KEMTE 5

Christopher James Sprecher

Emperor and God

Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204

HEIDELBERG
UNIVERSITY PUBLISHING

Emperor and God
KEMTE 5

KEMTE 5

Kulturelles Erbe: Materialität – Text – Edition
Cultural Heritage: Materiality – Text – Edition

Schriftenreihe
des Heidelberg Center for Cultural Heritage (HCCH)
und des SFB 933 „Materiale Textkulturen“

Herausgegeben von
Christiane Brosius, Ludger Lieb
und Christian Witschel

Emperor and God

Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204

Christopher James Sprecher

HEIDELBERG
UNIVERSITY PUBLISHING

This thesis was accepted as a dissertation by the Faculty of Philosophy,
Art History, History and Humanities at the University of Regensburg.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

Published at Heidelberg University Publishing (heiUP), 2024

Heidelberg University/Heidelberg University Library
Heidelberg University Publishing (heiUP)
Grabengasse 1, 69117 Heidelberg, Germany
https://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de

The electronic open access version of this work is permanently available
on Heidelberg University Publishing's website: https://heiup.uni-heidelberg.de
URN: urn:nbn:de:bsz:16-heiup-book-1240-6
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

Layout & Typography: Nicolai Dollt, nicolai.dollt@mailbox.org
Fonts: Noto Serif & Noto Sans
Cover illustration: Limburg Staurotheke (interior) with relic of the True Cross and compartments
for other partial relics. © Diözesanmuseum Limburg; Photo: Michael Benecke.

ISSN: 2749-3016
eISSN: 2749-3024
ISBN: 978-3-96822-226-4 (Hardcover)
ISBN: 978-3-96822-225-7 (PDF)

τῷ Γρηγορίῳ
ὅς μου τὰ βάρη βεβάστακται

dedicated to the memory of my cousin
Professor Janice L. Reiff
(1949–2021)

Der Reliquienschrein

Draußen wartete auf alle Ringe
und auf jedes Kettenglied
Schicksal, das nicht ohne sie geschieht.
Drinnen waren sie nur Dinge, Dinge
die er schmiedete; denn vor dem Schmied
war sogar die Krone, die er bog,
nur ein Ding, ein zitterndes und eines
das er finster wie im Zorn erzog
zu dem Tragen eines reinen Steines.

Seine Augen wurden immer kälter
von dem kalten täglichen Getränk;
aber als der herrliche Behälter
(goldgetrieben, köstlich, vielkarätig)
fertig vor ihm stand, das Weihgeschenk,
daß darin ein kleines Handgelenk
fürder wohne, weiß und wundertätig:

blieb er ohne Ende auf den Knien,
hingeworfen, weinend, nichtmehr wagend,
seine Seele niederschlagend
vor dem ruhigen Rubin,
der ihn zu gewahren schien
und ihn, plötzlich um sein Dasein fragend,
ansah wie aus Dynastien.

Rainer Maria Rilke
from *Neue Gedichte, Anderer Teil* (1908)

Content

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. IX–XII.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

Acknowledgments

These words of thanksgiving, though placed at the beginning of the present work, have only now taken written form at the end of several years of research, reflection, and writing, all of which were made possible for me through the learning, wisdom, friendship, and love of so many individuals.

Pride of place here belongs to my three advisors: Leslie Brubaker, Jörg Oberste, and Harald Buchinger. Their wealth of knowledge, interdisciplinary experience, honesty, and sincere interest in my project gave me encouragement when I was frustrated and pushed me to bring forth clarity and concision where obfuscation and prolixity threatened. My own style tends to be flowery and ornate, and I am thankful for the pruning shears of their feedback on the garden of my thoughts. Additional helpful comments on individual chapters were provided by Crina Gschwandtner and Anthony Kaldellis.

The skills of language learning, literary analysis, historical research, and theological inquiry proved essential to my dissertation, and I owe these skills in large part to those who have taught me and mentored me in my life. At University High School: Carole Hollrigel, Christine King, Theresa Sorey, and Jeanne Jelnick. At McGill University: Horst Richter, Trudis Goldsmith-Reber, Elizabeth DePalma Digeser, Margaret Palczynski, and Dorothy Bray. At Saint Vladimir's Seminary: John Behr, Peter Bouteneff, Paul Meyendorff, Alexander Rentel, Paul Nadim Tarazi, Timothy Clark, and David Wagschal. At the University of Regensburg: my colleagues and the advising professors in the DFG-funded Research Training Group 2337 'Premodern Metropolitanism', which funded my research, especially Andreas Merkt, Albert Dietl, and Babett Edelmann-Singer (for helpful comments and questions at various presentations of my research given at the training group's colloquium), as well as Susanne Ehrich at the Forum Mittelalter and the medieval studies MA programme in Regensburg, together with Jenny Oesterle El-Nabbout, Dani Nassif, Nora-Sophie Toaspern, and Tim Weitzel at the Chair for Medieval Studies. Other scholars: Floris Bernard, Evan Freeman, Stig Frøyshov, Daniel Galadza, Georgi Parpulov, Andreas Rhoby, Nancy P. Ševčenko, Stephen Shoemaker, and Nikos Zagklas. Special thanks are also due to several individuals and locations visited on travels for research and writing: Samuel Noakes and Lauren Wainwright at the University of Birmingham, where I spent two weeks writing and researching at the Centre for Byzantine, Ottoman and Modern Greek Studies; Dominik Müller and the staff at the Diözesanmuseum Limburg and the Roman Catholic bishopric of Limburg an der Lahn; Trifone Cellamaro, head librarian at the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan; Father Justin at the Holy Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai; Abbess Diodora and the sisterhood of the Holy Monastery of Dionysios Trikkis & Stagon in Obernhof an der Lahn, where I was able to enjoy a writing sabbatical and whose hospitality and prayerful stillness gave me the space and freedom to

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. XIII–XIV.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

compose the final passages of this work; and Abbot Nikolaus Poch OSB and the monks of the Benedictine Abbey of Our Dear Lady of the Scots in Vienna, where I was able to complete part of the revisions while on retreat. I am especially grateful to the DFG-funded Collaborative Research Centre 933 'Material Text Cultures' at the University of Heidelberg, where I worked from 2022–2023 as a translator and under whose auspices funding was obtained for most of the image rights and publishing costs of the present book; special thanks are due here to Nele Schneidereit, Ludger Lieb, Nikolaus Dietrich, Oliver Huber, and Silke Engelhardt. I am also grateful for the support and help received from the staff at Heidelberg University Publishing, in particular Maria Effinger, Nicolai Dollt, Anja Konopka, Johanna Hildenbeutel, Iris Matzner, and for the comments from the two independent reviewers of my manuscript.

Several friends old and new have also been a source of strength and encouragement during the writing and revision of my dissertation, on account of which I especially thank: Robert and Susan Arida, Samuel Bauer, Robert Hutcheon, Georg Kaulfersch, Benedek Kruchió, Christian Lezius, Adrian Linz, Melanie Marshall, Felix and Gaby Mutzl and the entire Mutzl-Theer family, Olaf Nippe, Norbert Pomplun, Sven Scheffler, Ralph and Gabriele Thomann, James and Pauline Tucker and the Tucker/Gregory families, Lillian Ulveland, and Brooke and James Wilcox.

Finally, I wish to thank my 'two' families for their love and support over the years: my parents James and Hope, my siblings Ashley, Nicholas, Cameron, and their families; and my host family from the year I spent in Lower Bavaria during high school as an exchange student in 1997–1998, who gave me a second home and *Heimat* and have remained in my life ever since: Eckart Försterling, Clothilde von Grafenstein, and their children Sonja, Ulrich, Claudia, Philipp, and their families. Finally, this study would have been utterly impossible without Gregory Tucker, whose friendship and love and faith in my work was often the saving grace I needed in order to persevere in the smithy and forge new knowledge. This study is dedicated to him and to my late cousin Janice Reiff, professor of American history at the University of California, Los Angeles, in heartfelt thanks for their inspiration and encouragement. *This will go on though dynasties pass / to mark and circumscribe our listless lives / the staff of life in crumbs will fall / but we will walk this world with music.*

Regensburg
Translation of the Relics of Prince Wenceslaus, Duke of Bohemia, 2022
Revised Summer/Autumn 2023

Matters of Style

The writing style of the present work follows the guidelines and preferences laid out in the 17th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style* (2017) as well as in the second edition of the *SBL Handbook of Style* (2014, primarily in terms of citing biblical texts), with some modifications in line with the in-house style guide of Heidelberg University Press.

Ancient works are referred to via titles translated into English, both in the text proper and in the bibliography. Sections of such works cited and discussed are referred to by the internal divisions in the editions used, rather than by page number (which, however, may be present as an aid if a certain translation has been consulted).

Ancient personal and place names are presented here in common English-language forms if such exist and are common; otherwise, they are transliterated (e.g., Νικόλαος is rendered as Nicholas, Κωνσταντινούπολις as Constantinople; Σκυλίτζης as Skylitzēs). Greek terms cited and mentioned in the text frequently are transliterated and italicised at their first occurrence (e.g., *basileus*); thereafter, they are no longer italicised (e.g., basileus). Direct quotations will sometimes offer the original Greek without transliteration.

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. XV.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

Biblical References

Editions

The Old Testament text quoted and referred to throughout the present study is that of the Septuagint Greek version as found in the edition by Rahlfs/Hanhart (2006). The New Testament text referred to is the common Byzantine recension from the edition prepared by Robinson/Pierpont (2005).

Translations

No one particular translation of the Bible has been used consistently either in quotations or as a reference. Most frequently for the Old Testament Septuagint text, I have consulted the so-called NETS (New English Translation of the Septuagint) translation prepared by the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Inc. (2007). For the Psalms, I have also consulted the English translation available in the three volumes prepared by Dahood (1965–1970). For the New Testament, the main reference translation has been the *Revised Standard Version* published by the National Council of Churches in Christ in America (1971, Old and New Testaments; 1977, the so-called Apocrypha).

References to specific books of scripture

Scriptural books are referred to via their commonly used names in English and are abbreviated in references in accordance with the abovementioned *SBL Handbook of Style (*cf. § 8.3.1–3). Book names (1–4 Kingdoms as opposed to 1–2 Samuel /1–2 Kings) and Psalm numbering follow the Septuagint text rather than the Hebrew (Masoretic) text.

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. XVII.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

List of Figures and Image Credits

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. XIX–XX.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

1 General Introduction

1.1 Thematic preamble

On the eve of the Fourth Crusade, Constantinople was not only known by the sobriquet of "Queen of Cities" and the capital of the Roman Empire, but could also boast of possessing one of the greatest collection of relics in Christendom.[1] Yet when the Crusaders turned aside in 1204 from their planned (re-)conquest of Jerusalem and brought instead calamity upon the imperial capital, most of these treasures ended up leaving the palace and city, never to return; this plunder and destruction is narrated in both Byzantine and Latin Crusader sources.[2] Though sovereignty over Constantinople and its dwindling imperial holdings was wrested from the Latins by the Palaiologan dynasty in 1261, the holy relics once preserved in the palatine precincts remained lost, scattered amongst the monasteries, great houses, and palaces of the Crusaders' homelands.[3]

For centuries prior to this significant loss, Constantinople was a veritable treasury of relics.[4] The altar of every church in the city was required to contain at least

1 Cf. Krueger 2010b, 5–17, esp. 13, where he mentions the estimation made by Meinhardus of there being 3,600 relics of 476 different saints in the city during the Middle Byzantine period. Cf. also the account of the conquest of the city by Villehardouin in n. 2 below, who writes (*On the Conquest of Constantinople* 192): "Many of our men, I may say, went to visit Constantinople, to gaze at its many splendid palaces and tall churches and view all the marvellous wealth of a city richer than any other since the beginning of time. As for the relics, these were beyond description, for there were as many at that time in Constantinople as in all the rest of the world" (cited in Wortley 1999, 353). A lemma proximity search for the terms βασιλίς/βασίλισσα and πόλεων on *TLG* shows evidence of the phrase "Queen of Cities" for describing Constantinople as early as the ninth century in the works of Leo the Deacon and Joseph the Hymnographer and surviving in Greek-language works after the fall of the city to the Ottomans, including the early Modern Greek *History of the Emperors of the Turks* from the late 16th–early 17th century (ed. by Zōras 1958).

2 For Byzantine narrations of the fall of the city to the Crusaders, see: Nikētas Chōniatēs, *History*, ed. by Dieten 1975; Nicholas Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, ed. by Heisenberg 1907 and transl. by Angold 2017 (a partial translation of the passage relating the relics of the Passion in the Pharos chapel is also available in Featherstone 2022); Mesaritēs, *Epitaph for his brother John*, ed. by Heisenberg 1922 and transl. by Angold 2017; anonymous, *Chronicle of the Morea*, ed. by Schmitt 1889 and transl. by Lurier 1964. For Crusader narrations, see: Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. by Noble 2005 and transl. by McNeal 2005; William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. by Huygens 1986 and transl. by Babcock/Krey 1943; Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *On the Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. by Paris 1838 and transl. by C. Smith 2008.

3 Many of these treasures ended up in the treasury of the Cathedral of Saint Mark in Venice and in the Holy Chapel (Sainte-Chapelle) of the French kings on the Île-de-la-Cité in the heart of Paris. Cf. Durand 1997; Durand/Laffitte 2001; Hahnloser 1971.

4 Cf. the extensive article by Effenberger 2015.

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. 1–12.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

some portion of saints' relics,[5] and several prominent houses of worship—such as the church of the Holy Apostles[6] or the Great Church of Holy Wisdom[7]—contained large collections of sacred bones and artefacts. Yet no ensemble rivalled the hoard of holy objects housed not in any patriarchal church or urban monastery, but rather in the Great Palace of the Byzantine emperors. The churches within the palace complex contained relics of saints from both the Old and New Testaments, but amongst the numerous palatine chapels and temples, one stood out for its priceless treasures: the church of the Theotokos of the *Pharos* or Lighthouse, in which the most precious relics of the Christian faith—those holy objects connected to the Passion and person of Jesus Christ as well as his closest associates, such as the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist—were safeguarded.[8] From the fourth century onward, emperors in every century sought to raise the spiritual and sacral profile of the city by

5 The requirement for altars to contain relics is set out in Canon 7 of the Second Council of Nicaea. Cf. Wagschal 2015, 270. For the canons of the council, see the editions by Lamberz 2012/2013/2016. An English-language translation of the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea has recently appeared in Price 2018 (here pp. 615–616). On relics in church buildings specifically, see: Marinis/Ousterhout 2015.

6 On this church in Constantinople, see among others: Downey 1959; Janin 1969, 41–50; and Mullett/Ousterhout 2020.

7 From the extensive body of scholarship on Hagia Sophia, see among others: Janin 1969, 455–470; Mark/Çakmak 1992. A look at the more recent history of the edifice can be found in: Nelson 2004; cf. also the work done by Pentcheva, listed below in this introduction, n. 63.

8 The earliest list of relics contained within the Pharos chapel made by a visitor to the city is that of the anonymous traveller of MS Tarragonensis 55, which has been dated to the years 1075–1099; a total of twelve such lists survive from the end of the 11th century until the sack of the city in the Fourth Crusade in 1204, with four others made between 1204–1247. A complete list of the sources and editions of these lists, as well as a helpful comparative table showing the differences and concordances of the lists with one another, is provided in: Bacci 2003, 234–246 and especially 243–245. For reference, I list here the twelve documents from the time period under consideration and as collected by Bacci, in chronological order of the accounts (document dates in parentheses): anonymous, *Description of Constantinople from the Late Eleventh Century*, ed. by Ciggaar 1995 (1075–1099); anonymous, *Description of Constantinople translated by an English Pilgrim*, ed. by Ciggaar 1976 (12th century); Alexios I Komnēnos, *Letter to Count Robert of Flanders*, ed. by Riant 1879 (1092); anonymous, *Narrative of Constantinople* (Διήγησις τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως), ed. by Ciggaar 1973 (1136–1143); anonymous, *Description from the Year 1150*, ed. by Riant 1879 (1150); Nicholas of Munkaþverá, *Catalogue of the Relics of Constantinople* (*Catalogus reliquiarum Constantinopoleos*), ed. by Riant 1879 (1157); William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. by Huygens 1986 and transl. by Babcock/Krey 1943 (1171); Leo the Tuscan, *On the heresies and transgressions of the Greeks* (*De haeresibus et praevaricationibus Graecorum*), ed. by Migne (ca. 1177); anonymous, *A Description of Constantinople* (*Descriptio Constantinopolis*), ed. by Ciggaar 1973 (late 12th century; in this article, Ciggaar explains how the two MSS containing this text, previously presumed to be the same text, are actually two slightly different accounts from different times in the 11th century); Anthony of Novgorod, *Pilgrim's Book* (Книга паломник), ed. and German transl. by Jouravel 2019 (1200); Nicholas Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, ed. by Heisenberg and

means of relic translations, importing into the capital the spiritual riches it lacked in contrast to the earlier Christian centres of Rome, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch. Not all of these sacred treasures came to the Great Palace, yet increasingly in the Middle Byzantine period—from the mid-ninth-century "triumph of Orthodoxy" under Theodora and Michael III until the apogee/cataclysm at the start of the 13th century under Alexios V[9]—imperially occasioned relic translations resulted in the augmentation of the treasures within the Great Palace, especially by means of the most sacred ones: relics pertaining to the Passion and to Christ himself. It is the concentration of these treasures within the palace and in close proximity to the emperor, rather than within the cathedral and near the patriarch, that is the primary occasion for this study and its concomitant questions.[10]

1.2 Aims and research questions

My work in the present volume elucidates the influence and impact of the presence of holy relics, and in particular relics connected to the Passion of Christ, in the Great Palace on the understanding of the imperial office and the figure of the emperor in the Middle Byzantine era, taking as chronological reference points the year 944 (when the Mandylion was translated to Constantinople) and 1204 (when the Pharos chapel was plundered). This dating is significant because, although the translation of relics and antiquities to the Queen of Cities had already begun under the founding emperor Constantine I in the 330s, we begin to find with the arrival of the Mandylion sources that speak in detail about the relationship between these relics and the emperor, whereas after the departure of these relics from the city in 1204, Byzantine sources fall silent on them and the interactive matrix of palace/Passion relics/emperor ceases to exist in the same full way as it had before the calamity of the Fourth Crusade. A central theme of this thesis, demonstrated across the following chapters via close studies of three key Passion relics, is that the sacrality of these objects—which sanctify spaces and protect persons by

transl. by Angold (ca. 1200); Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. by Noble and transl. by McNeal (ca. 1204).

9 The dates bookending what has come to be called the "Middle Byzantine" period vary amongst scholars, with some consensus however placing a start around AD 700 and ending with the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Cf. Shepard 2008, esp. pp. 21–52 on issues of periodisation. Cited in Tucker 2023, 4, n. 12.

10 On the relics housed in the Pharos chapel, see the compilation of pilgrimage accounts listing relics in Bacci 2003 (above, n. 8) and Magdalino's account of the relics housed in the chapel during the Middle Byzantine period (below, n. 52). I am also grateful to Nancy P. Ševčenko for having shared with me for consultation an unpublished list she prepared of known dates of relics arriving in Constantinople, along with their known locations in the city, from 336–1169/1170, which she compiled for the talk she gave on travelling relics at the 18th International Byzantine Congress held in Moscow, August 8–15, 1991.

contact and veneration in Byzantine theology—served to sacralise and sanctify the office of emperor, as well as the emperor himself, via the close contact and connection of these sacred objects to the emperor in his domicile and private apartments. In order to determine if this supposition holds true, the research behind this study poses several questions as to the objects and agents participating in this palatine connection in the Middle Byzantine period: What sources from this time period speak of relics pertaining to Christ and the emperor? How do these sources speak of this connection? Can we trace themes of continuity or change in how this connection between ruler and relic is understood during the time period under study? Is the emperor truly understood to be a sacred and holy figure, or merely the holder of a sacred office? And in the former case: does such imperial sacrality derive purely from Christian theology and sacred objects, or are other sacralising elements that pre-date the Christianisation of the empire also at work? These questions and the search for their answers take place in this study wholly within a Byzantine context; and while the sources examined and methodologies employed are various and interdisciplinary, as will be explained below, the study is firmly grounded in the Roman, Greek-speaking, Byzantine orthodox Christian world and the ways in which the relationship between these relics and the emperor were understood in this specific context. The present work thus does not aim to provide a comprehensive study of what Byzantium's many neighbours thought—or did *not* think—of the emperor, the empire, and the treasures of church and palace in Constantinople, which study is nonetheless a worthy subject of inquiry in need of further investigation.

1.3 Sources

Key to this study are the relics connected to Christ that were kept in the Great Palace and for which we have visual and textual sources that mention and reflect upon these objects and their relation to the emperor. Three such relics received this kind of extended literary, artistic, and/or theological reflection: the Mandylion or Holy Face; the Limburg Staurotheke, a complex ensemble of relics, inscriptions, and art; and the Holy Stone, upon which Christ's body was believed to have been anointed for burial after the crucifixion. For these relics, we have various primary source texts including: contemporary historiographical sources such as chronicle narrations; guides to court ritual, such as the *Book of Ceremonies*; liturgical texts composed for the translation of these relics to the Byzantine capital; theological reflections on the objects; inscriptions and poems juxtaposed with the relics being investigated; and artistic depictions of the relics in question or else presented in conjunction with the relics and figures studied. For some of these source texts, in particular for the liturgical offices of relic translation studied here, an appendix containing English-language translations is provided.

1.4 Methodology

Given the interdisciplinary nature of this study, involving texts and objects traditionally viewed through the distinct lenses of the disciplines of history, art history, and theology, several different methodological approaches are employed in pursuit of the aim of understanding the relic-ruler relationship in Middle Byzantium. With all written sources examined—chronicle texts, inscriptions, liturgical texts, poems—close readings of the texts have been made, with detailed attention to syntax, vocabulary choice, and possible syn- and diachronic polyvalences in word meanings.[11] These close readings have been accompanied by an awareness of the linguistic turn in the historical disciplines and the fundamental differences in pre-modern texts compared to those of our own day.[12]

In the case of inscriptions in particular, issues of location and reading order are also investigated, which opens up the study to using approaches familiar from the social sciences and the material turn, in which the performance(s) and affordance(s) of objects are considered in their spatio-chronological contexts.[13] In the case of the iconography and artistic depictions studied and for both historiographical and liturgical texts examined, this study also makes use of Christian patristic methods of reading texts: hearing and reading words, seeing images, and seeking out possible resonating connections and associations to these from within the Christian scriptures and hagiographical tradition, an allegorical method famously exploited in the early patristic era by Origen of Alexandria and a foundation of much later Christian exegesis and theological interpretation.[14] Such a 'patristic' or allegorical method of reading and interrogating texts and art is fitting for this

11 On this method of textual analysis, see Lentricchia/Dubois 2003. For an exploration of the use of close reading in the modern academic context of teaching and research, see also Culler 2010.

12 Cf. Clark 2004, esp. chapter 8 ("History, Theory, and Premodern Texts", pp. 156–185).

13 Select key works on the material turn in the humanities include: Appadurai 1986; Latour 2005; Miller 2005; and Meier/Ott/Sauer 2015.

14 As Krueger 2010a notes: "Already in the third century, Origen of Alexandria had distinguished two modes of Christian biblical exegesis beyond the literal sense of the text. The first was moral, whereby most Christians derived basic edification and moral instruction. The other was spiritual, and involved searching after the higher (or deeper) and allegorical meanings embedded in the text. …Even after the condemnation of parts of Origen's theology in the sixth century, [parts of the work *On First Principles* by] Origen continued to be read by Byzantine monastics and to inform monastic exegesis" (p. 213). These portions of *On First Principles* (4.1–3) were included by Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzos in their *Philokalia*, which ensured longlasting readership in Byzantine/orthodox circles; for a recent translation and study of the entire work, see Behr 2019. The impact of Origen and his allegorical exegesis on both the writing of the New Testament (in the Pauline epistles) and the later patristic exegesis of these Christian scriptures is also explored by Constas 2016, Cunningham 2016 (esp. pp. 193–195), and Shoemaker 2016 (esp. p. 302).

study, inasmuch as it involves objects that were believed to be imbued with sacred power and which were commented upon in highly theological and theologised contexts, which in turn made use of such 'patristic' allegorical or associative readings to interpret these relics and situate them in a larger cultural and imperial setting—a method of reading quite widespread in Middle Byzantium and deployed across literary genres.[15] It is thus my belief that applying this kind of exegetical and associative/allegorical reading of the texts and images studied here can help uncover more of the resonances these sacred objects possessed vis-à-vis the emperor in a time and place where such a manner of reading and interpreting objects was common, if not primary and preferred.[16]

1.5 Summary history of research

While hagiographical texts and saints' lives began to be edited and critiqued as early as the mid-17th century by the Bollandists,[17] and the vast multilingual body of patristic literature first encountered serious sustained editorial activity in the *Patrologia Graeca* and *Latina* series founded by Jacques-Paul Migne in 1857,[18] relics and their study remained hidden from academic view until the end of the 19th century, when some individual studies of relics began to be written. One such case is that of the Limburg Staurotheke, the focus of the second chapter in this present work, on which the first scholarly article was published in 1866 by Ernst Aus'm Weerth.[19] This study, however, was firmly grounded in a purely art-historical, descriptive school of analysis, seeking to understand and explain styles, images, and techniques visible on the Staurotheke without investigating deeper connections to court, church, and city, given the historical context of the object; this approach also marks the later article by Jakob Rauch.[20]

15 On such polyvalency in Middle Byzantine literature, see the essential article by Krausmüller 2006.

16 On these 'patristic' approaches to textual reading and analysis, see among others O'Keeffe/Reno 2005. For a look at how this impacted later Byzantine historiography and narration, see: Papaioannou 2010 and Macrides 2016.

17 The group took its name from the Jesuit priest Jean Bolland (1596–1665); though no longer consisting only of Jesuits, the Société des Bollandistes continues its historical work today via the journal they publish, *Analecta Bollandiana* (1882–present). They have also published a study on the history of their work as a group: cf. Godding et al. 2007.

18 Originally published in editions by Migne 1857–1866 under the series names *Patrologia Latina* and *Patrologia Graeca*, respectively. All volumes are now available online: http://patristica.net/graeca/ and http://patristica.net/latina/ (accessed 21/09/2023). A somewhat tongue-in-cheek biography of Migne and study of his printing activity can be found in Bloch 1994.

19 Aus'm Weerth 1866.

20 Rauch 1955.

Scholars of the 20th century began to pay more sustained attention to relics as objects, phenomena, and key nodes in historical, religious, and interpretive networks. Included in this engagement with the relics themselves was also an examination of the reliquaries containing them. Before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Italian scholar Silvio Giuseppe Mercati published his findings on shrines and relics in Constantinople before the Fourth Crusade in 1936,[21] while Joseph Braun published in the midst of the wartime hostilities his encyclopaedic study on reliquaries, which attempted to categorise relic containers based on size, shape, material, and function.[22] Braun admits that his study was focused more on the then present-day state of affairs in terms of available reliquaries rather than on offering a comprehensive historical retrospective on such objects;[23] he does mention the Limburg Staurotheke[24] but the emphasis in the work leans heavily on Western Europe and Western relics/reliquaries, with Braun explaining (or perhaps excusing) this imbalance by alleging a paucity of Eastern sources on relics[25] and the dearth of such relics themselves.[26] Another mid-century (and again, more Western-based) study on relics proper in the early medieval period can be found in an essay by Heinrich Fichtenau,[27] with another key study on relic translations in the West (both in terms of these being actual events as well as being a new literary genre) in the West published by Martin Heinzelmann in 1979.[28] A turn eastward, however, did

21 Mercati 1936.

22 Braun 1940.

23 Braun 1940, v.

24 Braun 1940, 91.

25 Braun 1940, 8: "Im Osten versagen die schriftlichen Quellen fast vollständig. Völlig fehlen aus ihm die für die Geschichte der Reliquiare im Westen so reichlich vorhandenen Inventare und Reliquienverzeichnisse mit Angaben über die Reliquiare."

26 Braun 1940, 12–13: "Aus dem Osten hat sich aus altchristlicher Zeit und dem Mittelalter nur eine verhältnismäßig geringe Zahl von Reliquiaren erhalten. Es handelt sich bei ihnen zumeist um Reliquiare, die schon im Mittelalter von dort durch Kreuzfahrer, Pilger oder als Geschenke in den Westen kamen. In den Kirchen des Ostens scheint sich aus älterer Zeit nur sehr wenig gerettet zu haben. Finden sich doch selbst in den Klöstern des Athos, in denen man noch am ersten eine größere Zahl von mittelalterlichen Reliquiaren erwarten dürfte, sehr wenige solcher. Überraschen kann das übrigens bei den Geschicken, denen der christliche Osten durch den Islam verfiel, nicht. Der Wert der aus dem Osten noch vorhandenen Reliquiare besteht bei ihrer sehr beschränkten Zahl nur darin, daß sie uns Aufschluß geben über die dort gebräuchlichen Formen derselben und ihre Ausstattung. Ein Bild ihrer Entwicklung in der einen wie der andern Beziehung vermögen sie uns nicht zu bieten."

27 Fichtenau 1952.

28 Heinzelmann 1979; see therein his bibliography on Western relic translations in late antiquity and the Middle Ages, pp. 9–15. Most of his work—as with the works in his bibliography—does not touch on Byzantium, given its Western focus, but he does note the intimate connection of relics with royal/imperial circles in the late antique and medieval West (p. 35), something demonstrated in the following chapters via the specific relics/reliquaries studied and the Byzantine rulers of the time.

take place in the work by Anatole Frolow on the relics of the True Cross and their associated containers,[29] and a dedicated examination of Eastern reliquaries was published in 1957 by Rainer Rückert.[30]

More scholars began to investigate the origins of relics and their veneration, with Peter Brown's groundbreaking book *The Cult of the Saints*, published in 1981,[31] firmly setting holy persons and their holy bodies at the centre of late antique and medieval studies. Yet much subsequent research on relics and reliquaries remained firmly focused on saints, objects, and locales in Western Europe,[32] with notable and important exceptions being the scholarship of Enrica Follieri,[33] Rodolphe Guilland,[34] and Raymond Janin[35] in the mid-1960s; Otto Meinardus in the 1970s;[36] and Johannes Koder in the 1980s.[37] Only in the late 20th century do we see Byzantinists and other scholars turning their gaze to relics of the Byzantine East and shifting their interpretive lens to speak of these objects in their native Eastern Mediterranean contexts. Consciousness of the Byzantine heritage of the Mandylion is displayed in Isa Ragusa's 1991 article on the object,[38] and Eastern perspectives on the Mandylion also appear in the 1998 volume edited by Herbert Kessler and Gerhard Wolf[39] as well as in the volume edited by Gerhard Wolf and Giovanni Morello accompanying an exhibition of art and iconography of the Holy Face in 2000–2001,[40] with a 2002 article by Giovanni Zaninotto exploring the role and meaning of the Mandylion in its Constantinopolitan context in the Middle Byzantine period.[41]

The turn of the century continued this momentum towards more work being done on the Great Palace of Constantinople, the Pharos Chapel contained therein,

29 Frolow 1961b, Frolow 1965.

30 See esp. Rückert 1957, 25, where he notes the difficulties in his day of actually accessing some of the Byzantine treasures preserved in the West: "Meist liegen die byzantinischen Reliquien in westeuropäischen Kirchenschätzen in späteren Reliquiaren unter Siegeln geborgen und sind deshalb dem photographischen Apparat nahezu völlig entzogen. So vor allem die vorzüglichen Beispiele in der Domopera in Florenz, in S. Maria della Scala in Siena oder in S. Marco in Venedig"—a comment which still holds true in large part today.

31 Brown 1981; on relics in particular, cf. chapter 5 ("Praesentia", pp. 86–105).

32 In terms of scope and methodology, mention can be made here of the doctoral dissertation published by Kühne 2000. He focuses on the ostentatious public presentation of relics in the Western European medieval context, providing an extensive bibliography on this subject as well as parallels to the present volume and the connection again of sacred relics with royal and imperial figures.

33 See especially Follieri 1964 (esp. p. 450) and Follieri 1965.

34 Guilland 1967, Guilland 1969. Note also his earlier article on the Pharos chapel: Guilland 1951.

35 See n. 6 above.

36 Meinardus 1970, esp. pp. 130– 133.

37 Koder 1985, Koder 1989.

38 Ragusa 1991.

39 Kessler/Wolf 1998. See in this volume especially the article by Trilling, pp. 109–127).

40 Morello/Wolf 2000.

41 Zaninotto 2002.

and the relics housed in the chapel. The Limburg Staurotheke is the focus of a 1994 article by Nancy P. Ševčenko,[42] who later studied in detail the Holy Stone relic in a 2010 essay.[43] The 1997 tome edited by Henry Maguire on Byzantine court culture[44] gathered together a number of essays on ritual, rhetoric, and relics at the imperial court, addressing various aspects of the interaction of sovereign and court with one another, with sacred spaces, elite objects, and even clothing. Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius edited a volume appearing in 1999 on relics as cult objects;[45] these published conference proceedings mainly focused on the Western medieval context, but a section on relics throughout the Christian world is included, containing an essay on the role of relics in the development of the cult of the saints in Byzantium by Michel Kaplan.[46] Bozóky later connected the topic of relics more specifically to politics and political power (already addressed in the Byzantine context in 2001 by Sophia Mergiali-Sahas[47]) in her publication from 2006.[48] The ripples in the waters of academe caused by the material turn reached the shores of Byzantine studies in the 1980s and 1990s, with various studies on the depiction of material goods in medieval art and on domestic tools and utensils in the Byzantine world.[49] Maria Parani focused on the textiles and couture of the Byzantine court in her 1999 dissertation and 2003 book,[50] while theoretical considerations more generally speaking were examined in an article by Michael Grünbart and Dionysios Stathakopoulos in 2002.[51] 2004 saw the publication of the proceedings from the 20th annual International Congress of Byzantine Studies edited by Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin, which focused specifically on relics connected to Christ in Byzantium and included important articles on the Passion relics and the Pharos chapel by Paul Magdalino, Holger Klein, Sysse Engberg, and Sandrine Lerou.[52]

The first decade of the 21st century saw several important articles on relics and reliquaries at the Great Palace by Holger Klein, heralded in 2004 by his comprehensive study of the True Cross relics of Byzantium.[53] One of his essays appeared in

42 N. Ševčenko 1994.
43 N. Ševčenko 2010.
44 Maguire 1997.
45 Cf. Bozóky 1999.
46 Cf. Kaplan 1999.
47 Mergiali-Sahas 2001.
48 Bozóky 2006, esp. chapter 2 ("Le modèle byzantin", pp. 73–118).
49 Cf. Vikan/Nesbitt 1980, Kislinger 1982, Bouras 1982, Bryer 1986, Guillou 1986, Köpstein 1987, Kolias 1988, Bakirtzēs 1989, and De' Maffei 1997.
50 Parani 2003.
51 Grünbart/Stathakopoulos 2002. This work was followed by the publication of conference proceedings on the same topic: Grünbart et al. 2007.
52 Durand/Flusin 2004, and especially the articles contained in this edited volume by the authors mentioned above: Magdalino 2004, Klein 2004b, Engberg 2004, and Lerou 2004.
53 Klein 2004a, Klein 2004c, Klein 2006, Klein 2009, Bagnoli 2010, Klein 2021. An important earlier work on relic removals and theft (including the [in]famous removal of

the important volume edited by Franz Alto Bauer on early medieval visualisations of dominion and rule,[54] which further spurred research and interest on the interplay of space, objects, and ritual in the Great Palace of Constantinople, having taken up the mantle of the important 20th-century studies published by David Talbot Rice[55] and Cyril Mango.[56] The fruits of such focus on sacred spaces and the Pharos chapel in particular can be seen in the copious outputs by Bernard Flusin[57] and Alexei Lidov,[58] while new translations and editions of the important tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* have appeared in the last decade in English by Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall,[59] and most recently in French by Gilbert Dagron and Bernard Flusin.[60] The issues of relic/reliquary performance(s) and affordance(s) have been studied extensively by Roland Betancourt,[61] Brad Hostetler,[62] Bissera Pentcheva,[63] as well as by Cynthia Hahn and Gia Toussaint (the latter two albeit with a more Western focus),[64] while essays on Byzantine religious culture, including relics in conjunction with the emperor, appear in a volume published in 2012 and edited by Dennis Sullivan, Elizabeth Fisher, and Stratis Papaioannou.[65] Recent years have seen both a new focus on the sacrality of palaces and courts themselves, often by means of sacred rites and objects (including relics)[66] as well as a new return *ad fontes* to re-examine and better understand the origins and importance of the cult of relics in the earliest Christian centuries;[67] the links between the divine and the imperial/cultic that originate in classical antiquity and endure into early and

the relics of Saint Nicholas from Myra in Lycia, Asia Minor [present-day Demre, Turkey] to Bari in Apulia, Italy in 1051) is Geary 1978.

54 Bauer 2006.

55 Cf. Rice 1947.

56 Cf. Mango 1959, Mango 1962, Mango 1969/1970.

57 Flusin 1997, Flusin 2000a, Flusin 2000b, Flusin 2019. Flusin has also written extensively on the emperor as hagiographer and holy personage; cf. Flusin 1998, Flusin 1999, Flusin 2001. In his œuvre, the scholar builds on the groundbreaking work of his colleague Gilbert Dagron; cf. Dagron 2003a, as well as the other studies Dagron 1991, Dagron 1994, and Dagron 2003b.

58 Cf. Lidov 2007, Lidov 2009, and Lidov 2012.

59 Moffatt/Tall 2017.

60 Dagron/Flusin 2020.

61 Betancourt 2016a, Betancourt 2016b, and Betancourt 2018.

62 Hostetler 2011, Hostetler 2012, Hostetler 2016, and Hostetler 2021.

63 Pentcheva 2007, Pentcheva 2008, and Pentcheva 2012. Pentcheva is also known for her work on acoustics and performance in the space of Hagia Sophia; cf. Pentcheva 2011, Pentcheva 2017.

64 Cf. Hahn 2010, Hahn 2012a, Hahn 2012b, Hahn 2017, Hahn 2020, Hahn/Klein 2015, Hahn/Palladino 2018; Reudenbach/Toussaint 2005; Toussaint 2011.

65 Cf. Sullivan/Fisher/Papaioannou 2012, esp. the article therein by Sullivan, pp. 395–409.

66 Cf. Luchterhandt/Röckelein 2021.

67 Cf. Hartl 2018, who looks at the role relics played in the development, establishment, and consolidation of the five early Christian metropolises and patriarchal sees of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem; cf. also Wiśniewski 2019.

medieval Christianity;[68] and the survival and development of classical ideas about divine inspiration in Byzantine theological discourse and iconography.[69]

Across this history of research, one finds a movement from recognising and recording inventories of Byzantine relics and reliquaries, to investigating the material reality of the objects via their concomitant art and inscriptions, to striving to understand the impact the location of the relics had on the places where they were kept, and culminating in recent decades with the extensive studies on the Passion relics in Constantinople and how these relics can be seen to transform the city/palace into a New Jerusalem. My study focuses the lens of inquiry onto how the presence of these holy objects in the Great Palace affected a change in how *the emperor himself* was understood to be a sacred, even divine, figure. This change occurred in progressive stages, made visible in how the texts and art surrounding three key Passion relics—the Mandylion, the Limburg Staurotheke, and the Holy Stone—single out the emperor as having a special connection to the relics and elucidate imperial sacrality by means of the juxtaposition of relics and ruler. As I show in the close case studies presented below, this proximity of sacred objects and sovereign seems to allow for an increased direct association, first of relics with the office of emperor and then of specific relics with specific rulers, imbuing the Byzantine emperor with an aura of divine election and even divinity, as comes to be expressed in the textual sources on these relics examined in the chapters to follow. The acquisition of relics and the manufacturing of new relic ensembles in the Middle Byzantine period can thus be seen to act as an engine that generates new meanings and understandings of imperial sacrality on an increasingly personal level, up to the zenith of this development, culminating in the blurring of lines between Emperor Manuel I Komnēnos—the Lord's Anointed on the terrestrial throne—and Jesus Christ, the Anointed One par excellence and Emmanuel in heaven—and coming to a halt at the dispersal of these objects in the fall of the city to the Crusaders in 1204.

1.6 Structure of the study

The present investigation of the links between relics and emperors and the influence of the former on the latter in the Middle Byzantine period focuses on the three relics mentioned above in the passage on sources, for which we have surviving evidence of extended reflection on both sacred object and sovereign. Chapter 2 discusses the Mandylion, brought to Constantinople in 944. The Limburg Staurotheke, a complex amalgam of relics and reliquary datable in form to the late tenth century, forms the focus of Chapter 3. Finally, Chapter 4 centres around the Holy Stone of

68 Cf. Ivanovici 2023.
69 Cf. Krause 2022.

unction, translated to the imperial capital in 1169. Following some concluding remarks on the answers this research provides to the guiding questions posed above as to change, continuity, and manner of how imperial sacrality was understood against the backdrop of these relics, the abovementioned appendix of translated texts and the bibliography are presented.

2 The Mandylion

2.1 Introduction

Of all the prized relics in the church of the Theotokos of the Lighthouse in the imperial palace in Constantinople, the so-called Mandylion[1] has the fullest record of historical and legendary mention, as well as the most developed cultic and liturgical reflection and veneration, after the Christian relic *par excellence* of the True Cross.[2] Prior to the icon-relic's[3] translation to the Byzantine capital from Edessa (present-day Şanlıurfa in south-eastern Turkey), the history of the object as presented in the fourth-century *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebios of Caesarea[4] and in the fourth- or fifth-century Syriac text the *Doctrine of Addai* can be summarised as follows: a certain Syrian king named Abgar was ill and heard of the healings wrought by Jesus of Nazareth in Judaea. The king then sent an envoy to Jesus asking him to visit his palace in Syria; the Nazarene refused, saying he must stay amongst the sheep of Israel. The two

1 The term *mandylion* comes from Byzantine Greek μανδύλιον, itself an alternation of the more commonly found spelling μανδήλιον, a frequent change given the convergence of the vowels ι, η, ει, υ, οι, υι > /i/ in Medieval Greek; on this, cf. Holton et al. 2019, 10–11. The term derives originally from the Latin *mantēle* or the corresponding diminutive *mantēlium* meaning "(small) towel" (cf. *LBG*, s.v. "μανδήλιον, τό") via the Arabic *mandīl* (the plural form *manādīl* following native Arabic so-called broken plural patterns of vowel alternation between root consonants and thus attesting to the antiquity of the term's incorporation into the language; cf. Runciman 1931, 248; and Rosenthal 1971, 63–99 [cited in Krause 2022, 273]).

2 Groundbreaking in its scope and comprehensive character is the study by Dobschütz 1909, which has an entire chapter dedicated to the Mandylion ("Das Christusbild von Edessa", pp. 102–196). More recently, a complete study of the extant manuscripts, together with an edition of the text and a German translation, has been prepared by Illert 2007; even more recently, Mark Guscin has published two volumes on the traditions and texts connected to the Mandylion: Guscin 2009 and Guscin 2016. In what follows, quotations from Guscin's translations of the *Narratio de imagine Edessena* and the *Sermon* of Gregory the Referendary will be noted with both the paragraph number in the work as well as the double page span (facing Greek edition and English translation) as contained in *The Image of Edessa*. A comprehensive study of the Mandylion in comparison and contrast to the Shroud of Turin can be found in Nicolotti 2014, yet the focus there is more on understanding the links and complex transformation and intertwining of the stories and images of these two objects, rather than on the interchange and influence of the Mandylion alone on the Byzantine emperor's sacrality. For an overview of the history of the object, see Cameron 1983. The most recent study on the Mandylion and its tile copies (discussed in this chapter) is Krause 2022; cf. ibid., chapter 6, "*Acheiropoietos*: The Mandylion as 'the radiance of God's glory and exact imprint of God's very being'", pp. 273–319, and chapter 7, "Allegories of divine artistry: The Mandylion and its Multiples", pp. 320–354.

3 This term, fitting for the dual nature of how the Mandylion was treated and revered as both image and memento left by Christ, has been coined by Belting 1990, 235.

4 Cf. Eusebios of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, transl. by Lake, 1.13.

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. 13–73.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

accounts then diverge here slightly: one version says that Christ allowed his face to be painted on a cloth by the apostle Thaddaeus, while the other says that Christ washed his face and wiped it with a towel, and the divine image was miraculously imprinted onto the cloth. In both cases, the resulting image was delivered to Abgar, who was healed upon receiving it. Later in the sixth century, Euagrios Scholastikos writes of the Mandylion miraculously defending Edessa against a siege laid by the Persians under the Sasanian king Khosrow (Chosroēs) I.[5] In the following centuries, the precious cloth, bound to a board or piece of wood, was kept away as a treasure in the palace and then hidden in a niche above the gate of the city. Following the successful military campaign against the Arabs waged by the general John Kourkouas[6] during the joint reign of Emperors Rōmanos I Lakapēnos and Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, the rulers of the city of Edessa are said to have surrendered the Mandylion to the Romans as a condition for the latter's withdrawal from the city, and the object was received with great pomp and celebration in Constantinople in August 944. At this point, the Mandylion's 'object biography'[7] fully emerges within the Middle Byzantine context and enters a centuries-long period of religious devotion, rhetorical reflection, and interaction with the figure of the emperor at the heart of the empire, beginning with the contemporaneous tenth-century account of its arrival and ending with mentions and sermons by Constantinopolitan elites on the eve of the Fourth Crusade. In examining these literary, artistic, and liturgical sources, the following questions arise: What is the precise nature of the link between relic and ruler here in the case of the Mandylion? What influence, direct or indirect, does its conjunction with the emperor have on how these sources speak of the character or nature of the emperor? And finally, is the emperor imbued with a sacred character by the Mandylion's translation and presence in the capital, and if so, how? The close reading of texts here, together with a look at the topical and tropical associations evoked by the specific image types and vocabulary employed in the sources, suggests a gradual shift over time from understanding the icon-relic as a protective palladium for the city as a whole to a specifically imperial treasure whose presence near the emperor grants the basileus a divine aura, from one *christos* or 'anointed' to another, as it were. With these lines of inquiry and interpretive tools in mind, let us turn to the first of the written sources, the translation narrative attributed to the emperor himself.

5 Cf. Euagrios Scholastikos, *Ecclesiastical History*, transl. by Whitby, 4.27.

6 Kourkouas had an illustrious career on the eastern Byzantine front and was promoted around 921 to the high office of Domestic of the Schools, being dismissed later from service after the deposition of Rōmanos I and dying sometime after 946; cf. "Kourkouas, John" in *ODB* 2:1157 and "Domestikos ton scholon" in *ODB* 1:647–648. On Kourkouas's exploits under Emperor Rōmanos I, see also Runciman 1988, 135–150.

7 The notion of 'material' or 'object biographies' and examining the events in a given object's history through the stylistic lens of biography—a methodology which has been employed widely and enthusiastically especially in archaeology and anthropology—was first coined and discussed by Kopytoff 1986 in the volume edited by Appadurai.

2.2 Tenth century: *adventus* and installation

2.2.1 The *Narration* of Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos

The primary account of the icon-relic's arrival in Constantinople is provided by the so-called *Narration of the Image of Edessa* (henceforth *Narration*). Although the earliest extant manuscripts of the text date only from the 11th century,[8] the *Narration*'s authorship is attributed in the text's title to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos himself,[9] setting forth the ruler already at the outset of the account as having his own reign embedded in or linked to that of Christ, the eternal king, and as having compiled this account from various sources: "A narration of Constantine, through Christ the eternal emperor, emperor of the Romans, assembled from diverse accounts."[10] The text strives to provide a full "narration" of the object's history, from the Abgar legend in first-century Syria to the festal reception of the icon-relic in tenth-century Constantinople. Yet in this early text from the Middle Byzantine period pertaining to the Mandylion, I believe that the initial connection made between relic and emperor, albeit subtle, is nonetheless determinative for the link binding relics and emperor together. Constantine writes that "[the relic] has now been transferred from Edessa to this ruling city by God's all-encompassing dispensation, for its [sc. the city's] salvation and protection, so that it may not seem to be deficient in anything, as it should always be the mistress of everything."[11] At first glance, the "ruling city" itself, rather than the emperor, seems to be the focus; but the immediately preceding title links the rule of Constantine VII directly with Christ's royal rule for the reader: "God's all-encompassing dispensation" thus encompasses the emperor, whose actions then become the focus of the story.

This link of God's activity with the rule of the Roman emperor is heightened in the next section of the tale. As the *Narration* relates, when Christ became incarnate and was physically present on earth,

> polyarchy had been disbanded and the whole inhabited world was as if under one belt—Roman rule—and subject to one ruler. And so all dealings of all peoples with others were carried out in peace and men did not appear to inhabit a divided world, but were all under one master, just as the universe is under one

8 Guscin 2009, 7.

9 The emperor might have indeed overseen the production and compilation of the text, but a personal hand in its composition is most unlikely, with the task being delegated to court scribes. For an argumentation of this view, see I. Ševčenko 1992.

10 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* title (8/9): Κωνσταντίνου ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεῖ αἰωνίῳ βασιλέως Ῥωμαίων διήγησις ἀπὸ διαφόρων ἀθροισθεῖσα ἱστοριῶν.

11 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 1 (8/9–10/11).

creator. Everybody bowed his neck in submission to the emperor and lived in peace with one another.[12]

The subtext of the *Narration*, however, makes clear that the distant past of first-century Rome and Palestine is not the only historical period meant to be understood here: the Mandylion, the authentic image of Christ, the "express image of the Father",[13] is now at hand in the present, as Constantine VII emerges from co-ruling with Rōmanos I to be sole ruler in his own right.[14] The opening historical sweep of the narration bears within itself a clear contemporary message: Constantine VII enjoys sole reign in the "inhabited world" of the empire in the presence of Christ via the icon-relic, mirroring God's supreme monarchic reign over creation.[15]

The divine face on the cloth/towel of the Mandylion and the miraculous copy made thereof by contact with a small tile (the so-called Keramion or 'Holy Tile') are given to Abgar in the story not merely as mementos or talismans, but as "symbols of salvation" (σωτήρια σύμβολα),[16] able to heal and protect both the king and his country. One such symbol at least—the Mandylion—is then said to be brought to Constantinople in the tenth century by divine will on account of the capital's prerogative over treasures and wonders, with Rōmanos still playing a part in the

12 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 2 (10/11–12/13). This same imagery of a united earthly monarchic rule being linked inextricably to the incarnation of the one monarchic God and the spread of the one true faith—including the selfsame word "polyarchy"—appears centuries later in the doxastikon at vespers for the Nativity of Christ, composed by the nun Kassianē (ca. 800/805–between 843–847): Αὐγούστου μοναρχήσαντος ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἡ πολυαρχία τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπαύσατο· καὶ σοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος ἐκ τῆς ἁγνῆς ἡ πολυθεΐα τῶν εἰδώλων κατήργηται. ὑπὸ μίαν βασιλείαν ἐγκόσμιον αἱ πόλεις γεγένηνται· καὶ εἰς μίαν δεσποτείαν θεότητος τὰ ἔθνη ἐπίστευσαν. ἀπεγράφησαν οἱ λαοὶ τῷ δόγματι τοῦ καίσαρος· ἐγράφημεν οἱ πιστοὶ ὀνόματι θεότητος, σοῦ τοῦ ἐνανθρωπήσαντος θεοῦ ἡμῶν. μέγα σου τὸ ἔλεος, δόξα σοι ("When Augustus had gained sole rule over the earth, the polyarchy of humans came to end; and when you had become human from the pure [Virgin], the polytheism of idols was abolished. The cities came under a single universal empire, and the nations believed in the single dominion of divinity. The peoples were enrolled by the decree of Caesar; we the faithful have been recorded by the name of the divinity of you, our God who has become human. Great is your mercy, glory to you"; translation mine). For a study on the life and sources around this rare female writer whose works have survived, as well as for the extant hymns attributed to her in the Byzantine tradition, see Tsirōnē 2002 (this hymn: p. 56).

13 Cf. Heb 1:3.

14 Constantine VII remained as sole *autokratōr* in 944 after Romanōs was removed to the Princes' Islands and forced to become a monk by his sons Stephen and Christopher, who in turn were exiled by Constantine VII. The episode is recounted in Symeon the Logothete, *Chronicle*, ed. by Wahlgren, 136.82–137.8 (pp. 339–343).

15 The connection of a single ruler with the single divinity dates from late antiquity and is very much alive in the medieval cultures of Western and Eastern Europe. On these origins, see Fürst 2006.

16 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 9 (24/25).

tale, "ma[king] it his own priority to possess this image and enrich the queen of cities" by entreating Edessa to give up the relic.[17] The Byzantine account here of imperial efforts to secure the Mandylion for the capital by handing over Muslim prisoners to the Arab authorities ruling over Edessa at the time[18] has more historical grounding than the earlier, much-debated Abgarian parts of the Mandylion's past; a contemporaneous Arabic-language chronicle also confirms that the Muslim rulers of Edessa were approached about the object and ultimately ceded it to the Byzantines to preserve the lives of their co-religionists.[19] But while Rōmanos is depicted as initiating efforts to bring the icon-relic to the city, Constantine is the one to be legitimated by the Mandylion's arrival in Constantinople, which is framed very much like a late antique *adventus* in terms of the majestic entry of the relic into the city with pauses and stations on either side of the city walls.[20]

On the way to the Byzantine capital, many healing miracles are said to occur in the wake of the Mandylion's transit: no person is said to see or touch the object, but only that "the holy image (τῆς ἱερᾶς εἰκόνος) and the letter of Christ worked many … extraordinary miracles along the way."[21] As in the days of Abgar, so now in the tenth century: the image of Christ being transported is no inert depiction devoid of agency, but rather works healings like other more typical relics of the martyrs and the saints in similar accounts of miraculous healings, such as bones, dust, or pieces of clothing—albeit solely by its presence and without any specific instance of contact. Similarly, the image is not merely carried in a travel bag or a bundle of wrappings, but is described as being borne about in a casket or chest (θήκη), the same term often used for reliquaries in the Middle Byzantine period.[22] An amalgam

17 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 21 (44/45). On the topos of 'queen of cities' for Constantinople, see chapter 1 above, n. 1.

18 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 22–24 (44/45–48/49).

19 A Muslim perspective on the events of the removal of the Mandylion from Edessa to Constantinople is found in the writings of the Abbasid government minister (*wazīr*) ʿAlī bin ʿĪsā bin Dāʾūd bin al-Jarrāḥ (AD 859–946), who was secretary under the caliph al-Muqtadir and is said to have advised the Muslim leaders in Edessa to relinquish the object, as related in Bowen 1928 and cited by Runciman 1931, 249. On this *wazīr*, see "ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Dāʾūd b. al-Jarrāḥ" in: *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Third Edition*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24846 (accessed 15/09/2023).

20 On the origins and development of the *adventus*, i.e., the ceremonially performed and perceived arrival of the sovereign (first in imperial Rome and later in Constantinople and other medieval Western European centres), a rich literature exists. See in particular: Kantorowicz 1944, Lehoux/Guenée 1968, MacCormack 1972, MacCormack 1974, Lehnen 1997, Kipling 1998, Warner 2001, Schenk 2003, Porena 2005, Shepard 2013, and Pfeilschifter 2013 (esp. pp. 333–354).

21 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 26 (50/51).

22 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 27 (50/51). Cf. also *LBG*, s.v. "θήκη, ἡ"; Hostetler 2016, 8 and 33, where he notes the frequency of the term as used in reliquary epigrams. Evidence for the word's usage as a general term for "reliquary" also comes to us via the dictionary of Hēsychios of Alexandria (fifth or sixth century AD), where the author defines the term γλωσσόκομον (appearing twice in the New Testament in John 12:6 and 13:29) as σορός,

of paradoxes thus comes to the fore: the Mandylion is both image/depiction and yet unseen; it is a relic but no mere corporeal remnant; it remains untouched and unapproached yet effects all manner of healings; it is matter yet seemingly bears the immaterial divine presence. Concomitant with this divine presence within the Mandylion is a divine mandate of authority, which is extended in the *Narration* not to several co-reigning *basileis*, nor to the Mandylion's summoner Rōmanos I, but to Constantine VII. Near the end of the object's translation to the capital, we read the following public proclamation of the divine election of Constantine to rule:

> When they were nearing the end of their journey they came to the monastery of the most holy Mother of God, which is called *ta Eusebiou*, in the so-called theme of the Optimatoi. The casket that contained the miracle-working image was reverently placed in the church of the monastery, and many people coming forward with pure intention were cured of their illnesses. One who came in was possessed by a demon, and was used as an instrument by the evil spirit to proclaim the praises of the image and the letter just as in the past another of his kind had said to the Lord, "We know who you are, the Holy One of Israel."[23] Finally the spirit uttered the following words, "Receive your glory and joy, Constantinople, and you, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, your kingdom." The man was cured on saying this and was freed immediately from the aggression of the demon. There are many witnesses to these words—the emperor had sent the leaders of his council to honour and greet the desired object, and many bodyguards had come too, and it so happened that some magistrates and patricians as well as people from the lower ranks saw and heard it.[24]

Besides clearly linking Constantine—and Constantine alone—with rule over the city of Constantine, the demon-*qua*-divine instrument in the *Narration* also links the proclamation of Constantine VII's rule with the revelation of Christ's divinity by the demons in the Synoptic Gospel narratives, which I believe allows the reader/hearer to understand the manifestation of God-made-flesh in the Gospels as being an ancient prototype now finding fulfilment in the tale's description of the manifestation of Constantine-become-autokratōr, sole ruler.

The casket with the Mandylion arrives according to the *Narration* on August 15 in the evening, on the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God, at Blachernai

θήκη ξυλίνη τῶν λειψάνων ("a coffin, a wooden container of relics"), the additional specification of the adjective "wooden" (ξύλινος) here implying that θήκη alone without any determiner was a usual term for denoting a reliquary, and that in this case, γλωσσόκομον could be described as a *wooden* kind of such a container. Cf. Hēsychios of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, ed. by Cunningham, s.v. "γλωσσόκομον".

23 Cf. the encounter of the man possessed by a legion of demons with Christ in Gerasa/Gadara/Gergesa: Matt 8:28–34; Mark 5:1–20; Luke 8:26–39.

24 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 27 (50/51–52/53).

at the city's outskirts, where royal protocol prescribed that the emperor keep the feast.[25] There it is received and venerated by both Rōmanos and Constantine, and then given royal honours in its escort, with language describing this activity reminiscent of the Divine Liturgy of the Byzantine rite: "The emperors went up to the chest, and greeted it[26] and worshipped it although they did not open it.[27] Then they conveyed it to the royal ship with honour, due escort and many lighted lamps, and so came with it to the palace."[28] The word used for "due escort" here (δορυφορία) is at once highly militaristic in origin (literally "spear-carrying" of an imperial bodyguard) and highly liturgical, having the same lexical root as the verb used in the Cherubic Hymn at the Great Entrance to describe the invisible angelic hosts escorting the bread and wine which are to become the body and blood of Christ in the Byzantine Divine Liturgy.[29] The allusions to liturgy via vocabulary in the passage, together with the mention of the emperors actually venerating the relic (albeit via the reliquary/casket), undergird both the sacred character of the emperor as well as his exclusive access to the object as the Mandylion enters Constantinople. The Mandylion's protective and healing power is indeed brought to the city: the *Narration* continues to explain how on the following day (August 16), the object was carried around the perimeter of the city via the same royal ship "so that it might in some way preserve the city by its sea circuit."[30] Escorted after this transit from the Golden Gate in the southwest of the city back to the palace by the emperors, Senate, patriarch, and various clergy, the Mandylion continues to heal people in the crowds, much as it did on its journey through the Anatolian hinterlands.

Nonetheless, imperial exclusivity and the sacrality of the object are made here publicly manifest once again. Only the emperors Constantine VII; the sons of Rōmanos I, Christopher and Stephen (the elder Rōmanos I is said in the text to have stayed home on account of an illness); and the clergy touch the reliquary, going on foot once again "with a fitting escort" (τῇ προσηκούσῃ δορυφορίᾳ), the terminology once again laden with sacred and liturgical overtones and historical precedent.[31]

25 Ceremonial directions for this feast and the emperor's entourage are to be found in the *Book of Ceremonies* compiled during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, II.9.

26 Gr. ἠσπάσαντο, which can also mean "kiss", especially in a liturgical context such as this involving the veneration of a holy object; cf. Lampe, s.v. "ἀσπάζομαι".

27 Guscin is quite free with his translation here, whereas the Greek simply reads "and worshipped it on/from the outside" (ἔξωθεν ταύτην … προσκυνήσαντες).

28 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 28 (54/55–56/57).

29 The text of this short hymn is as follows: "Let us who mystically represent (εἰκονίζοντες) the cherubim and who sing the thrice-holy hymn to the life-giving Trinity now lay aside every earthly care, that we might receive the king of all, who is being escorted (δορυφορούμενον) by the angelic hosts. Alleluia, Alleluia, Alleluia." The most thorough examination of the history of this hymn is to be found in Taft/Parenti 2014, 155–256.

30 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 28 (56/57).

31 Notably, the procession of Emperor Hērakleios and his son with Patriarch Sergios I on the walls of the city with another *acheiropoiētos* image, the Kamoulianai image of Christ,

Additionally, the icon-relic in its casket is further defined for the reader: the cortège "went with the box holding the precious and sacred objects as if it were another ark of the covenant or something even greater."[32] While Constantine may have believed, as he writes, that by this holy procession "the city would be made holier and stronger, and would be kept unharmed and unassailable for all time",[33] the *mise-en-scène* of the Mandylion's public display and its final deposition not in the Great Church, but in the Pharos chapel, underscores the object's special connection beyond the city at large to the ruler of the city. Indeed, the closing sections of the *Narration* drive this particular link between ruler and relic emphatically home. Within the palace en route to the chapel, the accompanying clergy venerate the object one last time and then place the Mandylion on the emperor's throne within the Chrysotriklinos hall,

> from which the greatest decisions are usually taken. Not unreasonably, they believed that the emperor's throne would be made holy and that justice and uprightness would be given to all who sat on it. After completion of the usual litany, the divine image was taken from there again and taken to the above-mentioned chapel of Pharos. It was consecrated and placed on the right towards the east for the glory of the faithful, the safety of the emperors and the security of the whole city together with the Christian community.[34]

Besides Constantine VII's projection of his own vision for the throne onto the thoughts of the clergy, this passage is noteworthy for the described movement of the Mandylion. Although the object is brought into the sanctuary of the Great Church on its way to the palace, no specific mention is made of it being placed there on the altar or the patriarch's cathedra in the apse.[35] In the palace, however, the icon-relic of Christ the King is seated upon the imperial throne beneath the icon of Christ the Almighty in the Chrysotriklinos, the hall of the Great Palace where

during the Avar siege of the city in 626. The event is recounted by the contemporaries Theodore Synkellos, *On the Siege of Byzantium during the Reign of Emperor Hērakleios*, ed. by Mai, pp. 423ff., and George Pisidēs, *The Avar War*, ed. by Tartaglia, pp. 71–139. On the Kamoulianai image, see Kitzinger 1954, esp. pp. 111–112, and Mango 1986, 114–115, who cites the account provided in Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, ed. by Greatrex, 12.4. As far as I can tell, no liturgical texts commemorating this particular icon-relic survive, if indeed such were ever composed.

32 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 28 (56/57): ὡς ἄλλην κιβωτὸν μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ταύτην, τὸ τῶν ἁγιωτάτων καὶ τιμίων φρουρὸν σκεῦος παρέπεμπον, the plural here signifying the Mandylion and the accompanying letter sent along with it, which was said to have been addressed by Christ to Abgar.

33 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 28 (56/57).

34 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 30 (58/59–60/61).

35 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 29 (58/59): "When the leaders of the celebration came to the square before the Augusteion, they turned off the main street and went to the sacred precinct named after the divine wisdom of God, and placed the esteemed image and the letter in the innermost recesses of the sanctuary (τῶν ἀδύτων τοῦ ἱλαστηρίου ἐντός)."

foreign ambassadors were met and high state celebrations held.[36] The presence of the Mandylion on the throne would call to mind a common iconographic trope in Byzantium, that of the *hetoimasia* or "preparation" of a throne for God,[37] one depiction of which in Byzantine art is found in some images of church councils with a central throne, on which the book of the Gospels is placed so as to represent Christ. Here, however, the symbolism of divine sanctity is clearly associated not with an episcopal synod but with an imperial throne and an imperial person. As Évelyne Patlagean has pointed out, "La station de l'Image sur [le trône] manifestait que l'empereur est si l'on peut dire une incarnation de l'Incarnation, elle-même conçue comme empereur éternel et céleste."[38]

Admittedly, the text of Constantine's *Narration* does mention the benefits of possessing the Mandylion that extend beyond the imperial person, and not merely to the city, but also to the wider "Christian community". However, the text ends with a final focus on the emperor—this time, in the singular—and with a curious personification of the object. Written in the third person (but still the words of Constantine), the last section of the *Narration* is a prayer directed to Christ in the icon-relic, perhaps to Christ-*qua*-Mandylion:

> But, O divine likeness of the likeness of the unchanging Father (ὦ θεῖον ὁμοίωμα τοῦ ἀπαραλλάκτου πατρὸς ὁμοιώματος), O form of the Father's person, O holy and venerable seal of Christ, our God's archetypal goodness—I speak to you in faith as if you had a living soul (ὡς γὰρ ἐμψύχῳ σοι πιστῶς διαλέγομαι)—save and keep always our noble and gentle ruler (βασιλεύοντα), who keeps the feast of your coming in due fashion, the one you placed on his father's and grandfather's throne in your presence. Keep his offspring safe for the family succession and the security of rule. Bring to the people a state of peace. Keep this queen of cities[39] free from siege. Make us pleasing to your image, Christ, our God (τῷ

36 On the Chrysotriklinos or "Golden Hall" of the Great Palace, cf. Janin 1969, 115–117; "Chrysotriklinos" in *ODB* 1:455–456.

37 While this Greek term first comes into use for this depiction of a throne prepared for Christ in the 12th century, images of a seemingly empty throne symbolizing the mystical presence of the invisible divine appear from the fifth century onwards; cf. "Hetoimasia" in *ODB* 2:926. A detailed study of the motif in its earliest, pre- and early-Christian settings can be found in Vollmer 2014, esp. pp. 357–406. For the late antique and Byzantine periods, see Di Natale/Resconi 2013 and Bergmeier 2020.

38 Patlagean 1995, 31.

39 This sobriquet of the city, to me a clear sign of the capital's metropolitan character as a city claiming to be superior to all other urban centres, is frequently encountered in Byzantine writings, both sacred and profane. Here, the metropolitan character is evoked not only in conjunction with the presence of the emperor in the city, but also on account of the presence of the holy relics. This imagery of the city personified as a reigning queen (incidentally matching the grammatically feminine nouns for city in Latin [*urbs*] and Greek [πόλις], and paralleling the similarly feminine force of personified Fortune or Luck [Latin *Fortuna*, Greek Τύχη, also both grammatically feminine]) is initially

> ἀρχετύπῳ σου Χριστῷ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν),[40] to receive us into his heavenly kingdom, praising him and singing hymns, for to him is due honour and worship for ever and ever. Amen.[41]

The addressee here in the emperor's prayer is the Mandylion itself, spoken to as though it were alive and literally embodying the divine Word of God: from the choice of vocabulary, we then have a connection and parallel created between the emperor, the "living law" (ἔμψυχος νόμος),[42] and the "living likeness" of Christ.

applied to Rome; cf. Horace, *Odes* 4.3: "The youth of Rome, queen of cities, sees fit to give me a place in the well-loved choir of lyric poets" (*Romae principis urbium / dignatur suboles inter amabilis / vatum ponere me choros*: ed./transl. by Rudd, pp. 226–227); *Epistles* 1.7, ll. 44–45 ("To Maecenas"): "Modest things are right for modest people; / Rome, queen of cities, isn't what pleases me most, / But quiet Tibur and peaceful Tarentum are" (*Parvum parva decent; mihi iam non regia Roma, / sed vacuum Tibur placet aut inbelle Tarentum*; transl. taken from Ferry 1998, 2); also Ovid, *Book of Days* 4.859–862, where the city is directly addressed: "May you rule over all and ever be under the great Caesar; may you often have more of this name, and whenever you shall stand sublime in a conquered world, may all things lie beneath your shoulders" (*cuncta regas et sis magno sub Caesare semper, / saepe etiam plures nominis huius habe; / et, quotiens steteris domito sublimis in orbe, / omnia sint umeris inferiora tuis*, translation mine). The appellation passes to Constantinople, and then comes to be applied after the Fourth Crusade especially to Paris after the Crown of Thorns is translated thither by Louis IX (recorded in the edition of post-Crusade texts by Duchesne 1649, 407–411 and cited in Papanicolaou 1980, 53). A stained-glass pane from the late 1240s depicting King Louis IX bearing the Crown of Thorns survives and is preserved today in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City; cf. ibid., Fig. 1; this image is also visible online at https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/471218 (accessed 16/02/2022). On this topos more generally, see the collected essays in Kytzler 1993 (esp. Beck's article therein, pp. 127–137), Herrin 2000, and James 2005. On the Crown of Thorns and the Sainte-Chapelle built to house it and other Passion relics, a detailed bibliography is provided in the initial footnotes of Cohen 2008; the holdings of the Sainte-Chapelle are also discussed in Durand/Laffitte 2001. On Paris as medieval metropolis of the West, see Oberste 2012 and Oberste 2021.

40 Guscin's translation here is a bit confusing. The Mandylion as "image" (εἰκών) is being entreated by the emperor as author to make both him and the people pleasing to the image's archetype, Christ, on which it is based. The phrasing here too recalls the writings of Origen of Alexandria, who speaks of Christ, the Word of God, as being "the archetypal image" (ἡ ἀρχέτυπος εἰκών) of all other images of the Father (*Commentary on the Gospel according to John books 1–10*, transl. Heine, 2.2.18), as well as in two sermons of John Chrysostom, where the faithful Christian is enjoined to be an "archetypal image" to those around him: "be in all things [or: amongst all people] an archetypal image" (ἔσο ἐν πᾶσιν ἀρχέτυπος εἰκών, *Homilies on Ephesians* 15, PG 62:110); "let the radiance of your way of life be set forth in the midst of all as a kind of archetypal image" (ἔστω … ἡ τοῦ σοῦ βίου λαμπρότης, εἰς μέσον πᾶσι προκειμένη, ὥσπερ ἀρχέτυπός τις εἰκών, *Homilies on 2 Timothy* 4, PG 62:684) (both translations mine).

41 Const. VII Porph., *Narration* 37 (68/69).

42 In the *Basilika* (AD 888), Justinian writes that "God has sent the emperor to earth as animate law" (*Basilika*, ed. by Scheltema/Holwerda/Wal, 2.6.2; cited in Vryonis 1997, 5). A search on *TLG* shows instances of the phrase being used in the homilies of John

The deposition of the Mandylion in the Pharos church first mentions the faithful Christian people and then the emperors; here in the final prayer, the people and city come after the royal line of succession and the single ruler,[43] who alone has been placed by God on the ancestral imperial throne.

The realpolitik of Constantine VII's consolidation of power as sole emperor is framed in the context of this intercessory prayer to the Mandylion-*qua*-Christ as simply the result of divine election and providence, I would argue, and the primary request of the prayer here is for the protection of the sovereign. The *Narration*, far from simply relating the tale of a relic's retrieval from far-flung Edessa to central Constantinople, intimately ties relic to ruler—and this in a text composed at imperial behest. Furthermore, the reliquary-relic ensemble is conceived here not merely as a combination of sacred content and container, but rather is elevated to the level of ark (κιβωτός), a word rich in scriptural allusions of sanctity and exclusivity, calling to mind both the central divine 'reliquary' housing the tablets of the Covenant in the Old Testament (linked especially to the prophetic, priestly, and royal personages of Moses, Aaron, and David) and the Theotokos, the patroness par excellence of Constantinople who served as an animate ark for the presence of the divine in the New Testament.

At this juncture, we can summarise that the *Narration* establishes a clear link between the emperor Constantine VII and the translated icon-relic of the Mandylion. The holiness of the object finds expression in miraculous healings and prophetic utterances, and an intimate connection is made between ruler and relic by the latter's deposition not in the city cathedral but in the Lighthouse chapel next to the royal bedchambers. What the reader sees here in the brief mention of the icon-relic as being something surpassing even the holy ark of old is a rhetorical seed that will bear much fruit in later reflection on relics and rulers in the Middle Byzantine period. One such fruit is already present in the contemporaneous sermon preached by Gregory the Referendary upon the arrival of the Mandylion in Constantinople in 944. But how is this rhetorical fruit given as spiritual/rhetorical 'food' to Gregory's hearers? How is the sacrality of the Mandylion evoked, and how is this sacred character linked to the emperor? It is to this speech and these questions which we shall now turn.

Chrysostom (*Homilies on Repentance* 2, PG 49:286, where the example God makes of Cain after the latter had slain his brother Abel is said to be an ἔμψυχος νόμος for those who would learn of divine judgment; *Homilies on 1 Timothy* 13.1, PG 62:565, where Chrysostom interprets Paul's injunction to Timothy to become a model for the faithful [τύπος γίνου τῶν πιστῶν, 1 Tim 4:12] in part as being for Timothy to become "just like an animate law" [ὥσπερ νόμος ἔμψυχος]), which same passage, interpretation, and wording are all taken up later by Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretation of the Fourteen Epistles of Saint Paul*, PG 82:816.

43 The text here reads βασιλεύοντα in the singular, rather than the plural βασιλεύοντας, which would imply co-emperors.

2.2.2 The *Sermon* of Gregory the Referendary

A second contemporary text pertaining to the Mandylion's translation to Constantinople is the sermon preached by Gregory, an archdeacon and referendary[44] of the Great Church in Constantinople. The preface of the sermon, which mentions Gregory's titles, is also noteworthy for confirming the date (AD 944)[45] and for specifying neither Constantine VII nor Rōmanos I as the mastermind behind the translation: the text simply states that the icon-relic was brought to the city "by the zeal of a pious emperor" (σπουδῇ βασιλέως εὐσεβοῦς).[46] Little is known of Gregory besides these official titles. Dubarle posits that he might have been some sort of guardian of relics on account of the referendary's listing of certain Passion relics in the sermon;[47] yet as archdeacon of the Great Church, Gregory would have been separate from the palace clergy and not necessarily in charge of any palatine chapel. Nonetheless, it is nearly certain that the elite circle of nobles and ecclesiastical functionaries with access to the palace and the emperor—including Gregory as archdeacon—would be aware of the specific treasures and Passion relics kept in the Pharos church, such that a mention of these need not entail specific responsibility for or access to them.

More peculiar here is the lack of a specific name for the emperor at any point in the text. On the one hand, this onomastic omission could hint at political savvy on Gregory's part. While the Mandylion was brought to Constantinople in August 944, Rōmanos I remained senior emperor and was not deposed by his sons Stephen and Constantine until December of that year; from the *Narration*, we can see a clear focus placed on legitimising Constantine VII as sole ruler while making mention of the senior emperor only to point out his illness and absence from the final procession to the Great Church and Great Palace. Gregory, as a visible public figure involved in the affairs of church and state, might not have wished to offend either party by connecting a specific name with the translation festivities. In seeking to pin down the date of the homily, Dubarle claims that the (yet again) unnamed emperor in the concluding paragraph of the sermon is Rōmanos I, and thus that the homily must of necessity date from before the December deposition.[48] As noted above, however, nowhere in the text is a specific emperor named, and other rhetorical cues suggest that the homily was indeed delivered on August 16: the text speaks in vivid terms of

44 The office of ecclesiastical referendary (Gr. ῥεφερενδάριος, from Lat. *referendarius*) was normally held by a deacon or archdeacon who served as a liaison between the patriarch and palace; cf. "Referendarios" in *ODB* 3:1778.

45 *Sermon* 1 (70/71): "A sermon by Gregory the archdeacon and *referendarius* of the Great Church at Constantinople … about how three patriarchs have declared that there is an image of Christ that was brought from Edessa 919 years afterwards … in the year 6452 (ἐν ἔτει ϛυνβ′)."

46 *Sermon* 1 (70/71).

47 Dubarle 1997, 6.

48 Dubarle 1997, 11–12.

"the assembly of people … [that] has come together", using a word for the crowd denoting a solemn celebration (πανήγυρις) and the perfect tense rather than the aorist in the verb form (συγκεκρότηται) to demonstrate present-moment relevance; shortly thereafter, Gregory speaks of the present condition of his hearers as being prepared to hear his words, which preparation would make sense on that day of the festal celebration itself.[49] Determining which emperor is meant here on the basis of the received text is thus not possible in my view.

On the other hand, the lack of a specific name here could also be a rhetorical feature linking the events of the translation to the emperor in general: that is, to the figure or office of emperor, above and beyond the specific individual holding that office at any given time. While a generalising interpretation of the first anonymous mention of the emperor in the title is somewhat attenuated by the specific mention of the year, this mention is before the inaugural request for a blessing to speak ("Bless, O Lord", Gr. Κύριε εὐλόγησον) at the start of the homily, and thus unlikely to have been uttered aloud.[50] For the audience hearing the words of the homily in its context, then, the generalisation would have held true: no emperor is mentioned by name, and thus *every* emperor could be implied as a result. Yet even here, we see in Gregory's sermon clear links between the emperor and prototypical figures of the past, as well as personifications of the Mandylion implying a specific, unique divine presence in this sacred object.

After the brief introductory remarks to his hearers, Gregory (like Constantine VII in the *Narration*) rehearses the Mandylion's history—its origins and the various accounts of its past—before continuing to describe the present day on which the icon-relic is escorted by candlelight to the Pharos chapel.[51] Suddenly, though, past and present are conflated rhetorically by the referendary. He speaks of God's "ancient ark" (ἡ πάλαι σου κιβωτός) that was held captive by the Philistines in the days of David the king, who danced before it at its triumphant return amidst the people of Israel.[52] But the next sentence refers to this same object, the ark, now being united with God's chosen people along with their other treasures: namely, the other Passion relics housed in the Pharos chapel that served to transmit mercy and grace to all.[53] The lack of any rhetorical conjunctive or disjunctive particles at the start of this sentence, such as μέν or δέ, makes extremely vivid the identification of actors

49 *Sermon* 4 (77/78): "And so, now that you have suitably prepared the condition in which the soul presents itself to hear such things, I will continue so that you can listen" (Ἤδη οὖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐσκευάσατε ἱκανῶς τὰ δι' ὧν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὸς τὴν τῶν τηλικούτων ἀκρόασιν ἀπαντᾷ, συνιστῶ καὶ ἀκούοιτε). In his English translation, Guscin follows the emendation to the text suggested by Dubarle, who credits this to Joseph Paramelle: "Le ms. porte ἅπαντα avec l'esprit rude (= tout) ce qui ne donne pas de sens. La correction ἀπαντᾷ donne un verbe à la phrase" (Dubarle 1997, 33).

50 *Sermon* 1 (70/71).

51 *Sermon* 14 (80/81).

52 Cf. 2 Kgdms 6:10–15.

53 *Sermon* 15 (80/81).

in the first sentence (ark, Philistines, David, Israel) with those of the second (reliquary, Muslims, emperor, Christians/Constantinopolitans).[54] The application of Old Testament prototypes is made even more explicit in the paragraph immediately following: like the dancing David, "the radiant emperor marches in front, beautified more by walking on foot than by the crowns of state." The emperor leads the way, followed by patriarch, clergy, and crowds of people,[55] who are then addressed as "the portion of Christ's heritage".[56] All the actors in the procession, translation, and deposition of the Mandylion, borne aloft in its "ark", embody and exemplify Constantinople as a new 'Jerusalem', a trope extensively studied and applied to the city as a whole by many scholars.[57] Yet within this new Jerusalem, the sacred temple in which the divine presence comes to dwell is not the Great Church, I would argue, but rather the Pharos chapel within the imperial palace and immediately next to the emperor's apartments, as my close readings of sources in this chapter will show.[58]

Like Constantine VII in the *Narration*, Gregory the Referendary highlights this personal presence of God made specifically manifest in the Mandylion at the end of his festal homily. The uniqueness of the Mandylion as bearing an imprint "not made by hands" (ἀχειροποίητος, that is, not fashioned or created by human agency but directly by God)[59] set it apart from, even outside, the category of holy images per se. Gregory writes that Christ, through his sweat touching the cloth, transfers his prototype to the likeness[60] and the two become one, such that the object can be addressed in a final prayer directly as Christ himself:

> But O pure Son of the pure Father, Word, Wisdom, image (εἰκών), imprint (ἐκμαγεῖον), radiance (ἀπαύγασμα)—for I call you all of these things as I am sanctified by recalling them and the other similar names of you who are above

54 In Classical or Atticising Greek, such as one finds in this homily, the phenomenon of no connective or disjunctive particle being present between two or more sentences, called rhetorical *asyndeton* (Gr. ἀσύνδετον, "not bound together"), serves to express emotion or liveliness as well as give an explanatory or clarifying reason or result for the previous clause. Cf. Smyth 1984, 484–485; Delgado 2018.

55 *Sermon* 16 (80/81).

56 *Sermon* 17 (82/83): Ἀλλ' ὦ σχοίνισμα κληρονομίας Χριστοῦ.

57 Extensive research has been done on the topos of Constantinople and/or the Great Palace as being a 'new Jerusalem'; here, we can mention: Carile 2012, Guran 2009, Lidov 2006, Pahlitzsch 2011, and Savage 2019.

58 On the Pharos church in general, cf. Janin 1969, 232–236; Janin further notes that the church was called "la chapelle du Palais, puisqu'elle avoisinait les appartements de l'empereur" (p. 235).

59 On images "not made by hand" in general, see "Acheiropoieta" in *ODB* 1:12; Belting 1990, 64–70; Brubaker/Haldon 2011, 35; and Krause 2022, 273–277. On the acheiropoiētos image from Kamoulianai, see this chapter above, n. 31.

60 *Sermon* 22 (86/87): "And for the prototype to be transferred to the likeness, he does this himself with the sweat of the human form he deigned to bear" (Καὶ γὰρ ἵνα μετάγοιτο πρὸς τὸ ὁμοίωμα τὸ ἀρχέτυπον, ἐκ τῶν ἱδρώτων τοῦτο ἧς φορέσαι μορφῆς ἠξίωσεν αὐτουργεῖ).

> all names and deeds—behold the crown which the pious zeal of the emperor places on the radiance (ἀπαυγάσματι) of your face [and adorn it with diadems of grace as with diadems of imperial authority].[61]

The direct address of the object as though it were Christ himself is a departure from official post-Iconomachy orthodox theological teaching on icons and images—which held that the latter are to be venerated as representing a prototype or person, but not to be worshipped as such—but not from actual post-Iconomachy practice;[62] this form of interaction with the Mandylion in the text underscores a primary understanding of it precisely as relic and physical 'remnant' of Christ-God, and not merely as a sacred image. Here, the archdeacon—hardly a figure one would presume to be ignorant on such theological matters—does not only venerate the Mandylion as representing Christ, but also addresses it and prays to it as though *being* Christ made manifest in this form. A key word in this concluding prayer is "radiance" (ἀπαύγασμα). As Karin Krause has noted, this Greek term is the one most frequently used in both the *Narration* and the *Sermon* to refer to the Mandylion.[63] Moreover, we see here in the list of select epithets of Christ

61 *Sermon* 23 (86/87). The final section in brackets is my own translation. The Greek text here is: καὶ ὡς τοῖς αὐτοκρατορικοῖς καὶ τοῖς τῶν χαρίτων ὡράϊζε διαδήμασι. Guscin conflates this somewhat clunkily with the previous clause ("… on the radiance of your face and along with the imperial crowns, beautify it with diadems of grace on it like those of absolute sovereignty", ibid., p. 87), whereas Dubarle in his edition and French translation is more accurate ("Et, comme des diadèmes du pouvoir absolu, orne-le aussi des [diadèmes] des grâces", Dubarle 1997, 28).

62 Cf. the Definition from the Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787); see below this chapter, n. 115. Interestingly, despite such canonical prohibitions, similar direct address of other relics enters the lived practice of the Byzantine church, especially in hymnography related to the True Cross. Some instances can be found in the akolouthia for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14) in the received Byzantine tradition, in particular the hymns for the litia and the aposticha at Great Vespers (cf. Μηναῖον Σεπτεμβρίου, ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 231–234). One of these is attributed to Emperor Leo VI, and while this ruler is known for his homilies and other writings, making a genuine attribution of any particular hymn (and there are many) in the Byzantine hymnographic corpus to Leo VI is difficult. For more on Leo VI and his literary pursuits (and issues of attribution), see Antonopoulou 1997; at present, a definitive study on the emergence and development of Byzantine hymnography for the Exaltation of the Cross remains a *desideratum* in the study of the history of the liturgy. Parallel Western instances of early popular pious devotion personifying the Cross can be found in the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood*, preserved in the tenth-century manuscript known as the Vercelli Book (for Old English original text and Modern English translation, see Foys et al. 2019, available online: https://oepoetryfacsimile.org/ [accessed 20/09/2023]), and in Ælfric of Eynsham's (ca. 955–ca. 1010) *Lives of the Saints* composed in Old English, where for the Exaltation of the Cross, he writes of Emperor Constantine calling out to the Cross directly and entreating it to remember the faithful to Christ; cf. Ælfric of Eynsham, *Lives of the Saints*, ed./transl. by Skeat, 150–153.

63 Krause 2022, 301.

mentioned by Gregory those of "image" (εἰκών)[64] and "radiance".[65] The two terms are also found connected in scripture in a single passage from the Old Testament referring to the wisdom of God: "For she[66] is a reflection (ἀπαύγασμα) of eternal light and a spotless mirror of the activity of God and an image (εἰκών) of his goodness."[67] The image and radiance here of Christ, the Son of God, are linked essentially to his person as quasi-names or core characteristics, allowing the archdeacon and the emperor to speak of and treat the Mandylion not merely as icon/image or holy relic, but also as the divine Lord himself, whom the referendary proclaims to be dwelling now in the form of the Mandylion within the palace of the divinely appointed emperor.

Another important aspect of both the *Sermon* and the *Narration* is that the actual icon-relic remains hidden from view: only the casket or "ark" containing the sacred treasure is seen and venerated, with the Mandylion escaping actual description or gaze. Given the perceived heightened divine character of the Mandylion vis-à-vis the other Passion relics, this is not surprising: rather, the context here calls to mind the Old Testament episode of God on the cusp of revealing his glory to Moses before the giving of the tables of the law and protectively hiding the prophet in the hollow of a rock, since "a person shall never see my face and live."[68] To behold the glory of God in his face and to live, one could reason, would mean that a person would have to be more than merely human: indeed, to some degree divine.

Such a rhetorical thread vis-à-vis the emperor appears in the textual tapestry of the chronicle compiled by Pseudo-Symeon. Extant in a single medieval manuscript copied in the 12th or 13th century (MS Parisinus gr. 1712),[69] this otherwise unknown author's account of the Mandylion's arrival is also singular in a vignette it presents on Constantine VII and the icon-relic. While the *Chronicle* of Symeon proper

64 This word appears several times in the New Testament texts where it is linked to Christ: Rom 8:29; 1 Cor 11:7; 2 Cor 4:4; Col 1:15.

65 This word appears once in the New Testament, where it is specifically linked to Jesus Christ (Heb 1:3).

66 The reference here is to the wisdom (Heb. *ḥokmâ*, Gr. σοφία) of God, which in both Hebrew and Greek is grammatically feminine and mentioned in numerous locations in both Old and New Testaments; in the writings of Paul, Christ is called both the power and wisdom of God (1 Cor 1:24) and the locus of all wisdom and knowledge (Col 2:3); later patristic writers interpret the Old Testament passages speaking of the divine wisdom as referring typologically or allegorically to Christ. Cf. *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, ed. by Kittel/Friedrich and transl. by Bromiley, s.v. "σοφία, σοφός, σοφίζω"; *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd revised edition, ed. by Cross/Livingstone, s.v. "wisdom".

67 Wis 7:26; Krause mentions the verse in her lecture (Krause 2020).

68 Exod 33:20; Krause mentions the verse in her lecture (Krause 2020).

69 For more on this author, see "Symeon Magistros, Pseudo-" in *ODB* 3:1983; a digitised copy of MS Parisinus gr. 1712 is available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723288w.image (accessed 15/04/2021).

(also known as the Logothete and/or Magister[70]) maintains a pious sobriety with regard to the icon-relic, calling it "the holy towel of Christ" (τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἅγιον ἐκμαγεῖον) and relating briefly the reception of the relic at Blachernai, the procession on foot led by the junior emperors, the veneration in the Great Church, and the deposition in the palace,[71] Pseudo-Symeon adds a seemingly miraculous detail. Here, the co-emperors are described as looking at the object itself, but not discerning any specific facial features—save in the case of Constantine VII:

> While they all were looking at the immaculate image (χαρακτήρ) on the holy towel of the Son of God, the sons of the emperor said that they could not see anything save for a face alone, but their brother-in-law Constantine said that he could see eyes and ears. The renowned Sergios[72] also said to them, "Both of you had a good look." They said in return, "And what is the significance of the difference [sc. in sight] of each of us?" He replied, "It is not I, but the prophet David who says, 'The eyes of the Lord are on the just, and his ears are towards their petition, but the face of the Lord is against evildoers, to destroy their remembrance from the earth' [Ps 33:16–17]."[73]

Once again, the figure of the prophet-king David is joined to both God and emperor here, with the prelate quoting the Psalms in this account so as to demarcate good and bad, blessed and cursed: Constantine can see the Lord's eyes, which fall upon him as the righteous ruler, while a visible countenance of divine opposition "faces" the "evildoing" sons of Rōmanos I. "A person shall never see my face and live": indeed, shortly after this episode, Rōmanos I is overthrown and exiled as a monk to the Princes' Isles, while his sons Stephen and Constantine are also sent into exile,

70 The terms 'logothete' (Gr. λογοθέτης) and 'magister' (Gr. μάγιστρος, from Lat. *magister officiorum*) are generic terms applied to several high-ranking offices in Byzantium; cf. "Logothetes" in *ODB* 2:1247 and "Magistros" in *ODB* 3:1267.

71 Symeon the Logothete, *Chronikon*, ed. by Wahlgren, 136.80–81. The *Chronikon* does not mention the Pharos chapel, but merely that the emperors "brought the image up from thence [sc. the Great Church] to the palace" (ἐκεῖσε ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ ἀνήγαγον).

72 Janin identifies this Sergios as being both a favourite of Rōmanos I in the mid-tenth century as well as being the later Sergios II, Patriarch of Constantinople from 1001–1019. As Kazhdan notes, the time gap here and the extreme old age this would imply for the patriarch while in office make the connection highly unlikely; cf. "Sergios II" in *ODB* 3:1878.

73 Pseudo-Symeon, *Chronographia*, PG 109:812D–813A: πάντων καθιστορούντων τὸν ἄχραντον χαρακτῆρα ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐκμαγείῳ τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἔλεγον οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ βασιλέως μὴ βλέπειν τι ἢ πρόσωπον μόνον, ὁ δὲ γαμβρὸς Κωνσταντῖνος ἔλεγεν βλέπειν ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ὦτα. πρὸς οὓς καὶ εἶπεν ὁ ἀοίδιμος Σέργιος· Καλῶς ἀμφότεροι εἴδετε. οἱ δὲ ἀντέφησαν· Καὶ τί σημαίνει ἑκάστου τούτου ἡ διαφορά; ἀπεκρίθη· Οὐκ ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ Δαβὶδ ὁ προφήτης λέγει· Ὀφθαλμοὶ κυρίου ἐπὶ δικαίους, καὶ ὦτα αὐτοῦ εἰς δέησιν αὐτῶν, πρόσωπον δὲ κυρίου ἐπὶ ποιοῦντας κακὰ τοῦ ἐξολοθρεῦσαι ἐκ γῆς τὸ μνημόσυνον αὐτῶν (translation mine). Passage mentioned in Dubarle 1997, 7. A detailed study of Pseudo-Symeon's text can be found in Markopoulos 1978.

where they perish.[74] But the one who discerns not only a face, but the eyes and ears as well—recognising the divine person in the image, that is—is Constantine, now sole ruler and, in my reading of Pseudo-Symeon's snippet, also presented as somewhat divine himself, as one who lives after having seen the face of God.

Despite the divine words of warning to Moses and the mystique around the Mandylion, the icon-relic does not wholly escape depiction itself, but instead comes to be a model for numerous copies adorning later Byzantine churches. One important artistic witness to this sacred object, however, also dates from the mid-tenth century: namely, the Sinai icon of King Abgar receiving the Mandylion from the apostle Thaddaeus. More than just a well-made icon, this work bears specific details in its programme that are instructive for understanding the close link made in these Middle Byzantine sources between ruler and relic, the human and the divine in the person of the emperor.

2.2.3 The Sinai icon of Abgar and the Mandylion

Preserved in the Monastery of Saint Catherine on the Sinai Peninsula, this icon consists of two vertical panel icons, probably originally the side panels around a centre icon as part of triptych, with framed dimensions of 36.9 × 25.3 × 2.5 cm (see Fig. 1).[75] At the top of the left-hand panel sits the apostle Thaddaeus, the icon-relic's Christ-commissioned courier to Abgar in the early legends, while the upper right-hand panel depicts King Abgar, seated and receiving the Mandylion from the apostle's hands. The lower portions of the panels depict various saints famed for their teaching and asceticism: on the left, Paul of Thebes and Anthony the Great; on the right, Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Ephrem the Syrian.

Though the reasons behind the selection of the saints in the lower panel portions remain hidden to this day, scholars have been fascinated for decades by the depiction of Abgar on the upper right panel. In the 1960s, Kurt Weitzmann noted the facial similarity between Abgar on the Sinai icon and Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos on other contemporaneous items, such as the famed Moscow ivory (Fig. 2) and the gold solidus on which the Byzantine emperor is depicted alone (Fig. 3).[76] While interpreting the Sinai icon as "hav[ing] only one meaning: to represent Constantine in the guise of King Abgarus as the new recipient of the Mandylion",[77] Weitzmann posits the icon (together with Constantine's *Narration*) as merely part of a propaganda push to portray Constantine VII "as the pious emperor whose spiritual concern is the collection of famous relics in the palace chapel of the Virgin of the

74 Symeon the Logothete, *Chronikon*, ed. by Wahlgren, 137.1–8.

75 Dimensions, a historical précis, and photographs available in Labatt 2006, 134–135.

76 Weitzmann 1969, 181.

77 Weitzmann 1969, 183.

Fig. 1: Two wings from a triptych. Constantinople/Sinai, tenth century. Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.

Fig. 2: Christ crowning Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos. Constantinople, tenth century. Pushkin Museum, Moscow.

Fig. 3: Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos (r. 913–959). Gold solidus, 945 (?). Mint of Constantinople.

Pharos".[78] The resemblance of Abgar to Constantine VII on the basis of these other surviving material objects is also noted by Johannes Koder.[79] For his part, Hans Belting writes that the artistic union of the figures of Abgar and Constantine VII underscores the divine approbation of the latter's possession of the object[80] and further proposes that the icon was personally commissioned by Constantine VII himself.[81] Besides noting other physical aspects of Abgar's appearance in the icon, however,[82] later scholars have detected greater significance in the icon's portrayal of both Constantine-as-Abgar as well as the Mandylion itself.

Karin Krause, following Belting, has remarked that the Mandylion was more than the sum of its constitutive 'parts' of icon and relic, in that it "signified [the] divine presence" of Christ in the capital city rather than merely serving as a holy object associated with the Son of God.[83] Examining in detail the iconographic programming of the Abgar portion of the icon, Krause notes that the Mandylion itself is depicted not as a firm, rectangular tablet on which a cloth bearing the divine image

78 Weitzmann 1969, 183.

79 Koder 1989, 169–170.

80 Belting 1990, 236: "Aber Abgar ist mit den Gesichtszügen Kaiser Konstantins VII. dargestellt, der die Reliquie 944 nach Konstantinopel überführte. So sind die apostolische und die byzantinische Ära, der alte und der neue Abgar in eins gesetzt, womit die Kontinuität im Besitz der Reliquie zum Argument wurde. Der byzantinische Kaiser, so argumentieren die Bilder, hat das Porträt ebenso mit Einwilligung Christi erhalten wie einst der syrische König."

81 Belting 1990, 236.

82 The presence of pearl chains on Abgar's crown, very much reminiscent of the Middle and Late Byzantine *prependoulia* on imperial crowns, are mentioned by Krause 2020 and Peers 2021, something left out in both Weitzmann's and Belting's treatments of the Sinai icon.

83 Cf. Krause 2020; Krause 2022, 296; cf. Belting 1990, 234.

is affixed, but as a flexible, loose textile with fringes visible on the lower edge.[84] The detailed depiction of the cloth here precisely as something *textus*—woven—could also allude to Christ himself, whose human and divine natures are said to be 'woven together' in the womb of the Virgin at the incarnation; on this, I agree with Krause in her reading of patristic texts that take up this imagery.[85] The icon-relic would thus make plain for veneration here the mystery safeguarded in the incarnation: both the interweaving of divine and human natures on the 'loom' of Mary's womb, as well as the manifestation of Christ's 'true image' within the 'womb' of the Pharos church, where human nature meets the divine, both in the Divine Liturgy celebrated there and in the grace perceived to effuse from the Passion relics housed there.

In seeking to understand how the Mandylion transmits or imbues the emperor with holiness, contemporary scholars have also proffered new readings of the interplay of relic and ruler here. For instance, the art historian Glenn Peers has recently presented a queer reading of the depiction of Abgar/Constantine VII and the Mandylion on the Sinai icon.[86] Like Krause, Peers draws attention to the fringes on the Mandylion cloth, linking these however not with the interweaving of Christ's human and divine natures, but to the veil of the Jerusalem temple, which the *Protevangelion of James* describes as having been woven by the Virgin Mary.[87] The veil in the temple separated the Holy of Holies—in which the glory of God was said to abide and to which only one person, the high priest, had once-yearly access—from the rest of the temple precincts and from the rest of the people of God. According to Peers, an allusion in the Sinai icon to this veil would simultaneously hint at the Virgin's handiwork and special relation/access to Christ, as well as to the

84 Cf. Krause 2020; Krause 2022, 293.

85 Cf. Krause 2022, 323–325. The theme of creation in the womb being compared to weaving, a trope that builds on language already found in scripture (cf. Ps 138:13–15) and in apocryphal sources such as the *Protevangelion of James* (cf. n. 87 below), is taken up in later patristic writings, notably by Proklos, archbishop of Constantinople (d. 446), who speaks of Mary's womb as a 'textile loom' in several homilies (esp. 1 and 4); on this image, see Constas 2003, 125–272, esp. p. 126 (the volume also contains critical editions and English-language translations of these homilies). Additionally, there are many extant Byzantine icons for the feast of the Annunciation on which the Virgin Mary is depicted weaving the fabric to make the temple veil, as is also narrated by the *Protevangelion*; cf. the study by Evangelatou 2003. This thematic imagery, especially vis-à-vis the flesh of Christ as divine-human *textus*, continues into the Late Byzantine period; see here Evangelatou 2019, esp. pp. 304–308.

86 Peers 2021. On queer readings and the application of queer theory to the disciplines of medieval and Byzantine studies more broadly, see: Dinshaw 1999, Burger/Kruger 2001, Hollywood 2001, Ringrose 2003, Burgwinkle 2006, Helvie 2010, and Betancourt 2020. Of note is also the current work being undertaken by the group "New Critical Approaches to the Byzantine World Network" at the Oxford Research Centre in the Humanities: https://www.torch.ox.ac.uk/new-critical-approaches-to-the-byzantine-world-network#/ (accessed 22/02/2022).

87 Peers 2021; cf. *Protevangelion of James*, ed./transl. by Elliott/Rumsey, 10.1.

Fig. 4: Detail of triptych icon showing King Abgar (seated) holding the Mandylion. Constantinople/Sinai, tenth century. Holy Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai, Egypt.

emperor's special relationship to God, given his depiction in the icon "behind" the Mandylion-*qua*-veil (in Peers's reading). Peers then offers another reading of the icon, seeing in the fringes also an allusion to the *ṭāllît*, a prayer shawl worn by married Jewish men and given to grooms as a wedding present.[88] Though he does not present any sources showing that either the monks on Sinai housing the icon, or the ostensible Constantinopolitan iconographer who painted it, were familiar with such shawls in particular or Jewish piety in general, Peers posits that via the gifting of the Mandylion, understood by him here as a kind of relic-shawl, a "queer marriage" can be seen to take place between Christ, present in the Mandylion-*qua-ṭāllît*, and Abgar/Constantine, bringing about a divine union between the Almighty and the autokratōr (see Fig. 4).[89] In such a marriage, Christ and the emperor would "become one flesh",[90] and the emperor would come to share more fully in the characteristics of the divine—which, in the Christian tradition, does include some specifically

88 On the history and function of this prayer shawl in Judaism, see "Tallit" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edition, ed. by Berenbaum/Skolnik, 19:465–466; available online: https://link-1gale-1com-1008967m007e7.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/apps/doc/CX2587519534/GVRL?u=bayern&sid=GVRL&xid=5eeae764 (accessed 13/04/2021).

89 Peers 2021.

90 Cf. Gen 2:24, Matt 19:5, Mark 10:8, and Eph 5:31.

feminine traits applied to the divinity in scripture.[91] Following the thread of this reading of queer/feminine imagery in association with the royal iconographic portrait, Peers finally suggests that one read Abgar/Constantine, enthroned with the position of the Holy Face on the stomach, as depicting Christ in the "womb" of the emperor, moving thus beyond the nuptial imagery of a union between God and emperor to the imagery of the Annunciation, with the emperor bearing God within himself.[92]

This strong set of readings by Peers, though novel, is unconvincing: not merely on account of the anachronistic eisegesis of the queer topoi here into a Middle Byzantine iconographic context in which feminine or non-socially-standard traits for a man, much less a male ruler, would be highly suspect and unacceptable for such a high-profile depiction of the emperor,[93] or on account of these topoi being absent from contemporary patristic understandings of the aforementioned womb/loom imagery, but also on account of his anachronistic understanding of *ṭāllît* as wedding garments, something only arising in medieval Ashkenazic contexts and not extant in the late antique context of the Abgarian legends depicted in the Sinai icon. More convincing is Krause's understanding of the Mandylion as the 'radiance' of Christ following the account of the *Sermon* of Gregory the Referendary, just as Christ himself is the 'radiance' of God the Father.[94] Such an understanding of the Mandylion as a bearer of divine energy[95] helps to explain the presence of the icon-relic in the Pharos chapel next to the emperor's bedchamber: as the Father fills the Son with his divine radiance, so Christ can fill the emperor with his divinity through the Mandylion's proximity. Krause further notes that the translation of

91 Here I am thinking for instance of God comforting his people as a mother comforts her children (Isa 66:13), Jesus yearning to gather the people of Jerusalem under his wings like a mother hen (Matt 23:37, Luke 13:34), and Paul talking of giving birth to his followers and being in birth pangs (Rom 8:22–23, Gal 4:19); cf. Gempf 1994. A study on this female imagery as seen in Western medieval monasticism can be found in Bynum 1984, esp. chapter 4, "Jesus as Mother and Abbot as Mother: Some Themes in Twelfth-Century Cistercian Writing", pp. 110–169; and more recently as applied to Christ as divine Logos, see Pentcheva 2004.

92 Peers 2021.

93 Several recent studies have explored the ways in which gender was understood in Byzantium, and in particular how "bravery" or "manliness" (Gr. ἀνδρεία) stood at the heart of all normative virtue, such that bold or virtuous women, especially in liturgical texts, come to be praised for such manliness and for leaving their womanliness behind. Given this cultural context, the association of overly female imagery with the emperor would be highly unusual, if not suspect or disdained. Cf. James 1997, Garland/Neil 2013, Constantinou/Meyer 2019, and L. Neville 2019. A similar situation obtains for the medieval West, especially regarding virtue and sanctity; cf. here Cullum/Lewis 2004. On how gestures in Byzantine art from this period could signal and correspond to gender identities, see Brubaker 2020.

94 Krause 2022, 303, who cites *Sermon* 10 from Guscin's edition here.

95 Krause 2022, 300, who cites John of Damascus's comment that relics are "receptacles of divine energy" (θείας ἐνεργείας εἰσι δοχεῖα [*On the Sacred Images*, ed. by Kotter and transl. by Louth, 3.34]).

both the Mandylion and the Keramion to Constantinople in the tenth century was likely part of "targeted initiatives of the court, motivated by aims of deploying these *acheiropoieta* to support the rulers' propaganda of Byzantium as the new Israel."[96] The empire and its people as new Israel, and the capital of Constantinople as new Zion (as discussed above), would be thus complemented by the physical embodiment of Christ himself via these icon-relics 'not made by hands',[97] an embodiment that would irradiate with divine light the emperor himself as a new David, new Moses, and new Christ/'Anointed'.

Nevertheless, the later text of the *Didaskalia* by Constantine Stilbēs from around AD 1200 does speak of the cloth of the Mandylion fused with the divine image of the Holy Face as being more efficacious and healing than the "fringe"[98] of Christ's raiment, touching which the woman with the flow of blood was healed.[99] Although womb imagery in my view goes too far in associating holiness with the emperor, the treatise by Stilbēs provides us with evidence from the end of the time period under investigation here that cloth(ing) imagery was indeed linked to the Mandylion—namely, that of Christ's own robe, through which the healing power of the divinity entered the haemorrhagic woman. Earlier texts under consideration in this study do not make such an explicit link, but I do not believe it to be impossible that Stilbēs, in making use of such textile imagery, was in fact tying into earlier threads of interpretation and allusion on the Mandylion as also being a holy cloth or fabric, not least of which would include the presence in the city of the robe or veil (μαφόριον) of the Mother of God, which was said to protect Constantinople as a sacred palladium.[100]

Be that as it may, one indisputably anachronistic and cross-cultural feature present in the Sinai icon is the use of royal imagery contemporary to the tenth century: namely, Constantine VII's own visage, pearl-encrusted imperial red shoes, and a crown with descending pearl chains.[101] In so doing, I posit that the painter has merged past and present in the tenth-century icon to create a clear visual link between the emperor and Christ that goes beyond the connections made in either Constantine's *Narration* or Gregory's *Sermon.* If in the latter two texts, allusion is made to the emperor as fulfilling the type of Davidic kingship, or even possessing

96 Krause 2022, 354.

97 Krause 2022, 354.

98 The *Didaskalia* uses here the Greek term κράσπεδον, which can also refer to the tassels or fringes worn on Jewish garments and is the word used in Matt 9:20; cf. LSJ, s.v. "κράσπεδον, τό".

99 This healing is recounted in all of the Synoptic Gospels: Matt 9:20–22; Mark 5:25–34; Luke 8:43–48.

100 The robe/veil of the Theotokos is said to have come to Constantinople in the fifth century and was highly revered as being a protective talisman able to save the city from siege and invasion; cf. "Maphorion" in *ODB* 2:1294. On the Mother of God as special defender of the city, cf. Baynes 1949, 172–173; Mango 2000; and Pentcheva 2003.

101 These chains (πρεπενδούλια) were a particular signal of imperial status; cf. Parani 2003, 28–30.

divine characteristics in terms of being able to see the Holy Face (and live), the Sinai icon presents a polyvalent and ambiguous constellation of possible interpretations for king/emperor, icon/relic, and donor/recipient. What we find in the sources dating after this icon—liturgical offices for the annual commemoration of the icon-relic's translation—is less polyvalent and much more strongly theologically concerned with understanding how the Mandylion embodies and transmits divine grace, if not the divinity itself. How do these liturgical texts speak of the object? What understanding do they present of its holiness and the communicability of that holiness to the emperor? To find answers to these questions, we must wrap up our consideration of the Sinai icon and closely read these hymns for the Mandylion's translation.

2.3 11th century: liturgical reflection and development

Although liturgical texts besides homilies might have been composed on or shortly after the entrance of the Mandylion into Constantinople in 944, the earliest extant texts containing such material date from the 11th century: namely, several short hymns called either *kathismata* or *stichēra*,[102] two *kanones*,[103] and other short commemorative notices for the day of the feast contained in listings of daily saints called synaxaria.[104] As we shall see, however, a date later in the 11th century seems most likely, given the highly developed theological reflection in the kanones, the range of vocabulary used in reference to the icon-relic, certain politico-ecclesiastical controversies involving emperor and bishops at century's end, and the mention of the feast in the *synaxaria* of the Great Church. A close reading of these texts against the backdrop of imperial and ecclesiastical developments in the 1080s and 1090s reveals a deepening of the understanding of the Mandylion's immanent divinity vis-à-vis the emperor, even in the case of imperial objection to the proponent of such notions, and the spread of this idea even despite the subsequent introduction of alternative liturgical texts. First, we shall examine the writings of the bishop Leo of Chalcedon on the Mandylion, before examining the liturgical texts for the

102 A kathisma (Gr. κάθισμα) in the context of hymnography meant something like 'supporting unit' and was intercalated as a hymnodic unit between other units of psalmody. Stichēra (Gr. στιχηρά, sg. στιχηρόν), meanwhile, were verses or stanzas of text inserted after lines from the Psalms in liturgical offices; see Parenti 2016, 279. On some of the other uses of this term in Eastern Orthodox hymnography, see Mary/Ware 1969, 553; for a general overview of the genre, see Giannouli 2019.

103 Kanones (Gr. κανόνες, sg. κανών) are poetic compositions of short strophic hymns or *troparia* (Gr. τροπάρια, sg. τροπάριον) relating to the saint or feast celebrated on a given date and modelled on the nine scriptural odes or poetic songs taken into early Christian worship from the Old and New Testaments. Each troparion in a given kanōn matches the metrical pattern of the leading hymn or *heirmos* (Gr. εἱρμός) of the ode. See Parenti 2016, 300–301; Mary/Ware 1969, 546–548.

104 Cf. "Synaxarion" in *ODB* 3:1991. Greater detail is provided in Luzzi 2014.

translation, so as to find clues as to the nature of the icon-relic's sanctity and to the 11th-century understanding of imperial sacrality via this object.

2.3.1 Leo of Chalcedon and the earlier festal kanōn for the Mandylion

Leo was the bishop of Chalcedon near Constantinople at the end of the 11th century and known for his vociferous opposition to the melting down of church treasures—patens, chalices, metal icons and other implements—by order of Emperor Alexios I Komnēnos in the latter's efforts to replenish the imperial treasury as a result of the conflict with the Normans under Robert Guiscard.[105] One of the driving factors behind Leo's opposition was his very high view of the special identity of Christ in his images and the perceived sacrilege committed by the emperor in destroying such images for material gain. This high view of the presence of Christ in images of the Son of God allowed Alexios to discredit Leo as a heretic at the Council of Blachernai in 1094, forcing the metropolitan bishop to choose between remaining in exile as an outcast of the faith or returning to good (political) graces by recanting his views and submitting to the will of the council (and of the emperor).[106] Leo ultimately chose the latter option and saved face, but this recanting also had liturgical consequences. As Venance Grumel notes in the introductory comments to his edition of the earlier kanōn, the liturgical texts which Leo extolled in support of his views prior to the council of 1094 vanish from the Greek manuscript record, surviving only in a partial citation of the text in a letter penned by Leo to Nicholas, his nephew and the metropolitan bishop of Adrianople (present-day Edirne),[107] and (fully) in a single manuscript, MS Coislin 218, currently in the holdings of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.[108] These texts, however singular a lens they be on the cultural and theological understanding of the Mandylion, retain nonetheless a unique importance for the clear emphasis they place on the icon-relic's immanent divinity, the variety

105 Alexios I's reforms and measures taken to fill the Byzantine coffers in the conflict against the Normans is related by Anna Komnēnē, *Alexias*, ed. by Reinsch/Kambylis, 5.1.4–5.2.6. On the Byzantine-Norman conflict, see McQueen 1986 and Theotokis 2014. A comprehensive study of Leo and his politico-theological activity can be found in the recent dissertation by Bara 2020; see also Stephanou 1943, Stephanou 1946, Carr 1995, Krausmüller 2018, and Barber/Jenkins 2022.

106 The council, its vindication of Alexios I's actions, and its condemnation of Leo's teachings is noted in Anna Komnēnē, *Alexias*, ed. by Reinsch/Kambylis, 6.3.1–3; cf. also Gautier 1971. As Gautier notes (ibid., p. 216), the imperial adjudication here (Gr. σημείωμα) survives in BNF MS Coislin 36, fols. 307–311v, as well as in MS Sinaiticus 1117, fols. 231v–232v, both of which date to the 14th century and whose text can also be found in PG 127:972–984.

107 Cf. Grumel 1950, 135. Further study and documentation on the episode of Leo can be seen in Grumel 1946; Stephanou 1946; Bara 2020, 107–116; and Barber/Jenkins 2022, 6–23.

108 Cf. Grumel 1950, 137–142. BNF MS Coislin 218 has been fully digitised and can be viewed online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10037899s/f106.item (accessed 22/04/2021).

of vocabulary used in exploring this theme, and the unexpected survival of these texts despite what appears to have been official censorship.

In his letter from exile to his nephew, Leo lays out his theology of icons in defence of his opposition to the emperor's campaign of confiscating church treasures.[109] The prelate bases himself on scripture, stating that several persons have been called an "image" (εἰκών) therein—notably Jesus Christ as the image of God the Father, Adam as an image of God, and Seth as an image of his father Adam—thus establishing a unity and correlation of person to image.[110] Furthermore, Leo claims support for his position in several documents of later church tradition, namely Canon 82 of the Sixth Ecumenical Council (the Third Council of Constantinople in 680/681) and the closing statement or so-called *synodikon* of the Seventh Ecumenical Council (the Second Council of Nicaea in 787).[111] Yet the bishop writes that the image/icon of the divine-human Christ is of a different quality or nature than those representing merely human saints, which allows for true adoration to be directed towards it:

> But the divinely hypostasized *character* of Christ, which exists in the very hypostasis of the Son of God, and is therefore itself also God, existing according to the substance of the Son, who is joined to it and unified together with it, [this *character*] is inseparably and indivisibly revered and worshipped in terms of adoration in His holy images as God. … Honorable and relative veneration is afforded to other images, just as affection is owed to the other offerings on account of [their] common Lord. But to the holy *character* of Christ adoration [is afforded], which is appropriate for His divine nature alone. For the divinity of Christ, as has been said, remained indivisible from the whole and wholly unmingled, even though at the time of His death His holy soul was separated from His holy flesh, and everything of His flesh was separated from His holy *character*. It follows then that His holy *character* is also God (ὅθεν Θεός ἐστιν καὶ ὁ ἅγιος αὐτοῦ χαρακτήρ) and is worshipped in terms of adoration (λατρευτικῶς προσκυνεῖται) even in His holy images.[112]

109 Leo of Chalcedon, *Letter to Nicholas of Adrianople*; an edition is available in Lauriōtēs 1900; this Greek text has been reprinted and is accompanied by an English-language translation in Barber/Jenkins 2022, 24–37. In citations of the *Letter* here, I first list the page number in Barber/Jenkins where the Greek text is reprinted, and then the page number in the same where the English-language translation is to be found; in parentheses is the page number from the edition by Lauriōtēs, also provided by Barber/Jenkins.

110 Leo of Chalcedon, *Letter to Nicholas of Adrianople*, transl. by Barber/Jenkins, 26–27 (414b).

111 Leo of Chalcedon, *Letter to Nicholas of Adrianople*, transl. by Barber/Jenkins, 26–27 (415). Recent editions of the conciliar texts mentioned by Leo in his letter may be found in Riedinger 2011, Riedinger 2012, Lamberz 2012, Lamberz 2013, and Lamberz 2016. An English-language translation of the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea has recently appeared: Price 2018.

112 Leo of Chalcedon, *Letter to Nicholas of Adrianople*, transl. by Barber/Jenkins, 26–28 (415a–415b).

Here, the image of Christ is exalted above all other cultic images on account of its special status: it shares essentially in the divine nature, and in Leo's understanding is not merely an image or "imprint" (a more literal meaning of the word χαρακτήρ[113]), but rather the personal substantiation of the Son of God: one might say, not merely the *incarnate* God, but the *imprinted* God.[114] Leo undergirds his own theological interpretation by quoting the aforementioned Nicaean synodikon: "So we think, so we speak, so we proclaim Christ the true God and his saints; in words we honor [them], in writings, in thoughts, in offerings, in churches, in images (εἰκονίσματα), venerating and revering Him as God and Lord, but honoring them on account of their common Lord and as his noble servants and affording [them] relative veneration."[115]

The statement from the conclusion of an ecumenical council would have been regarded in church and at court in 11th-century Constantinople as unimpeachable orthodox theology, which Leo deftly incorporates into his argument. He is not, of course, the first bishop or theologian to make a very close association between Christ and his χαρακτήρ, which would prove to be uncomfortable for later Byzantine/orthodox Christianity. Theodore of Stoudios, an avid supporter of images after the Seventh Ecumenical Council, writes that the faithful who venerate an icon of Christ should not hesitate to call the icon merely and plainly "Christ", although he does maintain a strict distinction between the divine nature and the divinely-graced matter of the icon.[116]

Yet Leo takes two additional steps. First, at the beginning of the *Letter* to Nicholas, Leo uses precisely the example of the king or emperor (βασιλεύς) to stress the unity of person with image (χαρακτήρ):

113 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "χαρακτήρ, ὁ"; Lampe, s.v. "χαρακτήρ, ὁ".

114 Leo's opinions here, as well as the ensuing ecclesiastical controversy over how to properly understand the divine presence in the icon-relic, forms a chronological parallel to the discussions and debates taking place in Western Europe during the tenth and 11th centuries regarding the Eucharistic host and its transubstantiation at the Mass; cf. Macy 1984, Radding/Newton 2003; and going beyond this initial period into the later Middle Ages, see: Adams 2010.

115 Leo of Chalcedon, *Letter to Nicholas of Adrianople*, transl. by Barber/Jenkins, 28–29 (415b); cf. Lamberz 2016, 852–858.

116 Theodore of Stoudios, *Poems*, ed. and German transl. by Speck, 30: "The image that you see happens to be of Christ; call it also 'Christ', but only similarly in name, for they are identical in appellation, but not in nature. Yet for both there is a single veneration without division. Whoever then venerates this [image] reveres Christ, for whoever should not revere it is utterly his enemy, since being filled with hate against him, he does not wish that his depicted incarnate appearance be revered" (Ἥνπερ βλέπεις εἰκόνα, Χριστοῦ τυγχάνει· / Χριστὸν δε καὐτὴν λέξον, ἀλλ' ὁμωνύμως· / κλήσει γάρ ἐστι ταυτότης, ἀλλ' οὐ φύσει· / ἀμφοῖν δὲ προσκύνησις ἀσχίστως μία. / Ὁ τοίνυν ταύτην προσκυνῶν Χριστὸν σέβει, / μὴ προσκυνῶν γὰρ ἐχθρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ, / ὡς τὴν ἀναγραφεῖσαν ἔνσαρκον θέαν / τούτου μεμηνὼς μὴ σεβασθῆναι θέλων). English-language translation here mine. Poem cited by Belting 1990, 565.

> Adam is also called an image of God … namely, in the ruling and kingly sense, … In addition to these, an image is said to be uniquely a character written in matter (εἰκὼν λέγεται παρὰ ταῦτα καὶ μόνως ὁ ταῖς ὕλαις ἐγγραφόμενος χαρακτήρ), as Basil the Great and the great theologian Gregory claim. The former says that a king "is also called the image of a king, and both are kings since the kingdom is not split nor is the glory divided,"[117] and the Theologian says, "Let one be gold, the other iron, both rings have inscribed the same imperial image."[118,119]

This language of the image or 'character' of the king being undivided seems to suggest that Leo understood both the Mandylion *and* the emperor as representing the divine nature in a specific, tangible way, which would serve to connect the icon-relic closely to the basileus if both are understood to be divine χαρακτῆρες.

Second, the bishop claims that this controversial statement of identity between image and incarnate God is not restricted to a small circle of elite theological writers, but rather forms part of a universal ecclesial tradition centred on a specific image of Christ, namely, the icon-relic housed in the emperor's palatine Pharos chapel. The bishop explains to Nicholas: "For this reason, people sing everywhere in the holy churches in honour of the divinely inscribed form (ἡ θεοχάρακτος μορφή) of Christ, which was imprinted upon the holy Mandylion, thus", and the example of such hymnody is a short hymn or troparion taken from the kanōn extant in MS Coislin 218. The assertion of this text and/or the kanōn as a whole being sung everywhere (ᾄδεται πανταχοῦ) could be yet another instance of the hyperbole typical of much medieval rhetoric.[120] But this statement could also betoken a more widespread distribution of the text of this kanōn, which disappears from the manuscript record after the Council of Blachernai in 1094 and comes to be replaced by a different one entirely in extant collections of Greek daily liturgical texts (so-called *mēnaia*[121]). Evidence for the earlier kanōn's broader reach—if not "everywhere", then certainly beyond the Greek-speaking confines of the empire—hails from the then-Slavonic-speaking areas of present-day Bulgaria, North Macedonia, Macedonia/Thrace in Greece, and Serbia. Several manuscripts dating from the 12th to 14th centuries preserve a Slavonic translation of the kathisma hymn "O compassionate Saviour, who came down from heaven …" that is found in conjunction with the kanōn texts in MS Coislin 218

117 Barber/Jenkins note the source of this quotation as Basil of Caesarea, *On the Holy Spirit*, 18.45.

118 Barber/Jenkins note the source of this quotation as Gregory the Theologian, *On Baptism* (*Oration* 39), PG 36:396.

119 Leo of Chalcedon, *Letter to Nicholas of Adrianople*, transl. by Barber/Jenkins, 26–27 (414b).

120 Cf. "Hyperbole" in *ODB* 2:964; cf. also Lausberg 2008, 281–282.

121 On this term, cf. "Menaion" in *ODB* 2:1338. A breakdown of the different types of these texts in the time period under study here can be found in Krivko 2011; for the historical development here, see Nikiforova 2012.

which otherwise disappear, thus bearing witness to the geographical range of these texts *before* such disappearance or potential suppression took place around 1100, after which time translations into Slavonic would have been nearly impossible to make.[122]

At this juncture, it might seem odd at first glance to find evidence for these texts hailing from far beyond the imperial capital, while hardly anything similar is extant in the texts used at the Great Church of Holy Wisdom just outside the Great Palace complex. I believe this to be a red herring, however. On the one hand, the liturgical rites of the Great Church and the chapels of the palace were very different at this time, with services in Hagia Sophia normally only using one short hymn specific to the given saint or feast of the day, rather than a longer poetic text such as the kanōn in question.[123] On the other hand, the enduring presence of these texts outside Constantinople and the Greek-speaking areas of the empire, but *within* Slavonic-speaking areas, can also be explained by the fact that the Bulgarian church, upon its founding as a daughter church by the Patriarchate of Constantinople, was granted the Hagiopolite rite (i.e., that of the imperial palatine chapels, where the Mandylion was venerated and where the kanōn formed a part of the liturgical services) rather than the Ecclesiastic rite (i.e., that used in the Great Church and which, by contrast, had been granted to the church of the Rus' in Kyiv and Moscow).[124] Beyond geographical range, however, the text of the kanōn cited by Leo is also rich in the range of vocabulary it applies to the icon-relic, its ideas of divine presence, its implications for the understanding of the figure of the emperor, and the identifications it makes between the emperor and various scriptural figures. It is to these aspects of the kanōn that we now give ear.

2.3.2 The earlier stichēra and kanōn for the Mandylion: MS Coislin 218

The earlier liturgical texts for the feast of the translation of the Mandylion to Constantinople survive (in their original Greek) in a single medieval manuscript, BNF MS Coislin 218, fols. 102v–105v. This manuscript is a complete mēnaion for the month of August (fols. 1–190v), accompanied by corresponding menological and liturgical texts (fols. 191–231v). Grumel's edition of the texts for the translation only contains the kanōn, whereas other types of hymns for the feast, such as kathismata and stichēra, were not printed or examined in his article. Nonetheless, these short

122 Krivko 2012. A study of the Slavonic tradition of these hymns is also available in Lutzka 2016.

123 Examples of this can be seen in the edition by Mateos 1962. A new and fully revised edition of these hymns is available in Tucker 2023.

124 On the terms 'Hagiopolite' and 'Ecclesiastic' in reference to variant liturgical rites in Constantinople, cf. Tucker 2023, 2–6; on the history of the granting of the Hagiopolite rite to Bulgaria, cf. Frøyshov 2020, 365–367.

hymns are also informative for our understanding of both the icon-relic and its relationship to city and emperor, and thus have been included here.[125]

Telling from the outset is the description of the feast: "On the 16th of the month [sc. of August]: [commemoration of] the most majestic and undefiled image, not made by hands, of the Son of our true God, which was translated from Edessa; and of the holy martyr and wonderworking healer Diomēdēs." In the intervening century, the attentive reader sees that the date of the feast has not changed, but subtle details in the description show the special position of the translation feast. Firstly, the term used here for "not made by human hands" is not the expected ἀχειροποίητος, but instead ἀχειρότευκτος. This word is much rarer in extant Greek literature prior to the 11th century than is the former, and noteworthy for two reasons: (1) it is a word explicitly associated with the iconodule Theodore of Stoudios, found in his letters and in the liturgical canon he composed for monastic funerals, whose belief in the very close connection of Christ to his images has been noted;[126] and (2) the meaning is slightly different, emphasizing at once the craftsmanship and artistry in the image and its coming into being (with the verb τεύχω) rather than merely being "made" (with the verb ποιέω).[127] Secondly, no agent behind the translation is named: the reader simply finds mention of the Mandylion's transportation. Neither Rōmanos I (as per Symeon the Logothete's *Chronikon*) nor Constantine VII (as per the *Narration* and Gregory's *Sermon*) are named here, and thus the attention is shifted away from a specific emperor back to the movement of the object itself. Thirdly, the feast of the object's translation is followed by another commemoration, that of the martyr Diomēdēs. The feast of the martyr was the original sanctoral celebration on August 16 in Constantinople, as shown by the *kanonarion-synaxarion* of the Great Church, which also outlines a procession through the city in commemoration of the historical deliverance from siege and earthquake. This procession went from the Great Church via the Forum to the Golden Gate and concluded with the *synaxis* or liturgical celebration at the church of the Theotokos "at Jerusalem",

125 An English-language translation of Grumel's edition of the kanōn is included in the appendix. The Greek text of the kathismata and stichēra hymns, preserved in BNF MS Coislin 218 but not included in Grumel's edition, is also provided there.

126 The rarity of the term can be determined from a lemma search online via *TLG*, which lists only two instances of the term before 1200 (Michael Psellos, *Encomium on Patriarch Constantine Leichudēs*, ed. by Sathas, p. 415; George the Monk, *Brief Chronicle*, PG 110:992) and only one in later periods, from the 14th century (Ephraim of Ainos, *Chronicle*, ed. by Lampsidēs, l. 2733. The *LBG*, however, does provide several other key occurrences prior to 1200. Besides the instances mentioned in the *Letters* of Abbot Theodore of Stoudios (ed. by Phatouros, 292.46 and 481.22) and the funerary kanōn composed by the same (text in Magrì 1978/1979, 230), *LBG* also lists: Stephen the Deacon, *Life of Stephen the Younger*, PG 100:1101B (ninth century) and Peter of Sicily, *Second Sermon against the Manichaeans*, PG 104:1333C (ninth century); cf. *LBG*, s.v. "ἀχειρότευκτος".

127 "Constructed" is also a possible meaning, and thus might emphasise the construction of the entire entity of icon-relic together with its concomitant reliquary; cf. Ramelli 2019, 186.

where the martyr's relics were preserved.[128] Yet by the 11th century, BNF MS Coislin 218 lists the Mandylion first in the title of commemorations for this date and places all hymnography for the icon-relic (kathismata and stichēra hymns as well as the kanōn) before the respective texts for the earlier commemoration of the martyr on the same date. While the memory of the early-third-century martyr alone was the primary sanctoral commemoration in the Great Church,[129] one can infer from this ordering of hymns that over the course of the 11th century, the feast of the Mandylion had eclipsed the earlier commemoration, both within the palace and elsewhere, in terms of importance.

Beyond the title of the feast, the liturgical texts themselves provide evidence of rich reflection on the importance of the object for its new home in the imperial capital. If in the tenth-century texts, reference to the Mandylion was made primarily via the terms "radiance" (ἀπαύγασμα) and "image" (εἰκών) alone,[130] the 11th-century texts in BNF MS Coislin 218 exhibit a plethora of terms for the icon-relic. These include the aforementioned terms "radiance" (ἀπαύγασμα)[131] and "image" (εἰκών),[132] as well as "depiction" (ἀπεικόνισμα),[133] and the related verb "to represent" (εἰκονίζω,[134] ἐναπεικονίζω[135]); "image/imprint" (χαρακτήρ),[136] the key word in Leo's theological argument, and "divinely imprinted" (θεοχάρακτος);[137] words meaning "type" (τύπος)[138] or "likeness/imprint(ing)" (ἐκτύπωσις[139] and ἐκτύπωμα[140]) and related verb forms (ἐκτυπόω);[141] "form" (μορφή)[142] and related forms of the verb "to shape,

128 Cf. Mateos 1962, 372–377. On this church and its appellation, see Janin 1969, 95–97, 259.

129 Cf. Mateos 1962, 376–377. Other saints are listed in MS Hagios Stauros 40, but all come after the martyr Diomēdes. Interestingly, the troparion listed for the procession is for the deliverance of the city from siege and earthquake ("Blessed are you, O Christ our God, for you have wondrously manifested your mercy in the city of your immaculate mother … ", text in ibid., 372–373, translation mine), while the troparion sung at the Attalos Gate and upon arrival at the church of the Theotokos at Jerusalem are, as one might expect, centred on Mary rather than on the martyr (ibid., 374–375). The 11th-century *praxapostolos* manuscript Vladimir 21/Savva 4, however, does assign a generic *martyrikon* (hymn for martyrs) on this date for Diomēdes; cf. Tucker 2023, 302.

130 Cf. Krause 2022, 298–305.

131 Ode III, troparion 1.

132 Commemoration title of feast; Kathisma 2; Stichēron; Ode III, troparion 3; Ode IV, troparion 3; Ode VI, troparion 3; Ode VIII, troparia 1 and 3; Ode IX, troparion 1.

133 Ode V, troparion 2.

134 Ode VI, troparion 2.

135 Ode VII, troparion 2.

136 Ode I, troparion 2; Ode III, troparion 2; Ode V, troparion 4; Ode VI, troparia 1 and 2.

137 Ode VI, troparion 4.

138 Ode I, troparion 4; Ode IV, troparion 2; Ode V, troparion 1; Ode VIII, troparion 2.

139 Ode I, troparion 3.

140 Ode V, troparion 5.

141 Ode VI, troparion 3.

142 Kathisma 1; Ode III, troparion 1; Ode IV, troparion 1; Ode V, troparion 2; Ode VII, troparion 3; Ode IX, troparion 3.

form" (μορφέω,[143] ἀπομορφόω,[144] διαμορφόω[145]); "towel/cloth" (ἐκμαγεῖον);[146] the word used for "likeness" in many of the Christological debates (ὁμοιότης);[147] and a form of the verb "to write, paint" (γράφω).[148] The panoply of descriptors in these liturgical texts serves to underscore the connection of the icon-relic both with the person of Christ himself and with the scriptural vocabulary and imagery used in conjunction with him.[149] Furthermore, the application of terms used in scripture for Christ to the Mandylion in these texts draws attention to the unique status of the icon-relic. Rather than being merely a depiction of the divine God-human, it is liturgically exegeted as being the very imprint and form of Christ: the diverse terms employed are united in the context of a common liturgical worship by being applied in common to the Mandylion.

'Common' is indeed a key word here, since the texts—despite their focus on the veneration of a palatine chapel treasure—make no mention whatsoever of the more exclusive locations of the palace or the Pharos church. Much like the title, with its lack of specific focus on the emperor, the hymns speak primarily of the city and people, and God's relationship to them in and through the Mandylion. The first kathisma hymn, also contained in the Slavonic manuscripts,[150] praises Christ for actively storing up as a treasure "the holy and undefiled form" of his flesh: not in the palace, but "in the city that honours you and in a people named after Christ."[151] The second such hymn continues this theme, positing the "queen of cities" rather than the emperor as the recipient of God himself, who "comes to you … as a human through his divine and majestic image", thus creating a further identification of Constantinople as a new Zion receiving the heavenly king.[152] Following this, the single stichēron for the feast speaks of Christ as bringing "divine things of goodness near to all" and bestowing his image as a treasure on "those who honour you". Of course, given the background of the *Narration* and *Sermon*, one can imagine here the emperors, Senate, courtiers, and palace clergy as being those who render homage; yet the remainder of the hymns and the use of words such as "all" extend the beneficent work of the Mandylion to the city at large. The troparion quoted by Leo

143 Ode V, troparion 1.
144 Ode IX, troparion 2.
145 Stichēron.
146 Ode V, troparion 3.
147 Ode VI, troparion 2.
148 Ode V, troparion 2.
149 For recent studies on this language in the context of the New Testament, see: R. Neville 2001, esp. 18–23, 128–141; Mackie 2008; Sterling 2012; Small 2014; and Dunn 2019.
150 Krivko 2012, 76.
151 Full texts of the hymns analysed in this section can be found below in the appendix.
152 Cf. Isa 62:11, "Say to the daughter of Zion: 'Behold, your saviour is present to you'", and Zech 9:9, "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; proclaim, O daughter of Jerusalem: behold, your king comes to you". These texts are explicitly interpreted in the Gospels as pertaining to Christ: cf. Matt 21:5 and John 12:15.

in his letter to Nicholas (part of Ode I of the kanōn) states that Christ has "granted to those who venerate you in orthodox manner as God and human the divinised image of your flesh",[153] stressing both the immanent presence of God in the object and the broad circle of those who are said to possess the image. In Ode III, the Mandylion is said to be restored upon its translation to the capital not to the emperors, but "to a God-loving people and city who bear the name of Christ."[154] If David is usually seen in Middle Byzantine hymnography as a prototype of the emperor, Ode IV has David leaping before the ark of the covenant mirrored by a plurality of persons, and not merely the basileus: "Previously, David leapt before the ark as he danced in song, but we rejoice as we mystically leap before the image of Christ",[155] a clear reference and thematic link between the Israelite king's triumphal entry with his retinue into Zion with the recovered ark of the covenant,[156] and the emperor with his assembled people at the reception of the Mandylion into New Zion (for the text, see below). Here, we see the parallels of David/people of the city and ark/image. Ode V mentions the icon-relic as a help to all of Christ's "inheritance"[157] and Ode VI speaks of Christ coming home via his image "to an imperial city and a God-bearing people."[158] Only in the final three odes of the kanōn do imperial figures appear, and here but vaguely; additionally, the exclusive status of the capital city is also marginal in these texts. Ode VII speaks of the icon-relic arriving in Constantinople, described as "the city of God … shown today as another new Zion."[159] Other than the (for this time period) unambiguous epithet of "queen of cities" in the first kathisma hymn, Constantinople is not mentioned explicitly anywhere in the text; these hymns thus indicate in my view that the capital's status is not that of the singular, definitive heavenly city on earth, but merely that of "another new Zion" among other possible such locations manifesting God's holy dwelling place.

Contrary to much of the recent work by Alexei Lidov,[160] who views the Pharos church in the Great Palace as the New Zion *par excellence* and *sans pareil*, there exist several references to other locales and buildings being referred to as "new Zion(s)" in Byzantine texts and inscriptions. In late antique patristic authors such as Clement of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, and Proklos of Constantinople, "Zion" is applied to a wide range of referents, including the angelic life, the church as a whole, the highest attainable virtue, the Old Testament saints who sought out Christ before his incarnation, and the word of the gospel.[161] The Middle Byzantine

153 Ode I, troparion 2.
154 Ode III, troparion 2.
155 Ode IV, troparion 3.
156 Cf. 2 Kgdms 6:1–23.
157 Ode V, troparion 4.
158 Ode VI, troparion 3.
159 Ode VII, troparion 1.
160 Cf. especially Lidov 2009 (esp. pp. 117–119) and Lidov 2012.
161 Cf. Lampe, s.v. "Σιών, ἡ".

period also records numerous such instances. Christopher of Mytilene (11th century) speaks of the translation of the relics of Stephen the Protomartyr as taking place "from Zion to the other Zion, the ruling city",[162] with a clear emphasis on the city rather than the palace, and the city being *another* Zion. The Great Church of Hagia Sophia is itself given the appellation of "New Zion" in a 12th-century oration by Gregory Antiochos, some of whose work will be discussed below in chapter 4.[163] "New Zion" without any article is mentioned in the liturgical texts composed by George Skylitzēs for the translation of the Holy Stone, also discussed below in chapter 4, but the context is ambiguous as to the true referent.

Further afield, texts from outside Constantinople also make reference to locations being conceived of as heirs to the name Zion. The *typikon* for the monastery founded by Neophytos the Recluse on Cyprus in the 12th century calls the hermitage "new Zion";[164] Michael Chōniatēs calls Athens a "New Zion" in addition to the sobriquets of "city of God" and "ark",[165] while there is also an inscription commemorating the rebuilding of the Byzantine city walls of Ankyra during the reign of Emperor Michael III (r. 842–867), which describes those entering this city in central Anatolia as saying, "Rejoice, city of the Lord, the New Zion, inscribed with divinely-written [or painted?] tablets."[166] On this last instance, Andreas Rhoby notes that the language and imagery used here is very Constantinopolitan, and he wonders if the inscription were simply made in a workshop in the capital and used in a provincial city without the scribe knowing where the work would end up.[167] Rhoby, however, admits in the same passage that another location on the walls of Ankyra speaks of the city being "strengthened by stones trodden by God" (θεοστίβοις λίθαξιν ἐστηριγμένη), with this "most probably meaning that precious stones from the Holy Land were also bricked in the wall." Nonetheless, these two inscriptions provide mutual support in proclaiming the rebuilt Ankyra as new Zion filled with divine images (icons? perhaps other acheiropoiēta?) and holy stones—and supply further evidence that the appellation of "Zion" was not restricted to Constantinople alone.

162 Gr. ἀπὸ Σιὼν πρὸς τὴν βασιλεύουσαν ἑτέραν πόλιν Σιών. Metrical liturgical calendar for August, Ode I, troparion 2, in: Christopher of Mytilene, *Metrical Calendars*, ed. by Follieri, p. 470.

163 *Oration* 1: οἳ ἐγώ, μῆτερ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, θεοῦ σοφία, νέα Σιών, ed. by Sideras, p. 63. On the person of this Gregory, cf. Darrouzès 1962.

164 Prooimion: Νεοφύτου πρεσβυτέρου μοναχοῦ καὶ ἐγκλείστου τυπικὴ σὺν θεῷ διαθήκη περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἐγκλείστρας, νήσου Κύπρου τῆς Παφηνῶν ἐπαρχίας, τῆς καὶ Νέας Σιὼν ἐπονομασθείσης; ed. by Tsiknopoullos, p. 71.

165 *Oration* 18: Ἤ, ἵνα οἰκειότερον λέγοιμι, νέα Σιὼν Ἀθῆναι νομίζονταί μοι καὶ ἄλλη πόλις θεοῦ, περὶ ἧς δεδοξασμένα λελάληται, εἴ περ ναὸς θεοῦ χάρισιν ἱερωτέραις πολλῷ σεμνυνόμενος καὶ κιβωτὸς μυστικωτέρα δεῦρο ἐνίδρυται; ed. by Lampros, 1:317.

166 Πόλις Κυρίου, χαῖρε, Σιὼν ἡ νέα / θεογράφοις πίναξιν ἐγγεγραμμένη; text in Lauxtermann 2003, 340 (no. 20).

167 Rhoby 2012, 745.

The capital is not the only centre removed from focus in the earlier hymnographic materials for the Mandylion's translation. The first troparion on Ode VII proclaims that the Mandylion is "glorified by faithful emperors and every breath of mature faithful [persons]"—the emperors are not even set apart here, but situated amidst the whole assembly of Christian faithful—while Odes VIII and IX each contain one mention of the object serving as a "victorious weapon" and "shield" for "those who now rule by your providence" and "those who in your good pleasure rule the earth", respectively.[168] What matters in these troparia is not who the emperors are (much less who any given single autokratōr is), but who grants victory and by what means: Christ God, through his image, to his appointed regents.

From this close reading, one can see more clearly why the texts found in BNF MS Coislin 218 posed a problem for church and court in the late 11th century. On the one hand, the explicit divinity ascribed to the Mandylion and the very close identification of "salvific symbol" with the Saviour himself contributed to the accusations of idolatry levelled against Leo at the Council of Blachernai in 1094. On the other hand, the imperial role in the Mandylion's translation and the close connection between ruler and relic appears at best neglected, and at worst undermined, by the prominence given to the people and the city in the texts. Notions of the divine essence being present in the icon-relic and the emperor were far from eradicated by the replacement of these texts in the early 1100s, as my readings will show in the following chapters. But more importantly than preserving a pro-icon/anti-idol orthodoxy, I would argue that the replacing of the earlier liturgical texts for the Mandylion's translation with new ones served to remove an embarrassing contradiction for the emperor: hymns sung on a feast celebrating one of the most important relics in the Christian world, housed next to the emperor's own chambers no less, yet almost completely sidelining the basileus. The presence of the Mandylion in Constantinople was certainly felt to provide spiritual and physical protection, and was a mark of pride for the city as a whole, as Constantine VII notes in his *Narration*. But even more important for the emperor specifically was the presence of the Mandylion in the palace, brought thither by imperial command and strengthening above all the emperor as divinely instituted ruler. This viewpoint is what comes to the fore in the texts that replace those quoted by Leo and which survive in all other medieval Greek mēnaia manuscripts.[169]

168 Ode VIII, troparion 2; Ode IX, troparion 3.

169 Both the contemporary Byzantine rite texts in Greek and Slavonic for matins on August 16 employ a canon in plagal second mode (which the Slavonic tradition calls sixth mode), ascribed to Patriarch Germanos (I) of Constantinople (r. 715–730) and bearing the acrostic "I venerate the official copy of your countenance, O Saviour" (Gr. Σῆς ἐκσφράγισμα Σῶτερ ὄψεως σέβω, text available in Μηναῖον Αὐγούστου, ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 213; translation mine), which in the Slavonic tradition is not maintained via the initial letters of the kanōn's troparia, but is translated and provided as "I venerate your portrayed visage, O Saviour" (Slav.

2.3.3 Less Leo, more monarch: the later liturgical texts for the Mandylion

The kanōn present in the other early Greek mēnaia, the earliest extant manuscripts of which date from the 13th–15th centuries and contain material for August 16 and the feast of the Mandylion's translation, displays several characteristics aligning it more fully with a pro-imperial agenda. The heirmoi of the kanōn quoted by Leo are in plagal fourth mode, and while the entire text is not present, from the extant incipits these appear to be identical to the heirmoi used still today in the received Byzantine tradition at matins on Friday in plagal fourth mode week according to the rotating use of modes in the musical texts of the *oktōēchos*.[170] In the year 944, August 16 fell on a Friday, and following the calculation of the date of Pascha for that year, this would have indeed been Friday in a week during which the daily cycle of hymns would have been sung according to this mode. Perhaps the presence of heirmoi in this mode are simply a sign of a feature of the daily cycle of services as celebrated in the palatine chapels (i.e., we should understand that this element of matins was static, related to the day and tone of the week, and not influenced by other feasts); perhaps one finds here an explicit choice made by the hymnographer(s) to disconnect somewhat the feast of the Mandylion's translation from the great feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos celebrated the day before, which choice would emphasise the former's unique character and importance by avoiding any duplication or reference to that great feast's hymns. In the otherwise extant kanōn, however, the heirmoi incipits for August 16 seem to be identical to those used in the second kanōn for the feast of the Dormition on August 15 and attributed to John of Damascus.[171] Besides simply continuing the custom of re-using

Напечатаннаго твоего Спасе зрѣния почитаю, text available in Миніа Мѣсяцъ Аугустъ, ed. by Kiev Caves Lavra, p. 308; translation mine). This attribution cannot be correct, however, given the Mandylion's arrival in the city only in 944. In his doctoral dissertation on the hymns attributed to Germanos, Kosta Simic notes the variety of texts (impossibly) ascribed to this patriarch as part of a later Byzantine impetus to enhance the authority of the hymns composed and to ensure their widespread distribution under the pen-name of a historical church figure revered as a hymnographer; see Simic 2017, 21–23.

170 The oktōēchos or "eight modes" is a system of musical texts used in the daily cycle of liturgical services in the Byzantine rite, dating back at least to the eighth and ninth centuries in nascent form. The date of Pascha serves to restart the eight-week cycle each year; cf. "Oktoechos" in *ODB* 3:1520. On the Byzantine musical modal system in greater detail, see Tillyard 1916/1917–1917/1918 and Strunk 1942.

171 Much hymnography is attributed to John of Damascus, and much study has been undertaken to determine which portions of this body of hymnography can be regarded as genuine works by the eighth-century author. Wading into the deep waters of this body of scholarship is beyond the scope of the present study, but suffice it to say that there are a number of extant authentic homilies by John on the feast, and the language of the canon closely corresponds to that of these sermons, allowing for a plausible acceptance

material from a feast during its afterfeast,[172] these heirmoi for the Virgin on the feast of the Mandylion have as another common point of reference the emperor, who usually attended divine services on this feast at the shrine of the Virgin located in Blachernai.[173]

The hymns in these texts composed after the Council of Blachernai, like their predecessors, abound in vocabulary to describe the Mandylion, although these later texts specifically mention the Mandylion as such in the title of the kanōn, in contrast to the texts cited by Leo.[174] Nevertheless, the emphasis is subtly different: while words referring to the object as image (εἰκών),[175] likeness (ἐμφέρεια,[176] ὁμοίωσις[177]), type (τύπος,[178] ἐκτύπωμα,[179] τυπόω[180]), and writing/painting/recording (γράφω,[181] ἐγγράφω[182]) appear, the newer hymns stress the form (μορφή)[183] and shape (εἶδος)[184] of the Mandylion when referring to the object, and distinguish the depiction of the divine image from the cloth bearing it.[185] This distinction, though, does not diminish the perception of a divine presence at hand. All of creation,[186] and prophetically

of Damascene authorship here. Cf. Shoemaker 2002; on the correspondence of language, see Pokhilko 2004, 19.

172 In the Byzantine rite, several high-ranking feasts are preceded by several days on which the hymnography anticipates the feast (the so-called forefeast) and are followed by several days on which the feast continues to be celebrated and hymns from the feast continue to be sung: the so-called afterfeast. On the latter term, cf. *LBG*, s.v. "μεθεορτή", "μεθεόρτιος", and "μεθέορτον"; on the phenomenon in general, as well as a listing of the great feasts of the Byzantine rite together with their respective fore- and afterfeasts, cf. Mary/Ware 1969, 41–44; see also in general Baumstark 1954. The Old Georgian K'larjeti *mravaltavi* liturgical manuscript, compiled in the tenth century on the basis of seventh-century sources, prescribes festal homilies for August 13–17 related to an extended celebration of the Dormition. On this manuscript and its contents, see: Esbroeck 1974, Esbroeck 1975; Shoemaker 2002, 120. The Old Georgian text can be found in Mgaloblišvili 1991, 12. On the *mravaltavi* genre of texts in the Georgian tradition more generally, see Gippert 2016.

173 See above this chapter, n. 25.

174 Albeit in the variant spelling μανδήλιον; cf. ed. by Proiou/Schirò, 12:163. An English-language translation of the kanōn is available below in the appendix.

175 Ode I, troparion 2; Ode VII, theotokion.

176 Ode I, troparion 1.

177 Ode I, troparion 2.

178 Ode III, troparion 1.

179 Ode I, troparion 3.

180 Ode V, troparion 1.

181 Ode I, troparion 2.

182 Ode V, troparion 2; Ode VII, troparion 2.

183 Ode IV, theotokion; Ode V, theotokion; Ode VI, troparion 2; Ode VII, troparion 2; Ode IX, theotokion.

184 Ode V, troparion 2; Ode VI, troparion 2; Ode VIII, troparion 2 (twice).

185 Cf. Ode V, theotokion: "you placed your form on a woven cloth."

186 Cf. Ode I, troparion 1: "O heavens, exult today with brightness; O mountains, leap, O hills, clap your hands! You of divine mind, venerate in faith the likeness of Christ's acquisition."

David the psalmist-king,[187] hail the arrival of the icon-relic in "the queen of cities", which is considered to be like Mary, pregnant with the divine Logos;[188] the "new Zion";[189] and metropolis/mother-city of God.[190] In these texts we see that a divine presence is regarded as being especially present in the icon-relic, a presence that finds correspondence not only in form but in activity. Just as the infant Christ was detained in Egypt away from murderous Herod,[191] so we hear in the hymns, so too is Edessa said to have been host to the Word of God himself while it harboured the relic.[192] Through the acquired form of his icon-relic,[193] Christ "has come as though on foot" from Edessa to Constantinople, and "comes to what is his own"—his own people, the new Israel of the Christian empire—"through a recorded form"[194] that bears not only the divine image, but the divine essence as well.[195] Scriptural images of Christ's earthly sojourn are re-enacted and re-presented through the Mandylion's arrival in the city in the texts; a re-enactment which I believe was not a one-time event, but which would continually be underscored every year liturgically when this feast was celebrated anew.

Just as the city in these hymns becomes again mother and virgin, queen and Zion, and just as Christ once again becomes palpably present in the holy relic, so too does the emperor appear more fully in the newer texts. The final troparion of the first ode proclaims: "David related most clearly the power of the mystery, crying out: 'The God and Lord who is coming has also appeared to us; arrange a universal feast of joy!'" The feast might be for all, but the central figure of David here serves to allude to the emperor, the fulfilment of the Davidic type. Furthermore, the hymn celebrates that the Lord Christ, in the form of the Mandylion, has indeed "appeared to us", as recounted in Constantine VII's miraculous ability to see the divine face when others could not.[196] The emperors again have pride of place in greeting the

187 Mentions of or allusions to David are found in: Ode I, theotokion; Ode III, troparia 1 and 2; Ode VI, troparion 1 and theotokion; Ode VIII, theotokion; Ode IX, theotokion.

188 Ode III, troparion 1.

189 Ode III, troparion 2.

190 Cf. Ode III, troparion 2, and notes in the appendix there on the pun in the Greek here.

191 Cf. Matt 2:13–23; reference to the sojourn in Egypt is also made explicit in Ode VI, troparion 3.

192 Ode III, troparion 3.

193 Twice, the later kanōn speaks of Christ's "acquisition" (πρόσλημμα) without defining this term any further (Ode I, troparion 1; Ode VIII, troparion 2); the word is used on its own in patristic literature, however, to refer specifically to Christ's acquisition of human nature in the incarnation. Cf. Lampe, s.v. "πρόσλημμα, τό".

194 Ode VII, troparion 2: δι' ἐγγράφου μορφῆς.

195 Cf. Ode V, troparion 2, which speaks of the Mandylion as being "God's recorded essence" (ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔγγραφος οὐσία).

196 Cf. n. 73 above. While the familiarity of the composers of these liturgical texts with this episode as recounted in Pseudo-Symeon cannot be determined with any certainty, the large number of surviving manuscripts, and the fact that this text was translated into various Slavic dialects, indicates a greater-than-normal popularity, and thus a familiarity

object on its arrival before the clergy and laity,[197] and receive the gift of victories from Christ ahead of the granting of peace to the remaining people;[198] the only place where this is not the case is also the only instance of hymnography taken over from the texts referred to earlier by Leo (namely, the kathisma hymn, which is placed after Ode III). What is more, the emperor is allusively likened to God the Father and thus hinted at being divine himself: as the Father called Jesus back to the Promised Land from his Egyptian exile,[199] so too do we hear that "therefore a father has once again called for [Christ] to return, as to another fatherland": not to Jerusalem, but "to this city which has given birth to you" in bearing the record of Christ's flesh.[200]

From the similarly wide-ranging vocabulary and the common unabashed emphasis on the physically tangible presence of Christ in the Mandylion, the later post-conciliar kanōn from the early 1100s does not seem in my view to have replaced Leo's theological understanding of the icon-relic with a more tempered explanation of the divine presence in the object. Rather, I believe the replacement (if not outright suppression) of the earlier texts served to do away with textual materials associated with Leo—a man who had been officially condemned at a church council—and to prevent the potential yearly embarrassment in the palatine chapels of emperor, clergy, and court hearing once again words linked to a recognised imperial opponent. Furthermore, the new composition, while underscoring the special sacred character of the icon-relic, restores a primary and even divine role to the emperor(s) in the feast. Here, the emperor's initiative is what is key in the Mandylion's translation from Edessa, and this initiative serves to reveal his own holy character. Nevertheless, the emperor in these later texts remains nameless, and thus any emperor—indeed, every emperor—could be understood as fulfilling this sacred, paternal role.

Liturgy and literature are important witnesses to the development of the understanding and interpretation of both the Mandylion and the emperor as sacred, divine figures in the Middle Byzantine period, as the close reading of the foregoing texts and hymns has shown. But such compositions are not the sole witnesses to this phenomenon; one artistic depiction in particular from the tenth century in conjunction with these texts also gives shape to how Byzantine elites perceived and portrayed this object, imperial sanctity, and the expression of both beyond the confines of the palace to the far corners of the empire.

with the text and the tale within the elite circles of Byzantine hymnographers cannot be excluded. On the history of the manuscripts and their translations, cf. Markopoulos 1978, 30–38, 185.

197 Ode VII, troparion 3.

198 Ode IX, troparion 2.

199 Cf. Matt 2:19–20.

200 Ode III, theotokion.

2.3.4 The Mandylion in MS Vat. Cod. Ross. 251: matter and spirit

A depiction of the Mandylion, mentioned by Lidov in his work on sacred spaces,[201] is found in the MS Vatican Codex Rossianus 251, dating to the mid-11th century and containing an illustrated copy of the early-seventh-century ascetical classic *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* by John, abbot of Saint Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai.[202] In addition to this more common title, the treatise is also entitled in some manuscripts as being the "Spiritual Tables" (πλάκες πνευματικαί),[203] and this name also appears in translation in some of the earliest printed copies of the Latin translation of the text in the late 15th century.[204] However, this sense of the thirty steps of John Klimakos's ascetical ladder as also being "spiritual tables" akin to the tables of the law or the Ten Commandments, according to which a monk should order his life, is shifted by a visual marker in the manuscript under discussion: namely, a depiction of the Mandylion and its tile copy, the Keramion, beneath this title (Fig. 5). In his work, Lidov is keen to explore the spread of iconographic depictions of the Mandylion in Byzantine art and church decoration,[205] and notes the miniature in Codex Rossianus 251 as one of the earliest depictions of the Holy Face and Holy Tile as a sacred image apart from any narrative of the Pharos chapel and the imperial relic treasury.[206] Yet the significance of this depiction in its context is absent from his interpretation. Within a manuscript on the ascetical life, referred to metaphorically as containing "spiritual tables" to follow, this depiction of the Mandylion and its copy alongside the title lends weight to a different metaphor, albeit via a literal reading. The "spiritual tables" here are no longer the thirty steps of John's *Ladder*, but the divine icon-relic and its miraculous copy, both "not made by hands"

201 Lidov 2009, 114.

202 On this manuscript, cf. Menna 2008. The manuscript has been fully digitised and can be viewed online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ross.251 (accessed 26/04/2021). The classic study in the field on the *Ladder* and its manuscript/image tradition remains Martin 1954; cf. also Corrigan 1996.

203 Cf. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, ed. Smith, s.v. "Climacus, Joannes".

204 Cf. Coblentz 2020. In her blog post, Coblentz mentions the 1492 Venetian edition of the *Ladder* published by Christophoro da Mandelo, which is held at the New York Public Library and includes a note on the double names in its preface: "This sacred book has two names. One of its names is *Tavola spirituale* [Spiritual Table]. … The other is *La santa scala* [The Holy Ladder] … And from this name 'Scala' ["ladder"] the saint who wrote it is called San Giovanni Climaco [Saint John Climacus], that is, San Giovanni della Scala [Saint John of the Ladder], since 'Climax' in Greek and Latin means 'Scala' [in Italian]" (*Scala paradisi*, 3; translation by Coblentz).

205 Cf. Lidov 2009, where an entire chapter is dedicated to the icon-relic and artistic depictions thereof throughout Byzantium, the Balkans, and Russia/Ukraine ("Мандилион и Керамион: Иконический образ сакрального пространства" [The Mandylion and the Keramion: an iconographic image of sacred space], pp. 107–132).

206 Lidov 2009, 114.

Fig. 5: Depiction of the Mandylion (left, with fringe below) and Keramion (right) before the first *Step* of *The Ladder of Divine Ascent*. Codex Rossianus 251 (mid-11th century), fol. 12v. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

and written/painted (both senses of γράφω coming here into play) by God himself. The divine tables after which the monk should pattern himself are concretised to be the person of Christ, who—as has been seen in the hymnography from the 11th century—was believed to be ontologically present in the Mandylion, and who could thus cause his very image to become manifest in the earthen clay of the human monk, tested like a tile in the kiln of the ascetic life. But while the singular importance of the physical presence of the object in the Pharos chapel within the Great Palace is not questioned or mediated here—in fact, as Krause argues, the two icon-relics as new 'divine tablets' serve to buttress an understanding of Byzantine Christian society as a new Israel with the capital city as a new Zion[207]—the metaphorical presence of these precious relics, and their 'translation' outwards from the metropolis of Constantinople, becomes possible everywhere via their divine 'spiritual' character, which is present in the copy: present in the Keramion, the *Urkopie*, yes; but also present in any other copy made: be it the human clay of the monk, or the pigment painted on walls or parchment.

207 Cf. above this chapter, n. 96.

Such proliferation of Mandylion images is in fact encouraged and enjoined by heaven in the post-Blachernai kanōn: "Angels now rejoice and cry out today: 'Lift up the gates, O churches,[208] receive the form, not depicted by hands, of God's recorded essence, and make copies of it for yourselves in accordance with the archetype,[209] O faithful!'"[210] Furthermore, this copying is to be done "in the churches" without further definition or restriction, thus allowing the possibility of an artistic campaign of exportation and a personal campaign of imitation throughout the empire and beyond its limits. Evidence exists that such spread indeed took place: already in the 11th century, examples of Mandylion depictions can be found in Cappadocia[211] and North Macedonia,[212] while the transition from the 11th to the early 12th century sees copies in Rila, Bulgaria,[213] and near Pskov in present-day Russia,[214] with the same phenomenon of spread documentable in Western Europe as well.[215]

The diffusion of Mandylion copies beyond the walls of Constantinople and the inner sancta of the palace certainly bears witness to the ability of a metropolis, such as the Byzantine capital, to export specific depictions of religio-cultural identity well outside the geographical boundaries of such a centre. But two features of these depictions stand out under closer inspection. First, the depictions of the Mandylion are not placed simply anywhere on walls or other flat services. In one instance—the miniature in Codex Rossianus 251—the Mandylion and Keramion appear to be situated either on a wall or within an open box. The latter interpretation would mirror that of the earlier accounts of both items coming to the city in reliquary containers, as well as later accounts and depictions from the turn of the 12th century, which describe the icon-relic and its copy being carried in box-top containers.[216]

208 Cf. Ps 23:7, 9.

209 The term 'archetype' here has the meaning of model, pattern, or original; cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἀρχέτυπον, τό". The word does not occur in either the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament or in any New Testament text, yet the *TLG* database shows that it is taken up by several early Christian authors in their apologetical and dogmatic works from the centuries up to and including the time period under study, ranging from Clement of Alexandria to the Cappadocian Fathers, Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus, and Michael Psellos in the 11th century.

210 Ode V, troparion 2.

211 Lidov 2009, 118–119 (Mandylion copy in apse niche above the prothesis, the so-called 'Dark Church' [*Karanlık Kilise*] at Korama [present-day Göreme, Turkey]). On this church and its imagery, see Schroeder 2008.

212 Lidov 2009, 120–121 (Mandylion copy over entrance to the cathedral of Saint Sophia in Ohrid, North Macedonia).

213 Lidov 2009, 123 (altar apse, church of the Archangel Michael in Rila, Bulgaria).

214 Lidov 2009, 108–109, 112–113 (copies of Mandylion and Keramion facing each other on opposite arches below a cupola in the katholikon at the Spaso-Preobrazhenskiy Mirozhskiy monastery [dedicated to the feast of the Transfiguration and located on the banks of the Mirozha River] in Pskov, Russia).

215 Cf. Kessler 2000, esp. chapter 4, "Configuring the Invisible by Copying the Holy Face", pp. 64–87.

216 See the 12th-century *Madrid Skylitzēs* manuscript miniature in Fig. 7.

Additionally, such a reading in my view would drive home the association of 'spiritual tables' with the tables of the law and the ark of the covenant, an association already noted by Kessler vis-à-vis the tapestries said to cover the ark:[217] if every church can be seen as a new Zion, the home of the new Israel (as explained above in this chapter), then every church should also bear within itself as miniature Zion and temple the tables of the law, made manifest in the copied image of the Mandylion-*qua*-Christ the Lawgiver[218]—and, I would venture, the ultimate embodiment of the ἔμψυχος νόμος and new law. Just as Christ was made manifest in the flesh at the incarnation, so too can he be seen now 'spiritually' in the icons of him, and especially so in copies of the Mandylion. Nevertheless, the actual physical body and fleshly presence of Christ after his ascension into heaven[219] is hidden from (nearly) all until the Second Coming, yet this hiddenness of Christ also finds parallel in the relative hiddenness of the actual Mandylion, sheltered as it was behind palace walls and in its reliquary within the Pharos chapel.

Second, however, the depictions situate the Mandylion copies high above in cupolas and arches, or suspended on walls above tables and altars: in other words, the images appear to 'hang' from the walls or domes. Engaging a patristic/associative reading here of the copies' depictions and positions, I suggest that Jesus in the Gospels is also seen 'hanging' on the wood of the cross,[220] and it is precisely this kind

217 Kessler notes that in iconographic depictions, the woven fabric on which the Holy Face was manifest was interpreted to represent the screens of the Old Testament tabernacle in the wilderness and their successor, the veil before the Holy of Holies in the Temple. On this, see Kessler 2000, 81; cf. also the essays contained in Kessler/Wolf 1998. Alexei Lidov has also noted depictions of the Mandylion on veils used in conjunction with ciboria in Kyivan Rus' in the 12th century as well as other iconographic depictions of Christ himself as the temple veil; cf. Lidov 2014, 50–52.

218 The identification of Christ with God in terms of being the one who gave the law to Moses on Sinai is made as early as the second century AD in the writings of Irenaeus (*Against Heresies* 4.4.1–2) and Origen (*Homily 1 on Psalm 77*). Editions and translations of Irenaeus are available in: Brox 1997 and Rousseau et al. 2006; for Origen: Trigg 2020.

219 Cf. Luke 24:50; John 3:13, 6:62, 20:17; Acts 1:9–11.

220 Cf. Gal 3:13: "Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us—for it is written, 'Cursed be everyone who hangs (πᾶς ὁ κρεμάμενος) on a tree'", the verse itself referring to Deut 21:22–23: "And if a man has committed a crime punishable by death and he is put to death, and you hang (κρεμάσητε) him on a tree, his body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but you shall bury him the same day, for a hanged man (πᾶς κρεμάμενος) is accursed by God; you shall not defile your land which the Lord your God gives you for an inheritance." The same imagery is very salient in the 15th antiphon sung at matins of Holy Friday in the Lenten texts of the Triodion, which begins "Today is hung on the cross he who hung the earth upon the waters …" (Σήμερον κρεμᾶται ἐπὶ ξύλου ὁ ἐν ὕδασι τὴν γῆν κρεμάσας …). Taft, in his *ODB* entry on the Triodion (3:2118–2129), notes the development of the texts of this hymnographic collection over the centuries and mentions the summary work by Meester 1943. The latter text does mention the hymn Σήμερον κρεμᾶται in the context of the Holy Friday matins (p. 45), but Meester provides no footnotes, sources, or bibliography in his (alas, much cited) work. More

of association which the 11th-century kanōn for the translation of the Mandylion also takes up, when it speaks of Christ 'hanging' in his image: "Bearing your image like an adornment, O Christ, your bride the church cries: 'Behold the inexpressible beauty of your life hanging before your eyes (ἀπέναντι κρεμάμενον τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν), and you all shall live.'"[221] This imagery of suspension would appear to find confirmation in the extant sources on the Mandylion proper: both Robert of Clari's account of the Pharos chapel at the time of the sacking of Constantinople in 1204,[222] as well as Nicholas Mesaritēs's description of the chapel's treasures in the course of the attempted coup by supporters of John the Fat in 1200,[223] speak of the Mandylion and Keramion being suspended from above within the chapel, facing each other and housed in golden cases. The hanging icon-relic and its miraculous copy in the Pharos chapel then serve not only as the pattern for all other 'copies' made "in the churches", but also as the key to interpreting this depiction. If the Mandylion and Keramion are to be seen as 'spiritual tables' contained within the new ark of the covenant that is situated amongst the new Israel of the Christian commonwealth, they also then represent in my reading the new law made tangibly present in the objects: Christ, and the emperor who is to be patterned exactly after the divine image in terms of sovereignty and virtue.[224] Against this backdrop, one should also recall here the Byzantine legal idea of the emperor as "embodied law",[225] which

informative, with abundant notes and documentation, is Janeras 1998, 124–136, who locates the text of this hymn in several Middle Byzantine manuscripts: MS Vat. gr. 771 (11th century), MS Grottaferrata Δ. β. 10 (1137), and MS Chilandar 207 (late 12th century) (ibid., p. 133).

221 Ode VIII, troparion 1; the text also alludes to Num 21:9, where Moses is instructed by God to raise up a bronze serpent (a cursed animal, cf. Gen 3:14), and to tell the Israelites afflicted by snake bites to look on the image of the serpent hanging on the pole, so that they might be healed.

222 As noted in Robert of Clari's description of the Pharos chapel and the Mandylion/Keramion: "there were two rich vessels of gold hanging in the midst of the chapel by two heavy silver chains. In one of these vessels there was a tile and in the other a cloth" (*The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed./transl. by McNeal, 83 [p. 104]). Lidov posits that the objects were suspended from the dome and facing each other (Lidov 2009, 116), but the text by Clari does not specify this detail.

223 Nicholas Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 14 (55). Note: here and in what follows, citations to Mesaritēs's account will list first the paragraph number from the Heisenberg edition used by Angold, followed by the page number in parentheses or square brackets as appropriate.

224 On the notion of imperial imitation of the divine, see: Hunger 1964, 58–63, cited in Magdalino 1983, 341, where the latter also mentions an early-13th-century text by Dēmētrios Chōmatēnos that speaks of the emperor executing justice for the common good as being "in imitation of God" (θεομίμητος).

225 A rich bibliography on this notion in Byzantine political philosophy in late antiquity and the medieval period in Byzantium exists; see among others Steinwenter 1946; Dvornik 1966, 716–722; Lanata 1984, esp. p. 181; and Maas 1986. Kekaumenos, in his late-11th-century *Treatise on Strategy*, equates the emperor with the law: "Since some say that

could further serve to establish a special link or relationship between the emperor on earth and Christ, the heavenly king and the divine law made flesh, the Mandylion as divine *Urbild* and the emperor here as miraculous, divinely-touched *Urkopie*. The proliferation of copies of the Mandylion throughout churches and beyond imperial borders might thus serve not only to fulfil the injunction of the kanōn, but could also stand as a 'spiritual' reminder of the earthly emperor as well. Instead of—but in continuity with, I would argue—the late antique imperial portraits found throughout the Roman Empire,[226] one could now find the image of Christ/emperor-in-heaven, the incarnate divine law, hanging before the eyes of all in the churches and monasteries throughout the inhabited world (i.e., not just the Greek-speaking lands of Byzantium) in the form in which he was especially present in the imperial Pharos church. This juxtapositioning of Christ in heaven and his *christos* or anointed sovereign in Constantinople by means of an image common to both—the Mandylion 'painted' by God and possessed by the emperor—continues in text and image into the 12th century, right up to the fall of the city and the end of the Middle Byzantine period.

2.4 12th century: rhetors of the new ark

2.4.1 Constantine Stilbēs and the *Didaskalia*

The end of the Middle Byzantine period provides us with two Constantinopolitan texts mentioning the Mandylion. The first of these is the so-called *Didaskalia* (Gr. διδασκαλία) or "teaching" of Constantine Stilbēs, who held the official post of teacher[227] in the city while serving as a deacon, before being elevated to the episcopal throne of Kyzikos and concomitantly taking the name Cyril upon

> the emperor is not subject to the law, but rather is the law, I also say this: but whatever he should do and legislate, he does it well and we obey him" (ἐπεὶ λέγουσί τινες ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς νόμῳ οὐχ ὑπόκειται, ἀλλὰ νόμος ἐστί, τὸ αὐτὸ κἀγὼ λέγω· πλὴν ὅσα ἂν ποιῇ καὶ νομοθετῇ καλῶς ποιεῖ καὶ πειθόμεθα τούτῳ) (translation mine). Text in: Vasil'evskij/Jernstedt 1965, 93; cited by Burns 1988, 65. Yet for Kekaumenos, the comparison does not stop there; the strategist speaks of the emperor as being divine and able to do as he wishes in a direct address to the ruler, manifesting a more keenly felt divine character on the part of the sovereign as shall be explored especially in chapter 4 below vis-à-vis Manuel I Komnēnos: "O holy master, God has caused you to ascend to the imperial rule and by his grace, so to speak, has made you a god on earth, to do and make what you wish" (δέσποτα ἅγιε, ἀνεβίβασέ σε ὁ Θεὸς εἰς τὴν βασίλειον ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐποίησέ σε τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον, Θεὸν ἐπίγειον, ποιεῖν καὶ πράττειν ἃ βούλει) (translation mine) (Vasil'evskij/Jernstedt 1965, 93). A newer critical edition and Italian translation of this treatise has been prepared by Spadaro 1998.

226 On such portraits as part of imperial programmes of propaganda throughout the empire, see Grabar 1971, passim; and Kazhdan 1983.

227 Cf. "Didaskalos" in *ODB* 1:619; also Kazhdan/Epstein 1985, 126–130.

monastic tonsure.[228] The *Didaskalia*, like several of the other key documents of this era examined in the present study, survives in a single manuscript from the late 13th or 14th century: MS Barocci 25, fols. 273–275, originally kept at the Barozzi Library in Venice and now housed at the Bodleian Library.[229] Based on textual clues and other documentation pertaining to Constantine Stilbēs's titles and residences, both Flusin and Ceulemans fix the date for this oration as being August 16 between the years 1194 and 1197.[230] Despite being pronounced two hundred and fifty years after the Mandylion's translation to the city, the *Didaskalia* envisages the object's arrival as a present-day reality. The transportation of the icon-relic is cast into the present tense, as though the object were arriving this very day in the city: the Christian people, "the spiritual Israel goes before in procession and guards as a treasure" the icon-relic, which is allegorised by Stilbēs as "the ark of grace … the very holy [ark]";[231] the movement of the Mandylion is not commemorated as a long-past event, but "solemnly celebrate[d] today" as a returning, recurrent festival.[232] The present-day festivities soon fade from the rhetorical foreground and give way to a historical narration; but Stilbēs does not recount here the arrival of the icon-relic to the Queen of Cities. Rather, he recounts the 'original' historico-legendary story of Abgar receiving the image not made by hands. Well documented in sources from the tenth and 11th centuries, as seen in the foregoing sections, it would appear to be an old and time-worn tale to explain yet again the Edessan provenance of the precious relic—and this on an otherwise unique occasion, Stilbēs's first official 'teaching' after being named to the office.[233] After the proemial exclamations, though, the deacon proclaims that on such a solemn occasion, "the story" he is about to relate "is new, and not common knowledge to all."[234] The flesh and bones of the tale of translation all seem to be those of the old Abgarian legend; yet

228 As narrated in the title of the *Didaskalia*, cf. my translation in the appendix.

229 Introduction and historical information on the text, along with a transcription of the Greek text with accompanying French translation, can be found in Flusin 1997; the manuscript has been digitised and can be viewed online: https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/2ca2a9fe-9777-4646-a75a-1aa5b4598498/ (accessed 27/04/2021). Translations of portions of the *Didaskalia* can be found in Guscin 2009, 163, 208–209, and in Nicolotti 2014, 104–105. Additional commentary, a reprinting of the Greek text edited by Flusin, and a fuller—yet still partial—English-language translation of the *Didaskalia* have also been published in Ceulemans 2022. Hereafter, citations of the *Didaskalia* will be followed by section number, as provided by Flusin and noted in my translation in the appendix below, and then by the page number in Flusin's article where the Greek text may be consulted.

230 Flusin 1997, 57; Ceulemans 2022, 727.

231 *Didaskalia* 1 (66).

232 *Didaskalia* 10 (78).

233 I follow here Flusin 1997, 57, who posits that Stilbēs's nomination to the post of *didaskalos* is the occasion for the piece; Ceulemans 2022, 727, does not link the *Didaskalia* specifically to Stilbēs's gaining of this office.

234 *Didaskalia* 2 (68).

the new spirit enlivening the textual body, I argue, is in Stilbēs's textual approximation of Abgar the king not merely to the person of Constantine VII (as was the case in the tenth-century icon preserved at Sinai), but rather to any and every Byzantine emperor, who is both generalised and sanctified in Stilbēs's speech.

While still in his introductory remarks, Stilbēs speaks of the person carrying the Mandylion-*qua*-ark in unambiguously religious terms:

> See him who bears the ark in his hands and provides for its transport: our more sublime Aaron, the great sacrificer and hierarch, the worthy bearer of vessels for objects so great as these[235] and who escorts them into the sanctuary,[236] who speaks well before Pharaoh[237] on behalf of Israel which we are, and who by his words of teaching thunders at him but sets us aright. The oracular breastplate he bears[238] is more mystical and more secret … He is adorned with a more remarkable turban and a plaque on his forehead gleaming like gold: for both things are united in the understanding of the archpastor, which is near his head and full of light, since he is exceedingly perceptive.[239]

In the context of a sermon-like oration pronounced in a church and not at an official celebration within the Great Palace, the words "sacrificer" (θύτης), "hierarch" (ἱεράρχης), and "archpastor" (ἀρχιποίμην) would seem most naturally to refer to the patriarch of the Great Church and the city. Naming the figure as "Aaron" might also allow for an allusion to the emperor, as was done at the beginning of the tenth century by Arethas of Caesarea in an oration describing Emperor Leo VI and the translation to Constantinople of the relics of Lazaros, whom Jesus raised from the dead before his own crucifixion and resurrection according to the Gospel of John.[240] In a homily written for that occasion, Arethas describes the emperor escorting the relics around the city on the royal barge (as is later repeated by the co-ruling emperors in 944 with the Mandylion), in the course of which Arethas variously describes Leo as being another Moses, Aaron, David—and even Christ.[241] However, Stilbēs makes

235 Cf. Num 3:31; 4:9, 12, 16; 18:3; 31:6.

236 Cf. Lev 16; Exod 28.

237 Cf. Exod 7:1–2.

238 Cf. Lev 8:8; Exod 28.

239 *Didaskalia* 1 (66).

240 Cf. John 11:1–44.

241 Cf. Arethas of Caesarea, *Homily* 58, edition in Westerink 1972. According to Westerink's introductory notes, the homily was preached in the Great Church on October 17, 901 (ibid., 7). In *Homily* 58, the city receives "the emperor who enters the truly Holy Land [i.e., Constantinople] and who carries the bones of the beloved [Lazaros] like a new Moses" (ὡς ἄλλον Μωϋσέα τὸν αὐτοκράτορα τὰ τοῦ ἠγαπημένου ὀστᾶ εἰς τὴν ἀληθῶς ἁγίαν κομίζοντα γῆν εἰσδεχόμενον, ibid., 9). A year later, in *Homily* 59 preached on May 4 at the consecration of the church of Saint Lazaros, Arethas speaks of the emperor bearing the relics on the royal barge as being "some kind of holy Aaron" (ὡς Ἀαρών τινα ἱερόν,

no clear, unambiguous connection between Aaron and emperor to allow such an allusion to stand. The sacred object of the Mandylion is what receives full focus here, and the rhetor stresses the object's role as a "new ark", a new sign of divine protection and election for the entire New Israel of God, and not just the emperor.

This same lack of definition in terms of the actors described in conjunction with the Mandylion—and thus the openness of their application—is found throughout the rest of the text in terms of imperial office. The historical setting is established in Stilbēs's narrative by mentioning Edessa, Syria, Jesus, and Abgar. Abgar, however, is only named twice, and always slightly bracketed off from his royal designation,[242] while the apostle Thaddaeus of the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Narration* is replaced by two generic figures in the conflation of two narrative strands here,[243] with Christ promising to send "one of his chosen disciples" to Abgar,[244] and Abgar "dispatch[ing] a swift courier to Jesus".[245] Elsewhere throughout the text, mention is made only of the otherwise unnamed "king" (βασιλεύς). While this term was rarely used by Byzantine authors for non-Roman/Byzantine rulers in the early Byzantine period,[246] it came to be more generally applied to foreign rulers by the end of the 12th century.[247] The application of the title of basileus to Abgar in the *Didaskalia*, declaimed before a late-12th-century Constantinopolitan audience, would thus not sound too jarring, while at the same time providing an aural marker of continuity in the history of the object: just as a basileus once received the object from Christ himself, so too now does a basileus have the object in his palace. Moreover, Stilbēs directly addresses the sovereign near the end of the *Didaskalia*, borrowing verbatim from the Psalmist: "And now kings, understand" (καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖς σύνετε).[248] The plural "emperors/kings" here, however, could not be referring to multiple contemporary co-ruling emperors; Isaac II Angelos was on the throne from 1185–March 1195, and thus would be the only ruling emperor if the *Didaskalia* were publicly expounded in 1194; Alexios III Angelos was sole ruler after

ibid., 12); "he descends [from the barge] therefore an emperor, but looks divine, and even more divine given the order of the accomplished [rites]" (κάτεισι μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς αὐτός, ἔνθεος μὲν ἰδεῖν, ἐνθεέστερος δὲ τὴν τῶν δρωμένων διάθεσιν, ibid., 13), is compared to both Moses and now Jesus as well (ibid., 13), and is likened to David bearing the ark (ibid., 15) (all translations here mine).

242 *Didaskalia* 3 (68): "behold a certain regional ruler or king of Syrian Edessa and the neighbouring regions of no small repute (for this was the renowned Abgar)" (καί τις χωράρχης ἢ βασιλεὺς τῆς κατὰ Συρίαν Ἐδέσσης καὶ τῶν ὁμόρων αὐτῇ οὐκ ἀνώνυμος—Αὔγαρος γὰρ οὗτος ὁ μεγαλώνυμος); ibid., 9 (76): "A prophet and king issues an order, and Abgar swiftly grasps the command" (προφήτης ἐπισκήπτει καὶ βασιλεύς—, καὶ ὀξὺς ἁρπάζει τὴν ἐπίσκηψιν Αὔγαρος).

243 Flusin 1997, 58–60.

244 *Didaskalia* 5 (70).

245 *Didaskalia* 6 (72).

246 Cf. Chrysos 1978.

247 Cf. "Basileus" in *ODB* 1:264; Zuckerman 2010; Scholl/Gebhardt/Clauß 2017.

248 Ps 2:10, in *Didaskalia* 9 (76).

him from March 1195–July 17/18, 1203, and thus throughout the rest of the possible time period. The lack of any grammatical adjustment from the plural basileis to the singular basileus in the usage of the Psalm verse here could thus also be a rhetorical tool used to underscore precisely this kind of generalised link between emperor and icon-relic.

2.4.2 Nicholas Mesaritēs

The second text from the end of the Middle Byzantine period mentioning the Mandylion is a recounting of the events surrounding the attempted coup launched by John Komnēnos in 1200 or 1201 and written by Nicholas Mesaritēs. Mesaritēs held the office of imperial *skeuophylax*[249] and vividly describes the attempt by men sent by John Komnēnos to storm and plunder the Great Palace and the Pharos church, as well as his own key role (according to himself, at least) in preventing the planned looting.[250] In the course of the assault on the palace, Mesaritēs recalls that he "became breathless at the thought of the possibility that the rabble would reach the church of the Mother of God [sc. the Pharos chapel] and desecrate the holy relics."[251] Reaching the palatine chapel before the marauders do, the skeuophylax harangues the armed intruders via an ekphrasis of sorts, describing to them the sacred character of the Pharos chapel and the holy relics it contains. Yet the description is no mere literal recounting of silver, gold, and porphyry within the chapel walls, but rather a shifted staging of the chapel as manifesting the holy places from both Old and New Testaments:

> Keep away from the holy church, because you are guilty of profanity; keep far away from it, because you are guilty of sacrilege. This is the gate of Eden and here is the flaming sword, which cuts down and consumes those who insolently assault it.[252] I beseech you, brothers, who have all been born again through the Holy Spirit and baptism, do not proceed any further; turn around or depart in

249 The skeuophylax was a priest or deacon usually in charge of managing the holy vessels and/or relics in a church; the skeuophylax of the Great Church was appointed by the emperor and held second place in the palatial hierarchy of senior servants; cf. "Skeuophylax" in *ODB* 3:1909–1910. In his account of the attempted coup, Mesaritēs calls himself "Nikolaos Mesarites, *epi ton kriseon* [a type of judge; cf. "Epi ton kriseon" in *ODB* 1:724–725] of the most holy Great Church and sacristan [σκευοφύλαξ] of the holy churches in the Great Palace" (Nicholas Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 1 [42]).

250 Cf. Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 1–17 (42–59) for the entire account of the assault on the palace and the restoration of order afterwards. The Greek text is available in the edition by Heisenberg 1907, 19–49.

251 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 10 (50).

252 Cf. Gen 3:24, where cherubim with a flaming sword are set to prevent Adam's re-entrance into the holy garden of paradise.

> another direction, for I fear you will suffer a similar fate to Uzzah[253] or to the man who touched the bier of the Mother of God as she was ascending into the heavens.[254] Within these precincts lies another ark: another Shiloh,[255] an ark, which contains in however different fashion the Ten Commandments.[256]

Mesaritēs then proceeds rather rhetorically (and apparently without much haste, considering the surrounding violence of the narrated coup) to delineate these treasures, urging the attackers to "[l]earn now the names of the Ten Commandments which are stored in here."[257] These "commandments", as the skeuophylax explains, turn out to be the various relics of Christ's Passion housed in the Pharos chapel.[258] Yet Mesaritēs sets the Mandylion and Keramion apart from this sacred number: "People, you have the Ten Commandments and now I place before you the lawgiver himself in [the shape of] his image stamped on the Holy Towel and transferred to the fragile Holy Tile by superhuman artistic skill."[259] The ark in this instance must be an image applied to the chapel as a whole, and yet the Pharos chapel also contains within it Christ himself as the Lawgiver-*qua*-law, divinely inscribed on the cloth of the Mandylion and its ceramic complement. Inasmuch, then, as it is the dwelling place of God himself, Mesaritēs has no problem in designating the church as any number of the Holy Places associated with Jesus's earthly sojourn: "This church, this place is another Sinai, Bethlehem, Jordan, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethany, Galilee, Tiberias, Holy Basin, Last Supper, Mount Tabor, the praitorion of Pilate, and the place of the skull, or Golgotha, when translated into Hebrew."[260] This church, as has been noted above,[261] was immediately adjacent to the emperor's own apartments and connected to them by a passageway, permitting the sovereign literal/physical and metaphorical/spiritual access to the places where Christ's presence was made known—and indeed, where his presence was still felt to be contemporary and actual.

253 2 Kgdms 6:7; in the scriptural account, Uzzah saw that the cart transporting the ark of the covenant might crash on account of the ox stumbling and put out his hand to steady the ark; not being a priest or otherwise authorised to touch the sacred vessel, "God smote him there because he put forth his hand to the ark."

254 Various apocryphal texts relate that at the burial of the Virgin, a Jew sought to overturn the bier of the Theotokos, for which an angel appeared and cut off his hands (later restored whole upon the Jew's repentance and conversion). For the history of these texts and select translations from Gəʿəz, Syriac, and Greek sources, see Shoemaker 2002, esp. pp. 328–331.

255 Josh 18:10.

256 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 12 (53).

257 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 12 (53).

258 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 13 (53–55).

259 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 14 (55). Angold translates the Greek phrase ἐν ἀχειροποιήτῳ τέχνῃ τινὶ γραφικῇ as "superhuman artistic skill".

260 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 14 (55).

261 Cf. above this chapter, n. 58.

The skeuophylax, after describing the Pharos church via this palette of sacred sites, then proceeds to describe Christ's saving activity as being accomplished in the present space: "Here he is born; here he is baptised, walks on water, goes on foot, works his extraordinary miracles, and abases himself [by washing the apostles' feet]."[262] As mentioned above, the Mandylion and Keramion were suspended in golden containers from above within the chapel; applying such ambulatory imagery to these relics would seem quite far-fetched. However, the emperor's physical and spiritual proximity to Christ allows the attentive reader/hearer to recall here the sovereign: the legitimate emperor born in the purple is indeed born and often baptised in the palace; he walks on foot in its precincts, many of the floors of which were made of marble, a material considered in the late antique and Byzantine eras to be solidified water;[263] the various manifestations of the emperor in court ceremony could be considered as marvellous sights (another meaning of the word θαῦμα here); and the emperor had the custom of himself washing the feet of twelve poor persons on Great and Holy Thursday before the great feast of Pascha.[264] Mesaritēs's rhetoric in this narration mentions Christ and God by name, but alludes extensively to the activity and setting of the emperor. With such a resonance of divine imagery being applied to the emperor in mind, the skeuophylax's concluding statement to those wishing to enter also takes on new imensions, I believe: "This is the dwelling of God; the palace of the Pantokrator; the house of the Pantanassa. This is the

262 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 14 (55). Cf. Angold's note 74 here for the reasoning on supplying the foot-washing to make sense of the passage.

263 On this notion, see the foundational article by Barry 2007.

264 This rite is mentioned in the 14th-century text on court ceremony compiled by Pseudo-Kōdinos; cf. the edition and translation in Macrides/Munitiz/Angelov 2013, 176–177: "Before the liturgy of Holy Thursday, the Washing [of the Feet] takes place in the following way. They prepare in advance twelve poor people and dress them in shirts, breeches and shoes. After a basin has been placed in the chamber of the emperor, the *protopapas* who is outside, at the door, makes a blessing and says the trisagion. Then the gospel is read by him and when he says, 'He poured water into a basin' (John 13:5), the emperor pours the water into the basin. Then they bring one by one the poor people who have been prepared in advance, each one carrying a lit taper. When each poor man sits down, the *protopapas*, as mentioned, reads the gospel and says, 'Jesus began to wash the disciples' feet' (John 13:5), and he says this many times until all have been washed; the emperor washes the right foot of each [person] and dries the washed foot with a cloth hanging in front of him and he kisses it. When this has taken place, the rite of the Washing of the Feet ends. Three gold coins are given to each one of them. Thereupon the liturgy begins. The emperor wears whichever article of forementioned clothing he might wish to wear, but each holder of a court title wears his customary clothing. After the dismissal, the emperor goes to his chamber. There is no meal." Despite the later date of this text, Macrides convincingly argues that many of the practices in Pseudo-Kōdinos date from the Komnēnian era; see Macrides 2015, esp. p. 615. More generally on the history and development of this rite, see: Beatrice 1983; Lossky 2001; Myers 2002; Nikiforova 2018; and Tucker 2023, 185–189, 475–482.

chamber of the Mother of God—the Oikokyra[265]—and we are her bodyguards. Our emperor sleeps, but if he were fully awake he would deal out justice to his enemies and those that hate him."[266] The habitation of God is thus linked to the bedchamber of the emperor. The emperor (in this case, Alexios III Angelos) is said to be sleeping, but would rouse himself against those who hate him; in my patristic/associative reading here, this language is very reminiscent of the Byzantine hymnography for Holy Week and Pascha,[267] which incorporates both the imagery of Judah, the son of Abraham and ancestor of David/Christ, who is described as a sleeping lion whom none should dare to rouse,[268] as well as verses from the Psalms mentioning the Lord rising from sleep[269] and scattering his enemies and haters.[270] Jesus Christ is mentioned by Mesaritēs as being crucified, being buried, and rising in the church,[271] and the emperor also 'rises' from sleep next door every day in his chamber. The text does not spell this association out in detail, but these hints would fit well into a literary retelling of the events for an educated Byzantine audience who would expect and be attentive to such veiled imagery.[272] At the end of the Middle Byzantine period in the heart of the palace complex, we see in this text the living Law (Christ) merge in a way with the 'embodied law' (the emperor) in a complex literary exposition that pivots around the special role of the Mandylion as the embodiment of Christ's presence in the Pharos chapel; this role and presence in my view enables allusions to a divine status to be made with regard to the emperor. The physical connection between emperor and God, however, is not only found in textual witnesses. One manuscript in particular contains two artistic representations of the

265 The reference here is to an icon of the Theotokos as "lady of the house" (οἰκοκύρα), which was also kept in the Pharos chapel. On this icon and its long history in the Middle Byzantine period and beyond, see Bacci 1998.

266 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 16 (57).

267 On the hymns and structure of services on Holy Friday, see: Janeras 1988, passim; and on the 15th antiphon at matins of the same day: ibid., 133. Evidence of the existence of the Holy Saturday communion hymn (κοινωνικόν), "The Lord awoke as one asleep, and arose, saving us, alleluia" (Ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὕπνων κύριος καὶ ἀνέστη σῴζων ἡμας, ἀλληλούϊα) can be found in the tenth-century kanonarion-synaxarion of the Great Church; see Mateos 1963, 90–91. The manuscript itself calls this text the 'new' communion hymn for the day, replacing the more ancient and common one of Ps 148:1.

268 Cf. Gen 49:9.

269 Cf. Ps 77:65.

270 Cf. Ps 7:6, 67:2–3.

271 Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, transl. by Angold, 14 (56). Angold translates the latter two of these events in the life of Christ in the past tense ("In this place was he buried… In this place too he rose again…"), whereas the Greek text for all three actions is present indicative (cf. Heisenberg edition, p. 32: ἐνταῦθα **σταυροῦται**… ἐν τούτῳ περ **θάπτεται**… ἐν τούτῳ περ καὶ **ἀνίσταται**) (emphasis mine).

272 This is especially the case in the Middle Byzantine period and later, when numerous sound changes (cf. above this chapter, n. 1) and the loss of distinctive vowel length leads to the emergence of numerous near and full homophones, which are exploited by elite authors in texts and inscriptions; cf. Krausmüller 2006.

Mandylion together with the emperor: MS Graecus Vitr. 26–2, the illuminated manuscript of the *Synopsis of Histories* by John Skylitzēs kept in Madrid at the Biblioteca Nacional de España and hereafter called simply the *Madrid Skylitzēs*.

2.5 Hidden in plain sight: the Mandylion in the *Madrid Skylitzēs*

The *Madrid Skylitzēs* is a richly decorated vellum manuscript of the *Synopsis of Histories* or *Chronicle* by John Skylitzēs with 574 extant miniatures accompanying the text. The document measures 35.5 × 27 cm and was produced around the year 1150.[273] On account of the codex's unorthodox choices and omissions in terms of miniatures that adorn the text, scholarly consensus no longer situates the creation of the manuscript in Komnēnian-era Constantinople, but rather in a Norman scriptorium in Sicily, possibly Palermo,[274] and quite probably commissioned by Roger II of Sicily.[275] As Elena Boeck has shown in her extensive study of the *Madrid Skylitzēs* manuscript and artistic programme, the document and its depictions of patriarchs and rulers in Constantinople offer the text of the Skylitzēs chronicle but recast the setting of Constantinople and the person of the Byzantine emperor in a negative light: "In the Madrid Skylitzes the city is comprised of perilous places and is inhabited by emperors who were surrounded by danger and treachery. Just as these rulers did not make a habit of performing good deeds, divine power did not intervene in their messy affairs."[276] The appropriation of a Greek-language chronicle and Byzantine iconographic and artistic styles in the *Madrid Skylitzēs* is not only evidence of pre-modern metropolitanism, with Constantinople's artistic tropes and historical texts able to be exported abroad and imported into a Norman-Sicilian

273 The current definitive study of the text has been published by Boeck 2015. Dimensions and photographs available in Anderson 1997, 501–502.

274 Cf. Anderson 1997, 501. The *editio princeps* of the Chronicle text itself is available in Thurn 1973 (henceforth: Skylitzēs, *Chronicle* [first number listed is section in the edition, followed by page numbers from Thurn's edition in parentheses]), while the illustrations have been more recently published in Tsamakda 2002. Research on the origin of the images themselves via comparison with other extant copies of the text of the *Chronicle* has been done by Burke 2007, while an extensive analysis of the pictorial programme that rejects imperial patronage in Constantinople for the manuscript can be found in Boeck 2015 and her earlier article, Boeck 2009. The entire manuscript has been digitised by the Biblioteca Nacional de España and can be viewed online: http://bdh.bne.es/bnesearch/detalle/bdh0000022766 (accessed 06/05/2021), while a full colour facsimile has been published by Tselikas 2000.

275 Boeck 2015, 76.

276 Boeck 2015, 249. Boeck contrasts Roger's maligning of city and emperor in the *Madrid Skylitzēs* with the positive appropriation of Byzantine history by Ivan Alexander in the Vatican Manasses manuscript's programme as part of a "long argument for the tsar's succession to the *imperium*, with the city of Constantinople playing a key visual and ideological role" (ibid.).

propaganda campaign; it also affords us a chance to see how the icon-relic of the Mandylion and its relationship to the emperor was imagined by contemporaries familiar with the Byzantine court and yet who sought "to demolish the Byzantine façade of imperial legitimacy"[277] through a manuscript's art, hence my inclusion of this work in the present study.

Amidst the wide variety of events and personages encountered in illuminated form in the *Madrid Skylitzēs*, the Mandylion appears twice in two very different guises, both of which underscore the intimate link of icon-relic with the emperor. The first depiction of the Mandylion in the text is found on fol. 131r, which depicts the arrival of the icon-relic into the city in 944 (Fig. 6). A close examination of the image shows both continuity and discontinuity with earlier depictions of the Mandylion in both art and narration from the tenth and 11th centuries. The text of John Skylitzēs's *Chronicle* mentions the emperor receiving the icon-relic and refers to it both as "the holy towel of Christ" and "the divine imprint",[278] identifying thereby both the object's materiality and content. Yet while the translation of the image to Constantinople is situated in the *Chronicle* within the chapter pertaining to Rōmanos I Lakapēnos, this emperor is not mentioned at all by name here: only the courier, the *parakoimōmenos*[279] Theophanēs, is named outright. Such an omission of the emperor's name in the text while including that of a high court official would be in keeping with the disdain for and bias against the Byzantine rulers on the part of Roger II of Sicily, as Boeck elucidates. Nevertheless, the presence of an unnamed emperor in the miniature also maintains continuity with the earlier liturgical texts applying the feast of the translation to any and every emperor in their similarly anonymous mentions of an otherwise unnamed basileus. This depiction of a generalised emperor bearing the image is continued in the miniature, as we see: neither the textually-named Theophanēs nor the textually-anonymous emperor is spelled out here; only the image is identified in writing as "the holy Mandylion" (τὸ ἅγιον μανδύλ[ιον]). The emperor appears here without a crown, wearing simply an everyday *chlamys* rather than any festive garment,[280] the only outright pictorial clue to his status being the red imperial shoes.

Other details in the miniature also show continuity with earlier depictions in the Middle Byzantine period: the left edge of the Holy Towel shows visible fringe, consonant with the depiction of the object on the Sinai icon. Theophanēs's eyes

277 Boeck 2015, 250.

278 Skylitzēs, *Chronicle*, ed. by Thurn, 37 (281): τὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκμαγεῖον … τὸ θεῖον ἐκτύπωμα.

279 The parakoimōmenos was a chamberlain and eunuch whose responsibilities varied throughout the centuries but who had intimate access to the emperor; cf. "Parakoimomenos" in *ODB* 3:1584.

280 The chlamys was a form of state dress worn by the emperor and other courtiers and distinguished rank by the colouring; interestingly, it seems to have been a garment associated only with men, or perhaps political power, since the only woman entitled to wear a chlamys was the empress. Cf. Parani 2003, 12.

Fig. 6: Translation of the Mandylion to Constantinople and presentation to the emperor. MS Graecus Vitr. 26–2 (*Madrid Skylitzēs*), fol. 131r. Biblioteca Nacional de España.

seem to be looking upward at the emperor, and not at the Mandylion; could one suppose here as well in this 12th-century image a purposeful depiction, so that only the emperor 'sees' the face of Christ? Yet unlike in the Sinai icon from the tenth century, the face of Christ and that of the emperor here seem remarkably similar:[281] if such a similarity were intentional, the identity would no longer be that of emperor and Abgar, and thus emperor-*qua*-recipient of the gift, but rather that of emperor and Christ, and thus emperor-*qua*-imprint. Be that as it may, all the faces here reveal similarity one to another on close examination, which would undermine such a reading and could also simply bear witness to a lack of technical skill and artistic finesse on

281 Krause 2022, 296 takes the similarity of the faces to be a sign of animacy or liveliness, describing the face of Christ on the cloth as "seem[ing] to pop up from the cloth rosy-cheeked and looking very much alive, similar to the faces of all the others present on the occasion." Why the similarity should lead one to view the image as animated and bearing agency is not clear from Krause's reading. She also states that it is the parakoimōmenos Theophanēs who is "caress[ing] Christ's face" here (ibid.), and it is true that the legend above the image (cf. Fig. 6) describes the icon-relic being brought "by the parakoimōmenos Theophanēs" (διὰ τοῦ παρακοιμωμένου Θεοφάνη), yet from the manuscript miniature itself, one can see that the figure embracing the icon-relic is clearly wearing red shoes, and in fact is the only person clad thus. Such shoes were a feature of court dress reserved to the emperor (cf. Parani 2003, 30), which contradicts Krause's reading here (alas, the reproduction of this miniature in her book on p. 297 is in black-and-white and thus the point is obscured for readers/viewers there).

the part of the illustrator. The divine countenance here is even turned towards the emperor, meeting him in an intimate kiss/greeting face to face that recalls the many mentions of such "kissing" (ἀσπασμός, ἀσπάζομαι) in the liturgical texts, whereas the tenth-century texts speak of the emperors kissing/greeting the outside of the object (meaning either the reliquary casing or perhaps the edge of the icon-relic) when mention of such veneration is made. Though the emperor is not named here—consonant with Boeck's explication of Roger II's motives behind the commissioning and creation of the *Madrid Skylitzēs* manuscript and the Norman's denigration of Byzantine rule—this miniature can be seen in my view as still manifesting continuity with regard to the prevailing Middle Byzantine tradition and understanding of the icon-relic vis-à-vis the emperor. The depiction anonymises the emperor in possession of the relic, making such possession a general characteristic of any sovereign sitting on the throne, while still making explicit the intimate connection and even divine characteristics of the emperor in his special unmediated access to Christ in the icon-relic.

The second depiction of the Mandylion in the *Madrid Skylitzēs* comes later in the chronicle's narrative at fol. 210v. Here, the context is that of two processions made during the reign of Michael IV the Paphlagonian (r. 1034–1041), when an intense drought was plaguing Constantinople: one is led by the emperor's brothers, while the other is headed by the patriarch and clergy. Neither of the solemn progresses through the city achieved their intended aim, according to the chronicle text:

> After a drought had arisen, when for six whole months no rain fell, the emperor's brothers made a procession: John carried the holy Mandylion; the great *domestikos*,[282] Christ's letter to Abgar; and the *prōtobestiarios*[283] George the holy swaddling bands. They went on foot from the Great Palace and arrived at the church of the most-holy Theotokos at Blachernai. The patriarch, meanwhile, made another procession with the clergy. But not only did it not rain; great hailstones fell down, breaking the trees and tile roofs of the city. Hunger took hold of the city, and John bought one hundred *chiliades*[284] of grain from Hellas and the Peloponnese and thereby gave relief to the city's inhabitants.[285]

282 The great domestikos (Gr. μέγας δομεστικός) was the chief military commander in the Middle Byzantine period; cf. "Megas Domestikos" in *ODB* 2:1329–1330.

283 The prōtobestiarios (also spelled: protovestiarios) was the second-highest-ranking palace eunuch after the parakoimōmenos; the responsibilities of the role increased greatly in the 11th century; cf. "Protovestiarios" in *ODB* 3:1749.

284 On this measurement, cf. Morrisson/Cheynet 2002, 832, n. 48: "The treatises of fiscal geometry explain clearly what a *chilias* was, but they do not all provide the same definition. The likeliest solution proposed corresponds to an area comprising between 2 *modioi* 32 *litrai* and 3 *modioi* 18 *litrai*." In Byzantine times, a *modios* consisted of forty *litrai*, and a *litra* ranged in weight in the Byzantine era between 319–324 grams. Thus, one hundred *chiliades* of grain would represent a modern weight of somewhere between 35.7–44.7 metric tons of grain. On these measurements, see: "Litra" in *ODB* 2:1238 and "Modios" in ibid., 1388.

285 Skylitzēs, *Chronicle*, ed. by Thurn, 10 (400). Translation mine.

Fig. 7: Procession with the Mandylion and other Passion relics during a drought. MS Graecus Vitr. 26–2 (*Madrid Skylitzēs*), fol. 210v. Biblioteca Nacional de España.

Again, the failure on the part of the emperor and his sons to achieve their pious aims fits into Boeck's analysis of Roger II's anti-imperial propaganda campaign. Yet apart from the historical and economic details in this passage, the *Madrid Skylitzēs* provides its reader here with another miniature, namely of the courtly procession (Fig. 7).

On the far right of the image is a church, most likely that of the Theotokos at Blachernai, the destination of the procession as per the chronicle text. Walking behind two servers and the other imperial siblings, we see on the left preceding the clergy John, who is holding the Mandylion—but we only know this from the text. All three imperial brothers are carrying their relics hidden in boxes/reliquaries. Unlike icons, with the face of Christ or the saints immediately identifiable and visible, relics in the Byzantine empire were most often hidden from sight in their caskets and reliquaries, only exposed at certain times, to certain individuals, and only to a certain extent.[286] In the greater context of the Middle Byzantine period, this later depiction of the Mandylion in the *Madrid Skylitzēs* manuscript is not unusual; the relics are carried solemnly in some kind of casing and hidden from casual view. Yet in conjunction with the earlier depiction from the translation of the icon-relic examined above, the viewer/reader of text and image in this 12th-century manuscript is presented with an array of interpretations on the connection of relic to ruler and

286 The common pre-schism heritage of the Christian East and West seems to have preferred to keep relics hidden under covers/veils/containers, with transparent crystal or glass reliquaries only developing later in the Middle Ages and Renaissance in the West. The foundational and exhaustive study of reliquaries and their contents remains that of Braun 1940; the function of reliquaries vis-à-vis their contents will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, but see above in the introduction, n. 64, for literature. On visibility, Gia Toussaint takes a slightly dissenting view in claiming that relics were more readily visible in the East and influenced Western see-through reliquaries: cf. Toussaint 2005.

the proper place of the former. In the first image, the emperor alone greets Christ face to face in the icon; to the rest of the world, this sacred object retains power yet lies hidden behind the material veil of its container. The arrival of the Mandylion in the city is described textually as a victory for Constantinople and the capitulation of Edessa, but the transfer of the Mandylion and other sacred relics out and away from the Pharos church, the imperial chapel *par excellence*—unlike the movement of the relic of the True Cross, which is examined in the next chapter—not only does *not* result in blessing, but rather incurs damage and loss; in fact, it is the unusual parading of this normally stationary icon-relic throughout the city that would stand out to the contemporary viewer.[287] Yet even though Roger II's artistic programme in the manuscript breaks with normative Byzantine narratives on imperial sacrality to show instead imperial failures, the miniatures of the Mandylion in the *Madrid Skylitzēs* continue the Middle Byzantine norms of depicting the form of the Mandylion, its connection to the sovereign, and its hiddenness from the average viewer within its container.

2.6 Concluding thoughts

If in the texts and images from the tenth and 11th centuries, the icon-relic is envisaged as being a popular, pan-urban palladium, the textual and artistic witnesses to the object from the end of the Middle Byzantine period suggest an exclusive connection of the Mandylion to the emperor as such, whoever he may be at any given time, and the abiding blessing of Christ's presence in the city being contingent upon his divine image remaining in the palace in the immediate vicinity of the

287 Ceulemans 2022 in the prefatory material to his partial translation of Stilbēs's *Didaskalia* (p. 727) states that both the Mandylion and the Keramion were "celebrated with an annual procession throughout Constantinople", yet he provides no source for this statement. There is no mention of either the Mandylion or Keramion on August 16 mentioned in the so-called Typikon of the Great Church (cf. Mateos 1963, 376–377), nor of any liturgical rubrics prescribing a public procession involving the icon-relic and its copy. But this comes as no surprise. Of the two surviving complete manuscripts of the kanonarion-synaxarion ('typikon') relevant here, the first—MS Patmos 266— is dated to the late ninth or early tenth century (cf. Tucker 2023, 98), which would entail production prior to the arrival of the Mandylion in Constantinople, thus explaining why the manuscript would not bear any record of the icon-relic's integration into the liturgical cycle. The second relevant manuscript is MS Jerusalem Timiou Stavrou 40, dated to the mid- to late tenth century (cf. Tucker 2023, 123). This later dating falls after the arrival of the Mandylion in the Byzantine capital in 944, but since the icon-relic was translated to the Pharos chapel, which was outside the purview of the patriarchal churches of the city and had its own typikon (no copies of which survived the Ottoman conquest of the city), it makes sense that a typikon for the patriarchal churches would not concern itself with the rite and liturgical practices of the palatine chapels. On the liturgical rites used in the churches of the Great Palace, see Frøyshov 2020, 360–363.

emperor's own quarters. As this last image shows, the Mandylion was not the only sacred object held within the Great Palace and understood to have a special connection to the emperor, either in terms of a specific emperor personally or more generally to anyone reigning on the throne. This connection is made increasingly explicit over the Middle Byzantine period in the texts and objects examined in this chapter, all of which bear witness to a sense of divine presence and power abiding in the icon-relic and that this divine presence and power is connected most closely not to the city, not to the people, not even to the Christian church as a whole or the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in particular, but to the imperial person himself. Besides this special case of the icon-relic, however, most other relics associated with Christ and/or his Passion did not receive lengthy commentary or reflection via extensive ceremonial or homiletic/liturgical texts. Two exceptions exist, however, one each from near the beginning and end of the time period examined in this study: the complex tenth-century assemblage of relics, art, and reliquary known as the Limburg Staurotheke; and the Holy Stone, which was brought to Constantinople in 1169. The next chapters will look closely at each of these objects in turn to see how Passion relics more specifically continue the trend of the exclusive imperial connection to the divine discerned in this chapter vis-à-vis the Mandylion, while also allowing for innovation and disjunction in turn with regards to the Middle Byzantine understanding and expression of imperial sacrality.

3 The Limburg Staurotheke

3.1 Overview

As explained in the previous chapter, the Great Palace in Constantinople—and in particular, the Pharos chapel dedicated to the Theotokos—was the storehouse p*ar excellence* of some of the holiest Christian relics in the Byzantine Empire, namely those related to the Passion of Christ. Most of these objects are known to have been kept there only from lists compiled by various pilgrims and travellers,[1] but one extant amalgam of partial relics is known to have been constructed, artistically adorned and arranged, and combined with text in the late tenth century as a luxury object of imperial devotion and dominion. This object survives today in the German city of Limburg an der Lahn, whence its present-day moniker: the Limburg Staurotheke.

The Staurotheke, measuring 48 × 35 × 6 cm, is a case or reliquary (θήκη) for a double-armed cross relic consisting of seven rectangular pieces of wood assembled together and originally adorned with pearls around the centre intersection.[2] This primary relic within the ensemble is encased in gold, on the back of which is a dedicatory inscription in Greek executed in repoussé and datable on the basis of the textual content to 945–959, when Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos ruled jointly with his son, Rōmanos II.[3] While the exact location where the Staurotheke would have been normally kept in the Great Palace cannot be stated with absolute certainty, one ambiguous passage in the *Book of Ceremonies* suggests that it might have been housed within the Pharos chapel, which would not be surprising given the sacred Passion relics contained within the holy vessel.[4]

In terms of composition, the larger reliquary surrounding the relic of the True Cross consists of a rectangular metal box together with a sliding lid; within the box are housed portions of other Passion-related relics in ten smaller compartments.

1 On these lists, see above chapter 1, n. 8.

2 Measurements taken from Hostetler 2012, 7, n. 2. There is a lengthy history of research on the contents and provenance of the Staurotheke following the Fourth Crusade to its deposition in the cathedral of Limburg an der Lahn in Germany and down to the present day. See: Aus'm Weerth 1866, Rauch 1955, Wilm 1955, Frolow 1961b, Frolow 1965, Michel 1976, Koder 1985, Plank 1987, Koder 1989, Bouras 1989, N. Ševčenko 1994, Klein 2004 (esp. pp. 105–112), Klein 2006, Pentcheva 2008, and Klein 2009.

3 Hostetler 2012, 7.

4 Suggested by Koder 1989, 171, in his reading of the *Book of Ceremonies*, ed. by Dagron/Flusin, II.40 (3:229). This section lists the various objects housed in the Pharos chapel and the church of Saint Stephen in Daphnē, and for the Pharos chapel lists: "The newly fashioned great cross of Constantine, the Christ-loving and purple-born emperor" (Ὁ νεοκατασκεύαστος μέγας σταυρὸς Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ πορφυρογεννήτου βασιλέως). Translation mine.

DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

Fig. 8: Limburg Staurotheke cover lid. Diözesanmuseum Limburg an der Lahn, Germany.

An inscription around the edges of the case is also extant, allowing for a dating of this portion of the reliquary to the years 968–985,[5] while the back of the case is adorned with a blossoming cross on a platform of steps, with two six-pointed stars (Fig. 8–10).[6] In what follows, I shall first examine the texts on the relic and reliquary

5 The precise dating of the inscription and the reliquary has been the subject of some scholarly debate, as noted by Hostetler 2012, 7, n. 5; cf. Follieri 1964; Koder 1985; and Pentcheva 2010, 160–170.

6 The motif of the blossoming or flowering cross is extant in Byzantine art beginning in the sixth century, with a greater number of surviving examples dating from the tenth century onwards; cf. Rice 1950. The connotations of paradise/Eden suggested by such foliage on

Fig. 9: Inside of Staurotheke with removable cross relic. Diözesanmuseum Limburg an der Lahn, Germany.

depictions of the cross are also mentioned by Sheppard 1969, esp. p. 66. Interestingly, Rice does not mention the Staurotheke amongst his examples of the leaved cross in Byzantine art, but does mention the motif's spread westward to Italy and eastward to the Christian communities in the Caucasus and Mesopotamia (Rice 1959, 75–77). See also Frolow 1961a, 329; Frolow 1965, 178–186; Frazer 1973, 148; Mango/I. Ševčenko 1973, 276–277, and Fig. 153, a slab from the monastery at Kurşunlu dating to the late eighth century; Kitzinger 1974, 7–8; a tenth-century example on the icon numbered B.52 at St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai is discussed in Weitzmann 1976, 85 (plate CVIII, b). Two such flowering crosses are also illustrated as part of the frontispiece to the lavishly decorated ninth-century collection of the homilies of the fourth-century bishop Gregory of Nazianzos, MS Paris. gr. 510, fol. Bv and Cr. This entire manuscript is examined in full by Brubaker 1999, esp. pp. 152–157 (reproductions of the crosses in question are included, Fig. 3–4).

Fig. 10: Back of Staurotheke with flowering cross motif. Diözesan-museum Limburg an der Lahn, Germany.

in terms of both content and context, proceeding to an analysis of the iconographic programme and design of the reliquary, before moving on to questions of object performance, possible depiction elsewhere in contemporary sources, and audience of both relic and texts, in order to see how the Staurotheke's composition and use sheds light on the development of the understanding of imperial sacrality in Middle Byzantium.

3.2 The cross inscription

The first inscription in this complex object is the inner one, namely, the one inscribed on the back of the central cross reliquary (Fig. 11). The entire text is in continuous majuscule letters, and can be broken into nine lines of twelve syllables each, a common metrical form in Middle Byzantine epigraphy.[7] Here, I present the text in standard orthography with breathing marks and accents:[8]

> θεὸς μὲν ἐξέτεινε χεῖρας ἐν ξύλῳ
> ζωῆς δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἐνεργείας βρύων
> Κωνσταντῖνος δὲ κ[αὶ] Ῥωμανὸς δεσπόται
> λίθων διαυγῶν συνθέσει κ[αὶ] μαργάρων
> ἔδειξαν αὐτὸ θαύματος πεπλησμένον
> κ[αὶ] πρὶν μὲν ᾅδου χ[ριστὸ]ς ἐν τούτῳ πύλας
> θραύσας ἀνεζώωσε τοὺς τεθνηκότας
> κοσμήτορες τούτου δὲ νῦν στεφηφόροι
> θράση δι' αὐτοῦ συντρίβουσι βαρβάρων
>
> While God stretched out his hands on the wood,
> gushing forth through it the energies of life,
> the masters Constantine and Rōmanos
> with a composition of radiant stones and pearls
> showed it [sc. the wood (τὸ ξύλον)] to be filled with wonder.
> And while Christ, having broken with it the gates of hell,
> restored to life those who had died,
> the crown-bearing adorners of this [wood]
> crush through it barbarian insolence.

In his close reading of the inscription text, Hostetler convincingly demonstrates how parallels are established both textually and visually between Christ/God and the Byzantine rulers. The nine dodecasyllabic lines are separated into two main groups by the presence of the contrasting markers μέν and δέ, which Hostetler establishes as being fundamental to a proper understanding of the text and its meaning.[9] A first element of comparison between Christ/God (the two terms functionally equated here in the inscription) and the emperors is introduced in the paired μέν-δέ clauses. Just as God stretched his hands out on the cross to give life, so too is the cross extended in display by the emperors. The sovereigns are designated in the inscription

7 Hostetler 2012, 8, where he also mentions as reference the entry on "Dodecasyllable" in *ODB* 1:643–644. Cf. also Lauxtermann 1999.

8 Text and this translation available in Hostetler 2012, 8, as well as in the definitive catalogue prepared by Rhoby 2010, 166–167 (with commentary).

9 Hostetler 2012, 8.

Fig. 11: Inscription on reverse of Staurotheke cross relic. Diözesan-museum Limburg an der Lahn, Germany.

as "masters" (δεσπόται), which is the same term applied by the disciples in the New Testament to Jesus Christ.[10] Christ shows forth the wondrous nature of the cross by having it gush forth the life of the resurrection, while the emperors show it to be such through the composition (συνθέσει) of the pearls and precious stones. Furthermore, these adornments had additional significance in the Middle

10 Mentions can be found in the Acts and two epistles (Acts 4:24; 2 Tim 2:21; 2 Pet 2:1). Other mentions are found in the exclamation of Symeon to God when presented with the infant Jesus (Luke 2:29) and that of the souls of the martyrs beneath the heavenly altar crying out for justice in the vision of Revelation (Rev 6:10). In later Byzantine history in the 12th century, the term "despot" comes to mean a kind of provincial governor; cf. "Despotes" in *ODB* 1:614.

Byzantine period beyond merely denoting imperial opulence: pearls were symbolic of divine knowledge and God himself, while precious gems in imperial adornments and vestments served to signal piety, faith, and wisdom.[11] Additionally, the emperors parallel the divine creative act in this literal putting-together of wood and stone, with the red stones and white pearls also evoking perhaps the blood and water that flowed from Christ's side at the crucifixion.[12] Finally, a parallel is created between Christ breaking down the bars and chains of hell by means of the cross as a weapon, and the emperors—the "crown-bearers" (στεφηφόροι)—crushing the diabolical threat of the barbarians by wielding this very same cross of Christ almost like an instrument of war, now present before the reader.[13] These comparisons between Christ and the emperors span time and space,[14] connecting the Byzantine rulers intimately with the divine plan of God's saving activity, the uniquely salvific instrument of the cross, and the status of being crown-bearing masters.[15] I shall return to the implications of crushing the "temerities" or insolence (θράση) of the barbarians below when examining the possible audience(s) of the relic and this inscription, but one further observation on this relic is key to providing context for the inscription text: the presence of specific imperial names and their location on

11 Cf. Parani 2003, 12, n. 5, who provides bibliography on pearls and their symbolism in Byzantium.

12 Hostetler 2012, 9, who cites Pentcheva 2007, 110, for this interpretation of the red jewels representing the blood of Christ. Of note here is also the placement of the words λίθων and μαργάρων on the cross inscription: "The line [of text here] ends with the word *margarōn* at the intersection of the vertical and horizontal arms … Originally, this set the word next to the pearls embellishing the cross, uniting the text with the materials added by the Emperors. The conscious placement of inscription and materials is also found in the position of the word *lithōn* (stones) at the end of the left cross arm …. This situates the word in the corresponding position of two radiant stones that embellish the front" (Hostetler 2012, 11).

13 Hostetler 2012, 10. The link with battle imagery is made possible here by the Homeric meaning of κοσμήτωρ as "one who marshals an army, commander, leader", as can be found in the *Iliad*; cf. LSJ, s. v. "κοσμήτωρ, ὁ". I am thankful to Hostetler for pointing out this possible meaning of the word in this context; cf. Hostetler 2021.

14 Hostetler 2012, 9.

15 This is the case with another extant staurotheke: Hostetler notes a similar inscription on a 12th-century cross reliquary of Emperor Manuel I Komnēnos (Hostetler 2012, 10); cf. also Rhoby 2010, 185–186. Rhoby also records another inscription (Rhoby 2010, 332–333) on a cross reliquary and ivory panel from the tenth century and kept in the church of Saint Francis in Cortona, Italy, which establishes a parallel between Christ's salvific victory over death and Emperor Constantine's victory over the barbarians via the relic. The inscription on the panel reads: "Previously, Christ gave a cross unto salvation to Constantine, the mighty ruler, while now, since a lord victorious in God possesses this [cross], barbarian tribes are put to flight" (Κ[αὶ] πρὶν κραταιῷ δεσπότῃ Κωνσταντίνῳ / Χ[ριστὸ]ς δέδωκε στ[αυρ]ὸν εἰ<ς> σωτηρίαν· / κ[αὶ] νῦν δὲ τοῦτον ἐν Θ[ε]ῷ νικηφόρος / ἄναξ τροποῦται φῦλα βαρβάρων ἔχων; translation mine). As Rhoby notes, the "victorious" emperor here is Nikēphoros II Phōkas (r. 963–969), under whom Basil Lakapēnos also served.

the object, which constitutes a clear development and change in the association of Passion relics with the emperor when compared to the texts and imagery of the Mandylion as seen in chapter 2.

While other Passion relics, such as the Holy Lance and Sponge, are noted as having been brought to Constantinople as early as the seventh century,[16] the relics themselves seem to have been deposited in the Great Palace/chapel of the Theotokos of the Lighthouse without any further specific or express association of the relic to a given ruler: as discussed via the example of the Mandylion above, the icon-relic comes to be associated with the ruler as such, that is, with the 'office' of Byzantine autokratōr, and thus can also be exported in artistic depictions throughout the empire and beyond into church buildings as a symbol of the close bond between heavenly and earthly *despotai*. This general status of the Passion relics seems to change in the tenth century with the creative 'synthesis' inscribed and displayed on the cross relic within the Limburg Staurotheke. Here, two imperial names are connected in gold with the humble yet precious wood of the cross: Constantine (VII Porphyrogennētos) and Rōmanos (II), his son. If the links between Constantine and the Mandylion were clear but not exclusive (that is, the liturgical texts for the icon-relic's translation speak in general terms of the emperor without mentioning any specific ruler by name), the pointed personal link here could not be clearer: specific imperial names are fused in gold to the back of one of the holiest relics in Byzantium, preserved in the palace precincts.

As Hostetler shows in his analysis of the visual layout of the inscription text on the back of the cross, the imperial names are located centrally between the two bars of the cross and amidst the original pearls, which "dr[a]w attention to the names of Constantine and Rōmanos, thus linking the Emperors with their material contributions."[17] Furthermore, he notes that in the middle of the lower crossbar on the inscription, what we find centred in the middle of the inscription—and again, amidst the pearls—are the words "pearls" (μαργάρων), as well as "Christ with this" (χ[ριστὸ]ς ἐν τούτῳ). The centrality of the emperors amidst the pearls, at once both luxury item and symbol of divinity, is paralleled by the centrality of Christ working salvation by means of this object. Yet I believe there to be a small misreading in Hostetler's analysis, a misreading which obscures an even deeper connection between Christ and the emperor-as-anointed here in this inscription. Hostetler speaks of "the energies of life gush[ing] forth" through the wood of the cross, which fact energises the cross for the emperors in their battles against the barbarians. But a close

16 These two relics are said to come to Constantinople in the year 614 in the *Chronicon Paschale*, transl. by Whitby/Whitby, p. 157, although Klein argues that this date is problematic, suggesting instead the year 629; cf. Klein 2006, 88.

17 Hostetler 2012, 10; cf. also Hostetler 2011, 49, where he examines a reliquary from the Protaton church on Mount Athos and argues that "the *placement* of the dedicatory inscription in relationship to the image and the contents of the reliquary provides a more nuanced message than that which is explicitly stated in the inscription itself."

examination of the Greek text here shows that we do not have an intransitive patient-focused verb, but rather a transitive one: the participle βρύων in the nominative singular agrees with Christ as the subject of the first clause (a fact that Hostetler does get correct in his translation cited here). Nonetheless, the location of this word immediately above the name Κωνσταντῖνος in the inscription within the centred portion, and surrounded originally by pearls at the corners of the crossbar, permits a visual association of the emperor with the life-giving energy of Christ in word and with the divinity via the proximity of the pearl adornments. A further link between the emperor and the divine can also be derived from another meaning of the verb βρύω, namely, "to teem with" or "to be abundant in" something: in this case, the pearls (μαργάρων, which would act as the genitive complement required by this meaning of the verb). Such a reading goes against the primary reading of the inscription when read as a grammatical, syntactic whole; yet although the participle βρύων here is firmly part of the first μέν clause, it *visually* spans both clauses and a focused view on the centre of the inscription isolates these words into a new context permitting the second reading of the verb. In such a case, Constantine "abounds in pearls", that is, is rich in the precious symbol of God himself. This final interpretive possibility, focused on the elements that are centrally situated and easily visible, is yet further enriched in my view by going back to the top and again to the bottom of the second cross-bar: the sequence θεός-βρύων-Κωνσταντῖνος-Ῥωμανός-δεσπόται-μαργάρων-χ[ριστὸ]ς ἐν τούτῳ emerges. God, Christ, the named emperors and masters all, are linked together in this reading in an act of gushing forth life and abounding together in pearls, the simultaneous symbol of royal wealth and divine knowledge. This symbolism and location will be pertinent below when we turn to the question of audience and who saw (or was meant or able to see) this inscription and this placement of words.

The inscription on the back of the cross is not the only text joined to the sacred relics in the Staurotheke's composition. A large inscription along the edges of the lid is also extant, important for dating the construction of the larger box portion of the reliquary, but also for further explicating the linkage of specific persons to these holy objects in the Great Palace. It is to this outer text that we now turn.

3.3 The lid inscription

On the lid covering the larger reliquary case, one finds another inscription that runs along all four edges of the lid (Fig. 8); both this inscription and the outer case of the reliquary date several years after the cross relic inscription, as mentioned above.[18] The text of the inscription I provide here follows the ordering of the verses as established by Enrica Follieri and accepted by Andreas Rhoby in his magisterial

18 See n. 5 above.

collection of Byzantine epigrammes, with orthography standardised (translation mine):[19]

οὐ κάλλος εἶχεν ὁ κρεμασθεὶς ἐν ξύλῳ
ἀλλ' ἦν ὡραῖος κάλλει χριστὸς καὶ θνήσκων
οὐκ εἶδος εἶχεν ἀλλ' ἐκαλλώπιζέ μου
τὴν δυσθέατον ἐξ ἁμαρτίας θέαν
θεὸς γὰρ ὢν ἔπα[σ]χεν ἐν βροτῶν φύσει
ὃν Βασίλειος [ὁ] πρόεδρος ἐξόχως
σέβων ἐκαλλώπ[ι]σε τὴν θήκην ξύλου
ἐν ᾧ τανυσθεὶς εἵλκυσεν πᾶσαν κτίσιν

The one who was hung on wood had no beauty
but Christ was ripe with beauty even while dying.
He had no form, but he was beautifying my
appearance, made unsightly from sin.
For though being god, he suffered in mortal nature;
eminently venerating him, Basil [the] *prohedros*
beautified the case of wood,
having been stretched onto which, he [sc. Christ] drew all creation.[20]

19 For these references, see n. 5 above as well. Koder has proposed a different ordering of the verses and suggests that the section ὃν Βασίλειος ὁ πρόεδρος ἐξόχως / σέβων ἐκαλλώπισε τὴν θήκην ξύλου on the cover inscription was added later; cf. Koder 1989, 176.

20 I differ from the translation provided by in Hostetler 2012, 7, n. 5, on two key passages. Hostetler divides the meaning of the line ἀλλ' ἦν ὡραῖος κάλλει χριστὸς καὶ θνήσκων, taking the first section up to the word κάλλει and linking this with the foregoing line, thus giving the translation: "He did not have beauty, the one suspended on the wood, yet Christ was complete with beauty", and then takes καὶ θνήσκων with the next line, thus giving "and in dying he did not have form, but he beautified my appearance deformed by sin." This reading is problematic in terms of the rhetorical structure of the inscription, since it disregards the parallel sets of οὐκ … ἀλλά, which I take into account in my translation above, reading καὶ θνήσκων as a concessive clause. In the final line, Hostetler reads εἵλκυσεν (from the verb ἕλκω, later Greek ἑλκύω) as meaning "to rescue" ("he [Christ] rescued all creation"). Neither LSJ nor *LBG* provide such a gloss for this verb, which means rather "to draw (after oneself)" or "to pull" (cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἕλκω"; *LBG*, s.v. "ἑλκύζω", "ἑλκύνω", "ἑλκύω"). In my opinion, this meaning of drawing or pulling to oneself in the case of the Staurotheke inscription's use of the term is strengthened by the verb's use in another contemporary inscription on a reliquary of the hand of John the Baptist, probably dating likewise to the tenth century (and perhaps also commissioned by Basil?) and made for the translation of the relic from Antioch to the capital in 957 at the behest of Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, which reads: "The hand of the Forerunner, which once a barbarian hand held fast, now Lord Constantine has transferred to the city, having drawn [it] now thence" (ἣν βάρβαρος χεὶρ χεῖρα τὴν τοῦ Προδρόμου / κατεῖχε τὸ πρίν, νῦν ἐκεῖσεν **ἑλκύσας** / ἄναξ μετῆξε πρὸς πόλιν Κωνσταντῖνος) (cf. Rhoby 2010, 187–188; emphasis and translation mine). Moreover, from the perspective of a patristic/

Similarities exist between this late-tenth-century inscription on the outside of the Staurotheke and the mid-century one on the cross relic. Both inscriptions employ the dodecasyllabic or 'political verse' metre; both are executed in large majuscule with little variation in letter size and no complicated ligatures; both inscriptions name specific patrons behind the text or reliquary. Yet significant differences are also present in the two texts which I believe help to underscore at once the heights to which wealthy patronage could soar and the exclusive echelons of divine association which only the emperors could enter. The earlier cross inscription is marked by the paired μέν-δέ clauses, which establish parallels between the person/activity of Christ and those of the ruling sovereigns. Here, there are no parallels between God and humanity, but rather merely seemingly contradictory contrasts with regard to Christ himself, demarcated by the term ἀλλά ("but"): Christ is hung on the cross devoid of beauty and yet still somehow "ripe" like fruit with beauty even in death;[21] Christ is deformed in death and yet reshapes the human form which is unsightly (or possibly "hard to discern on account of sin", another interpretation made possible by a different meaning of the word δυσθέατος used here[22]); Christ is divine and beyond suffering, yet suffers in his humanity—a key paradox underscored by the Fourth Ecumenical Council at Chalcedon in 451.[23]

The mention of "Basil [the] prohedros" is helpful for establishing the patron of this outer reliquary as being Basil Lakapēnos, the illegitimate son of Emperor Rōmanos I and holder of the high title of parakoimōmenos;[24] such an office and lineage with access to both the emperor's court and the emperor's wealth enabled Basil to put his name on (and his patronage behind) several outstanding extant works of Byzantine liturgical art,[25] a pattern followed by other high-ranking and wealthy

associative reading here, there are scriptural precedents for the language of 'drawing to oneself' being associated with Christ, which could also be an allusion intended when the inscription speaks of the emperor as drawing holy things to himself; cf. John 6:44, 12:32.

21 The texts of the New Testament refer to Christ as being the "first-fruits" of the resurrection and a vine bearing the fruit of the faithful as branches who themselves bear fruit; cf. 1 Cor 15:20; John 15:1–11.

22 LSJ, s.v. "δυσθέατος"; cf. *LBG*, s.v. "δυσθεωρήτως", for a related word from the same verbal root and meaning "in a manner difficult to discern/recognise".

23 The definition (ὅρος) of the faith, defined at the fifth session of the council on October 22, 451 and promulgated at the sixth session on October 25, 451, set forth the doctrine of Christ having two natures but one person as being orthodox and contributed to the schism of the so-called Oriental Orthodox churches of Armenia and Mesopotamia from the Roman and Byzantine communion. For a thorough introduction to the issues and events of this council, as well as a translation of its acts, see: Price/Gaddis 2005, esp. 1:1–85 (background) and 2:183–243 (definition of the faith and its promulgation).

24 A detailed study of Basil can be found in Brokkaar 1972, 199–234. The term parakoimōmenos, meaning the one "sleeping at the side [of the emperor]", was the highest office for eunuchs at court in the Middle Byzantine period; cf. "Parakoimōmenos" in *ODB* 3:1584.

25 Known surviving examples of Basil's patronage, besides the Limburg Staurotheke, include: a reliquary containing the head of Saint Symeon the Stylite and now preserved at

Byzantine aristocrats in this period.[26] The mention of the office of prohedros also helps narrow the *termini inter quos* for the Staurotheke's production.[27] But in stark contrast to the emperors on the cross inscription, Basil is not connected via parallel or imitation to Christ, but only via veneration and supplication: he remains on a level below the emperors in their sacrality, even though his name is also placed on a vessel of sacred objects, and his later inscription—in its near perfect imitation of the earlier one on the cross—might reflect a conscious desire to imitate in style and form the mid-century imperial reliquary patronage.[28] Style here, in my view,

the Camaldolese convent in Florence (for inscription and details, cf. Rhoby 2010, 219–221); a diskos and chalice now held in the treasury at Saint Mark's Cathedral in Venice (cf. Laurent 1953, esp. pp. 195–196); a reliquary of the head of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr, kept until 1628 by Franciscans on Crete and lost sometime thereafter (the inscription survives in copy, noted in Rhoby 2010, 212–213, and in Bouras 1989, 407); three manuscripts commissioned by him: (a) the miscellany of war treatises now known as MS Ambrosianus B 119 sup. and preserved at the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (cf. Bevilacqua 2013), (b) a copy of the homilies of John Chrysostom now preserved at the Monastery of Dionysiou (MS Dionysiou 70) on Mount Athos, and (c) a volume containing the four Gospels and the Pauline epistles now kept in Saint Petersburg (MS Publ. lib. gr. 55). He may also have been the patron of the MS Vat. Gr. 1613, the so-called Joshua Roll (cf. Wander 2012, esp. pp. 93–132). Cf. also "Basil the Nothos" in *ODB* 1:270 and Ross 1958 (who provides images of the diskos and chalice at Saint Mark's in Venice).

26 Besides the Basilian examples mentioned above, Rhoby 2010 provides several other examples of such elite patronage via inscriptions mentioning the patron/patroness, dating from the tenth to 12th centuries, which mostly seem to hail from the immediate circle of the reigning families and their relatives: a cross mentioning Maria Komnēnē, second daughter of Alexios I Komnēnos (ibid., 152); a cross mentioning Constantine, the grandson of Emperor Manuel I Komnēnos (ibid., 158); a lost reliquary of Saint Christopher mentioning a certain Michael (perhaps Michael VII Doukas) (ibid., 172); a lost reliquary of John the Baptist mentioning a certain Anna (posited by Rhoby to be the second daughter of John II Komnēnos) (ibid., 173); a cross reliquary naming Alexios Doukas (five men bore this name, all of whom were also grandsons of Irene Doukaina, who herself is also mentioned in the inscription) (ibid., 174–175); a reliquary cross naming Rōmanos (either Rōmanos II Porphyrogennētos or Rōmanos III Argyros) (ibid., 240); a staurotheke naming an empress (βασιλίς) Maria (either Maria of Alania, wife of Michael VII Doukas and later of Nikēphoros III Botaneiatēs, d. 1103; or Maria of Antioch, second wife of Manuel I Komnēnos and murdered in 1182/1183) (ibid., 266–267); a cross naming Irene Doukaina, wife of Alexios I Komnēnos (ibid., 268); a cross mentioning a certain Leo, possibly the brother of Nikēphoros II Phōkas (based on the mention in the inscription of him being domestikos of the West) (ibid., 288–289); a cross reliquary naming Rōmanos (either Rōmanos II Argyros or Rōmanos IV Diogenēs) (ibid., 303–304); and the previously-mentioned cross reliquary and ivory panel naming Nikēphoros (II Phōkas) (ibid., 332–333). A detailed overview and study of how these inscriptions, including the naming of patrons (both imperial and other elites, such as nobles and monastics), functioned, can be found in Hostetler 2016.

27 Basil was elevated to this rank by Nikēphoros II Phōkas after 963 for helping to sideline Joseph Bringas and to elevate Nikēphoros to the imperial throne; cf. Leo the Deacon, *History*, ed./transl. by A.-M. Talbot/Sullivan, 3.8 (p. 99).

28 Here we can note the supplicatory and offertory tone struck by Basil in the inscriptions commissioned or composed by him on other reliquaries. The inscription on the now-lost

is of the essence: though the reliquary contains portions of the most sacred Christian relics and stages the relic of the True Cross as a victorious weapon against the barbarians, the outer inscription speaks not of the carnage wrought by victory in battle, but rather of beauty: namely, Christ's paradoxical beauty in death, his work of restoring an ugly humankind to its pristine beauty through his death and resurrection, and the cooperation of this particular human being, Basil, in this creative act of making beautiful the case of the precious wood. Just as Christ drew all creation to himself on the cross at the crucifixion—a past, completed action as brought out in the aorist verb form used (εἵλκυσεν)—so too is Basil's adornment fully accomplished (ἐκαλλώπ[ι]σε) in the same tense. Yet the drawing (i.e., ἕλξις) of Christ and the beautifying of Basil continue beyond the *fait accompli* of the text. Both in action and depiction, the artistic programme of the Staurotheke is also instructive in terms of interpreting the reliquary's significance for communicating imperial sacrality in Byzantium.

head reliquary of Saint Stephen the Protomartyr read: "Your head, O chief athlete, fame of martyrs, which stones of martyrdom previously crowned, I too now crown with gold and silver material, showing [my] happy longing with a meagre gift; on account of which I—your Basil of kingly house, affine of the ruler and bearing the rank of *megas baïoulos* and parakoimōmenos—beseech salvation of soul, O blessed [saint]" (Τὴν σὴν κάραν, πρώταθλε, μαρτύρων κλέος, / ἣν μαρτυρικοὶ πρὶν κατέστεψαν λίθοι, / στέφω κἀγὼ νῦν ἐξ ὕλης χρυσαργύρου / δώρῳ πενιχρῷ δεικνὺς ὅλβιον πόθον· / οὗ χάριν αἰτῶ τῆς ψυχῆς σωτηρίαν / ὁ βασιλικὸς σὸς Βασίλειος, μάκαρ, / γαμβρὸς κρατοῦντος καὶ βαΐουλος μέγας / καὶ παρακοιμώμενος ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας) (Rhoby 2010, 212–213), while the inscription on the head reliquary of Saint Symeon the Stylite now kept in Arezzo reads: "A pillar of fire was previously Israel's guide from the land of Egypt to a good land; but you too, O divine father Symeon, have a pillar, a guide leading from earth to the heavenly path. I, then—Basil of kingly house—adorn your venerable head with longing" (Στῦλος πυρὸς πρὶν Ἰ[σρα]ὴλ ὁδηγέτης / εἰς γῆν ἀγαθὴν ἀπὸ γῆς Αἰγυπτίας· / στῦλος δὲ καὶ σοί, Συμεών, θεῖε πάτερ, / ἐκ γῆς ὁδηγὸς εἰς τρίβον οὐρανίαν· / κοσμῶ τὸ λοιπὸν σὴν σεβασμίαν κάραν / ὁ βασιλικὸς Βασίλειος ἐκ πόθου) (ibid., 219–221) (both translations mine). Note as well the parallel usages of contrasting a previous action with the present time of the inscription, as well as the epithet βασιλικός stressing Basil's connection to the throne despite his illegitimate birth, and the sense of longing (πόθος) in both texts. Supplication on the part of Basil is also present in the inscription in raised letters (similar to what is seen on the Staurotheke) on the base of the chalice and diskos pair commissioned by him and now kept in the treasury of Saint Mark's Cathedral, Venice, which reads: "Lord, help Basil the very illustrious Proedros and Parakoimōmenos" (Κύριε βοήθει Βασιλείῳ τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ προέδρῳ καὶ παρακοιμωμένῳ); cf. Ross 1958, 271 (image on p. 273); Greek text in Rhoby 2010, 264, who refers to the volume compiled by Guillou 1996, 78 (no. 75). Finally, we can also note an inscription on a gold ring containing a rhomboid emerald in the middle, on which is etched a portrait of Christ and the words "O Lord, help Basil, parakoimōmenos of the master" (Κ[ΥΡΙ]Ε ΒΟΗΘ[ΕΙ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΩ ΠΑΡΑΚΟΙΜΟΥ[ΜΕΝΩ] ΤΟΥ ΔΕΣΠ[ΟΤΟΥ]) (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Cabinet des Médailles, inv. no. Schl. 126), where "master" here is an epithet equally applicable to both Christ and the emperor. Cf. Cheynet/Morrisson 1992, 309 (no. 219), cited in: Lilie et al. 2013, available online: https://www.degruyter.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ23078/html (accessed 19/02/2022).

3.4 Imagery and iconographic programme of the Limburg Staurotheke

3.4.1 Imagery and iconography on the Staurotheke cover

The sacred relics contained within it notwithstanding, the Limburg Staurotheke is one of the most outstanding extant works of Middle Byzantine artistic programming and execution that has survived the plunder of the Fourth Crusade intact. The case opens via a lid that slides out and can be completely removed from the reliquary; the bottom of the lid also bears a latch connecting it to the rest of the case when shut (the lid is currently displayed above and separate from the remainder of the case in Limburg; see Fig. 8). The first line of Basil's inscription ("The one who was hung on wood had no beauty") is on the top of the lid portion, and this text finds literal reflection in the iconographic programme below: no image of the crucified Christ appears. Instead, contained within an outer border of diamond-like enamel work and an inner golden rectangle replete with filigree and circular groups of gems and precious stones, is a square area containing nine equal-size enamel icons, which are further framed by gems and eight smaller enamel icons of saints at the corners of the frame and in the centre of each bar. Present at the centre is Christ in glory and robed in imperial purple, holding a book of the Gospels in his left hand and blessing with his right. Flanking him on either side are John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary in intercession, with the Forerunner being accompanied by the archangel Gabriel and the Theotokos by the archangel Michael on their respective icons. On the upper three and lower three icons we find depicted the apostles and evangelists in pairs (clockwise from top left): James and John the Theologian; Paul and Peter; Andrew and Mark; Philip and Simon; Luke and Matthew; Bartholomew and Thomas; while on the outer frame we find (again clockwise from top left): Saint John Chrysostom, Great-Martyr Theodore, Great-Martyr Eustratios (?), Great-Martyr Dēmētrios, Great-Martyr George, Saint Nicholas of Myra in Lycia, Saint Gregory the Theologian, and Saint Basil the Great of Caesarea. The detail in the enamel work and filigree work, combined with the abundance and size of the affixed gems, visually proclaims the Staurotheke as a work of immense artistic craftsmanship, beauty, and luxury, marking it out as an object of the highest prestige.

The cover iconography, however, also communicates a message: one of divinity and power, universality and particularity. Christ, the Son of God, is depicted as an enthroned ruler extending his blessing to the viewer. He is supplicated by the Virgin and the Baptist, though with the two figures on opposite sides of where one would expect them in a typical *deësis* formation.[29] Perhaps the unusual placement of the Forerunner at the place of honour at Christ's right hand could be a subtle hint at the interplay of Basil the prohedros and the various emperors he served: John

29 Cf. "Deesis" in *ODB* 1:599–600.

the Baptist was a blood relative of Jesus, paved the way for the latter's ministry, never married, and was hailed by Christ himself as the greatest born of women;[30] Basil was the cousin and uncle to emperors in the late tenth century, enjoyed close proximity to the throne as one of the senior advisors at court, was a eunuch, and was one of the wealthiest and most privileged persons in the Empire. Likening himself, however obliquely, in image to the humble desert-dwelling John by extension would signal a likening of Christ (besought by John) to the emperor (besought by the prohedros), a supplication echoed in the final lines of the cover inscription as well.[31]

Alternatively, Johannes Koder has presented a different interpretation, positing that the depiction of John the Baptist in the icon here bears similar facial features to Emperor Constantine VII and thus suggests that the Baptist here personifies the emperor, beseeching Christ; furthermore, Koder suggests that Christ's words about John being the greatest of those born of women[32] could then be applied to the emperor.[33] To my eye, the enamel face of the Baptist here does not particularly resemble either the face of King Abgar on the Sinai icon or the face of Constantine VII on the Moscow Ivory,[34] and the supplicatory pose of John here with hands raised aloft towards Christ—while similar to the pose of Constantine VII on the Moscow Ivory—is a common feature of both John and the Virgin Mary in such deësis depictions.[35] Additionally, the naming of the Baptist as "the greatest born of women" need not lead us to interpret him as representing the emperor even from a theological point of view. Taking recourse to a patristic manner of reading here, seeking contexts and associations, we find that the verse immediately preceding Matthew 11:11 (where Christ speaks of John in these superlative terms), reads: "This is he of whom it is written, 'Behold, I send my messenger before your face, who shall prepare your way before you.'"[36] This statement, in turn, is a quotation of the prophecy from Malachi 3:1, where the appearance of the messenger (ἄγγελος, which can

30 Cf. Matt. 11:11, Luke 7:28.

31 Cf. Pentcheva 2007, 114. Pentcheva, however, reads the inscription as an instance of Basil, as patron, beseeching Christ for "eternal beauty and youth, meaning salvation and life in paradise" (ibid., 114, n. 22), seeing herein a desire on the part of Basil for healing from the "ugliness" of being a eunuch (ibid., 115). She seems to base this interpretation on a reading of the cross only being depicted in glory in Eastern Christianity as opposed to the "gory details of Christ's Passion on the cross" which are found in Western European sources and depictions. The Byzantine liturgical texts of the Middle Byzantine period, however, provide plenty of 'ugly' death imagery associated with the crucifixion as well as prolonged and profound engagement with the theological significance for Byzantine Christianity of a painful death suffered willingly and unjustly by Jesus, which facts lead me to reject her interpretation as being plausible. On these texts, see Janeras 1988 and Tucker 2023, 189–192, 482–491.

32 Cf. Matt 11:11.

33 Koder 1989, 183–184.

34 On these images, see chapter 2 above.

35 See above this chapter, n. 29.

36 Matt 11:10; cf. also Mark 1:2, Luke 7:27.

also be translated as "angel"—and thus the various angelic beings depicted on the Staurotheke also serve to underscore this messenger imagery) immediately precedes the entry of the Lord himself into the temple. With this cloud of theological images also surrounding the iconographic witness of John depicted here in the deësis scene, I am more inclined to think of John as representing Basil, who as parakoimōmenos of the royal household would be responsible for 'preparing the way' of the emperor in the palace and ultimately to the 'temple' of the palace chapels or even Hagia Sophia.

As Anthony Cutler has observed, the figures present in a deësis tableau in Byzantine art could vary, with other saints and angels supplicating the God-man Jesus Christ instead of John and Mary.[37] Yet nowhere does he state that the placement of the Virgin and the Baptist in a deësis depicting these two persons was in flux or that a large number of surviving objects (or even a noticeable minority) depict the Baptist instead of the Virgin as standing at the right hand of Christ. Three other luxury objects, however—namely, ivory triptychs—also survive from the late tenth century and depict the same deësis formation as that found on the cover of the Limburg Staurotheke: the so-called Harbaville Triptych, housed today at the Louvre (Fig. 12–13);[38] an ivory deësis triptych obtained by Pope Benedict XIV in 1755 from a private collection and kept now at the Vatican Museum (Fig. 14–15); and an ivory triptych preserved at the Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia in Rome (Fig. 16–17). The three objects share an uncanny number of similarities in terms of iconographic programme and design elements, which has led many scholars in the literature and exhibition catalogues featuring these triptychs to posit a common provenance from the same workshop.[39] Yet no one has suggested what I believe the case to be: that all could indeed be commissions made personally for Basil or else influenced by his taste and style as exhibited in the Staurotheke cover. All four objects are executed in ivory, a material usually reserved for religious or ceremonial objects despite its relative abundance at workshops in the Middle Byzantine period.[40] All four objects have a nearly identical programme in the centre interior panel (top tier: Christ flanked by the Virgin to his left and John the Baptist to his right; bottom tier: five apostles, all the same and in the same order (James, John the Theologian, Peter, Paul, Andrew); all save the ivory from the Museo Nazionale depict Christ

37 Cf. Cutler 1987.

38 I am thankful to Evan Freeman for pointing out this connection at a presentation I made on my doctoral work, following the bibliography of which item I came across the other ivories also discussed here.

39 On these objects, see the following studies and catalogues: Linas 1885; Schlumberger 1891; Molinier 1896, 31–37; Peirce/Tyler 1927; Kantorowicz 1941; Cain 1958, 149; Rice 1958, 34, 36; Beckwith 1959; Weitzmann 1964, esp. pp. 167–170; Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, 33–34; Lafontaine-Dosogne 1982, 99–101; Cutler 1991, 2:645–659; Gaborit-Chopin 2003, 86–93; Durand/Durand 2005, 133–155; Cormack/Vassilaki 2008, 132–133, 400–401; and Moretti 2010, 121–152.

40 Cf. Cutler 1985, 34, 53.

Fig. 12–13: Interior (above) and exterior (below) of the Harbaville Triptych. Ivory with color residues. Constantinople, late tenth century. Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Fig. 14–15: Interior (above) and exterior (below) of the Vatican Museum triptych. Ivory. Constantinople, late tenth century. Vatican Museum, Vatican City.

Fig. 16–17: Interior (above) and exterior (below) of the so-called Casanatense triptych. Ivory. Constantinople, late tenth century. Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome.

enthroned (although the latter does show him standing on a dais). Numerous other saints are common to all four objects: military saints, liturgists, bishops.[41] All four depict on the back panel a cross budding, either simply with roundels at the ends of the crossbars, or also with other floral imagery.[42] In the case of the Harbaville Triptych, the similarities are even closer, with similarly shaped six-pointed stars and remarkably similar floral borders on the interior, as noted by Linas in the late 19th century;[43] moreover, the Harbaville ivory also shows traces of polychromy on all parts of its surface, which Carolyn Connor has posited could be an attempt to mimic gold enamel[44]—precisely what we see in the enamelled covering of the Limburg Staurotheke. To my mind, the intentionality of design here on the part of Basil, rather than simply the acceptance by the parakoimōmenos of a workshop's (rather idiosyncratic) deësis programme offered to him, is also highlighted finally by the fact that the order of the relic compartments within the Staurotheke places the relics associated with the Virgin and John the Baptist in the expected order: the items pertaining to the Virgin to the right of the cross (the viewer's left), and those connected to the Baptist to the left thereof.

A further bit of evidence, which in my opinion mitigates against identifying John the Baptist at the right hand of Christ as representing the emperor, is the outer inscription of the reliquary. Were the emperor to be represented by John at the very heart of the lid's iconographic programme, one might expect some explicit mention of either Constantine or some emperor in general in the text. Yet this text—visible to any who might glimpse the reliquary and be able to read—mentions only Basil specifically. Secondly, as mentioned above, the naming of Basil's title of prohedros permits a dating of the construction of the reliquary to the years 968–985.

41 Saints common to all four objects, besides the ones noted in the central interior panels, include: Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom, Gregory (Theologian/Wonderworker), Nicholas of Myra; Great-Martyrs Eustratios, Dēmētrios, George, Theodore (Recruit/General), Eustathios. Apart from the Staurotheke, the other three also depict the martyrs Arethas and Prokopios.

42 The distinction of the appearance of the cross on the back of the Staurotheke is due, I believe, to the reliquary not merely referencing the blossoming cross (as the other objects do) but rather actually containing the True Cross relic; here, the double bars and the stepped platform reflect the actual appearance of the relic inside the Staurotheke and refer to its use in the rites at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in Hagia Sophia; see this chapter below, n. 97.

43 Linas 1885, 32: "L'affinité des bandeaux avec la bordure de l'hiérothèque de Limbourg est palpable"; ibid., 37: "Que l'on compare maintenant à notre triptyque, et l'hiérothèque à date certaine de Limbourg … on restera convaincu que tous ces monuments sont du même temps et qu'une même école les a enfantés." Nonetheless, Linas suggests in the end that the Harbaville Triptych was commissioned simply by a rich patrician for home furnishing (ibid., 39) and does not link the work to the parakoimōmenos Basil.

44 Connor 1998, 19, 76.

Constantine VII died in 959,[45] followed on the throne by his son Rōmanos II, then by the general Nikēphoros II Phōkas in 963, then the usurper John I Tzimiskēs in 969, and finally Rōmanos II's son Basil II in 976, who eventually ousted his relative Basil Lakapēnos from court and exiled him in 985. For John the Baptist to represent the long-deceased Constantine VII in this later period of Basil's life, marked by great vicissitudes in court life and by various men on the imperial throne, does not make much sense: Basil the prohedros survived at court for such a long time as a senior officer no doubt through great tact and networking, but also surely through making himself useful and indispensable to whoever should wear the imperial crown. Each and every emperor was envisaged as representing and patterning himself after Christ, and with such a representation in mind, the reliquary would be less likely to have caused offence than by having the lid's central icon be a visual reminder of a specific former ruler, whether dead or deposed. There is no hard evidence either way to fix the interpretation of the lid's programme, but given Basil Lakapēnos's longevity at court, his service under five sovereigns, his own artistic patronage and influence, and his enduring proximity to the throne as one of the emperor's right-hand men, the depiction of John the Baptist at the right hand of Christ in this small deësis icon as representing Basil the servant *par excellence* seems much more plausible to me than does Koder's reading.

Moving beyond the Forerunner and Christ: the pairing of the archangels on these two icon panels is no surprise. Gabriel announces the impending conception of the Forerunner to Zachariah in the Gospel of Luke,[46] and both the Virgin and Michael were perceived as heavenly protectors of the imperial capital.[47] Both archangels

45 On November 9, according to Skylitzēs, *Chronicle*, ed. by Thurn, 17 (247), although this date has been disputed by Grierson/Mango/I. Ševčenko 1962, here p. 58, who posit November 19 as the date of the emperor's repose.

46 Cf. Luke 1:5–25.

47 A rich vein of scholarly literature exists on the Virgin as special protectress of the city: Ebersolt 1921, who presents photographs of coins from the reign of Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1054) showing the Virgin with hands upraised in prayer (*virgo orans*), wearing the maphorion relic housed at the Blachernai palace and adorned with the words ΜΡ ΘΥ / Η ΕΠΙΣΚΕΨΙΣ ("Mother of God / the protectress") (ibid., 50); Baynes 1949, 172–173; Cameron 1978; Cameron 1979; Kalavrezou 1990, esp. p. 171; Mango 2000; Pentcheva 2002; Pentcheva 2003; Cameron 2004; Pentcheva 2006; Brubaker/M. Cunningham 2007; M. Cunningham 2015; and Krausmüller 2016. Numerous churches and monasteries were dedicated to her throughout the Byzantine capital; Janin identifies 136 such sanctuaries (Janin 1969, 156–244), while a total of 24 churches and monasteries had the Archangel Michael as their sole patron (ibid., 337–350), besides other churches dedicated to the angelic powers in general, where Michael was also probably venerated: two monasteries dedicated to the nine ranks of angels (ibid., 111–112); the *Nea* church built by Basil I in 876/877 and dedicated to the archangels Michael and Gabriel (ibid., 361–364); and two additional churches built by Basil I and dedicated to both Michael and Gabriel in the Arkadianai district (ibid., 66).

appear with typical wings, dressed in what appear to be imperial-style *lōroi*,[48] each with one hand raised with palm outward in perhaps a monitory pose, and the other hand bearing a *labarum*.[49] This angelic duo thus can be seen as firmly and securely framing the central supplicatory deësis trio with symbols of enduring heavenly power and protection, while being clothed in contemporary courtly dress and bearing the ancient military banner of Constantine, the first Christian emperor.[50]

The significance of the choice of the remaining enamel figures on the lid of the Staurotheke to the entire artistic programme cannot be determined with any certainty. Of the twelve apostles depicted, only two are known to have been honoured with chapels in the palace itself (in addition to other locales in Constantinople);[51] nonetheless, a complete number of the twelve disciples in the lid's iconographic programme, following an associative/patristic reading, calls to my mind the fulness of the church as symbolised by the full number of the twelve apostles, and thus also the apostolic authority inherited from them by the bishops and patriarchs, standing around the central figure of Christ on his throne—an icon, perhaps, of the heavenly ideal to be reflected in the bishops and patriarch around the enthroned emperor as guardian of the relics and the Lord's anointed on earth? The smaller enamel icons of the episcopal trio of John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea, and Gregory the Theologian honour champions of Chalcedonian orthodoxy and thus could be seen as providing visual *bona fides* for the faith of the imperial house (as possessors of the reliquary) and of Basil (as the artistic patron); but of the three bishop saints, only Basil had a chapel dedicated to him specifically in the palace, besides other institutions in the city,[52] and the joint Byzantine commemoration of the three men together as the Feast of Three Hierarchs did not arise until after the Staurotheke's construction, in 1082.[53] The other smaller icons depict several great-martyrs and Saint Nicholas; while only Nicholas is documented as being patron of a palatine chapel,[54] it is not surprising that military saints—and the patron of sailors and navigation, of great importance for the maritime metropolis[55]—should be found to adorn a reliquary

48 Cf. Parani 2003, 42–50.

49 Cf. Parani 2003, 31–33 (images of emperors holding the labarum) and 45–47, 196 (images of angels); cf. also "Labarum" in *ODB* 2:1167.

50 Cf. Parani 2003, 32–33.

51 Besides the chief location of the church of the Holy Apostles (cf. Janin 1969, 41–50), Janin records palatine chapels dedicated to John the Theologian (ibid., 269) and Peter (ibid., 398).

52 The palatine chapel dedicated to Saint Basil is mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies* (II.8, 11, 13); besides this church, there was a monastery dedicated to the archbishop of Caesarea as well as a skeuophylakion and church near the Forum of the Ox; cf. Janin 1969, 58–59.

53 Cf. Janin 1969, 258.

54 This was the so-called New Church built on the palace grounds by Basil I in 876/877, which had a quintuple dedication: to Christ, the Theotokos, the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the prophet Elijah, and Saint Nicholas. Cf. Janin 1969, 361; Magdalino 1987.

55 Cf. "Nicholas of Myra" in *ODB* 2:1469–1470. A detailed study of the history of the cult and the patronage of sailors can be found in Groot 1965, esp. pp. 36–43 and 152–160, while

for objects perceived to have great defensive power for the city and empire; furthermore, as I shall explore below, this could also be a signal of identity and relevance to a potential audience of the reliquary.

3.4.2 Imagery and iconography on the Staurotheke interior

With the lid removed, the viewer sees the relic of the True Cross, visible and originally adorned with pearls at the crossbar intersections and with jewels at the ends of the bars, amidst other smaller compartments bearing additional relics (Fig. 9 above). Surrounding the central relic in immediate proximity are enamel icons of what appear to be archangels depicted in various poses; all are depicted standing upright and most hold what seem to be labara or sceptres in the one hand, while the other hand is either extended in an *orans* gesture[56] (in the case of two angels) or else holds an orb as a symbol of authority and power (in the case of eight angels).[57] The clothing of the archangels here is also distinctive. Of the six archangels depicted below the bottom crossbar of the Cross relic, four are clothed in the chlamys—one of the imperial court garments—with two in what appear to be purple robes with gold *tablia* or rectangular panels added to the fabric edges.[58] Beginning in the 11th century, angels can be found depicted in Byzantine art wearing the chlamys as a sign of their heavenly ministry, much like ministers at the imperial court.[59] In the earlier Middle Byzantine period, however, the chlamys (together with the crown) were the initial regalia in which a new emperor was dressed at his coronation.[60] Various forms of chlamys on some archangels, together with various forms of what appear to be male and female versions of the lōros garment on the four archangels situated above the lower crossbar,[61] would seem to situate the angels here surrounding the cross not merely in service at the court of heaven, but also at the Constantinopolitan court of the tenth century: an honour guard around the emperor's 'invincible trophy' to be wielded against his enemies. Despite the dearth of occasions on which the emperor himself would be dressed in the lōros (only on the highest feast days

the artistic motifs used to depict Nicholas, including at sea and with sailors, is treated in N. Ševčenko 1983.

56 With the exception of several icons of the Virgin, this pose becomes rarer after the eighth century, when the bowed stance of *proskynēsis* becomes more common. Cf. "Orans" in *ODB* 3:1531 and "Proskynesis" in *ODB* 3:1738–1739.

57 Cf. Parani 2003, 33–34, who also mentions the earlier work by Schramm 1958, esp. pp. 12–19.

58 On this term, cf. Parani 2003, 349.

59 Parani 2003, 99.

60 Parani 2003, 12–13.

61 According to Parani, angelic beings were originally depicted in Byzantine art wearing the late antique garments of the *chitōn* and *himation* together with sandals; depictions of angels in imperial dress, be it chlamys or lōros, only date to after the iconomachic period at the end of the ninth century (Parani 2003, 41–45).

and when receiving especially prominent guests),[62] Maria Parani has observed that "[b]y the tenth century, the triumphal imperial symbolism of the lōros had acquired a mystical dimension",[63] a dimension given visual form in the Staurotheke with the archangels thus arrayed.

On either side of the centre area with the cross relic and enamel archangel icons on the interior of the Staurotheke are a series of ten smaller compartments, each of which are covered by an enamel lid with icons of angelic beings and lettering describing the contents of each box. The upper six compartments originally contained[64] portions of six other relics associated with Christ (from left to right and top to bottom): the swaddling bands (τὰ σπάργανα), the towel with which Christ wrapped himself (τὸ λέντιον), the Crown of Thorns (ὁ ἀκάνθινος στέφανος), the purple robe of mockery (τὸ πορφυροῦν ἱμάτιον), the napkin wrapped around his head (ἡ σινδόνη), and the sponge used at the crucifixion (ὁ σπόγγος). The lower four compartments contained partial relics pertaining to the Virgin Mary (three) and John the Baptist (one) (again, from left to right and top to bottom): the veil of the Theotokos (μαφόριον), the Virgin's belt kept at Chalkoprateia (ζώνη), the Virgin's belt brought from Zela (ζώνη), and some of the hair of John the Baptist (αἱ τίμιαι τρίχες). The ordering of the relics related to Christ himself seems to be chronological, beginning with the swaddling bands of his birth, continuing with relics from various points in the Passion, and concluding with the sponge, after tasting the vinegar offered on which Christ uttered the words "it is finished" (or rather, the single Greek word, τετέλεσται) on the cross according to the Gospel of John.[65] Below these, we find relics of the greatest saints of the Christian tradition, the Virgin Mary and John the Baptist, situated alongside the cross as yet another representation of the deësis, as it were, not in icon form but in the presence of the partial relics themselves.[66]

62 The lōros is prescribed in the *Book of Ceremonies* to be worn on the feast of Pascha (I.1, 18, 46; II.40), at the crowning of a caesar (I. 52), and once upon the occasion of receiving a Muslim embassy in 946 at a banquet on the Transfiguration on August 6 (II.15). An appendix to the *Book of Ceremonies*, known as the *Klētorologion* of Philotheos and compiled in 899 during the reign of Leo VI, also mentions the emperor wearing the lōros on Pascha and suggests that the same occurs on the feast of Pentecost, stating that "on the holy day of Pentecost, a procession is made according to the pattern of the majestic [day] of Pascha" (Τῇ δὲ ἁγίᾳ τῆς πεντεκοστῆς ἡμέρᾳ τελεῖται προέλευσις κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς τοῦ σεβασμίου πάσχα). Text and translation in: Bury 1911, 168, 172.

63 Cf. Parani 2003, 23.

64 These smaller relics are no longer housed within the Limburg Staurotheke, but are contained within a new cross-type reliquary crafted by Wilhelm Rauscher in 1908 which allows the relics to be seen, unlike in the Byzantine reliquary. This smaller see-through reliquary is housed in the same room as the Staurotheke today in the diocesan museum in Limburg. Cf. Heuser/Kloft 2009, 191.

65 John 19:30.

66 Although this time in the traditional order, with Mary on the right side and John on the left. Cf. Koder 1989, 177–179.

3.4.3 Six-winged, many-eyed: tetramorphs and their significance on the Staurotheke

The compartment lids, besides bearing centrally placed descriptive labels of the relics contained within them in clear, majuscule Greek, are all adorned with angelic beings which are also labelled and surround the relic designation, with one figure on either side (see Fig. 9 above). Six of the lids (on rows 1, 3, and 4) are labelled "powers" (ἐξουσίαι) and depict angelic beings adorned with six polychromatic wings (two folded above visible heads, two hanging at the sides, and two folded above visible feet). The other four lids (rows 2 and 5) are labelled "rulers" (ἀρχαίαι [written APXAIE][67]) and depict angelic beings with four wings covered in eyes (two folded above, two folded below), with hands and feet visible, and each figure bearing four heads, one definitively anthropomorphic, one bird-like, and the other two of different but ambiguous animals; each of these figures is accompanied by two red wheels, one on either side of the feet, with seem to have six blue diamond-shaped spokes apiece. The combinations of imagery and titles with the angelic beings on the compartment lids seem at first glance to be a bit confused. Heavenly beings with six wings covering faces and feet (represented here by the upward and downward crossed pairs of wings) would seem to depict the seraphim as mentioned in the vision of Isaiah,[68] while those with four wings covered in eyes and with the four different heads seems to reflect the descriptions of the biblical cherubim found in Ezekiel;[69] such tetramorphs are very common in Byzantine imagery.[70] From the scriptural narratives, the seraphim and cherubim are closest in proximity to God himself from amongst the orders of heavenly beings: they stand above his throne,[71] they serve as his footstool and chariot,[72] they guard the entrance to Eden,[73] and images of the cherubim were made to rest above the ark of the covenant.[74] The seraphim and cherubim are also classed as the first and

67 The nominalised adjective ἀρχαία, dialectal ἀρχαίη (sg.), ἀρχαίαι (pl.) can also be simply equivalent in meaning to the word ἀρχή ("rule, governance"; cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἀρχαῖος"), which aligns more with the numerous scriptural passages using the word ἀρχή to denote both earthly rule(rs) and spiritual power(s), whether good or evil. The spelling of the term that ends in -ε rather than -αι reflects pronunciation changes in Middle Byzantine Greek, when the Ancient Greek diphthong /ai/ was monophthongised to /e/; cf. Holton et al. 2019, 9.

68 Cf. Isa 6:1–7.

69 Cf. Ezek 1:5–11. A similar being with a merging of these sets of characteristics (many heads, many eyes, but six wings instead of four) is found in Rev 4:6–9.

70 Cf. Pallas 1971 and Recker 2023. The latter work appeared too late to be considered here, although I do note briefly that the Limburg Staurotheke is conspicuously absent from Recker's study.

71 Isa 6:2.

72 2 Kgdms 22:11, Ps 17:11, Isa 37:16.

73 Gen 3:24.

74 Exod 25:18–22.

second ranks, respectively, of the nine total ranks of angels in Pseudo-Dionysios's influential theological treatise *On the Celestial Hierarchy* from the turn of the fifth century AD.[75] Here, however, the entities are called "powers" and "rulers", which in the Pseudo-Dionysian ranking constitute the sixth and seventh orders of angels, respectively,[76] but which Gregory of Nyssa in the fourth century also considered as appellations for the seraphim and cherubim.[77] How might we understand or interpret this contradiction or mixture of images and titles on the reliquary compartment lids, given the context of the object and what I perceive to be its central preoccupation with manifesting and expressing imperial sacrality?

Historians of Byzantine art have noted that confusion exists up through the 12th century in terms of painters and iconographers mixing and matching names of angelic ranks with various characteristic traits in their depiction, deriving perhaps from the fact that Greek-speaking artisans could readily understand what was meant by liturgical descriptions of such angels as being "many-eyed" (πολυόμματα) and "six-winged" (ἑξαπτέρυγα), but what the terms *cherub*[*im*] and *seraph*[*im*] denoted was not unambiguously clear.[78] The liturgical texts themselves, such as in the anaphora of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, could also have been an occasion for the mix-up, with hearers not quite understanding the chiastic structure in the description of these celestial ministrants around the throne of God: "the cherubim and the seraphim, six-winged, many-eyed, high aloft, feathered" (τὰ χερουβίμ καὶ τὰ σεραφίμ, ἑξαπτέρυγα, πολυόμματα, μετάρσια, πτερωτά).[79]

75 Pseudo-Dionysios, *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, ed. by Heil/Ritter, 6–7.

76 Pseudo-Dionysios, *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, ed. by Heil/Ritter, 8.1, where Pseudo-Dionysios writes of "the divine authorities and powers" (τῶν θείων ἐξουσιῶν καὶ δυνάμεων).

77 Cf. Peers 2001, 46 (who cites here De' Maffei 1982, 100, n. 52), provides the source as being Gregory of Nyssa, *Refutation of the Confession of Eunomios*, ed. by Migne, PG 45:556C: "They will especially say that all things have come into being through him [sc. God], and that this is so on account of their being included in all things. To them we shall say that 'all things came into being through him' [John 1:3], and what came about, as Paul says, were visible and invisible things, thrones, authorities, rulers, dominions, powers; the cherubim and seraphim are amongst those referred to as 'thrones' and 'powers' by Paul (Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ γεγενῆσθαι πάντως ἐροῦσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πᾶσι συμπεριειλῆφθαι καὶ τοῦτο, πρὸς οὓς ἐροῦμεν ὅτι Πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο· ἐγένετο δέ, καθὼς ὁ Παῦλός φησι, ὁρατὰ καὶ ἀόρατα, θρόνοι, ἐξουσίαι, ἀρχαί, κυριότητες, δυνάμεις· ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀπηριθμημένοις διὰ τῶν θρόνων τε καὶ τῶν δυνάμεων, τὰ χερουβὶμ καὶ τὰ σεραφὶμ ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου κατείληκται) (translation mine).

78 Cf. Pallas 1971, 55–56.

79 Pallas 1971, 59. Scholarship into the history of the Divine Liturgy holds that in the early Middle Byzantine period, the Liturgy of Saint Basil the Great of Caesarea, with its longer anaphora and prayers, was more common; however, by the beginning of the 11th century, Ekvt'ime Mtac'mindeli (also known as Euthymios of the Holy Mountain), abbot from 1005 to 1016 of the then-Georgian-speaking monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, notes in a series of questions and answers that already by this point in time, people were preferring the anaphora of Saint John Chrysostom for its brevity. Based on this and other euchological evidence, Stefano Parenti in his study on this transition posits that the

The compartment lids on the Staurotheke are simply a tenth-century continuation of this Middle Byzantine linguistic and artistic confusion of the heavenly hosts.

Yet the Limburg Staurotheke is no provincial production in which spare parts and confused programming are fused together. Given its location in the Great Palace (probably in the Pharos chapel next to the imperial bedchamber), the number and sanctity of the relics housed within, the luxurious and meticulous quality of the enamel[80] and craftsmanship elsewhere on the reliquary, and the high status of its patron[81] Basil Lakapēnos, the Staurotheke and its art are much more likely to have been fashioned with a clear (although not necessarily unambiguous) programme in mind. Johannes Koder has posited that all thirty angelic figures depicted on the inside of the Staurotheke be taken as a whole to represent the thirty *silentiarioi* or court officials[82] who attended the emperor as mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies* and/or singers and choristers singing praises to the emperor in imitation of the angels in heaven.[83] This interpretation would create an interesting parallel between the lid and the interior: one would see at first Christ enthroned at the centre, surrounded by the deësis scene and encompassed by the disciples, the ministers of the Gospel par excellence; removing this, the eye would then move to

change from the longer Basilian liturgy to the shorter Chrysostomian one had already begun before the ninth and tenth centuries, gaining momentum in monastic communities in Constantinople in the ninth century. Cf. Parenti 2001, esp. 911 and 922.

80 On Byzantine enamel in general and its impact on Western medieval art, see the brief but definitive essays by Buckton 1988, Buckton 1995, and Buckton 1996.

81 During his lengthy tenure as parakoimōmenos, Basil was able to commission many objects and introduce his taste (and power) into different contexts. Though any commissioning of a luxury object would involve discussions between patron and workshop and some compromises perhaps on design and scope, it is reasonable in the case of the objects associated with Basil to assume the greatest amount of input from him as a politically powerful and well-educated patron from the highest echelons of Byzantine society, who furthermore had the best workshops of the empire at his disposal in the capital; here I disagree with the strong claim put forward by Cutler that "in almost no case in Byzantium can it be shown that the person who paid for the work also had a determinative role in its design" (Cutler 1994b, 299), primarily based on my reading of the positioning of John the Baptist on the Staurotheke cover above and the three examples of a highly marked 'reversed' deësis in the ivory triptychs discussed above. For more on Basil's power and patronage, see: Bouras 2008 (who notes in her study gifts made by Basil to Western envoys, which would in turn serve to project his taste beyond Byzantine borders); Wander 2012, 93–132; Bevilacqua 2012; and Featherstone 2014. On ivory and ivory workshops in the Middle Byzantine period, see: Cutler 1994a, esp. pp. 66–78. On Byzantine enamel works, see: Wessel 1967, Hetherington 1988, and Hetherington 2006. On the intersection of art and politics in Byzantium more broadly, see: Cutler 1984, Cormack 1992, Cutler 1995; and for the later Byzantine period, esp. vis-à-vis patronal inscriptions, see: Drpić 2016.

82 The silentiarioi were palace officials charged with maintaining security and silence; cf. "Silentiarios" in *ODB* 3:1896.

83 Koder 1989, 179–180, who also mentions Treitinger 1956, 78.

the cross, interpreted in Byzantine theology as a divine throne,[84] surrounded by ministers who themselves are 'aflame'—namely, the seraphim.[85] Koder's interpretation of the interior programme of the Staurotheke, however, does not take into account the labelling of the angels, and I believe that the mixture of images and titles here is a key to unlocking other interpretive possibilities.

For a luxury object closely associated with the emperor in the Great Palace, it is not surprising to find cherubim and seraphim, the highest-ranking angels, decorating the Staurotheke. The reliquary contains the most precious relics of the Christian church within itself, functioning not merely as a case but also as a new "ark" (κιβωτός): this word is used in Byzantine hymnography to refer to reliquaries,[86] but I would offer here that we might also be seeing in the enamel angels a reproduction in miniature of the ark of the covenant, with cherubim on the compartment lids 'hovering above' the sacred treasures within.[87] Contained within the ancient ark of Israel was the rod of Aaron, dead wood which budded forth flowers;[88] here

84 This theme finds expression in how Byzantine theology interprets Ps 98:5 ("Exalt the Lord our God, and worship at his footstool, for he is holy") and Ps 131:7 ("We shall enter into his tabernacles with thanksgiving, we shall worship at the place where his feet stood") to refer typologically to Christ on the cross, and thus transfigure the place of crucifixion into a place of royal session. For a recent study on this kind of typological reading of the Old Testament, see: Bucur 2019, esp. pp. 138–156.

85 Cf. Ps 103:4: "[The Lord] who makes spirits (winds) into his messengers (angels) and a flame of fire into his ministers" (ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ πυρὸς φλόγα).

86 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "κιβωτός, ἡ". On the term's usage in particular vis-à-vis relics in the period immediately before that studied here, see Sprecher 2023.

87 Near-contemporary examples of such many-winged cherubim hovering over the ark in artistic depictions can be found in the three extant Byzantine illustrated manuscripts of Kosmas Indikopleustēs's *Christian Topography*: a ninth-century copy contained in MS Vat. gr. 699, fol. 48r, available online at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.699 (accessed 06/04/2022); an 11th-century copy, contained in MS Florence Laurenziana Plutei IX 28, fol. 112v, available online at http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWODj05nI1A4r7GxL9fD#/oro/234 (accessed 06/04/2022); and another 11th-century copy, contained in MS Sinai gr. 1186, fol. 82r, available online at: https://www.loc.gov/resource/amedmonastery.00271076642-ms/?sp=86&st=imag (accessed 06/04/2022). These miniatures and manuscripts have been the basis of two studies: Mouriki-Charalambous 1970 and Brubaker 1977. Similar depictions of many-winged cherubim above the ark in the tabernacle of witness are to be found in two 12th-century manuscripts illuminated by the monk James of the Kokkinobaphos monastery: MS Vat. gr. 1162, fol. 133v, available online at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1162 (accessed 06/04/2022); and MS BNF Paris. gr. 1208, fol. 181v, available online at: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723812k/f194.item (accessed 06/04/2022). On these manuscripts and their artistic programmes, see: Linardou 2004, Linardou 2007, and Evangelatou 2014 (which also includes a colour reproduction of the miniature in MS Paris. gr. 1208 [ibid., 261, Fig. 24]).

88 Cf. Num 17:25, Heb 9:4. The account in 3 Kgdms 8:9 states that only the two stone tablets of the law lay within the ark, but the statement comes in the lengthier passage of King Solomon uttering the consecration prayer of the first temple and thus also points to the Israelite king as a sacred figure.

we find concealed within this new "ark" the wood of the cross, an instrument of death and torture, which buds forth with life for the Church[89] and victory for both God and emperor (a motif even more 'hidden' on the back of the Staurotheke, to which I shall return below). Yet these same angels that look like seraphim and cherubim are called "authorities" and "rulers". In *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, Pseudo-Dionysios writes that these authorities "have not abused their authoritative power to base ends in tyrannical fashion, but are rather led unbounded on high to divine things in good order, and also lead those after them [sc. the lower angelic ranks] in goodly manner, and are likened, insofar as God allows, to the source of authority which grants authority, and which they make visible as far as possible to the angels amongst the well-ordered ranks of the authoritative power in accordance with this authority",[90] while the "rulers", who signify divine authority and rule, "have wholly turned themselves towards the Rule above all rule and lead others [sc. angelic ranks] in a ruling manner and are modelled after this [Rule] as far as possible and display the rule-granting Rule as well as its superessential ruling order to the well-ordered body of the angelic powers."[91] Depicting the highest heavenly powers fluttering above the holy relics and around the cross of Christ while calling them by instantly understandable Greek names denoting power and might (rather than via the recognisable Hebrew terms, whose denotation but not etymology would be readily understood), the iconographic programme within the Limburg Staurotheke could be seen in its context within the Great Palace and the Pharos chapel to be further cementing the link between heavenly and human rule and authority. Christ's life finds summary in the selection of Passion relics included, and heavenly and earthly ministers attend both the cross and Christ enthroned in glory in the enamel icons. Basil Lakapēnos spared no expense in the adornment and crafting of this unique reliquary; even the back/bottom of the Staurotheke is decorated with a flowering cross standing on a raised platform.[92] Yet despite

89 See above this chapter, n. 6.

90 Pseudo-Dionysios, *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, ed. by Heil/Ritter, 8.1: οὐ τυραννικῶς ἐπὶ τὰ χείρω ταῖς ἐξουσιαστικαῖς δυνάμεσιν ἀποκεχρημένης ἀλλ' ἀκρατήτως ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα μετ' αὐτὴν ἀγαθοειδῶς ἀναγούσης, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσιοποιὸν ἐξουσιαρχίαν ὡς θεμιτὸν ἀφομοιουμένης καὶ ταύτην ὡς δυνατὸν ἀγγέλοις ἀναλαμπούσης ἐν ταῖς κατ' αὐτὴν εὐκόσμοις τάξεσι τῆς ἐξουσιαστικῆς δυνάμεως (translation mine). The use of the singular here in the Greek derives from earlier on in the passage, where the grammatical subject in an accusative-infinitive clause is "the explanatory name of the holy dominions … and of the holy powers … and of the holy authorities" (τῶν μὲν οὖν ἁγίων κυριοτήτων **τὴν ἐκφαντορικὴν ὀνομασίαν** … τὴν δὲ τῶν ἁγίων δυνάμεων … τὴν δὲ τῶν ἁγίων ἐξουσιῶν) (emphasis mine).

91 Pseudo-Dionysios, *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, ed. by Heil/Ritter, 9.1: τὸ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεράρχιον ἀρχὴν αὐτάς τε ὁλικῶς ἐπεστάφθαι καὶ ἑτέρων ἀρχικῶς ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκείνην ὡς δυνατὸν ἀποτυποῦσθαι τὴν ἀρχοποιὸν ἀρχὴν ἀναφαίνειν τε τὴν ὑπερούσιον αὐτῆς ταξιαρχίαν τῇ τῶν ἀρχικῶν εὐκοσμίᾳ δυνάμεων (translation mine).

92 See n. 6 above; also Koder 1989, 182, who notes the so-called *Stufenkreuz* motif here; cf. also Ericsson 1968, which Koder mentions.

Basil's name on the outer inscription, the clear focus in the collection of relics and imagery in this reliquary is on divine protection and power, funnelled through the cross and other Passion relics, housed in the Great Palace near the emperor, and the presence of imperial names joined to the cross itself in the inmost inscription. The divine and the human, the sacred and the imperial, are fused together in the combination of word and image, wood and stone. How this fusion might have functioned or been activated, though, depends on how the Staurotheke (and in particular, the relic of the True Cross, which could be removed) was used: in other words, on the relic's/reliquary's performance and the potential audiences of such performance.

3.5 The Staurotheke and relic performance

Following Koder's reading of the *Book of Ceremonies* above, we can identify the storage location of the Limburg Staurotheke prior to its seizure in the Fourth Crusade as being within the Great Palace, and more specifically probably within the Pharos chapel. In many Byzantine churches, including those throughout the capital of Constantinople and those in the palace, relics were venerated by the faithful in the course of specific pilgrimages or on the feasts of the saints in question.[93] Yet while the Middle Byzantine period provides evidence of frequent or repeated processions involving icons,[94] there does not seem to have been a comparable movement of relics outside of the churches to which they had been respectively translated after such translation, save for the relics of the True Cross, which were processed throughout the city each year in August.[95] Remaining hidden away in sacred repositories and believed to be special storehouses of spiritual blessing and power, relics invited the faithful to seek them out, to 'uncover' them anew from their cloths and boxes, to glimpse or kiss them and thus come close to the saint or event associated with the specific sacred object.[96] But not all objects remained stationary, waiting for the pious to come to them. The very structure of the Limburg Staurotheke, considered first apart from any other historical evidence, seems to go against this trend: the central cross relic can be removed from the larger reliquary, and the inscription on the back of this particular relic would suggest a reader or

93 Several key studies on the role of relics in the Byzantine capital from its imperial founding up to the Fourth Crusade are available in: Mercati 1936, Meinardus 1970, Mango 1990, Mergiali-Sahas 2001, Wortley 2009, Pentcheva 2012, Sullivan 2012, and Hahn/Klein 2015. On relics depicted within iconographic programmes, see: Šalina 2005.

94 Cf. Janin 1966; also Manopoulou 2016 and Brubaker/Wickham 2021.

95 As outlined in the *Book of Ceremonies*, II.8; cf. below this chapter, n. 115.

96 On relics as inviting both examination and performance, see Pentcheva 2008 and Pentcheva 2012. On the issue of the hiddenness of relics, particularly in the Western medieval context, see chapter 2 above, n. 286.

audience for this relic apart from and outside its larger case (more on audiences below). This special status of both cross relic and greater reliquary as being movable relics that could 'perform' or function in spaces outside the Pharos chapel seems to be reflected in several literary sources of the period, which in turn suggest possible audiences for the objects. It is to these texts that we now turn.

3.5.1 The *Book of Ceremonies*

The tenth-century compilation of historic and then-current court practice and etiquette in Constantinople, known as the *Book of Ceremonies*, outlines the imperial protocol for everyday and special occasions, including high church feasts and the emperor's activities thereon.[97] Included in the ceremonies outlined are those related to the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (September 14),[98] the procession of the cross (August 1),[99] and the veneration of the cross on the third Sunday in Great Lent,[100] all of which explicitly mention the movement of relics of the cross from the Great Palace to other sacred spaces and out into the city.

On the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross in September, the ceremonial text tells us that the emperor venerates "the precious woods" (τὰ τίμια ξύλα) in the Small

97 The title *Book of Ceremonies* derives from the Latin title (*De ceremoniis aulae Byzantinae*) given to the work by Johannes Henricus Majus, a colleague of the 18th-century German scholar and book collector Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach (1683–1734), adopted by Johann Albert Fabricius in his description of the text within his *Biblioteca Graeca* (1705–1728, with later revisions and additions by Gottlieb Christoph Harless from 1790–1812), and later used in the edition prepared by Johann Jakob Reiske and published at Bonn in 1829/1830. The term then became common in German, French, and English parlance. A Greek title is sometimes given, "Explanation and Presentation of the Order of the Palace" (ἡ τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως ἔκθεσίς τε καὶ ὑποτύπωσις), taken from the prologue of the text, but no such title per se precedes the work. The *Book of Ceremonies* survives (mostly) complete in a single medieval manuscript, MS Universitätsbibliothek Leipzig Rep. I 17 in Leipzig (a digitalised copy is available online at: https://digital.ub.uni-leipzig.de/object/viewid/0000013160 (accessed 25/09/2023). The latest critical edition of the text, together with a complete French-language translation, commentary, glossary, and indices, has been edited by Dagron and Flusin; a thorough overview of the background of the text and the manuscript transmission history can be found therein in 1:3–192. The Greek text as printed in their edition is used throughout the present study. A complete English-language translation of the *Book of Ceremonies*, together with introduction, glossary, indices, and a reproduction of the edition prepared by Reiske, has been prepared by Moffatt and Tall. Studies on the surviving manuscripts of the text are available in: Bury 1907, Rochow 1976, Featherstone 2002, and Featherstone/Grusková/Kresten 2006.

98 *Book of Ceremonies* I.31.

99 *Book of Ceremonies* II.8. Note that the dates are presented in the text according to the Byzantine calendar year, which began on September 1 and ended on August 31.

100 *Book of Ceremonies* II.11.

Sekreton[101] above the southwestern vestibule of the narthex of Hagia Sophia,[102] whither they had been brought from the Great Palace by the referendary at some time prior to the celebration of the festal vigil.[103] The emperor himself then escorts the same "precious woods" down into the narthex, through the imperial doors, and into the nave, where he meets the patriarch. The two then enter the sanctuary and venerate the Gospels before proceeding out to the ambo[104] in the centre of the church, where ceremony dictates that the emperor ascend up to the third or fourth step of the ambo, at which point the patriarch meets him at the ambo and elevates the cross in blessing in the four cardinal directions. The relic of the cross is then set forth for public veneration while the emperor departs again to the palace.[105]

Several textual details here hint at a possible identification of the relic of the cross within the Limburg Staurotheke as being the relic used in this rite on this feast in September. Contrary to the English translation of the *Book of Ceremonies* by Moffatt and Tall, the cross relic is referred to consistently in the Greek text as "precious woods" (τίμια ξύλα): a plural noun, rather than a simple singular "wood" (ξύλον) or the perhaps expected "cross" (σταυρός).[106] The use of the plural here in my view could be a reference to, and reflection of, the composite nature of the Staurotheke's relic of the True Cross, which consisted of several wooden fragments. The emperor is described as standing on the third or fourth step of the ambo with the cross in hand; if Dagron and Flusin's dating of the various portions of the text is correct, this ceremony for September 14 goes back to the reign of Michael III (847–867),[107] predating the Staurotheke's creation and inscriptions by close to a century. Interestingly, the back of the Staurotheke's case depicts a blossoming cross elevated on a platform of four steps; Koder has noted that such stepped crosses or *Stufenkreuze* are a sign of imperial triumph,[108] which would further undergird the associations of this specific cross relic with the imperial person and creating

101 The term *sekreton* (Gr. σέκρετον, borrowed from Lat. *secretarium*) generally meant a governmental bureau or court tribunal; in this context, however, the Small Sekreton refers to a small reception room above the southwestern ramp in Hagia Sophia (the Large Sekreton was above the southwestern vestibule) which was occupied by the offices of the patriarchate. Cf. "Sekreton" in *ODB* 3:1866; Dagron/Flusin 2020, 6:103 (glossary), who also mention Mango 1959, 51–54.

102 *Book of Ceremonies* I.31.

103 This detail is not noted in the Leipzig manuscript (and is consequently also missing from the Dagron/Flusin edition), but *is* included in the praxapostolos MS Dresden SLB Gr. A. 104, dated to between the tenth and 12th centuries, fol. 134v. See Akent'ev 2008, 97; cf. also Tucker 2023, 138–141.

104 This was a central stepped platform in the centre of Hagia Sophia; cf. "Ambo" in *ODB* 1:75–76.

105 Ceremony outlined in *Book of Ceremonies* I.31.

106 This plural translation is brought out in the French-language translation, which uses *les précieux Bois*; cf. Dagron/Flusin 2020, 1:230.

107 Dagron/Flusin 2020, 1:119.

108 Cf. Koder 1989, 182.

a parallel between the imagery on the outside of the case with the naming of the emperors on the cross inscription. Placing such a stepped cross on the back of the Staurotheke also parallels the placement of such stepped crosses on the reverse of some Byzantine imperial coinage beginning under Tiberius II (r. 578–582)—a motif significantly employed by Hērakleios on gold solidi in the early seventh century after the retrieval of the True Cross from the Persians, and used as late as under the post-Crusade Palaiologan rulers—in which imperial visages are clearly linked with this specific depiction of the cross.[109] Péter Somogyi has claimed that the stepped cross motif was merely used by Hērakleios to show a decisive change from the policy and tenure of his predecessor in imperial office, the usurper Phokas (r. 602–610), and that Hērakleios's descendants maintained this specific depiction of the cross simply to show dynastic continuity.[110] This reading of the evidence both disregards the earlier coinage bearing this type of imagery and does not explain the re-use of this specific imagery by later Byzantine rulers on coinage after the demise of this dynasty.

Moreover, while some have opined that the *Stufenkreuz* motif represents the cross as the apex of Christian virtues,[111] more convincing to my mind is seeing a link between this iconography and the jewelled cross (*crux gemmata*) erected by Emperor Theodosios II at Golgotha in Jerusalem in the early fifth century, a notion posited by Heba Gayed.[112] Within the sacred complex of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, one must 'ascend' several steps to Golgotha from the entrance into the church; these steps along with curtains that might have formed part of a templon in front of the altar and/or area where the jewelled cross stood are also depicted on a late-sixth- or early-seventh-century metal pilgrim's ampulla.[113] Similarly, the central bema in Hagia Sophia was stepped and marked by colonnades and curtains, which would thus enable one to create a visual parallel between the coin and Calvary, with both the gold solidus and the grave of Golgotha being tied to an anointed one, a *christos*, a connection discussed at greater length later on in this chapter. Besides being visualised via the steps of the bema, the connection of Golgotha to the liturgical rite of blessing with the cross in Hagia Sophia also subtly underscores the narrower meaning of 'new Zion' to be the imperial palace; as the Christ is crucified outside the Holy City, so too is this rite of elevation done outside of the palace and in the cathedral. Certainly, Hagia Sophia was a much larger and much more 'public' venue than any

109 The Dumbarton Oaks Coin Collection provides images, transcriptions, and descriptions of more than fifty Byzantine coins presenting this combination of imperial portrait on the obverse and stepped cross on the reverse, ranging in date from the late sixth century under Tiberius II to the late 13th century under Michael VIII Palaiologos (r. 1258/1259–1282). Cf. https://www.doaks.org/resources/coins/catalogue#b_start=0&c6=stepped (accessed 26/09/2023).

110 Somogyi 2016, 149.

111 As noted in Gayed 2018, 921.

112 Gayed 2018, 922–923.

113 Cf. Gayed 2018, 923 (Fig. 8), who cites here the still-essential work on these pilgrim souvenirs, Grabar 1958, plate X.

of the palatine chapels and for those reasons alone—not to mention the key role played by the patriarch in this rite—made sense as the location for the festivities, but this logical explanation need not mean that a symbolic equation of cathedral with Golgotha on this feast, and thus implicitly again of the palace as Zion, might not also have resonated with Byzantine viewers of the spectacle.

Finally, the additional ceremonial information provided in the MS Dresden Sächsische Landesbibliothek Gr. A. 104, dated variously between the tenth and 12th centuries,[114] notes that the "precious woods" used in the rite of elevation were not cross relics kept at Hagia Sophia, but rather ones brought from the Great Palace by the referendary, who in turn received them from the *papias* or palace gatekeeper;[115] moreover, the Dresden manuscript also notes that the precious woods were brought to the cathedral in their "case" (θήκη), only referring to the relic in the singular as "the cross" (ὁ δὲ σταυρός) once the elevation rites have been completed.[116] I believe, then, that these details all suggest that the cross relic in the Limburg Staurotheke could have been both "the cross" and "the precious woods" used to bless the church and world on the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross.

The next rite mentioned in the *Book of Ceremonies* that involved the relics of the True Cross is the procession of the cross throughout the palace precincts and out into the city, rites that were several days long and date to the early part of Constantine VII's reign according to Dagron and Flusin.[117] Here, we find mention of a single "precious and lifegiving cross" rather than several "precious woods".[118] The initial veneration is made by the sovereigns in the Chrysotriklinos hall, after which the cross is brought out from the skeuophylakion of the Great Palace[119] and paraded around the entire palace and city:

> Then the *papias* raises the precious cross above his head, wearing, that is to say, a *skaramangion* and true-purple *sagion.*[120] Escorted by the imperial clergy and the *protopapas* of the Church of St Stephen of the Palace of Daphne and stewards

114 Cf. Tucker 2023, 138–141.

115 Akent'ev 2008, 97.

116 Akent'ev 2008, 104.

117 To wit, ca. AD 946–950. Cf. Dagron/Flusin 2020, 1:133.

118 *Book of Ceremonies* II.8. The section is entitled in the manuscript "What must be observed on the first of August, when the precious and life-giving cross comes out" (Ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Αὐγούστου μηνός, τοῦ τιμίου καὶ ζωοποιοῦ Σταυροῦ ἐξερχομένου) (Dagron/Flusin 2020, 3:57).

119 This was the place housing the precious liturgical vessels and/or relics of a church; Hagia Sophia had its own skeuophylakion, but Dagron/Flusin 2020, 3:56, believe this mention to be referring to the Pharos chapel, given the involvement of the papias, the eunuch in charge of palace facilities; cf. "Papias" in *ODB* 3:1580 and "Skeuophylax" in *ODB* 3:1909–1910.

120 The skaramangion was a short tunic adapted from riding dress and common in the Middle Byzantine period, while the sagion was a similar kind of cloak derived from military dress; on both terms, cf. Parani 2003, 348.

> of the Palace, all carrying candles, it goes through both the terrace and the Chrysotriklinos, and is led away and set up in the Lausiakos Hall on the left-hand side, in front of the door of the Chapel of St Basil, for the obeisance of all the senate. After the obeisance, it is again carried by the *papias,* that is to say, escorted by those previously mentioned, and is put away in the Palace of Daphne in the Church of St Stephen the Protomartyr. The cross begins on July 28th to go around and to sanctify every place and every house of this God-guarded and imperial City, but especially the walls themselves, so that both this City and the whole area around it are filled with grace and holiness. This continues until August 13th. On the morning of the 13th of the said month, it goes into the Sacred Palace and is set up on the throne which is in the Chrysotriklinos. The palace-stewards sing the customary Crucifixion hymns and, when the prayer of supplication has been said by the *protopapas* of the Palace of Daphne, they give the response, "Making strong", as usual. Immediately the cross is raised again by the *papias* and, escorted by the *protopapas* of the Palace of Daphne and the palace-stewards, it goes around sanctifying the bedchambers and the whole Palace. Then it is put away in the Chapel of St Theodore, and in the evening the *papias* and the deputy carry it to the Church of the Theotokos of the Pharos, and hand it over to the sacristan.[121]

We see here that a single relic is taken out from the Pharos chapel and sent forth by the emperor(s) to bless palace, city, walls, the imperial bedchamber: essentially, the protective power of the cross connects all the city to the emperor and his dwelling place.

In their commentary on these rubrics, Dagron and Flusin note the singular use of "cross" here and speak also of the third instance in which cross relics find occasion for performance in Constantinople: namely, the third Sunday of Great Lent. There, the *Book of Ceremonies* mentions "the precious crosses"[122] that are brought out for veneration from the same palatine skeuophylakion, i.e., the Pharos chapel: one is brought to the so-called New Church, one is brought to several stations by the *papias*, and one remains in the Great Palace.[123] Dagron and Flusin suggest that the three crosses here are three complete cruciform relics: a larger one, which they posit as being the one contained in the Limburg Staurotheke, and two

121 *Book of Ceremonies* II.8; translation from Moffatt/Tall 2017, 539–540.

122 *Book of Ceremonies* II.11: "What must be observed when the precious crosses are about to come out in the middle week of the holy forty days [sc. of Great Lent]" (Ὅσα δεῖ παραφυλάττειν, τῶν τιμίων σταυρῶν μελλόντων ἐξιέναι τῇ μέσῃ ἑβδομάδι τῆς ἁγίας Τεσσαρακοστῆς) (Dagron/Flusin 2020, 3:71).

123 *Book of Ceremonies* II.11. In the case of the third cross, Dagron and Flusin believe this to indicate the Pharos chapel. The text reads: "The other cross remains in the holy palace" (Ὁ δὲ ἕτερος σταυρὸς ἐναπομένει ἐν τῷ Ἱερῷ Παλατίῳ), on which statement the editors comment: "Il faut sans doute comprendre que cette troisième croix ne quitte pas l'église de la Théotokos du Phare, c'est-à-dire le Palais" (Dagron/Flusin 2020, 3:72, n. 11).

smaller ones.[124] Neither the sources nor the French scholars provide any hints as to which of the three crosses remained in the Pharos chapel on this occasion. However, given that the smaller crosses would probably be easier to carry for a longer amount of time than the larger one, and the fact that the larger one (i.e., the one in the Staurotheke) remaining in its reliquary ensemble would present a more sensible and complete aesthetic and spiritual programme amidst the other relics and enamel iconography as opposed to the cross-less Staurotheke and a smaller cross left in the Pharos chapel for veneration, I can only surmise that the cross within the Staurotheke on this occasion is the one that remained in the Great Palace for veneration by the imperial family and palace elites in the middle of the Great Fast. Given this constellation of crosses, one can see the power and blessing of the cross being extended in Great Lent—as at the beginning and ending of the Byzantine calendar year—out from the Great Palace to the entire city as a form of simultaneous divine and imperial philanthropy. Yet in my view, the abiding presence of the larger cross relic within the Limburg Staurotheke would not only ensure an enduring connection of the cross with the other Passion relics assembled there in a Lenten context, but would also firmly link the Passion and resurrection of Christ with the person of the emperor in the imperial chapel of the Lighthouse.

3.5.2 Two tenth-century military harangues by Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos

Beyond the *Book of Ceremonies*, there exist two other texts from the second half of the tenth century which reference the Passion relics and perhaps the Limburg Staurotheke. The two speeches, attributed to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, survive in a single codex of military treatises, MS Ambrosianus B 119 sup., an English-language translation and study of which has been published by Eric McGeer.[125] Following the work of the Italian Byzantinist Carlo Maria Mazzucchi, McGeer dates the first of Constantine VII's speeches to the latter part of the year 950,[126] with the second speech coming nearly a decade later in August or

124 Dagron/Flusin 2020, 4.2:665–666: "Aucune source ne permet de supposer qu'il existait alors d'autre relique que les trois croix mentionnées dans le *De cerimoniis* et bien localisées à la Théotokos du Phare, non à Sainte-Sophie. Les pèlerins qui visitent Constantinople avant le pillage de 1204, l'*Anonyme de Mercati* au XIIe siècle et Antoine de Novgorod en 1200, sont formels sur ce point; Robert de Clari, lui aussi, n'évoque que les morceaux de la croix de l'église du Phare, deux selon lui, 'gros comme la jambe d'un homme et longs d'une demi-toise.' Il est très probable que la stavrothèque du Xe siècle, pièce maîtresse du 'trésor du Palais,' avait à peu près la même forme et la même disposition que celle, byzantine mais un peu plus tardive, dans laquelle la relique arriva à Paris en 1241."

125 McGeer 2003. On the manuscript itself, see Dain 1967. On these orations in the manuscript and their status as models of protreptic or exhortative oratory, see also Eramo 2017.

126 McGeer 2003, 116.

September 958.[127] These texts are significant for understanding the sacrality of the emperor vis-à-vis the Passion relics in several ways. In the earlier speech, the divine character of the emperor is alluded to in the words addressed by the sovereign to the soldiers on the front: "I still want you men, my peculiar people, my strength and my indomitable might, emboldened by this faith, to fight against the enemy more eagerly than before."[128] The phrase "my peculiar people" (ὁ λάος μου περιούσιος), as McGeer notes, recalls Exodus 19:5, where God speaks to the people of Israel using the same adjective: "You shall be my peculiar [or: special] people" (ἔσεσθέ μοι λαὸς περιούσιος). Just as the Lord of Hosts spoke to the people in the wilderness, so too does the earthly Byzantine sovereign speak here to his armed hosts at the battle-front in the wilderness, further underscoring in my view a possible link between the sovereign and the divinity in their common address to and solicitude for the chosen people of Byzantium.

The allusions to the emperor as a Christ-like divine figure can also be seen at the end of the harangue, where rewards are promised for the gallantry in battle that will be reported back from the front lines to the emperor:

> [Y]ou will keep written records, so that when you come here you may tell us, in order that we will look with favour upon the men and deem them worthy of our praises and rewards. The strategoi who command the smaller themes will be transferred to larger ones, while the strategoi of larger themes will be honoured with gifts and other recompense, whereas the commanders of the tagmata and other units who fight courageously will be rewarded in proportion to their deeds, some to become tourmarchs, others kleisourarchs or topoteretai. Not only these men, but also the rest, members of the common soldiery who display the traits of valour, will receive their due reward. But we who now receive information through you about each soldier will soon not have you or any other witness to these men, but our eyes alone, and when we are present in person and beholding for ourselves the valour of each man, we will ourselves present awards to the combatants.[129]

127 McGeer 2003, 123.

128 McGeer 2003, 118.

129 McGeer 2003, 120. Several military offices and terms are mentioned in this passage. *Stratēgos* originally meant "general" but by the Middle Byzantine period, this term referred to military governors of imperial districts who held this post for a term of three or four years (cf. "Strategos" in *ODB* 3:1964); *tagmata* originally meant simply regiments of troops, but in the period under question, these were military units under the direct command of the emperor and his domestikoi, rather than under the stratēgoi of the surrounding districts (cf. "Tagma" in *ODB* 3:2007); *tourmarchai* were the military commanders second to the stratēgoi and in charge of smaller detachments called *tourmai*, hence their name (cf. "Tourma" and "Tourmarches" in *ODB* 3:2100–2101); *kleisourarchai* were the administrators of *kleisourai* or smaller geopolitical subdivisions of a theme or district (cf. "Kleisoura" in *ODB* 2:1132); *topotērētai* were lieutenants (a literal Greek equivalent of

The distribution of gifts and rewards for military service is not unusual in this context,[130] but given the sacred aura around the emperor as a quasi-Christ-like figure, a patristic/associative reading of this text may also be intended to recall the Parable of the Talents from the Gospels,[131] where servants faithful in small things are given greater prestige and reward, while the lazy servant is cast out from his master's service. Given the protreptic and exhortative nature of this speech, it is not surprising that Constantine VII does not mention what he might do, or give to, lazy and cowardly soldiers; but the emperor's promised acts of rewarding could be understood to mirror those of the Lord mentioned in the parable.

The second speech from 958 was sent from the emperor to be read to the soldiers preparing for the assault of Samosata by Basil Lakapēnos, who had been sent thither to support John Tzimiskēs in the endeavour.[132] The presence at the battlefront of the palatine parakoimōmenos, the artistic patron and courtier behind the creation of the Limburg Staurotheke, as the one declaiming this imperial speech is key, I believe, to understanding the relics and other saints mentioned in this harangue, as well as the increased proximity of the sovereign to the soldiers, which comes across through Constantine VII's relayed words. While the first speech in 950 likened the relationship between emperor and army to that between God and the chosen, 'peculiar' or special people of Israel, this later oration "forges closer bonds of unity and kinship between army and emperor", as McGeer writes,[133] with the emperor offering his own body and soul to the army and being linked to them in one body, just as the Christian church is to find unity in the common bond of the body of Christ:

> The sacred words of the holy Gospel, wishing to express the greatness of God the Father's love for [hu]mankind, say *For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son*[134] unto death, whereas I give not my only begotten son but my whole being, in body and soul, and I link and mix my flesh with your flesh and my bones with your bones, and I consider each one of my limbs united with and of common origin with you, and my very soul, one though it is, I distribute and divide among all of you, and I want my host assembled to be made animate and to be brought alive by me in the part that is mine.[135] *Children, whom I have*

the Greek term, meaning "place-holder") under the tourmarchai (cf. "Topoteretes" in *ODB* 3:2095–2096).

130 Cf. McGeer 2003, 120, nn. 46–47, which also refer to: McGeer 2000, 86–89; and Haldon 1984, 307–318, 328–337.

131 Cf. Matt 25:14–30, Luke 19:11–27.

132 McGeer 2003, 123, who notes here the historical source as being Theophanēs Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. by Bekker, p. 461, line 9–p. 462, line 4.

133 McGeer 2003, 124.

134 Cf. John 3:16.

135 This is not a direct quotation, but probably a reference to Ezek 37:1–14, where God promises the prophet that he will bring his spirit upon the bones of the dead house of Israel and resurrect them.

> *begotten through the Gospel*[136] and *implanted in the inheritance of God*,[137] whom God has raised to maturity and brought to the full measure of youthful vigour, accept the present exhortation issued to you from the very depth of my soul and the hidden chambers of my heart.[138]

The language of giving "not only [his] only begotten son, but [his] whole being" to the army, as well as allusions to sending his own spirit to revive them and to plant them in his inheritance, establishes Constantine VII for his hearers as being very much like unto God. We have here a speech proclaiming the divine characteristics of the emperor, delivered by the chief palace servant and blood relation Basil Lakapēnos, who thus serves in a way at the front lines in my reading as both prophet and forerunner for the sovereign, going before the emperor to prepare the latter's forces for battle and embodying in action John the Baptist, just as the Baptist, in my reading, typifies Basil on the Staurotheke.

But this oration is not only concerned with the emperor and Basil and the army: it is also concerned with relics, and a specific subset of them. In a lengthy passage, the emperor speaks of the succour he is providing his troops, derived from the holiest objects in the Great Palace:

> So that you may know how much I am on fire in my soul for you, that I am completely consumed, that I burn all over as I devote my exertions to your salvation and to *prospering you*,[139] behold, that after drawing (ἀπομυρίσαντες) holy water from the immaculate and most sacred relics of the Passion of Christ our True God—from the precious wooden fragments [of the True Cross] and the undefiled Lance, the precious Titulus, the wonder-working Reed, the life-giving blood which flowed from His precious rib, the most sacred Tunic, the holy swaddling clothes, the God-bearing winding sheet, and the other relics of His undefiled Passion—we have sent it to be sprinkled upon you, for you to be anointed by it and to garb yourselves with the divine power from on high. For I trust in my true God and Saviour Christ, that just as He restored and endowed the human race with life through the blood and water which flowed from His precious rib, so will He through the sprinkling of this holy water quicken and restore you and furnish you with confidence and might and domination against the enemy.[140]

As McGeer notes in his introduction to the second speech, this listing of Passion relics from the Great Palace is the first of its kind, pre-dating those from pilgrim accounts by nearly two centuries, and we know from the *Book of Ceremonies* (as

136 Cf. 1 Cor 4:14–15.
137 Cf. Exod 15:17.
138 McGeer 2003, 127–128 (italics his).
139 Cf. Ps 67:19.
140 McGeer 2003, 132–133 (italics his).

discussed above) that the "precious wooden fragments" of the cross were kept in the Pharos chapel.[141] The list of relics mentioned here, immersed or brought into contact with water to be sprinkled later in blessing, do not match perfectly with those contained in the Limburg Staurotheke, although a good degree of overlap does exist (cross fragments, swaddling bands, tunic, and perhaps the "other relics" mentioned). Given the dating of the speech, the involvement of Basil Lakapēnos with the commissioning of the reliquary and the delivery of this speech to the front-lines—as well as the Passion relics mentioned—it does seem possible that the assembly of relics mentioned here in the oration could in fact be those contained within the Limburg Staurotheke. This link is also suggested by the concluding doxology at the end of the emperor's speech, where the sovereign expresses a final wish to the soldiers: "that you may cause Our Majesty to be joyful and to rejoice in your achievements, and to be embellished by your heroic deeds through the intercession of the immaculate Mother of God, His mother, and all the incorporeal angelic powers, and the saints who have served Him from eternity and been martyred for His sake. Amen."[142] The Virgin Mary, the angelic hosts, and the martyrs had long been associated with military campaigns and defence of the Byzantine Empire before the 950s,[143] but the listing here has interesting parallels to the iconographic programme on the Limburg Staurotheke, where we find the Mother of God, the angelic powers, and several great-martyrs depicted.[144]

Additionally, some of the specific vocabulary in the final sections of this second military harangue are reminiscent of both the text and imagery of the Staurotheke.[145] The Greek word translated by McGeer as "embellished" here is ἐνωραϊζομένην, which has as its root the adjective ὡραῖος ("beautiful"), a word also used on the lid inscription to speak of Christ, who is said to be not outwardly beautiful or comely at his crucifixion. The context makes clear here that the embellishment is one of the emperor himself,[146] and thus the speech could also be seen in its closing lines to foreground a further similarity between divine beauty and the beauty of the sovereign. More interesting to my eye is the word which McGeer translates here as "relics". Throughout this passage describing the relics used to obtain the

141 McGeer 2003, 126.

142 McGeer 2003, 134.

143 For sources on this tradition, see above this chapter, n. 47.

144 Nancy P. Ševčenko has suggested that these parallels could mean that "[p]erhaps the Staurotheke was made for use away from the palace, away even from the city" as a field reliquary or imperial enkolpion offering protection in battle (N. Ševčenko 1994, 292–292).

145 I was able to consult the Greek text of this manuscript at the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan and to make a transcription of the text thanks to Mr Trifone Cellamaro, head librarian there, who arranged for me to consult the manuscript on site.

146 I follow McGeer's translation of the Greek text here, reading τὴν βασιλείαν ἡμῶν in the sense of "imperial majesty", a usage found both in the Septuagint and in later patristic authors, rather than as "empire"; cf. LSJ, s.v. "βασιλεία, ἡ"; Lampe, s.v. "βασιλεία, ἡ".

"sanctification" (ἁγίασμα) for the frontline soldiers, we do not find the customary word for such holy remnants (i.e., λείψανα), but rather "symbols" (σύμβολα), things representing something other and beyond what they themselves are. More than mere relics of holy men and women, the objects contained in the Limburg Staurotheke—like the Mandylion—represent the reality of the incarnation and the union of human and divine on earth in the body of Jesus Christ, a reality and presence transmitted to the objects that came into contact with this divine-human body. Engaging a patristic/associative reading here, the choice of the word σύμβολα rather than λείψανα could be seen as serving to heighten the sanctity of the blessed water being distributed.

The word choice could also perhaps point yet again in double reference to the emperor, whose palace held these 'symbols' and was thus sanctified. Perhaps a century after the creation of the Limburg Staurotheke, the monk and philosopher Michael Psellos, in a panegyric to Emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1055), speaks of the imperial palace as a divine place, synonymous with the tabernacle of witness and the ark of the covenant and containing the 'symbols' of truth which are suspended from the ceiling (a reference to the Mandylion and Keramion in the Pharos Chapel)[147] as well as of the emperor as distributing and dividing amongst his people divine waters.[148] Such an understanding of the emperor as performing

147 Michael Psellos, *Orations*, ed. by Kurtz, p. 28, l. 22, from a speech entitled "Of the same (sc. Michael), another speech to the same emperor [i.e., Constantine IX]" (Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἕτερος λόγος πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν βασιλέα): "Whither shall I then turn my gaze? To the divine imperial palace, to the tabernacle of witness, to the resting place of your ark, in which the symbols of the truth are suspended?" (Ποῖ τοίνυν ἄγω τὸν θεατήν; ἐπὶ τὸ θεῖον ἀνάκτορον, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ μαρτυρίου σκηνήν, ἐπὶ τὴν κατάπαυσιν τῆς σῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἔνθα τὰ τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπηώρηται σύμβολα;) (translation mine).

148 Michael Psellos, *Orations*, ed. by Kurtz, p. 30, l. 25, from the same speech: "For since the Creator wanted all virtue to dwell in one [human] from amongst all, he created for you an animate temple and fashioned for you a sunlike form; he imbued you with a breath/spirit not sullied by the baseness of matter. He set you upon the highest point of power, so that, as he is to you, you might be to us, sharing with us the sources from above and distributing them through pipes, so that each might receive as they are able. For you have been fixed as some kind of middle point between us and what is better: however much you lack in comparison to them, to that extent you exceed us" (βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς ἐνὶ τῶν πάντων ξύμπασαν καταχωρῆσαι τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔμψυχόν σοι δημιουργεῖ τέμενος καὶ πλάττει μέν σοι ἡλιῶσαν μορφήν, ἐμπνεῖ δέ σοι ψυχὴν μὴ μολυνομένην ταῖς τῆς ὕλης ἐσχατιαῖς· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀκροτάτης τοῦ κράτους περιωπῆς τίθησιν, ἵν', ὅπερ ἐκεῖνός ἐστι πρὸς σέ, τοῦτο σὺ πρὸς ἡμᾶς γίνῃ, μετοχετεύων ἡμῖν τὰς ἐκεῖθεν πηγὰς καὶ διαμερίζων ταύτας εἰς ὀχετούς, ἵν', ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστος δύνηται, δέξηται. ὥσπερ γάρ τι κέντρον μέσον τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ ἡμῶν πηξάμενος, ὅσον ἐκείνων λείπῃ, τοσοῦτον ὑπερανέχεις ἡμῶν) (translation mine). This notion of the emperor being the "middle point" calls to my mind scriptural passages from the New Testament which speak of Christ as precisely such a 'mediator' between God and humankind: cf. 1 Tim 2:5; Heb 8:6, 9:15.

a sacred and intermediary role could indeed derive from the language and rhetoric displayed in these earlier tenth-century texts.

One final document remains for us to examine as a possible source documenting part of the Limburg Staurotheke's relic collection and the sacred connection to the emperor: the illuminated *Menologion of Basil II* and the miniature depicting the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross contained therein.

3.5.3 The *Menologion of Basil II* and depictions of the cross relic

Dated to around 1000, the so-called *Menologion of Basil II* (MS Vatican Greek 1613) is a codex commissioned by Emperor Basil II Porphyrogennētos (r. 976–1025) that contains short saints' lives and miniature illuminations for most entries.[149] The text begins on September 1, the start of the Byzantine civil and ecclesiastical year, and continues to the end of February (no matching manuscript, whole or portion, for the remaining six months of the year has survived). One such miniature, for September 14, depicts the exaltation of the cross in a curious mixture of chronological references (Fig. 18).

The text on the folio for this date speaks of the origins of the feast, namely, the finding of the cross by Helena, mother of Emperor Constantine, in the fourth century and its 'exaltation' from beneath the earth. The date for the feast was then set on the day after the consecration of the Church of the Anastasis (the Holy Sepulchre, September 13), when the cross relic was brought out to the faithful for veneration.[150] In later centuries, after the loss of the relic to the Persians and its subsequent recovery by Emperor Hērakleios in 629, the cross was brought to Constantinople and kept in the Great Palace sometime around 637/638,[151] and in time the custom developed for the relic of the cross to be brought into the cathedral of Holy Wisdom on the feast and to be 'exalted' or lifted up in blessing over the faithful and the four corners of creation, as discussed above.

149 A black-and-white facsimile of the manuscript was printed in the early 20th century (cf. Cavalieri 1907), while a complete colour facsimile of the manuscript has been more recently produced in D'Aiuto/Martín 2005. Studies on the manuscript include: I. Ševčenko 1962, Rohmann 1999, D'Aiuto 2008, Zakharova 2010, D'Aiuto 2012, and N. Ševčenko 2013.

150 The history of this feast, emerging from the church at Jerusalem in the fifth century and spreading to Constantinople by the seventh century, is outlined with evidence in Tongeren 2000, 17–39. See also: Bernardakis 1902a, Bernardakis 1902b, and Hallit 1972. A discussion of the seventh-century sources and contemporary scholarship on the murky beginnings of the feast's celebration in Constantinople can be found in Tucker 2023, 393–397.

151 For a discussion of the problematic chronology across various sources on this event, see Klein 2004b, esp. pp. 42–43.

Fig. 18: Miniature of the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and accompanying text for September 14. MS Vat. gr. 1613, fol. 34v. Constantinople, 11th century. Vatican Library, Vatican City.

In the *Menologion*'s narrative text on this date, the newly-recovered cross was lifted up on a "high place" by Makarios, the bishop of Jerusalem, so that all the people wishing to behold the precious relic might catch a glimpse of it.[152] Turning to the image below the text, we see the bishop—marked out by the liturgical vestments of phelonion, cuffs, and omophorion/pallium—holding the cross aloft. Makarios was bishop of Jerusalem from 312 until just before 335[153] and was later considered a saint in both Western and Eastern churches, hence the halo in the miniature. However, the rest of the image bears an uncanny resemblance to Hagia Sophia in the tenth century, as an examination of the miniature shows. We find the bishop not in the Church of the Anastasis, but at the top of what appears to be the ambo in Constantinople. From the rites prescribed for this feast in the *Book of Ceremonies* as examined above, we know that the ambo consisted of several steps, upon which

152 Cf. *Menologion of Basil II* (MS Vat. Gr. 1613), fol. 35: "The entire people also, seeking to venerate [the cross] but unable to do so because of the vast crowd, asked if they might see it. Then the bishop Makarios, going up to a high place, lifted it up. And the people began to cry, 'Lord have mercy!' And the exaltation [of the cross] was modelled" (Ζητῶν δὲ καὶ ὁ λαὸς προσκυνῆσαι· καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος διὰ τὸν ἄπειρον ὄχλον. ᾐτήσατο κἂν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν· τότε ἀνελθὼν εἰς ὕψηλον τόπον Μακάριος ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὕψωσεν αὐτόν· καὶ ἤρξατο κράζειν ὁ λαὸς κύριε ἐλέησον. καὶ ἐτυπώθη ἡ ὕψωσις) (translation mine). Available online at: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613/ (accessed 23/11/2021).

153 Mentioned in Sōzomenos, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Hansen, 1.2.

the emperor ascended. The curtains on the background between the pillars and the rounded area behind these also recall the circle of pillars around the ambo and the apse in the cathedral, based on descriptions we have from the speeches of Paul the Silentiary.[154] What is more, the emperor remained on the ambo, bearing candles and garbed (along with his courtiers) in the skaramangion, a Persian-style tunic belted at the waist and with large armholes or slits on the side.[155] This setup seems to be what we have before us in the *Menologion* miniature: the fourth-century bishop relocated to tenth-century Hagia Sophia, standing on the ambo and surrounded by the emperor and his officers at the exaltation rite. This blending of fourth-century historical festal origins and tenth-century then-contemporary liturgical practices provides us with a framework for interpreting the final 'player' on this miniature stage: the cross that is raised aloft. A close look shows a double-barred cross, able to be held in both hands easily by one person, with rough dimensions slightly larger than the head of the bishop here. Although there is no evidence in the image of pearls placed at the bar intersections, gems at the crossbar ends, or of a silver backing, the historical context, liturgical sources, and shape of the cross all suggest here in my view that this image is also representing the 'great cross' contained within the Limburg Staurotheke, removed from its case and brought from the Great Palace to Hagia Sophia for this rite on this date. Furthermore, the same imagery and same style of portable, handheld, double-barred cross raised aloft by the patriarch in the rites of exaltation seems to find contemporary confirmation in the 11th-century Gospel lectionary MS Vat. Gr. 1156, with the ambo of the cathedral depicted (albeit seemingly only with clergy and no imperial officers, and despite the differences in relative proportion between the cross and the patriarch in the respective miniatures) (Fig. 19).

In the preceding pages, we have taken a closer look not only at the words and images adorning the Limburg Staurotheke and its contents, but also at textual and possible pictorial witnesses to its objects and perceived power. In doing so, centuries after its artistic conception and execution, we have placed ourselves in the position of observer, admirer, critic: in short, we have become the Staurotheke's present-day audience. Notions of audience and performance, as alluded to above, now come to the fore, a thread of inquiry prominent in contemporary studies on material culture, the material turn, and the 'lives' of objects apart from their creators.[156] In

154 Cf. Paul the Silentiary, *Description of Hagia Sophia*, ed. by Stefani and English transl. by Bell.

155 Cf. Parani 2003, 57 and 61. For another good analysis of source documents and surviving images of imperial court dress for emperor, empress, and dignitaries, see also: Piltz 1997, esp. pp. 41–43.

156 This theoretical perspective emerged from the social sciences but has found increased consideration and application in historical disciplines as well. Besides the foundational works noted in the introduction, n. 13, see also: Gosden/Marshall 1999, Daston 2004, Woodward 2007, Hicks 2010, and most recently, with a specific emphasis on 'speaking' objects in pre-modernity, Edelmann-Singer/Ehrich 2021.

Fig. 19: Miniature for feast of the Exaltation of the Cross and accompanying lectionary text for September 14. MS Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 250v. Constantinople, 11th century. Vatican Library, Vatican City.

its original time and place, who was the audience, the viewer, intended for these Passion relics and their containers? Who was meant to see (and perhaps also, intelligibly read) the inscriptions brought on both the cross relic and the cover? What understanding of the relationship between object, owner, and viewer was intended to come about through this vision/performance? In this concluding section of the chapter, I turn to questions of the Limburg Staurotheke's performance, and based on the descriptive sources examined above, investigate several specific figures or groups under whose gaze the Limburg Staurotheke might plausibly have come. Such study will help us see how the object worked in concert with the emperor to perform functions of holiness within the imperial orbit and transmit this understanding to the various intended audiences of the relics.

3.6 Potential audiences of the Limburg Staurotheke

3.6.1 The emperor and his court

Given the location of the Limburg Staurotheke within the Great Palace (and as proposed in this chapter, within the Pharos chapel), as well as the inscription on the reverse of the cross relic, a primary audience of the reliquary and its contents in the Middle Byzantine period would have been the emperor, his household, and court

dignitaries. We know that the Pharos chapel was situated in immediate proximity to the emperor's bedchambers,[157] thus allowing for consistent close proximity and immediate access on the part of the sovereign to these prized treasures. We also know from the *Book of Ceremonies* that several fixed ceremonies took place in the Pharos chapel at which courtiers and officials were present, besides several occasional services and rites such as the coronation of an augusta.[158] As shown above with reference to the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, we also know that the cross reliquary—if not, as suggested by the Dresden manuscript, the entire Staurotheke—was sent from the palace to Hagia Sophia, held by the emperor, and returned to the emperor's chapel afterwards. The constant physical proximity of the emperor to these relics, his handling of them, and the court's viewing of these rites in which the emperor played a key and visibly tangible part, can be seen as furthering an understanding of the emperor as set apart and sacred: not only by virtue of the imperial purple, but also by virtue of the physical connection to holy objects enjoyed by him and none other. This connection could potentially also be made clear via the reading aloud of these inscriptions on specific feasts or occasions as a means of "buttress[ing] the praise of the emperor" amidst the elite of the court and the cathedral, given the highly encomiastic style of the inscriptions, and as has been recently suggested by Brad Hostetler.[159]

Indeed, the close connection of these holy objects to specific persons comes to the fore in the inscriptions on both the cross and the reliquary. The names of the emperors Constantine and Rōmanos are placed on the back of the cross, and Basil names himself in the cover inscription, again linking the sovereign and another royal relative (and highest-ranking court officer) with sources of sacred power and healing. It is true that Basil, a eunuch and illegitimate royal son, never sat on the imperial throne, and the fact that he chose to name himself on the reliquary inscription rather than the emperor at the time might tempt the present-day reader

157 Cf. Janin 1969, 235.

158 Cf. *Book of Ceremonies* I.48. Other instances when the church of the Theotokos of the Lighthouse is used are noted in: I.18 (starting point of the morning procession for when the feasts of Pascha and the Annunciation coincide [a so-called *Kyriopascha*], which Dagron/Flusin 2020, 1:134, n. 75 note as having taken place thrice, in AD 764, 848, and 927), I.23 (liturgy on Thursday of Renewal Week after Pascha), I.28 (vespers for the feast of the Prophet Elijah with the court), I.29 (station on the way to the New Church on the feast of its dedication), I.33 (station on the way to the church of Saint Basil in the Lausiakon palace on the feast of Saint Basil), I.38 (veneration of the cross by the court on the third Sunday of the Great Fast), I.39 (the same, for when the feast of the Annunciation falls on the third Sunday of the Great Fast), I.40 (vespers for Palm Sunday), I.41 (liturgy on Palm Sunday), I.42 (liturgy on Holy Thursday), I.43 (veneration of the Holy Lance by the court on Holy Thursday), I.44 (vesperal liturgy on Holy Saturday), I.50 (investiture of a girdled patrician woman), and II.8 (re-deposition of cross reliquary in the Pharos chapel after its trans-urban peregrination after August 1).

159 Cf. Hostetler 2021.

to see here an attempt at securing sacred status for himself rather than for the emperor;[160] yet several facts mitigate against such a reading, in my view. Nothing in the inscription commissioned by Basil contradicts the interior cross reliquary inscription or puts into question the notion of imperial sacrality; the analysis of the Staurotheke's pictorial programme as presented above situates Basil-*qua*-Baptist firmly in a position quite close to the throne of power but nonetheless one of service and supplication; and finally, numerous other luxury objects from the Middle Byzantine period survive with inscriptions naming Basil, probably as part of a personal programme of (perhaps larger-scale) artistic patronage and taste-shaping on the part of the parakoimōmenos, where he could perhaps execute a level of absolute power and control just out of reach in his political activity. Those at court with eyes to see—and able to read—and who had the opportunity to behold the reliquary with its cover in the Pharos chapel or on other occasions would note Basil's name and associate him not necessarily with the relics inside—as both the interior text and the public ceremony did with the emperor—but *would* associate him with its beauty and "embellishment" as the outer inscription itself proclaims.

This beauty, however, would also hold true for a semi-literate audience at court and elsewhere. As Andreas Rhoby has argued, building on the work of Margaret Mullett, many Byzantine inscriptions bear what he terms "signal words" which would have been easily recognisable and, if not understandable, at least awe-inspiring in form and function to a semi-literate audience not well-versed in Attic classical texts but cognisant of common key terms in religious and political discourse.[161] Rhoby further cautions that inscriptions in such cases should not be analysed apart from the objects on which they are found,[162] given that they constitute "an important symbiosis" with their concomitant images and objects—in this case, relics—for all who should behold them.[163] If it is true that only a small elite would have been able to quickly read and interpret high-style inscriptions,[164] even when executed in clear and legible form without excessive and intricate ligatures (as is the case with the Limburg Staurotheke inscriptions), nonetheless the high level of craftsmanship, the expensive luxury materials used, and the knowledge of what objects lay within the reliquary could easily endow the owner of such an object—the emperor—with a similar aura of mystique and holiness amongst the illiterate.[165] That being said,

160 For a discussion of this reading proposed by Pentcheva, see above this chapter, n. 31.

161 Rhoby 2016, 273–274. Cf. also Mullett 1990, 163. On similar issues with reading and literacy in medieval Western Europe, see: Camille 1985, esp. pp. 32–33.

162 Rhoby 2016, 278.

163 Rhoby 2011, 326.

164 Rhoby 2016, 270.

165 Rhoby 2016, 274: On semi- and illiterate audiences' interactions with inscriptions, Rhoby writes: "In addition, one must also consider the respect with which inscriptions were approached, especially those that were not understood and seen instead as powerful magical signs in the sense [of] the 'Herrschaft des "Buchstabens"' [as] described by Herbert Hunger." For the latter text, cf. Hunger 1984.

it seems to me that this aura would be one necessary only in extra-curial contexts, such as discussed below in the presence of the Byzantine armed forces. Amongst the body of courtiers and clerics who frequented the palace, illiterate persons are unlikely to have been either numerous or notable.

3.6.2 The patriarch and other clergy

Another important audience for the relics and their inscriptions, in light of the ceremonial occasions outlined in the *Book of Ceremonies* and my analysis of textual and pictorial evidence from the Dresden manuscript and the *Menologion of Basil II*, would be the patriarch and cathedral clergy in Hagia Sophia. If my reading of these sources is correct, and the cross relic used by the patriarch in the elevation rites was—at least from the mid-tenth century onwards—the one contained in the Limburg Staurotheke with the imperial names on the reverse, this inscription would be a plainly visible message confronting the patriarch on one of the high feasts of the Byzantine liturgical year. In blessing the people and symbolically the four corners of creation with the cross relic, the patriarch would see and read (at least silently to himself) in this act of blessing not only the name of Christ, but also those of Constantine and Rōmanos. In the foregoing analysis, I have shown how the textual parallelisms in the inscription establish clear ties between the identity and activity of Christ and the rulers: these links would be on full display in word and in deed for the patriarch on such occasions. Blessing the people with the cross, the patriarch would be extending this blessing in the name of both God and emperor, and again this link of sacrality would be underscored by the fact that on this great feast, celebrated with splendour in the capital's cathedral, the central relic lay not in the cathedral but in the Great Palace, its arrival and departure mirroring that of the emperor on the feast. Though Constantine and Rōmanos were temporal rulers whose reigns were not eternal, the eternal rule of Christ and the continued use of this relic in imperio-religious ceremony would allow for this link of power and sacrality to pass to any other person sitting on the throne: whoever could be called *despotēs* and *stephēphoros* could be a new Constantine, a new Rōmanos, and thus come into parallel with Christ's person and power via the relic's liturgical performance.

3.6.3 Military leadership and troops

A final potential audience, in light of the Constantinian war harangues studied and translated by Eric McGeer, would be the imperial armed forces, to whom the emperor had words of encouragement sent and on whom water blessed by the relics was sprinkled. Nancy Ševčenko has posited that the Staurotheke, with its various

Passion relics, might have acted as a "field reliquary", a source of military and spiritual power for the emperor and his troops on the frontlines, or as a personal imperial enkolpion;[166] as she notes, the appendix to the *Book of Ceremonies* mentions that in imperial processions on the battlefield, the emperor was preceded by an officer of the bedchamber (*koubikoularios*) "carrying the precious and lifegiving woods with the container on his neck", while further ahead another golden and gem-studded cross was carried by a standard-bearer.[167] While the second military harangue of Constantine from 958 makes mention of water blessed by contact with the relics, which was to be sprinkled on the soldiers ostensibly for blessing and protection, it does not explicitly mention that the relics themselves, along with their reliquary/container (θήκη), were also present. Nevertheless, the text also does not specifically state that this was *not* the case; it could be that the "precious woods" and their container were kept in immediate proximity of the emperor's person, while the imperial soldiers were simply sprinkled with the blessed water, which would have been an easy way to provide those fighting for the sovereign with mediated access to the holy objects in the unstable and unpredictable environment of the battlefront without endangering the relics themselves. In this case, the soldiers would be participating and sharing in the grace and power of the relics *as mediated by the emperor*, who would be acting as the sole arbiter and dispenser of the relics' sacred protective power.

3.7 Concluding thoughts

In this chapter, I have presented a close reading of the art and inscriptions on the Limburg Staurotheke in order to understand how this collection of objects worked to promote an idea of imperial sacrality and to communicate this idea to various audiences. Glimpses into how this message reached its intended audiences in the

166 N. Ševčenko 1994, 292–293. On this type of object, cf. "Enkolpion" in *ODB* 1:700.

167 N. Ševčenko 1994, 292–293, who mentions this text. Originally published in the Reiske edition as an appendix to the *Book of Ceremonies*, John Haldon has shown that the text in question was a separate treatise commissioned by Constantine VII for his son Rōmanos, which Haldon calls Text C in his edition and translation; cf. Haldon 1990, 50. The passage reads as follows: "In front of the emperor march the *praipositoi* and the *koubouklion*, and in the middle of the *praipositoi* marches a *koubikoularios* carrying the holy and life-giving wood of the Cross, with the case about his neck. In front of the *koubouklion* march the imperial officers, and in their midst marches a *signophoros* bearing a golden, bejewelled cross" (ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦσιν οἱ πραιπόσιτοι καὶ τὸ κουβούκλιον, καὶ μέσον τῶν πραιποσίτων περιπατεῖ κουβικουλάριος βαστάζων τὰ τίμια καὶ ζωοποιὰ ξύλα μετὰ τῆς θήκης ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ κουβουκλίου περιπατοῦσιν οἱ βασιλικοί, καὶ μέσον τούτων περιπατεῖ σιγνοφόρος βαστάζων σταυρὸν χρυσοῦν διάλιθον) (cf. Haldon 1990, 124–125, italics his). Note that in Haldon's translation, he uses the singular "wood" in English, although the same word in the Greek text (ξύλα) is plural.

palace, the capital, the cathedral, and far afield in battle survive in several key documents from the tenth century: the *Book of Ceremonies*, military speeches, and perhaps manuscript miniatures depicting liturgical rites from the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. Besides the Limburg Staurotheke, no other comparable relic treasury, conceived of as a single artistic and spiritual whole, has survived from the Middle Byzantine period, and the combination of luxury materials, technical expertise and craftsmanship, and sacred objects all played a part in the Staurotheke's survival and *Nachleben* in Western Europe after the Fourth Crusade.[168] Despite the very personal touches applied to the relics and the reliquary by emperors Constantine VII and Rōmanos II and the parakoimōmenos Basil, the message of imperial sacrality proclaimed by the Limburg Staurotheke through its storage location, ritual usages, and potential travels was one that could still be applied to any and every Byzantine sovereign, strengthening the sense of imperial sacrality imbued in the office and thus transmissible to any officeholder, rather than forging a unique, personal connection to a given specific occupant of the throne. Instructive against the background of both the Staurotheke and the Mandylion, objects linked to the emperor-as-figure, is the contrasting example of the Holy Stone, brought to Constantinople in the 12th century and linked specifically to one particular emperor, Manuel I Komnēnos. An examination of the sources surviving on this relic will permit us to see the extremes to which the association of relics with the imperial figure could go: an extreme which events show might have been rejected for being too personal, but which ultimately did not detour the trajectory of the public image of imperial sacrality, such as we find in full blossom at the end of the Middle Byzantine period in elite poetry and canonical commentary. It is to the Holy Stone as one final imperial relic that we now turn our gaze.

168 Cf. Rauch 1955 for the reliquary's history in the German lands after the Fourth Crusade.

4 The Holy Stone

4.1 A (w)hol(l)y Roman emperor: Manuel I Komnēnos and the Holy Stone

One additional sacred object of the Middle Byzantine period receives extended mention and treatment across a variety of sources, namely the so-called Holy Stone. The stone, believed by many in the 12th century—including Emperor Manuel I Komnēnos (r. 1143–1180),[1] who comes to be connected intimately with the object—to be the one on which Jesus Christ was laid after the crucifixion to be washed, anointed, and mourned by his mother Mary and the disciples, came to Constantinople by order of Manuel I in 1169 and was placed in the Pharos chapel alongside the other Passion relics. The extant sources for this object include two historical chronicles that mention this event and this relic, albeit from different perspectives and with different narrative intents; a liturgical service composed for the occasion of the Stone's translation to the capital; and a poem that was probably inscribed onto the pedestal of the Stone after its subsequent translation from the Great Palace to Manuel's tomb at a nearby monastery following the emperor's death. Near the end of this chapter, we will also have recourse to a drawing of the tomb cover surviving from the mid-18th century. In this final chapter, the questions set out in the introduction still guide my reading: How do these sources speak of the holy relic and the emperor? How are they understood in conjunction with one another? How is the emperor's holiness understood and communicated vis-à-vis this particular relic? Near the end of the studied time period here, shortly before the Fourth Crusade, I argue that the textual evidence for the Stone and Manuel bear witness to a nearly complete apotheosis of the sovereign, with him being likened in extreme ways to Christ himself and approaching a near-divine status—which in turn may describe why this relic, of all the sacred objects connected to Christ's Passion, does not remain in the Pharos chapel, but rather leaves the palace along with Manuel at his death. We begin our examination of these 12th-century sources with the historical accounts offered by Kinnamos and Chōniatēs.

4.2 Historical accounts of the Stone

4.2.1 John Kinnamos

The first text comes from the chronicle written by John Kinnamos, personal secretary to Emperor Manuel I.[2] In his history, which picks up in 1118 where Anna Komnēnē's

1 On this emperor, see the following comprehensive studies: Chalandon 1912, Magdalino 1978, Angold 1995, and Magdalino 2002.

2 Cf. "Kinnamos, John" in *ODB* 2:1130; Ljubarskij 2020.

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. 125–168.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

Alexias stops and itself ends suddenly in 1176, Kinnamos narrates the legend of the Stone's white spots (said to be the tears of the Virgin shed in mourning her son), its miraculous discovery at sea near Ephesos after being left in the waters by Mary Magdalene at her departure for Rome, and then its arrival in Constantinople, where it was greeted by the city's elite and personally transported by the emperor:

> When it had been brought to the region of Damalis across [from Constantinople], a splendid procession from Byzantion received it. The whole senate of the Romans composed it, and whoever was among the priests and monks, while Loukas, who then directed the church, and the emperor went ahead of their respective portions of the official body. The emperor indeed lifted the stone with his shoulder, being unnecessarily modest in such things and desiring very humbly to render them service.[3]

Though Kinnamos is perhaps infamous for his excessive praise of Manuel elsewhere in his chronicle,[4] the passage quoted above displays both continuity and discontinuity with previous relic translations to the imperial capital. If earlier centuries saw emperors simply greeting relics upon arrival or taking part in their procession to Hagia Sophia and/or the palace,[5] here we see the emperor bearing the relic himself in the festal cortège, and in particular, the direct involvement of Manuel in the transportation of the Holy Stone could be seen to evoke priestly imagery in connection with the sovereign.[6] Though Kinnamos is far from waxing theological in his narrative, the immediate context of these events before the chanting of the liturgical service commemorating the Stone's translation allows for this act to be read as a special twofold adventus on Manuel's part. First, by carrying the relic himself, Manuel becomes a reliquary, as it were, bearing the object and becoming a locus for holding and containing what is holy. Second, Manuel reverses in the performance of his direct bodily contact with the stone the historical narrative of Christ with the Stone: unlike the Messiah, who lay lifeless on the Stone after the crucifixion and was himself borne by the rock, Manuel is here alive and triumphant as he carries the Stone as a victory trophy to his palace. Furthermore, the description of the emperor as acting humbly in service to others could also serve as a further evocation of Christ, the divine king who urges his followers in the Gospel of

3 John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, transl. by Brand, 6.8 (p. 207).

4 John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, transl. by Brand, p. 8 (introduction by Brand).

5 For a study of this phenomenon in the ninth century, see: Sprecher 2023. For imperial involvement in the arrival of the Mandylion in the mid-tenth century, see chapter 1 above.

6 Cf. here the episode in Josh 3:3–17, where the priests carry the ark of the covenant across the Jordan River into the Promised Land, a theme taken up in the so-called Joshua Scroll from the tenth century; on the latter, see esp. Wander 2012, 93–112, who also links this manuscript to the patronage of Basil Lakapēnos.

Matthew to "take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for I am meek and humble in heart"[7] and who says of himself that he has come "not to be served but to serve."[8] Read thus, Kinnamos not only recounts Manuel's imperial authority—the emperor summons the Stone from Ephesos and it is transported at his command—but also subtly depicts the divine sanctity of the sovereign as both a bearer of holy things and an imitator of the humble God-man Jesus, whose own holiness sanctified this particular relic through bodily contact: imagery perhaps implicit in Kinnamos but utterly explicit in the liturgical texts for the Holy Stone examined in depth below.

4.2.2 Nikētas Chōniatēs

The second chronicle text hails from Kinnamos's 12th-century contemporary, the court functionary Nikētas Akominatos (most often referred to by the toponym Chōniatēs [meaning "of/from Chōnai", present-day Honaz]).[9] If the personal secretary Kinnamos describes the arrival of the Stone in historical sequence amidst the other events in his chronicle, waxing lyrical about his imperial benefactor, the grand logothete Chōniatēs displays a more sober tone with regard to Manuel throughout his writing,[10] waiting until the death of Manuel (the final passage on the sovereign in Chōniatēs's history) to speak of the Holy Stone, describing its original entry into the city in the context of its removal from the Great Palace and the Pharos chapel to the monastery of Christ Almighty (usually referred to by its Greek name, *Pantokratōr*):

> He was buried beside the entrance to the church of the Monastery of the Pantokrator, not in the temple itself but in the shrine attached to it. Where the church wall led round to an arch, a broad entrance way was opened around the sepulcher, which was faced with marble of a black hue, gloomy in appearance, and was divided into seven lofty sections. To the side, resting on a base, was a slab of red marble the length of a man, which received veneration; it was formerly located in the church of [St. John the Evangelist in] Ephesos and was

7 Matt 11:29.

8 Matt 20:28; Mark 10:45; cf. also the foot-washing of the disciples, John 13:1–17.

9 He eventually rose to the highest office of chancellor (*logothetēs tōn sekretōn*, later called simply *megas logothetēs*) under Emperor Isaac II Angelos (r. 1185–1195, 1203–1204) and witnessed the destruction wrought during the Fourth Crusade, which he describes in detail in his history. Cf. "Choniates, Niketas" in *ODB* 1:428. On the office in question, cf. "Logothetes" in *ODB* 2:1247. For more on the man and his work, see Harris 2000 as well as the collection of essays in Simpson/Efthymiadis 2009.

10 Chōniatēs is notably critical of Manuel's stance and actions in the controversy over the latter's interpretation of Jesus's statement "My father is greater than I" (John 14:28), which led to the Council of Constantinople in 1166; cf. here Nikētas Chōniatēs, *History*, ed. by Dieten, 211–213; cf. transl. by Magoulias, pp. 120–121.

> commonly reported to be that on which Christ was washed with myrrh and wrapped in burial linen clothes after he had been taken down from the cross. This emperor had it taken out of the church, and, placing it on his back, he carried it up from the harbor of Boukoleon to the church in the lighthouse of the palace [Pharos] as though it were the actual body of God conveying its grace on him. Not long after the emperor's death, the marble slab was removed from the palace to the place described above with proclamations, I believe, that declared loudly all the feats for which he who lay silent in the tomb had labored and struggled so hard to achieve.[11]

We shall return to the architectural details of the tomb description below in the analysis of the inscription poem, but presently, we see that Chōniatēs picks up the theme of contact between divinely touched relic and divinely appointed regent, suggesting that divine power from the stone enabled the emperor to complete his Samsonian undertaking. The logothete then provides the historical details of the Holy Stone's transferral to the Pharos chapel, where it remained until after Manuel's death, at which time the sacred relic was placed beside the imperial sarcophagus in the Pantokratōr monastery.

The details provided by Chōniatēs on the location and movement of the Holy Stone after its arrival in Constantinople are of twofold historical and religious significance. Firstly, Chōniatēs appears to be the only source we have for fixing the placement of the Holy Stone in the Pharos chapel.[12] Housing the sacred relic in the lighthouse chapel dedicated to the Theotokos is of itself not suspect or hard to imagine; as a relic pertaining to the Passion of Christ, the Pharos chapel with its treasury of other such objects would make perfect sense, given the high prestige and holiness perceived to be granted by the object's proximity to the imperial bedchamber (not to mention the body of the emperor, as seen in the recounting of its transport into the city). Curiously, though, all other chronicle- or pilgrim-style sources that have survived from the period which mention the Pharos chapel and its holdings are silent on the Stone. In the comprehensive listing prepared by Michele Bacci of the medieval sources mentioning the relics of the Pharos chapel,[13] two are extant from the time period during which the Holy Stone (according to Chōniatēs) was located there: the chronicle of William of Tyre (1171)[14] and a listing of relics mentioned by the Pisan

11 Chōniatēs, *History*, ed. by Dieten, 222.71–76; transl. by Magoulias, p. 125.

12 Chōniatēs is a rare exception here in this era for providing this information from a Byzantine perspective. As Paul Magdalino notes, "le caractère des sources change à l'époque des Comnènes: à une exception près, tous les témoins des reliques de la Passion au XIIe siècle sont des pèlerins, en grande majorité occidentaux" (Magdalino 2013, 16).

13 Cf. Bacci 2003, 243–245.

14 Cf. William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. by Huygens, 20, 23 (pp. 944–945); listed in Bacci 2003, 243.

translator Leo the Tuscan (ca. 1177).[15] A third text, a description of Constantinople by an anonymous visitor edited and published by Krijnie N. Ciggaar in 1973,[16] can also be considered here with some reservation: although the date range suggested for this document's composition ranges from 1137–1185, Ciggaar suggests a more likely timeframe of 1136–1143 based on the lack of any mention of the death of John II Komnēnos, which dating would place this account well before the Stone's arrival in the city.[17]

Ciggaar opines that access to the palatine relics in the 12th century was quite free and open, although no specific evidence is given to support this claim;[18] perhaps this access can be inferred by the number of pilgrim and visitor accounts to the city from the 12th century which mention the Pharos chapel and its holdings amongst other sites and treasures,[19] as well as the quite varied backgrounds and provenances of the texts' authors.[20] Nevertheless, given the chronicle texts' descriptions of the very public and very imperial reception of the Holy Stone into the city and into the Pharos chapel, the silence of the two (or three) contemporary descriptions of the chapel and its inventory is peculiar: none mention the Holy Stone whatsoever, and this despite William of Tyre's (perhaps hyperbolical) insistence that nothing was hidden from the view of King Amalric I of Jerusalem's visiting entourage.[21]

What might be the reason for this glaring lacuna? Perhaps the Stone was not perceived by visitors to the Pharos chapel during the years it was kept there, either because it did not 'look' like an obvious relic or reliquary, or because it was perceived to be part of the stone furnishings of the sanctuary. Yet even if we allow for Ciggaar's claim to stand—namely, that access to the chapel by a vetted and well-heeled pilgrim 'public' was semi-frequent[22]—such visitors would not have been

15 Cf. Leo the Tuscan, *On the heresies and transgressions of the Greeks*, PG 140:544–550; listed in Bacci 2003, 243.

16 Cf. Anonymous, *Description of Constantinople*, edition available in Ciggaar 1973; listed in Bacci 2003, 243.

17 Ciggaar 1973, 338.

18 Cf. Ciggaar 1973, 352: "À l'époque où son auteur visita la ville, la plupart des reliques de la Passion étaient conservées au Palais impérial, où, paraît-il, les visiteurs avaient accès sans trop de difficulté."

19 Bacci lists a total of twelve such lists dating from ca. 1099–ca. 1200; cf. Bacci 2003, 243.

20 The authors of the accounts listed by Bacci hail from as far afield as Iceland, England, Kyivan Rus', and southern Italy; cf. Bacci 2003, 243.

21 William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. by Huygens, 20 (p. 944).

22 A note of contradiction to this claim of Ciggaar's seems to be provided by William of Tyre himself in his *Chronicon* (ed. by Huygens, 20 [p. 944]), where the latter narrates King Amalric I of Jerusalem's reception by Emperor Manuel: "Meanwhile, as befitted his imperial magnificence, he showered numerous gifts upon the king and the nobles of his suite and during frequent visits showed much solicitude about their well-being and health. By his orders, even the inner parts of the palace—the private apartments usually accessible only to his own people, the private chambers set apart for his own use—were thrown open to them as to his own household. These privileges were extended also to the basilicas closed to the common people, and to all the priceless treasures which had

left alone in one of the most important relic treasuries of the empire and in all likelihood would have had some medieval 'tour guide' (probably a household deputy under the *papias*) to point out and show the relics.

Yet another possibility might also come into play, given the strong personal connection of the Holy Stone to Emperor Manuel I: perhaps this relic was hidden from public view, or perhaps such putative palace tour guides were instructed *not* to point it out and mention it to visitors. Though such secrecy would seem to contradict the public entrance of the object, the very intimate connection of the specific occupant of the imperial throne (Manuel) with this object might have provoked a different response to how this particular relic was housed, displayed, and viewed—or not, as the case may be. Barring the revelation of any newly unearthed sources on Manuel I's reign and this object in particular, the above possibilities must all remain mere speculation. Yet the personal connection of the Holy Stone to Manuel, a connection of relic to specific ruler hinted at perhaps in earlier centuries with Constantine VII and the Mandylion but never as explicit as in this case, is made very plain in the liturgical office written for the Stone's translation, the Stone's movement to accompany Manuel I's tomb, the alleged inscription on the Stone's plinth in the Pantokratōr monastery, and the architectural setting of the tomb/Stone complex. To these texts and settings we now turn our eye.

4.3 The liturgical office of the translation of the Holy Stone

4.3.1 Sources of the office

Unlike in the case of the Mandylion, the translation of the Holy Stone to Constantinople does not seem to have found a place in regular Byzantine liturgical commemoration. It does not appear in any extant synaxaria,[23] and the liturgical texts in question come down to us in a single parchment manuscript, MS Athous Laura B 6 (Eustratiadēs no. 126), fols. 78r–83v, an edition of which has been published by Theodora Antonopoulou.[24] Provided for the commemoration of the Stone's translation are three

been gathered there by his imperial ancestors." Translation taken from: William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, transl. by Babcock/Krey, 2:381.

23 Cf. "Synaxarion" in *ODB* 3:1991. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, ed. by Delehaye, in its original version contains no commemorations dating to after 904 and thus is of little help on this question. Moreover, the synaxarion was a text pertaining to the Great Church of Hagia Sophia, and thus palace-specific commemorations performed only in the palatine rite might not have been introduced to this document, even in recensions and additions from later centuries. For more on this text, its variants, and translations into other medieval languages, see Luzzi 2014.

24 Cf. Antonopoulou 2013. Antonopoulou also notes (ibid., 120) the earlier mention and description of this liturgical text in Lavriotis/Eustratiadēs 1925, 13, as well as the earlier edition in Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1898 (reprinted 1963), 5:180–189 (text proper),

stichēra in plagal second mode and an eight-ode kanōn[25] in fourth mode (with a kathisma in fourth mode inserted after Ode III, a kontakion[26] in second mode after Ode VI, and an exaposteilarion,[27] the mode of which is not indicated [but probably second mode] after Ode IX). No readings from the Old or New Testament are indicated.[28] The acrostic of the kanōn indicates the composer of the office to be a certain Skylitzēs, whom earlier scholarship has identified as George Skylitzēs, an educated layman who served as an imperial secretary at the Council of 1166 and held the office of *protokouropalatēs* under Manuel I.[29] The manuscript, in terms of the date of its production and writing, has been dated to the 12th or 13th century,[30]

5:424–426 (notes and commentary); my English-language translation of this office, to which reference is made in this chapter, can be found in the appendix below.

25 This kanōn lacks hymns for the second scriptural ode, but this had become common practice by the 12th century. Cf. Mary/Ware 1969, 547; Krivko 2011, 4, 48. See Sprecher 2023, 66 and 74, for an instance of hymnography for Ode II from the mid-ninth century, also for a feast pertaining to relics. However, Sprecher notes there (ibid., 66, n. 112), in his edition of the office commemorating the translation of the relics of Patriarch Nikēphoros I from his burial site in exile back into Constantinople in the course of his rehabilitation following the restoration of icons in 843, that this hymnography for Ode II is only present in the earliest extant manuscript—namely, the ninth-century MS Sin. gr. 607—while all subsequent extant manuscripts from the Middle Byzantine period omit this ode and its hymns.

26 Kontakia were originally lengthy liturgical poems consisting of an initial stanza and followed by upwards of 18 additional strophes called *oikoi*; later these become reduced to a single stanza (often accompanied by a single oikos) and are often placed after Ode VI of the kanōn; cf. Mary/Ware 1969, 554; on the use of the term οἶκος ("house") for this specific poetic unit, see Parenti 2016, 279, who notes the work by Aslanov 2008.

27 Exaposteilaria are a type of troparion that follows the kanōn containing hymnographic texts, with the name said to derive from petitions to God to 'send forth' (cf. the 2sg. aorist active imperative in Greek, ἐξαπόστειλον, from the verb ἐξαποστέλλω) his light on those praying to him (thus explaining the Slavonic equivalent of this term, свѣтильна [and variants thereof], derived from the term свѣтлъ ("radiant, splendid, light-filled") which itself contains the root term свѣтъ ("light"); cf. Mary/Ware 1969, 551–552; Parenti 2016, 301–302; cf. also *Lexicon Palaeoslovenico-Graeco-Latinum*, s.v. "свѣтильна", "свѣтлъ", and "свѣтъ", which shows the Latin and Greek equivalents of these terms as they appear in late antique and medieval texts and translations.

28 This contrasts, for example, with the case of the commemoration of the translation of the Mandylion, for which readings were set and are preserved in fourteen *prophetologion* manuscripts; cf. Engberg 2004, 131, with the assigned readings listed in full on ibid., 140–142. However, given that these liturgical texts are found in a codex collection of mostly kanones and short hymns connected with this genre, the fact that no scriptural readings are mentioned is not surprising and does not necessarily mean that none were read when the office was performed.

29 Cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 110; earlier scholarship which she cites (ibid., n. 5) includes Petridès 1903, 463; and Beck 1959, 662. On the noble title of (proto-)kouropalatēs, cf. "Kouropalates" in *ODB* 2:1157.

30 Antonopoulou 2013, 110, where the author notes that Papadopoulos-Kerameus opts for the former dating, while Lavriotis and Eustratiadēs opt for the latter.

but Antonopoulou notes that with the exception of the service for the Holy Stone, all other hymns in the manuscript date no later than the ninth century, and thus concludes that the presence of this singular, later text in the manuscript is a sign of personal choice on the part of the compiler/scribe[31] as well as perhaps "an indication of the proximity of the codex to the composition of the Office."[32] If the latter fact is true, then the manuscript could have been part of the liturgical holdings of the Great Palace more generally, or of the Pharos chapel more specifically, but barring further evidence, this must remain only speculation. The evidence we *do* have is the scant information in the preface to the office and the text of the service itself, to which we now turn.

4.3.2 The office and its imperial connection

Preceding the office proper in the manuscript is a descriptive preface,[33] which is interesting both for what it says and does *not* say about the event and the parties involved. We do have mention of the event (the translation [ἀνακομιδή] of the Holy Stone), a description of the Stone (namely, the one on which the body of Christ was laid after the crucifixion by Joseph of Arimathea), and the emperor at whose command this occurred, who is explicitly named (Manuel). Other details, however, are either curiously missing or added. From the chronicle texts, we know that the Stone is said to have been brought from Ephesos to Constantinople, but the preface leaves out any notice regarding the source of the object and refers to the destination—to the Byzantine capital—simply as "the great city" (τὴν μεγαλόπολιν). Given the context, I believe the referent here to be clear, but the word itself is quite rare in medieval Greek, being found primarily in historical writings of the Middle Byzantine period.[34]

The mention of the emperor by name—Manuel—in such a preface is not in and of itself surprising or strange; Constantine VII is mentioned explicitly in the synaxarion and liturgical texts pertaining to the Mandylion's translation to Constantinople, as seen above in chapter 2. Nor is the epithet "purple-born" (πορφυρογέννητος) or

31 Antonopoulou 2013, 120. She notes that the Holy Stone office was "pertinently inserted … at the end of the section containing stauroanastasimoi and anastasimoi kanons", which would make thematic sense given the role played by the Holy Stone as the location of the post-crucifixion, pre-burial washing and anointing of Jesus's body.

32 Antonopoulou 2013, 120.

33 For the translated text, see Appendix C below.

34 A *TLG* corpus search for the word μεγαλόπολις retrieves six results: one from Euripidēs's tragedy *The Trojan Women*, and five others, all from Middle Byzantine authors (Michael Psellos, Anna Komnēnē, Constantine Manassēs, Michael Attaliatēs, and Eustathios of Thessaloniki); interestingly, *TLG* notes neither this instance of the term in Skylitzēs's office, nor the one in Chōniatēs's *History*, where Andronikos refers to Constantinople by this term (see below this chapter).

the office title "emperor" (βασιλεύς) out of place or odd; both Constantine and Manuel were entitled by birth to this moniker and held the imperial throne. Yet Skylitzēs also names the sovereign with the respectful title "Lord" (κῦρ)[35] and provides his family name (Κομνηνός): the former perhaps marking out the composer's relationship of service to the emperor, the latter perhaps stressing the importance of dynastic house in society and court in this period of Byzantine history.[36]

4.3.3 The office and its dating

Finally, Skylitzēs gives us the *year* in which the translation took place—"the 27th year of the sole rule (αὐτοκρατορίας)" of Manuel—but declines to note the day or month! Without the latter information, it is very difficult (if not impossible) to determine when exactly the celebration of this office actually took place, regardless of whether it was a one-time event or an annual commemoration. This glaring lack of a specific date might be why Antonopoulou states that "[t]here is no evidence that the [office] was performed again after the original event",[37] but we must also state that if this service took place at the Pharos chapel, whither the Stone was translated, any such service would have been performed by palace clergy and chanters who had their own rite different from that of the Great Church; and unlike in the case of the Great Church, for which synaxaria and orders of service for the year have come down to us, no such documents documenting the rite and possible calendar commemoration differences in the palatine chapels have survived. Furthermore, Antonopoulou notes that the repeated use of the word "today" (σήμερον) in the office implies that "[t]he work was performed on the day of the translation."[38] This makes sense given the nature of the event, but the use of the word σήμερον in Byzantine (as well as *hodie* in early Western hymns) is often used to signal the present-moment importance and theological reality of a given feast, and would be

35 This word, originally a derivation of the standard word κύριος ("lord"), comes to be used as a title of respectful address in the Middle Byzantine period; cf. Lampe, s.v. "κύρις, ὁ"; *LBG*, s.v. "κῦρ, ὁ".

36 This dynastic importance was found both in political and poetic constructions of the time; cf. Frankopan 2007; praise and wishes for the success of the Komnēnian dynasty are also to be found in several of Theodore Prodromos's so-called 'historical' poems. Cf. the edition by Hörandner 1974, esp. poems 1 ("On the crowning of Alexios Komnēnos", pp. 177–181), 13 ("Paean for an imperial wedding; for the demes", pp. 265–266), and 14 ("Paean for another imperial wedding; for the demes", pp. 268–270). Manuel I Komnēnos was the first ruler to bear this name, so the family name would not be serving any sort of disambiguative function here. A more recent study of Prodromos's style and his hitherto unedited 'miscellaneous' poems is available in Zagklas 2023.

37 Antonopoulou 2013, 120.

38 Antonopoulou 2013, 109; the word "today" in the office can be found in: Stichēra 1, 3; Ode I, troparia 1, 4; Ode III, troparion 3; Ode IV, troparia 2, 5; Ode VII, troparia 2, 4.

sung anytime (and every year) the service was to be celebrated.[39] Moreover, the usage of "today" is outnumbered in these texts by another temporal marker, "now" (νῦν), which thus serves to heighten the immediacy of the event rather than necessarily provide a chronological pinpoint for the day on which the office was sung.[40]

One clue, however, that might help us determine the date of this office's celebration during the year are the heirmoi used in the kanōn, nearly all of which are from the second kanōn for the feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos on August 15.[41] This would suggest that the service took place during the afterfeast of the Dormition (since the kanōn for the translation would have been sung after that of the feast during such a period, and these heirmoi from the second festal kanōn would have then been sung as the *katabasiai*[42]), which lasts eight days until August 23. The Mandylion was celebrated annually by this point on August 16, and this centuries-old commemoration would not have been displaced by the arrival of a newer relic (albeit one from the Passion) in 1169/1170, the 27th such year of Manuel's sole rule. Thus, we can limit the hypothetical date range to August 17–23. In the case of the two odes here whose heirmoi are *not* from the second kanōn of the Dormition, but from other fourth mode kanones, we see that both are used on Sundays in fourth mode.[43] Assuming in this hypothesis that such a substitution of heirmoi indicates the performance of the rite on a Sunday in the afterfeast of the Dormition, one date would be possible: August 17, 1169 (thus one day after the feast

39 On this phenomenon, see Troelsgård 1990. One can also note here that the usage of the word "today" also occurs in Byzantine hymnographical texts for 'biblical' feasts that cannot possibly be contemporary with the writing of a given office (e.g., Nativity of Christ, Pascha, etc.).

40 Instances in the office are to be found in: Ode I, troparia 4, 5; Ode III, troparia 3, 4; Ode IV, troparion 1; Ode V, troparia 3, 5; Ode VI, troparion 1; Kontakion; Ode VIII, troparion 3; Exaposteilarion.

41 To wit, the heirmoi for Odes I, III, V, VII, VIII, and IX; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 123–134, who cites as sources on the heirmoi: Eustratiadēs 1932 (2nd revised edition of the corpus by Panagiōtou et al. 2006) and Follieri 1960–1966.

42 Katabasiai (sometimes transliterated via Modern Greek pronunciation as *katavasiai*) are the concluding stanzas of the odes of a kanōn, which often pertain to nearby great feasts in the ecclesial calendar (either in anticipation or retrospect); the name derives from the fact that both choirs would descend (cf. Greek καταβαίνω, aorist active participle καταβάς, -ᾶσα, -άν) from their respective areas to chant the stanza together. Cf. Mary/Ware 1969, 553.

43 The heirmos for Ode III is taken from Sunday matins; Antonopoulou states that the heirmos for Ode VI is taken from Wednesday in the fourth week of Great Lent, but the same text is also used as the heirmos for Ode VI at the midnight office (μεσονυκτικόν) for Sundays in fourth mode. Interestingly, however, *all* the heirmoi are noted as being attributed to a certain monk John (of Damascus?) in Follieri's compendium. Cf. Appendix C below for these texts. The choice of fourth mode texts from Sunday, in my view, further lends credence to the afterfeast of Dormition being determinative here, since Pascha, which causes a re-start of the weekly oktoēchōs cycle in Byzantine chant, occurred in 1169 on Sunday, April 20, making Sunday, August 17 to be the start of a week in first mode.

of the Mandylion's translation). Given the fact that the Byzantine calendar began in September, one could also posit at this juncture August 23, 1170 (also a Sunday, and the leave-taking of the feast, and thus also possible given the reasoning outlined above), but Kinnamos notes in his account of events the presence of Patriarch Luke Chrysobergēs in the entourage welcoming the Holy Stone to Constantinople, and this Luke died sometime between November 1169–January 1170, leaving us in the end with only one viable option, that of August 1169.[44] Such hypotheses aside: even if we allow that Skylitzēs knew from the outset of his compositional project that the liturgical office was to be performed only once, leaving out the specific date in the office's preface shifts the focus of the event for any future reader (or contemporary one, for that matter) from the date on which the Stone was translated to the reign of Manuel as emperor—and not merely basileus, a title which by the 12th century could have been applied to non-Byzantine rulers and even elder sons in the dynasty,[45] but as the supreme ruler, the autokratōr of the Roman Empire. This particular focus on the person of Manuel rather than the figure or office of emperor/autokratōr is a key feature of the entire liturgical office, distinguishing these hymns from other liturgical texts for relics and relic translations examined here and elsewhere extant in Byzantine literature.

4.3.4 Themes and imagery in the office of translation

In her edition of the liturgical texts of the office for the translation of the Holy Stone, Theodora Antonopoulou also offers a brief study and overview of some of the themes and textual features present in the hymns,[46] building on the even briefer comments provided by Papadopoulos-Kerameus at the end of his 1888 edition of the same service.[47] She groups her comments under three thematic areas: (1) the deposition of Christ's bloodied body on the Stone; (2) the Virgin's tears; and (3) eulogy or praise of the emperor.[48] My reading of the texts also shows a tripartite thematic division, but of another kind: (1) *imperial* imagery; (2) *civic* imagery; and (3) what I shall term *lithic* imagery, each of which groups permeate the office, with important bookending features and implications for the understanding of ruler, relic, and sacrality, which I believe Skylitzēs (and/or his imperial patron) wished to transmit to his hearers (and readers).

44 For a brief synopsis of the life (and death) of this Patriarch Luke, cf. Grumel 1943, 257; also Magdalino 2002, 289.

45 Cf. chapter 2 above, n. 247.

46 Antonopoulou 2013, 115–119. She also provides a thorough accounting of the metrical structure of the hymns (p. 119), but this musicological knowledge—while important—bears no relevance to the present study.

47 Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1898, 5:424–426.

48 Antonopoulou 2013, 115–116.

4.3.4.1 Imperial imagery

Beginning with the preface to the office, the liturgical texts[49] abound in references to the emperor. Yet unlike in the kanones for the translation of the Mandylion[50] or in earlier offices for relic translations undertaken at imperial behest,[51] explicit mention is made throughout the office of Manuel by name,[52] linking the event of the translation and the relic itself not merely to the figure of the emperor or the general occupant of the throne, but with a concrete, unique individual. The name Manuel (Μανουήλ) is a derivation of the Septuagint ἐμμανουήλ, itself an attempted transliteration of the Hebrew *ʿimmānû ʾēl* ("God [is] with us"), the divine appellation of the Virgin's son proclaimed in the prophecy of Isaiah[53] and interpreted in the Gospel of Matthew as referring to Jesus Christ.[54] Skylitzēs evokes this divine name, however, not merely in reference to the Son of God, but in the context of the emperor, calling Manuel "an emperor of divine name".[55] Divine assistance is linked to Manuel, whose heart is said to have been strengthened by God for the task of the Stone's translation[56] and whose plans were advanced by God himself.[57] Continued help from on high is besought to "make firm [the] sceptre" of Manuel's rule on earth[58] and to grant him both the heavenly and earthly kingdom.[59] The figures of celestial king and terrestial potentate, however, seem to be elided when Skylitzēs—who, as imperial secretary, surely knew of the emperor's hand in the matter—speaks of the translation as coming about "by the command of Christ".[60]

49 Unless otherwise specified, liturgical text references in this section are to Appendix C below.

50 See Appendices A-1 and A-2 below.

51 Cf. the edition of the office for the translation of the relics of Patriarch Nikēphoros I (commemorated on March 13) in Sprecher 2023, 60–76; also the new texts composed in the mid-ninth century for the commemoration of the translation of the relics of Saint John Chrysostom back into the Byzantine capital (celebrated on January 27); cf. also ibid., 47–54, where he also cites the work by Toma 2018, 266–288 (who analyses the kanones composed for this feast by Joseph the Hymnographer) and Zervoudaki 2002, who talks about the hymnography composed by Theophanēs "the Branded" (ὁ γραπτός, thus nicknamed on account of the visible marks remaining after his being tortured for his iconophile beliefs) in her study of the man and his œuvre.

52 Cf. Preface; Stichēron 1; Ode I, troparion 4; Kathisma; Ode VIII, troparion 2; Ode IX, troparia 4 and 5.

53 Cf. Isa 7:14.

54 Cf. Matt 1:22–23.

55 Gr. θεώνυμος; cf. Stichēron 1; Ode IX, troparion 4.

56 Ode I, troparion 2; the text is ambiguous as to whether the strengthening of heart is meant in terms of Manuel's resolve to have the Stone translated from Ephesos, or in terms of Manuel's physical endurance in personally carrying the Stone from the Boukoleon harbour up to the palace.

57 Ode V, troparion 2.

58 Ode IX, troparion 4.

59 Ode IX, troparion 5.

60 Ode I, troparion 2.

The composer also characterises Manuel as the bridegroom of the Song of Songs (a figure interpreted in patristic texts as typifying Christ) who gives the relic as a wedding gift to his beloved,[61] the bride of the same scriptural book (whether the bride is perhaps meant to represent the city of Constantinople generally, or the Pharos chapel more specifically, is unclear from the text). The Stone's translation is lauded as coming about through Manuel's "divine zeal",[62] and the emperor is also implicitly likened to Christ in the second stichēron: Moses is said to have chastised the unfaithful Israel of old, but Manuel leads the "new Israel" (more on this image below) and secures the continuation of his dynasty through the Stone.

To understand this allusion, we must look at the book of Deuteronomy and employ once again a patristic/associative reading of these texts. In the Old Testament text, Moses speaks of a prophet to come after him: "The Lord your God will raise up for you a prophet like me from your brothers; you shall heed him. … And the Lord said to me, … 'I will raise up for them a prophet just like you from among their brothers, and I will give my word in his mouth, and he shall speak to them whatever I command him. And the person who does not heed his words, whatever the prophet may speak in my name, I will exact vengeance from him.'"[63] Patristic authors such as Augustine of Hippo interpret this passage as referring to Jesus Christ as the one foretold by Moses: the prophet whom all should heed and who is sent by God.[64] This complex allusion not only strengthens the notion of Manuel specifically as a divine king, but the subtext of the scriptural passage and its injunction on Israel to heed the prophet to come after Moses also has a special echo here, given the controversy over the emperor's interpretation of Christ's saying in the gospels, "My father is greater than I" and Manuel's direct involvement in theological affairs.[65]

The Christ-like nature of Manuel is also called to mind in the office through some instances of the usage of the term χριστός ("anointed"). Unlike with kings and other rulers in medieval western Europe, Byzantine emperors were rarely physically anointed as part of the coronation rites or ascension to the throne prior to the Palaiologan recapture of Constantinople after the Latin occupation following the Fourth Crusade in 1261; yet in all cases, the emperor was considered by

61 Ode I, troparion 4.

62 Kathisma; Ode VIII, troparion 2.

63 Deut 18:15–19.

64 Cf. Lienhard 2002, esp. p. 382, where he cites Augustine, *Tractates on the Gospel of John* 15.23.1. It would not be impossible that the great late antique exegete Origen, given what is known of his immense theological output, commented on this passage in his works on Deuteronomy; however, as Lienhard also notes (ibid., p. 376), none of Origen's homilies on this Old Testament book have survived.

65 John 14:28; on this controversy and the concomitant ecclesiastical synod called to resolve it, see: Magdalino 2002, 289–290; a full bibliography of sources and scholarship on the Council of 1166 is provided in Podolak/Zago 2016, 78, n. 4.

Byzantine society to be spiritually 'anointed' by God to be sovereign.[66] 'The Lord's anointed'—his χριστός—could thus also be an image applied to any emperor. Here, Skylitzēs makes such an application in several places, where the absence of an article preceding the word can allow for the double meaning of 'Christ' as signifying not only the God-man Jesus Christ, but also the emperor Manuel.[67] In the second troparion of Ode I, we hear that "a venerable stone … has been delivered to us by the command of Christ" (λίθος … σεβάσμιος ἡμῖν ἀποδέδοται τῇ ἐπινεύσει χριστοῦ). The historical chronicles mentioned above note that the Stone was brought to Constantinople at the behest of the anointed sovereign Manuel, and the ambiguity in referent here is only resolved at the end of the troparion where a clearer distinction is made between (Jesus) Christ and Manuel, whose heart was moved to this deed by divine inspiration. The first troparion of Ode III is again ambiguous: the first portion of the sentence reads, "Let all the nations behold Christ's ineffable strength (χριστοῦ τὴν ἀπόρρητον ἰσχύν)"—which again, given the historical chronicle background, could be referring to the strength of the 'anointed' Manuel bearing the stone—and only clearly resolves the meaning in favour of Jesus Christ at the end of the hymn in reference to the Stone receiving the "deified flesh" of the Saviour.

A final stark example of this divine character of Manuel's is provided by two similar examples at the beginning and ending of the office. Near the start of the office in the final stichēron, upon the solemn occasion of the relic's translation, the assembled people are encouraged to make an offering, not to God, but to the sovereign: "Come, O people of God! As we worship with fear and joy, let us bring an offering of thanksgiving with prayers to the emperor."[68] The term for "offering of thanksgiving" in the hymn text here is χαριστήριον, which usually refers to thank-offerings made to deities in Classical Greek[69] and is also used in connection with the Christian god and the Byzantine emperor in Middle Byzantine texts.[70] Of course, "emperor" here could be referring to God, given the prior addressee of

66 Cf. "Salbung" in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online: Religionspsyhologie – Samaritaner*, https://www.degruyter.com/database/TRE/entry/tre.29_707_29/html (accessed 28/01/2022) and Lilie 2012.

67 Cf. Stichēron 1; Ode I, troparia 1, 2, 3, 5; Ode III, troparia 1, 2, 3; Ode IV, troparia 1, 3; Ode V, troparia 2, 4; Ode VI, troparion 4; Ode VII, troparia 3, 4; Ode VIII, troparia 2, 3; Ode IX, troparia 4, 5; Exaposteilarion.

68 Stichēron 3.

69 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "χαριστήριον, τό".

70 A *TLG* search shows the term used by John of Damascus, *Sacred Parallels* 5.8, PG 95.1465: "Give an offering of thanksgiving to God" (Δός τι Θεῷ χαριστήριον, translation mine); Michael Attaliatēs, *History* 34.8, where the author notes "I who am writing this presented an oration of thanks (χαριστήριον λόγον) to the emperor" (transl. by Kaldellis/Krallis, p. 533); Anna Komnēnē, *Alexias*, ed. by Reinsch/Kambylis, 15.11.7: "we sen[t] up an offering of thanksgiving to God" (χαριστήριον ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ Θεῷ, translation mine).

the "people of God" to make this offering;[71] however, the fact that we find no further adjective or phrase delimiting the term βασιλεύς here unambiguously to God (such as "heavenly" or "on high" or "above") continues Skylitzēs's pointed ambiguity throughout these texts, which allows the hearer/reader to link Manuel with such epithets and such activities: here, then, we can understand Manuel as the divine recipient of the people's offerings. The same ambiguity and imagery is deployed again near the end of the service in the first troparion of Ode IX. There, "a special people of God" (λαὸς περιούσιος) keeps festival at the Stone's translation and "offers the hymn of thanksgiving to the emperor, who has bestowed this gift of grace" (προσάγει τὸν εὐχαριστήριον βασιλεῖ τῷ τὴν χάριν βραβεύσαντι). As Antonopoulou notes in her apparatus,[72] the use of the term "special" (περιούσιος) here recalls both the Israel of the Old Testament (Exod 19:5) and the Christian church of the New Testament, which is proclaimed to be a new Israel (Titus 2:14). The "hymn of thanksgiving" (εὐχαριστήριον, a term also carrying overtones of offerings to a deity in both pagan and Christian contexts[73]) is directed here not to God, but to the sovereign; through this application of vocabulary, the hymn situates the people of the city witnessing the spectacle of the Stone's translation in a sanctified relationship as 'special' with respect not only to God, but also the emperor—a continuation of the imagery declaimed in the military harangues of Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, as seen in the previous chapter. To my mind, the divine connection is also further strengthened by the fact that the thanksgiving is made in return for a gift of grace (χάριν), a word also heavy-laden with spiritual and religious connotations.[74]

The actions and status of the emperor as being divine and divinely pleasing are further emphasised by the frequent mentions of David, the biblical king par excellence who pleased God;[75] he is referred to as the "son" of God in the Old Testament[76] (just as Jesus is in the New Testament[77]) and was also considered in Byzantine tradition to be an inspired prophet and the composer of much of the

71 Here one should also bear in mind the fact that basileus is the normal term for referring to God as a celestial king in both the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament (translating the Hebrew *melek*) and the frequent mentions in the New Testament of the "kingdom of God" (βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ) or the "kingdom of heaven" (βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν) in clear reference to the divinity as king.

72 Antonopoulou 2013, 134.

73 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "εὐχαριστήριον, τό"; Lampe, s.v. "εὐχαριστήριον, τό".

74 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "χάρις, ἡ"; Lampe, s.v. "χάρις, ἡ".

75 On David pleasing God in scripture, cf. 1 Kgdms 13:14; 3 Kgdms 15:5; Acts 13:22. In the liturgical office under discussion here: Ode III, troparion 4; Ode V, troparia 1, 5; Ode VI, troparion 5; Ode VII, troparion 4. The abundance of Davidic references is also mentioned by Antonopoulou 2013, 119. In general on the Byzantine interpretation of the figure of David vis-à-vis the emperor, see also: Rapp 2010 and Ousterhout 2010.

76 2 Kgdms 7:14, "I will be a father to him, and he shall be a son to me."

77 Matt 14:33, 16:16, 27:54; Mark 1:1, 3:11, 9:7, 15:39; Luke 1:35, 4:41; John 1:34, 11:27, 20:31; Acts 9:20, in addition to numerous other locations in the Epistles.

book of Psalms.[78] David is also mentioned as one who "passes over" (διαβαίνοντος) the waters into the Holy Land, in this case the River Jordan, much as Manuel is spoken of as doing the same in his return to the city with the relic.[79] These references to David continue the familiar trope of likening the Byzantine ruler to the Israelite king, as can be seen in the tenth-century liturgical texts for the Mandylion's translation,[80] before that at the start of the same century with Arethas's description of Leo VI translating the relics of Lazaros into the city,[81] and in the earliest centuries of Byzantine rule.[82] Moreover, Manuel is also hailed as one who has fulfilled biblical prophecy in bringing the Stone to the city,[83] further cementing the parallels between him and David (said to have uttered the prophecies in the Psalms) and Jesus Christ (said in the New Testament to have fulfilled such prophecies).

This holy and sacred character of the Komnēnian emperor is not merely expressed via Old Testament types and images; Skylitzēs explicitly describes Manuel as "pious" and "orthodox" in several places,[84] underscoring his correct faith and, perhaps again, his correct tack in the theological controversies in which he was embroiled. As Antonopoulou pointedly notes, "in the aftermath of the Synod [of 1166], the translation of the Stone can be seen as a statement on the part of the emperor … declaring his immediate, physical as well as spiritual, contact with the divinity. It thus implied the correctness of his ideas … imposed on the Synod. This situation is reflected in Skylitzes' Office."[85] Yet beyond the ideas of divinity and Christian piety and prophecy explicitly linked to the individual person of Manuel, I believe that Skylitzēs also seeks to stress another, non-scriptural but very much Roman (i.e., 'Byzantine' in the Byzantines' own sense of themselves being Roman and their realm being the continuation of the Roman Empire), characteristic of Manuel, and

78 Most likely based on the superscriptions of some psalms which attribute them to David (Gr. τῷ Δαυΐδ, Heb. *l*^{e}*dāwid*); historical ascriptions, however, are far from sound on the basis of historical critical research and in-depth linguistic analysis. On this, see the great linguistic study (and groundbreaking translation involving a full comparison with other Canaanite dialects, not yet surpassed yet seldom consulted) in Dahood 1965–1970. More recently, see Daly-Denton 2000, especially chapter 2, "Davidic 'Authorship' of the Psalms" (pp. 59–101), and Skinner 2016.

79 For David: 2 Kdgms 19:18–23, which also serves as a locus demonstrating David's total authority over life and death as sovereign; for Manuel here, see Stichēron 2.

80 Cf. Appendix A-1: Ode I, troparion 4; Ode III, troparion 1; Ode VI, troparion 4; Ode VIII, troparion 3; Ode IX, troparion 3; and in Appendix A-2: Ode IV, troparion 3.

81 Cf. Arethas of Caesarea, *Disembarkation Speech for the Precious Relics of Lazaros, which the Christ-loving Emperor Leo Translated from Cyprus* (Ἐπιβατήριος ἐπὶ τοῖς τιμίοις λειψάνοις Λαζάρου, ἃ Λέων ὁ φιλόχριστος βασιλεὺς ἐκ Κύπρου μετήνεγκεν), in his *Homilies*, ed. by Westerink, 7–10.

82 Cf. here again Rapp 2010.

83 Ode I, troparion 1. Antonopoulou 2013, 124, notes the scriptural reference here as being Isa 28:16.

84 Stichēron 2; Kathisma; Ode VI, troparion 3; Ode VII, troparion 1; Ode VIII, troparion 2.

85 Antonopoulou 2013, 118.

does so via the terms used for the sovereign in the texts. In addition to the term basileus, which is the standard Septuagint and New Testament term for "king", Skylitzēs addresses Manuel with two other terms: (1) autokratōr,[86] used not in the Classical Greek adjectival sense of "independent" or "plenipotentiary" but in the later Greek noun sense as a translation of the Latin *dictator* or *imperator*, and referring to the emperor as the one who had complete power and authority;[87] and (2) *anax*,[88] dating to Homeric times and denoting the lordship of the gods, heroes, or masters of the house in terms of their complete dominion over family members and slaves (all of which could be resonant here with Manuel),[89] which word is also used later by Christian authors of the patristic era to refer to God as divine king,[90] as well as by later Middle Byzantine rhetors in orations to, and poems about, the emperor.[91] Besides its use in directly referring to Emperor Manuel, the term also serves as the basis for deriving a designation for the Stone's final destination after its translation. In Ode III of the kanōn, the command is given for the "gates of the palaces" to be lifted up (ἀρθήτωσαν πύλαι ἀνακτόρων). As Antonopoulou notes in the apparatus to her edition, this is a reference to Psalm 23,[92] which speaks of God as the triumphant king of heaven, entering his palace which none other may dare approach. The verses alluded to in the psalm (vv. 7, 9) speak of "eternal gates" (πύλαι αἰώνιοι) that are to be lifted, and of "princes" or "leaders" (οἱ ἄρχοντες) who are to assist, but the use of the term *anaktoron* here, designating the home of the anax or supreme lord (and thus showing possession of the gates by the lord in question, rather than their mere operation by the scriptural princes), allows Skylitzēs to connect this psalm—with all its language of God, the divine heavenly king (βασιλεύς,

86 Alluded to in the mention of the emperor's self-rule (αὐτοκρατορία) in the preface; cf. also Ode I, troparion 2; Ode VI, troparion 3; Ode VII, troparion 1.

87 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ"; *CGL*, s.v. "αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ". Early Christian authors primarily use the word with its imperial meaning, with the meaning of self-control or -mastery being secondary; cf. Lampe, s.v. "αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ".

88 Ode I, troparion 4; Ode III, troparion 2; Kathisma; Ode VIII, troparion 2; Ode IX, troparion 5.

89 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἄναξ, ὁ"; *CGL*, s.v. "ἄναξ, ὁ".

90 Cf. Lampe, s.v. "ἄναξ, ὁ", who mentions such authors as Apollinarios, Gregory of Nazianzos, and John of Damascus.

91 While the 11th-century poets Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous use divine imagery when speaking of the emperor in some of their works, the combination of this imagery with the term anax really comes to the fore in the poems of Theodore Prodromos, who uses the term in works for Manuel's father, John II Komnēnos (poem 4, "Political dekastichs for the demes at the triumphal procession of Emperor John Komnēnos for the capture of Kastamon", in the edition by Hörandner, p. 201; poem 6, "Description of the entrance of the emperor John Komnēnos after the capture of Kastamon, in heroic verse", in ibid., p. 220; poem 10, "Hymn to Emperor John Komnēnos on the Baptism of Christ, for the demes, in three verses", in ibid., p. 248). On changes in Byzantine poetry between these two centuries, including issues of individualism, patronage, the revival of more ancient vocabulary and forms, and questions of audience and invective, see Magdalino 2013.

92 Antonopoulou 2013, 126.

used here in the Septuagint translation[93]), triumphantly returning from battle and gloriously ascending his mountain to "his holy place"[94]—to the earthly basileus Manuel, as he makes the ascent from the Boukoleon harbour in glory with the prized relic to his own 'holy place', the Great Palace and the Pharos chapel.

Indeed, "anax" is the final term used to refer to Manuel in the texts, curiously in the final troparion of Ode IX, the so-called theotokion, which usually has as its focus the Virgin.[95] Instead, the emphasis here is firmly on the emperor, mentioned one last time as the singers beseech the Theotokos to "make the lord Manuel (Μανουὴλ τὸν ἄνακτα) also worthy of the kingdom of God." Though the context of this final troparion is very much Christian in nature (reference to the prophet Daniel, the Mother of God, Christ, the kingdom of God), the usage of the word "anax"—laden as it is with pre-Christian, pagan, and indeed *Roman* ideas of kingship and power—might be a sign of the final image Skylitzēs wishes to leave in the minds of his hearers: namely, that of Manuel as a divinely-sanctioned and God-pleasing ruler, and himself perhaps also sharing in this divine status in some fashion. This would indeed be consonant with the Roman imperial notion of the emperor as an 'iconic' person in the terminology of Ivanovici, namely, "persons whose bodies were held to represent the divine"[96]—a notion that survived the demise of paganism and endured in the Eastern Roman Empire in later centuries[97] such that Anna Komnēnē could speak of her royal parents as being "natural statues",[98] while the physician Michael Italikos could consider Emperor Manuel during his lifetime as a living and moving "statue" representing the heavenly king in singular fashion.[99]

4.3.4.2 Civic imagery

Roman elements are mixed with biblical ones, not only in the imperial imagery deployed by Skylitzēs, but also in the civic imagery evoked by him in this liturgical office, a set of imagery mentioned only fleetingly by Antonopoulou in her study.[100]

93 Cf. Ps 23:7–10.

94 Ps 23:3.

95 On this term, cf. Mary/Ware 1969, 559.

96 Ivanovici 2023, xxv.

97 Ivanovici 2023, xxxvi.

98 Cf. Marsengill 2018, 96, who refers here to Anna Komnēnē, *Alexias*, ed. by Reinsch/Kambylis, 3.3, an extended passage in which the author describes as paragons of beauty and classical form "these natural statues, I mean, the newly-crowned rulers" (τὰ τῆς φύσεως ἀγάλματα ταῦτα, λέγω δὴ τοὺς ἀρτιστεφεῖς αὐτοκράτορας, translation mine) surpassing the canon of the celebrated classical sculptor Polykleitos.

99 Ivanovici 2023, 37, who cites Michael Italikos, *Letters and Orations*, ed. by Gautier, p. 294: τοῦ δ' ἄνω βασιλέως καὶ σὲ βασιλεύσαντος ἄγαλμα περινοστεῖς ἐνταῦθα, βασιλεῦ, ἔμπνουν τε καὶ κινούμενον καὶ οὐκ οἶδα εἴ τις τούτῳ γέγονε τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ὁμοιότερος ("You dwell here below as a living and moving statue of the King above who made you king, O emperor, and I don't know of anyone else on earth more like him", translation taken from Magdalino 2002, 437).

100 Antonopoulou 2013, 117.

As noted above, nowhere is the Byzantine capital named as such: we have no mention of Constantinople or Byzantion, and in only one instance do we hear of a "royal city" (πόλιν βασίλειαν);[101] the common Middle Byzantine epithets of "ruling" or "first" city (πόλις βασιλεύουσα/πρωτεύουσα), as well as that of the "Queen of Cities" (βασιλὶς τῶν πόλεων), are absent here. In fact, it is noteworthy that the one mention of a royal city is precisely that: *a* royal city, not *the* royal city, the lack of the definite article here further obviating Constantinople per se as a focal point amidst the events and figures narrated here, and thus casting the limelight back on the ruler and the relic. The language that *is* used in terms of locating the events is a combination of both Christian scriptural images and Roman imperial parlance: namely, that of new Zion and new Rome.

References to new Zion occur throughout the office,[102] but the contexts do not permit a clear determination of what exactly is being referred to as such. Given the abundance of references to the relic of the Holy Stone when we do hear of 'new Zion', however, and Skylitzēs's mention of new Zion being the destination of the object, I am inclined to believe that the referent here is the Pharos chapel, rather than the city of Constantinople. 'New Zion' as a term is applied to many places and contexts in the Middle Byzantine period, both within the imperial capital and without,[103] but a slight variation on this theme in the office allows for further speculation and interpretation. In one location, Skylitzēs speaks of the Holy Stone being brought up, covered noetically by invisible angel wings, "towards the newer Zion" (πρὸς Σιὼν τὴν νεωτέραν).[104] First, as noted above in this chapter, the Holy Stone was too large for a proper reliquary or case to hold it, but the notion of a 'noetic' or 'spiritual' covering, as was proper for other relics in the Middle Byzantine period,[105] could suggest as destination somewhere indeed like the Pharos chapel, renowned for its role as imperial relic treasury. Second, while there are instances of 'other' or 'second' Zions in extant Greek literature, the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* database records not a single instance of "new*er* Zion"—not even the one here in Skylitzēs's office. We do know, however, of another secretary of the imperial bureaucracy who speaks of a new Zion: Gregory Antiochos, who uses the term specifically to refer to the cathedral of Holy Wisdom in a homily from the same time period.[106] Disagreeing outright with Gregory in shifting the attribution of this term from the catedral to the palace lighthouse chapel would probably have been a gauche move for Skylitzēs, especially since Gregory was also known from his speeches for his support of "imperial omnipotence", as Kazhdan notes.[107] Adding the subtle twist of 'new*er*' Zion in

101 Stichēron 3.
102 Ode I, troparion 1; Kathisma; Ode VII, troparion 1.
103 Cf. above for discussion on this in chapter 2, section 2.3.2.
104 Ode VII, troparion 2.
105 On the hiddenness of relics here, see above chapter 2, n. 286.
106 For reference, see above chapter 2, n. 163.
107 Cf. "Antiochos, Gregory" in *ODB* 1:119.

reference to the Pharos chapel would not only serve to avoid a potentially embarrassing confrontation at court between the two bureaucrats, but would also highlight the historical reality (the Pharos chapel was built after Hagia Sophia and came to prominence later) while permitting for individual rhetorical emphasis (this mention of "newer Zion" in Ode VII is in fact the final mention of Zion in the office). Lastly, the phrase "newer Zion" might also be an allusion to the phraseology of Elder Rome and New(er) (sometimes translated as: Younger) Rome, which figures both in earlier, late antique reflections on the city's architecture and topography (albeit collected in the late tenth century and further amended in the 11th)[108] as well as in some of the laudatory poetry of Gregory and George's Constantinopolitan contemporary, Theodore Prodromos.[109] Just as Constantinople—as New Rome—overtakes Old Rome in terms of importance and prestige, maintaining a continuous unbroken bond of tradition while embodying a new start in a new locale[110]—so too might Skylitzēs here be positioning the Pharos chapel precisely as this kind of Newer Zion: continuing the tradition of Zion-based imagery while making a subtle break to push for greater application thereof to the home of the Holy Stone. Yet the continuation of Zion in the heart of the Byzantine Empire is not the only ancient thread maintained in Skylitzēs's texts. Unlike Prodromos, he makes no comparison and simply speaks

108 One finds such reflection, for instance, in the so-called *Patria* or "inherited things" of Constantinople. An edition of the Greek text was published by Theodor Preger in two volumes between 1901–1907; an English translation appeared in 2013, prepared by Albrecht Berger. A comprehensive study of this text and the themes evoked therein can be found in the now-classic work by Dagron 1984.

109 Prodromos was a poet at the court of John II Komnēnos, known for the range of his work in terms of poetry and prose, bawdy images from everyday life and celestial themes in archaic vocabulary. Little, alas, is known about him personally; cf. "Prodromos, Theodore" in *ODB* 3:1726–1727; on the use of the phrase "newer Rome" in Prodromos's œuvre, see his poem 17 ("Dekastichs to Emperor John Komnēnos on his new expedition against the Persians: prayers taken from all the prophets" in the Hörandner edition, pp. 286–300), where imagery of David is mixed with that of the emperor (ll. 41–42: "Listen, O divine emperor, O radiant trophy-bearer, what the ancient David [says] to you, the new David" [Ἄκουσον, θεῖε βασιλεῦ, λαμπρὲ τροπαιοφόρε, / ἅπερ Δαυὶδ ὁ παλαιὸς σοί, τῷ Δαυὶδ τῷ νέῳ]), and the names Zion and Rome equally applied to the city of Constantinople, albeit with the twist that the Byzantine capital is new Zion but new*er* Rome (l. 121: "Arise, O daughter of Zion, younger Rome" [Ἀνάστα, θύγατερ Σιών, ἡ νεωτέρα Ῥώμη]; l. 271: "Rejoice with me, O city of Byzantium, rejoice, O new Zion" [Χαῖρε μοι, πόλις Βυζαντίς, χαῖρε, Σιὼν ἡ νέα]) (translations mine). Prodromos's poetry, and particularly poem 17 (namely, ll. 371–374), are also mentioned in the study by Eshel 2018, 151, where the author notes how Prodromos applies the imagery of Zion and the chosen people of Israel to Constantinople and its denizens (albeit referring here always to New Rome, whereas the poem in l. 374 speaks clearly of the new Israel as being planted "in a good and rich land, in the new*er* Rome" (ἐν γῇ καλῇ καὶ πίονι, τῇ νεωτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ) (translation and italics mine).

110 A sentiment seen at the beginning of Michael Psellos's *Brief History*, which he begins thus: "This is a brief history of those who reigned in Elder Rome and later in the Younger…" (Ἱστορία σύντομος τῶν παρὰ τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ βασιλευσάντων καὶ αὖθις τῇ νεωτέρᾳ…), as noted by Kampianaki 2016, 311.

thrice of "New Rome" (Νέα Ῥώμη), the importance and significance of this appellation being clarified by the context of the respective hymns in which it appears.

The first instance of New Rome appears at the beginning of Ode V, which (given the absent second ode) is the middle point of the kanōn. The initial troparion of this ode is short but densely packed with imagery: David the king is mentioned, with the words of the psalm attributed to him[111] being applied to Manuel, whose crown is said to be adorned with a precious stone, to wit the Holy Stone, with the result that "having given this [stone] also to New Rome, he [sc. Manuel] has ruled over all things by his counsel and action."[112] The second troparion of the same ode continues the theme of divine assistance to the king in his counsels; the third troparion recalls the punishment of death that befell Uzzah for touching the ark of the covenant when the oxcart carrying it began to tilt[113] and speaks of angels invisibly defending the Stone; the fourth troparion speaks of Christ being laid on the Stone and sanctifying the relic (or perhaps Manuel as a new 'Joseph of Arimathea' carrying the stone);[114] while the theotokion concluding the ode again speaks of David, the image of Christ as a sleeping lion on the Stone[115] (which in a patristic/associative reading would also evoke the image of the namesake stone lions at Boukoleon harbour near the Great Palace) and Christ's eternal rule as king after being raised from the dead. In my reading, then, the midpoint of the liturgical office can be understood as positioning Manuel as a Davidic and Christ-like king—fulfilling the Christian imperial trope—whose sacred Stone remains hidden by angelic powers in New Rome. Again, I believe that the context of the ode here permits one to understand New Rome as being the Pharos chapel, rather than the city as a whole. In such a reading, the imagery of New Rome joins with that of New Zion to colour the Pharos chapel with a patina of Mosaic and Roman ideas of divine imperial rule and authority.

New Rome appears again in two hymns at the very end of the liturgical office, thus also positioning this epithet as the final and enduring civic image in the mind of Skylitzēs's hearer/reader. In the fourth troparion of Ode IX before the final theotokion, the singers of the office pray that Manuel's sceptre be strengthened by the Holy Stone, which has been "brought up to New Rome" at the emperor's command. In the final hymn of the office, the exaposteilarion, we hear that a "joyful day of solemn celebration has dawned for the city of God, New Rome", into which the Stone has been brought. The equation of "city of God" with "New Rome" might at first sight (or hearing) lead us to think of the *city*, that is, of Constantinople. Given the many scriptural allusions and citations woven into the text by Skylitzēs, however, I believe that another locus for interpreting "city of God" here is precisely this scriptural matrix. Psalm 47, for instance, speaks of "God's city, his holy mountain" and

111 Cf. Ps 20:4, noted by Antonopoulou 2013, 129.

112 Ode VII, troparion 1.

113 Cf. 2 Kgdms 6:6–7, noted by Antonopoulou 2013, 129.

114 Cf. Appendix C, n. 26, where the ambiguity of the Greek text here is also noted.

115 Cf. Gen 49:9, Abraham's famous blessing upon his son Judah the "lion".

the "mountains of Zion, the slopes of the north, the city of the great king",[116] while Psalm 86 speaks of God's foundations being "on the holy mountains", "the Lord lov[ing] the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob", and "glorious things [having been] spoken about you, the city of God."[117] While this scriptural language, with which Skylitzēs and the educated among the office's hearers would have been familiar, permits one to construe the "city of God" with Zion and thus New Zion (in my reading here = the Pharos chapel), Skylitzēs shifts the theme into another key by uniting "city of God" with another imperial image, that of New Rome: an image permissive of a deified emperor and divine ruler on earth, all while lauding the same as being pious and fully orthodox in "counsel and action".

Before passing on to the imagery of the Stone itself, it is curious to note here also the civic imagery *absent* from the service in terms of places and persons who remain unnamed. As mentioned above in the first look at the preface to the office, no reference whatsoever is made to the relic's city of origin, namely Ephesos. Mention is thrice made of the location whence the Stone has been brought to the capital, and each time the place is referred to merely as "the East".[118] The specific word used in each instance is ἑῴα; this word, meaning "of the dawn", is recorded as being used in Greek translations of Roman imperial administration documents to refer to the Eastern parts of the empire, standing for the Latin *oriens*.[119] The use of such an imperial Roman term, rather than the more common (but undoubtedly more theologically laden) term ἀνατολή,[120] might further serve to heighten, even in the absence of a direct mention of Ephesos, the Roman imperial character of Manuel's actions here, summoning something from part of the 'Roman'[121] empire over which he ruled. Be that as it may, we still have no explicit explanation for why Ephesos is veiled in silence. In her analysis, Antonopoulou posits that eschewing any mention of Ephesos was "advantageous for the imperial effort required for the translation in terms of distance and echoes the older translations of Passion relics from the East to the capital."[122] I would add that the advantage here was derived from a clear focus being placed in the liturgical office on the destination, rather than the starting point, of the Stone's journey.

Sharing Ephesos's lot of obscurity in the texts are indeed most people and power-players beyond the emperor Manuel. The inhabitants of the city are important and mentioned only insofar as they represent a new Israel or people of God juxtaposted

116 Cf. Ps 47:2–3.

117 Cf. Ps 86:1–3.

118 Stichēron 1; Kathisma; Ode VII, troparion 2.

119 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἑῷος"; *CGL*, s.v. "ἠῷος".

120 Cf. Lampe, s.v. "ἀνατολή, ἡ".

121 The debate on proper nomenclature for the field of Byzantine studies vis-à-vis the Byzantines' own terms of self-reference is extensive, ongoing, and beyond the scope of this work. One of the contemporary proponents of a return to the Byzantines' own sense of self as being "Roman(s)" and using such vocabulary to refer to this empire is Anthony Kaldellis; see especially Kaldellis 2012 and Kaldellis 2019.

122 Antonopoulou 2013, 117.

with a quite divinely characterised Manuel, as shown in the foregoing. The Constantinopolitan civic and religious elite also remain an anonymous and ambiguous collective group. Though Kinnamos explicitly mentions Patriarch Luke as taking part in the translation procession, as well as representatives of the Senate and civic leaders, Skylitzēs refrains from naming the prelate, as Antonopoulou points out.[123] But more than this, I believe the patriarch—like Ephesos—is actively de-emphasised here in the hymns through this kind of generalisation. Ode VI recounts that "patriarchs, hierarchs, and a people gathered together by God ran together with Manuel",[124] whereas an unnamed group of "the hierarchs of Christ" receives a blessing in venerating the Holy Stone with praise in Ode VIII.[125] The use of plural terms here (especially the plural "patriarchs") could be a subtle reference to other patriarchs residing in the Byzantine capital; we know that after the wars with the Seljūq Turks in the 11th century, many Christians and their bishops took refuge in Constantinople,[126] and the presence of the patriarchs of Antioch in the city is noted in this period.[127] Then again, it could also be simply a rhetorical move meant to eliminate any focus on the specific patriarch present. As for the Senate and other high functionaries, Skylitzēs passes over them in complete silence; the name of the emperor Manuel alone is permitted to resound at the translation of the Holy Stone and upon him alone does any personal focus fall in the texts.[128] Nevertheless, the office does not only speak of the emperor and his 'city', filled with its nameless new Israel and clergy: the holy relic at the heart of this translation office is accorded a rich series of images by the author, which I also categorise in tripartite fashion. To this imagery of the Stone itself—this 'lithic' imagery—we now shift our gaze.

4.3.4.3 Lithic imagery

4.3.4.3.1 Appearance of the Stone: colour and dimensions

In terms of the actual relic itself, very little is said of its appearance, either in the historical chronicle texts presented above or in the liturgical texts that are being

123 Antonopoulou 2013, 116.

124 Ode VI, troparion 3.

125 Ode VIII, troparion 3

126 Many of these bishops are noted for being present and active in the so-called "permanent synod" (ἐνδημοῦσα σύνοδος) of the Church of Constantinople after taking refuge in the capital in this period. On this body, whose influence increases in the Middle Byzantine period with the addition of these extraneous bishops, cf. in brief "Endemousa Synodos" in *ODB* 1:697 and more fully Hajjar 1962.

127 In particular Theodore Balsamōn, the canon lawyer and later patriarch of the church of Antioch, noted for his high view of the sacrality of the emperor (and critiqued by others for this, notably by Nicholas Kabasilas); cf. "Balsamon, Theodore" in *ODB* 1:249. For more on his poetry, see Rhoby 2018; on his activity as a canonist, see Stevens 1969, Gallagher 1991, and Gallagher 1996.

128 Also noted by Antonopoulou 2013, 116.

closely examined here. From the extended quotation of Chōniatēs above, we read that the Stone was a "slab of red marble the length of a man" (λίθος ἐρυθρὸς ἀνδρομήκης). A clear colour term is given in this chronicle text, and the kathisma hymn composed by Skylitzēs speaks of the Stone as being like *lychnitēs*, which could mean either a kind of precious stone of red hue, or else be a reference to Parian marble, a semi-translucent whitish marble which can become reddish in hue when light shines through it.[129] The length of the Stone cannot be determined exactly, but Mango—basing himself on the testimony of a 15th-century Spanish diplomat who visited the Pantokratōr monastery and Manuel's tomb, Ruy González de Clavijo—offers a measurement of 1.70–1.80 metres for the length of the Stone, which would be consonant with a typical male human height and which Antonopoulou in her review neither dismisses nor refutes.[130] On account of this size, as mentioned above, it is understandable why there would be no reliquary or case for the Stone, and as such, it is not surprising that the language of relic containers is absent from Skylitzēs's office: the normal words one would expect to encounter—"ark" (κιβωτός), "case" (θήκη), "casket" (σορός), or "box/chest" (λάρναξ)—are nowhere to be found. In her short study of the text, however, Antonopoulou does note a few instances where vocabulary might be alluding to the Stone's dimensions. In one location, the Stone is described (here literally, rather than freely) as a "slab" (πλάξ)—albeit in a troparion where reference and pun is made on the crushed tables of the law which Moses received inscribed by God (πλάκας θεογράφους);[131] this image and language of "slab" or "tablet", however, is not sustained throughout the office. Elsewhere, Antonopoulou takes the third troparion of Ode VIII as bearing indirect evidence of the Stone's man-length size via the adjective σύσσωμον used there,[132] yet this word simply means "united with the/a body", and in the context of the entire phrase in which it is used (λόγον Θεοῦ σύσσωμον), the more apparent stress in meaning to my mind is the dogmatic point about Christ being the Word of God incarnate in a body, rather than the anatomical point of body length. Finally, she cites a usage of the verb τείνω, meaning "to stretch" (here the aorist passive participle, ταθείς[133]) as "impl[ying] the length of the stone." Whether one reads the word thus, or as τεθείς, the aorist passive participle of τίθημι ("to put, place"),[134] these are simply verbs of motion with reference to the dead and crucified body of

129 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "λυχνίτης, ὁ"; the *LBG* documents what seems to be a related word, s.v. "λυχνιταῖος, ὁ", meaning "ruby", together with other similar words on the same root (τὸ λυχνιτάριον, a stone shining with reddish hue; ἡ λυχνῖτις, meaning basically the same as ὁ λυχνίτης; and the adjective λυχνιτώδης, meaning "ruby-like").

130 Antonopoulou 2013, 113, who cites Mango and his original sources for determining the length: cf. Mango 1969/1970, 374.

131 Stichēron 2; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 115.

132 Antonopoulou 2013, 115.

133 Ode VIII, troparion 2.

134 Noted by Antonopoulou 2013, 115, and in the edition apparatus, ibid., 133.

Christ placed on the Stone. To see in either verb form a necessary implication of the length of Christ's body is, linguistically at least, a bit of a stretch. The imagery and descriptions we do have of the Stone in the liturgical office, on the contrary, abound in three main categories: imagery of blood, imagery of water, and imagery of action. Given that the effusion of both blood and water is intimately connected with the crucifixion of Christ,[135] it should not surprise the hearer/reader to be confronted again with blood and water in the context of this particular Passion relic.

4.3.4.3.2 Blood

The first set of images revolves around blood, occasioned both by the tale of the relic as bearing the bloodied corpse of Jesus as well as by the Stone's reddish hue.[136] The first stichēron of the office introduces the theme of the bloodied Christ laid on the Stone by Joseph of Arimathea, and in the third stichēron, a strange exchange of characteristics takes place. The relic is called a "precious stone" (λίθος τίμιος) which received upon its surface the crucified Lord. This Lord is then equated in the hymn with "the cornerstone that had been cut without any mason" (λίθον τὸν ἀκρόγωνον τὸν ἀλαξεύτως τμηθέντα), a reference to both Old Testament prophecy and New Testament interpretations of this image as being types of Christ,[137] and is himself described as this stone, covered in divine blood and drenched in the tears of both the Virgin and the disciple John (more on these tears below). Immediately following this hymn, though, the first troparion of Ode I of the kanōn speaks of the relic, the "precious stone", as being wholly hallowed by the blood that dripped from Christ. The fluid imagery of blood seems to allow for a fluid understanding of the relic: the Stone in this reading is not merely a contact relic, a kind of Byzantine *brandeum*, but perhaps embodies the very presence of Christ (although unable to represent him in the way that the Mandylion as icon-relic can).

This identification of the sanctified with the sanctifier might also be seen as being continued in the language of "dipping" or "dyeing" (forms of the Greek verb βάπτω) as well as that of "becoming red" (the verb κατερυθρόομαι) which also emerge from the office. The kontakion speaks of the Holy Stone as being "dyed by a stream of divinely flowing blood" (ῥοῇ δὲ βαφεὶς τοῦ θεορρύτου αἵματος) and Ode IX of the kanōn speaks of Christ's body parts—his hands, feet, and sides—being dyed or dipped (βεβαμμένα) in blood. Antonopoulou does not cite any scriptural references in her apparatus for either term, but it is conceivable that the biblically literate Skylitzēs, who speaks of the "reddened flesh" (σάρκα … κατηρυθρωμένην) of Christ,[138] might have had in mind here Isaiah 63, which offers rich parallels to his liturgical office. This chapter in the prophetic book opens with questions of

135 Cf. John 19:34; also 1 John 5:6–8.

136 Cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 115.

137 Cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 124, who notes the following passages in her apparatus: Isa 28:16, Dan 2:34, 1 Pet 2:6, and Eph 2:20.

138 Ode IV, troparion 5.

amazement: "Who is this that comes from Edom, a redness (ἐρύθημα) of garments from Bosor, so beautiful in apparel, in might, with strength? … Why are your garments red and your clothes as if from a trodden wine press?"[139] The two questions are interrupted by an explanation from the prophet: "I discourse about righteousness and judgment of salvation",[140] and further verses in the chapter clarify that this salvation is from the Lord, who tramples and crushes the nations (τὰ ἔθνη)[141] and has a direct hand in saving his chosen people.[142] The prophet continues to speak of the people of Israel yearning for divine leadership, asking to "inherit a little of your holy mountain" since "[w]e have become as at the beginning, when you did not rule us, nor when your name was called upon us."[143] The liturgical texts, as shown in the foregoing, already activate in a patristic/associative reading the resonant images of Mount Zion, and this "little" piece of that mountain could indeed be the Holy Stone come to the city. Moreover, the final verse of Isaiah 63 here, which speaks of the divine name being called upon or over the people, could also allow for an allusion to one divine name in particular, given the people's yearning for God's presence in this prophetic utterance: *ʿimmānû ʾēl*, God-with-us, ἐμμανουήλ/Μανουήλ, especially given the instances in the liturgical office where the onomastic link between God and emperor is made clear through the use of the epithet θεώνυμος or "divinely named".[144] The divine connection of this dipping in blood and Christ is established later in the New Testament in the book of Revelation, where the perfect mediopassive participle of βάπτω is used just as in Skylitzēs's office: the victorious Saviour at the end of days appears "clad in a robe dipped in blood" (περιβεβλημένος ἱμάτιον βεβαμμένον ἐν αἵματι).[145] Patristic authors such as Origen linked this imagery from Isaiah to the assumption (ἀνάλυψις, literally "taking up") of Christ into heaven in the Gospels,[146] and John of Damascus connects the assumption to the heavenly

139 Isa 63:1–2.

140 Isa 63:1.

141 Isa 63:3.

142 Isa 63:8–9: "And he became to them salvation out of all affliction. It was not an ambassador or angel, but the Lord himself that saved them."

143 Isa 63:18–19.

144 The term appears in the liturgical office in Stichēron 1 and Ode IX, troparion 4.

145 Rev 19:13.

146 Origen of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of John* 6.37 (PG 14:297): "But when he [sc. Christ] goes as one carrying off both victory and trophy with his body that has risen from the dead—for how else ought one understand the saying, 'I have not yet ascended to my father', and 'I go to my father'—then some of the powers say, 'Who is this that comes from Edom, a redness of garments from Bosor, so beautiful?' Those going before him say to those stationed at the heavenly gates: 'Lift up your gates, O rulers, and be lifted up, O eternal gates, and the king of glory shall enter'" (Ὅτε δὲ πορεύεται νικηφόρος καὶ τροπαιοφόρος μετὰ τοῦ ἐκ νεκρῶν ἀναστάντος σώματος, πῶς γὰρ ἄλλως δεῖ νοεῖν τὸ, Οὔπω ἀναβέβηκα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου; καὶ τὸ, Πορεύομαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου; τότε μέν τινες λέγουσι δυνάμεις· Τίς οὗτος ὁ παραγενόμενος ἐξ Ἐδώμ, ἐρύθημα ἱματίων ἐκ Βοσώρ, οὕτως ὡραῖος; οἱ δὲ προπέμποντες αὐτὸν τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανίων πυλῶν

powers lifting up the gates in Psalm 23, an image seen above in this study in terms of the imperial imagery present in Skylitzēs's work.[147] This link is maintained in the liturgy of the Great Church in Constantinople in the Middle Byzantine period, which calls for the beginning of Isaiah 63 to be read as part of the Old Testament readings within its *pannychis* or vigil for this feast.[148] The Middle Byzantine liturgy of Hagia Sophia—as noted above, this was *not* the rite used in the palatine chapels, but would have been familiar to Skylitzēs—contains a hymn for the feast of the Assumption of Christ which has the chanter ask rhetorically how he might "ascend the mountain of virtues" and "enter the place of good things",[149] phrases allowing for allusion both to Zion in terms of location and to relics in terms of the good things sought after making such an ascent.[150] The same hymn also speaks of Christ having become for the singer "the way of justice (δικαιοσύνη)" and "salvation" (σωτηρία), which are also both mentioned of the ruddy figure in the passage from Isaiah and here explicitly linked with the person of Jesus Christ. Finally, the Holy Stone is likened in the office's kathisma to a "divine ladder leading up to the heavens" and completes this image, serving not only as a transported relic and token of Christ's presence of old on the rocky slab, but also itself as a means of transport to paradise in the present, a signal of the agency of the Stone which will be further explored below.

τεταγμένοις φασὶ τό· Ἄρατε πύλας, οἱ ἄρχοντες, ὑμῶν, καὶ ἐπάρθητε, πύλαι αἰώνιοι, καὶ ἐλεύσεται ὁ βασιλεὺς τῆς δόξης) (translation mine). Following the condemnations of Origen's teachings by the local Synod of Constantinople in 543, the imperial edict of Justinian I in 543/544, and the Fifth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople II (553), much of Origen's work and thought was suppressed and lost. However, his thought was received and persisted in the works of Leontios of Byzantium (484–543) and arguably revised and re-packaged in the works of Maximos the Confessor (ca. 580–613). Evidence of later Byzantine knowledge of Origen's works is also provided by the fact that Basileios Bessarion (ca. 1403–1472), a refugee in Western Europe from Constantinople after the fall of the city to the Ottomans in 1453 and later a cardinal of the Roman Catholic church, oversaw a Latin translation of Origen's text *Against Celsus*, which was printed posthumously in 1483. On Leontios, see: Evans 1970 and Daley 1976. On Maximos and his reception/retooling of Origen's thought, see: Louth 2010 and Cvetković 2016. On Bessarion, see: Mohler 1923–1942, Märtl/Kaiser/Ricklin 2013, and Mariev 2021.

147 Kanōn attributed to John of Damascus, PG 96:844, where one of the troparia reads: "The powers on high began to cry to those even higher: 'Lift up the gates for Christ our king, whom we hymn together with the Father and the Spirit'" (Αἱ τῶν ἄνω δυνάμεις ταῖς ἀνωτέραις ἐβόων· Πύλας ἄρατε Χριστῷ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ βασιλεῖ, ὃν ἀνυμνοῦμεν ἅμα τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ τῷ Πνεύματι) (translation mine).

148 Cf. Tucker 2023, 506–507.

149 Translation here from the text provided in the edition/translation prepared by Tucker 2023, 197.

150 Relics are referred to as "good things" (τὰ ἀγαθά) which the faithful harvest from the saints like fruit; for example, in two homilies by John Chrysostom: *On the Holy Martyr Ignatios* (PG 50:595) (English translation in Mayer 2006, 116) and a homily delivered in the presence of the emperor on the relics of unnamed saints brought to Constantinople (PG 63:473).

Sanctification via blood also remains a continuous thread presented to the hearer/reader from the start of the office to the end via the image of a stone sprinkled with blood and made red, and which thereby has become sacred and sanctified.[151] The different words used here involve forms of verbs meaning "to sprinkle" (καταρραντίζω, ῥαντίζω),[152] which open up semantic fields rich in scriptural/Christian and pagan/Roman/imperial allusion. The first term of sprinkling—specifically, the language of blood being sprinkled on objects and people—is found in the Old Testament Pentateuch, where the law prescribes that the entire people, the book of the law, and the stone altar of the tabernacle in the wilderness be purified and sanctified by the sprinkling of blood from sacrifices.[153] These same rites of purification and sanctification are said to have taken place in the temple built on Mount Zion as well,[154] which would provide a typological connection between the blood-sprinkled stones of the old altar of the Israelite temple and the Holy Stone, sprinkled with divine blood and brought into the "temple" (the Greek word for a church building, ναός, also has this meaning[155]) of New(er) Zion. In the Christian interpretation of these types as found in the New Testament epistles, the bloody sacrifice of Christ on the cross fulfilled once and for all the blood sacrifices of animals prescribed in the law.[156] Thus, the Holy Stone need not be continually sprinkled with blood—its status as having once been touched by the divine blood of Christ made it permanently holy and effective as a vehicle of grace. Following the doctrinal controversies between the emperor and the patriarch in 1166 (over the full equality of the Son with the Father within the Trinity)[157] and in 1180 (over the anathema against the 'God of Muhammad' required of Muslim converts and rejected by Manuel),[158] the sanctity of the Stone and its immediate connection to the emperor could serve to legitimate Manuel's stance over and against any theological opposition to his own positions, which may have been motivated more by Manuel's political agenda than any rigour of faith.[159]

Curiously, the liturgical office texts for the Holy Stone's translation are silent on a previous link between the relic and the emperor, which would further underscore

151 Ode I, troparion 1; Ode IV, troparia 2, 5; Kontakion; Ode VIII, troparia 1, 3, 5; Ode IX, troparion 2; Exaposteilarion. This theme is also continued, albeit obliquely, in Ode III, troparion 5, where mention is made of Christ fashioning for himself a body from the Virgin's "pure blood" (ἐξ ἀγνῶν αἱμάτων σου).

152 Stichēra 1, 3; Ode IV, troparion 2.

153 Cf. Exod 24:5–8.

154 Cf. 3 Kgdms 8:1–11, 62–65.

155 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "ναός, ὁ"; Lampe, s.v. "ναός, ὁ".

156 Cf. Rom 6:10; 2 Cor 5:15; Eph 1:7; Heb 9:12, 26–28; 10:10–12; 1 Pet 3:18; 1 John 2:2.

157 See above this chapter, n. 65.

158 On this controversy, see Hanson 1996.

159 Cf. Magdalino 2002, 290, where he notes that in the wake of the 1166 controversy, "Manuel no longer regarded theology as a distraction from diplomacy and war, but treated it as central to his personal and political interests."

the role of the Stone as a specifically imperial source of help and protection. A century before Manuel's reign, we have evidence of there being a partial relic—a small piece of the Holy Stone—contained within an enkolpion reliquary associated with the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos (r. 1042–1055). Antonopoulou notes this relic/reliquary in her study as a sign that a cult of veneration of the Holy Stone existed before the relic's translation to Constantinople,[160] but she also notes here the inscription on the reliquary, preserved in the Codex Markianos 524[161] and referring to the 11th-century sovereign. In the Lambros edition of this manuscript, the inscription is described as being "for an enkolpion containing a part of the holy stone on which Joseph placed Christ after the deposition [from the cross; literally "the unnailing"] and part of the swordblade of Saint George",[162] with the manuscript continuing with the entire inscription (ἔχει ὅλον ὧδε·): "O Christ, fight together with Constantine Monomachos, who bears on his breast a piece of the stone on which a winding-sheet binds you, dead, with myrrh, and [a piece] of the swordblade of your martyr George."[163] The combination here within the inscribed enkolpion reliquary of a relic associated with Christ's Passion and one associated with a military saint, borne about on the breast of the emperor, recalls another earlier complex construction of multiple relics and texts connected to the emperor: the Limburg Staurotheke. Divine defence deriving from the contact relic of the Stone is combined with military might deriving from the martyr's sword, just as the True Cross and relics of the Virgin and the Forerunner were seen in the Staurotheke to project both protection against evil and dominion over "barbarian temerities".

Whether this enkolpion remained in the Great Palace after the death of Constantine IX, and whether Manuel I Komnēnos knew of it or possessed it, does not come down to us in any extant source; indeed, as mentioned above, the liturgical office for the translation makes no mention of any other (partial) relic of the Stone, much less one that would have already been connected to an emperor. What Manuel most certainly would have known from his tutors and the vagaries of Byzantine history is that Constantine IX waded into deep theological waters himself, no less deep than the great schism that emerged between Byzantine and Latin Christianity and which became crystallised for the first time in 1054 with the mutual excommunications of Cardinal Humbert of Silva Candida and Patriarch Michael Keroularios, and that Constantine IX failed in his intervention to restore communion and union

160 Antonopoulou 2013, 114.

161 Lampros 1911, cited by Antonopoulou 2013, 114, n. 28.

162 Cf. Lampros 1911, 128, no. 112: Εἰς ἐγκόλπιον ἔχον μέρος τοῦ ἁγίου λίθου ἐν ᾧ μετὰ τὴν ἀποκαθήλωσιν ἔθετο τὸν Χριστὸν ὁ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ μέρος τῆς σπάθης τοῦ ἁγίου Γεωργίου. Translation mine.

163 Cf. Lampros 1911, 128, no. 112: Στέρνοις φέροντι τμῆμα, Χριστέ, τοῦ λίθου, / ἐν ᾧ νεκρὸν σμύρνῃ σε σινδὼν συνδέει / καὶ μάρτυρός σου τῆς σπάθης Γεωργίου / Κωνσταντίνῳ σῷ συμμάχει Μονομάχῳ. Translation mine.

with the Roman church.[164] As the office by Skylitzēs presents affairs, however, Manuel is alone amongst emperors in being associated with the relic. By becoming "master of the relics of Christ", as Sandrine Lerou writes, Manuel consequently became a "master of victory, of diplomacy, of oaths"—of everything in which Monomachos could be seen as having failed.[165] Lerou further argues that the veneration of the Holy Stone was an actualisation of "un attachement tout particulier à la Jérusalem terrestre, au Christ dans sa mort, et, seulement ensuite, dans sa souffrance."[166] This might be the case with regard to the broken piece of stone revered in the Monomachos enkolpion, which speaks of Christ in these terms: dead and bound with myrrh in the winding-sheet (the second key vocabulary item here). Skylitzēs too makes mention of myrrh: at the beginning of the office in the first stichēron, where the historical stage is set with Joseph wrapping up the dead Christ with myrrh and linen; in the middle, where we see a transition from the language of binding and wrapping (implied in the stichēron with the mention of the *sindōn*) to that of anointing;[167] and at the end, where mention of being anointed (σμυρνιζόμενος) is immediately followed by intercessions for the divinely characterised ruler by name (Μανουὴλ τὸν ἄνακτα). Myrrh turns from burial balm to anointing oil, and the focus shifts away from the dead Christ to the living Manuel. While the streams of blood may be the result of the sufferings of the Passion, Skylitzēs's office is devoid of any terminology of pain or suffering, these only being marginally implied by the few instances speaking of the "unnailing" and deposition from the cross.

4.3.4.3.3 Water

Blood is not the only thing streaming or flowing in Skylitzēs's office: water imagery also pervades the hymns, drawn from examples in the Old Testament which the office exegetes as being types of the Holy Stone. The first ode of the kanōn recalls the stone struck by Moses in the wilderness which gushed forth water for the people of Israel, and proclaims that the new "Israel of Christ" now glories in the "precious stone" from which they "draw forth ever-gushing strength" of soul.[168] These rocky waters are not only a conduit of strength but a source (pun intended) of miracles and wonders,[169] and the "nature of stones" is enjoined to rejoice with the people on account of the sanctified relic, while the mountains are commanded to "drip gladness" on the occasion of the translation: reading this in patristic/associative

164 An extensive bibliography exists on the so-called Great Schism; for a short selection of lengthier studies on the subject, see: Runciman 1955, Papadakis/Meyendorff 1994, Chadwick 2003, and Nichols 2010.

165 Lerou 2004, 170.

166 Lerou 2004, 177.

167 Ode V, troparion 4.

168 Ode I, troparion 3.

169 Ode III, troparion 1; Kathisma; Ode VI, troparion 2.

manner, an allusion is being made here to images in the prophecy of Isaiah of the mountains and hills rejoicing and breaking forth in celebration of God's mercy.[170] Yet just as Old Testament images are complemented by those from the New Testament in terms of imperial rule and blood, so too is the imagery of water supplemented here by examples from the Gospels. The theotokion for Ode VII speaks of a "heavenly rain" (οὐράνιος ὑετός) that came upon the Virgin's womb "like a dewdrop upon grass" (ὡς ἐπ' ἄγρωστιν … καὶ ὡς σταγών), thus making her conception of Christ the fulfilment of a perceived Old Testament type,[171] with Christ, the Word of God, falling like rain upon the "unwatered"[172] womb of the Virgin, just as Moses's words are exhorted to "fall like rain" in the passage from Deuteronomy upon the dry hills of the wildnerness. Water imagery in this troparion is combined with that of fire, elsewhere absent in the texts, but the office also speaks of Christ as being the cornerstone, and so we have both water and stone as images of Christ and thus the divine as well.

Water is also evoked by the tears of the Virgin and of John the beloved disciple, which are shed over the corpse of Christ on the Holy Stone. The narrative in the liturgical text takes here what I believe can be read as a complex oenological turn when we hear of the two virgins, mother and disciple, making a mixture of their tears with Christ's blood on the Stone.[173] Antonopoulou finds the mention of John here strange, as he does not appear elsewhere at all in Skylitzēs's office.[174] I believe the key to unlocking this mention of John in this context is the verb κατακιρνάω that is used, and the allusions this verb permits in a patristic/associative reading

170 Cf. Isa 44:23, 47:12, 49:13, noted in the apparatus by Antonopoulou 2013, 126. The Greek here in the service, σταλάξατε ὄρη εὐφροσύνην, is not a direct quotation, but perhaps combines the imagery of mountains (ὄρη) and gladness (εὐφροσύνη) from Isaiah with the notion of mountains "dripping sweetness" (σταλάξατε … γλυκασμόν) found in Joel 3:17–18, a passage not noted in Antonopoulou's edition apparatus: "And you shall know that I am the Lord your God, who tents in Sion, my holy mountain. … And it shall be in that day, the mountains shall drip sweetness (ἀποσταλάξει τὰ ὄρη γλυκασμόν)"; the same exact phrase also occurs in Amos 9:13. The phrase with the imperative "drip sweetness, O mountains" (σταλάξατε ὄρη γλυκασμόν) is found in Byzantine hymnography as early as the mid-ninth century: for example, in Theodore Stouditēs's kanōn for the restoration of the holy images (Ode IX, troparion 2; cf. PG 99:1777).

171 Cf. Deut 32:2, noted by Antonopoulou 2013, 133.

172 The other instances of the word ἄγρωστις in the Septuagint all cast this "grass" as being dry or prone to fire: Isa 9:18, "and lawlessness shall burn like fire and like dry grass (ὡς ἄγρωστις ξηρά) shall be consumed by fire"; Isa 37:27, "I weakened their hands and they withered up and became like dry grass on housetops and like [wild] grass (ὡς χόρτος ξηρὸς ἐπὶ δωμάτων καὶ ὡς ἄγρωστις); Hos 10:4, "uttering words, false excuses, he will make a covenant; judgment shall rise like grass on a dry bit of field (ὡς ἄγρωστις κρίμα ἐπὶ χέρσον ἀγροῦ)."

173 Stichēron 3; Ode VIII, troparion 1: "together with your virginal disciple, she who had no experience of a man was shedding tears and made a mixture (κατεκίρνα) from your side"; the Virgin's tears are also said to have washed the Stone, cf. Ode IV, troparion 5.

174 Antonopoulou 2013, 116.

of the imagery. Unlike in the three Synoptic Gospels, there is no narrative of the Last Supper or 'institution of the Eucharist' in the Gospel of John, the virgin disciple. There is, however, the very important scene in John chapter 6 of the feeding of the five thousand, where Jesus proclaims to the astonishment of the crowds that unless they eat own flesh and drink his blood, they will have no life in themselves—a "hard saying" that occasions many of his followers to leave him.[175] The Gospel of John, then, speaks of Christ's blood as being necessary for life. We have in this liturgical text then John, blood, tears, and 'mixing': the second clue. The verbal root here, κιρνάω, dates back to Homeric times and has as its root meaning not just any mixing, but specifically the mixing of (concentrated) wine with water to prepare it for drinking.[176] This verb causes the hearer to think of wine against the backdrop of a scriptural figure and thus scripture more generally, allowing one to recall the passage near the end of Genesis, where Abraham blesses his son Judah the "lion" (whom Christ is said to be at the end of the Christian scriptures in the book of Revelation[177]), describing him as ruling over the nations with a sceptre that shall never leave him, and as "wash[ing] his garments in wine and his vesture in the blood of the grape."[178]

Against this matrix of images, the reason for John's presence becomes clear to me in this single troparion: together with the Virgin Mother, the Virgin Disciple mingles the water of their tears with the blood/wine from Christ's side on the Holy Stone, evoking the liturgical Eucharist where water and wine would be mixed in the chalice and offered on the Pharos chapel's altar, which was probably made of stone and decorated with precious stones in addition to the gold mentioned in Patriarch Phōtios's ninth-century ekphrasis.[179] Antonopoulou and Lerou have pointed out that the mention of the Virgin Mary's tears being fused with the Holy Stone could permit the relic to be considered not only as pertaining to the Passion of Christ, but also to the Theotokos,[180] and its presence would thus endow the Pharos chapel, dedicated to the Mother of God, with an explicit Marian relic in addition to the famed icon housed there,[181] further heightening Manuel's prestige for having acquired such a treasure. Yet to my mind, the mention here of the Virgin Disciple, while not alienating the Mother of God, deepens the focus on blood imagery to blood-as-wine, rather than shifting the relic's focus away from Christ and allowing for a 'Marian

175 Cf. John 6:48–66.

176 Cf. LSJ, s.v. "κιρνάω"; Lampe, s.v. "κιρνάω".

177 Cf. Rev 5:5: "Then one of the elders said to me, 'Weep not; lo, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, has conquered, so that he can open the scroll and its seven seals.'"

178 Cf. Gen 49:11: πλυνεῖ ἐν οἴνῳ τὴν στολὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν αἵματι σταφυλῆς τὴν περιβολὴν αὐτοῦ.

179 Phōtios of Constantinople, *Homilies*, transl. by Mango, 10 (p. 186): "… but more wonderful than gold is the composition of the holy table", which Mango interprets as "probably referring to incrustations and enamels" on the altar (ibid., p. 182).

180 Cf. Lerou 2004, 179; Antonopoulou 2013, 117.

181 On this icon, see Bacci 1998.

gaze', as it were. In this mention of the two virgins and their tears, we simply have another reflection of blood imagery linking Christ to the Stone and to Manuel, yet transposing the fluid from the aftermath of the Passion to the present circumstances of the Divine Liturgy celebrated in the Pharos chapel in the presence of the newly-translated Stone.

4.3.4.3.4 Action

The Holy Stone in the liturgical office studied here is the object of translation and veneration, as well as the locus of blood and tears. Yet the relic is no passive bystander in Skylitzēs's hymns, but rather takes on an active role in the texts as well, leading us to the final set of lithic imagery, namely that of action. In several of the hymns sung in Skylitzēs's office, the Holy Stone is spoken of as an entity with agentive power: not merely being a source that passively serves as a conduit for gushing forth miracles, but also actively providing protection and strength. The relic is said to strengthen the souls of the faithful and provide a firm foundation for Manuel, his dynasty, and the city,[182] as well as manifest the strength of Christ after contact with the God-man's body.[183] The image of the ladder associated with the Stone, noted above, also implies movement, with the relic enabling transit from one place to another: in this case, from earth to heaven,[184] recalling the Old Testament image of the ladder Jacob the patriarch beheld in his dream while resting against the stone at Bethel.[185] The placement of Christ's dead body on the Holy Stone is said to have "smashed the gates of hell",[186] while the relic in turn enables the faithful to crush spiritual enemies just as David "smashed the foreigner Goliath".[187] The relic is also addressed directly in one hymn,[188] something we saw in the second chapter pertaining to the texts on the translation of the Mandylion to the Byzantine capital and the Pharos chapel.[189] Yet the trope of relics serving as sources of protection and power, seen in the Mandylion texts and the inscriptions and art of the Limburg Staurotheke, reaches here an apogee of development in the texts for the Holy Stone. While the Mandylion's protection is for the unnamed (and thus general) emperor and city, and the Staurotheke's protection (and patronage) is open to many individuals (Constantine, Rōmanos, Basil, and via imperial mediation, to far-off military forces), the Holy Stone—in all the imagery associated with it in Skylitzēs's office for the translation—is firmly and frequently linked to one specific person, one specific

182 Stichēron 2; Ode I, troparion 1; Ode IV, troparia 2, 3; Ode V, troparion 2; Kontakion; Ode VII, troparion 3; Ode IX, troparia 4, 5.
183 Ode III, troparion 1.
184 Ode IV, troparion 1.
185 Cf. Gen 28:10–19.
186 Ode IV, troparion 4.
187 Ode VII, troparion 4.
188 Ode VI, troparion 4, where one finds the vocative form λίθε ("O stone").
189 Namely, the *Sermon* of Gregory the Referendary; see above chapter 2, n. 61.

emperor: Manuel, not just king or basileus but sole ruler of divine character (autokratōr, anax). This idea of the divine emperor thus emerges as a thread in the tapestry of Christian Byzantine praise and awe of the Lord's anointed on the imperial throne via these texts and against the background of the most sacred relics and spaces in the Middle Byzantine Christian empire.

As noted above in the section on chronicle sources, we know little else of the Holy Stone, its veneration, or its relevance after its translation to the city and the Pharos chapel. One final source, however, does come down to us on this object and its special connection to Manuel: a poem said to have been inscribed on the plinth on which the Stone was fixed when it was translated again, this time from the Pharos chapel and the Great Palace to beside the tomb of Manuel I when he was buried in the Pantokratōr monastery founded by his ancestor, John II Komnēnos and his wife Irene (Piroska) of Hungary (built between 1118–1136).[190] Personally linked to Manuel in life, the Stone remained linked to him in death, an unusual case for any relic, much less one from the Passion of Christ. In this final section of this chapter, we shall look at this pedestal poem, the tomb of Manuel I Komnēnos in the Pantokratōr monastery, and possible issues of performance and interaction with the Holy Stone in this final phase of relic-ruler interaction before the Fourth Crusade and the snapping of this thread of understanding imperial sanctity in the course of the plundering of the city and the loss of these treasures.

4.4 Manuel's tomb and the Holy Stone at the Pantokratōr monastery

As presented above in the excerpt from Chōniatēs's history, the Holy Stone was moved after the death of Manuel I Komnēnos from the Pharos chapel and the Great Palace and placed next to the emperor's tomb "on a base" (ἐπὶ κρηπῖδος) in a shrine (ἡρῷον) next to the monastery church.[191] Cyril Mango, in his important article on Byzantine monuments from the late 1960s, published the Greek text of a poetic eulogy said to have been inscribed on this base,[192] preserved in the *Geography* of Meletios of Ioannina and published early in the 20th century in what was then a nearly inaccessible Hungarian study on Empress Irene (Piroska) of Hungary, together with an English translation.[193] Given the fact that Meletios himself notes that he knows of the inscription "according to tradition" (ἐκ παραδόσεως)[194] and

190 On the couple as founders of the monastery and the complex's beginnings, see: Magdalino 2013b.

191 Cf. above this chapter, n. 11; cf. also N. Ševčenko 2010.

192 I follow Mango here *pace* Meletios in his edition, who claims that the verses were written on the stone proper; cf. Mango 1969/1970, 372 and 375.

193 Cf. Moravcsik 1923, cited in Mango 1969/1970, 372, n. 23.

194 Mango 1969/1970, 372.

that he was preparing the manuscript of his *Geography* while resident in Naupaktos (and not in Constantinople), Mango surmises that Meletios did not himself copy the inscription from sight in the remains of the Pantokratōr monastery, but rather must have copied it from another (presumed lost) anthology of Constantinopolitan inscriptions.[195] Nonetheless, based on the style, subject matter, and other corroborating historical sources such as Chōniatēs's chronicle and the office by Skylitzēs, he avers that "[t]he poem shows every mark of authenticity",[196] and this authenticity is also accepted by Ioannis Vassis, who likewise published an edition of the poem with some small variant readings *contra* Mango in 2013.[197] Nevertheless, despite there being eyewitness accounts of the presence of the Stone from Western visitors to the Pantokratōr complex up until the fall of the city to the Ottomans and descriptions of the object per se,[198] none of the latter recount even seeing the poem, much less understanding it or providing a transcription thereof. Perhaps what could not be understood was simply left out of sight, out of mind; or perhaps the poem was never in fact actually brought onto the relic's pedestal, but was drafted as a possibility for such work and never carried out.[199] In any case, whether actually carved into the pedestal or simply prepared as a prospective commemorative text, this funerary poem is an important source for further understanding the divine characteristics applied to Manuel in conjunction with the presence of the Holy Stone relic, especially vis-à-vis the location of the tomb at the Pantokratōr monastery more generally and within the *hērōon* more specifically.

195 Mango 1969/1970, 375. A point not taken up by Mango here (nor indeed by Vassis in the few comments he provides to his edition; cf. below this chapter, n. 193) is the fact that Meletios ends his transcription of the poem with the words καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς ("and so forth"). It is hard to know why exactly he chose to end the poem in this way; several other passages in Meletios's *Geographia* end with the same words, notably after long lists of topical features in Greek locales, such that a need to abridge the poem for the sake of printing space seems unlikely. Other possibilities for the text breaking off could be that the inscription had been damaged and/or that the manuscript from which Meletios made his copy broke off; a further possibility could be that the poetic inscription was even longer (not impossible for the Komnēnian period; on this, Mango [ibid.] notes the famous example of the Edict of 1166 brought onto the wall of Hagia Sophia) and that Meletios lost interest in the poem after the final line preserved by him; or else the rest of the content was judged by him to be irrelevant to the point at hand in the work, namely, information descriptive of the contents of the Pantokratōr monastery. Barring the recovery of this purported source text of the inscription in Naupaktos, these comments must remain speculative.

196 Mango 1969/1970, 373.

197 Cf. Vassis 2013 (edition of pedestal poem text printed on pp. 240–242). Vassis does not provide a complete translation alongside his edition, but only a prose summary in German.

198 Mango and N. Ševčenko list these; cf. Mango 1969/1970, 374–375; N. Ševčenko 2010, 609.

199 Inscriptions and other epigrammatic texts in medieval Byzantium could be bespoke compositions as well as choices made by patrons from amongst pre-composed texts, which may or may not have been slightly adapted to match the name(s) and taste(s) of such clients. Cf. Rhoby 2012, 734 and 754.

4.4.1 The pedestal poem: imagery and themes

As extant in Meletios of Ioannina's *Geographia*, the poem is 44 lines long[200] and is written in dodecasyllabic verse typical for the Middle Byzantine period, combining the Ancient Greek iambic trimeter with obligatory stress on the penultimate syllable. Though the poem is thought to have been on the pedestal erected for the Holy Stone next to Manuel's tomb, the focus throughout the poem—as in the translation office—is again squarely on the reposed ruler rather than the relic. The eulogy begins with a command to the beholder: "Admire these strange things as thou seest them, stranger" (l. 1). This activity is envisaged as enduring throughout the poem by the use of the present rather than aorist active imperative (θαύμαζε) and the present active participle (ὁρῶν) here, and we find again perhaps the agentiveness of the stone through the inscription, since no other person mentioned in the poem speaks directly to the onlooker in the first person.[201] Manuel immediately comes to the fore in the poem, with a recounting of the emperor bearing the Stone on his shoulders on the day of the translation; yet instantly the dead ruler is connected with scriptural language and the person of Christ. Manuel is called "emperor" or "king" (βασιλεύς) and "master" or "lord" (δεσπότης): on the one hand, these are scriptural terms associated with God/Christ (ll. 2–3)[202] and paralleled in the poem in the following lines, where Manuel is patterned directly after Christ, being buried with the crucified one so that he might "arise together with [the] buried Lord" (ll. 7–8), thus giving us the direct equivalent of Manuel and Christ both described as δεσπότης; on the other hand, these are also terms that are regularly used for the emperor apart from any scriptural context or allusion. Manuel is described as having a doubly divine name: Manuel and Matthew (from monastic tonsure; ll. 19–24),[203] alluding to the common Byzantine practice of taking monastic vows before death.[204]

200 Both Mango and Vassis present the poem in this length, consonant with the printed edition of Meletios from 1728. Any edition can thus be consulted for any of the line references that follow, unless otherwise specified regarding a specific variance between Mango's and Vassis's readings.

201 For a volume of recent studies on such 'speaking objects' in the late antique and medieval periods, both Eastern and Western, see Edelmann-Singer/Ehrich 2021. This command issuing forth from the stone echoes other types of Byzantine texts which include such performative elements, namely poems and homilies with injunctions for blessings to be given before the reading aloud of the word; on this, see: Antonopoulou 2010, 57–59. On the function of performative speech in general, see: Austin 1962 as well as Searle 1969. This performative feature of inscriptions and decorative texts brought onto Byzantine liturgical items is also highlighted by Freeman 2019, 14.

202 Cf. Luke 2:29; Acts 4:24; 2 Pet 2:1; Jude 1:4; Rev 6:10.

203 The sense of the second name being divine here, it seems, would be understood from a Middle Byzantine perspective as coming from the "angelic schema" of monastic life (cf. l. 24) rather than any understanding of the original Hebrew form of Matthew (Gr. Ματθαῖος), namely *mattityāhû*, meaning "gift of God".

204 On this practice, see: A.-M. Talbot 1987; Garland 2013, 33–34.

Furthermore, the language of anointed one/Christ is used again explicitly with reference to Manuel, and against the backdrop of language pertaining to burial and stones covering tombs, the one-to-one association between earthly anointed and heavenly/divine anointed is hard to ignore.

The scriptural/Christian image of the pious departed sovereign continues further on in the poem, when the widowed Maria enters the narrative scene. Like her namesake amongst the myrrhbearing women,[205] the empress Maria wishes "that she may roll that life-giving stone [sc. the Holy Stone] to the tomb wherein is buried the body of the Lord's anointed, the emperor Manuel …" (ἀλλ' ὡς κυλίσῃ ζωτικὸν λίθον τάφῳ, / ἐν ᾧ τέθαπται σῶμα χριστοῦ Κυρίου, / τοῦ Μανουήλ ἄνακτος …) (ll. 17–19a).[206] In the short span of these lines, a transition in reference takes place: from using the term "basileus", thence to "anointed", and further to "anax", with Manuel and the God-man Jesus Christ both being evoked by these terms, and with no resolution towards a definitive attribution one way or the other—we as the beholders continue to marvel as instructed by the Stone itself and remain in this puzzled state over the divine emperor's death and burial. The pattern of Holy Scripture in the funerary poem is also present in the bereaved empress's desire in her grief to "steal the beloved corpse" (καὶ τὸν νέκυν κλέψειε πεφιλμένον, l. 33), an allusion perhaps to Mary Magdalene seeking the body of Christ in the garden, worrying that it might have been stolen and expressing her own desire to take the body away in that case.[207] This allusion to Mary Magdalene might also have been strengthened by the iconography of the myrrhbearing women coming to the tomb and the post-resurrection appearance to Mary Magdalene in the garden, which are said to have decorated one of the arches in the hērōon according to the typikon of the Pantokratōr monastery.[208] But whatever the exact location of this art in the sepulchral shrine, the equation of Maria

205 All four canonical Gospels mention this group of women disciples: Matt 27:55–61; 28:1–10; Mark 15:40–16:11; Luke 23:50–24:10; John 19:38–20:18.

206 This desire expressed by Maria in the poem may also be a reference to her initiating the translation of the Holy Stone from the Pharos chapel to beside Manuel's tomb in the Pantokratōr monastery.

207 Cf. John 20:11–15. The allusion to Mary Magdalene in the garden becomes more vivid if we follow Vassis's reading of l. 27 with παρεστὼς (p. 241, apparatus) against Mango's παρεστῶσ', which clearly links the action of being present or standing with Christ, and Maria/Mary as the one seeking out the God-man to raise up Manuel from the dead.

208 Cf. Mango 1969/1970, 374, n. 34, who cites the earlier work by Dmitrievskij 1895, 678, which contains the text of the typikon of the Pantokratōr monastery with this description. An edition and French-language translation of this text was published in Gautier 1974, while an English-language translation later appeared in R. Jordan 2000. On the artistic programme here specifically, see Ousterhout 2009, 108: "Poem, relic, and tomb would have had a special resonance situated beneath the mosaic of the Holy Women at the Tomb. At the same time, the setting for the ensemble of tombs, relic, and images was a unique twin-domed church. I suspect here a relationship between the Komnēnian *heroon* and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which marked the site of the events commemorated in the mosaics."

of Antioch with Maria Magdalene nonetheless serves to heighten the parallel connection between Manuel I and the God-Man *ʿimmānû ʾēl*. Connection is also made, however, to Maria the mother of Jesus. Some patristic authors held that "the other Mary" mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew was the Theotokos;[209] given this interpretative background, the mentions of Maria "mix[ing] unguents with her tears" (τὰ μύρα τοῖς δάκρυσι κιρνᾷ, l. 14) and "shedding tears like unguents…before the stone" (δάκρυσιν ὥσπερ μύροις…πρὸς τὸν λίθον, ll. 25–26) recall Skylitzēs's account of the Virgin herself shedding tears on the Holy Stone as Jesus's lifeless corpse was laid out thereon. The bereaved widow's tears echo those of the Virgin Mother bereft of her divine son; the outpouring of Maria's tears for her dead husband Manuel merge with those of the Theotokos for the dead *ʿimmānû ʾēl*, again serving to unite the earthly emperor and the heavenly king almost inseparably.

Why exactly the Holy Stone was moved out from the Great Palace to the Pantokratōr monastery by Maria is unclear. There do not seem to be any extant texts disputing the sanctity or authenticity of the Holy Stone as a Passion relic, which might have occasioned its movement after Manuel's death: to the contrary, the relic's status and veneration as source of protection and power have been shown above to pre-date his reign. More probable, given the tone of the pedestal poem and the great role allotted therein to the empress, is that Maria wished for Manuel to remain linked to the Holy Stone, the translation of which was a highlight in her husband's long reign, in death as in life. The setting of the emperor's tomb in the Pantokratōr monastery founded by his family further served to connect sovereign with Christ Almighty, a link made all the more tangibly and visibly evident by the juxtaposition of the imperial tomb and the divine relic in the shrine, where the monks of the monastery continually prayed for the souls of the emperor and his ancestors, while censing his tomb.[210] It is precisely this architectural and artistic context of the tomb at the monastery from which we can glean some final clues to understanding this threshold moment of imperial sacrality that occurs in Manuel's reign.

4.4.2 *Taphos* and temple: imagery at the tomb of Manuel I Komnēnos

The eulogy poem on the pedestal of the Holy Stone, despite its frequent mention of Manuel and its plaintive evocation of the widow Maria's grief, is utterly silent on the matter of the emperor's own tomb. We find no description of the sepulchre

209 Such early witnesses to this belief include texts by Pseudo-Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nyssa, Sevēros of Antioch, Anastasios of Sinai, and later into the medieval period with George of Nikomēdeia and Symeon Metaphrastēs. Textual citations of these authors, as well as an examination of early artistic depictions of the Virgin Mary at the tomb, such as the Rabbula Gospels, are provided and analysed in Breckenridge 1957.

210 Cf. Gautier 1974, 34–35; 44–45. See also Gautier 1969, esp. p. 240.

here, which in a way makes sense, given the immediate proximity to the poem and the pedestal. The stranger enjoined to behold the Holy Stone in the hērōon need only slightly shift his or her gaze to the sovereign's sepulchre, the wonder of which is borne witness to by other contemporary sources. In his chronicle, Chōniatēs contents himself with the following brief and sober remark in the passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter: "Where the church wall led round to an arch, a broad entrance way was opened around the sepulcher, which was faced with marble of a black hue, gloomy in appearance."[211] Perhaps Chōniatēs, the imperial bureaucrat accustomed to the grandeur of the palace and the imperial retinue, was not especially impressed. The same cannot be said of Robert of Clari, who waxes eloquent on the tomb in his account of the conquest of the Constantinople in the Fourth Crusade in 1204:

> And there was another of the abbeys where the good emperor Manuel lay, and never was anyone born on this earth, sainted man or sainted woman, who was so richly and so nobly sepulchred as was this emperor. In this abbey there was the marble slab on which Our Lord was laid when He was taken down from the Cross, and there could still be seen there the tears which Our Lady had let fall upon it.[212]

The French Crusader here confirms the arrangement—the imperial tomb with adjacent Holy Stone, as well as the maintenance and spread of the legend of the Virgin's tears, where this colour and splotch scheme becomes the dominant Byzantine depiction of the scene[213] (see Fig. 20)—and provides an overall impression of the

211 See above this chapter, n. 11.

212 Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, transl. by McNeal, 112; cited by N. Ševčenko 2010, 609.

213 The spread of this specific manner of depicting the Holy Stone in Byzantine art has been studied by: Spatharakis 1995, 435–446, who shows that the earliest depiction of the Stone of Unction with the mottled red motif dates to 1200, shortly after the movement of the Stone to the monastery, and that the spread of this depiction also changed how the depicted scene itself came to be interpreted ("The fact that the addition of the lithos drastically changed the whole conception of the scene for the Byzantines is shown by the replacement of the older inscription, O ΕΝΤΑΦΙΑCMOC, with a new one, O ΕΙΙΙΤΑΦΙΟC ΘΡΗΝΟC", ibid., p. 438); and Drpić 2019, who especially explores the political implications of placing the Stone of Unction at Manuel's tomb of Manuel, this being perhaps an attempt by his widow Maria of Antioch (a Latin from Outremer), to show her political *bona fides* to the new imperial administration (ibid., p. 68). From Constantinople, this imagery of the Holy Stone spreads into medieval Western art as well; on this phenomenon, see Prater 1985 (my thanks to Albert Dietl for this reference). A new Stone of Unction appears in the Middle Ages in Jerusalem again as well, although here it is the case simply of a stone at the site of Christ's burial in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, rather than the imitation of a specific mottled type of marble in a previously extant slab; on this, see Rachman-Schrire 2017.

Fig. 20: Depiction of the Holy Stone with mottled red colouring. Vatopedi Monastery, Mount Athos.

stunning sight of this sepulchre, but no proper physical description: not even the red colour of the Stone merits mention here.

Where we do find a strange description of the tomb is immediately after Chōniatēs's statement of black gloom: he speaks of the sepulchre being ὃς καὶ εἰς ἑπτὰ διέσχισται λοφιάς, "divided into seven lofty sections" as Magoulias translates it.[214] The phrase here ἑπτὰ λοφιάς, however, is simply a nominalisation of the adjective ἑπτάλοφος, meaning "seven-hilled" and used primarily to refer to Rome,[215] long known by this epithet in antiquity. The same image is repeated later in Chōniatēs's text when he recounts the visit of Manuel's first cousin, Andronikos I Komnēnos, to the royal tomb. Andronikos weeps at the sight of the tomb and appears to be mumbling something, which the chronicler notes that those standing by interpreted as invective uttered against the dead man. In this imagined moment of *Schadenfreude*, Andronikos is said to mention ὁ ἑπτακόρυμβος … λίθος, which Ševčenko in her close study of the tomb translates as "seven-pointed stone"[216] and Magoulias much more

214 Cf. n. 11, above; translation by Magoulias, p. 125.

215 Cf. Cicero, *Letters to Atticus* 6.5.2: ἐξ ἄστεος ἑπταλόφου στείχων. Cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἑπτάλοφος".

216 N. Ševčenko 2010, 610.

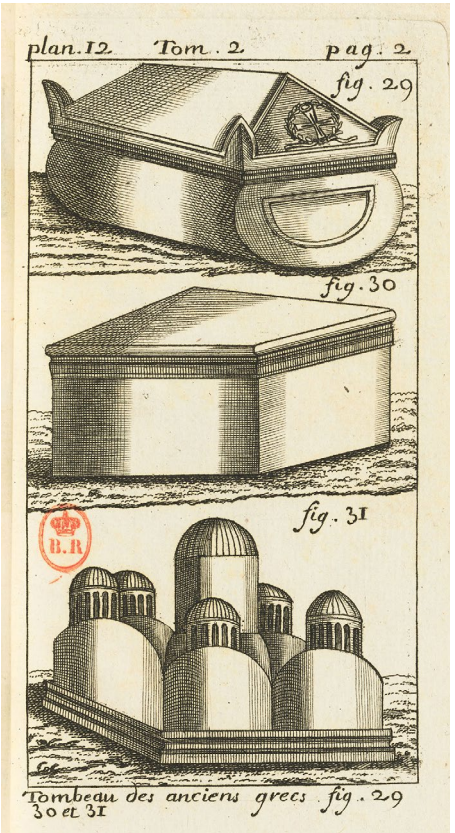

Fig. 21: Drawings of Byzantine sarcophagus lids by Jean-Claude Flachat, printed 1766.

loosely as "this marble with its seven clusters of ivy".[217] This could merely be seen as an instance of rhetorical *inclusio* in this fictional quotation, since the end of this supposed vindictive mumbling by Andronikos ends with him claiming that "I shall fall upon your family like a lion pouncing on a large prey, and I shall exact fitting revenge for the injuries I have sustained at your hands when I enter the splendid seven-hilled megalopolis (τὴν ἑπτάλοφον ταυτηνὶ καὶ λαμπρὰν εἰσιὼν μεγαλόπολιν)."[218] However, as Ševčenko remarks in a footnote, a variant manuscript of Chōniatēs reads here ἑπτάτρουλος, or "seven-domed", a strange description at any rate but one that Cyril Mango has found to be confirmed in a mid-18th-century series of sketches made by Jean-Claude Flachat from his time in Constantinople (see Fig. 21).[219]

What might be the meaning and significance of these "strange things" pertaining to Manuel's tomb, as the pedestal inscription itself describes them (l. 1)? In her study, Ševčenko considers the possibility of there existing "an intentional analogy

217 Translation by Magoulias, p. 143.

218 Chōniatēs, *History*, transl. by Magoulias, 257 (p. 143); also quoted in N. Ševčenko 2010, 610.

219 Also reproduced in N. Ševčenko 2010, 610, where she notes the dissenting view on the lid by André Grabar (see this chapter above, n. 11).

Fig. 22–23: Obverse and reverse of gold hyperpyron of Manuel I Komnēnos. 1143–1152?, Constantinople.

between the seven domes of Manuel's tomb and the seven hills of Constantinople, or the city of Constantinople as the New Sion",[220] which she notes is a frequent image in the office composed by Skylitzēs (and which the analysis of those hymns has shown above in this chapter). Robert Ousterhout has also suggested that the tomb might have been meant to evoke the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, given the double domes of the Pantokratōr at this time and the myrrhbearer iconography.[221] Yet the fact that the Holy Stone is moved from the palace to be next to Manuel's tomb, and that Christ, Mary, and Lazaros are all mentioned explicitly in the pedestal poem, seem to lead Ševčenko to agree with this Zion-influenced reading, in which "the three components of the tomb, relic and poem … serve, in their architectural setting and physical relationship to each other, to align Manuel with Christ, in death as in life."[222] This alignment, then, can be seen as the continuation and culmination of the visual identification of emperor and God which marked the early years of Manuel's reign (during which minted gold *hyperpyra* showed the Emperor Manuel on the obverse and the beardless, Christ-child *'immānû 'ēl* on the reverse [see Fig. 22–23]) and of the textual alignment seen and heard in the texts composed by Skylitzēs for the translation of the Holy Stone to Constantinople near the end of Manuel's time on the throne.

220 N. Ševčenko 2010, 614.

221 Ousterhout 2009, 107: "I suspect that the five-domed form of the irregular complex may have been intended to equate the Pantokrator with the nearby church of the Holy Apostles, the imperial dynastic mausoleum of Constantine the Great and of the early Byzantine emperors. In a like manner, the oddly archaic term *heroon*—meaning a hero's shrine—calls to mind the monumental martyria of the Early Christian period—of which the Holy Apostles was the nearest example. In fact, Nicholas Mesarites employed the term *heroon* in reference to the imperial mausoleum at the church of the Holy Apostles, explaining that those buried there are heroes." Nancy Ševčenko also notes this line of thought on the part of Ousterhout; cf. N. Ševčenko 2010, 615, n. 41.

222 N. Ševčenko 2010, 616.

4.5 Concluding thoughts

As mentioned above, visitors to Constantinople in later centuries still saw the Holy Stone and Manuel's tomb; the monks at the Pantokratōr monastery still prayed for the soul of the emperor and honoured his sepulchre with incense.[223] Yet the thought-world that could enable these two ideas of ruler—anointed of Christ and sacred, quasi-divine autokratōr—could not be restored with the loss of the relics and the rise of Western political, military, and economic might even with another Greek-speaking emperor ascending the throne in 1261 and claiming for himself the title of anax.[224] At the end of the 12th century and after this long path of development in the wake of the interaction of holy relics with human rulers, a figure of the highest stature such as Theodore Balsamōn, accomplished lawyer and canonist and patriarch of Antioch, could justify the emperors' special access to the altar of a church and their right to offer incense and preach (much like ordained ministers) as being simply a matter of fact based on their status as being 'anointed' by God:

> For the Orthodox emperors who put forth patriarchs for office, and who are anointed ones of the Lord (χριστοὶ ὄντες Κυρίου) through the invocation of the Holy Trinity, enter unhindered into the holy sanctuary when they wish, offering incense and making the sign [sc. of the Cross] with the triple candlestick, just like the archpriests do. And they also teach the people via catechesis, which is only granted to the archpriests entrusted therewith.[225]

This anointing is also described by Balsamōn as something shared by Christ God and the Byzantine emperors: "And since the current emperor (ὁ κατὰ καιροὺς βασιλεύς) is also an anointed of the Lord (χριστὸς Κυρίου) through the unction of kingship (διὰ τὸ χρῖσμα τῆς βασιλείας), and since the anointed/Christ and our God (χριστὸς καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν) is proclaimed among other things also as high priest, it is fitting that the former also be adorned with the charismatic gifts of the archpriesthood."[226] Similarly, the poet Theodore Prodromos (ca. 1100–ca. 1165/1170) could speak of the emperor explicitly and publicly as being divine in poems declaimed at court, an aspect of his work deserving comprehensive study.[227] Yet in 1261, after the Palaiologan

223 Cf. above this chapter, n. 206.

224 On the use of the title "anax" by the first post-Latin emperor, Michael VIII Palaiologos, see Rhoby 2019, 272, where he quotes an anonymous poem which speaks of the emperor as "Michael, ruler of the Romans" (ὁ Μιχαὴλ … Ῥωμαίων ἄναξ).

225 Theodore Balsamōn, *Commentaries on the Canons*, ed. by Rhallēs/Potlēs, 2:466. Translation mine.

226 Theodore Balsamōn, *Commentaries on the Canons*, ed. by Rhallēs/Potlēs, 2:467. Translation mine.

227 No complete English-language translation of Prodromos's poems and other writings has yet been published, although individual texts have seen print. A great number of such instances of divine language applied to the emperors can be found in the so-called

restoration, an anointing from on high no longer suffices to legitimate the rulers of a rump empire: the emperors are anointed with very material (albeit blessed) oil.[228] The loss of the imperial relic treasury of the Pharos chapel in 1204 (and the permanence of the translation of the Holy Stone from thence to the Pantokratōr monastery in the preceding decades) thus seems to have occasioned a break in one of the oldest continuing threads in Byzantine history: namely, that of a divine ruler, which had progressed from being simply blessed or elected or 'anointed' to being called divine and seemingly assimilated to the second person of the Trinity in the case of the rhetoric and texts around Manuel I Komnēnos examined in this study. Going forward into the later Middle Ages and the final centuries of the Byzantine Empire, the broken strands of that thread were left to slumber with the kings of the past, sealed in a seven-domed tomb, waiting for the resurrection of the divine, light-bearing Emmanuel.

historical poems, available in the edition prepared by Hörandner (1974), who observes that "[d]en Kern der Kaiseridee bildet auch bei Prodromos die Vorstellung von der Gottähnlichkeit in all ihren Aspekten" (p. 91). Prodromos often addresses the sovereign as "divine emperor" (e.g., poem 4, ll. 81 and 91: θεῖε βασιλεῦ) and applies sun and light imagery to the ruler (e.g. ibid, l. 121: ἥλιε θεῖε βασιλεῦ φωσφόρε σελασφόρε); according to Hörander, "Sonnengleich heißt in Byzanz—bei aller mythologischen Verbrämung—stets auch 'christusgleich'" (p. 103). The scope of this study (and footnote!) cannot permit all such instances to be examined, but poem 10 ("Hymn to Emperor Ioannes Komnenos on the Baptism of Christ, for the demes, in three verses", first verse, ll. 11–15) displays the extent to which the emperor in this time could be linked with Christ: "I seem to hear a second voice crying again to the peoples from heaven: 'This is my emperor, this one in whom I am well pleased; so obey him!'" (δοκῶ φωνῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δευτέρας ἐπακούειν / βοώσης πάλιν τοῖς λαοῖς· Οὗτος ὁ βασιλεύς μου, / οὗτος εἰς ὃν εὐδόκησα, τούτῳ καὶ πειθαρχεῖτε) (translation mine), alluding to the baptism of Christ and the voice of the Father as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels (cf. Matt 3:13–17, Mark 1:9–11, Luke 3:21–23).

228 Cf. Nicol 1976, 44–49, where the author explains the transition from the use of mere oil to specially blessed chrism by the end of the 13th century. On later innovations regarding imperial unction at coronations in the Palaiologan period, see also Tudorie 2011.

5 General Conclusions

At the outset of this study, several questions were posed that guided my analysis of the historical, literary, and liturgical texts pertaining to key Passion relic objects—as well as of the objects themselves—in the Great Palace of Constantinople in the Middle Byzantine period. These questions framed my approach to understanding how the interaction of these sacred objects with the emperor demonstrated, impacted, or evinced a sense of the emperor as a sacred figure, and how this imperial sacrality was expressed and understood. As with all historical inquiries, we as investigators of the past can only search for answers and make interpretations based on the materials that survive and come down to us. Admittedly, the texts and material objects that form the core of the three case studies presented here—the Mandylion, the Limburg Staurotheke, and the Holy Stone—all come from the highest levels of Byzantine society, the lofty circles around the Great Palace, and the sacred treasury contained inside the Pharos chapel nestled within palace walls. We cannot surmise here how the common masses of Middle Byzantine society thought of or perceived imperial sacrality, or whether such an idea was even important to them and their lives. Indeed, even in these three cases of objects and texts from the rarefied elite echelons of Constantinople, some of the sources that we have examined here only survive in a single manuscript collection; for some sources, the originals have been lost and we are left with remnants of the object, sketches of sarcophagus covers, snippets of hymns. Yet even these crumbs that have fallen to us from the imperial masters' table have proven to be enough food for thought.

Through the lens of these three Passion relics from the Great Palace, I have shown that a special relationship between these relics and the Byzantine rulers was perceived to exist and was elaborated upon in word, image, and action. Beginning with the translation of the Mandylion to Constantinople in 944, passing to the curation and creation of relics in the Limburg Staurotheke in the latter half of the tenth century, and concluding with the translation of the Holy Stone from Ephesos to the Queen of Cities in 1169, my close readings of texts—guided by an interdisciplinary methodology involving philological scrutiny, (art-)historical criticism, and patristic/associative readings—has shown that this connection between relics and rulers grew and changed over the course of two and a half centuries. If in the case of the Mandylion, we find a sense of the imperial office imbued with a general sacrality (applicable to all rulers and shared by the ruler with city, laity, and clergy), this general sacrality slowly shifts to a specific sacrality, where the specific person of the emperor, rather than the imperial office, is understood as being sacred and holy. This personal connection makes an appearance in the inscription of names on the cross relic and Staurotheke case, and erupts into a near complete conflation of Emperor Manuel with Christ in 1181.

Nevertheless, despite the fact that the three relics examined in this study are all intimately linked with the emperor and housed in the Great Palace, the rhetoric

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. 169–171.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

surrounding emperor and relic shifts across time and in different spatial and artistic contexts. In my close reading of the historical accounts and liturgical texts pertaining to the arrival of the Mandylion in Constantinople, what emerges is not a stress on funerary imagery or the crucifixion of Christ—which event occasions the creation of the icon-relic in the legends—but rather an emphasis on civic protection and the involvement of the entire urban populace, with the emperor naturally at the head, in a relationship with this translated palladium. The theme of protection is continued in the inscriptions brought onto the relic of the True Cross contained within the Limburg Staurotheke and in the military harangues issued by Constantine VII and pronounced to his troops along with the gift of water/oil blessed by contact with the relic amalgam. But with the Staurotheke, we find that the inscription texts move away from a general association of object with sovereign and citizens to a specific link between it and individually named rulers. Simultaneously, the power of the relics contained in the assemblage is seen not only as protective but also as combative and able to grant offensive military might. Finally, in the case of the Holy Stone, everything from the historical accounts and liturgical texts narrating the object's translation to Constantinople, to the removal of the Stone from the Palace to the Pantokratōr monastery, and the pedestal poem composed on this occasion, radically change the rhetorical focus to a specific emperor, Manuel, with the identification of ruler and relic in the surviving texts leading to a near-identification of ruler with the divine, with perhaps Manuel's own individual identity becoming secondary to that of the divine Christ, of whom he was a living, 'iconic' image, at once mortal and divine—a shift in identity brought about by the conjunction of ruler, relics, and the palatine chapels housing the latter.[1]

The underlying cause for these rhetorical shifts remains unclear from the sources examined here: was it political, economic, social, or perhaps even environmental changes that lent themselves to holding up a sacred, divine emperor as a source of continuity and control in changing times, and taking advantage of the presence of these relics in the Great Palace as a convenient means to enable this projection of imperial sacrality? Did the emperors themselves come to see a self-image as sacred ruler as something helpful in securing peace and stability during their reigns (an option suggested by the specific names in the Staurotheke inscriptions and Manuel's

1 This phenomenon has been most recently and succinctly pointed out in Ivanovici 2023, 56: "Like imperial garments, the symbolic spaces of the palace were essential in establishing the ruler as a living image of God. … imperial iconicity had been transferred [sc. by the early Byzantine period, as Ivanovici argues] to specific material settings and props, and the ruler's identity had become secondary. There had to be a ruler in Constantinople whose body functioned as a living image of the Christian God in order to make Byzantine society into a human replica of Christ's court, but his iconicity was conferred by their imperial functional and the spaces and accoutrements, rather than by his character and actions." On such iconicity not bringing about a conceptual change in how the body of the emperor was understood ontologically, cf. ibid., 184.

Emmanuel propaganda in coinage and liturgical texts)? Were rhetoricians simply being increasingly carried away by the need to impress and flatter their royal patrons near the end of the Middle Byzantine era?[2] The search for answers to these questions offers many avenues for further research on relics and power in Byzantium.

With the loss of the Passion relics in the wake of the Fourth Crusade, and the loss of Eastern Roman rule over Constantinople until 1261, the sense of personal sacrality or divinity on the part of the emperor, generated by the presence and interaction of holy relics with him within the Great Palace, certainly waned. Following the restoration of Byzantine authority under the Palaiologans, imperial sacrality and election as the Lord's Anointed could not be assumed or imbued by the relics—material oil blessed not directly by Christ and his relics, but indirectly by priests and patriarchs, had to make this mark on the sovereign's head. Yet the spark of holiness within the relics themselves was perceived as having endured, as we can see in the construction of the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris and the *mise-en-scène* of the Passion relics there as instituted by King Louis IX, providing him with a further basis for his sobriquet of *saint*, "holy".[3] The shifting understanding of the divine and sacred character of the emperor in Byzantium thus moves even outside the bounds of the Empire, with the Passion relics taken to Western Europe continuing to mould and shape understandings of divine and divinised rule(rs) in new locales for centuries to come. In his magisterial study of faith and politics in Byzantium, Gilbert Dagron juxtaposed the roles of emperor and priest in an attempt to shed light on how the Byzantine basileus was perceived as being sacred and set apart from his fellow human beings.[4] More than *empereur et prêtre*, I would argue that the sources examined here suggest an additional pairing, namely that of *empereur et dieu*: a trope barely perceptible in the sources pertaining to the Mandylion and incredibly blatant in the texts for the Holy Stone. Just how much credence poets like Prodromos and patrons like the Komnēnian emperors actually gave to the language of "divine emperors" cannot be skimmed from the words surviving on parchment and etched into metal and stone. And yet, from the rhetoric at least, and for a time in the Great Palace during the Middle Byzantine era, the presence of the Passion relics in imperial possession allowed for the emperor to be perceived in some way as mediating between earth and heaven, sitting on the throne as the Lord's anointed, spoken of as both emperor and god.

2 On individualism and patronage in Middle Byzantine poets—a notable example being Theodore Prodromos, mentioned at the end of the previous chapter—see Magdalino 2013a.

3 For more on Louis IX's reign, especially given the context of his activity in the Crusades, as well as the Sainte-Chapelle, there exists an extensive bibliography; see for example: W. Jordan 1979, Le Goff 1996, A. Jordan 2002, Durand 2016, Nicolotti 2014 (esp. pp. 188–200 on the Holy Face at the Sainte-Chapelle), and Freigang 2021.

4 On this sanctity and set-apart-ness of Roman and Byzantine emperors from a religious/philosophical viewpoint, see also the magnum opus of Agamben 1998.

Appendices

English-Language Translations of Greek Texts

Appendix A-1

Office of the Translation of the Mandylion (MS Coislin 218)

On the 16th of the same month: [commemoration of] the most majestic and undefiled image, not made by hands, of the Son of our true God, which was translated from Edessa; and of the holy martyr and wonderworking healer Diomēdēs.[1, 2]

Kathisma, fourth mode, to [the melody,] "He who was lifted up on the cross":

O compassionate Saviour, who came down from heaven out of compassionate mercy: you have stored up today as a treasure in the city that honours you, and amidst a people named after Christ, the most holy and undefiled form of your flesh as a firm armour. Drawing sanctification from it, let us embrace this [form] fervently in faith.[3]

Another, the same [mode], to [the melody,] "You appeared today to the inhabited world":

Your God comes to you—rejoice and be glad, O queen of cities—as a human through his divine and majestic image. Receive him, as you give glory with your children.[4]

Stichēron, first mode, to [the melody,] "O paradoxical wonder":

O Christ, who exist wholly and in every way as divine, and who bring divine things of goodness near to all, showing your inexpressible affection for us, to whom you have been made known as God with flesh: you willingly took this [flesh] to yourself, [and] have given your majestic image, which you formed from your face, as a great treasure, strength, and boast to those who honour you, the one typified thereon.[5]

1 Manuscript source: BNF MS Coislin 218, fols. 102v–105v; Greek edition in Grumel 1950. The edition by Grumel does not include any other kathismata or stichēra besides the kanōn text; such hymns have also been provided here and have been transcribed and translated from the manuscript, which has been digitised and is available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10037899s (accessed 28/02/2022). Stichēra for the commemoration of the martyr Diomēdēs on the same date and present in the manuscript are omitted here.

2 Manuscript: Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ις': εἰς τὴν πάνσεπτον καὶ ἄχραντον καὶ ἀχειρότευκτον εἰκόνα· υἱοῦ τοῦ ἀληθινοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν· τὴν ἀπὸ Ἐδέσσης ἀνακομεισθεῖσαν: καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου μάρτυρος καὶ θαυματουργοῦ ἰατροῦ Διομήδους:

3 Manuscript: Κάθισμα ἦχος δ΄ πρὸς Ὁ ὑψωθεὶς ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ: Ὁ καταβὰς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ· διὰ σπλάγχνα ἐλέους· εὔσπλαγχνε σωτήρ· τῆς σαρκός σου τὴν παναγίαν σήμερον· καὶ ἄχραντον μορφήν· πόλει τῇ τιμώσῃ σε· καὶ λαῷ χριστονύμῳ· ἐναπεθησαύρισας· ὡς στερρὰν πανοπλίαν· ἐξ ἧς ἀντλοῦντες τὸν ἁγιασμόν· ταύτην ἐν πίστει θερμῶς· προσπτυσσώμεθα:

4 Manuscript: Ἄλλο ἦχος ὁ αὐτός: πρὸς Ἐπεφάνης σήμερον τῇ οἰκουμένῃ: Ὁ θεός σου ἥκει σοι· χαίρου καὶ τέρπου βασιλίς· τῶν πόλεων· διὰ τῆς θείας καὶ σεπτῆς αὐτοῦ εἰκόνος ὡς ἄνθρωπος· ὃν ὑποδέχου σὺν τέκνοις δοξάζουσα:

5 Manuscript: Στιχηρὸν ἦχος α΄ πρὸς Ὦ τοῦ παραδόξου θαύματος: Ὅλος ὢν πάντῃ χριστὲ θεϊκῶς· καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι θεῖα· ἐγγίζων χρηστότητος· δεικνύων τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς· στοργήν σου

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. 175–203.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

The kanōn, bearing this acrostic: "Let us honour with hymns the theandric type."

Ode I, plagal fourth mode. [Heirmos:] When Moses inscribed the cross …[6]

Hosts of angelic ranks from heaven are present today on earth and rejoice, as they solemnly celebrate with us a most auspicious and radiant feast of the divine form, which by a command of him who willed to become like us has appeared for the renewal of humankind.

Being of equal honour with the Father according to the divine essence, O immortal Lord and maintainer of creation, being kindled with boundless compassion, you appeared equal to us since you are compassionate. You have granted to those who venerate you in orthodox manner as God and human the divinised image[7] of your flesh.

We have passed over from earth to the divine and immaterial heavenly way of life, since the likeness[8] of Christ has passed over to a most pious city and has found in this [city] a place of rest. Venerating it with faith, we all gain for ourselves sanctification and spiritual propitiation.

Theotokion. You appeared [as] a fearful wonder, both to all the angels as well as mortals, O most hymned Lady: for you held in your womb the Son, co-unoriginate and co-enthroned with the Father, who is made known as twofold in terms of natures but single in terms of substantive existence,[9] O maiden. We kiss his majestic type[10] with reverence and rejoicing.

ἄφατον· πρὸς οὓς ἐγνώσθης θεός· μετὰ σαρκός· ἥνπερ θέλων προσήλειφας· εἰκόνα σου τὴν σεπτήν· ἣν ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ σοῦ διεμόρφωσας· τούτοις θησαυρὸν ὡς μέγαν· ἰσχύν τε καὶ καύχημα· ἐδωρήσω τιμῶσι· τὸν ἐν τάυτῃ σὲ τυπούμενον:

6 Grumel does not note this in his introductory comments to the edition of the Greek text, but the heirmoi here—all appearing only as incipits—appear to be the ones used in the received tradition for the kanōn of the cross at matins on Friday morning in plagal fourth mode. Some words have been supplied here from the rest of the text of these heirmoi as found in contemporary published oktōēchos books of the Byzantine rite (cf. Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλη, ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 903–914) in order to produce English-language clauses that make sense for the reader. The use of such heirmoi could be explained possibly via the church calendar in that year: August 16, 944 on the Julian calendar was a Friday (calculated as per https://core2.gsfc.nasa.gov/time/julian.html [accessed 14/05/2021]) and the musical mode of that week according to the oktōēchos for that week after Pascha (calculated as per the date of Pascha: https://webspace.science.uu.nl/~gento113/easter/eastercalculator.htm [accessed 14/05/2021]) would have been plagal fourth mode, making this selection simply the usual normal daily matins heirmoi for such a day—and thus possibly underscoring the historicity of the event.

7 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

8 Gr. ἐκτύπωσις.

9 Gr. ὑπόστασις.

10 Gr. τύπος.

Ode III. A rod is understood as a type …

The face of Moses was glorified by [the sight] of the divine backside, but the people of grace, counted worthy of seeing your holy form,[11] is transformed into inexpressible glory by the effulgences[12] [coming] from this [form].

The most majestic image[13] of him who became incarnate for our sake, having visited [us] as though from another sanctuary, is restored today from barbarian authority to a God-loving people and city who bear the name of Christ.

Now, as of old, the voice of divine speech/reason[14] has thundered: Christ has come to what is his own through his own most majestic image,[15] which he fashioned as he knows [how] and gave to those who worship him.

Theotokion. You alone existed as an undefiled tabernacle of divine essence, since you gave birth to the one of the Trinity who united what stood apart and did not confuse the natures, and who has kept you whole after childbirth.

Ode IV. I have heard, O Lord, the mystery of your salvation …

O Lord, who did not depart from the form of your begetter, you took on an alien form, and by your form[16] transformed our repulsive formlessness.

The cherubic images of the law covered the holy things, but we behold the glory of invisible things, since we are covered by your type.[17]

Previously, David leapt before the ark as he danced in song, but we rejoice as we mystically leap before the image[18] of Christ.

Theotokion. He who is most perfect according to the divine nature has appeared as one equal to what he fashioned, since he is being born from your womb and is saving the nature which had fallen.

Ode V. O thrice-blessed tree …

Since the fiery sword beholds you, the divinely written type[19] on which Christ is depicted,[20] it grants to the faithful entrance into paradise and gives in return immortal delight.

O Christ, by making known the great mystery of your sojourn amongst us, which surpasses the mind—your pure conception and childbirth without suffering and

11 Gr. μορφή.
12 Gr. ἀπαυγάσματα.
13 Gr. χαρακτήρ.
14 Gr. θεολόγος, in which the component -λόγος has a variety of simultaneously possible meanings, including “speech”, “reason”, and “mind”; cf. Lampe, s.v. “λόγος, ὁ”.
15 Gr. εἰκών.
16 Gr. μορφή.
17 Gr. τύπος.
18 Gr. εἰκών.
19 Gr. τύπος.
20 Gr. μορφεῖται, from μορφέομαι.

the depiction[21] of your form[22] painted [in manner] surpassing nature—you are making something new as the creator of natures.

By the divine model[23] of your archetype and with divinely uttered words,[24] you utterly loosed Abgar's illness, having made use of your servant and disciple Thaddaeus, through whom he [sc. Abgar] found the unending life.

The barbarians' scorn was incited by a multitude of faults to conceal your image[25] for a most lengthy period of time, but you led it forth as an inviolate treasure and have given it as a help to an inheritance that honours you.

Theotokion. In variance with the laws of nature, you bear in your womb God, who is in no way contained, who in you, O Lady pure beyond comprehension, is working the refashioning of the essence of mortals in you, [and] whose most majestic likeness[26] we kiss.

Ode VI. In the belly of the sea beast …

Having tasted death, O compassionate Lord, you destroyed by your cross the curse that [came] from the tree, completely healing the harm that [came] from the food; and by your divine and majestic image,[27] you put down the uprising of the barbarians and granted it [sc. the image] to us as an invincible weapon[28] against enemies, O Lord who loves humankind.

The bronze serpent lifted up of old in the wilderness on the tree[29] and which healed the serpents' bites[30] represented[31] the likeness[32] of your life-giving and

21 Gr. ἀπεικόνισμα.

22 Gr. μορφή.

23 Gr. ἐκμαγεῖον. This noun can also mean "towel", and thus the notion of the material of the Mandylion, the cloth/napkin itself, is also present; cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἐκμαγεῖον, τό".

24 Reference is being made here to the relic of the letter dictated by Christ, cf. *Narration* 7 (18/19–20/21).

25 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

26 Gr. ἐκτύπωμα.

27 Gr. χαρακτήρ.

28 Gr. ἀκαταμάχητον ὅπλον. This imagery for the cross becomes common after the translation of the True Cross to Constantinople under Hērakleios in the seventh century and abounds in the hymnography for the feast of the Elevation of the Cross (September 14). Cf. Simic 2017, 160; McGuckin 2011–2012, 40–41.

29 Cf. Num 21:9.

30 Reading δήξεις ("bites", derived from the verb δάκνω, which uses the stem δηκ- in some forms of the future, aorist, and perfect tenses); both the MS and Grumel have δείξεις ("proofs" or "demonstrations"/"displays", derived from the verb δείκνυμι, which does not make sense in this context). I believe this to be simply an example of a typical Middle Byzantine spelling mistake after the sound shift whereby /ei/ and /ē/ merged into /i/ (along with historical /i/ and /y/); cf. Holton et al. 2019, 10–11.

31 Gr. εἰκόνιζεν, from εἰκονίζω.

32 Gr. ὁμοιότης.

dread image,[33] O Christ. We, who now look on it with faith, are healed of the wounds of the marks of evil.

Today, rays have shone forth from the undefiled image[34] of Christ, which comes home to an imperial city and a God-bearing[35] people. At its entrance, bathed in boundless glimmers of light and song, it[36] faithfully and ceaselessly glorifies almighty God, who is fearfully depicted[37] on this [image].

Knowing you, O Word of God, to be beginning from beginning and an image without distinction from the begetter, we faithfully embrace the divinely engraved[38] type[39] of your flesh, in which we discern your timeless Father and the Spirit who shares your throne and form, as we are illumined in soul by the brilliance of the Trinity.

Theotokion. You were shown as a temple and enclosure of the Word, who shone forth before all the ages from a Father who is before all eternity, the eternal beginning. Having dwelt therein according to our manner and reconciled the fallen essence of humans to the Father, he restores the inheritance of the heavenly kingdom by grace.

Ode VII. A senseless command …

The city of God is shown today as another new Zion, which receives in strange manner the Craftsman: not sat as before upon a foal,[40] but riding upon archpriests; not hymned in figural fashion[41] by children,[42] but glorified by faithful emperors and every breath of mature faithful [persons].

Words of songs are now fulfilled noetically on this feast: for previously, our God who became incarnate for our sake caused us to hear the voice of the holy Gospels, but now he shows his face, which he depicted[43] when he wiped it, thus confirming by both things the wonder of an ineffable incarnation.

33 Gr. χαρακτήρ.
34 Gr. εἰκών.
35 Gr. θεοφόρος.
36 The verb form here, δοξάζει, is singular, and thus the subject glorifying God here is left ambiguous: either the city or the people, or perhaps both reconceived in the latter half of the troparion as a unified, singular whole.
37 Gr. ἐκτυπούμενον.
38 Gr. θεοχάρακτος.
39 Gr. τύπος.
40 Cf. Matt 21:1–11, Mark 11:1–11, Luke 19:28–39, John 12:12–19 for Christ's entry into Jerusalem, which quote the prophecy of Zech 9:9; cf. also 3 Kgdms 1:33–45, where Solomon, David's heir, rides his father's donkey to the spring of Gihon, where he is anointed king.
41 Gr. τυπικῶς.
42 For the children hymning Christ, cf. the Gospel references above in this appendix, n. 40.
43 Gr. ἐναπεικόνισεν, from ἐναπεικονίζω.

Of old, the counsel of the apostate power prevailed to have the Master's form[44] made as though betrayed to enemies by a wicked plan, but it [sc. this power] was cheated of its hopes. For the God of boundless power, who is venerated with faith through it [sc. the form], now gives it back worthily to the tribes of the orthodox.

Theotokion. You appeared on earth, having been born of a maiden and divine child, and clothed yourself without deceit in my nature, through which you have overthrown the serpent who of old struck the heel of humanity, and through yourself by the might of your strength raised up him who had fallen, and caused him to sit with you in the Father's glory through your exceeding compassion.

Ode VIII. O youths, bless …

Heaven dances most radiantly with angels, and the nature of [the] earthborn leaps and rejoices at the ascent of the image[45] of Christ, and a multitude of priests as well as the whole race [of humans] gladly honours and glorifies it to the ages.

Though surrounded by the boastfulness[46] of the barbarians, those who now rule by your providence produce under treaty a victorious weapon, invincible against every armour, through your majestic type[47]: you, the mighty God and king.

Having been united beyond understanding to mortal nature, and having truly deified it entirely through both the ineffable mixture and communion, and having glorified it through seating it with the Father, you have left your image[48] to us as a true witness of the dispensation.

Theotokion. Though existing on high in accordance with your Father's essence, you appeared to us below in the flesh, O Word, being born willingly as one humble from a pure virgin, and raised our nature that had been humbled by envy up to inexpressible glory.

Ode IX. O Theotokos, you are a mystical paradise …

The destructive ranks of aerial spirits are burnt up as with fire by your image,[49] O Christ; the air is sanctified, the heavens together with us declare the glory which you willingly wrought by becoming like mortals on earth through pity.

The city exceedingly bright in glory and honour has been shown to imitate heaven, for it has received the very Son of God in depicted form,[50] by whose ineffable power it remains eternally undestroyable.

44 Gr. μορφή.
45 Gr. εἰκών.
46 Reading the ἀλαζονείᾳ with an instrumental meaning along with the MS, instead of Grumel's accusative direct object ἀλαζονείαν.
47 Gr. τύπος.
48 Gr. εἰκών.
49 Gr. εἰκών.
50 Gr. ἀπομεμορφωμένον, from ἀπομορφόω.

O Christ, crown with victorious armour those who in your good pleasure rule on earth, since they have obtained as a shield[51] the undefiled form[52] of your flesh, by which they subject the barbarian tribes while venerating it.

Theotokion. O bride of God, [in manner] beyond understanding you were seen as both mother and true virgin, since he who for our sake was incarnate from you willingly became twofold in a single substantive existence, while preserving the characteristics of the essences.

51 Gr. θυρεός; this was a type of oblong, door-shaped shield, much like the Roman *scutum*; cf. LSJ, s.v. "θυρεός, ὁ". The word occurs once in the New Testament (Eph 6:16) and 22 times in the Septuagint translation of the Old Testament.

52 Gr. μορφή.

Appendix A-2

Office of the Translation of the Mandylion (*Analecta hymnica graeca*)

The kanōn[1] of the holy Mandylion,[2] of which the acrostic [is]:
"Rejoice, all you of pious mind."

Ode I, fourth mode. [Heirmos:] I will open my mouth …[3]

O heavens, exult today with brightness; O mountains, leap, O hills, clap your hands! You of divine mind, venerate in faith the likeness[4] of Christ's acquisition.[5]

He who is beyond all being, as one beyond depiction[6] and as an indistinguishable image[7] of God, showed an indistinguishable image from which he acquired flesh when he took on the likeness[8] of humans.

Dance, O unwedded bride: for he who is beyond divinity has been born without seed from you, [and] thus wrought a likeness[9] not made by hands, having filled all things with his divine praise.

David related most clearly the power of the mystery, crying out: "The God and Lord who is coming has also appeared to us; arrange a universal feast of joy!"

Ode III. [Establish] your singers, O Theotokos …

David, seeing the queen of cities receive within her womb the inexpressible type,[10] said: "All the glory of the daughter of the king is within."

With strength, the singer cried out to the new Zion, striking the lyre of the Spirit: "Glorious and inexpressible are the things spoken of you, the metropolis[11] of our God."

1 Manuscripts: MS Mess. gr. 136, fols. 293v–298v (13th century); MS Paris. gr. 13, fol. 370r–371v (13th century); MS Paris. gr. 1568, fols. 118v–124v (15th century). Greek edition in Proiou/Schirò 1980, 12:163–171.

2 Spelled here μανδήλιον.

3 The heirmoi here throughout the kanōn correspond to those of the second kanōn for the feast of the Dormition of the Theotokos (August 15) and are attributed to John of Damascus (ca. 675–749) (although this attribution is not without scrutiny or controversy; see here Louth 2002, 252–253, mentioned in Cunningham 2022, 164, n. 121); cf. Μηναῖον Αὐγούστου, ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 197–206.

4 Gr. ἐμφέρεια.

5 In patristic literature, the Greek word here often has the specific meaning of the addition or acquisition of human nature in the incarnation; cf. Lampe, s.v. "πρόσλημμα, τό".

6 Gr. γραφή.

7 Gr. εἰκών.

8 Gr. ὁμοίωσις.

9 Gr. ἐκτύπωμα.

10 Gr. τύπος.

11 Gr. μητρὸς ἡ πόλις. The phrase here can be taken as a pun on μητρόπολις, but the insertion of the definite article ἡ preserves the more exact quotation of Ps 86:3, which reads simply, "the city of God" (ἡ πόλις τοῦ θεοῦ).

O Word of God, Edessa held you as Egypt did of old; therefore, a Father has once again called for you to return, as to another fatherland, to this city which has given birth to you.

Ode IV. [Perceiving] the inscrutable divine counsel …

Leap and cry out, O voice of the Word: "Prepare again the way of the Lord", since he has come as though on foot through the form[12] of the acquisition to make paths in souls perfect.

Be shattered to pieces, O senseless nations of the earth that desire wars, and understand that God, who was and shall be [such] without intermission, has come to us; be insolent no longer!

Say, O prophet of God: "Who is this who is coming from Edom, from Edessa, youthful in beauty?" He is God and human from a pure [virgin], the Lord who by nature loves humankind.

When you put to death all the enemy's deceit, you set forth your indistinguishable form[13] as one intending to return, so that he [sc. the enemy] might always bear this mortification and be put to death by you, O immortal Lord, when beholding this [form].

Ode V. Everything was amazed …

You went up to the heights in the form of your type[14], you captured those who had taken captives, you received gifts, O Saviour, when you dwelt among them, among disobedient peoples, so that they might hymn you in Edessa, O lover of humankind.

Angels now rejoice and cry out today: "Lift up the gates, O churches, receive the form[15], not depicted by hands, of God's recorded[16] essence, and make copies[17] of it for yourselves in accordance with the archetype, O faithful!"

You have placed your bow in the cloud, O Lord, but you placed your form[18] on a woven cloth to adorn the foundation of the church, confirming the new covenant after closing up the cataracts of your wrath.

12 Gr. μορφή.

13 Gr. μορφή.

14 Gr. τυπούμενος, from τυπέω.

15 Gr. εἶδος.

16 Gr. ἔγγραφος. Lampe, s.v. "ἔγγραφος", records a possible meaning of this word as being "recorded … opp. eternal" (p. 398), and thus its use could be highlighting the recorded, historical human 'essence' of Christ.

17 The Greek reads here μεταγράφεσθε, which is a present mediopassive imperative, in contrast to the other imperatives—"lift" (ἄρατε) and "receive" (δέξασθε)—which are aorist active and middle, respectively. The aspectual difference here is a subtle but key one: the churches are to lift up the gates fully and receive once and for all the form (the completive nature of these acts brought to the fore by the aorist imperatives), but the present imperative injunction to make copies implies an ongoing action whose end is not foreseen, i.e., henceforth without ceasing should such copies be made.

18 Gr. μορφή.

Ode VI. [Celebrating] this divine and most honoured [feast] …

Your ancestor gave shape in advance[19] to the glory of this form[20] of yours when he said, "I loved your house's majesty and the place of your glory's tabernacle, O Word."

Authenticating[21] the glory of the second coming of your dread presence, O Christ, you have shown in advance now the form[22] of your shape[23] to us who long for you, O Craftsman of all.

You came to Egypt, O Saviour, and destroyed the idols there; and you have come to us, raising up your beauty and that of your saints for portrayal and veneration.

David cries, "Exalt the Lord, everyone, and venerate his footstool", as one hinting at the type[24] of the compound acquired from the pure [virgin].

Kathisma, fourth mode. [To the melody,] "He who was lifted up on the cross."

O compassionate Saviour, who came down from heaven out of compassionate mercy: you have stored today as a treasure in the city that honours you, and amidst a people named after Christ, the most holy and undefiled form of your flesh as a firm armour. Drawing sanctification from it, let us embrace[25] this [form] fervently in faith.

Ode VII. The [youths] of divine mind did not worship the creation …

Previously, material and divine light shone in like manner on Tabor, but now the immaterial light—the likeness[26] of the type[27]—has risen, surpassing the sun, driving away the darkness of terrible heterodoxy.

The eternal Lord comes now to what is his own through a recorded[28] form[29]. Be glad, you who are his own[30], let us embrace him and make melody as we greet him: "The Lord of our fathers is with us; be defeated, O nations!"

19 Gr. προδιεχάραχεν, from προδιαχαράζω.
20 Gr. εἶδος.
21 Literally, "sealing" (σφραγίζων).
22 Gr. εἶδος.
23 Gr. μορφή.
24 Gr. τύπος.
25 Proiou and Schirò choose the present indicative mediopassive form, προσπτυσσόμεθα, rather than the subjunctive προσπτυσσώμεθα. Their apparatus indicates, however, that the two earlier, 13th-century manuscripts contain the reading with the subjunctive, with the indicative reading only being attested by the latest manuscript, MS Paris. gr. 1568 from the 15th century. The subjunctive reading here, which is followed in this translation, also happens to accord with the stichēron as written in the 11th-century MS Coislin 218, edited by Grumel and also appearing in translation in this appendix (Appendix A-1). It is also noteworthy that this kathisma is the *only* shared hymnography between the two versions of the office.
26 Gr. ἐκτύπωσις.
27 Gr. τύπος.
28 Gr. ἔγγραφος.
29 Gr. μορφή.
30 This is an extended pun in the Greek text with the words for "eternal" (ἀΐδιος), "what is his own" (τὰ ἴδια), and the people who are God's own, directly addressed in the troparion (ἴδιοι).

Behold, the King of Kings is coming: go forth to meet him, O emperors, priests, peoples, and princes, and cry out: "Blessed is the Lord, who comes in the name of the Lord!"

When Jacob venerated a rod and embraced it, showing beforehand the image's[31] honour, he set forth the day of the mystery, O pure Lady. Having come to know it as [being] auspicious, we have celebrated a feast today for your child.

Ode VIII. The pious youths in the furnace …

Bearing your image like an adornment, O Christ, your bride the church cries: "Behold the inexpressible beauty of your life hanging before your eyes, and you all shall live." Moses, foreseeing [this], rejoiced as he hymned you to all the ages.

The angel who was seen in the form[32] of dew rescued three youths in a furnace, but the Lord himself, who appeared in an acquired form[33], completely saved the universe after setting it aflame with divine intimate desire, as it cries: "We exalt you above all to all the ages!"

O mountains, drip sweetness; O hills, milk; O clouds, water of gladness! For a sun has appeared as a light cloud, whom David foresaw, and he sang: "Happy the people who knows a festal shout! They will walk in the light of the Lord's face."

Ode IX. [Let] every earth-born [leap in spirit]…

The law outlined a relative honour for images in the cherubim, but Christ the truth, as one who is impalpable and who had depicted an impalpable receptacle of perceptions, makes clear that this [honour] leads all to the perception of the veneration of these things and to safely guard the perceptions of the faithful.

The bride of God—the church—made sacrificial offerings, O faithful, and having filled [her] cup, she cries out: "Come, taste and see that the bridegroom is present, Christ the Lord, who grants victories to emperors, and peace to priests and peoples!"

Today, the voice of David has been completely fulfilled, for the Lord is near to those who call on [him] in truth, and has sent forth a voice like a rod of power from the form[34] [taken] from her who had not experienced a man. But you, royal city,[35] rise up and rule over the ends of the earth!

31 Gr. εἰκών.

32 Gr. εἶδος.

33 Gr. ἐν εἴδει προσλήμματος; cf. also above this appendix, n. 5.

34 Gr. μορφή.

35 Gr. βασιλὶς μὲν πόλις. Given the absence of any definite or indefinite articles, I read βασιλίς here as the adjective "royal" rather than as the substantive "queen"; cf. LSJ, s.v. "βασιλίς". Nevertheless, the aural pun exists, such that one might also be tempted to hear the 'queen-city', a feminine image fitting not only the feminine grammatical gender of the Greek word for city (πόλις) but also the Marian imagery usual in such concluding hymns; cf. here also again Mango 2000 on the notion of Constantinople as a city defined by its connection to the Mother of God; on theotokia as a locus *par excellence* for examining Marian imagery in Byzantine hymnography, see Cunningham 2022, esp. chapter 4, entitled "Theology in Verse: Middle Byzantine Hymnography" (pp. 137–178).

Appendix B

Constantine Stilbēs: *Didaskalia* on the Mandylion and the Tile

***Didaskalia*[1] of the blessed monk Cyril, who bore the title of [bishop of] Kyzikos, and who was a teacher[2] at the [church of Christ] Chalkitēs when he was a deacon. On the holy [objects], the Mandylion and the Tile.**

1) What is this sacred thing that is being transported? What is this thing that is being carried humbly[3]? For so great an escort[4] makes one think that there is something more august about the matter. Indeed, this is the ark of grace, since the spiritual Israel goes before in procession and guards as a treasure the very holy [ark] and surrounds with loud cries the tablet imprinted by God and the jar holding the manna so as to preserve inviolate the wonder. See him who bears the ark in his hands and provides for its transport: our more sublime Aaron, the great sacrificer and hierarch, the worthy bearer of vessels for objects so great as these and who escorts them into the sanctuary, who speaks well before Pharaoh on behalf of the Israel which we are, and who by his words of teaching thunders at him but sets us aright. The oracular breastplate he bears is more mystical and more secret, since he has prepared his heart as a treasury of spiritual [riches] (not to mention divine and wise ones), in which are kept both the manifestation of things at once hidden and ambiguous as well as the truth. He is adorned with a more remarkable

1 Greek edition in Flusin 1997. Text taken from Bodleian Library MS Barocci 25, fols. 273–275; digitised copy available online at https://digital.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/objects/2ca2a9fe-9777-4646-a75a-1aa5b4598498/ (accessed 14/05/2021). I refer the reader here to the extensive notes and commentary by Flusin at the end of his edition, which notes the scriptural references throughout the *Didaskalia*. My notes in the following are restricted to my own insights, specific Greek words of interest, and comments with regard to the partial translation and notes in Ceulemans 2022.

2 Gr. διδάσκαλος, which besides the usual meaning also probably refers in this context to Stilbēs holding the official office designated as such in conjunction with the patriarchal school at Hagia Sophia; cf. "Didaskalos" in *ODB* 1:619.

3 Gr. ἐνδεῶς, literally, "insufficiently".

4 Ceulemans 2022, 742, n. 5 interprets this as referring to a contemporaneous procession of the Mandylion and Tile in Constantinople in Stilbēs's day, yet there are no extant liturgical sources that indicate that this icon-relic was processed annually on the commemoration of the translation. Given the lack of such rubrics for a procession of such a high-profile imperial relic—Ceulemans provides none, while sources such as the kanonarion-synaxarion of the Great Church (cf. Tucker 2023, passim) abound in directions and specific starting and ending points for public liturgical processions and lack any such directions for such a procession, which most certainly would have involved the patriarch and thus have found its way into the books of the Ecclesiastic rite—I believe that the *didaskalos* here is simply using his oratorical arts to evoke the historical translation to the city in 944, and not speaking of a present-day event.

turban and a plaque on his forehead gleaming like gold: for both things are united in the understanding of the archpastor, which is near his head and full of light, since he is exceedingly perceptive and in his thoughts there is nothing base, nor noisy, nor dark or nocturnal. But as for us: why are we here? And why, then, have we gathered at this solemn celebration? With enthusiasm, we leap up before the ark in spiritual dance, and at this arrival or return, we begin to strike[5] the psaltery—but may Melchol be far from us, an abusive tongue peeping out against us at the window of [our] nature, at the parapet and fencing of our teeth—a psaltery, and if not [consisting] of ten strings, then at least bearing five tones: the composition of the second of the chords, then that which is diminished, and then our compositions, which compared to the ancient and great ones of David seem only half accomplished. [This psaltery], mind you, is composed of the arrangement of the speech-producing parts, especially of the tongue itself, which we stretch against the row of teeth as against the bridges on instruments, even though it is a poorly sounding string by virtue of its matter. For it is made rough by forbidden wantonness[6], and made languid by songs rather than stretched tight, producing a deep sound rather than a beautiful one.

2) But come, let us search out whence so great a good thing has come to us—the small tablet imprinted by God—and who entrusted this to us, the Israel of the gospel. Let us make this narrative a pleasant song for the solemn celebration, since nothing is more delightful or magnificent than the Saviour's miracles, and in this case, the story is new and not common knowledge to all. For it does not come from the book of the divine Gospel, which relates the history of the Master, since the marvels of Christ are not written down one by one therein; and the son of thunder, the thundering voice bears true witness to this.[7] For if they were to end up being infinite in terms of multitude and magnitude, how would they have been circumscribed? And why would someone try to relate a heavenly marvel by means of all the stars and their infinitude, when it is possible to represent all their beauty by means of

5 Gr. ἐπικράσκομεν. Flusin does not comment on this word in his apparatus, but after extensive lexical searching, I cannot find any forms of the verb anywhere. I believe that this could be a hitherto unlisted *hapax legomenon* form of the (to my knowledge unattested) verb *ἐπικράσκω, which in form would appear to be an inchoative of the attested verb ἐπικρέκω, meaning "to strike [an instrument]"; a similar vowel change in the formation of the inchoative is seen, for example, in φάσκω > φημί (not to mention the stem formant -σκ-, cognate with the Latin *-sc-* formant performing the same function [e.g., *scīscō* > *sciō*] and the Sanskrit verbal root √(s)*kṛ*, "to make/do", which is often attached to noun stems to form periphrastic inchoatives). Cf. *LBG*, s.v. "ἐπικρέκω"; LSJ, s.v. "κρέκω".

6 Gr. τρυφή. This can also mean "softness" in both positive and negative senses, and thus serves as a polyvalent pun against the roughness indicated by the verb ἐκτραχύνω here.

7 A reference to John the Theologian and Evangelist; cf. Mark 3:17.

certain more remarkable ones? Why should one observe closely all the trails of the morning star's [light] and thoroughly investigate their great diversity, which causes interminable pain to our eyes, when their radiance is evident from [investigating] a reasonable number of them? We must set forth, then, the erection of the image and the wonder, such as I have learnt from sacred unimpeachable inscribed pillars[8].

3) Quite recently, Christ was making his sojourn as a human on earth without being separated from the supercelestial regions as regards his divinity, and behold a certain regional ruler or king of Syrian Edessa and the neighbouring regions of no small repute (for this was the renowned Abgar), learning of Christ's wonders, takes them individually in turn to heart like seeds, and like good soil produces the full-grown fruits of faith. Quickly, he infers the truth syllogistically and infallibly concludes that Jesus is God. As a middle term that unites the extremes and binds them together with utmost necessity, he situates the miracles, and especially that of raising the dead again to life, and thus having heard with his own ears, he has come to belief; and he began to thirst all the more after beholding the awesome sight with his own eyes. Indeed, in terms of the lesser term, the middle term is hypothetical and quite false [if the knowledge come] by means of hearing; but the eye turns the hearing's hypotheses into theses, into clear confessions and undisputed conclusions. The king would have quickly rushed headlong after what he both longed for and marvelled at—like a deer after living water that gushes forth and is in no way stagnant or putrid with death, or in any way corrupted—had he not been held fast by the bonds of illness and the strong snare of disaffection. The spirit in his case is willing, but the flesh is weak; that which moves is quick, but that which is moved is sluggish; the charioteer is ready to go, but the chariot can hardly move, impeded as it is by the spikes of sicknesses. For the illness was gout, brought about in the king and becoming arthritis throughout his body, by the Syrian diet (which was contrived, luxurious, and moist), the indigestion that followed, the walks and periods of standing that were longer and more intense than is customary, retention of what is normally excreted, and in sum, a superabundance of bilious humours. This is what overcame the ruler of the place, and along with this a great amount of viscous liquid and black bile, which caused a black leprosy to erupt on his skin, clothing him in a tunic of disfigurement.

8 Gr. κύρβεις. Originally, this word referred to a specific kind of triangular tablet used in Athens and onto which laws were inscribed; the overtones thus suggest not only legal or customary authority on the part of the sources consulted, but the trilaterality might also faintly hint at the Trinity and thus divine authority. Cf. LSJ, s.v. "κύρβεις, -εων, αἱ". Ceulemans 2022, 744, n. 14 sees this term as bearing more upon the physical nature of 'tablets' and thus subtly introducing the Tile (Κέραμος) as part of the *Didaskalia*.

4) Constrained by such snares is his foot, quick to move towards the Master. He writes, then, to Christ, confesses his faith, exposes the hindrance to his journey, and finally, out of affection rather than audacity, he—the slave—implores, supplicates, [and] summons to himself the Master who saves and heals. "I am weak", he says, "visit me who am held fast in a prison and am hard pressed by the wall and enclosure of my body. Direct your beautiful feet towards me, you who proclaim the good tidings of peace even though the humours of the body battle against us. I open wide to you all the gates of Edessa. I am a leper: come into the house of the leper. I am a paralytic: search out also the floor where I am lying down. And if you wish, O God-human, to escape the plots of the Jews since you are human, Edessa will be for you a sure place of refuge. For I believe that your great power will be an unshakeable rock for its foundations and a cornerstone holding everything together for the circumference of its walls."
5) But Christ writes back—O those letters inscribed by God! O divine tablet! <…> [O] brief missive! O what tokens of such great thoughts, [like] the supernatural symbols of supernatural prototypes, sparks shooting forth and emitting great light as from hidden coals! He responds, then, that the matters of the [divine] dispensation must be brought to their end [in] Jerusalem: "I do not reject my murderers", he says, "for my passion is voluntary and quite plain, even if I should not seek out the inviolate and unassailable refuge offered by you." These things are what [were said] in the letter, after he blessed him who had believed before he had seen; and fulfilling the desire of the faithful slave, he promises to send one of his chosen disciples to minister to his illness. For the apostles of grace, unlike those of the law or the servants of Elisha, are not weak when it comes to illnesses, but rather are healers even of internal wounds, enclosed within and deadly.
6) It followed from this that the ruler was all the more enflamed and driven as by a tyrant towards both faith and [the desire] to see him who had replied. Upon learning that the plots of the Jews were already about to end in death for the Saviour, he starts to think of a way to appease his desire; and this desire was to have an image[9] limned and to possess a likeness[10] of the divine form[11] of him who among the sons of humans stands out in beauty. For those who suffer with longing, especially of a divine nature, even the shadow of him who is longed for is most precious and desirable. So he dispatches a swift courier to Jesus in order that [this envoy] might reach him before the envy of the Jews should; this fleet-footed man was also thoroughly versed in the craft of painting. Faster than a bird, as they say, [he comes] before

9 Gr. εἰκών.
10 Gr. χαρακτήρ.
11 Gr. μορφή.

Christ, thinking that now is the proper moment to demonstrate his skills: of his feet, in running; and of his hands, in elegant painting. He undertakes to depict the Master's visage; he sets up the base as something simply to receive the material of the image[12], he assembles his pigments, he takes the brush in his hand, and undertakes to move this skilful tool, this painting hand. But when this hand should be guided in its depiction by the eyes, for the hand is blind when the gaze is distant—[eyes] that strike the archetype and make an impression of the form[13] internally and either make an image[14] of it on the secret inscribed pillar[15] of the imagination or make an immaterial sketch of it, so that one might make a material copy thereof—the artist is then helpless and his skill in painting is put to shame. For the divine form[16] cannot be comprehended by the eyes, even if one should send forth to this [form] numerous spiritual rays of vision like the touches of the hands; according to him who spoke of his nature, it is incomprehensible and infinite, and the grace that shines from his face stops the painter. I will mention a very similar example, I think, and please accept it. Just as one cannot keep the pupils [of the eyes] fixed intensely on the very disc of the sun and make an exact image[17] of it, so too is the painter unable to fix his gaze upon the theandric form[18] or compile the form[19] from the radiance. He directed his right hand to make straight lines, curves, and triangular and polygonal shapes—these are geometrical terms—but he was unable to accomplish the whole vision, not even mentally, nor was he able to engrave the inscribed pillar[20].

7) This marvel was but the forerunner of an even greater one and the preliminary rites of the festival, for the Almighty transformed this embarrassment into facility and ease. He summons the painter, asks for water, and washes his face. He who of old gave a sign to Gideon through the rain and through the water at the sacrifice of the zealous Tishbite; who caused a rock to gush forth and transformed the waters of the Red Sea into solid matter; and likewise at Cana through the water and at the pool of Siloam for the blind man:

12 Gr. εἶδος.

13 Gr. ἀποματτόμενος, from ἀπομάσσω, which also has the literal meaning of "to wipe off" and thus foreshadows the wiping of Christ's face in the next section. Cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἀπομάσσω".

14 Gr. εἰδοποιοῦσιν, from εἰδοποιέω.

15 Gr. κύρβις; cf. this appendix above, n. 8.

16 Gr. μόρφωμα.

17 Gr. εἰκονίσασθαι.

18 Gr. μορφή.

19 Gr. εἶδος.

20 Gr. κύρβις; this "pillar" is not defined further at this point, and so could mean either the 'pillar' or 'tablet' of his imagination or mental faculties (as in n. 15, above this appendix), or perhaps is referring obliquely to the manifestation of the divine face on the Tile, as Ceulemans suggests (as in n. 8, above this appendix).

here too, the Creator appropriates to himself the element, and taking a cloth[21] to wipe his face[22], he immaterially imprints the form[23] onto it—O the wonder!—not made by hands, inviolable, indistinguishable, similar to the imprint in wax from a seal. As onto a diaphanous and transparent body, he left his immutable and immovable form. O dexterous and most skilled painter, O beautiful sketcher and accurate depicter of truth, who has no need of looking around or at [an object], nor of standing at some distance, but rather only needs to come into contact with the skin, something miraculous! O completion of a new kind of portraiture! He who of old brought forth beings from non-being and the diversity of qualities himself here again brings forth the quality of colours. No quicker could a shadow be cast by a body nor radiance shine forth from the sun than the depiction of the prototype was produced on that day.

8) The courier receives the gift and is glad, for the merchandise came without any effort. He hastens to return to him who sent him, and joy gives new wings to his natural fleetness of foot. In the evening, he stops near some field where there was a tile factory, and there he stored away the divine object as in an earthenware jar by surrounding it with tiles. And again, another miracle on top of the others, a third one[24] after the first two, a most perfect and mystical number! O this most precious field, like that one bearing a treasure in the Gospel! Who would not have eagerly acquired it with all their wealth and all their possessions on account of the richer treasure therein?

In the middle of a moonless night, a fiery pillar from heaven comes to rest upon the cloth[25]—it would seem that the God of ancient Israel here too is working wonders—just as a star once rested above the roof that had received Christ. Here, there is a luminous signal fire, and coming out from the image[26], a copy of the image[27] [is made] on one of the tiles simultaneously, not made by hands or painted. Just as the movement of fire from the body containing it to another takes place without the former diminishing or incurring cost; just as an echo is produced from the voice without any instruments—that is, if I may make natural comparisons with what cannot be discussed in terms of its nature—so too a copy not made by hands[28] came about from the painting,

21 Gr. ὀθόνη.

22 Gr. ἀπομάξασθαι, the aorist middle infinitive of ἀπομάττω (cf. above this appendix, n. 13).

23 Gr. τὴν μορφὴν ἐνετύπωσεν.

24 I concur here with Ceulemans 2022, 746, n. 29 *pace* Dubarle 1997, 10, that the three things in number are not different tile copies of the Mandylion, but rather three miracles in the context (the creation of the Mandylion, the creation of the Tile, and the incarnation of Christ).

25 Gr. σινδών.

26 Gr. εἰκών.

27 Gr. τῆς εἰκόνος μεταγραφή.

28 Gr. ἀχειρότευκτον τὸ ἀντίγραμμα.

a wondrous image from a wondrous image[29], or rather an identical copy[30]. Together with the prototype, there are three things that are holy, inaccessible to thoughts, even if in another way they are united as one. O, the power of the archetype, since the tile gains its colours from it! For just as in the case of easily moved and loose bodies, whether of airy or watery substance, the cause that first moves them comes to rest when the momentum that proceeds from it is transferred from the part that was initially moved to the proximate part, and thus as a result a joint movement comes about; and just as the attractive force of the prodigious stone attaches things to one other and attaches to itself the bodies drawn to it, even if they are separated from it—for I am directing you from what is earthly and customary to what is new and heavenly—so too now do both the painting and the copies[31] [come about] from the strength of the supremely sovereign[32] cause.

9) So the courier bears a twofold gift in place of a simple one, and the talent of grace is doubled for him as for a good slave who is of the right disposition with regard to the gift: the royal drachma which also preserves unadulterated the imprint—these are what he delivers to the king. And the latter—but I do not know how to express the two things he was feeling—trembles at the wonder; he leaps at the sight, his heart is gripped tight with shuddering but made broad through joy, and the area around his heart becomes a coal, flaming forth here and becoming red there, all the while preserving in both parts the fervour and ardour of his faith. He sees as rays and effulgences of an exceedingly bright morning star the images[33] that had been sent to him from far away, which depict improvisationally the good temperament of the

29 Gr. τύπου τύπος θαυμασίου θαυμάσιος.

30 Gr. ταὐτοτυπία.

31 Gr. μεταγράμματα. Perhaps this plural noun is what led Dubarle (cf. above this appendix, n. 24) to understand the "three holy things" as being three objects, namely, the Mandylion and two tile copies. Yet earlier in the passage, we find μεταγραφή, a quite common word for "copy" or "transcription" as well as for denoting the process itself, i.e. "transcribing" (the English gerund). Μετάγραμμα, on the other hand, is exceedingly rare; a *TLG* corpus search returns no results for the lemma, while *LBG* lists only this instance and one other in the *Constitutio Cypria* from around AD 1260. I surmise that the plural here, as well as the form ending in -μα (which stresses the achieved or completed occurrence or instantiation of the verb stem to which it is appended; cf. Smyth 1984, § 861 [p. 241]) rather than merely an abstract noun per se (such as would be the case if we had, say, μεταγραφαί here), could be referring to multiple, already-made copies of the Mandylion in icon form, which would have been in existence in churches by the end of the 12th century when Stilbēs was giving the *Didaskalia*, especially since it comes at the end of this section of the oration before jumping back into the primary narrative. However, this train of thought must remain speculative.

32 Gr. ἀρχικώτατος. This word can also mean "most original" or "most primal" (cf. LSJ, s.v. "ἀρχικός"), and given the context, both meanings of divine sovereign and origin may be meant to resonate here.

33 Gr. εἰκών.

elements of the body and his condition in the prime of life.[34] He regards the thing as a vision of God and via the rock—that is, the tile—he perceives the face of God; thinking on a deeper level, one might say the back parts [of God], that is, the form[35] in accordance then with the incarnation in the last times, or the depiction[36] that came after the substantive existence[37] and which is later in chronological terms. He thinks that Jesus has come to him in person and that he receives the entire God-human via the symbols; or rather, he marvels at his two natures on account of both the earthen tile and the transparent, finely woven cloth.[38]

He takes the potsherd in order to scrape off his discharges—what the Holy Scriptures say about Job—caused by his leprosy and arthritis: this new, divine potsherd, shining like a pearl with divine gleam, with which he rids himself of all disease. He receives the wonderworking cloth[39], more healing than that fringe which wiped away or dried up fountains of blood, and just as with the Saviour's shadow, he hoped quite rightly that this image[40] of his would work wonders, and his unshakeable confidence <merited him?> the inviolate <gift?> of healing.

And now, kings, understand! A prophet and king issues an order, and Abgar swiftly grasps the command: he both recognises the Saviour and also meets him. Thus, since not only did the queen of the south desire to see Solomon and delighted in the sight, but also this magnificent ruler, more cogent and more ready of wit than the female sex, thirsted for the sight of Christ, the prince of peace. Let the Jews then be shamed, they who lie and calumniate when they say that none of the rulers yearned after Christ, since Joseph and Nikodēmos from [the people of] Israel sought him out, men of great wealth and deep

34 Literally, "springtime condition" (ἐαρινὴν κατάστασιν). This phrasing might recall for the then-contemporary educated courtly hearer of the *Didaskalia* the people's acclamation to the emperor at the spring Butcher's Festival in Constantinople: "Behold, sweet spring is rising again (ἴδε τὸ ἔαρ τὸ γλυκὺ πάλιν ἐπανατέλλει), bringing health and life and prosperity, courage from God to the emperors of the Romans, and a God-given victory over the enemy" (*Book of Ceremonies* I.73 [transl. by Moffatt/Tall, p. 367]). Beyond contemporary Middle Byzantine court ritual, the phrase "sweet springtime" is also applied to the nativity of Christ in a homily by John of Damascus in the mid-eighth century (*Homily on the Lord's Nativity* 1–2, ed. by Kotter, pp. 324–325), and in the received Byzantine tradition is cast liturgically as an epithet of Christ used by the Theotokos in the third stasis of the Lamentations sung at the matins of Holy Saturday: "O my sweet springtime" (Ὦ γλυκύ μου ἔαρ; cf. Τριῴδιον Κατανυκτικόν, ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 1058).

35 Gr. μόρφωμα.

36 Gr. ἀπεικόνισμα.

37 Gr. ὑπόστασις.

38 Gr. ὀθόνη.

39 Gr. σινδών.

40 Gr. εἰκών.

thought who sat with the august Sanhedrin, and from the nations—this merits even greater amazement—this regional ruler and king, made exceedingly glorious by his authority and wealth and manner of life. For the heart of this king is plainly guided by God, being instructed and ordered and moved towards divine piety.

10) From thence has such a good thing come to us; from Edessa in the land of the morning have most luminous [light] trails been sent to us: unshakable supports of the church, like immovable stones and foundations, advocates for the honour [due to] images[41] who are mute and yet speak loudly, giving forth a cry from the midst of the stones, witnesses bearing witness to themselves, since it is a matter of their own veneration! And since that time, we solemnly celebrate today this transfer of the images to the queen [of cities] in accordance with pious custom: an annual solemn celebration, the return of the two beacons, the return of the festival. For both the purple and the highly honoured stone[42] befitted the ruling cities, and all the more so since it is a matter of piety.

11) But come, let us not remain merely at this solemn celebration, at the sight of the images[43] and their explication: let us also become ourselves likenesses[44] of the Saviour, imitating the teacher as much as possible. And if someone should summon us to himself, or compel us [to go]—even if he happen to be a great ruler or prince—somewhere far from the Jerusalem above in which we have been originally born, but outside of which we have been condemned to endure the punishment of death in a place paved with stones[45] and in this rough life, in this valley of weeping and this cave hollowed out by the torrent of tears, let us not all run to him—even if it should be that he be suffering and have some reason for calling for aid—if we see that our departure would interrupt a greater work pleasing to God: the crucifixion[46] of our members and their mortification. Let us not get mixed up in the crowd of the city, but while we await there what is greater and more important and while we seek

41 Gr. εἰκών.

42 Gr. λίθος ὁ πολυτίμητος. Given the context of the speech on the feast of the translation itself, with the appellations above to various emperors as audience, I do not think it impossible to situate the location of the *Didaskalia* as having been pronounced in the Pharos chapel where the icon-relic and its copy were kept, which would mean this "highly honoured" stone would most likely be referring to the Holy Stone (see chapter 4), which was also housed in this chapel. The term πολυτίμητος was also used in Classical Greek especially in the context of addressing various divinities, thus also undergirding this conclusion in light of the Holy Stone's intimate connection with Jesus Christ; cf. LSJ, s.v. "πολυτίμητος, -ον".

43 Gr. εἰκόνες.

44 Gr. εἰκάσματα.

45 Gr. λιθόστρωτος, serving as a pun on the crucifixion of Christ and Golgotha, which is thus translated in the Gospel according to John (19:13).

46 Literally, "cross" (σταυρός).

out the heavenly commonwealth, let us go to him by means of the types and images[47] of our life, once we have been sanctified by the spirit, or rather by means of comforting images[48], by means of the author's characters[49], with these being twofold: more material for what concerns the body, more subtle for what concerns the spirit. For both require a good exhortation, and with regard to these, let us together provide succour to him who is suffering in Christ Jesus our Lord. To him be the glory to the ages. Amen.

47 Gr. εἰκονίσματα.

48 Gr. γράμμασι παρακλητικοῖς.

49 Gr. χαρακτῆρσι τοῦ γράφοντος. This phrase has multiple puns at play, with the first term able to mean "letters", "features", "imprints", and "characters", and the latter term able to mean "writer", "painter", and "author".

Appendix C

Office of the Translation of the Holy Stone

Office,[1] with God's blessing, on the translation to the great city of the Holy Stone, on which Christ our true God was placed by Joseph after being taken down [from the cross]; which [translation] took place in the 27th year of the sole rule[2] of the purple-born emperor, Lord[3] Manuel Komnēnos.

Stichēra, plagal second mode. To [the melody,] "Having set aside…"

Being moved from on high towards every divine action, an emperor of divine name[4], Manuel, has by what he has accomplished added to the renown of us, the whole body of the faithful,[5] and to what is seen today. For behold, he has brought up from the East[6] a stone on which Joseph placed a naked Christ, who had been sprinkled all over with streams of blood. And taking myrrh and fine linen, he sealed him up in a new tomb, from which he was raised.

Of old, Moses smashed tablets that had been inscribed by God as he convicted faithless Israel who had gone mad; but an emperor named after Christ[7] and leading a new Israel in orthodox manner brings up from afar a tablet that received God for the strengthening of souls and for an unshakable foundation of might for the sons of him who is passing over[8]. Wherefore, let us come together with one accord as we glorify God, who through him magnifies the imperial crown.

A precious stone, which had received lying upon it as a dead man the Lord—the cornerstone that had been cut without any mason, that had been fixed to wood with nails, that was dripping with divinely flowing blood yet besprinkled with the tears of a virgin mother and a virgin disciple—is brought today to a royal city. Come, O people of God! As we worship with fear and joy, let us bring an offering of thanksgiving with prayers to the emperor.

1 Manuscript source: MS Athous Laurae B 6, fols. 77–83, edition in Antonopoulou 2013; earlier edition in Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1898 (reprinted 1963).
2 Gr. αὐτοκρατορία.
3 Gr. βασιλέως κυροῦ.
4 Gr. βασιλεὺς θεώνυμος.
5 Gr. τοῦ πιστοῦ πληρώματος.
6 Gr. ἐξ ἑῴας.
7 Or "called by Christ" (Gr. χριστόκλητος).
8 Gr. διαβαίνων, from διαβαίνω.

The kanōn, bearing the acrostic "I, Skylitzēs, venerate the stone of Christ's burial."

***Ode I, fourth mode. I shall open my mouth …*[9]**

Today, the emperor[10] has fulfilled the prophecy by laying for the foundations of the new Zion a precious stone, which divinely flowing blood that dripped from the side of Christ has wholly sanctified.

A venerable stone, which bore as a dead man the giver of life, has been delivered to us by the command of Christ, who moved to this deed the emperor's[11] heart, made especially strong[12] by God.

Israel sucked from the rock that gushed forth water, but we—the Israel of Christ—have received a precious stone on which he was laid after dying, and we draw forth ever-gushing strength for our souls.

Let the noetic bride of the Song[13] sing today: "Come forth, behold my crown, which the Lord[14] Manuel has given as a prize to me, when he placed a God-receiving stone in my midst."

Theotokion. We sing to you with the voice of the archangel, O bride of God: "Rejoice, patroness of joy for the people named after Christ, and uncut mountain, from which a stone was cut that sanctified the stone that now lies before [us]."

***Ode III. Since you are a living and abounding fountain, O Theotokos …*[15]**

Let all the nations behold Christ's ineffable strength: for a stone, which received his deified flesh, has become a [source] bubbling up with wonders and filled with divine gifts of grace.

Let the gates of the rulers[16] be lifted up, let them receive with one accord the stony couch of Christ, on which he was laid to rest: made dead by the law of the flesh, but taking care for the life of the dead.

O mountains, drip gladness, and let the nature of stones rejoice with us today! For a stone has also been sanctified after receiving the body of Christ, and is now being venerated.

Let David sing: "A stone has now also been placed as the cornerstone", for the God-receiving stone has been given to the city of God, and to this [city] will the four elements of creation be bound.

9 Heirmos is that from Ode I of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 124.

10 Gr. βασιλεύς.

11 Gr. αὐτοκράτωρ.

12 Gr. θεοκράτιστον, which Antonopoulou notes as being a *hapax legomenon*; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 118; *LBG*, s.v. "θεοκράτιστον".

13 I.e., the Song of Songs in the Old Testament.

14 Gr. ἄναξ.

15 Heirmos is that from Ode III of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 126.

16 Gr. τῶν ἀνακτόρων.

Theotokion. From the earliest ages, God found no woman worthy of his incarnation except you, O most-blameless lady, and from your pure blood he constructed flesh for himself, and appeared as a human being twofold in nature.

Kathisma, fourth mode. To [the melody,] "Go quickly before … "

Let us draw near to a stone gushing forth fountains of wonders. For behold, it was brought from the East to a new Zion, shining with portents like noetic Parian marble,[17] by the divine zeal of an orthodox ruler,[18] Manuel. < … >[19] and let us, who draw forth grace, give glory to the Lord.

***Ode IV. He who is seated in glory …*[20]**

Jacob fell asleep upon a stone, and then mystically caught sight of a ladder; and now Christ, having awoken from a life-producing sleep upon a stone, has shown this [stone] to be a divine ladder leading up to the heavens.

A stone, sprinkled all over with blood from your hands and feet and side, is brought up today to your city, O my Saviour. Strengthen those who hymn you by the rock of your commandments as they touch it.

O immortal one, who split the rocks at your passion, you were taken down from the cross[21] by Joseph and were laid[22] on a stone; and for those who beseech you with faith, O Christ, you have made this [stone] an unbreakable foundation of hopes.

When you were put to death, O dispenser of life, you destroyed the princes of the air on the wood, but when you were loosed from the nails, you were placed on a stone, O Saviour, and smashed the gates of hell, and raised up all with yourself.

Theotokion. O maiden, since you foresaw that the flesh of your son and our God would be reddened by the gore of blood upon a stone, you washed with tears this [stone], greeting[23] which today we are cleansed of spiritual filth.

17 Gr. νοητὸς ὡς λυχνίτης.

18 Gr. ἄνακτος ὀρθοδόξου.

19 Antonopoulou's edition here shows a line missing, based on the model melody given for the kathisma and there being a properly accented line missing at this point in the text that the model melody would require; cf. apparatus in Antonopoulou 2013, 127.

20 Heirmos is that from Ode III of the kanōn to the Theotokos at Sunday matins in fourth mode, attributed to the monk John; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 127.

21 Gr. ἀπεσταυρωμένος, from the verb ἀποσταυρόω. Antonopoulou 2013, 118, claims that this is a *hapax legomenon*, but this seems to be an oversight, as a second form of the same verb—albeit also only attested in this text—occurs below in Ode V, which occurrence is also noted in *LBG*, s.v. "ἀποσταυρόω".

22 Gr. ἀνακέκλισαι, from ἀνακλίνω. The perfect form here in Greek is mediopassive, allowing for a translation into English both as a passive (i.e., "was laid") or as an unaccusative intransitive (i.e, "was reclining") verb form.

23 Gr. ἀσπαζόμενοι; this verb can also mean "to kiss" or "to venerate" in the case of relics and icons; cf. Lampe, s.v. "ἀσπάζομαι".

Ode V. All things were astounded at the divine …[24]

Behold, as David wrote in advance, "on the head of the king has been placed a crown adorned with a precious stone"; for having given this also to New Rome, he has ruled over all things by his counsel and action.

The king, being assisted by God, advanced in his counsels towards a noble work and gave a most venerable stone, on which Christ was laid out after being taken down from the cross[25] by Joseph, as an exceedingly precious ornament and foundation to the city.

God, who of old deemed liable to punishment an unworthy man who touched the ark, now makes feeble the hands of a man who dared to destroy in secret a stone that angels miraculously defend.

Joseph took down from the wood the temple of your body, which had already been destroyed, O Lord, placed it on a stone, and anointed it faithfully with myrrh; but you sanctified it/him[26], O Christ, and built up your church so that it cannot be broken.[27]

Theotokion. Your forefather David dances as he sees that from your womb has come forth a king[28] from his seed, who, having crouched like a sleeping lion in the flesh upon a stone, has now been raised in divine manner to reign as king[29] eternally.

Ode VI. [The prophet], prefiguring the [three-day] burial, cried out …[30]

Let the hills break forth with gladness as they glorify the Master, since he has sanctified the nature of stones; for the [stone] that accepted this [Master] as a corpse is now being venerated.

Having seen your salvation, we proclaim in word your strength, since by the touch of your body alone, you have shown a stone be a fountain of healing that never ceases to gush forth.

24 Heirmos is that from Ode V of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 129.

25 Gr. ἀποσταυρωθείς; cf. above this appendix, n. 21.

26 Gr. αὐτόν, which in this troparion could refer either to Joseph (i.e., he is sanctified for his good work), or to the Stone, since both nouns are grammatically masculine. Given the dual thrust of the canon's focus on the Holy Stone as precious relic and on Manuel as specifically named ruler, I believe the ambiguity could have been intentional in the composition and have thus chosen here to maintain that in the translation.

27 Gr. ἀρραγῶς, literally "in unbroken manner/fashion".

28 Gr. βασιλεύς.

29 Gr. βασιλεύων, from βασιλεύω.

30 Heirmos is that from Ode VI of the Triōdion kanōn for the cross at matins on Wednesday in the fourth week of the Great Fast, attributed to Theophanēs; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 130.

Patriarchs, hierarchs, and a people gathered together by God ran together with Manuel, the pious emperor[31], to receive with songs of praise a stone that had received God.

A light which swaddled you all around, O stone, proclaimed the grace of the Holy Spirit which was in you, for Christ, having been placed on you, was wrapped in the swaddling bands of burial.

Theotokion. David said that virgins go behind you, O virgin, for not a single one [of them] is of equal rank [with you], since all follow after in second place behind your purity.

Kontakion, second mode. To [the melody,] "Seeking the things on high … "

Having received God in the flesh, and having been dyed[32] by a stream of divinely flowing blood, a holy stone has appeared that sanctifies every person that touches [it].[33] Seeing this [stone] now, O faithful, let us be strengthened in soul by a rock of divine desire.

***Ode VII. The god[ly-minded youths] did not worship creation …*[34]**

Let New Zion cry: "The Lord has exalted me on a rock", for by the command of a most pious emperor[35], a chosen stone, on which [the Lord] reposed, is being translated and fully glorifies this [New Zion].[36]

Heavenly army ranks rejoice together at the present festival, for they cover the precious stone, noetically surrounded by their wings, as it is brought up from the East today towards the newer Zion.

The place paved with stones[37] formerly beheld you as you were brought forth for judgment, and the stones that had been broken asunder lamented when [you] were stretched on the cross, but when you were placed on a stone, O Christ, you made firm the souls of all in [their] faith in you.

Formerly, David utterly smashed the foreigner Goliath with volleys of stones, but as we, your inheritance, greet[38] today your God-receiving stone, O Christ, we crush the head of the spiritual Goliath.

31 Gr. αὐτοκράτωρ.

32 Gr. βαφείς, from βάπτω.

33 Gr. ἁγιάζων πάντα προσψαύοντα, reading a masculine accusative singular here (sc. ἄνθρωπον). Alternatively, one could take this form as a neuter accusative plural, giving the reading: "sanctifying everything that touches [it]."

34 Heirmos is that from Ode VII of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 131.

35 Gr. αὐτοκράτωρ.

36 Gr. καὶ δοξάζει ταύτην πλέον. The demonstrative pronoun here, "this" (ταύτην), is feminine accusative singular; the only grammatically feminine referent earlier in this troparion is Zion (ἡ Σιών).

37 Gr. τὸ Λιθόστρωτον, cf. John 19:13.

38 Gr. ἀσπαζόμενοι; cf. above this appendix, n. 23.

Theotokion. A heavenly rain, which came down upon your womb like a dewdrop upon grass, did not burn this [womb] with the fire of divinity, but rather showed forth our nature, devoid of moisture, as bearing a blossom in itself.

Ode VIII. The holy youths in the furnace …[39]

When Joseph drew the nails out from your hands and feet, he placed you on a stone; then together with your virginal disciple, she who had no experience of a man was shedding tears and made an alloy with the blood from your side; behold, [mingling] this [stone] with these [tears and blood], on which we venerate you.[40]

Let us stand reverently as we embrace[41] with faith and fear the precious stone, which the most divine zeal of an orthodox ruler, Lord[42] Manuel, has translated. Having been filled with ineffable gifts of grace, let us give glory to Christ who was stretched out on it.

While the shadowy priest bore about an adornment of stones from the law,[43] now a precious stone, having received upon itself as a dead man sprinkled with blood[44] the Word of God united to a body,[45] magnifies the hierarchs of Christ who come to meet this [stone] with songs of praise.

Fleeing the out-of-place nonsense of heresies, confusion, and divisions that introduce novelties, we stand within proper bounds,[46] as we venerate the one God in three hypostases, of the same nature according to the essence: a Father without beginning, a Son, and a divine Spirit.

39 Heirmos is that from Ode VIII of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 133.

40 The final verse of this troparion is corrupt, as both Antonopoulou and before her, Papadopoulos-Kerameus, have noted. I follow here the emendation suggested by Papadopoulos-Kerameus 1898, 186, which is also noted in the apparatus in Antonopoulou 2013, 133, thus reading τοῦτον [=τὸν λίθον] ἰδοὺ τούτοις [=τοῖς δάκρυσι καὶ τῷ αἵματι] * ἐν ᾧ σε προσκυνοῦμεν for the manuscript and edition text ὧν ἰδοὺ τοὺς τότε προσκυνοῦντας * προσκυνοῦμεν.

41 Gr. κατασπαζόμενοι, from a verb meaning "to kiss, to embrace" and also used for the veneration of relics and images; cf. Lampe, s.v. "κατασπάζομαι".

42 Gr. ἄναξ.

43 Gr. ἐκ λίθων τῶν τοῦ λόγου.

44 Gr. αἱμόρραντον, otherwise attested only in Euripidēs's *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, where Iphigenia speaks of her "blood-sprinkled fate" (αἱμόρραντον…ἅταν, ll. 225–226), and in *Alkēstis*, where the chorus sings of "full, blood-sprinkled sacrifices on the altars of all the gods" (πάντων δὲ θεῶν ἐπὶ βωμοῖς / αἱμόρραντοι θυσίαι πλήρεις, ll. 133–134) (translations mine). Reference to the antiquity of this and other vocabulary items mentioned in Antonopoulou 2013, 118.

45 The Greek text here exploits as a pun the many different meanings of the term λόγος: ἐκ λίθων τῶν τοῦ λόγου…λόγον θεοῦ σύσσωμον.

46 Gr. ὅρων ἐν μεσότητι. Ὅρος here can also be alluding to conciliar decisions and decrees of the church, which are also designated by this term; cf. Lampe, s.v. "ὅρος, ὁ".

Theotokion. O lady beyond all blemish, you conceived the fleshless Word in your womb, as though written in a book by the Father's finger, and having given flesh to him in dread manner from your own blood, you brought him forth twofold [in nature]. Beseech him to write us into the book of those being saved in the hour of judgment.

Ode IX. [Let] every earthborn [leap in spirit] …[47]

Behold, a special[48] people of God sings festal songs as it receives[49] a stone, on which the Giver of life was stretched out after accepting death in accordance with the law of the flesh, and offers the hymn of thanksgiving to the emperor[50] who has bestowed this gift of grace.

Though you were sealed in a tomb, you arose, leaving behind linen cloths as witnesses; but you sanctified a stone when you were placed on this […],[51] O immortal one, bearing your hands, sides, and feet dipped[52] in blood. Greeting[53] this [stone], we hymn your dread mystery.

Moses, veiled by a dark cloud of shadow, saw the back parts of God as he came down, casting a glance through a hole in the rock; but we, glorying in the light of grace, see without any veil a stone, which the immortal one sanctified when he lay upon it as a dead man.

Joseph drew out the nails and laid you down on a stone, O Christ. Seeing this [stone] brought up to New Rome by the command of Manuel of divine name,[54] we ask: Make firm his sceptre by the stone of your strength, and shatter the swords of the enemies.

Theotokion. We glorify you, Daniel's mountain, from which was cut Christ, the unhewn stone, who showed forth a God-receiving stone when he was anointed on

47 Heirmos is that from Ode IX of the (second) kanōn for the feast of the Dormition, attributed to the monk John; cf. Antonopoulou 2013, 134.

48 Gr. περιούσιος.

49 Gr. εἰσδεχόμενος, from εἰσδέχομαι, with the prefix εἰσ- having the sense of receiving or welcoming something or someone *into* a place (here: either the city or the palace).

50 Gr. βασιλεύς.

51 Antonopoulou 2013, 135, posits a lacuna in this line here based on the syllables and accents.

52 Gr. βεβαμμένα, from βάπτω. Grammatically, this appears to be a neuter nominative or accusative plural perfect mediopassive participle, and so might seem to define the linen cloths (τὰ ὀθόνια) mentioned at the beginning of the troparion. However, in the manuscript it comes in the phrase after the first ἄνω τέλεια, suggesting that it should be taken with the various body parts of Christ, which grammatically here are a mixture of grammatically feminine (hands [χεῖρας], sides [πλευράς]) and masculine (feet [πόδας]) terms. Nonetheless, the neuter ending may also be a pun intended to hearken back to the linen garments at the beginning as well.

53 Gr. ἀσπαζόμενοι; cf. above this appendix, n. 21.

54 Gr. θεώνυμος.

it with myrrh. Greeting[55] it, we earnestly ask: Make Lord[56] Manuel also worthy of the kingdom of God.

Exaposteilarion. To [the melody,] "Hearken, O women …"[57]

A joyful day of solemn celebration has dawned for the city of God, New Rome: for by her desire, a stone that remains most precious is brought in, on which Nikodēmos, together with Joseph, placed as a dead man covered in blood Christ, who grants [life] to all, whom/which[58] we now faithfully venerate.

55 Gr. ἀσπαζόμενοι; cf. above this appendix, n. 21.

56 Gr. ἄναξ.

57 Neither the manuscript nor Antonopoulou's edition mention any mode here, but this model melody is typically sung in second mode in the received Byzantine tradition.

58 Gr. ὅν, masculine accusative singular relative pronoun, which in the context could refer either to Christ (i.e., "whom") or to the stone (i.e., "which", grammatically masculine in Greek) as the object of veneration. I believe the ambiguity could have been intentional in the composition and have thus chosen here to maintain that in the translation.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

BMGS *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*.

CGL *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, ed. by James Diggle et al., Cambridge 2021.

DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.

JÖB *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*.

Lampe *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. by G. W. H. Lampe, Oxford 1961.

LBG *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, ed. by the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Vienna 1994–2017. Available online: https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lbg/ (accessed 02/10/2023).

LSJ *A Greek-English Lexicon*, ed. by Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, revised and augmented by Sir Henry Stuart Jones, Oxford 1996.

ODB *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., ed. by Alexander P. Kazhdan et al., Oxford 1991.

PG *Patrologia Graeca*, ed. by Jacques-Paul Migne, Paris 1857–1866.

REB *Revue d'études byzantines*.

TLG *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae®* Digital Library, ed. by Maria E. Pantelia. Available online: http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu (accessed 02/10/2023).

Manuscripts

***Madrid Skylitzēs*,** text contained within MS Graecus Vitr. 26–2, available online: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000022766 (accessed 01/03/2022).

MS BNF Coislin 218, available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10037899s (accessed 01/03/2022).

MS BNF Paris. gr. 1208, available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10723812k?rk=42918;4 (accessed 06/04/2022).

MS Dresden SLB A. 104, ed. by Konstantin K. Akent'ev, Типикон Великой Церкви *Cod. Dresde A 104*: Реконструкция текста по материалам архива А. А. Димитриевского [The Typikon of the Great Church, Codex Dresden A 104: a reconstruction of the text based on the archival materials of A. A. Dimitrievskiy], Saint Petersburg 2008.

MS Florence Laurenziana Plutei IX 28, available online: http://mss.bmlonline.it/s.aspx?Id=AWOD-jo5nI1A4r7GxL9fD&c=Topographia%20christiana%20incerti%20auctoris#/book (accessed 06/04/2022).

MS Sinai gr. 1186, available online: https://www.loc.gov/item/00271076642-ms/ (accessed 06/04/2022).

MS Vat. gr. 699, available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.699 (accessed 06/04/2022).

MS Vat. gr. 1156, available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1156 (accessed 01/03/2022).

MS Vat. gr. 1162, available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1162 (accessed 06/04/2022).

MS Vat. gr. 1613, available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613 (accessed 01/03/2022). Black-and-white facsimile published by: Pio Franchi de' Cavalieri (ed.), *Il Menologio di Basilio II* (*Cod. Vat. Greco 1613*), 2 vols., Turin 1907. Full colour facsimile published by: Francesco D'Aiuto and Inmaculada Pérez Martín (eds.), *El Menologio de Basilio II*, Madrid 2005.

Vatican Codex Rossianus 251, available online: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Ross.251/ (accessed 01/03/2022).

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. 205–232.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

Scriptural Texts

New Testament: Unless otherwise noted, text used is that from *The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testament. Revised Standard Version,* © National Council of Churches in Christ in America, available online: https://quod.lib.umich.edu/r/rsv/browse.html (accessed 01/03/2022).

Psalms: Hebrew text and English transl. by Mitchell Dahood, *Psalms 1–50. Psalms 51–100. Psalms 101–150* (The Anchor Bible 16/17/17a), Garden City, NY 1965–70.

Septuagint: Greek translation of the Hebrew Old Testament. English translation by the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Inc., *NETS: A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, Oxford 2007, available online: http://ccat.sas.upenn.edu/nets/edition/ (accessed 02/10/2023).

Conciliar Acts

***Acts of the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon* (*AD 451*),** ed. by Eduard Schwarz, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Tomus II: Concilium Universale Chalcedonense. Volumen I: Acta Graeca. Pars I: Epistularum collectiones. Actio prima,* Berlin 2011; *Pars II: Actio secunda. Epistularum collectio B. Actiones III–VII,* Berlin 2011; *Pars III: Actiones VIII–XVII.18–31*, Berlin/Boston 2013; transl. by Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 3 vols. (Translated Texts for Historians 45), Liverpool 2005.

***Acts of the Third Ecumenical Council of Constantinople* (*AD 680–681*),** ed. by Rudolf Riedinger, *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum. Series Secunda. Volumen II: Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum Tertium. Pars I: Concilii Actiones I–XI*, Berlin 2011; *Pars II: Concilii Actiones XII–XVIII. Epistulae. Indices*, Berlin 2012.

***Acts of the Quinisext Council* (*AD 691–692*),** ed. by Heinz Ohme, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. Series Secunda. Concilium Constantinopolitanum anno 691/2 in Trullo habitum* (*Concilium Quinisextum*), Berlin 2013.

***Acts of the Second Ecumenical Council of Nicaea* (*AD 787*),** ed. by Erich Lamberz, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum. Series Secunda. Volumen III. Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, Pars I: Concilii Actiones I–III,* Berlin: De Gruyter, 2013; *Pars II: Concilii Actiones IV–V*, Berlin 2012; *Pars III: Concilii Actiones VI–VII*, Berlin 2016; transl. by Richard Price, *The Acts of the Second Council of Nicaea* (*787*), 2 vols. (Liverpool Translated Texts for Historians 68), Liverpool 2018.

Anonymous Source Texts

***The Dream of the Rood*,** ed. by Martin Foys et al., *Old English Poetry in Facsimile 2.0* (Center for the History of Print and Digital Culture, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2019–). Available online: https://oepoetryfacsimile.org, DOI: 10.21231/t6a2-jt11 (accessed 02/10/2023).

***The Basilika*,** ed. by H. J. Scheltema, D. Holwerda, and N. van der Wal, in *Basilica Online*, Leiden 2018. Available online: http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/9789004355859_basilicaA01 (accessed 17/02/2022).

***Chronicle of the Morea*,** ed. by John Schmitt, "Die Chronik von Morea. Eine Untersuchung über das Verhältnis ihrer Handschriften und Versionen", PhD dissertation, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, 1889; transl. by Harold E. Lurier, *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, New York 1964.

***Chronicon Paschale*,** transl. by Michael and Mary Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD* (Translated Texts for Historians 7), second edition, Liverpool 2007.

***The Doctrine of Addai*,** ed. and transl. by Martin Illert, *Doctrina Addai/De Imagine Edessena. Die Abgarlegende/Das Christusbild von Edessa* (Fontes Christiani 45), Turnhout 2007.

***History of the Emperors of the Turks*,** ed. by Geōrgios T. Zōras, Χρονικὸν περὶ των Τούρκων Σουλτάνων (κατὰ τον Βαρβερινὸν Ἑλληνικὸν Κώδικα 111), Athens 1958.

***Kanōn for the Translation of the Mandylion*,** ed. by Alcestis Proiou and Giuseppe Schirò, *Analecta hymnica graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris,* 13 vols., 12:163–71, Rome 1980.

Μηναῖον Αὐγούστου [Mēnaion of August, in Byzantine Greek], ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, third edition, Athens 2009.

Μηναῖον Σεπτεμβρίου [Mēnaion of September, in Byzantine Greek], ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, third edition, Athens 2011.

Миніа Мѣсяцъ Августъ [Mēnaion of the Month of August, in Church Slavonic], ed. by Kyiv Monastery of the Caves, Kyiv 1893 (reprinted 1996).

Παρακλητικὴ ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλη [*Paraklētikē*, that is, the Great Oktōēchos], ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, third edition, Athens 2008.

***The Patria of Constantinople*,** ed. by Theodor Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, 2 vols., Leipzig 1901–1907; transl. by Albrecht Berger, *Accounts of Medieval Constantinople: The* Patria (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 24), Cambridge (MA) 2013.

***The Protevangelium of James*,** ed. and transl. by J. K. Elliott and Patricia Rumsey, *The* Protevangelium Jacobi*: Critical edition, with translation and commentary* (Brepols Library of Christian Sources 3), Turnhout 2022.

***Synaxarion of Constantinople*,** ed. by Hippolyte Delehaye, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e Codice Sirmondiano Nunc Berolinensi*, Brussels 1902.

Τριῴδιον Κατανυκτικόν [Lenten Triōdion, in Byzantine Greek], ed. by Ἀποστολικὴ Διακονία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, fifth edition, Athens 2017.

Attributed Source Texts

Ælfric of Eynsham, *Lives of the Saints*, ed. and Modern English transl. by Walter W. Skeat, *Ælfric's* Lives of the Saints*: Being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days formerly observed by the English Church, Vol. 2*, London 1890.

Anna Komnēnē, *Alexias*, ed. by Diether R. Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis, *Annae Comnenae Alexias* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 40.1), Berlin 2001.

Anthony of Novgorod, *Pilgrim's Book*, ed. and German transl. by Anna Jouravel, *Die Kniga palomnik des Antonij von Novgorod: Edition, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Imagines Medii Aevi/Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zur Mittelalterforschung 47), Wiesbaden 2019.

Arethas of Caesarea, *Homilies*, ed. by Leendert Gerrit Westerink, *Arethae archiepiscopi Caesariensis scripta minora*. *Vol. 2*, Leipzig 1972.

Augustine of Hippo, *Tractates on the Gospel of John*, transl. by John W. Rettig, *St. Augustine. Tractates on the Gospel of John: 11–27* (The Fathers of the Church 79), Washington (DC) 1988.

Basil of Caesarea, *Against Eunomios*, transl. by Mark DelCogliano and Andrew Radde-Gallwitz, *St. Basil of Caesarea: Against Eunomius* (The Fathers of the Church 122), Washington (DC) 2011.

Christopher of Mytilene, *Metrical Calendars*, ed. by Enrica Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo. Vol. 1: Introduzione, testo e traduzione* (Subsidia hagiographica 63), Brussels 1980.

Cicero, *Letters to Atticus*, ed. by D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *M. Tullius Ciceronis Epistulae ad Atticum*, 2 vols., Oxford 1961.

Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, ed. and French transl. by Gilbert Dagron and Bernard Flusin, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. Le Livre des Cérémonies*,

6 vols., Paris 2020; English transl. by Ann Moffatt and Maxeme Tall, *Constantine Porphyrogennetos: The Book of Ceremonies (*Byzantina Australiensia 18), Leiden 2017.

Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos, *Discourse to his Son Rōmanos*, ed. and transl. by John F. Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 28), Vienna 1990.

Constantine Stilbēs, *Didaskalia on the Mandylion and the Holy Tile*, ed. and French transl. by Bernard Flusin, "Didascalie de Constantin Stilbès sur le mandylion et la sainte tuile (*BHG* 796m)", *REB* 55 (1997): 53–79; partial English transl. by Reinhart Ceulemans, "Constantine Stilbes [= Cyril of Kyzikos] (c. 1150–after 1225), *Didaskalia* on the Mandylion and the Keramos", in: Foteini Spingou (ed.), *Sources for Byzantine Art History: Volume 3, The Visual Culture of Later Byzantium* (*c. 1081–c. 1350*), Cambridge 2022, 725–750; full English transl. this volume, see Appendix B.

Ephraim of Ainos, *Chronicle*, ed. by Odysseus Lampsidēs, *Ephraem Aenii Historia Chronica* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae Series Atheniensis 27), Athens 1990.

Euagrios Scholastikos, *Ecclesiastical History*, transl. by Michael Whitby, *The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus* (Translated Texts for Historians 33), Liverpool 2000.

Euripidēs, *Alkēstis*, ed. and transl. by David Kovacs, *Euripides. Cyclops. Alcestis. Medea* (Loeb Classical Library 12), Cambridge (MA) 1994.

Euripidēs, *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, ed. and transl. by David Kovacs, *Euripides*. *Trojan Women. Iphigenia among the Taurians. Ion* (Loeb Classical Library 10), Cambridge (MA) 1999.

Eusebios of Caesarea, *Ecclesiastical History*, transl. by Kirsopp Lake, *Eusebius: The Ecclesiastical History* (Loeb Classical Library 153), Cambridge (MA) 1926.

Gauthier Cornut, "Historia susceptionis corone spinee Jesu Christi", in: André Duchesne (ed.), *Historia Francorum scriptores*, Paris 1649, 407–411.

Geoffrey of Villehardouin, *On the Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. by Paulin Paris, *De la conqueste de Constantinoble, par Joffroi de Villehardouin et Henri de Valenciennes. Édition faite sur des Manuscrits nouvellement reconnus*, Paris 1838; English transl. by Caroline Smith, *Joinville and Villehardouin: Chronicles of the Crusades*, New York 2008.

George the Monk, *Brief Chronicle*, PG 110:41–1286.

George Pisidēs, *Poems*, ed. by Luigi Tartaglia, *Giorgio di Pisidia. Carmi*, Turin 1998.

George Skylitzēs, *Office of the Translation of the Holy Stone*, ed. by Theodora Antonopoulou, "George Skylitzes' *Office on the Translation of the Holy Stone*", in: Sofia Kotzabassi (ed.), *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, Berlin 2013, 109–141; ed. by Athanasios Papadopoulos-Kerameus, Ἀνάλεκτα ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς σταχυλογίας ἢ συλλογὴ ἀνεκδότων καὶ σπανίων ἑλληνικῶν συγγραφῶν περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑῴαν ὀρθοδόξων ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ μάλιστα τῆς τῶν Παλαιστινῶν, 5 vols., Saint Petersburg 1891–1898, 5:180–189 (reprinted Brussels 1963); full English transl. this volume, see Appendix C.

Gregory Antiochos, *Orations*, ed. by Alexander Sideras, *25 unedierte byzantinische Grabreden* (Κλασικά Γράμματα 5), Thessaloniki 1990.

Gregory of Nazianzos, *Orations,* ed. and French transl. by Paul Gallay and Maurice Jourjon, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 27–31*, *Discours théologiques* (Sources Chrétiennes 250), Paris 1978; ed. and French transl. by Claudio Moreschini and Paul Gallay, *Grégoire de Nazianze. Discours 38–41* (Sources Chrétiennes 358), Paris 1990.

Gregory the Referendary, *Sermon*, ed. and French transl. by André-Marie Dubarle, "L'homélie de Grégoire le Référendaire pour la réception de l'image d'Édesse", in: *REB* 55, 5–51 (1997).

Hēsychios of Alexandria, *Lexicon*, ed. by Ian C. Cunningham, *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon. Volumen I: A–Δ*, Berlin 2018.

Horace, *Epistles*, ed. and French transl. by Horace and François Villeneuve, *Œuvres d'Horace: Épîtres*, Paris 1934; English transl. by David Ferry, "Horace: Four Epistles", in: *Arion: A Journal of Humanities and Classics*, third series, 5 (3), 1–8 (1998).

Horace, *Odes and Epodes*, ed. and transl. by Niall Rudd (Loeb Classical Library 33), Cambridge (MA) 2004.

Irenaeus of Lyon, *Against Heresies*, ed. and German transl. by Norbert Brox, *Irenäus von Lyon. Adversus haereses – Gegen die Häresien 4* (Fontes Christiani 8.4), Freiburg im Breisgau 1997; ed. and French transl. by Adelin Rousseau et al., *Irénée de Lyon. Contre les hérésies, Livre IV*, 2 vols., second edition (Sources Chrétiennes 100.1–2), Paris 2006.

John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Repentance*, PG 49:277–350.

John Chrysostom, *Homilies on Ephesians,* PG 62:9–176.

John Chrysostom, *Homilies on 1 Timothy*, PG 62:501–598.

John Chrysostom, *Homilies on 2 Timothy*, PG 62:663–700.

John Chrysostom, *Homily on unknown relics in the presence of the emperor*, PG 63:473–478.

John Chrysostom, *Homily on the Holy Martyr Ignatios*, PG 50:587–596; English transl. by Wendy Mayer, *St John Chrysostom: The Cult of the Saints*, Crestwood (NY) 2006, 101–117.

John of Damascus, *Homily on the Lord's Nativity*, ed. by Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, vol. 5* (Patristische Texte und Studien 29), Berlin 1988, 324–325.

John of Damascus, *On the Divine Images*, ed. by Bonifatius Kotter, *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, vol. 3* (Patristische Texte und Studien 17), Berlin 1973; English transl. by Andrew Louth, *Saint John of Damascus: Three Treatises on the Divine Images*, Crestwood (NY) 2003.

John of Damascus, *The Passion of Saint Artemios*, PG 96:1249–1318.

John of Damascus, *Sacred Parallels*, PG 95:1070–1588.

John of Damascus, *Songs and Hymns*, PG 96:818–856.

John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, transl. by Charles Brand, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, New York 1976.

John II Komnēnos, *Typikon of the Monastery of Christ Pantokratōr*, ed. by Aleksej Dmitrievskij, Описаніе литургическихъ рукописей [Descriptions of Liturgical Manuscripts], *Vol. 1*, Τυπικά, Kyiv 1895, 1–152; ed. and French transl. by Paul Gautier, "L'obituaire du typikon du Pantocrator", in: *REB* 27, 235–262 (1969) and "Le typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator", in: *REB* 32, 1–145 (1974); English transl. by Robert Jordan, "*Pantokrator*: *Typikon* of Emperor John II Komnenos for the Monastery of Christ *Pantokrator* in Constantinople", in: John Philip Thomas and Angela Constantinides Hero (eds.), *Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders'* Typika *and Testaments*, Washington (DC) 2000, 725–781.

John Skylitzēs, *Chronicle*, ed. by Johannes Thurn, *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, Berlin 1973.

Kekaumenos, *Treatise on Strategy*, ed. by Vasilij Vasil'evskij and Viktor Jernstedt, *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptoris De officiis regiis libellus*, Saint Petersburg 1896 (reprinted Amsterdam 1965); ed. and Italian transl. by Maria Dora Spadaro, *Raccomandazioni e consigli di un galantuomo: Stratēgikon*, Alessandria 1998.

Leo of Chalcedon, *Letter to Nicholas of Adrianople*, ed. by Alexandros Lauriōtēs, "Ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν Νικόλαον Ἀδριανουπόλεως", in: Ἐκκλησιαστικὴ Ἀλήθεια 20, 411–416 (1900); transl. by Charles Barber and David Jenkins, "Art and Worship in Komnenian Thought: Text A | Leo of Chalcedon (fl. 1081–95), A Letter to Nicholas of Adrianople", in: Foteini Spingou (ed.), *Sources for Byzantine Art History: Volume 3, The Visual Culture of Later Byzantium* (*c. 1081–c. 1350*), Cambridge 2022, 23–37.

Leo the Deacon, *History*, ed. and transl. by Alice-Mary Talbot and Denis F. Sullivan, *The* History *of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 61), Washington (DC) 2005.

Leo the Tuscan, *On the Heresies and Transgressions of the Greeks*, PG 140:483–572.

Michael Attaleiatēs, *History*, transl. by Anthony Kaldellis and Dimitris Krallis, *The History: Michael Attaleiates* (Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library 16), Cambridge (MA) 2012.

Michael Chōniatēs, *Orations*, ed. by Spyridōn P. Lampros, Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ χωνιάτου τὰ σῳζόμενα, 2 vols., Athens 1879–1880.

Michael Psellos, *Brief History*, ed. by Willem J. Aerts, *Michaelis Pselli Historia Syntomos*, Berlin 2015.

Michael Psellos, *Encomium on Patriarch Constantine Leichudēs*, ed. by Kōnstantinos N. Sathas, Ἐπιτάφιοι Λόγοι (Biblioteca Graeca Medii Aevi 4), Athens 1874.

Michael Psellos, *Orations*, ed. by Eduard Kurtz, *Michaelis Pselli scripta minora. Volumen primum. Orationes et dissertations* (Orbis Romanus 5), Milan 1936.

Neophytos the Recluse, *Typikon*, ed. by Iōannēs P. Tsiknopoullos, Κυπριακὰ τυπικά (Πηγαὶ καὶ Μελέται τῆς Κυπριακῆς Ἱστορίας 2), Nicosia 1969, 71–104.

Nicholas Mesaritēs, *Epitaph for his brother John*, ed. by August Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Kaisertums und der Kirchenunion I. Der Epitaphios des Nikolaos Mesarites auf seinen Bruder Johannes* (Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse, Jahrgang 1922, 5. Abhandlung), Munich 1922; transl. by Michael Angold, *Nicholas Mesarites. His Life and Works* (*in Translation*) (Translated Texts for Byzantinists 4), Liverpool 2017.

Nicholas Mesaritēs, *The Coup of John the Fat*, ed. by August Heisenberg, *Nikolaos Mesarites. Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, Würzburg 1907; transl. by Michael Angold, *Nicholas Mesarites. His Life and Works* (*in Translation*) (Translated Texts for Byzantinists 4), Liverpool 2017; partial transl. by Michael Featherstone, "Nicholas Mesarites (c. 1163–after 1204), Relics of the Passion in the Church of the Pharos in the Account of the Usurpation of John Komnenos 'the Fat'", in: Foteini Spingou (ed.), *Sources for Byzantine Art History: Volume 3, The Visual Culture of Later Byzantium* (*c. 1081–c. 1350*), Cambridge 2022, 716–723.

Nikētas Chōniatēs, *History*, ed. by Jan Louis van Dieten, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia. Pars prior praefationem et textum continens* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae Series Berolinensis 11), Berlin 1975; transl. by Harry J. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Chōniatēs*, Detroit 1984.

Origen of Alexandria, *Commentary on the Gospel of John*, PG 14:21–828; transl. by Ronald E. Heine, *Origen: Commentary on the Gospel according to John books 1–10 (*The Fathers of the Church 80), Washington (DC) 1989.

Origen of Alexandria, *Homilies on the Psalms*, transl. by Joseph W. Trigg, *Origen. Homilies on the Psalms: Codex Monacensis Graecus 314* (The Fathers of the Church 141), Washington (DC) 2020.

Origen of Alexandria, *On First Principles*, transl. by John Behr, *Origen:* On First Principles. *A Reader's Edition*, Oxford 2019.

Ovid, *Book of Days* (Fasti), ed. by Elaine Fantham, *Ovid. Fasti. Book IV*, Cambridge 1998.

Paul the Silentiary, *Description of Hagia Sophia*, ed. by Claudio de Stefani, *Paulus Silentiarius. Descriptio Sanctae Sophiae. Descriptio Ambonis*, Berlin 2011; transl. by Peter N. Bell, *Three Political Voices from the Age of Justinian: Agapetus, "Advice to the Emperor", "Dialogue on Political Science", Paul the Silentiary, "Description of Hagia Sophia"* (Translated Texts for Historians 52), Liverpool 2009.

Peter of Sicily, *Second Sermon against the Manichaeans*, PG 104:1331–1346.

Phōtios of Constantinople, *Homilies*, transl. by Cyril Mango, *The Homilies of Photios, Patriarch of Constantinople*, Cambridge (MA) 1958.

Proklos of Constantinople, *Homilies*, ed. and transl. by Nicholas Constas, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity* (Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 66), Leiden 2003.

Pseudo-Dionysios, *On the Celestial Hierarchy*, ed. by Günter Heil and Adolf M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum II*, second edition (Patristische Texte und Studien 67), Berlin 2012.

Pseudo-Kōdinos, *Court Offices and Ceremonies*, ed. and transl. by Ruth Macrides, J. A. Munitiz, and Dimiter Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan Court: Offices and Ceremonies* (Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies 15) Farnham 2013.

Pseudo-Symeon the Logothete, *Chronographia*, PG 109:663–821.

Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor, *Chronicle*, transl. by Geoffrey Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Zachariah Rhetor: Church and War in Late Antiquity* (Translated Texts for Historians 55), Liverpool 2011.

Robert of Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. by Peter Noble, *Robert de Clari: La Conquête de Constantinople* (British Rencesvals Publications 3), Edinburgh 2005; transl. by Edgar Holmes McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople: Robert de Clari*, New York 2005.

Sōzomenos, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and German transl. by Günther Christian Hansen, *Sozomenos. Historia Ecclesiastica – Kirchengeschichte*, 4 vols. (Fontes Christiani 73), Turnhout 2004.

Stephen the Deacon, *Life of Stephen the Younger*, PG 100:1067–1186.

Symeon the Logothete, *Chronicon*, ed. by Staffan Wahlgren, *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon* (Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae 44.1), Berlin 2006.
Theodore Balsamōn, *Commentary on the Holy Canons*, ed. by Geōrgios Rhallēs and Michaēl Potlēs, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, 6 vols., Athens 1852–1859.
Theodore Prodromos, *Poems*, ed. by Wolfram Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos. Historische Gedichte* (Wiener Byzantinische Studien 11), Vienna 1974.
Theodore of Stoudios, *Letters*, ed. by Geōrgios Phatouros, *Theodori Studitae Epistulae*, Berlin 1992.
Theodore of Stoudios, *Funerary Kanōn*, ed. by Melina Arco Magrì, "Il canone 'in requiem monachi' di Teodoro Studita", in: *Helikon* 18/19, 276–292 (1978/79).
Theodore of Stoudios, *Kanōn for the Restoration of the Holy Images*, PG 99:1767–1780.
Theodore of Stoudios, *Poems*, ed. and German transl. by Paul Speck, *Thedoros Studites. Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände*, Berlin 1968.
Theodore Synkellos, *On the Siege of Byzantium during the Reign of Emperor Hērakleios*, ed. by Angelo Mai, *Novae Patrum Bibliothecae*, vol. 6, Rome 1852, 423–437.
Theodoret of Cyrus, *Interpretation of the Fourteen Epistles of Saint Paul,* PG 82:31–878.
Theophanēs Continuatus, *Chronographia*, ed. by Immanuel Bekker, *Theophanis Chronographia*, Bonn 1838.
William of Tyre, *Chronicon*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, *Willemi Tyrensis Archiepiscopi Chronicon* (Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Medievalis 38), Turnhout 1986; transl. by Emily Babcock and August Krey, *William of Tyre, A History of the Deeds done beyond the Sea*, 2 vols., New York 1943.
Zachariah Rhetor, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Ernest Walker Brooks, *Historia ecclesiastica Zachariae Rhetori vulgo adscripta*, 4 vols., Leuven 1919–1924; partial English transl. by Cyril Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents*, Toronto 1986.

Scholarship

Adams, Marilyn McCord (2010), *Some Later Medieval Theories of the Eucharist. Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome, Duns Scotus, and William Ockham*, Oxford.
Agamben, Giorgio (1998), *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, transl. by Daniel Heller-Roazen, Stanford (CA).
Anderson, Jeffrey C. (1997), "338: The Madrid Chronicle of John Skylitzes", in: Helen Evans and William Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A. D. 843–1261*, New York, 501–502.
Angold, Michael (1995), *Church and Politics under Manuel I Komnenos*, Cambridge.
Antonopoulou, Theodora (1997), *The Homilies of Leo the Wise* (The Medieval Mediterranean 14), Leiden.
Antonopoulou, Theodora (2010), "On the Reception of Homilies and Hagiography in Byzantium: The Recited Metrical Prefaces", in: Andreas Rhoby and Elisabeth Schiffer (eds.), *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposions zur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur* (*Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008*), Vienna, 57–79.
Appadurai, Arjun (ed.) (1986), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge.
Aslanov, Cyril (2008), "*Bayt* ('House') as 'Strophe' in Hebrew, Byzantine and Near Eastern Poetry", in: *Le Muséon* 121, 297–310.
Aus'm Weerth, Ernst (1866), *Das Siegeskreuz der byzantinischen Kaiser Constantinus VII. Porphyrogenitus und Romanus II. und der Hirtenstab des Apostels Petrus: zwei Kunstdenkmäler byzantinischer und deutscher Arbeit des 10. Jahrhunderts in der Domkirche zu Limburg an der Lahn*, Bonn.
Austin, John L. (1962), *How to Do Things with Words*, second edition, Cambridge (MA).
Bacci, Michele (1998), "La Vergine Oikokyra, Signora del Grande Palazzo. Lettura di un passo di Leone Tusco sulle cattive usanze dei Greci", in: *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di lettere e filosofia* 3 (3), 261–279.

Bacci, Michele (2003), "Relics of the Pharos Chapel. A View from the Latin West", in: Alexei Lidov (ed.), *Eastern Christian Relics/*Восточнохристианские Реликвии, Moscow, 234–246.
Bagnoli, Martina/Klein, Holger A./Mann, C. Griffith/Robinson, James (eds.) (2010), *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, London.
Bakirtzēs, Charalampos (1989), Βυζαντινά τσουκαλολάγηνα, Athens.
Bara, Péter Tamás (2020), "Leo of Chalcedon: The Network, *Paideia*, and Miracles of an Early Komnenian Metropolitan", PhD dissertation, University of Szeged.
Barry, Fabio (2007), "Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages", in: *Art Bulletin* 89 (4), 627–656.
Baumstark, Anton (1954), "Begleitfeste", in: Theodor Klauser et al. (eds.), *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der antiken Welt*, 29 vols., Stuttgart, 2:78–92.
Baynes, Norman (1949), "The Supernatural Defenders of Constantinople", in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 67, 165–178.
Beatrice, Pier Franco (1983), *La lavanda dei piedi: Contributo alla storia delle antiche liturgie cristiane* (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia 28), Rome.
Beck, Hans-Georg (1959), *Byzantinisches Handbuch, Teil 2, Band 1: Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich*, Munich.
Beck, Hans-Georg (1993), "Konstantinopel – das neue Rom", in: Bernhard Kytzler (ed.), *Rom als Idee* (Wege der Forschung 656), Darmstadt, 127–137.
Beckwith, John Gordon (1959), "Sculptures d'ivoire à Byzance", in: *L'œil* 51, 19–25.
Belting, Hans (1990), *Bild und Kult: Eine Geschichte des Bildes vor dem Zeitalter der Kunst*, Munich.
Berenbaum, Michael/Skolnik, Fred (eds.) (2007), *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition, 22 vols., Detroit, https://link-1gale-1com-1oo8967mo07e7.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/apps/doc/CX2587519534/GVRL?u=bayern&sid=GVRL&xid=5eeae764 (accessed 13/04/2021).
Bergmeier, Armin (2020), "Volatile Images: The Empty Throne and its Place in the Byzantine Last Judgment Iconography", in: Veronika Wieser, Vincent Eltschinger, and Johann Heiss (eds.), *Cultures of Eschatology. Volume 1: Empires and Scriptural Authorities in Medieval Christian, Islamic and Buddhist Communities* (Cultural History of Apocalyptic Thought/Kulturgeschichte der Apokalypse 3.1), Berlin, 84–122.
Berkel, Maaike van (2013), "ʿAlī b. ʿĪsā b. Dāʾūd b. al-Jarrāḥ", in: Kate Fleet et al. (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam. Third Edition*, http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_24846 (accessed 10/04/2021).
Bernardakis, Panagiotis (1902a), "Le culte de la Croix chez les Grecs", in: *Échos d'Orient* 5 (4), 193–202.
Bernardakis, Panagiotis (1902b), "Le culte de la Croix chez les Grecs (Suite et fin)", in: *Échos d'Orient* 5 (5), 257–264.
Betancourt, Roland (2016a), "Tempted to Touch: Tactility, Ritual, and Mediation in Byzantine Visuality", in: *Speculum* 91 (3), 660–689.
Betancourt, Roland (2016b), "Why Sight Is Not Touch: Reconsidering the Tactility of Vision in Byzantium", in: *DOP* 70, 1–23.
Betancourt, Roland (2018), *Sight, Touch, and Imagination in Byzantium*, Cambridge.
Betancourt, Roland (2020), *Byzantine Intersectionality: Sexuality, Gender, and Race in the Middle Ages*, Princeton (NJ).
Bevilacqua, Livia (2012), "Basilio 'parakoimomenos', l'aristocrazia e la passione per le arti sotto i Macedoni", in: Augusta Acconcia Longo et al. (eds.), *La Sapienza bizantina. Un secolo di ricerche sulla civiltà di Bisanzio all'Università di Roma*, Rome, 183–202.
Bevilacqua, Livia (2013), "Basilio parakoimōmenos e i manoscritti miniati: impronte di colore nell'Ambrosiano B 119 sup", in: Antonio Rigo et al. (eds.), *Vie per Bisanzio. VIII Congresso Nazionale dell'Associazione Italiana di Studi Bizantini. Venezia, 25–28 novembre 2009* (Due punti 25), Bari, 1013–1030.
Bloch, Howard (1994), *God's Plagiarist: Being an Account of the Fabulous Industry and Irregular Commerce of the Abbé Migne*, Chicago (IL).

Boeck, Elena N. (2009), "Un-Orthodox imagery: voids and visual narrative in the Madrid Skylitzes manuscript", in: *BMGS* 33 (1), 17–41.
Boeck, Elena N. (2015), *Imagining the Byzantine Past: The Perception of History in the Illuminated Manuscripts of Skylitzes and Manasses*, Cambridge.
Bouras, Laskarina (1982), "Byzantine Lighting Devices", in: *JÖB* 32 (3), 479–491.
Bouras, Laskarina (1989), "Ὁ Βασίλειος Λεκαπηνὸς παραγγελιοδότης ἔργων τέχνης", in: Athanasios Markopoulos (ed.), *Constantine VII Porphyrogennētos and His Age. Second International Byzantine Conference, Delphi, 22–26 July 1987*, Athens, 397–434.
Bowen, Harold (1928), *The Life and Times of ʿAlī bin ʿĪsā, 'The Good Vizier'*, Cambridge.
Bozóky, Edina (ed.) (1999), *Les reliques: objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer), 4–6 septembre 1997*, Turnhout.
Bozóky, Edina (2006), *La politique des reliques de Constantin à Saint-Louis: protection collective et legitimation du pouvoir*, Paris.
Braun, Joseph (1940), *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung*, Freiburg im Breisgau.
Breckenridge, James D. (1957), "'*Et prima vidit*': The Iconography of the Appearance of Christ to His Mother", in: *Art Bulletin* 39 (1), 9–32.
Brokkaar, Walter Gerard (1972), "Basil Lacapenus. Byzantium in the tenth century", in: Willem Frederik Bakker et al. (eds.), *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica* (Byzantina Neerlandica 3), Leiden, 199–234.
Brown, Peter (1981), *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Late Christianity*, Chicago (IL).
Brubaker, Leslie (1977), "The Relationship of Text and Image in the Byzantine Manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 70, 42–57.
Brubaker, Leslie (1999), *Vision and Meaning in Ninth-Century Byzantium: Image as Exegesis in the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus*, Cambridge.
Brubaker, Leslie (2020), "Gender and gesture in Byzantine images", in: Andrea Olsen Lam and Rossitza Schroeder (eds.), *The Eloquence of Art: Essays in Honour of Henry Maguire*, London, 47–70.
Brubaker, Leslie/Cunningham, Mary (2007), "Byzantine Veneration of the Theotokos: Icons, Relics, and Eighth-Century Homilies", in: Hagit Amirav and Bas ter Haar Romeny (eds.), *From Rome to Constantinople. Studies in honour of Averil Cameron*, Leuven, 235–250.
Brubaker, Leslie/Cunningham, Mary (eds.) (2016), *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, London.
Brubaker, Leslie/Haldon, John F. (2011), *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era, c. 680–850: A History*, Cambridge.
Brubaker, Leslie/Wickham, Chris (2021), "Processions, Power, and Community Identity", in: Walter Pohl and Rutger Kramer (eds.), *Empires and Communities in the Post-Roman and Islamic World, c. 400–1000 CE*, Oxford, 121–187.
Bryer, Anthony (1986), "Byzantine Agricultural Implements: The Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's *Works and Days*", in: *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 81, 45–80.
Buckton, David (1988), "Byzantine enamel and the west", in: *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13, 235–244.
Buckton, David (1995), "Chinese whispers: the premature birth of the typical Byzantine enamel", in: Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton (NJ), 591–596.
Buckton, David (1996), "Enamels (in early Christian & Byzantine art)", in: Jane Turner (ed.), *The Dictionary of Art*, 34 vols., London, 9:659–663.
Bucur, Bogdan (2019), *Scripture Re-envisioned: Christophanic Exegesis and the Making of a Christian Bible* (The Bible in Ancient Christianity 13), Leiden.
Burger, Glenn/Kruger, Steven F. (eds.) (2001), *Queering the Middle Ages* (Medieval Cultures 27), Minneapolis (MN).
Burgwinkle, Bill (2006), "Queer Theory and the Middle Ages", in: *French Studies* 60 (1), 79–88.
Burke, John (2007), "Three Copies of the Madrid Skylitzes", in: *Scriptorium* 61 (2), 408–424.

Burns, James H. (ed.) (1988), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350–c. 1450*, Cambridge.
Bury, John B. (1907), "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogennētos", in: *The English Historical Review* 22, 209–227, 426–448.
Bury, John B. (1911), *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century, with a Revised Text of the* Kleterologion *of Philotheos*, London.
Bynum, Caroline (1984), *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*, Berkeley (CA).
Cain, Julien (ed.) (1958), *Byzance et la France médiévale*, Paris.
Cameron, Averil (1978), "The Theotokos in sixth-century Constantinople: a city finds its symbol", in: *Journal of Theological Studies* (new series) 29, 79–108.
Cameron, Averil (1979), "The Virgin's robe: an episode in the history of early seventh-century Constantinople", in: *Byzantion* 49, 42–56.
Cameron, Averil (1983), "The history of the Image of Edessa: the telling of a story", in: *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 7, 80–94.
Cameron, Averil (2004), "The Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity: Religious Development and Myth-Making", in: *Studies in Church History* 39, 1–21.
Camille, Michael (1985), "Seeing and reading: some visual implications of medieval literacy and illiteracy", in: *Art History* 8 (1), 26–49.
Carile, Maria Cristina (2012), *The Vision of the Palace of the Byzantine Emperors as a Heavenly Jerusalem* (Studi e ricerche di archeologia e storia dell'arte 12), Spoleto.
Carr, Annemarie Weyl (1995), "Leo of Chalcedon and the Icons", in: Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art Historical Studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton (NJ), 579–601.
Chadwick, Henry (2003), *East and West: The Making of a Rift in the Church. From Apostolic Times until the Council of Florence*, Oxford.
Chalandon, Ferdinand (1912), *Jean II Comnène, 1118–1143, et Manuel I Comnène, 1143–1180*, Paris.
Cheynet, Jean-Claude/Morrisson, Cécille (1992), "Bague de Basile le Parakoimômène", in: Marie-Claude Bianchini (ed.), *Byzance. L'art byzantin dans les collections publiques françaises* (*Musée du Louvre, 3 novembre 1992 – 1er février 1993*), Paris, 309.
Chrysos, Evangelos K. (1978), "The title βασιλεύς in early Byzantine international relations", in: *DOP* 32, 29–75.
Ciggaar, Krijnie N. (1973), "Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XIIe siècle", in: *REB* 31, 335–354.
Clark, Elizabeth A. (2004), *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn*, Cambridge (MA).
Coblentz, Kathie (2020), "How to Achieve Spiritual Perfection in 30 Easy Steps", in: *New York Public Library Blog*, May 8, 2020, https://www.nypl.org/blog/2020/05/08/achieve-spiritual-perfection-30-easy-steps (accessed 26/04/2021).
Cohen, Meredith (2008), "An Indulgence for the Visitor: The Public at the Sainte-Chapelle of Paris", in: *Speculum* 83 (4), 840–883.
Connor, Carolyn L. (1998), *The Color of Ivory. Polychromy on Byzantine Ivories*, Princeton (NJ).
Constantinou, Stavroula/Meyer, Mati (eds.) (2019), *Emotions and Gender in Byzantine Culture*, London.
Constas, Nicholas (Maximos) (2003), *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity* (Vigiliae Christianae Supplements 66), Leiden.
Constas, Nicholas (Maximos) (2016), "The Reception of Paul and of Pauline Theology in the Byzantine Period", in: Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (eds.), *The New Testament in Byzantium*, Washington (DC), 147–176.
Cormack, Robin (1989), *The Byzantine Eye: Studies in Art and Patronage*, London.
Cormack, Robin/Vassilaki, Maria (eds.) (2008), *Byzantium 330–1453. Royal Academy of Arts, London, 25 October 2008 – 22 March 2009*, London.
Corrigan, Kathleen (1996), "Constantine's Problems: The Making of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus, Vat. gr. 394", in: *Word & Image* 12 (1), 61–93.

Cross, Frank Leslie/Livingstone, Elizabeth A. (eds.) (2005), *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, third revised edition, Oxford.

Culler, Jonathan (2010), "The Closeness of Close Reading", in: *Association of Departments of English Bulletin* 149, 20–25.

Cullum, P. H./Lewis, Katherine J. (eds.) (2004), *Holiness and Manliness in the Middle Ages*, Toronto.

Cunningham, Mary (2015), "Mary as Intercessor in Constantinople during the Iconoclast Period: The Textual Evidence", in: Leena Mari Peltomaa, Andreas Külzer, and Pauline Allen (eds.), *Presbeia Theotokou. The Intercessory Role of Mary across Times and Places in Byzantium, 4th–9th Century*, Vienna, 139–152.

Cunningham, Mary (2016), "The Interpretation of the New Testament in Byzantine Preaching: Mediating an Encounter with the Word", in: Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (eds.), *The New Testament in Byzantium*, Washington (DC), 191–203.

Cunningham, Mary (2022), *The Virgin Mary in Byzantium, c. 400–1000: Hymns, Homilies and Hagiography*, Cambridge.

Cutler, Anthony (1984), *The Aristocratic Psalters in Byzantium* (Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques 13), Paris.

Cutler, Anthony (1985), *The Craft of Ivory: Sources, Techniques, and Uses in the Mediterranean World, AD 200–1400*, Washington (DC).

Cutler, Anthony (1987), "Under the Sign of the Deësis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature", in: *DOP* 41, 145–154.

Cutler, Anthony (1991), "Inscriptions and Iconography on Some Middle Byzantine Ivories. I. The Monuments and their Dating", in: Guglielmo Cavallo, Giuseppe De Gregorio, and Marilena Maniaci (eds.), *Scritture, libri e testi nelle aree provinciali di Bisanzio. Atti del seminario di Erice* (*18–25 settembre 1988*), 2 vols., Spoleto, 2:645–659.

Cutler, Anthony (1992), *Imagery and Ideology in Byzantine Art*, Aldershot.

Cutler, Anthony (1994a), *The Hand of the Master: Craftsmanship, Ivory, and Society in Byzantium* (*9th–11th Centuries*), Princeton (NJ).

Cutler, Anthony (1994b), "Uses of Luxury: On the Functions of Consumption and Symbolic Capital in Byzantine Culture", in: Jannic Durand and André Guillou (eds.), *Byzance et les images: Cycle de conférences organisé au Musée du Louvre par le service culturel du 5 octobre au 7 décembre 1992*, Paris, 289–327.

Cutler, Anthony (1995), "Sacred and Profane: The Locus of the Political in Byzantine Art", in: Antonio Iacobini and Enrico Zanini (eds.), *Arte profana e arte sacra a Bisanzio*, Rome, 315–338.

Cvetković, Vladimir (2016), "Maximus the Confessor's Reading of Origen between Origenism and Anti-Origenism", in: Anders-Christian Jacobsen (ed.), *Origeniana Undecima: Origen and Origenism in the History of Western Thought. Papers of the 11th International Origen Conference, Aarhus University, 26–31 August 2013*, Leuven, 747–758.

D'Aiuto, Francesco (ed.) (2008), *El "Menologio de Basilio II." Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Gr. 1613. Libro de estudios con ocasión de la edición facsímil*, Madrid.

D'Aiuto, Francesco (2012), "La questione delle due redazioni del 'Menologio imperiale', con nuove osservazioni sulle sue fonti agiografiche", in: *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici* 49, 275–361.

Dagron, Gilbert (1984), *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des Patria*, Paris.

Dagron, Gilbert (1991), "Le caractère sacerdotal de la royauté d'après les commentaires canoniques du XIIe siècle", in: Nicholas Oikonomides (ed.), *Byzantium in the 12th Century: Canon Law, State and Society /* Το Βυζάντιο κατά τον 12. αιώνα: Κανονικό Δίκαιο, κράτος και κοινωνία, Athens, 165–178.

Dagron, Gilbert (1994), "Lawful Society and Legitimate Power: Ἔννομος πολιτεία, ἔννομος ἀρχή", in: Angeliki E. Laiou and Dieter Simon (eds.), *Law and Society in Byzantium, Ninth–Twelfth Centuries*, Washington (DC), 27–51.

Dagron, Gilbert (2003a), *Emperor and Priest: The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, revised edition, transl. by Jean Birrell, Cambridge.

Dagron, Gilbert (2003b), "Trônes pour un empereur", in: Anna Avramea, Angeliki E. Laiou, and Evangelos K. Chrysos (eds.), Βυζάντιο: Κράτος και κοινωνία. Μνήμη Νίκου Οικονομίδη, Athens, 179–203.

Dain, Alphonse (1967), "Les stratégistes byzantins", in: *Travaux et Mémoires* 2, 317–392.

Daley, Brian (1976), "The Origenism of Leontius of Byzantium", in: *Journal of Theological Studies* 27, 333–369.

Daly-Denton, Margaret (2000), *David in the Fourth Gospel. The Johannine Reception of the Psalms* (Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums 47), Leiden.

Darrouzès, Jean (1962), "Notice sur Grégoire Antiochos (1160 à 1196). I. Son œuvre. II. Sa carrière. III. La foundation du monastère Saint-Basile", in: *REB* 20, 61–92.

Daston, Lorraine (2004), *Things that Talk: Object Lessons from Art and Science*, New York.

De' Maffei, Fernanda (1982), "L'Unigenito consostanziale al Padre nel programma trinitario dei perduti mosaici del bema della Dormizione di Nicea e il Cristo trasfigurato del Sinai", in: *Storia dell'arte* 45, 91–116; 46, 89–139.

De' Maffei, Fernanda (1997), "Gli strumenti musicali a Bisanzio", in: Giulio Cattin (ed.), *Da Bisanzio a San Marco. Musica e liturgia*, Bologna, 61–110.

Delgado, José Miguel Jiménez (2018), "Conjunctive adverbs in Greek: Position and development of conjunctive functions", in: *Journal of Greek Linguistics* 18 (2), 211–240.

Di Natale, Elisa/Resconi, Stefano (2013), "L'immagine della cosiddetta 'Etimasia' dal V al IX secolo", in: *Studi medievali* 54, 691–750.

Dinshaw, Carolyn (1999), *Getting Medieval: Sexualities and Communites, Pre- and Postmodern*, Durham (NC).

Dinshaw, Carolyn (2012), *How Soon Is Now? Medieval Texts, Amateur Readers, and the Queerness of Time*, Durham (NC).

Dobschütz, Ernst von (1909), *Christusbilder. Untersuchungen zur christlichen Legende*, Leipzig.

Downey, Glanville (1959), "The Tombs of the Byzantine Emperors at the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople", in: *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 79, 27–51.

Drpić, Ivan (2016), *Epigram, Art, and Devotion in Later Byzantium*, Cambridge.

Drpić, Ivan (2019), "Manuel I Komnenos and the Stone of Unction", in: *BMGS* 43 (1), 60–82.

Dunn, James D. G. (2019), *Jesus According to the New Testament*, Grand Rapids (MI).

Durand, Jannic (1997), "Reliques et reliquaires arrachés à l'Orient et à Byzance au temps des croisades", in: Monique Rey-Delque (ed.), *Les croisades, l'Orient et l'Occident d'Urbain II à Saint Louis*, Milan, 378–389.

Durand, Jannic (2016), "L'image d'Abgar à la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris", in: Karlheinz Dietz et al. (eds.), *Das Christusbild: zu Herkunft und Entwicklung in Ost und West. Akten der Kongresse in Würzburg, 16.–18. Oktober 2014 und Wien, 17.–18. März 2015*, Würzburg, 336–359.

Durand, Jannic/Durand, Maximilien (2005), "À propos du triptyque Harbaville: quelques remarques d'iconographie médio-byzantine", in: Maximilien Durand (ed.), *Patrimoine des Balkans. Voskopojë / Sans frontiers 2004*, Paris, 133–155.

Durand, Jannic/Flusin, Bernard Flusin (eds.) (2004), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ. XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines, 19–25 août 2001. Table ronde: Les reliques de la Passion* (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance – Monographies 17), Paris.

Durand, Jannic/Laffitte, Marie-Pierre (eds.) (2001), *Le trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 31 mai 2001–27 août 2001*, Paris.

Dvornik, Francis (1966), *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy. Origins and Background*. *Vol. 2*, Washington (DC).

Ebersolt, Jean (1921), *Sanctuaires de Byzance. Recherches sur les anciens trésors des églises de Constantinople. Avec 24 figures*, Paris.

Edelmann-Singer, Babett/Ehrich, Susanne (eds.) (2021), *Sprechende Objekte: Materielle Kultur und Stadt zwischen Antike und Früher Neuzeit* (Forum Mittelalter Studien 17), Regensburg.

Effenberger, Arne (2015), "Zur 'Reliquientopographie' von Konstantinopel in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit", in: *Millennium* 12 (1), 265–327.

Engberg, Sysse Gudrun (2004), "Romanos Lekapenos and the Mandilion of Edessa", in: Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin (eds.), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ. XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines, 19–25 août 2001. Table ronde: Les reliques de la Passion* (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance – Monographies 17), Paris, 129–139.

Eramo, Immacolata (2017), "A Word from the General: *Ambrosianus* B 119 sup. and Protreptic Speeches in Byzantine Military Manuals", in: Juan Carlos Iglesias-Zoido and Victoria Pineda (eds.), *Anthologies of Historiographical Speeches from Antiquity to Modern Times: Rearranging the Tesserae* (International Studies in the History of Rhetoric 7), Leiden, 95–114.

Ericsson, Kyra (1968), "The Cross on Steps and the Silver Hexagram", in: *JÖB* 17, 149–164.

Esbroeck, Michel van (1974), "L'Assomption de la Vierge dans un Transitus pseudo-basilien", in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 92, 125–163.

Esbroeck, Michel van (1975), *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens. Étude descriptive et historique* (Publications de l'Institut orientaliste de Louvain 10), Leuven.

Eshel, Shay (2018), *The Concept of the Elect Nation in Byzantium* (The Medieval Mediterranean 113), Leiden.

Eustratiadēs, Sōphronios (1932), Εἱρμολόγιον (Μνημεῖα Ἁγιολογικά*)* (Ἁγιορειτικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη 9), Chennevières-sur-Marne; second revised edition ed. by A. Panagiōtou et al., Athens 2006.

Evangelatou, Maria (2003), "The purple thread of the flesh: the theological connotations of a narrative iconographic element in Byzantine images of the Annunciation", in: Antony Eastmond and Liz James (eds.), *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium. Studies presented to Robin Cormack*, Aldershot, 269–285.

Evangelatou, Maria (2014), "Threads of Power: Clothing Symbolism, Human Salvation, and Female Identity in the Illustrated Homilies by Iakobos of Kokkinabaphos", in: *DOP* 68, 241–323.

Evangelatou, Maria (2019), "Textile Mediation in Late Byzantine Visual Culture: Unveiling Layers of Meaning through the Fabrics of the Chora Monastery", in: *DOP* 73, 299–354.

Evans, David B. (1970), *Leontius of Byzantium: An Origenist Christology* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 13), Washington (DC).

Featherstone, Michael Jeffrey (2002), "Preliminary Remarks on the Leipzig Manuscript of *De Cerimoniis*", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 95, 457–479.

Featherstone, Michael Jeffrey (2014), "Basileios Nothos as Compiler: the *De Cerimoniis* and *Theophanes Continuatus*", in: Inmaculada Pérez Martín and Juan Signes Codoñer (eds.), *The Transmission of Byzantine Texts: Between Textual Criticism and Quellenforschung* (Lectio: Studies in the Transmission of Texts & Ideas 2), Turnhout, 355–374.

Featherstone, Michael Jeffrey/Grusková, Jana/Kresten, Otto (2006), "Studien zu den Palimpsestfragmenten des sogenannten 'Zeremonienbuches'. I. Prolegomena", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 98, 423–430.

Fichtenau, Heinrich (1952), "Zum Reliquienwesen im früheren Mittelalter", in: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60, 60–89.

Flamine, Marco (2010), "Gli avori del 'gruppo di Romano'. Aspetti e problem", in: *ACME: Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università degli studi di Milano* 63 (2), 121–152.

Flusin, Bernard (1998), "L'empereur et le théologien: à propos de la Translation du Retour des reliques de Grégoire de Nazianze (*BHG* 728)", in: Ihor Ševčenko (ed.), *Aëtos: studies in honour of Cyril Mango, presented to him on April 14, 1998*, Leipzig, 137–153.

Flusin, Bernard (1999), "Le panégyrique de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète pour la translation des reliques de Grégoire le Théologien", in: *REB* 57, 5–97.

Flusin, Bernard (2000a), "Construire une nouvelle Jérusalem: Constantinople et ses reliques", in: Mohammad A. Amir-Moezzi (ed.), *L'Orient dans l'histoire religieuse de l'Europe: L'invention des origines*, Turnhout, 51–70.

Flusin, Bernard (2000b), "Remarques sur les Lieux saints de Jérusalem à l'époque byzantine", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *Lieux sacrés, lieux de culte, sanctuaires. Approches terminologiques, méthodologiques, historiques et monographiques* (Collection de l'École française de Rome 273), Rome, 119–132.

Flusin, Bernard (2001), "L'empereur hagiographe. Remarques sur le rôle des premiers empereurs macédoniens dans le culte des saints", in: Petre Guran (ed.), *L'empereur hagiographe: culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine. Actes des colloques internationaux "L'empereur hagiographe"* (*13–14 mars 2000*) *et "Reliques et miracles"* (*1–2 novembre 2000*) *tenus au New Europe College*, Bucharest, 29–54.

Flusin, Bernard (2019), "Le culte de la Croix au palais de Constantinople d'après le *Livre des cérémonies*", in: Zaroui Pogossian and Edda Vardanyan (eds.), *The Church of the Holy Cross of Ałt'amar: Politics, Art, Spirituality in the Kingdom of Vaspurakan*, Leiden, 100–125.

Follieri, Enrica (1960–1966), *Initia hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae. Vols. I–V.2.* (Studi e testi 211–215bis), Vatican City.

Follieri, Enrica (1964), "L'ordine dei versi in alcuni epigrammi bizantini", in: *Byzantion* 34, 447–467.

Follieri, Enrica (1965), "Un reliquiario bizantino di S. Simeone Stilita", in: *Byzantion* 35, 62–82.

Frankopan, Peter (2007), "Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium", in: *The English Historical Review* 122, 1–34.

Frazer, Margaret English (1973), "Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy", in: *DOP* 22, 145–162.

Freeman, Evan (2019), "Ritual Object, Ritual Space: Art, Agency, and Performance in the Middle Byzantine Liturgy", PhD dissertation, Yale University.

Freigang, Christian (2021), "Capella sacrosancta. Die Pariser Sainte-Chapelle als sakraler Raum und gebautes Reliquiar", in: Manfred Luchterhandt and Hedwig Röckelein (eds.), *Palatium sacrum. Sakralität am Hof des Mittelalters*, Regensburg, 323–352.

Frolow, Anatole (1961a), "La culte de la relique de la croix", in: *Byzantinoslavica* 22, 320–339.

Frolow, Anatole (1961b), *La relique de la Vraie Croix: recherches sur le développement d'un culte*, Paris.

Frolow, Anatole (1965), *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix*, Paris.

Frøyshov, Stig Simeon R. (2020), "The Early History of the Hagiopolitan Daily Office in Constantinople: New Perspectives on the Formative Period of the Byzantine Rite", in: *DOP* 74, 351–382.

Fürst, Alfons (2006), "Monotheismus und Monarchie. Zum Zusammenhang von Heil und Herrschaft in der Antike", in: Stefan Stiegler and Uwe Swarat (eds.), *Der Monotheismus als theologisches und politisches Problem*, Leipzig, 61–81; appeared the same year in: *Theologie und Philosophie* 81, 321–338.

Gaborit-Chopin, Danielle (2003), *Musée du Louvre. Département des objets d'art. Catalogue. Ivoires médiévaux, Ve–XVe siècle*, Paris.

Gallagher, Clarence (1991), "Gratian and Theodore Balsamon: Two 12th-Century Canonistic Methods Compared", in: Nicholas Oikonomides (ed.), *Byzantium in the 12th Century: Canon Law, State and Society /* Το Βυζάντιο κατά τον 12. αιώνα: Κανονικό Δίκαιο, κράτος και κοινωνία, Athens, 61–89.

Gallagher, Clarence (1996), "Theology and Canon Law in the Writings of Theodore Balsamon", in: *The Jurist* 56, 161–181.

Garland, Lynda (2013), "'Till Death Do Us Part'? Family Life in Byzantine Monasteries", in: Lynda Garland and Bronwen Neil (eds.), *Questions of Gender in Byzantine Society*, London, 29–56.

Gautier, Paul (1971), "Le synode des Blachernes (1094). Étude prosopographique", in: *REB* 29, 213–284.

Gayed, Heba (2018), "The Cross 'Above Steps' on the Byzantine Coins", in: Mario Maio (ed.), *Proceedings of the 4th Biennial of Architectural and Urban Restoration* (*BRAU4*) *host of the Itinerant Congress "Hidden Cultural Heritage: Under Water, Under Ground and Within Buildings"*, Florence, 917–926.

Geary, Patrick J. (1978), *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages*, Princeton (NJ).

Gempf, Conrad (1994), "The Imagery of Birth Pangs in the New Testament", in: *Tyndale Bulletin* 45 (1), 119–135.

Giannouli, Antonia (2019), "Hymn Writing in Byzantium: Forms and Writers", in: Wolfram Hörandner, Andreas Rhoby, and Nikos Zagklas (eds.), *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry* (Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World 4), Leiden, 487–516.

Gippert, Jost (2016), "*Mravaltavi* – A Special Type of Old Georgian Multiple-Text Manuscripts", in: Michael Friedrich and Cosima Schwarke (eds.), *One-Volume Libraries: Composite and Multiple-Text Manuscripts* (Studies in Manuscript Cultures 9), Berlin, 47–91.

Godding, Robert/Joassart, Bernard/Lequeux, Xavier/Vriendt, François de (eds.) (2007), *De Rosweyde aux Acta Sanctorum. La recherche hagiographique des Bollandistes à travers quatre siècles. Actes du Colloque international* (*Bruxelles, 5 octobre 2007*) (Subsidia Hagiographica 88), Brussels.

Goldschmidt, Adolph/Weitzmann, Kurt (eds.) (1979), *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts. Zweiter Band: Reliefs*, Berlin.

Gosden, Chris/Marshall, Yvonne (1999), "The Cultural Biography of Objects", in: *World Archaeology* 31 (2), 168–178.

Grabar, André (1958), *Les Ampoules de Terre Sainte* (*Monza-Bobbio*), Paris.

Grabar, André (1971), *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, London.

Grierson, Philip/Mango, Cyril/Ševčenko, Ihor (1962), "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors (337–1042)", in: *DOP* 16, 1–63.

Groot, Adriaan de (1965), *Saint Nicholas. A Psychoanalytic Study of His History and Myth* (New Babylon 1), Berlin.

Grumel, Venance (1943), "La chronologie des patriarches de Constantinople de 1111 à 1206", in: *REB* 1, 250–270.

Grumel, Venance (1946), "Les documents athonites concernant l'affaire de Léon de Chalcédoine", in: Vatican City (ed.), *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati. Vol. 3. Letteratura e storia bizantina*, Vatican City, 116–135.

Grumel, Venance (1950), "Léon de Chalcédoine et le Canon de la fête du Saint Mandilion", in: *Analecta Bollandiana* 68, 135–152.

Grünbart, Michael/Kislinger, Ewald/Muthesius, Anna/Stathakopoulos, Dionysios Ch. (eds.) (2007), *Material Culture and Well-Being in Byzantium* (*400–1453*)*: Proceedings of the International Conference, Cambridge, 8–10 September 2001*, Vienna.

Grünbart, Michael/Stathokopoulos, Dionysios (2002), "Sticks and Stones: Byzantine Material Culture", in: *BMGS* 26, 297–327.

Guilland, Rodolphe (1951), "L'église de la Vierge du Phare", in: *Byzantinoslavica* 12, 232–234.

Guilland, Rodolphe (1967), *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, 2 vols., Berlin.

Guilland, Rodolphe (1969), *Études de topographie de Constantinople byzantine*, 2 vols., Berlin.

Guillou, André (ed.) (1986), *Les outils dans les Balkans du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, 2 vols., Paris.

Guillou, André (1996), *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie*, Rome.

Guran, Petre (2009), "The Constantinople-New Jerusalem at the Crossing of Sacred Space and Political Theology", in: Alexei Lidov (ed.), *New Jerusalems: The Translation of Sacred Spaces in Christian Culture*, Moscow, 35–57.

Guscin, Mark (2009), *The Image of Edessa*, Leiden.

Guscin, Mark (2016), *The Tradition of the Image of Edessa*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Hahn, Cynthia (2010), "What Do Reliquaries Do for Relics?", in: *Numen* 57, 284–316.

Hahn, Cynthia (2012a), "Production, Prestige, and Patronage of Medieval Enamels", in: Colum Hourihane (ed.), *From Minor to Major: The Minor Arts in Medieval Art History* (The Index of Christian Art Occasional Papers 14), Princeton (NJ), 152–168.

Hahn, Cynthia (2012b), *Strange Beauty: Issues in the Making and Meaning of Reliquaries, 400–circa 1204*, University Park (PA).

Hahn, Cynthia (2017), *The Reliquary Effect: Enshrining the Sacred Object*, London.

Hahn, Cynthia (2020), *Passion Relics and the Medieval Imagination: Art, Architecture, and Society*, Berkeley (CA).

Hahn, Cynthia/Klein, Holger A. (eds.) (2015), *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond* (Dumbarton Oaks Symposia and Colloquia 6), Washington (DC).

Hahn, Cynthia/Palladino, Adrien (2018), "Relics, Reliquaries, Shrines", in: Ivan Foletti et al. (eds.), *Migrating Art Historians: On the Sacred Ways*, Brno, 281–293.

Hahnloser, Hans R. (ed.) (1971), *Il Tesoro di San Marco*, Florence.

Hajjar, Joseph N. (1962), *Le synodos permanent* (σύνοδος ἐνδημοῦσα) *dans l'église byzantine des origines au XIe siècle* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 164), Rome.
Haldon, John F. (1984), *Byzantine Praetorians: An Administrative, Institutional and Social Survey of the* Opsikion *and* Tagmata*, c. 580–900*, Bonn.
Hallit, Joseph (1972), "La croix dans le rite byzantin: Histoire et théologie", in: *Parole de l'Orient* 3 (2), 286–293.
Hanson, Craig L (1996), "Manuel I Komnenos and the 'God of Muhammad': A Study in Byzantine Ecclesiastical Politics", in: John Victor Tolan (ed.), *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam*, New York, 55–82.
Harris, Jonathan (2000), "Distortion, divine providence and genre in Nicetas Choniates' account of the collapse of Byzantium, 1180–1204", in: *Journal of Medieval History* 26, 19–31.
Hartl, Martina (2018), *Leichen, Asche und Gebeine. Der frühchristliche Umgang mit dem toten Körper und die Anfänge des Reliquienkults*, Regensburg.
Heinzelmann, Martin (1979), *Translationsberichte und andere Quellen des Reliquienkultes* (Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental 33), Turnhout 1979.
Helvie, Forrest C. (2010), "Queer Studies", in: Albrecht Classen (ed.), *Handbook of Medieval Studies: Terms – Methods – Trends*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1:1142–1154.
Herrin, Judith (2000), "The Imperial Feminine in Byzantium", in: *Past & Present* 169, 3–35.
Hetherington, Paul (1988), "Enamels in the Byzantine world: ownership and distribution", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 81, 29–38.
Hetherington, Paul (2006), "Byzantine *cloisonné* enamel: production, survival and loss", in: *Byzantion* 76, 185–215.
Hicks, Dan (2010), "The material-culture turn", in: Dan Hicks and Mary C. Beaudry (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Oxford, 25–98.
Hollywood, Amy (2001), "The Normal, the Queer, and the Middle Ages", in: *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 10 (2), 173–179.
Holton, David/Horrocks, Geoffrey/Janssen, Marjolijne/Lendari, Tina/Manolessou, Io/Toufexis, Notis (eds.) (2019), *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, Cambridge.
Hostetler, Brad (2011), "The Iconography of Text: The Placement of an Inscription on a Middle Byzantine Reliquary", in: *Eastern Christian Art* 8, 49–55.
Hostetler, Brad (2012), "The Limburg Staurotheke: A Reassessment", in: *Athanor* 30, 7–13.
Hostetler, Brad (2016), "The Function of Text: Byzantine Reliquaries with Epigrams, 843–1204", PhD dissertation, Florida State University.
Hostetler, Brad (2021), "By This Conquer: Relics as Weapons in Byzantium", talk given at the Byzantine Dialogues from the Gennadius Library, American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Athens, November 16, 2021, available online at https://www.ascsa.edu.gr/news/newsDetails/webinar-by-this-conquer-relics-as-weapons-in-byzantium (accessed 24/11/2021).
Hunger, Herbert (1964), *Prooimion: Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Wiener Byzantinische Studien 1), Vienna.
Hunger, Herbert (1984), "Die Herrschaft des 'Buchstabens': Das Verhältnis der Byzantiner zu Schrift- und Kanzleiwesen", in: Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας 12, 17–38.
Ivanovici, Vladimir (2023), *Between Statues and Icons: Iconic Persons from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, Paderborn.
James, Liz (ed.) (1997), *Women, Men, and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, London.
James, Liz (2005), "Good Luck and Good Fortune to the Queen of Cities: Empresses and Tyches in Byzantium", in: Emma Stafford and Judith Herrin (eds.), *Personification in the Greek World: From Antiquity to Byzantium*, London, 293–307.
Janeras, Sebastià (1988), *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine. Structure et histoire de ses offices* (Analecta Liturgica 12/Studia Anselmiana 99), Rome.
Janin, Raymond (1966), "Les processions religieuses à Byzance", in: *REB* 24 (1), 69–88.

Janin, Raymond (1969), *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Tome 3. Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique. Les églises et les monastères*, second edition, Paris.

Jordan, Alyce A. (2002), *Visualizing Kingship in the Windows of the Sainte-Chapelle*, Turnhout.

Jordan, William Chester (1979), *Louis IX and the Challenge of the Crusade: A Study in Rulership*, Princeton (NJ).

Kalavrezou, Ioli (1990), "Images of the Mother: When the Virgin Mary became *Meter Theou*", in: *DOP* 44, 165–172.

Kaldellis, Anthony (2007), *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge.

Kaldellis, Anthony (2012), "From Rome to New Rome, from Empire to Nation-State: Reopening the Question of Byzantium's Roman Identity", in: Lucy Grig and Gavin Kelly (eds.), *Two Romes: Rome and Constantinople in Late Antiquity*, Oxford, 387–404.

Kaldellis, Anthony (2019), *Romanland. Ethnicity and Empire in Byzantium*, Cambridge (MA).

Kampianaki, Theofili (2016), "Sayings Attributed to Emperors of Old and New Rome in Michael Psellos' *Historia Syntomos*", in: Nicholas S. M. Matheou, Theofili Kampianaki, and Lorenzo M. Bondioli (eds.), *From Constantinople to the Frontier: The City and the Cities*, Leiden, 311–325.

Kantorowicz, Ernst (1941), "Ivories and litanies", in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5, 56–81.

Kantorowicz, Ernst (1944), "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina", in: *Art Bulletin* 26, 207–231.

Kaplan, Michel (1999), "De la dépouille à la relique: formation du culte des saints à Byzance du Ve au XIIe siècle", in: Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius (eds.), *Les reliques. Objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale* (*Boulogne-sur-Mer*)*, 4–6 septembre 1997* (Hagiologia: Études sur la Sainteté en Occident – Studies on Western Sainthood 1), Turnhout, 19–38.

Karpozilos, Apostolos (1994), "The Biography of Ioannes Mauropous Again", in: *Hellenika* 44, 51–60.

Kazhdan, Alexander P. (1983), "Certain trends of imperial propaganda in the Byzantine Empire from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Century", in: George Makdisi, Dominique Sourdel, and Janine Sourdel-Thomine (eds.), *Prédication et propaganda au Moyen Âge: Islam, Byzance, Occident*, Paris, 13–28.

Kazhdan, Alexander P. (1993), "Some Problems in the Biography of John Mauropous", in: *JÖB* 43, 87–111.

Kazhdan, Alexander P. (1995), "Some Problems in the Biography of John Mauropous. II", in: *Byzantion* 65, 362–387.

Kazhdan, Alexander P. et al. (eds.) (1991), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., Oxford.

Kazhdan, Alexander P./Epstein, Ann Wharton (1985), *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley (CA).

Kessler, Herbert L. (2000), *Spiritual Seeing: Picturing God's Invisibility in Medieval Art*, Philadelphia (PA).

Kessler, Herbert L./Wolf, Gerhard (eds.) (1998), *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation. Papers from a Colloquium held at the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1986*, Bologna.

Kipling, Gordon (1998), *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*, Oxford.

Kislinger, Eward (1982), "Aspekte der realienkundlichen Auswertung", in: *JÖB* 32 (3), 469–478.

Kittel, Gerhard/Friedrich, Gerhard (eds.) (1971), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*, transl. and abridged by Geoffrey W. Bromiley, 10 vols., Grand Rapids (MI).

Kitzinger, Ernst (1954), "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm", in: *DOP* 8, 83–150.

Kitzinger, Ernst (1974), "A Pair of Silver Book Covers in the Sion Treasury", in: Ursula E. McCracken et al. (ed.), *Gatherings for Dorothy E. Miner*, Baltimore, 3–17.

Klein, Holger A. (2004a), *Byzanz, der Westen und das 'wahre' Kreuz. Die Geschichte einer Reliquie und ihrer künstlerischen Fassung in Byzanz und im Abendland*, Wiesbaden.

Klein, Holger A. (2004b), "Constantine, Helena, and the Cult of the True Cross in Constantinople", in: Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin (eds.), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ. XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines, 19–25 août 2001. Table ronde: Les reliques de la Passion* (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance – Monographies 17), Paris, 31–59.

Klein, Holger A. (2004c), "Eastern Objects and Western Desires: Relics and Reliquaries between Byzantium and the West", in: *DOP* 58, 283–314.

Klein, Holger A. (2006), "Sacred Relics and Imperial Ceremonies at the Great Palace of Constantinople", in: Franz Alto Bauer (ed.), *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen, Gestalt und Zeremoniell. Internationales Kolloquium, 3./4. Juni 2004 in Istanbul* (*BYZAS* 5), Istanbul, 77–99.

Klein, Holger A. (2009), "Die Limburger *Staurothek* und der Kreuzkult in Jerusalem und Konstantinopel", in: August Heuser and Matthias Theodor Kloft (eds.), *Im Zeichen des Kreuzes: Die Limburger Staurothek und ihre Geschichte*, Regensburg, 13–30.

Klein, Holger A. (2021), "Objektkultur und Kultobjekte im kaiserlich-byzantinischen Prozessionswesen", in: Manfred Luchterhandt and Hedwig Röckelein (eds.), *Palatium sacrum. Sakralität am Hof des Mittelalters*, Regensburg, 77–100.

Klein, Wassilios/Strauß, Hans/Zager, Werner/Dudley, Martin (2010), "Salbung", in: Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller (eds.), *Theologische Realenzyklopädie Online: Religionspsyhologie – Samaritaner*, Berlin, available online: https://www.degruyter.com/database/TRE/entry/tre.29_707_29/html (accessed 28/01/2022).

Koder, Johannes (1985), "Zu den Versinschriften der Limburger Staurothek", in: *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 37, 11–31.

Koder, Johannes (1989), "Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ ἡ σταυροθήκη τοῦ Λίμπουργκ", in: Athanasios Markopoulos (ed.), Κωνσταντῖνος Ζ΄ ὁ Πορφυρογέννητος καὶ Ἡ Ἐποχή Του. Β΄ Διεθνὴς Βυζαντινολογικὴ Συνάντηση, Δελφοί, 22–26 Ἰουλίου 1987, Athens, 165–184.

Kolias, Taxiarchis (1988), *Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung* (Byzantina Vindobonensia 17), Vienna.

Köpstein, Helga (1987), "Realienkunde – Materielle Kultur – Alltagsleben in Byzanz: Zu Termini und Forschungsstand", in: *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 9, 6–25.

Kopytoff, Igor (1986), "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process", in: Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, Cambridge, 64–92.

Krause, Karin (2020), "Divine Craftsmanship: The Mandylion Legend as an Allegory of the Nature of Christ", Moving Byzantium lecture, University of Vienna, Vienna, October 19, 2020.

Krause, Karin (2022), *Divine Inspiration in Byzantium: Notions of Authenticity in Art and Theology*, Chicago (IL).

Krausmüller, Dirk (2006), "Strategies of Equivocation and the Construction of Multiple Meanings in Middle Byzantine Texts", in: *JÖB* 56, 1–11.

Krausmüller, Dirk (2016), "Making the Most of Mary: The Cult of the Virgin in the Chalkoprateia from Late Antiquity to the Tenth Century", in: Leslie Brubaker and Mary Cunningham (eds.), *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium: Texts and Images*, London, 219–246.

Krausmüller, Dirk (2018), "Adoring Christ's Image: The Icon Theology of Leo of Chalcedon and Theodore of Stoudios", in: *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 58, 423–444.

Krivko, Roman (2011), "A Typology of Byzantine Office Menaia of the 9th–14th Centuries", in: *Scrinium: Journal of Patrology and Critical Hagiography* 7 (2), 3–68.

Krivko, Roman (2012), "Тропарь Пренесению св. Убруса из Эдессы в Царьград: очерк по лингвистической герменевтике" [The troparion for the translation of the Holy Image from Edessa to Constantinople: an essay on linguistic hermeneutics], in: Вестник Литературного института им. А. М. Горького 1, 74–85.

Krueger, Derek (2010a), "The Old Testament and Monasticism", in: Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Washington (DC), 199–221.

Krueger, Derek (2010b), "The Religion of Relics in Late Antiquity and Byzantium", in: Martina Bagnoli et al. (eds.), *Treasures of Heaven: Saints, Relics, and Devotion in Medieval Europe*, London, 5–17.

Kühne, Hartmut (2000), *Ostensio reliquiarum: Untersuchungen über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum* (Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte 75), Berlin.

Labatt, Annie (2006), "6: Presentation of the Mandylion to King Abgar", in: Robert S. Nelson and Kristen M. Collins (eds.), *Holy Image, Hallowed Ground: Icons from Sinai*, Los Angeles (CA), 134–135.

Lafontaine-Dosogne, Jacqueline (ed.) (1982), *Splendeur de Byzance, 2 octobre – 2 décembre 1982, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles*, Ghent.

Lampros, Spyridōn P. (1911), "Ὁ Μαρκιανὸς Κῶδιξ 524", in: Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων 8, 3–59, 123–92.

Lanata, Giuliana (1984), *Legislazione e natura nelle novelle giustinianee*, Naples.

Latour, Bruno (2005), *Reassembling the Social*, Oxford.

Laurent, Vitalien (1953), "Ὁ μέγας βαΐουλος. À l'occasion du parakimomène Basile Lékapène", in: Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 23, 193–205.

Lauritzen, Frederick (2017), "The Layers of Composition of the *Synodikon* of Alexius Studites", in: *Studia Ceranea* 7, 121–28.

Lausberg, Heinrich (2008), *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik: Eine Grundlegung der Literaturwissenschaft*, fourth edition, Stuttgart.

Lauxtermann, Marc (1999), *The Spring of Rhythm. An Essay on the Political Verse and Other Byzantine Metres* (Byzantina Vindobonensia 22), Vienna.

Lauxtermann, Marc (2003), *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres: Texts and Contexts. Volume 1*, Vienna.

Lavriotis, Spyridon/Eustratiadēs, Sōphronios (1925), *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts of the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos, with Notices from Other Libraries* (Harvard Theological Studies 12), Cambridge (MA).

Le Goff, Jacques (1996), *Saint Louis*, Paris.

Lehnen, Joachim (1997), Adventus principis*. Untersuchungen zu Sinngehalt und Zeremoniell der Kaiserankunft in den Städten des* Imperium Romanum, Frankfurt am Main.

Lehoux, Françoise/Guenée, Bernard (1968), *Les entrées royales françaises* (*1328–1515*), Paris.

Lentricchia, Frank/Dubois, Andrew (eds.) (2003), *Close Reading: The Reader*, Durham (NC).

Lerou, Sandrine (2004), "L'usage des reliques du Christ par les empereurs aux XIe et XIIe siècles: le Saint Bois et les Saintes Pierres", in: Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin (eds.), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ. XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines, 19–25 août 2001. Table ronde: Les reliques de la Passion* (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance – Monographies 17), Paris, 159–182.

Lidov, Alexei (ed.) (2006), *И*еротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси */ Hierotopy. The Creation of Sacred Space in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, Moscow.

Lidov, Alexei (2007), "The Creator of Sacred Space as a Phenomenon of Byzantine Culture", in: Michele Bacci (ed.), *L'artista a Bisanzio e nel mondo cristiano-orientale*, Pisa, 135–176, 366–371.

Lidov, Alexei (2009), Иеротопия. Пространственные иконы и образы-парадигмы в византийской культуре [Hierotopy. Spatial Icons and Image-Paradigms in Byzantine Culture], Moscow.

Lidov, Alexei (2012), "A Byzantine Jerusalem. The Imperial Pharos Chapel as the Holy Sepulchre", in: Annette Hoffmann and Gerhard Wolf (eds.), *Jerusalem as Narrative Space* (Visualising the Middle Ages 6), Leiden, 63–104.

Lidov, Alexei (2014), "The Catapetasma of Hagia Sophia and the Phenomenon of Byzantine Installations", in: *Convivium* 1 (2), 40–57.

Lienhard, Joseph T. (2002), "The Christian Reception of the Pentateuch: Patristic Commentaries on the Books of Moses", in: *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10 (3), 373–388.

Lilie, Ralph-Johannes (2012), "Krönung ohne Salbung. Zum Kaiserbild in Byzanz", in: Matthias Puhle (ed.), *Otto der Große und das Römische Reich. Kaisertum von der Antike zum Mittelalter. Ausstellungskatalog zur Landesausstellung Sachsen-Anhalt*, Regensburg, 321–327.

Lilie, Ralph-Johannes/Ludwig, Claudia/Pratsch, Thomas/Zielke, Beate (eds.) (2013), *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit Online: Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Nach Vorarbeiten F. Winkelmanns erstellt*, Berlin/Boston, available online: https://www.degruyter.com/database/pmbz/html (accessed 19/02/2022).

Linardou, Kallirroe (2004), "Reading Two Byzantine Illustrated Books: The Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts (Vaticanus graecus 1162 and Parisinus graecus 1208) and their Illustration", PhD dissertation, University of Birmingham.

Linardou, Kallirroe (2007), "The Kokkinobaphos manuscripts revisited: the internal evidence of the books", in: *Scriptorium* 61 (2), 384–407.

Linas, Charles de (1885), "Anciens ivoires sculptés. Le triptyque byzantin de la collection Harbaville à Arras", in: *Revue de l'art chrétien* 28, 13–40.

Ljubarskij, Jakov (2020), "John Kinnamos as a Writer", in: Cordula Scholz and Georgios Makris (eds.), *Polypleuros nous: Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner zu seinem 60. Geburtstag*, Berlin, 164–173.

Lossky, André (2001), "La cérémonie du lavement des pieds: un essai d'étude comparée", in: Robert F. Taft and Gabriele Winkler (eds.), *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948): Acts of the International Congress, Rome 25–29 September 1998* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 265), Rome, 809–832.

Louth, Andrew (2002), *St John Damascene: Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, Oxford.

Louth, Andrew (2010), "St Maximos' Doctrine of the *Logoi* of Creation", in: *Studia Patristica* 48, 77–84.

Lutzka, Carolina (2016), "Die byzantinischen Hymnen auf das Mandylion", in: Karlheinz Dietz et al. (eds.), *Das Christusbild: zu Herkunft und Entwicklung in Ost und West. Akten der Kongresse in Würzburg, 16.–18. Oktober 2014 und Wien, 17.–18. März 2015*, Würzburg, 448–465.

Luzzi, Andrea (2014), "Synaxaria and the Synaxarion of Constantinople", in: Stephanos Efthymiadis (ed.), *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography. Volume II: Genres and Contexts*, Farnham, 197–208.

Maas, Michael (1986), "Roman History and Christian Ideology in Justinianic Reform Legislation", in: *DOP* 40, 17–31.

MacCormack, Sabine (1972), "Change and Continuity in Late Antiquity: The Ceremony of *Adventus*", in: *Historia* 11, 721–752.

MacCormack, Sabine (1974), "*Adventus* and *Consecratio*: Studies in Roman Imperial Art and Panegyric from the Late Third to the Sixth Century", DPhil dissertation, University of Oxford.

Mackie, Scott D. (2008), "Confession of the Son of God in the Exordium of Hebrews", in: *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 30, 437–453.

Macrides, Ruth (2015), "After the Macedonians: Ceremonial and Space in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", in: the Fondazione CISAM (ed.), *Atti delle LXII Settimane di Studio. Le corti nell'Alto Medioevo. Spoleto, 24–29 aprile 2014. Tomo secondo*, Spoleto, 611–623.

Macrides, Ruth (2016), "How the Byzantines Wrote History", in: Smilja Marjanović-Dušanić (ed.), *Proceedings of the 23rd International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Belgrade, 257–263.

Macy, Gary (1984), *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period: A Study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220*, Oxford.

Magdalino, Paul (1978), "Manuel Komnenos and the Great Palace", in: *BMGS* 4, 101–14.

Magdalino, Paul (1983), "Aspects of Twelfth-Century *Kaiserkritik*", in: *Speculum* 58 (2), 326–346.

Magdalino, Paul (1987), "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I", in: *JÖB* 37, 51–64.

Magdalino, Paul (1988), "The Phenomenon of Manuel I Komnenos", in: J. D. Howard-Johnston (ed.), *Byzantium and the West, c. 850–c. 1200. Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford 30th March–1st April 1984*, Amsterdam, 171–199.

Magdalino, Paul (2002), *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, third edition, Cambridge.

Magdalino, Paul (2004), "L'église du Phare et les reliques de la Passion à Constantinople (VIIe/VIIIe–XIIIe siècles", in: Jannic Durand and Bernard Flusin (eds.), *Byzance et les reliques du Christ. XXe Congrès international des Études byzantines, 19–25 août 2001. Table ronde: Les reliques de la Passion* (Centre de recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance – Monographies 17), Paris, 15–30.

Magdalino, Paul (2013a), "Cultural Change? The Context of Byzantine Poetry from Geometres to Prodromos", in: Floris Bernard and Kristoffel Demoen (eds.), *Poetry and Its Contexts in Eleventh-Century Byzantium*, Burlington (VT), 19–36.
Magdalino, Paul (2013b), "The Foundation of the Pantokrator Monastery in Its Urban Setting", in: Sofia Kotzabassi (ed.), *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, Berlin, 33–55.
Maguire, Henry (ed.) (1997), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Washington (DC).
Mango, Cyril (1959), *The Brazen House. A study of the vestibule of the imperial palace of Constantinople*, Copenhagen.
Mango, Cyril (1962), "Three Imperial Byzantine Sarcophagi Discovered in 1750", in: *DOP* 16, 397–402.
Mango, Cyril (1969/1970), "Notes on Byzantine Monuments", in: *DOP* 23/24, 369–375.
Mango, Cyril (ed.) (1986), *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453: Sources and Documents*, Toronto.
Mango, Cyril (1990), "Constantine's Mausoleum and the Translation of Relics", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 83 (1), 51–62.
Mango, Cyril (2000), "Constantinople as Theotokoupolis", in: Maria Vassilaki (ed.), *Mother of God: Representations of the Virgin in Byzantine Art*, Milan, 17–25.
Mango, Cyril/Ševčenko, Ihor (1973), "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara", in: *DOP* 27, 235–277.
Manopoulou, Vicky (2016), "Processing Constantinople: Understanding the role of *lite* in creating the sacred character of the landscape", PhD dissertation, Newcastle University.
Mariev, Sergei (ed.) (2021), *Bessarion's Treasure: Editing, Translating and Interpreting Bessarion's Literary Heritage*, Berlin.
Marinis, Vasileios/Ousterhout, Robert G. (2015), "'Grant Us to Share a Place and Lot with Them.' Relics and the Byzantine Church Building (9th–15th Centuries)", in: Cynthia Hahn and Holger A. Klein (eds.), *Saints and Sacred Matter: The Cult of Relics in Byzantium and Beyond* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia), Washington (DC), 153–172.
Mark, Robert/Çakmak, Ahmet Ş. (eds.) (1992), *Hagia Sophia from the Age of Justinian to the Present*, Cambridge.
Markopoulos, Athanasios (1978), "Ἡ χρονογραφία τοῦ Ψευδοσυμεὼν καὶ οἱ πηγές της", PhD dissertation, University of Ioannina.
Marsengill, Katherine (2018), "The influence of icons on the perception of living holy persons", in: Jelena Bogdanović (ed.), *Perceptions of the Body and Sacred Space in Late Antiquity and Byzantium*, London, 87–103.
Martin, John Rupert (1954), *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Studies in Manuscript Illumination 5), Princeton (NJ).
Märtl, Claudia/Kaiser, Christian/Ricklin, Thomas (eds.) (2013), *"Inter graecos latinissimus, inter latinos graecissimus": Bessarion zwischen den Kulturen*, Berlin.
Mary, Mother/Ware, Kallistos (1969), *The Festal Menaion*, London.
Mateos, Juan (1962), *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle. Tome 1. Le cycle des douze mois* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 165), Rome.
Mateos, Juan (1963), *Le Typicon de la Grande Église. Ms. Sainte-Croix no. 40, Xe siècle. Tome 2. Le cycle des fêtes mobiles* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 166), Rome.
McGeer, Eric (2000), *The Land Legislation of the Macedonian Emperors* (Medieval Sources in Translation 38), Toronto.
McGeer, Eric (2003), "Two Military Orations of Constantine VII", in: John W. Nesbitt (ed.), *Byzantine Authors: Literary Activities and Preoccupations*, Leiden, 111–38.
McGuckin, John A (2011–12), "A Conflicted Heritage: The Byzantine Religious Establishment of a War Ethic", in: *DOP* 65/66, 29–44.
McQueen, William B. (1986), "Relations between the Normans and Byzantium, 1071–1112", in: *Byzantion* 56, 427–476.
Meester, Placide de (1943), *Riti e particolarità liturgiche del Triodio e del Pentecostario*, Padua.
Meier, Thomas/Ott, Michael R./Sauer, Rebecca (eds.) (2015), *Materiale Textkulturen. Konzepte – Materialien – Praktiken* (Materiale Textkulturen 1), Berlin.

Meinardus, Otto (1970), "A Study of the Relics of Saints of the Greek Church", in: *Oriens Christianus* 54, 130–278.

Menna, Maria Raffaella (2008), "Il Rossiano 251: una particolare illustrazione della *Scala paradisi* di Giovanni Climaco", in: *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il medioevo e Archivio Muratoriano* 110, 263–274.

Mercati, Silvio G. (1936), "Santuari e reliquie Costantinopolitane secondo il codice Ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista Latina", in: *Rendiconti. Atti della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 12, 133–156.

Mergiali-Sahas, Sophia (2001), "Byzantine Emperors and Holy Relics: Use and Misuse of Sanctity and Authority", in: *JÖB* 51, 41–60.

Mgaloblišvili, Tamila (1991), კლარჯული მრავალთავი [*K'larjuli mravaltavi* = The Klardjeti Homiliary] (ძველი ქართული მწერლობის ძეგლები [*Dzveli kartuli mc'erlobis dzeglebi* = Monuments of Old Georgian literature] 12), Tbilisi.

Michel, Walter (1976), "Die Inschriften der Limburger Staurothek", in: *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 28, 23–43.

Miller, Daniel (ed.) (2005), *Materiality*, Durham (NC).

Mohler, Ludwig (1923–1942), *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 3 vols., Paderborn.

Molinier, Émile (1896), *Musée national du Louvre. Département des objets d'art du Moyen-Âge, de la Renaissance et des temps modernes. Catalogue des ivoires*, Paris.

Moravcsik, Gyula (1923), *Szent László Léanya és a Bizánci pantokrator-monostor* [The daughter of Saint Ladislaus and the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople], Budapest.

Morello, Giovanni/Wolf, Gerhard (eds.) (2000), *Il volto di Cristo. Roma, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, 9 dicembre 2000–16 aprile 2001*, Milan.

Moretti, Simona (2012), "Viaggio di un trittico eburneo da Costantinopoli a Roma. Note in margine al 'Corpus degli oggetti bizantini in Italia'", in: Augusta Acconcia Longo et al. (eds.), *La Sapienza bizantina. Un secolo di ricerche sulla civiltà di Bisanzio all'Università di Roma*, Rome, 225–244.

Morrisson, Cécille (2002), "Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World", in: Angeliki E. Laiou (ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, Washington (DC), 815–878.

Mouriki-Charalambous, Doula (1970), "The Octateuch Miniatures of the Byzantine Manuscripts of Cosmas Indicopleustes", PhD dissertation, Princeton University.

Mullett, Margaret (1990), "Writing in Early Mediaeval Byzantium", in: Rosamond McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, Cambridge, 156–185.

Mullett, Margaret/Ousterhout, Robert G. (eds.) (2020), *The Holy Apostles: A Lost Monument, a Forgotten Project, and the Presentness of the Past* (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine Symposia and Colloquia), Cambridge (MA).

Myers, Gregory (2002), "The Music and the Ritual of the Holy Thursday Pedilavium in Late Russian Liturgical Practice: Byzantine and Slavonic Antecedents", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 68, 389–434.

Nelson, Robert S. (2004), *Hagia Sophia, 1850–1950: Holy Wisdom, Modern Monument*, Chicago (IL).

Neville, Leonora (2019), *Byzantine Gender*, Amsterdam.

Neville, Robert C. (2001), *Symbols of Jesus: A Christology of Symbolic Engagement*, Cambridge.

Nichols, Aidan (2010), *Rome and the Eastern Churches: A Study in Schism*, second edition, San Francisco (CA).

Nicol, Donald M. (1976), "*Kaisersalbung*. The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual", in: *BMGS* 2, 37–52.

Nicolotti, Andrea (2014), *From the Mandylion of Edessa to the Shroud of Turin: The Metamorphosis and Manipulation of a Legend*, Leiden.

Nikiforova, Alexandra (2012), Из истории Минеи в Византии. Гимнографические памятники VIII–XII вв. из собрания монастыря святой Екатерины на Синае [On the history of mēnaia in Byzantium. Hymnographic monuments of the eighth–12th centuries from the collection of the Monastery of Saint Catherine on Sinai], Moscow.

Nikiforova, Alexandra (2018), "Древний иерусалимский чин умовения ног в тропологии Sin. Gr. МГ/NE 56+5 (публикация, вступительная заметка и комментарий)" [The Old Hagiopolite Footwashing Rite in the Tropologion Sin. gr. МГ/NE 56+5 (Edition, Introduction, Commentary)], in: Вестник Православного Свято-Тихоновского Гуманитарного Университета, Сериа 2: Историа: Историа Русской Православной Церкви 84, 10–16.

O'Keeffe, John J./Reno, R. R. (2005), *Sanctified Vision: An Introduction to Early Christian Interpretations of the Bible*, Baltimore (MD).

Oberste, Jörg (2012), "Paris im Mittelalter. Metropolenbildung zwischen Zentralität und Diversität", in: Jörg Oberste (ed.), *Metropolität in der Vormoderne. Konstruktionen urbaner Zentralität im Wandel* (Forum Mittelalter Studien 7), Regensburg, 73–99.

Oberste, Jörg (2021), *The Birth of the Metropolis: Urban Spaces and Social Life in Medieval Paris* (Brill Studies in Architectural and Urban History 1), transl. by Christopher Sprecher, Leiden.

Ousterhout, Robert G. (2009), "Sacred Geographies and Holy Cities: Constantinople as Jerusalem", in: Alexei Lidov (ed.), Иеротопия. Создание сакральных пространств в Византии и Древней Руси, Moscow, 98–116.

Ousterhout, Robert G. (2010), "New Temples and New Solomons: The Rhetoric of Byzantine Architecture", in: Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Washington (DC), 223–253.

Pahlitzsch, Johannes (2011), "Zur ideologischen Bedeutung Jerusalems für das orthodoxe Christentum", in: Thomas Pratsch (ed.), *Konflikt und Bewältigung. Die Zerstörung der Grabeskirche zu Jerusalem im Jahre 1009* (Millennium-Studien 32), Berlin, 239–256.

Pallas, Dimitrios I. (1971), "Eine Differenzierung unter den himmlischen Ordnungen (ikonographische Analyse)", in: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 64, 55–60.

Papadakis, Aristeides/Meyendorff, John (1994), *The Christian East and the Rise of the Papacy: The Church 1071–1453 A. D.*, Crestwood (NY).

Papaioannou, Stratis (2010), "The aesthetics of history: from Theophanes to Eustathios", in: Ruth Macrides (ed.), *History as Literature in Byzantium: Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007* (Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications 15), London, 3–21.

Papanicolaou, Linda Morey (1980), "Stained Glass from the Cathedral of Tours: The Impact of the Sainte-Chapelle in the 1240s", in: *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 15, 53–66.

Parani, Maria (2003), *Reconstructing the Reality of Images. Byzantine Material Culture and Religious Iconography (11th–15th Centuries)*, Leiden.

Parenti, Stefano (2001), "La 'vittoria' nella chiesa di Costantinopoli della liturgia di Crisostomo sulla liturgia di Basilio", in: Robert F. Taft and Gabriele Winkler (eds.), *Comparative Liturgy Fifty Years after Anton Baumstark (1872–1948): Acts of the International Congress, Rome 25–29 September 1998* (Orientalia Christiana Analecta 265), Rome, 907–928.

Parenti, Stefano (2016), "The Harvard Manuscript and the History of the Horologion of the Greek Liturgical Psalter", in: Jeffrey C. Anderson and Stefano Parenti (eds.), *A Byzantine Monastic Office, 1105 A. D.*, Washington (DC), 257–353.

Patlagean, Évelyne (1995), "L'entrée de la Sainte Face d'Édesse à Constantinople en 944", in: André Vauchez (ed.), *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (chrétienté et islam)*, Rome, 21–35.

Peers, Glenn (2001), *Subtle Bodies: Representing Angels in Byzantium*, Berkeley (CA).

Peers, Glenn (2021), "The Mandylion's Marital and Martial Message Machines", Spring 2021 lecture series, The Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, MA, February 26, 2021, available online: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ddmsL1VOdtE (accessed 25/03/2021).

Peirce, Hayford/Tyler, Royall (1927), "Deux monuments de l'art byzantin du Xe siècle", in: *Aréthuse* 16, 1–7.

Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2002), "The supernatural protector of Constantinople: the Virgin and her icons in the tradition of the Avar siege", in: *BMGS* 26, 2–41.

Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2003), "The Virgin of Constantinople: Power and Belief", in: Ioli Kalavrezou (ed.), *Byzantine Women and Their World*, New Haven (CT), 113–119.

Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2004), "Visual Textuality: The 'Logos' as Pregnant Body and Building", in: *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 45, 225–238.
Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2006), *Icons and Power: The Mother of God in Byzantium*, University Park (PA).
Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2007), "Containers of Power: Eunuchs and Reliquaries in Byzantium", in: *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 51 (1), 109–20.
Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2008), "Räumliche und akustische Präsenz in byzantinischen Epigrammen: Der Fall der Limburger Staurothek", in: Wolfram Hörandner and Andreas Rhoby (eds.), *Die kulturhistorische Bedeutung byzantinischer Epigramme: Akten des internationalen Workshops* (*Wien, 1.–2. Dezember 2006*) (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 14), Vienna, 75–83.
Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2010), *The Sensual Icon: Space, Ritual, and the Senses in Byzantium*, University Park (PA).
Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2011), "Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics", in: *Gesta* 50 (2), 93–111.
Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2012), "The performance of relics: concealment and desire in the Byzantine staging of *leipsana*", in: *Byzantina Symmeikta* 22, 55–71.
Pentcheva, Bissera V. (2017), *Hagia Sophia: Sound, Space, and Spirit in Byzantium*, University Park (PA).
Petridès, Sophrone (1903), "Deux canons inédits de Georges Skylitzès", in: Византийский Временник 10, 460–494.
Pfeilschifter, Rene (2013), *Der Kaiser und Konstantinopel. Kommunikation und Konfliktaustrag in einer spätantiken Metropole* (Millennium-Studien 44), Berlin.
Piltz, Elisabeth (1997), "Middle Byzantine Court Costume", in: Henry Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, Washington (DC), 39–51.
Plank, Peter (1987), "Der orthodoxe Gottesdienst als Schlüssel zur Limburger Staurothek", in: *Archiv für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 39, 251–253.
Podolak, Pietro/Zago, Anna (2016), "Ugo Eteriano e la controversia cristologica del 1166: edizione dell'opuscolo *De Minoritate*. Appendice: Edizione della lettera ad Alessio", in: *REB* 74, 77–170.
Pokhilko, Alexander (2004), "The contemplation of Christ and Salvation in the liturgical Canons of St John Damascene", PhD dissertation, Durham University.
Porena, Pierfrancesco (2005), "Forme di partecipazione politica cittadina e contatti con il potere imperiale", in: Francesco Amarelli (ed.), *Politica e partecipazione nelle città dell'impero romano*, Rome, 13–93.
Prater, Andreas (1985), "Mantegnas Cristo in Scurto", in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 48 (3), 279–299.
Rachman-Schrire, Yamit (2017), "Christ's unction and the material realization of a stone in Jerusalem", in: Renana Bartal, Neta Bodner, and Bianca Kühnel (eds.), *Natural Materials of the Holy Land and the Visual Translation of Place, 500–1500*, London, 216–229.
Radding, Charles/Newton, Francis (2003), *Theology, Rhetoric, and Politics in the Eucharistic Controversy, 1078–1079: Alberic of Monte Cassino Against Berengar of Tours*, New York.
Ragusa, Isa (1991), "Mandylion-Sudarium, The 'Translation' of a Byzantine Relic to Rome", in: *Arte Medievale* 5 (2), 97–106.
Ramelli, Ilaria I. E. (2019), "The Spatial, Literary, and Linguistic Translations of the *Mandylion*", in: Janet E. Spittler (ed.), *The Narrative Self in Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Judith Perkins* (Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series 15), Atlanta (GA), 171–191.
Rapp, Claudia (2010), "Old Testament Models for Emperors in Early Byzantium", in: Paul Magdalino and Robert Nelson (eds.), *The Old Testament in Byzantium*, Washington (DC), 175–197.
Rauch, Jakob (1955), "Die Limburger Staurothek", in: *Das Münster* 8, 201–218.
Recker, Catharina (2023), *Seraphim und Cherubim in der Spätantike und Byzanz. Der Dunkle Stil Gottes* (Dissertationen der LMU München 62), Munich.
Reudenbach, Bruno/Toussaint, Gia (eds.) (2005), *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, Berlin.
Rhoby, Andreas (2010), *Byzantinische Epigramme auf Ikonen und Objekten der Kleinkunst* (Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung 23), Vienna.
Rhoby, Andreas (2011), "Interactive Inscriptions: Byzantine Works of Art and Their Beholders", in: Alexei Lidov (ed.), *Spatial Icons. Performativity in Byzantium and Medieval Russia*, Moscow, 317–333.

Rhoby, Andreas (2012), "The Meaning of Inscriptions for the Early and Middle Byzantine Culture. Remarks on the Interaction of Word, Image and Beholder", in: Fondazione CISAM (ed.), *Scrivere e leggere nell'alto medioevo. Spoleto, 28 aprile – 4 maggio 2011* (Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo 59), Spoleto, 731–758.

Rhoby, Andreas (2016), "Text as Art? Byzantine Inscriptions and Their Display", in: Irene Berti et al. (eds.), *Writing Matters: Presenting and Perceiving Monumental Texts in Ancient Mediterranean Culture* (Materiale Textkulturen 14), Berlin, 265–284.

Rhoby, Andreas (2018), "The Poetry of Theodore Balsamon: Form and Function", in: Andreas Rhoby and Nikos Zagklas (eds.), *Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry. Texts and Contexts*, Turnhout, 111–145.

Rhoby, Andreas (2019), "Poetry on Commission in Late Byzantium (13th–15th Century)", in: Wolfram Hörandner, Andreas Rhoby, and Nikos Zagklas (eds.), *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*, Leiden, 264–304.

Rice, David Talbot (ed.) (1947), *The Great Palace of the Byzantine Emperors. Being a First Report on the Excavations Carried Out in Istanbul on behalf of the Walker Trust, 1935–1938*, Edinburgh.

Rice, David Talbot (1950), "The Leaved Cross", in: *Byzantinoslavica* 11, 72–81.

Rice, David Talbot (1958), *Masterpieces of Byzantine Art : Edinburgh International Festival 1958*, Edinburgh.

Ringrose, Kathryn M. (2003), *The Perfect Servant: Eunuchs and the Social Construction of Gender in Byzantium*, Chicago (IL).

Rochow, Ilse (1976), "Bemerkungen zu der Leipziger Handschrift des *Zeremoniebuches* des Konstantin Porphyrogennētos und zu der Ausgabe von J. J. Reiske", in: *Klio* 58 (1), 193–197.

Rohmann, Jens (1999), "Die Miniaturen des Vatikanischen Menologions. Zur Problematik ihrer Namensbeischriften (mit vier Tafeln)", in: *JÖB* 49, 249–265.

Rosenthal, Franz (1971), "A Note on the Mandīl", in: Franz Rosenthal, *Four Essays on Art and Literature in Islam*, Leiden, 63–99.

Ross, Marvin (1958), "Basil the Proedros: Patron of the Arts", in: *Archaeology* 11 (4), 271–275.

Rückert, Rainer (1957), "Zur Form der byzantinischen Reliquiare", in: *Münchener Jahrbuch der Bildenden Kunst* 8, 7–36.

Runciman, Steven (1931), "Some remarks on the Image of Edessa", in: *Cambridge Historical Journal* 3, 238–252.

Runciman, Steven (1955), *The Eastern Schism: A Study of the Papacy and the Eastern Churches During the XIth and XIIth Centuries*, Oxford.

Runciman, Steven (1988), *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium*, Cambridge.

Šalina, Irina Aleksandrovna (2005), Реликвии в восточнохристианской иконографии [Relics in Eastern Christian Iconography], Moscow.

Savage, Matthew (2019), "Building Heavenly Jerusalem: Thoughts on Imperial and Aristocratic Construction in Constantinople in the 9th and 10th Centuries", in: Daniëlle Slootjes and Mariëtte Verhoeven (eds.), *Byzantium in Dialogue with the Mediterranean. History and Heritage*, Leiden, 67–90.

Schenk, Gerrit Jasper (2003), *Zeremoniell und Politik. Herrschereinzüge im spätmittelalterlichen Reich*, Cologne.

Schlumberger, Gustave (1891), "Les nouvelles acquisitions du Louvre. Un triptyque byzantin en ivoire", in: *Gazette des beaux-arts* 33 (1), 294–306.

Scholl, Christian/Gebhardt, Torben R./Clauß, Jan (eds.) (2017), *Transcultural Approaches to the Concept of Imperial Rule in the Middle Ages*, Frankfurt am Main.

Schramm, Percy Ernst (1958), *Sphaira – Globus – Reichsapfel*, Stuttgart.

Schroeder, Rossitza B. (2008), "Images of Christ Emmanuel in Karanlık Kilise", in: *Studies in Iconography* 29, 23–54.

Searle, John (1969), *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language*, Cambridge.

Ševčenko, Ihor (1962), "The Illuminators of the Menologion of Basil II", in: *DOP* 16, 243–276.

Ševčenko, Ihor (1992), "Re-reading Constantine Porphyrogenitus", in: Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (eds.), *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, Farnham, 167–195.

Ševčenko, Nancy P. (1983), *The Life of Saint Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Centro Studi Bizantini, Bari, Monografie 1), Turin.

Ševčenko, Nancy P. (1991), "Dates of relics arriving in Constantinople", unpublished handout from the XVIIIth International Byzantine Congress, Moscow, August 8–15, 1991.

Ševčenko, Nancy P. (1994), "The Limburg Staurotheke and Its Relics", in: Geōrgios Andreadēs (ed.), Θυμίαμα στη μνήμη της Λασκαρίνας Μπούρα, 2 vols., Athens, 1:289–294.

Ševčenko, Nancy P. (2010), "The Tomb of Manuel I Komnenos, Again", in: Ayla Ödekan, Engin Akyürek, and Nevra Necipoğlu (eds.), *On ikinci ve on üçüncü yüzyıllarda Bizans dünyasında değişim. 1. Uluslararasi Sevgi Gönül Bizans Arastirmalari Sempozyumu, İstanbul, 25–28 haziran 2007: bildiriler* [Change in the Byzantine world in the 12th and 13th centuries. First International Sevgi Gönül Byzantine Studies Symposium, Istanbul, June 25–28, 2007: proceedings], Istanbul, 609–616.

Ševčenko, Nancy P. (2013), "The imperial Menologia and the 'Menologion' of Basil II", in: Nancy P. Ševčenko (ed.) *The Celebration of the Saints in Byzantine Art and Liturgy*, Farnham, 1–32.

Shepard, Jonathan (2013), "*Adventus*, arrivistes and rites of rulership in Byzantium and France in the tenth and eleventh century", in: Alexander Beihammer, Stavroula Constantinou, and Maria Parani (eds.), *Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean* (The Medieval Mediterranean 98), Leiden, 337–371.

Shepard, Jonathan (ed.) (2008), *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500–1492*, Cambridge.

Sheppard, Carl D. (1969), "Byzantine Carved Marble Slabs", in: *Art Bulletin* 51 (1), 65–71.

Shoemaker, Stephen (2002), *Ancient Traditions of the Virgin Mary's Dormition and Assumption*, Oxford.

Shoemaker, Stephen (2016), "The Afterlife of the Apocalypse of John in Byzantium", in: Derek Krueger and Robert S. Nelson (eds.), *The New Testament in Byzantium*, Washington (DC), 301–316.

Simic, Kosta (2017), "Liturgical Poetry in the Middle Byzantine Period: Hymns Attributed to Germanos I, Patriarch of Constantinople (715–730)", PhD dissertation, Australian Catholic University.

Simpson, Alicia/Efthymiadis, Stephanos (eds.) (2009), *Niketas Choniates: A Historian and a Writer*, Geneva.

Skinner, Jerome L. (2016), "The Historical Superscriptions of Davidic Psalms: An Exegetical, Intertextual, and Methodological Analysis", PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews.

Small, Brian C. (2014), *The Characterization of Jesus in the Book of Hebrews*, Leiden.

Smith, William (ed.) (1867), *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Boston.

Smyth, Herbert Weir (1984), *Greek Grammar*, Cambridge (MA).

Somogyi, Péter (2016), "Christian Symbols on Byzantine Coins from the 5th–7th Centuries", in: Endre Tóth, Imre Takács, and Tivadar Vida (eds.), *Saint Martin in Pannonia: Christianity on the Frontiers of the Roman World. Exhibition Catalogue, Abbey Museum, Archabbey of Pannonhalma, 3 June–18 September 2016*, Pannonhalma, 145–151.

Spatharakis, Ioannis (1995), "The Influence of the Lithos in the Development of the Iconography of the Threnos", in: Christopher Moss and Katherine Kiefer (eds.), *Byzantine East, Latin West: Art-Historical Studies in Honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, Princeton (NJ), 435–446.

Sprecher, Christopher (2023), "'A Banquet of Victory': Constantinopolitan Feasts of Relic Translation and the Politics of Relics in 9th-Century Byzantium", in: Mirjam Hähnle and Julian Zimmermann (eds.), *Objektzeiten. Die Relationierung historischer Zeiten durch Relikte* (*6.–20. Jahrhundert*) (Paradeigmata 75), Baden-Baden, 39–76.

Steinwenter, Artur (1946), *Nomos Empsychos. Zur Geschichte einer politischen Theorie* (Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, 19), Vienna.

Stephanou, Pelopidas (1943), "Le procès de Léon de Chalcédoine", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 9, 5–64.

Stephanou, Pelopidas (1946), "La doctrine de Léon de Chalcédoine et de ses adversaires sur les images", in: *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 12, 177–189.

Sterling, Gregory E. (2012), "'The Image of God': Becoming Like God in Philo, Paul, and Early Christianity", in: Susan E. Meyers (ed.), *Portraits of Jesus: Studies in Christology* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 321), Tübingen, 157–174.

Stevens, Gerard Peter (1969), *De Theodoro Balsamone. Analysis operum ac mentis iuridicae* (Corona Lateranensis 16), Rome.

Strunk, Oliver (1942), "The Tonal System of Byzantine Music", in: *The Musical Quarterly* 28 (2), 190–204.

Sullivan, Dennis (2012), "Siege Warfare, Nikephoros II Phokas, Relics and Personal Piety", in: Dennis Sullivan, Elizabeth Fisher, and Stratis Papaioannou (eds.), *Byzantine Religious Culture: Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot* (The Medieval Mediterranean 92), Leiden, 395–409.

Taft, Robert S./Parenti, Stefano (2014), *Il Grande Ingresso. Edizione italiana rivista, ampliata e aggiornata*, Grottaferrata.

Talbot, Alice-Mary (1987), "An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism", in: *Illinois Classical Studies* 12 (2), 229–241.

Theotokis, Georgios (2014), *Norman Campaigns in the Balkans, 1081–1108*, Woodbridge.

Tillyard, H. J. W. (1916/1917–1917/1918), "The Modes in Byzantine Music", in: *The Annual of the British School at Athens* 22, 133–156.

Toma, Paraskevi (2018), "Joseph the Hymnographer: Kanones on Saints According to the Eight Modes", PhD dissertation, University of Münster.

Tongeren, Louis van (2000), *Exaltation of the Cross: Towards the Origins of the Feast of the Cross and the Meaning of the Cross in Early Medieval Liturgy* (Liturgia Condenda 11), Leuven.

Toussaint, Gia (2005), "Die Sichtbarkeit des Gebeins im Reliquiar: eine Folge der Plünderung Konstantinopels?", in: Bruno Reudenbach and Gia Toussaint (eds.), *Reliquiare im Mittelalter*, Berlin, 89–106.

Toussaint, Gia (2011), *Kreuz und Knochen: Reliquien zur Zeit der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin.

Treitinger, Otto (1956), *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken*, second edition, Darmstadt.

Trilling, James (1998), "The Image Not Made by Human Hands and the Byzantine Way of Seeing", in: Herbert L. Kessler and Gerhard Wolf (eds.), *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation. Papers from a Colloquium held at the Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1986*, Bologna, 109–127.

Troelsgård, Christian (1990), "Σήμερον and Hodie Chants in Byzantine and Western Tradition", in: *Université de Copenhague: Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Âge Grec et Latin* 60, 3–46.

Tsamakda, Vassiliki (2002), *The Illustrated Chronicle of Ioannes Skylitzes in Madrid*, Leiden.

Tsirōnē, Nikē (2002), Κασσιανὴ ἡ ὑμνωδός, second edition, Athens.

Tucker, Gregory (2023), *The Hymnography of the Middle Byzantine Ecclesiastic Rite & Its Festal Theology. Introduction – Edition & Translation – Commentary* (Studies in Eastern Christian Liturgies 5), Münster.

Tudorie, Ionuț-Alexandru (2011), "Old and New in the Byzantine Imperial Coronation in the 13th Century", in: *Ostkirchliche Studien* 60, 69–109.

Vassis, Ioannis (2013), "Das Pantokratorkloster von Konstantinopel in der byzantinischen Dichtung", in: Sofia Kotzabassi (ed.), *The Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople*, Berlin, 203–249.

Vikan, Gary/Nesbitt, John (1980), *Security in Byzantium: Locking, Sealing, Weighing*, Washington (DC).

Vlassidou, Vassiliki (2008), "Η Πολιτική του Βασιλείου Λακαπηνού έναντι της Δύσης", in: *Byzantina Symmeikta* 17, 111–129.

Vollmer, Cornelius (2014), *Im Anfang war der Thron. Studien zum leeren Thron in der griechischen, römischen und frühchristlichen Ikonographie* (Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 15), Rahden.

Vryonis, Speros P., Jr. (1997), "Byzantine Society and Civilization", in: Helen Evans and William Wixom (eds.), *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A. D. 843–1261*, New York, 4–19.

Wagschal, David (2015), *Law and Legality in the Greek East: The Byzantine Canonical Tradition, 381–883*, Oxford.
Wander, Steven H. (2012), *The Joshua Roll*, Wiesbaden.
Warner, David A. (2001), "Ritual and Memory in the Ottonian *Reich*: The Ceremony of *Adventus*", in: *Speculum* 76, 255–283.
Weitzmann, Kurt (1964), "Ivories", in: Michail Chatzidakis (ed.), *Byzantine Art: An European Art. Ninth exhibition held under the auspices of the Council of Europe*, second edition, Athens, 130–187.
Weitzmann, Kurt (1969), "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogennētos", in: *Cahiers archéologiques* 11, 164–184.
Weitzmann, Kurt (1976), *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai. The Icons I: From the Sixth to the Tenth Century*, Princeton (NJ).
Wessel, Klaus (1967), *Die byzantinische Emailkunst vom 5. bis 13. Jahrhundert*, Recklinghausen.
Wilm, Johann Michael (1955), "Die Wiederherstellung der Limburger Staurothek", in: *Das Münster* 8, 234–240.
Wiśniewski, Robert (2019), *The Beginnings of the Cult of Relics*, Oxford.
Woodward, Ian (2007), *Understanding Material Culture*, London.
Wortley, John (1999), "The Byzantine Component of the Relic-hoard of Constantinople", in: *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 40, 353–378.
Wortley, John (2009), *Studies on the Cult of Relics in Byzantium up to 1204*, Farnham.
Zagklas, Nikos (2023), *Theodoros Prodromos: Miscellaneous Poems. An Edition and Literary Study*, Oxford.
Zakharova, Anna (2010), "The miniatures of the Imperial Menologia", in: Νέα Ῥώμη 7, 131–153.
Zaninotto, Giovanni (2002), "La Sindone/Mandylion nel silenzio di Costantinopoli (944–1242)", in: Emanuela Marinelli and Angelo Russi (eds.), *Sindone 2000. Atti del Congresso Mondiale, Orvieto, 27–29 agosto 2000*, 3 vols., San Severo-Foggia, 2:463–482, 3:131–133.
Zervoudaki, Alexandra (2002), "Θεοφάνης ὁ Γραπτός. Βίος καὶ Ἔργο", PhD dissertation, University of Crete.
Zuckerman, Constantin (2010), "On the title and office of the Byzantine basileus", in: *Travaux et Mémoires* 16, 865–890.

General Index

 Published in: Sprecher, Christopher James: *Emperor and God. Passion Relics and the Divinisation of Byzantine Rulers, 944–1204.* (KEMTE 5), Heidelberg 2024, S. 233–239.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1240

Biblical Citations Index

Old Testament (LXX)

Apocrypha

New Testament

Kulturelles Erbe: Materialität – Text – Edition
Cultural Heritage: Materiality – Text – Edition
KEMTE 5

This study explores how the understanding of the Byzantine emperor as a sacred or divine figure changed in the Middle Byzantine period. It is based on close readings and studies of three medieval Passion relics held in Constantinople: the Mandylion, the relic-reliquary ensemble of the Limburg Staurotheke; and the Holy Stone. Accompanied by English-language translations of medieval Greek source texts pertaining to these relics, Sprecher demonstrates that the Passion relics in this period served to focus and narrow an understanding of the emperor not only as divinely appointed and anointed ruler, but also in surprising ways as being somehow divine himself.

UNIVERSITÄT
HEIDELBERG
ZUKUNFT
SEIT 1386

ISBN 978-3-96822-226-4