

## 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.

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Jo Van Steenberg 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

editor of *Trajectories of State Formation across Fifteenth-Century Islamic West-Asia: Eurasian Parallels, Connections and Divergences* (2020).

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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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CAMBRIDGE  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

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UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA

477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia

314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,  
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05–06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

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[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781316519769](http://www.cambridge.org/9781316519769)

DOI: 10.1017/9781009022231

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First published 2021

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Holmes, Catherine, 1968– editor. | Shepard, Jonathan, editor. | Steenberg, J. van, editor. | Weiler, Björn K. U., editor.

Title: Political culture in the Latin west, Byzantium and the Islamic world, c.700–c.1500 : a framework for comparing three spheres / edited by Catherine Holmes, Jonathan Shepard, Jo Van Steenberg, Björn Weiler.

Description: Cambridge ; New York, NY : Cambridge University Press, 2021. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2021008453 (print) | LCCN 2021008454 (ebook) | ISBN 9781316519769 (hardback) | ISBN 9781009022231 (ebook)

SSubjects: LCSH: Political culture. | Comparative government. | Civilization, Medieval. | Europe – Politics and government – 476–1492. | Byzantine Empire – Politics and government. | Islamic countries – Politics and government.

Classification: LCC JA75.7 .P657 2021 (print) | LCC JA75.7 (ebook) | DDC 306.2094/0902–dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021008453>

LC ebook record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2021008454>

ISBN 978-1-316-51976-9 Hardback

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## Preface and Acknowledgements

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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.

## 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 Özden 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.

## Abbreviations

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

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<i>DAI</i>	Constantine VII, <i>De administrando imperio</i> , ed. and tr. G. Moravcsik and R. J. H. Jenkins (Washington, DC, 1967)
<i>DC</i>	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)
<i>DOP</i>	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
<i>EHB</i>	<i>The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century</i> , ed. A. E. Laiou et al., 3 vols (Washington, DC, 2002)
<i>EHR</i>	<i>The English Historical Review</i>
<i>EI<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , ed. P. Bearman et al., 2nd edn, 12 vols (Leiden, 1960–2004) (available online <a href="https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2">https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-2</a> )
<i>EI<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , ed. K. Fleet et al., 3rd edn (Leiden, 2007–) (available online <a href="https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3">https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/browse/encyclopaedia-of-islam-3</a> )
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>EMK</i>	P. Magdalino, <i>The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180</i> (Cambridge, 1993)
<i>GC<sup>1</sup></i>	Wipo, <i>Gesta Chuonradis II. imperatoris</i> , ed. and tr. W. Trillmich, <i>Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches</i> (Darmstadt, 1961), 505–613
<i>GC<sup>2</sup></i>	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
<i>GOB</i>	H. C. Evans and W. D. Wixom (eds), <i>The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, AD 843–1261</i> (New York, 1997)
<i>GSE</i>	A. C. S. Peacock, <i>The Great Seljuk Empire</i> (Edinburgh, 2015)
<i>IHFI</i>	R. S. Humphreys, <i>Islamic History: A Framework for Inquiry</i> , rev. edn (Princeton, 1991)
<i>IIPTB</i>	D. G. Angelov, <i>Imperial Ideology and Political Thought in Byzantium, 1204–1330</i> (Cambridge, 2007)
<i>IJMES</i>	<i>International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies</i>
<i>INTI</i>	I. E. Binbaş, <i>Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran: Sharaf al-Din ‘Ali Yazdi and the Islamic Republic of Letters</i> (Cambridge, 2016)
<i>JAL</i>	<i>Journal of Arabic Literature</i>

## List of Abbreviations

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JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JESHO	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JÖB	<i>Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
JSAI	<i>Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam</i>
KI	A. F. Broadbridge, <i>Kingship and Ideology in the Islamic and Mongol Worlds</i> (Cambridge, 2008)
LPIB	M. C. Bartusis, <i>Land and Privilege in Byzantium: The Institution of Pronoia</i> (Cambridge, 2012)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i>
MGH SRG	<i>MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum</i> , 78 vols to date (Hanover, 1871–)
MGH SRG n.s.	<i>MGH Scriptorum rerum Germanicarum n.s.</i> , 24 vols to date (Berlin, Weimar and Hanover, 1922–)
MGH SS	<i>MGH Scriptorum</i> , 39 vols to date (Hanover, 1826–)
MLIB	R. Morris, <i>Monks and Laymen in Byzantium</i> (Cambridge, 1995)
MOB	M. Whittow, <i>The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025</i> (London, 1996)
MPMM	T. Reuter, <i>Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities</i> , ed. J. L. Nelson (Cambridge, 2006)
MSR	<i>Mamluk Studies Review</i>
MW	<i>The Muslim World</i>
NCHI 1	<i>The New Cambridge History of Islam, I: The Formation of the Islamic World, Sixth to Eleventh Centuries</i> , ed. C. F. Robinson (Cambridge, 2010)
NCHI 2	<i>The New Cambridge History of Islam, II: The Western Islamic World, Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries</i> , ed. M. Fierro (Cambridge, 2010)
NCMH 4	<i>The New Cambridge Medieval History, IV: c.1024–c.1198</i> , ed. D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith, 2 vols (Cambridge, 2004)
NCMH 5	<i>The New Cambridge Medieval History, V: c.1198–c.1300</i> , ed. D. Abulafia (Cambridge, 1999)
NCMH 6	<i>The New Cambridge Medieval History, VI: c.1300–c.1415</i> , ed. M. Jones (Cambridge, 2000)
NCMH 7	<i>The New Cambridge Medieval History, VII: c.1415–c.1500</i> , ed. C. Allmand (Cambridge, 1998)
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. P. Kazhdan <i>et al.</i> , 3 vols (Oxford and New York, 1991)
ODNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. D. Cannadine <i>et al.</i> , 60 vols to date (Oxford, 2004–) (available online <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com/">www.oxforddnb.com/</a> )



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<i>OHBS</i>	<i>The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies</i> , ed. E. Jeffreys <i>et al.</i> (Oxford, 2008)
<i>P&amp;P</i>	<i>Past &amp; Present</i>
<i>PG</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus: series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols (Paris, 1857–66)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia cursus completus: series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1841–64)
<i>PmbZ</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit</i> , ed. R.-J. Lilie <i>et al.</i> , I: (641–867), <i>Prolegomena</i> , 5 vols and list of abbreviations (Berlin and New York, 1998–2002) (available online <a href="http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz">www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz</a> )
<i>PmbZ</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit</i> , ed. R.-J. Lilie <i>et al.</i> , II: (867–1025), <i>Prolegomena</i> , 7 vols and indices (Berlin and New York, 2009–11) (available online <a href="http://www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz">www.degruyter.com/view/db/pmbz</a> )
<i>REB</i>	<i>Revue des études byzantines</i>
<i>REMMM</i>	<i>Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée</i>
<i>RIM</i>	A. Marsham, <i>Rituals of Islamic Monarchy: Accession and Succession in the First Muslim Empire</i> (Edinburgh, 2009)
<i>RPCMC</i>	J. Van Steenberg, ‘Ritual, politics, and the city in Mamluk Cairo: the Bayna l-Qasrayn as a Mamluk “lieu de mémoire”, 1250–1382’, in A. Beihammer <i>et al.</i> (eds), <i>Court Ceremonies and Rituals of Power in Byzantium and the Medieval Mediterranean</i> (Leiden, 2013), 227–76
<i>SGMI</i>	A. K. S. Lambton, <i>State and Government in Medieval Islam: An Introduction to the Study of Islamic Political Theory: The Jurists</i> (Oxford, 1981)
<i>SOE</i>	M.-F. Auzépy, ‘State of emergency (700–850)’, in <i>CHBE</i> , 251–91
<i>SOH</i>	P. Crone, <i>Slaves on Horses: The Evolution of the Islamic Polity</i> (Cambridge, 1980)
<i>TBA</i>	M. Angold (ed.), <i>The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XII Centuries</i> (Oxford, 1984)
<i>TBAMF</i>	J.-C. Cheynet, <i>The Byzantine Aristocracy and its Military Function</i> (Aldershot, 2006)
<i>TIT</i>	M. E. Subtelny, <i>Timurids in Transition: Turko-Persian Politics and Acculturation in Medieval Iran</i> (Leiden, 2007)
<i>TM</i>	<i>Travaux et mémoires</i>
<i>TRHS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</i>



## General Maps

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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



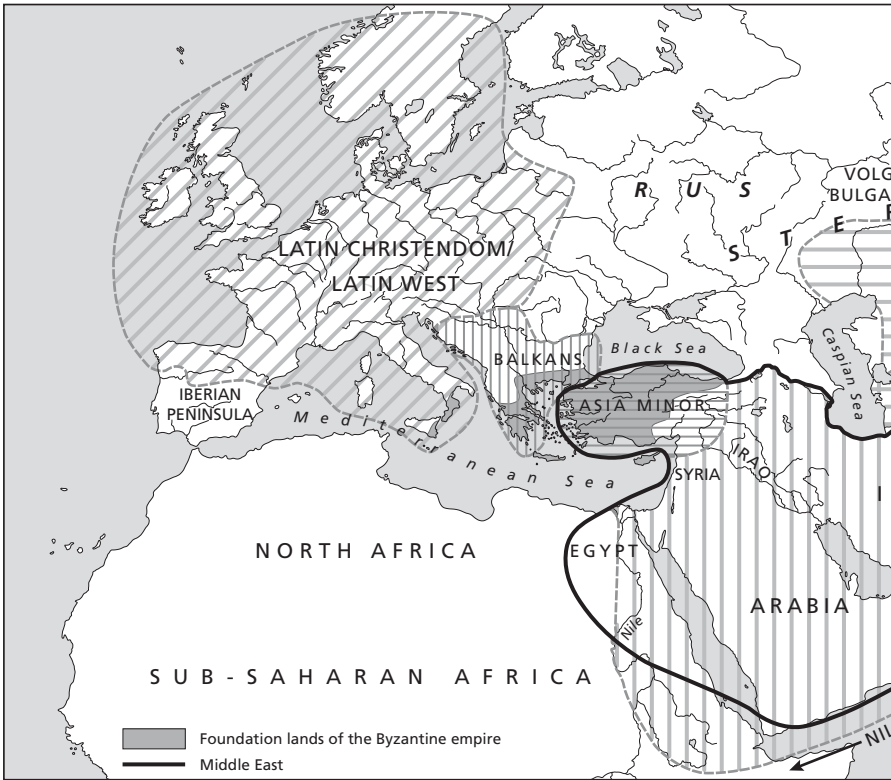
Map 1 The physical geography of western Eurasia, with inset extending to the Pacific

General Maps



Map 1 (cont.)

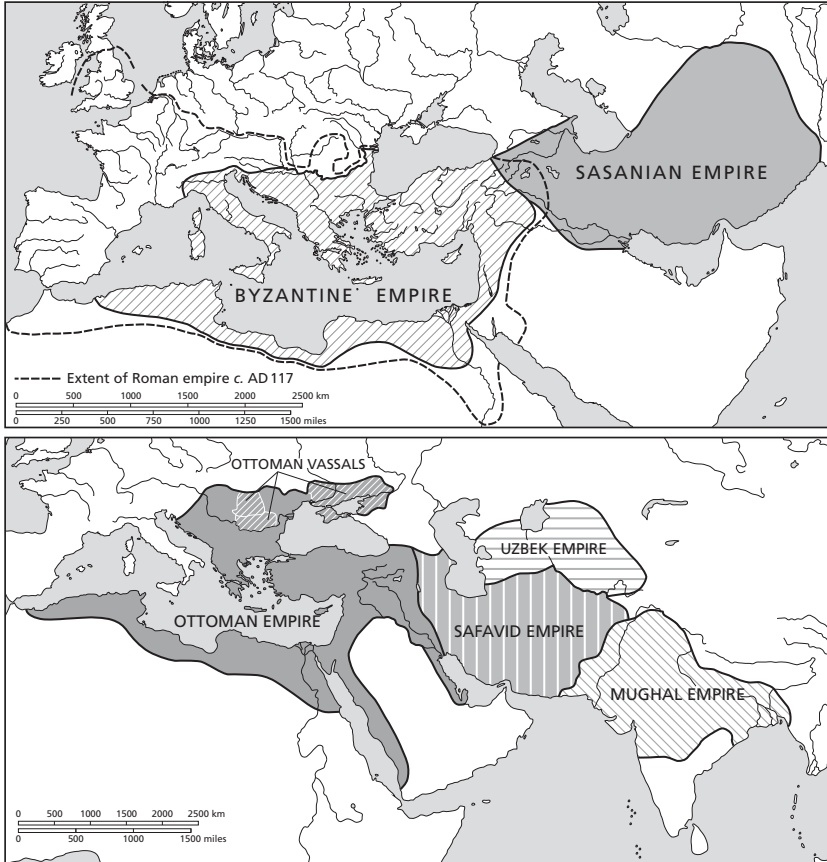
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Map 2 A guide to some of the main geographical terminology used in this volume

## General Maps

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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

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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

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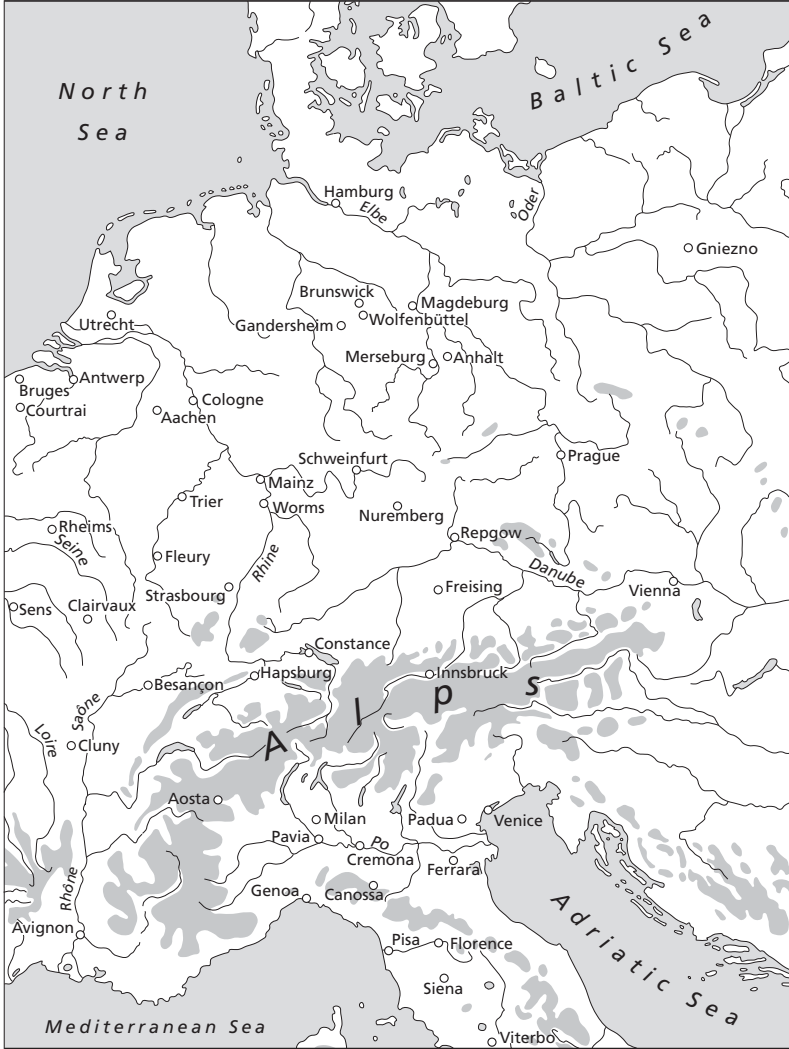
Map 4 (cont.)

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



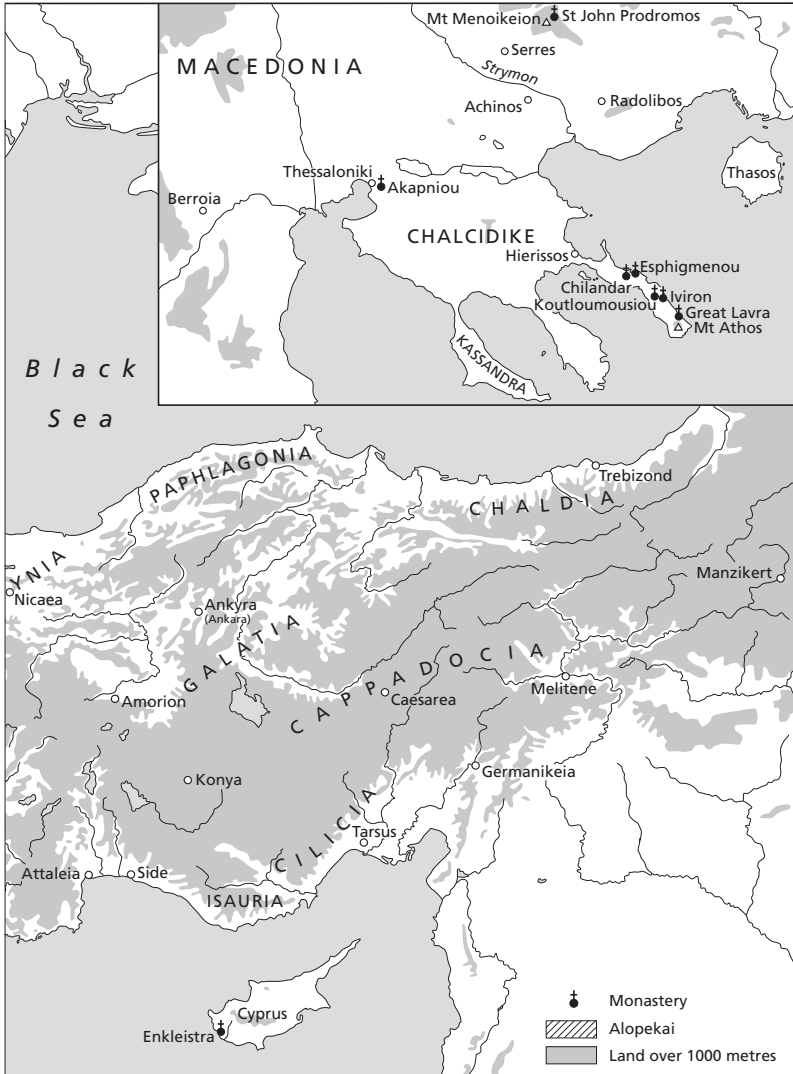


Map 5 (cont.)

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Map 6 Byzantine places and regions mentioned in this volume, with inset showing the Chalcidike peninsula



Map 6 (cont.)

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Map 7 Regions and places of the Islamic world mentioned in this volume, with inset showing the Fertile Crescent in more detail

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Map 7 (cont.)

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Map 8a The Carolingian empire

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Map 8b The Latin west c.1250



Map 8c Latins in the Levant (thirteenth century): the routes of the First and



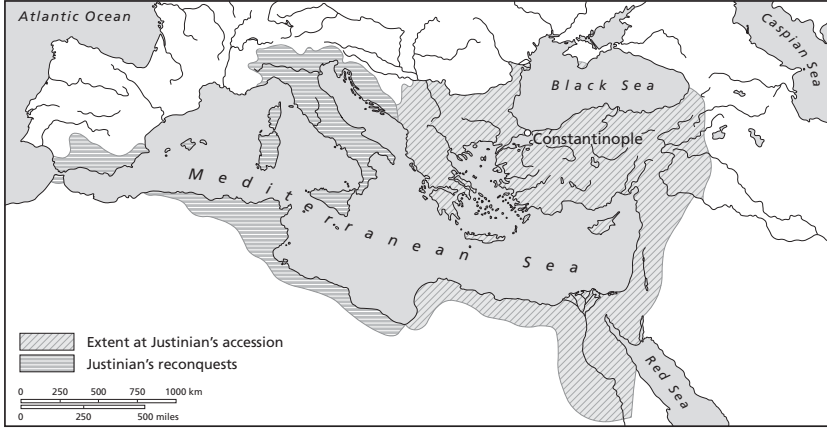
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Map 8d Commercial ties (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries): major trading routes of the Hanseatic League



Maps 9a, 9b and 9c Byzantium's variable geometry: (a, top) The empire at the accession of Justinian, and his reconquests; (b, centre) Middle Byzantium; (c, bottom) the Greek-speaking polities after the Fourth Crusade

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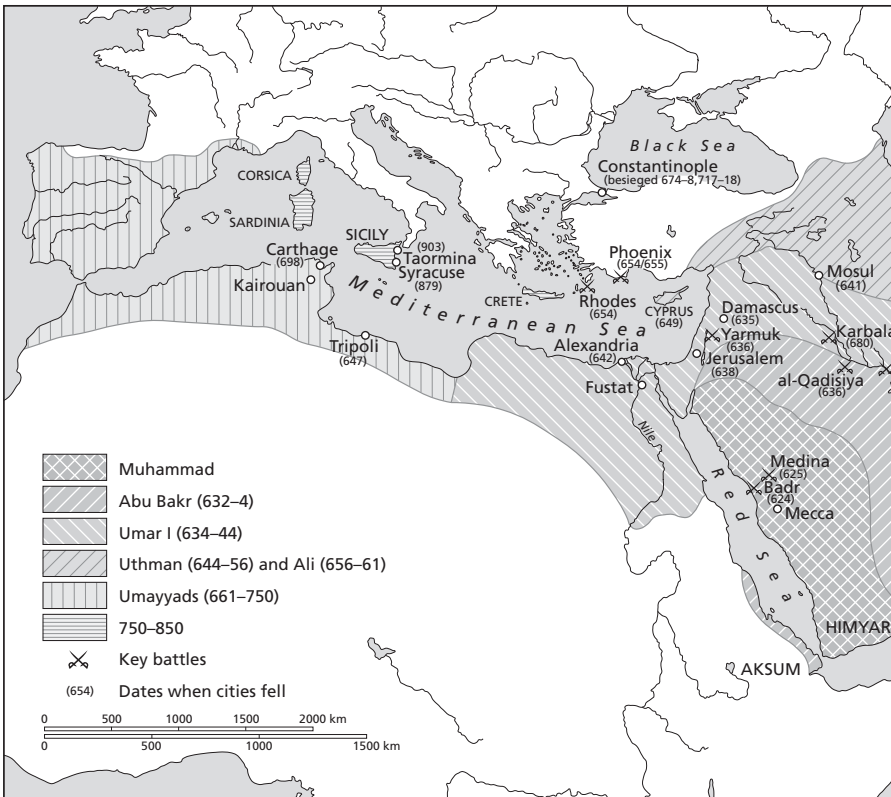


Maps 9d, 9e and 9f Byzantium's variable geometry: (d, top) in the late thirteenth century; (e, centre) in the mid-fourteenth century; (f, bottom) c.1402/3

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Map 10a The expansion of Islam (seventh to ninth centuries)

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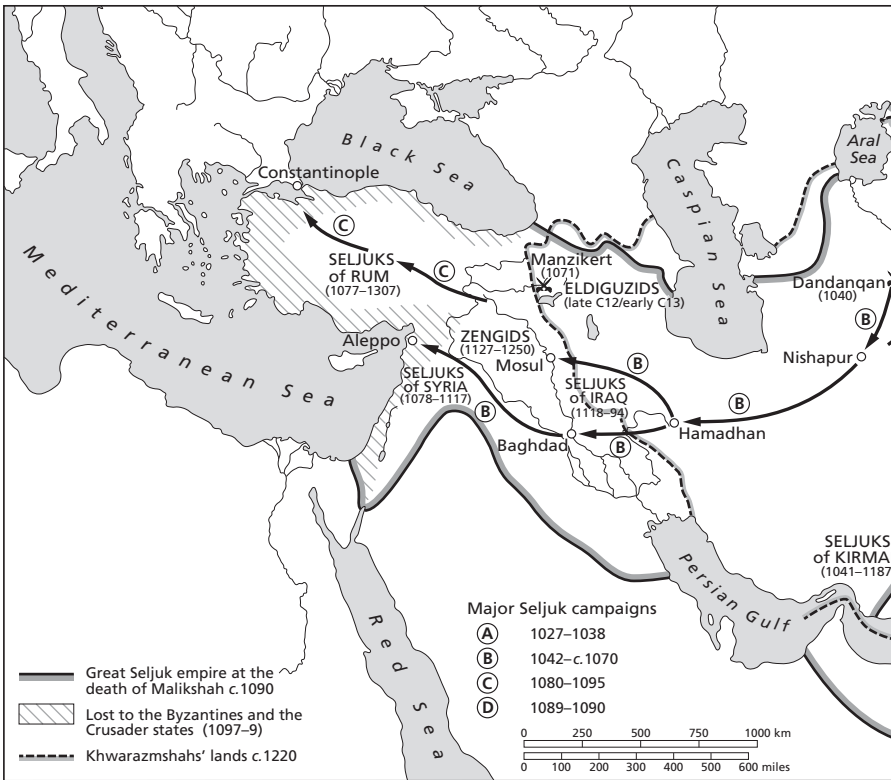


Map 10b Islamic successor polities around the year 1000

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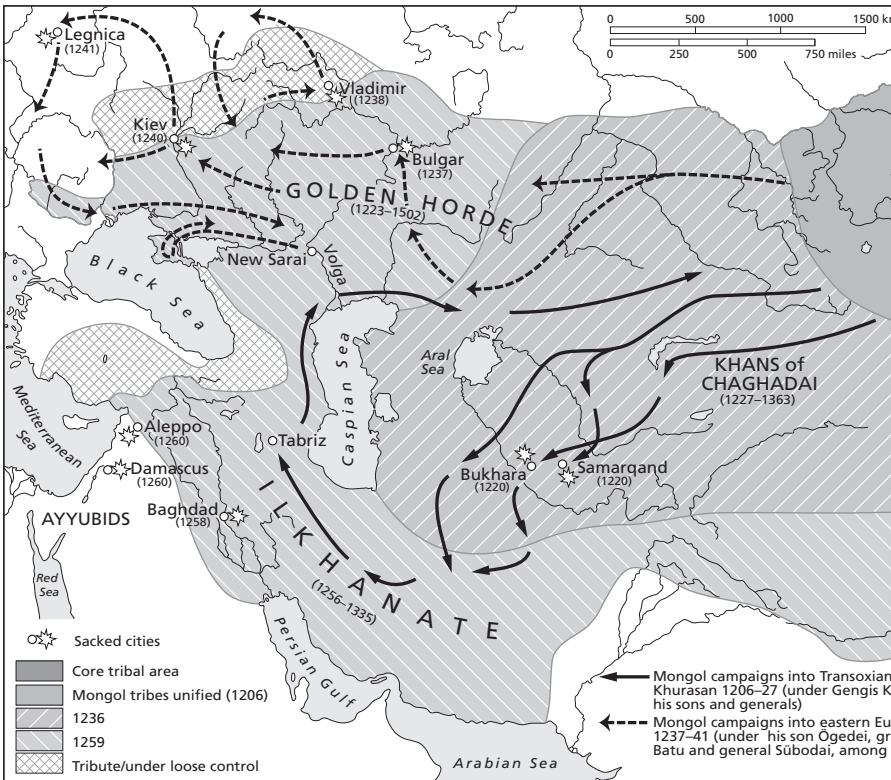


Map 10c Seljuk expansion and fragmentation

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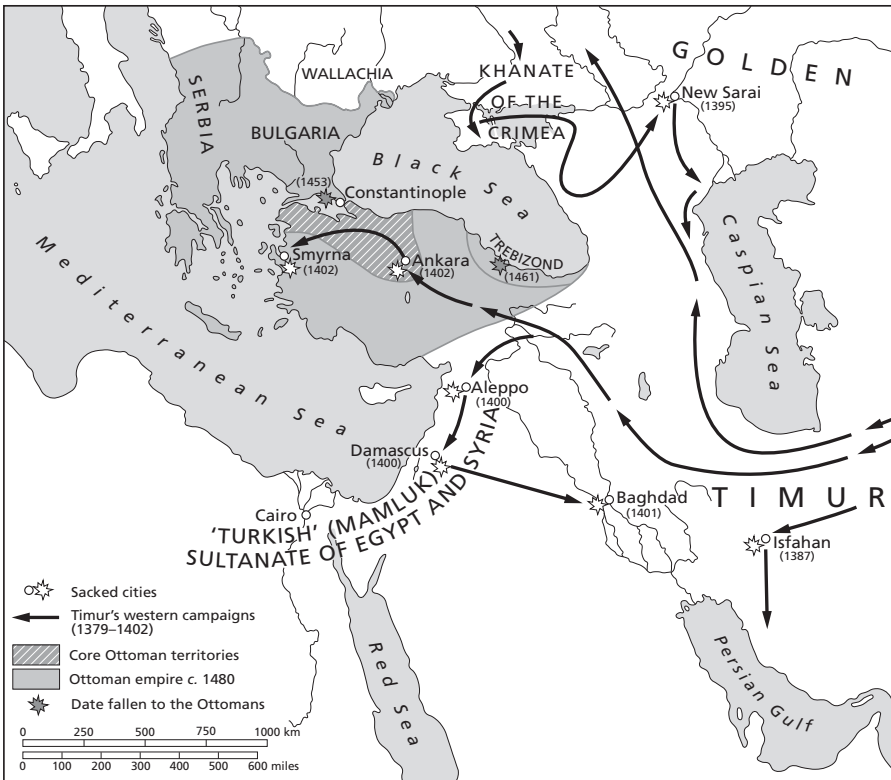


Map 10d The Mongols' campaigns in the west (1206-59) and subsequent political divisions

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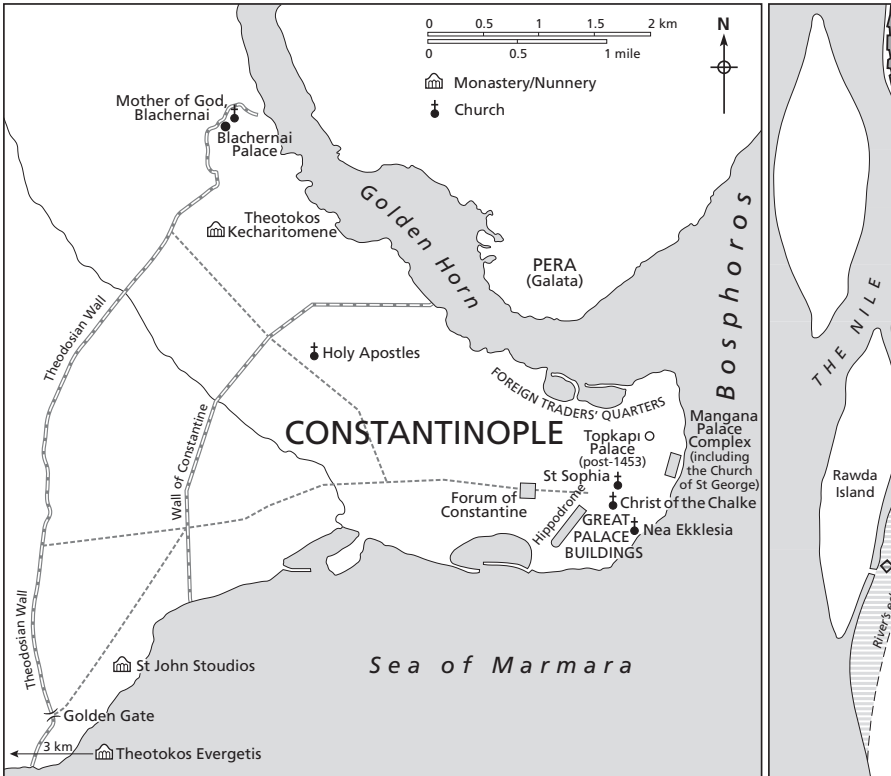
Map 10e The rise of the Ottomans, the 'Turkish' (Mamluk) sultanate of Egypt and Syria, and Timur's campaigns.



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Map 11 Constantinople and Cairo

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