

Political Culture in the Latin West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, *c*.700–*c*.1500

This comparative study explores three key cultural and political spheres – the Latin west, Byzantium and the Islamic world from Central Asia to the Atlantic – roughly from the emergence of Islam to the fall of Constantinople. These spheres drew on a shared pool of late antique Mediterranean culture, philosophy and science, and they had monotheism and historical antecedents in common. Yet where exactly political and spiritual power lay, and how it was exercised, differed. This book focuses on power dynamics and resource-allocation among ruling elites; the legitimisation of power and property with the aid of religion; and on rulers' interactions with local elites and societies. Offering the reader route-maps towards navigating each sphere and grasping the fundamentals of its political culture, this set of parallel studies offers a timely and much-needed framework for comparing the societies surrounding the medieval Mediterranean.

Catherine Holmes is Professor of Medieval History at the University of Oxford. Her books include Basil II and the Governance of Empire 976–1025 (2005) and she co-edited Literacy, Education and Manuscript Transmission in Byzantium and Beyond (2002) with Judith Waring, Between Byzantines and Turks (2012) with Jonathan Harris and Eugenia Russell, and The Global Middle Ages (2018) with Naomi Standen.

Jonathan Shepard was Lecturer in History at the University of Cambridge. He is the author of *The Emergence of Rus* (1996) with Simon Franklin, with whom he co-edited *Byzantine Diplomacy* (1992). His edited volumes include *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire* (2008; 2019), *Byzantium and the Viking World* (2016) with Fedir Androshchuk and Monica White, *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic* (2018) with Mladen Ančić and Trpimir Vedriš, and *Viking-Age Trade* (2020) with Jacek Gruszczyński and Marek Jankowiak.

Jo Van Steenbergen is Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Ghent University. He is the author of Order out of Chaos (2006), Caliphate and Kingship in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History of Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage (2017), A History of the Islamic World, 600–1800: Empires, Dynastic Formations, and Heterogeneities in Islamic West-Asia (2020), and



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Political Culture in the Latin West, Byzantium and the Islamic World, *c*.700–*c*.1500

A Framework for Comparing Three Spheres

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- JONATHAN SHEPARD was Lecturer in History at the University of Cambridge. His books include (with S. Franklin) *The Emergence of Rus* (London, 1996) and (co-ed.) *Byzantine Diplomacy* (Aldershot, 1992); (ed.) *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, 2008; 2019); (co-ed. F. Androshchuk and M. White) *Byzantium and the Viking World* (Uppsala, 2016); (co-ed. M. Ančić and T. Vedriš) *Imperial Spheres and the Adriatic* (Abingdon, 2018); and (co-ed. J. Gruszczyński and M. Jankowiak) *Viking-Age Trade* (Abingdon, 2020).
- JO VAN STEENBERGEN is Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at Ghent University. He is the author of Order out of Chaos (Leiden, 2006); Caliphate and Kingship in a Fifteenth-Century Literary History of Muslim Leadership and Pilgrimage (Leiden, 2017); A History of the Islamic World, 600–1800: Empires, Dynastic Formations, and Heterogeneities in Pre-Modern Islamic West-Asia (London, 2020); and editor of Trajectories of State Formation across Fifteenth-Century Islamic West-Asia: Eurasian Parallels, Connections and Divergences (Leiden, 2020).
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Preface and Acknowledgements

We have thought long and hard about how to present political culture across the Latin west, Byzantium and the Islamic world during a period of many centuries to as wide an audience as possible. For that reason, we have tried to make proper names and technical terms accessible wherever practicable. Greek has been transliterated without diacritics. Greek forms of proper names have generally been adopted, but not where the names of people and places are very well known in their Latinised form (Nicaea instead of Nikaia, for example); familiar English forms have been preferred out of the same consideration - Athens not Athenai. Arabic diacritics have been discarded in proper names, including the opening ayn ('), and only the ayn and hamza (') retained for technical terms. To help orientate the reader, reign-dates have been given after the names of key individuals. There is a brief Glossary at the end of the book: this offers a selection of technical terms and other unfamiliar words, although in general we have tried to explain these in the chapter(s) in which they are introduced. To facilitate comparisons within and between the spheres, there are extensive cross-references throughout the book. These internal references are distinguished by the use of p./pp. and occasionally n. for a footnote within the same chapter.

We have tried to limit the use of quotation marks to signal words or phrases of particular significance – or which are particularly problematic – to specialists. These range from the archaic to those which are, for scholarly or political reasons, contentious or open to misunderstanding. Thus inverted commas are generally used only on the first mention in a chapter, alerting the reader that there is uncertainty around, or dispute about the legitimacy of, such terms as barbarian/barbarous/pagan, Berber, church/state, civilising, classical/medieval Islam, the dark ages, empire/imperial, the establishment, family confederations, feudal, gunpowder empires, law/justice, Orientalism, outsider/foreign, peace/violence, the poor/the powerful and successor states. Although it may be argued that each of these terms requires exegesis or justification, if it is not to be avoided altogether, repeated disclaimers in the form of quotation marks tend to distract or unnecessarily confuse the newcomer, even if placating the expert eye.

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xii Preface and Acknowledgements

The running order across sections is one which is shaped by our anticipated readership. The Latin west comes first in each section, not because we deem it more important than the Islamic world or Byzantium but simply because we choose to start with the sphere which we think will be most familiar to most readers. We do not regard that sphere as the benchmark against which the other two spheres should be compared. The chapters are all self-contained, stand-alone items and can be read in any order.

Many thanks are due to Liz Friend-Smith of Cambridge University Press, for her unfailing patience and support; to Ruth Boyes at the Press and Gayathri Tamilselvan at Integra for their help in seeing this volume through to print; to Barbara Hird, our indefatigable and eagle-eyed indexer; to Wade Guyitt and Beth Hamer for their copy-editing and proofreading skills; to David Cox for his superlative maps; to Ryan Kemp for his editorial assistance; and, above all, to Nicola Sigsworth for all her help with organisation and copy-editing. For help in obtaining images, thanks go to Florian Kugler of the Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna; to Jonathan Shea and Lucy Ruowan at Dumbarton Oaks Research Center, Washington, DC; to Adele West at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; to Muge Kuleli and Barlas Ozden Çağlayan in Oxford and Istanbul; to Anne-Catherine Biedermann and Barbara Van Kets of the Réunion des Musées Nationaux Grand Palais Agence Photo; to Ulrike Polnitzky of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek; to Vera Schulz of the Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg; and to the Département Images at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. We thank the three anonymous readers for their responses to our initial publishing proposal: their suggestions impelled us to focus and refine our ideas. Immense thanks are also due to our extremely long-suffering authors, both for their fine contributions to this volume and for their infinite patience.



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Abbreviations

BBOL	N. Necipoğlu, Byzantium between the Ottomans and the Latins: Politics and Society in the Late Empire (Cambridge, 2009)
BCC	H. Maguire (ed.), Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204 (Washington, DC, 1997)
BDI	J. Donohue, The Buwayhid Dynasty in Iraq 334 h./ 945 to 403 h./1012: Shaping Institutions for the Future (Leiden, 2003)
BMFD	J. Thomas and A. C. Hero (eds), Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents: A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments, 5 vols (Washington, DC, 2000)
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BSOAS	The Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
Cal	H. Kennedy, The Caliphate (London, 2016)
CCCM	Corpus christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus christianorum, series latina
CFHB	Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae
СНВЕ	The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500–1492, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge, 2008; 2019)
CHC 5	The Cambridge History of Christianity, V: Eastern Christianity, ed. M. Angold (Cambridge, 2006)
CHI 5	The Cambridge History of Iran, V: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods, ed. J. A. Boyle (Cambridge, 1968)
СНМРТ	The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c.350–c.1450, ed. J. H. Burns (Cambridge, 1988)
CHS 1	The Cambridge History of Scandinavia, I: Prehistory to 1520, ed. K. Helle (Cambridge, 2003)
CSHB	Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae

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DAI	Constantine VII, <i>De administrando imperio</i> , ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC, 1967)
DC	Constantine VII, <i>De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae</i> , ed. J. J. Reiske, 2 vols (Bonn, 1829); repr. in and tr. A. Moffatt and M. Tall, <i>The Book of Ceremonies</i> , 2 vols (Canberra, 2012)
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
ЕНВ	The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century, ed. A. E. Laiou et al., 3 vols (Washington, DC, 2002)
EHR	The English Historical Review
EI^2	Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. P. Bearman et al., 2nd edn, 12 vols (Leiden, 1960–2004) (available online https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/ency clopaedia-of-islam-2)
EI³	Encyclopaedia of Islam, ed. K. Fleet et al., 3rd edn (Leiden, 2007–) (available online https://reference works.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-isla m-3)
EME	Early Medieval Europe
EMK	P. Magdalino, <i>The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos</i> , 1143–1180 (Cambridge, 1993)
GC ¹	Wipo, Gesta Chuonradis II. imperatoris, ed. and tr. W. Trillmich, Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches (Darmstadt, 1961), 505–613
GC^2	Wipo, 'The Deeds of Conrad II', tr. T. E. Mommsen and K. F. Morrison, in <i>Imperial Lives and Letters of the Eleventh Century</i> (New York, 1962), 52–100
GOB	H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (eds), <i>The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era</i> , <i>AD 843–1261</i> (New York, 1997)
GSE	A. C. S. Peacock, <i>The Great Seljuk Empire</i> (Edinburgh, 2015)
IHFI	R. S. Humphreys, <i>Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry</i> , rev. edn (Princeton, 1991)
IIPTB	D. G. Angelov, <i>Imperial Ideology and Political Thought</i> in Byzantium, 1204–1330 (Cambridge, 2007)
IJMES	
INTI	I. E. Binbaş, Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi and the Islamicate Republic of Letters (Cambridge, 2016)
$\mathcal{J}AL$	Journal of Arabic Literature



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List of Abbreviations

ΧV

JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
ЭÖВ	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JRAS	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JSAI	Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
KI	A. F. Broadbridge, Kingship and Ideology in the
	Islamic and Mongol Worlds (Cambridge, 2008)
LPIB	M. C. Bartusis, Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The
	Institution of Pronoia (Cambridge, 2012)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae historica
MGH SRG	MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scho-
	larum, 78 vols to date (Hanover, 1871–)
MGH SRG n.s.	MGH Scriptores rerum Germanicarum n.s., 24 vols to
	date (Berlin, Weimar and Hanover, 1922–)
MGH SS	MGH Scriptores, 39 vols to date (Hanover, 1826-)
MLIB	R. Morris, Monks and Laymen in Byzantium
	(Cambridge, 1995)
MOB	M. Whittow, The Making of Orthodox Byzantium,
	600–1025 (London, 1996)
MPMM	T. Reuter, Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities,
	ed. J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006)
MSR	Mamluk Studies Review
MW	The Muslim World
NCHI 1	The New Cambridge History of Islam, I: The Formation
	of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries, ed. C.
	F. Robinson (Cambridge, 2010)
NCHI 2	The New Cambridge History of Islam, II: The Western
	Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries, ed. M.
	Fierro (Cambridge, 2010)
NCMH 4	The New Cambridge Medieval History, IV: c.1024-
	c.1198, ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, 2 vols
	(Cambridge, 2004)
NCMH 5	The New Cambridge Medieval History, V: c.1198-
	c.1300, ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999)
NCMH 6	The New Cambridge Medieval History, VI: c.1300-
	c.1415, ed. M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000)
NCMH7	The New Cambridge Medieval History, VII: c.1415-
	c.1500, ed. C. Allmand (Cambridge, 1998)
ODB	The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A. P.
	Kazhdan et al., 3 vols (Oxford and New York, 1991)
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, ed. D.
	Cannadine et al., 60 vols to date (Oxford, 2004–)
	(available online www.oxforddnb.com/)
	•



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OHBS The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies, ed. E.

Jeffreys et al. (Oxford, 2008)

P&P Past & Present

PG Patrologia cursus completus: series graeca, ed. J.-P.

Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857-66)

PL Patrologia cursus completus: series latina, ed. J.-P.

Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1841–64)

Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, ed. R.-J.

Lilie *et al.*, *I:* (641–867), *Prolegomena*, 5 vols and list of abbreviations (Berlin and New York, 1998–2002) (available online www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz)

Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, ed. R.-J.

Lilie et al., II: (867–1025), Prolegomena, 7 vols and indices (Berlin and New York, 2009–11) (available

online www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz)

REB Revue des études byzantines

REMMM Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée RIM A. Marsham, Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession

and Succession in the First Muslim Empire (Edinburgh,

2009)

RPCMC J. Van Steenbergen, 'Ritual, politics, and the city in

Mamluk Cairo: the Bayna l-Qasrayn as a Mamluk "lieu de mémoire", 1250–1382', in A. Beihammer et al. (eds), Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean (Leiden,

2013), 227–76

SGMI A. K. S. Lambton, State and Government in Medieval

Islam: An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political

Theory: The Jurists (Oxford, 1981)

SOE M.-F. Auzépy, 'State of emergency (700–850)', in

CHBE, 251–91

SOH P. Crone, Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the

Islamic Polity (Cambridge, 1980)

TBA M. Angold (ed.), The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to

XII Centuries (Oxford, 1984)

TBAMF J.-C. Cheynet, The Byzantine Aristocracy and its

Military Function (Aldershot, 2006)

TIT M. E. Subtelny, Timurids in Transition: Turko-

Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran

(Leiden, 2007)

TM Travaux et mémoires

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society



General Maps

These maps are intended to help orient readers and to locate some of the key places and areas mentioned by our authors. Absolute consistency is difficult to achieve, and readers may find modern place-names alongside ancient ones. It goes without saying that the historical boundaries depicted are approximate and, in some cases, highly speculative or controversial.

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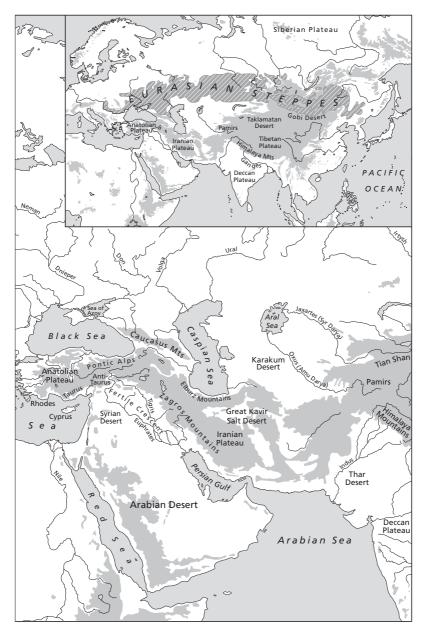
xviii General Maps



Map 1 The physical geography of western Eurasia, with inset extending to the Pacific

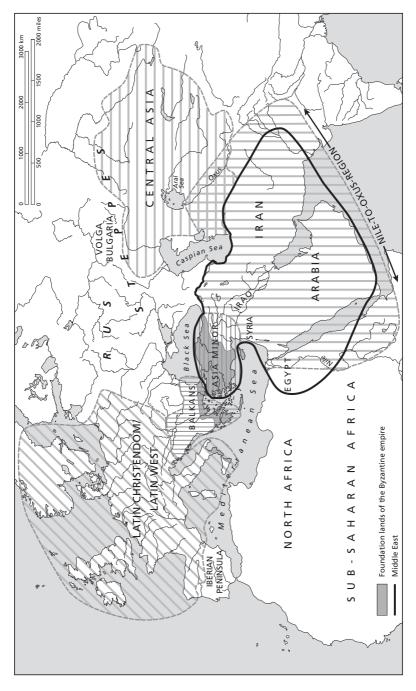


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Map 1 (cont.)





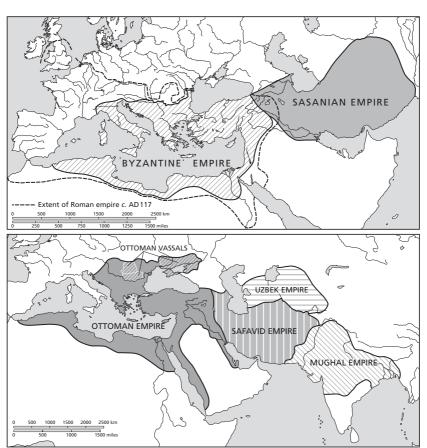
Map 2 A guide to some of the main geographical terminology used in this volume



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Map 3 Empires before and after: a sketch of the pre-eminent polities preceding and following this book's timespan: (top) Rome in its heyday, also showing Byzantium and the Sasanian empire in the sixth century; (bottom) the 'gunpowder empires' in the sixteenth century



xxii General Maps



Map 4 Regions of the Latin west mentioned in this volume, with inset showing the growth of Valois Burgundy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries



General Maps xxiii



Map 4 (cont.)



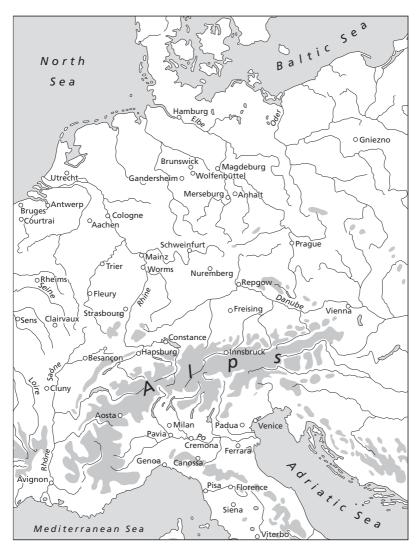
xxiv General Maps



Map 5 Places in the Latin west mentioned in this volume, with inset showing the progress of the Spanish Reconquista



General Maps xxv



Map 5 (cont.)