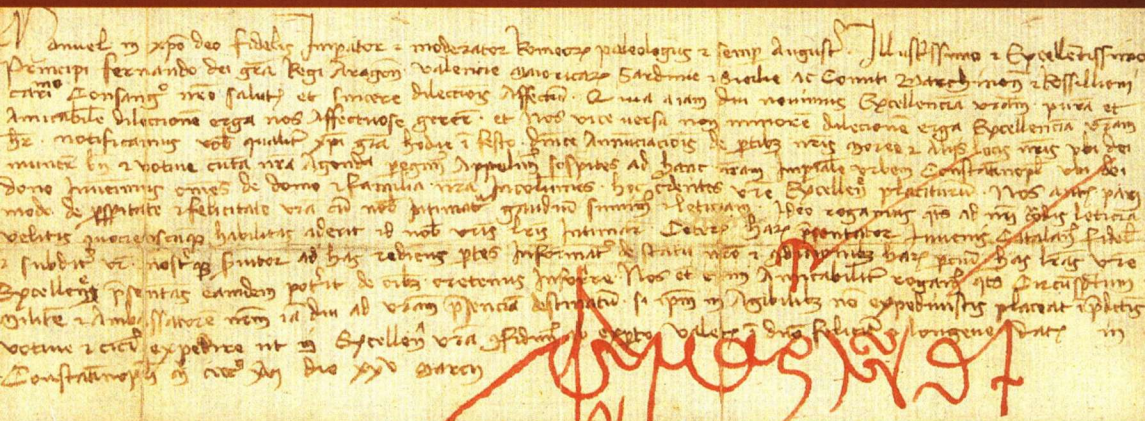


MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION
INSTITUTE FOR BYZANTINE RESEARCH

BYZANTINE DIPLOMACY: A SEMINAR

S. LAMPAKIS - MARIA LEONTSINI - T. LOUNGHIS - VASILIKI VLYSIDOU

translated by Norman Russell



BYZANTINE DIPLOMACY: A SEMINAR

Η έκδοση αυτή συγχρηματοδοτήθηκε από το έργο με τίτλο «Βυζαντίου κάτοπτρον: Πηγές και μελέτες για τον Βυζαντινό κόσμο» του μέτρου 3.3 του Επιχειρησιακού προγράμματος «Ανταγωνιστικότητα»-ΕΠΑΝ, πράξη «Αριστεία σε ερευνητικά Ινστιτούτα Γ.Γ.Ε.Τ. (2ος κύκλος)». Στις δαπάνες υλοποίησης του ανωτέρω έργου συμμετέχει κατά 75% το Ευρωπαϊκό Ταμείο Περιφερειακής Ανάπτυξης και κατά 25% το Ελληνικό Δημόσιο.

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FOREWORD

BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS



I warmly welcome the publication of this volume on Byzantine diplomacy. Based on a series of five lectures delivered last year, it is issued under the auspices of the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With the exception of one lecture on principles, methods and diachronic priorities, the series did not intend to present a systematic exposition of Byzantine diplomacy. But I am sure that once its basic material has been fully and clearly defined, the teaching of Byzantine diplomacy will soon become an established part of the Academy's programme.

We have much to learn from the study of Byzantine diplomacy. The East Roman State, the only 'legitimate' Roman State after 476 A.D., managed to survive for about eleven centuries, not simply because of its military power, which was not always commensurate with a State of its size, but, more importantly, because of its competent diplomacy and other vital aspects of its power. Examples of the latter are the splendour of the Roman name and hence the political legitimacy of the empire in comparison to that of the 'barbarians', on account of its direct descent from the old Roman Empire. The East Roman State remained powerful in economic terms for many centuries as Constantinople and other parts of the empire played a vital part in the international trade of the then known world. This economic power was enhanced by the efficient way in which the State was organized in comparison with its contemporaries, and by the stability of its currency, which for centuries occupied a position similar to that of the dollar after the Second World War. Byzantium's 'soft' power was augmented further by the brilliance of its culture, the splendour of its capital city, and the influence of its Orthodox faith, which it succeeded in spreading to much of Eastern Europe.

Apart from the existence of an educated, efficient and well-trained 'corps diplomatique', Byzantium's success in the purely diplomatic field was founded on an excellent knowledge of other countries and courts; on the creation of influential pro-Byzantine nuclei in them;

on the exploitation of Byzantium's economic power; on an impressive network of 'spies', and, finally, on its ability to set one enemy against another. It should nevertheless be emphasized that, in spite of the fact that this diplomacy achieved important successes even in periods of relative domestic or military weakness, the power of the State as a whole reached its apogee under the Macedonian dynasty, when diplomacy was supported by a powerful and well-organized army and an equally powerful navy. The decision of Alexius I Comnenus to assign responsibility for the State's naval defence to Venice had very harmful consequences in the middle and long term.

It gives me particular pleasure that one of the lectures refers to Michael VIII Palaeologus as an example of multifaceted diplomacy. A British historian writing on the period of Michael's reign and the problems he had to deal with famously referred to 'the battle of wits between Greeks and Latins'. He concluded that this battle, after the notorious 'Sicilian Vespers', was indisputably won by the Greeks.

In conclusion, I should like to congratulate the Diplomatic Academy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs once again for undertaking to publish the volume you have in your hands and to express the hope that it might perhaps help inaugurate very soon a full and rounded programme of studies on Byzantine diplomacy at our Diplomatic Academy. Greek diplomats today, and indeed the public in general, have much to learn from the way in which our diplomatic forebears managed to keep alive the great State they were responsible for, for more than eleven hundred years.

DORA BAKOYANNI
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PREFACE

BY THE DIRECTOR
OF THE DIPLOMATIC ACADEMY (2004-2006)



Amongst its other activities, the Diplomatic Academy organizes series of seminars, in the form of lectures followed by discussion, on themes arising from the need to provide a modern formation for the personnel of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The purpose of these seminars is to disseminate as broadly as possible the fruits of scholarly research, and also make available reliable information on international relations, diplomacy and foreign policy.

With these requirements in mind, a programme of lectures was arranged for the Fourteenth Series of trainee embassy staff, in collaboration with the Institute for Byzantine Research of the Hellenic National Research Foundation, under the general title 'Byzantine Diplomacy'. The specific subject of the seminars focussed on the long historical period covered by Byzantine history, with the chief aim of identifying possible turning-points of universal significance today.

The tradition of Byzantine diplomacy constitutes a precious source from which to draw knowledge of the past and contextualize the historical continuities that characterize social phenomena, especially with regard to the relations of power and authority prevailing in international relations.

The empire of New Rome was a centre of international power and a model of political legitimacy for a long period, because it linked its character as a state to its political practice, aspiring not simply to 'national' survival, military superiority or economic leadership, but also to spreading the power and influence of the culture of which it was the bearer. Even in periods of territorial contraction, mounting foreign threats and economic decline, the human dynamic of the Byzantine Empire maintained the outlook of a culture of world-wide significance. This political outlook formed the central plank of a diplomacy and strategy which resulted in a high level of international support for the empire and the maintenance of its political power.

The great aim of Byzantine diplomacy and strategy was the promotion of an international order founded on a culture embodying the

ideological ecumenicity of Byzantium. The spread of Byzantine culture presupposed the survival of Byzantium as a great power in a sharply polarized international system. The Byzantine empire faced challenges on many fronts. On the one hand it sought to construct an international order on the basis of its own values, so as to shape an international environment which would ensure the ecumenical dominance of its culture. On the other, it had to face strong hostile powers which threatened its vital interests and occasionally its very survival.

It is therefore timely that we should define the particularity of Byzantium, a particularity arising from the combination of three elements. First, Byzantium, at least for the greater part of its history, faced military powers stronger than itself. Secondly, Byzantium was the longest-lasting power in the history of western civilization. Thirdly, it succeeded in spreading its civilization beyond its political frontiers with consequences which are still evident in today's cultural developments in a significant portion of the Eurasian mainland. The combination of these three elements makes the study of Byzantine diplomacy especially interesting and important. Byzantium's extremely realistic approach can teach us something of political value for our own time.

I should like to thank the speakers and all who have contributed to the organization of this series of talks, especially Dr Telemachos Lounghis, Director of Research at the Institute for Byzantine Research for responding so promptly to the suggestion that a series of talks should be arranged, and also for his valuable contribution to the co-ordination of speakers and themes. Warm thanks are also due to Dr Vasiliki Vlysidou and Dr Stelios Lampakis, senior researchers at the Institute for Byzantine Research, and also to Dr Maria Leontsini, assistant researcher at the Institute, for their scholarly contribution to the success of the seminars.

Finally, I should like to thank the European Commission for making available the necessary funding from the Third Community Support Framework and also the Special Secretary of the National Printing House, Mr Patroklos Georgiadis, without whose wholehearted support this project could not have been brought to a successful conclusion.

Athens 8 February 2006

STRATOS DOUKAS

Ambassador a. h.

Director of the Diplomatic Academy 2004-6

ABBREVIATIONS

BZ	<i>Byzantinische Zeitschrift</i>
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CSHB	Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantine
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
ΕΕΒΣ	<i>Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Oesterreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
Mansi	J. P. Mansi, et al., <i>Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio</i> , Florence, Ferrara and Venice 1759-98 (repr. J. Martin and L. Petit, Paris and Leipzig 1901-27 and Graz 1960-2)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i> , ed. G. H. Pertz, Th. Mommsen et al., Hanover 1826 ff
PG	J. P. Migne, <i>Patrologiae cursus completus</i> . Series graeco-latina, Paris 1857-66
REB	<i>Revue des Études byzantines</i>
RHM	<i>Römische Historische Mitteilungen</i>
VV	<i>Vizantiiskii Vremennik</i>



CHAPTER I

BYZANTINE DIPLOMACY

TELEMACHOS LOUNGHIS

PRINCIPLES, METHODS, PERIODS AND PRIORITIES

If the meaning of diplomacy is identified with a state's official relations with the outside world, the understanding of that state's diplomacy would entail the study of its entire political history in both peace and war. If, on the other hand, diplomacy means only the techniques used by any state in its relations with the outside world according to circumstances, its study would be restricted to the following question: how are, or were, international relations managed on each specific occasion? Beyond this question, one should confine oneself to pinpointing certain changes in the techniques of international relations, in so far, of course, as such changes can be pinpointed.

It should be mentioned at the outset that permanent diplomatic missions were unknown in the Byzantine empire or in the Middle Ages generally. They are a phenomenon which arose in the fifteenth century as a result – according to the Belgian medieval historians H. Pirenne¹ and F. L. Ganshof² – of the relations that developed between the various small independent states existing in Italy at that time, and as a result also of the impression formed by the then rising urban middle class that the existing powers, that is to say, the contemporary states, were powerful and long-lasting. It was at that time that the celebrated Niccolò Machiavelli (*Istorie Florentine* V, 8) referred approvingly to Livy's statement (IX, 1) on the absolute need to avoid wars: '*justum est bellum quibus necessarium, et pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes*' ('a war is just only for those for whom it is necessary, and taking up arms is right only for those who have no recourse left except for arms'). Henceforth diplomacy began to be regarded by all contemporaries as a permanent state activity of first resort pursued as of right and having a primary role – which was not, of course, the view taken throughout the Middle Ages.

Thus with regard to Byzantium, the Eastern Roman empire – or the Byzantine empire, as we are accustomed (incorrectly) to calling that medieval state which had Greek as its official language and which the texts call the 'Roman polity' (*Ρωμαίων πολιτεία*) or the 'Roman authority' (*Ρωμαίων ἀρχή*)³ – we should always bear in mind that diplomatic representations remained abroad only for as long as they needed to bring to a conclusion the mission for which they had been sent, whether these were Byzantine embassies abroad or foreign embassies in Constantinople. This remained the rule right up to 1453. When the sources mention, for example, a permanent *apocrisarius* (*ad responsum, responsalis*) of the pope in Constantinople, this refers to a permanent representative of the Church of Rome to another Church. Such representatives are also found – but not always – in relations between other patriarchates. The role of the Church in the history of Byzantine diplomacy is generally

1 H. Pirenne, *Histoire économique et sociale du Moyen Âge*, Paris 1963.

2 F. L. Ganshof, *Le Moyen Âge* (Histoire des relations internationales sous la direction de P. Renouvin, vol. I), Paris 1964.

3 T. C. Lounghis, 'Some Questions Concerning the Terminology Used in Narrative Sources to Designate the Byzantine State', *Σύμμεικτα* 11 (1997), 11-22.

important if rather peculiar, because very often ambassadors sent by the secular authority to Christian states – almost never to the Muslim infidel – were clerics. This was perhaps why the term *apocrisiarius*, originally of ecclesiastical provenance, came in certain documents also to mean a secular ambassador (πρεσβευτής). This second term is well attested in the sources, as is the term πρέσβυς (plural: πρέσβεις), both of which remain the standard expressions for ambassador in modern Greek.

It is commonly believed that Byzantium excelled in the practice of diplomacy, or that it tended to rely more on diplomacy than on arms. In the present state of research we cannot confirm this opinion with any clarity or precision since (a) Byzantium frequently had to deal with *faits accomplis* where it was not at all easy to make a choice between diplomacy or war; (b) Byzantium lasted about 1,000 years – perhaps 1,060 if we accept 395 as marking the beginning of Byzantine history (the division of the Roman empire into the eastern part under Arcadius [395-408] and the western under Honorius [395-423])⁴ – and its power did not remain a constant, so that the same principles should always apply in dealing with foreign dangers; and (c) Byzantium always had a long frontier to defend to the east, north and west, with the result that the threats and needs presenting themselves on each front at any given time were not of the same kind or always comparable.

In the last analysis, however, the following axiom seems to hold good for both Byzantium and the other medieval states: when the state is strong, it is also aggressive, in which case, although diplomacy does not of course disappear entirely, it occupies a relatively small place in foreign policy. Conversely, diplomacy constitutes a large part of a state's concerns and activity, and is relied upon to avert impending disaster, when the state feels compelled to avoid war by whatever means it can. In general, many have argued that the history of Byzantine diplomacy has not yet been written,⁵ or even that we need many different monographs on Byzantine diplomacy, each one approaching the subject from a different angle.⁶ These various proposals and opinions make it more difficult to give a full picture of Byzantine diplomacy, at least in its basic elements.⁷

First of all we need to look at the very idea of 'foreign'. This concept arose from the time the eastern empire first became aware that beyond its frontiers there lay a large number of organized states. The older Roman *οἰκουμένη* (*Orbis Romanus*), which constituted the entire civilized world in the early centuries, recognized as a foreign state comparable to itself only the Persian empire of the Sassanids, whose ruler had been known since antiquity as the *Μέγας Βασιλεύς* (great king) or *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων* (king of kings). Apart from the eastern frontier, the barbarians on the other frontiers of the Roman empire, however

4 E. Stein, 'Introduction à l'histoire et aux institutions byzantines', *Traditio* 7 (1949-51), 99-111. G. Ostrogorsky, 'Die Perioden der byzantinischen Geschichte', *Historische Zeitschrift* 163 (1940-41), 229-41. The division of the empire in 395 was decisive in the sense that the two parts of the hitherto unitary Roman empire were never reunited.

5 See D. Obolensky, G. Moravcsik and D. Zakythinos, 'The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy', *Actes du XIIe Congrès international d'Études Byzantines*, Belgrade 1963, vol. I, 46-61, 301-13, 313-19, where the questions then being researched are discussed.

6 A. Kazhdan, 'The Notion of Byzantine Diplomacy', in *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin, Aldershot 1992, 3-24, a particularly important review of research until that date.

7 Cf. Z. V. Udalkova, 'Diplomatija', in *Kul'tura Vizantii, Vtoraja polovina VII-XII vv.*, Moscow 1989, 241-75, where the so-called 'contempt' of Byzantines for foreign peoples is overemphasized.

dangerous they were from time to time, could only be regarded as inferior, unorganized and, in general, uncivilized nations. Thus a perception of *an international hierarchy of states and rulers* was gradually created which was to exercise a powerful influence on Byzantine diplomacy. From late summer 476 especially, when in Italy the last western Roman emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was deposed, the Roman *οἰκουμένη* still remaining intact consisted of the eastern empire which had as its sole ruler the emperor with his seat at Constantinople who, theoretically at least, continued to administer the western provinces of the western Roman empire through his local officials, that is to say, the Barbarian princes who had in the meantime established themselves in the West.⁸

What strikes every modern student who examines the early Roman West after the barbarian occupation of the fifth century AD is its political barbarism. The leaders of the Barbarian peoples who ruled in the West, and were regarded by the eastern emperor as officials answerable to him, were first and foremost military leaders. Their chief occupation was to command their army in battle and on plundering raids. For the occupied populations, however, these Barbarian leaders, at least at the beginning, were simply generals who like earlier generals of the empire made requisitions and billeted the troops under their command. This, broadly speaking, was the collective result on the psychological level for the European populations that were occupied either by force of arms, or as a result of one-sided treaties (*foedera*) which the Roman empire made to settle non-Romans in those provinces which had been devastated by wars or progressive social decline.

A typical example of a one-sided treaty (*foedus*) is that which the Emperor Theodosius I (379-395) made with the Visigoths in 382 after the destruction of the Roman army, along with the heretical (Arian) emperor, Valens (364-378), at the battle of Adrianople in 378. One section of this Barbarian people was settled in the pillaged region between the Danube and the Aimos mountain range. They were granted lands (small and medium parcels) and were obliged to provide the empire with military services. They became in this way *foederati*, that is to say, something like subordinate allies subject to their own legal processes and without the obligation to pay state taxes.⁹ This kind of diplomatic treaty took a unique form: although the relations entered into were very clearly those governed by international law, the Barbarians were now within the boundaries of the state. In referring to treaties of this kind, the celebrated Procopius of Caesarea, the classicizing historian of the period of Justinian, who is disposed towards everything redolent of antiquity, uses the following expression: *καὶ τῷ εὐπρεπεῖ τῆς ξυμμαχίας ὀνόματι πρὸς τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν τυραννιζομένων ἐβιάζοντο* ('and by the respectable name of "treaty" [the Romans] were forcefully made subject to the intruders').¹⁰ That is to say, Procopius recognizes the structural weakness of the empire which obliged it to enter into treaties because of the military strength of the Barbarians, and at the same time acknowledges the harmful consequences which these *foedera* had for the Romans.

To return to the now Barbarian western empire, the native populations may have tried initially to preserve some part of their ancient way of life (social customs and certain elements

⁸ See *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*, vol. VII, Athens 1978, 127-42.

⁹ G. Wirth, 'Zur Frage der föderierten Staaten in der späteren römischen Kaiserzeit', *Historia* 16 (1967), 231-51. R. Scharf, *Foederati. Von der völkerrechtlichen Kategorie zur byzantinischen Truppengattung* (TYCHE, Suppl.-Bd. 4), Wien 2001.

¹⁰ Procopius, *Wars* V, 1, 4 (ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, Leipzig 1963, vol. II, p. 4).

of Roman law), but in the new circumstances now prevailing the meaning of public power underwent a radical change. That is to say, the sense of an organized state which defines and regulates the rights and obligations of individuals and groups was progressively weakened. Even though certain Barbarian leaders, such as Theodoric the Great (493-526), the Ostrogoth king in Italy, disposed of real state power which was highly effective in all sectors, the general principle that recognized no limits to the personal power of rulers encouraged the lack of interest in any kind of cultural activity which began to prevail among the peoples of Western Europe at the beginning of the Middle Ages. People began to tie themselves narrowly to local interests, just as distances began to appear insurmountably large and divided people rather than united them, as in Antiquity, when there was a uniform culture in all parts of the then civilized world. On the other hand, in the Barbarian kingdoms of the West which were united by dynastic marriages among relations, there gradually developed the sense of an aristocracy of blood (*Geblütsadel*, *noblesse de sang*) which was associated with the leader-ruler-king in a different way from the bonds uniting the rest of free humanity.

On the basis of what has been said so far, it is evident that where the eastern Roman empire endured after 476, the antique character of the Roman state was maintained for much longer. There the documents issued by the emperor were laws for all his subjects and for all sectors of society. This contributed to maintaining through the centuries the idea that the empire was eternal and that the Barbarian kings were only the emperor's subordinates in lands which more or less and according to circumstances remained Roman. Beyond these ideological elements, however, Roman structures and organization were everywhere in retreat. Already from the end of the fateful year 476, the Emperor Zeno (474-5 and 476-91) who reigned in Constantinople sent the senator Severus to Carthage, now the capital of a Vandal kingdom, promoting him to patricius, *ὅπως τῆς πρεσβείας τὸ σχῆμα κατασκευάσῃ σεμνότερον* ('to enhance the dignity of the embassy') as the historian Malchus of Philadelphia says.¹¹ How successful these Byzantine diplomatic attempts were to send ambassadors of comparable rank to the Barbarian rulers whom they were addressing¹² was to be apparent much later, after the mid-eighth century, when the international hierarchy of princes underwent a radical change.

Turning now to the eastern frontier of the empire, where there was a political¹³ and spiritual parity between the emperor of the Romans and the great king of the Persians, what we should note first of all is that here we have two states of ancient origin on an equal footing, with structures and a tradition going back to the remotest past, and that with the passage of centuries the age-long rivalry between these two anachronistic state organisms would lead to the disappearance of the older of the two, the Persian (Persian resistance to the Arabs came to an abrupt end in 651), and the territorial curtailment of the younger, the Byzantine, which would necessitate a radical reorganization lasting nearly two centuries.

11 Malchus (ed. Lia Raffaella Cresci, *Malco di Filadelfia, Frammenti* [Byzantina et Neohellenika Neapolitana IX], Naples 1982) fr. 3, pp. 75-6.

12 In the fifth century AD the Ostrogoth, Burgundian, and perhaps even Visigoth and Vandal rulers had the title *patricius* or some equivalent dignity, e.g. *magister militum*, bestowed on them at some time or other by the empire. Cf. T. C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407-1096)*, Athens 1980, 266-70.

13 K. Synelli, *Οἱ διπλωματικὲς σχέσεις Βυζαντίου καὶ Πελοποννήσου ἐπὶ τὸν Στ' αἰῶνα*, Athens 1986.

Early Byzantium draws to a close at around the end of the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (610-41) and a long period begins of social and administrative change during the course of a continuous struggle against an Islam initially aggressive and victorious everywhere which succeeded the Persians as the great power in the East.

The traditional equality in political relations between Byzantium and Persia is accompanied by an absolute and enduring diplomatic equality which is expressed in a pompous dossier of diplomatic documents exchanged by the two rulers. So long as the two all-powerful and equal sovereigns of such venerable antiquity called each other 'brother', there could still be exceptional occasions of high diplomacy such as when a Byzantine emperor on the approach of death sought to entrust the guardianship of his son and heir, who was still a minor, to the Great King (Arcadius to Isdigerdh I [399-421] concerning Theodosius II¹⁴), and conversely when the Great King sought the same (Kavadh I to Justin I [518-27] concerning Khusro I),¹⁵ regardless of whether these aspirations were actually put into effect. At other times the Great King, evidently under severe economic distress, could seek a loan (*δάνειον*) from the Byzantine emperor under written guarantee (*ἐγγράφον ὁμολογίαν*) as Kavadh I (488-531) did from Anastasius I (491-518) in 502/3.¹⁶ This was denied him, without any of the usual diplomatic courtesies, with the result that Kavadh declared war! The most fastidious of all the emperors in matters of protocol was Justinian I (527-65). In documents issued by him he is frequently given old-style Roman triumphalist titles indicating the peoples he had conquered, for example: *Imperator Flavius Iustinianus, Alamannicus, Gothicus, Francicus, Germanicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Vandalicus, Africanus, pius felix inclitus victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus* ('Emperor Flavius Justinianus, pious, blessed and renowned victor and celebrator of triumphs over the Alamanni, the Goths, the Franks, the Germans, the Antes, the Vandals, and the Africans, ever Augustus').¹⁷ But what are we to make of the way in which Justinian's famous and by all accounts cultured opponent and equal, Khusro I Anusharwan (531-79), addressed him, according to the historian Menander Protector,¹⁸ on the occasion of the fifty-year truce which was signed between the empire and Persia in the winter of 561/2: Θεῖος, ἀγαθός, εἰρηνοπάτριος, ἀρχαῖος Χοσροῆς, βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, εὐτυχής, εὐσεβής, ἀγαθοποιός, ᾧ τινι οἱ θεοὶ μεγάλην τύχην καὶ μεγάλην βασιλείαν δεδώκασι, γίγας γιγάντων, ὃς ἐκ θεῶν χαρακτηρίζεται, Ἰουστινιανῶ Καίσαρι, ἀδελφῶ ἡμετέρῳ. ('The divine, good, father of peace from of old, Chosroes (Khusro), king of kings, blessed, pious, beneficent, to whom the gods have given great good fortune and great majesty, giant of giants, who is characterized as being from the gods, to Justinian Caesar, our brother'). The historian Agathias of Myrina also divinized the ancient tradition and power of the Persian state. Continuing Procopius, he describes the period 552-8 as follows: ἄλλην γὰρ πολιτείαν οὕτω οὐκ οἶδα ἐς πλείστας μορφαὶς τε καὶ σχήματα μεταβαλοῦσαν

14 Procopius, *Wars* I, 2, 6-7 (ed. Haury and Wirth I, 8).

15 Procopius, *Wars* I, 11,6 (ed. Haury and Wirth I, 49).

16 Procopius, *Wars* I, 7, 1 (ed. Haury and Wirth I, 30). Theophanes, *Chronicle* (ed. C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*, Leipzig 1883, 144). The fifth- and sixth-century sources present both the ancient 'great powers' of the period, i.e. both the empire and the Persian state, as under more-or-less permanent economic pressure.

17 *Novellae Justiniani*, ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll (Corpus Iuris Civilis III), Dublin and Zürich 1972¹⁰, Appendix VII, pp. 799-800.

18 Menander, fr. 6, 1 (ed. R. C. Blockley, *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, Liverpool 1985, p. 62).

καὶ ἐν ταυτῷ μένειν οὐ διαρκέσασαν, ἀλλὰ μυρίων ἐθνῶν ἄλλοτε ἄλλων ἐπικράτειαν δεξαμένην ('I do not know of another state that goes through so many changes of form and shape and does not remain the same, but receives dominion at various times over a host of other nations').¹⁹ However one looks at this equality or parity of prestige between Byzantium and Persia, it becomes apparent that it concerns an equality going back to the past and, especially in Agathias, that the Persian empire is subject to recurring cycles.

The same equality, *mutatis mutandis*, came to prevail on the eastern frontier after the Arab conquests, for the Arabs inherited Persia's political rivalry with Byzantium. Both the Umayyad caliphs with their capital at Damascus (661-750) and the Abbasid caliphs, who ruled from Baghdad from the second half of the eighth century to about the mid-eleventh century, were regarded as on a par with the Byzantine emperor, who accorded them the title *ἀμερμουμνῆς* or *ἀμεραμουννῆς* (the Greek rendering of *emir el-muemini*, or 'commander of the faithful' – the corresponding verb was *ἀμηρεύειν*, 'to rule as caliph').²⁰ As laid down in the famous court composition on etiquette, *Περὶ βασιλείου τάξεως* (*De cerimoniis*), attributed to the learned Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945-59), Byzantine ambassadors addressed elaborate adulatory greetings to the caliphs of the Saracens.²¹ Indeed, when writing to al-Muktadir, the relatively minor emir of Crete, the Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus (901-7 and 912-25) accords to the Muslim Saracens the same rights of sovereignty and supremacy throughout the world as belonged to the Byzantine empire.²² It should be borne in mind that Byzantium was able to conduct a very successful military and political resistance against these opponents they treated as equals, both the Persians and the Arabs who succeeded them, for more than six centuries, and it was only the Turkish advance (first by the Seljuqs and then the Ottomans) that signified the Byzantine empire's definitive retreat from its dominant position in relation to contemporary states.

Also noteworthy in the history of Byzantine-Arab relations is the cultural aspect:²³ although it was an iron rule that clerics were not sent on embassies to the Arabs, some laymen who later became distinguished clerics and even patriarchs, and were well known in the contemporary medieval world for their wisdom and breadth of learning, visited Baghdad as ambassadors and impressed everyone by their brilliance. One such example is the celebrated John Grammaticus who was sent, probably in 829-30, by the Emperor Theophilus (829-42) as ambassador to the Caliph al-Mamun (813-33), who was equally renowned for his wide learning and his love for literature and the sciences. This embassy with its rich gifts is described by the

19 Agathias II, 25, 3 (ed. R. Keydell, CFHB 2, Berlin 1967, p. 73). Many of the philosophers forced to flee to Persia after Justinian's measures against the ancient philosophical schools became disillusioned, according to Agathias, and returned to the empire.

20 See e.g. Theophanes, *Chronicle* 360, 32.

21 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis* II, 47 (ed. I. I. Reiske, CSHB, Bonn 1829, pp. 683-4): *χαίροις ὁ χαίρων εἰρήνη, ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν βουλαῖς, καὶ ἀγαθὸς καὶ πραδτατος, ὑγιαίνων, εὐθυμῶν, εἰρηνεῖων πάντοθεν, μεγαλοπρεπέστατε καὶ ἐνδοξότατε Ἀμερμουμνῆ. Εἰρήνη σοι ἀπὸ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, δόξα καὶ τιμῇ, εὐφροσύνῃ καὶ ζωῇ μακροχρόνιος εἰρηνηκώτατε καὶ εὐγενέστατε ἀμερμουμνῆ, εἴη σοι τὸ ὄνομα ἔντιμον καὶ ἡ ζωὴ μακροχρόνιος, φιλεῖ γλῆνκώτατε τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμῶν τοῦ ἀγίου, περιβλεπτε καὶ περιφανέστατε Ἀμερμουμνῆ.* See also Appendices.

22 Nicholas Mysticus, *Epistles* I (ed. R. Jenkins and L. Westerink, CFHB 6, Washington DC 1973, p. 2). See also Appendix 2(a).

23 D. Zakythinos, 'Byzance et les Arabes dans leurs rapports intellectuels', *L'Hellénisme contemporain* (1947), 42-54.

Byzantine authors²⁴ as evidence of the prestige of the imperial majesty in the East. Prompted by the fact that the imperial ambassador, John Grammaticus, a little later became patriarch of Constantinople (835-43), another slightly later patriarch, the great Photius (858-67 and 877-86), boasts in the prologue to his *Βιβλιοθήκη* that in his youth he too had been appointed to lead an embassy to the Arabs. Various dates have been proposed for this supposed embassy, but the most likely suggestion is that it never took place at all,²⁵ and that the equally cultured and even more ambitious Patriarch Photius must have envied the fame of John Grammaticus and presented himself as having been entrusted with an embassy to the Arabs without this actually having taken place. It should also be noted that the Byzantine interest in the spiritual activities of the Muslims coincides with the rise of the Abbasid capital, Baghdad, as a cultural centre of great brilliance and (for the times) global importance.

The international setting in the East is therefore completely different from that in the West, until at least the eleventh century. In the West political and diplomatic parity with the Byzantine empire was attained gradually, with the entry of Western Europe into the premier political and spiritual division in two stages, both lasting from the middle to the end of the eighth century. First the pope detached himself from the Byzantine empire and achieved political independence as the highest spiritual authority for the whole of the West. As a spiritual and now also as a *political* authority, the pope needed a strong military power in Western Europe which would be obedient to his commands, and he found it in the Franks with their invincible army. With the encouragement of Pope Zacharias (741-52), the Frankish Merovingian dynasty was abolished (751) and the Carolingian was established in its place, which united all the lands of the hitherto three or four Frankish kingdoms and, after further territorial gains, arrived at the point of having its second crowned head, Charles (768-814), appointed emperor in Rome on Christmas day 800.²⁶ Thus was founded the western medieval empire by Charlemagne, which claimed recognition and equality of status from Byzantium and obtained it through a Byzantine embassy to Aquisgranum (Aachen) in 812.²⁷ Henceforth, whereas the Byzantine empire had been dealing with states in the West very inferior to it, maintaining relations which went back to the unequal *foedera*, now there was an empire in the West, the ruler of which was the *ἀδελφός* (brother) of the Byzantine emperor, as formerly the Great King of the Persians had been in the East (the caliph of the Arabs may have had equal status but in no way could he be *ἀδελφός* of a Christian emperor). The fact of the existence once again in the West of an imperial title created what modern historians have called 'the problem of the two emperors'.²⁸ For Byzantium – which may have expressed itself in elaborate diplomatic language but was almost always realistic in its political thought – this implied very clearly that the head of the international hierarchy of

24 *Theophanes Continuatus* 95-8 (ed. I. Bekker, CSHB, Bonn 1838). See also Appendix, no. 3.

25 V. Vlysidou, Σχετικά με την προεβία τοῦ Φωτίου «ἐπ' Ἀσσυρίους», *Δίπτυχα* 5 (1992), 270-9.

26 There is a detailed account of relations in C. Tsirpanlis, 'Byzantine Reactions to the Coronation of the Charlemagne', *Βυζαντινά* 6 (1974), 347-60.

27 Lounghis, *Ambassadors*, 160-1. D. Nerlich, *Diplomatische Gesandtschaften zwischen Ost- und Westkaisern, 756-1002*, Bern 1999.

28 See W. Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter*, Hildesheim 1947.

princes of the classic Middle Ages²⁹ could no longer be the Byzantine emperor, as formerly, but the pope, whom both emperors, eastern as well as western, addressed as *πνευματικὸς πατὴρ* (*pater spiritualis*, spiritual father).

Broadly speaking, although Byzantium, as is now recognized, was developing strongly in economic terms in the tenth century,³⁰ it is very probable that in some degree it was losing its 'technological' superiority over the West by about the middle of the eleventh century. If we are to understand the empire's diplomatic activities during the period of the Crusades, however, it is essential that we should grasp the character of the changes taking place on the international level and their repercussions on the Byzantine political ideology of the period. It is to these we now turn. The most important consideration at the beginning of the Crusades (1096), along with the fact that the pope had for two centuries already occupied a higher rung on the ideological ladder than the two equal emperors of East and West, is that now many laymen who were not heads of state, but feudal landowners subject to secular rulers not themselves personally participating in the Crusade, took part under the immediate spiritual leadership of the pope. The change ushering in the age of the so-called Theocracy was realized in this way on the theoretical level. This age is identified with the period of the Crusades. It implied that in Europe all secular lay states were equal to each other but were much inferior to the secular and spiritual authority of the pope.³¹ The general perception then also arose that Byzantium (weakened in Asia Minor and permanently deprived of its possessions in Italy), which was ruled by a family alliance of Comneni and Angeli (1081-1204), was equal in the international hierarchy of princes not only to the German empire of the Hohenstaufen (1125-1250) but also to the already powerful kingdoms of France and England. In other words, from the twelfth century onwards Byzantium had not the slightest ideological basis for claiming any pre-eminence among the powerful secular states that now existed. The brilliance and leadership that Byzantium had enjoyed in the cultural sphere were also diminished.

The diplomatic method which the empire followed from the beginning of the First Crusade onwards (since of course the armies of the first four Crusades passed through its lands, culminating in the capture of 1204) consisted in transferring the concept of Byzantine sovereignty over western lands from the West to the East. This means that Byzantine political and military power, more under the Comnenian emperors and much less under the Angeli, sought to make vassals of the theoretically allied crusader armies that passed through its lands and, by extension, the crusader states that were founded in Syria and Palestine after the First Crusade.³² In this attempt, Byzantine political thought, always flexible with regard to whatever

29 G. Ostrogorsky, 'Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie', *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 8 (1936), 41-61. F. Dölger, 'Die "Familie der Könige" im Mittelalter', *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, Darmstadt 1964, 34-69. Both believed, mistakenly in my opinion, that the Byzantine emperor was always at the head of the international hierarchy of princes. I regard this as only true for the period 476-800.

30 A. Harvey, *Economic Expansion in the Byzantine Empire 900-1200*, Cambridge 1989.

31 W. Norden's monumental work, *Das Papsttum und Byzanz. Die Trennung der beiden Mächte und das Problem ihrer Wiedervereinigung*, Berlin 1903, remains unsurpassed, since he examines the Theocracy in Western Europe in conjunction with the Schism of 1054 and the mutual relations between Constantinople and Rome.

32 R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten. Studien zur Politik des byzantinischen Reiches gegenüber den Staaten der Kreuzfahrer in Syrien und Palästina bis zum vierten Kreuzzug (1096-1204)*, Munich 1981. This principle continued (in a completely counterfeit form) even during the Fourth Crusade, when Isaac II and Alexius IV tried to persuade the Crusaders to take action for the restoration of Isaac.

affected international relations, made use of the widely diffused Western European social and political practice of *feudal vassalage*. The term which the Byzantine sources most often use to describe this relationship of vassalage, which particularly up to about 1160 (until which date the Byzantine empire was still occasionally able to impose its suzerainty over the crusader Near East) they transfer to international relations, is *λιξιός* (= lige), or 'liegeman'. In Byzantine terminology this means *οἰκέτης καὶ ὑποχείριος* or *δοῦλος πιστός* ('household servant' or 'faithful slave'),³³ as is apparent from the so-called Treaty of Devol of 1108, when Bohemond, the Norman duke of Taranto, swore vassalage for himself and his descendants to his vanquisher in battle, the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118). This relationship of vassalage was always reinforced by an oath of fidelity which was given by the liegeman to his overlord, more or less as in the West. But with the Byzantine empire's ever increasing political weakness, even this method of applying pressure grew less effective and was finally abandoned.

After Constantinople fell for the first time to the crusaders in 1204 and until the final capture by the Ottomans in 1453, with only one significant exception in the reign of Michael Palaeologus (1258-82), Byzantium was a 'small state', as G. Ostrogorsky had described it, and it is true that from that time its diplomatic efforts were as rich in activity as they were modest in aim, which may be summed up as a constant effort to enable this once great and glorious state simply to survive. Emperors (always bearing the title 'emperor of the Romans') even travelled to the West to seek help against the growing Turkish threat. Already from 1379 the empire was restricted to a few enclaves and paid tribute to the Turks.³⁴ In a letter of 1432 the Emperor John VIII Palaeologus (1425-49) addressed the grand vizier as *φίλε τῆς βασιλείας μου* ('friend of my Majesty') and the Sultan Murat II (1421-51) as *ἀδελφόν* ('brother'), as once the emperors used to address their western colleagues. By a string of humiliating concessions, successive Palaeologan emperors sought to keep alive whatever remained of the state, that is to say, the City itself. This alone, Constantine XI Palaeologus (1449-53) wrote to the Sultan Mehmet II (1451-81), an emperor cannot hand over: he would rather choose death.³⁵ To sum up this very brief survey,³⁶ what needs to be emphasized in the history of Byzantine diplomacy is the almost constant modification of the principles governing it and its necessary willingness to adapt itself, however much the empire and its principles might appear to be immutable down the centuries.

33 Examples: Anna Comnena XIII, 12, 1-28 (ed. D. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, CFHB 40, Berlin and New York 2002, pp. 413-23) (see also Appendix, no. 22). John Cinnamus (ed. A. Meineke, CSHB, Bonn 1838), 34. Nicetas Choniates (ed. J. L. Van Dieten, CFHB 11, Berlin and New York 1975), 27. Cf. J. Ferluga, 'La ligesse dans l'empire byzantin', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 7 (1961), 91-123.

34 G. Ostrogorsky, 'Byzance, état tributaire de l'empire turc', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 5 (1958), 49-58.

35 *Τὸ δὲ τὴν Πόλιν σοι δοῦναι οὐτ' ἐμὸν ἐστὶ οὐτ' ἄλλον τῶν κατοικοῦντων ἐν ταύτῃ κοινὴ γὰρ γνώμη πάντες ἀντοπροαιρέτως ἀποθανοῦμεν καὶ οὐ φεισόμεθα τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν*, according to the historian Michael Doukas (ed. I. Bekker, CSHB, Bonn 1834, 279-280).

36 Analytical presentation of the principles of Byzantine diplomacy before the fall of Constantinople by I. P. Medvedev, 'O printsipach visantijskoi diplomatii nakanunie padenija imperii', *VV* (1972), 129-39.

BYZANTINE FOREIGN POLICY DOCUMENTS

Byzantine foreign policy documents or diplomatic documents are also subject to successive changes that correspond closely to the changes of Byzantine political ideology relating to the international hierarchy of princes. One would not be wrong in supposing that at the beginning of Byzantine history, when the concept of 'foreign' only applied to the East and the only sovereign of comparable status to the emperor was the Great King of the Persians, documents addressed to the West were similar to those addressed to recipients within the empire. According to the historian Menander Protector ('Protector' was a kind of imperial guardsman) the text of the fifty-year truce between the empire and Persia was written in the two languages and then provided with translations both ways: *ἐγράφησαν περσιστί καὶ ἑλληνιστί, μετεβλήθη τε τὸ Ἑλληνικὸν εἰς Περσίδα φωνὴν καὶ τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς Ἑλληνίδα... τῶν οὖν ἕξ ἑκατέρου μέρους ὁμολογιῶν ἐν συλλαβαῖς ἀναληφθεῖσών, ἀντιπαρεβλήθησαν ἀλλήλαις τῷ ἰσοδυνάμῳ τῶν ἐνθυμημάτων τε καὶ ὅρημάτων* ('They were written in Persian and Greek, and the Greek version was translated into the Persian language and the Persian into the Greek... when the terms of either side were set down in writing, each was translated into the equivalent ideas and words of the other').³⁷ It is thus evident that in official treaties of such importance provision was made for translation into the languages of the two contracting parties from the record of those who had taken part in the negotiations. From what appears also from the frequent diplomatic correspondence conducted much later between the Arabs and the Byzantines, the Byzantine imperial chancery was accustomed to attaching to imperial documents addressed to the caliph, which were always written in Greek, an official Arabic translation. The oldest example of an imperial letter with an Arabic translation dates from early 938 (a letter of the Emperor Romanus I Lacapenus [920-44] to the Caliph al-Radi [934-8] on the subject of a peace treaty and exchanges of prisoners). As we are informed by the later Arab historian Sibṭ ibn Djauzi, this imperial letter, which is no longer extant, was written in gold letters and had attached an Arabic translation written in silver letters.³⁸ In much the same way, the Greek text of a letter of the Emperor Constantine IX Monomachus (1042-55) to the Caliph of Baghdad al-Kaim of 1050 or 1055 is provided with an Arabic interlinear translation, a technique which turns this diplomatic document into a work of art. In general, the relatively few Byzantine foreign policy documents that have survived are distinguished by their impressive appearance.³⁹

The oldest authentic Byzantine imperial document dealing with foreign policy which survives in the original is the so-called 'St Denis Papyrus'. In 1693/4 the Benedictine monk J. Mabillon, renowned as the first systematic student of Greek palaeography, discovered at his

37 Menander, Fr. 6, 1 (ed. Blockley, p. 70). (See also Appendix, no. 5.)

38 See A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes II. La dynastie Macédonienne*, 2. *Extraits des sources arabes*, Brussels 1950, 172.

39 See the classic handbook on Byzantine documents, F. Dölger and J. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre*, Munich 1968, 90.

monastery of St Denis (in what is now a northern suburb of Paris) a ninth-century papyrus written in Greek (today Archives Nationales K7, no. 17). According to this document, which lacks its beginning and end, a Byzantine emperor who is not named in the text calls on his western colleague to come to the help of the Byzantine forces by sending a Frankish expedition which is to be commanded by the son of the western emperor, who is referred to as *ὁ ρίζ*, the *rix*. In a fundamental study published in 1948,⁴⁰ the great Byzantinist F. Dölger connected this amazing document with a Byzantine embassy of the Emperor Theophilus (829-42) which was received at Trier in the winter of 841/2 by the western emperor, Lothar I (840-55); This embassy of Theophilus is mentioned in several literary sources, both Byzantine and western.⁴¹ In spite of the improvements and corrections proposed a little later by W. Ohnsorge⁴² to Dölger's readings and chronology, the document has retained in scholarly literature the character which Dölger attributed to it: the oldest written monument of the Crusades ('das älteste Kreuzzugsdokument'), in the sense that the two emperors who existed in the ninth century eastern and western, were inclined to combine forces as Christian states to fight the Saracen infidel, who had landed in Sicily in about 828 and, after the occupation of Spain (from 711), now even threatened the Italian mainland. Southern Italy frequently constituted a common point of reference in whatever concerned the defence of the Christian powers against the Muslims during the early Middle Ages until its capture by the Normans in the eleventh century.

The St Denis Papyrus is written in the careful (by the ninth century minuscule) hand of the imperial chancery at Constantinople. Instead of the emperor's signature at the end of the text (*narratio*) there is the familiar mark of approbation, *legimus* ('we have read it'), by the emperor which is always in red ink ('cinnabar'). The loss of the document's *ἐσχατόκολλον* prevents us from knowing how it ended (the *ἐσχατόκολλον* is the last portion of a document, corresponding to the *πρωτόκολλον*, or protocol, at the beginning).

In accordance with what was traditionally prescribed in the handbooks, a Byzantine foreign policy document begins with the protocol, which usually contains:

(a) a divine invocation (*invocatio*), e.g. '*In nomine Dei Jesu Christi...*';

(b) the ruler's titles (*intitulatio*), as given above for Justinian or Maurice (Here it should be noted that old-style Roman triumphal titles in the protocol of documents cease in 678⁴³, make a sporadic reappearance under Manuel I Comnenus [1143-80], and then disappear completely);

(c) the inscribing of the recipient (*inscriptio*), e.g. '*Childeberto viro glorioso regi Francorum*'.

Then follows the narrative (*narratio*) which comprises the middle part and usually the bulk of the document.

40 F. Dölger, 'Der Pariser St. Denis Papyrus als ältestes Kreuzzugsdokument', *Byzantinische Diplomatie*, Ettal 1956, 204-14. (See Appendix, no. 7 and plate I).

41 For the sources see T. Lounggis, *Διπλωματία και διπλωματική κατά τον Μεσαίωνα. Ορισμένα παραδείγματα, in Διπλωματία και πολιτική ιστορική προσέγγιση*, Athens 2005, 244.

42 W. Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842-844 gegen die Sarazenen', *Abendland und Byzanz*, Darmstadt 1963, 131-83.

43 Letter of the Emperor Constantine IV (668-85) to Pope Donus (676-8) before the Sixth Ecumenical Council: *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum* II, 2, 1, Berlin 1990, 2-10.

The protocol, like the *eschatokollon*, underwent various relatively minor changes in form, according to circumstances and regardless of the date in which the document was drawn up. That is to say, these changes do not obey any rules of chronological development. For example in the *inscriptio* of the pope who is the recipient of a letter from Isaac II Angelus (1185-95): Ἰσαάκιος ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Ἄγγελος Καίλεστίνῳ τῷ ἁγιωτάτῳ πάπᾳ Ῥώμης τιμὴν τὴν προσήκουσαν ὡς πνευματικῷ πατρὶ καὶ θέλησιν τῶν εὐχῶν αὐτοῦ ('Isaac Angelus, faithful emperor and autocrat of the Romans in Christ God, to Celestine, most holy pope of Rome, honour befitting him as spiritual father and a request for his prayers').⁴⁴ Or the *invocatio* in the letter of Romanus Lecapenus written in gold to the Caliph al-Radi in 938: 'Au nom du Père et du Fils et du Saint-Esprit, le Dieu unique'.⁴⁵ The well-known western ambassador and bishop of Cremona, Liutprand, in his famous work, *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, reporting his visit to the Imperial City in 968 during the reign of Nicephorus II Phocas (963-9), mentions that on his departure he was given a χρυσοβούλιον, 'id est epistola auro scripta et signata', for his sovereign, the western emperor, Otto (936-73).⁴⁶ O. Kresten, a specialist in Byzantine documents relating to foreign policy, notes as many as ten examples of χρυσογραφία, chrysography (as he calls the method of writing imperial documents in golden letters) from 938 to 1146,⁴⁷ one example from Manuel I Comnenus to the German emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-89) dating from 1179,⁴⁸ and finally one late example from 1416.⁴⁹ The ἐσχατόκολλον normally consists of a short form of greeting, e.g. 'Divinitas te servet per multos annos' ('May God keep you for many years') or ἔρρωσο ἐν κυρίῳ ('Fare well in the Lord,' etc).⁵⁰ After the emperor's autograph *legimus* follows the date with the regnal year of the imperial author, the so-called μηνολόγημα (ἀπελύθη μηνί...ἰνδικτιῶνος...). ('issued in the month...of the indiction...'). Sometimes, in the last years of the Byzantine empire (15th cent.) we find written at the end, together with the Byzantine date from the creation of the world, the date from the birth of Christ, as was general in the West from the close of the Middle Ages (τῷ τῶν Λατίνων δρόμῳ ['in the Latin style', as the Byzantine document says, not without a certain contempt of the Latins]).

A second kind of Byzantine document dealing with foreign policy and diplomatic practice is the treaty with various foreign states drawn up by the Byzantine side. As already noted, in the early Byzantine period, treaties are discussed in some detail in the literary

44 O. Kresten, 'Zur Rekonstruktion der Protokolle Kaiserlich-byzantinischer Auslandsschreiben des 12. Jahrhunderts aus lateinischen Quellen', in Πολύπλερος Νοῦς. *Miscellanea für Peter Schreiner* (Byzantinisches Archiv 19), Munich 2000, 149, example f.

45 According to the French translation of Vasiliev-Canard (*Byzance et les Arabes*, 172).

46 Liutprand, *Legatio* (ed. J. Becker, *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hanover and Leipzig 1915), 206. On the tremendous importance of Liutprand of Cremona for understanding the two different Byzantine foreign policy strategies, see below, pp. 50-54.

47 O. Kresten, 'Zur Chrysographie in den Auslandsschreiben der byzantinischen Kaiser', *RHM* 40 (1998), 139-86.

48 Annales Stadenses auctore Alberto, 1179 = *MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* XVI, 349. Cf. O. Kresten, 'Der "Anredestritt" zwischen Manuel I. Komnenos und Friedrich I. Barbarossa nach der Schlacht von Myriokephalon', *RHM* 34/35 (1992/1993), 65-110.

49 O. Kresten, 'Correctiunculae zu Auslandsschreiben byzantinischer Kaiser des 15. Jahrhunderts', *RHM* 41 (1999), 271-92. See also Plate 7.

50 Dölger and Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre*, 92-3.

sources,⁵¹ such as the fifty-year truce with Persia of 561/2 described by Menander Protector, but for a Byzantine treaty with a foreign state surviving in the original we have to go to the twelfth century. To understand how Byzantine diplomacy worked up to the twelfth century, however, we do not of course need to wait for the appearance of these original documents. Thus we can glimpse the laborious negotiations being conducted by the ambassadors of the equally balanced powers of Byzantium and Persia at the Mesopotamian frontier-town of Daras-Anastasioupolis. The ambassadors seem to have been accompanied by large staffs, to judge from the fact that the interpreters alone numbered six on each side⁵² and the lengthy document was composed in Greek and Persian. (We may note that in the matter of relations with Persia, the Latin language was dropped in Byzantium even as early as Justinian's reign). The texts were checked for accuracy and correspondence to each other and were carefully sealed with wax impresses (presumably some seal of the sovereigns) and, for extra security, with the ring seals of the two ambassadors. Finally, they were exchanged between the two sides, whereupon the ambassadors were free to leave. The detailed drafting of the text seems to have been done from the recollection of those who had followed the negotiations. There does not appear to have been any provision for stenographers. In other words, what was of primary importance was the established form.

One diplomatic document which is an imperial letter to foreign rulers and at the same time from the Byzantine side a treaty of alliance is the letter sent to the Merovingian Frankish kings by Justinian I in 534/5 at the start of the war against the Ostrogoths in Italy. This document, which is reproduced by Procopius of Caesarea,⁵³ calls on the only orthodox allies which the empire had in Western Europe, the Franks, to participate in the war which Justinian was beginning against their common enemy, the Arian Ostrogoths. From what we know about Byzantine diplomacy, it is difficult to believe that the imperial letter was so short that it was no more than the six brief and peremptory phrases given by Procopius. More probably, Procopius composed it himself, simply summarizing the sense of the original document and nothing more. It is, moreover, known that Procopius disliked the Franks, whom he blames at every opportunity.

By contrast, the letter sent by the Emperor Maurice (582-602) to the Frankish king of Austrasia, Childebert II (575-95), whose text has come down to us in a collection of letters preserved in a codex at Heidelberg,⁵⁴ cannot be considered a treaty but is rather a personal letter, a written expression of displeasure because the imperial wish that the Frankish allies should mount an Italian expedition – at that time a fixed Byzantine demand in pursuit of Justinianic strategic aims – had not been satisfied.

Here we also need to mention some events arising from visits to Constantinople by foreign ambassadors in the early period and their conduct there. The famous Persian Isdighusnas

⁵¹ Dölger and Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre*, 94.

⁵² Menander, *Fr.* 6, 1 (ed. Blockley, p. 76).

⁵³ Procopius, *Wars* V, 5, 8-9 (ed. Haury and Wirth II, 26) (and Appendix, no. 6). The social and political party to which Procopius (and his hero, the general Belisarius) belonged had no desire for Frankish participation in the expedition of reconquest. It looked to the reconquest of the West by the empire alone.

⁵⁴ Codex Palatinus Latinus 869. Cf., for the collection of letters, P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam. II, 1. Byzance et les Francs*, Paris 1956, 95-173. For the dating see Lounggis, *Ambassades* 95-6. The letter in question is Austrasian letter 42 = *MGH, Epistulae* III, ed. W. Gundlach, Berlin 1957, 148-9 [see also Appendix, no. 4(b)].

(according to Procopius) or Iedegousnaph (according to Menander), who held the office of Zich, was almost a permanent ambassador of Khusro I to Justinian, not only at the concluding of the treaty of 561/2 at Dara but also earlier. He is described as ‘arrogant and a man of extraordinary boastfulness’, a characteristic feature of many ambassadors in all ages. When he made an official visit to Constantinople in 550 to open negotiations, he brought with him his wife, his children and his brother, together with ‘a vast crowd of servants’, says Procopius,⁵⁵ so that it looked more as if he was advancing to battle with his army than coming on a civilized diplomatic mission. In 558, according to Theophanes’ *Chronicle*,⁵⁶ the people of Constantinople came out in crowds on to the streets in astonishment, so as not to miss the spectacle of the first Avars to arrive as ambassadors at the imperial capital (it is not mentioned how many they were). They wore their hair in plaits (*πρανδοίους*), though the rest of their dress was similar to that of the other Huns. With this barbarian people of the steppes, who brought such distress not just to the empire but to Europe generally until their destruction by Charlemagne’s powerful Frankish forces in 803, the rule was that from time to time they sent various diplomatic missions to Constantinople with relatively moderate demands which, however, were not met. Moreover, Byzantium never seems to have concluded formal written treaties with nomadic tribes such as the Avars, or later the Pechenegs or the Cumans.⁵⁷

The classic handbooks⁵⁸ are accustomed to saying that according to Byzantine political theory (without specifying which particular political theory), a treaty was entered into in the form of the bestowal of privileges by the emperor to a state or nation or even to the ruler of a foreign nation. In view of the fact that the first treaties which survive in the original date only from the twelfth century, although earlier treaties are discussed in detail by other sources (on the model of Menander Protector’s description of the treaty of 561/2), this statement is only valid to a small extent and does not have the general validity that is usually accorded to it. The treaties which are entered into, for example, with powers regarded as on a par with the empire are in no sense a bestowal of privileges – neither the fifty-year truce of 561/2 with Persia at Dara, nor the bipartite treaty of 812 at Aquisgranum (Aachen) which finally recognized Charlemagne as emperor.⁵⁹ This was after nearly twelve years of effort on Charlemagne’s part during which there were strong disagreements and fruitless negotiations until the text of the treaty given by the Franks was brought to Constantinople.⁶⁰ What the handbooks are probably trying to do, without making it entirely clear, is to show

⁵⁵ ὁφρυνάζοντά τε καὶ ἀλαζονεῖα τινι ἀμυθῆτω ἐχόμενον...ἐπομένων τε καὶ θεραπευόντων πάμπολυ πλῆθος: Procopius, *Wars* VIII, 15, 4-5 (ed. Haury and Wirth II, 535).

⁵⁶ Theophanes, *Chronographia* (ed. de Boor), 232.

⁵⁷ The same must be true for Attila’s feared Huns, whatever the fifth-century historian Priscus might say, even though we cannot be certain of this. See Association internationale d’Etudes du Sud-Est Européen, *Pour une grande histoire des Balkans, des origines jusqu’aux Guerres Balkaniques*, Paris 2004, 122-31.

⁵⁸ Dölger and Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre*, 95.

⁵⁹ For the sources which refer to the embassy of 812 see Loungis, *Ambassades*, 160-1; Nehrlich, *Gesandtschaften*, 180-1.

⁶⁰ The *Annales regni Francorum* a. 812 (ed. F. Rau, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters*, Darmstadt 1974), 100, give the most detailed account of this: ‘Michahel imperator) et suos legatos direxit, Michehelem scilicet episcopum et Arsafium atque Theognostum protospatharios, et per eos pacem a Niciforo inceptam confirmavit. Nam Aquisgrani, ubi ad imperatorem venerunt, scriptum pacti ab eo in ecclesia suscipientes more suo, id est Greca lingua, laudes ei direxerunt, imperatorem eum et basileum appellantes.’

that from the time when the familiar Byzantine document that comes to be known as the χρυσόβουλλος λόγος, chrysobull or σιγίλλιον, *sigillion*⁶¹ begins to be used as a document of foreign policy (that is to say, from 992 onwards⁶²), it concerns foreign powers that are also operating within the empire (Venetians and others), and thus the concluding of a political or commercial treaty with the empire takes the form of the granting of imperial privileges to foreign subjects, as was also the case in the early Byzantine period with the concluding of the one-sided *foedus*. Furthermore, wherever these treaties were entered into, they always had to be validated in Constantinople. Now, even though in the later Byzantine period, as it is called, the *chrysoboulloi logoi* and *chrysoboulla sigillia* became a destructive method of granting economic privileges to foreigners, a method undermining the empire's power,⁶³ this must not be judged superficially without taking into account all the factors relevant to the evolution of Byzantine society which led to the adoption of such a solution. As with all other imperial letters, these treaties likewise have a protocol (*invocatio, initulatio, inscriptio*), a main narrative (sometimes with a *προοίμιον*, or prologue, preceding the *narratio*), and finally an *eschatokollon* with the date and the imperial signature. Here it should be noted that the oldest example of the genuine subscription of a Byzantine emperor surviving in the original is the signature of John I Tzimiskes (969-76) on the *Typikon* of the Holy Mountain of 972,⁶⁴ that is to say, on a document dealing with a matter within the empire: +Ἰωάννης ἐν Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ βασιλεὺς Ῥωμαίων. (+ John in Christ God emperor of the Romans). But because, as we shall see, various Byzantine imperial documents which were sent to western leaders in the middle period were incorporated intact, or almost intact, in western narrative sources and certainly in a more extended form than earlier in, say, Procopius, without, however, also transcribing the imperial subscription and titulature, we may regard the oldest example of an imperial signature surviving today in an original document as the elaborate and very particular impressive signature of John II Comnenus (1118-43) in a letter which he sent in June 1139 to Pope Innocent II (1130-43): ἸΩ'ΑΝΝΗΣ ἘΝ Χ(ΡΙΣΤ)ῶ Τῶ Θ(Ε)ῶ ΠΙΣΤὸς(ς) ΒΑΣΙΛ(ΕΥ)ς, ΠΟΡΦΥΡΟΓΕΝΝΗΤος(ς), ἌΝΑΞ ὙΨΗ(Λ)ός, ΚΡΑΤ(ΑΙ)ός(ς), Ἀνγούστο(ς) Κ(ΑΙ) ἈΥΤΟΚΡ(ΑΤ)Ω(Ω)Ν ῬΩΜΑΐ(ΩΝ) Ὁ ΚΟΜΝΗΝός(ς) ('John in Christ God faithful emperor, porphyrogenitus, high king, powerful, augustus and autocrat of the Romans, Comnenus').⁶⁵

So far as we can tell, relations between Byzantium and England until the end of the eleventh century must have been purely commercial, though there might have been some Byzantine administrative influence in the tenth century.⁶⁶ A Greek-speaker from Tarsus in

61 For the term *sigillion*, which implies a seal on the document, see O. Kresten, 'Zur Verwendung des Terminus Sigillion in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei (Der Geleitbrief)', *RHM* 38 (1996), 58-76.

62 For this much-debated document of Basil II with the gold *extranei*, see O. Tuma, 'Some Notes on the Significance of the Imperial Chrysobull to the Venetians of 992', *Byzantion* 54 (1984), 358-66; J. Koder, 'Das Sigillion von 992 - Eine "ausserpolitische" Urkunde?', *Byzantinoslavica* 52 (1991), 40-4.

63 See D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge 1992.

64 Dölger and Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre*, 123, n. 3.

65 Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Signatur AA. Arm. I-XVIII 402 (A). Cf. O. Kresten and A. Müller, 'Die Auslandsschreiben der byzantinischen Kaiser des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts: Specimen einer kritischen Ausgabe', *BZ* 86/7 (1993/4), 422-9. See also Appendix, no. 9 and plate 2.

66 The classic study is still R. S. Lopez, 'Le problème des relations anglo-byzantines du septième au dixième siècle', *Byzantion* 18 (1946-8), 139-62.

Cilicia may have become archbishop of Canterbury towards the end of the reign of Constans II (642-68),⁶⁷ but this notable case, which is not widely known, seems to have been an isolated instance. England's first official diplomatic contact with the Byzantine empire cannot have been earlier than 1170, when according to a relatively unknown chronicle (the *Chronicon Universale Anonymi Laudunensis*), King Henry II Plantagenet (1154-89) received the envoys of Manuel, *imperator Graecorum*, with great pomp, took them around various cities and castles which were under his authority (from the phraseology we must assume that these were in his French domains, which were then vast), and at an assembly '*apud Andegavam*' (Angers) the Byzantine ambassadors proposed to Henry that he should send the youngest of his four sons, John (later King John [1199-1224]), to Constantinople to marry the daughter of Manuel I Comnenus (probably Maria), which would put him in line in due course to succeed to the Byzantine imperial throne. Henry II promised to reply to this tempting Byzantine proposal within fifteen days.⁶⁸ In spite of the fact that the proposed dynastic alliance must have been declined, 'with many compliments', relations do not seem to have cooled, for six years later, from the end of 1176 to nearly the end of 1177 the presence of Byzantine envoys, along with many others, was noted at Westminster, that is to say on the English mainland, and an English royal document arranged for hospitality for them with a particularity about such things apparently then already developed.⁶⁹ It was probably in the spring of 1177⁷⁰ (April) that news reached England of the Byzantine military disaster at Myriocephalon (the Tzivritzi pass in Phrygia) at the hands of the Seljuq Turks (September 1176).

This was set out in a letter Manuel I wrote to Henry II, the Latin text of which is preserved by the chronicler Roger of Howden.⁷¹ This letter constitutes one of the chief – and perhaps the only authentic – sources for our knowledge of the details of this very significant battle which marks the definitive loss of Asia Minor to the Byzantine empire. The moderately phrased protocol (in comparison with other much more pompous documents of Manuel) reads as follows: '*Manuel in Christo Deo fidelis imperator, porphyrogenitus, divinitus coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper augustus et moderator Romanorum Comnenus Henrico nobilissimo regi Angliae, carissimo amico suo, salutem et omne bonum*' ('Manuel in Christ God faithful emperor, porphyrogenitus, divinely crowned, sublime, powerful, lofty, ever augustus and ruler of the Romans Comnenus, to Henry, most noble king of England, his dearest friend, health and every blessing'). In this text the Turks are called Persians, according to the fixed custom of the Byzantines. The Byzantine preparations for the expedition are described as inadequate. The train of supplies and siege equipment was too large and consequently impeded the army's progress. An epidemic which broke out on the long march weakened it. On entering Turkish territory skirmishes began. At

67 A. Savvides, 'Theodore of Tarsus, Greek Archbishop of Canterbury in A. D. 668/9-690', *ΕΕΒΣ* 47 (1987-1989), 97-108, which dates the beginning of Theodore's episcopate to about 668.

68 Ex *Chronico Universali Anonymi Laudunensis*, *MGH. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum* XVI, 446-7.

69 A. A. Vasiliev, 'Manuel Comnenus and Henry Plantagenet', *BZ* 29 (1929-30), 240-1.

70 On the 22 April an administrative document at Dover specifies 5 shillings and 5 pence for the entertainment of the ambassadors of the emperor of Constantinople: Vasiliev, 'Manuel Comnenus', 242.

71 'Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedene', ed. W. Stubbs, II, London 1869, 102-4 (*Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores*, vol. 51). In a shorter form (Benedict of Peterborough), 'Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis', ed. W. Stubbs, London 1867 (*Rerum britannicarum*, vol. 49), 128-30.

Tzyvritzilimani (Myriokephalon) the army came up against superior enemy forces. Rough ground and narrowness of the pass led to the army's advancing in a narrow column strung out for about ten miles so that the vanguard lost touch with the rearguard. The Turkish attack followed from both sides of the pass and the slaughter of men and animals was very great. The rear-guard retreated to a nearby hill. The emperor fought hand to hand, and was wounded many times. He ordered his personal bodyguard to adopt as defensive a position as possible. The sultan, on seeing the outcome sought a cessation of hostilities (!) The planned expedition against Iconium was now completely ruled out, so the emperor accepted the generous peace terms offered by the Sultan Kilij Arslan. Having returned to the capital Manuel was telling all this to his dear friend, the king of England who was related to him through the blood-ties of their children (?). Dated November, tenth indiction, i.e. 1176.

The letter has been set out in some detail to highlight somewhat the diplomatic language of the time, since Roger of Howden's Latin text, which runs to about three pages can obviously not be given in full. It is hardly necessary to say that, in relation to the description Manuel sent to Henry II, the Byzantine historians who discuss that battle, John Cinnamus and Nicetas Choniates, are much harsher in their judgement of the Byzantine emperor than Manuel is of himself.⁷² What is striking in this period and in the events that followed immediately after,⁷³ is the anxious effort made by the empire to win the friendship of England, since in the seventh decade of the twelfth century the German alliance, that permanent cornerstone of Byzantine western policy, was moribund.⁷⁴ The example of the diplomatic relations between Byzantium and England which Byzantium, on her own initiative, tried to develop may be a short duration but is particularly illuminating for the originality and independence that make it stand out in the whole of the so-called middle Byzantine period (624-1204).⁷⁵ It is also important because it was to be followed in the late period by the 'imperial begging' journey of Manuel II Palaeologus to the distant city of London in 1402.

As we shall see below, the diplomatic relations of the Byzantine empire with the states of Western Europe become more frequent the nearer we get to modern times and vice versa. This is due mainly to the difficult conditions prevailing in the Middle Ages. In the case of the kingdom of France, for example, which from 843 onwards is called 'Francia occidentalis', or 'Western Francia', what is most significant is that so long as members of the Carolingian dynasty (840-947) ruled there, no formal diplomatic relations existed. These were confined exclusively to the kingdom of Eastern Francia (Germany), which usually also controlled Italy, and was therefore contiguous to the Byzantine empire, which had possessions there. This is the fixed policy of a restricted *oecumene* which was followed by the Macedonian dynasty. In 987, however, when the powerful duke of Western Francia, Hugh Capet (987-96) – having previously made approaches to the German empire, which was ruled now by emperors of

⁷² See P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel Komnenos (1143-1180)*, Cambridge 1993, 92, 96, 458.

⁷³ Vasiliev, 'Manuel Komnenus', 242-4.

⁷⁴ See the exhaustive study of O. Kresten, 'Der "Anrede Streit" zwischen Manuel Komnenos und Friedrich I. Barbarossa nach der Schlacht von Myriokephalon', *RHM* 34/35 (1992/1993), 65-110.

⁷⁵ See for the middle Byzantine period (which he regards as starting in 800) J. Shepard, 'Byzantine Diplomacy, A. D. 800-1204: means and ends', in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin, 43.

the Saxon dynasty (the Ottonids)⁷⁶ and enjoyed permanent good relations with Byzantium – deposed the enfeebled Carolingians, he wrote to the co-emperors Basil II (976-1025) and Constantine VIII (976-1028) at Constantinople seeking a Byzantine bride for his son and heir Robert,⁷⁷ patently to gain greater legitimacy and strengthen the ideological basis of his dynasty. This project cannot have met with a satisfactory response from the Byzantine side, for there seem to have been no further diplomatic contacts until the time of the Second Crusade (1146-9) and afterwards, when we have two letters of Manuel I Comnenus to King Louis VII of France (1137-80), one written in 1146,⁷⁸ the other in 1164.⁷⁹ In his first letter the Byzantine emperor, who is entitled '*Manuel in Christo fidelis Deo rex, porphyrogenitus, celsus, sublimis et imperator Romanorum*' ('Manuel in Christ king faithful to God, porphyrogenitus, exalted, sublime and emperor of the Romans'), expressed his joy that the French king is to take the Cross. He promises that he will receive him in his domains in the best manner and will see that he receives supplies. In the second letter, in which the imperial titulature is much more elaborate ('*Manuel in Christo Deo fidelis imperator, porphyrogenitus, regnator, fortis, excelsus, semper augustus et autocrator Romeon Comninos dilectissimo consanguineo et amico imperii sui, Ludovico nobilissimo regi Franconum, salutes et consanguineae dilectionis indissolubile vinculum*' ['Manuel in Christ God faithful emperor, porphyrogenitus, ruler, powerful, sublime, ever augustus and autocrat of the Romans, to the most beloved kinsman and friend of his empire, Louis, most noble king of the Franks, greetings and the indissoluble bond of brotherly love']) the emperor expresses his satisfaction that he is now bound by a tie of kinship with the kingdom of France through his (second) marriage with Princess Mary of Antioch and declares himself ready to recognize the disputed election of Pope Alexander III (1159-81). As O. Kresten has already observed,⁸⁰ the difference between the imperial titulature of the two letters lies in the different Latin translation of the term βασιλεύς that clearly existed in the Greek original, which is no longer extant. This term, which has a long prehistory, does not mean *rex* in Latin but signifies the Byzantine emperor (Byzantinists nowadays render it as 'basileus'). However, since the word *imperator* already existed in the titulature, and *rex* was altogether too modest for a Byzantine emperor, the phrase finally chosen was *imperator et autocrator* (sic), as more appropriately imposing, and perhaps also as the only remaining solution of a diplomatic nature. One can see that the experts in the imperial chancery at Constantinople who drafted these diplomatic documents were anything but inflexible. It was sufficient not to violate certain fixed traditions.

As one would expect, the most important diplomatic contacts throughout the medieval period were naturally conducted at the highest level of the 'hierarchy of princes',⁸¹ that is to

76 T. C. Lounghis, 'Der Verfall des Papsttums im X. Jahrhundert als Ergebnis der deutsch-byzantinischen Annäherung', *Βυζαντικά* 14 (1994), 230-1, where there is an attempt to interpret events after Theophano's concession.

77 The sole study is A. A. Vasiliev, 'Hugh Capet of France and Byzantium', *DOP* 6 (1951), 229-51.

78 Dom Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de France*, XVI [...] Nouvelle édition, publiée sous la direction de [...] L. Delisle, Paris 1878, 9-10 (no. XXVI). I do not know of a more recent edition.

79 Bouquet, *Recueil*, 82 (no. CCXLIX).

80 Kresten, 'Anredestit', 8.

81 To the studies on this theme mentioned in note 29 should be added G. Ostrogorsky's work subsequent to his 1936 *Seminarium Kondakovianum* article: 'The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order', *The Slavonic and East European Review* 35 (1956), no. 84, 1-14.

say, after 800, when the idea of imperial government was resurrected in Western Europe, at the level of the two emperors, eastern and western, and the pope. The oldest Byzantine imperial document addressed to the western emperor the text of which is still preserved though only in Latin translation, belongs to 824. From its content it acquired the (later) title: *de non adorandis imaginibus*.

The Emperor Michael II Traulus (820-9) and his co-emperor son Theophilus sent Charlemagne's son and successor, Louis I the Pious (814-40), a letter which began: '*In nomine Patris, et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, unius, soli, veri Dei. Michael et Theophilus fideles in ipso Deo Imperatores Romanorum dilecto et honorabili fratri Hludovico glorioso regi Francorum et Langobardorum, et vocato eorum Imperatori*' ('In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, the one sole true God. Michael and Theophilus, faithful emperors of the Romans in God, to our beloved and honourable brother, Louis, glorious king of the Franks and Lombards, and called their emperor').⁸² Although the protocol perhaps raises the expectation of contents of a religious nature, this long imperial letter is instead an attempt to inform the western emperor about events governing current imperial policy in the East (e.g. the suppression of the great peasant revolt of Thomas the Slav, which constitutes the main content of all the other sources dealing with the reign of Michael II, occupies its greater part and only what is left is of a politico-religious nature). Apart from a relatively offensive phrase in the protocol, '*et vocato eorum Imperatori*' ('and called their emperor') the rest of the imperial letter evidences brotherly love, trust and familiarity, together with the solidarity and concord between the two empires envisaged by the treaty of 812, a fact which led the great British historian, J. B. Bury, in 1912 to write that relations between the Byzantine and first Carolingian emperors were more or less fraternal, reminiscent of the good relations of the past between Arcadius (395-408) and Honorius (395-423), or Theodosius II (408-50) and Valentinian III (424-55).⁸³ Here once again we have the famous adaptability of Byzantine political ideology that determines the tone of diplomatic relations with foreign states on each occasion but avoids incorporating the new empire founded in the West in 800 into the Roman imperial tradition.

If we now compare the letters of Michael II and Theophilus to Louis the Pious and Lothar I of the period 824-42 with the letter which, according to the author and princess born in the purple, Anna Comnena (in contrast to Procopius, who must have drastically abbreviated Justinian's letter of 535 to the Merovingians, Anna Comnena sets out her father's letter in full except for the protocol and *eschatokollon*, which remain unknown), Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) sent in 1082 with an official embassy to the German emperor, Henry IV (1056-1106), to finance an alliance against the Normans and the papacy,⁸⁴ we shall

⁸² Mansi XIV, 417-22. There is a more recent edition in MGH, *Leges III, Concilia II, Concilia aevi karolini I, pars II*, 1908, 475-80.

⁸³ J. B. Bury, *History of the Eastern Roman Empire, from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil the Macedonian (802-867)*, London 1912, 325.

⁸⁴ Anna Comnena, *Alexiad* III, 10, 3-8 (ed. Reinsch-Kambylis, 112-14) (see also Appendix, no. 8). On the gifts sent by Alexius see T. Lounghis, 'Die byzantinischen Gesandten als Vermittler materieller Kultur vom 5. bis 11. Jahrhundert', *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse*, 619. Bd., Vienna 1994, 49-50. Also 'The failure of the German-Byzantine Alliance on the Eve of the First Crusade', *Actes du XVe Congrès international d'études Byzantines, Athènes 1976*, vol. IV, Histoire, Athens 1980, 198-207.

observe practically the same features: a full expression of solidarity and a frank admission of the dangers threatening the Byzantine empire as a result of the conduct of Robert Guiscard's Normans. The delicate point, however, which should be noticed is the following: both in the letter of 824 and that of 1082 the tenor is almost openly anti-papal. The first expresses hostility to the worship of icons, that is to say, to the official ideology of the popes of the period. In the second the joint expedition against the Normans of Southern Italy that is proposed is explicitly an expedition against the papacy, since at the request of the popes of the period the Normans executed military operations in the interest of the Holy See. Moreover, on 1082 the Byzantine emperor was faced with the recent Church schism of 1054, while the western emperor, who was permanently in conflict with the papacy over the Investiture Controversy, needed to recover the prestige he had lost through his even more recent humiliation by the pope at Canossa in 1077. Later historical developments showed beyond any doubt that in the final analysis the two secular medieval empires were unable not only to reduce the papacy to submission but even to check the growth of papal power, for the papacy always found a way of inducing a secular power with a strong army to implement its political aims, however powerful its imperial opponents seemed to be. These points will all be discussed below in a narrative account of the political ideology governing Byzantine foreign policy and diplomatic relations in medieval Europe.

The addressing of the pope as 'spiritual father' by the Byzantine emperor in documents sent to him is of ancient origin and has a consistent history. In a letter of purely doctrinal content of 6 June 533 to Pope John II (533-5) which is preserved in the *Codex Justinianus*,⁸⁵ Justinian I, who styles himself in the protocol: '*Victor Iustinianus pius felix inclitus triumphator semper Augustus*' ('Justinian the victor, pious, blessed, renowned, conqueror, ever Augustus'), addresses '*Iohanni sanctissimo archiepiscopo almae urbis Romae et patriarchae*' ('John, most holy archbishop of the bountiful city of Rome and patriarch'), and closes the narrative with the following *eschatokollon*: '*Divinitas te servet per multos annos, sancte et religiosissime pater. Data VIII id. Iun. Constantinopoli dn. Iustiniano perpetuo augusto III consule*' ('May God preserve you for many years, holy and most reverend father. Dated 8 Ides of June at Constantinople in the third consulate of our Lord Justinian, perpetual augustus'). Here we are still in a period when Italy is not regarded as a foreign country, even though it has been ruled by Barbarians since 476, first by Odoacer and, from 493, by the Ostrogoths. The letter concerns people who are theoretically imperial subjects. Moreover, it is known that much later, in the protocol of a Byzantine foreign policy document of the tenth century which is included in the *De cerimoniis*, it is stated explicitly that the pope is always called *πνευματικὸς πατὴρ*, 'spiritual father'.⁸⁶ But this established custom of the imperial chancery seems to have been abandoned when the theological quarrels and rivalries began to multiply after the ecclesiastical schism of 1054. In the fulsome letter, for example, which John II Comnenus sent to Pope Innocent II in June

85 *Codex Justinianus* I, 1, 8 (ed. P. Krüger, *Corpus iuris civilis* II, Dublin and Zurich 1967). By contrast, in *Novel IX* of 535 (*Novellae*, ed. Schoell-Kroll, pp. 91-2) which is a purely legal text and is addressed to the same pope, this form of address is absent.

86 *De cerimoniis* II, 48 (ed. Reiske, pp. 686 and 688-9). For all this special show of respect, however, the gold bull with which imperial documents sent to the pope were sealed was not a heavy one but *monosoldia*. That is to say, it weighed the equivalent of one gold *nomisma* (*solidus aureus*), while other bulls on letters to other foreign princes were much more costly.

1139, and which survives in the original, there is only the inscription 'ΕΙΣ ΤὸΝ ἈΓΙΩΤΑΤΟΝ ΠΑΠΑΝ ('To the most holy pope') on the right of the outer side of the document⁸⁷ and the pope is addressed by the emperor in the same form: ἀγιώτατε πάπα ('most holy pope'). Henceforth, relations with the Catholic Church prevailing in the West became complicated to the extent to which some emperors sought the lifting of the schism so that the West could be able to send troops to assist in the struggle against the Turks, while the orthodox Byzantine Church (that is, first the patriarchate of Constantinople and then the other patriarchates under Muslim rule) strongly resisted the state's conciliatory moves. It is against this background that Alexius III Angelus (1195-1203) wrote to Pope Innocent III (1197-1214) in February 1199 with the following composite protocol: '*Alexius in Christo Deo fidelis imperator, divinitus coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper augustus et moderator Romanorum Comnenus Innocentio sanctissimo pape Rome honorem concedentem ut patri spirituali et votum orationum eius*' ('Alexius in Christ God faithful emperor, divinely crowned, sublime, powerful, excellent, perpetual augustus and ruler of the Romans Comnenus to Innocent, most holy pope of Rome, the honour due as to as spiritual father and a request for his prayers').⁸⁸ And during the Fourth Crusade, towards the end of summer 1203 when he was ruling under the suzerainty of the Crusaders, Alexius IV Angelus (1203-4) addressed the same Pope Innocent III in almost the same terms: '*Sanctissimo patri et domino*' ('Most holy father and lord').⁸⁹

Finally, a third category of Byzantine imperial foreign policy documents smaller than the other two (coming after imperial letters of all kinds addressed to recipients outside the empire and treaties with foreign rulers) is made up of documents of authorization⁹⁰ or safe conduct⁹¹ that the Byzantine emperor issued to envoys sent on diplomatic embassies or to imperial subjects or foreigners chosen by him who were entrusted with some particular mission of a diplomatic nature. According to the standard handbook of Byzantine diplomatics (the study of diplomas, or official documents), only two of these *procuratoria*, as it calls them, which contain the verb 'to give' (δίδωμι) in one of the past tenses (e.g. δέδωκα), survive in the original. Both are from the last Byzantine period, one from 1362, the other from 1433.⁹² According to a more recent work, which gives these passport-type documents the name of *salvacondotto* (sauf-conduit), there are two further examples, both older, belonging to the Emperor Alexius III Angelus (1195-1203) from 1199 and 1201.⁹³ These documents begin with a cross +, which is thought to be a monogrammatic *invocatio* taking the place of the protocol, which is lacking in the document. By contrast, there is an eschatokollon but it is restricted to an autograph inscription of the date by the emperor, in each case in the imperial red ink (cinnabar), this simple intervention by the emperor at the end of the document taking the place of his signature. The emperor indicates his presence but does not present himself to

87 Kresten and Müller, 'Auslandsschreiben', 422-7.

88 O. Kresten, 'Diplomatische und historische Beobachtungen zu den in den Kanzleiregistern Papst Innocenz III. überlieferten Auslandsschreiben byzantinischer Kaiser', *RHM* 37 (1995), 46-7.

89 Kresten, 'Diplomatische und historische Beobachtungen', 66-72. See plate 4.

90 Dölger and Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre*, 105: Ermächtigungsurkunden.

91 O. Kresten, 'Der Geleitbrief - Ein wenig beachteter Typus der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunde', *RHM* 38 (1996), 41-83: Geleitbrief.

92 Dölger and Karayannopoulos, *Urkundenlehre*, 105, 163 no. 58, 164 no. 59.

93 Kresten, 'Geleitbrief', 50-7. See plates 5-6 and Appendix, no. 10.

inferiors by writing his name and title. In both documents, which are called *σигίλλια* (a word likewise written in red ink in the body of the text) is the verb *ἐπεδόθη* ('bestowed'), which emphasizes the emperor's relationship to the bearer of the document.

As a concluding observation, it may be added that with regard to the term *σигίλλιον* (*sigillum*, or seal), the seals of Byzantine foreign policy documents do not correspond in form and weight to the seals prescribed by the *De cerimoniis*. In some cases the seals on documents have survived, in others (the majority) they have not, since a gold imperial seal was something of considerable value and naturally attracted predators in many periods. Moreover, the weight of the seal changed during the centuries.

Finally, with regard to the language used in imperial foreign policy documents (apart from interlinear Arabic translations) from the Comnenian period (end of the eleventh century) onwards, imperial documents written in Greek were almost always accompanied by a Latin translation, which has usually been preserved, often incorporated into literary sources (e.g. Roger of Howden) either integrally or in summary, rather in the way that Procopius, for example, summarized Justinian's letters. In other words, Byzantium was aware that Christian Western Europe was not obliged to know the Greek language used in Constantinople. With the passage of time, the writing in the documents becomes less elaborate and *recherché*. Parallel to this, the language begins to include many words and phrases from vernacular Greek, as is apparent from a document of Alexius III to the Pisan ambassadors in 1199. As one would expect, the vernacular was steadily approaching the modern form of Greek and naturally gained at the expense of the official archaizing language even in foreign policy documents.

BYZANTIUM AND EUROPE 396-1204

1. The theory of the Reconquest and Byzantium's orthodox allies

The terms Late Antiquity (Spätantike, Antiquité tardive), Proto-Byzantine period, and even 'decline of the Roman empire' refer more or less synonymously to the same historical period marking the transition from the Roman to the Byzantine empire, or from Antiquity to the Middle Ages. For this reason, its actual duration is even today a matter of dispute among specialists who differ from each other in the criteria they use to define and describe this particularly important period.⁹⁴ The broad change which came upon the Graeco-Roman world may be summarized as the transformation of relations of production (from slave ownership, which is no longer productive, to feudalism) accompanied by a far-reaching change in ideological structures (from paganism to Christianity). On the level of the empire's foreign policy, however, the Barbarian Germanic peoples who with the passage of time were growing constantly more powerful, were casting their eyes on the then uniquely civilized world. 'They turn their eyes here and there,' according to Jordanes, the national historian of the Goths, who uses here a well known expression of Virgil, and they cannot believe the wonders they see.⁹⁵ For their part, the Romans were growing constantly weaker. According to the same historian, they preferred to defeat their opponents with overtures and gifts. This fits in well with the decent denomination given by Procopius to Roman treaties concluded with the Barbarians. A foreign policy, then, which followed the changes in social and ideological thought lent this whole historical period a general sense of *crisis* – a crisis and breakdown of ancient structures and ideas,⁹⁶ which became even more intense after the one-sided peace treaty/foedus of 382. To the degree in which domestic policy, which also defined the general lines of foreign policy, became increasingly more complicated on account of the harsh treaties which were imposed, imperial diplomacy would thenceforth have the privileged status belonging to a simple and monolithic form – just as the imperial regime of the period called the Dominate was also simple and monolithic – with a structure that became more complex and multifaceted with the passage of time.

It was already becoming apparent to the whole world in the fourth century, that is, very soon after the triumph of Christianity, that 'even the wild beasts are not as ferocious towards human beings as Christians are towards each other.'⁹⁷ It suffices to note here that the

94 See T. Lounghis, Η κοινωνία από την Αρχαϊότητα στον Μεσαίωνα, in the collective work: S. Lampakis, S. Troianos, E. Saranti, T. Lounghis, V. Vlysidou and A. Savvides, *Βυζαντινό κράτος και κοινωνία. Σύγχρονες κατευθύνσεις της έρευνας*, Athens 2003, 89-106.

95 Jordanes, 'Getica', 143 (MGH, *Auctores Antiquissimi*, V/1, 95). Cf. 'Huc illuc volvens oculos' (Virgil, *Aeneid* IV, 363). See also Appendix, no. 11.

96 O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, VI, Stuttgart 1919; R. Rémondon, *La crise de l'empire romain, de Marc-Aurèle à Anastase*, Paris 1964; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, London 1964. Cf. A. Chastagnol, *Le Bas-Empire*, Paris 1969; H. Brandt, *Das Ende der Antike. Geschichte des spätromischen Reiches*, Munich 2001.

97 Ammianus Marcellinus XXII, 5, 4 (ed. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library, London and Cambridge, Mass., 1935), vol. II, 203: 'nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum'. The saying is attributed to the pagan emperor, Julian the Apostate (361-3).

Christianity which was defined by the Second Ecumenical Council held in Constantinople in 381 as the empire's only legitimate religion was considerably different in its creed, or doctrine, from the Arian Christianity that had been taught to the Goths by Bishop Ulfila in 341. Thus when the Barbarians came to dominate the West, Western Europe became Arian, while the eastern empire continued to be orthodox. The pope also remained orthodox, but this did not mean that he was always in agreement with the eastern empire or in alliance with it, since he also had to maintain good relations and a certain balance with the powers ruling the West,⁹⁸ and, moreover, in the East the whole population was not orthodox. The common orthodoxy of Constantinople and Rome was promoted by the now Christianized senatorial aristocracy of ancient lineage and tradition, with the aid of the episcopal higher clergy, the majority of which was orthodox and sometimes was able even to demand that the Gothic *foederati* should become *ἐλλώτες*, Helots, or serfs, on the ancient model (Themistius, Synesius). Thus an orthodox political programme began to take shape in the East which aimed at the recovery of the Roman West.⁹⁹ For this orthodox political programme of the military recovery of lost territories to be realized, the eastern empire needed a reliable orthodox ally in the West which possessed a significant army.¹⁰⁰ With this in view, ambassadors of the Emperor Anastasius (491-518) visited Tours in 508 and bestowed on Clovis (Chlodoweg 481-511), the Barbarian king of the Franks, the title of *patricius* or *consul honorarius*.¹⁰¹ Clovis had only recently (506/7) been baptized, along with his warriors, as an orthodox Christian, in contrast to the other Barbarian princes in the West who were Arians. He now undertook the greater part of the task of clearing Western Europe of heretics, under the supervision and with the approval of the eastern empire. Thus his grandson, Theudibert I, who participated so energetically in the recovery (the *Reconquista*) of the West from the Arian Goths under Justinian called the Byzantine emperor *pater*, and, a little later, Maurice called Childebert II *parens*, as the highest officials of the empire were called in some of the laws.¹⁰²

One might well ask why Clovis had the title of *patricius* conferred on him by the eastern emperor rather than some other title. The problem goes back to the fateful year 476, when the Barbarian leader Odoacer (476-93), who already ruled Italy, deposed the last western emperor, Romulus Augustulus. Thereupon Zeno (476-91), the eastern emperor, sent Odoacer an embassy which, in exchange for the imperial regalia which Odoacer had sent to Constantinople, bestowed on him the title of *patricius*. The historian Malchus of Philadelphia, who describes this period but survives only in fragments, connects the embassy which declared Odoacer a *patricius* with the sending the same year (476/7) of the senator Severus to Carthage and his *ad hoc* promotion to the patriciate in order to make his

98 J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages, 476-752*, London 1979.

99 T. C. Lounghis, 'Ambassadors, Embassies and Administrative Changes in the Eastern Roman Empire, Prior to the Reconquista', in *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, ed. E. Chrysos and A. Schwarcz, Vienna and Cologne 1989, 143-54.

100 T. C. Lounghis, 'Le programme politique des "Romains Orientaux" après 476: un répétition générale?', in *La nozione di "Romano tra cittadinanza e universalità"*, *Da Roma alla Terza Roma, Documenti e studi. Studi II*, Naples 1984, 309-15.

101 Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* II, 38 (ed. H. Omont, G. Collon and R. Poupardin, Paris 1913, p. 72). (See also Appendix, no. 13). The precise title bestowed on Clovis by Anastasius is still disputed.

102 See Appendix, nos 4(a) and 4(b).

embassy, as he says, more imposing.¹⁰³ Thus Anastasius' embassy to Clovis in 507/8, with its impressive outcome, had the same purpose as Zeno's embassy to Italy in 476/7: to appoint a Barbarian prince as a high imperial official of appropriate standing – on account of the title bestowed on him – to govern a large imperial province or a Barbarian state (in this particular case the two being the same thing). The difference between these two embassies lies in the fact that Zeno made a virtue of necessity, in that he appointed Odoacer *patricius*, making him at the same time his subordinate, since although an Arian Odoacer was in firm control of Italy, while Anastasius appointed the orthodox Clovis *patricius* with the specific intention that he should participate in the military attempt to regain first Italy and then the whole of the Arian West. The primary role of Italy in the political aim of the recovery of the West for orthodoxy by the Eastern empire is demonstrated by the fact that Italy was the seat of the western emperor, and this in turn is supported by the fact that the eastern empire was to try different ways, in the course of time, to impose its will on Italy: long before Anastasius turned to the Franks and Clovis, Zeno sent against Odoacer (whom he had already named *patricius*) the famous Ostrogoth leader, Theodoric Amalus, who was then himself a *patricius* and imperial general in the Balkans. Theodoric mounted an expedition in Zeno's name, defeated Odoacer and reigned gloriously in Italy¹⁰⁴ as a leader subordinate to three successive eastern emperors, Zeno, Anastasius and Justin I (518-27). It was only towards the end of his long reign that his almost unexceptionally good relations with the empire were disrupted, when the latter's purely aggressive tendencies became evident. The securing of Byzantine dominance and overlordship in the West was of prime importance to successive governments in Constantinople throughout this period. It was a policy that sought to ensure, mainly through diplomatic efforts, the supremacy and primacy of the Byzantine empire in the medieval world as the state which was the exclusive bearer of the Roman idea.¹⁰⁵ That is why the Byzantine emperor, right until the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and in spite of all the humiliations he endured from other nations, insisted on the title 'emperor of the Romans'. After 476, with the final dissolution of the western Roman empire, the able eastern emperor, Zeno, knew very well, according to Procopius, 'how to manage the current situation'.¹⁰⁶ And this useful ability of a competent emperor to manipulate whatever was happening to his advantage (as Agathias says of Justinian in his old age) consisted in 'bringing his enemies into conflict with each other, inducing them, wherever it might be necessary, with bribes, and thus in some way or other deflecting the danger, or trusting in himself and risking everything'.¹⁰⁷ As one may easily appreciate, this technique of *divide et regna* ('divide and rule') proved particularly valuable in periods when the empire lacked the resources to impose its will on other nations.

Consequently, the subjection of the formerly Roman West, now under Barbarian

103 Malchus, fr. 10 (ed. Cresci, 87) and Malchus, fr. 3 (ed. Cresci, 75-6): ὅπως τῆς προεβείας τὸ σχῆμα κατασκευάσῃ σμυνότερον (see also Appendix, no. 12).

104 J. Moorhead, *Theodoric in Italy*, Oxford 1992.

105 O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser – und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Kaiser- und Reichsgedanken*, Darmstadt 1956.

106 τὰ παρόντα εὖ τίθεσθαι: Procopius, Wars V, 1, 10 (ed. Haury and Wirth II, 5).

107 ξυγκρούειν ἐν σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους δόροις αὐτοῖς, εἴ ποιν δεῖσσι, καταθωπεύειν καὶ ταύτῃ δαμογέπως ἀποκρούεσθαι ἢ ἐφ' ἐαυτῷ πεποιθέναι καὶ μέχρι παντὸς διακινδυνεύειν: Agathias V, 14, 1 (ed. Keydell, 180).

control, to the overlordship of the eastern Roman empire, which after 476 became a firm political objective, also contributed to the factors governing this gigantic enterprise. It is often said in schematic terms that this great programme of reconquest was brought to a conclusion in the sixth century by Justinian's generals, Belisarius in Africa, Narses in Italy, and Liberius in Spain, by force of arms.¹⁰⁸ In reality, a brief glance at a political map of the last years of Justinian's reign shows that the whole of Gaul, the greater part of Spain and what was once Roman Britain remained outside the boundaries of the state governed by Justinian until the end of his life. Quite the contrary, it was already evident that the eastern empire aimed at bringing this enormous project of reconquering the West to a conclusion with the help of the Franks, the empire's only orthodox allies against the Barbarian Arian states. Thus the Franks originally provided assistance in Italy with invasions from the north, but subsequently did not help in Spain, since relations grew cooler during Narses' final campaigns (and perhaps earlier, as a result of Belisarius' conduct). With regard to Britain, the supreme Frankish king, Theudibert I, sent an embassy to his ally, the Emperor Justinian (whom he calls *pater*), including among the envoys 'some Angles, priding himself in the fact that this island too was ruled by him'.¹⁰⁹ Thus one can see that the ambitious programme of recovering all the Barbarian states of Western Europe was realized more by diplomatic means than by the empire's military effort, without this implying a depreciation of the latter, as Procopius took such pains to prove in describing the wars. This affirmation gives a relatively satisfactory reply to the old chestnut which historians like to discuss, whether the Byzantine empire went to war solely when diplomatic effort was no longer proving fruitful. As a general principle, the Byzantine empire from its very beginnings regarded treaties as first requiring the exercise of diplomacy, without this implying that there were never exceptions to the general rule.

2. The international family of *patricii*

It is understandable that in a state lasting a thousand years neither the institutions nor the state offices that appeared to produce satisfactory results at various critical moments would all endure or remain unchanged from beginning to end. Obviously certain institutions, offices, procedures and practices would appear or emerge as a result of specific needs in the course of time. Thus certain institutions and rules would be formed in the history of Byzantine diplomacy step by step with the formation of the empire's political ideology concerning Western Europe.¹¹⁰ This is true for the whole of the period in which the empire is large, powerful and unified, that is to say, until the capture of 1204. If we are to follow this development, we must bear in mind what has been said above, namely:

(1) originally, the empire did not recognize any parity with the West on the level of rulers. It recognized a parity with the East, with Persia;

108 M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory. Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West*, Cambridge, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne and Sydney 1986.

109 φιλοτιμούμενος ὥς καὶ ἡ νῆσος ἦδε πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀρρεταί: Procopius, *Wars* VIII, 20, 10 (ed. Haury and Wirth, II, 591). Cf. also *Wars* VIII, 20, 49 (ed. Haury and Wirth, II, 598).

110 Cf. also T. Lougkis, Η ευρωπαϊκή ιστορογραφία στον Μεσαίωνα: η γεωμεταβυζαντινή συμμαχία, in: *Το Βυζάντιο και οι αποχές της Ευρώπης*, Athens 2004, 53-74.

(2) the sending of envoys abroad with the title of *patricius* had a special significance; and

(3) at least in the example of the embassies to Odoacer in 476/7 and to Clovis in 507/8 a tendency may be discerned for certain foreign rulers in the West to be named *patricii*, clearly of a lower dignity than the Byzantine emperor.

From the time of the administrative reforms made by Constantine I, called the Great (306-37), a collective institution begins to appear which contemporary sources call *parentes publici* and modern historians 'the emperor's political family'. When addressing various high officials in his laws, the emperor sometimes calls them *parens amantissime* or *carissime*. Naturally, all these *parentes* (= 'relatives') are of senatorial rank, and the senators were already from the time of the Republic *patres (conscripti)*, that is to say, they had the status of *parens*. The *patricii* of the emperor's political family from the time of Constantine I, however, did not constitute an indeterminate social category of the rich and well-born, as was the case during the Republic, but on the contrary were a relatively small compact group of senatorial office-holders gathered around the emperor, that is to say, a handful of especially trusted colleagues.¹¹¹

The emperor Zeno, who by an entirely non-fortuitous accident, it appears, found himself on the throne of Constantinople in 476 and was the first to promote an ambassador to the patriciate, issued a law which laid down that for anyone to arrive at the supreme dignity of the patriciate (*ad sublimem patriciatus honorem*) he must previously have served in at least one of the six highest civil and military offices of the empire.¹¹² That is to say, Zeno raised the dignity of *patricius* even higher and made it almost inaccessible to the higher officials, without of course the law mentioning that this title had already begun to serve the requirements of foreign princes. Thus a *de facto* situation began to be created which assumed some kind of equivalence between on the one hand imperial titles which western Barbarian leaders held, and on the other the titles which the ambassadors sent to them from the Eastern empire themselves held.

As time passed, of course, changes of a rather subtle nature were also made to the list of dignities, for diplomacy was always a particularly subtle human activity: in the East, for example, where Persian power prevailed, which was imposing and always ranked equal to the empire, the ambassadors who were sent in the sixth century to conclude peace treaties were not only *patricii* (as *patricii* had already begun to be sent to the hierarchically inferior West) but active holders of the highest offices with the title of *patricius* as an addition. We have an example of this in the *patricius* and *magister officiorum* Hermogenes, who led the Byzantine embassy which in 532 concluded the so-called Eternal Peace (*ἀπέραντος εἰρήνη, aeterna pax, quies perpetua*). In practice, in spite of its impressive title, this treaty lasted a mere eight years, until 540).¹¹³ The case of the *patricius* and *magister* Peter, who negotiated the fifty-year truce with

111 The special monograph for the Medieval period is that of W. Heil, *Der konstantinische Patriziat*, Basel and Stuttgart 1966.

112 *Codex Iustinianus* XII, 3, 3 (ed. Schoell and Kroll, 454), a law which must have been published between 476 and 484 (see Appendix, no. 15).

113 *Codex Iustinianus* I, 17, 2 (ed. Schoell and Kroll, 70-4). Procopius, *Wars* I, 22, 16 (ed. Haury and Wirth, I, 117). Cf. Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, 470.

Persia in 561/2 is very similar. Very little mention is made of it. Since the *patricius* and *magister* Peter was one of the most distinguished of Byzantine ambassadors,¹¹⁴ it is characteristic of his situation that in his youth, when he occupied middle-ranking state offices (with the only distinguishing mark that he was a *ρήτωρ*, a lawyer, presumably of high repute) he was sent as an envoy to Italy, where it was not entirely clear at that period who the real ruler was (Theudatus – Amalasuntha). But in his maturity, laden with the highest honours, Peter became ambassador to the East. Consequently, although the dignity of *patricius* might constitute the highest rank of an ambassador, in the East the splendour of this dignity could be said to be eclipsed by an even greater brilliance. This is apparent in the case of the highly cultured John Grammaticus, later an iconoclast patriarch (835-43), who went to Baghdad in 830 as the envoy of the Emperor Theophilus to conduct negotiations with the Abbasid Caliph al-Mamun (813-33), who was similarly highly cultured by the standards of the age. With the passage of time it became the rule for the recipient of a Byzantine embassy to express admiration for the envoy sent to him, as al-Mamun did. And the highest dignity of *patricius*-ambassador was always equal to the dignity of *patricius*-general (irrespective of the name which the rank of general bore in Byzantium in different periods) as it was also to the dignity of a metropolitan in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (whose title never changed down the centuries).¹¹⁵

With regard to the evolution of diplomatic missions to the West in the so-called 'Dark Ages' (c. 650 - c. 850), however, matters are more complicated, because opposing political parties succeeded each other as the central government in Constantinople, with the result that the corresponding tendencies on the level of foreign policy towards the West become very difficult to discern.¹¹⁶ But if the general thrust of Byzantine policy is not apparent at first glance, there are at least two factors that may be taken as given, as they appear to the naked eye:

1. After the fall of the exarchate of Ravenna in 751 and the disappearance of the institution of the *patricius* and *exarch of Italy*, who until then had been the highest Byzantine representative in the West, his successor thereafter was the *patricius* and *strategus of Sicily*.¹¹⁷ On the other hand, arrogating to himself along with his political independence from the Byzantine empire in 756/7 the right also to appoint *patricii* in the West, the pope had appointed the Frankish king, Pippin the Short (741-68), and his two sons *patricii of the Romans*. Henceforth the Franks would follow papal not Byzantine orders. It was then that the following Byzantine diplomatic reaction began to develop gradually over a long period:

1(a). In 787 the *patricius* and *strategus* of Sicily, accompanied by two *spatharii* promoted the local prince of Benevento to the patriciate.¹¹⁸ The highest Byzantine administration in the West, confined now to Southern Italy and Sicily, continued to appoint as its *patricii*-

¹¹⁴ See P. Antonopoulos, Πέτρος Πατρίκιος: ὁ βυζαντινὸς διπλωμάτης, ἀξιωματοῦχος καὶ συγγραφέας, Athens 1990.

¹¹⁵ Lounghis, *Ambassadors*, 297 ff, 335 ff.

¹¹⁶ See J. Herrin, 'Constantinople, Rome and the Franks in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. Shepard and Franklin, 91-107.

¹¹⁷ T. Lounghis, *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ κυριαρχία στὴν Ἰταλία (395-1071)*, Athens 1989, 148-54.

¹¹⁸ *Codex Carolinus* no 82 = *MGH, Epistulae* III, ed. W. Gundlach, Berlin 1957, 616, 11-13: 'statim missi *Gregorum duo spatarii imperatoris cum diuicini (= διοικητὴν), quod Latine dispositor Siciliae dicitur...*'. Cf. T. Brown, 'The Background of Byzantine Relations with Italy in the Ninth Century: Legacies, Attachments and Antagonisms', *Byzantinische Forschungen* 13 (1988), 27-45.

representatives the rulers of the semi-independent buffer-states in the territories that it regarded as falling within its jurisdiction.

1(h). *Patricii*-ambassadors to Western princes (or emperors after Charlemagne's imperial coronation in 800) continued to exist in accordance with the tradition dating from 476. Their presence in the composition of Byzantine embassies was critical and especially noticeable at times of political and diplomatic tension with the West, as for example, on the capture of Bari by joint Christian (Frankish land and Byzantine naval) forces in 871,¹¹⁹ and other similar situations. Now, however, the traditional *patricii* alternated as ambassadors to the West with the *protospatharii*, officials with the rank of general like the *patricii*, but of a slightly lower status.¹²⁰ In general terms, as proved by the composition of dozens of Byzantine embassies sent to the West, the *protospatharius* stood in roughly the same hierarchical relationship to the *patricius* as (in modern terms) a major-general to a lieutenant-general, or a bishop to a metropolitan. From this point of view, the composition of the well-known Byzantine embassy which recognized Charlemagne as emperor at Aquisgranum (Aachen) in 812 is typical: one bishop and two *protospatharii*.¹²¹ One could say that after papal independence, the Byzantine central government used *patricii* as ambassadors only in exceptional circumstances.

1(c). Beginning with Benevento, the Byzantine title of *patricius*, apparently in opposition to the similar title after 757 of papal provenance, came gradually to be bestowed in the heads of almost all the states in Italy that enjoyed semi-independence from the Byzantine empire, especially Amalfi and Venice.¹²² Thus without losing or renouncing the purpose of his original function, the *patricius*-ambassador was again equal in dignity to the heads of states (however much smaller now the states subject to Byzantium were in relation to the Barbarian states of the fifth/sixth centuries) as is clearly evident from the embassy which had as its sender and ambassador simultaneously (doubtless on the emperor's instructions from Constantinople) the *patricius* and *strategus* of Sicily in 787. The fact that now the *patricius* and ambassador is accompanied by two *spatharii* also has a special significance for the technicalities of Byzantine diplomatic missions: the *spatharii* who begin to be included in the composition of Byzantine embassies to the West from 765 onwards¹²³ must constitute in part a Byzantine diplomatic response to the papacy's independence of 756/7. These are middle-ranking officials who were sent to leaders of lesser political import than the *patricii* and *protospatharii* were, since in the Byzantine administrative hierarchy the *spatharii* were in the service of the *patricii* and *protospatharii*. *Spatharii*, together with officials of equal dignity (e.g. *asecretis*) were the highest-ranking envoys sent to the pope after 757.

To summarize, then, the emperor's so-called political family, of which the *patricii* were the most distinguished members, it extended internationally to the frontiers of Byzantine

119 V. Vlysidou, 'Εξωτερική πολιτική και έσωτερικές αντιδράσεις την εποχή του Βασίλειου Α', Athens 1991, 57-9.

120 Lounghis, *Ambassadors*, 320-1.

121 See *Annales regni Francorum* 812 (especially the text quoted above in n. 60): *Arsafium atque Theognostum protospatharios*...

122 See in general A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, Oxford 1973, 479-80. The title of *patricius* arrived in Amalfi before it reached the Doge (then the Duke) of Venice. For the investment of the Duke/Doge of Venice as *protospatharius* see the fundamental work of D. M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice. A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations*, Cambridge 1988, 36.

123 Their presence in embassies to the West lasts from 765 to 867. See Lounghis, *Ambassadors*, 327-31.

political rule, or to the frontiers of the *οἰκουμένη*, a term of complex meaning and content. *Patricii*-ambassadors, equal in dignity to the princes who theoretically should have been subjects of the Byzantine emperor, ensured the ideological coherence of the multi-ethnic empire and of its various territorial and constitutive parts with Constantinople, the administrative centre. It should be mentioned that historically the title and dignity of *patricius*, together with all the offices of the Byzantine administrative hierarchy 'subordinated' to the *patricius*, fell into disuse and disappeared at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century, that is to say, very shortly after the loss in 1071 of Southern Italy, the last territorial possession of the Byzantine empire in the West.

3. The ideology of unlimited ecumenicity

According to the historian Agathias of Myrina, an enthusiastic admirer of Justinian, of all the emperors who had reigned in Constantinople (he means from Arcadius, the eldest son of Theodosius I, onwards), Justinian was the first who could rightly be called *αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματι καὶ πράγματι*,¹²⁴ 'emperor of the Romans both in name and in fact'. In order to appreciate the significance of this title with regard to Arcadius and his successors, who reigned in Constantinople as emperors only of the Eastern Roman empire (*τῶν ἐφ' ὧν Ῥωμαίων*), one need do no more than read the eastern empire's programme of conquest for the West, as set out in summary fashion (perhaps because Novel 30 is concerned with the administrative situation not of the West but of Cappadocia) but nevertheless most eloquently at the end of Novel 30 of the year 536. This was when the great conquests had already begun: 'and indeed by such large expenditure and great wars, through which God granted us to make peace with Persians [he means the Eternal Peace of 532] and defeat the Vandals, Alans and Berbers, and conquer the whole of Africa [he means Belisarius' victorious naval expedition against the Vandals in Africa in 533] and also Sicily [in 535 Belisarius had just completed the conquest of Sicily] and have good expectations that God would grant us possession of the remainder which the Romans, having ruled in the past as far as the boundaries of each of the two oceans, subsequently lost through their indolence.'¹²⁵

In accordance, then, with this grandiose proclamation of unlimited Roman ecumenicity, the boundaries, or frontiers, of the empire should again extend to the two oceans of east and west, where they once stood, that is to say, to the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Since in the East the imperial frontiers already extended to the Red Sea (the Gulf of Akaba),¹²⁶ which was regarded as the Indian Ocean, it only remained for the expansion of imperial territory as far as the Atlantic to be realized. This was achieved, broadly speaking, by the end of Justinian's reign with the partial conquest of southern Spain. This is why Agathias, who believed Justinian to be the only Roman emperor worthy of the name from Arcadius

124 Agathias V, 14, I (ed. Keydell, 180).

125 καίτοιγε ἐν τοσαύταις δαπάναις καὶ πολέμοις μεγάλοις, δι' ὧν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς Πέρσας τε ἀγειν εἰρήνην Βανδύλους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς καὶ Μαυρονούσιους χειρώσασθαι, καὶ Ἀφρικὴν ὅλην καὶ πρὸς γε καὶ Σικελίαν καταστῆναι καὶ ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἀγαθὰς ὅτι καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἡμῖν τὴν ἐπικράτειαν νενύσειεν ὁ θεός, ὥνπερ οἱ παῖδες Ῥωμαῖοι μέχρι τῶν πρὸς ἐκάτερον ὠκεανὸν ὁρίων κρατήσαντες ταῖς ἐφεξῆς ἀπέβαλον ῥαθυμίαις. Novel 30, dated 536, ch. 11 (Novellae, ed. Schoell and Kroll, 234).

126 D. G. Letsios, *Βυζάντιο καὶ Ἐρυθρὰ Θάλασσα. Σχέσεις μὲ Νουβία, Αἰθιοπία καὶ Νότια Ἀραβία ὡς τὴν Ἀραβικὴν κατάκτηση*, Athens 1988.

onwards, is the only Byzantine historian who mentions the presence of Byzantine troops in Spain.¹²⁷ The Spanish expedition of 552/3 is mentioned only by western sources.

Agathias' devotion to Justinian is also apparent in the great respect, if not sympathy, he shows for Justinian's Frankish allies,¹²⁸ through whose theoretically vassal status imperial rule in the sixth century extended even to Gaul and Britain. With regard to the Frankish king Theudibert I, however, the imperial ally who had tried through an embassy to demonstrate to Justinian that he was overlord even of Britain, Agathias mentions that Theudibert had been exasperated by the fact that in the protocols of the letters Justinian was sending him (*ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις προγράμμασιν*) the emperor called himself Frankish and Alamannic, etc., as if he had made these nations subject to him by force of arms.¹²⁹ It seems to have been on account of this serious diplomatic misunderstanding that Frankish military support in Spain failed to materialize and that consequently the conquest there was not completed on the Italian model. Evidently the anger provoked in the Frankish king nullified an alliance of several decades. The alliance would soon be revived, however, even though the Franks were to learn that coming down from the north into either Italy or Spain to help the Eastern empire as it advanced from the south would bring them no benefit. In this problematic situation which, by the standards of the age, encompassed the whole of Europe and had far-reaching political implications, the formation of the opposing views of East and West which occurred in the eighth century was something that nobody wanted and, above all, had not foreseen. Unfortunately, the theoretical sovereignty of the empire over the whole of Western Europe (not only over Italy and Southern Spain) through its orthodox Frankish allies does not appear on maps representing Europe in the last years of Justinian's reign. But among his immediate successors there is not the slightest sign that this fixed policy of absolute ecumenicity underwent any change except for two events occurring at the turn of the sixth century. These are: (1) the conversion of all the Arian Barbarian kingdoms of Western Europe to orthodoxy not through the Franco-Byzantine military alliance, but through the activities of the papacy, with the result that there were no longer any heretical states in the West; and (2) the overthrow of the Justinianic dynasty and the ideologically unchanging domestic and foreign policy of unlimited ecumenicity by the bloody plebeian revolution of 602, which finally recognized the empire's inability to conquer the West by force of arms and concluded a peace treaty with the new conquerors of Italy, the Lombards.¹³⁰ The emperors from Heraclius (610-41) onwards could do no more than attempt to persuade themselves, without of course openly admitting it, that these peace treaties which were now being concluded were granted one-sidedly like the *foedus* of the past. It was now evident, however, that the making of treaties and the search for allies no longer obeyed the religious criterion of orthodoxy, as the older treaties of alliance with the Franks did. In Central and Eastern Europe, for example, the empire under Heraclius was already beginning to seek permanent allies among pagans, as the Khazars then were.¹³¹

127 Agathias V, 13, 8 (ed. Keydell, 180).

128 Agathias I, 2, 1-3 (ed. Keydell, 11-13).

129 Agathias I, 4, 2 (ed. Keydell, 14).

130 K. P. Christou, *Byzanz und die Langobarden. Von der Ansiedlung in Pannonien bis zur endgültigen Anerkennung (500-680)*, Athens 1991, 158, 159.

131 T. C. Loungis, 'Byzantine Political Encounters concerning Eastern Europe', *Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia* 3 (2001), 19-25.

Such a perceptible change in the empire's foreign policy naturally distanced it from a Western Europe which was now orthodox but which on the level of international diplomacy continued not to be regarded (nor did it regard itself) as equal in dignity to the Byzantine empire, the unique inheritor of the Roman tradition

As one may very easily appreciate, the ideology of unlimited ecumenicity in foreign policy, that is to say, the political return to a situation corresponding to that of ancient Rome, when the frontiers of the empire coincided with the limits of the civilized world, could not flourish in a period of upheaval when so many new states were being formed and consolidated in Western Europe. From a later standpoint this policy evidently went against the current of the age. Although the prevalence of such an anachronistic ideology was fairly natural in an age when a senatorial aristocracy ruled which had only recently come to Christianity and with it to orthodoxy (fifth/sixth centuries), and thus was attempting to recover that which it believed had belonged to it in the past, the Byzantine government was almost always anxious to moderate the consequences which an uncontrolled political conquest of the whole world would have had. It therefore devised a policy of winning over a powerful ally in the West like itself of orthodox faith, namely the Franks,¹³² who could be considered ideologically and hierarchically inferior. That this ally, however, was militarily very powerful and was overlord in the West to Burgundians, Visigoths and Angles, together with the fact that it had always maintained the orthodoxy of the Christian faith against so many Arians, brought it a special prestige. The times would show that these theoretically inferior but highly esteemed fellow-orthodox allies had every right to be exasperated, as their irascible and arrogant leader Theudibert I was in the mid-sixth century, with the Byzantine imperial protocol which listed all the peoples actually and theoretically subject to the empire. In short, it is obvious that the ideology or theory of absolute ecumenicity could not have lasted indefinitely, and sooner or later would have had to have been abandoned, particularly as in the seventh and eighth centuries the Byzantine empire suffered such severe territorial losses that its total extent no longer permitted it to maintain extensive claims in the West, as it had in the past. The period in which the theory or ideology of unlimited ecumenicity prevailed lasted for as long as Western Europe accepted the political suzerainty and supremacy of the Byzantine emperor, that is to say, until the secession of the Church of Rome in the mid-eighth century.

4. The ideology of limited ecumenicity

As the title of this section suggests, and on the basis of what has been said above, an ideology of limited ecumenicity implies that Byzantium's territorial claims and demands on the West now had to be restricted, perhaps abandoning Novel 30's programme of conquest to the shores of the two oceans. By recognizing a specific and more limited sphere of territorial expansion in the West, the Byzantine empire also recognized indirectly a kind of diplomatic equilibrium with the West on the basis that Rome – the elder Rome – was no longer governed by the Byzantine emperor.

132 Cf. the old but still useful monograph by A. Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque*, Paris 1888.

'It was now that this innovation took place, because Rome disregarded the imperial authority and became self-governing, and was ruled chiefly by whoever was pope,' wrote the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945-59).¹³³ With this forthright imperial admission, Byzantium recognized the temporal power and authority of the papacy. When it was that this innovation (*καινοτομία*) took place is revealed in Theophanes' *Chronicle*. There it is said that 'in the elder Rome, Gregory, that all-holy apostolic man and co-ruler (*synthronos*) with Peter the chief apostle, distinguished in word and deed, ... detached Rome, Italy and the whole of the West from civil and ecclesiastical obedience to Leo and the empire ruled by him,'¹³⁴ attributing to Pope Gregory II (715-31) or Gregory III (731-41) the removal of the whole of the West from obedience to the Emperor Leo III (717-41). Independently of the fact that the 'proclamation' of the papal state took place a little later, in 756,¹³⁵ the Byzantine historical tradition that seeks to blame the iconoclast emperor, Leo III the Isaurian, for the loss of the West is broadly correct in dating the events to the mid-eighth century. According to the political and historical texts attributed to the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his ideological circle, Rome 'is no longer ruled' (Rome no longer recognizes the authority of the emperor) and in conjunction with this fact, several Italian provinces seceded from Byzantine rule, which could not have happened 'when Rome was ruled'. Strictly speaking, the Byzantine empire and emperor should have abandoned the phrase *τῶν Ῥωμαίων*, 'of the Romans', that followed their titles, but together with the recognition of the political independence of the papacy, Porphyrogenitus refers to the Byzantine emperor as 'emperor of Constantinople,'¹³⁶ something which is politically and ideologically unacceptable. Parallel to this, and in obvious contrast to the elder Rome that 'is no longer ruled', Porphyrogenitus, the supreme theoretician of the new political ideology of limited ecumenicity, mentions that there was a part of Italy that had entered into a treaty 'with us, that is to say, with New Rome'.¹³⁷ The verb which the Byzantine text uses in this instance is *προαφώρισται*. The authoritative Greek lexicon, Liddell-Scott-Jones, gives the verb *αφωρίζω* the meaning 'to mark off boundaries', whence, with the addition of the prefix *προ-*, we are led to the conclusion that some territories in Italy had been agreed by treaty to belong to the empire of New Rome before the text of Theophanes Continuatus referring to Basil I the Macedonian (867-86), to which the passage mentioned belongs, was composed in the tenth century. This portion of land which is included in the empire of New Rome is none other than Southern Italy, most probably stretching as far as the boundaries of the papal state. Under Basil II (976-1025) the frontier went up to Rome, according to John Scylitzes.¹³⁸ And when the Normans conquered Southern Italy and finally put an end to Byzantine rule there a little after the middle of the eleventh

133 *Νυνὶ δὲ ἐγένετο ἡ καινοτομία αὐτῇ, διὰ τὴν Ῥώμην ἀποθέσθαι τὸ βασιλεῖον κράτος καὶ ἰδιοκρατορίαν ἔχειν καὶ δεσπόζεσθαι κυρίως παρὰ τινος κατὰ καιρὸν πάντα*, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus* II, 10 (ed. A. Pertusi, Vatican City 1952, p. 94).

134 *ἐν δὲ τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ Γρηγόριος, ὁ πανίερος ἀποστολικὸς ἀνὴρ καὶ Πέτρου τοῦ κορυφαίου σύνθρονος, λόγῳ καὶ πράξει διαλάμπων, ὃς ἀπέστειρε Ῥώμην τε καὶ Ἰταλίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐσπέρια τῆς τε πολιτικῆς καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑπακοῆς Λέοντος καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν βασιλείας*; Theophanes, *Chronicle* (ed. de Boor), 408.

135 E. Caspar, *Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft*, Darmstadt 1965.

136 T. C. Lounghis, 'Sur la date du "De thematibus"', *REB* 31 (1973), 299-305.

137 *τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς νέρᾳ Ῥώμῃ*; Theophanes Continuatus (ed. Bekker), 288.

138 Scylitzes (ed. I. Thurn, *CFHB* 5, Berlin and New York 1973), 426.

century, Michael Psellus mentions that ‘we were despoiled of Italy and deprived of the most precious part of the empire’.¹³⁹ This territorially limited Byzantine recovery of the West accomplished under the Macedonian dynasty (867-1057), a recovery which apart from Southern Italy also included Dalmatia, gave the dynasty’s imperial spokesmen the possibility of making the claim for propaganda purposes (reassuring to the West) that the Byzantine empire was and always had been an exclusively Eastern empire going right back to Constantine I (306-37) or even beyond him to Diocletian (284-305), that is to say, to those emperors who had transferred the seat of the empire to the East, but never appealing to Justinian I (527-65) who, starting from the East, i.e. Constantinople, had become emperor of the Romans ‘in name and in fact’.¹⁴⁰

It is not, however, only the proponents of a Justinianic absolute ecumenicity, such as Agathias, who appeal to the Eastern emperors reigning at Constantinople from Arcadius onwards. The theoreticians, too, of limited ecumenicity who wrote laudatory texts (*Theophanes Continuatus*, Book V) on Basil I, who succeeded in a territorially limited recovery of the West, declare in the Prologue to Book V of *Theophanes Continuatus* that of the emperors ‘of the Roman empire in Byzantium’¹⁴¹ they would narrate the deeds and history of only one recent emperor, Basil I, who became ‘a great asset’ (μέγα ὄφελος) to the empire. Here they declare that Basil was the first to go beyond the territorial boundaries which had been set when the empire was divided between Arcadius and Honorius in 395 (sic), and thus with this ‘preliminary definition’ (προαφώρισται) it is suggested that Basil I was within his legal rights in annexing Dalmatia and Southern Italy, which had belonged to Honorius’ western empire from 395 (sic iterum). In doing this the theoreticians of limited ecumenicity pass silently – deliberately it would seem – over Justinian I and his ecumenical conquests in the West. So far as we can see from the texts of the Macedonian dynasty promoting the idea of a limited ecumenicity, Justinian is presented there as a great legislator, as the builder of Hagia Sophia, but never as the conqueror of the West. We seem to have here a *damnatio memoriae* of gigantic proportions which now includes not only Justinian I and his work of reconquest in the West, but also other emperors with similar ambitions, such as Constans II (642-68), who personally led a military expedition to Italy.

5. The clash between two ideologies: the ambassador Liutprand of Cremona

A distinguished statesman, diplomat and ecclesiastical figure in tenth-century Western Europe, who was also a gifted writer, Liutprand, bishop of Cremona (920-c. 973), visited the Byzantine capital twice as ambassador in 948/9 and in 968. The first time, when the emperor was the scholarly scion of the Macedonian dynasty, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (945-59), Liutprand received a favourable impression. But twenty years later, when he came as ambassador of the relatively newly crowned German emperor, Otto I (936-73, imperial coronation 962) to seek an imperial Byzantine bride for the heir to the western throne, also

139 *Ἰταλίαν ἀποσεισνύμεθα καὶ τὸ σεμνότατον τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀφηρημέθα μέρος*: Psellus, *Chronography* VI, 78 (ed. S. Impellizeri, Milan, 1978, II, 10).

140 *ὀνόματι καὶ πράγματι*: Agathias V, 14, 1 (ed. Keydell, 180). See also Appendix, no. 17(a).

141 *τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς*: *Theophanes Continuatus* (ed. Bekker), 211-12. See also Appendix, no. 17 (b).

called Otto (973-83), the officials of the Byzantine court who surrounded the now warrior-emperor Nicephorus II Phocas (963-9) treated him badly and offended him. He gives a vivid account of this in his *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana*, which describes the embassy of 968. By contrast, in his earlier work, the *Antapodosis*, which contains his impressions of the embassy of 948/9, his narrative is very different.¹⁴²

To this problem of the two different ways in which Liutprand was treated, and the corresponding impressions he received of the Byzantine government, a number of very similar solutions have been proposed. It has been suggested (without basis, as it happens¹⁴³) that the Byzantines were not inclined to give away princesses born in the purple, or that the German-Byzantine military confrontation in Southern Italy was to blame.¹⁴⁴ The solution to the problem is very simple. It lies in the existence of two opposing Byzantine ideologies concerning the policy to be followed with regard to the growing power of the West. That is to say, it lies in the choice that had to be made between the ideology of limited ecumenicity as promoted by the Macedonian dynasty, and that of the unlimited ecumenicity which Nicephorus Phocas sought to restore. For Nicephorus was an imitator of Justinian, just as his eulogist, Leo the Deacon, was an imitator of Justinian's eulogist, Agathias.

In 948 the Emperor Constantine VII received Liutprand in a very positive manner and by 955 had concluded a peace treaty in Italy.¹⁴⁵ Texts from the time of the Macedonian dynasty, such as those of John Scylitzes, call Otto I before his imperial coronation in Rome in 962 'basileus of the Franks',¹⁴⁶ which means 'emperor' not 'king' (*rex*, or in Greek ὁ ἡγεμῶν). But the new Western imperial coronation ('new' after that of Charlemagne in 800) provoked a violent reaction from the vigorous and militarily powerful new landed aristocracy that was now in the ascendancy in Byzantine society. A representative of this robust aristocracy, who in fact led the Byzantine army in a series of brilliantly executed victorious campaigns, was the general Nicephorus II Phocas. In 963 he rebelled and at the head of a family coalition usurped the throne and broke the hitherto friendly relations which had existed with the West. Just as in the sixth century Justinian I's panegyrist, Agathias of Myrina, had proclaimed Justinian 'emperor of the Romans in name and fact', so now in the tenth century Nicephorus Phocas' panegyrist, Leo the Deacon, who, it should be noted, claimed to model himself on Agathias,¹⁴⁷ maintained that if 'malign fate' had not brought Nicephorus Phocas to an early grave, nothing would have prevented him from advancing the empire's frontiers to the Ocean in the west and to India in the east.¹⁴⁸ This was more or less a reprise of the Justinianic programme of reconquest set out in the second paragraph of the eleventh chapter

142 See Appendix, nos 16, 19.

143 F. Tinnefeld, 'Byzantinische auswärtige Heiratspolitik von 9. zum 12. Jahrhundert. Kontinuität und Wandel der Prinzipien und der praktischen Ziele', *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 21-8.

144 M. Rentschler, *Liutprand von Cremona. Eine Studie zum ost-westlichen Kulturgefälle in Mittelalter*, Frankfurt am Main 1981.

145 T. C. Lounghis, 'Le poids spécifique du commandement suprême en Italie dans la formation de l'idéologie politique du Xe siècle', *L'Ellenismo Iliotita dal VII al XII secolo*, Athens 2001, 153-64.

146 T. C. Lounghis, 'Der Verfall des Papsttums in X. Jahrhundert als Ergebnis der Deutsch-byzantinischen Annäherung', *Βυζαντινά* 14 (1994) 217-36.

147 N. M. Panayiotakis, Λέων ὁ Διάκονος, A: Τὰ βιογραφικά, *ΕΕΒΣ* 34 (1965), 1-38.

148 Leo Diaconus (ed. C. B. Hase, CSHB, Bonn 1828), 81 and 90.

of Novel 30 of 535. Thus according to Liutprand of Cremona, the people around Nicephorus described the Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus as a spineless man (*homo lenis*) who won the support of foreign nations by bribing them,¹⁴⁹ while Nicephorus brought them under control by fear and the sword (*terrore et gladio*). Advancing in this way to open threats against the Christian West, he demanded the return to the Byzantine empire of nothing less than Rome and Ravenna,¹⁵⁰ which indicates the complete repudiation of the Macedonian dynasty's conciliatory foreign policy towards Western Europe. Thus the dismayed surprise of Liutprand was entirely justified. His writings (like those of most of the Latin-speaking West) offer us much more plausible insights into Byzantine foreign policy than the Byzantine sources, which usually occupy themselves with stereotyped hatreds and passions, viewing the world from a much narrower perspective.

In contrast with the Byzantine sources, which attribute the murder of Nicephorus Phocas to Theophano's conspiracy with her lover, John Tzimiskes, the Western sources mention that the murder of Nicephorus, although carried out at the instigation of Theophano, was occasioned by the general dissatisfaction of his subjects at the failure and defeats the emperor had suffered in the West. Even the Byzantine sources themselves do not deny the general popular dissatisfaction and exasperation with Nicephorus. The fact is, however, that the new emperor, John Tzimiskes (969-76), reaffirmed the peaceful policy of the Macedonian dynasty towards the West, and was happy to celebrate the giving of his niece, Theophano Scleraina-Phocaina, as a bride for Otto II (973-83) in 972. This Byzantine princess, first as empress and then from 983 to 991 as regent during the minority of her son Otto III (983-1002), ruled the German empire with great care and devotion until the year of her death (991).

To summarize so far, Liutprand of Cremona's texts allow us to trace and delineate the conflict between the two Byzantine political ideologies governing foreign policy and the strategies springing from them. Starting from the fact that the Byzantine empire was a Roman empire with its capital now, since the reign of Arcadius, at Constantinople, as they both did, these ideologies took up opposing positions on the following question: whether the greater benefit to this empire lay in attempting to conquer/reconquer the whole of the old Roman empire (the tradition of Justinianic conquest which lasted until Nicephorus Phocas) or, alternatively, whether it lay in confining reconquest and Byzantine rule in the West to certain territories of limited extent which were attached to the empire with the consent of the West, such as Dalmatia and Southern Italy. The latter ideology of limited ecumenicity not only disavowed Justinian as conqueror but also attempted to accommodate itself to the historical forgeries known as the *Κωνσταντίνειος Δωρεά*, '*Constitutum Constantini*', the Donation of Constantine', which the papacy had adopted.¹⁵¹

The modified – not to say transformed – Constantine of the ideology of limited ecumenicity is, in a sense, a 'diachronic' emperor of many different meanings on different levels: originally because he had transferred the imperial capital to the East, to the ancient city of Byzantium, just as Diocletian a little earlier had also transferred the seat of empire to

149 *Legatio*, 55 (ed. Bekker, 205-6) and Appendix, no. 18.

150 *Legatio*, 15 (ed. Bekker, 184) and Appendix, no. 21.

151 See the discussion in the section on relations with the pope, below, p. 123.

the East, to Nicomedia. Together with Diocletian, Constantine I marks the beginnings of an empire which would always be eastern and from the time of Arcadius (395-408) would have its capital permanently at Constantinople. Skilfully emphasizing this particularly significant Roman form, a considerable number of texts use the expression *ἡ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχή* ('the Roman authority in Byzantium'), especially when they are discussing the exercise of a foreign policy against Western Europe.

Constantine I made the definitive transfer of the imperial capital to the East, and since from that time Rome was no longer the seat of government (no longer *βασιλεύεται*) it passed under the sovereignty of...the pope, as Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' tenth-century treatise *περὶ θεμάτων* (*De thematibus*) puts it.¹⁵² The multi-layered chronology should be noted: Constantine I may have reigned in the fourth century, as we all know, but Rome came under papal sovereignty in the mid-eighth century (756), that is to say when the so-called Donation of Constantine was confected. The Byzantine ideology of limited ecumenicity needed to accept the stipulations of the Donation (especially the supposed ceding of Rome and the West to the pope by Constantine I) so as to be able in consequence to praise the Macedonian dynasty for having succeeded through its founder, Basil I, in conquering territories in the West (Dalmatia and Southern Italy). And in view of the fact that Constantine I had bequeathed Rome and Italy to the popes in perpetuity, Justinian I, who had had the effrontery to conquer Italy and Rome, was best forgotten. In this way, by turning Constantine I into an emperor casting his shadow over four and a half centuries, Byzantine diplomatic theory acknowledged indirectly the possibility that a western Roman empire might also exist in the West which, theoretically at least, recognized the spiritual suzerainty (*auctoritas*) of the pope. From its very nature, however, the rapprochement of the two powerful empires of East and West in the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries had an innate tendency, by its sheer might in the practical realm, to sideline the international influence and spiritual weight of the papacy.

It is therefore obvious that the theory of unlimited ecumenicity which Nicephorus II Phocas tried to revive in the tenth century by demanding back Rome and Ravenna from the Westerners had not the slightest chance of success. For the medieval West had already begun to develop rapidly in all sectors and, moreover, the crude way in which the soldier-emperor tried to intimidate the externally suave but internally stubborn ecclesiastic, Liutprand of Cremona, was a far cry from the normally elaborate and subtle way in which Byzantine diplomacy expressed itself whenever it wanted to abrogate some old treaty or change some established international situation. That is why the epithets which the western ambassador applies to the rustic Cappadocian war-lord who was sitting on the throne of Constantinople in 968 are indicative of the manifestly belligerent crudeness that the latter emanated.

On the other hand, from Nicephorus' point of view he was condemning with manifest contempt any tolerant policy towards the West, implying that the crowned ideologue of the Macedonian dynasty, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus was incompetent, and at the same time stripping the transfer of the capital by Constantine I from Rome to Constantinople of all dignity and legality: as soon as Constantine left Rome barbarism gained control

¹⁵² *De thematibus* (ed. Pertusi), 94.

there and Liutprand and his fellow-countrymen are not Romans but Lombards.¹⁵³ Here it is worth noting that according to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, for whom Nicephorus Phocas feels such antipathy, Constantine I had left instructions to the Byzantines not to enter into partnership through marriage alliances with any nations apart from the Franks or the Germans,¹⁵⁴ to whom the imperial title legally belonged in the second half of the tenth century, as Liutprand of Cremona in 968 well knew.

John Tzimiskes' agreeing to send the Princess Theophano as a bride for Otto II in 972/3 signifies the restoration of relations of equality and alliance between the two empires, relations which would last uninterruptedly at least until the beginning of the Crusades. Nevertheless, the Byzantine ideology of limited ecumenicity with regard to the West entailed certain consequences concerning Byzantine foreign policy in the broader field of Central and Eastern Europe, that is to say, where the territorial and ideological claims of both empires interacted with more general political and cultural influences.

6. Byzantine policy in Central and Eastern Europe before the Schism of 1054

What distinguishes Byzantine diplomatic thought in general is the constant search for a strong permanent ally in every geographical area where the empire was threatened, an ally powerful enough to advance Byzantine imperial claims or, in cases when the desired strong permanent ally could not always be relied on, the promotion of multi-national coalitions with the aim of destroying or weakening whoever was regarded as the main enemy. This was the chief strategy of imperial foreign policy in Central and Eastern Europe. It was supported by efforts in two other geographical areas: (1) in confronting the Arabs in the East from the time they first appeared during the reign of Heraclius (610-41) to their subjection to the Seljuq Turks in 1055, that is to say, at about the same time as the Church schism (1054); and (2) in attaining a diplomatic equilibrium with the West, through an alliance between the eastern and western empires (in other words, through a German-Byzantine alliance), which effectively limited the political influence and activity of the papacy in Europe, again until the Church Schism and the roughly contemporary fall of the Macedonian dynasty in Byzantium (1057).

The required ally in Eastern Europe was certainly not orthodox – or even Christian – but was needed as a counterpoise or opposing menace to the terrifying threat hanging over the empire from the end of Justinian's reign in the shape of the Avars. The Khazars (a Turkish people) whom the empire bound to itself diplomatically through a princely marriage alliance from the time of Heraclius,¹⁵⁵ were pagans ruled by a Khan or Khagan just like the Avars. This special relationship with the Khazars was to last a long time, supported by successive marriage alliances with the imperial house (Justinian II, Constantine V) until the end of the reign of Leo IV (775-80), who was called the 'Khazar' because of his mother. In the same period Charlemagne's armies were beginning to check the power of the Avars, until they finally

¹⁵³ *Legatio* 12 (ed. Bekker, 182).

¹⁵⁴ *De administrando imperio* (Πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν 'Ρομανόν) 13, 110-22, (ed. G. Moravcsik and R. Jenkins, CFHB 1, Washington D.C. 1967, p. 70). See also Appendix, no. 20.

¹⁵⁵ C. Zuckerman, 'La petite Augusta et le Turc. Epiphania-Eudocie sur les monnaies d'Héraclius', *Revue Numismatique* 6 (1995), 113-23.

suffered a catastrophic defeat in 803. From that time it was natural that the Khazar alliance should fall into abeyance without, however, being entirely abandoned.¹⁵⁶ Its end seems to have come with the rise to power of the Macedonian dynasty under Basil I and on the pretext of the conversion of the Khazars to the Jewish faith, against which the Emperors Basil I and Leo VI (886-912) took severe measures.¹⁵⁷ In consequence the Khazars, who had been friends and allies for more than two centuries, became relatively quickly implacable enemies. The Macedonian dynasty, which marks out and defines the Byzantine policy of rapprochement with the West (the ideology of limited ecumenicity) proved to be anxious to bring into its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe first of all the Bulgars and Russians. It is with these that imperial marriage alliances were now contracted, although the Uzes and Alans could be described as a kind of 'extension' of allied pressure on the Khazars. Originally, the nomad Uzes,¹⁵⁸ in conjunction with the Russians, who had descended on the empire by the River Dneiper, were able to keep at bay a new and very numerous people, who were especially threatening to the whole of Eastern Europe, the Pechenegs or Patzinaks,¹⁵⁹ with whom the Byzantine empire maintained very correct relations which were renewed each year and were never allowed to be officially disrupted, as Porphyrogenitus says in the very first chapter of his celebrated work, *De administrando imperio*.¹⁶⁰ Uzes and Alans of the Caucasus together with reinforcements from Cherson and the Bosphorus (Pantikapaion-Kerch) could undertake expeditions in concert against the Khazars, who were now the empire's most powerful enemy. The policy of limited ecumenicity had left the empire, it seems, a completely free hand in the lands of Eastern Europe, since Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus reveals in his writings a desire for the oilfields of the Caucasus!¹⁶¹ Moreover, repeated expeditions of Russians allied to the empire under the command of Svjatoslav against the Khazars culminated in 1015 in the transportation of Russian troops on a large scale by the Byzantine fleet for the same purpose,¹⁶² which clearly reveals the aims of Byzantine foreign policy. By contrast, in the decade (963-9) when the Byzantine empire was ruled by Nicephorus Phocas, a tough proponent of unlimited ecumenicity, all these complicated diplomatic relations and delicate balances were in danger of being permanently upset. This is clearly demonstrated in the case of Bulgaria, which had won its independence of the empire in 680/1, when the Danube frontier was breached once and for all and a new people came to settle permanently in the Balkans.

According to the ideology of limited ecumenicity, from a political point of view as well as that of ecclesiastical obedience, Bulgaria had to be brought into the Byzantine empire under Basil I, who, to ensure papal consent to this, allowed Moravia to pass into the jurisdiction of the papacy, even though Moravia had been Christianized by the Patriarch Photius (858-67)

156 Th. S. Noonan, 'Byzantium and the Khazars: a special relationship?', in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. Shepard and Franklin, 109-32.

157 Lounghis, 'Byzantine Political Encounters', 23-4.

158 A. G. C. Savvides, *Οι Τούρκοι και το Βυζάντιο. Α': Προ-Οθωμανικά φύλα στην Ασία και στα Βαλκάνια*, Athens 1996, 204.

159 Savvides *Οι Τούρκοι*, 202-3.

160 T. Lounghis, *Κωνσταντίνου Ζ' Πορφυρογεννήτου, De administrando imperio (Πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ρωμανόν). Μία μέθοδος ἀνάγνωσης*, Thessalonica 1990.

161 *De administrando imperio*, 53, 493-511 (ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins, 284-6).

162 Scylitzes (ed. Thurn), 354.

through the so-called 'apostles of the Slavs', Cyril and Methodius. Basil I had not hesitated to depose Photius from the patriarchal throne of Constantinople¹⁶³, thus promoting friendly relations with the elder Rome. Accordingly, after 867 Cyril and Methodius went to Rome and were thenceforth directed by the pope. For its own part, Bulgaria went on to develop a very remarkable military administration under Byzantine influence (867-969). A clear example of this is provided by Tsar Symeon (893-927) who fought bravely and successfully for his full independence. This example, it seems, prompted the adherents of the ideology of unlimited ecumenicity, who came to power with the accession of Nicephorus Phocas in 963, to seek to bring Bulgaria under their complete control. To this end they called on the imperial allies, the Russians, under their prince, Svjatoslav, to conquer Bulgaria,¹⁶⁴ an act which contributed to upsetting the settled political and diplomatic equilibrium in Eastern Europe and destroying the alliances of the Macedonian dynasty. John Tzimiskes (969-76), who murdered Nicephorus Phocas in 969, and was anxious to restore the fixed Byzantine foreign policy which had obtained under the Macedonian dynasty, was obliged to defeat the Russians and force them to evacuate Bulgaria. Bulgaria thus was reattached to the empire as far as the old frontier of the Danube. Thenceforth the empire's immediate neighbours were to be the fearsome Pechenegs, who in the meantime had decimated the defeated Russians (who were once again imperial allies) as they returned home from Bulgaria.¹⁶⁵ The destruction of the Khazar state in the eleventh century made the Pecheneg threat even more acute. That is why Byzantine-Russian relations went through a very difficult period in the eleventh century, in spite of the conversion of this very large nation to Christianity in 988/9, a conversion which was entirely due to Byzantium. The resulting spiritual kinship and shared heritage, however, was to be deeply enduring.

It should also be emphasized that the Byzantines made an effort towards the end of the ninth century to convert the still nomadic Hungarians,¹⁶⁶ who with Byzantine encouragement as is evident from the words of Leo VI the Wise (886-912) himself, destroyed the state of Great Moravia¹⁶⁷ which had been ceded to the jurisdiction of Rome in 867. There were many attempts to convert the Hungarians in the years that followed, until under Theophano's son, Otto III of Germany, they too adopted the Western form of Christianity. The Hungarian alliance was maintained through imperial dynastic marriages until about the end of the twelfth century.

These, very briefly, are the general lines of Byzantine political ideology with regard to the outside world, or in other words, the general principles of Byzantine foreign policy which served Byzantine diplomacy until about the time of the Church Schism (1054), the fall of the Macedonian dynasty (1057), and the beginning of the Crusades (1096). These dates should always be borne in mind, since after the Church Schism there began in the West the so-called

163 V. Vlysidou, 'Ο βυζαντινὸς αὐτοκρατορικὸς θεσμὸς καὶ ἡ πρώτη ἐκθρόνιση τοῦ πατριάρχου Φωτίου', *Σύμμεικτα* 7 (1987), 33-40.

164 A. N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija Svjatoslava*, Moscow 1982, 108-12.

165 T. C. Lounghis, 'Über die zwei gegensätzlichen Richtungen der byzantinischen Aussenpolitik im osteuropäischen Raum im 10. Jahrhundert', *Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik* 3 (1999), 35-43.

166 G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars*, Amsterdam 1970.

167 T. Lounghis, 'Die Slawen und Ungarn innerhalb der "begrenzten Oekumene" der Makedonenkaiser', *Byzantinoslavica* 54 (1993), 65-94.

theocratic era, when the pope exercised absolute sovereignty. This becomes apparent from the fact that not a single secular ruler participated in the unstoppable wave of the First Crusade which had been preached by the pope. On the other side, the fall in Byzantium of the Macedonian dynasty, which was accompanied by the loss of Southern Italy (1071), brought about the collapse of the ideology of limited ecumenicity, which, as a fixed doctrine, had until then defined the priorities of Byzantine diplomacy, and, by extension, the whole of Byzantine foreign policy. From this point of view, then, it may be maintained that the Byzantine military disaster at Manzikert in Armenia in 1071, precisely at the time of the fall of Bari, the last bastion of Byzantine rule in Italy and in the West generally, was of much less importance than modern historians usually claim.

7. The international standing of the Byzantine empire in the period of the Crusades

The era of the Crusades (1096-1291) is an era that demonstrates the increasing political and military power of the rising Western European states of Germany, France and England. But it is Italy, the most advanced country economically in the twelfth century, that makes it fundamentally possible for the Western Europeans to stay in the East. The economic strength of the local governments in Italy also contributed to the development of Italian naval power (Pisa, Venice and Genoa), through which Italian capital poured into the Eastern Mediterranean. The Byzantine empire, where the landed aristocracy still ruled, even in a great and populous city like Constantinople, was destined to be supplanted as a result of pressure exerted by the West, since the government formed by a coalition of aristocratic families, the Comneni, Angeli, Doukai and others, discouraged any signs of native commercial and industrial enterprise and readily ceded permanent privileges, mainly commercial, to the Italian mercantile republics. Thus on the international level the Byzantine empire continued to maintain a certain prestige and authority, which, however, progressively diminished owing to the fact that it rested on the past, while the present revealed an increasingly obvious state weakness. So long as Byzantine civilization, however, continued to remain at a very high level in comparison with the civilization of contemporary western states, the Byzantine empire remained one of the most powerful states of the period – not the most powerful, as in the past – which was always seeking a strong ally in the West so as to be able to counter the plots and threats which came from that quarter with a powerful alliance. It always attempted to present the appearance of an adequate naval presence in Eastern Mediterranean waters, now that the challenge came not only from the Muslims but also from heterodox Christians, the Latins, as the Westerners were now called in Byzantium. After the Schism of 1054 and expulsion from Italy in 1071, the Byzantines increasingly fell back on the resources of their Greek literary culture – in opposition to the Latin spoken in the West – in all sectors of human thought, in spite of the fact that they stubbornly continued to call themselves and their empire 'Roman'. We see here a Roman empire in retreat internationally which attempts to maintain appearances with the support of its ancient traditions. This also accounts for the transfer of the sense of Byzantine sovereignty over western lands from the West to the East, as already discussed. In the period of the Crusades the Byzantine empire was always conciliatory towards the Christian West (with the vociferous exception of the theological/ecclesiastical lobby), even during the brief period (1151-6) of the unsuccessful Italian

expeditions of Manuel I Comnenus (1143-80). Towards the East, however, whether towards the Seljuq sultanate of Iconium or the Muslim state of Egypt, Byzantine foreign policy was obviously aggressive, using to its advantage – so far as possible – the Crusaders' drive towards the East and aware, perhaps, that its position in the East needed stabilizing now that it had no possibility of any expansion towards the West. At the same time, Byzantine diplomatic thinking sought to ensure that the West in the East (that is, the newly-formed Crusader states) should recognize Byzantine suzerainty, especially the Crusader states of Antioch and Edessa, that is to say, those regions that had belonged to the empire in the eleventh century.

As already mentioned above, the text on which all subsequent Byzantine claims on Crusader lands were based diplomatically and militarily was called the Treaty of Devol (after the name of the Albanian River Devol near Durrachium). It was concluded after a personal meeting between the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus and Bohemond, the Norman prince of Taranto, not long after the First Crusade, in September 1108.¹⁶⁸ Its lengthy text has been included by Anna Comnena in her historical work, the *Alexiad*,¹⁶⁹ where, in describing her father's achievements she adds to them the extension once again¹⁷⁰ of Byzantine state sovereignty as far as the Euphrates, listing the names of all the fortified cities (Antioch, Edessa etc), fortress-villages, military districts, and large regions such as Cilicia (Little Armenia), which is referred to in the text as, ἡ τῶν Ρουπενίων διακράτησις Λέοντός τε καὶ Θεοδώρου τῶν Ἀρμενίων, 'the territory of the Roupenians, Leo and Theodore the Armenians'. In the text mention is made of the two hundred talents (= centenaria = 100 ounces of gold) which the emperor is to pay each year to his vassal, Prince Bohemond (he was as handsome and as good a warrior as he was a lover of money, according to his admirer, Anna) to fulfil his military duties (ὑποκύπτειν τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν προοστάγμασι καὶ θελήμασι καταπερὶ ἀνθρώπου λιζίου τυγχάνοντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ κράτους καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας ('submit to the orders and wishes of Your Majesty in view of being the liegeman of the same Power and the same Majesty'). A number of witnesses from both sides signed the document, the leading figure of whom was τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἀμάλφης...δς καὶ πρέσβυς παρὰ τοῦ πάπα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐληλύθει ('the bishop of Amalfi, most beloved of God...who had come to the emperor as the papal ambassador'). This long document was called by Anna Comnena ἔγγραφος ὄρκος, a 'written oath', and evidently was kept in the Byzantine archives. Bohemond, now an imperial liegeman, received in exchange (ἀντίδοσιν) from the emperor, as is mentioned in the text, a chrysobull, that is to say, an official imperial document sealed with a gold seal and signed by the emperor in red ink (δι' ἐρυθροβαφοῦς ὑπογραφῆς). It was in the familiar general form of an imperial gift, in which the lands granted were again listed, with Bohemond's vassalage given in return. (Sadly, this document is no longer extant). It was this treaty which led the next emperors, John II and Manuel I, the son and grandson of Alexius Comnenus, to mount expeditions into Syria and

168 Ja. N. Liubarsky and M. M. Frejdenberg, 'Devol'skii dogovor 1108 g. Mezdu Alekseem Komninom I Boemondom', VV 21 (1962), 260-74.

169 See note 33 above, and Appendix, no. 22.

170 L. Buisson, 'Eroberrecht, Vassalität und byzantinisches Staatsrecht auf dem ersten Kreuzzug', *Berichte aus den Sitzungen der Joachim Jungius – Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, Hamburg 2, 1984, H. 7, Hamburg 1985, 70-81.

enjoy, at least temporarily, the vassalage of the Crusader princes of the region. In the text the lands under Byzantine rule are called 'the territory [lit. frontiers] of the Romans' (τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὀρίσματα- para. 6), and the Byzantine empire is twice called 'the empire of Constantinople' (ἡ βασιλεία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως- para. 7), just as in the time when Constantine Porphyrogenitus recognized the existence also of a western empire. Bohemond swore on oath that any barbarian lands and territories he might conquer which used to belong to the empire in the past he would receive them 'in the name of Your Majesties' (δικαίῳ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ὑμετέρας - para. 10), while with regard to the remaining lands which had never belonged to the empire, Bohemond binds himself to make them vassals just as he himself is a vassal - para. 11). The entire text is full of grandiose promises and the declarations of faith and devotion of a vassal to his overlord – a fact which demonstrates the great care over detail taken by Byzantine diplomacy – though events were to prove that these 'most awe-inspiring' (φρικωδέσταται) oaths did not provide the slightest guarantee that the rights of the Byzantine emperor, which since the campaigns of John I Tzimiskes extended as far as Palestine, would be respected. Nevertheless, the period of the Crusades and in particular the Treaty of Devol inaugurate a new age in the diplomatic history of the empire,¹⁷¹ which might be called the age of personal encounters between the Byzantine emperor and the western princes and independent feudal lords, marked also by the presence for the first time of the imperial signature on treaties and agreements. The Treaty of Devol remained in force under John II Comnenus, whose suzerainty over Antioch was accepted by Raymond of Poitiers in 1138,¹⁷² as that of Manuel I Comnenus was by Reynald of Châtillon in 1158.¹⁷³ Manuel I personally met the leaders of the Second Crusade, Conrad II Hohenstaufen (1138-52) of Germany and Louis VII of France (1137-80).¹⁷⁴ For diplomatic reasons a memorable reception was organized by Manuel I in 1161 for the sultan of Iconium, Kilij Arslan II (1155-92), who was entertained warmly in Constantinople for a number of days. This led to a peace treaty (unfortunately temporary, as it proved) with the clearest obligations on the sultan's part which resemble those of a vassal towards the Byzantine empire (to have the same friends and enemies as the emperor, etc.).¹⁷⁵ In spite of this and the parallel renewal of the old and traditional alliance with the German empire, which was confirmed originally by Conrad II's successor, Frederick I Barbarossa (1152-89),¹⁷⁶ and in spite of the fact, too, that the first duchess of Austria was a member of the Byzantine imperial family (Theodora Comnena),¹⁷⁷ the humiliating defeat by the Seljuqs under Kilij Arslan at Myriokephalon in 1176 brought about an ideological breach between the two emperors which was very difficult to heal. They

171 See R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten*, 22-3, passim.

172 Cinnamus (ed. Meineke), 18-19; Choniates (ed. Van Dieten), 27.

173 Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 66-75.

174 Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 47-50, 52, 72, 246-7.

175 Cinnamus (ed. Meineke), 190-202, 204-8; Choniates (ed. Van Dieten), 118. Narrative account in Magdalino, *Manuel Komnenos*, 76-7. For a list of Manuel I's imperial letters, as given by Cinnamus, see O. Kresten, 'Die Auslandsschreiben der byzantinischen Kaiser der Komnenenzeit: Die literarische Überlieferung bei Anna Komnene und Ioannes Kinnamos', *RHM* 39 (1996), 38-40.

176 Cinnamus (ed. Meineke), 236. Cf. K. J. Heilig, 'Ostroom und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts. Die Erhebung Österreichs zum Herzogtum 1156 und das Bündnis zwischen Byzanz und dem Westreich', in Mayer, Heilig and Erdmann, *Kaisertum und Herzogs-Gewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I.*, Stuttgart 1958, 1-271.

177 Heilig, 'Ostroom', 230-2, the Emperor Manuel I's niece.

exchanged letters in which the long *intitulatio* and *inscriptio* used by each¹⁷⁸ were attempts of the one to persuade the other which it was, Manuel or Frederick, who represented Roman imperial legitimacy and continuity. But to Manuel's weak third successor, the Emperor Isaac II Angelus (1185-95), the arrogance of the pretentious Frederick Barbarossa during the Third Crusade (in which this German emperor who dreamed of conquering the East lost his life ingloriously while swimming in the River Kalykadnos in Cilicia¹⁷⁹) became insufferable, relations became embittered, and so far as we can see, in contrast to what had taken place during the Second Crusade, the two emperors never met.¹⁸⁰ The next Byzantine emperor, Alexius III Angelus, out of fear of Frederick's successor, Henry VI (1190-97) consented to pay a very burdensome tax, the Ἀλαμανικὸς φόρος, in order to avoid war with Germany (κατένευσε χορημάτων τὴν εἰρήνην ἀλλάξασθαι, 'he consented to barter peace for money'¹⁸¹). The German envoys who were received in Constantinople in 1196 were not only unimpressed by the splendour of the elaborate Byzantine diplomatic protocol of reception by the emperor, but ridiculed it (ἀνδραποδώδεις χλιδαί: 'as luxuries fit for slaves', as Nicetas Choniates says) with undisguised sneers at jewels and vestments more suitable for women and flowery meadows.¹⁸²

8. The last Byzantine diplomatic efforts in the face of the Turkish threat

The personal diplomatic efforts of the emperors were much more modest in the last century of Byzantine history (from 1355 when the first contacts began by letter to 1453).¹⁸³ The Emperors John V (1341-91), Manuel II (1391-1425) and John VIII (1425-48) Palaeologi travelled a number of times to Western Europe and tried through various and sometimes humiliating concessions, even by converting personally to the Roman Catholic faith,¹⁸⁴ to persuade the heterodox Westerners to hasten to the aid of the remnant of their empire which was in imminent danger of being finally engulfed by the expanding Turkish power ('we hope for many and great things from them'¹⁸⁵). The tactics of these imperial diplomatic begging missions in the West (which may have resulted in various promises but rendered very little aid), on the basis of offering in exchange the union of the Churches and the recognition of the Roman primacy, came to a head with the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/9¹⁸⁶. But they did not have the slightest relation to the general diplomatic principles, methods and

178 Manuel to Frederick: 'Manuel in Christo Deo fidelis imperator, porphyrogenitus, divinitus, coronatus, regnator, potens, excelsus, et semper augustus et Romanorum moderator magnificus nobilissimo et gloriosissimo regi Alemannie et imperatori et dilecto fratri imperii nostri salutem et fraterni amoris affectum.' Frederick to Manuel: 'Fridericus divina favente clementia inclitus triumphator, Romanorum imperator, a Deo coronatus, sublimis, in Christo fidelis, magnus, pacificus, gloriosus, Caesar, Graecorum moderator et semper augustus nobili et illustri regi Graecorum et imperatori, Manueli, dilecto fratri suo, salutem et fraternae dilectionis affectum.' See on this topic (in greater detail!) Kresten'Anredstreit', 66, 68, passim. See also plate 3.

179 H. Appelt, 'Die Kaiseridee Friedrich Barbarossas', *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. Hist. Klasse*, 252, 4. Heft, Vienna 1967.

180 See C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968.

181 Choniates (ed. Van Dieten), 477.

182 Choniates (ed. Van Dieten), 477.

183 B. Nerantzi-Varmazi, *To Βυζάντιο καὶ ἡ Δύση (1354-1369)*, Thessalonica 1982, 58-9.

184 D. M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium*, London 1993, 271 (John V in 1370).

185 Medvedev, 'O printsipach', 133 n. 24.

186 J. Gill, *Constance et Bâle-Florence* (Histoire des Conciles oecuméniques 9), Paris 1965, 213 ff.

customary practices of Byzantine diplomacy discussed above which were in force in the period when the empire was large, powerful and unitary. For this reason the last Byzantine emperor who was able to pursue a markedly multifaceted foreign policy with corresponding diplomatic activities was Michael VIII Palaeologus (1258-82), who inherited a state which was territorially restricted but had great traditions and some possibilities for pursuing a multifaceted policy in its immediate environment. But afterwards, until the final fall of the empire in 1453, the diplomacy of the empire (a tributary vassal of the Turks after 1371) was no longer imperial and independent, in spite of the fact, as has been mentioned, it still reached out to Portugal, Syria, Paris, London¹⁸⁷ and Moscow,¹⁸⁸ without entirely abandoning the old German-Byzantine alliance either.¹⁸⁹ The most striking characteristic we may discern in the methods which Byzantine diplomacy was using in this period, even in respect of imperial begging missions in the West, was the flexible and very different diplomatic tactics of the Palaeologan emperors compared with those used by contemporary patriarchs of Constantinople, and the Orthodox Byzantine clergy more generally, towards their western Roman Catholic interlocutors. The Orthodox Church stubbornly opposed these conciliatory tactics and the concomitant undertaking to make an official effort on the Byzantine side for the Schism of 1054 to be lifted in exchange for substantial Western military aid, so that the continuous Turkish expansion into Europe could be halted. Thus there developed the constantly simmering quarrel between the Unionists and the Anti-unionists, which erupted in bloody civil disturbances even during the last siege of the Imperial City (April/May 1453). The undiminishing anti-western ardour over the centuries of the leadership of the Orthodox Church was to be an ideological bonus for Ottoman policy towards the subject Orthodox populations of the Balkans, Greek and Slav, during the *Τουρκοκρατία* with the aim of averting any direct or indirect interference of a Christian but heterodox Europe in Eastern affairs. Thus for the almost four hundred years of servitude to the Turks, the 'mighty empire of the Ottomans', as various documents of ecclesiastical provenance call it, and the Orthodox Church worked together closely to this end, with the noteworthy exception of the Russo-Turkish wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It has been maintained that the antithesis between the conciliatory policy of the Palaeologue emperors towards the West and the correspondingly hostile stance of the patriarchs was agreed between Church and State so as to win valuable time (but for what purpose?) and at the same time mollify Orthodox sensibilities, which had been deeply offended by the Fourth Crusade. But this cannot be substantiated from Byzantine or any other sources. What is certain, however, is that state diplomacy in the true and multi-dimensional sense of the term, in which the diplomat either at home or on a foreign mission has to reconcile many, often contradictory, alternative possibilities and solutions before he comes to a decision, did not exist in the last Byzantine period, when the threat to the very existence of the state was permanent and immediate and only permitted a one-dimensional approach.

187 Cf. the old work of G. Schlumberger, *Un empereur de Byzance à Paris et à Londres*, Paris 1916. Also J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425): A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Jersey 1969, 163-99.

188 Medvedev, 'Ο printsipach', 130.

189 John Cantacuzenus (ed. L. Schopen, CSHB, Bonn 1828) vol. I, 335-6. Cf. T. Loungis, *Η ευρωπαϊκή ισορροπία στον Μεσαίωνα: η γεωμεταβυζαντινή συμμαχία*, in *Το Βυζάντιο και οι απαρχές της Ευρώπης*, 73 n. 86.

APPENDIX

1

Πὼς δεῖ πρεσβεύεσθαι καὶ πρεσβεύειν

Περὶ πρεσβειῶν (On Embassies), ed. I. Bekker and B. Niebuhr, CSHB, Bonn 1829, pp. 6-8.

Πρέσβεις ἢ παρ' ἡμῶν ἢ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλονται. Ἐὰν μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀποστέλλωνται, χρὴ φιλοτίμως τε καὶ δαψιλῶς τούτους ὑποδέχεσθαι (καὶ γὰρ τιμῶσι πάντες αὐτούς), τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετοῦντας αὐτοῖς δι' ἀσφαλείας ἔχειν εἰς τὸ μηδενότι διδάσκειν ἐπερωτωμένους αὐτούς. Κἂν μὲν τῶν λίαν ἀφεστηκότων οἱ πρέσβεις εἶεν, ὥστε μεταξὺ ἐκείνων τε καὶ ἡμῶν εἶναι τινα τῶν ἐθνῶν, ἐμφανίζειν αὐτοὺς τῶν ἡμετέρων ὅποσα καὶ οἷα βουλόμεθα. Ὁμοίως δὲ εἰ καὶ πλησιόχωροι μὲν ἡμῶν καθειστήκεσαν, ἐνδεῶς δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἔχουσι δύναμιν. Εἰ δὲ κατὰ πολὺ ἡμῶν διενηνόχασιν, εἴτε πλήθει στρατοῦ, εἴτε ἀνδρείᾳ, χρὴ μῆτε πλοῦτον, μῆτε γυναικῶν κάλλη ἐμφανίζειν αὐτοῖς, πλήθῃ δὲ ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὅπλων εὐκοσμίαν καὶ τειχῶν ὑψώματα. Εἰ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν πρέσβεις ἀποστέλλονται, χρὴ τούτους πρῶτον μὲν εὐσεβεῖα γνωρίζεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἐπ' ἐγκλήμασι κατηγορηθέντας ποτὲ δημοσίᾳ κατακριθῆναι, εἶναι δὲ φρονίμους τὴν φύσιν, εὖνους τὰ κοινά, ὥς καὶ προκινδυνεύειν τῶν ιδίων, καθάπερ Ῥήγουλος, καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν προθύμους, ἀλλ' οὐ βεβιασμένους, καθάπερ ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ἱατρός. Ὡς ὁ μὲν παρὰ Καρχηδονίοις δέσμιος ὢν καὶ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους περὶ εἰρήνης πρεσβεύσων ἀπεσταλμένος, ὁμνυσιν ἐπανελθεῖν πρὸς αὐτούς, τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὴν εἰρήνην οὐ καταδεχομένων ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς Ῥωμαίους ἀφίκετο, ἀπαγορεύει μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὴν εἰρήνην ἀσύμφορον αὐτοῖς οὔσαν, πείθει δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπανελθεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Καρχηδονίους, τῷ ὄρκῳ φειδόμενος. Ὁ δὲ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν Πέρσῃν κινήσας, τὰ Αἰγυπτίων διόλωλε. Χρὴ δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις παραγενομένους πρὸς οὓς ἀποστέλλονται, φαίνεσθαι ἐπιχαρεῖς, μεγαλοψύχους, εὐεργετικοὺς τὰ εἰς δύναμιν, ἄμφω, τὰ τε οἰκεία, τὰ τε τῶν πολεμίων, ἐν ἐπαίνῳ ποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ ἐκείνων ἐνδιαβάλλοντας. Οἰκονομεῖν δὲ δεῖ τοὺς πρέσβεις, καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐπακολουθεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης πράττειν τὰ κελευόμενα, εἰ μὴ τι πρᾶξι πάσι τρόποις παρεκελεύεσθαι. Οἷον ἀπεστάλη τις ὡς φίλοις δῶρα τοῖς γείτοσιν ἐπικομιζόμενος ὁ δὲ τούτους καταλαβὼν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν πράττοντας τὰ μὲν δῶρα σὺν τῷ γράμματι παρακατέσχε, λόγους δὲ φιλίας ἀντὶ δῶρων ἀπεκομίσατο. Ἐρεῖ γάρ τις εἰκότως, ὥς ἐχρῆν μᾶλλον ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ δῶρα, καθημεροῦντα τῶν πολεμίων τὸ ἄγριον ἢ τὰ μὲν τιμώτερά παρακατασχεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἐπιδοῦναι, ἀλλὰ μὴ πάντα κρατεῖν, ὥς μῆτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς πλουτεῖν ἐθέλειν, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῆς ἐχθρας ὑποτέμνειν τῶν πολεμίων. Δοκιμάζεται δὲ πρέσβυς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀποστολῆς, ὑποτιθεμένων αὐτῷ τῶν κεφαλαίων, καὶ ἐρωτώμενος, ὅπως περὶ ἐκάστου αὐτῶν οἰκονομήσειεν, οὕτως ἢ ἐτέρως αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπισυμβαινόντων.

Commentary: Lounghis, Ambassadors, 285-8.

2

Nicholas Mysticus, patriarch of Constantinople (901-7 and 912-25)

(a) Letter 1, ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, *Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople, Letters*, CFHB 6, Washington D. C. 1973, p. 2:

(Addressed probably in 913/14 'to the most glorious and brilliant emir of Crete, my beloved friend')

...Ὅτι δύο κυριότητες πάσης τῆς ἐν γῇ κυριότητος, ἥ τε τῶν Σαρακηνῶν καὶ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπερανέχουσι καὶ διαλάμπουσιν, ὥσπερ οἱ δύο μεγάλοι ἐν τῷ στερεώματι φωστήρες, καὶ δεῖ κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο μόνον κοινωνικῶς ἔχειν καὶ ἀδελφικῶς, καὶ μὴ διότι τοῖς βίοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι καὶ τῷ σεβάσματι κεχωρίσμεθα, παντάπασιν ἀλλοτρίως διακεῖσθαι καὶ ἀποστερεῖν ἑαυτοὺς τῆς διὰ τῶν γραμμάτων παρὰ μέρος ἐντυχίας.

(b) Letter 21, ed. Jenkins and Westerink, p. 144:

(Addressed probably in 922 'to my most mighty, renowned, spiritual son Symeon, prince of Bulgaria')

καὶ οὐδὲν ἔθνος ἐξ οὗ τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἐγνωρίσθη ἡδυνήθη καυχήσασθαι μὴ οὐχὶ τὸν ἀνχένα κλίνει αὐτῷ...

(c) Letter 23, ed. Jenkins and Westerink, p. 160:

(Addressed probably in 922 'to the same', i.e. to Tsar Symeon [883-927])

Γίνωσκε γὰρ (φημι καὶ πάλιν) εἴ τι ἐγὼ τὰ ἐκ τῆς βασιλικῆς κινήσεως καθ' ὑμῶν κατενόησα πράγματα, πᾶν γένος οὐ μὴ λήξωσιν εἰς τὸν καθ' ὑμῶν ὄλεθρον συγκινοῦντες, οὔτε Τοῦρκους οὔτε Ἀλανοὺς οὔτε Πατζηνακίτας οὔτε Ῥῶς οὔτε τὰ ἄλλα Σκυθικὰ γένη, μέχρῃς ἂν τὸ τῶν Βουλγάρων εἰς τέλος ἐξαπολέσωσι γένος.

3

John Grammaticus, ambassador of the Emperor Theophilus to Baghdad in 830

Theophanes Continuatus (CSHB), pp. 95-8:

Ἐπεὶ δὲ παλαιῷ ἔθει ἐπόμενος ἐβούλετο τοῖς τῆς Ἁγᾶς τὰ τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας ποιῆσαι κατάδηλα, εἴτε δὴ κοινωνοὺς εὐφροσύνης λαμβάνων εἴτε μᾶλλον τῷ φοβερῶς μέλλειν ὁρᾶσθαι αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τὴν τοιαύτην ἄξιον διακονίαν κρίνει τὸν Ἰωάννην, τότε μὲν σύγγελλον, αὐτοῦ δὲ πρότερον, ὡς ἔφθηνεν εἰπόντες, διδάσκαλον. Πολιτικῆς γὰρ εὐταξίας τοῦτον πλήρη τυγχάνοντα, οὐ μὴν δὲ καὶ τῇ αἰρέσει τοῦτου συμπαραμένοντα, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιρρητικούς λόγους κεκτημένον δραστήριον, ἡγάπα οὗτος καὶ διαφερόντως τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ἐσέμνυνεν οὐδὲν χάριν καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς Συρίας ἄρχοντα ἐξαπέστειλεν, ἄλλα τε δοὺς αὐτῷ πολλὰ οἷς θαυμάζεται βασιλεῖα Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἁλλοφύλων γένος ἐπτόρηται, προσεπιδούς δὲ καὶ χροσίον κεντηναρίων τεσσάρων ὑπερβαῖνον ποσότητα. Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν τῷ ἀμεραμνονῇ ὡς δῶρα ἀπέσταλκεν, τὸ χροσίον δέ, ὡς εἴη τῷ Ἰωάννῃ εἰς φιλοτιμίας ἐπίδοσιν, ἐπιδείξεώς τε χάριν ἅμα καὶ αὐξήσεως εἰ γὰρ

ἄμμου δίκην ὁ ἀποσταλεὶς τὸ χρυσίον ἔχει σπεῖρειν ὥς βούλεται, πολλῶ δὴ πον μᾶλλον τὸν ἀποστείλαντα ἐπὶ πλούτου θημιῶνας θαυμάζεσθαι χρῆ. Διὸ καὶ σκευὴ πρὸς τούτους δύο ἐκ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν τὴν σύστασιν ἔχοντα, ἃ ἡ κοινὴ γλῶττα καὶ μὴ καθαρὰ καλεῖ χειρὶ βόξοστα, αὐτῷ ἐπιδέδωκεν, πάντοθεν ἐξαίρων τὸν ἀπόστολον αὐτοῦ καὶ κοσμῶν. Ὅς δὲ ἀφικόμενος καὶ τὰ Βαγδὰ ἄρτι καταλαβὼν πολλὸς μὲν ἐφαίνετο ἐκ τῆς ἔδδον περινοίας καὶ λόγου τοῦ προφητικοῦ, πολλὸς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐξωθεν ἐπανθύντος πλούτου αὐτῷ καὶ σεμνότητος, οὐ μικρὰ τινα τοῖς ἀποστελλομένοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν φοιτῶσι διδούς, μεγάλα δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων μόνον κατάλληλα. Ἐκ τούτου ἐθαιμάζετό τε, καὶ τὸ αὐτοῦ διαπρύσιον ἐγίγνετο ὄνομα. Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν ἄρτι τοῖς ὁρίοις τῶν βαρβάρων προσβάς ἐξέπληξε τε πάντας, καὶ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως χάριν αὐτῶν ὑπνητηκόσιν καὶ ὅπως ἔχοι πυθομένοις μόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῇ δαψιλείᾳ τῶν δώρων καὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ θαυμάσαις τούτους ἐποίησεν. Τότε δὲ πλησιάσας τῷ Ἰσμαῖλ καὶ κατὰ πρόσωπον στάς, καὶ ἀπαγγείλας τοὺς ἐκ βασιλέως λόγους αὐτῷ, εἶπε ἀπηγγέλλει, ἅπεισι πρὸς τὸ ἀναπαύσεως καταγώγιον. Μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μᾶλλον βουλόμενος ἐξᾶραι τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, τοὺς ἐφ' οἵαδηποτοῦν αἰτίαι πρὸς αὐτὸν φοιτῶντας, μεγάλῃ τε καὶ μικρᾷ, σκευὸς τι ἀργύρεον χρυσίου πληρῶν ἐκάστω ἐπεδίδου φιλοτιμούμενος. Καί ποτε δὲ τοῖς βαρβάροις συνεσιώμενος τῶν εἰρημνῶν δύο χειρονίπτρων τοῖς ὑπηρετοῦσι παρήγγειλεν ἀπολέσαι τούτων ἑκουσίως τὸ ἔτερον, ὃ εἰς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐκέκτητο. ὥς δὲ θροῦς τις οὐκ ἀγεννῆς ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τούτου ἐγένετο, καὶ πάντες οἱ βάρβαροι τῷ ἀλλεῖ τούτου καὶ τῇ σεμνότητι, ἔτι γε καὶ τῇ μεγαλοπρεπείᾳ βεβλημένοι τὴν ψυχὴν πολλὴν συζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ἐρευναν, καὶ πάντα κάλων, τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον, ἔσειον, ὥς ἂν εἰς φῶς ἀχθῇ τὸ κλαπέν, τῇ καὶ οὕτως τὸ ἔτερον ἐκβαλεῖν κελεύσας, καὶ «τοῦτο ἔα φθεῖρεσθαι» ἐπειπὼν, εἰς θάμβος ἦγε τοὺς Σαρακηνούς, τὴν τοιαύτην ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ καταπαύσαντος, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ ἀμεραμουνῆς ἀντιφιλοτιμούμενος, καὶ τούτου δευτέρως ὀφθῆναι μὴ βουλόμενος, ἄλλους τε δώροις αὐτὸν ἐθεράπευεν, οἷσπερ αὐτὸς οὐχ ἡλίσκετο ἀλλ' ὥς χοῦν αὐτοῦ κατενώπιον ἔρριπτεν, καὶ ἐπεδίδου αἰχμαλώτους ἑκατὸν ἄρτι τῆς φρουρᾶς ἐξαγαγὼν καὶ ἀμφιάσει κοσμήσας εὐπρεπέσι, τὰ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας περιελόμενος ῥάκια. Ἀλλὰ καὶ οὕτως ἐπῆναι μὲν πάννυ καὶ ἀπεδέχετο τοῦ διδόντος τὸ μεγαλόδωρον, ἐλάμβανε δὲ οὐδαμῶς, εἰπὼν τούτους ἐν ἀνέσει μὲν τέως καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ μένειν παρ' ἑαυτοῖς, μέχρις ἂν τὴν ἀντιστήκωσιν ἐξεργάσεται καὶ ἄλλους αἰχμαλώτους Σαρακηνούς ἐπιδούς ἐκείνοις τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐκλήψεται. Τοῦτο γοῦν γεγόμενον ἐξέπληξε τὸν Σαρακηνὸν καὶ οὐκέτι ὥς ξένον, ὥς οἰκεῖον δὲ ἡγούμενος τοῦτον συνεχῶς μετεκαλεῖτο, καὶ θησαυροὺς ἐδείκνυε τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὰ τῶν οἰκημάτων κάλλη καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ σεμνοπρέπειαν, καὶ οὕτως δὲ τιμῶν γε τοῦτον ἐφαίνετο, ἄχρις οὐ μεγαλοπρεπῶς πάλιν πρὸς τὴν Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἐξαπέσταλκεν.

4

(a) Letters of Theudibert I (534-48), Frankish king of Austrasia, to the Emperor Justinian I (527-65)

1. *Epistola austrasica* 19 = MGH. *Epistulae* III, ed. W. Gundlach, Berlin 1957, p. 132:

Domino inlustro et praecellentissimo domno et patri, Iustiniano imperatore, Theodebertus rex

Litteras gloriae vestrae, Andrea comite veniente, suscepimus, quibus indicare dignamini, tria milia virorum in solacium Bregantini patrici dirigere deberemus. Sed moram huius rei legatio vestra fecit – et ratio aliqua, quam per ipsum vobis verbo mandavimus, intercessit – quae ad nos tardius, quam speravimus aut vestra excellentia scripserat, pervenit, quam X. Kalendas Octobris ad nos per...accessisse gloria vestra cognoscat. Et ideo, ipso Andrea revertente, amorem nostrum erga imperium vestrum, ut profectus communis habuerit, interveniente caritate, custodire, Deo adiuvante, disponimus, ita ut, cum legatarii vestri ad nos pervenerint, et omnia pro utilitate communi a nostris partibus, Deo auspice, fuerint confirmata, rebus evidentibus, quomodo vos diligamus, adprobatur. Explicit.

2. *Epistola austrasica* 20, ed. Gundlach, p. 133:

Domino inlustro et praecellentissimo domno et patri, Iustiniano imperatore, Theodebertus rex

Theodorus vir expectabilis cum Solomonem pariter veniens, litteras, quas imperii vestri clementia destinavit, integra animi caritate et devotione suscepimus, quia, cum de nobis cura geritis, sic latius per diversas gentes adque provincias Dei amatam amicitiam propagamus. Id vero, quod dignamini esse solliciti, in quibus provinciis habitemus aut quae gentes nostrae sint, Deo adiutore, dicione subiecte: Dei nostri misericordiam feliciter subactis Thoringiis et eorum provinciis adquisitis, extinctis ipsorum tunc tempore regibus, Norsavorum itaque gentem nobis placata maiestate, colla subdentibus edictis ideoque, Deo propitio, Wesigotis, incolomes Franciae, septentrionalem plagam Italiaeque Pannoniae cum Saxonibus, Euciis, qui se nobis voluntate propria tradiderunt, per Danubium et limitem Pannoniae usque in oceanis litoribus custodiende Deo dominatio nostra porrigetur. Et quia scimus, augustam celsitudinem vestram de profectu catholicorum, sicut etiam littere vestrae testantur, plena animi iucunditate gaudere, ideo est, quod secundum voluntatem vestram, quae Deus nobis concesserit, simplici relatione mandamus, desiderantibus animis exoptantes, ut felicibus gloria vestra ita valeat, ut antiquam retroactorum principum amicitiam conservetis, et gratiam, quam sepius promittitis, in communi utilitate iungamur. Explicit.

(b) Letter of the Emperor Maurice (582-602) to Childebert II (575-95), Frankish king of Austrasia

Epistola austrasica 42, ed. Gundlach, pp. 148-9:

In nomine Domini Dei nostri Iesu Christi. Imperatore Caesar Flavius Mauricius Tiberius, fidelis in Christo, mansuetus, maximus, beneficus, pacificus, Alamannicus, Gothicus, Anticus, Alanicus, Wandalicus, Erullicus, Gypedicus, Africus, pius, felix, inleti, victor ac triumphator, semper Augustus, Childebertho, viro glorioso, regi Francorum.

Littere vestrae gloriae per Iocundum episcopum et Chothronem cubicularium nobis directe amicalem quidem voluntatem et paternum affectum circa nos atque sacratissimam rempublicam nostram conservare vos indicant: hoc, quod et per alios ligatarios multiplicibus verbis ad nostram pietatem conscriptum invenitur. Et mirum nobis videtur, si, rectam habere mentem atque priscam gentis Francorum et dicioni Romanae unitatem esse conprobatam adfirmans, nihil operis usque adhuc amicitiae congruum eminentia tua ostendens visa est:

dum in scriptis pollicita atque per sacerdotis firmata et terribilibus iuramentis roborata, tanto tempore excessu, nullum effectum perceperunt. Et si hoc ita est, quid per tanta spatia terrae atque maris inaniter sine responso necessarios vestros ligatarios fatigatis, iuvenalis sermonis, qui nihil utilitatis induxerunt, iactantes? Nos tamen imperialem benevolentiam sequentis, et praefatos ligatarios vestros suscipimus, etiamsi non cognovimus, et cum veritate a te transmissus esse, atque his, quae nunciata ab eis sunt, placidis auribus intimantes, competens eis dedimus responsum, quod et per alios ligatarios vestros manifestum tuae gloriae iam factum est. Et optamus, vos, si amicitiam nostram appetere desideratis, valide atque incunctanter omnia disceptare et non solum dictionibus enarrare, sed enarrata viriliter, quomodo regem oportet, peragere atque similiter nostram piam benevolentiam expectare. Dicit igitur gloriam tam, ea quoque, [que] in scriptis inter nos placita sunt, vel etiam nunc ad effectum perduceret, ut per hanc occasionem magis magisque vestrae gentis unitas atque felicissimae nostrae reipublicae conficiatur et nulla inter nos controversia oriatur. Non enim pro inimicitia memorate conventionis a nobis factae sunt, sed ut amicitia firma et inlibata permaneat.

Per Manuhel.

Divinitas te servet per multos annos, parens christianissime atque amantissime.

Data Kalendis Septembris Constantinopoli, imperatore divi Mauricii Tiberii perpetuus augustus et post consulatum eiusdem annis....

5

Ratification of the peace treaty of 561/2

Menander Protector (*The History of Menander the Guardsman*. Introductory Essay, Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes, R. C. Blockley, Liverpool 1985), Fr. 6, 1, p. 76:

Τούτων οὕτω προελθόντων καὶ ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ τάξει γενομένων, ἐπεὶ ἀνεδέξαντο οἱ γε ἐς τοῦτο τεταγμένοι τὰς συλλαβὰς τοῖν δυοῖν βιβλίῳ καὶ ἀπηκρίβωσαν τῷ ἰσορρόπῳ τε καὶ ἰσοδυνάμῳ τῶν ῥημάτων τὰ ἐνθυμήματα, αὐτίκα οἱ γε ἰσόγραφα ἔτερα ἐπετέλουν. Καὶ τὰ μὲν κυριώτερα ξυνειληθέντα τε καὶ κατασφαλισθέντα ἐκμαγεῖς τε κηρίοις ἐτέροις τε οἷς εἰώθασιν Πέρσαι χρῆσθαι, καὶ ἐκτυπώμασι δακτυλίων ὑπὸ τῶν πρέσβεων, ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ ἐρμηνέων δέκα πρὸς τοῖς δύο, ἕξ μὲν Ῥωμαίων, οὐχ ἥττον δὲ Περσῶν, ἀμοιβαίᾳ τῇ δόσει τὰ τῆς εἰρήνης βιβλία παρῄσχοντο ἀλλήλοις. Καὶ τὸ μὲν τῇ Περσῶν φωνῇ γεγραμμένον ἐνεχείρισεν Πέτρῳ ὁ Ζίχ, καὶ Πέτρος δὲ τῷ Ζίχ τὸ τῇ Ἑλληνίδι, καὶ αὐθις τοῦ Ζίχ τὸ ἰσορροποῦν τῇ γραφῇ τῇ Ἑλληνίδι βιβλίον γράμμασι Περσικοῖς διασσημασμένον ἄνευ τῆς τῶν ἐκτυπωμάτων ἀσφαλείας εἰληφότος, <ἐς> τὸ σωθήσεσθαι οἱ τὰς μνήμας, καὶ Πέτρος οὐκ ἄλλως ἐπετέλεσεν ἀμοιβαίως.

Εἴτα ἐπὶ τούτοις διελύθησαν τῶν τε ὁρίων ἅπο ἐγένοντο...

6

Letter of Justinian I to Theudibert I (534-48), Childebert I (511-58) and Chlotar I (511-61), Merovingian Frankish kings in 534/5:

Procopius, *Wars* V, 5, 8-9 (ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, Leipzig 1963) vol. 1, p. 26:

Γότθοι, Ἰταλίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν βίᾳ ἐλόντες οὐχ ὅσον αὐτὴν ἀποδιδόναι οὐδαμῇ ἔγνωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσηδικήκασιν ἡμᾶς οὔτε φορητὰ οὔτε μέτρια. Διόπερ ἡμεῖς μὲν στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἠναγκάσμεθα, ὑμᾶς δὲ εἰκὸς ξυνδιαφέρειν ἡμῖν πόλεμον τόνδε, ὃν ἡμῖν κοινὸν εἶναι ποιεῖ δόξα τε ὀρθή, ἀποσειομένη τὴν Ἀρειανῶν γνώμην, καὶ τὸ ἐς Γότθους ἀμφοτέρων ἔχθος.

Any feature which makes this text resemble a letter has been omitted.

7

Letter, probably of the Emperor Theophilus (829-42) to the western Emperor Lothar I (840-55) relating to a common campaign against the infidels in Italy. Probably belonging to 841/2.

Ed. W. Ohnsorge, 'Das Kaiserbündnis von 842-844 gegen die Sarazenen. Datum, Inhalt und politische Bedeutung des "Kaiserbriefes aus St. Denis", *Abendland und Byzanz*, Darmstadt 1963, 135, with corrections Lounghis, *Ambassades*, 171, note 1:

- 2...ων, ὅτι ἐν τῷ τα[ξιδί]ῳ τοῦτω δεῖ.
- 3...ε.ε.ε.α γενέξ[θ]αι, ἵ[ν]α καὶ [κατὰ
- 4...θεοῦ δόξ[α]ν αὐτοῦ τοῦ φ[ι]λαν[θ]ρώπου καὶ
- 5 ἐν τῷ ἐπιγ[ε]ῖῳ ἡ ἀγάπη τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκ [θεοῦ
- 6 βασιλείας] ἐφαπλωθῇ ὑμῖν καὶ ἔσητα[ι] καὶ
- 7 ὁμόνοια τῇ[ς] ἐκ θεο[ῦ] βασιλείας ἡμῶν
- 8 μετὰ τοῦ ἡ[γ]απημένου ἡμῶν τέκ[νον] [τοῦ
- 9 ῥιγὸς καὶ ὅ[πως] καὶ ὁ θεὸς δοξάζ[ηται]
- 10 παρὰ πάντων κ]αὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῶν χριστιανῶ[ν] ἡ δι-
- 11 καία ἀποκ]ατάστασις φθάνη καὶ οἱ κ[οινοὶ]
- 12 ἀντίπαλοι] ὀλονται καὶ οἱ φίλοι σώζοντ[αι].
- 13 Ἡ χάρις] τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ εὐρίνη αὐτοῦ κ[αὶ] ἡ
- 14 εὐφροσύνη] ἔστω μεθ' ὑμῶν. Καὶ περὶ το[ύτου]
- 15 τοῦ σκοποῦ] ἀρμόδιόν σοι ἔστιν καὶ ὑπομνη[σιν]
- 16 κῶς ἐγγελ[ε]ῖν τῷ προδηλωθέντ[ι] ἀγα-
- 17 πητῷ ἐν Χρ[ι]στῷ ἡμῶν τέκνῳ τῷ ῥιγί, ἐπει-
- 18 δὴ δεσπότη]ς αὐτῶν ἐκτίσθης καὶ ἐπίτροπος

19 ἐπεδόθη]ς αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργήσα[ντος +
 20 + *legimus* +
 21. [Ἀπελύθη ἀπὸ τῆς] θ[εοφυλάκτου μεγα]λ[ο]πόλ[εως] μ[ι] (ἡνί)
 μαίῳ ἔκτ[η] (ἰνδικτιῶνος) ἔκτης

8

Letter of the Emperor Alexius I Comnenus (1081-1118) to the German Emperor Henry IV (1056-1106) on an alliance against the Normans in Southern Italy, dated 1082

Anna Comnena, Alexiad III, 10, 3-8 (ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis, CFHB 40/1, Berlin and New York 2002), pp. 112-14:

Τὰ κατὰ τὴν σὴν μεγαλοδύναμον ἔξουσίαν καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ προκοπτεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον εὐχῆς ἐστὶν ἔργον τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου, πανευγενέστατε καὶ τῷ ὄντι χριστιανικώτατε ἀδελφέ. Καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἐξέσται τῇ τοῦ κράτους ἡμῶν θεοσεβείᾳ ἐπεύχεσθαι σοὶ τὰ κρείττω τε καὶ λυσιτελέστερα τὴν ἐν σοὶ καταμαθούσῃ θεοσεβείᾳ; Ἡ γὰρ πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν βασιλείαν ἀδελφικὴ σου αὐτῇ ὁρπὴ καὶ διάθεσις καὶ ὁ μετὰ τοῦ κακομηχάνου ἀνδρὸς συμφωνηθεὶς ἀναδεχθῆναί σοι κάματος, ἵνα τὸν παλαμναῖον καὶ ἀλιτήριον καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ πολέμιον καὶ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀξίως μετέλθῃς τῆς κακοφροσύνης αὐτοῦ, πολλὴν σοὶ τὴν ἀγαθοθέλειαν τῆς ψυχῆς διαδείκνυσι, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦτο φανερὰν τὴν πληροφορίαν παρίστησι τοῦ κατὰ Θεὸν σου φρονήματος. Τὰ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν βασιλείαν τᾶλλα μὲν ἔχει καλῶς, ἐν ἐλαχίστῳ δὲ ἄσταται καὶ παρὰ τῆς τοῖς κατὰ τὸν Ῥομπέρτον κυμαινόμενα. ἀλλ' εἴ τι δεῖ πιστεῦναι Θεῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου δικαίοις κρίμασι, ταχεῖα ἢ καταστροφὴ τοῦ ἀδικωτάτου τούτου ἀνθρώπου παρέσται οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέξεται πάντως Θεὸς ῥάβδον ἀμαρτωλῶν κατὰ τῆς κληρονομίας αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἀφίεσθαι. Τὰ μέντοι παρὰ τοῦ κράτους ἡμῶν συμφωνηθέντα ἀποσταλῆναι τῇ μεγαλοδυνάμει σου ἔξουσίᾳ, αἱ ἑκατὸν τεσσαρακοντατέσσαρες χιλιάδες τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ τὰ ἑκατὸν βλαττία, ἀπεστάλῃσαν νῦν διὰ τοῦ πρωτοπροέδρου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ κατεπάνω τῶν ἀξιωματῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρέσκειαν τοῦ πιστοτάτου καὶ εὐγενεστάτου κόμητος τοῦ Βουλχάρδου. Καὶ τὸ ῥῆθὲν ποσὸν τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἀπεπληρώθη διὰ τὴν εἰργασμένου ἀργύρου καὶ ῥωμανάτου παλαιᾶς ποιότητος. Καὶ τελειομένον τοῦ ὄρκου παρὰ τῆς εὐγενείας σου σταλήσονται σοὶ καὶ αἱ ὑπόλοιποι διακόσμιαι δεκαεὶς χιλιάδες τῶν νομισμάτων καὶ ἡ ῥόγα τῶν δοθέντων εἰκοσιν ἀξιωματῶν διὰ τοῦ πιστοτάτου τῇ σῇ ἔξουσίᾳ Βαγγελάρδου, ὀπηνίκα εἰς Λογγιβαρδίαν κατέλθῃς. Ὅπως μέντοι ὀφείλει τελεσθῆναι ὁ ὅρκος, προεδηλώθη πάντως τῇ εὐγενείᾳ σου, ἀπαγγελεῖ δ' ἔτι σαφέστερον καὶ ὁ πρωτοπρόεδρος Κωνσταντίνος καὶ κατεπάνω ὥς καὶ παρὰ τοῦ κράτους ἡμῶν ἐνταλθεὶς ἕκαστον τῶν κεφαλαίων, ἅπερ μέλλουσι ζητηθῆναι καὶ διὰ τοῦ γενησομένου παρὰ σοῦ ὄρκου βεβαιωθῆναι. Ὅπηνίκα γὰρ ἡ συμφωνία ἀναμεταξὺ τῆς βασιλείας μου καὶ τῶν παρὰ τῆς εὐγενείας σου ἀποσταλέντων πρέσβων ἐγίνετο, διεμνημονεύθησαν τινὰ τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων κεφάλαια ὅτι δὲ περὶ τούτων μὴ ἔχειν πρόσταξιν εἰπον οἱ τῆς εὐγενείας σου ἄνθρωποι, κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ βασιλεία μου τὸν ὄρκον αὐτῆς ἀνῆρτησε. Τοῖνυν καὶ τελεσθῆτω ὁ ὅρκος παρὰ τῆς εὐγενείας σου, ὥς ὁ πιστὸς σου Ἀλβέρτης ἀνωμότως τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ἐβεβαίωσε καὶ ὥς τὸ ἡμέτερον κράτος κατὰ

προσθήκην ἀναγκαιοτέραν αὐτοῦ ζητεῖ. Ἡ δὲ βραδυτὴς τοῦ πιστοτάτου καὶ εὐγενεστάτου σου κόμητος τοῦ Βουλχάρδου γέγονε διὰ τὸ τὴν βασιλείαν μου βούλεσθαι τὸν φίλτατόν μοι ἀνεψιόν, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ πανευτυχεστάτου σεβαστοκράτορος καὶ περιποθήτον αὐταδέλφου τῆς βασιλείας μου, θεαθῆναι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἂν ἐλθὼν ἀπαγγεῖλῃ σοὶ τὴν ἐν ἡλικίας ἀπαλῶ καταστάματι βεβηκῦιαν σύνεσιν τοῦ παιδός. Τὰ γὰρ ἔξω καὶ σωματικὰ δευτέρου τίθεται λόγον ἡ βασιλεία μου, εἰ καὶ ἐν τούτοις πολλὸν ἔχει τὸ περιούσιον. ὡς γὰρ τῇ μεγαλοπόλει ἐνδημήσας ἐθεάσατο τὸ παιδίον καὶ ὅσα εἰκὸς ὠμίλησεν, ἀπαγγελεῖ σοὶ ὁ πρέσβης σου. Καὶ ἐπεὶ παιδίον μὲν οὐπω ὁ Θεὸς τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου ἐχαρίσατο, τόπον δέ μοι γνησίον παιδὸς ὁ φίλτατος οὗτος ἐπέχει ἀδελφιδούης, Θεοῦ εὐδοκοῦντος οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τὸ κωλύον ἐνωθῆναι ἡμᾶς δι' αἵματος συγγενικοῦ καὶ φίλα μὲν ἀλλήλοις φρονεῖν ὡς Χριστιανούς, οἰκειοῦσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἀλλήλων ὡς συγγενεῖς, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν δι' ἀλλήλων ἕκαστος δυναμούμενοι φοβεροὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὦμεν καὶ ἀήττητοι μετὰ Θεοῦ. Τῇ μέντοι εὐγενείᾳ σου νῦν ἀπεστάλησαν δεξιωμάτων ἔνεκεν ἐγκόλπιον χρυσοῦν μετὰ μαργαριταρίων, θήκη διάχρυσος ἔχουσα ἔνδον τμήματα διαφόρων ἀγίων, ὧν ἕκαστον διὰ τοῦ ἐφ' ἑκάστω αὐτῶν ἐντεθέντος χαρτίου γνωρίζεται, κανκίον σαρδονύχιον καὶ ἐμπότης κρύος, ἀστροπελέκιν δεδεμένον μετὰ χρυσαφίου καὶ ὀποβάλασμον. Μακρύνει ὁ Θεὸς τὴν ζωὴν σου, πλατύνει τὰ τῆς ἐξουσίας σου ὅρια καὶ θεῖ σοι πάντας τοὺς ἀντιπίπτοντας εἰς ὄνειδισμον καὶ εἰς καταπάτημα εἰρήνῃ εἴῃ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ σου καὶ γαλήνῃς ἥλιος ἐπιλάμπῃσι πάσῃ τῇ ὑπὸ σοὶ σου, καὶ γένοιτό σοι ἅπαντες εἰς ἀφανισμόν οἱ ἐχθροὶ τῆς ἄνωθεν κραταιᾶς ἰσχύος κατὰ πάντων σοὶ χαριζομένης τὸ ἄμαχον, τοσοῦτον τὸ ἀληθινὸν αὐτοῦ ὄνομα ἀγαπῶντι καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκείνου τὴν χεῖρα ὀπλίζοντι.

The protocol and eschatokollon are lacking.

9

Letter of the Emperor John II Comnenus (1118-43) to Pope Innocent II (1130-43) on the union of the churches. June 1139

O. Kresten and A. Müller, 'Die Auslandsschreiben der byzantinischen Kaiser des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts: specimen einer kritischen Ausgabe', *BZ* 86/7 (1993-4), 425:

+ Τὸ παρὰ τῆς σῆς μακαριότητος, ἀγιώτατε πάπα, διὰ τῆς ἀποσταλείσης τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου τιμωτάτης γραφῆς σου περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐνώσεως δηλωθὲν τῇ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀληθείᾳ καθέστηκε σύνδρομον καὶ τῆς ἐμβριθείας καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τῆς ἱερᾶς σου φρονήσεως ὄντως ἐπάξιον. Τί γὰρ ἄλλο τῆς ἀληθοῦς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνώσεως προσήκει τοῖς Χριστιανοῖς ἡμᾶς προτιμᾶν ἢ τίνι πλέον ἐτέρῳ πράγματι θεραπεύειν τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης δοτήρα Χριστόν, ὃς καὶ μέχρι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐσχατιᾶς ἑαυτὸν φιланθρώπως ἐκένωσεν, ἵνα καταλλάξῃ τὰ διεστώτα καὶ τὴν ἐκπεσοῦσαν τῆς μακαρίας διαγωγῆς τῶν ἀνθρώπων φύσιν ἐπαναγάγῃ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἀξίωμα καὶ τῷ ἐπουρανίῳ ταύτην προσαγάγῃ Θεῷ; τοῦτο τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης χρῆμα καὶ Θεῷ προσφιλὲς καὶ ἀνθρώποις ταῖς θείαις ἐντολαῖς ἐπομένους ἀξιοζήλων. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ σὴ μακαριότης ὅλον τὸν οἰκεῖον σχολὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς τοιαύτης ἐνώσεως καὶ πάλοι καὶ νῦν κατεβάλετο, κατάλληλον τοῦτο πάντως αὐτῇ. Τὸ μὲν γὰρ μίαν εἶναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἣν ὁ σωτὴρ τῷ οἰκείῳ ἐξηγοράσατο αἷματι, οὐδενὶ τῶν τὰ τῆς

θείας γραφῆς μεμνημένων ὅλως ἡγνόηται, τὸ δὲ πολλάκις σπουδάζειν τὸν τῆς πονηρίας γεννήτορα καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρετοῦντας τῷ ἐκείνου θελήματι τὴν τοιαύτην τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὁμόνοιαν διαιρεῖν καὶ τὴν ταύτης ἀδιάλυτον ἔνωσην πονηροῖς ἐπινοήμασι διαλύειν καὶ τοῦτο πάντως ἀκόλουθον τοῖς τοῦ πονηροῦ μηχανήμασιν. Ἄλλ' ἢ τοῦ σωτήρος ἀήττητος δυνάμεις ἐν τῇ πέτρᾳ τῆς πίστεως διὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ταύτην οἰκοδομήσασα καὶ πάλιν καὶ πολλάκις τὰς τοῦ πονηροῦ μεθοδεΐας διαλύσαι δεδύνηται καὶ τοὺς ἐπιχειροῦντας τὸν θεῖον ἐκείνου χιτῶνα διαρρηγνύειν εἰκότως συντρίψει καὶ ἀφανίσει τὰ τούτων βουλεύματα.

Τοῦτο τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀγιότητος ἐπαινετὸν καὶ θεῖον ὄντως σπουδάσμα τέ καὶ βούλευμα καὶ ἡ βασιλεία ἡμῶν ἀποδεχομένη καὶ σεβάσματος ἄξιον κρίνουσα πρὸς τὴν παροῦσαν ἀπέιδε γραφῇν. Παρεδήλωσε μὲν γὰρ τὸν περὶ τούτου σκοπὸν καὶ τοῖς τιμιωτάτοις ἀνδράσι τῆς σῆς ἀγιότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τῆς παρουσίας γραφῆς διασημαίνει τὸ πρᾶγμα τῇ σῇ θειότητι τὸν δὲ τρόπον τῆς ἀποδοχῆς σαφέστερον ἐπιγνῶς διὰ τοῦ ἀποσταλέντος αὐτόθι μεγαλεπιφανεστάτου καὶ πιστοτάτου ἀνθρώπου τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβοῦς γαληνότητος.

Τὸ τῆς μέχρι τοῦ νῦν βραδυτήτος τοῦ ἀντιγράμματος αἴτιον πολλαχόθεν ἐπιγνωσθὲν τῇ πανιέρῳ συνέσει τῆς σῆς εὐκλεεστάτης μακαριότητος, ὥς τοῦ ἡμετέρου κατὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ ἐχθρῶν μακροσμοῦ καταδήλου γεγονότος καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς χριστιανικωτάτοις Λατίνοις τοῖς ἐκεῖσε, βραχέων ῥημάτων δηλωτικῶν ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν δεηθήσεται.

Ἐρρώσθω ἐν Κυρίῳ ἡ σὴ ἀγιότης καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ὑπερευχέσθω ζωῆς.

Ἀπεστάλησαν τῇ ἀγιωσύνῃ σου ἐξάμιτα μεγαλόγραμμα μεγάλα δώδεκα, κοινὰ ἐξάμιτα μεγάλα δώδεκα, κατασφίγκτουρα κοινὰ εἰκοσιτέσσαρα, ἐσωφόρια κοινὰ μεγάλα τέσσαρα καὶ τέσσαρακοντάσημα δύο, τὸ ἐν ὧν καὶ τὸ ἕτερον κοινόν, καὶ διρροδὶνα τέσσαρα +.

Μηνί ἰουνίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος βτ (ε)ρ(ας)

+ Ἀπελύθη μηνί ἰουνίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος β' ἀπὸ τῆς θεοφυλάκτου πόλεως

(A latin translation follows)

on the exterior

(to the left)

Ἰωάννης Ἐν Χ(ριστ)ῷ τῷ Θεῷ πιστὸς βασιλεὺς πορφυρογέννητος, ἄναξ ὑψηλός, κραταιός, αὐγουστός καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων ὁ Κομνηνός

(to the right)

ἸΩΑΝΝΗΣ

Εἰς τὸν Ἀγίωτάτον Πάπαν

10

Letter of safe conduct (sigillion) of the Emperor Alexius III Angelus (1195-1203) to the Pisan envoys Ugucione di Lamberto Bono and Pietro Modano, who are returning to their country. Allowing them free passage, it prohibits local Byzantine officials from any impositions on the foreign diplomats. June 1199

Ed. O. Kresten, 'Der Geleitbrief - Ein wenig beachteter Typus der byzantinischen Kaiserurkunde. Mit einem Exkurs: zur Verwendung des Terminus sigillion in der byzantinischen Kaiserkanzlei', *RHM* 38 (1996), 50-3:

+ Τοῖς παροῦσι συνετιωτάτοις ἀποκρισιαρίοις Πίσσης, τῷ τε Γιτζούνη καὶ τῷ Μοδάνῳ, ὑποστρέφουσιν εἰς Πίσσαν τὸ παρὸν τῆς βασιλείας μου ἐπεδόθη σιγίλλιον, ὥς

ἀν τῇ τούτου ἐμφανείᾳ διέλθωσιν ἀκωλύτως ἐν ταῖς κατὰ πάροδον χώραις τῆς βασιλείας μου μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτῶν, μὴ τινος τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς ἐνεργούντων ἢ τῶν ἐξυπηρετούντων αὐτῇ ὀφείλοντος παρεμποδίσαι αὐτοὺς ἢ ἀναλαβέσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῶν τί χάριν ποριατικοῦ ἢ διαβατικοῦ ἢ σαγμαριατικοῦ ἢ κομμερχίου παρὰ τὴν περίληψιν τοῦ προσόντος τοῖς πιστοτάτοις τῇ βασιλείᾳ μου Πισσαίοις χρυσοβοῦλλον, τοῦ κατατολμήσαντος ποιῆσαι παρὰ τὴν περίληψιν τοῦ παρόντος σιγγιλίου τῆς βασιλείας μου σφοδρὰν ὑφορωμένον τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀγανάκτησιν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς βασιλείας μου σιγγίλιον ἐπεδόθη αὐτοῖς + μηνὶ ἰουνίῳ ἰνδικτιῶνος β' τ' (ε') ρ(ας) +.

11

Summons to the Gothic King Athanaric to come to Constantinople by the Emperor Theodosius I (379-95)

Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum* 142-5, ed. Th. Mommsen, *MGH, Auctorum antiquissimorum*, tom. V, pars prior, Berlin 1961, pp. 95-6:

Ubi vero post haec Theodosius convaluit imperator repperitque cum Gothis et Romanis Gratiano imperatore pepigisse quod ipse optaverat, admodum grato animo ferens et ipse in hac pace consensit, Aithanaricoque rege, qui tunc Fritigerno successerat, datis sibi muneribus sociavit moribusque suis benignissimis ad se eum in Constantinopolim accedere invitavit. Qui omnino libenter adquiescens regia urbe ingressus est miransque: "en, inquit, "cerno, quod saepe incredulus audiebam", famam videlicet tantae urbis; et huc illuc oculos volvens nunc situm urbis commeatuque navium, nunc moenia clara prospectans miratur, populosque diversarum gentium quasi fonte in uno e diversis partibus scaturiente unda, sic quoque milite ordinato aspiciens: "deus", inquit, "sine dubio terrenus est imperator et quisquis adversus eum manu moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit". In tali ergo admiratione maioreque a principe honore suffultus paucis mensibus interiectis ab hac luce migravit. Quem princeps affectionis gratia pene plus mortuum quam vivum honorans dignae tradidit sepulturae, ipse quoque in exequiis feretro eius praeiens. Defuncto ergo Aithanarico cunctus eius exercitus in servitio Theodosii imperatoris perdurans Romano se imperio subdens cum milite velut unum corpus effecit militiaque illa dudum sub Constantino principe foederatorum renovata et ipsi dicti sunt foederati. E quibus imperator contra Eugenium tyrannum, qui occiso Gratiano Gallias occupasset, plus quam viginti milia armatorum fideles sibi et amicos intellegens secum duxit victoriaque de praedicto tyranno potitus ultionem exegit.

12

Events of 476 and Zeno's embassies to Africa and Italy

Malco di Filadelfia, *Frammenti*, testo critico, introduzione, traduzione e commentario, ed. Lia Raffaella Cresci, Naples 1982, Fr. 3, pp. 75-6:

Ὅτι Ζήνων ἀνὴρ ὢν ἀπόλεμος ἄγαν, καὶ πολλῆς πανταχόθεν ταραχῆς ἐφεστώσης,

ἔγνω πρὸς τὸν Βάνδιλον εἰς Καρχηδὸνα πρεσβεύσασθαι καὶ Σευήρον ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς πρεσβευτὴν αἰρεῖται, ἄνδρα καὶ σωφροσύνη διαφέρειν δοκοῦντα καὶ τῷ ἐθέλειν τὰ δίκαια, καὶ πατρικίον αὐτὸν ποιήσας ἀποπέμπει, ὅπως ἐκ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς πρεσβείας τὸ σχῆμα κατασκευάσῃ σεμνότερον. Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐξέπλευσεν, ὁ δὲ Βάνδιλος, μαθὼν ὅτι ἤξοι πρεσβεῖα, φθίσας «ἐκπλουν ποιεῖται» καὶ Νικόπολιν εἶλεν. Ὁ δὲ πρεσβευτῆς Σευήρος διαβὰς ἀπὸ Σικελίας εἰς Καρχηδὸνα ἀφίκετο καὶ πολλὰ διὰ τὸν ἐκπλουν ἐμέμφετο τὸν Βάνδιλον. Ὁ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἔλεγεν ὡς πολέμιος πρᾶξαι τὸν δὲ περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐπειδὴ πρεσβεύοιτο, νῦν ἔφη λόγον προσδέχεσθαι. Τοῦ δὲ Σευήρου τό τε σῶφρον τοῦ βίου θαυμάσας καὶ τῶν λόγων ἠγάσθη, καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης αἰεὶ πείραν λαμβάνων πᾶν ἔτοιμον ἦν ποιεῖν, ὅπερ ἐκεῖνος προβάλλοιτο. Μάλιστα δὲ ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ δίκαιος εἶναι, ὅτι, τὰ χρήματα αὐτῷ τοῦ βαρβάρου διδόντος, καὶ τὰ πρέποντα δῶρα πρεσβευτῇ δωρούμενος ἀπέωσατο πάντα εἰπών, ὡς ἀντὶ τούτων δωρὸν ἐστὶν εὐσχημον πρεσβεύοντι ἀνθρώπῳ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους κομίσασθαι. Ὁ δὲ τῆς διανοίας ἐπαινέσας τὸν ἄνδρα οὕς μὲν ἐγώ, ἔφησεν, σὺν τοῖς ἐμοῖς νίεσι τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἀπέλαχον, τούτους σοι πάντας ἀφίμῃ ἦν δὲ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν κατενεύματο μοῖραν, τούτους σοὶ μὲν ἐξέσται παρ' ἐκόντων, εἰ βούλει, πρίασθαι τῶν ἐχόντων, αὐτὸς δ' ἂν οὐ δύναμιν οὐκ ἐθέλοντας ταῦτα τοὺς εἰληφότες βιάσασθαι. Ἐνταῦθα ὁ Σευήρος ἀπέλυσε μὲν προῖκα οὕς αὐτὸς εἶχεν ὁ Βάνδιλος ἃ δὲ εἶχε χρήματα καὶ ἐσθήτας καὶ σκευὴ πάντα ὑπὸ κήρυκι δημοσίᾳ πωλήσας τούτοις ὅσους ἴσχυσε τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπρίατο.

Fr. 10, pp. 86-7.

Ὅτι ὁ Αὔγουστος ὁ τοῦ Ὁρέστου υἱὸς ἀκούσας Ζήωνα πάλιν τὴν βασιλείαν ἀνακεκτήσθαι τῆς ἑω τὸν Βασιλίσκον ἐλάσαντα, ἠγάγκασε τὴν βουλὴν ἀποστεῖλαι πρεσβεῖαν Ζήωνι σημαίνουσαν, ὡς ἰδίας μὲν αὐτοῖς βασιλείας οὐ δέοι, κοινὸς δὲ ἀποχρήσει μόνος ὢν αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς πέρασι. Τὸν μέντοι Ὀδόαχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν προβεβλησθαι ἱκανὸν ὄντα σῶζειν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς πράγματα, 'πολιτικὴν' ἔχοντα 'σύνεσιν' ὁμοῦ καὶ μάχμον καὶ δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ζήωνος πατρικίου τε αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι ἀξίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰταλῶν τοῦτ' ἐφείναι διοίκησιν. Ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ ἄνδρες τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ τούτους εἰς Βυζάντιον κομίζοντες τοὺς λόγους...καὶ βασιλείον γράμμα περὶ ὃν ἠβούλετο πέμπων τῷ Ὀδοάχῳ πατρικίον ἐν τοῦτ' τῷ γράμματι ἐπωνόμασε...

13

Appointment of the Frankish King Clovis to the patriciate (in the text *Consul aut Augustus*)

Gregory of Tours, *Historia Francorum* II, 30, ed. H. Omont, G. Collon and R. Poupardin, Paris 1913, p. 72:

Igitur Chlodovechus ab Anastasio imperatore codicello de consulatu accepit, et in basilica beati Martini tonica blatta indutus et clamide, inponens vertice diademam. Tunc ascenso equite, aurum argentumque in itinere illud, quod inter portam atrii ecclesiam civitatis est, praesentibus populis manu propria spargens, voilontate benignissima erogavit, et ab ea die tamquam consul aut augustus est vocitatus. Egressus autem a Toronus, Parisius venit ibique Cathedram regni constituit. Ibi et Theodericus ad eum venit.

14

Penalty of exile for anyone who disturbs the orthodox faith

Codex Theodosianus XVI, 4, 3 (18 July 392), ed. Th. Mommsen and P. Meyer, Dublin and Zurich 1971, 854:

*IDEM AAA.*¹⁹⁰ *Potamio P(RAE)F(ECTO) AUGUSTALI.*

Deportatione dignus est, qui nec generali lege admonitus nec competenti sententia emendatus et fidem catholicam turbat et populum. DAT. XV KAL. AUG. CONST(ANTINO)P(OLI) ARCAD(IO) A. II ET RUFINO V.C. CONSS.

15

Law of Zeno on the promotion of the office of patricius

Codex Iustinianus XII, 3, 3, ed. P. Krüger (*Corpus Iuris Civilis* II), Dublin and Zurich 1967, 454:

Imp. Zeno A. Nemini ad sublimem patriciatus honorem, qui ceteris omnibus antepositur, adscendere liceat, nisi prius aut consulatus honore potiatur aut praefecturae praetorio vel Illyrici vel urbis administrationem aut magistri militum aut magistri officiorum, in actu videlicet positus, gessisse noscatur, ut huiusmodi tantum personis sive adhuc administrationem gerendo seu postea liceat (quando hoc nostrae sederit maiestati) patriciam consequi dignitatem. Quoniam vero gloriosissimae huic urbi, quae caput orbis terrarum est, omnifariam credimus consulendum, universos, qui posthac honorarii consulatus insignibus principali munificentia decorantur, centum auri libras ad reficiendum aquaeductum publicum ministrare censemus, ad similitudinem eorum, qui per annale tempus consularium editione munerum gloriantur. Nam ipsis quoque expedit, ut florentissima civitas centum auri librarum munificentia sustentata honorarium quoque sentiat consulatum.

16

Liutprand of Cremona describes the magnificence of the reception of ambassadors under Constantine VII in 948

Antapodosis VI, 5, ed. J. Becker (*MGH in usum scholarum*, Hanover and Leipzig 1915) pp. 154-5:

Est Constantinopolim domus palatio contigua mirae magnitudinis seu pulchritudinis, quae a Grecis per V loco digammae positam Magnaura, quasi magna aura dicitur. Hanc itaque Constantinus cum ob Hispanorum nuntios, qui tunc eo noviter venerant, tum ob me et Liutefredum hoc modo praeparari iussit. Aerea, sed deaurata quaedam arbor ante imperatoris sedile stabat, cuius ramos itidem aereae diversi generis deaurataeque aves

¹⁹⁰ Augusti Valentinianus, Theodosius et Arcadius (from a previous law)

replebant, quae secundum species suas diversarum avium voces emittebant. Imperatoris vero solium huiusmodi erat arte compositum, ut in momento humile, exelsius modo, quam mox videretur sublime, quod immensae magnitudinis, incertum utrum aerei an lignei, verum auro tecti leones quasi custodiebant, qui cauda terram percutientes aperto ore linguisque mobilibus rugitum emittebant. In hac igitur duorum eunuchorum humeris incumbens ante imperatoris praesentiam sum deductus. Cumque in adventu meo rugitum leones emitterent, aves secundum species suas perstreperent, nullo sum terrore, nulla admiratione commotus, quoniam quidem ex his omnibus eos qui bene noverant fueram percontatus. Tertio itaque pronus imperatorem adorans caput sustuli et, quem prius moderata mensura a terra elevatum sedere vidi, mox aliis indutum vestibibus poenes domus laquear sedere prospexi; quod qualiter fieret, cogitare non potui, nisi forte eo sit subvectus ergalio, quo torcularium arbores subvehuntur. Per se autem tunc nihil locutus, quoniam, etsi vellet, intercapedo maxima indecorum faceret, de vita Berengarii et sospitate per logothetam est percontatus. Cui cum consequenter respondissem, interprete sum innuente egressus et in datum mihi hospitium mox receptus.

17

The first emperors ruling from Constantinople

(a) The theory of unlimited ecumenicity: Agathias V, 14, 1, ed. Keydell, p. 180, on Justinian I:

Ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς ἐπειδὴ πρότερον Ἰταλίαν ξύμπασαν ἐχειρώσατο καὶ Λιβύην καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους ἐκείνους πολέμους διήνυσσε καὶ πρῶτος ὡς εἰπεῖν ἐν τοῖς κατὰ τὸ Βυζάντιον βεβασιλευνκοσί Ῥωμαίων ὀνόματί τε καὶ πράγματι ἀπεδέδεικτο....

(b) The theory of limited ecumenicity: Theophanes Continuatus, pp. 211-12, on Basil I:

Ἐβουλόμην, ἂν ἄρα οἷός τε ὦ, τοῦ σύμπαντος τῆς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνου τῶν τε αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοὺς ἀρχόντων καὶ στρατηγῶν καὶ ὑποστρατήγων καὶ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστα τὰς ἀξιολογωτέρας τῶν πράξεων ἀναγράψασθαι. Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔδεϊτο τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ χρόνον πολλοῦ καὶ πόνον συχνοῦ καὶ βιβλίων ἀφθονίας... τέως ἐνὸς βασιλείως, ἐπὶ μέγα τὸ τῆς βασιλείας κράτος ὑψώσαντος, ὃς καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐπώνυμος ἦν καὶ μέγα ὄφελος τῇ πολιτείᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο... τὰς πράξεις καὶ τὴν ὅλην ἀγωγὴν διηγῆσασθαι...

18

Liutprand of Cremona in 968 expounds to Nicephorus Phocas' hostile officials his good relations with the empire under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus in 948. Nicephorus Phocas' officials disapprove of Constantine VII and his policies

Liutprand of Cremona, *Legatio LV*, ed. J. Becker, pp. 205-6:

“Temporibus”, inquam, “beatae memoriae Constantini imperatoris huc veneram non

episcopus, sed diaconus nec ab imperatore aut rege, sed a Berengario marchione missus, et multo plura ac pretiosiora pallia emi, quae neque scrutata nec a Grecis visa nec plumbo sunt signata. Nunc Deo miserante episcopus et a magnificis imperatoribus Ottone et Ottone, patre et filio, missus tanto inhonestior, ut Veneticorum more pallia mea notentur et, quae quantivis pretii videntur, auferantur, cum in ecclesiae mihi commissae usus ferantur. Non taedet vos contumeliarum mearum, immo dominorum meorum, in quibus contemnor? Quod sum custodiae traditus, quod fame sitique cruciatus, quod non ad ipsos redirem hucusque retentus, nisi etiam ad cumulum dedecoris eorum propriis exspolier rebus? Auferte saltem, quae sunt empta; dimittite, quae sunt dono ab amicis donata”.

“Constantinus”, inquit, “imperator, homo lenis, in palatio manens perpetuo huiusmodi rebus amicas sibi nationes effecerat. Nicephorus vero basileus, homo ταχύχειρ, id est militiae deditus, palatium ceu pestem abhorret et vocatur a nobis prope simultatis amator atque argumentosus, qui non pretio sibi gentes amicas, sed terrore et gladio sibi subditas facit. Atque ut cognoscas, quanti dominos tuos reges habeamus, quae data sunt coloris huiusmodi et quae empta, via eadem ad nos revertentur”.

19

The Emperor Nicephorus Phocas explains to Liutprand the political reasons (capture of Rome by Otto I) for his unfriendly reception at the palace

Liutprand of Cremona, *Legatio IV*, ed. J. Becker, pp. 177-8:

Debueramus, immo volueramus te benigne magnificeque suscipere; sed domini tui impietas non permittit, qui tam inimica invasione Romam sibi vindicavit, Berengario et Adelberto contra ius fasque vi terram abstulit, Romanorum alios gladio, alios suspensio interemit, oculis alios privavit, exilio alios relegavit, et imperii nostri insuper civitates homicidio aut incendio sibi subdere temptavit; et quia affectus eius pravus effectum habere non potuit, nunc te malitiae huius suggestorem atque impulsorem simulata pace quasi κατάσκοπον, id est exploratorem, ad nos direxit.

20

The Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus explains confidentially to his son and heir Romanus why dynastic marriages should only be made with the Franks, and claims that this goes back to the instructions of Constantine the Great himself!

De administrando imperio 13, 111-26, ed. Moravcsik and Jenkins, pp. 70-2:

Καὶ περὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως παραγγελία καὶ διάταξις φανερά καὶ ἀπαραποίητος τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ἁγίου Κωνσταντίνου ἐναπογέγραπται ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ τραπέζῃ τῆς καθολικῆς

τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας τοῦ μηδέποτε βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων συμπενθεριάσαι μετὰ ἔθνους παρηλλαγμένοις καὶ ξένοις ἦθεσι χρωμένον τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καταστάσεως, μάλιστα δὲ ἀλλοπίστον καὶ ἀβαπτίστον, εἰ μὴ μετὰ μόνων τῶν Φράγγων τούτους γὰρ μόνους ὑπεξείλετο ὁ μέγας ἐκεῖνος ἀνὴρ, Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἅγιος, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν γένεσιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἔσχε μερῶν, ὡς συγγενείας καὶ ἐπιμιξίας πολλῆς τυγχανούσης Φράγγους τε καὶ Ῥωμαίους. Καὶ διὰ τί μετὰ τούτων μόνων προετρέψατο συνιστᾶν γαμικὰ συναλλάγια τοὺς βασιλεῖς Ῥωμαίων; Διὰ τὴν ἄνωθεν τῶν μερῶν ἐκείνων καὶ γενῶν περιφάνειαν καὶ εὐγένειαν. Μετ' ἄλλου δὲ του οἰουδήποτε ἔθνους μὴ δυναμένους τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι τολμήσας ἵνα, ὡς παραβάτης πατρικῶν εἰσηγήσεων καὶ βασιλείων θεσμῶν, ἀλλότριος κρίνοιτο τῶν Χριστιανῶν καταλόγων καὶ τῷ ἀναθέματι παραδίδοιτο...

21

In contrast to the policy of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (which he traces back to the wishes of Constantine the Great), Nicephorus Phocas' officials maintain to Liutprand of Cremona that there can be absolutely no dynastic marriage with anyone unless the Franks hand over Rome and Ravenna to Byzantium, together with the principalities of Capua and Benevento which lie between Rome and the Byzantine possessions in Southern Italy

Liutprand of Cremona, *Legatio XV*, ed. J. Becker, p. 184:

Inaudita res est, ut porphyrogeniti porphyrogenita, hoc est in purpura nati filia in purpura nata, gentibus misceatur. Verum quia tam excellentem rem petitis, si datis, quod decet, accipietis, quod libet: Ravennam scilicet et Romam cum his omnibus continuatis, quae ab his sunt usque ad nos. Si vero amicitiam absque parentela desideratis, Romam liberam esse dominus tuus permittat, principes autem, Capuanum scilicet et Beneventanum, sancti nostri imperii olim servos, nunc rebelles, servituti pristinae tradat.

22

Treaty of Devol (September 1108) between Alexius I Comnenus and Bohemond of Taranto

Anna Comnena, *Alexiad XIII*, 12, 1-28, ed. Reinsch and Kambylis, pp. 413-22:

1. Ἦ μὲν προτέρα συμφωνία, ἣτις δὴ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ γέγονε πρὸς τὸ θεοοσπεφές κράτος σου, ὁπότεν μετὰ τῆς πολυπληθοῦς ἐκείνης στρατιᾶς τῶν Φράγγων εἰς τὴν βασιλίδαν πόλιν ἐπιδεδήμεκα, διαβαίνων ἀπὸ τῆς Εὐρώπης εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλευθερίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τινας περιπετείας πραγμάτων ἠθέτηται, ἐκείνη μὲν σχολασάτω καὶ μὴ ἔχῃ τὸ ἐνεργὸν ὡς τὸ ἄκυρον ἀποφερομένη διὰ τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων περίστασιν. Καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνης οὐ χρὴ κατ' ἐμοῦ δίκαιόν τι ἔχειν τὴν βασιλείαν σου κἀντεῦθεν ἰσχυρίζεσθαι

περὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ συμπεφωνημένων τε καὶ ἀναγεγραμμένων. Πόλεμον γὰρ ἀραμένον μου κατὰ τοῦ σου θεοπροβλήτου κράτους καὶ παραλύσαντος τὰ συμπεφωνημένα, συμπαρᾶλῆνται τούτοις καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ σου κράτους κατ' ἐμοῦ αἰτιάματα. Νῦν δὲ αὖ ὥσπερ ἐκ μεταμελείας ἐρχόμενος καὶ ὥσπερ ἀλιεὺς πληγεὶς καὶ ἀπενεγκάμενος νοῦν καὶ μονονοῦχί τῷ δόρατι τῷ σφ' νουνεχέστερος γεγωνὺς καὶ τῆς κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ ἥττης καὶ τῶν πολέμων ἀναμνησθεὶς εἰς ἑτέραν συμφωνίαν μετὰ τοῦ κράτους σου τράπωμαι ταυτηνί, ὥστε λίζιον γενέσθαι τοῦ σκηπτρου σου ἀνθρωπον καί, ἵνα σαφέστερον εἴποιμι καὶ φανερώτερον, οἰκέτην καὶ ὑποχείριον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ σὺ ὑπὸ τὴν σὴν δεξιὰν ἔλκειν ἐμὲ βεβούλῃσαι καὶ ἀνθρωπὸν σου ἐθέλεις ποιήσασθαι λίζιον. 2 Ἔσομαι τοῖνυν ἀπὸ τοῦ νῦν κατὰ τὴν δευτέραν ταυτηνί συμφωνίαν, ἣν καὶ φυλάττειν ἐσσεὶ βούλομαι, καὶ ἐπόμενι Θεόν τε καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐπὶ μάρτυσι τούτοις τὰ συμπεφωνημένα καὶ γράφεται τε καὶ λέγεται, ἀνθρωπος πιστὸς τῆς σῆς βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ τριποθήτου υἱοῦ σου καὶ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου. Καὶ ὀπλίσομαι τὴν δεξιὰν κατὰ παντὸς ἀνθισταμένου τῷ κράτει σου, εἴτε τοῦ χριστιανικοῦ γένους ἐστὶν ὁ χεῖρας ἀνταράμενος εἴτε καὶ ἀλλότριος ἐστὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐλῆς, οὗς παγάνους ἡμεῖς ὀνομάζομεν ὥστε, ὅπερ καὶ τῷ προμνημονευθέντι συμφώνῳ περιείχετο καὶ ἀμφοῖν τοῖν μεροῖν συνήρεσε, τῇ τε βασιλείᾳ ὑμῶν καὶ ἐμοί, τῶν ἄλλων ἀνηρημένων τοῦτο μόνον ἐκείθεν ἔλκω καὶ ἰσχυρίζομαι καὶ ἀπριξέχομαι τὸ δοῦλον τῆς βασιλείας καὶ ἀμφοτέρων εἶναι καὶ λίζιον ἀνθρωπον, ὥσπερ καταλυθὲν ἀνανεούμενος. Καὶ οὐδ' ἂν, εἴ τι γένοιτο, εἰς ἀθέτησιν τούτου ἐλεύσομαι· οὐδέ τις αἰτία ἔσται ἢ τρόπος, φανερός τε καὶ ἀφανής, καθ' ὃν ἐγὼ παραβάτης τῶν συνθηκῶν καὶ τῶν νῦν συμπεφωνημένων φανήσομαι. 3 Ἄλλ' ἐπειδὴ λαμβάνω τὰ νῦν τὴν ῥητῶς ἐνταυθοὶ δηλωθησομένην χώραν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς ἀνατολῆς διὰ χρυσοβούλλου λόγου τῆς βασιλείας σου, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ κράτος τὸ σὸν ὑποσημαίνεται δι' ἐρυθροβαφοῦς ὑπογραφῆς, ὃς δὴ χρυσοβούλλος λόγος καὶ ἀμοιβαῖος γεγωνὺς ἐπεδόθη μοι, δέχομαι μὲν τὰς δοθείσας χώρας ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν δεδωρημένας καὶ τὸ ἐνδύναμον ἔχων τῆς δωρεᾶς ἐκ τῆς χρυσοβούλλου γραφῆς ἀντίδοσιν τῶν τοσούτων χωρῶν καὶ πόλεων δίδωμι τὴν πίστιν τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ πρὸς τὴν ὑμῶν βασιλείαν, σοῦ τε, τοῦ μεγάλου αὐτοκράτορος κυροῦ Ἀλεξίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, καὶ τοῦ τριποθήτου υἱοῦ σου τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ πορφυρογεννήτου, ἣν ἀμετακίνητον καὶ ἀσάλευτον καθέξειν ὑπισχνόμαι καθάπερ ἄγκυραν ἀσφαλῆ. 4 Καὶ ἵνα ἐπαναλάβω τὸν λόγον σαφέστερον καὶ τὴν ιδιότητα φυλάξαιμι τῶν ἐγγράφως συμφωνούντων, ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ Βαϊμόντος υἱὸς Ρομπέρτου Γισκάρδου συμφωνῶ μετὰ τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν, καὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν ἀρραγῇ τίθῃμι φυλάττειν πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν, τοιτέστι σέ τε, τὸν αὐτοκράτορα Ῥωμαίων κύριν Ἀλέξιον, καὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ υἱόν σου τὸν πορφυρογεννήτον, καὶ τὸ λίζιον ἀνθρωπον ἀνόθευτον τε καὶ ἀπαραιοῦτον, ἕως ἂν ἐμπνέω καὶ μετὰ τῶν ζώντων συναριθμῶμαι. Καὶ ἐξοπλισάμην τὴν χεῖρα κατὰ τῶν ἐντεῦθεν ἀναφανησομένων ἐχθρῶν ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ὑμετέρας τῶν αἰσεβástων σεβαστῶν βασιλέων τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας. 5 Καὶ ἐνθα ἂν καὶ προσταχθῇν ὑφ' ἡμῶν, μετὰ πάσης τῆς περὶ ἐμὲ στρατιᾶς ἀπροφασίστως ἐκδουλεύσω κατὰ τὴν παρισταμένην χρεῖαν. Καὶ εἴ τινες ἂν καὶ εἶεν δυσμενῶς ἔχοντες πρὸς τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος, εἰ μὴ πού τοις ἀθανάτοις ἀγγέλοις ἰσάζουσιν· ἂν καὶ εἰσὶ τοῖς ὑμέτεροις δόρασιν ἄτρωτοι ἢ ἀδαμάντινά τινα περὶκινεῖται σώματα, κατὰ τούτων πάντων ὑπεραγωνισάμην τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ὑγιὺς ἔχω τοῦ σώματος καὶ ἐλευθεριάζω πολέμου τινὸς βαρβαρικοῦ τε καὶ τουρκικοῦ, αὐτὸς ἐγὼ τῷ ἐμῷ σώματι ἀγωνιοῦμαι τὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πόλεμον μετὰ τοῦ ξυνεπομένου στρατεύματος. Εἰ δὲ ἢ νόσφ' βαρεῖα πεδοῦμαι, οἷα πολλὰ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, ἢ πόλεμος ἐπικείμενος πρὸς ἐαυτὸν ἔλκει με, τότε δὴ τότε ὑπισχνόμαι διὰ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ γενναίων

ἀνθρώπων μου τὴν δυνατὴν ἐξαποστέλλειν βοήθειαν ὡς ἐπανασφόντων ἐκείνων τὸ ἐμὸν ἔλλειμμα. Ἡ γὰρ ὀρθὴ πίστις, ἣν σήμερον πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν δίδωμι, τοῦτο ἐστὶ τὸ ἡ δι' ἑαυτοῦ ἢ δι' ἑτέρων, καθάπερ εἴρηται, ἀνακρωτηριάστα διατηρεῖν τὰ τῆς συμφωνίας. 6 Ὁρθὴν τε πίστιν φυλάττειν διόμνυμι καὶ καθόλου καὶ κατὰ μέρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ζωῆς, ταυτησὶ λέγω τῆς κάτω τε καὶ γῆνιν ὑπὲρ γὰρ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑμῶν ζωῆς σιδηροῦς τις ἀνδριάς καὶ σφυρήλατος γενοίμην τοῖς ὅλοις. Ἀλλὰ μέχρι καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ μέχρι τῶν βασιλικῶν ὑμῶν μελῶν ἐκτείνω τὸν ὄρκον, εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐπιβουλευέται κάκως παρὰ τινων ἀλιτηρίων ἐχθρῶν, οὗς δυνατόν ἐστιν ἐμὲ καταλύνειν καὶ ἀπειρῶναι τοῦ κακοῦ ἐγχειρήματος. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ πάσης χώρας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ πόλεως μικρᾶς τε καὶ μεγάλης καὶ νήσων αὐτῶν καὶ ἀπαξιαπλῶς, ὁπόση τις ἐστὶ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα ὑπὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα σκῆπτρα ἐξ αὐτοῦ δῆπουθεν τοῦ Ἀδριαντικοῦ πελάγους καὶ ἄχρι πάσης ἀνατολῆς καὶ κατὰ μήκος τῆς μεγάλης Ἀσίας, ἔθνα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὁρίσματα ἦν. 7 Ἐτι συμφωνῶ, καὶ ἔσται τοῦ συμπεφωνημένου μάρτυς καὶ ἐπῆρchos ὁ Θεός, μηδεμίαν μηδέποτε χώραν τεταγμένην ὑπὸ τὰ ὑμέτερα σκῆπτρα εἴτε νῦν εἴτε πρότερον μῆτε πόλιν ἢ νῆσον κρατεῖν τε καὶ ἔχειν, καὶ ἅπλως, ὁπόσα ἡ βασιλεία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως περιεῖχεν ἢ νῦν κατέχει κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν δύσιν, ἐκτὸς τῶν ῥητῶς δεδωρημένων μοι παρὰ τοῦ θεοπροβλήτου κράτους ὑμῶν, ἃ καὶ κατ' ὄνομα δηλωθήσεται ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἐγγράφῳ. 8 Ἀλλ' ὁπόσῃν ἂν δυνηθεῖν χειρώσασθαι χώραν τελοῦσαν ποτὲ ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ταύτην ἀπωσάμενος τοὺς τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην κατέχοντας, εἰς τὴν γνώμην τὴν ὑμέτεραν ἀναρτᾶν ὀφείλω τὴν περὶ ταύτης οἰκονομίαν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐμὲ βούλεσθε ἐπιτροπεύειν τῆς κυριευθείσης χώρας ὡς ἀνθρώπον ὑμέτερον λίξιον καὶ δοῦλον πιστόν, ἔσται τοῦτο· εἰ δ' οὐκ, ἀλλὰ παραδοίην ἂν, ὃ ἂν ἀνδρὶ ἡ βασιλεία ὑμῶν βουληθείη, μὴ ἀμφιβάλλων κατὰ τὴν σύνολον. Χώραν δὲ οὐ δεξομαι ἂν ἑτέρου τινὸς προδιδομένην ἐμοὶ ἢ πόλιν τινα ἢ πολίχνιον, ἅπερ ποτε ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας ἐξουσίαν ἐτύγχανεν, ὡς ἐμοὶ διαφέροντα. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πολιορκία κρατούμενα καὶ τὰ ἄνευ πολιορκίας, ὑμέτερα δ' ἦσαν καὶ πάλιν ὑμέτερα ἔσονται μὴδ' ὁπωστίουν δικαιολογουμένον μοι περὶ τούτων. 9 Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὄρκον δεξομαι παρὰ τινος Χριστιανοῦ ἢ δώσω πρὸς ἕτερον ἢ συμφωνίαν ἡντιναοῦν πρὸς βλάβην ὑμέτεραν ὁρώσαν ἢ πρὸς ζημίαν καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ὑμετέρας. Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἀνθρώπος ἑτέρου γενήσομαι ἢ ἑτέρας ἀρχῆς μεῖζονος ἢ ἐλάσσονος ἄνευ τοῦ κράτους τοῦ ὑμετέρου. Ἀλλὰ μία κυριότης ἐμοί, ἣ ὑπισχνούμαι δουλεύειν, ἡ βασιλεία σου τε καὶ τοῦ τριποθήτου υἱοῦ σου. 10 Τοὺς δὲ προσερχομένους μοι ἀνθρώπους τῆς βασιλείας σου ὡς κατεξαναστάντας τοῦ κράτους τοῦ σου καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐκδουλεύειν ἐθέλοντας καὶ μισῶν καὶ ἀποπέμψομαι, μάλλον δὲ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐξοπλίσσομαι. Τοὺς δὲ ἄλλως βαρβάρους, ἐθέλοντας δὲ ὅμως ὑπὸ τὸ ἐμὸν δόρυ γίνεσθαι, δεξαίμην μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰδίῳ προσώπῳ, ὁρκιῶ δὲ τούτους ἔνεκα σου τε καὶ τοῦ περιποθήτου υἱοῦ σου, καὶ τὰς ἐξ αὐτῶν χώρας παραλήψομαι δικαίῳ τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ὑμετέρας, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν προσταττόμενον ἀπροφασίστως ποιεῖν ἐπαγγέλλομαι. 11 Ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν χωρῶν δοῦναι ὑπὸ τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων Τύχης ἐτύγχανον οὐσαί. Περὶ δὲ τῶν μηδέπω δεδουλεγκῶν τῇ Ῥωμανίᾳ, ταῦτα ἐνόρκως κατεπαγγέλλομαι ὡς ἵνα τὰς τε προσερχομένας μοι χώρας ἄνευ πολέμου ἢ καὶ μετὰ πολέμου καὶ μάχης καὶ ταύτας ἀπάσας ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας βασιλείας λογίζομαι, εἴτε τουρκικαὶ εἰσιν, εἴτε ἀρμενικαὶ καὶ, ὡς ἂν τις εἴποι τῶν τὴν ὑμέτεραν ἐπισταμένων φωνήν, παγανικαὶ ἢ χριστιανικαὶ, τοὺς τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν προσιόντας μοι καὶ δουλεύειν ἐμοὶ βουλομένους, οὕτως ἵνα τούτους παραδέχωμαι ὡς εἶναι καὶ αὐτοῖς μέλλοντας ἀνθρώπους τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν. Καὶ διαβαίνοι καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἡ ἐμὴ συμφωνία πρὸς τὸ κράτος τῆς βασιλείας καὶ οἱ κατεπεδωθέντες ὄρκοι. Καὶ

τούτων αὐτῶν οὓς μὲν ἂν ἐθέλοιτε ὑμεῖς οἱ ἀεισέβαστοι βασιλεῖς ὑπ' ἐμὲ τάττεσθαι, τάττειντ' ἄν, οὓς δὲ πέμπειν πρὸς τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος βούλεσθε, βουλομένων κακείνων ἀποστελῶ, μὴ βουλομένων δέ, ἀλλ' ἀπαναινομένων τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς δουλείαν, οὐδὲ ἐγὼ παραδέξομαι. 12 Πρὸς μέντοι τὸν Ταγγρὲ καὶ ἀνεψιόν μου ἀκήρυκτον ἔξω πόλεμον, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει καθυφεῖναι τί πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν δυσμενείας μὴδὲ ἀπολύει τῆς χειρὸς αὐτοῦ τὰς πόλεις τῆς βασιλείας τῆς ὑμετέρας. Ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ θέλοντος αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ μὴ θέλοντος ἀναρρυσθῶσιν αἱ πόλεις, αὐτὸς μὲν ἵνα δεσπόζῃ τῇ ἀντιλήψει τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν τὰ διὰ χρυσοβούλλου λόγου δεδωρημένα μοι, ἃ καὶ ῥητῶς ἐξαριθμησεται, αἱ δὲ πόλεις ἐκείναι μετὰ τῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ Λαοδικείας, καὶ ὅσαι εἰσὶν ἐκτὸς τῶν δεδωρημένων ἐμοί, τῷ σκήπτρῳ ὑμῶν προσαρμόζονται. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν φυγάδας προσδέξομαι ποτε, ἀλλὰ παλιμπορευτοὺς ποιήσω καὶ ὑποτροπιάζω πρὸς τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν ἀναγκάσω. 13 Ἔτι καθυπισχοῦμαι καὶ ταῦτ' ὑμῖν πρὸς τοῖς ἄνωθεν εἰρημένους βεβαιοτέρας τὰς συμφωνίας ποιούμενος συμφωνῶ γὰρ, ἵνα ἐγγυητὰς ἀποδοῖν ἐπὶ ταύταις ταῖς συμφωνίαις, ὥστε ἀπαράβατους καὶ ἀπαράθραυστους μένειν ἐς τὸ διηνεκές, τοὺς μέλλοντας ἀνθρώπους μου ἐμῷ δικαίῳ κατέχειν τὴν δεδομένην μοι χώραν παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας σου καὶ τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὰ πολίχνια, ἃ καὶ πρὸς ὄνομα ἐκτεθήσεται παρασκευάσω γὰρ καὶ τούτους ὁμοῦσαι τὰ φρικωδέστατα, ὥς ἂν καὶ οὗτοι φυλάττωσι πίστιν ὁρθὴν πρὸς τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος καὶ ὁπόσῃν ὁ τῶν Ῥωμαίων κοσμεῖ θεομὸς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ παρουσίᾳ συμφωνία ἐγγεγραμμένα στεργῶσιν ἀκριβέστατα. Καὶ ὁρκιῶ τούτους εἰς τὰς ἐπουρανίους δυνάμεις καὶ τὴν ἀστεκτον ὁργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥς εἴ ποτε βουλευσαίμην κατὰ τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν, ὃ μὴ γένοιτο, μὴ ὃ Σῶτερ, μὴ ὃ Δίκη θεοῦ, πάντα τρόπον ἐκείνοι σπουδάξωσι, πρῶτον μὲν διὰ τεσσαρακονθημέρου τινὸς διαστήματος ἐπαναγαγεῖν με εἰς τὴν πίστιν τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν καθάπαξ τραχηλιάσαντα τοῦτο δ' ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ καὶ γενέσθαι παραχωρηθεῖ, μανίας ἀντικρυς καὶ λύττης καταλαβοῦσης ἐμὲ ἢ ὅταν δηλονότι τὰς φρένας ἐλαύνωμαι. Εἰ δ' ἀνοήτως ἔχω καὶ ἀστεμφῶς πρὸς τὰς παραινέσεις ἐκείνων καὶ λάβρως ἐπαιγίζεи τὰ τῆς λύττης τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν ἐμὴν, ἀλλὰ τότε γε ἐξομῶσονται μὲν ἐμὲ καὶ πάντα τρόπον ἀποπροσποιοῦνται, μετὰθῶνται δὲ πρὸς τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος καὶ χεῖρα καὶ γνώμην, καὶ τὰς χώρας, ἃς ἐμῷ δικαίῳ κατέχουσιν, ἀποσπάσαντες τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξουσίας ὑμῖν καὶ τῷ μέρει τῷ ὑμετέρῳ παραδοῖεν. 14 Ταῦτα δὲ ἐνωμότως ποιεῖν καταναγκασθήσονται καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φυλάξουσιν πίστιν καὶ δουλείαν καὶ εὐνοίαν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἣν καὶ γὰρ συμπεφώνηκα, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας ζωῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπιγείου τιμῆς ἀροῦνται τὰ ὅπλα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων βασιλικῶν μερῶν καὶ μελῶν, ὥς μὴ τι πάθωεν παρὰ τινος ἐχθροῦ, πολεμῆσιόντες οὐκ ἀνήσουσιν, εἴ γε τῶς εἰς αἴσθησιν ἔλθοιεν τῶν ἐπιβούλων καὶ σφαλερῶν. Ταῦτα ἐπόμενι καὶ διαμαρτύρομαι καὶ Θεὸν καὶ ἀνθρώπους καὶ τοὺς ὑπερτάτους ἀγγέλους, ὥς ἄρα καταναγκάσω φρικαλέους ὅρκους αὐτοὺς κατελιπῶς ποιεῖν τε καὶ πράττειν εἰς δύναμιν. ὥς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν καστῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων καὶ τῶν πόλεων καὶ χωρῶν καὶ ἀπλῶς τῶν ὅλων μερῶν τῶν ὑπὸ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑμῶν, ὅσα ἡ δύσις ἔχει, ὅσα ἡ ἀνατολὴ περιέχει, ἐνόρκως τὰ αὐτὰ συμφωνήσουσιν ἃ καὶ γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμπεφώνηκα. Καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσουσι καὶ ζῶντος ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀποτεθνήκοτος καὶ ἔξει καὶ τούτους τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν ἀνθρώπους ὑποχειρίους καὶ χρήσει τούτοις ὅσα καὶ ὑπηρεταῖς πιστοῖς. 15 Καὶ ὅσοι μὲν ἐνταυθοῖ τυγχάνουσι συνεπιδημοῦντες ἐμοί, αὐτίκα καὶ τὰς ἐνόρκους πίστεις καὶ τὰς συμφωνίας δώσουσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς σεβαστοὺς, τὸν τε κύριον Ἀλέξιον καὶ αὐτοκράτορα τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τὸν πορφυρογέννητον βασιλέα καὶ σὸν νιόν. Ὅσοι δὲ ἀπῶσι τῶν ἐμῶν ἱππέων καὶ ὀπλιτῶν, οὓς καβαλλαρίους συνήθως καλοῦμεν, ἀποστειλᾶσης ἄνθρωπον τῆς βασιλείας σου κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν, ἐκεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὅρκους ἀποτελέσουσι κακείνοι, ὁρκιῶντος

μὲν αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τῆς βασιλείας σου, ἐμοῦ δέ, ἐπόμενι τοῦτο, παρασκευάσαντος ὁμοῖαι τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ συμφωνῆσαι τὰ αὐτὰ τε καὶ ἀπαράλλακτα. Προσέτι συμφωνῶ καὶ ἐπόμενι, ὡς ἄρα καθ' ὃν μὲν ἂν βούληται ἡ βασιλεία ὑμῶν τῶν κατεχόντων πόλεις καὶ χώρας, αἱ ποτὲ ὑπέκειντο τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἀντάρασθαι χεῖρας καὶ ξυγκροτήσιν πόλεμον, τοῦτο ποιήσω κἀγὼ καὶ ὀλοποιήσομαι κατ' αὐτῶν. Ἐφ' ὃν δὲ οὐκ ἔστι σοι θυμῆρες στρατὸν κινήσαι, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ κατ' ἐκείνων στρατεύεσθαι διὰ πάντων γὰρ βουλόμεθα θεραπεύειν τὸ ὑμέτερον κράτος καὶ πάσαν πρᾶξιν καὶ πάσαν βούλησιν τῆς σῆς βουλῆσεως ἐξαρτᾶν. 16. Τῶν τε Σαρακηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ ὅποσοι συρρέουσιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου αὐτομοληκότες καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν παραδιδόντες, οὔτε ἀποκωλύσω οὔτε διὰ σπουδῆς θείῃν ὑποποιήσασθαι ἐμαυτῷ, εἰ μὴ πον ἄρα διὰ τοῦ ἐμοῦ δόρατος καταναγκασθὲν τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο καὶ πανταχόθεν στενωχωρηθὲν πρὸς τὸ κράτος τὸ σὸν ἀπέβλεψε κίνδυνον ὑφορώμενον καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ ἐκ τοῦ προσέρχεσθαι σοι πραγματευόμενον. Ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοιοῦτους τε πάντας καὶ ὅσοι τὸ φραγκικὸν πεφοβημένοι ξίφος καὶ τὸν ἐπητημιόνο θάνατον ἀποκλίναντες τοὺς σεβαστοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπικαλοῦνται ὑμᾶς οὐ διὰ τοῦτο ἀνθέξεσθε τῶν ἡμετέρων δορυαλώτων, ἀλλὰ δηλονότι τῶν ἄνευ πόνων καὶ κόπων ἡμετέρων καὶ ἐθελουσίως εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν δοῦλωσιν ἐρχομένων. 17. Πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ταῦτ' ἐμφωνῶ, ὅτι τοι, ὅσοι ἂν ἐθέλωσι διαπερᾶσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ τὸν Ἀδρίαν ἀπὸ Λογγιβαρδίας ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ὁμοῦνται καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ συμφωνήσουσι τῇ δουλείᾳ τῆς βασιλείας σου, ὀρκίζοντος δηλονότι τούτους ξύμπαντας ἀνθρώπων τινὸς τοῦ ὑμετέρου κράτους, ὃν ἂν αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ αὐτῷ ἀποστείλῃτε κατὰ τὸ πέραν Ἀδρίου ἐι δ' ἀποπηδῶσι πρὸς τὸν ὄρκον, μὴ ἄλλως ἔασαι διαπερᾶν ὡς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονεῖν ἡμῖν ἀπαναινομένους. 18. Δεῖ δὲ καὶ τὰς διὰ χρυσοβούλλου λόγου δωρηθείσας μοι παρὰ τοῦ θεοπροβλήτου κράτους ὑμῶν χώρας καὶ πόλεις ἐκθεῖναι ἐν τῷ παρόντι συγγράμματι ἢ κατὰ τὴν Κοιλὴν Συρίαν Ἀντιόχου πόλιν μετὰ τῆς περιοχῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς διακρατήσεως σὺν αὐτῷ Σουετῷ, ὃ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἔδρασται· τὸ Δοῦξ μετὰ τῆς διακρατήσεως αὐτοῦ πάσης σὺν τῷ τοῦ Κανκᾶ τό τε τοῦ Λουλοῦ λεγόμενον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Θανμαστοῦ Ὅρους καὶ τὰ Φέρσια μετὰ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτὰ πάσης χώρας. Ὁ Ἅγιος Ἡλίας ἡ στρατηγὶς μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὴν πολυχνίων ἡ στρατηγὶς τὸ Βαρζὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτην πολίχνην ἡ περὶ τὴν στρατηγίδα τὸ Σεξερ ἅπασα χώρα, ἥντινα Λάρισσαν Ἑλληνες ὀνομάζουσιν, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ Ἀρτᾶχ καὶ τὸ Τελούχ αἱ στρατηγίδες μετὰ τῆς ἐκάστης περιοχῆς σὺν τούτοις ἡ Γερμανίκεια καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτην πολίχνην τὸ Μαῦρον Ὅρος καὶ πάντα τὰ ὑπ' ἐκεῖνο ταττόμενα κάστρα καὶ ἡ ὑποκειμένη τούτῳ σύμπασα πεδιάς ἄνευ δηλονότι τῆς τῶν Ῥουπενίων διακρατήσεως Λεόντος τε καὶ Θεοδώρου τῶν Ἀρμενίων γεγονότων ἀνθρώπων τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν. 19. Μετὰ τῶν ἀναγεγραμμένων τὸ στρατηγάτον Παγρᾶς, τὸ στρατηγάτον τὰ Παλατζά, τὸ θέμα τοῦ Ζοῦμε καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταῦτα πάντα κάστρα τε καὶ πολίχνην καὶ ἡ ἐκάστω προσήκουσα χώρα ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα κἀκεῖ περιέχεται ἐν τῷ χρυσοβούλλῳ λόγῳ τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν ὡς δεδορημένα μοι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κράτους μέχρι πέρατος τῆς ἡμῆς βιοτῆς, ὡς ὀφειλόνταν μετὰ τὴν ἐνθῆνδε μου μετὰστασιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπανακάμπειν τῆς νέας Ῥώμης καὶ βασιλίδος τῶν πόλεων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἐφ' ᾗ φυλάττειν πίστιν ἀκραφινεστάτην <καὶ> εὐνοίαν καθαρὰν δι' ὑμῶν τῶν ἀεισεβεστάτων σεβαστῶν βασιλέων εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῆς καὶ τοῦ θρόνου ταύτης καὶ τῆς βασιλικῆς ῥάβδου δοῦλον εἶναι καὶ λιζιον ὑποχείριον. 20. Συμφωνῶ δὲ καὶ ὁμνυμι τὸν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἀντιοχείας πρεσβευόμενον Θεὸν ὡς οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους πατριάρχης ἔσται Ἀντιοχείας, ἀλλ' ὃν ἂν προβαλεῖται ἡ βασιλεία ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν θρεμμάτων τυγχάνοντα τῆς κατὰ τὴν Κωνσταντινουπόλιν μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας. Ὁ τοιοῦτος γὰρ καὶ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν ἐπιβαίῃ καὶ πάντα πρᾶξει

ἀρχιερατικῶς ἐν τε χειροτονίαις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς ὑποθέσεσι κατὰ τὰ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦδε προνόμια. 21 Ἦσαν δὲ ἄρα καὶ αἱ ἀπὸ τῆς δουκιῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν Ἀντιόχου ἀποτιμηθεῖσαι μερίδες καὶ παρὰ τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν ὡς ἐθελόντων ταύτας προσοικειώσασθαι καθ' ὁλόκληρον αὐταὶ τό τε θέμα τὸ Ποδανδὸν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὸ στρατηγάτον τῆς Ταρσοῦ πόλεως καὶ ἡ Ἄδανα πόλις καὶ αἱ τοῦ Μόψου ἐστίαι καὶ ἡ Ἀνάβαρξα καί, συνελόντα φάναι, ἡ χώρα πᾶσα τῆς Κιλικίας, ὅσην ὁ Κύδνος καὶ ὁ Ἐρμων περιορίζουσιν, ὥς δὲ καὶ ἡ στρατηγὶς Λαοδίκεια τῆς Συρίας καὶ αὐτὸ δηπουθεν τὸ στρατηγάτον Γαβάλων, ὃ καὶ Ζέβελ ὑποβαρβαρίζοντες λέγομεν, τά τε στρατηγὰτα Βαλανέως καὶ Μαρακέως καὶ ἡ Ἀντάραδος μετὰ τῆς Ἀνταρτοῦς στρατηγίδος γὰρ καὶ ἀμφοτέρω. Ταῦτα εἰσὶν ἅπερ ἀποκόψασα ἡ βασιλεία ὑμῖν τῆς ὅλης δουκιῆς ἀρχῆς Ἀντιοχείας τῷ κύκλῳ τοῦ κράτους προσένειμεν ἐκείθεν ἀφελομένη. 22 Καὶ στέργω καὶ τοῖς τε δεδομένοις καὶ τοῖς ἀφηρημένοις ὡσαύτως. Καὶ ἀνθέξομαι μὲν τῶν δικαίων καὶ προνομίων ὧν παρέλαβον ἀφ' ἡμῶν, οὐκ ἀντιποιουσαίμην δὲ ὧν οὐ παρέλαβον. Οὐδ' ἂν ὑπερβαίην τοὺς ὅρους, ἀλλ' ἐμμενῶ τοῖς δεδορμένοις κρατῶν αὐτὰ καὶ καρπούμενος, μέχρως ἂν τῷ βίῳ περιῶ, καθὰ προδεδήλωται. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐμὴν τελευτήν, ὥς καὶ τοῦτο προγέγραπται, ἀναδραμοῦνται πρὸς τὰς οἰκείας ἀρχὰς καὶ ὅθεν εἰς ἐμὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐδόθησαν ἐπισκήψω γὰρ τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐπιτρόποις καὶ ἀνθρώποις κατὰ τὴν τελευταίαν μου βούλησιν ἀποδώσειν τὰς χώρας ἀπάσας τὰς εἰρημένους τῷ σκήπτρῳ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς μηδὲν περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν περιεργαζομένοις ἢ εἰς ἀμφισβήτησιν τινὰ διαπίπτουσι. 23 Καὶ ὁμνιμι καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν συμφωνίαν ταύτην κατεμπεδῶ, ὥς ἀνυπερθέτως τε καὶ ἀναμφιβόλως τὸ προσταττόμενον πράξουσιν. Πλὴν καὶ τοῦτο προσκείσθω ταῖς συμφωνίαις, ὥς, ἐπειδὴ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀφηρημένων παρὰ τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀντιοχικῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ δουκάτου τῆς πόλεως ἐγὼ τε κατελιπάρησα τὸν ὑμέτερον θρόνον ποιήσασθαι ἀντιστήκωσιν καὶ οἱ περεγρῖνοι προσκατελιπάρησαν τὴν ὑμέτεραν βασιλείαν, καὶ κατένευσε τὸ κράτος ὑμῶν ἀντιστηκῶσαι μοι θέματα καὶ χώρας τινας καὶ πόλεις κατὰ τὴν ἀνατολὴν διακειμένας. 24 Δεῖ καὶ τούτων ἐνταυθοὶ μνημονεῖσαι κατ' ὄνομα, ἵνα μήτε ἡ βασιλεία ὑμῶν ἀμφιβάλλοι κατὰ τι καὶ ἐγὼ ἔχω περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐπιζητοῖην. Ἦσαν δὲ ταῦτα τό τε θέμα τῆς κασιωτίδος πάσης χώρας, ἧς μητροπόλις ἐστὶν ἡ Βέρροια, ὃ κατὰ τὴν τῶν βαρβάρων φωνὴν Χάλεπ λέγεται, τὸ θέμα τῆς Λαπάρας καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ ταύτην πάντα πολίχνια, τουτέστι τὰ Πλαστά, τὸ τοῦ Χωνείου κάστρον, τὰ Ῥωμείνα, τὸ κάστρον Ἀραμισός, τὸ τοῦ Ἀμυρᾶ πολίχνιον, τὸ κάστρον τοῦ Σαρβάνου, τὸ τοῦ Τελχαμψῶν φρούριον, σὺν οἷς καὶ τὰ τρία Τίλια, τό τε Σθλαβοτίλιν καὶ τᾶλλα δύο, τὸ φρούριον τὸ Σγένιν, τὸ κάστρον τὸ Καλτζιέριν καὶ διὰ καὶ ταυτὶ τὰ πολίχνια, τό τε Κομμερμόεριν καὶ τὸ Καθισμάτιν λεγόμενον καὶ τὸ Σαρσάπιν καὶ τὴν Νέκραν τὸ πολιομάτιον. Ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐπιτάδε Συρίας κείμενα τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μέσης τῶν ποταμῶν θέματα, τὰ ἀγχοῦ που κείμενα τῆς πόλεως Ἐδέσης, τό τε θέμα τῶν Λιμνίων καὶ τὸ θέμα τοῦ Ἀετοῦ μετὰ πάσης τῆς ἐκάστου τούτων περιοχῆς. 25 Μηδὲ ταῦτα ἀμνημόνευτα κείσθω τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἐδέσης μηδὲ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοφρουρήτου κράτους ὑμῶν τετυπωμένα μοι ἐτήσια τάλαντα, λέγω δὴ τὰς διακοσίας λίτρας τῆς Μιχαηλάτου χαραγῆς. Προσδεδῶρηται γάρ μοι διὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς χρυσοβούλλου λόγου τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δουκάτον ἐξ ὁλοκλήρου μετὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτὸ ἀπάντων φρουρίων τε καὶ χωρῶν, οὐκ εἰς ἐμὸν πρόσωπον μόνον περισταμένης τῆς δουκιῆς ταύτης ἀρχῆς ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἐφεῖται μοι παραπέμπειν αὐτὴν διὰ τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς χρυσοβούλλου λόγου εἰς ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς ἐθέλωμι, μέλλοντος δηλονότι κάκεινου ὑποκύπτειν τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν προστάγμασι καὶ θελήμασι καθαπαρεῖ ἀνθρώπου λιζίου τυγχάνοντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ κράτους καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς βασιλείας καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ βουλομένου καὶ συμφωνούντος, ἅπερ καὶ γὰρ, πρὸς ὑμᾶς. 26 Ἀλλὰ

καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦδε, ἐπειδὴ καθάπαξ ἐγενόμην ὑμέτερος ἄνθρωπος καὶ τοῦ κύκλου τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν, ὀφείλω λαμβάνειν κατ' ἐτήσιαν ὅσον ἀπὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν θησαυρῶν τάλαντα διακόσια τοῦ προβεβασιλευκότος κυροῦ Μιχαὴλ ποιότητά τε καὶ χαράγην ἀποφέροντα διὰ τινος ἀποστολέως ἡμετέρου Συριάθεν πεμπομένου μετὰ καὶ γραμμάτων ἐμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰς τὴν βασιλίδα πόλιν, ἐφ' ᾗ ταῦτα λαβεῖν εἰς ἡμέτερον πρόσωπον. 27 Καὶ ὑμεῖς μέν, οἱ αἰσεβαστοὶ βασιλεῖς καὶ σεβαστοὶ γε καὶ αὐγουστοὶ τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας, στέρεξετε δῆπουθεν τὰ ἐν τῷ χρυσοβούλλῳ λόγῳ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς ὑμῶν βασιλείας ἐγγεγραμμένα καὶ τὰ ὑπεσχημένα διατηρήσετε. Ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ τοῦδε τοῦ ὄρκου τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς συμπεφωνημένα κατεμπεδῶ ὁμνυμι γὰρ εἰς τὰ πάθη τοῦ ἀπαθοῦς καὶ Σωτήρος Χριστοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀήττητον ἐκείνου σταυρόν, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀπάντων σωτηρίας ὑπέμεινε, καὶ εἰς τὰ προκειμένα παναγέστατα εὐαγγέλια, ἃ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἅπασαν ἐσαγήνευσεν ταῦτα γὰρ κρατῶν ἐπόμνυμι καὶ τὸν πολῦτιμον σταυρόν τοῦ Χριστοῦ συμπαραλαμβάνων τῷ νῷ καὶ τὸν ἀκάνθινον στέφανον καὶ τοὺς ἥλους καὶ τὴν λόγχην ἐκείνην τὴν διατηρήσασαν τὴν δεσποτικὴν καὶ ζωοποιὸν πλευρὰν πρὸς σέ, τὸν κράτιστον καὶ ἅγιον ἡμῶν βασιλέα κύριν Ἀλέξιον τὸν Κομνηνὸν καὶ τὸν συμβασιλεύοντά σοι τριπόθητον νῖον κύριν Ἰωάννην τὸν πορφυρογέννητον, ὡς πάντα τὰ συμπεφωνημένα καὶ εἰρημένα ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματός μου φυλάξω καὶ ἀπαράβατα διατηρήσω μέχρι παντός, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κράτους ὑμῶν καὶ νῦν φρονῶ καὶ εἰσέτι φρονήσω, μηδ' ἄρχῃ ψιλῆς ἐπινοίας κακότητος ἢ δολερὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐνδειξόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐμμενῶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συμπεφωνημένοις καὶ καθ' οἷον δὴ τῆς τρόπου οὔτε ψευδορκήσω πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὔτε εἰς ἀθέτησιν τῶν ὑπεσχημένων χωρήσω οὔτε παράσπονδόν τι ἐπινοήσομαι οὔτε αὐτὸς ἐγὼ οὔτε οἱ σὺν ἐμοὶ πάντες καὶ ὅποσοι τῆς ἡμῶν ἐξουσίας εἰσὶ καὶ τὸν χορὸν τῶν ἐμῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπαρτίζουσιν. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν σῶν ἐχθρῶν θωρακισόμεθα καὶ ἀροῦμεν ὅπλα καὶ δόρατα καὶ τοῖς σοῖς φίλοις ἐμβαλοῦμεν τὰς δεξιὰς, καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν καὶ τιμὴν τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπινοήσω καὶ καταπραΰνομαι. Οὕτως ὀναίμην τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας, οὕτω τοῦ σταυροῦ καὶ τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων.

28 Ταῦτα ἐγράφη τε καὶ οἱ ὄρκοι συνετελέσθησαν παρουσίᾳ τῶν ὑπογεγραμμένων μαρτύρων κατὰ μῆνα Σεπτέμβριον δευτέρας ἐπιμεμήσεως ἔτους ἡδὲ διαρυνίσκομένου [6617 = 1108].

Οἱ μέντοι παρουσιάσαντες μάρτυρες καὶ ὑπογεγραφότες, ὡν ἐναντίον ταῦτα τετέλεστο, εἰσὶν οὗτοι· οἱ θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, ὃ τε Ἀμάλφης Μαῦρος καὶ ὁ τοῦ Τερεντοῦ Ῥενάρδος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ κληρικοὶ ὁ εὐλαβέστατος καθηγούμενος τῆς ἐν Λογγιβαρδία σεβασμίας μονῆς τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀνδρέου τῆς ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τοῦ Βρεντησίου καὶ τινες αὐτοῦ δύο μοναχοὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν περιεργίνων, ὧν τὰ μὲν σίγνα αὐτοὶ διεχάραξαν οἰκαιοχείρως, τὰ δὲ τούτων ὀνόματα διὰ χειρὸς τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἐπισκόπου Ἀμάλφης τοῖς σίγνοις προσπαρεγράφησαν, ὃς καὶ πρέσβις παρὰ τοῦ πάπα πρὸς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ἐληλύθει οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς βασιλείου αὐλῆς, ὁ σεβαστὸς Μαρῖνος, Ρογέρης ὁ τοῦ Τακουπέρτου, Πέτρος Ἀλίφας, Γελιέλμος ὁ Γανζῆ, Ῥιτζάρδος ὁ Πριντζίτας, Ἰσφρὲ Μαλῆς, Οὐμπέρτος ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Γρασούλ, Παῦλος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος οἱ ἐκ τῶν Δακῶν ἦκοντες ἀποκρισιάριοι παρὰ τοῦ κράλη καὶ συμπενηθέροι τῆς βασιλείας, ζουπάνος ὁ Περῆς καὶ Σίμων, καὶ οἱ ἀποκρισιάριοι Ῥισκάρδου Σινισκάρδου, Βασίλειος νωβελίσσμος ὁ εὐνοῦχος καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος νοτάριος.

Τὸν μὲν οὖν ἐγγραφον ὄρκον τοῦτον ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ παρὰ τοῦ Βαϊμούντου ἔλαβεν, ἀντιδέδωκε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν εἰρημένον ἄνωθεν χρυσόβουλλον λόγον ἐνεσημασμένον διὰ κινναβάρεως, ὡς ἔθος, διὰ βασιλικῆς δεξιᾶς.



CHAPTER II

THE POPE AND THE BYZANTINE EMPEROR (395-800):

**STAGES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF
PAPAL INDEPENDENCE**

MARIA LEONTSINI

POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL PRESUPPOSITIONS IN EAST AND WEST

Papal involvement in imperial affairs first becomes apparent when the problem of heresy arises.¹ From very early times the pope pronounced on all church questions and for many centuries was every ecclesiastic's ultimate point of reference. This situation was strengthened from the time of the Emperor Constantine I (324-37), who enhanced the importance of the clergy and its representatives. Constantine's policy, which was to make the pope a political factor in Byzantine history, took shape in the course of his interventions in important doctrinal and ecclesiastical matters. Parallel to this process, the patriarchate of Constantinople was also gaining status. Until the Second Ecumenical Council papal authority even extended to intervening administratively in the vicinity of the imperial capital. During the deliberations of this council, which was convoked at Constantinople in 381 by Theodosius I (379-95), the ecclesiastical administration of Thrace, Asia and Pontus was claimed for the first time by Constantinople and these provinces were incorporated into her church.² The territorial limitation of the Church of Rome's extensive jurisdiction and the strengthening of the patriarchate of Constantinople perhaps indicate that a strong imperial government was attempting to keep the pope out of eastern affairs. The bolstering of Constantinople by the council of 381, which was attended by a large number of eastern bishops but not by any delegates from the West, gave notice that the administration of the Church was to be conformed to the political organization of the empire and subordinated to the imperial system of division into provinces. On the other hand, promoting the patriarchate of Constantinople to an equality of honour with the ancient Churches of the East (Alexandria and Antioch) and the West (Rome) was to give rise to the first conflicts which would cast the bishop of Rome in the role of judge.

The Second Ecumenical Council also laid down strict requirements for orthodoxy. In the early years of the empire, the government accepted that it should align itself with the pope and the patriarch of Constantinople against the East, from whose churches arose a variety of interpretations on doctrinal matters. The official strengthening of orthodoxy by an ecumenical council – thus turning orthodoxy into imperial doctrine – was to meet with obstacles, although the rise of the Church was to be continuous in the course of the centuries. The orthodoxy of Rome and Constantinople, however, was closely linked to an older state of affairs when the ideas of the senatorial aristocracy prevailed. This provoked openly hostile reactions and finally alienated the East. Of course not all the emperors saw the general political situation in the same terms and consequently differed in the way they handled the problem. But this fact did not change the way in which eastern objections were dealt with by ecumenical councils, which also bore the seal of papal approval. By this process, which was repeated many times up to 685, the imperial will was expressed too. After that date the East

1 Orthodoxy was defined by bishops who took part in the ecumenical councils and usually issued official condemnations of the Eastern heresies.

2 E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, Paris, Brussels and Amsterdam, 1959², I, 1, 198-200; I. Karayannopoulos, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους*, vol. I, Thessalonica 1987 (repr.), 185. See also M. V. Anastos, 'Constantinople and Rome. A Survey of the Relations between the Byzantine and the Roman Churches', in idem, *Aspects of the Mind in Byzantium*, Aldershot 2001, VIII, 1-119.

separated itself permanently from the empire, and the eastern patriarchates, which now were under Arab rule, began to face new problems. In all these issues, papal pressure continued to be felt, especially in the matter of relations with the patriarchate of Constantinople and – in whatever affected them – of relations with the emperor.³

What took place in the period under review (395-800) was the development of hostility (under the imperial government) between Rome and Constantinople. Aspects of this situation became apparent very early in the attempt to weaken John Chrysostom, and especially in his exile in 404, an event which prompted Pope Innocent I (401-17) to issue letters of protest to the East and propose to the Emperors Arcadius (395-408) and Honorius (395-423)⁴ the calling of a council. In this complicated situation it is significant that Innocent had an ally in the western emperor, Honorius, who wrote to his brother Arcadius on the matter.⁵ On the other hand, the eastern emperor's actions against Chrysostom were perceived in the West by both the civil leader, Honorius, and the religious leader, Innocent, as anti-western acts by the eastern patriarchates. When these two powerful western figures address the eastern emperor they create the impression that the two parts of a hitherto united empire (until Theodosius' death on 17 January 395) were now pursuing different interests.

As in John Chrysostom's case, important clerics had appealed to Rome for support on other occasions, a practice which would become very common later.⁶ Such appeals to Rome had been initiated much earlier. When Athanasius of Alexandria was persecuted by the Emperor Constantius II (337-61), he turned to Pope Julius I (337-52).⁷ The pope, ignoring the preferences of the emperor of the eastern part of the empire, who having adopted Arianism was in any case a heretic, called a Roman synod (341) which demanded the restoration of Athanasius to his episcopal throne. In a letter to the bishops of the East,⁸ Pope Julius emphasized that only the bishop of Rome was competent to resolve the differences, a sign that papal authority was beginning to free itself from imperial control. The appeal at the conclusion of the letter to the foundation of the Church of Rome by the Apostles Peter and Paul, was to become a commonplace frequently asserted in papal texts demanding respect for the antiquity of the papal throne. This oft-repeated declaration on the founding of the first Christian church in Rome and the hierarchical rights deriving from her apostolic precedence, was in this period very timely, since in the East the patriarchal jurisdictions of Alexandria and Antioch were more ancient than those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, which were only recognized in the fifth century after the Council of Chalcedon.

3 For a more detailed discussion of this problem see below: Vasiliki Vlysidou, 'Byzantine diplomacy and the papacy (800-1054)', pp. 123-144.

4 J. B. Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395-800)*, London 1889, repr. Amsterdam 1966, vol. I, 91-106. There is a very vivid description by Sozomen of Innocent I's reaction in his *Ecclesiastical History* 8, 26.1-28.3, ed. J. Bidez and G. Chr. Hansen, *Sozomenus, Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin 1960, 384-9.

5 'Exemplum sacrae Honorii Aug. Missae ad principem Orientis Arcadium: De persona Sancti Iohannis Episcopi Constantinopolit.', *Epistolae Imperatorum Pontificum aliorum ind. ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur Collectio*, ed. O. Guenther, Prague, Vienna and Leipzig 1895, vol. I, no. 38, pp. 85-8.

6 P. Bernardakis, 'Les appels au Pape dans l'Eglise grecque jusqu'à Photius', *Echos d'Orient* 6 (1903), 30-42, 118-25 and 249-57.

7 B. Baldwin, A. Kazhdan and Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, 'Athanasius archbishop of Alexandria', *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, ed. A. Kazhdan et al., New York and Oxford 1991, vol. I, 217-18.

8 Karayannopoulos, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινῶν Κράτους*, vol. I, 131; G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451*, Paris 1984², 475 [= 'Ἡ γέννησις μίᾳς πρωτεύουσας. Ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις καὶ οἱ θεσμοὶ τῆς, transl. by Marina Loukaki, Athens 2000, 475-476]. See also Appendix, no. 1.

The pope's right to intervene in the eastern patriarchates had already been strengthened by the Council of Sardica (autumn 343). This council was presided over by a western bishop, Hosius of Cordoba, who condemned the policy of the eastern emperor, Constantius II (337-61).⁹ None of these disagreements were resolved, either by the restoration of Athanasius to the throne of Alexandria (31 August 346) or by the political reconciliation of the two imperial brothers, Constans I (337-50) and Constantius II, which followed. This precarious new stability was more favourable at the time to the western policies of Constans, who increased his authority by taking measures promoting the aristocracy and suppressing heresy. The difficult relations between East and West as a result of doctrinal and other tendencies counterbalancing each other, such as the unstable social structures in the West in contrast to the strong central authority in the East, prepared the ground for a tug-of-war between two strong contenders for the control of power which turned out badly for the western part. In the East the aristocracy was able to maintain its powerful position in the government of the empire until the seventh century and to renew itself by supporting the central authority. But in the West the merging of the higher social class with *arriviste* members of the barbarian military class failed, thus weakening its imperial environment.

Against this political background, the issuing of official statements expressing the Roman primacy, the recourse of eastern orthodox to the pope, and the hyper-orthodox stance of the aristocracy in the West, created the impression that the Church was administered by the pope. The good relations between the Roman senatorial class and the pope were welcomed by the aristocracy and higher clergy of Constantinople. Rome's role in this period as the protector of orthodoxy was widely recognized in both East and West. The influence of the bishop of Rome was strengthened by the fact that the eastern ecclesiastical leaders resorted to him for the defence of their rights. The pope, of course, was always orthodox. The orthodox stance of the Roman primate most probably encouraged the imperial favour shown to the senatorial aristocracy and promoted the stability sought in the secular administrative hierarchy. Orthodoxy constituted a permanent element of the ideology of this upper class from the time of Theodosius I until the Council of Chalcedon, when it was imposed forcibly on the populations of the East.

In the East the aristocracy was able to preserve its privileged position in the government of the empire until the seventh century and to renew itself, reinforcing the central authority. In the West this was achieved by co-operation with the higher Christian clergy rather than with the barbarian military leaders. Under these conditions, the decline of Arianism in the West until the beginning of the seventh century ensured that the pope would remain an important and stable leader for a long time. The exchanges of letters, the ambassadors, the invitations, and the visits of popes to Constantinople would sometimes resolve disputes and at other times create rifts, depending on circumstances. When the barbarian tribes were overwhelming the western half of the empire, the central authority in the West began to appear more theoretical, that is to say, more spiritual or ideological, and was only gradually replaced by new states. These historical facts confirmed the perception that the two halves of the empire (eastern and western) had no common interests and were divided by the religious, social and administrative situation. Broadly speaking, initiatives designed to show solidarity with the West came from Constantinople alone. The support given to the popes by the emperors when the patriarchs of Constantinople showed themselves sensitive to – if not followers of – eastern theological opinions, was a consequence of this relation of Constantinople

⁹ J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages 476-752*, London 1979, 11-12.

with the West. Some emperors, such as Zeno (474-5 and 476-91) and Anastasius (491-518) tried to bridge the religious or latent social differences with the East, provoking the wrath of the orthodox for deviating from the line strictly defined by the Council of Chalcedon.

Thus in the last chapter of his *Ecclesiastical History* Sozomen emphasizes that from the beginning of the fifth century the peace which prevailed in the East, and was the result of strong central government, was very different from the disorder of the West.¹⁰ With the western part of the empire so weakened, the appeal to the pope for assistance in the matter of the Nestorian heresy which arose in the East, it seemed contradictory for the powerful personalities of the East to seek help from the enfeebled West. Recourse to the pope arose in a period when conditions were no longer those of the age of Constantine the Great, neither for the empire nor for the Eastern Church. In spite of these changes, both Nestorius (428-31) and Cyril of Alexandria (412-44) appealed to Pope Celestine I (422-32) when they began their Christological dispute, following a well-worn path that had been used previously in similar circumstances. In this latent antagonism between Constantinople and Alexandria, the pope evidently favoured the latter, since Cyril wrote to Celestine more tactfully, while Constantinople revealed herself to be claiming a precedence in the East detrimental to the interests of both Rome and Alexandria. Thus a synod was held in Rome which called on Nestorius to renounce his views and appointed Cyril to be the judge of his repentance, showing clearly where the most ancient and most reliable point of reference was to be found for the Church.

Celestine turned decisively against Nestorius at the Third Ecumenical Council convoked by Theodosius II (408-50) at Ephesus (431).¹¹ Consequently, in Nestorius' case, although Constantinople had a strong central government, stronger than that of the West, we find a powerful personality occupying the episcopal throne, who is nevertheless condemned and deposed by the Roman pope. The Council of Ephesus was a victory of Celestine and Cyril over Constantinople and its patriarchate. Although the western part of the empire was rapidly breaking down on the military and political levels, in the *Life* of Pope Leo I (the Great 440-61) it is proclaimed that 'accepting the commission in the name of the Romans, he went to the king of the Huns called Attila and liberated the whole of Italy from the danger of the enemy.'¹² Pope Leo's involvement in secular matters, such as his diplomatic negotiations with the barbarians in the name of the Romans, demonstrates the significance of his position in the West. This prestige was nurtured by the pope's subsequent efforts to assert control over the eastern patriarchates and by the real need to maintain him as the supreme Christian authority in the West. The papacy alone was capable of dealing with the political changes and barbarian provocations facing Rome, since any stable civil authority there was lacking.

10 *Ecclesiastical History*, 9, 16, 3, ed. Bidez and Hansen pp. 406. 24-407.2: *Τὰ μὲν οὖν πρὸς ἑὸς τῆς ἀρχομένης πολιμίων ἀπὸ πλάκτου καὶ σὺν κόσμῳ πολλὰ τὰ τῆδε ἰθύνετο παρὰ τῶν πάντων δόξαν ἦν γὰρ ἔτι νέος ὁ κρατὼν. Τὰ δὲ πρὸς δόξαν ἐν ἀταξίᾳς ἦν πολλῶν ἀπανισταμένων τυράννων (...).* On Sozomen's tendency to present the East as the more important part of the empire see A. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοὶ Ἱστοριοῦ καὶ Χρονογράφοι (4ος-7ος αἰ.)*, vol. I, Athens 1997, 168-74; cf. also the remarks of W. E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome*, Princeton 1978, 226 ff.

11 See, for example, the correspondence of Cyril of Alexandria, PG 77, 85-96; Evagrius, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London 1898, repr. Amsterdam 1964, I, 3, 8.7-18; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883, vol. I, 89.5-8.

12 *Hic propter nomen Romanum suscipiens legationem ambulavit ad regem Unnorum, nomine Athela et liberavit totam Italiam a periculo hostium: 'Life of Leo', Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire, ed. L. Duchesne, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. I, Paris 1955², 239. On the incorporation of this activity of Leo in the historical tradition see R. C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire, Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, Liverpool 1981 [vol. I], 113-14. See also Appendix, no. 2.*

THE LIMITS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE NEW ECCLESIASTICAL DYNAMICS

These developments lead to the conclusion that the imperial government continued to constitute one undoubted pole of authority in the eastern part of the empire, while in the West the authority of the Church had begun to overshadow and overlay the – in one way or another – battered imperial institution. Such balancing of power is demonstrated by the exchange of letters between the eastern emperor and the pope. This correspondence, which becomes fixed in its forms, set the mould for later diplomatic relations. The confrontation between pope and eastern emperor in these texts shows that the emperor is aware of papal prestige in relation to the secular authorities in the West, a prestige which Pope Gelasius (492-6) when writing to the Emperor Anastasius (491-518) would later call *auctoritas* (authority), in comparison to the imperial *potestas* (power).¹³ These diplomatic exchanges reinforced the authority of Pope Leo, so that he was again the arbiter when views on the natures of Christ of an overtly monophysite character were again advanced in Constantinople on the initiative of the emperor.¹⁴ A partisan of Alexandrian patriarchate, called Eutyches, archimandrite of a Constantinopolitan monastery, under the protection of Chrysaphius, the *primicerius cubiculariorum*, in his eagerness to support views held by most of the peoples of the East began to denounce Nestorius with excessive zeal. This approach, overemphasizing Christ's divine nature to the detriment of his human nature, prompted Theodosius II to turn to Pope Leo. It appears, then, that not only prominent clerics but also orthodox emperors appealed to the pope when ecclesiastical disputes threatened their authority or caused serious disturbance. Pope Leo, at any rate, defying the imperial will, did not accuse Eutyches directly as a heretic and consequently there were no grounds for depriving him. Theodosius then summoned a council to meet at Ephesus in 449, which acquitted Eutyches but condemned Flavian, the patriarch of Constantinople (447-9). By this condemnation, which took place 'by military force and the sword'¹⁵ displeasure was again expressed not only with the papal legates, who went home when they saw that events were turning against the nobly born patriarch, Flavian, but also against those in Constantinople who preferred alliance with the pope and the West to the patriarchate of Alexandria and Dioscorus (444-51).¹⁶

This turn of events was bound to displease Pope Leo,¹⁷ who requested a new council in Italy to review the Council of Ephesus, now termed the *latrocinium*, or 'Robber Council'.¹⁸

13 F. Dvornik, 'Pope Gelasius and Emperor Anastasius I', *BZ* 44 (1951), 111-16 (= idem, *Photian and Byzantine Ecclesiastical Studies*, London, Variorum Reprints 1974, no. XIV). On the political relations between secular and ecclesiastical authority in this period see T. Lounghis, *Ιουστινιανός, Πέτρος Σαββάτιος Κοινωνία, Πολιτική και Ιδεολογία τον 6ο μ.Χ. αιώνα*, Thessalonica 2005, 87-96.

14 Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages*, 9-12.

15 βία στρατιωτῶν καὶ ξιφῶν. Theophanes, *Chronographia* 101.1-2.

16 Chr. Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας (62-1934)*, Athens 1985², 377-82.

17 J. Romanides, 'Leo of Rome's Support of Theodoret, Dioscorus of Alexandria's Support of Eutyches and the Lifting of Anathemas', *Θεολογία* 65 (1994), 479-93.

18 Pope Leo's protests addressed to Theodosius through the western Emperor Valentinian are described by Theophanes, *Chronographia* 10. 5-8.

The pope, moreover, persuaded the Western emperor, Valentinian III (425-455), to write to Theodosius at Constantinople asking him to revoke the decisions taken at Ephesus. The victory of the patriarch of Alexandria proved transitory. The dogmatic one-sidedness (one divine nature of Christ, made incarnate) supported by Alexandria, showed in these circumstances that it threatened to overthrow both of the orthodox and noble sees of Rome and Constantinople simultaneously. Thus Pope Leo joined forces with Anatolius of Constantinople (449-58) and with the approval of the new emperor, Marcian (450-7), convoked the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which met at Chalcedon in 451.¹⁹ In accordance with the decisions of that council, while Rome continued to enjoy ecclesiastical primacy, Constantinople was promoted to second place, followed by Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem.²⁰

Marcian's policies bolstered the aims of the adherents of orthodoxy in Constantinople and the West. The expectations of this powerful party, which enjoyed strong support from the aristocracy and higher clergy, were amply met by the ultra-orthodox Emperor Marcian and his consort Pulcheria, the sister of Theodosius II.²¹ Thus the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon not only overturned the 'Robber Council' of Ephesus but also satisfied the ecumenical demands of the senatorial aristocracy and the pope. Marcian and Pulcheria wrote to Pope Leo 'accepting his full authority',²² according to the church historian Theodoros Anagnostes. The safeguarding of dogma with the approval and participation of the ruling class and the pope was effected so triumphantly that the patriarchate of Constantinople felt sufficiently strengthened to proclaim - at the end of the council after the departure of the papal legates - its parity of honour with Rome.²³

This announcement at the Council of Chalcedon signified, apart from anything else, that the eastern patriarchates, which had so strongly opposed the rise of Constantinople, were formally losing any motive for direct communication with the administratively senior Church of Rome. The equality of honour between Old and New Rome was enshrined in Canon 28 of the council, a fact which showed that the orthodox senatorial class of the Byzantine capital, already powerful enough to put down heresy, was beginning to restrict the role of the papacy in this matter. The council of 381 had accorded an honorary precedence to Constantinople after Rome, but Chalcedon proclaimed an equality. With its political power enhanced, and once again its orthodox tradition strengthened, this senatorial class, with its claim to antiquity and from which the higher clergy were almost always drawn, had succeeded not only in surviving but also in exercising power effectively, since it had enjoyed privileged access to diplomatic negotiations ever since the empire was founded.²⁴

19 Aikaterini Christophilopoulou, *Βυζαντινή Ιστορία*, I: 324-610, Thessalonica 1992², 212-14. On the Council of Chalcedon see G. E. M. De Ste. Croix, *Η Σύνοδος της Χαλκηδόνας 451 μ.Χ. Ο Χριστιανισμός και η Ρώμη*, Διωρηίο, Αιρέσεις και Ήθη, ed. D. Kyrtatas, Athens 2005, 319-65.

20 Papadopoulos, *Ιστορία της Έκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας*, 425-38.

21 Christine Angelidi, *Pulcheria: La castità al potere (c. 399-455)*, Milan 1996, 117-19.

22 *Μαρκιανὸς καὶ Πουλχερία ἔγραψαν Λέοντι τῷ Πάπᾳ Ῥώμης, πᾶσαν αὐτῷ αὐθεντίαν παρέχοντες* ('Εκλογαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Ἱστορίας Θεοδώρου Ἀναγνώστου: *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Chr. Hansen, Berlin 1995, 100,23-24).

23 E. Chrysos, 'Ἡ διάταξις τῶν συνεδριῶν τῆς ἐν Χαλκηδόνι Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου', *Κληρονομία* 3 (1971), 259-81.

24 All the ambassadors of the fifth century held very high office. For the reasons dictating this strategy see T. C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407-1096)*, Athens 1980, 18-33.

The Emperor Marcian, and those who supported his orthodox policy in Constantinople, had succeeded in punishing all who did not condemn the Council of Ephesus of 449.

Marcian's death and the succession of Leo I (457-74) did not diminish the power of the orthodox upper class in any way. Henceforth it would attempt to oppose both Arians and monophysites simultaneously, and especially at times when the eastern patriarchates were in a state of ferment and the central authority in the West was dysfunctional. It appears, however, that after 451 the orthodox alliance between Rome and Constantinople, far from restricting the pope's opportunities to intervene in matters of every kind, even those that lay within the emperor's remit, actually increased them. This situation went back to Constantine the Great, who intermingled the political administration of the empire with ecclesiastical issues. The endemic friction – not to say antagonism – between the eastern emperor and the pope may be laid at his door. One may therefore easily imagine how this antagonism increased under Zeno (474-5 and 476-91) and Anastasius (491-518), who supported the monophysite position, and attempted to bring about changes in the ecclesiastical arrangements that had prevailed up to then.

This undermining of political and ecclesiastical stability provoked various reactions in the East. After the death of the Emperor Leo I (457-74), who had attempted to reinforce the West with naval expeditions, papal authority remained undiminished, although the central government began to show signs of instability. The overthrow of Zeno by Basiliscus (475-6) was a final reaction by the pro-western ruling class in Constantinople, which with the support of a Gothic faction which Zeno had begun to marginalize, sought to prop up its privileged position in the empire. Zeno's return to power (476) shows that as a general under Leo he had succeeded in building up a strong anti-Gothic party in the capital and could call on numerous supporters. At the time this alignment favoured the East over the West and the powerful nobles, chiefly because the latter did not have sufficient forces at their disposal to attain their goals. Zeno seems also to have been accepted by the monophysites, whose power increased considerably at this time. This is apparent from the support given by Constantinople to monophysite candidates for the eastern patriarchates. Even Basiliscus had recognized the restoration of Timothy Aelurus (457-60 and 475-7) to the throne of Alexandria and Peter the Fuller (470 and 485-9) to that of Antioch. Zeno (as a high official: *magister utriusque militiae*) had already in 470 supported Peter the Fuller as patriarch of Antioch, which brought him into conflict with the Chalcedonians.

Zeno's favouring of the monophysites beyond his immediate political aims must have been intended to strengthen the provinces of Armenia and Egypt. Thus his concern to maintain Timothy Aelurus in office at Alexandria until the latter's death and then in 477 to order Timothy Salofaciolus to resume his former see may be regarded as an attempt to establish his absolute authority in the East without papal interference. Nevertheless, since Peter Mongus had already been elected, he appealed to Pope Simplicius (468-83) who had every reason to be disturbed by Canon 28 of Chalcedon. In spite of these activities and the papal objections, in 479 Zeno, acting in concert with the Patriarch Acacius, appointed Peter the Fuller to Antioch (470, 485-9) and in 482, again with Acacius' approval, issued the *Ἐνωτικόν*. By this decree he sought to impose an imperial policy on the opposing parties of monophysites and dyophysites (Chalcedonians). While Basiliscus believed that he

could prevail in Constantinople by selectively promoting leading monophysites, Zeno tried to keep the powerful leaders of both East and West under the control of Constantinople. In Zeno's case, the involvement of the pope in imperial matters raised the temperature of the disputes concerning orthodoxy. But because the emperor was pursuing a domestic policy, he was obliged to make a number of concessions to those professing the eastern doctrinal interpretations, often revealing his own sympathy with the heresies. This policy prompted intervention by the pope and caused repeated altercations with the emperor. By his *Ἐνωτικὸν* Zeno sought to prevent negotiations between Rome and the eastern patriarchates, provoking papal anger. The text of the *Ἐνωτικόν*, which was an imperial official document and not a conciliar decision, made no reference to Christological matters. Even more significant was the condemnation of both Nestorius and Eutyches. But the most important feature of this imperial edict was its analytical reference to the first three ecumenical councils and its placing of the Council of Chalcedon on the same level as these.²⁵ In essence, the *Ἐνωτικόν* signified that the emperor was attempting to conciliate the monophysites and impose a middle way which would not exclude them from legitimacy. The *Henotikon's* opposition to papal authority signified that imperial pressure was being brought to bear on the pope.

At the same time Zeno tried to diminish the support which the members of the orthodox senatorial aristocracy in both Rome and Constantinople were giving the pope. They sought the submission of the emperor to orthodoxy by the adoption of the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. This meant that papal legates sent to Constantinople had very little room to manoeuvre in presenting the pope's views to Zeno. Both their own protests and those of the orthodox of Constantinople very nearly cost them their lives. After that Pope Felix sent another letter. Zeno not only refused to concede anything but his harsh stand influenced the climate of opinion and provoked the violent death of those who continued to support the papal demands in Constantinople. Felix III (483-92) sought the revocation of the *Ἐνωτικόν*.²⁶ Moreover, Peter Mongus' (477, 482-9) appeal to the pope, like the earlier appeal of the Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria, John I (482), to his predecessor Simplicius (468-83), went against Zeno. In this situation the attitude of the members of the orthodox party who accused the emperor and the patriarch of heresy was as expected. Felix called a synod in July 484 which condemned the *Ἐνωτικὸν* and branded Acacius a heretic. Acacius removed the pope's name from the diptychs of Constantinople and in October 485 Felix condemned Acacius again along with Peter the Fuller and Peter Mongus.

Thus Acacius of Constantinople, who was trying to impose his authority on the eastern patriarchates with the backing of the imperial government was himself the one who was considered a heretic in the West. While Pope Leo I (440-61) had protested immediately at Canon 28 of Chalcedon but had confined himself in the document known as his 'Tome' to emphasizing the primacy of Rome, his successors, and especially Felix III (483-92) sought the revocation of the *Ἐνωτικόν*. In spite of the fact that the papal demands from as early as Simplicius (468-83), Felix's predecessor, had the support of Odoacer, who in the meantime

²⁵ Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II, 25.

²⁶ Zeno is presented by Evagrius (*Eccl. Hist.*, 3, 22; 120.27-31) as accepting the Fourth Ecumenical Council in spite of the denunciations he had received from the East.

had deposed Romulus Augustulus (475-6) and had had himself proclaimed king (*rex*), Zeno did not cease to insist on complete control over theological discussions in both East and West. But neither did pressure from Rome cease. Felix sent another embassy to Constantinople to press for the recognition of John I and the revoking of the *Ἐνωτικόν*. His emissaries, Bishops Vitalius and Misinus, were arrested at Abydos, the papal letter was confiscated, and they were threatened with death if they did not restore their relations with Acacius of Constantinople and Peter Mongus of Alexandria. Proof of their obedience to the emperor, however, brought about their deposition by the pope.²⁷

In an attempt to heal the strained relations with the pope, Zeno's successor, Anastasius (491-518), sent an embassy to the Roman senate with the *comes domesticorum*, Theopompus (516), and another count who was a member of the consistory, or imperial council.²⁸ The members of the Roman senate were encouraged by imperial letters to mediate both with Theodoric Amalus – who on Zeno's orders had in the meanwhile eliminated Odoacer – and with the pope to restore communion between the Churches of Rome and Constantinople. It appears, however, that the pope's wish to see the *Ἐνωτικόν* condemned coincided with the unanimous will of the senatorial class of both Old and New Rome to maintain a firm position clearly differentiated from that of the East and the emperor.²⁹ With this support, the pope felt strong enough to demand in his letters to the bishops of Illyricum that they should refuse to be incorporated administratively into the patriarchate of Constantinople, describing the eastern empire as a region that had been afflicted by cholera.³⁰ The stream of papal instructions to the ecclesiastical leaders of Illyricum often had the appearance of forceful interventions in matters concerning the political stability of the region and reactions there to the central authority of Constantinople.³¹

If papal aims could not be attained by a direct approach, the more diplomatic path which was chosen in consequence reveals a perceptive assessment of the various doctrinal interpretations which continued to appear in the East. Western bishops brought confidential papal documents to Constantinople which condemned the monophysite doctrines, provoking the anger of Anastasius. The unanimity of the pope with the aristocracies of both East and West seem to have been the occasion of sharp altercations with the government, which had repercussions in the buffer zone of Illyricum. It was there that orthodox rebellions broke out against Anastasius, which ceased as soon as Justin I (518-27) seized power.³² The revolt of Vitalian (count of the *foederati* of Lower Moesia), which had 'orthodoxy' as its watchword,

27 Evagrius, *Ecll. Hist.* 3, 18-22; 117.1-120.31; Theophanes, *Chronographia* 131.30-132.2. The parading of the papal *apocrisiarii* in Constantinople is also described very vividly: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 132.20-6. See also Appendix, nos 3 and 4.

28 Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II, 189-92; T. C. Lounghis, 'Ambassadors, Embassies and Administrative Changes in the Eastern Roman Empire Prior to the Reconquista', in *Das Reich und die Barbaren*, ed. E. Chrysos and A. Schwarcz, Vienna 1989, 143-54.

29 A willingness to compromise – though with recognition of the pope – is evident in the reply of the Roman senate to Anastasius: '*Rescriptum senatus urbis Romae ad Anastasium Augustum*', *Collectio Avellana*, no. 114, p. 508.

30 Karayannopoulos, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινῶν Κράτους*, vol. I, 356.

31 *Epistularum Romanorum Pontificum ad Vicarios per Illyricum aliosque episcopos*, *Collectio Thessalonicensis*, ed. C. Silva-Tarouca, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana (Textus et Documenta Series Theologica 23), Rome 1937.

32 L. Magi, *La Sede Romana nella corrispondenza degli imperatori e patriarchi bizantini (VI-VII sec.)*, Louvain 1972, 35-55. See also Appendix, nos 5(a) and 5(b).

is indicative of the intense political and social pressures which were brought to bear in this region.³³ The conflict between East and West during this whole period must be seen in the context of the fact that the ruling class in both East and West, the senatorial aristocracy and the orthodox higher clergy, had a common attachment to the Roman origins of the empire and to orthodoxy, and were thus opposed to the emperor, who found support in the newer social elements in the East. Indicative of these disputes are the terms which Anastasius bound himself to observe after the suppression of Vitalian's revolt for the restoration of orthodoxy, with the calling of a council under the pope.³⁴

Although these orthodox uprisings and disturbances stopped with the accession to the throne of Justin I (518-27), Illyricum was to come under the absolute political and ecclesiastical control of Constantinople at a much later date on the outbreak of the Iconoclast controversy. It is characteristic that the popes in this period were all ultra-orthodox but attempted to have good relations with the Ostrogoth occupiers of Italy, while the Ostrogoths who were committed to Arianism, promoted powerful popes able to stand up to Constantinople.³⁵ This becomes clear with Pope John I (523-6), who was opposed unsuccessfully by the Ostrogoth ruler of Italy, Theodoric the Great, once he had arrived at a common mind with Justin I and Justinian I (527-65). This strange condominium, the Arian rulers of Italy promoting orthodox popes so as to condemn officially the monophysitism of the eastern emperors, had as its wider purpose the repelling, so far as possible, of Byzantine interventions in the West. This peculiar situation is amply reflected in the diplomatic balance of power from the fifth to the sixth centuries. Given that the Ostrogoths were finally destroyed, while the papacy a little later proved to be the only authority in the West capable of negotiating with the eastern emperor, it is evident that this diplomatic balancing act turned out to the advantage of the Roman Church.

³³ Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II, 182-5.

³⁴ Βιταλιανός ὁ Θράξ πρόσθεν τινα λαβών, ὅτι διὰ τοὺς ἐξορισθέντας ἐπισκόπους...: Malalas, *Chronographia*, 1στ', 16, ed. I. Thurn, Berlin 2000 (CFHB 35), 329; cf. *Περὶ ἐπιβουλῶν κατὰ βασιλείων γεγονυῖων Β. Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Ἰωάννου Ἀντιοχείου* ('On conspiracies against the emperors B. From the History of John of Antioch): *Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti*, vol. III *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor, Berlin 1905, Fr. 103, and also the charges which Theophanes ascribes to this movement (*Chronographia* 160.13-20).

³⁵ Lounghis, *Ιουστινιανός*, 121, 225-6. Cf. also Appendix, no. 5(c).

THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY RECONSTITUTION OF THE SIXTH CENTURY AND THE VIGOROUS SURVIVAL OF THE PAPACY

An important element in the relations between pope and emperor was the attitude of the senatorial aristocracy of Constantinople and Rome and especially of the higher clergy, expressed in an undeviating adherence to the dogmatic definition of Chalcedon. In practice this meant that through the senate and the administrative hierarchy of the episcopate the strictest control was exercised over matters of doctrine. This attitude seems to have been regarded as indispensable in the careful watch for any tendency to defect from the official tradition of the ecumenical councils, especially Chalcedon. An interest in orthodoxy was common to the higher social classes of Constantinople and Rome. This is also shown by the compilation of a bilingual (Greek and Latin) collection of canons of the first four councils (Nicaea, Constantinople, Ephesus and Chalcedon) by Dionysius Exiguus which was addressed to Pope Hormisdas (514-23).³⁶ This bilingual anthology of the fundamental decisions of the ecumenical councils showed most clearly Rome's concern to safeguard orthodoxy. On the basis of this text, the observance of whatever 'new' dogmatic formulations in Latin or Greek had already been promulgated or would be promulgated in the future in East and West was fully assured. Parallel to Rome's evident preference for Chalcedonian orthodoxy, the ascent to the throne of Justin I (518-27) signified clearly that the orthodox aristocracy, which had been marginalized by persecution and exile during the previous reigns, was recovering its influence on the central government.

One of Justin's first acts was to enter into communication with Pope Hormisdas, which, as previously under Anastasius, was undertaken by a count of the consistory.³⁷ The Patriarch John II the Cappadocian (518-20) took part in this imperial initiative. In a separate letter he declared his loyalty to the Council of Chalcedon and requested an end to the schism.³⁸ The restoration of communion with Rome was celebrated by congratulatory papal letters conveyed by Gratus, count of the consistory, as well as by the despatch of Roman clerics to Constantinople. The descriptions of the brilliant reception of the papal legates, with the presence of Count Vitalian, who had previously rebelled against Anastasius, and a host of senators, are indicative of the change of political climate. While the signing of the *libellus* affirming the Patriarch John's acceptance of Chalcedonian orthodoxy signified the restoration of relations with Rome, the emperor's communication with the religious leader of the West still preserved the idea of the theoretical subjection of the Roman Church to the imperial authority of Constantinople.

Although the papal legates were warmly welcomed by the senatorial aristocracy, the hospitable atmosphere did not bring peace to Constantinople, because it was accompanied by the recall of orthodox bishops and the exile of monophysites who were well established throughout

³⁶ W. Berschin, *Ελληνικά Γράμματα και Λατινικός Μεσαίωνας. Από τον Ιερόνιμο στον Νικόλαο Κουσανό*, transl. by D. Z. Nikitas, Thessalonica 1998, 114-120.

³⁷ Gratus was mentioned in all the letters exchanged by the pope and the emperor: 'Justinus Augustus Hormisdas Papae', *Collectio Avellana*, no. 143, pp. 587-8; 'Hormisda Justino Augusto', *Collectio Avellana*, no. 144, pp. 588-9. More particularly, however, in the letter to John, patriarch of Constantinople ('Hormisda Johanni Episcopo Constantinopolitano', *Collectio Avellana*, no. 145, pp. 589-91) the pope refers to him as 'nostri filii (...) cuius fides et recta credulitas nostrum circa se excitavit affectum (...)'

³⁸ 'Exemplum Relationis Johannis Episcopi Constantinopolitani', *Collectio Avellana*, no. 146, pp. 591-2.

the East. Their most distinguished theologians, Philoxenus and Severus, were banished.³⁹ In the disturbances mentioned in the sources as occurring under Justin I and his successor Justinian I, which had an element of social unrest about them, it seems that orthodox Chalcedonians played a leading role. On the level of central government, however, a new policy was taking shape. The restoration of relations with Rome and the pope, who embodied the highest and most ancient institution and had already been long recognized as a point of reference for all the rulers of the western states,⁴⁰ signified a change of course on the ideological front. This turn of events made Arianism very vulnerable as regards the empire's western policy. The general political climate, however, had begun to be transformed as relations between Justin and the pope steadily improved. On the other hand, the orthodox senatorial aristocracy in the West now found itself under pressure as a result of the presence of the Arian Goths in Italy and the rise of new states further west, such as the kingdoms of the Burgundians, the Franks and the Vandals.⁴¹ Strengthened by having been accepted by the East, the Italian senatorial aristocracy hardened its attitude towards the Arian Goths. In these circumstances the Arian Ostrogoth king of Italy, Theodoric the Great (493-526), perceived the prevalence of pro-Roman elements among his compatriots, who were tending to embrace orthodoxy, as a general undermining of his authority, with the result that he persecuted the Roman senate and executed a number of prominent senators.⁴² Corresponding anti-Arian measures followed from Justin I in Constantinople, with the exclusion of Arians from public office and the transfer of their churches to the orthodox.⁴³

These developments show that a rupture between the eastern empire, which was now ultra-orthodox, and the Arian states of the West was now inevitable. In this confrontation the role of the papacy was crucial. Papal influence is evident from the successive visits of popes or future popes to Constantinople (John I in Justin's reign, and John II, Agapitus, Silverius, Vigilius and Pelagius in Justinian's). The reception of Pope John I in Constantinople was so warm, the sources allow us to suppose, that it constituted a reward for the trials and restrictions imposed on him by the presence of Theodoric in Italy.⁴⁴ Justin drew back in the face of the Gothic king's demands, restricting himself to forbidding the return to Arianism of those who had in the meantime embraced orthodoxy, especially *foederati* (Gothic detachments bound by treaty) of Constantinople. On his return to Italy, however, John was imprisoned by Theodoric, who appointed Felix IV (526-30) pope in his place, thus demonstrating that in such important matters as papal affairs, Italy rather than Constantinople had the decisive word.

The next emperor, Justinian I (527-65), identified the recovery of the West with the imposition of orthodoxy. This became evident in his declarations in word and deed that the empire must necessarily have an exclusive and strictly defined orthodox religious identity.⁴⁵ According

39 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 165,3-23.

40 Karayannopoulos, *Ιστορία Βυζαντινῶν Κράτους*, vol. I, 379; T. Lounghis, *Ἡ Βυζαντινὴ Κυριαρχία στὴν Ἱταλία. Ἀπὸ τὸ Θάνατο τοῦ Μ. Θεοδοσίου ὡς τὴν Ἀλωσὴ τοῦ Μπάρσι, 395-1071 μ.Χ.*, Athens 1989, 76-80.

41 N. E. Karapidakis, *Ιστορία τῆς Μεσαιωνικῆς Δύσης (5ος-11ος αἰ.)*, Athens 1996, 68-83.

42 After the death of Pope John I it appears that Theodoric began a persecution of senators, the most prominent victims of whom were Symmachus and the philosopher and Hellenist, Boethius: Judith Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom*, Princeton, NJ 1987, 5.

43 On the change of climate in favour of orthodoxy see Lounghis, *Ιουστινιανός*, 120-1.

44 See most recently, M. Vitiello, "*cui Iustinus imperator venienti ita occurrit ac si Beato Petro*". Das Ritual beim ersten Papst-Kaiser-Treffen in Konstantinopel: eine römische Auslegung?, *BZ* 98 (2005), 81-96. See also Appendix, no. 5(d).

45 In his celebrated legal work the favourable treatment of the orthodox is emphasized as against the persecution of heretics and schismatics in an attempt to unite all Christians in a single orthodox faith. According to the *Liber Pontificalis* (I, 287) he even threatened Pope Agapitos: 'follow my orders or you will be exiled'. The Patriarch Menas also declared at the synod of 536 that nothing could be done against the emperor's will: Karayannopoulos, *Ιστορία Βυζαντινῶν Κράτους*, vol. I, 394-5; Lounghis, *Ἱταλία*, 106.

to the sources, the campaign in the West was supported by clerics for whom the most important issue was the return to orthodoxy of those who had embraced Arianism.⁴⁶ The advances of Justinian's forces in Africa led the Ostrogoth leader, Theodahad, although war with Ostrogothic Italy was imminent, to approve the visit to Constantinople of Pope Agapitus (535-6), who was known for his extreme anti-monophysite views. His acceptance of this papal visit to the East no doubt reflected an expectation of return to the situation prevailing under Justin I. Peaceful coexistence with Rome indirectly confirmed the acceptance of Gothic rule by Constantinople and created ideal conditions for the dominance of the senatorial upper class and the imposition of orthodoxy in both East and West. Agapitus died in the Byzantine capital and was succeeded in Italy by the equally fanatical anti-monophysite, Silverius, with the clear Ostrogothic aim that the climate of opinion should change from anti-Arian to anti-monophysite. Thus when the ambitions of the orthodox upper class were not only not thwarted but actually favoured by fortuitous circumstances, this meant that persecution would be unleashed against monophysites in Constantinople and the East. A similar situation may be observed in Rome during the short pontificate of Pope Silverius (536-7), a fact which favoured both the extreme adherents of orthodoxy and the Ostrogothic secular authorities, thus keeping the Byzantine central government at arm's length and deflecting its attention to the East.⁴⁷

Justinian I was aware that if he wanted to gain control of Italy he must impose his will on the pope. But doubtless he did not wish to gain control of Italy by means of such an ambitious general as Belisarius, who could very easily have made himself the rightful western emperor.⁴⁸ Nor did he wish to deal with intransigent popes such as Silverius, which would have meant a return to the age of Justin I. The continuation of the situation as it had been shaped under his predecessor entailed the severest measures against the monophysites and in consequence the deepening of the gulf between the ultra-orthodox West (still with strong pagan survivals, especially amongst the old aristocratic families who were attached to their ancient institutions) and the heretical East. Thus Belisarius was entrusted with the task of deposing the hard-line Silverius (the son of Pope Hormisdas, who was of Roman aristocratic descent), a policy which Procopius disapproves of in the *Anecdota*, or *Secret History*, including it among the other extreme acts of Justinian and Theodora. Silverius was not acceptable to Justinian because the policy of conciliating the monophysites was incompatible with this pope's inflexible stance. His deposition by Belisarius and replacement by Vigilius (537-55), who was much more compliant towards Justinian and Theodora (as was also his deacon Pelagius, who represented him in Constantinople) was judged indispensable for the success of Justinian's policy in the eastern part of the empire.

In Justinian's reign an attempt was made to deal with the problem of orthodoxy versus heresy through establishing complete unanimity between emperor and pope. The submission of the Arians of the West to orthodoxy was a process initiated as soon as the Byzantine army had gained control of Italy. But the completion of this process was brought about by the pope. This assignment of absolute control of the Arians to the pope immediately after the reign of Justinian

46 Procopius, *Wars*, ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, Leipzig 1962, III, 10.18-20; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 188.25-9; Karayannopoulos, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους*, vol. I, 437.

47 The siege of Rome was lifted when Belisarius' general, John, captured Ravenna (March 538). Belisarius – now master of Italy – sought the approval of the new pope, Silverius (536-7), for the restoration of the Patriarch Anthimus to Constantinople. Silverius' refusal led to his being deposed from the papacy and exiled to Patara in Lycia. In the meantime, one of the papal legates at Constantinople, Vigilius, was elected pope (537-55) on the condition that he should recall Anthimus. Silverius returned to Rome with the support of the bishop of Patara but was again exiled: Karayannopoulos, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους* vol. I, 497-9. For the social origins and similarity of views of Silverius and Belisarius see Lounghis, *Ιουστινιανός*, 230-23.

48 *Βασιλεὺς τῆς ἐσπερίας*, Procopius, *Wars*, VI, 29.18.

I, very clearly implies his autonomous management of western affairs. Faced with this new reality, Byzantium did not cease to aim at the administrative and secular control of the former western part of the empire, but it seems to have been aware that this new situation demanded a new strategy. In these circumstances, the pressures that needed to be applied had to aim at the restriction of the pope's authority, for all secular persons who acceded to power and even more so the ecclesiastical leaders of the West had recourse to him. In this period, then, in which the West was now perfectly orthodox or almost so, there also appeared an attempt by the central authority to win the support of monophysite Byzantine forces (later openly under Constans II). In this situation, the abrupt change from the pro-monophysite policy of Zeno and Anastasius to the ultra-orthodox approach of Justin I naturally encouraged a pro-aristocratic reorientation, especially towards prominent office-holders such as Pope Silverius, whom Procopius defends in his *Secret History*. Procopius condemns both Theodora's aggression against this pope, who had opposed Justinian, and the obedience of Belisarius, the conqueror of the West, to every imperial command.⁴⁹ In spite of the imperial measures designed to encourage stability, the persecution of the monophysites continued. But since the empire was weakened militarily whenever the pro-monophysite or former monophysite element predominated in the army, the Byzantine emperor, as in the case of Justinian I, had felt the need to impose his own orthodoxy on the pope. Thus this emperor attempted to reach a compromise by accommodating the monophysite element to a minimum extent. The Byzantine forces, in their turn, contributed by their campaigns to the spread of orthodoxy in the Arian and papal West.

While Belisarius was launching a new campaign in Italy, in Constantinople Justinian was preparing yet another decree (in 543/4) against some theological works considered Origenistic or monophysite, namely, those of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrus and Ibas of Edessa known as the *Three Chapters*.⁵⁰ Justinian condemned the *Three Chapters*, mentioning the condemnation of Nestorianism (which, however, had been condemned by the Council of Ephesus), so as not to appear an extremist to the monophysites.⁵¹ Behind this tendency to find balances between interpretations such as Nestorianism – which had been supported by members of the higher clergy, senators and philosophers – and monophysitism, which had a large popular following in the East (regardless of whether it was also supported by the patriarchs of Alexandria), must have lain the desire to attain absolute control over the ecclesiastical leaders of East and West. Reactions to this decree came not only from the monophysites. Suspecting that it represented an attempt to overturn the decrees of Chalcedon, the papal legates refused to sign, and the Patriarch Menas (536-52) sought approval from Pope Vigilius.⁵²

In this situation the political climate in Italy exercised a negative influence. Totila had massacred whole populations, including the bishop of Tivoli, while Belisarius was retreating to Epidamnus (Durrachium), since reoccupation from Ravenna had had no result. Justinian then sent reinforcements to Belisarius. At the same time he despatched the *scribon* Anthimus to Italy

49 Procopius, *Anecdota*, ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth, Leipzig 1963, I, 13-14, 27-8. Procopius' disapproval of the humiliation of the pope and his subsequent deposition is mirrored by the *Liber Pontificalis* I, 292-3 ('Life of Silverius'): Berschin, *Ελληνικά Γράμματα και Λατινικός Μεσαίωνας*, 145.

50 E. Chrysos, 'Ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ πολιτικὴ τοῦ Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἔριν περὶ τὰ Τρία Κεφάλαια καὶ τὴν Ἐ' Οἰκουμένην Σύνοδον' [Ἀνάλεκτα Βλατάδων 3], Thessalonica 1969, 25 ff.; J. Meyendorff, 'Continuities and Discontinuities in Byzantine Religious Thought', *DOP* 47 (1993), 72.

51 For this interpretation together with the military and political reactions which the decree provoked see Lounghis, *Ιουστινιανός*, 291-3.

52 Justinian's successive manoeuvres are described in detail by Karayannopoulos, *Ἱστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους* vol. I, 532-47.

(545), who put Pope Vigilius on a ship to bring him to Constantinople. The Roman senate sent an embassy to Totila by the deacon (later pope) Pelagius to seek guarantees from him. Totila in the meantime had taken the city of Placentia (Piacenza, 546) and was approaching Rome. During his long voyage via Catania, Patras and Thessalonica, Vigilius received messages of support encouraging him not to sign the decree, since Illyricum was then under papal ecclesiastical administration. From Thessalonica he wrote a letter to Menas of Constantinople exhorting him not to align himself with those supporting the decree. In the meantime, Rome had been sacked by Totila (17 December 546) and Pelagius, who had gone to him again to plead for him not to take vengeance on the senators, was sent by him to Constantinople to seek peace terms from Justinian. Pelagius, however, did not forego the opportunity to attack the imperial decree on the *Three Chapters*, invoking a letter of Ferrandus, a deacon of Carthage, which rejected imperial interference in ecclesiastical matters.⁵³

As in the case of the Carthaginian deacon, there were also other reactions from Western bishops pressing Vigilius not to give in and sign the decree. In 548 he did issue an encyclical accepting the decree in which he also referred to the Council of Chalcedon.⁵⁴ But the objections to this encyclical expressed by western bishops in the papal circle, as well as ecclesiastical leaders in Illyricum and the African clergy, were again very intense.⁵⁵ The reactions of the clergy of Galatia could, moreover, have been connected with Totila's attempts to ally himself with the Franks against Byzantium. Although Belisarius had recovered Rome, he was in fact too weak to control the whole of Italy. Totila took Rome again and the objections of the western bishops to Constantinople became more inflexible. Justinian, however, was equally inflexible. Even though he had bound himself to the pope, the patriarch, certain bishops of the West and the East, and even to members of the senate to call a council on the matter, in the event he gathered together in Constantinople all the most rigid opponents to the decree and exiled those who refused to yield. In spite of universal opposition, the emperor insisted on censuring Pope Vigilius and on having the papal *apocrisarius* in Constantinople, Pelagius, totally under his control.

A little later, although Totila had reoccupied Rome in January 550 and was pillaging Sicily by land and sea, Justinian after some vacillation sent Liberius, Artabanes, his nephew Germanus and the latter's brother-in-law John, as well as his son Justinian to Italy in quick succession. None of them could stop Totila, and so in 551 the emperor gave supreme military command to Narses. In spite of the fact that Totila's fleet was blockading Ancona and pillaging the Adriatic and Ionian coasts, some forces of the governor of Ravenna, Valerian, and of John succeeded in winning a preliminary victory over Totila before the arrival of Narses, while Artabanes gradually recovered Sicily. Thus, at a time when Totila had experienced his first reverse in Italy and Narses was preparing a new major offensive against him, Justinian issued a new decree as a theological treatise and communicated it to Vigilius. The pope, however, dismissed the imperial emissary, Bishop Theodore Askidas, from the Placidia palace (seat of all the western bishops), and sought refuge in the basilica of Peter and Paul at the palace of Hormisdas, where he drew up an excommunication against all who accepted the imperial decrees, including the Patriarch Menas.⁵⁶

53 Karayannopoulos, *Τοποία Βυζαντινῶν Κράτους*, vol. I, 534. The Church of Carthage and of North Africa in general produced many adversaries of monophysitism. For the reactions of North African and other Western bishops to Justinian's conciliatory neo-Chalcedonian policy see Lounghis, *Ιουστινιανός*, 314-5.

54 Mansi IX, 347B, 351.

55 Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. II, 645.

56 These events are vividly described in Pope Vigilius' letter: Mansi IX, 50C-55D; see also Appendix, nos 6 and 7(a).

Justinian then sent a detachment to arrest the pope but the commander of the praetorian guard, Dipundiaristos, returned without having fulfilled his mission.⁵⁷ A new embassy consisting of Belisarius, the leader of the Roman senate, and prominent members of the Constantinopolitan senate persuaded the pope to return to the palace of Placidia. The papal entourage then fled to the Church of Saint Euphemia in Chalcedon, demanding the acceptance of Vigilius' terms. Thus in the summer of 552, when the pope returned to Constantinople and Narses was reaching Ravenna, all who had been excommunicated by Vigilius, including Theodore Askidas and the Patriarch Menas, were sent by Justinian to him and assured him of their repentance and their recognition of the four ecumenical councils. But while Justinian was constantly making tactical concessions to Vigilius, Narses was at that very moment winning a great victory over the Goths. Totila was fatally wounded, and in October 552 a second definitive defeat was inflicted on his successor, Teia.

Although Narses had begun to bring Italy under his control, new centres of resistance to the Byzantines arose when Alamanic forces, with the consent of the Frankish King Theudibald I (548-55), began to lay claim to Italian territories.⁵⁸ Perhaps as a result of this, or the death of Menas (552) and Eutychius of Amaseia's ascending the patriarchal throne (552-65 and 577-82), Vigilius proposed the calling of a council in Italy or Sicily, which would have made him feel more secure. The emperor's refusal to summon a council outside Constantinople was as expected. But invitations were issued to western bishops and a competent committee was constituted. Thus a council was convoked in Hagia Sophia in May 553. This council, in which very few western bishops took part and which did not include Vigilius, rejected his new encyclical. The imperial intervention in theological and ecclesiastical matters, was based in practice on documents and letters which Vigilius had signed in 547, when he had been brought to Constantinople by the *scribon* Anthimus, but which had not previously been published. By a decree communicated to the council by the *quaestor* Constantine, Vigilius was removed from Constantinople's diptychs. The following year (554) Narses won a great victory over the Frankish and Alamanic army and – apart from a few pockets of resistance which still held out – succeeded in bringing enemy activity to a complete halt.

Justinian I tried not to maintain a position on orthodoxy as extreme as that of Justin I. Accordingly, he was much more lenient towards the monophysites. He attempted to harness their patriotism and incorporate the social force they represented, on account of their numbers, into his ideological goal of recovering the West and reconstituting a world-wide empire. To ensure success he did not align himself with the pro-pagan section of the senatorial aristocracy, as Justin I had done. In whatever concerned his relations with the pope, he sought agreement in the persecution of the pagans, who were a very small minority. But he did not succeed in winning the same consent when he tried to solve the problem of the monophysites in the East. Nevertheless, those popes who did not support Justinian's tactics in the West were deposed. This is evident in the fate of Agapitus and Silverius. Of course, popes such as Vigilius and Pelagius, who opposed Justinian's *via media*, which did not unleash any great persecutions against the monophysites, were forced into complete submission. This last aspect, together with the demise of Arianism, is the important new element in the balance of power with the papacy. The conditions were thus created for the rise of popes obedient to the emperor, though this was not always taken for granted, as developments in the seventh century were to show.

⁵⁷ Malalas, *Chronographia*, η', 111; ed. Thurn, 412-13.

⁵⁸ Lounghis, *Τραλία*, 103.

RADICAL SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE EAST AND BYZANTIUM'S NEW STANCE TOWARDS THE WEST

In Italy especially, the spread of orthodoxy coincided with papal objectives and was accomplished at the expense of Arianism by the end of the sixth century, or perhaps the beginning of the seventh.⁵⁹ Up to that point pope and emperor had no essential differences of outlook. But once orthodoxy had become dominant in the West, the intervention of the Byzantine armies, which contained a large monophysite element, began to be counter-productive, causing the popes considerable annoyance. For the Byzantine emperor, however, the exercise of authority over the pope and the West generally seemed as natural as the authority he exercised over the patriarchates of the East. Thus the attempts to put pressure on the pope continued and, in this respect at least, Justinian II (685-98 and 705-11) followed the policy of Justinian I.⁶⁰ But since Justinian II failed to bring the West under his control as Justinian I had done, the Byzantine empire came to realize that controlling the pope through a common understanding of orthodoxy would prove impossible. Accordingly, a different approach was adopted based on the official dogmatic formulas which the state attempted to impose on both the West and the East.⁶¹

This method began to be implemented at the time of Arianism's disappearance in the West, that is to say from the beginning of the seventh century when, thanks to the initiative of the popes, the West was orthodox again. It was bound up with monenergism and monotheletism, which were formulated by the Emperor Heraclius and the Patriarch Sergius (610-38).⁶² Both emperor and patriarch adopted not monophysitism as such, but a variant of it, with the result that the Byzantine emperor proved to be supporting an orthodoxy different from that of the pope. As this strategy had no success until 668, the real break with the papacy occurred at the beginning of the eighth century, when the Isaurian emperors adopted a policy of iconoclasm. If political developments from the sixth to the eighth centuries show that relations with the papacy were governed by the social dynamics of the empire, this signifies that reactions to the West should be examined on the basis of the dominant aims in each reign. Under Justin I, papal influence, which was absolute among Rome's senatorial aristocracy, demanded that a blow should be dealt first to the Arians of the West, and in fact although they endured much suffering, they were not eliminated until the death of Justinian I (565).

59 For the Christianization of Europe and the adherence of Arians to orthodoxy see B. Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West*, London 1986, 10-12. For the formation of the new Western states and the rise of many different peoples see most recently *Regna et Gentes. The Relationship between Late Antique and Early Medieval Peoples and Kingdoms in the Transformation of the Roman World*, ed. H.-W. Goetz, J. Jarnut and W. Pohl, with the collaboration of Søren Kasche, Leiden and Boston 2003.

60 Constance Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium*, Wisconsin 1972, 78.

61 The intention of Heraclius to transfer the imperial capital to the West is also attributed disapprovingly by the sources to other emperors who showed an interest in maintaining a balance in the West on behalf of Constantinople: A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'empire byzantine du VIIe siècle, l'exemple de l'exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie*, Rome 1969, 249-50.

62 J. L. Van Dieten, 'Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I. bis Johannes VI. (610-715)', *Geschichte der griechischen Patriarchen von Konstantinopel IV*, *Enzyklopädie der Byzantinistik* 24, Amsterdam 1972, 33.

At any rate, the remaining Arians, such as the Visigoths in Spain⁶³ and the Lombards who were to invade Italy in 568,⁶⁴ were converted by the papacy alone without the help of the eastern emperor.⁶⁵

Parallel to this, from the time of Justinian I to the beginning of the seventh century the orthodox senatorial aristocracy followed the Justinianic tradition by attempting to invade the West but without success. All they did was to weaken the repeated attempts of the pontiffs to promote orthodoxy and rid the West of Arianism. This is particularly evident during the reign of Maurice (582-602). This emperor's constant efforts to subdue the Lombards by force of arms – Byzantine and Frankish – not only laid Italy waste but destroyed his long-standing friendship with Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). The founding of the exarchates, apparently by the same emperor, no doubt indicates the entrusting of the administration of the West to an authority which was to co-operate not only with the emperor and the senate but also with the pope. This would explain the satisfaction of an aristocratic pope, such as Gregory, with a plebeian regime in Constantinople, such as that of the centurion Phocas in 602. Even more telling is the fact that, after the suppression of this revolt, the succeeding regime of Heraclius, which was aristocratic and senatorial, clearly wanted to maintain peace with the Lombards in Italy, that is to say, to continue the policy of the plebeian government.

The smoothing of relations with the West required the pope to be obedient to instructions issuing from the central government. The fundamental lever for ensuring such obedience was the exarch of Italy. It is indicative, however, of the new situation that several newly-appointed exarchs – the *patricians* Eleutherius (619) and Olympius (650) – were inclined to defect as soon as they arrived in Italy.⁶⁶ It is well known that the plebeian military revolt of 602 put an end to this precarious situation, a fact which seems to have been welcome to Pope Gregory. The West during the pontificate of this pope, called 'the Great', or in Greek 'Dialogos' (590-604), enjoyed some relief, since at that time the situation in Constantinople did not allow the pursuit of a Justinianic policy. In fact, political aims in Constantinople had not changed. When the regime of the usurper Phocas (602-10), which was friendly to Pope Gregory I, was overthrown, the succeeding administration of Heraclius attempted not only to control the papacy but also to impose the authority of Constantinople on the West as a whole.

This understanding of the control of the West was rooted in the past. It reappeared in the new political situation, stimulated by the Arian party's loss of power in Italy. The same factors also governed the fate of the remnants of the adherents of Arianism in Spain, where they had to contend with strong resistance from the clergy and the rising orthodox Visigothic aristocracy. In these new circumstances, which lead us into the heart of the Middle Ages, the policy of controlling the papacy had to be pursued in a manner very different from that of the past. An attempt was made to implement the new Byzantine ideology of the

63 *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano nunc Berolinensi, Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. Delehay, Brussels 1902, 169-72 and 179-80.

64 Agathias (ed. R. Keydell, CFHB 2, Berlin 1967, III, 20, 10, 111.2) presents them as serving in the Byzantine army.

65 Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom*, 237-40 and 227-33.

66 Lounghis, *Ἱταλία*, 10. See also Appendix, nos 7(b) and 7(c).

subordination of pope to emperor by the imposition of a different theological formula from that which had hitherto been promoted by the Byzantine authorities, but which nevertheless did not imply the acceptance of monophysitism.⁶⁷ The doctrine of monothelitism⁶⁸ proved on the diplomatic level to be a Byzantine political manoeuvre to enable imperial pressure on the West and the pope to bear fruit. If such pressure could succeed in the West, it meant that all the social, political and religious differences between East and West in this period would be more or less transformed. The difficulties which followed the failure of this attempt made it very clear why the military intervention in the West of Constans II (663-8), which followed in 662/3 and was – rightly – regarded as of a Justinianic type, had as its main military component the forces of the Armeniakon and Anatolikon themes loyal to the emperor's monotheletic policies.

The officials who, until the seventh century, were sent to the pope by the imperial government in Constantinople as lay or secular dignitaries generally conformed to the following rule: In order to be trustworthy they were drawn largely from select members of the palace guard or the senate. The *scribonēs*, a small semi-military category,⁶⁹ appear as imperial envoys sent to the pope. They were noted for their high education and a fluency in both Latin and Greek exceptional at this time. It appears, however, that this situation changed when imperial policy towards the West underwent an essential transformation – when there were no mutual discussions between Constantinople and Rome – and instead of the usual ambassadors *spatharii* and *protospatharii* were sent, especially when relations between the papacy and the empire were under strain. This new era in relations between the papacy and the empire took on a clearer shape when Constans II (641-68) acceded to the throne.⁷⁰

The pursuit of an aggressive policy towards the papacy, because on the theological level a different interpretation had been adopted, was implemented by the Emperors Heraclius, Constans II, Philippicus-Bardanes, Leo III the Isaurian and his son and successor, Constantine V, from the seventh to the mid-eighth century. It was abandoned, however, by the Emperors Constantine IV and Justinian II. Constantine IV (668-85) decided to reverse his predecessor's policy, proclaiming a strictly orthodox line with the convoking of the Sixth Ecumenical Council and improving the hitherto poor relations with the pope.⁷¹ This approach did not seek to put any pressure on the pope. On the contrary, such excellent co-operation suggests rather that the emperor was accommodating himself to the orthodoxy

67 The spirit of this is perhaps expressed by the inscription *ἀνανέωσις* (renewal) on the coins of Constans II: A. Bellinger and P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* 2, 1: Phocas to Theodosius III (602-717), Washington 1993², 101.

68 F. Winkelmann, *Der monenergetisch-monotheletische Streit* (Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 6), Frankfurt am Main 2001. On imperial interventions in the matter of dogmatic formulas and their political implications in this period see Maria Leontsini, *Θρησκευτικές πεποιθήσεις και γλωσσική διατύπωση τον 7^ο αιώνα*, in: *Οι σκοτεινοί αιώνες του Βυζαντίου*, ed. Eleonora Kountoura-Galaki, Athens 2001, 73-87.

69 Maria Leontsini, *Από τη βασιλική δορυφορία στην τελετουργική συνοδεία: η ανάδειξη των σπαρφόρων από τη Σύγκλητο*, *Σήμερις* 15 (2002), 53-65. On the activities of ambassadors in general see J. Shepard, 'Messages, ordres et ambassades: Diplomatie centrale et frontalière à Byzance (IX^e-XI^e siècles)', in *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VI^e au XI^e siècle* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 278), ed. J.-M. Sansterre and J.-L. Kupper, Geneva 2000, 375-96.

70 P. A. B. Llewellyn, 'Constans II and the Roman Church: A Possible Instance of Imperial Pressure', *Byzantion* 46 (1976), 120-6. See also Appendix, no. 8.

71 Maria Leontsini, *Κωνσταντίνος Δ' (668-685). Ο τελευταίος πρωτοβυζαντινός αυτοκράτορας*, Athens 2006, 161-175. See also Appendix, nos. 9-10.

dictated by the pope. Constantine's son and successor, Justinian II, dissolving these conciliatory relations with the papacy, without distancing himself dogmatically from the orthodoxy of the Sixth Ecumenical Council, attempted to redefine the boundaries of religious life by laying down rules regulating the conduct of the clergy and suppressing paganism.⁷² The fact that the popes adhered to orthodoxy while at the same time an attempt was made to subordinate them to the emperor inevitably led to the use of force.

In these different circumstances the *scribonēs*, who had undertaken the Byzantine embassies since the time of Justinian I, were no longer sent to the pope and remained at the Byzantine court. Their presence henceforth comes to be felt in the descriptions of palace etiquette. The implementation of the new policy and the corresponding initiatives were undertaken chiefly by *protospatharii*, perhaps because military measures were more important than diplomatic ones. In 692 Justinian II ordered the *protospatharius* Zacharias to arrest Pope Sergius I (678-701). But this was not done because of steps that had now been taken in Rome for his protection, while Pope Constantine I (708-15) was also accompanied by high-ranking military officers on his journey to Constantinople. This was the last journey to the Byzantine capital undertaken by a pope. The Emperor Justinian II changed his tactics. Although he proclaimed a complete identity of orthodox faith with the pope, he sought in fact his political subjection by the same means as those by which in the East he demanded, even by force, the absolute obedience of the senate and the bishops.⁷³

The pope's stubborn resistance to the emperor's policy in this period demonstrated the inability of the central government to control its old Italian possessions, even though a military detachment was sent to Rome under the command of the *protospatharius* Zacharias. The military mobilization of the whole of the northern Italian Pentapolis for the protection of the pope was sufficient to prevent his removal to Constantinople, as had happened to his predecessor, Martin (649-55), under Constans II. After his failure to subdue reactions in Constantinople and Rome, Justinian II was dethroned and his nose mutilated to prevent his return to power. The general Leontius (695-8) who succeeded him, even though chosen by the senatorial aristocracy and the clergy, was unable to impose his authority on the fluid situation that prevailed. The fleet he sent to Carthage rebelled, with the result that the last piece of Byzantine territory in Africa (apart from Septem) was lost and the emperor himself was overthrown. Like Leontius, his successor Tiberius-Apsimar (698-705) who was also overthrown very quickly enabling Justinian (705-11) to return, was unable even to impose exarchs on Italy, for the Lombards were beginning to create a state which had the capacity to control a very large part of the former territories of the exarchate.⁷⁴ In the second part of his reign Justinian tried to find common ground with Popes John VII (705-7) and Constantine I (708-15), the second of whom, as already mentioned, made a visit to Constantinople. His aggressive policy towards Rome, however, and the pressures exercised on the exarchate by Constantinople's military representatives provoked such resistance and so undermined

72 Sp. Troianos, *Η Πενθέκτη Οικουμενική Σύνοδος και τὸ νομοθετικὸ τῆς ἔργου*, Athens 1992.

73 T. K. Lounghis, *Δοκίμιο για την κοινωνική εξέλιξη στη διάρκεια των λεγομένων «Σχοτεινών Αιώνων»* (602-867), Athens 1985, 24-5.

74 Lounghis, *Ταλῖα*, 138-40.

relations between them that after Justinian's fall his head was brought to Ravenna by the *spatharius* Romanus and paraded 'in the Western regions as far as Rome'.⁷⁵

Although in this period popes of eastern origin were elected who knew Greek, and there were monasteries in Rome which maintained close ties with Constantinople – as surviving iconographic programmes confirm⁷⁶ – relations with the central government became strained. The popes' indifference and even hostility to the policy of Constantinople could perhaps be attributed to the aggressive policy of Justinian II, but events show that Byzantium, which was now tending to become an 'eastern' empire, would not subsequently have the capacity to impose its will on the West. Important factors in creating this weakness were the particularly close ties linking the western orthodox aristocracy not only with the occupants of the Lateran palace and with the influential monastic communities in Rome but also with the aristocracy of Constantinople, which thus combined to exercise a common pressure on the central government.⁷⁷ An important new factor in this approach, which, as we have seen, had very deep roots, was the consolidation at this time of the western kingdoms, which now followed an independent path. This meant that these kingdoms would now regulate their affairs with the pope as their point of reference.

In this period the Byzantine emperors were caught between two problems: the traditional policy of the senatorial aristocracy, which sought friendship and reconciliation with the pope, and the actual insufficiency of resources, chiefly naval, with which to ensure a strong Byzantine presence, at least in Italy. These difficulties had limited the capability of Byzantium to control the West militarily and politically. The repeated *jussiones* of the Emperor Justinian II addressed to the popes⁷⁸ nevertheless show that the West never ceased to be at the centre of imperial political concerns. The new western kingdoms had additionally to confront the Arab expansion in the Mediterranean, which also appeared to threaten their own stability after the dissolution of the Visigothic state of Spain in 711. During the succeeding short reigns of Philippicus-Bardanes (711-13), and Artemius-Anastasius (713-15), who overthrew him, the West assumed a definitive shape, in spite of the efforts which each of these emperors, in his own way, made to recover it, at least politically. The first followed an outdated monotheletic policy, which led to the excision of the emperor's name from the papal diptychs, while the second restored the orthodoxy of the Sixth Ecumenical Council without, however, succeeding in improving relations with the West. This uncertain situation changed when the army of the Anatolikon theme, led by its *strategus*, Leo the Isaurian, entered Constantinople and put an end to frequent accessions to the throne and the political instability that in fact left the situation in the West unchecked.

The reign of the new emperor, who had been the commander of the largest theme in Asia Minor,⁷⁹ not only strengthened the role of the central government in the East, but put

⁷⁵ ἐπὶ τὰ δυτικά μέρη ἕως Ρώμης, Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 381.6.

⁷⁶ Ann Van Dijk, 'Jerusalem, Antioch, Rome and Constantinople: The Peter Cycle in the Oratory of John VII (705-707)', *DOP* 55 (2001), 305-28.

⁷⁷ The mobility of this group in both East and West in a period of decline in communications is noteworthy: Maria Leontini, 'Les communications maritimes en Méditerranée occidentale et les "flottes Byzantines d'intervention" au VII^e siècle', *Mesogeios* 13-14 (2001) (Hommage à J. Irmscher), 109-22.

⁷⁸ F. Dölger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, I Teil: *Regesten von 565-1025*, *Corpus der griechischen Urkunden des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit*, Munich and Berlin 1924-1965, nos 254, 255, 256, 259, 264, 266, 267, 268, 269.

⁷⁹ V. Vlysidou, Θέμα Ανατολικών, in: *Η Μικρά Ασία των Θεμάτων*, Athens 1998, 69-89.

new substance into the old imperial claims in the West. This tendency, however, came up against the actual capabilities of the imperial navy. Its units in the West were stationed by the Byzantine emperor, in accordance with the *jussiones* of Justinian II, after the *exercitus Italiae*, in Sardinia and Septem (Ceuta) in North Africa,⁸⁰ but they needed reinforcement and reorganization. Closely connected and even more important was the renewal of the ideology relating to countering the now permanent western drift towards independence. The opportunity to reinforce the imperial fleet and subordinate it to the imperial will came in the reign of Leo III. This change did not occur suddenly. Perhaps even under Constans II the foundations had been laid for the institution of a theme of Sicily, which sustained the presence of a military force in Sicily and Calabria until the end of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth. The administrative subordination of the Sicilian theme to Constantinople meant that the reacquisition of the Byzantine territories in Italy would now depend on a naval zone subject to imperial policy. It appears to be on the basis of these facts that the naval expedition of Manes, *strategus* of the Cibyrreaot theme, was undertaken against Italy, when the pope, on the pretext of the iconoclast policy of the emperor, which the Byzantine sources conceal, refused to remit the Italian taxes: 'the emperor was furious with the pope and the revolt of Rome and Italy, and equipping a great fleet sent it against them, appointing Manes the *strategus* of the Cibyrreaots as its commander.'⁸¹ The thrust of these events, which were also reflected by Paul, the *strategus* of Sicily, who indicated that he might invade Italy, led Pope Gregory II to seek help even from the Lombards holding the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto.

In summary, we could say that the ecclesiastical alliance between Rome and Constantinople occasioned by the persecution of the eastern monophysites, resulted in a long-term military weakening of the Byzantine emperor in matters concerning the West. These persecutions began immediately after 451 and lasted, as a result of the ecumenical councils subsequently convoked in Constantinople, the Fifth of 553 by Justinian I, and the Sixth of 680/1 by Constantine IV, until the reign of Justinian II, which aspired to imitate that of Justinian I and put pressure on the higher clergy. This imitation, although not so intense in other sectors, is very evident in the imperial measures taken against the pope. With the aim of strengthening the central government, Justinian II clashed with the aristocracy and attempted to arrest the pope, or bring him to Constantinople, without ceasing to be an ultra-orthodox emperor. The dramatic events of the fall of Justinian II indicated that it was not possible to have an orthodox emperor – as he was – who persecuted an aristocracy which had always remained orthodox. On the other hand, the army of the empire reacted strongly whenever there was an attempt to impose orthodoxy in unanimity with the bishops and the pope. In these circumstances the application of pressure on the West required, as events showed, a different ideological pretext, which needed to be enshrined in an official imperial formula expressing the approved religious doctrine.

From the time of the Pope Boniface V (619-25), who had decreed the parity of the papal

⁸⁰ *Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, Series secunda, volumen secundum, Concilium Universale Constantinopolitaneum tertium*, Partes 1-3, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1990-1993, vol. 2, 2, 2, 886. See also Appendix, no. 11.

⁸¹ ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐμαίνετο κατὰ τοῦ Πάπα καὶ τῆς ἀποστάσεως Ῥώμης καὶ Ἰταλίας, καὶ ἐξοπλίσας στόλον μέγαν ἀπέστειλε κατ' αὐτῶν Μάνην, τὸν στρατηγὸν τῶν Κιβυρραιωτῶν, μεγάλην ποιήσας εἰς αὐτοὺς: Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 410.4-7.

testamentum with the imperial *jussio*, it was evident that attempts to force obedience from the pope had to have not only an ideological or theoretical character, but also a strong practical side. Faced, then, with the diplomatic manumission of papal authority, the Emperor Heraclius reacted with the appointment of an exarch backed by powerful military forces, who ensured the compliance of Boniface's successor, Pope Honorius (625-38). This strategy began to take on a permanent character. Strong military measures, including the bringing of the pope to Constantinople, were taken under the next emperor, Constans II (641-68). When Pope Martin (649-54) condemned the imperial *Typos* (648) as heretical at the Lateran Council (649), the exarch Theodore Kalliopas had him arrested.⁸² On the other hand, although Justinian II tried to do the same with Pope Sergius I (687-701), not only did he fail, but the Roman mint started issuing coins bearing papal monograms.⁸³ This emperor at any rate ceased demanding the pope's submission, as the visit of Pope Constantine to Constantinople in 710 shows. These measures had no effect, especially when on the religious level the emperor proclaimed orthodoxy, that is, the recognition of papal authority.

Thus the empire had become aware that the attempt to reduce the pope to obedience must include an element of religious disagreement with him, as had occurred earlier. This was to happen in the eighth century with violent consequences. When emperors ruled in Constantinople with large forces from the themes, such as the iconoclasts Leo III and Constantine V (741-75), relations with the papacy became openly hostile. At the same time naval expeditions made the Byzantine presence felt in Italy as they defended the exarchate and Sicily.⁸⁴ This was already apparent in the naval expedition of Manes, the *strategus* of the Cibyrraeots, against Italy (730/1). On the other hand, the secession of the West, which took place during these two reigns and is described in Theophanes' *Chronicle*, is to be attributed to the papal initiative in detaching Italy from Byzantine control.⁸⁵ In fact it was the Byzantine emperor, on a purely military grounds, who detached the ecclesiastical provinces of Southern Italy, Sicily and Illyricum from the papal jurisdiction and attached them to the patriarchate of Constantinople, thus imposing in the eighth century for the first time a new administrative measure for the geopolitical settlement of East-West relations.

These developments showed, however, that in fact the pope knew how to use diplomacy to his advantage more skilfully than those who had a tradition of using real weapons. It was only a matter of time before the Lombards, who had threatened Rome and knew by experience what the rejection of Byzantine policy implied, would capture Ravenna.⁸⁶ The exarch was forced to turn to the pope for help in its defence. These alignments were to change even more when, parallel to the Lombards' recovery of power in Italy, further west the Franks

⁸² Lounghis, *Ταλμία*, 126-7.

⁸³ A. Bellinger and P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection* 3, 1: Leo III to Michael III (717-867), Washington 1993², 87-91; Cécile Morrison and J. N. Barrandon, 'La trouvaille de monnaies d'argent byzantines de Rome (VII^e-VIII^e siècles): analyses et chronologie', *Revue numismatique* 30 (1988), 149-65.

⁸⁴ N. Oikonomides, 'Les premières mentions des thèmes dans la Chronique de Théophane', *Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta* 16 (1975), 1-8; M. Nicheanian and V. Prigent, 'Les stratèges de Sicile. De la naissance du thème au règne de Léon V', *REB* 61 (2003), 97-141. See also Appendix, no. 12(a).

⁸⁵ It is noteworthy that this approach is adopted by the best known works of the Byzantine historical tradition: T. Lounghis, *Η ιδεολογία της Βυζαντινής Ιστοριογραφίας*, Athens 1993, 77-8.

⁸⁶ J. T. Hallenbeck, 'The Roman-Byzantine Reconciliation of 728: Genesis and Significances', *BZ* 74 (1981), 29-40.

began to build up their own power, a fact confirmed by their famous victory over the Arabs at Poitiers in 732, when their commander, the palace mayor Charles, received the surname Martel, or 'Hammer'. Faced with two such powerful forces as the Lombards and the Franks, the pope continued to ally himself with the latter, as he had in the past, to preserve his territories, which now began to take on the characteristics of a secular state. In 739 the Lombards even besieged Rome and in 742 Pope Zacharias (741-52) was forced to sue for peace for the duchy of Rome. In the following year the exarch of Ravenna sought the pope's help in dealing with the Lombard king, Liutprand (713-44). Although the pressures on Rome were becoming intolerable, Pope Zacharias sent letters to Artabasdos, a claimant to the imperial throne, again showing his preference not for the lawful but iconoclast successor, Constantine V, but for his orthodox rival.

In Constantinople, however, the dynamics of the military successes of Constantine V were such that the holding of the Council of Hieria in 754 took place without the presence of representatives from the other eastern patriarchates or the papal church, a fact which is of course noted disparagingly by the iconophile Byzantine sources.⁸⁷ The restraining, however, of the imperial iconoclast policy, which was impossible in Constantinople and Asia Minor, was not so difficult in the regions where the imperial army lacked power. This is shown by references to iconophiles seeking refuge in Sicily and Italy.⁸⁸ Although the political rivalry in the East meant defeat for the iconophiles, the Lombards under Liutprand's successor Aistulf (749-56) were now very near capturing the last Byzantine bastion, Ravenna itself. Pope Stephen (752-6) sought the help of Constantine V (741-75) but the imperial envoy to Italy, John the Silentiary, did not succeed in achieving anything positive in his negotiations with the Lombards.⁸⁹ John's return to Constantinople with papal legates to seek help again shows the inability of the Byzantine authorities in Italy to exploit the new alignments there.⁹⁰ While the relations between Rome and Constantinople were at a political turning-point, the popes – in spite of their interest in Greek theological and liturgical texts even in the eighth century⁹¹ – had acquired new stable alliances which were to consolidate their practically independent position in Rome.

Pope Stephen II became convinced at this juncture that negotiations could be conducted more fruitfully in person and decided to go to Pavia, the capital of the Lombard kingdom. But he was unable to win from Aistulf (749-56) the return of occupied lands and freedom of movement. His turning to the Franks, however, who had recently acquired as their king Pippin the Short (741-68), the founder of the new Carolingian dynasty, had a positive result. At Ponthion (near Châlons-sur-Seine) Pope Stephen II (752-7) crowned Pippin and Charles *patricii* of the Romans and they in turn promised the recovery of the exarchate of Ravenna.⁹²

⁸⁷ Theophanes, *Chronographia* 427.29-428.12.

⁸⁸ Marie-France Auzépy (introduction, édition et traduction), *La vie d'Étienne le jeune par Étienne le Diacre*, Aldershot 1996, 125-6.

⁸⁹ Lounghis, *Ιταλία*, 147-9. See also Appendix, no. 12(b).

⁹⁰ Life of Stephen, *Liber Pontificalis*, I, 442.

⁹¹ For the interest of the popes in theological texts see P. Lemerle, *Le premier humanisme byzantin. Notes et remarques sur enseignement et culture à Byzance des origines au Xe siècle*, Paris 1971, 17-21 [greek transl. by Maria Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, *Ὁ πρῶτος βυζαντινὸς ὀρθμανισμός*, Athens 1985, 21-26; english trans. by Helen Lindsey and Ann Mofatt, *Byzantine Humanism*, Canberra 1986, 11-16.

⁹² Theophanes, *Chronographia* 402.21-403.23. Theophanes, an admirer of Pope Stephen, connects this coronation (at St

Thus with the papal blessing the Frankish army entered Italy, detached the exarchate from the Lombards, and presented it to the pope (756). When the Byzantine envoys, George the *protoasecretis* and John the Silentiary sought Pippin in Marseilles (although he was actually in Pavia) to remind him that the exarchate was imperial territory, he replied that he could not alienate from the Church properties that belonged to it. The measures then taken by the emperor were to occupy the papal possessions of Naples, Gaeta and Sicily. The successive Byzantine embassies which were sent to Pippin (756, 757) did not yield results. The flight to Constantinople of the Lombard King, Didier or Theodotus (Adelchis), who acquired at Constantinople the title of *patricius*,⁹³ shows that Byzantium continued to be a point of reference for the West, particularly with regard to strengthening claims to dynastic legitimacy. A naval expedition in 780, consisting of 300 ships sent to Sicily – which is not mentioned in Byzantine sources – also failed to provide a permanent solution to the problem of providing security for Byzantine territories in Italy.⁹⁴

The pope's freedom of movement in Italy as a result of the balance of power achieved through relations with the Franks – who were thus strengthened dynastically – and the pressures which this put on the Lombards, whose power tended to be drained by the community of their duchies, signifies a withdrawal of any respect for the emperor. The iconoclast policy, which was continued under Constantine V and protected the central government economically and administratively from the increased demands of ecclesiastical and secular magnates, was used by the papacy as a pretext for rejecting any communication with Byzantium. In the northern part of Italy there were now two sovereigns: the pope, who held vast territorial possessions without the supervision of any other ecclesiastical or political authority, and Charlemagne, who added to his title his authority over the Lombards with the formula *Francorum et Langobardorum atque patricius Romanorum*.

In spite of the freedom of movement they had as far as Rome, the Franks did not mount any expeditions beyond the duchies of Naples and Benevento – which enjoyed a relative political independence – while a little further south began the territories of the Sicilian theme with episcopal sees dependent since 732 on the patriarchate of Constantinople. In Italy, at any rate, the Franks campaigned much more frequently, strengthening the papal claims against Byzantium. Thus Charlemagne, after another military operation, dissolved the kingdom of the Lombards in 774 and assigned it to the pope, putting his seal on a papal claim which had been initiated much earlier. In spite of the probably deliberate hesitation of the Franks, Pope Hadrian I (772-95) refused to accept Byzantine authority even in territories south of Rome, especially in those parts of the papal patrimony which had been detached by Constantine V, and sought the help of the Franks to check the *nefandissimi* ('most impious') Byzantine officials in Sicily and the Lombard dukes of Benevento.⁹⁵ The achievement of his absolute independence in this period is also expressed by the omission of any reference to

Denis on 28 July 754) with the battle of Poitiers (732), expressing a sympathy for the pope and the West. See C. Mango and R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor AD 284-813*, translated with Introduction and Commentary, Oxford 1997, 588. See also Appendix, no. 13.

93 F. Winkelmann et al., *Prosopographie der mittel-byzantinischen Zeit*, Berlin and New York 1999-2002, vol. IV, no. #7943.

94 Karayannopoulos, *Τοπογία Βυζαντινῶν Κράτους*, vol. II, 151.

95 *Epistolae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Epistolarum tomus III*, part 1, no. 64, 591-2 and no. 65, 592-3. See also the observations in Herrin, *The Formation of Christendom*, 412-14.

the regnal year of the Byzantine emperor in papal documents. The good relations between the pope and the Franks were confirmed again in 781 when Charles's son Pippin was baptized in Rome and, according to the *Chronicle of the Franks* was recognized as *rex Italiae*.⁹⁶ In precisely this period a Byzantine embassy in Rome sought an alliance with Charles and proposed to seal it with a marriage between his daughter Rotrud/Erythro and the heir to the imperial throne, Constantine VI.⁹⁷

In summary, it may be said that what stands out most clearly after the mid-eighth century, when the West separated itself from Byzantium, is that thenceforth the Byzantine empire addressed not only the secular leaders but also the pope as foreign powers. In these circumstances it is evident that even the patriarchate of Constantinople would react in the same manner. The West had become manifestly 'other' in the sense that its leaders were now dealt with as independent rulers.

⁹⁶ Judith Herrin, 'Constantinople, Rome and the Franks in the seventh and eighth centuries', *Byzantine Diplomacy. Papers from the Twenty-fourth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Cambridge, March 1990*, ed. J. Shepard and S. Franklin, Aldershot 1995, 91-107. See also Appendix, no. 12c.

⁹⁷ Ruth Macrides, 'Dynastic marriages and political kinship', *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. Shepard and Franklin, 263-8.

APPENDIX

1

Letter of Pope Julius to the Eusebians at Antioch

Athanasius of Alexandria, *Defence against the Arians*, PG 25, 308AB:

Τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀπολογητικὸς κατὰ Ἀρειανῶν

Τοῦλιος Δανίῳ καὶ Φλακίλλῳ, Ναρκίσσῳ, Εὐσεβίῳ, Μάρῳ, Μακεδονίῳ Θεοδώρῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἀντιοχείας γράψασιν ἡμῖν, ἀγαπητοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐν Κυρίῳ χαίρειν.

Διὰ τί δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων Ἐκκλησίας μάλιστα οὐκ ἐγράφετο ἡμῖν; Ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε, ὅτι τοῦτο ἔθος ἦν, πρότερον γράφεσθαι ἡμῖν καὶ οὕτως ἐνθεν ὀρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια; Εἰ μὲν οὖν τι τοιοῦτον ἦν ὑποπευθὲν εἰς τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τὸν ἐκεῖ, ἔδει πρὸς τὴν ἐνταῦθα Ἐκκλησίαν γραφῆναι· νῦν δὲ οἱ ἡμᾶς μὴ πληροφορήσαντες, πράξαντες δὲ αὐτοὶ ὡς ἠθέλησαν, λοιπὸν καὶ ἡμᾶς οὐ καταγνόντας βούλονται συμψήφους εἶναι. Οὐχ οὕτως αἱ Παῦλον διατάξεις, οὐχ οὕτως οἱ πατέρες παραδεδώκασιν ἄλλος τύπος ἐστὶν οὗτος, καὶ καινὸν τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα. Παρακαλῶ μετὰ προθυμίας ἐνέγκατε ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντός ἐστιν ἃ γράφω· ἃ γὰρ παρεilhφάμεν παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ταῦτα καὶ ὑμῖν δηλῶ καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἐγραψα, φανερὰ ἡγοῦμενος εἶναι ταῦτα παρὰ πάνσιν, εἰ μὴ τὰ γενόμενα ἡμᾶς ἐτάραξεν (...).

2

Pope Leo I goes to meet Attila

Jordanes, *Getica* 42, 219-24 = Priscus, ed. R.C. Blockley, *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire*, Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus, Liverpool 1983, vol. II, pp. 310-12:

Cumque (Attila) ad Romam animus fuisset eius adtentus accedere, sui eum, ut Priscus historicus refert, removerunt, non urbi, cui inimici erant, consulentes, sed Alarici quondam Vesegotharum regis obicientes exemplo, veriti regis sui fortunam, quia ille post fractam Romam non diu supervixerit, sed protinus rebus humanis excessit. Igitur dum eius animus ancipiti negotio inter ire et non ire fluctuaret secumque deliberans tardaret, placida ei legatio a Roma advenit. Nam Leo papa per se ad eum accedens in agro Venetum Ambuleio, ubi Mincius amnis commeantium frequentatione transitur. Qui mox deposuit exercitatu furore et rediens, quo venerat, iter ultra Danubium promissa pace discessit (...)

3

Pope Simplicius writes to Zeno

Evagrius, The Ecclesiastical History, III, 15 (ed. J. Bidez and L. Parmentier, London 1898 [repr. Amsterdam 1964]), 114, 8-17:

Ὁ δέ γε Ἰωάννης οὗ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν, τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου πεφευγῶς τὴν ἀρχαιοτέραν καταλαμβάνει Ῥώμην, καὶ διετάραττε φάσκων ὑπὲρ τῶν Λέοντος δογμάτων καὶ τῆς ἐν Καλχηδόνι συνόδου τοῦ οἰκείου ἐκπεπτωκέναι θρόνου, ἕτερον δὲ ἀντισελθεῖν ἀντίπαλον τούτοις καθεστῶτα. Πρὸς τοῦτο ταραχθέντος Σιμπλικίου τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ἐπισκόπου καὶ πρὸς βασιλέα Ζήνωνα γράψαντος, ἀντιγράφει ὁ Ζήνων ἐπιτοκίᾳ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐγκαλῶν, καὶ ὡς τούτου χάριν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς οὐ δι' ἕτερον ἀπηλλάθη.

4

Pope Felix writes to the emperor and Acacius

Theodore Anagnostes of Constantinople, selections from *The Ecclesiastical History* III, 431, ed. G. Chr. Hansen, *Theodoros Anagnostes Kirchengeschichte*, Berlin 1995, p. 119, 10-28:

Οἱ τῆς βασιλίδος καὶ τῆς ἑω δεήσεις ἐπεμψαν Φίλικι {καὶ} τῷ μετὰ Σιμπλίκιον ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης, διδάσκοντες τὰ γενόμενα καὶ ὅτι Ἀκάκιος ἐστὶν ὁ ταῦτα μάλιστα δρῶν. Ἐν τοσοῦτο δὲ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ Ταβεννησιώτης τὴν Ῥώμην κατέλαβεν καὶ πάντα ἀπήγγειλε. Φίλιξ δὲ συνέδριον ποιήσας ἐν τῷ ἀποστολικῷ τοῦ κορυφαίου ναῷ, δύο ἐπισκόπους καὶ ἑκδικὸν ἐπεμψεν εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν, γράψας Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι καὶ τοῖς (τῆς) ἑω ὁρθῶν δογμάτων ἀντέχεσθαι βασιλεῖ δὲ καὶ Ἀκακίῳ ἔγραψεν ἐμβαλεῖν τὸν Μογγὸν ὡς αἰρετικόν· ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἀφρικῇ γενόμενα φοβερὰ παρὰ τῶν Ἀρειανῶν κατὰ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ διορθώσασθαι. ἐντεταγμένοι δέ εἰσι καὶ ἡ πρὸς Ζήνωνα καὶ πρὸς Ἀκάκιον ἐπιστολαί.

Προμαθόντες ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἀκάκιος τῶν ἀπὸ Ῥώμης σταλέντων τὴν ἄφιξιν, ἐν Ἀβύδῳ τούτους κρατηθῆναι παρασκευάσαντες, ὅσους εἶχον χάριτας ἀφείλοντο καὶ οὕτως εἰς Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἤγαγον.

Οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀπὸ τῆς Ῥώμης, Ζήνωνος μὲν αὐτοῖς μεθ' ὑποκρίσεως ἀπειλήσαντος, Ἀκακίου δὲ χρήμασι πείσαντος, παρὰ τὰ ἐνταλθέντα αὐτοῖς ἐκοινώνησαν Ἀκακίῳ καίπερ τῶν τῆς πίστεως ζηλωτῶν τρεῖς διαμαρτυρίας δεδωκότων αὐτοῖς ὧν τὴν μίαν ἀγκίστρον περιθέντες καὶ σχοινίῳ ἐνδὸς αὐτῶν δημοσίᾳ ἐξήρτησαν, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν βίβλῳ ἐνέβαλον, τὴν δὲ τρίτην κοφίνῳ λαχάνων ἐνέθηκαν.

5

(a) Life of Gelasius (492-6)

Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire, L. Duchesne, Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, vol. I, Paris 1955², 255:

...Huius temporibus iterum venit relatio de Grecias eo quod multa mala et homicidia fierent a Petro et Acacio Constantinopolim. Eodem tempore fugiens Iohannes Alexandrinus episcopus catholicus et venit Romam ad sedem apostolicam; quem beatus Gelasius suscepit cum gloria, cui etiam et sedem secundam praebeuit. Ipsis temporibus fecit synodum et misit per tractum Orientis et iterum misit et damnavit in perpetuum Acacium et Petrum, si non penitens sub satisfactionem libelli postulare paenitentiam.

(b) Life of Hormisdas (514-23)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, p. 269:

Eodem tempore ex constitutum synodi misit in Graecias humanitatem ostendes sedis apostolicae, quia Greci obligati erant sub vinculo anathematis propter Petrum Alexandrinum et Acacium Constantinopolitanum episcopum. Sub Iohanne episcopo Constantinopolitano, cum consilio regis Theodorici, direxit Ennodium, episcopum Ticinensem, et Fortunatum, episcopum Catinensem, et Venantium, presbiterum urbis Romae, et Vitalem diaconum sedis apostolicae, et Hilarum, notarium sedis suprascriptae. Euntes ad Anastasium Augustum nihil egerunt. Idem secundo misit Ennodium ipsum et Peregrinum, episcopum Mesenense, portantes epistulas confortatorias fidei et contestationes secretas numero XVIII et textum libelli. In quo libello noluit sentire Anastasius Augustus, quia et ipse in herese eutychiana communis erat. Volens itaque eos legatos per remunerationem corrumpere; legati vero sedis apostolicae, contempto Anastasio Augusto, nullatenus consenserunt accipere pecunias, nisi satisfactionem sedis apostolicae operaretur.

(c) Life of John (523-6)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 275:

...Qui veteres Grecorum hoc testificabantur dicentes a tempore Constantini Augusti a beato Silvestro episcopo sedis apostolicae, Justini Augusti temporibus meruisse parte Greciarum beati Petri apostoli vicarium suscepisse cum gloria. Tunc Justinus Augustus, dans honorem Deo, humiliavit se pronus et adoravit beatissimum Johannem papam. Eodem tempore beatus Iohannes papa cum senatores suprascriptos cum grandem fletum rogaverunt Iustinum Augustum ut legatio acceptabilis esset in conspectu eius.

(d) Life of Agapitus (535-6)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 287-8:

Ingressus Constantinopolim et susceptus est Agapitus episcopus cum gloria. Et primum coepit habere altercationem cum piissimo principe imperatore, domnum Justinianum Augustum, de religione. Cui beatissimus Agapitus episcopus constantissime fidei apostolicae responsum reddidit de domino Iesu Christo Deum et hominem, hoc est duas naturas in uno Christo. Et dum intentio verteretur, ita Dominus adfuit ut episcopum Constantinopolitanum, nomine Anthemum, inveniret hereticum. Et cum intentio verteretur, cum Augusto et Agapito

papa, hoc dixit ei imperator Iustinianus: «Aut consentis nobis aut exilio te deportari faciam». Tunc beatissimus Agapitus papa respondit cum gaudio, dicens ad imperatorem: «Ego quidem peccator ad Justinianum imperatorem christianissimum venire desideravi; nunc autem Diocletianum inveni; quod tamen minas tuas non pertimesco.» Et dixit ei iterum Agapitus venerabilis papa: «Tamen ut scias te idoneum non esse religioni christianae, episcopus tuus confiteatur duas naturas in Christo.» Tunc ex praecepto Augusti adcersito episcopo Constantinopolitano, nomine Anthemo, et discussione patefacta, numquam voluit confiteri in doctrinam catholicae responsionis ad interrogationem beati papae Agapiti, duas naturas in uno domino Jesu Christo. Quem convicit sanctus papa Agapitus; glorificatus est ab omnibus christianis. Tunc piissimus Augustus Justinianus gaudio repletus, humiliavit se sedi apostolicae et adoravit beatissimum Agapitum papam. Eodem tempore erexit Anthemum a communione et expulit in exilio. Tunc piissimus Augustus Justinianus rogans beatissimum papam Agapitum ut in locum Anthemi episcopum catholicum consecraret, nomine Menam. Qui vero Agapitus papa omnia optenuit ex qua causa directus fuerat.

6

Pope Vigilius in Constantinople

Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor, vol. I, Leipzig 1883 (Teubner), 225, 12-29:

Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει παρελήφθη ἡ Ρώμη ὑπὸ τῶν Γότθων. Καὶ ὁ Πάπας Βιγίλιος παρεγένετο ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μετὰ μεγάλης τιμῆς ὑπισχνεῖτο ποιεῖν ἔνωσιν τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἀναθεματίζειν τὰ τρία κεφάλαια, τοσοῦτον τιμηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥς ἐπαρθέντα ἀκοινωνησίαν τεσσάρων μηνῶν δοῦναι Μηνᾶ, τῷ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπῳ, εἰς ἐπιτίμιον. Καὶ Μηνᾶς δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπιτίμιον δέδωκεν. ἀγανακτήσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Βιγίλιον διὰ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον καὶ διὰ τὸ ὑπερτίθεσθαι πληρῶσαι τὰ δόξαντα περὶ τῆς ἐνώσεως τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀπέστειλε συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ Σεργίου τοῦ μάρτυρος μονῆς τῶν Ὁρμίσδου προσέφυγεν. ἀκρεῖθεν ἐλκόμενος κατέσχε τοὺς βαστάζοντας τὸ θυσιαστήριον κίονας καὶ τούτους κατέστρεψεν, βαρὺς ὢν καὶ μέγας τῷ σώματι. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μεταμεληθεὶς ἐδέξατο τὸν Πάπαν Βιγίλιον. Καὶ παρακληθεὶς Βιγίλιος ὑπὸ Θεοδώρου τῆς αὐγούστης ἐδέξατο Μηνᾶν, τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τῇ κθ' τοῦ Ἰουνίου μηνὸς τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων.

7

(a) Life of Vigilius (537-55)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 299:

Tunc adunatus clerus rogaverunt Narsem ut una cum eius suggestionem rogarent prin-

cipem ut si adhuc viveret Vigilius papa aut presbiteri seu diaconi vel clerus qui cum eodem Vigilio fuerant in exilio deportati, reverterentur. Suscepta relatione Narsetis vel cuncto clero Romano laetus effectus est imperator et omnis synclitos eius eo quod requiem donasset Deus Romanis. Mox misit iussiones suas per diversa loca ubi fuerant in exilio deportati in Gypso et Proconiso, et adduxit eos ante se imperator dicens: « Vultis recipere Vigilium ut fuit papa vester? Gratias ago. Minus ne, hic habetis archidiaconum vestrum Pelagium et manus mea erit vobiscum.» Responderunt omnes: «Imperet Deus pietati tuae. Restitue nobis modo Vigilium et quando eum voluerit Deus transire de hoc saeculo, tunc cum vestri praeceptione donatur nobis Pelagius archidiaconus noster.» Tunc dimisit omnes cum Vigilio.

(b) Life of Severinus (640)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 328:

Huius temporibus devastatus est episcopus Lateranensis a Mauricio cartulario et Isacio patricio et exarcho Italiae, dum adhuc electus esset domnus Severinus. Sed antequam veniret Isacius patricius, Mauricius, dolo ductus adversus ecclesiam Dei, consilio inito cum quibusdam perversis hominibus, incitaverunt exercitum Romanum, dicentes quia «quid prodest quod tantae pecuniae congregatae sunt in episcopio Lateranense ab Honorio papa, et milix iste nihil exinde subventum habent? Dum quando et rogas vestras quas domnus imperator vobis per vices mandavit, ibi sunt a suprascripto viro reconditas.»

(c) Life of Martin (649-53)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 337:

Ipsis diebus direxit imperator in Italiam Olimpius cubicularium et exarchum ad regendam omnem Italiam, praeciens ei, dicens: «Oportet gloria tua ut sicut nobis suggestit Paulus Patriarcha huius a Deo conservandae urbis peragere, et si quidem inveneritis provincia ipsa consentientem in typo a nobis exposito, tenere omnes qui ibi sunt episcopi et hieraticos possessorum atque habitatorum et peregrinos et in eodem subscribant. Si autem, quomodo nobis suggestit Platon gloriosus patricius, Eupraxius gloriosus, potueritis suadere exercitu ibidem consistenti, iubemus tenere Martinum qui hic erat apocrisarius in regia urbe, et postmodum per omnes ecclesias relegere eum qui factus est a nobis orthodoxus typus et omnes episcopi Italiae in ipso subscribant. Si autem inveneritis contrarium in tali causa exercitum, tacitum habetote donec optinueritis provinciam et potueritis vobis exercitum adgregare, tam Romane civitatis atque Ravennate, ut ea quae vobis praecepta sunt quantocius explere valeatis.»

8

Maximus the Confessor interrogated by the imperial secretaries

PG 90, 128AC:

Ἐξηγήσεις τῆς κινήσεως γενομένης μεταξύ τοῦ κυροῦ ἀββᾶ Μαξίμου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐπὶ σεκρέτου

Καὶ εἰσάγουσι τὸν γέροντα, καὶ λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν κύρις Τρώϊλος εἰπὲ ἄββᾶ, βλέπε, εἰπὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἐλεεῖ σε ὁ δεσπότης· ἐπεὶ ἐὰν διὰ τῆς νομίμου διηγήσεως ἔλθωμεν, καὶ εὖρη κἂν ἔν τῶν κατηγορηθέντων σου ἀληθές, ὁ νόμος φονεύει σε. (...) Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ οὐκ ἀνεθεμάτισας τὸν τύπον; Ἀπεκρίθη πολλάκις εἶπον ὅτι ἀνεθεμάτισα. Λέγει αὐτῷ τὸν τύπον ἀνεθεμάτισας; τὸν βασιλέα ἀνεθεμάτισας. Ἀπεκρίθη ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος Ἐγὼ βασιλέα οὐκ ἀνεθεμάτισα, ἀλλὰ χάριτην ἀλλότριον τῆς ὁρθοδόξου καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικῆς πίστεως. Καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ ποῦ ἀνεθεματίσθη; Ὑπὸ τῆς συνόδου Ῥώμης, ἀπεκρίθη, εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Σωτήρος, καὶ εἰς τὴν Θεοτόκον. Τότε λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ ἔπαρχος κοινωνεῖς τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῶν ὧδε, ἢ οὐ κοινωνεῖς; Ἀπεκρίθη καὶ εἶπεν οὐ κοινωνῶ. Λέγει αὐτῷ διὰ τί; Ἀπεκρίθη ὅτι ἔξω ἔβαλε τὰς συνόδους. Καὶ εἶπεν ἐὰν ἔξω ἔβαλε τὰς συνόδους πῶς εἰς τὰ δίπτυχα ἀναφέρονται; Καὶ λέγει καὶ τίς ὄνησις ὀνομάτων, τῶν δογμάτων ἐκβεβλημένων; Καὶ δύνασαι, ἔφη, τοῦτο δεῖξαι; Καὶ εἶπεν ἐὰν λάβω ἄδειαν, καὶ κελεύετε, δειχθῆναι ἔχω τοῦτο πάνυ εὐχερῶς. Καὶ σιωπησάντων αὐτῶν, λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ σακελλάριος διατὶ ἀγαπᾷς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους καὶ τοὺς Γραικοὺς μισεῖς. Ἀποκριθεὶς ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ δοῦλος εἶπε παραγγελίαν ἔχομεν τοῦ μὴ μισῆσαι τινα. Ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς Ῥωμαίους, ὡς ὁμοπίστους τοὺς δὲ Γραικοὺς, ὡς ὁμογλώσσους (...).

9

Letter of Agatho and the Roman synod instructing the legates sent to the Sixth Ecumenical Council

Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, Series secunda, volumen secundum, Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, Pars prima, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1990, 132-4:

Συνοδικὴ ἀναφορὰ τοῖς εὐσεβεστάτοις δεσπόταις καὶ γαληνοτάτοις νικηταῖς καὶ τροπαιούχοις ποθητοῖς τέκνοις τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ δεσπότην ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Κωνσταντίνῳ μεγάλῳ βασιλεῖ Ἡρακλεῖῳ καὶ Τιβερίῳ Αὐγουστοῖς

Ἀγάθῳ ἐπίσκοπῳ δοῦλῳ τῶν δούλων τοῦ Θεοῦ σὺν πάσαις ταῖς Συνόδοις ταῖς ἀνγκούσαις τῇ Συνόδῳ τοῦ Ἀποστολικοῦ Θρόνου

(...)πρὸς τούτοις ἀπολογητέον ἐστὶν ἡμῖν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις οἰκέταις πρὸς τὴν εὐμένειαν τῶν γαληνοτάτων ἡμῶν δεσποτῶν χάριν τῆς βραδύτητος τῶν σταλέντων ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας συνόδου προσώπων, οὗς σταλῆναι διὰ τῆς σεβασμίας αὐτῆς σάκρας ἢ ὑμετέρα κορυφῇ παρεκελεύσατο, πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, ὅτι ἀναρτίητον πλῆθος τῶν ἡμετέρων μέχρι τῶν κλιμάτων τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐπεκτείνεται, ἥστινος ὁδοῦ τὸ μήκος ἐν πολλῇ καιροῦ παραδρομῇ διατείνει. Εἴτα ἡλιτίζομεν ἀπὸ Βρετανίας Θεόδωρον τὸν σύνδουλόν ἡμῶν καὶ συνεπίσκοπον τῆς μεγάλης νήσου Βρετανίας ἀρχιεπίσκοπον καὶ φιλόσοφον μετὰ ἄλλων ἐκεῖσε <μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος> διαγόντων καὶ ἐκεῖθεν τῇ ἡμετέρα ἐνωθῆναι μετριότητι καὶ διαφόρους ταύτης τῆς συνόδου ἐπισκόπους ἐν διαφόροις κλίμασι τυγχάνοντας, ἵνα ἐξ ὅλης τῆς κοινότητος τῆς δουλικῆς ἡμῶν συνόδου ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀναφορὰ γενήσεται, μήπως, ἐὰν μονομερῶς τὸ πραττόμενον γνωσθῇσεται, τὸ μέρος λάθῃ, καὶ μάλιστα ἐπειδὴ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν ἐθνῶν τῶν τε Λαγγιβάρδων καὶ Σκλάβων, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Φράγγων,

Γάλλων καὶ Γότθων καὶ Βρετανῶν πλείστοι ἐκ τῶν συνδούλων ἡμῶν εἶναι γνωρίζονται, οἵτινες καὶ περὶ τούτου περιεργάζεσθαι οὐκ ἀφίστανται, ἵνα γνώσονται τί εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα τῆς ἀποστολικῆς πίστεως πράττεται, οἵτινες, ὅποσον ὠφελῆσαι δύνανται, ἐπ' αὐτῇ συμφωνίᾳ τῆς πίστεως μεθ' ἡμῶν κρατοῦνται καὶ ἡμῖν ὁμοφρονοῦσι, τοσοῦτον, ὅπερ ἀπέστω, ἐὰν σκανδάλου τί ποτε ἐν τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῆς πίστεως ὑπομείνωσιν, εὐρίσκονται ἐχθροὶ καὶ ἐναντίοι (...).

10

Life of Benedict II (684-5)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 363:

Hic suscepit divales jussiones clementissimi Constantini magni principis ad venerabilem clerum et populum atque felicissimum exercitum Romane civitatis, per quas concessit ut persona qui electus fuerit in sedem apostolicam e vestigio absque tarditate pontifex ordinetur. Hic una cum clero et exercitu suscepit mallones capillorum domni Iustiniani et Heraclii filiorum clementissimi principis, simul et jussionem per quam significat eosdem capillos direxisse.

11

Imperial jussio sent by Justinian II to Pope John V

Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum, Series secunda, volumen secundum, Concilium Universale Constantinopolitanum tertium, Pars secunda, ed. R. Riedinger, Berlin 1992, 886-7

Exemplar divinae jussionis Justiniani augusti directa ad Johannem papam urbis Romae.

In nomine domini dei salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi imperator Caesar Flavius Justinianus fidelis in Jesu Christo pacificus pius perpetuus augustus Johanne viro sanctissimo ac beatissimo archiepiscopo antiquae almae urbis Romae atque universali papae.

Magnum studium primamque sollicitudinem nos habentes pro stabilitate immaculate Christianorum fidei – dehinc namque clementissimum nostrum deum adiutorem et susceptorem nostrae serenitatis esse confidimus adversus omnem inimicum Christo dilectae nostrae reipublicae – dum cognitum est nobis, quia synodalia gesta eorumque difinitio, quam et instituere noscitur sanctum sextum concilium, quod congregatum est in tempore sanctae memoriae nostri patris in hanc a deo conservandam regiam urbem, apud quosdam nostros iudices remanserunt, haec omnino non praevidimus alterum aliquem apud se detinere ea sine nostra piissima serenitate, eo quod nos copiosus in misericordia noster deus custodes constituit eiusdem immaculate Christianorum fidei. Sed mox adduximus nostros patres sanctissimos ac beatissimos patriarchas cum vestrae beatitudinis apocrisario et sanctissimum senatum verum etiam deo amabiles metropolitae et episcopos, qui hic in regiam urbem comorantur, et deinceps militantes in scholas sacri palatii nec non et ex collegiis et popularibus

et ab excubitoribus, insuper etiam quosdam de Christo dilectis exercitibus, qui inuenti sunt tam ab a deo conservando imperiali obsequio quamque ab orientali Tracisianoque, similiter et ab Armeniaco, etiam ab exercitu Italiae, deinde ex Cabarisianis et Septensianis seu de Sardinia atque de Africano exercitu, qui ad nostram pietatem ingressi sunt.

Et iussimus praefatas synodalia gestorum chartas in medio adduci et coram supra-dictis omnibus lectionem eorum fecisse omnesque diligenter audientes signare ipsas fecimus, quorum auditorum universitas in nostris manibus eas prebuit chartas, ut debeamus nos tenedo inviolatas conservare ipsas, ut non licentia fuerit in quolibet tempore his qui timorem dei nolunt habere aliquid corrumpere aut summutare ab his quae inserta sunt in prenomi-natis synodalibus gestis. Quas totas chartas bene definitas in temporibus sanctae memoriae nostri patris ex probabilibus sanctisque patribus, qui propriae linguae et manu fidem apud dominum nostrum Jesum Christum verumque deum existentem confirmasse dinoscuntur et confitentes eam docuissent. Nos speramus in clementissimum nostrum deum quia, usque dum noster spiritus statutus est ex deo esse in nobis, ipsas chartas inlibatas et incommuta-biles semper conservemus.

Ad sciendum itaque et vestram paternam beatitudinem huiusmodi capituli motiones praevideimus et earum scientiam notam fecisse beatitudini vestrae.

Et manus divina

DIVINITAS TE SERVET PER MULTOS ANNOS, SANCTISSIME AC BEATIS-SIME PATER

Datum .XIII. KL Marc Constantinopoli imperante domno piissimoque perpetuo augusto Justiniano imperatore anno secundo et post consulatum eius anno secundo indic-tione quinta decima.

12

(a) Life of Gregory III (731-41)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 415:

Fuit autem temporibus Leoni et Constantini imperatoribus, ea persecutione crassante quae per ipsos mota est ad depositionem et destructionem sacrarum imaginum domini nostri Jesu Christi et sanctae Dei genetricis, sanctorum apostolorum omniumque sanctorum et confessorum. Pro quibus idem sanctissimus vir, ut ab hoc resipiscerent ac se removerent er-rore, commonitoria scripta vigore apostolicae sedis institutionis, quemammodum et sanctae memoriae decessor ipsius direxerat, misit per Georgium presbiterum. Quam humano ductus timore non eandem scripta imperatori porregit.

(b) Life of Stephen II (752-7)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 444:

Itaque dum hisdem sanctissimus vir iamfatum pestiferum Langobardorum regem in-mensis vicibus, innumerabilia tribuens munera, deprecaretur pro gregibus sibi a Deo com-

missis et perditis ovibus, scilicet pro universo exarchato Ravennae atque cunctae istius Italia provinciae populo, quos diabolica fraude ipse impius deceperat rex et possidebat; et dum ab eo nihil hac de re optineret, cernens praesertim et ab imperiale potentia nullum esse subveniendi auxilium; tunc quemadmodum praedecessores eius beate memoriae domni Gregorius et Gregorius atque dominus Zacharias beatissimi pontifices Carolo excellentissime memorie regi Francorum direxerunt, petentes sibi subveniri propter oppressiones ac invasiones quas et ipsi in hac Romanorum provincia a nefanda Langobardorum gente perpassi sunt, ita et modo et ipse venerabilis pater, divina gratia inspirante, clam per quendam peregrinum suas misit litteras Pippino, regi Francorum, nimio dolore huic provinciae inherenti conscriptas.

(c) Life of Hadrian I (772-95)

Liber Pontificalis, vol. I, 498.

At vero quarta feria, egressus praenominatus pontifex cum suis iudicibus tam cleri quamque militiae in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli, pariterque cum eodem rege se loquendum conjugens, constanter eum deprecatus est atque ammonuit et paterno affectu adhortare studuit ut promissionem illam, quam eius sanctae memoriae genitor Pippinus quondam rex et ipse praecllentissimus Carulus cum suo germano Carulomanno atque omnibus iudicibus Francorum fecerant beato Petro et eius vicario sanctae memoriae domno Stephano iuniori papae, quando Franciam perrexit, pro concedendis diversis civitatibus ac territoriis istius Italiae provinciae et contradendis beato Petro eiusque omnibus vicariis in perpetuum possidendis, adimpleret in omnibus.

13

Theophanes' account of Pope Stephen II's coronation of Pippin the Short

Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor, vol. I, Leipzig 1883, 402, 21-403, 23:

Τὰ περὶ τοῦ μακαρίου Στεφάνου, τοῦ πάπα Ῥώμης, ὅπως τε ἔφηνεν ἐν Φραγγικῇ καὶ ἐσώθη, λέξω ἐρχομαι.

Οὗτος ὁ ἀοίδιμος Στέφανος πολλὰ κακὰ ὑπέστη ὑπὸ Ἀστούλφου, τοῦ ῥηγὸς τῶν Λογγιβάρδων. προσφυγὼν δὲ τοῖς Φράγγοις ἐπὶ Πιπίνου προοίκου καὶ ἐξάρχου τῆς διοικήσεως τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων καὶ τοῦ τῶν Φράγγων ἔθνους ἔθος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὸν κύριον αὐτῶν, ἥτοι τὸν ῥῆγα, κατὰ γένος ἄρχειν καὶ μηδὲν πράττειν ἢ διοικεῖν, πλὴν ἀλόγως ἐσθίειν καὶ πίνειν, οἴκοι τε διατρίβειν καὶ κατὰ Μάϊον μῆνα πρώτη τοῦ μηνὸς προκαθεζεσθαι ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ ἔθνους καὶ προσκυνεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ προσκυνεῖσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δωροφορεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ συνήθειαν καὶ ἀντιδιδόναι αὐτοῖς καὶ οὕτως ἕως τοῦ ἄλλου Μάϊου καθ' ἑαυτὸν διάγειν. ἔχει δὲ τὸν λεγόμενον προοίκον γνῶμη ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἔθνους διοικοῦντα πάντα τὰ πράγματα. ἐλέγοντο δὲ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐκεῖνου καταγόμενοι κριστάται, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται τριχοράχαι· τρίχας γὰρ εἶχον κατὰ τῆς ράχης ἐκφυμένους, ὡς χοῖροι. ὁ γοῦν εἰρημένος Στέφανος τῇ ὁμότητι τοῦ Αἰστούλφου βιασθεὶς καὶ ἀβουλία, ἅμα δὲ ἐπιτραπεὶς παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπελθεῖν εἰς Φραγγικὴν καὶ ποιῆσαι ὃ

ἂν δύνηται, ἐλθὼν χειροτονεῖ τὸν Πίπινον ἄνδρα τὸ τηνικαῦτα λίαν εὐδόκιμον, προ-
 ἰστάμενον ἅμα καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ ῥηγὸς καὶ προπολεμήσαντα τοὺς περαι-
 ωθέντας Ἄραβας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν Σπανίαν, τοὺς καὶ κρατήσαντας ἕως τοῦ
 νῦν τῆς αὐτῆς Σπανίας, δοκιμάσαντας δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῶν Φράγγων παρατάξασθαι. οἷς
 ἀντιταξάμενος σὺν τῷ πλήθει ὁ αὐτὸς Πίπινος κτείνει μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ἑξαρχον τοῦ
 ἔθνους Ἀβδερραχμάν, συναναιρεῖ δὲ καὶ πλῆθος οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον παρὰ τὸν Ἡριδανὸν πο-
 ταμόν, καὶ θανατίζεται καὶ φιλεῖται παρὰ τοῦ ἔθνους, οὐ μόνον διὰ τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι'
 ἄλλα προτερήματα, καὶ προηγείται τοῦ ἔθνους πρῶτος οὐ κατὰ γένος, λύσαντος αὐτὸν
 τῆς ἐπιτορκίας τῆς πρὸς τὸν ρῆγα τοῦ αὐτοῦ Στεφάνου, καὶ ἀποκεῖραντος τὸν πρὸ αὐτοῦ
 ρῆγα καὶ ἐν μοναστηρίῳ μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ ἀναπαύσεως περιορίσαντος. οὗτος ὁ Πίπινος
 δύο υἱοὺς ἔσχεν, Κάρουλον καὶ Καρουλόμαγνον, τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ.



CHAPTER III

BYZANTINE DIPLOMACY AND THE PAPACY (800-1054):

**ALTERNATING MOVEMENTS OF INTEREST AND
INDIFFERENCE, ATTRACTION AND REPULSION**

VASILIKI VLYSIDOU

BYZANTINE DIPLOMACY AND THE PAPACY (800-1054)

Byzantium emerged from the so-called 'Dark Ages' militarily powerful but ideologically cut off from the cradle of its Roman ideology, the city of Rome. The Roman ecumenical ideology of the Byzantines received a terrible blow when in 756 the papal state was founded in territories that had formerly been Byzantine possessions.¹ The rise of Rome as an independent state (*ιδιοκρατορία*) now 'ruled chiefly by whomsoever was pope at the time'² implied the loss of the empire's exclusive right to call itself Roman. At this point another element also appears for the first time: the foundation of the papal state, at once both secular and ecclesiastical, was accompanied by the emergence of the patriarchate of Constantinople as a political and diplomatic force.

Having ceased to expect confirmation from Constantinople of the election of her presiding bishop, the Roman Church went on to appropriate an exclusively imperial right and began to bestow titles on Frankish kings. The pope thus brought the policies and military power of the Franks into play internationally as his allies, although previously the Carolingian dynasty had accepted the political suzerainty of the Byzantine emperor. The extremely well-planned activities of the papacy to gain its full freedom were sealed, probably under Pope Paul I (757-67), with the forgery of the famous *Κωνσταντίνειος Δωρεά* (*Constitutum Constantini*, the 'Donation of Constantine') according to which Constantine the Great granted the elder Rome spiritual overlordship over the whole of the West.³

Quite naturally a period of enmity followed, when the Frankish army, which was now in central Italy charged with protecting the papal state and extending its frontiers towards the south, threatened the remaining Byzantine possessions in Southern Italy and Sicily. It was thus that the *strategus* of Sicily, the highest representative of Byzantine authority in the West, attempted to win over the duke of Benevento with an embassy consisting of two *spatharii*, who bestowed on him the title of *patricius* (787)⁴ without, of course, any negotiations with the elder Rome. The following year, in 788, Franks and Byzantines met on the battlefield, where the latter were defeated.⁵ The papal initiative in crowning Charlemagne (768-814) may also be attributed to the desire of the papacy, in accordance with the spirit of the 'Donation of Constantine', to expel the Byzantines definitively from Southern Italy.

The coronation of Charlemagne as emperor on Christmas day 800 by Pope Leo III (796-

1 For the founding of the papal state and its Roman character see, for example, E. Caspar, *Das Papsttum unter fränkischer Herrschaft*, Darmstadt 1965, and D. H. Miller, 'Byzantine-Papal Relations during the Pontificate of Paul I: Confirmation and Completion of the Roman Revolution in the Eighth Century', *BZ* 68 (1975), 47-62.

2 Δεσπόζεται κυρίως παρά τινος κατὰ καιρὸν Πάπα: Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De thematibus* (ed. A. Pertusi [Studi e Testi 160], Vatican City 1952), 94,3-5.

3 For a summary account of the 'Donation of Constantine' see J. Van Engen, s. v., *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* (ed. J. R. Strayer), vol. 4, New York 1984, 257-9, where there is also a bibliography.

4 See T. Loughis' study in the present volume, p. 44-45.

5 Theophanes, *Chronographia* (ed. C. de Boor, Leipzig 1883 [repr. New York 1980]), 464,2-8.

816),⁶ that is to say, the foundation of a new empire in the West, came as the apotheosis of papal high-handedness, making it plain that any attempt of a Justinianic type to reconquer a 'West' now strong in its own right was no longer possible. At the same time it gave effect to the elder Rome's ambition to profit from a Frankish military power now provided with imperial leadership. Thus the papacy, as a spiritual and political authority, was to head the world-wide hierarchy of states.

The stage was now set upon which the most important events concerning diplomatic relations between East and West would be enacted. On this stage, the most important element of which was the dynamic following from the partition,⁷ Byzantine diplomacy had to use its adaptability and flexibility to the utmost to preserve the empire's ecumenicity, enshrined in the emperor's title, *βασιλεὺς καὶ αὐτοκράτωρ Ῥωμαίων*.

Before following the development of diplomatic relations between the two sides, we need very briefly to examine one aspect concerning the constitution of embassies which almost never changes. From the last years of the eighth century a leading role in negotiations between the Byzantine emperor or patriarch of Constantinople and the head of the Roman Church was played by members of the clergy.⁸ Secular clerics who were appointed ambassadors could hold any rank or office in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (bishops, metropolitans, deacons, etc), while envoys chosen from the monastic clergy, whether abbots or simple monks, were all distinguished for their devout faith, learning, intelligence and trustworthiness.⁹ The non-observance of this firm if somewhat unexciting rule concerning the composition of embassies is closely connected either with a rupture in relations between Byzantium and the pope, as in 865 when Michael III's (842-67) contentious letter to Pope Nicholas I (858-67) was conveyed by the *protospatharius* Michael,¹⁰ or with a rupture between the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch, as is apparent in the famous clash between Nicholas I Mysticus (901-7 and 912-25) and Leo VI (886-912) on the issue of a fourth marriage, when in 906 the *asecretis* Symeon was sent to Pope Sergius III (904-11).¹¹ Finally, the documents which were sent to the pope were sealed with a gold bull weighing one gold *nomisma* or *solidus*.¹²

6 Theophanes, *Chronographia* 472,30-473,4; *Annales regni Francorum* a. 801 (ed. R. Rau [Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte I], Darmstadt 1974), p. 74. See P. Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz: die Begründung des karolingischen Kaisertums* [Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters 9], Sigmaringen 1985, 62-80.

7 This dynamic is revealed by the territorial fragmentation of Italy from north to south, extending from the Frankish kingdom of Pavia, to the papal state, and the duchies of Spoleto, Naples and Benevento. The south belonged to Byzantium, attached administratively until the end of the ninth century to the theme of Sicily.

8 See T. C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407-1096)*, Athens 1980, 335-45.

9 For example, the ambassadors of Romanus I Lacapenus (919-44) to Pope John XI (931-5) in 933, Anastasius, a senator, *protospatharius* and *asecretis*, and Orestes, a cleric and *protonotarius*, are described as *ἀνδρας εὐλαβεῖα καὶ λογιστῇ διαπρέποντας καὶ διὰ τῶν ἔργων τὰ λόγων ἐπιβεβαιούντας* ('men distinguished for their piety and learning and confirming their words by their deeds'). See the Letter of Theodore Daphnopates (ed. J. Darrouzès and L. G. Westerink, Paris 1978), no. 1, p. 37. See also below, note 71.

10 Mansi XV, 187A. The contentious letter of Michael III is no longer extant, but it can be reconstructed from Nicholas I's reply. Among other things, Michael describes the Latin language as 'barbarian and Scythian'; cf. Appendix, no. 2(c). For the embassy of Leo the *asecretis* (861-2) see below, p. 128.

11 *Vita Euthymii* (ed. P. Karlin-Hayter, Brussels 1970), 87 and 101. In this hagiographical text, Symeon is regarded as 'God-loving', 'most honourable', 'a man admirable in all things', 'shrewd', 'sensible' and 'trustworthy' (*«θεοφιλῆς», «τιμιώτατος», «κατὰ πάντα ἀξιάγατος ἀνὴρ», «ἀγχιῖνος», «ἐχέφρων», «ἀξιόπιστος»*).

12 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis* II, 48, (ed. I. I. Reiske [CSHB], Bonn 1829, p. 686).

With regard to relations between the two secular authorities, from an inauspicious start the atmosphere soon began to improve, as the two sides apparently sought time to digest the new reality. Thus in 803 the Emperor Nicephorus I (802-11) hastened to conclude a treaty with Charlemagne.¹³ So long as the Carolingian empire was unified and powerful, that is, until 843, embassies from the Byzantine side were rather frequent. Moreover, the international situation imposed not only a realistic attitude but active co-operation. The threat from the Arabs, who were closing in ever more tightly on the Italian peninsula, called for joint action between the Frankish army and the Byzantine fleet. Reconciliation between the two sides came in 812, when the Byzantines recognized Charlemagne as emperor, omitting of course the qualifying phrase, 'of the Romans'.¹⁴ The exchange of diplomatic envoys resulted in defining the frontiers between the two empires and concluding a peace on the basis of equality in 817.¹⁵ In 824 the Byzantine emperors Michael II (820-9) and Theophilus (829-42) called their Western counterpart, Louis I the Pious (814-40) their 'brother'.¹⁶

The new diplomatic understanding between the two empires contained the danger of a gradual, if not total, marginalization of the papacy. It is significant that although the head of the Roman Church broke off relations with Byzantium on the pretext of the iconoclasm of the Isaurian emperors, the restoration of the icons by the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787 brought about neither the improvement of relations with the elder Rome,¹⁷ nor, of course, the restoration to the pope of the Southern Italian and Illyrian sees which the iconoclast emperors had detached from him.¹⁸ A detailed list of the diplomatic missions between Constantinople and Rome after the two empires had come to an understanding in 812, would conceal the meaning of the international situation, in which the patriarchate of Constantinople now has a share. The pope's proclamation of an empire in the West, which dealt a mortal blow to the Justinianic ecumenical ideology, also weakened the prestige of Byzantine imperial authority vis-à-vis the Church generally. That is why the patriarchate of Constantinople also entered upon the international stage, originally in a role vigorously supportive of the emperors of the second iconoclast period, and subsequently as a spiritual and ideological higher authority of the empire as a whole, when in the mid-ninth century the great Photius ascended the patriarchal throne (858-67 and 877-86).

Although the understanding between the two empires developed smoothly, the gulf separating Byzantium from the elder Rome deepened. The strongest supporters of close friendly relations with the pope were to be found among the monks of the Stoudion. Under their leaders Theodore, ἡγούμενος of the Stoudion, and the Patriarchs Methodius (843-7) and Ignatius (847-58 and 867-77), they saw in the person of the pope their highest and most natural protector and acknowledged the primacy of the Roman Church.¹⁹ A significant

13 *Annales regni Francorum* a. 803, p. 78.

14 *Annales regni Francorum* a. 812, p. 100: 'imperatorem eum et basileum appellantes'. See Lounghis, *Ambassades*, 161, n. 1, where there is a detailed discussion of the sources and a bibliography.

15 See Lounghis, *Ambassades*, 162-4.

16 See Mansi XIV, 417AB.

17 For an overview of the embassies of the second half of the eighth century see Lounghis, *Ambassades*, 470-3. Cf. D. Nerlich, *Diplomatische Gesandtschaften zwischen Ost- und Westkaisern 756-1002*, Bern 1999, 249-61.

18 See M. Leontsini, in the present volume, pp. 107-8.

19 Letter of Theodore Studites no. 429 (ed. G. Fatouros, [CFHB 31/1-2], Berlin and New York 1991, p. 601): αὐτῇ γὰρ,

feature which differentiates the attitude of the State from that of the Church towards the papacy is this: although from the ninth century onwards it becomes increasingly evident that within the ranks of the Byzantine clergy the followers of the pope were relatively few, ultra-conservative, and behind the times, the State, if at first unwilling to become involved with the primate of the Roman Church, from the time of the Macedonian dynasty began to urge the need for friendship with him.

There is a telling example of this attitude in the friction which arose at the beginning of the second period of iconoclasm under Leo V the Armenian (812-20). In 815/16 an embassy sent to Rome by the iconoclast patriarch Theodotus I Kassiteras (815-21) was not received, and in 817 the austere but emotional Theodore Studites expressed his joy to Pope Paschal I (817-24) at the dismissal of the 'heretical envoys' as 'muggers'.²⁰ By contrast, in their desire to avert the bad relations between Old and New Rome being stirred up by the iconophiles, who were urging to the pope to anathematize the iconoclasts,²¹ the Emperors Michael II and Theophilus sent embassies in 824 to Louis the Pious and Pope Eugenius II (824-7), with the request that the iconophiles who had taken refuge in Rome should be expelled.²²

For the next twenty years or so there is silence with regard to diplomatic relations between Byzantium and the elder Rome. During this period the papacy seems to have been totally thrust aside, especially as the pope began to have problems with his creation, the western emperor. If the Byzantine side demonstrated an 'indifference' towards the head of the Roman Church, the same is not true for Louis the Pious and his co-emperor Lothar I (840-55), who issued an edict (November 824) regulating the relations between the western emperor and the Roman pontiff: thenceforth the papal administration was to be placed under the supervision of a representative of the emperor. The pope and all subject to him were to swear an oath of fidelity to the emperor or his envoy and, above all, were to bind themselves to oppose the ordination of any pope who had not previously given an oath of fidelity to the imperial government.²³

Having thrown off the hegemony of the Byzantine emperor, the Roman Church was now in danger of finding herself under the oppressive hegemony of the western emperor. But her resistance was not diminished in the least, since two popes, Leo IV (847-55) and Benedict III (855-8), were elected in spite of imperial demands and objections which, however strongly expressed, could not hide the obviously weak state into which the western secular

χριστομίμητε βασιλεῦ, ἡ κορυφασιότητὴ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, ἡς Πέτρος πρωτόθρονος, πρὸς ὃν ὁ Κύριός φησὶν σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν καὶ πύλαι ἄδου οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς wrote Theodore Studites in 821 to the Emperor Michael II. See S. Salaville, 'La primauté de saint Pierre et du pape d'après saint Théodore Studite (759-826)', *Échos d'Orient* 17 (1914/15), 23-42.

20 Letter of Theodore Studites, no. 272, p. 402 (cf. Appendix, no. 1). See Th. Pratsch, *Theodoros Studites (759-826) zwischen Dogma und Pragma* [Berliner Byzantinistische Studien 4], Berlin 1998, 253-4.

21 Letter of Theodore Studites, no. 271, p. 401: βοήθησον ἡμῖν ὁ ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένος εἰς τοῦτο, ὄρεξον χεῖρα κατ' ὅσον οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἔχεις τὸ ἰσχύειν παρὰ θεῷ ἐκ τοῦ πάντων πρωτεύειν ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐτέθης. πτόησον, δεόμεθα, τοὺς αἰρετικοὺς θήρας σύργγι τοῦ θεοῦ λόγον σου ... ἀκουσάτω ἡ ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ὅτι ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἀναθεματίζονται συνοδικῶς οἱ πάντα τετολιμνίζοντες ...

22 Mansi XIV, 420B-422B. See J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867-1071)*, New York 1904, 58.

23 There is a detailed analysis of the edict of 824 in the classic monograph of L. Halphen, *Charlemagne et l'empire carolingien*, Paris 1947, 256-8. For the previous regime regulating the relations between the western emperor and the pope see W. H. Fritze, *Studien zu den päpstlich-fränkischen Rechtsbeziehungen von 754 bis 824*, Sigmaringen 1973.

government had fallen, after the division of the empire in 843 as a result of the treaty of Verdun.²⁴ It is this decline of imperial authority that explains how the papacy attained its complete independence under Pope Nicholas I, who in spite of having been elected in the presence of the western emperor, Louis II (855-75), at the synod of 862 restored the rules which Pope Stephen IV (768-72) had laid down concerning the election of the presiding bishop of the Roman Church by the clergy, the people and especially the Roman nobility, without any imperial interference.²⁵

The decline of the Carolingian empire portended changes also in relations between the two imperial authorities. In Byzantium Theophilus was succeeded by his son, Michael III, who was still in his minority. Michael III is the only Byzantine emperor for whose twenty-five year reign there is no mention whatsoever in the sources of any embassy to the western ruler. Now Byzantium's interlocutor in the West was the pope, who was much strengthened internationally: upon the final restoration of the icons in 843 and with the conservative patriarchs Methodius and Ignatius belonging to the monastic Studite party and recognizing the papal primacy, relations between Old and New Rome for the next fifteen years were more or less idyllic, and included such episodes as the confirmation by Popes Leo IV and Benedict III of judgements by Patriarch Ignatius.²⁶

The age, however, did not favour the maintenance of such relations, since, as also in the West but for different reasons, the Byzantine imperial institution was under pressure: throughout the first half of the ninth century the political scene was dominated by a bitter confrontation between the imperial government and a robust aristocracy which enjoyed the support of a notable ally, the higher clergy.²⁷ The common front presented by the lay aristocracy and the higher clergy was crowned with success during the reign of Michael III, when the imperial office suffered some depreciation, while the patriarchate, after Ignatius was deposed, sought in its representative Photius an ecumenical 'promotion'. Pope Nicholas and Patriarch Photius were placed at the head of their respective Churches in the same year, 858. With the first 'ruling kings and tyrants and governing them by his authority as if he were the lord of the whole world',²⁸ and the second dreaming of the reconstitution of the empire within its old Justinianic frontiers and seeing himself as the spiritual leader of the οἰκουμένη,²⁹ a rift was inevitable.

Diplomatic contacts in the years 860 and 861, chiefly for negotiating the recognition

24 *Annales Fuldenses* a. 843 (ed. R. Rau [Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte III], Darmstadt 1969² [repr. Darmstadt 1982]), p. 30; *Reginonis Chronica* a. 842 (op. cit.) pp. 184-6.

25 For the relations between the western emperor and the pope from this period until the end of the ninth century see Wattenbach and Levison, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, Vorzeit und Karolinger*, IV. Heft: H. Löwe, *Die Karolinger vom Vertrag von Verdun bis zum Herrschaftsantritt der Herrscher aus dem Sächsischen Hause. Italien und das Papsttum*, Weimar 1963, 451-70.

26 This statement refers to the deposition and anathematizing of Gregory Asbestos, archbishop of Syracuse. See Mansi XVI, 428B-D.

27 See T. C. Lounggis, *Δοκίμιο για την κοινωνική εξέλιξη στη διάρκεια των λεγόμενων «σκοτεινών αιώνων» (602-867)*, Athens 1985, 69-81.

28 *Reginonis Chronica* a. 868, p. 218: *Regibus ac tyrannis imperavit eisque ac si dominus orbis terrarum auctoritate preluit ...*

29 See A. P. Kazhdan, 'Socialnye i političeskie vzgliady Fotija', *Ežegodnik museja istorii religii i ateizma* 2 (1958), 130-2.

of Photius' election and the return of Illyricum to the elder Rome, were difficult and time-consuming. They caused particular hardship to one Byzantine ambassador, the *asecretis* Leo, who missed his ship back to Constantinople because of the insistence of Nicholas I on forcing commitments from him contrary to the instructions he had received. When Leo finally left Rome (March 862), he carried two letters from the pope to Michael III and Photius which denied recognition to the new state of affairs in Byzantium.³⁰

To this situation a further new phenomenon was added when the Patriarch Photius, at the wish of the Caesar Bardas and with the collaboration of the lay magnates, was put in charge of the attempt to convert peoples living outside the frontiers of the Byzantine empire to the Christian faith. Until that time, however, missionary strategies had come under the remit of the emperor. Their assumption by the patriarchate of Constantinople was a radical novelty which led to a direct breach with the papacy when Photius found the right conditions for the implementation of his ecumenical ideals: the alliance in 862 between the empire and Rastislav, prince of Moravia (846-70), which in the following year, 863, brought Cyril and Methodius to Moravia.³¹ Byzantium's conversion of Moravia, which adjoined Roman ecclesiastical territory, could not have avoided provoking a reaction from Pope Nicholas I, who in accordance with the 'Donation of Constantine' regarded the whole of the West as coming under his absolute spiritual overlordship. Thus just as Rastislav was opening the gates of his castle, and consequently of his country, to Cyril and Methodius, the pope was confirming the acts of the Lateran Council of 863, according to whose decisions Photius was deposed on account of his uncanonical election.³² Subsequently, the movements backwards and forwards within the context of this antagonism – the conversion of Bulgaria by Byzantium in 864 and the turning of its prince, Boris-Michael (852-89), to Rome in 866³³ – prompted Photius to compose his famous encyclical to the eastern patriarchates against the Roman Church,³⁴ to convoke a synod in August/September 867 and to anathematize Pope Nicholas I.³⁵ This is the notorious Photian schism, which was brought about not simply by dogmatic differences between the two Churches, but also by a conflict of spiritual overlordship of a purely political nature.

The rift between Old and New Rome became more bitter, but in around 866/7 brought benefits to Nicholas I rather than Photius, since to Boris's turning towards the Roman Church was added the precarious position in Moravia of Cyril and Methodius on account of Rastislav's submission to the king of Germany, Louis II the German (840-76). The achievements of the patriarchate of Constantinople proved to be on shaky foundations. But Photius, within the context of the dispute with Nicholas I, opened up new political initiatives, loudly acclaiming in Constantinople itself the western emperor, Louis II, as the *basileus* and his wife Engelberge

30 *Liber Pontificalis* (ed. L. Duchesne, Paris 1955) II, 154 and 158-9. For these events see F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism: History and Legend*, Cambridge 1948, 91-131.

31 See F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs. SS Constantine-Cyril and Methodius*, New Brunswick and New Jersey 1970.

32 See F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, New York 1966, 101-23.

33 See J. B. Bury, *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire from the Fall of Irene to the Accession of Basil I (A.D. 802-867)*, London 1912, 381-92.

34 Letter of Photius, no. 2 (ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink, Leipzig 1983, pp. 39-53). See Appendix, no. 3.

35 *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, 537B.

as *augusta*, and indeed sending them two embassies.³⁶ And although he thus showed himself to be a spiritual leader who had two emperors within his jurisdiction, the Byzantine and the western, this activity of his constituted a severe threat to the very survival of the already depreciated Byzantine imperial office, and contained the danger that Constantinople would lose whatever power it had in practice of intervening in the West, since the sovereignty of Louis II over these lands had been judged rightful by Photius.

The time had come for Byzantine imperial policy to demonstrate its basic merit, its ability to adapt itself to new situations. There were two elements that provided fertile ground for diplomatic manoeuvring: (a) the continual fragmentation of Charlemagne's once powerful empire had led to the simultaneous existence of more than one Frankish kingdom; and (b) the inability of the Frankish imperial government to ward off the Arab threat to the Italian peninsula had made it of lesser account. The first element offered Byzantium the possibility of entering into friendly relations and alliances with the lower-ranking kings (*ῥῆγες*) of the West as a counterbalance to the rift with the western emperor, and the second created a basic pretext for interference in western affairs.

The realistic approach of the new state of affairs was based on these considerations by the founder of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil I, who, deposing Photius and restoring Ignatius to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, strengthened the Byzantine imperial office and at the same time created the necessary conditions for a reconciliation with the papacy.³⁷ The new western policy of Basil I envisaged a rift with the western emperor, but an understanding with the pope, who, needing the Byzantine fleet for the defence of the Italian mainland against Arab attack, recognized the sovereignty of Byzantium only in Southern Italy. A vigorous realist, Basil immediately put his new aims into effect in the West. Even from the beginning of 868 the Byzantine fleet, commanded by the *drungarius* of the fleet Nicetas Ooryphas, made a strong appearance in the northern Adriatic, expelling the Arabs from the Dalmatian shore. The enemy, however, continued to plunder Italy and even Rome herself with impunity.³⁸ The only help which could save her lay very close at hand, and reconciliation with Pope Nicholas's successor, Hadrian II (867-72), followed quickly. Upon the calling of the council of 869/70, the condemnation of Photius, and Ignatius' acknowledgement of the papal primacy with the invocation of the text *σὺ εἶ Πέτρος, καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν...* ('you are Peter, and on this rock I shall build my Church'),³⁹ the period of the danger of deepening the rift in relations between Old and New Rome was, officially at least, put in the past. The restoration of relations with the papacy was followed by a rupture of relations with Louis II, who, after a conspiracy probably inspired by the Byzantines, was forced to withdraw permanently from Southern Italy (871).⁴⁰

36 *Vita Ignatii*, PG 105, 537BC and 541C. See also Appendix, no. 4.

37 See V. Vlysidou, 'Ο βυζαντινός αυτοκρατορικός θεσμός και η πρώτη εκθρόνιση του πατριάρχη Φωτίου', *Σύμμεικτα* 7 (1987) 33-40.

38 For this Arab threat to Rome in the ninth century see E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland*, Berlin 1966, 211 ff.

39 Mansi XVI, 325BC. See also Appendix, no. 5.

40 Of the *bellum diplomaticum* between Basil I and Louis II over the imperial title only the latter's reply is extant: ed. W. Henze, *MGH. Epistulae*, VII, Berlin 1928, 386-94. For his withdrawal from Southern Italy see Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, ch. 29 (ed. Gy. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins [CFHB 1], Washington D.C. 1967, pp. 128-34); *Annales Bertiniani* a. 871 (ed. R. Rau, *Ausgewählte Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, II, Darmstadt 1972, p. 220).

With its position strengthened in Southern Italy, Byzantine policy could now (872) reject papal claims concerning the subjection of the Church of Bulgaria to the jurisdiction of Rome. *Οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε δέ, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Φωτίου πτώσις ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν* ('You are not unaware that the fall of Photius was caused by this'), Pope Hadrian II peremptorily warned the Patriarch Ignatius,⁴¹ whose friendly disposition towards the elder Rome had not changed. What had changed, and must have escaped the attention of the new incumbent of the patriarchal throne, was that in the new situation which had been created it was no longer the patriarch of Constantinople who was in charge of the policy of conversion to Christianity, but the Byzantine emperor. Bulgaria was lost for good by the elder Rome and the papal chancery condemned Hadrian II for this failure, breaking off his *Vita* abruptly in the *Liber Pontificalis*.⁴²

It was at precisely this moment, in 872, that a new political and diplomatic situation unfolded which was to create serious problems for the papacy. Seeking a counterweight to the rift with the western emperor and a further strengthening of his position in the West, Basil I found a new western ally in the person of the emperor of Francia Orientalis, Louis the German.⁴³ This alliance between Byzantium and Francia Orientalis became the cornerstone of the political balance between East and West for about two centuries (872/3–c. 1089), and survived fragmentarily, through the traumatic experiences of the Crusades until almost the middle of the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ The main result of this alliance, however, is that it gave rise to the very serious attempts, especially from the second half of the tenth century, to limit the scope of papal authority. This will be the topic of the remainder of this treatise.

An immediate papal reaction to the alliance between Byzantium and Francia Orientalis was the coronation in Rome in 875 by the new pope, John VIII (872–82), of Charles II the Bald (875–7), who until then had been king of Francia Occidentalis.⁴⁵ This act, however, did not produce the results that its author probably expected. The Byzantines consolidated their domination of Southern Italy with the capture and occupation of Bari in 876, while Charles the Bald died powerless in 877,⁴⁶ leaving Pope John VIII in a state of terror. Seeing no other way of stopping the plundering of the whole of Campania by the Arabs, he resorted to Basil I at the beginning of 878, begging him for military aid.⁴⁷ This radical change in the stance of the papacy – from Nicholas I's rift with Byzantium under Michael III and Photius to John VIII's pleading for Byzantine intervention in the West under Basil I – was also the achievement of the policy of the Macedonian dynasty's founder, that is, the restoration of Byzantine rule to Southern Italy, which Basil I regarded thenceforth as non-negotiable.

41 Mansi XVI, 413C–E. See Appendix, no. 6.

42 *Liber Pontificalis* II, 184–5. For Hadrian II see H. Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen. Hadrian II. (867–872) und seine Zeit*, Vienna, Cologne and Graz 1970.

43 Two Byzantine embassies arrived at Regensburg; see *Annales Fuldenses* a. 872 and 873, pp. 85 and 93.

44 For an overview see T. C. Lounghis, *Η ευρωπαϊκή ισορροπία στον Μεσαίωνα: η γεωμενοβυζαντινή συμμαχία*, in *Το Βυζάντιο και οι απαρχές της Ευρώπης*, Athens 2004, 53–74.

45 *Reginonis Chronica* a. 875, p. 246; *Annales Fuldenses* a. 875, p. 98.

46 The mordant note of Regino of Prüm on Charles the Bald is particularly revealing: 'He bought the imperial title from Pope John for a huge sum and, moreover, saw the kingdom of Italy pass out of his control even though he had conquered it and annexed it.' See *Reginonis Chronica* a. 877, p. 252.

47 See Gay, *Italie méridionale*, 120, n. 4.

The serious attempt to overturn this policy, however, came not from the West but from the patriarchate of Constantinople and Basil's decision to recall Photius to its leadership (877). The Byzantine sources are full of the impression that Basil was deceived. Photius carefully planned the imposition of his ecumenical ideals, which he had assuredly not traded away. Diplomatic contacts between Old and New Rome⁴⁸ led to the presence of papal legates in Constantinople and their participation in the Council of 879/80. During the time it was in session, while Photius himself maintained a position of moderation, his numerous followers called for the restoration of Byzantine dominion up to the old Roman frontiers. They smoothly rejected the papal claim that Bulgaria should come under the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, resisted the papal demand that bishops should not be appointed directly from the lay state, acknowledged in the person of Photius the hierarch who should have *τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου τὴν ἐπίστασιν* ('episcopal charge over the whole world'), and by the enactment of the council's first canon limited the pope's jurisdiction only to his Italian (*ἐξ Ἰταλίας*) flock.⁴⁹

The cause of Pope John VIII's displeasure went beyond what was apparent on the surface. It found expression not in a 'second Photian schism', but in letters addressed to Basil I and Photius in which the pope declared whatever his legates had done and signed at the council against his instructions to be invalid. This attempt of John VIII to minimize those aspects of what was decided at the council of 879/80 that damaged the prestige of the Roman Church was not judged to be adequate by papal ideologists, who 'overlooked' his inclusion in the *Liber Pontificalis*. From the point where the biography of Pope Hadrian II is interrupted by an attempt to justify the way in which the elder Rome lost her spiritual suzerainty in Bulgaria, there is a void marking a silence in the history of the papacy for more than thirteen years. The three popes condemned to complete invisibility – John VIII, Marinus I (882-4) and Hadrian III (884-5) – were those who remained 'inactive' in the face of Photius' ecumenical ambitions.⁵⁰

From declaring his ideals, Photius went on to attempt to put them into practice. A perfect opportunity for this was given to him by the composition of the *Εἰσαγωγή* (*Επαναγωγή*) with the preface and first clauses of which he was personally involved. By this law Photius imposed the novelty of the theory 'of the two authorities', designating the emperor and the patriarch as two bearers of authority of equal weight with clear boundaries between the authority of each.⁵¹ Most importantly, he set down the duties of each: analogous to the ecumenical mission which Photius attributed to his office, were the responsibilities of the emperor to whom was assigned the claim to territories which would guarantee that the Byzantines occupied the driving seat (*ἡνιοχείαν*) in the whole of what had once been

48 Two embassies were sent in 878/9 with a request for the recognition of the election of Photius. Only the patriarch's *apocrisarius* is known, Theodore, metropolitan of Patras (Mansi XVI, 288E-289A and XVII, 393E). The pope's reply was brought to Constantinople by the Cardinal presbyter Peter, who participated in the council of 879/80 (Mansi XVII, 392B-393B).

49 See the relevant passages from the acts of the Council of 879/80 in the Appendix, no. 7.

50 For a detailed account of the council of 879/80 and all that followed see V. Vlysidou, *Εξωτερική πολιτική και έσωτερικές αντιδράσεις τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Βασιλείου Α΄. Έρευνες γιὰ τὸν ἐντοπισμὸ τῶν ἀντιπολιτευτικῶν τάσεων στὰ χρόνια 867-886*, Athens 1991, 113-53, with references to sources and bibliography.

51 For this important departure from the rules governing Church-State relations up to that time see, for example, Sp. Troianos, *Οι πηγές του βυζαντινού δικαίου*, Athens and Komotini 1999², 171-6.

the ancient Roman world.⁵² The policy of Basil I, which envisaged only limited territorial dominion in Southern Italy, had undergone significant changes and, after the legislative strengthening of Photius' ecumenical ambitions, only one basic presupposition for their realization needed to be fulfilled: an open breach with the elder Rome, which Photius attempted to bring about by persuading Basil I to send Pope Hadrian III in writing his objections to the election of his predecessor, Marinus I.

The papacy's reply to 'what the emperor under Photius' guidance wrote to Rome' (*παροδηγηθεῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Φωτίου ἔγραψεν ἐν τῇ Ρώμῃ*) came from Stephen V (885-91), the pope with whom the narrative of the popes is resumed again in the *Liber Pontificalis*, and Photius' new insolence is brought to an end. Stephen V's letter to Basil I, one of the most revealing examples of Medieval diplomacy, contains all the manoeuvres always imposed by the defence not only of prestige but also of territorial dominion. Uncompromising on the matter of the papal primacy, and most decidedly hostile towards Photius, Pope Stephen V shows himself certain that Basil is under the influence of Photius' 'hubris' (*ὑβρις*) and expresses his joy that the emperor has dedicated one of his sons to the Church, suggesting to him the way in which Constantinople could acquire the patriarch whom, in his opinion, at that moment it did not have. Showing a very friendly disposition, however, towards Basil, the 'beloved emperor', the 'new Constantine', the 'holy and clear eye', as he calls him, Stephen begs him not to set himself against the Roman Church. He concludes with another entreaty of vital significance, for the sending of a strong force of fully armed *χελάνδια* to deliver Italy from the seaborne depredations of the Arabs. He describes the critical situation into which even Rome herself has fallen, perhaps with some degree of exaggeration, as one in which there is no longer even any 'oil with which to light the church in the proper manner'.⁵³

Basil I responded to the papal request by sending strong forces. He continued to give substance to his new western policy and, upon his death, acknowledged that he had been deceived by Photius.⁵⁴ His son and successor, Leo VI completed what his father had left half-finished: the strengthening of Byzantine rule in Southern Italy by the foundation of the new western theme of Langobardia (in about 888) and the regulating of relations with the patriarch. The disposition of the new emperor towards Photius was anything but friendly.⁵⁵ He took Pope Stephen's letter as evidence of Photius' political machinations, and in 886 the great prelate was sent into exile for the second time.

The ascent of the patriarchal throne of Constantinople by a nineteen-year-old youth, Stephen I (886-93),⁵⁶ the youngest son of Basil I who had not long before been proposed for the patriarchate by Pope Stephen V, promised friendly relations with the elder Rome. Most of all it gave Leo VI the opportunity to abolish Photius' innovations immediately, and make it

52 See Vlysidou, *Ἐξωτερικὴ πολιτικὴ*, 154-159.

53 *οὔτε ἔλαιον εἰς φωταίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν ὀφειλομένην τιμὴν*. V. Grumel, 'La lettre du pape Étienne V à l'empereur Basile Ier', *REB* 11 (1953), 137-47. See Appendix, no. 8.

54 Pseudo-Symeon (ed. I. Bekker [CSHB], Bonn 1838), 700. *Vita Euthymii*, 5.

55 On the unprecedented episode of the three-year imprisonment of Leo when was the heir to the throne (883-6) see Vlysidou, *Ἐξωτερικὴ πολιτικὴ*, 164-89.

56 Letter of Theodore Daphnopoulos, no. 2, p. 45. See G. T. Kolias, *Βιογραφικὰ Στεφάνου Α' Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατριάρχου* (886-893), *Προσφορὰ εἰς Στέλλα Π. Κυριακίδην*, Thessalonica 1953, 358-63. According to the Church's canons the minimum age for promotion to episcopal rank was thirty.

clear that the imperial office was the sole source of authority. Now that 'all things depend on the imperial forethought and administration alone',⁵⁷ the Church was completely subjected to the secular authority, since the Patriarch Stephen manifested such a willing disposition to co-operate with his imperial brother, that he sought even to leave to him the solution of problems that both recognized did not come under the imperial remit.⁵⁸ Stephen's premature death brought Antony II Kauleas (893-901) to the patriarchal throne. During his term of office the good relations with the elder Rome were consummated by the presence of papal legates (Bishop Nicholas and Cardinal John) in the imperial capital for the reunion of the Church (899), that is to say, for the reconciliation of the Ignatians with the official Byzantine Church and the rapprochement of the latter with the Church of Rome.⁵⁹ Antony Kauleas' biographer attributes this rapprochement entirely to Leo VI, mentioning in characteristic fashion that the emperor through the patriarch 'united the East with the West'.⁶⁰

The image of a powerful emperor, however, who exercised absolute authority in both the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres, could not endure for very long. In 901 Nicholas I Mysticus was elected patriarch. His very close collaboration with high secular officials resulted in 903 in an assassination attempt on Leo VI in the church of St Mokios, where the emperor lay bleeding while senators and the clergy made for the doors. For Leo this marked the return of the policies of the Patriarch Photius, Nicholas's former teacher and mentor. Subsequently, on the grounds of the famous issue of a fourth marriage, which on the political and governmental level raised the question of whether the Macedonian dynasty and its policy would continue, Nicholas Mysticus intensified his efforts to overthrow Leo VI, joining forces with the Domestic of the *scholae* Andronicus Doukas. On being delivered from the dangerous alliance between patriarch and army commander, Leo VI was more sharply at loggerheads than ever with Nicholas I. Help came in the form of Pope Sergius III, who responded with alacrity to the emperor's request for the sending of a mission. The papal legates, committed to the idea of papal primacy, and determined, as Nicholas himself later wrote,⁶¹ to stir up strife against him, ratified Leo VI's exile of the patriarch in 907.⁶²

There now began for the Byzantine Church a long period of internal schism between the partisans of Nicholas I and those of his successor Euthymius I (907-12) which lasted until 995.

57 *Πρὸς μόνην τὴν βασιλείαν προνοίαν τε καὶ διοίκησιν ἀνήρτηται πάντα*: Novel of Leo VI (ed. P. Noailles and A. Dain, Paris 1944), no. 46, p. 185.

58 Novel of Leo VI, no. 17, pp. 63-5: *Ἡ μὲν ἀξίωσις τῆς ὑμετέρας μακαριότητος ὑφ' ὑμῶν μάλλον δικαία προέχεσθαι ἢ ἡ παρ' ὑμῶν τὴν γένεσιν λαβεῖν ἔδει γὰρ τῆς ὑμῶν ἱερότητος θέσπισμα εἶναι ὑποθέσιν ἱερῶν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ φανερὸν ὡς οὐ δέον ἐστ' ἐν κεφαλῇ συνοδικῇ γενέσθαι διάσκεψιν, ... δεχόμενοι τὴν προτροπὴν ὧν ἀξιοῦτε, διατάξιν ἐκφέρομεν.*

59 N. Oikonomides, *Les listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles*, Paris 1972, 163, 6-9. *Vita Euthymii*, 65. See V. Grumel and J. Darrouzès, *Les Regestes des actes du patriarchat de Constantinople*, I: *Les actes des patriarches*, fasc. II-III: *Les regestes de 715 à 1206*, Paris 1989², no. 596.

60 *Vita Antonii Kauleae* (ed. P. L. M. Leone, *Orpheus* 10 [1989]), 421: ... *τὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὰ κρείττω μετερουθιζέτο πλήρωμα, καὶ θεὸς εὐμενὴς, καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας γαννύμενος ἐνευφραίνετο τῆς δὲ ἀδεκάζου γνώμης ἐπὶ τῇ ψήφῳ τὴν κρίσιν ὁρῶν ἐπὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸ ἀδιάψευστον ἔχουσαν, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἔλκος, ἧτοι σχίσμα, εἰς συνούλωσιν προθέμενος ἀγαγεῖν, εἰς ἐν συνάγῃ τὰ Ἐθῶ καὶ τὰ Ἑσπερία...*

61 Letter of Nicholas I Mysticus no. 32 (ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink, [CFHB 6], Washington D.C. 1973, p. 224).

62 For these events and the similarities between the actions of the patriarchs Photius and Nicholas I see V. Vlysidos, 'Σχετικά με τα αἰτία της εκθρόνισης του πατριάρχη Νικολάου Α' Μυστικού (907)', *Σήμερις* 11 (1997) 23-36, where the sources and bibliography are set out.

But for the papacy, too, there had already begun its 'captivity' by the Italian aristocracy and consequent loss of prestige. The family of the Roman senator Theophylact (904-25) dominated Rome for four generations between 904 and 964 and is closely bound up with the political and religious decadence that prevailed there in the tenth century. As an example of how far things had sunk some aspects of the life of Theophylact's 'able' daughter Marocia (or Marotia, Marozia) may be mentioned. The fruit of her liaison with Pope Sergius III became Pope John XI. Moreover, her son from her marriage to Alberic, marquis of Spoleto, was the senator Alberic, who ruled Rome from 932 to 954 and completely dominated the succeeding popes.⁶³ A year after Alberic's death his son Octavian was elected pope, taking the name John XII (955-63).⁶⁴

On the political level, the papacy's decline, in conjunction with the absence of a western emperor⁶⁵ and the weakness of Italy's local princes, led to the strengthening of Byzantine rule in Southern Italy during the first half of the tenth century. On the ecclesiastical level, it contributed in a large degree to the fact that the new crisis which arose when Nicholas Mysticus was restored to the leadership of the Byzantine Church in 912 did not take the form of the exchange of anathemas and depositions, as had happened in the ninth century under Pope Nicholas I and the Patriarch Photius.

The written request which the new emperor, Alexander (912-13), and Nicholas Mysticus addressed to Pope Anastasius III (911-13), demanding that Leo's fourth marriage should be condemned, together with the papal legates who in 907 had confirmed Nicholas's exile,⁶⁶ received no reply. The papacy's silence provoked the removal of the pope's name from the diptychs of the Church of Constantinople and of course the rupture of relations with the elder Rome. For the next seven years, whether as the all-powerful guardian of the juvenile Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-14) or whether confined to his purely ecclesiastical duties (914-19), the last thing Nicholas wanted was the restoration of relations with the Roman Church. When Romanus I Lacapenus came to power in 919/20 Nicholas went along with him. Here was an ideal opportunity for the patriarch to impose his views. The famous *Τόμος ἑνώσεως* ('Tome of Union', 9 July 920) roundly condemned the fourth marriage.⁶⁷ The legitimate representative of the Macedonian dynasty, Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, was at first diminished morally, and then demoted in practice, since there was a new dynasty, that of the Lacapeni, on the throne, by the successive coronations which Nicholas Mysticus performed with the accustomed brilliance and pomp.⁶⁸ Good relations with the elder Rome

63 Liutprand, *Antapodosis* III, 46 (ed. J. Becker, Hanover and Leipzig 1915³ [repr. 1993], p. 98): '*Romanae urbis Albericus monarchiam tenuit*'. Liutprand, *Legatio* LXII (ed. J. Becker, op. cit., p. 209): '*Verum cum impiissimus Albericus, quem non stillatim cupiditas, sed velut torrens impleverat, Romanam civitatem sibi usurparet dominumque apostolicum quasi servum proprium in conclavi teneret*'. See P. Toubert, 'Une révision: le principat d'Alberic de Rome (932-954)', in *Études sur l'Italie médiévale (IXe-XIVe s.)*, London 1976, no. V, pp. 974-98.

64 For an overview of the decline of the papacy in the tenth century see the recent study by C. Wickham, 'The Romans according to their malign custom': Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough* (ed. J. M. H. Smith), Leiden, Boston and Cologne 2000, 151-66, esp. 159 ff.

65 In 901 the last Carolingian prince, Louis III, was crowned emperor. He was, however, blinded in 905. There was no imperial coronation in the West for the next sixty years.

66 Letter of Nicholas I Mysticus no. 32, pp. 214-44. See Appendix, no. 9(a).

67 Ed. L. G. Westerink, [CFHB 20], Washington D.C. 1981, 58-68. See Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 715.

68 For the Lacapeni and the demotion of Constantine VII see the recent monograph of O. Kresten and A. Müller, *Samtherrschaft, Legitimationsprinzip und kaiserlicher Urkundentitel in Byzanz in der ersten Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Vienna 1995.

were necessary for establishing the authority of the 'usurper' Romanus Lacapenus. During the intense diplomatic activity that developed, Nicholas, fortified by his splendid victory, demanded of Pope John X (914-28) the full conformity of the western Church to the decisions of the eastern before his name could be restored to the diptychs.⁶⁹ Although in his last letter to Pope John X the patriarch does not insist on any conditions,⁷⁰ and the restoration of relations between the two Churches took place in 923, it is certain that the now aged Nicholas I Mysticus must have believed before dying in 925 that he had done his best for the struggle of his Church to administer its own affairs and to demand full acceptance of its activities and decisions both from the Byzantine imperial government and from the elder Rome.

The restoration of relations with the Roman Church seems to have brought benefits only to Romanus I Lacapenus and his government. Bent on acquiring the patriarchal office for a member of his family, Lacapenus made plans, not with the greatest legality, to promote his younger son, Theophylact, to the leadership of the Church.⁷¹ Pope John XI willingly offered him his assistance, as the strong objections of the Byzantine higher clergy were to be ignored, and in the presence of papal legates Theophylact (933-56) was ordained patriarch in February 933 at only nineteen years old.⁷² For the next thirty years or so, with the papacy in total decline and the Byzantine Church represented by Theophylact, who was less concerned with his ecclesiastical duties than with riding and other 'unseemly practices',⁷³ relations between Byzantium and the elder Rome could only be those of silence and indifference.

With the return to the throne of his forebears, however, of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (944-59), the policies of the Macedonian dynasty also made a come-back. And this learned member of the dynasty took special care over the ideological buttressing of them. In all three of his historical works, *Vita Basilii*, *De administrando imperio* and *De thematibus*, he discusses the political priority which his grandfather, Basil I, gave to western affairs and the new limited re-establishment of Byzantine rule in Southern Italy.⁷⁴ The most important matter, however, was that by turning to Otto I (936-73),⁷⁵ Constantine Porphyrogenitus renewed the old Byzantine alliance with Francia Orientalis, which he set in the context of 'the dread and irrevocable decree of the great and holy Constantine' (παραγγελία καὶ διάταξις φοβερὰ καὶ ἀπαραποίητος), which permitted marriage alliances only with the Franks and thus marked

69 Letters of Nicholas I Mysticus nos 53 and 56, pp. 286-92 and 298. See Appendix, nos 9(b) and 9(c).

70 Letter of Nicholas I Mysticus no. 77, pp. 330-2. For relations between Old and New Rome under Nicholas I see I. Konstantinidis, *Νικόλαος Α΄ Μυστικός* (ca. 852-925 μ.Χ.), *πατριάρχης Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (901-907, 912-925), Athens 1967, 107-16.

71 For the uncanonical election of Theophylact see Letters of Theodore Daphnopates nos 1-3, pp. 31-51 and pp. 11-14 (introduction). Romanus I's rich gifts to Alberic and the 'shameful transaction' are discussed by Liutprand (*Legatio* LXII, pp. 209-10).

72 Letter of Theodore Daphnopates no. 2, p. 49. See also Scylitzes (ed. I. Thurn [CFHB 5], Berlin and New York 1973), 242: ... ἐξκαίδεκα μὲν ἔτων ὃν, ὅτε τοῖς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀκανονίστως παρείληφεν οἶακας, ὑπὸ παιδαγωγοῦς δέ... μέχρι τινὸς διετέλεσε. Cf. V. Stanković, 'When was Theophylaktos Lakapenos born?', *JbB* 55(2005), 59-67.

73 Theophanes Continuatus (ed. I. Bekker [CSHB], Bonn 1838), 444: Ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης Θεοφύλακτος ... οὐκ ἐνέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν τῆς πονηρᾶς μοχθηρίας καὶ τοῦ μετὰ δώρων χειροτονεῖν τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἵππων καὶ βλακειῶν. Scylitzes, 243: ... καὶ ἄλλα πράττων, ὅσα τοῖς ἀληθινοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσιν ἀπεισιχία ἐτίγγαγεν, ἱππομανῶν καὶ κνηγεσιῶς ἐνασχολούμενος, καὶ λοιπὰς ἀρετὰς διαπραττόμενος πράξεις...

74 *Vita Basilii* = Theophanes Continuatus, 288-97. *De administrando imperio*, ch. 29, pp. 126-34. *De thematibus*, 97-8. See T. Loughis, *Κωνσταντίνου Ζ' Πορφυρογέννητου De Administrando Imperio* (Πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ῥωμανόν). *Μία μέθοδος ἀνάγνωσης*, Thessalonica 1990, 84-91 and 57-60.

75 For the embassies of 945 and 949 see Loughis, *Ambassades*, 201-3.

Romanus Lacapenus as 'a simple and illiterate man' who dared to break this commandment and ally himself by marriage with the Bulgarians.⁷⁶ That the alliance between Byzantium and Francia Orientalis, if it did not actively promote at least certainly favoured the reduction of papal power under Alberic and his descendents, is apparent from what followed.

On the 2 February 962 Otto I was crowned emperor in Rome by Alberic's son, Pope John XII.⁷⁷ Only eleven days after his coronation (13 February 962) Otto devised a somewhat unusual way to 'protect' the Roman Church, obliging the inhabitants of the newly conquered regions of Italy to swear an oath of loyalty to himself rather than to the pope.⁷⁸ This 'solicitude' of Otto I for the elder Rome was continued, since it appears that for this powerful emperor, who drew his authority not from his papal coronation but from his army,⁷⁹ the papacy, represented by the decadent John XII,⁸⁰ symbolized the Roman aristocracy's thirst for power. It is in Otto's desire to crush the papacy that the beginnings should be sought of his rift with John XII, who at about the end of 962 tried to send embassies to Constantinople and to the Hungarians.⁸¹ His attempt to escape from German tutelage is obvious. It is nevertheless worth noting that the Hungarians were enemies not only of the Franks but also of the Byzantines.⁸² Pope John XII's decision to appeal to the common enemy of both empires makes it very clear that Rome was attempting to break the German-Byzantine alliance.⁸³

John XII's initiative fell on stony ground, and after his deposition the German tutelage became even more oppressive: by the famous *privilegium Ottonianum* (end of 963), Otto I obliged the Romans to swear that they would not elect and ordain a pope without first obtaining consent from himself and his son.⁸⁴ Even though the Romans did everything they could, as in the ninth century, to reduce the force of this obligation, Otto imposed three popes on them of his own choice, Leo VII (963-5), John XIII (965-72) and Benedict VI (973-4).⁸⁵ The approval of the Macedonian dynasty for this action was clearly expressed by its supporter, the historian John Scylitzes, who is in full agreement with western sources, which tell not only of the deposition of John XII but also of that of Benedict V by synods of

76 *ἰδιώτης καὶ ἀγράμματος*: *De administrando imperio*, ch. 13, pp. 70-2.

77 Liutprand, *Historia Ottonis* III (ed. J. Bekker, Hanover and Leipzig 1915³ [repr. 1993], p. 160). *Liber Pontificalis* II, p. 246.

78 For details see A. M. Drabek, *Die Verträge der fränkischen deutschen Herrscher mit den Papsttum von 754 bis 1020*, Vienna, Cologne and Graz 1976, 67-71.

79 A typical attitude is that of the monk Widukind of Corvey, the author of a 'History of the Saxons', who did not regard the coronation of 962 as worth recording and mentions that Otto was named *imperator* by his army after the destruction of the Hungarians at Lechfeld in 955. See Widukind of Corvey (ed. E. Rotter and B. Schneidmüller, Stuttgart 1981) III, 49, p. 202.

80 *Liber Pontificalis* II, p. 246: 'Iste denique infelicissimus, quod sibi peius est, totam vitam suam in adulterio et vanitate duxit'. See also Scylitzes, 245.

81 Liutprand, *Historia Ottonis* VI, pp. 162-3.

82 Scylitzes, 239: Βουλσουσνδης δὲ τὰς πρὸς θεὸν συνθήκας ἡθετηκῶς πολλάκις σὺν παντὶ τῷ ἔθνει κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἐξήλασε. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ κατὰ Φράγγων ποιῆσαι διανοηθεὶς καὶ ἀλοῦς ἀνεσκολοπίσθη ὑπὸ Ξτον τοῦ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν.

83 For this interpretation see T. C. Lounghis, 'Der Verfall des Papsttums im X. Jahrhundert als Ergebnis der deutsch-byzantinischen Annäherung', *Βυζαντιακά* 14 (1994), 224-7.

84 Liutprand, *Historia Ottonis* VIII, p. 164.

85 For an overview see W. Ullmann, *Kurze Geschichte des Papsttums im Mittelalter*, Berlin and New York 1978, 110-11.

963 and 964 presided over by Otto I.⁸⁶ For Scylitzes, Pope John XII was prone 'to every kind of licentiousness and evil', whom 'Otto the emperor of the Franks deposed and appointed another shepherd for the Church,'⁸⁷ thus recognizing the western emperor as the only authority capable of solving the problems arising within the Roman Church.

In 963, however, Nicephorus II Phocas (963-9) overthrew the Macedonian dynasty and together with it the policy of equilibrium between East and West. Phocas' stormy rift with Otto I is set within the context of perhaps the most contentious diplomatic incident of the Middle Ages, the chief protagonists of which were the Byzantine emperor, Nicephorus II and the western envoy, Liutprand, bishop of Cremona. Under Nicephorus II, relations with the papacy, which was now under Otto's control, were the worst they could possibly be, and Liutprand has described them vividly in the report he drew up for Otto I of his eventful mission to the imperial city.

The arrival of a letter from Pope John XIII to Nicephorus II in 968 in which Nicephorus was addressed as 'emperor of the Greeks' rather than 'emperor of the Romans' provided an ideal opportunity for the Byzantine view to be expressed without any circumlocution, through the mouth of the *patricius* and eunuch, Christopher, on the person of the president of the Roman Church: John XIII was the most stupid of men who did not know that Constantine the Great, in transferring to Constantinople the imperial sceptre, the senate and the army, left nothing in Rome apart from bastards, plebeians and slaves. A formidable diplomat, Liutprand objected that the pope had used such a phrase as 'emperor of the Greeks' not to insult the emperor but to praise him, because he did not reckon that the expression 'of the Romans' in the imperial title was still pleasing, just as the Roman language and Roman customs were no longer pleasing. Liutprand went on to promise that in future letters the pope would address himself to 'the powerful Emperors of the Romans Nicephorus, Constantine and Basil'. This reference to the later emperors Basil II (976-1025) and Constantine VIII (1025-8) was a reminder to Phocas that he had thrust aside the legitimate members of the Macedonian dynasty. But the names were also the basis for the explanations which Liutprand sent to his master, Otto I, for the promise he had in such 'simplicity' given: the pope, who is burdened with the salvation of all Christians, should send Nicephorus II a letter which would address him as emperor of the Romans. But it should be a letter like a sepulchre which is whitened outside and full of dead men's bones inside, in which he would remind him that he had usurped the imperial throne with perjuries and adulteries. And it would invite him to a synod and if he did not come it would excommunicate him.⁸⁸

According to Liutprand, this impious man, Nicephorus Phocas, who maintained that the popes until that time were merchants who sold the Holy Spirit, went on to carry out a further hostile act against the Roman Church. He instructed the Patriarch Polyeuctus (956-70) to raise the church of Otranto from archiepiscopal to metropolitan rank (at about

86 See Liutprand, *Historia Ottonis* IX, pp. 164-6. *Lamperti Hersfeldensis Annales* a. 963 (ed. W. D. Fritz, [Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters XIII], Darmstadt 1957 [repr. 1973]), p. 32.

87 Scylitzes, 245: πρὸς πᾶσαν ἀσελγειαν καὶ κακίαν... Στοιχὸς ὁ τῶν Φράγγων βασιλεὺς ἀπελάσας ἕτερον ἀντεισηγάγε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ποιμένα.

88 Liutprand, *Legatio* I-LII, pp. 202-3. See Appendix, no. 10(a). Cf. W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident*, Darmstadt 1966, 220-3.

the end of 968) and not to allow the divine liturgy anywhere in Apulia and Calabria to be celebrated in Latin but only in Greek. Polyeuctus' compliance and his granting the privilege to the bishop of Otranto to ordain bishops in five cities which belonged to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome, leads Liutprand to utter against the patriarch exactly the same threats as he had proposed concerning Phocas, that is, to summon a synod, which if Polyeuctus did not amend his 'faults' would impose on him the penalties laid down by the sacred canons.⁸⁹ The excommunications which Liutprand so fervently desired were never applied, since the contentious and unrealistic policy of Nicephorus Phocas, who in the mid-tenth century, wanted Otto I to cede him Rome and Ravenna with all their surrounding territory,⁹⁰ was abandoned only a little later. According to western sources, the unsuccessful Byzantine campaigns in Italy provoked great unrest among the populations of Southern Italy, which in turn brought about the murder of Nicephorus II by John Tzimiskes in 969.⁹¹

That the western sources are nearer to the truth than the Byzantine, which attributed the murder of Phocas to a love affair between the Empress Theophano and Tzimiskes, is evident from the fact that upon the ascent of John I to the throne, political realism returned: Tzimiskes restored the western policy of the Macedonian dynasty and upon the marriage in Rome on 14 April 972 of Theophano's niece to Otto II (973-83), the alliance between the two empires returned to the political stage. After Otto I's death, however, the Roman aristocracy and its leader Crescentius⁹² wanted to detach the papacy from obedience to the German imperial authority, which had exercised effective control over Popes Leo VIII, John XIII and Benedict VI, and elected (in June 974) a new pope, Boniface VII. It only took Otto II one month to install Benedict VII (974-83) as pope, while the deposed Boniface VII fled to Constantinople, where he remained for about ten years (July 974 to late 983/early 984).⁹³

The fact that Constantinople offered a refuge to the antipope Boniface VII does not necessarily imply that the popes imposed by Otto II, namely Benedict VII and John XIV (983-4),⁹⁴ were not recognized and therefore there was friction between the two sides. In the first place, there is nothing in the sources that allows us to suppose that John Tzimiskes inclined towards the Roman aristocracy, let alone changed his friendly attitude towards Otto so soon after his marriage to Theophano and the alliance of 973 between the two empires.⁹⁵ Moreover, Tzimiskes' decision to replace the deposed patriarch, Basil I Skamandrenos (970-3), with Antony III Studites (973-8) removes any suspicion that Constantinople anticipated bad relations with the elder Rome, since the Studite tradition was predisposed to quite the opposite.

The alliance between the two empires also remained untroubled during the reign of the last able member of the Macedonian dynasty, Basil II, since Otto II, who is regarded as hostile

89 Liutprand, *Legatio* LXII, pp. 209-10. See Appendix, no. 10(b); also Gay, *Italie méridionale*, 350-8. See Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 792.

90 Liutprand, *Legatio* XV, p. 184. See also above, p. 52.

91 Widukind of Corvey, III, 73, p. 229. Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* II, 15 (ed. W. Trillmich, [Ausgewählte Quellen zur deutschen Geschichte des Mittelalters IX], Darmstadt 1957[repr. 1970], p. 50).

92 See C. Romeo, 'Crescenzo di Theodora', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 30, Rome 1984, 664-5.

93 *Liber Pontificalis* II, 255-8.

94 As maintained by V. Grumel, 'Les préliminaires du schisme de Michel Cérulaire ou la question romaine avant 1054', *REB* 10 (1952), 13.

95 *Lamperti Hersfeldensis Annales* a. 973, p. 32.

towards Byzantium, addressed him as 'his brother and friend in difficult circumstances'.⁹⁶ Otto II's death, however, in 983, exactly as in the case of his father's death, was regarded as an opportune moment for new disturbances in the elder Rome. It was then that Boniface VII left the imperial capital, imprisoned John XIV, and reinstalled himself on the papal throne (984), only to be murdered a few months later on account of his violence (985). None of the sources, Byzantine or western, explains precisely how Boniface managed to return to Rome and, in particular, what support he received from Constantinople. What we can say with certainty is that the event suggests neither antagonism nor collusion between the two imperial governments, since it took place in a period when in the West Theophano (983-91) was occupied, as guardian of her under-age son, Otto III (983-1002), with establishing her authority and neutralizing rival claimants to the throne, which she only succeeded in doing in April 986,⁹⁷ while in the East real power was exercised not by Basil II but by his all-powerful *παράνομος*, the bastard son of Romanus I, Basil Lacapenus. The fact that the fall of Lacapenus occurred 'suddenly' in 985/6⁹⁸ allows us to suppose that another probable reason for his dismissal was a degree of involvement in the affair of Boniface VII. That this episode does not fit into the policy of the Macedonian dynasty is also evident from what followed, when at the turn of the tenth century certain tendencies become more apparent that help transform the balance of power chosen and imposed by the two imperial governments.

In Rome the papacy remained in a state of decline, restricted to purely ecclesiastical duties. The age, however, far from encouraged a restriction of ecclesiastical authority. Alongside the struggle of the Italian aristocracy and its new head, the '*patricius*' Crescentius II,⁹⁹ to free itself from the oppressive grip of German authority and impose its own choice as pope, one should set certain phenomena which appear on the other, the Byzantine side. Certain difficulties in relations between the emperor and the Byzantine higher clergy begin to be noticeable at this time. These can be discerned in the fact that within a space of twenty-two years the patriarchal throne remained vacant for a full nine of them.¹⁰⁰ After putting down the great revolts of the partisans of Phocas and Sclerus, Basil II appeared powerful, but the Byzantine Church, having extended her sphere of influence by the conversion of the Rus' (988/9),¹⁰¹ was so strong that she manifested ecumenical ambitions that conflicted with imperial policy. These tendencies found expression in a diplomatic episode which at first sight seems quite bizarre. It is known only from the letters of the Byzantine ambassador, Leo, metropolitan of Synada, who played a leading part in the episode.

96 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* III, 21, p. 10: '*fratrem meum, certum, ut spero, meis necessitatibus amicum*'.

97 Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* IV, 1-9 pp. 115-23. See R. Holtzmann, *Geschichte der Sächsischen Kaiserzeit (900-1024)*, Munich 1979⁶, 279-8.

98 Michael Psellus, *Chronographia* I, 19-21 (ed. S. Impellizzeri, Milan 1984, vol. I, pp. 28-32). See W. G. Brokkaar, 'Basil Lacapenus. Byzantium in the Tenth Century', in *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* (ed. W. F. Bakker et al.), Leiden 1972, 199-234.

99 See C. Romeo, 'Crescenzo Nomentano', *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 30, Rome 1984, 661-5.

100 Antony III Studites (December 973-June 978) // 2-year gap // Nicholas II Chrysoberges (April/May 980 – 16 December 992) // 4-year gap // Sissinius II (12 April 996 – 24 August 998) // 3-year gap // Sergius II (June/July 1001 – July 1019). See V. Grumel, *La Chronologie*, Paris 1958, 436. J. Darrouzès, 'Sur la chronologie du patriarche Antoine III Stoudite', *REB* 46 (1998), 60.

101 See A. Poppe, 'The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus: Byzantine-Russian Relations between 986-989', *DOP* 30 (1976), 196-244.

Otto III sought to maintain the alliance between the two empires by marrying a Byzantine princess. The envoy he sent to Constantinople was a Calabrian Greek called Philagathus, who was bishop of Piacenza.¹⁰² In response to the western request, Basil II entrusted the negotiations on the matter to the *patrius* Kalokyros and Leo of Synada, who at the same time carried to Rome a synodal letter of the newly-elected patriarch Sisinnius II (996-8) to Pope Gregory V (996-9), the son of a cousin of Otto III. Nothing prepares us for what followed.

When he arrived in Rome in 997, Leo of Synada found the papal throne vacant, as Crescentius had driven out Gregory V, and having no one to deliver the synodal letter to, he laid in on the tomb of St Peter. Later, the Byzantine ambassador seems to have fallen in with Crescentius' plans – 'since he wished to accomplish this through me' – (δι' ἐμοῦ <δὲ> τοῦτο ποιῆσαι θελήσαντος) installing Philagathus as the new pope with the name of John XVI.¹⁰³ The pontificate of Philagathus lasted just one year, only for as long as Otto III was absent. Otto's descent on Rome resulted in Philagathus being arrested and blinded, and Crescentius being hanged.¹⁰⁴

The purpose for which Leo was sent as an ambassador to the West – namely, to conduct negotiations for a marriage alliance between the two imperial houses and to deliver a synodal letter – his manifest anxiety that Constantinople would condemn his action, and the fact that no western source attributes the election of Philagathus to Byzantine interference¹⁰⁵ make it abundantly clear that this episode cannot be put down to the operations of official Byzantine policy and diplomacy. By contrast, the contradictory attitude of Leo of Synada, who on the one hand boasts of his contribution to Philagathus' election, and on the other is eager to see his expulsion by Otto and Pope Gregory V, and, most of all, his claim that all he was seeking to do was to 'place Rome under the hands and feet of our great and mighty emperor', the only 'strong and sturdy man' that he might govern it (!)¹⁰⁶ reveal that the ambassador was the partisan of an ecumenical policy opposed to that pursued by the Macedonian dynasty,¹⁰⁷ and that when he was given the opportunity he contributed himself to the humbling of the papacy. Thus he could rightly have declared that the patriarch of Constantinople was 'ecumenical....and the first among the patriarchs', and have expressed amazement why he should be second, when the first

102 *Annales Quedlinburgenses* a. 997 (ed. G. H. Pertz, *MGH. Scriptores rerum germanicarum* III, Hanover 1839 [repr. Stuttgart and New York 1963]), p. 74.

103 See the extracts from the Letters of Leo of Synada in the Appendix, no. 11. Cf. J. Koder, 'Die Sicht des "Anderen" in Gesandtenberichten', in *Die Begegnung des Westen mit dem Osten* (ed. O. Engels and P. Schreiner), Sigmaringen 1993, 113-29, esp. 117 ff.

104 *Vita Nili Junioris*, 89-90 (ed. P. G. Giovanelli, *Badia di Grottaferrata* 1972, pp. 126-7): μὴ χορτασθεὶς ἐφ' οἷς ἔδρασεν εἰς τὸν προῤῥοθέντα Φιλάγαθον ἀγαγὼν τε αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν διαδόξας ἐπ' αὐτῷ, περὶγαγεν αὐτὸν πᾶσαν τὴν Ρώμην. See also *Annales Quedlinburgenses* a. 998, p. 74. *Lamperti Hersfeldensis Annales* a. 998, p. 38: 'Crescentius ab imperatore decollatus cum XII suis ante Urbem suspenditur. Iohannes pseudopapa cecatur'.

105 The sole party responsible seems to be Crescentius. See Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon* IV, 30, p. 146. *Lamperti Hersfeldensis Annales* a. 997, p. 38: 'Iohannes Placentinus episcopus sedem apostolicam invasit consilio Crescentii'. In the *Vita Nili Junioris* (p. 126) responsibility for the event is attributed to Philagathus' vanity: 'Ἦνίκα γὰρ ὁ ὀρθεὶς ἐπέβη τῷ Ρώμης ἀπλήστως θρόνῳ, μὴ ἀρκεσθεὶς τῇ τοῦ κόσμου μεγαλειότητι, ἢ Θεὸς αὐτὸν παραδόξως ὑπερύψωσεν ...

106 'Ἡ Ρώμη ρώμης δέεται καὶ ῥωμαλέων καὶ στιβαρῶν ἀνδρῶς καὶ ἐμβριθοῦς φρονήματος, ἄπερ, οἶδα, ὁ ἡμέτερος μέγας καὶ ὑψηλὸς βασιλεὺς κέκταιται τῶν προλαβόντων πλέον and τὴν Ρώμην ὑπὸ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ ἡμῶν βασιλέως τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλοντος ... Letters of Leo of Synada no. 6, p. 10 and no. 11, p. 16.

107 The distance between the political views of the emperor and the ambassador has already been noted by J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle*, Paris 1960, 43. See also I. Ševčenko, 'Byzanz und der Westen im 10. Jahrhundert', in *Kunst im Zeitalter der Kaiserin Theophanu* (ed. A. von Euw and P. Schreiner), Cologne 1993, 5-30, esp. 6.

'was held in no esteem'.¹⁰⁸ As for Crescentius and the Italian aristocracy, they were trying once again to break the Byzantine-German alliance that they found so irksome.

The new failure of the Italian aristocracy and the papacy was manifested not only in the punishment of Philagathus and Crescentius and the return of Gregory V but also in another way, when in 999 Otto III chose as the new head of the Roman Church his tutor and former archbishop of Rheims, Gerbert d'Aurillac, who took the name, not by chance, of Silvester II.¹⁰⁹ The name refers directly to the first pope of that name and thus alludes to the 'Donation of Constantine' on which the papacy based its claim to dominion over the whole of the West, while at the same time ruling out any Byzantine intervention. During the pontificate of Silvester II, a document of Otto III issued in 1001 revealed the 'Donation of Constantine' to be a forgery.¹¹⁰ This event may be regarded as one of the greatest humiliations suffered by the papacy. Otto died a year later, a little before the arrival of the Byzantine embassy which brought a positive response on the question of his marriage to a Byzantine princess, but the alliance of the two empires remained unbroken under his successors.

But if the two temporal powers in 1029 communicated with each other by letters written in gold (*aureis litteris*) and in 1049 the Byzantine ambassadors to Germany excited admiration and were described as 'Greeks full of every wisdom...men most worthy',¹¹¹ the same cannot be said of the two Churches, which at the turn of the eleventh century were growing in influence and prestige. Just as in the case the patriarchate of Constantinople, which is strong because of the extension of its sphere of influence in the Slav world, so the attempt to free the papacy from German imperial tutelage is intimately bound up with the conversion of the Hungarians, the Poles and the Scandinavians.¹¹² If this last event was due not so much to the papacy as to the German emperors, an extension of influence of this kind could not help but provoke an understandable tendency in the Roman Church to take the reins of power away from the German authorities.

The greater the number of peoples, however, who entered into the Christian community, the sharper the antagonism became between Old and New Rome, making their ambitions for world dominance ever more obvious. In 1001 Sergius II (1001-19), a relation of the Patriarch Photius, ascended the patriarchal throne of Constantinople.¹¹³ In 1012 a new pope was elected, Benedict VIII (1012-24). Fully aware of the decadence of the papacy, he was a fervent advocate of reform. He gave a new impetus to the ecclesiastical policy of the Roman Church, and in the end was the pope who motivated military aggression against the Byzantines, making use of the Normans, who had at that time first appeared in Southern Italy.¹¹⁴

108 Letter no. 53, p. 82: *οἰκουμενικὸν πάντως καλέσετε - καὶ πατριαρχὼν ὁ πρῶτος...*

109 On Pope Silvester II see the monograph by P. Riché, *Gerbert d'Aurillac, le pape de l'an mil*, Paris 1987.

110 MGH. *Diplomata regum et imperatorum Germaniae II/2: Die Urkunden Otto III* (ed. Th. Sickel, Hanover 1893), no. 389, pp. 818-20. Cf. B. H. Hill Jr., *Medieval Monarchy in Action*, London and New York 1972, 52-3 and 177-9. This fact did not of course prevent the papacy from continuing to invoke the 'Donation of Constantine'. There was a flagrant example of its use in 1112; see J. Darrouzès, 'Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine', *REB* 23 (1965), 51-9.

111 'Greci omni sapientia pleni....., viri dignissimi'; see Lounghis, *Ambassades*, 226-9, where the sources and bibliography are given.

112 For a rapid survey of Western conversions in the tenth century and the founding of (archi)episcopal sees (e.g. Magdeburg) see Ullmann, *Kurze Geschichte des Papsttums*, 115-16.

113 Scylitzes, 341: *προεβλήθη Σέργιος, ἡγούμενος ὡν τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Μανουὴλ καὶ τὸ γένος ἀναφέρων πρὸς Φώτιον τὸν πατριάρχη.*

114 Rodolfo il Glabro, *Cronache dell'anno mille: storie III*, 1, 3 (ed. G. Cavallo and G. Orlandi, Milan 1991³, pp. 114-16).

The stage was set for schism, which of course came, probably between 1014 and 1019,¹¹⁵ when Sergius II, the first patriarch after one and a half centuries to model his policy on Photius, removed the pope from the diptychs and anathematized him.¹¹⁶ Basil II once again found himself at loggerheads with that faction of the higher Byzantine clergy which advocated and followed a policy diametrically opposed to his own. Moreover, the bad relations between emperor and patriarch became a public issue through their opposing positions on the *ἀλληλέγγυον*, the tax liability for defaulters, which the emperor transferred from the village community to the great landowners. In his struggle with Basil II, which lasted fully seventeen years (1002-1019), Sergius II had the undivided support of the secular and monastic clergy, just as Photius had had in the past.¹¹⁷ The ecumenical tendencies of the Byzantine Church, which became apparent at this time, are also confirmed by the fact that under Sergius II or Sisinnius II (during whose patriarchate there occurred the diplomatic episode involving Leo of Synada) an encyclical addressed to the patriarchal thrones of the East was issued, which was none other than that which the Patriarch Photius had drawn up against the Roman Church in 867.¹¹⁸

That the rift with the elder Rome was not in harmony with imperial policy is evident from Basil II's efforts to counter the ill effects of the political climate thus created, which with the appearance of the Normans became particularly threatening to the very existence of Byzantine possessions in Southern Italy. Specifically, these efforts may be observed both in the election of a member of the palace clergy, Eustathius (1019-25),¹¹⁹ to succeed Sergius II, and in the embassy which the new patriarch, at the instigation of Basil II, sent to Pope John XIX (1024-32) with the request that with the consent of the Roman pontiff the Church of Constantinople should be recognized as ecumenical *in suo orbe* (in the Byzantine empire and sphere of influence), just as the Church of Rome was recognized as ecumenical *in universo*.¹²⁰ In spite of the interpretations which have been put upon this request,¹²¹ I believe that the fact alone that the Byzantine side, after the bitterness that had previously arisen, still sought the pope's consent is clear evidence of an attempt at reconciliation with Rome, a reconciliation made imperative by the political situation. The request was rejected, on account of furious protests coming from the monks of France, where the great Cluniac reform was already under way.¹²² This was the last embassy which Basil II sent to the pope. But he did not cease trying to build up friendship with the elder Rome. This was possibly the motive which

For a brief account of the policies of Benedict VIII see Gay, *Italie méridionale*, 407-9.

115 See Grumel, 'Les préliminaires du schisme', 19; Loungis, *Ambassades*, 224-5.

116 Nicetas, chartophylax of Nicaea, PG 120, 717E: *Καὶ ἐπὶ Σεργίου, τοῦ ἐπὶ Βουλγαροκτόνου πατριαρχέουστος, λέγεται πάλιν σχίσμα γενέσθαι κατὰ τοῖαν αἰτίαν, ἀγνωστὸν δοκεῖ γὰρ διὰ τοῦς θρόνους*. There is a detailed discussion of the sources with annotation in Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 819.

117 Scylitzes, 347 and 365. Zonaras (ed. Th. Büttner-Wobst [CSHB], Bonn 1897) III, 561 and 567.

118 Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 814 and 820.

119 Scylitzes, 365.

120 Rodolfo il Glabro IV, 1, 2, pp. 196-8: '*cum consensu Romani pontificis liceret ecclesiam Constantinopolitanam in suo orbe, sicuti Roma in universo, universalem dici et haberi.*'

121 See, for example, Gay, *Italie méridionale*, 426-8; Grumel, 'Les préliminaires du schisme', 19-21; K.-J. Hermann, *Das Tuskulanerpapsttum (1012-1046): Benedikt VIII., Johannes XIX., Benedikt IX.* (Päpste und Papsttum 4), Stuttgart 1973, 63-6.

122 For a brief account of the beginnings of the Cluniac reform see N. Giantsis-Meletiadi, Η επιδραση της ιδεολογίας του Cluny στο σχίσμα του 1054, in: *Η αυτοκρατορία σε κρίση (·): Το Βυζάντιο τον 11^ο αιώνα (1025-1081)*, Athens 2003, 291-5.

prompted the aged emperor, one day before his death, to appoint in an uncanonical fashion, *οὐ ψήφῳ ἀρχιερέων* ('without the vote of the episcopate'), the *ἡγούμενος* of the Stoudion monastery, Alexius (1025-43) as patriarch.¹²³

For the whole of the long patriarchate of Alexius Studites, however, we have no information about relations with the papacy, which remained in decline. Certain of the popes, such as the twelve-year-old Benedict IX (1032-44), would assuredly not have inspired much respect in an experienced patriarch such as Alexius, during whose tenure the office of patriarch was the only sound and stable institution in a Byzantine empire which at that time was plagued by crises of a dynastic, political, social and administrative nature. Alexius Studites was succeeded as the leader of the powerful Byzantine Church by Michael Cerularius (1043-58), who, becoming patriarch directly from the lay state, proclaimed himself on his own authority 'more exalted than the emperor'.¹²⁴ Cerularius succeeded in bringing about what Photius had failed to do in the mid-ninth century, which was to undermine the imperial institution and effect a permanent breach with the papacy. Rome could do nothing about it so long as the papal office was held by weak popes whose pontificate lasted only a few months.

A strong pope arose in the person of Leo IX (1048-54), who would have claimed that the papacy had been disadvantaged since the time of Otto I. Leo IX was a fervent admirer of the Cluniac reform, two of the basic features of which were hostility to the secular ruler of the West and the extension of papal jurisdiction over the rest of the Churches. With regard to the first point, Leo IX gave a clear indication of his attitude before he was consecrated pope, declaring that he would not accept his nomination by Henry III (1039-56) and would only assume office with the consent of the clergy and people of Rome.¹²⁵

With regard to the second point, the extension of papal jurisdiction over the rest of the Churches, Leo IX intended to carry out a reform at a time when the Byzantine imperial government saw the need for friendship with the elder Rome in view of the danger threatening its possessions in Southern Italy. The plan of joint action by Byzantium and the papacy against the Normans, which was proposed by an embassy headed by Argyros, duke of Italy (end of 1051), failed and in spite of being defeated and taken prisoner by the Normans in the bloody battle of Civitate, north-east of Benevento, in June 1053, Leo IX preferred to demonstrate that the Roman Church was the *Ecclesia mater* of all the Churches. One of the areas in which he applied this principle was Apulia, where Leo IX introduced new liturgical customs and demanded the payment of the tithe.¹²⁶ The result is well known. The arrogance and wrath

123 Scylitzes 368-9 and 401; Zonaras III, 569 and 594. Unfortunately in the second and defective edition of Dölger's *Regesten* by A. Müller and A. Beihammer (Munich 2003) the embassy of 1024 is wrongly put in doubt (op. cit. no. 817; see, however, Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 828), and the enthronement of Alexius Studites has been omitted altogether. Yet the terms used in the sources (*πέμψας ἐνθρονίζει, προστάζει Βασιλείῳ τοῦ βασιλέως*) suggest the existence of an imperial document.

124 Michael Psellus, *Encomium on Michael Cerularius* (ed. K. Sathas, *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη* IV, Paris 1874), 325. See also Scylitzes Continuatus (ed. E. Tsolakīs, Thessalonica 1968), 105: *Ἐπεβέλετο δὲ καὶ κοκκοβαφῇ περιβαλεῖσθαι πέδιλα τῆς παλαιᾶς ἱερωσύνης φάσκων εἶναι τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔθος καὶ δεῖν τοῖτοις κἀν τῇ νῆα κερῆσθαι τὸν ἀρχιερέα. Ἱερωσύνης γὰρ καὶ βασιλείας τὸ διαφέρειν οὐδὲν ἢ καὶ ὀλίγον ἔλεγεν εἶναι...*

125 See F. Dvornik, 'Preambles to the Schism of Michael Cerularius', *Concilium* 17 (1966), 165 [= *Photian and Byzantine Ecclesiastical Studies*, London 1974, no. XXII].

126 For a brief account of these events see Gay, *Italie méridionale*, 487-500 and V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis 10. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden 1967, 187 (no. 61).

of Cerularius clashed with the inflexibility of the papal legate, Cardinal Humbertus, bishop of Silva Candida, one of the most fanatical supporters of the Cluniac reform, leading to the notorious events of July 1054 and the schism between the two Churches.¹²⁷

The papacy, which from as early as 1054 had attempted to come to some understanding with the Normans, entered into an alliance with them in 1059,¹²⁸ proving once again that it could flourish under a pious secular imperial military force through which it could achieve its aims. The Normans, who appeared in Italy in the eleventh century, became, like the Franks in the eighth century, the papal weapon for deliverance both from oppressive German control and from the Byzantine presence in Southern Italy.

Michael Cerularius was deposed in 1058, but for the Byzantine imperial government this was a Pyrrhic victory, for in 1071 the capture of Bari by the Normans signified the definitive loss of the 'most noble part of the empire'.¹²⁹ The biggest loser in the schism of 1054 was the Byzantine imperial institution, which regarded the unity of the Church as an element of the ecumenicity of the State. This explains why the union of the Churches was the usual subject of negotiations between the Byzantine emperors and the elder Rome, to which the Church replied sometimes diplomatically¹³⁰ and sometimes negatively,¹³¹ monotonously repeating the same arguments...

With Michael Cerularius the first to add the word 'ecumenical' to his title,¹³² the patriarchate of Constantinople really did remain ecumenical with an influence extending far beyond the political frontiers of the empire, which with the passage of time became progressively more contracted. The 'emperor of the Romans', however, was the symbol of a brilliant past which had been extinguished long before the empire's final demise. Perhaps the most melancholy description comes from the lawyer, Adam Usk who saw Manuel II Palaeologus (1391-1425) in the palace of Henry IV of England (1399-1413) at Christmas 1400. Manuel aroused the greatest reverence but also pity. Adam Usk reflected how shameful it was that this great Christian prince had come to these distant western isles to seek help against the infidel. And he wondered: 'What has become of you, ancient glory of Rome?'¹³³

127 From the very rich bibliography see the recent monograph of A. Bayer, *Spaltung der Christenheit. Das Morgenländische Schisma von 1054*, Cologne 2002, 63-116.

128 See F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile I*, Paris 1907, 139-42.

129 *τὸ σμῦνόςτατον τῆς ἀρχῆς*: Michael Psellus, *Chronographia* VI, 78, vol. II, p. 10.

130 As is apparent from the exchange of letters in 1173 between Pope Alexander III (1159-81) and the Patriarch Michael III of Anchialos (1170-8), whose reply is an excellent example of diplomatic courtesy without any concession on matters of substance, see G. Hofmann, 'Papst und Patriarch unter Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos: ein Briefwechsel', *EEBZ* 23 (1953) 76-80 (and Appendix, no. 13). Cf. Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes*, no. 1125a.

131 As the Patriarch John X Camaterus (1198-1206) did to Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) in the spring of 1200; see A. Papadakis and A. M. Talbot, 'John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: An Unpublished Correspondence', *Byzantinoslavica* 33 (1972), 35-41 (and Appendix, no. 14). Cf. Grumel and Darrouzès, *Regestes* no. 1196.

132 V. Laurent, *Le Corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin V/I: L'Église*, Paris 1963, no. 16, p. 14.

133 *The Chronicle of Adam Usk, 1377-1421* (ed. C. Given-Wilson, Oxford 1997), 119-20.

APPENDIX

1

Letter of Theodore Studites to Pope Paschal I: approval of the dismissal of the embassy of the iconoclast patriarch Theodotus I Kassiteras in 815/16 and an appeal for further support of the iconophiles (summer/winter 817)

Letter no. 272 of Theodore Studites (ed. G. Fatouros), pp. 402-3:

Τῷ παναγεστάτῳ πατρί, κορυφαίῳ φωστῆρι οἰκουμενικῷ, κυρίῳ ἡμῶν δεσπότῃ ἀποστολικῷ πάπᾳ, Ἰωάννης, Θεοδόσιος, Ἀθανάσιος, Θεόδωρος, ἐλάχιστοι πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἡγούμενοι τῶν Καθαρᾶ, τοῦ Πικριδίου, τοῦ Παυλοπετρίου, τῶν Στουδίου.

Ἐπεσκέψατο ἡμᾶς ἀνατολὴ ἐξ ὕψους, Χριστὸς ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν, τὴν σὴν ἐν τῇ δύσει μακαριότητα ὥσπερ τινὰ λυχνίαν θαυγάει εἰς ἐπίλαμψιν τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἀποστολικὸν πρῶτιστον θρόνον θέμενος, καὶ γὰρ ἥσθημεν φωτὸς νοεροῦ οἱ ἐν σκότει καὶ σκιᾷ θανάτου ἐνισχημένοι τῆς πονηρᾶς αἰρέσεως καὶ τὸ νέφος τῆς ἀθυμίας ἀπεθέμεθα καὶ πρὸς χρηστὰς ἐλπίδας ἀνενεύσαμεν, μεμαθηκότες δι' ὧν ἀπεστείλαμεν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν καὶ συνδούλων οἷα καὶ ἡλίκα πέπραχέ τε καὶ λέλεχεν ἡ ἀγία ὑμῶν κορυφαιότης, τοὺς μὲν αἰρετικοὺς ἀποκρισιarioύς ὡς λωποδύτας μηδὲ εἰς ἱερὰν αὐτῆς θεᾶν προσηκαμένη, πόρρω δὲ ὄντας ἐνδίκως ἀποπεμψαμένη, τοῖς δὲ ἡμετέροις ταλαιπωρημασι διὰ τῆς ἐπακροάσεως τῶν γραμμάτων καὶ διηγήσεως τῶν ἀποσταλέντων ἐπιστυγνάσασά τε καὶ ἐπιστενάξασα θεομιμήτως ὡς ἐπὶ οἰκείοις μέλεσι. καὶ ὄντως ἔγνωμεν οἱ ταπεινοὶ ὡς ἐναργὴς διάδοχος τοῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαίου προέστη τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἐκκλησίας ... ὑμεῖς οὖν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἡ ἀδόλωτος καὶ ἀκατήλετος πηγὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας, ὑμεῖς ὁ πάσης αἰρετικῆς ζάλης ἀνωκισμένος εὐδιος λιμὴν τῆς ὅλης ἐκκλησίας, ὑμεῖς ἡ θεόλεκτος πόλις τοῦ φυγαδευτηρίου τῆς σωτηρίας. ...

Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀσεβοῦντες τὰ συνήθη σὺν πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ μανίᾳ ποιεῖν οὐκ ἐνδιόασιν, πάντας ὑφέλκοντες καὶ κατασπῶντες εἰς τὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως βάραθρον, δεδιτομένους τὸν θάνατον ἀνάγκη γὰρ πᾶσα τὸν μὴ εἰκοντα τῇ πονηρᾷ φλογὶ τῶν μαστίγων ὑποβληθῆναι σὺν τοῖς ἀκολουθοῦσι, ὥστε κατὰ μικρὸν ὑπορρέειν (τὸ σχετιώτατον) καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν ἡθληκτῶν. ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἔσχατοι ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν, ὑπὲρ τε τῆς οἰκείας ἱερᾶς κεφαλῆς καὶ τῆς ἐνισταμένης ὑπερεχούσης πατρότητός τε καὶ ἀδελφότητος τολμῶντες, πρεσβεύομεν τε καὶ ἐκλιπαροῦμεν παρακληθῆναί σου τὴν ἀγίαν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν ψυχὴν πρῶτον μὲν, ὅπερ καὶ πιστεύομεν ποιεῖν, μὴ καταλῆξαι τῆς ὑπὲρ στηριγμοῦ καὶ διασώσεως ἀπάντων θεοκλινοῦς προσευχῆς (ναί, δεόμεθα τὰ ἱερώτατα σπλάγχνα), ἔπειτα, ἃ πνευματοκινήτως αὐτῇ βεβούλευται καὶ ὥρισται ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ μὲν ἡμῶν τῶν ταπεινῶν, αἰωνίῳ δὲ μακαρισμῷ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς, εἰς πέρας σὺν θεῷ ἀγαγεῖν.

(a) Pope Nicholas I does not recognize the deposition of Ignatius and the election of Photius as patriarch (862)

Letter of Nicholas I, Mansi XV, 177AB:

Qui postquam in patriarchatus throno stabiliti estis, non ut pater in filiis blandus, sed ut imitem in depositione archiepiscoporum et episcoporum per severitatem vos demonstrastis, et in damnatione innocentis Ignatii, quem vos ut depositum habetis, immoderate exarsistis: in cuius depositione, nisi prius veracissime illius cognoverimus transgressionem, vel culpam, inter depositos illum non numeramus, neque damnamus: quia valde cavendum est, ne sine caussa innocens damnetur: et sicut illum in pristino honore mansurum, si ei damnationis crimina non comprobantur, sancta Romana retinet ecclesia; sic vos, qui incaute et contra paternas traditiones promoti estis, in patriarchatus ordine non recipit: et neque ante justam damnationem Ignatii patriarchae in ordine sacerdotali vobis manere consentit.

(b) Deposition and excommunication of Photius by Pope Nicholas I (863)

Letter of Nicholas I, Mansi XVI, 301B-304E:

Νικόλαος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἀγίας καὶ καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας, πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς ἀληθοῦς θρησκείας λειτουργοῖς, τοῖς ἀγνωτάτοις τε πατριάρχαις, ... καὶ πᾶσι πιστοῖς τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Εὐρώπην καὶ Λιβύην συνεστῶσι.

... ἐπιστολὰς δύο ... ἐπέψαμεν πρὸς τὸν γαληνότατον βασιλέα Μιχαὴλ περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰγνατίου, πῶς καὶ διὰ τί ἐξεβλήθη, καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀγίων εἰκόνων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Φώτιον ὅτι οὐδόλως αὐτὸν ἐν κλήρῳ ἀποδεχόμεθα, ἕως ἂν ἀκριβῶς παρὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀποκρισιαρίων τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐξετασθῇ, καὶ ἡμῖν δοθῇ εἰδήσις. ...

... τοὺς ἐπισκόπους συνοδικῶς ἐκαθήραμεν καὶ ἀφωρίσαμεν, καὶ Φώτιον ὁμοίως τὸν μοιχόν τε καὶ ἐπιβήτορα τῆς Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας,

... οὐδὲ γὰρ ὁ Πέτρον θρόνος ὑπ' ἄλλον κρίνεται, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ δεδωκότος αὐτῷ τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἀλλ' ἵνα ὑμεῖς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον διαφυλάττησθε μὴ κρίνειν, ἢ συναινεῖν ἄνεν τῆς ἡμῶν παραδόσεως

(c) Pope Nicholas I rejects Michael III's description of the Latin language as 'barbarian and Scythian' (865)

Letter of Nicholas I, Mansi XV, 191A-C:

In tantam vero furoris habundantiam prorupistis, ut linguae Latinae injuriam irrogaretis, hanc in epistola vestra barbaram et scythicam appellantes Jam vero si ideo linguam barbaram dicitis, quoniam illam non intelligitis, vos considerate quia ridiculum est vos appellari Romanorum imperatores et tamen linguam non nosse Romanam.

Encyclical of Photius to the patriarchs of the East occasioned by Rome's involvement in Bulgaria (spring/summer 867)

Letter no. 2 of Photius (ed. B. Laourdas and L. G. Westerink), pp. 39-53:

Ἐγκύκλιος ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τοὺς τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἀρχιερατικούς θρόνους, Ἀλεξανδρείας φημί καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐν ἧ περὶ κεφαλαιῶν τινῶν διάλυσιν πραγματεύεται, καὶ ὥς οὐ χρὴ λέγειν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα προέρχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μόνον

Οὐκ ἦν ἄρα, ὥς ἔοικεν, κόρος τῷ πονηρῷ τῶν κακῶν, οὐδέ τι τῶν ἐφευρημάτων καὶ μηχανημάτων πέρας ἢ κατὰ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνακινεῖν ἐμελέτησεν ...

... ἀλλὰ γε δὴ καὶ Βουλγάρων ἔθνος βαρβαρικὸν καὶ μισόχριστον εἰς τοσαύτην μετέκλεινεν ἡμερότητα καὶ θεογνωσίαν, ὥστε τῶν δαιμονίων καὶ πατρῶν ἐκστάντες ὁργίων καὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς δεισιδαιμονίας ἀποσκευασάμενοι τὴν πλάνην, εἰς τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν παραδόξως μετενεκντρίσθησαν πίστιν.

Ἀλλ' ὦ πονηρὰς καὶ βασκάνου καὶ ἀθέου βουλῆς τε καὶ πράξεως, ἡ γὰρ τοιαύτη διήγησις, εὐαγγελίων οὕσα ὑπόθεσις, εἰς κατήφειαν μετατίθεται, τῆς εὐφροσύνης καὶ χαρᾶς εἰς πένθος τραπέσις καὶ δάκρυα. οὐπω γὰρ ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔθνους οὐδ' εἰς δύο ἐνιαυτοὺς τὴν ὀρθὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν τιμῶντος θρησκείαν, ἄνδρες δυσσεβεῖς καὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι - καὶ τί γὰρ οὐκ ἂν τις εὐσεβῶν τούτους ἐξονομάσειεν; - ἄνδρες ἐκ σκοτοῦς ἀναδύντες - τῆς γὰρ ἐσπερίου μοίρας ὑπῆρχον γεννήματα - οἱμοί, πῶς τὸ ὑπόλοιπον ἐκδηγήσομαι; - οὗτοι πρὸς τὸ νεοπαγὲς εἰς εὐσέβειαν καὶ νεοσύστατον ἔθνος ὥσπερ κεραυνὸς ἢ σεισμὸς ἢ χαλᾶζης πλήθος, μᾶλλον δὲ οἰκειότερον εἰπεῖν, ὥσπερ ἄγριος μονιὸς ἐμπηδῆσαντες, τὸν ἀμπελῶνα κυρίου τὸν ἡγαπημένον καὶ νεόφυτον καὶ ποσὶν καὶ ὁδοῦσιν, ἥτοι τρίβοις αἰσχρᾶς πολιτείας καὶ διαφθορᾶς δογμάτων, τό γε εἰς τόλμαν ἤκον τὴν αὐτῶν, κατανεμησάμενοι ἐλυμήναντο.

Ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν ὀρθῶν καὶ καθαρῶν δογμάτων καὶ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀμωμήτου πίστεως παραφθείρειν τούτους καὶ ὑποσπᾶν κατεπανοργεύσαντο. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὁσίως εἰς τὴν τῶν σαββάτων νηστείαν μετέστησαν ... ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν τῶν νηστειῶν πρώτην ἑβδομάδα τῆς ἄλλης νηστείας περικόψαντες, εἰς γαλακτοποισίας καὶ τυροῦ τροφήν καὶ τὴν τῶν ὁμοίων ἀδηφαγίαν καθεῖλκυσαν, ἐντεῦθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν παραβάσεων ἐμπλατύνοντες καὶ τῆς εὐθείας τρίβου καὶ βασιλικῆς διαστρέφοντες ...

Ἀλλὰ γε δὴ καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ πρεσβυτέρων μύρῳ χρισθέντας ἀναμυρῶντες αὐτοὶ οὐ πεφρίκασιν, ἐπισκόπους ἐάντοὺς ἀναγορεύοντες καὶ τὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων χρίσμα ἄχρηστον εἶναι καὶ εἰς μάτην ἐπιτελεῖσθαι τερατευόμενοι. ... πόθεν ὁ νόμος; τίς δ' ὁ νομοθέτης; ποῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων; τῶν πατέρων δέ; ἀλλὰ τῶν συνόδων ἢ ποῦ καὶ πότε συστάσα; ...

Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχὶ μόνον εἰς ταῦτα παρανομεῖν ἐξηνέχθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις κακῶν ἐστὶ κορωνίς, εἰς ταύτην ἀνέδραμον. πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς εἰρημένους ἀτοπήμασιν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ ἅγιον σύμβολον, ὃ πᾶσι τοῖς συνοδικοῖς καὶ οἰκουμενικοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ἄμαχον ἔχει τὴν ἰσχύν, νόθοις λογιμοῖς καὶ παρεγγράτοις λόγοις καὶ θράσους ὑπερβολῇ κιβδηλεύειν ἐπεχείρησαν (ὦ τῶν τοῦ πονηροῦ μηχανημάτων), τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ γε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκπορεύεσθαι καινολογήσαντες. ...

Διὰ τί δὲ καὶ ἐκπορευθεῖ τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα; εἰ γὰρ ἡ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπόρευσις τελεία (τελεία δέ, ὅτι θεὸς τέλειος ἐκ θεοῦ τελείου), τίς ἡ ἐκ τοῦ υἱοῦ ἐκπόρευσις, καὶ διὰ τί; περιττὸν γὰρ ἂν εἶη τοῦτο καὶ μάταιον.

Ἔτι δέ, εἰ ἐκπορεύεται τοῦ υἱοῦ τὸ πνεῦμα, ὥσπερ ἐκ πατρὸς, τί μὴ καὶ ὁ υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος γεννᾶται, ὥσπερ ἐκ πατρὸς, ἵνα εἴῃ πάντα τοῖς ἀσεβοῦσιν ἀσεβῇ, καὶ αἱ γνῶμαι καὶ τὰ ῥήματα, καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀτόλμητον ὑπολείπεται; ...

Ὅρᾷς ὡς μάτην οὗτοι, μᾶλλον δ' εἰς πρόχειρον θήραν τῶν πολλῶν, τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπέθεσαν ὄνομα; ἐκπορεύεται τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ υἱοῦ. πόθεν ἤκουσας τοῦτο; ἐκ ποίων εὐαγγελιστῶν τὴν φωνὴν ἔχεις ταύτην; ποίας συνόδου τὸ βλάσφημον τοῦτο ῥήμα; ὁ κύριος καὶ θεὸς ἡμῶν φησιν «τὸ πνεῦμα, ὃ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται». ...

Ταύτην τὴν ἀσέβειαν οἱ τοῦ σκότους ἐκείνοι ἐπίσκοποι (ἐπισκότους γὰρ ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεφῆμιζον) μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἀθεμίτων εἰς τὸ ἀπαλὸν ἐκείνο καὶ νεοσύστατον τῶν Βουλγάρων ἔθνος ἐνέσπειραν. ἦλθεν ἡ τούτων φήμη εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἀκοάς ἐπλήγμεν διὰ μέσων τῶν σπλάγχων καιρίαν πληγὴν ...

Ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν ἐθρηνησάμεν τε καὶ θρηνοῦμεν, καὶ ἀνορθωθῆναι τοῦ πτώματος οὐ δώσομεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν ὕπνον οὐδὲ τοῖς βλεφάροις νυσταγμόν, ἕως ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ τοῦ κυρίου κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν ἡμῖν εἰσελάσωμεν σκῆνωμα. τοὺς δὲ νέους τῆς ἀποστασίας προδρομούς, τοὺς θεραπευτὰς τοῦ ἀντικειμένου, τοὺς μυριῶν ἐνόχους θανάτων, τοὺς κοινοὺς λυμεῶνας, τοὺς τὸ ἀπαλὸν ἐκείνο καὶ νεοσύστατον εἰς τὴν εὐσέβειαν ἔθνος τοσοῦτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις σπαραγμοῖς διασπαράξαντας, τούτους καὶ ἀπατεῶνας καὶ θεομάχους συνοδικῇ καὶ θεῖᾳ κατεκρίναμεν ψήφῳ οὐ νῦν τὴν ἀπόφασιν καθορίζοντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἥδη συνόδων καὶ ἀποστολικῶν θεσμῶν τὴν προωρισμένην αὐτοῖς καταδίκην ὑπεκφαίνοντες καὶ πᾶσι ποιοῦντες ἐπίδηλον. ...

Καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν πίστιν τῆς προτέρας ἀσεβείας ἠλλάξατο, ἀλλὰ γε δὴ καὶ τὸ παρὰ πολλοῖς θρυλούμενον καὶ εἰς ὀμότητα καὶ μαιοφονίαν πάντας δευτέρους ταττόμενον, τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καλούμενον Ῥῶς, οἱ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς, τοὺς περὶξ αὐτῶν δουλωσάμενοι κάκειθεν ὑτέρογκα φρονηματισθέντες, χεῖρας ἀντήραν. ἀλλ' ὅμως νῦν καὶ οὗτοι τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν καθαρὰν καὶ ἀκίβδηλον θρησκείαν τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ ἀθέου δόξης ἐν ἡ κατεῖχοντο πρότερον ἀντηλλάξαντο, ἐν ὑπηκόων ἑαυτοὺς καὶ προσέξοντες τάξει ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸ μικροῦ καθ' ἡμῶν λεηλασίας καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου τολμήματος ἀγαπητῶς ἐγκαταστήσαντες. ...

Δεῖ οὖν τοὺς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀνθ' ἡμῶν στελλομένους καὶ τὸ ὑμέτερον ὑποδουομένους ἱερὸν καὶ ὅσιον πρόσωπον τὴν ὑμέτεραν αὐθεντίαν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ ἐκληρώσασθε ἐγχειρισθῆναι, ὥς ἂν περὶ τε τούτων τῶν κεφαλαίων καὶ περὶ ἐτέρων τούτοις παραπλησίον ἐξ αὐθεντίας ὅσιν ἀποστολικῷ θρόνῳ καὶ λέγειν ἱκανοὶ καὶ πράττειν ἀκώλυτοι. καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Ἰταλίας μερῶν συνοδικῇ τις ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀναπεφοίτηκεν ἀρρήτων ἐγκλημάτων γέμουσα, ἅτινα κατὰ τοῦ οἰκείου αὐτῶν ἐπισκόπου οἱ τὴν Ἰταλίαν οἰκοῦντες μετὰ πολλῆς κατακρίσεως καὶ ὀρκωνμυριῶν διεπέμψαντο, μὴ παριδεῖν αὐτοὺς οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ὀλλυμένους καὶ ὑπὸ τηλικαύτης βαρείας πιεζομένους τυραννίδος, καὶ τοὺς ἱερατικοὺς νόμους ὑβρίζομένους καὶ πάντας θεομὸν ἐκκλησίας ἀνατρεπομένους. ... νῦν δέ, ὥς ἔφθην εἰπών, καὶ γράμματα διάφορα καὶ ἐκ διαφόρων ἐκείθεν ἀναπεφοίτηκεν τραγωδίας ἀπάσης καὶ μυριῶν θρήνων γέμοντα. ὦν τὰ ἴσα κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἀξιώσιν τε καὶ ἐξαίτησιν (καὶ γὰρ εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἀρχιερατικοὺς καὶ ἀποστολικούς θρόνους διαδοθῆναι ταῦτα μετὰ φρικτῶν ὀρκων καὶ παρακλησέων ἐδυσώπησαν, ἵνα καὶ περὶ τούτων, τῆς ἀγίας καὶ οἰκουμένης ἐν κυρίῳ συνόδου ἀθροισμένης, τὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖς συνοδικαῖς κανόσι δοκοῦντα ψήφῳ βεβαιωθεῖ κοινῇ καὶ εἰρήνῃ βαθεῖα τὰς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησίας καταλήφωται.

Καὶ γὰρ οὐ μόνον τὴν ὑμετέραν μακαριότητα ἐπὶ τοῦτο προκαλούμεθα, ἀλλὰ γε δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀρχιερατικῶν καὶ ἀποστολικῶν θρόνων οἱ μὲν ἤδη καὶ πάρεσιν, οἱ δὲ οὐ μετὰ πολὺν χρόνον παρεῖναι εἰσι προσδόκιμοι. μὴ οὖν ἡ ὑμετέρα ἐν κυρίῳ ἀδελφότης ἀναβολῇ τινι καὶ παρατάσει χρόνον τοῦς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτῆς διατρίβειν ὑπὲρ τὸ δέον ποιήσῃ, γινώσκουσα ὡς εἴ τι παρὰ τὴν αὐτῆς ὑστέρησιν οὐ κατὰ τὸ δέον ἐλλειπὲς τι διαπραχθεῖ, οὐχ ἑτεροῦ τις, ἀλλ' εἰς ἐάντην αὐτὴ τὸ κατὰκριμα ἐπισπάσαιο. ...

Ὑπερευχόμεθα ὑμῶν κατὰ χρέος τῆς πατρικῆς ὁσιότητος μεμνησθαι καὶ αὐτοὶ τῆς ἡμῶν μὴ διαλίποιτε μετριότητος.

4

Photius acclaims Louis II and his wife Ingelberge as *basileus* and *augusta*. Embassy of the patriarch to Ingelberge requesting the expulsion of Pope Nicholas I, deposed by a synod (before 24 September 867)

Mansi XVI, 417D-E:

οὕτως οὖν πλαστογραφήσας ἰδιοχείρους πάντων ὑπογραφάς, ἀνηγόρευσε καὶ ἀνεφήμισε ἐἰς τὴν ἀναπλασθεῖσαν αὐτῷ σύνοδον βασιλέα τὸν Λοδόηχον, καὶ τὴν Ἰνγελβέραν Αὐγοῦσταν πρὸς ἣν καὶ γέγραφεν ἐπιστολὴν εὐφημίας πεπληρωμένην, ὡς ἀξιωθεῖσαν ἀναρρόήσεως ἐν οἰκουμενικῇ δῆθεν συνόδῳ τῇ Πουλχερίᾳ παραπλησίως, ὡς ᾤετο... καὶ παρεσκεύαζε καταπεῖσαι τὸν ἴδιον σύζυγον Λοδόηχον, ἀπεῖρξαι τῆς Ῥώμης τὸν πάπαν Νικόλαον, ὡς ὑπὸ συνόδου καθηρημένον οἰκουμενικῆς καὶ καθολικῆς, ἥς τὸ ἴσον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐξαπέστειλε μετὰ δώρων ...

5

Letter of Ignatius to Nicholas I: restoration to the patriarchal throne of Constantinople, recognition of the papal primacy and request for the sending of legates (November/December 867 – the letter was received by Pope Hadrian II)

Mansi XVI, 325A-328A:

Τῷ θεοτιμῇτῳ ἡγαπημένῳ μοι ἀδελφῷ καὶ συλλειτουργῷ, Νικολάῳ τῷ ἀγιωτάτῳ πάπα τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, Ἰγνάτιος ἐλέω Θεοῦ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Κωνσταντινουπόλεως νέας Ῥώμης.

Τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἀνθρώπων παρυσισταμένων τραυμάτων τε καὶ μολώπων πολλοῦς ἱατροὺς ἡ τέχνη προεχειρίσατο τῶν ἐν τοῖς μέλεσι δὲ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτήρος, τῆς πάντων ἡμῶν κεφαλῆς καὶ νυμφίου τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἕνα καὶ μόνον ἐξηρημένον τε καὶ καθολικώτατον ἱατρὸν αὐτὸς ὁ θεαρχικώτατος καὶ παναλκέστατος λόγος προεχειρίσατο, τὴν σὴν δηλονότι ἀδελφικὴν καὶ πατρικὴν ὁσιότητα, δι' ᾧν φησι Πέτρῳ τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ καὶ κορυφαιοτάτῳ τῶν Ἀποστόλων σὺ εἰ Πέτρος καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ

πέτρα οικοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ πύλαι ἄδου οὐ κατισχύουσιν αὐτῆς. καὶ πάλιν σοὶ δίδωμι τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ ὁ ἄν δῆσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἔσται δεδεμένος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς. καὶ ὁ ἄν λύσῃς, ἔσται λελυμένος. τὰς δὲ τοιαύτας μακαρίας φωνὰς οὐ κατὰ τινα πάντως ἀποκλήρωσιν τῷ κορυφαίῳ μόνῳ περιέγραψεν, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνους ἱεράρχας τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης παρέπεμψε. καὶ τοῦτον χάριν ἔκπαλαι καὶ ἀνέκαθεν ἐν ταῖς ἀναφνεύσαις αἰρέσεσι καὶ παρανομίαις ἐκρίζωται τῶν πονηρῶν ζιζανίων γεγόνασιν οἱ τοῦ Ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἡμῶν διάδοχοι. καὶ νῦν δὲ ἡ σημακαριότης ἀξίως διατεθεῖσα τῆς δεδομένης σοι Χριστόθεν ἐξουσίας, τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας ἀντιπάλους κατέβαλε, καὶ τὸν διὰ τῆς θυρίδος εἰς τὴν αὐλὴν τῶν προβάτων ληστρικῶς εἰσελθόντα, καὶ καταλαζονευσάμενον τοῦ Θεοῦ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε καὶ σύνοδον ἀναπλάσαι κατὰ τῆς σῆς ἀνεπιλήπτου ἱεραρχίας, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ῥῆγα λανθανόντως ἐκπέμψαντα, τῇ χειροουργίᾳ τῆς ἱεραρχικῆς σου καὶ Ἀποστολικῆς ἐξουσίας, τοῦ κοινου τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξέτεμες σώματος, καὶ τοὺς ἡδικημένους ἡμᾶς ὡς φιλάδελφος ἐδικαίωσας δικαίως, καὶ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίᾳ, δι' ὧν ἔγραψας ἀποκατέστησας. ὁ γὰρ θεοπρόβλητος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς τῇ γνώμῃ καὶ ψήφῳ τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος ἐξυψηροῦμενος, ὡς τέκνον ἡμῶν πιστότατον, ἑκατότατον, ἑκατὶ ἀξίαν ἀπένεμμεν. ἀνθ' ὧν ἀπάντων τῷ Θεῷ τὰς εὐχαριστηρίους εὐχὰς πέμψαντες, πεπόμφαμεν Ἰωάννην τὸν εὐλαβέστατον μητροπολίτην Συλαίου, ἅμα μὲν ἀνθ' ἡμῶν ἀπολογησόμενον, ἅμα δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῶν διοικήσεων ληψόμενον τὰς δοκούσας Θεῷ καὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ σοφίᾳ διατάξεις.

Διττῆς γὰρ οὔσης τῆς τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ καταλόγου χειροτονίας καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐξ ἡμῶν αὐτὴν δεδεγμένων καὶ χειρογραφησάντων ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐθαίρετως, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνοσιωτάτου καὶ παλαμναίου Φωτίου, ἄλλων μὲν ἐκόντων, ἄλλων δὲ βιαζομένων παρ' ἐκείνου περὶ τούτων πάντων ἀξιούμεν δοῦναι διάταξιν. ἐτι γε μὴν ζητοῦμεν καὶ τοποτηρητὰς τῆς ὑμετέρας μακαριότητος ἐπισκόπους ἀξιολόγους ἐλθεῖν, ἵνα σὺν αὐτοῖς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως διοικήσωμεν τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίαν.

6

Letter of Hadrian II to Ignatius: renewed friction on account of the Bulgarian problem (872)

Mansi XVI, 413C-E:

Ἐγραψας, ἵνα τὰ πολλὰ παραάσωμεν, ὅπως οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῶν Βουλγάρων μετὰ ὀνειδισμοῦ μέγαλον καὶ αἰσχύνῃς ἐξωσθῶσι, καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οὐ μετὰ μικρᾶς ἐκείθεν ἀτιμίας ἀπελαθῶσι καὶ ταῦτα μηδέποτε γεγονυίας περὶ τούτου κρίσεως ἐνώπιον ἡμῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ προσεκληθήμεν ποτε εἰς κριτήριον διὰ τοῦτο. εἰ γοῦν λέγεις προτέρους ἡμᾶς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῆς Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν διοικήσεως εἰς τὴν προρῳηθεῖσαν χώραν λειτουργεῖν ἀποκωλύσαι, οὐκ ἄρνούμεθα. ἦσαν τοῦ Φωτίου κοινωνοὶ καὶ συμμύσται, οἷς οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν Βουλγάρων χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς πᾶσαν ἐκκλησίαν ὡς ἱερεῖς ἐνεργεῖν ἐκωλύσαμεν καὶ κωλύομεν. ἔδει οὖν σε εἰδότα τοῦτο, μηδὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν Βουλγάρων τοιοῦτον διαπράττασθαι. ἐμάθομεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐναντία τῶν πατρικῶν ὅρων ὑμᾶς διαπράττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τοῦτο. τινὰς γὰρ νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν

λαϊκῶν ἄφνω διακόνους ἐχειροτονήσατε, ἐναντία μὲν καὶ τοῖς πάλοι πατροῖσι, ἀλλὰ δὴ καὶ τῇ προσφάτως συναθροισθείσῃ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ. οὐκ ἄγνοεῖτε δέ, ὅτι ἡ τοῦ Φωτίου πτώσις ἐντεῦθεν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβεν.

7

Council of 879/80: triumphant vindication of Photius

(a) Following the papal request that Bulgaria should come under the jurisdiction of the Roman Church, Photius' party proclaims the restoration of Byzantine rule within the old Roman frontiers and courteously rejects the papal request

Mansi XVII, 488B-E:

Κεφάλ. α'. Ὡς τε μηκέτι εἰς Βουλγαρίαν χειροτονεῖν τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, μήτε ὁμόφορον ἀποστέλλειν μήτε εἰ δεσμησομεν αὐτούς, καὶ καταφύγωσι πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀγιοσύνην, συμπαθείας ἀξιούσθαι.

Προκόπιος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας εἶπεν εἵπομεν καὶ πάλοι, εἴ τι μέμνηται ἡ ὑμῶν ἀγιοσύνη, ὅτι τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο καιρὸν ἴδιον ἐπιζητεῖ. ἐλπίζομεν γὰρ εἰς τοὺς οἰκτιρμοὺς τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ εἰς τὴν εὐσέβειαν τῶν βασιλέων ἡμῶν τῶν ἁγίων, καὶ τὴν εὐχὴν τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότη, καθὼς καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα προκόπτοντα ὁρώμεν, ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς ἀποκαταστήσαι ἔχει τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ὅρια, καὶ πάσης τῆς ὑφ' ἡλίῳ τὴν ἡνιοχείαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴν τοῦτο γένηται, τότε καθὼς ἂν τὸ κράτος αὐτοῦ βουληθῇ, διαστελεῖ τὰς ἐνορίας τῶν ἀρχιερατικῶν θρόνων, ὥς τε μηκέτι ἔριδας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀναφύεσθαι. ...

Θεόφιλος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος μητροπολίτης Ἰκονίου εἶπεν οὕτως ἐλπίζομεν ὅτι ἔχει γενέσθαι καὶ τότε πλέον ὢν ἐπιθυμεῖ ὁ ἀγιώτατος πάπας Ρώμης ἔχει προσλαβέσθαι, μάλιστα τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου ἡμῶν πατριάρχου κυρίου Φωτίου, τοσαύτην πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν αἰδῶ καὶ τὸ σέβας κεκτημένου, καὶ ἐτοιμοῦ ὄντος, εἰ δυνατόν, καὶ τὰ οἰκεία μέλη παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ.

Νικήτας ὁ θεοφιλέστατος μητροπολίτης Σμύρνης εἶπεν τοσαύτης οὐσης ἀγάπης καὶ φιλίας πνευματικῆς ἀναμεταξὺ τοῦ τε ἁγιοτάτου πάπα Ρώμης καὶ τοῦ ἁγιοτάτου πατριάρχου ἡμῶν Φωτίου, τίς οὐκ οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς, ὅτι ὥσπερ τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχουσι μίαν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ χεῖρα λαόν, καὶ τὰς ὑποχειρίους χώρας κοινὰς ἡγοῦνται, καὶ ἑκάτερος αὐτῶν οἰκτεῖον κέρδος ἐν τῷ τοῦ πλησίον καὶ φίλου τίθεται κέρδος; ἡ ἀγία σύνοδος εἶπε τὰ αὐτὰ πάντες καὶ ἡμεῖς συνεπιστάμεθα καὶ λέγομεν.

(b) The council rejects the attempt of Pope John VIII to argue that his consent is necessary to Photius' restoration to the patriarchal throne

Mansi XVII, 408D-E:

Μετὰ γοῦν τὸ ἀναγνωσθῆναι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Προκόπιος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας εἶπεν ἡμεῖς, ὥς πολλάκις εἵπομεν, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας τιμίας ἐλευσεως, καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐγκειμένης τῷ τιμίῳ γράμματι παραινέσεως, Φώτιον τὸν ἀγιώτατον πατριάρχον ἀρχιερέα ἡμῶν καὶ ποιμένα καὶ ἀπεδεξάμεθα καὶ ἀποδεχόμεθα καὶ ὥς οἰκείῳ ποιμένι καὶ δεσπότη ἐκολλήθημέν τε καὶ περιεπτνυξάμεθα καὶ αὐτὸς πατρικοῖς ἡμᾶς σπλάγχνοις ἐνηγκαλίσαστο ἀσμενέστατα. τοῦτο δὲ ἀγαθὸν καὶ

ἄξιον τῆς αὐτοῦ εὐλαβείας ὁ ἀγιώτατος πάπας Ἰωάννης ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὸ εὐσεβὲς θέλημα τῶν ὑψηλῶν καὶ μεγάλων βασιλέων ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ταπεινώσεως ἐξεπλήρωσε καὶ ἀπέστειλε τὴν ὑμῶν ἀγιωσύνην συμφωνοῦσαν ἡμῖν κατὰ πάντα.

Mansi XVII, 420D:

Πέτρος ὁ θεοσεβέστατος πρεσβύτερος καὶ καρδηνάλις τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου ἔφη ὁ ἀγιώτατος καὶ οἰκουμενικὸς πάπας Ἰωάννης ἐρωτᾷ ὑμᾶς δι' ἡμῶν τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ, πῶς ἀνῆλθεν ὁ κύριος Φώτιος ὁ ἀγιώτατος πατριάρχης νῦν εἰς τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ. λέγομεν γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἦν καλὸν πρὸς τῆς ἐλευσεως ἡμῶν ἀνελθεῖν αὐτόν. Ἡλίας ὁ θεοσεβέστατος πρεσβύτερος καὶ τοποτηρητὴς Ἱεροσολύμων εἶπε τὰ τρία τῆς ἀνατολῆς πατριαρχεῖα ἀεὶ πατριάρχῃν αὐτὸν εἶχον οἱ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς μικροῦ πάντες πατριάρχῃν αὐτὸν ἔχουσι καὶ τί ἐκώλυε τοῦ ἀνελθεῖν αὐτόν;

(c) Rejection of the papal request that a bishop should not be elected directly from the ranks of the laity

Mansi XVII, 488E-489B:

Κεφάλ. β'. Ὡς τε μῆκετι ἀπὸ λαϊκῶν προάγεσθαι εἰς τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον. τὰ γὰρ γινόμενα σπάνια, εἰ καὶ λίαν ἀγαθὰ εἴη, νόμος τοῖς μετέπειτα καθίστασθαι οὐ δύναται.

Βασίλειος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος μητροπολίτης Μαρτυροπόλεως καὶ τοποτηρητῆς, καὶ Ἡλίας ὁ θεοσεβέστατος πρεσβύτερος καὶ τοποτηρητῆς, ἐτι δὲ καὶ Κοσμάς ἀποκρισιάρχιος Ἀλεξανδρείας εἶπον τοῦτο κατ' οὐδὲν ἐναντιοῦται τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ θεσμῷ. καὶ γὰρ ἡ Ἀλεξανδρεία, καὶ ὁ πατριαρχικὸς τῆς Ἀντιοχείας θρόνος, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως, ἐν οἷς δ' ἂν τάγματι, εἴτε λαϊκῶν, εἴτε κληρικῶν εὐρωσιν ἀρετῇ τοὺς λοιποὺς πλεονεκτοῦντα, ἐπὶ τὸν ἀρχιερατικὸν θρόνον ἀναβιβάζειν οὐ παραιτοῦνται. οὐ γὰρ διὰ μόνους κληρικοὺς κατῆλθεν ἐπὶ γῆς ὁ Χριστός, οὐδὲν τοῦτοις μόνοις ἀπέκλεισε τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄθλα, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ χριστιανικῷ πληρώματι. τοῦτο οὖν εἰ δοκιμασθεῖη παραδεχθῆναι, πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερατικοὶ θρόνοι εἰς ἐρήμωσιν καὶ ἀπώλειαν ἔχουσι καταστῆναι. οἱ γὰρ πλείους τῶν διαλαμπάντων ἐν ἡμῖν, ἀπὸ λαϊκοῦ τάγματος τοὺς ἀρχιερατικοὺς κατεπιτεύθησαν θρόνους. ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ τοῦτ' συναινέσαι οὐ δυνάμεθα, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ τῶν ἀρχιερέων ἡμῶν φωραθῶμεν ψῆφον ἐξάγοντες.

Ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος εἶπεν ἕκαστος θρόνος ἔσχεν ἀρχαῖά τινα παραδεδομένα ἔθνη καὶ οὐ χρῆπερὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφιλονικεῖν καὶ ἐρίζειν. φυλάττει μὲν γὰρ ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία τὰ ἔθνη αὐτῆς, καὶ προσηκόν ἐστι. φυλάττει δὲ καὶ ἡ Κωνσταντινουπολιτῶν ἐκκλησία ἰδίᾳ τινα ἔθνη ἄνωθεν παραλαβοῦσα ὡσαύτως καὶ οἱ τῆς ἀνατολῆς θρόνοι ...

(d) Recognition of Photius as spiritual leader of the whole world

Mansi XVII, 521D-524C:

Οἱ ἀγιώτατοι τοποτηρηταὶ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης εἶπον εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς ὅτι ἡ ἀγαθὴ φήμη τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου Φωτίου τοῦ πατριάρχου, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὴν καθ' ἡμᾶς χώραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν κόσμον ἐξελέλχυνεν. οὐ τοσοῦτον λόγους τὸ βέλαιον ἔχουσα, ὅσον ἔργοις τὰ πέρατα περιλαβοῦσα καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐν Γαλλίᾳ καὶ Ἰταλίᾳ διήχθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ὑφ' ἡλίον γῇ καὶ τοῦτο μαρτυροῦσι οὐχὶ μόνοι οἱ τὴν ἐλλάδα μετιόντες γλῶσσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν καὶ ὠμότατον γένος, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ ὁμοῖος ἐν σοφίᾳ καὶ γνώσει, οὔτε ἐν ἐλεημοσύνῃ καὶ συμπαθείᾳ, οὔτε ἐν χρηστότητι καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ, καὶ πάντοτε τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ πλείονα τῶν λόγων εἰσίν. ...

Προκόπιος ὁ θεοφιλέστατος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας εἶπεν τοιοῦτον ἔπρεπεν ἐπ' ἀληθείας εἶναι τὸν τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου τὴν ἐπίστασιν λαχόντα, εἰς τύπον τοῦ ἀρχιπούμενος Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν. ...

(e) Restriction of the pope's jurisdiction solely to his flock of Italian origin (Canon I)

Mansi XVII, 497DE:

Κεφάλ. α'. Ὁρισεν ἡ ἀγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος, ὥς τε εἴ τινες τῶν ἐξ Ἰταλίας κληρικῶν ἢ λαϊκῶν ἢ ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἢ Εὐρώπῃ ἢ Λιβύῃ διατρίβοντες, ὑπὸ δεσμὸν ἢ καθαίρεσιν ἢ ἀναθεματισμὸν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάπα Ἰωάννου ἐγένοντο, ἵνα ὧσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ παρὰ Φωτίου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας ὅρῳ τουτέστιν ἢ καθηρημένοι, ἢ ἀναθέματι καθυποβεβλημένοι, ἢ ἀφωρισμένοι. οὗς μὲν τοι Φώτιος ὁ ἀγιώτατος ἡμῶν πατριάρχης κληρικοὺς ἢ λαϊκοὺς ἢ τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ καὶ ἱερατικοῦ τάγματος, ἐν οἷα δήποτε παροικία, ὑπὸ ἀφωρισμὸν καὶ καθαίρεσιν καὶ ἀναθεματισμὸν ποιήσῃ, ἵνα ἔχῃ αὐτοὺς καὶ ὁ ἀγιώτατος πάπας Ἰωάννης καὶ ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ἀγία τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν Ρωμαίων ἐκκλησία ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐπιτιμίας κρίματι... .

(f) Comment on Canon I

Mansi XVI, 473A:

... οὕτω Φώτιος οὐ μόνον τῆς ἴσης ἀπολαύειν ἐξουσίας τῷ πάπᾳ διίσχυρίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐαυτῷ μὲν τὴν ὑφήμιον ἄπασαν, τῷ δὲ πάπᾳ μόνους ἀποδίδωσι τοὺς ἐξ Ἰταλίας.

8

Letter of Pope Stephen V to Basil I. While very hostile to Photius and uncompromising in defence of his primacy, the pope desires to maintain good relations with the emperor, to whom he sends an appeal for the despatch of a fleet capable of repelling the Arabs

V. Grumel, 'La lettre du pape Étienne V à l'empereur Basile Ier', *REB* 11 (1953), 137-47:

Στεφάνου τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάπα Ῥώμης ἐπιστολὴ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα κῦρ Βασίλειον, σταλεῖσα παρὰ ἐπισκόπου τῶν Ὁρῶν ὁπηνίκα παροδηγηθεὶς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ Φωτίου ἔγραψεν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ κατὰ τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πάπα Μαρίνου.

Τὸ γράμμα τὸ παρὰ τῆς ὑμετέρας γαληνότητος ἀποσταλὲν πρὸς Ἀδριανὸν τὸν προηγησάμενον ἡμῶν) ἐδεξάμεθα, καὶ τοῦτο ἀνεγνωκότες, εὖρομεν αὐτό ... οὐ μὴν δὲ αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν παραχαράττον...

Ἐδόθη σοι, ..., τὰ γήινα καὶ βιωτικὰ διοικεῖν καὶ φροντίζειν, ..., πράττειν δίκαια τοῖς ὑποχειρίοις, ταῖς πολιτικαῖς ἀρχαῖς τε καὶ δυναστείαις νόμους συγγράφειν, γῇ τε καὶ θαλάσῃ τὰ πολιτικὰ στρατεύματα διευθετεῖν, ...· αὕτη οὖν ἐστὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρχῆς ἢ φροντὸς καὶ διοίκεις τὸ δὲ καταπιστευθὲν ἡμῖν ποιμνιον τοσοῦτόν ἐστιν ὑψηλότερον ὅσον διάφορον οὐρανῶν πρὸς τὰ ἐπίγεια. ...

Ἀλλ' εἰπέ, τίς σε ἠπάτησεν ἀρχιερέα οἰκουμενικὸν κομωδῆσαι, καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν τῶν Ῥωμαίων κακοφημῆσαι ἐκκλησίαν, ἢ τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησιῶν αὕτη κατάρχει καὶ ὥς μελὼν κεφαλὴ τοῦτον καθάπτεται, καὶ εἴ τις ἐαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης ἀποσχίζει, γίνεται τῆς τῶν χριστιανῶν θρησκείας ἀλλότριος ...

Ἐγραψας αὐτὸν ἐπίσκοπον μὴ εἶναι. Πόθεν δὴλον τοῦτο ἔγνω; καὶ ἐπεὶ βεβαίως οὐκ ἔγνω, πῶς κατέκρινας; ... Ἡ οὐκ ἔγνω τὴν δύναμιν ἣν κέκτηνται οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς; μάνθανε τοῖνυν ἐκ τοῦ μακαρίου Ἀμβροσίου. Οὗτος γὰρ τὸν βασιλέα Θεοδόσιον τῆς ἀγίας κοινωνίας ἀφορίσας, ἔξω τῶν προθύρων τῆς ἐκκλησίας στήναι τοῦτον πεποίηκεν ὅθεν καὶ οἱ μέχρι σήμερον βασιλεῖς ἔξω τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ἴστανται, παρ' αὐτοῦ διδαχθέντες, ἔξω τῆς ἱερᾶς κυγκλίδος ἱσταμένους, οὕτω τῆς ἱερᾶς λειτουργίας εὐχέσθαι. ...

... Πρὸς τίνα δὲ ἀπέστειλεν ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησία ἐρωτᾷς. Πρὸς λαϊκὸν δηλονότι τὸν Φώτιον ἀπέστειλεν. Εἰ γὰρ εἶχες πατριάρχην, συχνότερως ἂν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησία αὐτὸν ἐπισκέπτετο, καὶ ἀδελφικῇ διαθέσει πάσῃ τε διαπύρῳ ἀγάπης τοῦτον ἐσέβετο. Ἀλλ' ὦ, ὅτι ἡ τοιαύτη δεδοξασμένη καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ φυλαττομένη πόλις ἀργεῖ καὶ μόνῃ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ βασιλικῇ παρουσίᾳ λαμπρύνεται,

... Αὐτοκράτορ αὐγουστε, ὁ διαφορῶν ἐθνῶν τὴν θηριότητα σιδήρῳ τεμῶν ..., ὁ κόσμος καὶ εὐγνώμων, ὁ θεῖα σοφία διαλάμπων, ὁ ἄλλοις νόμους ἐπιτιθεῖς, πῶς τῷ οἰκείῳ νόμῳ οὐκ ὑπέκεις, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ ἱερέως ὕβριν ταχὺς ἔκδικος ὑπάρχεις; ...

Ἐποχωρησάτω οὖν ἡ νέα προπέτεια ... Διὰ τοῦτο, πνευματικὸν ἡμῶν τέκνον, νομοθετοῦμέν σε, ὅπως φροντίδι ἑαυτὸν ἀσφαλίσῃ ἐπιμελῶς, καὶ μὴ κατὰ τῆς ἀγίας τῶν Ῥωμαίων καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπανάστασο, Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου σου σπέρματος πρὸς ὑπερουσίαν ὀλοψύχως ἀνιέρωσας, τοῦτο μαθόντες, τοσαύτης χαρᾶς ἐπλήσθημεν, ὅσον οὐδὲ γλώσσα δύναται ἀναγγεῖλαι οὔτε κάλαμος διαγράψεσθαι. Εὐχόμεαι δὲ ὅπως ἡ τοῦ ἡγαπημένου ἡμῶν τέκνον ἀρετὴ ἐκφύγῃ πάντα τὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς σκοτεινὰ νέφη, ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ ῥίζῃ ταύτῃ πηχθῇ ὅπως ὁ μέλλων φυῆναι τῇ ῥίζῃ καρπὸς πάντα τὸν κόσμον βλάβῃ τῷ ἰδίῳ σπόρῳ.

Παρακαλῶ δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ὑμῶν κράτος χελάνδια ἐξωπλισμένα μετὰ τῶν χρειῶν αὐτῶν ἐνιαυσιαίῳ ἀπὸ μηνὸς Ἀπριλίου ἕως Σεπτεμβρίου ἀποστελεῖται, ὅπως φυλάττωσι τὴν παραθάλασσαν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἀγαρηνῶν παγάνων ἐκπορθήσεως ... Περὶ δὲ τῶν λοιπῶν σιωπήσομεν, ἐπειδὴ οὕτε ἔλαιον εἰς φωταύγειαν ἔχομεν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατὰ τὴν ὀφειλομένην τιμὴν.

9

Letters of the Patriarch Nicholas I Mysticus

(a) To Pope Anastasius III (2nd half of 912): after a detailed description of the events arising from the fourth marriage of Leo VI, the patriarch denounces the behaviour of the papal legates in Constantinople in 907 and demands their condemnation

Letter no. 32 (ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink), pp. 214-44:

... Παρήσαν οἱ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης μετὰ μῆνα ὄγδοον ἡ ἑνάτον τῆς συναφείας τῆς γυναικός, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπέρδεινον πάσῃ τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίᾳ. Προπεφήμιστο γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ὡς ἄγοι Ῥωμαίους ἐπιτρέψοντας αὐτῷ τὸν γάμον. ... Ποῦ γὰρ θεμιτόν, ποῦ δὲ τῇ καταστάσει τῆς ἐκκλησίας πρέπον, ἡμᾶς μὲν ἐξωθεῖσθαι τῆς παρὰ θεοῦ δεδομένης ἐξουσίας, ἐτέρους δὲ διοικεῖν ἃ οὐδ' ἡμῖν δυνατὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν κανόνων ἀπαγόρευσιν ἐπιτελεῖν;

... Προσκαλείται τοίνυν ἡμᾶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ὡς δῆθεν συνεορτάζοντας ... καὶ ... ὑπερορίους καθίστησιν, μήτε χιτωνίσκον, μήτε στρωμνῆς τι μέρος, μὴ βιβλίον, μηδένα τῶν εἰς παραμύθιον ἐσομένων συγχωρήσας ἀκολουθῆσαι ἀνθρῳπον, πλὴν σὺν δυσὶν ἀγραμμάτοις, ἀγλῶττοις, μικροῦ μηδὲ ἑαυτῶν ἐπαισθανομένων, εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐκπέμψας. ...

Καὶ οἱ πρὸς κατάστασιν τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπεσταλμένοι Ῥωμαῖοι παρόντες ἐνταῦθα, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἤκοντες ἐκ Ῥώμης τοῦ πόλεμον ἄρασθαι καθ' ἡμῶν, ἐκύρουν ἐξορίαν μηδὲν μήτε πολυπραγμονήσαντες μήτε μαθεῖν βουλευθέντες παρ' ἡμῶν καίτοι γε καὶν μηδεὶς ἄλλος, αὐτοὺς ἔδει τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀντεχομένους προνομίου ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ὑπεροχῆς, καὶ μάλιστα μέλλοντας ἐντεῦθεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπαίρειν καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἔσεσθαι ἀγγέλους, καὶ ὀφείλοντας διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἰδεῖν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἡμᾶς ἐβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ τινα τῶν καθ' ἡμῶν συγκινδυνευόντων, καὶ πυθέσθαι καὶ μαθεῖν ἀκριβῶς, ἵν' ἔχοιεν ἀκριβῆ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀγγελίαν ποιεῖσθαι. ...

... Ἐπιστράφητε πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, ἀδελφοὶ τιμώτατοι, καὶ τῶν πραχθέντων τὸ παράλογον κατανοήσαντες ... μηδὲ βουλευθῆτε γενέσθαι διήγημα, ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι τετραγαμίαν προφάσε' βασιλικῆς χάριτος εἰς τὸ τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἅγιον ἔθνος εἰσήγαγον. ...

... τοὺς δ' ἄλλους καὶ τῷ βίῳ περιόντας τῇ ὀφειλομένῃ παράδοτε καταδίκη, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων γραμμάτων μαθόντες ὅσα ἐπονηρεύσαντο καὶ οἷς ὁ φιλόχριστος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς πρόνοιαν ἔθετο γνῶναι ὑμᾶς τὰ ἐκείνοις δραματοποιηθέντα καὶ μηδὲν λαθεῖν τῆς ψευδοῦς αὐτῶν συσκευῆς ἐν τῷ καταπράξασθαι διὰ τοῦ περιβλέπτον μαγίστρου πρὸς ὑμᾶς κομισθῆναι τὰ κακῶς μελετηθέντα, πολὺν δὲ χεῖρω καὶ γραφῆς ἀξιωθέντα. ...

(b) To Pope John X (920/1): Rome did not reply to the above patriarchal letter, relations between the two Churches have been broken off and, after the publication of the Tome of Union (July 920), the patriarch seeks the despatch of papal legates for the condemnation of the fourth marriage

Letter no. 56 (ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink), p. 298:

Πολλάκις, εἰ καὶ μὴ διὰ γραμμάτων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἡμετέρας Ῥώμης ἐνταῦθα καταλαβόντων ἀνδρῶν, τοῦτο μὲν καὶ μοναζόντων, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἱερατικῶν, ναὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς λαϊκῆς τυγχανόντων τάξεως, ἐδηλώσαμεν, ἀδελφεῖ ἱερῷτατε, ὥστε ἀποστόλους ὑμῶν ἐνταῦθα παραγενέσθαι ... Ἰδοὺ χρόνος ἔνατος ἐξ οὗ κρύμασιν οἷς οἶδεν θεὸς εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπανήλθομεν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκ ἐν δίκῃ ἀπηλάθμεν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὅλως ἡμῖν περὶ ταύτης ἐδηλώθη τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

... Διὰ τοῦτο γράφομεν ἀποσταλῆναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς τῆς ὑμῶν μακαριότητος ἀποστόλους, οἱ καὶ ἔτι τὸ τῆς τετραγαμίας μύσος σὺν ἡμῖν παντελῶς ἀποκηρύξουσιν

(c) To Pope John X (921/2): A new appeal from the patriarch for reconciliation between the two sides: He wishes the Western Church to conform to the decisions of the Eastern and condemn fourth marriages before he will restore the pope's name to the diptychs of the Church of Constantinople

Letter no. 53 (ed. R. J. H. Jenkins and L. G. Westerink), pp. 286-92:

... Γράφομεν δὲ τοῦτο μόνον, ὡς τὸν τάραχον τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίας ἰδοὺ

πεντεκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντα νοῦν εἰρήνη, ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ θεός, εἰς τὸ ἀτάραχον διελύσατο, καὶ τὴν δεινὴν καταιγίδα ... πρὸς βαθεῖαν γαλήνην ἀθρόον μετήνεγκεν

Ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ἡμέτερα τοιαῦτα. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀδελφικὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἔνωσιν ἐπιζητοῦμεν ..., τοῦτου δὴ χάριν γνωρίζομέν σοι, μακαριώτατε ἡμῶν ἀδελφέ, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς τῇ ἡμῶν εἰρήνῃ συνευφραίνόμενοι, πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἡμετέρων λόγων ἀκόλουθόν ἐστιν, δοξάσητε τὸν καταλιπόντα τὸν τῆς εἰρήνης κληρὸν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτον ὅσαι ἡμέραι, εἰ καὶ σὺν ὃ πονηρὸς ἀγωνίζεται, ὅμως ἐπανασώζοντα τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν. ἔπειτα δὲ ἵνα καὶ τῆς τῶν σκανδάλων λελυμένης αἰτίας ἡ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀποστολὴ καὶ συνομιλία τὴν ἀνακαίνισιν δεῖξηται οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ὑμῶν ὀνόματος ἡ ἀνάρρησις μετὰ τῆς ἡμῶν τεταπεινωμένης κλήσεως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς συνάπτηται διπτύχοις.

... Διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ φιλόχριστος ἡμῶν βασιλεὺς Βασίλειον τὸν εὐκλεέστατον πρωτοσπαθάριον καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου μετὰ τοῦ οἰκείου ἐξαπέστειλεν γράμματος, καὶ ἡμεῖς Εὐλόγιον τὸν εὐλαβέστατον πρεσβύτερον καὶ κοιβουκλείσιον καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἡμῶν μετὰ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γράμματος συνεξαπεστείλαμεν, ἐκείνα καὶ σὺν τοῖς γράμμασι καὶ πρὸ τῶν γραμμάτων οἰκεῖα γλώσση ἐπιτρέψαντες προσειπεῖν, ὥστε τὰ κατατυπωθέντα ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ εἰρηνικὴν λαβόντα κατάστασιν, οὕτω καὶ τὰ ἐν ὑμῖν τυπωθῆναι καὶ εἰς τὴν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἔνωσιν διὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου καταστῆναι τύπου.

10

Rift with the elder Rome under Nicephorus II Phocas

(a) Byzantine repugnance towards the person of Pope John XIII, who in a letter calls Nicephorus II 'emperor of the Greeks', and Liutprand's diplomatic manoeuvres

Liutprand, *Legatio* L-LII (ed. J. Becker), pp. 202-3:

"... *Papa Romanus – si tamen papa est vocandus, qui Alberici filio apostatae, adultero, sacrilego communicavit, comministravit – literas nostro sanctissimo imperatori se dignas illoque indignas misit, Grecorum illum et non Romanorum imperatorem vocans, quod tui domini consilio actum esse non est ἀμφίσητον*".

"Quod", inquam mecum, "verbum audio? perii; haud dubium est, quin in praetorium recta proficiscar via!"

"Sed papa, audi", aiunt, "omnium hominum stolidior, scimus, dicere, dicere vis, nosque id profitemur". At ego: "Non id aio". – "Audi ergo; sed papa fatuus, insulsus ignorat Constantinum sanctum imperialia scepra huc transvexisse, senatum, omnem cunctamque Romanam militiam, Romae vero vilia mancipia, piscatores scilicet, cupedinarios, aucupes, nothos, plebeios, servos tantummodo dimisisse. Nunquam ille hoc nisi tui suggestione scriberet regis; quod quam periculosum ambobus fuerit, nisi resipuerit, proxima tempora declarabunt".

"Sed papa", inquam, "simplicitate clarus ad laudem hoc imperatoris, non ad contumeliam scribere putavit. Constantinum Romanum imperatorem cum Romana militia huc venisse ac civitatem istam suo ex nomine condidisse certo scimus; sed quia linguam, mores vestesque

mutastis, putavit sanctissimus papa ita vobis displicere Romanorum nomen, sicut et vestem. Quod in futuris vita comite ostendetur epistolis, quarum superscriptio haec erit: "Iohannes papa Romanus Nicephoro, Constantino, Basilio, magnis Romanorum imperatoribus atque augustis". Quod curnam dixerim, quaeso advertite.

Nicephorus periurio atque adulterio regni apicem est adeptus. Et quoniam Christianorum omnium salus ad Romani papae pertinet sollicitudinem, mittat Nicephoro dominus papa epistolam sepulchris omnino similem, quae foris sunt dealbata, intus plena sunt ossibus mortuorum; impropere illi intrinsecus, qualiter periurio et adulterio acceperit super dominos suos monarchiam; invitet eum ad synodum et, si non venerit, anathemate feriat. Si superscriptio huiusmodi non fuerit, nec ad ipsum usque feretur.

(b) Conflict over the promotion of the Church of Otranto to metropolitan status (about the end of 968)

Liutprand, *Legatio* LXII (ed. J. Becker), pp. 209-10:

... Nicephorus cum omnibus ecclesiis homo sit impius, livore, quo in vos abundat, Constantinopolitano patriarchae praecepit, ut Hydrontinam ecclesiam in archiepiscopatus honorem dilatet nec permittat in omni Apulia seu Calabria Latine amplius, sed Grece divina mysteria celebrare. Mercatores dicit fuisse praeteritos papas et Spiritum Sanctum vendidisse, quo vivificantur et reguntur omnia, qui replet orbem terrarum, qui scientiam habet vocis, qui est cum Deo patre et filio eius Iesu Christo coaeternus et consubstantialis, sine initio, sine fine, permanens verus, qui pretio non aestimatur, sed a mundis corde tanti emitur, quanti habetur. Scripsit itaque Polyuctos Constantinopolitanus patriarcha privilegium Hydrontino episcopo, quatinus sua auctoritate habeat licentiam episcopos consecrandi in Acirentila, Turcico, Gravina, Maceria, Tricarico, qui ad consecrationem domini apostolici pertinere videntur. Sed quid hoc memorem, cum ipsa Constantinopolitana ecclesia nostrae sanctae catholicae atque apostolicae ecclesiae Romanae merito sit subiecta? Scimus, immo videmus Constantinopolitanum episcopum pallio non uti nisi sancti patris nostri permissu. ... Est ergo meum consilium sanctam fieri synodum et ad eandem vocari Polyeuctum. Quod si venire et σφάλματα sua, id est vitia, superius scripta canonice emendare noluerit, quod sanctissimi canones decreverint, fiat.

11

Letters of Leo, metropolitan of Synada

(a) Preparations for the election of a patriarch of Constantinople, perhaps Sisinnius II (12 April 996)

Letter no. 53 (ed. M. P. Vinson), p. 82:

Πατριάρχης μέλλει δοθῆναι τῇ οἰκουμένη οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν οἰκουμενικὸν πάντως καλέσετε -καὶ πατριαρχῶν ὁ πρῶτος (τί γὰρ εἰ δεύτερος, τοῦ πρώτου ὄντος ἀφανείᾳ τετιμημένου καὶ μόνῳ σεμνυνομένου τῷ ὀνόματι;)

(b) The involvement of Leo of Synada in the election of Philagathus as Pope John XVI and his simultaneous aversion to the new president of the Roman Church (spring 997)

Letter no. 6 (ed. M. P. Vinson), pp. 8-10:

Ἰωάννη ὁστιάριῳ τῷ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιάριου

Γελᾶν μὲν οἶδ' αὖ σε, καταγελᾶν δὲ νῦν ὑπονοῶ σε ἀκούσαντα ὅτι πάπαν τὸν Φιλάγαθον προεχειρισάμην, ὃν ἔδει με καὶ ἀποπνίξαι καὶ προσεπειπεῖν τὸ ἄξιον, τὸν μυριῶν σκηπτῶν ἄξιον. Ὅρῳ σε τούτοις ἐπιγελῶντα καὶ χαίρω καὶ εὐχόμαι αἰεὶ γελᾶν σε. ... Ἡ Ῥώμη ῥώμης δέεται καὶ ῥωμαλέου καὶ στιβαροῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἐμβριθοῦς φρονήματος, ἅπερ, οἶδα, ὁ ἡμέτερος μέγας καὶ ὑψηλὸς βασιλεὺς κέκτηται τῶν προλαβόντων πλέον, ὥς καὶ αὐτὸς πλέον τῶν ἄλλων οἶδας, πλέον καὶ συνομιλῶν καὶ τῶν ἀπορρήτων κοινωνῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. Σὺ δὲ μὴ δόξης παίζεις, ἀλλ' ἀληθεύεις ταῦτά με γράφοντα.

Letter no. 11 (ed. M. P. Vinson), pp. 14-16:

Τῷ πατριάρχῃ

Εἰ καὶ ἐτέρῳ τοῦτο συνέβη τὸ καὶ ἰδεῖν ἐν ταύτῳ καὶ λιπεῖν καλὸν τοιοῦτον, τὴν θεοπεσίαν σου φημι κεφαλὴν, καὶ γεύσασθαι μὲν, μὴ ἐμπλησθῆναι δέ, ἀλλ' ὅσον προγεύσασθαι καὶ ἀποσχέσθαι, θεομακάριστε δέσποτα, ἀγνοῶ ...

Τὴν Ῥώμην ὑπὸ χειρὸς <καὶ> πόδας τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ ὑψηλοῦ ἡμῶν βασιλέως τοῦ Θεοῦ θέλοντος καὶ ἀγαγόντος καὶ ἐγὼ διάκονος ἐγενόμην, τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ κρατοῦντος Κρισκένζου ἐκείνου μὲν εὐθύναντος, δι' ἐμοῦ <δὲ> τοῦτο ποιῆσαι θελήσαντος. Τὰ οὖν καθ' ἕκαστον καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ λεπτῷ διὰ τοῦ ἀποκομιστοῦ μαθήσῃ σαφέστερον ... Τὴν ἱερὰν ἐκείνην καὶ θαυμασίαν γραφὴν, ὥς εἰπεῖν στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας, οὐδεὶς εὐρέθη πάπας ἄξιος ἀξίως ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ τιμῆσαι, ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸς ὃν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ Ἰωάννης μετέλθεν ὁ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνου Γρηγόριος οὐδ' ὅσον συγχωρηθεὶς εὐξασθαι ἀπῆλθε, τῇ τοῦ προέχοντος ἐν Ῥώμῃ Κρισκένζου δυνάμει τοῦ τε θρόνου καὶ τῆς ἀξίας ἀπελαθεὶς ὁ δ' ὑπεισηλθεν ὁ μὴδὲ ζῆν ἄξιος, ὁ ἐμὸς φόρτος, ὁ θρασὺς Φιλάγαθος, ὁ πάντολμος, ἡ νηδὺς, ὁ ῥύπος, ἡ κηλὶς, ...

... Προσηῖξα τοίνυν τὸ σεβάσιμον ἐκείνο γράμμα καὶ προσεπατάλωσα τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Κορυφαίου καὶ οἰκείᾳ χειρὶ τὸ τίμιον σου ὄνομα προσέγραψα, ἀνάξιον κρίνας μνημονεύεσθαι σε καὶ ἀναφέρεσθαι παρ' ἐκείνου τοῦ μοιχοῦ, τοῦ βδελυροῦ, τοῦ μισητοῦ, τοῦ θεοστουγῶς. Τὸ οὖν ἐκείνου παραινῶ ἀποτρόπαιον ὄνομα μὴδὲ ἐν τῷ προνόμῳ, μὴδὲ ἐν τοῖς προθύροις, μὴδὲ ἐν τοῖς προαυλείοις, μὴδὲ ἔσω τειχῶν, ἀλλ' ἔξω καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ τὸ ἐξώτερον ἀπογραφῆναι σκότος πλὴν οἰκονομίας ἔνεκεν, ὣν ἐγράψαμεν, σβεσθῆναι καὶ κατασιγασθῆναι πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐγὼ συμβουλεύω, τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ μεγάλου ἡμῶν βασιλέως εὐδοξίαν πραγματευόμενος, ἧ καὶ συνεργεῖν δοκεῖ καὶ κατατίθεσθαι ὁ ἀλιτήριος, οὔτι «ἐκὼν, ἀλλ' ἄκοντί γε θυμῷ», γεωμετρικαῖς, ὁ φασι, ἀνάγκαις, ἢ μᾶλλον Κρισκενζικῷ κατεχόμενος φόβῳ, Ἐρμού ἔνεκεν ζῶν.

(c) The anxiety of Leo of Synada whether Basil II would approve his actions and his hope for the expulsion of Philagathus and the restoration of Pope Gregory V (spring 997)

Letter no. 9 (ed. M. P. Vinson), p. 12:

Εἰ καὶ ἔδοξα ἀργῆσαι, θεοφιλέστατε πάτερ καὶ δέσποτα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἤρρησα τὴν γὰρ

Ῥώμην εἶδον, πρᾶγμα μέγα, σοφὸν καὶ ὑπέρογκον καὶ ἄνδρα μὴ ἔχουσιν ἄνδρα αὐτῇ δεδοκα τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Φραγγίας τὸν τῷ ἰουλίῳ τὴν εὐχὴν σου λαβόντα. Τοῦτο μὴ θαυμάσης· ἔδει γὰρ οὕτω προβῆναι, ἄλλως δ' ἀποβῆναι· τὰ γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνυπόστατα ῥάδια πάντως καὶ εὐχερῇ πρὸς καθαίρεσιν. Ἡ οὖν Ῥώμη τὸν ἴδιον ἔχει πάπαν, πρὸς καιρὸν μὲν ἐκδιωχθέντα βίᾳ καὶ ἀνάγκῃ πλὴν καὶ τὸν μοιχὸν εὐρήσοντα καὶ μετὰ ζήλου τιμωρήσοντα. Τὰ οὖν καθ' ἕκαστον ὡς ἐπράχθη ταῦτα καὶ τὰ μείζονα παρὰ τοῦ κυροῦ Καλοκυροῦ μαθήσει. Εἰ οὖν καλῶς ὑποδέξεται τὴν δουλείαν ἡμῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς, εὖ ἂν ἔχοι· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀποδέξεται καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι τὸ διακριτικὸν ἀκέραιον ἔχουσιν - αὐτὸς δὲ σκόπησον· τί ἂν ἐγὼ εἴποιμι αὐτὸν μὴ ἀποδεχόμενον εὐρίσκων; Ὑγιαίνων, εὐθυμῶν, τῆς ἡμῶν ὑπερεῖχον ταπεινώσεως.

Letter no. 12 (ed. M. P. Vinson), pp. 18-20.

Τῷ Σάρδεων

Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα μοι κοῦφα καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν εὐφορα, τό τε τῆς ὁδοῦ μῆκος καὶ τὰ ἐνθαλάσσια νανάγια καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ χέρσῳ κλώσματα· τὸ δ' αὐτῆς τοσοῦτον διαστήναι τῆς καλῆς σου ὧσεως καὶ θέας καὶ ὀμιλίας, τίς ἐνέγκοι ψυχῇ; ...

Τὴν Ῥώμην εἶδον καὶ εἶλον καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ἔδειξα πρόθυμον, τοσοῦτον τολμήσων ἢ τολμήσας, ὅσον οὐδ' εἰς νοῦν ἂν ἐβάλετο ἕτερος. Εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας χωρήσοι τοῦτο, καλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ καλοῖς ἐμοχθήσαμεν εἰ δ' ἀνάξιον κρίνῃ τοῦτο τῆς αὐτοῦ βασιλείας, σοὶ καταλιμπάνω σκοπεῖν. Τί ἂν ἐγὼ εἴποιμι; Τὸν κακῶς γνωρισθέντα καὶ κολληθέντα μοι ἐπὶ κακῷ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς πάπαν πεποίηκα, τὸν ἐκ Καλαβρίας ἢ Σικελίας ἢ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς Αἰτίας, τὸν ἐξ ἧς ἐκριφῆναι ἢ ἐνριφῆναι ἄξιον, τὸν ἀβέβαιον, τὸν ἄφιλον, τὸν τοῦ ψεύδους ἀρχηγὸν καὶ πατέρα καὶ θύλακον, τὸν πάντολμον, τὸν λοῖδορον, τὸν βλάσφημον, τὸν κύνα, ..., τὸν ὄφιν, τὴν δολίαν γλώτταν, τὸν τρόπον ἀνώμαλον, ..., τὸν πάσης ἄξιον βλασφημίας, τὸν πάσης κολάσεως, τὸν πάσης τιμωρίας, τὸν βόρβορον, ..., τὸν αἰρετικόν, τὸν ἀβάπτιστον, ..., τόν, ἵνα συνέλω, υἶδὼν διαβόλου.

Ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν ἐκ τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον εἶναι καταμαθὼν, τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἀποστολικῷ θρόνῳ ὅλος καὶ πᾶς ἐγενόμην, οὐ χηρεύοντι ... ἀλλὰ ζώντος τοῦ ἀνδρός, μοιχὸν καταστήσαι τοῦτον διανοησάμενος ... καὶ νῦν οἰμώξει καὶ τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ Ὄτου καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πάπα ἐλπίζων ὑφέξειν τιμωρίαν. Ὅ γὰρ πάπας ἐκεῖνος ὀπλίζεται «μεστὸν ζήλου θυμὸν» ἔχων, οἶμαι δὲ ὡς οὐ φείσεται, οὐδὲ ἀλλάξεται, οὐδὲ μὴ διαλυθῇ πολλῶν δώρων ὁ δ' ὑποπτήσσει καὶ δέδιε καὶ τρομαλέος ἐστὶ καὶ μερμερίζων ἀνήνυτα.

(d) Deposition and abusive treatment of Philagathus by the German cavalry of Otto III (May 998)

Letter no. 1 (ed. M. P. Vinson), p. 2.

Ἰωάννῃ ὁστιαρίῳ τῷ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου Λέοντος

Γελᾷς ἄρτι τὸν πλατὴν γέλωτα, ὃ καλὴ κεφαλὴ, ὃ καλὴ ψυχὴ, ... Ὁ Φιλάγαθος ἐκεῖνος ὅς, ἵνα συνέλω, οὐδένα εἶχε τὸν ἰσοστάσιον, «οὐ ἄρᾱς τὸ στόμα καὶ πικρίας ἔγεμε» καὶ βλασφημίας καὶ πονηρίας καὶ λοιδωρίας, ὃ παρόμοιος οὐδεὶς, ὃν τίνι ἀντιτάξομεν οὐ γινώσκομεν, οὗτος ἐκεῖνος ὁ παλαμναῖος πάπας, ὁ σοβαρὸς καὶ ὑπέροφρος, ὃ θεὲ καὶ

δίκη καὶ ἤλιε, συμποδισθεὶς ἔπεσε. Καὶ τί μὴ τῷ ἀδελφῷ λέγω καὶ τὸ τοῦ πτώματος εἶδος; Πρὸ παντὸς ἀνάθεμα γέγονε τῆς δυτικῆς Ἐκκλησίας, εἴτα τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξωρύχθη, τὴν ῥίνα τρίτον ἐξετιμήθη καὶ τὸ χεῖλος τέταρτον, πέμπτον τὴν γλῶτταν τὴν πολλὰ καὶ ἄρρητα λαλοῦσαν καὶ ἄμαχον ἐπόμπενυσεν ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκτον ὀνίσκω πτωχῷ σεμνυνόμενος οὐροκρατῶν καὶ τοῦτον, τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἔσκαπε ἀσκοῦ παλαίου τεμάχιον τὰς προτομάς ἔχον ὀρθίους τὸ δ' ἔβδομον εἰς κρῖσιν ἤλθε, κατεψηφίσθη, τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἐνεδύθη καὶ ἐξεδύθη στολήν, ὀπισθοφανῶς ἐσύρη <κατὰ> τὸν ναὸν αὐτόν, τὸν πρόναον, τὴν φιάλην αὐλὴν καὶ ὡς εἰς ἀναψυχὴν εἰς τὸν κάρκαρον ἐνεβλήθη.

12

Anathematism of Michael I Cerularius by Humbert (July 1054)

H.-G. Beck, 'Storia della Chiesa', in *La civiltà bizantina dal IX all' XI secolo*, Bari 1978, pp. 234-7:

Ὅστις ἂν τῇ πίστει καὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ τῆς Ῥωμαϊκῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας ἀντιλέγῃ, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω καὶ μὴτε δεχέσθω ὀρθόδοξος, ἀλλὰ λεγέσθω προζυμίτης καὶ νέος Ἀντίχριστος. Οὐβερτος θεοῦ χάριτι τῆς ἀγίας τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας ἐπίσκοπος, Πέτρος τῶν Ἀμαλφηνῶν ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, Φερεδέριχος διάκονος καὶ καγκελλάριος πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τέκνοις. Ἡ ἀγία Ῥωμαϊκὴ πρώτη καὶ ἀποστολικὴ καθέδρα, ..., τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς εἰρήνης καὶ χρειᾶς χάριν, πρὸς ταύτην τὴν βασιλικὴν πόλιν ἡμᾶς ἀποκρισιarioὺς αὐτῆς ποιῆσαι κατηξίωσεν, ἵνα καθὼς γέγραπται κατέλθωμεν καὶ ἰδωμεν, εἰ ἄρα ἔργω πεπλήρωται ἡ βοή, ἡ ἀδιαστίκτως ἐκ τηλικαύτης πόλεως ἀνέβαινε πρὸς τὰ ὦτα αὐτῆς, εἰ δὲ καὶ μὴ ἦν οὕτως, γινώσκοντες ὅθεν γινωσκέωσαν πρὸ μὲν πάντων οἱ δεδοξασμένοι αὐτοκράτορες, ὁ κληρὸς, ἡ σύγκλητος καὶ ὁ λαὸς ταύτης τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ πᾶσα ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία ἡμᾶς ἐνταῦθα διεγνωκέναι, ὅθεν πλείστα χαίρομεθα, ἀγαθὸν καὶ μέγιστον, ὅθεν ἐλεεινῶς λυπούμεθα, κακόν, καὶ γὰρ ὅσον πρὸς τοὺς κίονας τοῦ κράτους, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ τιμημένους καὶ τοὺς πολίτας σοφοὺς χριστιανικωτάτη καὶ ὀρθόδοξός ἐστιν ἡ πόλις ὅσον δὲ πρὸς τὸν Μιχαὴλ τὸν καταχρηστικῶς λεγόμενον πατριάρχην καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀνοίας τοὺς συνεργοὺς, πλείστα ζιζάνια τῶν αἰρέσεων καθ' ἑκάστην διασπείρεται ἐν μέσῳ αὐτῆς, ... Ὑπὲρ ὧν πανισμῶν καὶ ἐτέρων πλείστων ἔργων αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς Μιχαὴλ γραμμασι τοῦ κυροῦ ἡμῶν Λέοντος τοῦ πάπα νουθετηθεὶς, πεισθῆναι κατεφρόνησεν, ἔπειτα ἡμῖν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις αὐτοῦ τὰς ὑποθέσεις τῶν τηλικούτων κακῶν λογικῶς ἀντιστηναί λέγουσι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν συντυχίαν παντελῶς ἀπληρήσαντο οὕτε τῷ ὑγιεῖ βουλευμάτι τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ τῶν σοφῶν νουθετούντων κατασπάσασθαι αὐτόν, οὐχ ὑπήκουσεν, καθὼς καὶ πρότερον τὰς τῶν Λατίνων ἐκκλησίας ἠσφαλίσαστο, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἀζυμίτας ἀποκαλῶν ῥήμασι καὶ ἔργοις ἀπανταχῇ κατεδιώξατο ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον, ὥστε ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀναθεματίζειν τὴν ἀποστολικὴν καθέδραν, καθ' ἧς ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ υπογράφει οἰκουμενικὸν πατριάρχην. Ὅθεν ἡμεῖς τῆς αὐτῆς ἀγίας καὶ πρώτης ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας τὴν ἐξάκουστον βίαν καὶ ὕβριν οὐχ ὑποφέροντες ..., ἀπὸ πάσης τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῷ ἀναθέματι, ὅπερ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ὁ εὐλαβέστατος πάπας τῷ Μιχαὴλ καὶ τοῖς αὐτῷ ἐπομένους, ἐὰν μὴ πεισθῶσιν, ἀπεφῆνατο, οὕτω καθυπογράφομεν. Μιχαὴλ ὁ καταχρηστικῶς πατριάρχης,

ὁ νεόφυτος καὶ μόνῳ ἀνθρωπίνῳ φόβῳ τὸ μοναστικὸν σχῆμα δεξιόμενος, νῦν δὲ ἐγκλήμασιν ἀνηκέστοις παρὰ πολλῶν διαπεφημισμένος, καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ Λέων ὁ τῆς Ἀρχίδος ἐπιλεγόμενος, καὶ ὁ σακελλάριος τοῦ αὐτοῦ Μιχαὴλ ὁ Νικηφόρος, ὅστις τὴν τῶν Λατίνων θυσίαν προφανῶς κατεπάτησε τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ πάντες οἱ ἐπόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς προκειμένοις πλανίσμασι καὶ τολμήμασιν ἔστωσαν ἀνάθεμα μαραναθὰ σὺν τοῖς Σιμωνιακοῖς, Βαλεσίοις, Ἀρειανοῖς, Μανιχαίοις, σὺν οἷς δογματίζουσι, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ὅτι τὸ ἐνζυμον ἔμψυχον εἶναι, καὶ σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς αἵρετικοῖς, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ διαβόλου καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων αὐτοῦ, ἐὰν μὴ πεισθῶσιν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν, ἀμήν.

13

(a) Letter of Pope Alexander III to Patriarch Michael III of Anchialos: on the union of the Churches (27 February 1173)

Ed. G. Hofmann, 'Papst und Patriarch unter Kaiser Manuel I. Komnenos: ein Briefwechsel', *EEBS* 23 (1953) 76-7.

Ἐπιστολὴ τοῦ πάπα πρὸς τὸν πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως.

Ἀνέφερον ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγαπητὸς υἱὸς Πέτρος ὁ ὑποδιάκονος ἡμῶν, ὁ ἀποκομιστὴς τῶν παρόντων γραμμάτων, σὲ διακαῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐν τῷ στήθει φέρειν, τοῦ τὴν ἀνατεθεισάν σοι ἐκκλησίαν τῇ ῥωμαϊκῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἥτις πασῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κυρίου μήτηρ κατέστη καὶ διδάσκαλος, καθὼς εὐσεβὲς καὶ δίκαιον καὶ κανονικόν ἐστιν, ἐνωθῆναι. ... Οἷδας γὰρ πάντως ὡς ἀνὴρ προσεκτικὸς καὶ διακριτικὸς, ὅπως ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησία οὐδεμίαν ὑποφέρειν ὀφείλει κατατομὴν καὶ πῶς μόνῳ τῷ Πέτρῳ εἴρηται παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου σὺ εἰ Πέτρος καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρα οἰκοδομήσω μου τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ... Ἐπεὶ οὖν πρέπει τῆς διακρίσεώς σου τῇ φρονήσει τὸ ζέον τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιθυμίας εἰς ἀποτέλεσμα ἔργου ἀποδεῖξαι, τὴν ἀδελφότητά σου παρακαλοῦμεν, ὑπομιμνήσκομεν καὶ συμβουλεύομεν ἐνδιαθέτως, ἵνα τὸν περιπόθητον ἐν Χριστῷ υἱὸν ἡμῶν Μανουὴλ τὸν κρᾶτιστον καὶ δόξης πλήρη Κωνσταντινουπόλεως βασιλέα, ὃν πιστεύομεν τὸν αὐτὸν ζῆλον ἔχειν, ὑπομιμνήσαι σπουδάσης ἐπιμελέστερον καὶ ἀγαγεῖν, ἵνα εἰς τὸ ἐνωθῆναι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ τῇ ῥωμαϊκῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὥσπερ ὀφείλει διακαῶς σκοπήσῃ, καὶ λόγον τὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ μικρῷ τῷ χρόνῳ τρακταῖσθέντα, εἰς συμπλήρωσιν ἀγαγεῖν μὴ ὑπερθήσῃ, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς αἰωνίου ἐπάθλου δυνηθεῖ ἐπιτυχεῖν, καὶ ἡ σὴ ἐντεθὲν μέριμνα καὶ σπουδὴ ἰσχύσῃ ἀξίως ἐπαινεθῆναι. Ἐδόθη ἐν πόλει λεγομένῃ Σίγνια, πρὸ δύο καλανδῶν μαρτίου, ἥτις ἐστὶν κζ' φεβρουαρίου.

(b) Reply of Patriarch Michael III of Anchialos to the above papal letter: an excellent example of diplomatic courtesy without any concession of substance (1173)

Ed. G. Hofmann, *op. cit.*, 77-80.

Ἀντίγραμμά τοῦ ἀγιωτάτου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως πρὸς τὸν ἅπαν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης.

Ἀγιώτατε πάπα, καὶ ἐν κυρίῳ ἀγαπητὲ ἀδελφέ.

Ψυχῆς ἔνδειγμα θεολήπτου τὴν ἐνοποιὸν μεταδιώκειν εἰρήνην, καὶ τὸν τοῦ πνεύματος σύνδεσμον. ... Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν κλειδοῦχος τὴν περιτομὴν

πεπιστευμένος, ἐκήρυττε καὶ τοῖς ἔθνεσι, καὶ πρότερον ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ μετὰ τῆς θεολέκτου ὁμάδος τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ συνεστήσατο, ἔπειτα ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ, καὶ οὕτως ἀπανταχοῦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ διδασκαλίαν ἐξήπλωσε καὶ τὸ κήρυγμα. Διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δορὰ τὴν κατὰ θεὸν ἔνωσιν καὶ συνάφειαν καὶ ὁ μακάριος Παῦλος εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἀπεσταλμένος, ὅμως καὶ ἰουδαίοις κηρύττειν οὐκ ἀνεβάλλετο. ... Πάντες οὖν ὅποσοι τὴν κατὰ θεὸν ὁμόνοιαν προαιρούμεθα καὶ τὴν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων μισοῦμεν διάξενξιν, ὀφείλομεν τούτου καὶ μόνον γενέσθαι τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, καὶ τὰ εἰς τοῦτο ὁπωσδήποτε προσιστάμενα ἐκ μέσου ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τινα προσεπισυνάπτειν ἕτερα περιττὰ καὶ ἀνόνητα, καὶ τῆς ἐντολῆς πόρρω φέροντα, ἵνα μὴ δοκῶμεν ἐμπορικῶς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ζητεῖν καὶ μετέρχεσθαι. Ζητητέα γὰρ καλὰ, ὅτι καλὰ, καὶ μὴ δι' ἐναλλαγὴν πραγμάτων ἀρχαίων καὶ τῆς ἀνέκαθεν κρατουσῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως. Ὅταν γάρ τις ἐπιχειρῇ κατορθῶσαι τι τῶν ἐπαινετῶν καὶ φιλουμένων θεῷ, μετὰ ταπεινώσεως χρὴ τοῦτο μετέρχεσθαι καὶ πᾶν ἥψωμα καθαιρεῖν. Οὕτω γὰρ ἔξει συνεργοῦσαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀγαθότητα. Εἰ δ' ἄλλως πως, ἀνύσει οὐδέν. Διότι δόξα θεοῦ οὐδὲ τὰ βλέφαρα ἡμῶν κινεῖσθαι πιστευόμεν τε καὶ διδασκόμεθα. Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἡ σὴ ἀγιότης προαιρεῖται τὴν τῶν ἀγίων ἐκκλησιῶν ἔνωσιν, συντρέχει δὲ καὶ εὐδοκεῖ καὶ σπουδάζει εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ὁ πανευσεβέστατος καὶ ἅγιος ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, ἡ μετὰ θεὸν μία ἡμῶν καὶ ὑμῶν ἀληθὺς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν ἀρχή, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἡ ταπεινότης ἡμῶν ἔχει διακαῶς, τίς γὰρ οὕτω μισόκαλος ὥστε μὴ προτιθεσθαι παντὸς ἑτέρου τὸ κοινὸν ἀγαθόν; Ἐτοίμον τὸ αἴσιον ἀποτέλεσμα. Καὶ ὁ εἰς τοῦτο παρεμποδίσων ἐν τῷ σπεύδειν συνιστᾷ τὸ ἴδιον θέλημα, ἔξει πάντως ἀπὸ θεοῦ τὸ κατὰκριμα. Τὸ δὲ μέγιστον ὕψος τοῦ θεοστεφοῦς ἡμῶν αὐτοκράτορος χάριν τούτου οὐχ ὑπομνήσεως δεῖται παρὰ τινος. Μόνος γὰρ καὶ πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ πρὸ πάντων, μελέτην ποιεῖ διηνεκῇ τὰς ἀποπερατώσεις τῶν ἀγίων ἐντολῶν τοῦ σωτήρος ἡμῶν Χριστοῦ ποιοῦμενος, καὶ ταύτας τῇ αὐτοῦ χάριτι ὥς οὐδεὶς ἕτερος κατορθῶν, οὐδὲ τὴν τῶν ἀγίων ἐκκλησιῶν ἔνωσιν τῆς αὐτοῦ προμηθείας ἀφῆκεν ἐκτός, ἀλλὰ πρὸ μακρῶν χρόνων καὶ ὥς ἡ τῆς σῆς ἱεραρχίας ἐκτελεστάτη γνῶσις ἐπίσταται, διὰ μερίμνης ὅτι πολλῆς τὰ περὶ ταύτης ἐποίησε. Τὴν δὲ γραφὴν τῆς σῆς ἀγιότητος ἀποδεξάμενοι, καὶ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀσπασάμενοι, ἐνχαριστήσαμεν σοι, ὅτι οὐκ ἀνεβάλου ὥννύνειν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸ ἀρέσκον τῇ σῇ ἀγαθότητι.

14

Letter of Patriarch John X Camaterus to Pope Innocent III: against the papal primacy (spring 1200)

Ed. A. Papadakis and A. M. Talbot, 'John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: An Unpublished Correspondence', *Byzantinoslavica* 33 (1972), 35-41:

Τοῦ ἀγιοτάτου καὶ οἰκουμενικοῦ πατριάρχου κὺρ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Καματηροῦ ἐπιστολὴ ἀντιρρητικὴ πρὸς τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν γραφέντα παρὰ τοῦ πάπα.

Ἐδεξάμην σου τὸ γράμμα, τιμώτατε πάπα, καὶ ἀνελίξας τοῦτο καὶ ἀναπτύξας ἡνῆχαρίστησα τῷ Θεῷ τοὺς διεστηκότας τόπων μακροῖς διαστήμασι συνάπτεσθαι ἀλλήλοις διὰ γραμμάτων προνοησαμένῳ, ...

διὰ ταῦτα μετὰ περιχαρείας μάλα πολλῆς ἐδεξάμην τὸ γράμμα τῆς σῆς ἱερότητος, ἀλλὰ τὸ βούλημα τῆς γραφῆς, ὅ,τι ποτε καὶ θέλης δηλοῦν, σαφῶς <οὐ>κ ἔσχον κατανοεῖν.

... . ποῦ τῶν θείων εὐαγγελίων εὐρίσκεται λέγων ὁ Χριστὸς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν κεφαλὴν εἶναι καὶ μητέρα γενικὴν τινὰ καὶ καθολικωτέραν <καὶ> περι<εκτικὴν> τῶν ἀπανταχῇ τῆς κοσμικῆς τετραμερείας ἐκκλησιῶν, ἡ παρὰ τίνος τῶν οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων οὕτω τὰ περὶ τούτου διατετύπεται, καθὼς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας διανοεῖσθε; ... εἰ δὲ διὰ τὸν ἱερώτατον Πέτρον αὐτόθι διὰ μαρτυρίας τὴν ἐνταῦθα μεταλλάξαι ζώην, ἀλλ' ὁρᾷτε μήποτε ἄρα οὐκ εἰς σέμνωμα τοῦτο (ὁκνῶ γὰρ τοῦναντίον εἰπεῖν) τῇ Ῥωμαίων λογισθῆσεται ἐκκλησίᾳ. ... λείπεται ἄρα μὴ διὰ ταῦτα τὴν Ῥώμην μητέρα τῶν λοιπῶν τυγχάνειν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἀλλὰ πέντε τυγχανουσῶν τῶν μεγάλων ἐκκλησιῶν αἱ καὶ πατριαρχικοῖς σεμνύνονται ἀξιώμασι, πρώτην, ὡς ἐν ἀδελφαῖς τυγχάνειν ὁμοτίμοις αὐτήν.

... εἰ δὲ τὸν Π<έτρον> τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπομερίζεις καὶ ἰδίαν αὐτῷ διδασκαλίαν ἀποκ<ληροῖς>, ἣς ἀμέθεκτος ἡ λοιπὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων λογὰς ἀπελείφθη, ὥρα σοι σκοπεῖν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἀ<κα>φαινόμενον, ἐναντιότης γὰρ οὕτω καὶ ἑτερότης ἐν τοῖς διδάγμασι εἰσάγεται τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἄλλα μὲν Πέτρῳ ἰδικῶς παραδόντος, ἕτερα <δὲ> τοῖς ἄλλοις τῶν μαθητῶν.

... καὶ πάντως οὐκ ἀγνοεῖται τῇ ἀγχινοίᾳ σου ὡς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις πρῶτον ἡ πίστις ἡμῶν ἐπαρρησιάσατο, ἀκαεὶ πολλοὶ καὶ κρείττους ἀριθμοῦ πιστεύειν κατήρξαντο τῷ κηρύγματι, τὸ δὲ τοὺς πιστεύοντας καλεῖσθαι Χριστιανούς ἐν Αντιοχείᾳ πρῶτως κατήρξατο, ὅθεν καὶ Θεοῦπολις αὕτη κατονομάζεται. ἡ δὲ καθ' ὑμᾶς ἐκκλησία ἔσχε τὸ πρῶτην τυγχάνειν τῇ τάξει τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν μεγάλων, διὰ τὸ (καθὼς ἀνώτερον εἴρηται) τηνικάδε χρόνον βασιλεῖα καὶ συγκλήτῳ σεμνύνεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο ἔχειν παρὰ τὰς λοιπὰς τὸ ἀξίωμα ...

ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν σταλεῖ<σαν> ἡμῖν παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἱερότητος ἐπιστολμ<αίαν> γραφὴν ἃ καὶ εἰ μὲν ὡς ἀπὸ ἀδελφικῆς διαθέσεως γραφέντα ἀποδέξεταιί σου ἡ ἀγιότης, καλῶς ἂν εἴη ποιούσα καὶ ἀξίως τοῦ ἀρχιερατικοῦ ἐπαγγέλματος εἰ δὲ τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις ἀχθέ<σεται> σου ἡ ἀγιότης, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς γε τῆς ἀληθείας οὐκ ἀφεξόμεθα, οὐκ ἂν μυριάκις εἴη τις ἀπειλούμενος ἡμῖν τὰ δεινότατα.



CHAPTER IV

THE MULTIFACETED ‘DIPLOMACY’ OF MICHAEL VIII PALAEOLOGUS

S. LAMPAKIS

THE MULTIFACETED 'DIPLOMACY' OF MICHAEL VIII PALAEOLOGUS

The case of Michael VIII Palaeologus brings this series of lectures to a fitting close because his activities were bound up with an intense but multifaceted 'diplomatic' effort to balance the various factors influencing the political situation in his time: the papacy, the princes of the different 'state' configurations of Europe, the small states created out of the wreckage of the Byzantine empire by the pact known as the 'Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae'¹ and the centres of authority around which the Byzantines themselves gathered (that is, the empire of the Grand Comneni of distant Trebizond on the Black Sea, the despotate of Epirus and the empire of Nicaea, the last two of which were the chief contenders for precedence and the title of being the continuator of the empire's patrimony.² And of course account had to be taken of the neighbouring peoples of the Balkans, Asia Minor, and the Eastern Mediterranean in general, as we shall have the opportunity to note in due course.

In order to understand Michael's personality it is useful to set down some details of his activity before he ascended the throne. He was appointed a general of John III Ducas Vatatzes (1222-54) and made an important contribution to the campaigns by which Vatatzes succeeded in detaching many areas from the Latins and his rivals of the despotate of Epirus. Michael's contribution to the undertakings of Theodore II Lascaris (1254-8), Vatatzes' son and successor, was also important. But at the same time he was the chief suspect in a number of possible attempts to overthrow these two emperors to his own advantage. It is therefore easy to understand how long-standing clashes developed between them. It is interesting to follow one of these disputes in detail.

At Philippi in 1252, towards the end of Vatatzes' reign, the then twenty-seven year old Michael, who bore the title of *strategus* of Melnik and Serres, once again had to face the charge that he was plotting to seize the throne.³ The accusation was based on an apparently innocent discussion between two citizens, one of whom claimed that Michael was guilty of such plotting, while the other maintained his innocence. Those who overheard the discussion brought it to the attention of the authorities, whereupon the pair were summoned and it was

1 This was the territorial division of the Byzantine empire amongst the commanders of the Fourth Crusade: the empire was broken up like a great ship wrecked by the waves and the winds, writes Nicephorus Gregoras, *Ρωμαϊκή Ιστορία* I, 2 (ed. L. Schopen, CSHB, Bonn 1829, 13): *τῆς γάρ τοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ὑπὸ τῶν Λατίνων ἀλόισης συνέβη τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίαν καθάπερ ὀλκάδα μεγάλην, ἀνέμοις ἀγροῖς καὶ κύμασι θαλαττίοις συνελημμένην κατὰ τεμάρχα καὶ μέρη πλείστα διαιρεθῆναι*. Of the abundant literature see esp. A. Carile, 'Partitio terrarum imperii Romaniae', *Studi Veneziani* 7 (1965), 125-305.

2 On the empire of the Grand Comneni see most recently the comprehensive survey of A. G. C. Savvides, *Οἱ Μεγάλοι Κομνηνοὶ τῆς Τραπεζούντας καὶ τοῦ Πόντου. Ἱστορικὴ ἐπισκόπηση τῆς αὐτοκρατορίας τοῦ Μικρασιατικοῦ ἐλληνισμοῦ (1204-1461)*, Athens 2005. On Nicaea and Epirus A. Miliarakis' book, *Ἱστορία τοῦ βασιλείου τῆς Νίκαιας καὶ τοῦ Δεσποτάτου τῆς Ἠπείρου*, Athens 1874 (and reprints), although very old contains much useful material. See also D. M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*, Oxford 1957, and *The Despotate of Epiros 1267-1479*, Cambridge 1984. Also Alkmini Stavridou-Zafra, *Νίκαια καὶ Ἠπειρος τὸν 13^ο αἰ. Ἰδεολογικὴ ἀντιπαράθεση στὴν προσπάθειά τους νὰ ἀναστήσουν τὴν αὐτοκρατορία*, Thessalonica 1991.

3 This episode is described very fully by George Acropolites, *Χρονικὴ Συγγραφή* (ed. A. Heisenberg, Leipzig 1903), 92-100. See the detailed study by G. Czebe, 'Studien zum Hochverratsprozesse des Michael Paläologus im Jahr 1252', *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* 8 (1931), 59-98.

decided that they should settle the matter by single combat. The one defeated was Michael's supporter, though he did not receive a mortal wound. It was then decided that to prove his innocence Michael should undergo an ordeal by fire. This required the accused to take up a piece of red-hot metal from the fire in his bare hands and walk three paces holding it. If he endured the agony, he was declared innocent.⁴ Naturally, after an ordeal of this kind, it was difficult for anyone actually to be judged innocent. If Michael, then, took hold of the iron he was almost certainly condemned beforehand. But even if he endured the pain he would have suffered very severe burns, which would have left him disabled. He managed, however, to avoid undergoing the ordeal.

Let us look at how he did this, as described in some detail by his colleague, the historian George Acropolites, who became his grand logothete, or, as we might say today, his prime minister. Acropolites gives his account in the form of a fast-moving dialogue, which cannot have been too far from the truth, since he himself was present. Michael said, 'If there were a specific accusation and accuser, I would agree to engage in single combat and prove that he is lying. But since I am not accused of anything specific, I do not understand why I should submit to this ordeal. I do not have the ability to perform miracles, and you all know that a red-hot piece of iron will burn the hand that grasps it, unless it is made of stone.' A member of the higher clergy, Phocas, metropolitan of Philadelphia, also took part in the debate, trying to persuade him to submit to the ordeal. Michael replied: 'I am a sinner and cannot perform miracles. If you insist that I should go through with this, put on your episcopal vestments, in which you celebrate the Liturgy, pick up the red-hot iron and put it in my hand.' The metropolitan naturally declined and said: 'This custom does not correspond to our ecclesiastical traditions. It is barbarian and alien to our customs.' Michael was not lost for a reply: 'If I were a barbarian, you could judge me by barbarian mores and customs. But since I am a Roman and not a barbarian, I should be tried according to Roman justice.' This argument stirred the sympathy many already felt for Michael and forced Vatatzes to accept Michael's innocence and not insist on staging the ordeal.⁵

The episode throws into relief Michael's agility of mind and 'diplomacy' in the broader sense of the word.⁶ It is also interesting how Acropolites accounts for the incident. It was a divine testing, he writes, of Michael, the future emperor, so that once he had ascended the throne he should not give easy credence to denunciations or arrive at hasty judgements.⁷

The 'future emperor', as he is called, the celebrated Michael Ducas Angelus Comnenus

4 There has been much discussion of the remoter origins of this custom. Ph. Koukoules, *Βυζαντινὸν Βίος καὶ πολιτισμός*, vol. 3, Athens 1949, 356-7, refers to two well-known lines from Sophocles' *Ἀντιγόνη* (ἦμεν δ' ἐτοίμοι καὶ μύδρους αἰρεῖν χερσὶν, καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, vv. 264-5), and maintains that the ancient Greek custom survived. In the more recent literature, of course, the prevailing view is that there has been an influence from the corresponding western practices: D. J. Geanakoplos, *Interaction of the "Sibling" Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)*, New Haven and London 1976, 146-55. Also very useful is the very detailed study of S. Troianos, 'Das Gottesurteil im Prozessrecht der byzantinischen Kirche', in *Zwischen Polis, Provinz und Peripherie. Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte und Kultur*, ed. L. M. Hoffmann, with the assistance of A. Monchizadeh (Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik 7), Wiesbaden 2005, 469-90, where the 'legal' dimensions of the topic are also examined.

5 On all this see Miliarakis, 405-8.

6 See e.g. the definition under the lemma in G. Babinotiotis' *Lexikon*, as 'ability and skill in negotiating or coming to an agreement'.

7 Acropolites, *Χρονική Συγγραφή*, 100.

Palaeologus, had close family connections with the three great imperial houses of Byzantium. His father Andronicus Palaeologus had married Theodora, a daughter of Irene and another Palaeologus called Alexius, so that as he was descended from the Palaeologi on both his father's and his mother's side he was also called Diplopalaeologus.⁸ It should also be noted that Irene, his grandmother on his mother's side, was the first-born daughter of Alexius III Angelus (the emperor overthrown by the Crusaders in the summer of 1203). As Alexius III had no male issue, he had indicated that his daughter and her husband, Alexius Palaeologus, should be his successors. The latter's death, however, prevented this plan from being put into effect. Nevertheless, Michael's aspirations towards the imperial throne may be traced back to it. They were naturally encouraged by his family environment. Pachymeres tells us that when he was a baby, the only lullaby which would send him to sleep was one whispered by his sister Eulogia, which went roughly: 'go to sleep, my little one; when you grow up you will be a great man, you will be emperor and you will enter Constantinople by the Golden Gate.'⁹ This gate in the Ἑπταπύργιον (Yediküle) quarter of Constantinople, and today walled up, was the one through which the emperors traditionally entered the imperial capital after their victorious campaigns.

It would divert us too far from our purpose if we were to dwell as fully on all Michael's actions which led him step by step to the throne. It is enough to mention that in all of them he showed the same quick-wittedness and cynical calculation for what was in his own best interest as he did in the incident of the ordeal, with the result that the legitimate dynasty was thrust aside and he ascended the throne. The opportunity came when Theodore II Lascaris died in 1258 after reigning for four years. His son John was a minor – barely eight years old – who had to be placed under the guardianship of an able person who could exercise the appropriate supervision until he attained his majority. By his will, which he had drawn up a little before his death, Theodore had entrusted the regency and guardianship of his son to the *πρωτοβεσιτάριος* (head of the imperial treasury) George Mouzalon. His promotion naturally provoked a reaction among members of the traditional aristocracy, who were thus set aside even though they felt themselves better suited to the role of guardian because of their high social status, all the more so in view of the fact that George's two brothers were also honoured with high office.¹⁰ Rumours quickly began to spread that the *πρωτοβεσιτάριος* had had the ear of the emperor and had prompted him to punish his opponents. The belief that he was planning to overthrow the dynasty and usurp the throne after his appointment as guardian came to be held by many. And it appears that Michael did his best to foment these rumours surreptitiously, while publicly declaring in a diplomatic and dissimulating way that he had no reservations about Mouzalon. Although the sources are far from clear, it appears that even before Theodore II had died, a plan had been laid for a conspiracy led

8 See Gregoras, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* III, 4 (ed. Schopen, 69). For the complicated genealogy see V. Laurent, 'La généalogie des premiers Paléologues', *Byzantion* 8 (1933), 125-49. Also A. Th. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen 1259-1453*, Munich 1938, and D. I. Polemis, *The Doukai. A Contribution to Byzantine Prosopography*, London 1968, 131, 156-8.

9 Ἦν δὲ τὸ λεγόμενον ὡς εὔνη τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Πόλεως καὶ ὡς κατὰ τὴν Χρυσέαν πύλιν εἰσελθεῖν μέλλοι καὶ ὡς τὸ καὶ τὸ ἐκεῖσε μεγαλυνόμενος ἐκτελέσειεν: Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι*, II, 23 (ed. A. Failler, *Georges Pachymères, Relations Historiques*, Paris 1984, vol. I, 181).

10 Andronicus was appointed *μέγας δομέστικος* (i.e. head of the army) and Theodore *πρωτοκυνηγός* (i.e. in charge of the imperial hunt).

by Michael Palaeologus into which a number of the leading nobles had been initiated. A key part in the evolution of these events was played by the Latin mercenaries. Their commander, the μέγας κοντόσταυλος (grand constable), was Michael Palaeologus. It was he, it seems, who by appropriate means stirred up their resentment against the Mouzalon family, and especially against George, whom they regarded as responsible for the cuts in their wages, since it was at his suggestion that Theodore II had introduced this measure.

On the day of the ninth-day (or, according to some, the third-day) memorial service for Theodore II at the Monastery of Sosandra in Magnesia, the Latin mercenaries suddenly began to shout and demonstrate against the πρωτοβεσιτιάριος. The disturbance became general and got out of control. The mob made for the Sosandra monastery in an ugly mood, forced their way into the church and hacked the Mouzalon brothers to pieces.¹¹ With this obstacle out of the way, the only choice left was Palaeologus, and everyone was obliged to turn to him and bestow the guardianship on him. Michael, moreover, also assumed the office of grand duke, or commander of the imperial fleet. He was now in essence the highest official of the land since he held all authority in his hands apart from the symbols of imperial authority, as Nicephorus Gregoras observes.¹² In spite of being a usurper, he conducted himself in such a way that he carried the nobility and higher clergy with him, as well as the common mass of people. After a short interval he took the title of despot and finally was proclaimed emperor on the 1 January 1259, having previously sworn not to harm the rights of the legitimate successor and not to engage in any actions against him.¹³

The first problem Michael had to deal with in his new role as emperor was the triple alliance between his namesake Michael II, despot of Epirus, William de Villehardouin, prince of Achaea or the Morea, and Manfred Hohenstaufen, king of Sicily. In these particular circumstances the aims of the three happened to coincide, since each wanted to seize Constantinople on his own account and dominate the wider region of the Balkans.¹⁴ As only a few months had passed since the overthrow of the Mouzalon brothers, Michael did not want to risk a clash on the battlefield. Initially, he preferred to try and dissolve the alliance by diplomatic means. The sources mention the sending of ambassadors to all three of these princes, who would not even discuss the possibility of coming to some understanding. Here we should note that Acropolites¹⁵ records the names of two of these ambassadors. A certain Nicephorus Alyates was sent to Manfred, and a Theodore Philes to Michael II of Epirus. Furthermore, we know that Alyates was dumb and Philes blind, but no satisfactory explanation has been offered for why Michael chose them or how they were

11 The episode described in detail by Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* I, 15-19 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 65-89). See also S. Lampakis, *Γεώργιος Παχυμέρης, πρωτεύδικος καὶ δικαιοφύλαξ. Εἰσαγωγικὸ δοκίμιο*, Athens 2004, 57-60.

12 καὶ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν κοινῶν πραγμάτων ὁ Κομνηνὸς Μιχαὴλ, πλὴν τῶν βασιλικῶν σημάτων, πᾶσαν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀνεπλημμένως (*Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* III, 4, ed. Schopen, 70).

13 These events and the 'legal' aspects are discussed in detail by Αἰκ. Christophoropoulou, *Ἐκλογή, ἀναγόρευσις καὶ στέψις τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ αὐτοκρατορὸς* [Πραγματεῖαι τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν, vol. 22, no. 2], Athens 1956, 180-5. The oaths and promises were needless to say not kept, for two years later John IV was blinded (on Christmas day, 1261) and exiled.

14 For more detail see D. J. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus and the West, 1258-1282*, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, 47-74.

15 *Χρονικὴ Συγγραφή* (ed. Heisenberg, 165).

able to accomplish their mission.¹⁶ I simply mention the fact here as one of the curious minor details in our information concerning Byzantine embassies. It has also been thought likely,¹⁷ although there is no general agreement on this, that an embassy was sent to the pope – at that time Alexander IV – for Michael to obtain an assurance that he would use his influence to avert any intervention in the East. But again this met with no success. The matter was resolved on the battlefield in the famous battle of Pelagonia. I shall not dwell on the details,¹⁸ but simply mention that it came at a critical moment for Michael and strengthened his position. Of the three allies already mentioned, William was captured and held as a prisoner for a considerable time. He was freed on the agreement that he would surrender certain fortresses in the Peloponnese to the Byzantines. The agreement was sealed with what in modern Greek is called a relationship of *κοιμπαριά* (a mutual relationship between parents and godparents), as an anonymous versifier wrote in the *Chronicle of the Morea*:

Ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶχεν υἱὸν μειράκιον νὰ βαπτίσῃ,
 Τὸν πρίγκιπαν ἐξήτησε κ' ἐποίησαν συντεκνίαν.
 Στὲς συμφωνίες ποὺ ἐποίησαν ἦτον κι ἐτοῦτο μέσα,
 Ποτὲ μάχην νὰ μὴ ἔχουσιν, ἀγάπην νὰ κρατοῦσιν.¹⁹

Michael's next plan was the capture of Constantinople. One of his first concerns was to ensure the neutrality of the Bulgars, who, like the Serbs, were now a major force in the Balkans. About seventy years previously, in the reign of Isaac Angelus (1185-95), first the Serbs and then the Bulgars had proclaimed not only their political independence, creating the (second) Bulgarian and Serbian empires, but also their religious independence, recognizing the hierarchy of the Church of Rome. The ambassador was the same George Acropolites. According to his narrative of these events,²⁰ he was at the Bulgarian capital Veliko Trnovo at Christmas and was pressed by the Bulgars to stay until Epiphany and take part in the ceremonies, since they celebrated that day with particular solemnity. Unfortunately, Acropolites does not go into the details of what was discussed. One probable explanation is perhaps that, as is well known, the wife of the then Bulgarian Tsar, Constantine Tich (1258-77), was Irene, the eldest daughter of Theodore II Lascaris²¹ and sister of John, who had been thrust aside by Michael VIII. It is therefore likely that since Acropolites was well disposed to Michael, he did not wish to refer to unpleasant discussions about his actions and the objections to them, which would unavoidably have been raised in the course of his embassy.

With regard to the Italian maritime republics, circumstances led Michael to enter into an agreement with Genoa. By a treaty signed at Nymphaeum in the spring of 1261, a series of commercial privileges was granted to the Genoese in exchange for their pledge to supply

16 As the punishments had been inflicted on these men by Theodore II Lascaris, it is thought probable that they were Michael's faithful followers.

17 See Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 57.

18 Of the abundant literature see esp. Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 47-74.

19 The emperor had a young son to baptize, /He asked the prince and they made a father-godfather pact (*synteknia*). /In the agreements they made was also this: /They would never give battle, but abide in love: *Χρονικό τοῦ Μορέως* (ed. P. Kalonaros, Athens 1940), verses 4336-9, p. 183. Cf. also verse 5542 (p. 230): καὶ σύντεκνον σὲ ἔποικεν νὰ στερεωθῇ ἡ φιλία σας.

20 *Χρονική Συγγραφή* (ed. Heisenberg, 176).

21 By his marriage to Helen, daughter of the Bulgarian Tsar John II Asen; see Miliarakis, 267, 483.

fifty ships (maintenance to be the responsibility of the Byzantines) since for the siege of the capital a fleet was also needed. It appears that the initiative for this alliance came from Genoa. Nevertheless, Michael hastened to profit from it and accept it.²² In the end, as is well known, Constantinople was recovered by the Caesar Alexius Strategopoulos before the Genoese ships arrived. Naturally, sources friendly to Michael hastened to attribute the success to him, while those hostile to him attempt to depreciate his contribution.²³

With the reconquest of Constantinople, Michael did not turn against its 'Latin' inhabitants, who were for the most part merchants of Venetian, Genoese and Pisan origin, but allowed them to remain under certain stipulations. That is to say, he tried to maintain a balance and remain on good relations with all parties, without showing that he favoured some more than others, so that they would not combine against him. He also sought to be well informed about their plans and if possible to exploit their differences.²⁴ For his long-term goal was the restoration of the Byzantine empire to its former extent. Pachymeres reveals this in his verbatim report of Michael's speech on entering Constantinople. Among other things, he expresses his certainty that 'just as when this city fell, we lost the rest of our lands, now that it has been recovered, we shall certainly regain the rest.'²⁵

Naturally, the reconquest of Constantinople provoked a reaction in the West and plans for its recovery. One of Michael's first acts was therefore to send an embassy to Pope Urban IV²⁶ to try to win some papal support. We know the names of the envoys: Nicephoritzes and Aloubardes, who were unable to accomplish their mission because they were already under suspicion of treachery from the time they served as secretaries to Baldwin of Flanders, the Latin emperor of Constantinople. It was therefore natural that the fury of the Latins for the loss of the imperial capital should be vented upon them. They were assaulted as soon as they arrived: οὐδ' αὐτὸ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν πρέσβων παρηγεῖτο ('not even the status itself of ambassador protected them') observes Pachymeres.²⁷ One of them, probably Nicephoritzes, was flayed alive, not only to punish him personally but also 'to dishonour the one who sent him' (ἐπ' ἀτιμία τοῦ πέμψαντος) as Pachymeres comments.²⁸ The other managed to escape. *Autres temps, autres mœurs*.

Another threat, this time from Asia Minor, was presented by the Tatars, an unstable factor because they were not an organized state but a nomadic people (Pachymeres calls them 'tent-dwellers' (σκηνῖται),²⁹ and no one could tell with any certainty when or how they would strike. Michael therefore also made a pact with them, seeking to ensure that they would remain neutral, with the promise that he for his part would keep the Seljuq

22 On the details see Miliarakis, 580-8; Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 77-80.

23 See e.g. Lampakis, *Παχυμέρης*, 71-4.

24 Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 106-10.

25 Ὅπερ καταπεσούσης ταύτης, συγκατέπιπτον τὰ λοιπά, οὕτως, ἀνακληθείσης ταύτης, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἀνακληθῆσεν ταῦτα: *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι*, II.30 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 211); cf. Miliarakis, 609-12.

26 On this see the recent article by B. Milios, *Ενωτικές διαπραγματεύσεις μεταξύ Παλαιάς και Νέας Ρώμης αμέσως μετά την απελευθέρωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης από τους Λατίνους. Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγος και Ουρβανός Δ' (1261-1264)*, *Βυζαντιακά* 23 (2003), 229-48.

27 *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι*, II.36 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 227).

28 See note 27.

29 *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι*, II.24 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 185).

sultan of Iconium, Izzedin Kaikaus II, at his court. Even though in decline, the sultanate of Iconium was the main obstacle to the advance of the Tatars, so that by keeping its leader close by him Michael was offering the Tatars a service and allowing them to carry out their raids with impunity. At the same time he gave his illegitimate daughter, Maria, as a bride, whom he sent accompanied by the then archimandrite of the Monastery of Pantocrator (and later patriarch of Antioch) Theodosius Princeps, and supplied with many rich gifts and silk robes. The intended bridegroom was the Ilkhan Hulagu, but as he was dead by the time the party arrived at his court, Maria was married to his son and successor, Abaga.³⁰ A little later Michael became a relation by marriage to another Tatar leader, Nogaj, the khan of the Golden Horde. He sent him another of his illegitimate daughters called Euphrosyne. Pachymeres adds some vivid details. Michael sent the Tatar khan tasty comestibles, fine wines and also luxurious textiles. Nogaj preferred the comestibles and the wines. He did not like the luxurious robes, asking the ambassadors what they were for. Was the headgear to stop headaches? Or did the pearl decorations ward off lightning? Could these luxurious textiles heal his bodily pains? If they said no, he would not wear them, or he wore them very briefly just to show willing in the presence of the ambassadors, and then put on again his humble clothing made of skins.³¹ Here it is worth mentioning that Pachymeres, as an opponent of Michael, disapproved of these marriage alliances and rich gifts, regarding them as a disastrous strategy. He dedicates a significant part of his narrative, as a kind of excursus, on how earlier emperors had dealt with the Tatars. Even though this excursus is not relevant to Michael's activities, it is useful to examine it here because it gives us an insight into the methods of Byzantine diplomacy. John Vatatzes took care to fortify his strongholds and keep them well supplied with weapons and food.³² While as soon as the Tatars appeared, Theodore Lascaris sent messages to make it known that he was preparing to attack them. When the Tatars despatched ambassadors, Theodore sent out his own envoys supposedly to meet them on the road but their real purpose was to lead them round by the most precipitous and difficult route, telling them that that was what the whole territory of Nicaea was like.³³ When the ambassadors arrived he had taken care to have troops in full armour drawn up along the

30 Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι*, III.3 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 233-5)

31 Ἀλλὰ Νογᾶν μὲν κηδεύσας ὁ βασιλεὺς τηνικάδε, τὸν ἐκείνων ἄρχοντα, πέμπων οὐκ ἀνείη πλείστα, ὅσα τε πρὸς ἐνδυμάτων χρῆσιν καὶ ὅσα πρὸς τροφῶν ποικιλίαν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἀνθοσμίων οἶνων ὅλας πιθάρκας φιλοτιμούμενος. Ὅ δὲ τὰ μὲν εἰς βρώσιν καὶ πόσιν μαθὼν ἡγάπα λαμβάνων καὶ χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἄργηρον ἐν ἐκπώμασι προσεδέχετο τὰ δὲ ποικίλα ἢ πρὸς καλὴν τέχνην ἢ πρὸς ἐνδύματα -ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα προσασπαστέλλων ὁ βασιλεὺς- ἀφώμενος ταῖς χερσίν, ἀνηρώτα τὸν διακομιζόμενον εἰ χρησιμεῖον πρὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἄπρονον εἶναι καὶ ἀνάκλητον ἢ καλὴν τέχνην, εἰ καὶ ὁ ἐπανεπαρμένος μάργαρας ἀμύνειν ἔχοι ταύτην τὰς ἀστράπας, εἰ εἰς βροντῶν κτύπου ὥστε μὴ ἐμβρόντητον γίνεσθαι τὸν φοροῦντα, ὁ λίθος συναίρειτο, εἰ τὰ πολυτελῆ αὐθις ἐνδύματα εἰς ἄπροναν μελῶν συλλαμβάνοι: Παχυμέρης *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι*, V, 4 (ed. Failler, vol. II, 445-9). Cf. also III, 5 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 243).

32 Ὁ Δούκας Ἰωάννης κλέος μόνον ἐκείνων ἦκουε καὶ κατοχύρου τὰ φρούρια σίτῳ καὶ ἄρμασιν, ὧν τὸν μὲν καὶ εἰς χρόνους προσέταττεν ἀποτίθεσθαι, βούλλαις μολυβδίναις τὸν ἐνόντα τοῖς ἐποίκοις σφραγίζων, φέροντας δ' ἔξωθεν ἐπιτάττον σιτίζεσθαι, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ἐτίθει τοῖς κτησομένοις, ὥς ἐκείνων πᾶν τὸ εἰς περιουσίαν ὄν ὑπερέει προικοδοτοῦντας γὰρ μετὰ τὴν σεβασμίαν εἰκόνα τὰ ὅπλα προσέταττε καταγράφεσθαι μηδὲ γὰρ ἔχειν εἰδέναι τί τὸ ἐξορμησάντων σφῶν φωλεῶν ἔθνος καὶ ὁποίοις τοῖς ἡβῶσι χράται, κἂν εἰρηγενεῖν θέλοι, κἂν μάχεσθαι: Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* II. 25 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 187).

33 Ἐγὼν δ' ὅμως ὁ βασιλεὺς, τὸ φοβερόν πλασάμενος, ἐκείνους κατασφίσασθαι. Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν προαπέστειλεν ὥς ἤθελεν ἀγγελοῦντας ἐπὶ περσιδοῦς ὡς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς εὐτρεπίζοιτο, καὶ οἱ ταχυδρομοὶντες ἐπέμποντο...εἰτα δὲ τοῖς πρέσβεσι προσελαύνουσι πέμψας τοὺς ὑπαντήσοντας, ὥς ἤθελεν καὶ σφίσι τὰς ὁδοὺς ὁδηγήσαι, δι' ὅτι δυσχωρὼν ἐξελπίτηδες τῶν ἐκείνους διαβιβάζειν προσέταττε, κἂν τις ἀποκναῖων ἐρωτῇ τὴν δυσχωρίαν, οὕτω πᾶσαν ἔχειν τὴν τῆς Ῥωμαίδος γῆν ἀποκινεῖσθαι, ὥς ἐτοίμως ἔχόντων τῷ μὴ εἰδέναι πιστεῖναι. Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* II. 25 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 189).

main street leading to the palace. His servants and officials contrived to appear suddenly at different points and immediately vanish again, only to reappear at once somewhere else, so as to give the impression that they were more numerous than they actually were. They also let the Tatar ambassadors wait a long time in some hall, and then suddenly raised a curtain and revealed the emperor in all his majesty, surrounded by his courtiers, who were themselves dressed with great splendour. And as soon as the discussions were over – in a space of time disproportionately short compared to how long the ambassadors had had to wait – the guides led them back again to the frontier by the same precipitous route.³⁴ Even though we were afraid of them, Pachymeres concludes, by our intelligence we made them fear us ourselves. But now we exchange ambassadors and contract marriage alliances.³⁵ Yet in spite of Pachymeres' negative criticism, this policy of Michael's was not completely without success.

Another factor influencing the balance of power in the wider Mediterranean world was the Mameluk kingdom of Egypt.³⁶ The sultan, Baybars, was of Cuman stock and liked to recruit Cumans into his army.³⁷ As the ships bringing them had to pass through the Bosphorus, with all its geopolitical implications,³⁸ relations with Constantinople and the Byzantine emperor had to be good. The sultan sent him many gifts over the years, amongst which was a giraffe. Pachymeres felt compelled to describe it in detail and devotes almost a whole page to it: 'an unusual and amazing animal' (*ξῶον ἀσύνηθες καὶ θαυμάσιον*),³⁹ which was a sight to see and a daily source of enjoyment for those who encountered it in the streets of Constantinople.

A little after the reconquest there were indications that Manfred and Pope Urban IV were probably preparing for joint action in spite of their different political goals.⁴⁰ If it materialized, it would have put Michael in a difficult position. How was he to react?

34 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πρὸς βασιλεῖα πολλὰ πονέσαντες παραγένοιτο, τήνῃα καὶ ἄλλ' ἅττα φοβερά ἐπενόει, ὡς αὐτίκα καὶ ἐκ τῆς θῆας φοβήσων. Ἐπέταττε γὰρ τὰς δυνάμεις ἐν ταυτῷ συνελθεῖν καί, ὀπισθεύοντας κατὰ φρήτρας καὶ φῦλα καὶ τάξεις, ἐν ποσὶς τισι τὸν ὁδὸν διαστήμασιν ἱσταμένους, καταφράκτους σιδήρῳ, φόβον κατὰ παιδιὰς ἐμποιοῖν. Τὸ δὲ γε τῆς γεροντοσύας καὶ ὅσον ἦν τὸν ἐν τέλει καὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ πρὸς αἵματος, πάντας πρὸς τὸ μεγαλειότερον ἐσκευασμένους καὶ στολαῖς καὶ γενναῖῳ τῆς ψυχῆς παραστήματι ὡς αὐτίκα τὸ κατὰ πόδας λαπάζοντας, πολλάκις διόντας ἐξ ἀφανῶν, ἐς ταῦτα ξυμπίπτειν, ὡς τοῖς αὐτοῖς μὲν εἶναι ταῖς ἀληθείας, δοκεῖν δ' ἄλλους καὶ ἄλλους καὶ μὴδέποτε τοῖς αὐτοῖς... αὐτὸν δὲ βασιλικῶς ἐσταλμένον, μὴδὲν τὸν φοβερὸν ἐλλείποντα, ἄνω πον καθήσθαι, σπάθην φέροντα ταῖς χερσὶ, βῆλος τε πολυτελεῖ περικεκλεισμένον, ...ἐξ αἰφνης δ' ἐξ ἀδύλου τὸν παρατετασμάτων διανοιγθέντων, οὕτως ἐγγενέσθαι σφίσι βλέπειν, τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ θρόνου μάλα σοβαρενόμενον, ὀλίγα τε εἰπεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι, μεταξυλογούντων τινων, φοβερά δὲ καὶ ταῦτα δοκοῦντα, ὡς μόνον λεγόμενα καταπλήξαι καὶ οὕτως ἐπ' ὀλίγον ἀφοσιωσάμενον τὸν χρηματισμὸν ἀποπέμπειν διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν πάλιν δυσχωρίων τοῖς ὁδηγοῖς ἐπαναγομένους. Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* II. 25 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 189). Cf. Miliarakis, 464-465.

35 Καὶ οὕτω δεδιότας ξυνέβαινε ἀντιφθεῖν ἐκ συνέσεως. Τότε δ' ὁμαλῶς καὶ ἡπίως πάννυ ἐπεχειροῦν προεβένεσθαι μὲν ἐπ' ἐκείνους, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ πρὸς οὐβεις δέχεσθαι, ὡς αὐτίκα καὶ κατὰ κῆρδ' οὐκ ἐπένδεσθαι μελετᾶν. Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* II. 25 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 189).

36 For the empire's wider diplomatic relations see P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260-1290). Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers*, Leiden 1995.

37 On this Turkish-speaking tribe see A. G. C. Savvides, *Οἱ Κοιμάνοι καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον*, 11^{ος}-13^{ος} αἰ. μ. Χ., *Βυζαντινὰ* 13 (1985), 939-955 (repr. in the same author's book, *Βυζαντινοτουρκικά μελετήματα*, Athens 1991, 153-70). See also Savvides, *Οἱ Τοῦρκοι καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον. Α'. Προ-οθωμανικά φῦλα στὴν Ἀσία καὶ στὰ Βαλκάνια*, Athens 1996, 85-95.

38 See Angeliki Laiou, 'On political Geography: The Black Sea of Pachymeres', in *The Making of Byzantine History: Studies dedicated to Donald M. Nicol*, Aldershot 1993, 91-118.

39 Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* III, 4: (ed. Failler, vol. I, 239).

40 See Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 95-110.

In his court was the young widow of John Vatatzes, at that time still in her late twenties, Constantia-Anna, who was Manfred's sister. Her chastity and modesty enhanced her beauty, writes Gregoras.⁴¹ Michael attempted to ingratiate himself with her and decided to divorce his wife so as to marry her as the first stage of an alliance with her brother. At least it was as the product of a political calculation that Michael's supporters wanted to present this scandalous story. Pachymeres, on the other hand, who, as previously mentioned, is not generally well disposed to Michael, is condemnatory. In his view the emperor's motives were base: *Τῷ γοῦν πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ ἀλόους... ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ μὲν εἶχεν ἐφ' ᾧ τάχα μὴ ἀποδρᾶναι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους, ὅμως δ' ἐκέκινη προνοῶν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων βασιλικῶς πάντα τρόπον ἐπεῖρα τῆς σωφροσύνης ἐκείνης περιγενέσθαι* ('The Emperor Michael, smitten by love for her, kept her in confinement lest she should escape to her own people. But plying her with royal gifts he did all he could to overcome her resistance').⁴² Anna, of course, did not submit. According to Pachymeres she put Michael in his place by giving him the proud reply that it did not befit her, as the former spouse of a glorious emperor, to sully his memory and end up as the mistress of one of his subjects, even if he had now seized the throne.⁴³ It was then that Michael promised her marriage and said he would divorce his legal wife, Theodora, not because he had any complaint against her or any accusation to make. It was just that the difficult circumstances he found himself in led him to think of this solution, with the specious – as Pachymeres terms them – arguments that Anna's compatriots would hesitate to oppose him if he managed to achieve a relationship with them by marriage. The episode was resolved by another 'diplomatic' move, this time by Theodora. She laid the whole matter before the patriarch, Arsenius, who threatened Michael with excommunication, which forced him not to pursue his plans and send Anna back to her brother.⁴⁴ In exchange, at least, he obtained the release of Alexius Strategopoulos, the liberator of Constantinople, who had been taken prisoner in the campaign in Epirus.

The failure of Michael's rapprochement with Manfred was followed by his attempts to come to an understanding with the pope, since his position had deteriorated after the defeat of his Genoese allies, in a naval battle with the Venetians in the Argolic Gulf near Spetsai (Sette Pozzi).⁴⁵ But as soon as William de Villehardouin was freed by Pope Urban IV from his obligations, he turned against Michael, whom he defeated in several encounters in the Peloponnese.⁴⁶ Nor did Michael's appeal to the pope through an exchange of letters, the contents of which we know only indirectly from the acts of the papal curia, lead to any result. Michael let it be understood that he would accept the union of the Churches if the Pope would refrain from helping the Latin rulers in Greece. But Urban's death towards the end of 1264 aborted these plans, which each side, of course, was pursuing for its own ends, Michael to win time after his military defeats, the pope to weaken the influence of Manfred.⁴⁷

41 *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* IV, 3 (ed. Schopen, 92): *σωφροσύνης ὥρα τὸν βίον κοσμοῦσα καὶ τρόποις σεμνότητος τὴν τῆς ὀψεως αἴγλην λαμπροτέραν δεικνύσα.*

42 Pachymeres, *Συγγραμμικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* III, 7 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 245).

43 *μηδὲ γὰρ ἂν καλὸν εἶναι καὶ εὐπρεπές, βασιλεὺς ἀκούσασαν δάμαρτα οὕτω μεγίστου καὶ φοβεροῦ, ἐν ὑστέρῳ τὸ λέχος αἰσχρῶναι καὶ τῷ δοῦλῳ, εἰ καὶ βασιλεῖναι νῦν παλλακεῦσθαι.* Pachymeres, *Συγγραμμικαὶ Ἱστορίαι*, III.7 (ed. Failler, vol. I, 245).

44 Alice M. Talbot, 'Empress Theodora Palaiologina, wife of Michael VIII', *DOP* 46 (1992), 295-303.

45 Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 121-2.

46 Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 123.

47 Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 136-40.

Around the middle of 1265 Michael formed plans for an alliance with Venice, but in the circumstances of the time they did not lead to an agreement. It appears that the Serenissima was content to await the outcome of the conflict between Manfred and another powerful personality, Charles of Anjou. The struggle between Manfred and Charles was brought to a conclusion at the beginning of 1266 (on the 26 February) at the battle of Benevento, at which Manfred was defeated and killed. In the artless narrative of the *Chronicle of the Morea*:

ἐκεῖ ἐσκοτώθη ὁ ροῖ Μαφρές, τὸν πόλεμον ἐχάσε,
 κι ὅσοι ἐνέμειναν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, λέγω ἀπὸ τὸν λαόν του
 ὅλοι ἐπροσκυνήσασιν τὸν μέγα ροῖ Κάρλον,
 καὶ οὕτως ἐνέμεινεν αὐτὸς μὲ ἀνάπαυσιν κ' εἰρήνην
 ρήγας ἀφέντης Σικελίας καὶ τοῦ ρηγάτου Πούλιας ...⁴⁸

This narrative cannot be compared, of course, to the description in the third Canto of the purgatory of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, where Manfred is one of those who speak to Dante:

biondo era e bello e di gentile aspetto
*ma l'un de' cigli un colpo avea diviso...*⁴⁹

Through Dante's description this decisive battle achieved literary immortality.

Matters were now much more critical, since Charles, the brother of the famous Louis IX of France, succeeded in bringing together all Michael's enemies and began to apply himself strenuously to the recapture of Constantinople.⁵⁰ As Gregoras very aptly says, he wanted to revive the ancient Roman empire.⁵¹ He therefore made an alliance with Baldwin in which they agreed to marry their children to each other, with Baldwin's daughter bringing Constantinople as part of her dowry. Charles was perfectly capable of deciding what must be done and also putting his plans into effect, as Gregoras notes.⁵² In strength and intelligence he excelled all his predecessors. But he was uneasy, adds Gregoras, because Michael had the same attributes and was afraid he might be led 'into very deep waters' (*εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας περιστάσεις*). And indeed Michael did not wait passively for his adversary to attack him. But before suffering anything untoward himself, found an ingenious way of causing him irreversible harm.⁵³ If Michael had not been emperor, Charles would have prevailed, and vice versa.⁵⁴ After Manfred's defeat, then, *ἐμεγαλύνετο ῥῆξ ὁ πρότερον*

48 *Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, verses 6236-40 (ed. Kalonaros, 255). (There King Manfred was killed, he lost the war, /And those who remained, I mean of his people, / They all paid homage to the great King Charles, / And thus he remained at ease and in peace, /King and lord of Sicily and the kingdom of Puglia).

49 Trans. N. Kazantzakis: ὄριος, ξανθός, μ' εὐγενικὸ τὸ δῶμα, / μὰ μοίραζε πληγὴ σὲ διὸ τὸ φρύδι... Trans. Dorothy Sayers: 'Buxom he was, and blond, and debonair, / Only he had one eyebrow cloven through.

50 On Charles of Anjou's policy generally see Maria Dourou - Iliopoulou, *Η Ανδεγαυική κυριαρχία στην Ρωμανία ἐπὶ Καρόλου Α' (1266-1285)*, Athens 1984.

51 *τὴν ὅλην, ὡς εἰπείν, Ἰουλίον Καίσαρος καὶ Ἀνγούστου μοναρχίαν ὠνευροπόλει*: Γρηγοράς, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία*, V. 1 (ed. Schopen 123).

52 *δεινὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ ἀνὴρ οὐ μόνον σκέψασθαι τὰ δέοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ῥάστα τελεσιουργὸν τὴν σκέψιν ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐνδείξασθαι*: Gregoras, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* V. 1 (ed. Schopen, 123).

53 *Ἀλλ' ἀντέπραττε αὐτῷ καθάπαξ εἰπεῖν ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως δραστηκωτέρᾳ ὀξύτης καὶ ἀντεκάθητο ὑπερδέξιός*. Gregoras, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* V, 6 (ed. Schopen, 144). On all this see Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 145-7.

54 Gregoras, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ Ἱστορία* V, 6 (ed. Schopen, 144-5).

κόντος, ὡς τοῦ ῥηγὸς Φραγγίας ἀντάδελφος: τοῦτο γάρ οἱ καὶ συμπεφωνημένος μισθὸς ἦν παρὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Μαφρὲ ἀποστατοῦντι ὀρμῆς, ἂν εἰς τέλος νικῶν ('the former count was promoted to king, since he was the brother of the king of France. For this was the reward agreed by the Church in its assault on Manfred the apostate if he finally defeated him').⁵⁵

An example of how the new situation was shaping up is provided by the Treaty of Viterbo of 1267, which must be regarded as a new *partitio Romaniae*. This treaty was drawn up by the pope – now Clement IV – on one side and Charles, William and Baldwin on the other to settle the fate of the Latin empire. Michael was excluded as a schismatic and usurper of the imperial title. All promised that they would do their best to restore the Latin empire. The pope's aim was essentially to obtain the submission of the Greek Church by suitably exploiting Charles's ambitions but without at the same time strengthening him excessively.⁵⁶

Michael's turning to Genoa and Venice, with whom treaties were signed in 1267, led Charles to make corresponding diplomatic moves. Once he had defeated Conrad Hohenstaufen, Manfred's nephew, towards the end of 1269, he succeeded in making alliances with Hungary, Serbia and Bulgaria.⁵⁷

These alliances had been preceded (at the beginning of 1269) by Michael VIII's failed attempt to marry his daughter Anna to the kral of Serbia, Stephen Uroš. Here again it is worth noting what Pachymeres has to say. In his account an embassy was first sent, headed by the Patriarch Joseph himself and other clerics, to check the conditions prevailing at the Serbian court but was disappointed at the poverty and frugality it found there: ἦσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς τὸ παράπαν λιτὰ καὶ εὐτελῆ⁵⁸ ('everything with them was excessively frugal and economical').

The kral was impressed by the numbers and magnificence of the Byzantine party, especially by the eunuchs, but declared that his bride would not need such luxury. There were other incidents too (one evening, for example, the envoys' horses were stolen) so that in the end no agreement was reached.⁵⁹

Another of Michael's activities was to appeal to Charles's brother, the celebrated Louis IX, an unflagging proponent of organizing a crusade on behalf of the Holy Places. The embassy reached Paris in 1269. Among the gifts brought by the envoys was a luxury copy of the New Testament, preserved today as Coislinianus 200 in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.⁶⁰ In the following year there was a second embassy: ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἄνδρας ἐκκλησιαστικούς πολὺν τὸ ἀξιοπρεπὲς ἐκ τε τοῦ τρόπου καὶ ὀφφικίων ἔχοντας ('and he sent some ecclesiastics as greatly distinguished in their character as in their offices,' notes

⁵⁵ Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* IV, 29 (ed. Failler, vol. II, 411).

⁵⁶ Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 150-3.

⁵⁷ Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 165-7.

⁵⁸ Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* V, 6 (ed. Failler, vol. II, 453).

⁵⁹ Pachymeres, *Συγγραφικαὶ Ἱστορίαι* V, 6 (ed. Failler, vol. II, 455).

⁶⁰ On folio 2 of the manuscript there is revealing note: *Michail-semper Augustus serenissimo domino Ludovico illustrissimo Regi Francorum Salutem optatam et dilectionis augmentum. Hic rex Francie recepit d[omi]n[u]m pro unienda ecclesia graecorum [...] cum romana anno domini 1269 itaque in estate istius anni fuerunt ad dominum regem, et in hieme sequente venit alius nuncius ab eodem Michaelē ad eundem Regem: See R. Devreesse, Bibliothèque Nationale, département des manuscrits. Catalogue des manuscrits grecs. II. Le fonds Coislin, Paris 1945, 178-9.*

Pachymeres...⁶¹

But when they reached Sicily they were informed that Louis had set out on his expedition to Tunisia, whereupon they changed their itinerary. Although their ship nearly foundered they finally arrived safely. But now Louis was gravely ill. He managed with great difficulty to indicate that he agreed to the proposals, but his death prevented the plan from being implemented. Charles was obliged to continue his brother's military campaign in Tunisia, and the sudden destruction of his fleet off the promontory of Trapani in Sicily postponed once again his plans to begin operations against Michael.⁶²

In 1272 Michael succeeded in forging a Hungarian-Greek alliance. His son, Andronicus (later the Emperor Andronicus II) married Anna, the daughter of Stephen V (1270-2), who was the son of Bela IV (1235-70) and Maria Lascarina, the daughter of Theodore I Lascaris. Pachymeres hastens to remind us that 'their royal son was Roman-born, from a mother born to a king, the daughter of the old Lascaris' (ὁ ὀψὲς ἐκείνων υἱὸς ἦν ῥωμογενής, ἐκ μητρὸς τῷ ὀηγὶ γεννηθείς, τῆς τοῦ παλαιοῦ Λάσκαρι θυγατρὸς).⁶³ Parallel to this, Charles conquered territory in Albania and was proclaimed (at the beginning of 1272) emperor of the Albanians.⁶⁴ In other words he came out on top in the game of the balance of power. In the meantime a new pope had been elected, Gregory X (1271-4), who was a strong personality. Negotiations therefore began again with the Holy See, while at the same time treaties were renewed with Genoa, and perhaps also with Venice, since Michael had clearly not forgotten the previous discussions which had proved inconclusive. At any rate this time the discussions with the pope were fruitful. Michael could not promise union in the abstract and the new pope wanted some practical evidence, whereupon union was agreed in 1274 at the famous Council of Lyons.⁶⁵ Pachymeres⁶⁶ describes the adventures of the mission, which had set out with two ships, one of which, laden with rich gifts, sank off Cape Maleas. The other reached Italy with difficulty and the journey was continued overland as far as Lyons, where a pact for union for agreed. These developments may have caused Charles temporarily to postpone his plans, but they provoked the strongest protests from Constantinople, from both the laity and the clergy, which forced Michael to take the severest measures with the clerics in order to impose his views. It was at least six years before Charles could turn his attentions systematically towards Byzantium. In 1280 his army began operations in Albania and besieged Bellagrad, the modern Berat. Michael assembled troops and sent reinforcements. A careless action of Charles's commander-in-chief, who rashly approached the Byzantines with a small bodyguard, resulted in his capture, whereupon the Angevin army panicked and abandoned its positions, with the result that it was routed.⁶⁷ The importance of this battle was analogous to that of Pelagonia, because Charles had to start preparations again from the beginning and change the thrust of his advance. Planning

61 *Συγγραμμαι Ἱστορίαι* V, 9 (ed. Failler, vol. II, 463).

62 Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 172-3.

63 *Συγγραμμαι Ἱστορίαι* IV, 29 (ed. Failler, vol. II, 411). See also Miliarakis, 135.

64 See Maria Dourou - Iliopoulou, *Ανδεγαυική κυριαρχία*, 68-71.

65 Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 178-212.

66 *Συγγραμμαι Ἱστορίαι* V, 21 (ed. Failler, vol. II, 507-9).

67 Pachymeres describes these events in great detail in *Συγγραμμαι Ἱστορίαι* VI, 32-3 (ed. Failler, vol. II, 641-53).

now to attack Constantinople by sea, he clearly needed the help of Venice, which, in spite of its treaty with Michael now inclined more towards Charles, with whom it concluded an agreement in 1281. In the meantime there had also been the election of a new pope, Martin IV (1281-5), a supporter of Charles. Martin excommunicated Michael, which forced him to turn to Aragon. King Peter III had married Manfred's daughter, Constantia, and therefore regarded Charles as the usurper of his wife's patrimony. Although the sources are not clear, a plan to overthrow the Sicilian Angevins seems to have taken shape, to which Michael surely contributed. Such was his nature that he reveals it himself in his autobiography: *Σικελοὶ δὲ τῆς λοιπῆς ἰσχύος ἐκείνου ὥς οὐδὲν οὔσης καταφρονήσαντες, αἰρεῖν ἐτόλμησαν ὄπλα καὶ τῆς δουλείας ἑαυτοὺς ἀνείναι. Ὡστ' εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ τὴν νῦν ἐκείνων ἐλευθερίαν Θεὸν μὲν παρασκευάσαι, δι' ἡμῶν δὲ παρασκευάσαι, τῇ ἀληθείᾳ συμβαίνοντα λέγοιμι.*⁶⁸ ('The Sicilians, despising his remaining troops as of no significance, were bold enough to take up arms and free themselves from slavery. Consequently, if I were to say that in bringing about their freedom God brought it about through me, I would be saying what really happened.') The problem was resolved, in fact, by a chance event. On the Easter Monday of 1282, the 31 March, a crowd gathered to attend Vespers in the church of the Holy Spirit at Palermo. A French soldier harassed a young girl, whereupon her relations took offence and attacked him, and quite spontaneously the population's latent fury against the French on account of their oppressive administration burst forth and became general, with the result that not only was the French garrison in Palermo massacred, but the revolt spread by stages throughout Sicily. The disturbances lasted about a month (until 28 April 1282), and have been known since then as the 'Sicilian Vespers'. As a result the French were almost wiped out and had to evacuate Sicily.⁶⁹ Charles thenceforth was fully occupied with Sicily. Once again his plans were postponed, this time for good, for he died in 1285. Three years earlier, in 1282, about five months after the Sicilian Vespers, Michael Palaeologus had also died.

Although he had successfully dealt with so many difficult situations, as I have tried briefly to describe, and had shown a flexible adaptability in each case,⁷⁰ in the mind of his subjects what counted most was his Church union, his tough policies and his usurpation of the throne. They were not inclined to forgive him for these, even after his death.⁷¹

⁶⁸ H. Grégoire, 'Imperatoris Michaelis Palaeologi de vita sua', *Byzantion* 29-30 (1959-60), 449.

⁶⁹ For details see S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers*, Cambridge 1958; Geanakoplos, *Michael*, 247-71.

⁷⁰ For the diplomatic correspondence of Michael VIII see now the very useful book of L. Pieralli, *La corrispondenza diplomatica dell'imperatore bizantino con le potenze estere nel XIII secolo (1204-1282)*. *Studio storico-diplomatico ed edizione critica*, Vatican City 2006, esp. 171 ff.

⁷¹ To conclude, it is worth noting that one of the most significant Greek historical novels of the nineteenth century is based on Michael VIII: Ioannis Pervanoglou, *Μιχαήλ Παλαιολόγος*, Leipzig 1883. For details see K. Mitsakis, *Τὸ Βυζάντιο στὸ νεοελληνικὸ ἱστορικὸ μυθιστόρημα*, in the collection of studies, *Τὰ δοκίμια τῆς Ὁξφόρδης*, Athens 1995, 93-107. Latterly, in 2005, another historical novel inspired by Michael's exploits has appeared: G. Leonardos, *Μιχαήλ Η' Παλαιολόγος, ὁ ἐλευθερωτής*.



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PLATES

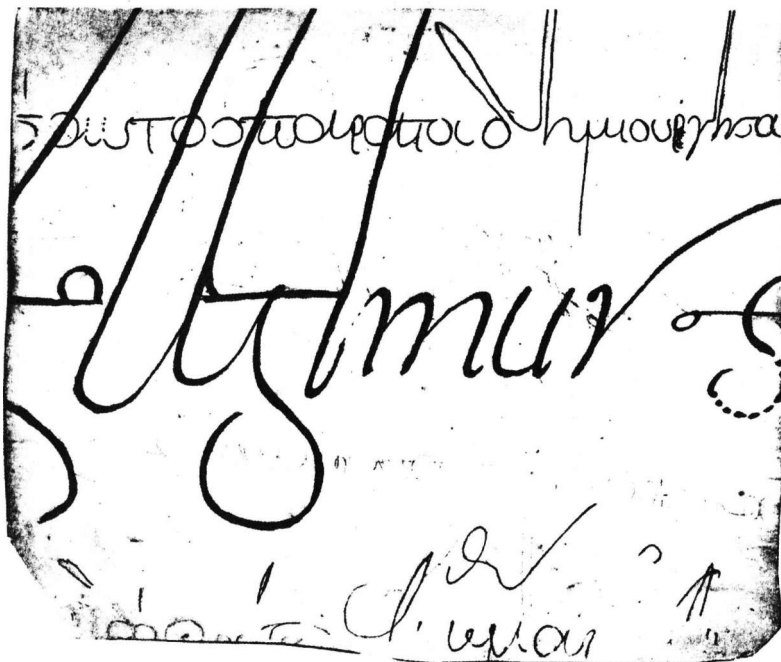


Plate 1

The St Denis papyrus (imperial autograph: legimus)



Plate 2

Letter of John II Comnenus to Pope Innocent II (1139)

f. diuina fauente clemētia impij meli⁹ triumphato^r: a dō coronatus.
 sublimis. in x fidelis magni pacifici. glorijs celar grece modum f⁹ aug⁹.
 nobis y illud regi greco x p⁹ioy dō f⁹ h⁹ latuit y frue dōis at f⁹ t⁹
 p⁹redecessor ipso huc memore impiois urbis rome monarchia diuina mun⁹ te
 y felix obtinuit victoria ea q⁹ nob uls ad hec ipa succellus potit q⁹ tridat⁹ ut
 nos soli romaⁿu impu nō disponat modamine uerūq⁹ y regum grece ad mū
 nū regū y sub nō gubernat debeat impio dō aut ill rex regum a quo ois potas pō
 impu regu totū orbis dicitur i f⁹ lebem roⁿiane ecclē ois ecclar mātū unūc iudex
 y magnūc ordinat ad m⁹g⁹ diuina glari⁹ nō quos quidem fuisse phibit ipē adūa flog
 xane patet figurauit. Quā p⁹ f⁹ tū amoy p⁹xiū. quem me g⁹no excellēte. Diu
 nū tēp⁹ p⁹xiū dignū denoge dūm⁹ f⁹an nobis y impio romaⁿo debeat honar regna
 cas y sumo p⁹xiū quem necet⁹ f⁹en apellat reuēt⁹ adūm exhibet⁹ tūm⁹ aut
 nūa m⁹uēlas f⁹occo quēda ut n⁹at⁹ p⁹xiū f⁹ē d⁹phie tūa q⁹ nobilitat p⁹xiū f⁹umū
 dicitur i u⁹ f⁹ recitāy impio y bono nūc nō co⁹patet⁹ habet p⁹xiū. Quā successu
 nō nobilitat quos dūm cō sedamū regem p⁹xiū p⁹xiū quēda diuina f⁹ig⁹
 nūc quō g⁹ant audim⁹ q⁹ exaudiet⁹ p⁹ ut tūa nobilitat⁹ ipē m⁹uēlas p⁹xiū
 gaudere nō d⁹xiū. Cū autem y gubernat⁹ ois q⁹ solū amū ip⁹ me apū
 nobilitat p⁹xiū tūa allet⁹ y m⁹uēlas n⁹em⁹ an p⁹er bec nūa tūa m⁹uēlas
 notat⁹ uolueris. Si ex remotā mūle uerboz m⁹uēlas me impiois m⁹uēlas
 p⁹xiū nō uinūa ois q⁹ cū ipō soldano retinuit⁹ cū dūm p⁹xiū nō p⁹xiū
 cū. O p⁹xiū nō uinūa ois q⁹ dūm f⁹umū amoy nob p⁹xiū p⁹xiū y p⁹xiū
 pecūnia tuam fideles impū ipi a nō f⁹umū y f⁹umū aliet⁹ interitū
 aut bonū y f⁹umū ipi i f⁹umū f⁹umū p⁹xiū p⁹xiū p⁹xiū y p⁹xiū p⁹xiū
 ad tūa nobilitat⁹ facile mueniunt⁹ parū nobis o⁹ce p⁹xiū aut bonū
 p⁹xiū f⁹umū f⁹umū n⁹em⁹ y pecūnia m⁹uēlas exp⁹ndis. Si y nos y ipi ipi
 fūca fūca diliget⁹ e⁹q⁹ a m⁹uēlas nūa m⁹uēlas f⁹umū f⁹umū p⁹xiū p⁹xiū p⁹xiū

Plate 3

Letter of Frederick Barbarossa to Manuel I Comnenus (1177)

7 anni di dispendio uos non potes curare. de mougentia non fecit. Liberi p[er] hoc n[on]
lari p[er]ueniatis. Ad uigil. v. r. r. r. r. r. p. a. r. f. m. q. legatim ep[iscopu]m qua singens. p[er] qua
quodammodo abnegasti et ip[su]m taliter exequaris. q[uo]d et gl[ori]am in p[re]sentia. et in futuris p[er]m
um obsequans etiam. nosq[ue] ad honore tuu[m] de die in die ampli[m]us intendere renemur. h[ab]et
Anagni. v. kl. february.

Serissime pater et d[omi]no. J. dei gra[ti]a summo pontifici. Alac[ri]s factis in xpo. Imperator a deo coronand[us]
Romani modator. semp[er] Augustus reuerentia filialis obsequium. Quanta in fecerit dies
his dieb[us] s[an]c[t]is iustitiam suam. beatitudin[em] u[ost]ra[m] pontifici[m]i. vobis breu[iter] explicat. q[uo]d locum
aut u[ost]ris nobis obtinere. in cui[us] manu h[ab]et omnia potestates. omnium u[ost]ra regno. et ad de
fuita u[ost]re in g[ra]t[ia] amone d[omi]no. quam u[ost]ro tenore. in p[re]sentia renemur obnoxi. Nonne
pleni s[an]c[t]is u[ost]ra. parricidio in h[ab]itu commisso. occupat[us] sunt. possunt imp[er]ia. inq[ui]t p[er] h[ab]itu
extitit delectabilis enatisse g[ra]tiam. In quo 7 multa celat[ur] d[omi]ni est. ut in ap[osto]lo uidet p[ro]p[ri]a
sed u[ost]re illis u[ost]ro effugit audire. q[uo]d p[er]uenit beata societatis audientia sceleris u[ost]re audire. amare
s[an]c[t]o. seu p[er] u[ost]re miseratione p[er]uenit exilium meum. et cum iustitiam quide[m]. sed ap[osto]lo u[ost]re def[er]re
cum misereat quia u[ost]re adorsu[m] fuerit subleuare. et u[ost]re qualiter in manu. et t[ame]n quia
pater a d[omi]no p[ro]p[ri]a sit salus. subleuare de car[itate] u[ost]re illustis pateris mei cupit ostend[ere].
imp[er]ialib[us] ut deet insignib[us] decorat[us] restant[ur] exp[er]ti meo cum sollemnitate debita imp[er]ia. de
ma. nocui elapso p[er] fugam delectabilis parricidio. qui h[ab]etis supra mandare t[er]minis inuicem
polluat. h[ab]et p[er] u[ost]re suscipere ad nos urbe[m] regiam sermonib[us]. adde misereat u[ost]re u[ost]re. ut ad h[ab]itu
sione libere amque publice latus afferat aduentare. qui ap[osto]lo u[ost]ro locum regere restit
delectat[ur]. inq[ui]t in omni calient[ur] amque. cui occidit. studio opus cum inspani latuitas
diuallit. h[ab]et h[ab]itu et p[er]uenit ad subleuare u[ost]re p[er]uenit. nos inclinat. q[uo]d p[er]uenit s[an]c[t]o
tanta sub u[ost]re u[ost]re religio ep[iscopu]m sumi deuote p[er]uenit. et ep[iscopu]m u[ost]re ecclesiis inq[ui]t
Romani uidelicet pontifici ep[iscopu]m p[er]uenit p[er]uenit catholici successore. nos h[ab]etis agnoscit.
et de ep[iscopu]m orientalis ecclesie p[er]uenit inuicem. si debet nob[is] diuina misereat debet
ille imp[er]ium intelligentes p[er]uenit q[uo]d accide debet plinu[m] honore[m] u[ost]re u[ost]re inq[ui]t. et
u[ost]re deus etiam. si u[ost]re d[omi]ni u[ost]re u[ost]re. et ep[iscopu]m u[ost]re u[ost]re. et
hoc quide[m] ut d[omi]ni est u[ost]re et u[ost]re p[er]uenit u[ost]re sub u[ost]re u[ost]re. et p[er]uenit
u[ost]re u[ost]re p[er]uenit plinu[m] p[er]uenit. u[ost]re uob[is] et successorib[us] u[ost]re amone subleuare

Plate 4

Letter of Alexius IV Angelus to Pope Innocent III (1203)

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Plate 5

Sigillion of Alexius III Angelus (1199)

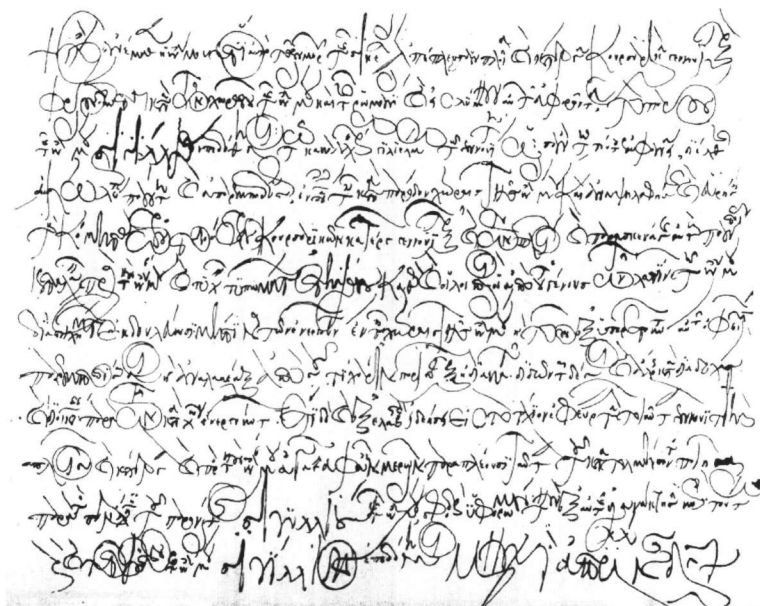


Plate 6
Sigillion of Alexius III Angelus (1201)

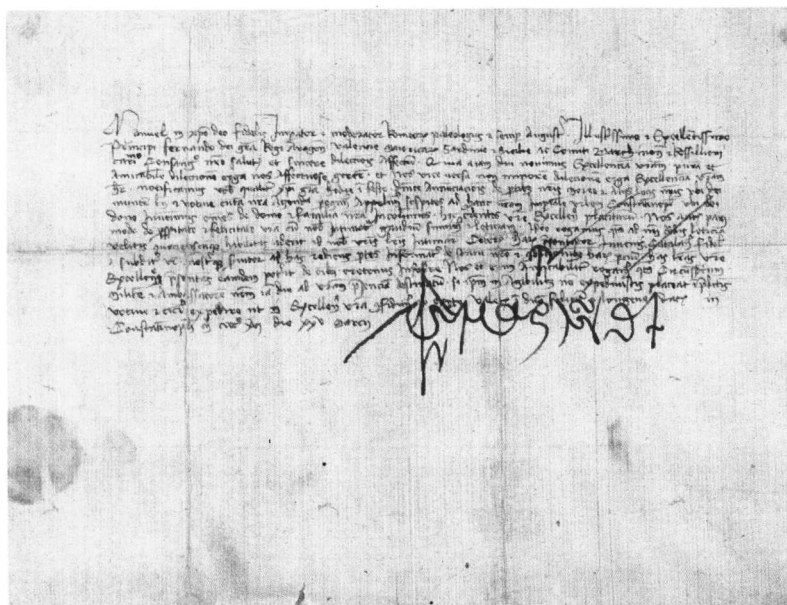


Plate 7

Letter of Manuel II Palaeologus to Ferdinand I of Aragon (1416)



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
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Διπλωματική Ακαδημία



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