom to be an unavoidable inheritance of their ancestry. Such views unequivocally reflected Piccolomini's stance, to the extent that he later transferred excerpts of Sagundinus's work almost literally to his own *Cosmographia vel de mundo universo historiarum liber* (1458–60) and explicitly mentioned Nicholas, "versed in Greek and Latin culture" (*graecis ac latinis litteris eruditus*), as an authoritative source. Thus, in consolidating

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41   San Lorenzo de El Escorial, Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, Q.I.7., fol. 178r; Babinger, *Nikolaos Sagoundinos*, p. 206; Mastrodimitris, *Nicolaos Secundinos*, pp. 28–29; King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 14, 429.

Sagundinus's position as an expert in the Ottoman world, the *Liber* also earned him a place within the group of humanists addressing that topic under the patronage and guidance of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini.[42]

The interest of the latter in Nicholas, at least in connection with the problem of the Ottoman expansion, persisted in the following years. In summer 1461, Sagundinus was sent once again to Mehmed II in order to require the cessation of Ottoman raids against the Venetian colonies of Methoni and Koroni. The sultan's "evil or, better said, most iniquitous and detrimental attitude" (*prava et ut melius dixerimus pessima et pestifera intentione*) towards Venice, detected by Nicholas during his mission, was promptly notified by the Republic to Pius II.[43] A year later, Sagundinus was sent to the pope, in order to demand financial support for Hungary, which found itself in growing need for help in its struggle with the Turks:[44] the Senate most likely considered that Nicholas's expertise in the Ottoman Empire coupled with his familiarity with the pope could very well increase the chances of the mission being successful.

4 Conclusion

The outcome of Sagundinus's efforts for securing a position to himself and his family was to be seen in the aftermath of the shipwreck that occurred in 1460, as he sailed from Venice to reach Crete, where he had been assigned the office

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42 Schwoebel, *Shadow of the Crescent*, p. 148; Agostino Pertusi, "I primi studi in Occidente sull'origine e la potenza dei Turchi," *Studi veneziani* 12 (1970), 465–552, here 471–72; Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," pp. 121–24; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. 22–23; Märtl, "Experts," pp. 156–57; Ricklin, "Bessarions Türke," pp. 283–85, 289–92. The fame of Sagundinus among his contemporaries as an expert in the Ottoman empire, however, should not lead modern historians to overestimate the value of his writings as sources on the history of the Turks: rather than providing an account of Nicholas's missions, they focus the subject of the Ottoman expansion from a humanist's point of view. For a discussion on this point, see Meserve, *Empires*, pp. 106–111; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. LIV–LXVI.

43 Marc. lat. XIII 62 (4418), fol. 8or (the manuscript only includes copies of Sagundinus's writings: epistles, translations of classical works, orations and brief treatises. Two more codices are known to contain exclusively texts authored by Nicholas: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Ottob. lat. 1732, and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5967 Han). See also Giuseppe Valentini, S.J., ed., *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, 24 (Munich, 1977), pp. 257, no. 7006, 264–69, nos 7009–11, and 302–04, nos 7062–63; Thiriet, *Régestes*, 3, p. 236, No. 3129; Babinger, *Nikolaos Sagoundinos*, p. 209; Mastrodemetres, Νικόλαος ὁ Σεχουνδινός, pp. 86–91; Marin Sanudo il giovane, *Le vite dei Dogi. 1423–1474*, ed. Angela Caracciolo Aricò, 2 (Venice, 2004), pp. 22, 181; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. XXVI–XXVIII.

44 Valentini, S.J., ed., *Acta Albaniae Veneta*, 24:372–74, no. 7122, and 491–92, no. 7249.

of chancellor of the *bailo*. Having lost his wife, a daughter and two sons together with all his belongings in the incident, Nicholas made use of his contacts in order to obtain aid from the Republic for him and his surviving children. He wrote for example to Cardinal Bessarion and the patrician Zaccaria Trevisan, and indeed his plea was listened to by the Venetian authorities within a few days: Sagundinus was kept in the position of secretary he had held since 1453, while his only surviving son Alvise was later employed for life in the service of Venice too. In 1464, immediately after Nicholas's death, further measures were taken in favour of Alvise and his sisters. The former, moreover, went on to become a secretary and in such capacity visited the Ottoman court like his father before him as well as Mamluk Egypt, dying in Cairo in 1506. One of his sons, Nicholas (d. 1551), was selected for the post of grand chancellor of Venice. As highlighted by King, "the Sagundinos had become a secretarial dynasty."[45]

Nicholas's outstanding role as cultural broker between Greeks and Latins as well as between the Ottoman Empire and Italy has already been noted.[46] It should now be added that both the opportunity to parade his skills as interpreter at the Council of Ferrara-Florence and his work as humanist at the Aragonese court enabled him to join networks centred on prominent personalities, which resulted in his accomplishments as diplomat and intermediary between eastern and western Mediterranean reverberating through a wider audience. That, of course, was also made possible by the fact that Sagundinus went through a variety of environments and situations along his life. The conquest of Constantinople in particular and the peak of Ottoman expansion under Mehmed II in general sparked off the interest on news and writings about the Turks. The plans for an anti-Ottoman expedition fostered the diffusion of humanist works interpreting the conflict between Christendom and the Turks in the ancient terms of antagonism between civilization and barbarism. Such elements were furthermore integrated in the cultural policy of the Italian princes and especially in the representation of Alfonso the Magnanimous by the Aragonese humanism. Nicholas found himself at the crossroads of these dynamics, either because of the circumstances or by his own will.[47]

It seems paradoxical but in fact it is not surprising that although Sagundinus largely gained his reputation in the service of the Venetian government, he did

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45   Archivio di Stato di Venezia, Senato, Secreta, reg. 36, cc. 27–28v; Federico Stefani, ed., *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 1 (Venezia, 1879), cols 397–400; Guglielmo Berchet, ed., *I diarii di Marino Sanuto*, 6 (Venezia, 1881), cols 207 and passim; King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 85–89.

46   Kolditz, "Cultural Brokers," pp. 204–25.

47   Pertusi, "I primi studi," p. 465; Hankins, "Renaissance Crusaders," pp. 116–17; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. XXX–XXXIX.

so mainly beyond the cultural and political frontiers of the Republic, and to a decisive extent in Naples. To Venice, Sagundinus was just one of the many envoys – albeit a gifted one – travelling to and from the Levant and carrying important bits of information on the Ottoman manoeuvres, and moreover he was a commoner and foreigner whose activity as a humanist would always develop in the shadow of patrician patrons. To Alfonso the Magnanimous and his intellectual circle, Sagundinus's stay in Naples offered the opportunity to add further elements to the celebration of the Aragonese monarchy and to increase the prestige of the humanist works produced at the Neapolitan court through the enlistment of a new contributor. The widespread image of Alfonso as champion of the Christian faith against the infidels and the only Christian ruler possibly capable of vanquishing the sultan could receive through Nicholas's writings the legitimation of Sagundinus's expertise in Levantine affairs. Thus, by serving the purposes of Aragonese humanism, he was able to join a more restricted circle of men of letters and to enjoy remarkable recognition for his knowledge of the Turks, compared to what he might have probably achieved within the limits of his subordinate position in the social and cultural hierarchy of Venice. Conversely, the Republic could exploit its secretary's prestige in diplomatic missions somewhat connected to the Ottoman expansion.[48]

Finally, Sagundinus's example proves that in a politically and culturally fragmented environment a fluid multi-layered identity and a go-between position could enhance the chances of individual success. Tension might arise, however, among the different functions performed by a single person in a cross-cultural context. More specifically, in Nicholas's case the role of interpreter and diplomat and the spirit of the humanist could sometimes be at odds, as the former occupations would imply travelling among people and cultures that might fall in the category of barbarism from the latter's point of view. In his later years, in an epistle written to the aforementioned Marco Aurelio at the end of June 1462, Sagundinus himself let his self-perception and self-representation as a humanist – his humanist *habitus*, to put it in Pierre Bourdieu's terms[49] – prevail:

> I wish to escape from Pannonians, Sirmians, Huns, Dacians, Teutons, Germans, Cimbri, Allobroges, Gauls, Britons, from both the Hispanian

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48   King, *Venetian Humanism*, pp. 89–91; Caselli, ed., *Ad serenissimum principem*, pp. xl–liv.

49   According to Bourdieu's definition, "habitus is both a system of schemes of production of practices and a system of perception and appreciation of practice. ... Habitus thus implies a 'sense of one's place' but also a 'sense of the place of others.'" See Pierre Bourdieu, "Social Space and Symbolic Power," *Sociological Theory*, vol. 7, no. 1 (Spring, 1989), 14–25, here p. 19. See also Meserve, *Empires*, p. 151.

peoples and such a filthy mixture of tribes. I see what God is trying to tell me and I fear that if I stay too long among them, I will absorb their languange, temperament and customs to such an extent that, after I finally return home, my family and friends will hardly recognize me.[50]

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50   Marc. lat. XIII 62 (4418), fol. 80r.: *Panones, sirmos, hunnos, dacos, teutones, germanos, cimbros, allobroges, gallos, britanos, utrosque hispanos et eiusmodi colluvionem sentinamque gentium fugere cupio. Ita mihi Deus perspicuus esse velit, ut timeo ne si diutius inter istos verser, ita lingua, habitu, moribus eorum imbuar, ut posteaquam mihi domum redire licuit familiares atque amici me vix agnoscere possint.*

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Maurice Denis's Mission: To Reveal the Continuity between Byzantinism and Modernism

Karen Stock

> If God had granted that I be born some centuries earlier, in Florence at the time of Brother Savonarola, certainly I would have been among those who defended the aesthetic of the Middle Ages with a puerile and violent ardour, against the invasion of classical paganism. I would have been one of those pious reactionaries, faithful to the hieraticism of the past, for whom the new ideas announced immediate decadence. Humble student of Angelico … among the penitent painters, among the believing masses, I would have decried the Renaissance.[1]

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In some ways Maurice Denis (1870–1943) does seem a man born in the wrong century with his unshakable devotion to Catholicism and belief in the social vocation of the artist. Denis was a pious reactionary who was both iconophile and iconoclast. Though he did decry the Renaissance and many contemporary movements, he embraced other modern trends in the ultimate goal of keeping religious art alive to serve and enlighten. From the age of fourteen, Denis's mission was to "celebrate the miracles of Christianity through art," and until his death in 1943, his dedication never wavered.[2]

Denis is best known as a member of the Nabi group, which was active in Paris from 1888–1900, and was known appropriately as the "Nabi of the beautiful icons." Denis, Paul Sérusier, Emile Bernard, and Jan Verkade were the most religiously devout members of the Nabi group and sought inspiration beyond the metropolitan milieu of Paris. The influence of the primitivism of Paul Gauguin

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1 Maurice Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," in *Théories, 1890–1910: Du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique* (Paris, 1920), p. 30.
2 Maurice Denis, *Journal*, v. 1. 1884–1904 (Paris, 1957), p. 59. Date of entry May 12, 1885.

(1848–1903) on these young artists has been widely discussed; however, the inspiration found in the "primitivism" of Byzantine art is largely overlooked.

Gauguin's influence fits neatly in the teleology of modernist evolution from one avant-garde expression to another. However, Denis's devotion to the Byzantine carries a retrograde connotation that seems to place him, at least superficially, in opposition to progress. If modernism is understood as secular and revolutionary then Denis appeared to move backward. However, Denis's conception of Byzantium is a model for moving religious art into the 20th century. The cultural and artistic forces of Denis's own time as well as the subsequent scholarly definition of modernism work against religious art being considered part of the modernist canon.

Denis's uncomfortable hybridity of being religiously devout and a proponent of modern art has proved problematic, since modernist scholarship has its own perspective to defend and its own narrative to legitimate. Modernism, its art and historiography, perform a kind of passive iconoclasm that does not actively destroy but rather renders religious art irrelevant to the avant-garde. Sincere religious devotion was unfashionable, and even a little embarrassing, in the mid-20th century when secular saints like Paul Cézanne were being canonized. In art historical accounts, Denis's influence seems to end in the 1890's; however, even after the Nabis disbanded, he remained a prominent figure within the avant-garde. His copious writing, even more than his painting, shaped perceptions of art well into the 20th century.

The relation between religion and modernism is "radically underdeveloped" in current scholarship and modernist art historians "tend to over secularize the avant-garde."[3] This article, however, aims to contribute to this underdeveloped area by elaborating on Denis's vision of reconciliation between the Byzantine and the modern. His conception of Byzantium must be pieced together from numerous writings and this contribution brings these fragments together while also placing Denis's ideas within the context of the French Byzantine revival that occurred at the turn of the century. This revival took many forms. Some artists luxuriated in the mystery, sensuality, and exoticism of Byzantium. Other artists rigidly mimicked Byzantine mosaics without adapting the artistic forms to the modern era. Denis chose a more nuanced path that showed both a profound respect for the Byzantine works he saw in Italy as well as a creative adaptability that restores the living religious spirit of Byzantium. Scholarship today would be enriched if art historians could adopt Denis's ability to see innovation in the ancient and tradition in the new and step out of their own centuries of study.

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3 Debora Silverman, *Van Gogh and Gauguin: The Search for Sacred Art* (New York, 2000), p. 13.

Denis's most famous statement, from his seminal 1890 essay "Definition of Neo-Traditionalism," provides a key example of the modernist bias that this essay hopes to partially rectify. Denis states: "Remember that a painting – before being a battle horse, a naked woman, or some anecdote – is essentially a flat surface covered with colours put together in a certain order."[4] The first part of this sentence has been reproduced numerous times, but the second part of the statement, the "certain order" that regulates the creativity of the artist, tends to be overlooked in the rush to celebrate individual genius and abstraction. This order, however, was essential to the meaning of the statement and comes from the example of Byzantine art. In an 1896 essay, Denis emphatically declares: "Byzantine painting is assuredly the most perfect Christian painting."[5] This is the highest possible praise from this zealously devout artist since in his view painting is an "essentially religious and Christian art" that had been defiled in the "impious" 19th century.[6]

Religious art, in Denis's view, had been sullied by the naturalism of the Renaissance, made lifeless by the Salon, and cheapened by mass produced icons. The ideal modern religious art was balanced on a knife's edge between an appreciation for nature without resorting to realism, an adherence to subject matter without being literary, and a rejection of illusionism that was not abstract. To keep art on this narrow path, Denis looked to the example of Byzantine art. For Denis, the spirit of the Byzantine had never been absent from truly great art, and the icon was ready to resume a central position in French culture. Denis saw his works as both high art as well as objects of ritual veneration that would awaken in the viewer an ineffable spirit of faith and reverence that was the soul of Byzantine icons. Denis embodied a unification of two aspects of culture that many saw as adversarial: religious devotion and avant-garde expression. He came of age in a period of deep animosity between the Catholic Church and the French state, when aesthetic modernism and religious modernism were maturing into rival forces.

1   A Modern Religious Artist

Constant in his Catholic faith, Denis asserted throughout his life that art and religion were symbiotically linked. At fifteen, he wrote in his journal "I adore

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4   Maurice Denis, "Definition of Neo-Traditionalism," in *Théories, 1890–1910: Du symbolisme et de Gauguin vers un nouvel ordre classique* (Paris, 1920), p. 1.

5   Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," p. 37.

6   Denis, *Journal*, p. 63. Date of entry 5 January 1886.

church ceremonies, that's where my artist's soul and my Christian heart come together."[7] A decade later, in his 1896 essay, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," he stated that, "Today, Christ is alive. The time is favourable."[8] The unbridled enthusiasm and confidence of youth became tempered as Denis's experiences as critic and artist revealed that the times were not as favourable as he would have hoped. Although he actively shaped perceptions of contemporary art, he was not able to reverse the tide of secularism. By 1927, Denis's frustration was evident: "We live in a world that is too old, amidst indifferent amateurs … sceptics who discourage us or eccentrics who have fun at our expense."[9] However, the adoration and awe expressed by the young Denis was never entirely lost by the mature artist who continued to preach that modern life, great art, and devout religious belief were all part of the same artistic expression.

Most 19th-century critics agreed that the quality of religious art had deteriorated through the centuries, remarking that the faith required to create religious masterpieces could simply not survive in the modern era. The Goncourt brothers, prominent arbiters of taste in 19th-century Paris, echoed the prevailing opinion when they asserted that the modern era was anathema to genuine religious expression: "And how could it emanate, with its ardour and ancient naiveté, from these triumphs of logic, from these apotheoses of science which are our own century?"[10]

Denis also believed that there were many deficiencies in modern religious art, but that the causes were quite different. Where others saw antimonies between religion and modern life, Denis saw a parallel course. He stated in 1920 that "the modern spirit, and I do not imply here the idea of 'modernism', is not the enemy of Religion."[11] In this phrase, he makes a crucial distinction between modernism and the "modern spirit." He did not elaborate broadly on his definition of modernism, but he was certainly aware of the debate that had been raging since the Roman Catholic Church experienced its own modernist crisis beginning around 1890.

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7   Denis, *Journal*, p. 35. Date of entry 2 August 1885.
8   Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," p. 31.
9   Paul-Louis Rinuy, "Ambitions, Doubts, and Paradoxes: A Catholic Painter in Modern Times," in *Maurice Denis: Earthly Paradise (1870–1943)*, Jean-Paul Bouillon, ed. (Paris, 2007), p. 59.
10   Michael Driskel, *Representing Belief: Religion, Art, and Society in Nineteenth Century France* (Pennsylvania, 1992), p. 3.
11   Maurice Denis, "Décadence, ou renaissance de l'art sacré," in *Nouvelles Théories, sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré, 1914–1921* (Paris, 1922), p. 256.

The most famous denunciation of modernism came in 1907, when Pope Pius X, "condemned 'Modernism' as the 'synthesis of all heresies.'"[12] Theological modernists were as varied and difficult to pin down in a unified group as their artistic counterparts were, but Pope Pius X was reacting to some generally common themes. Religious modernists sought to acknowledge the historical flux that Catholicism found itself in and, rather than deny change, they aspired to analyse and work with this condition. Denis shows a sympathy for theological modernism and especially the views of philosopher Jacques Maritain (1882–1973) who saw ultramodern elements within Catholicism. Maritain wrote extensively on religion and art in his influential book *Art and Scholasticism* of 1920 and there are echoes of his thought in Denis's own essays. For both men, modernity did not necessarily entail a destruction of tradition but was the ability to adjust to the present. Maritain recognized that even while the Catholic Church was deeply attached to tradition, it boldly "manages to adapt to the new conditions arising out of the life of the world."[13]

Like Maritain, Denis had faith that Catholicism could maintain universal truths while adapting to the times, noting: "If we recognize the Catholic religion as universal, over all of time and all countries, it must be aimed at modern man as it was aimed at the men of the Middle Ages or the 17th century, it must be suitable as it is one's duty to adapt it to our real life."[14] A key part of this adaptation was creating religious art that supported church dogma but also spoke in a visual language appropriate to the modern age. The Catholic crisis of modernity coincided chronologically with modernism in the arts, but the two are "rarely discussed in the same context."[15] Denis is a rare figure who was well versed in both aesthetic/secular modernism and Catholic/theological modernism.

Art, for Denis, was always already an expression of Christian faith that had been developing since the birth of Christ. This is consistent with Maritain's views that Christian art is identified by "a certain degree of grandeur and purity, [art] is already Christian, Christian in hope because every spiritual splendour is a promise and a symbol of the divine harmonies of the Gospel."[16] According

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12   Darrell Jodock, "The Modernist Crisis," in *Catholicism Contending with Modernity: Roman Catholic Modernism and Anti-Modernism in Historical Context*, Darrell Jodock, ed. (Cambridge, 2000), p. 1.

13   Rinuy, p. 65.

14   Denis, "Décadence, ou renaissance de l'art sacré," p. 256.

15   Malcolm Bull, "Who was the first to make a pact with the devil?" *London Review of Books*, vol. 14, no. 9 (14 May 1992), p. 22.

16   Jacques Maritaine, *Art & Scholasticism with Other Essays*, trans. J.F. Scanlan (Tacoma, 2016), p. 68.

to Denis, modern religious art had lost this symbolic connection but could be restored to the true path. Religious art needed to return to its traditional role of serving the community and the church rather than pandering to vulgar aesthetic tastes with "deceptive sparkle and an illusion of luxury" that would be more appropriate for a theatre.[17] Denis complained, "For poor churches the religious objects are industrial, flashy and artificial. For wealthy churches the art is boring, academic and falsely traditional."[18] The "false tradition" refers to the academic style of works that were only a shallow mimicry of past art but lacked the honourable purpose of inspiring and enlightening the viewer. In this regard, the insincere academic expression that showed technical skill but lacked the soulful sincerity of the believer was a serious threat to modern religious art. To Denis, these works used "cold, banal and congealed hieroglyphs" as well as "hypocritical and saccharine" imagery.[19]

Denis does not promote complete abstraction; yet, in his earliest works he does emphasize the materiality of the paint in a deliberately naive style. *Noli me tangere, with Blue Brook* (1892) (Fig. 11.1) depicts the moment when Mary Magdalene, positioned in the extreme foreground, recognizes that Christ has risen from the dead. Unlike academic works, the paint is not disguised as anything other than paint and there is no attempt at correct perspective. Christ is a small figure in the middle distance who is defined as a simple white column with a barely discernible halo. The viewer is placed behind Mary and in deciphering the mauve trees, pearly white garden wall, and blue brook the viewer partially shares in the revelation of Christ's resurrection. With the seeming simplicity of this work Denis simultaneously asserts avant-garde characteristics and evokes the primitivism of the earliest Christian art.

For Denis the Byzantine spirit and Byzantine art is a thread, which connects modern art to the past and can be found at the root of all truly great religious art. Denis states: "Byzantine art, strictly speaking, ended with Cimabue but its influence extends through the Middle Ages and the symbolist idea that it propagated remains imprinted on all truly modern art."[20] In this way, Denis makes Symbolism traditional and Byzantinism modern. In both cases, the work is not an end in itself but a signifier for a much greater signified. Through this interaction with the viewer, the work is alive and malleable rather than the visual calcification of religious dogma.

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17   Maurice Denis, "Pour l'Arche," *La Vie et les arts liturgiques*, October 25 (1918), p. 505.
18   Maurice Denis, "Les nouvelles directions de l'art chrétien," in *Nouvelles Théories, sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré, 1914–1921* (Paris, 1922), p. 221.
19   Denis, "Le symbolisme et l'art religieux moderne," in *Nouvelles Théories, sur l'art moderne, sur l'art sacré 1914–1921* (Paris, 1922), pp. 189–90.
20   Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," p. 38.

FIGURE 11.1 Maurice Denis, *Noli me tangere at the Blue Stream,* 1892, private collection.
PHOTO: BANQUE D'IMAGES, ADAGP / ART RESOURCE, NY

Denis visually expresses this balance of modern and classical elements in his interpretation of the Annunciation, which he titled *Catholic Mystery* (1890) (Fig. 11.2). The space is a narrow stage with the figures rendered in a soft pointillist technique. Denis's neo-Byzantine aesthetic is woven into the work through the flattened picture plane, the ritual stiffness of the figures, and the

FIGURE 11.2   Maurice Denis, *Catholic Mystery,* 1889, private collection.
              PHOTO: SCALA / ART RESOURCE, NY

emotional gravity of the moment. Mary's figure is highly stylized in the man-
ner of Fra Angelico as she gracefully tilts her head forward echoing the curve
of the lilies. Rather than the angel Gabriel, a deacon and two altar boys bring
Mary the news of Christ's birth. The biblical scene is brought into the present
day through the priest and the French landscape seen through the window;
however, this does not diminish the devotional quality of the work. For ex-
ample, the Symbolist poet and Catholic convert Adolphe Retté declared that
in front of the work he experienced a religious feeling "so intense that it was
almost painful."[21]

   This work, among many others, references the timelessness of Byzantine art,
a stasis that stood in direct opposition to the ephemeral and contingent quali-
ty of secular modernity. As one scholar notes, the "new concept of time that in-
formed naturalistic art made traditional religious imagery an anachronism."[22]

21   Therese Barruel, "New Theories," in *Maurice Denis, 1870–1943*, Philippe Durey, ed. (Ghent,
      1994), p. 128.
22   Driskel, 7. Pierre Francastel, "Sur une théorie du primitivisme: La connaissance usuelle de
      M. Maurice Denis," *Congrès internationale d'esthétique et de science de l'art*, vol. 2, (Paris,
      1937), p. 98.

This seemingly sets sacred and historical time in opposition to one another. Sacred time is linked to a clear chronological framework and hieratic representation; historical time embraces dynamic movement and naturalist representation. Denis sought to unify modern adaptability with Catholicism and through his paintings he presents an alternative visual sign for vitality and secular modernity.

2   Byzantine Revival

Denis's career coincided with a French revival of Byzantium that began in the mid-19th century. Scholars of the 18th century, influenced by the Enlightenment, viewed the Byzantine period as "ten centuries" of artistic impotence until the "first rays" of the Renaissance brought life back to art.[23] Scholars like Seroux d'Agincourt considered the immobile and hieratic figures evidence of lack of skill and creativity. He states in his 1823 work, *History of Art by Its Monuments*, "Even if one finds in their works the material of the masterpieces of antiquity, one searches in vain for the essential beauties of art. The monotony of composition, and that of poses, mostly perpendicular and without movement, destroys all interest."[24] However, over the course of the 19th century, Byzantine art and culture experienced a dramatic re-evaluation.

Several factors coalesced in order to encourage a positive reassessment of Byzantine art and culture. One such occurrence is that influential scholars and architects travelled to Italy, Greece, and Turkey in the early 19th century. Their publications, with visual documentation, helped inspire a new generation of artists and architects.[25] Byzantium became a field of scholarly study in the second half of the 19th century, and as the extremely vague parameters of Byzantine culture began to be defined, the focus of study gained in prestige.[26] This translated into an increased presence of neo-Byzantine churches in France, as well as artists utilizing deliberately hieratic structures in their art. Michael Driskel observes: "when one studies carefully the chronology of texts in which the value of Byzantine art was reassessed and places it parallel to the growth of projects which incorporated characteristics that in some way were considered 'Byzantine' it is difficult or impossible to decide whether critical and scholarly

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23   J.B. Bullen, *Byzantium Rediscovered* (New York, 2003), p. 64; Cites Seroux d'Agincourt, *History of Art by Its Monuments* (1823).

24   Driskel, p. 151.

25   Bullen, p. 63.

26   Driskel, p. 157.

writing or painterly practice took precedence. But we can be sure that one re-inforced the other."[27]

French artists of the 19th century appropriated the static and hieratic Byz-antine style in order to develop a French neo-Byzantine expression that prolif-erated on canvases and in church decorations. Conservative Catholics saw in this style the authoritarian power, order, and stability that could stem the tide of liberal, republican, secularization that dominated contemporary French culture. The qualities of timelessness and lack of individuality that were dis-paraged in the 18th century, became in the nineteenth "the very reason for its spiritual power," when France found itself in a state of political and religious upheaval.[28] The Catholic Church had been under attack since the revolution of 1789 and the fall of the *ancien régime*. For many, the crushing defeat in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871 and the collapse of Napoleon's Second Empire was the culmination of France's deterioration and were due, not to "Prussian military supremacy, but to the moral decadence of the nation and the progress of materialism."[29] One way to reverse this decadence was through proper art, which had the potential to ameliorate the feelings of insecurity by reinforcing piety, order, and nationalism.

This political motivation is an echo of the Byzantine use and regulation of images. The original iconoclastic controversy of the 8th and 9th centuries weaves together threads of theology, aesthetics, and politics in a complex as-sertion of power and expression of faith. There is a remarkable parallel in the way societies react to uncertain times. French politicians of the 19th century, like the rulers before them, used art to "nostalgically conjure up a period" in national history that was undissipated by political and religious strife.[30] This was a period, of course, that never truly existed.

Jean Dominique Ingres (1780–1867) was the earliest major artist to inte-grate the static calmness of the Byzantine into his works, such as *Virgin Ador-ing the Host* (1841) and *Christ Giving the Keys to St. Peter* (1817–20). Victor Orsel (1795–1850) and François Picot (1870–1951) were famous for large mural works that resurrect a Byzantine Christ to oversee the French people. Hippolyte Flandrin (1809–64) and Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (1824–98) were also influ-ential in their prolific creation of religiously themed work that defined a neo-Byzantine aesthetic. Denis found commonalities with these artists, who were sustaining religious art through a hieratic visual language, which implicitly

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27   Ibid., p. 158.
28   Ibid., p. 157. *Recherches pour servir a l'histoire de la peinture et de la sculpture chrétienne en Orient avant la querelle des iconoclastes* (1879).
29   Ibid., p. 46.
30   Bullen, p. 90.

carried a political message. However, Denis borrowed selectively from these earlier artists. For instance, he sought to avoid the cold academism that was seen in the work of many followers of Ingres and eschewed the overly literal appropriation of the Byzantine style seen in such works as François Picot's 1853 apse mural in Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, Paris. Denis constructed his conception of Byzantine art from this social and artistic context; however, his articulation of the Byzantine spirit as a living force is uniquely his own. Denis viewed his predecessors as links in the long chain of Byzantine influence and sought to combine the pure devotion of Fra Angelico, the clear hieraticism of Ingres, and the studied simplicity of Puvis de Chavannes.

3 Denis's Byzantium

Denis's artwork and writing charts a course for religious art that aims to avoid the most egregious sins of both the avant-garde and academism. His views changed over time as his ties to the avant-garde became more tenuous, his visual work garnered less attention, and the tide of secularization gained momentum. However, throughout the ebb and flow of Denis's youthful optimism and mature frustration, there remained the passion for a righteous cause. For Denis, the debate regarding religious modern art was not an intellectual aesthetic exercise but a fight for the souls of the people and the integrity of the French nation.

Each generation no doubt believes they are living in the moment of greatest crisis when culture, morality, and art are on the brink of collapse. As indicated in the opening quotation of this essay, Denis felt a personal connection to the artists of the past who struggled against heretical forces. He likely saw himself in a lineage, not just of artists, but also of righteous Christians who were persecuted. In the *History of Religious Art,* of 1939, Denis began his chapter on Byzantium by evoking the difficult birth of Christian art as it struggled to move out of the secrecy of the catacombs and into the light of legitimacy:

> Immediately after the terror and the persecution, the repression of so many cruelly persecuted human values ends in a glorious apotheosis. This is also the triumph of orderly, absolute, dominant Truth; the clarity of the exposition of the dogma replaces the darkness of the art of the Catacombs. On the ruins of paganism, under the wind of heresies, the dogmatic teachings of the Church impose themselves in a solemn revelation of the Catholic doctrine on the two hemispheres of the human world.[31]

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31 Maurice Denis, *Histoire de l'art religieux* (Paris, 1939), pp. 13–14.

Denis's career was predicated on being part of this fight to restore the singular "Truth." While the earliest Christians fought paganism, Denis struggled to keep religious art alive in the face of liberal, secular Republican forces. The paganism of the modern era was comprised of the commercialization of painting, the reification of the individual artistic ego, and the work of art as an end in itself. Like other theological modernists, Denis believed that Catholicism and religious art must continue to adapt: "By means ceaselessly renewed and under multiple influences of time and place, since the Catacombs until our days, Christian art, always long-lived, translated the essential aspirations of each period."[32] The visual structure of Byzantine art was hieratic and rigid but the spirit of Byzantium was mercurial in its ability to adapt. For Denis, Byzantine art was always already modern art. The Byzantine modelled ideal forms, and provided instruction on the process of interaction between viewer and work. The model of Byzantine art could elevate the viewer's aesthetic taste as well as transport their soul.

When Denis wrote in his journal that the vocation of the artist was to "turn beautiful things into undying icons" he embraced the definition of icon in its ancient sense – both in the Greek *eikon,* meaning any image whatsoever, and in its more narrow sense as a representation of a sacred person that is worthy of veneration.[33] Icons occupy a liminal space between the abstract and the realistic, requiring both reverence and analysis from the viewer. Denis expected his viewers to be both lovers of art and followers of Christ, because for him the eternal beauty and grace of both were inseparable. What is outlined in his essays is a "fundamental shift in representational priorities and a cognate shift in the structure of beholding, or the kind of act performed before painting."[34] The ideal viewer of icons, building on the Byzantine prototype, is able to conceptually balance religious devotion and aesthetic appreciation as they contemplate the image. This is not a naive, simplistic, or retrograde approach to art but rather a sophisticated participation in the making of meaning as the viewer links the image to the saint as well as the written doctrine of the church in a complex construction of symbolism.

Denis's most extensive discussion of Byzantium is "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," of 1896. However, Byzantium is referenced in a number of texts throughout his long career: "Définition du néo-traditionnnisme" (1890); "De

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32   Denis, "Le symbolisme et l'art religieux moderne," p. 91.

33   Denis, *Journal*, p. 73. Date of entry January 1889. Regarding definition of icon see Antony Eastmond and Liz James, eds., *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium* (Ashgate, 2003), p. xxix.

34   Driskel, p. 236.

la gaucherie des Primitifs" (1904); "Le sentiment religieux dans l'art de Moyen Age" (1913); "Le symbolisme et l'art religieux moderne" (1918); "Les nouvelles directions de l'art chrétien" (1919) and chapter two of *Histoire de l'art religieux* (1939). Although Denis had a tremendous amount of art historical knowledge, he did not approach religious art or Byzantine art as a scholar. Rather, his approach was as a practitioner, a supplicant, and a believer who regarded Byzantine art as a distant ideal of purity, stability, and piety.

Beginning in 1895, Denis travelled numerous times to Italy and spoke in his writings of the wonders of Ravenna, Rome, and Milan. Like other devout Catholics, Denis celebrated primarily occidental, rather than oriental, works from the Byzantine era.[35] This Latin tradition, with its clarity, order and rationality, stood in stark contrast to the orientalist fantasies explored by Decadent artists and writers such as Gustave Moreau and Joris-Karl Huysmans. Denis was likely influenced by scholarship such as Alexis Francois Rio's *The Poetry of Christian Art* of 1836, which was an influential text that celebrated the mosaics and architecture of Rome, but condemned eastern Byzantine art as evidence of the moral turpitude and intellectual degradation of Constantinople.[36] This was not a purely aesthetic judgment but was also motivated by conservative politics, a belief in papal authority, and a distrust of republican rule.

For Denis, the honesty and expressive power of Byzantine art coupled with the purity of the symbolic relationship between image and dogma made it the ideal form to resuscitate failing religious art and return modern art to the true path. To this end, he asserted: "Christian iconography was essentially invented by the Byzantines; they provided the definitive interpretation of the Gospel and Dogma that led from Cimabue to Giotto, Raphael to Ingres and all the others."[37] This is a bold claim that essentially positions Byzantine art as the foundation of all Christian art and, in a chain of great masters, matures into Symbolism. He continues on to ask rhetorically: "When the Byzantine mosaicists invented the admirable synthesis of Dogma that one sees in Ravenna and Rome ... Does this not illustrate and justify in advance the symbolist theory?"[38]

In "Notes sur la peinture religieuse", Denis praised Byzantine art on multiple levels. Denis saw an honesty and power in the primitive forms, musing that "its admirable relations signify transcendental truth; its proportions express concepts; there is an equivalence between the harmony of forms and the

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35   Bullen, p. 65.
36   Ibid., p. 65.
37   Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," p. 38.
38   Denis, "Le symbolisme et l'art religieux moderne," pp. 187–88.

logic of Dogma."[39] Byzantine artists created a complete plastic language that established the ideal correspondence between the image and the teachings of the Church.[40] The words of the Fathers could not be illustrated in a narrative manner, as this would lead to shallow literary paintings, but Byzantine art was a visual language that retained the purity of dogma and established a direct conduit to religious emotion.

For Denis, Byzantium was not a prescription for how to paint, rather, its significance was akin to an ancient language whose structure and effect he wished to emulate and adapt for a modern Christian audience. He explained that a "Byzantine Christ is a symbol: the Jesus of modern painters, even if cloaked in the most accurate burnoose, is merely literary. In one it is form that is expressive, in the other, expression is attempted through the imitation of nature."[41] The imitation of nature and literary painting styles were both inferior in the creation of religious works. However, the direct duplication of the Byzantine visual vocabulary was not the answer either. Like written language, the visual vocabulary of Byzantium required translation to speak to a modern French audience. Certain features should be preserved such as the truth to materials, the denial of illusionism, the timeless immobility, and art in service to the community. Rather than a rote repetition of style it is the Byzantine "idea" – a vibrant connection between the signifier and the signified – that made modern religious art successful.

The symbolic for Denis was not a matter of intellectual understanding but rather a spiritual spark, something powerful yet ephemeral that modern art had lost. He believed the "emotion that embraces you in front of the magnificent poems [of the Byzantines] does not require translation by an archaeologist; it is a pure religious emotion."[42] This exists neither in the written word of the gospel nor in the images of Christ but in the space between text and reader, between supplicant and icon.

He attempts to evoke this emotion in works like *The Green Christ,* 1890 (Fig. 11.3). Though he was strongly influenced by Paul Gauguin, Denis transforms the older artist's primitive style into something more daring. The work is executed with broad brushstrokes and the group that stands at the base of the cross is barely discernible against the yellow background. Christ's body, rendered in a thin application of green paint, lacks corporeality and the viewer must actively engage with the piece in order to conceptually transform the

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39   Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," p. 33.
40   Ibid., p. 37.
41   Denis, "Définition du néo-traditionnisme," p. 10.
42   Denis, "Le symbolisme et l'art religieux moderne," p. 188.

FIGURE 11.3 Maurice Denis. *The Green Christ,* 1890, private collection.
PHOTO: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

FIGURE 11.4   Maurice Denis, *Easter Mystery*, 1891, The Art Institute of Chicago, IL, through
             prior acquisition of William Wood Prince.
             PHOTO: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

rough green crucifix shape into the body of Christ. In this action, which a natu-
ralistic rendering precludes, religious emotion can grow.

    Denis develops a modern Byzantine vernacular in *Easter Mystery* (1891)
(Fig. 11.4). A soft pointillism replaces the painted tesserae of a Byzantine mosa-
ic and breathes air into the spring landscape but there remain strong overtones
of "'primitive' predellas."[43] In the foreground, Denis situates the historical space
of the Resurrection, with black clad figures moving toward the Holy Sepulchre

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43   Nathalie Bondil, "Beautiful Icons, 1889–1897," in *Maurice Denis: Earthly Paradise (1870–*
       1943) Jean-Paul Bouillon, ed. (Paris, 2007), p. 136.

on the left. In the background, through a veil of trees, a group of white figures receive the Holy Eucharist from the hand of God, which emerges like a metonym for medieval art. The two processions are parallel, and the eye is led in a diagonal pattern from the tomb of the son to the house of the father. The emotional conditions of mourning, resurrection, and salvation are mapped vertically in the composition.

4   Iconoclasm and Idolatry

While Denis championed some forms of art, he also performed a kind of conceptual iconoclasm in order to discredit those art forms that led to idolatry, which in a modern context, stemmed from glorification of the artist or artwork at the expense of the greater symbolic association art was meant to evoke. In a lecture of 1918, Denis asserted "Let us avoid idolatry, that is to say, the cult of ourselves, the cult of the artist."[44] Traditional religious devotion was demeaned in the modern era, but the language of religion suffused art criticism so that the genius of individual artists, such as Gauguin and Cézanne, replaced the divinity of the saint in many ways.

Another path to idolatry was mimeticism. Denis stated, "I discard resolutely illusionism and realism, its accomplice. I observe that all infiltrations of paganism in Christian art begins to introduce idolatry, in other words the cult of an object that is an end in itself and not the sign of an idea."[45] This veneration of mimeticism is traced by Denis to Greek and Roman art. He explained, "The taste for representation propagated by thousands of works of art … in the Greco Roman style, are a perversion of art, for example the legend of Pygmalion or the foolish anecdote of the grapes of Zeuxis … The word idolatry which the Christians applied to the cult of images, this is the profound classical sin."[46] For Denis, this sin corrupted a number of subsequent art movements, including the Italian Renaissance, when the hieratic mode was replaced with naturalism. This sin also manifested in academic art up to the 20th century.

Those artists who use various illusionistic techniques glorify their own skill, impede symbolic association, and destroy the viewer's religious transcendence. In Denis's view, the modern sin of admiring illusionism or celebrating

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44   Claire Denis and Marianne Barbey, "Catalogue of Drawings, Prints and Decorative Arts," in *Maurice Denis, 1870–1943*, Philippe Durey, ed. (Ghent, 1994), p. 336. Cited from a lecture given in 1918.

45   Denis, "Le symbolisme et l'art religieux moderne," p. 186.

46   Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," p. 37.

the painter, rather than God, as the creator of beauty was tantamount to the misguided ancient viewer worshiping the icon itself rather than the saint. Mimeticism blocks, rather than fosters, the spiritual in the viewer. In one essay, Denis dares the reader to go to the Pantheon in Paris and try to evoke a religious emotion while viewing Léon Bonnat's *Martyrdom of St. Denis*.[47] This highly illusionistic rendering of the saint reaching for his severed head with a decapitated corpse in the foreground is, in Denis's estimation, not a religious painting. He advises, "instead of a history painter applying himself to religion, the Christian artist must give us a living art, derived from a correct foundation and speaking the language of his heart."[48] To Denis, skill does not make a Christian artist; in fact, dazzling artistic renderings can detract from the religious integrity of the work.

James Tissot (1836–1902), for example, was an artist singled out by Denis as someone who was on the "path to perdition."[49] Tissot's biblical illustrations are the type of idolatrous art that Denis attempted to discredit. Tissot was a French artist who had great success painting the frivolities of upper class British life. He returned to France in 1882, after the death of his mistress, and experienced a religious awakening after having a vision of Christ while at the Church of St Sulpice. This led him to embark on an enormous and extremely lucrative project. Between 1885 and his death in 1902, he created 365 New Testament and ninety-five Old Testament illustrations that sought to capture an authentic view of the Middle East in highly precise renderings. For Denis, this attempt at archaeological exactitude gave them a false aura of truth rather than evoking the sincerity of faith. In addition, Tissot's success at marketing the works also broke one of Denis's fundamental tenets that religious art should not be commercialized.

Tissot's works, though lauded by the public, were for Denis no better than religious kitsch. This view coincides with the irony that Tissot experienced his religious awakening in the church of St Sulpice. The term "Saint-Sulpicien" was shorthand for "aesthetic vulgarity and the bogus spirituality associated with the popular devotional objects sold in the commercial area around the church of Saint-Sulpice."[50] Despite this, Denis begrudgingly acknowledged the appeal to viewers, stating that the "effect the vile images on the rue Saint-Sulpice has on the souls of the majority of the faithful is just as pious as that of any

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47   Denis, "Le symbolisme et l'art religieux moderne," pp. 191–02.
48   Ibid.
49   Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," p. 41.
50   Driskel, pp. 2–3.

beautiful Gothic work, beauty is a necessity in the liturgy. But the liturgy, like doctrine, needs to adapt to the times and to men: it bends."[51]

Denis was caught in a quandary similar to the one faced by Byzantine iconophiles. Uneducated and unsophisticated viewers were aided in prayer by a concrete visual form. In addition, figurative icons were appropriate because Christ took human form and figurative images could remind viewers of his sacrifice. However, the image ran the risk of distracting from the object of veneration. In *fin de siècle* France, the sheer virtuosity of the illusionism left no space for interpretation or symbolic connection. Denis complained, "The Sacred Heart has been trivialized by artists in the most deplorable way. From the loving and precious ... symbol of divine charity, they have made that insipid young man who seems to leave the canvas and offer us, with real hands, a horrifically bloody and authentic organ."[52] He presents as an alternative to this grisly showmanship the "skilfully tortured lines" of a Byzantine Christ who may be regarded as "aesthetically ugly" but is far more authentic in its expression of religious emotion.[53] This may not be the first choice of the masses but Denis hoped to teach through example a more elevated artistic taste. Aesthetic sophistication and religious devotion, while not mutually exclusive, are difficult to balance. Denis attempted to maintain this balance.

Denis's *Crucified Sacred Heart* (1894) (Fig. 11.5) is a representation of the crucifix that is modern in its deliberate anti-naturalism and neo-Byzantine in its devotional purpose. Mary Magdalene and the Virgin, placed directly before Christ, are accompanied by a group of contemporary clerical figures, including the priest in the background giving out the Host. The sky is darkened, both to show the eclipse of Good Friday and to highlight the divine light of Christ's heart. Denis distorts scale and compresses perspective in order to emphasize that this is not a real space, not an illusionistic trick; rather it is a divine space where the biblical and the modern coexist. As in *The Green Christ,* any sense of corporeality is avoided and, rather than emphasizing Christ's physical suffering, the focus is on his miraculously glowing heart. This light, rather than the horribly bloody heart, is the symbol of Christ's love and a neo-Byzantine expression of divine light.

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51   Denis, *Journal*, 152. Date of entry March 1889.

52   Denis, "Notes sur la peinture religieuse," p. 41.

53   Ibid., p. 41.
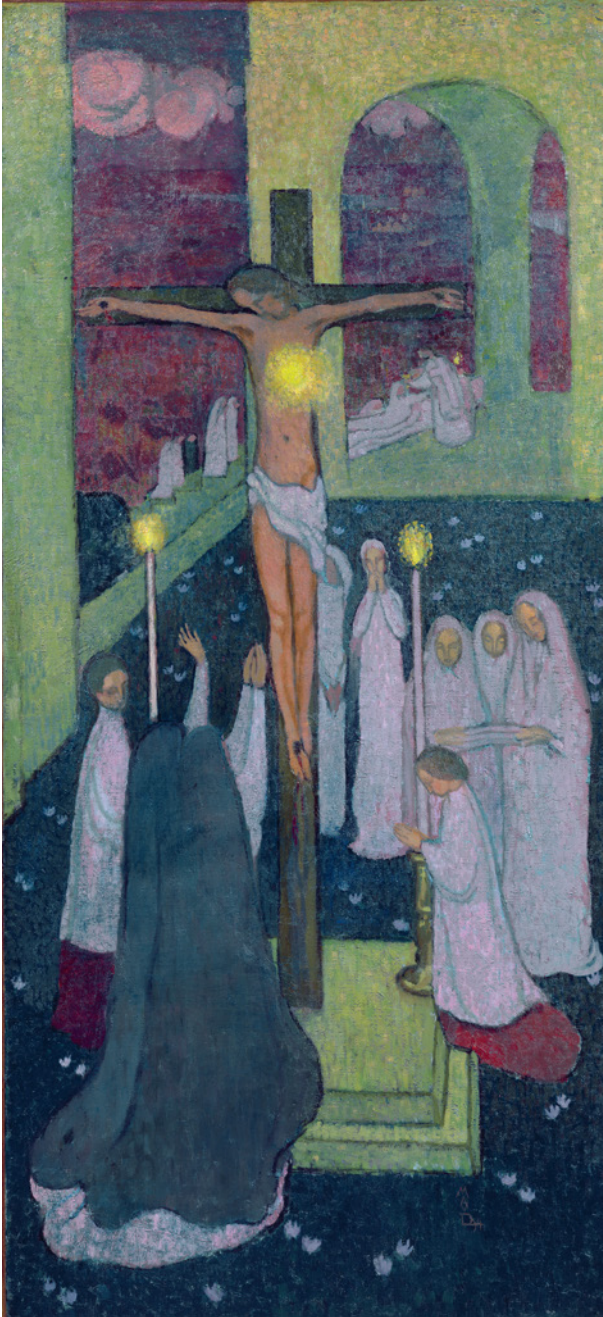
FIGURE 11.5 Maurice Denis, *Crucified Sacred Heart,* 1894, private
collection.
PHOTO: BRIDGEMAN IMAGES

5   Conclusion

Denis's artwork defies easy categorization, because "his art changes aspect. Blink and it is modernist; blink again and it is all homage to the past."[54] This split view of Denis is based on a fallacy, that conservative and modernist styles are exclusive. For all his stalwart devotion, Denis's body of work does shift and change depending on context and viewpoint. He was a Catholic avant-garde painter who saw modern adaptability in Byzantine art and traditional dogma in the visual language of the avant-garde. Experiencing the modernity of Byzantium requires the viewer to combine theological and secular modernity as well as sound aesthetic judgement. Denis's unique view of Byzantium as a visual and spiritual thread that is woven into all great Christian art provides a different lens for Byzantinists to appreciate the relevance of their field in the early 20th century and for modernists to appreciate the complexities and subtleties of Byzantium.

As one scholar notes, Denis "merits a second glance today, now that we are more likely to envy his certainties and feel nostalgia for his Arcadia."[55] His dual mission was to guide modern artists through his writing, producing nearly 200 articles, and keep religious art alive and relevant through his painting. In his long career, he fought idolatry while simultaneously creating icons. Modernity has been defined as fleeting and artificial, but there is room for other definitions. For Denis the vivacity of modernity, the true life of faith, was always already Byzantine.

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54   Michael Marlais, *Conservative Echoes in Fin de siècle Parisian Art Criticism,* (University Park, PA, 1992), pp. 186–87.

55   Jean-Paul Bouillon, "The Situation of Maurice Denis," in *Maurice Denis, 1870–1943* (Ghent, 1994), p. 17.

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The Byzantine Heritage in Greek Cinema: the (Almost) Lone Case of Doxobus (1987)

Konstantinos Chryssogelos

Greek cinema has never been fond of Byzantium. The cinematic production before the fall of the Dictatorship in 1974 comprises only two movies that show an awareness of Greece's Byzantine past: 1960's *Kassiani Hymnographer* (*Κασσιανή υμνογράφος*), a fictional recount, filled with religious overtones, of how Kassiani became a nun and consequently a renowned ecclesiastical po- etess in the 9th century, and 1968's *Imperiale* (*Βυζαντινή ραψωδία*), a peculiar movie with a convoluted plot, set around the year 1000, about a general in the Peloponnese and his secret affair with Empress Zoe, the niece of Basil II.[1]

Conversely, during the 1960s and the 1970s, the ancient Greek heritage found its way into several productions, including such classics as *Antigoni* (1961) by Yorgos Tzavellas and the Oscar nominated movies *Electra* (1962) and *Iphige- neia* (1977) by Mihalis Kakoyiannis.[2] It should also be noted that in the long course of Greek cinema, there have been no less than four different cinematic versions of Longus's erotic romance *Dafnis and Chloe*, starting from Orestis Laskos's 1931 silent movie up to Nikos Koundouros's artistic *Young Aphrodites* (*Μικρές Αφροδίτες*, 1963).[3]

It was not until 1987 that Greek cinema was enriched with its third movie about Byzantium. It was entitled *Doxobus* (*Δοξόμπους*) and was directed by Fotos Labrinos, a long-time collaborator of the late great Theodoros Angelo- poulos, and a celebrated director himself in the field of documentaries. The script was co-written by archaeologist and author Panos Theodoridis and the cinematography was assigned to Yorgos Arvanitis, yet another collaborator of

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1 V. Karalis's opinion on the movie is different, as he praises the film's "historical accuracy," "im- pressive costumes" and "gripping dialogue," see Vrasidas Karalis, *A History of Greek Cinema* (New York, 2012), p. 125.

2 Other Hellenic films dealing with ancient Greece include the satires *See: Lucian* (*Βλέπε: Λουκιανός*, 1970) and *Boom, tara!! Ta tzoom!!* (*Μπουμ, ταρά!! Τα τζουμ!!*, 1972), and the philosoph- ical allegory *The Process* (*Διαδικασία*, 1976). There is also a film adaptation of Aristophanes's *Lysistrata* (1972).

3 The other two versions of *Dafnis and Chloe* are Laskos's remake of his own movie in 1969 and Mika Zaharopoulou's 1966 version, which sets the story in the present time.

Angelopoulos. As a contestant at the 28th Greek Cinema Festival in Thessaloniki (September-October 1987), *Doxobus* won four awards.

In comparison to the two aforementioned Byzantine-themed movies, *Doxobus* constitutes a completely different case, namely a realistic approach to the cultural phenomenon of Byzantium. Realism is achieved via the use of a quasi-documentary style, which depicts the everyday life of 14th-century peasants and their interaction with civil servants, monks and clergymen. Moreover, the screenplay has made good and ample use of available primary sources, despite the fact that it also includes purely fictitious elements. To my knowledge, this approach is unique, especially in comparison to the few Byzantine-themed films that were produced throughout the world until 1987.[4]

It is not surprising then that the tagline of the movie was "An unknown Byzantium for the first time on the screen." The bilingual leaflet (in English and in French) that was edited by the Greek Film Centre on the occasion of the screening of the movie in Berlin – it was kindly provided to me by Fotos Labrinos himself – sheds even more light on the realistic merits of the film. The English version reads: "The film's basic aim is to present a picture of Byzantium – the Greek Middle Ages – in such a way as has never been attempted before in the Greek as well as the international cinema." Andrew Horton also stresses the realistic tone of the work, as well as the interest of Labrinos in the everyday life of the common people in provincial Byzantium, in his essay that is included in the leaflet.

Yet, it would be somewhat misleading to regard *Doxobus* as a purely realistic film. The beautiful imagery of the Macedonian landscape clearly aims at captivating the eye of the viewer, whereas two scenes that depict the rituals performed by heretics, accompanied by strong, evocative music, convey to the spectator a sense of mysticism. These aspects show that *Doxobus* is primarily an art film, or at least one that serves likewise art and realism. Its cinematic beauty is again emphasized by Horton, while one contemporary critic of the newspaper *Elefterotypia* (*Ελευθεροτυπία*) notices both the "authentic reproduction

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4   For a general survey on world-wide filmography that has dealt with Byzantium throughout the years in a direct or indirect way, see Przemysław Marciniak, "And the Oscar goes to… the Emperor! Byzantium in the Cinema," in *Wanted: Byzantium. The Desire for a Lost Empire*, Ingela Nilsson and Paul Stephenson, eds., Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia 15 (Uppsala, 2014), pp. 247–55. When it comes to the Greek film production on Byzantium, the author mentions only *Kassiani hymnographer* (p. 253). For the reception of Byzantium in Turkish cinema, see Buket Kitapçi Bayri, "Contemporary Reception of Byzantium in Turkish Cinema: The Cross-examination of Battal Gazi Films with the Battalname," *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 37/1 (2013), 81–91.

of the period" and the film's "pictorial beauty." Interestingly enough, another contemporary review in the newspaper *Avghi* (*Αυγή*) focuses solely on the historical aspect of *Doxobus*, whereas the movie critic of the newspaper *Ta Nea* (*Τα Νέα*) is fascinated exclusively by its artistic qualities.[5]

Furthermore, from an ideological point of view, *Doxobus* is a work that promotes and demands the reconsideration of the Medieval Greek past. Labrinos himself has stated clearly that his intention was to redefine and finally undermine what he saw as the State ideology on Greece's Byzantine heritage. If the official voice is laudatory towards Byzantium, Labrinos sees in it a social and political nexus that is based on the dialectic of oppression and submission. In his own words, in the form of a comment on the uploaded version of *Doxobus* on YouTube, dating from late 2015 (Labrinos speaks via the profile of the user "Giannis Tsilis"): "Of course, the movie is not a history book. It tries to recreate an era in the style of a documentary and persistently ignoring all the stereotypes on Byzantium, in order to indicate exactly that the obsessions and the phantasies, with which Greek society has fed itself for the past 250 years, and reality are two different things."[6]

It becomes apparent then that *Doxobus's* dialogue with the Byzantine past, and subsequently with the Byzantine heritage of modern Greece, is multifaceted. Therefore, the purpose of the present paper is twofold: firstly, to trace the primary sources that were employed by the screenwriters, as well as to indicate the fictitious elements that permeate the movie. This topic pertains to the recreation of the Byzantine past through cinematic fiction – in this case the "documentary" style of *Doxobus*. Secondly, to explore and specify the intention of Labrinos to reconsider the Byzantine past. This topic is closely related to the history of Greek cinema, so that it is virtually impossible to explain some of the film's aspects without taking into consideration trends, techniques and ideologies that were in fashion in Greek cinematic production from 1970 onwards. Contemporary reception of *Doxobus* will also be discussed briefly, inasmuch it resulted in the failure of the film to have an impact on Greek cinema, which in turn may explain to some extent the absence of Byzantine-themed movies ever since.

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5   The newspaper reviews are compiled in the leaflet. The reviews of *Ta Nea* and *Elefterotypia* can also be found in Yannis Soldatos, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού κινηματογράφου*, vol. 5: *Ντοκουμέντα (1970–2000)* (Athens, 2004), pp. 406–07. There are two more reviews from 1987, those of the cinematic magazines *Kinimatografika Tetradia* (*Κινηματογραφικά Τετράδια* 27–28, pp. 27–29) and *Othoni* (*Οθόνη* 31, p. 60), which praise Labrinos's attempt to deal with the historical past.
6   https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNltSQ875Ac. Assessed 2016 Dec 7.

1   Historical Frame and Primary Sources

The film is set in the days of the civil war between Emperor Andronicus II and his grandson and future emperor Andronicus III.[7] It is divided into two parts, the first taking place at the dawn of the civil war in 1321, the second covering the third and final phase of the clash, in 1327. However, neither Andronicus II, nor Andronicus III are ever shown on screen, apart from the final scene, which depicts the latter along with his entourage. Furthermore, the plot itself is centred around the territory and the vicinity of a small fishing village in the theme of Strymon,[8] situated on the eastern bank of the river Strymon in eastern Macedonia, called "Doxobus" (or "Toxobus," according to some sources).[9] In other words, the capital Constantinople and the imperial court are entirely absent from the film.

In brief, the storyline is the following. Due to the outbreak of the civil war, Andronicus II decrees a raise on taxes. Struggling to meet his obligations, the bishop of Ezebai[10] (*Εζεβαί*) in the theme of Strymon demands a higher contribution from the poor villagers of Doxobus. Meanwhile, the superior of the

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7   Pre-1987 bibliography on the civil war that would have been available to the screenwriters includes Donald M. Nicol's classic *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London, 1972), pp. 158–71; Angeliki E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins. The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, MA, 1972), pp. 284–300 and Ursula Victoria Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos, Versuch einer Darstellung der byzantinischen Geschichte in den Jahren 1321–1341* (Amsterdam, 1965), pp. 7–52. For a short contemporary overview of the civil war, see Warren Treadgold, *A History of the Byzantine State and Society* (California, 1997), pp. 754–59.

8   For the geographical evolution of the theme of Strymon and its association with the themes of Boleron and Thessaloniki, see *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 (New York, 1991), "Strymon: Theme of Strymon," p. 1968 and Paul Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale à l'époque chrétienne et byzantine. Recherches d'histoire et d'archéologie* (Paris, 1945), pp. 124–30. For the association of the theme of Strymon with the theme (and the city) of Serres during the reign of Andronicus II and until the end of the civil war, see Anastasia Kontogiannopoulou, *Η εσωτερική πολιτική του Ανδρονίκου Β΄ Παλαιολόγου (1282–1328). Διοίκηση-Οικονομία*, Βυζαντινά κείμενα και μελέται 36 (Thessaloniki, 2004), pp. 163–65.

9   A *chrysobullon* of Michael VIII Palaiologos from 1259 registers the village under the name of *Τοξόμπους* (Paul Lemerle et al., eds., *Actes de Lavra II, de 1204 à 1328*, Archives de l'Athos 8 (Paris, 1977), n. 71, p. 9, line 31). A *praktikon* dating from 1317 registers the name *Δοξόμπους* (*Actes de Lavra II*, n. 104, p. 164, line 16). As I will make clear, this *praktikon* was used as a primary source by the screenwriters of *Doxobus*.

10   For the bishopric of Ezebai, see Nikolaos Zekos, "Εζεβαί: Ένας βυζαντινός οικισμός στο κάτω τμήμα της κοιλάδας του Στρυμόνα," in *Μνήμη Μανόλη Ανδρόνικου, Μακεδονικά* 6, suppl. (Thessaloniki 1997), pp. 77–95.

nearby Bebaias Elpidos[11] (*Βεβαίας Ελπίδος*= "of certain hope") monastery takes secretly the side of Andronicus III, whose final victory results in the ascension of the former to the episcopal see. The first action of the new bishop is to assign the administration of the village to his young protégé, a villager of Doxobus by the name of Xenos, thus replacing Mazaris, the former head of Doxobus and the stepfather of Xenos.

The story is narrated by the secretary (the *notarios*) of the bishopric. Early in the film, he informs the audience that "foreigners" inhabit Doxobus. Six of the villagers's names are mentioned in the movie: a) Mazaris (Μάζαρις), who is the head of Doxobus, b) Stefanis (Στεφανής), a fisherman who is reported dead during the very first scene, c) Zorana (Ζοράνα), the wife of Stefanis, d) Xenos (Ξένος), the son of Stefanis and later the stepson of Mazaris, e) Pepelis (Πέπελης), and f) Liveris (Λίβερης). The surnames Mazaris, Xenos and Liveris (the accent now on the second, not the first syllable: *Λιβέρης*) are testified as common names or surnames in 14th-century Doxobus in an inventory (*praktikon*) written by request of Andronicus II, in order to secure the interests of the monastery of Great Lavra in the village. The document dates to 1317.[12] It was edited in 1977 and therefore it can be deduced that the screenwriters used it as a primary source for the naming of the villagers.

The (sur)name Mazaris refers also to the early 15th-century satire *Mazaris' journey to Hades*. In the second part of the satire, Mazaris, an inhabitant of the Despotate of Morea, states, "the Peloponnese is inhabited by a great number of ethnic groups, forming a mixed society."[13] According to the author, these

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11   Probably inspired by the celebrated monastery in Constantinople that was founded in the late 13th-early 14th-century by Theodora Synadene, the niece of Emperor Michael VIII. See *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 1 (New York, 1991), "Bebaias Elpidos Nunnery," p. 275. The *typikon* of the monastery survives (H. Delehaye, ed., *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels, 1921), pp. 18–105, with a supplement by Ch. Baur, "Le Typikon du monastère de Notre-Dame tes bebaias elpidos," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 29 (1933), 635–36). For a full translation with an introduction, see "*Bebaia Elpis*: Typikon of Theodora Synadene for the Convent of the Mother of God *Bebaia Elpis* in Constantinople," Alice-Mary Talbot, trans., in *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, John Thomas et al., eds., Dumbarton Oaks Studies 35 (Washington D.C., 2000), no. 57, pp. 1512–78.

12   Edition: *Actes de Lavra II* (see above, n. 9): (Mihail) Mazaris (p. 169, line 148), Xenos (p. 166, line 76; father Xenos, p. 167, line 93; p. 167, line 94; Ioannis Xenos, p. 168, line 109; p. 169, line 136), Liveris (Georgios Liveris, p. 166, lines 59–60; p. 166, line 70). There is also a girl called Chrysanna (Χρυσάννα, p. 168, line 128), which may have served as inspiration for the name of Zorana that appears in the film.

13   *Mazaris' Journey to Hades, or Interviews with Dead Men about Certain Officials of the Imperial Court*, Seminar Classics 609, State University of New York at Buffalo (Buffalo, 1975), p. 76, lines 18–20 (Greek text), p. 77 (English translation).

ethnic groups included Slavs, Italians and Albanians.[14] Perhaps then the name Mazaris is used in the film in order to stress the fact that the villagers were not Greek speaking – and the same can be said for the name Xenos, as the common noun means "foreigner" in Greek. That the villagers were specifically Slavic speaking is additionally attested by the name of Stefanis's wife – Zorana is a common feminine name in Serbia today –, as well as by the fact that in the first scene of the film Mazaris refers to the father of Xenos as "tata," a Slavic word for "dad."

Furthermore, the film suggests that the villagers of Doxobus were heretics, probably Bogomils.[15] In a scene in the second part of the movie, a feast is depicted where the villagers are shown dancing among ringed crosses in a graveyard. This type of crosses can still be found in Greece, in several locations in central Macedonia. Nikos Oikonomides noticed in 1988 that these crosses have much in common with others located in southern France, which are associated with the heresy of the Cathars.[16] There is strong but not conclusive evidence that the Cathars were significantly influenced by the dualist heresy of the Bogomils,[17] which emerged presumably in late 10-century

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14   See *Mazaris' Journey*, p. 76, lines 21–22.

15   Pre-1987 bibliography on the Bogomils includes Dmitri Obolensky's *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism* (Cambridge, 1948); Steven Runciman's *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 63–93, and Milan Loos's *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), pp. 50–102. For a more recent and concise introduction, see Janet Hamilton and Bernard Hamilton, eds., *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650-c. 1450* (Manchester, 1998), pp. 25–55. Cf. also Maja Angelovska-Panova and Andrew P. Roach, "The Bogomils' Folk Heritage: False Friend or Neglected Source?," in *Heresy and the Making of European Culture. Medieval and Modern Perspectives*, Andrew P. Roach and James R. Simpson, eds. (Surrey, 2013), pp. 129–49.

16   Sadly, only the summary of his paper is available: Nikos Oikonomides, "Βογομιλικά κατάλοιπα κοντά στη Θεσσαλονίκη," in *Όγδοο συμπόσιο βυζαντινής και μεταβυζαντινής Αρχαιολογίας και Τέχνης. Πρόγραμμα – Περιλήψεις εισηγήσεων και ανακοινώσεων, Αθήνα 13, 14 και 15 Μαΐου 1988* (Athens, 1988), pp. 73–74. The full archaeological evidence of a graveyard in Bosnia-Herzegovina that is believed to be related with this heresy is presented by Oto Bihalji-Merin and Alojz Benac, in *The Bogomils* (London, [1962]). Although ringed crosses are not to be seen independently, one does appear as a symbolic ornament on a tombstone (p. XXIII).

17   On the Cathars, see Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, pp. 127–32. For a brief history of the Cathars in their early days, see Bernard Hamilton, "The Cathars and the Seven Churches of Asia," in *Byzantium and the West c. 850-c. 1200*, James Howard-Johnstone, ed. (Amsterdam, 1988), pp. 269–95, esp. 271–72. On their association with the Bogomils, see idem, "Wisdom from the East: The Reception by the Cathars of Eastern Dualist Texts," in *Heresy and literacy, c. 1000–1530*, Peter Biller and Anne Hudson, eds. (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 38–60, esp. 39–42 and 57–58. For the discussion on the existence of Cathars in Milan and its vicinities, see Faye Taylor, "Catharism and Heresy in Milan," in *Heresy and the Making of European Culture* (see above, n. 15), pp. 383–401.

medieval Bulgaria[18] and then spread rapidly in numerous regions of the Byzantine Empire. The heresy was so successful, that by the 12th century it had reached the noble houses of the capital, as well as the province. In the 14th-century Bogomils were even to be traced in Mount Athos. Moreover, in Thessaloniki, a few years before the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1430, Archbishop Symeon still regarded Bogomils as a threat.[19]

The ringed crosses that are shown in the film may be a hint for the association of the villagers with Bogomilism, but the rest of their lifestyle is not applicable to what the sources tell us about these heretics, namely that they led an ascetic life and abstained from sexual intercourse.[20] It should also be added that neither the bishop nor the superior treat the villagers as heretics. On the contrary, Mazaris's action to bring Xenos to the monastery is regarded as a natural thing – although Zorana mentions that this was not a common practice among the villagers.

The Bogomil image fits better another group that appears in the film, a team of itinerant artists that arrive at the monastery in order to decorate its walls. There are many key scenes in the movie that demonstrate how their beliefs belong essentially to a dualist thought system, including the rejection of many orthodox sacraments, such as baptism and marriage, as well as the belief in an evil Creator,[21] by the name of "Satanael."[22] In addition, their lifestyle shows a tendency towards asceticism and celibacy, as they reside at the shore of the Strymon River, practically living inside ground holes without the company of women.

However, not even they can be surely identified as Bogomils. To begin with, they follow and venerate an old man on a raft, who is apparently dead. The raft is led by a young man who speaks on behalf of the senior, shouting from afar the holy words to his believers – once, the young man refers to the artists as "my Cathars" ("Καθαροί μου"). Then the artists fall into ecstasy, constantly bobbing their heads. This ecstatic state is reminiscent of what the earliest Byzantine source, that of Eythymios, a monk of the Periblepton monastery in

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18   Probably modern northwest FYROM (see Angelovska-Panova and Roach, "The Bogomils' Folk Heritage," p. 132 and ibid., n. 14 for alternative views).

19   See Hamilton and Hamilton, *Dualist Heresies*, pp. 31–43 for Bogomilism in the 11th- and 12th centuries, and pp. 53–55 for the popularity of Bogomilism in the last two centuries of the Byzantine state.

20   On the Bogomils's austere and chaste lifestyle, see Hamilton and Hamilton, *Dualist Heresies*, pp. 28–29 (the late 10th-century account of Cosmas the priest) and p. 33 (the mid-11th-century testimony of Eythymios of the Periblepton monastery).

21   See Hamilton and Hamilton, *Dualist Heresies*, pp. 28–30.

22   Indeed, Satanael is the creator of the visible world according to the Bogomils, as recounted by Eythymios Zigabenos in his 12th-century work *Panoplia dogmatike* (*Πανοπλία δογματική*, *Patrologia Graeca* 130, 1297 D-1301 A).

Constantinople, tells us about the daily liturgy of the Bogomils,[23] but otherwise the dead man on the raft is a feature unattested in the sources. And so is another heresy that is mentioned in the movie by the artists, called "The brotherhood of faith and love." These data, in correlation with the above-cited statement of Labrinos on YouTube, show that the screenwriters blended history and fiction, as they were interested in catching the spirit of a medieval society that is characterized by multiplicity, instead of confining themselves within the boundaries of scholarly accuracy.

Of course, Labrinos has said that his film is not a "history book," yet it is hard to ignore that he took a truly brave step in trying to depict the everyday life in a small Macedonian village, instead of the grandiose lifestyle of the Byzantine court, in a way that is reminiscent of the style encountered in documentaries. This style comprises silent, slow-paced shots, usually accompanied solely by the *notarios's* recital, which constitute snapshots of the daily routine or of "real" life in general: the peasants who are fishing, feasting or covering their walls with lime as a means to avoid the plague, or the superior, who is constructing a watermill in order to increase the production and therefore the profits of the monastery.[24] It should be stressed that the last point (the increase of the monastic property value during the 14th century, via the possession of land and *paroikoi*, and the exploitation of natural resources in eastern Macedonia) is attested by a large number of imperial decrees and additional official documents, already edited before 1987, which most probably were used by the screenwriters as primary sources.[25]

Moreover, Labrinos demonstrates how the lives of the peasants changed as a result of the emergence of a new type of leader, which is represented by Xenos, who, as already mentioned, replaces Mazaris as the headman of the village. Mazaris was the poor, submissive *protogeros*[26] ("the first of the seniors") of the

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23   See Hamilton and Hamilton, *Dualist Heresies*, p. 33.

24   Yorgos Koropoulis, in his essay "Is Fotos a good director?," included in the book *Fotos Lamprinos*, edited by the Thessaloniki Film Festival on the occasion of the 11th Thessaloniki Documentary Festival (Thessaloniki, 2009), pp. 6–7 (Greek version) and 7–8 (English version), describes *Doxobus* as an "imaginary documentary, which brings to life a world and lets it come to the foreground, so that we suddenly see it and are dazzled by it" (p. 8).

25   The monastery of Saint-John Prodromos near Serres is a typical example of this evolution, see André Guillou, *Les archive de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée* (Paris, 1955), pp. 9–10; cf. Angeliki E. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire. A Social and Demographic Study* (New Jersey, 1977), pp. 34–35). The *praktikon* of *Doxobus* for the benefit of the monastery of Great Lavra (see above, n. 9 and 12) is part of the same picture.

26   The capacity of "protogeros" is attested in several late byzantine documents, although without any indication that people bearing this title were submissive. See on this Angeliki E. Laiou, "Priests and Bishops in the Byzantine Countryside, Thirteenth to Fourteenth

local community, now Xenos is a wealthy *archon* who enjoys the full support of the new bishop. The scenario is once more based on scholarly research: The gradual decentralization of Byzantine government, with the formation of small administrative units, mostly ruled by individuals strongly attached to the imperial family, called either *kephalai* ("heads") or *archontes* ("archons"), is a feature of late Byzantine administration that had been adequately analysed by Byzantinists before 1987.[27] Some scholars even argued that the result of this evolution, followed by the rise of the landowning aristocracy, was the establishment of a quasi-feudalized economy.[28] Judging from the way Xenos is presented in the last scenes of the film, the screenwriters clearly shared this view.

2   Deconstruction of the "Byzantine Myth"

To catch the spirit of an era is one thing, but if we take a closer look, things become more interesting. As mentioned above, one of the primary aims – if not *the* primary aim – of the movie is to deconstruct several "myths" that are connected with the Byzantine Empire, when seen within the frame of nationalistic rhetoric (see below for an interpretation with regard to Labrinos's attitude towards "Hellenism" and "Greekness"). If the official ideology of the

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Centuries," in *Church and Society in Late Byzantium*, D. Angelov, ed. (Kalamazoo, MI, 2009), pp. 43–57, esp. 44–45.

27   See primarily Georg Ostrogorsky's celebrated *Geschichte des byzantinischen Staates*. The Greek translation, following the third edition of the German text, appeared between 1978 and 1981 in three volumes (trans. Ioannis Panagopoulos). The decentralization of the government in late Byzantium is treated in the third volume (Athens, 1981), pp. 169–71 (pp. 396–97 in the German text). In addition, Angeliki E. Laiou's work on this subject, especially *Constantinople and the Latins*, pp. 256–60 and her contribution "Society and Economy (1204–1453)" ("Κοινωνία και οικονομία (1204–1453)") in the ninth volume of the collective work *Ιστορία του ελληνικού έθνους* (*History of the Greek Nation*, Athens, 1979), pp. 214–43, esp. 214–25, may have been among the secondary sources that the screenwriters consulted.

28   See, for example, Ostrogorsky's views (in the previous footnote) and Laiou, "Society and Economy," pp. 214–15 and *Peasant Society*, pp. 48–49 (n. 60 on p. 49 provides further bibliography on the subject). For recent opinions on this much debated issue, see Averil Cameron, *Byzantine Matters* (Princeton, NJ, 2014), pp. 34–35 and 40, with further bibliography, and Dimitris Kyritsis, "Κράτος και αριστοκρατία την εποχή του Ανδρονίκου Β΄: το αδιέξοδο της στασιμότητας," in *Ο Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος και η εποχή του* (Athens, 1999), pp. 177–94. For a comparison between the Byzantine and Western medieval economy, see Angeliki E. Laiou and Cécile Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 235–47. For a comprehensive introduction to late Byzantine administration, touching upon all the aforementioned issues, see Angeliki Laiou and Cécile Morrisson, eds., *Le monde byzantin. Tome 3: Byzance et ses voisins, 1204–1453* (Paris, 2011), pp. 145–55.

Greek state promotes the idea of an all-Greek and all-Orthodox Byzantium, Labrinos's point of view is radically different; in *Doxobus*, we encounter heretics and Slavonic minorities,[29] whilst the representatives and the associates of the Orthodox Church are quite different from what one would expect. The bishop is cruel towards the peasants, in a desperate attempt to pay his dues to the demanding emperor; the superior, a former heretic, is an opportunist, only concerned with serving his personal ambition; finally, the secretary of the bishopric is a common flatterer.

In order to fully comprehend Labrinos's point of view, a historical perspective is required. To begin with, it has to be made clear that these characters, religious sects and ethnic groups act on a stage, where massive political and economic changes are taking place that lead to new social structures. *Doxobus* is primarily a narrative about power, oppression and the transition from one form of organized economy to another.[30] One may wonder why did Labrinos choose to deal with such complex issues, especially since there were not any cinematic precedents in Greece (neither *Kassiani*, nor *Imperiale* were movies of that kind). In other words, why was a movie such as *Doxobus* directed and released in 1987 and why were there no other post-Dictatorship (i.e. post-1974) or post-*Doxobus* movies based on Byzantine history and culture?

The history of Greek cinema of the 1950s and the 1960s goes beyond the purpose of this paper. What is of particular interest is the fact that from 1970 onwards a heterogeneous wave of young filmmakers emerged, called "New Greek Cinema" (Νέος Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος: ΝΕΚ) by contemporary, as well as

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29　See Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society* pp. 130–35 for the discussion on the existence of national minorities in 14th-century Macedonia, and the theme of Strymon in particular, based on the evidence of names that can be traced in contemporary documents (such as "Alvanites," "Vlachos," "Armenopoulos," etc.). The author argues that: "Of course, it would be dangerous to try to draw firm conclusions about the ethnic composition of the Macedonian countryside in the 14th century merely on the evidence of names. However, this evidence should not be disregarded. Although it proves nothing, it suggests that the Slavic element of the rural population was rather weak in the theme of Thessaloniki, rather stronger in the theme of Strymon, and very strong in Strumitsa and its environs" (p. 133). It seems that the screenwriters turned Laiou's reservations into certainty, by suggesting that the population of Doxobus consisted entirely of "foreigners."

30　Karalis sees in *Doxobus* "an apt parable for the disintegrating pseudo-socialism of the country and of Eastern Europe" as well an exploration of the way "religion transformed people into irrational fanatics and hunted animals, destroying in them all the forms of ethical considerations behind responsible action" (Karalis, *Greek Cinema*, p. 223). As much as his first interpretation sounds intriguing, I have to disagree with the latter. In *Doxobus* it is the Church and monastic institutions and the men in them who hold power that are degraded, not religion itself. In my opinion, religion is only implicitly laughed at during the long, futile dogmatic discussions that occur between monks.

modern film critics. The directors of NEK were openly opposed to the so-called "commercial cinema" of the previous decades, now referred to as "Old Greek Cinema" (Παλαιός Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος: ΠΕΚ) by film critics.[31]

Consequently, the 1970s and the 1980s resulted in a considerably high production of art and political films, whose purpose was to explore and reveal the social and economic rules that control man's life, governmental oppression included. However, from 1981 onwards, films began to display a tendency towards introspection and introversion, as political reflections were gradually replaced by social considerations.[32] The cinematic code became more abstract, thus resulting in the failure of communication between the director and the audience.[33] Despite the fact that there is a debate among scholars on the timeline of NEK,[34] this transition is generally considered as a turning point in the history of the "new cinema."[35]

Within this frame, *Doxobus* is a film that belongs clearly to NEK, but also one that fits better in the pre-1981 cinematic production. Despite the fact that Labrinos sets his storyline in an unexpected and until then unexplored territory, that of late Byzantium (and this is where its undisputed originality lies), *Doxobus* neither deals with private issues, nor does it show any signs of introversion. On the contrary, its general character is not alien to Angelopoulos's political films from the period 1972–77 (*Days of '36* [*Μέρες του '36*], *The Travelling Players* [*Ο θίασος*], *The Hunters* [*Οι κυνηγοί*]). Therefore, one is tempted to speculate that Labrinos draws parallels between the oppressive celluloid episcopate and the modern Church of Greece, as well as between Greek monasteries then and now.[36]

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31   For a concise survey of NEK (and its opposition to ΠΕΚ), see Yannis Bakogiannopoulos, "Νέος Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος (1967–1999)," in *Η ελληνική ματιά. Ένας αιώνας κινηματογράφου* (Athens, 1999), pp. 37–55. Cf. Stathis Valoukos, *Νέος Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος (1965–1981). Ιστορία και πολιτική* (Athens, 2011), pp. 37–42.

32   See Karalis, *Greek Cinema*, p. 201.

33   This was also reflected in the commercial bankruptcy of NEK (see Karalis, *Greek cinema*, p. 217 and Valoukos, *Νέος ελληνικός κινηματογράφος*, p. 48).

34   Valoukos places the "death of NEK" in 1981 (*Νέος Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος*, pp. 45–48), Karalis in 1986 (*Greek Cinema*, p. 217), while Bakogiannopoulos regards it as a continuum that spreads over the last years of the 1990s ("Νέος Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος," pp. 53–55).

35   For a general survey, see Karalis, *Greek Cinema*, pp. 198–213. For the scholarly debate on the periodization of NEK, see also the book review of Valoukos, *Νέος Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος*, by Anna Poupou, in the first issue of *Filmicon* (September 2013), p. 162.

36   The critic of *Κινηματογραφικά Τετράδια* (p. 27) shares a similar opinion. Cf. Karalis's standpoint in the previous note.

On the other hand, *Doxobus* is not a film that explores the cultural identity of Hellenism either, at least not in the sense of other movies from the 80s, such as Lakis Papastathis's *In the Time of the Hellenes* (*Τον καιρό των Ελλήνων*, 1981) and *Theophilos* (*Θεόφιλος*, 1987), or Dimos Theos's *Captain Meïdanos* (*Καπετάν Μεϊντάνος*, 1987), works set in the Hellenic past and dealing with expressions of popular lifestyle and folk art. In a way, Labrinos's deconstructive approach to the phenomenon of Byzantium, as described above, suggests that his movie is a step towards the reassessment of the official state ideology on the idea of "Hellenism" and "Greekness," but not the reassessment per se.[37]

As cited above, according to Labrinos, *Doxobus* "tries to recreate an era, in the style of a documentary and persistently ignoring all the stereotypes of Byzantium, in order to indicate exactly that the obsessions and the phantasies, with which the Greek society has fed itself for the past 250 years, and reality are two different things." It is interesting to compare Labrinos's statement with what Lakis Papastathis had to say about his work in an interview in 1987 with the magazine *Othoni* (*Οθόνη*). Papastathis says that what interests him is the "modern Greek face" ("το νεοελληνικό πρόσωπο"), not "Greekness" ("ελληνικότητα"), because: "The official standpoint of the past 150 years in Greece is that of Hellenism, whereas what is Hellenic lies in the underground, it is often illegal, hidden and repressed."[38]

As can be seen, both directors seek evidence of historical truth beyond and against the official national ideology, which, both agree, has remained practically unchangeable for more than a century or two. There is a contact point, but also a crucial difference: Papastathis attempts to substitute the official ideology with things that are oppressed, even prosecuted, and yet apparent. Labrinos seems to be primarily interested in demolishing the "phantasies" of Greek society. For him, Byzantium is considerably different from what the State wants its people to believe. However, that does not mean that he wishes to create a new image of modern Greek identity. Of course, he too juxtaposes authority and popular culture, as exhibited in the abovementioned scene that depicts

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37   The issue of "Greekness" in NEK is far too complex to be elaborated here. Valoukos (*Νέος Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος*, p. 42) argues that every film of the "new cinema" that attempted to challenge established attitudes towards society and politics constituted an effort to reassess the idea of "Hellenism." It becomes apparent that to him "Hellenism" is a very broad term. The same view is shared by Nikos Kolovos (*Νεοελληνικό θέατρο (1600–1940) – Κινηματογράφος* (Hellenic Open University, Patras, 2002), pp. 171–78). On the other hand, Bakogiannopoulos ("Νέος Ελληνικός Κινηματογράφος," pp. 45–47) distinguishes between a "Western" and an "hellenocentric" trend in NEK. According to him, Papastathis's *In the Time of the Hellenes* and *Theophilos* fall into the second category.

38   *Οθόνη* 31 (December, 1987), p. 14.

the feast of the peasants in the graveyard. Yet, it appears that the point of his film is not to let elements of a forgotten, 'unofficial' Greek past to emerge, but to undermine those that have become the authoritative voice of the present.[39]

Overall, Labrinos's film is a bold venture that corresponds to the evolution of Greek cinema and the emergence of NEK. At the same time, it can hardly be said that it had any predecessors: the Byzantine past was treated in a considerably different way in *Kassiani* and *Imperiale*, in the first case as a religious teaching, in the second as a romantic adventure. Labrinos's attempt to discover and make good use of the Byzantine past, first by restructuring a world that no longer existed via the close examination of the primary sources, secondly by discussing the heritage of the Greek Middle Ages in a dynamic and modern way, could have set the standards for future Byzantine-themed movies or simply period dramas. Nevertheless, the audience thought otherwise.

Despite its four awards, *Doxobus* was mocked and ridiculed during its screening at the 28th Greek Cinema Festival, along with other contestants. Apparently, the young audience in the upper balcony of the theatre where the screening took place, once an ardent supporter of all that NEK stood for, now decided that it had had enough of state-financed, slow-paced, art and/or political films that were regarded as the self-indulgent creations of elitist directors.[40] Even the word "Doxobus" sounded provoking to them.[41] In the aftermath, some even expressed amazement that the film had been produced at all. In a contemporary interview, Nikos Perakis, a director who had been balancing successfully on the fine line between "art" and "commerciality" during the first half of the 1980s, confessed that "paradoxically" he had liked *Doxobus*,

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39   Cf. Labrinos's answer to Eva Stefani's question about the placing of *Doxobus* within the discussion on "Greekness": "*Doxobus* uses a documentary-style reconstruction of a mythified [*sic*] age (the 14th century) to call into question established stereotypes and widely-held views that permeate Greek historiography on the 'Greekness' of the Byzantine empire" (*Fotos Lamprinos*, see above, n. 24, p. 13).

40   The reception of the films that were screened at the Thessaloniki Festival by the audience of the upper balcony throughout the years is a complex issue. In the mid- and late-70s, the upper balcony was exalting every single political film that was brought to the Festival, regardless of its artistic merits (Soldatos, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού κινηματογράφου*, 2 (Athens, 2010), p. 57). By 1987, the balcony was disfavoring the vast majority of the films produced, since they were regarded as tedious and incomprehensible. See the web chronicle of the 28th Festival, where it is argued that the audience would have adored the same movies, had they been presented a few years earlier, http://www.filmfestival.gr/default. aspx?page=650&lang=el-GR&tiff=28. Assessed 2016 Dec 7.

41   The word "doxobus" became the catchword of the festival, as it was constantly shouted by the young audience of the upper balcony during screenings (see the web link cited in the previous note).

but couldn't possibly understand why Labrinos had engaged in a motion picture on Byzantium.[42]

If Byzantium itself was part of the problem – but not the whole problem[43] –, it really comes as no surprise that *Doxobus* failed to have an impact on the evolution of Greek cinema. Directors remained uninterested in the Greek Middle Ages,[44] with only one exception, Yorgos Stamboulopoulos's *Two Suns in the Sky* (*Δύο ήλιοι στον ουρανό*, 1991), an obscure low-budget film set in early Byzantium (i.e. "late Antiquity"), about the conflict between the old pagan religion and the ascendant Christianity.[45] Interestingly enough, Stamboulopoulos's point of view is highly favourable to the pagans and clearly condemnatory of the Christians. However, apart from the fact that his movie is another attempt at challenging (if not completely reversing) the rhetoric of the official State (and Church) ideology, it can hardly be said that Stamboulopoulos was influenced by *Doxobus* in particular.

Overall, its commercial performance or its future impact apart, *Doxobus* is one of the most intriguing films of post-Dictatorship Greek cinema, as it touches upon several key-issues that pertain to the reception of the Byzantine past in modern Greek cinema. If anything, it poses some interesting questions: Why is Byzantium largely absent from NEK? Moreover, why and how is it present in a film that was produced in 1987? The present paper tried to explore these issues, by arguing that the director attempted a serious, quasi-scientific, approach to a specific period of the Byzantine era, which he treated in a manner that perfectly fitted the first period of NEK (1970–81). The fact that it failed to relate with the audience was partly due to the commercial crisis of NEK and partly the consequence of dealing with Byzantine history in the first place.

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42   See Sotiris Kakisis, *Οι απέναντι. Συζητήσεις με πρόσωπα της ελληνικής οθόνης* (Athens, 2005), p. 266. Perakis adds that in his view it would have been more (but not entirely) justifiable, if Labrinos had made the choice to direct a movie about Justinian and Theodora.

43   It is true that *Doxobus*'s narrative style is occasionally confusing and too elliptical, as already noted in the contemporary review in the magazine *Κινηματογραφικά Τετράδια* (p. 29).

44   There are however more Greek films from the 80s, whose aesthetics and concerns touch upon questions and reflections that refer to the Byzantine cultural heritage, such as Theos's *Captain Meïdanos*, which has already been mentioned; Kostas Sfikas's experimental *Allegory* (*Αλληγορία*, 1986) and even Angelopoulos's *Megalexandros* (*Μεγαλέξανδρος*, 1980). On the latter, see Dan Georgakas, "Megalexandros: Authoritarianism and National Identity," in *The Cinema of Theo Angelopoulos*, Angelos Koutsourakis and Mark Steven, eds. (Edinburgh, 2015), pp. 129–40, esp. p. 130.

45   For a brief synopsis, see Soldatos, *Ιστορία του ελληνικού κινηματογράφου*, 3, 4th ed. (Athens, 2010), pp. 26–27.

But even if *Doxobus* and its fame are confined within the walls of the projection booths of art movie lovers, it is unquestionably a piece of work that deserves the attention of Byzantinists and film scholars. Further research could focus on topics that were not treated in this paper, such as the commercial performance of *Doxobus*, its reception by foreign audiences and the analysis of its aesthetics with regard to other medieval-themed movies.

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