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ABSTRACTS

Narratives Concerning the Fall of the Empire of Trebizond

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The Empire of Trebizond was the final remaining independent east Roman principality to surrender to the Ottoman armies of Mehmed II in 1461. The accounts concerning the events of Mehmed II's military campaign, the subsequent relocation of the members of the ruling Grand Komnenoi family and of the Trapezuntine aristocracy to Adrianople and later to Ottoman Constantinople have been preserved in multiple sources. These accounts shed light on fifteenth-century Trapezuntine affairs, on the political dynamics of the Ottoman court, and on its relations with western powers. One of the earliest sources is the 1462 letter of George Amiroutzes, the protovestiarios of the Empire of Trebizond, to his compatriot Cardinal Bessarion wherein Amiroutzes asked for the Trapezuntine Cardinal's help to ransom members of his family and described the fall of their home city. Amiroutzes' later life as distinguished member of Mehmed II's court in the Ottoman capital was described by Michael Kritoboulos. Kritoboulos' *History*, composed and presented to the Ottoman Sultan in 1467, also includes sections on the fall of Trebizond. An alternative account of the fall of the Empire of Trebizond has come down in the Herodotean style universal history of Laonikos Chalkokondyles, composed sometime after 1464 with a pro-Unionist and pro-Venetian perspective. However, the tenor, language, and vocabulary of these sections on Trebizond significantly depart from Laonikos' usual detached manner and it has been suggested that they are interpolations. Indeed, marginal notes in the earliest manuscripts indicate that these sections on the Empire of Trebizond were not composed by Laonikos. It has been recently suggested that the interpolator was no other than Amiroutzes himself. Comparing and contrasting Laonikos' narrative with Amiroutzes' letter, with Kritoboulos, and with other chronicles from the sixteenth century, I propose to revisit this historical question and to evaluate the role of the Trapezuntine faction at the Ottoman court.

From Magnesia to Manisa

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It is often stressed by historians that the modern day city of Manisa which lies on the foothills of the Spil Mountain in Western Anatolia is founded over the Byzantine settlement of Magnesia. However, there are no surviving remains or structures from Byzantine Magnesia. We have only limited knowledge of the Byzantine past of the settlement, which is

emphasized in the sources as an important city particularly in the era of the Laskaris dynasty. The available information in sources hardly extends beyond the military and political history of Manisa.

The rather limited information available in regard to the building stock of the city during the Byzantine Era suggests that two churches, a monastery and a palatial structure were built and the fortress was restored during the Laskarid period in Magnesia. A church dedicated to Christ the Saviour was built upon orders of John Vatatzes, in *Sosandra* near the Spil Mountain in Manisa, probably following the Victory of Poimanenon in 1224. Shortly afterwards, another church, dedicated to Mary, the mother of God, was built on the orders of his wife, Empress Irene. Vatatzes and Theodore II were buried in the old church. The exact location or the fate of the remains of either church is unknown. Vatatzes was higly regarded thanks to his unrivaled success and was beatified on 3 November 1254, half a century after his death and that since then, as the emperor saint Ioannes, his memory was honoured every year in the church built upon his orders and in Nymphaion where he had fondly resided. This information suggests that the church was still standing in the 14th century.

The most important sources that shed light on Manisa's Byzantine past are the reused architectural pieces (spolia) used in the Turkish Era structures. Spolia used in the structures of Sarukhanids and Ottomans are informative in regard to the building stock of the Byzantine Era. When the practice of spolia use is considered, it is derived that especially in the Beylik Era, building material was not brought in over long distances and that elements readily found in good condition in the present structural remains were employed instead. It is thus deduced that the spolia used in the Turkish Era buildings in Manisa were gathered from around the city itself. The methodology of this research is to study the building and its near site to find the spolia and in-situ pieces researching the publications and Museums.

The nature of spolia in that it materializes a certain relationship or link with its past lives and history constitutes the starting point for this study. This study sets out to determine the original periods of the spolia used in the Turkish Era buildings and the corresponding periods of the Byzantine building stock of Manisa.

Also not to be overlooked is the widespread use of spolia in the Byzantine Era.

Theodore II Laskaris on Anatolian Cities

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What can we learn about cities in thirteenth-century Anatolia and beyond from the writings of Theodore II Laskaris (1221/22-1258)? He spent most of his life touring the cities and the countryside of western Asia Minor, including his native Nicaea and other cities with royal residences (Nymphaion, Magnesia, Smyrna, and Philadelphia). His epistolary and philosophical works contain hitherto unnoticed snippets of information on contemporary urbanism (so they need to be considered along with the documentary and archaeological evidence) and enable us to examine ways in which the built environment and symbolism of cities other than Constantinople nourished new discourses of Byzantine identity. The paper presents some of the "hard data" on cities and focuses on Laskaris' fascinating descriptions of Nicaea, Pergamum, Philadelphia, Philippi, etc. The cities which Laskaris saw and wrote

about stirred his imagination and left a mark on his philosophical thought, shaping his interpretations of history, empire, and what it meant to be Byzantine after 1204.

The Establishment of a Trapezuntine Elite Diaspora in Constantinople

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Trebizond developed into a state under Komnenian rule (1204-1461), building on the rule of the Gabrades during the 11th and 12th centuries. The role of Constantinople in the development of its ambiguous relationship with Trebizond was more than the origin of its ruling family that descended from the Byzantine emperor Andronikos I Komnenos (r. 1183-85). Constantinople was, for instance, the seat of the patriarch, a source for marriage alliances, and the home where some Trapezuntine rulers had grown up. The Byzantine emperors provided the model for imperial self-portrayal chosen by the Trapezuntine rulers. Intellectuals educated in Constantinople, such as Constantine Loukites and Andrew Libadenos, sought their fortunes in Trebizond and had prominent careers there. Trebizond and Constantinople were connected through the maritime trading routes of Genoese and Venetian merchant vessels, in constant use for individuals to travel between the two cities.

The close connections between the two cities catalysed the formation of a Trapezuntine elite diaspora in Constantinople. Although there always had been individuals of Trapezuntine origin or descent in Constantinople, their numbers increased during the late period. This community was far from homogenous and did not act in cohesion, which is why the term diaspora is preferred. It consisted of members of the ruling family of the Komnenoi and Trapezuntine archontes in Constantinople on visit, exile or relocated through family connections. Its weight among the Constantinopolitan elite is little understood owing to a lack of scholarly attention to date.

This paper will discuss the formation of this diaspora and the impact of its existence. It will be shown that for Trapezuntine rulers and archontes, Constantinople represented a combination of family, alliance, refuge, and exile from Trebizond. This community was visible enough to warrant a change in perceptions of Trebizond held by members of the Byzantine elite, from pejorative notions to the subject of city encomia. This study brings together a range of disjointed sources from a thematic perspective and offers an alternative approach to a ruler-centred narrative of late Byzantine history.

Visiting Constantinople

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Many visitors came to Constantinople in the late Byzantine age from western and eastern Europe, and from the countries of Islam. They perceived the city in very different ways, depending on the reason for their journey, on their own cultural background and expectations. My contribution tries to analyse how these perceptions emerged and how they developed over the time as a result of the decline of the Byzantine state and its imminent conquest by the Ottomans.

The Empire Emerges:
Powerful Patrons and the Question of Cultural Overlaps in Laskarid Architecture

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The community of modern scholars was introduced to Laskarid architecture by Hans Buchwald. An architectural engineer by training who later became a historian, Hans Buchwald wrote a seminal article on the Laskarid-built environment in 1979. This article marks the first attempt, and remains today the only written work, to bring together the architectural evidence from Greece and Turkey, once united under the Laskarids. Hans Buchwald, to be sure, deserves much credit for compiling a large body of material and attempting to contextualize Laskarid architectural production, an area that remains largely detached from all other architectural discussions of the Byzantine period. In particular, he contended that Laskarid architecture is "essentially eclectic in its origins, borrowing its forms from a number of different sources, and coating them with a decorative covering or mantle to produce the appearance of a unified, easily identified, and lavish style." According to Hans Buchwald, this eclectic style explains the lack of comparisons between twelfth-century Byzantine architecture in Constantinople and thirteenth-century Laskarid architecture in Anatolia. While I generally agree with Hans Buchwald's assertions of eclecticism, in this presentation, I would like to challenge his assumptions that only a few comparisons between twelfth-century Constantinople and Laskarid lands can be found. Therefore, I offer an alternative reading of the Laskarid cultural pedigree, arguing for the presence of distinctive material and symbolic borrowings from twelfth-century Komnenian Constantinople. Specifically, I put forth the notion that Laskarid architectural identity was bi-fold, owing on the one hand much of its character to Constantinople, and on the other borrowing significantly from neighboring civilizations, including the Seljuks, Armenians, and Bulgarians.

Manuel II Palaiologos, Demetrios Kydones and Byzantine Cities

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Manuel II Palaiologos (1350-1425) was not only an emperor, but also a significant author of his era. His immense oeuvre included rhetorical, philosophical and theological works; orations, theological and philosophical treatises, homilies, rhetorical exercises, poetry and liturgical texts. Manuel's letter collection, consisting around sixty letters, is an invaluable source for the period. This letter collection has often been used by scholars to gain information about the politics of the period. In contrast, the literary features of these letters were mostly neglected; yet a close reading and analysis of these literary features such as metaphors, allusions or

imagery, actually deepens our interpretation of Manuel's letters, revealing otherwise lost layers of meaning.

Despite his demise during Manuel's early reign (c. 1396), the emperor's former teacher and esteemed friend Demetrios Kydones emerges as a key recipient in this letter collections. Through Manuel's letters and those of Kydones, this paper will endeavour to analyse the

literary 'presence' of Byzantine cities in their correspondence. The first half of the paper will focus on Manuel's five-year-long separatist rule in Thessalonike (1382-1387) and his engagement with Thessalonike's civic identity. The second half will discuss Manuel's experiences alongside the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I during the latter's Asia Minor campaign (c 1391/1392) and his literary portrayal of those once Byzantine lands.

**City-Councils during the Late Byzantine Era (13th – 15th c.):
The Case of Adrianople**

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After the fall of Constantinople to the hands of the Crusades in 1204, small independent hegemonies created in Byzantine lands. This new status quo influenced deeply the internal development of provincial cities. Frequent warfare forced inhabitants of cities to rely on their own forces and to take care of their defence, thus enhancing the ties of local government. Even after 1261 and the recovery of several Byzantine cities, local forces seem to have continued to keep self-sustaining capability; taking initiative to settle local issues, despite their subordination to the weakened central authority in Constantinople.

City-councils filled the gap of governmental authority in difficult times and played an important role on political developments. Adrianople, or Orestiada as called by the Byzantine sources, was one of the largest cities of the Empire. The city was also center of the Macedonian theme. Adrianople had also his own council, whose members were always dominant rulers. These rulers or consuls are referred to as "illustrious and prominent military authorities." In the sources there are several references to these authorities who were coming

from Byzantine aristocratic families, like Komnenos, Batatzes, Komneno-Ducas. The Byzantine written sources gives certain family names of the consuls, but not revealing all of them. The aim of

this work is to present some unpublished lead seals from Thracian museums which used to belong to the members of the city-council. This study also aim to combine the information of written sources with those of sigillographic material, which shed light on the new names of the consuls who were left in dark because of the silence of narrative sources, as well as to discuss on the links of these families to the city and its surrounding area.

"Great is the power of memory that resides in places" Urban Continuity and Change along Late Byzantine Egnatia

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My paper focuses on the ways the built environment, sacred space, art, and economic life in cities along the Egnatian route evolved during the period 1350-1501. Written sources and archaeological evidence attest to Byzantium's changing territorial extent, Egnatia's decline and fragmentation, increased disconnection between cities and continuous shift in their political allegiances and associations with Byzantine and foreign rulers. In what ways did the expansion of the medieval Kingdom of Serbia into Byzantine lands impact on cityscapes and patronage? How did the isolation of late Byzantine Thessaloniki from other important communication nods reflect in the available numismatic material, monuments, and works of art? What was the economic outlook of urban centers, formerly part of Byzantium, by 1430s under the Genoese, Venetians, and Ottomans?

Ultimately I would like to argue that the profile of those established places of power and memory shaped the way old and new communities along 15th-century Egnatia experienced continuity and change from Byzantium to the Ottomans.

Trebizond's Religious Architecture: The Palaiologan Contribution

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Trebizond was an important late Byzantine center—the capital of the so-called "Empire of Trebizond," ruled by the royal family of the Grand Komnenoi (1204-1461). In this paper I shall discuss Trebizond's most iconic churches—the monastic churches of Hagia Sophia and St. Eugenios and the cathedral church of the Virgin Chrysokephalos—as interrelated building projects, all associated with John II Grand Komnenos (1280-1297) and his wife Eudokia Palaiologina, daughter of the Byzantine emperor Michael VIII Palaiologos. Traditionally, these churches have been understood as landmarks of local separatism and pride, as markers of regional identity developed progressively and overtime, partly due to Trebizond's geographical isolation and political detachment from the Byzantine Empire. Based on the revised dates I offered for their construction, these churches can be explored as monuments

of the Palaiologan legacy in the architecture and culture of Trebizond and as records of a turning point in the history of Trebizond, inaugurated by the matrimonial alliance with the Palaiologoi of Constantinople.

Itinerant Artists and Interconnected Patrons: Thirteenth-Century Artistic Production in Constantinople, Nicaea, Thessalonike and Serbia

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The most recent studies about Palaiologan culture and art challenge established ideas about the Late Byzantine period such as decline or cultural contraction. In turn, they foreground more diverse patterns of artistic patronage and production than in earlier periods, and highlight the interactive role of different centers; thus reversing the traditional model that saw the development of Byzantine art primarily with reference to Constantinople.

This paper aims to contribute to the discussion of Late Byzantine cities as interrelated centers of the artistic production, nods in the circulation of workshops and springboards for developing and sharing artistic ideas. The presentation focuses on the thirteenth century because its turbulent historico-political context had a tremendous impact on the industries of art and redefined channels of artistic production and exchange in the Byzantine world. By taking a closer look at the visual arts (i. e. mural but also icon and miniature paintings), this paper discusses communication links between the rising Serbian medieval state and three Byzantine cities: Constantinople, Nicaea and Thessalonike. The movement of itinerant artists from one
center to another that can be reconstructed from the available artistic and textual evidence, speaks of vivid networks and interconnected patrons, based or residing temporarily in the above
mentioned cities. This plurality of artistic centers that play a role in the genesis and diffusion of Palaiologan art represent a novel feature raising broader issues of regional and larger connectivity in the Late Byzantine World. The question is whether that phenomenon reflects the transformations that mark the history of the Mediterranean from the thirteenth century onward and if it can open new discursive space for Late Byzantine cities.

Trebizond and Tana:
Two Cities in International Commerce of the 14th-15th Centuries

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Northern and Southern coasts of the Black Sea area were politically and economically interdependent in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Byzantium exercised control of those areas and limited access to its ports until 1204 when the situation was completely changed after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Tatar-Mongol conquests and the foundation of Italian trading stations around the shores of Pontos. From mid-13th century onwards the great Tatar Empires, the Golden Horde and the Ilkhanate, temporarily established new and well protected trade communications.

The main outlets of the trading routes changed: instead of Eastern Mediterranean ports, Caffa (Theodosia), Trebizond and Tana (Azov) began to play major role in great international commerce of East and West in the late 13th-15th centuries. The calculation of trade profits of

merchants show hundreds percent of income until mid-14th century. The influence of Western business activities on local economy is discussed basing on new archival documents from the archives of Venice and Genoa. Special emphasis is made on the ways of integration of aborigines into new commercial system. The author analyzes main commodities of trade and trading business tools of the businessmen of maritime republics and their local partners. The role of Greek and Muslim merchants is considered. Special emphasis is made on slave trade and changes in volume and ethnicity of slaves.

A question deserving a particular analysis is how big foreign trade influenced local economy of the Pontic towns, such as Trebizond and Tana. Both cities were closely interconnected economically and politically.

Great crisis of the mid-14th century turned over the whole situation. During a short period, in 20 years or so, disastrous evens followed. At first trade economy was undermined by a sudden downfall of Italian banks in 1330-40s. Then a minor trade conflict between Venetians and Tatars in Tana in 1343 caused big military confrontation of the Golden Horde with both Italian maritime republics. Soon afterwards, an unprecedented epidemic, the famous Black Death, depopulated Eurasia. Simultaneously civil wars in the Empire of Trebizond began and it soon afterwards took place a well-known disintegration of both Tatar empires. All that dramatically changed the volume, the assortment of goods, forms and types of Black Sea trade. The manifestations of that crisis are discussed tacking into consideration new archival data.

The uncertain exit from the crisis by the end of 1380s -1420s led to a change in the priorities of trade, strengthened the role of local commodities in the circulation of goods, reduced the level of profits, but stabilized the trade turnover. A considerable growth of trade activity of Turkish merchants from Sinope and other Anatolian towns in late 14th-mid 15th centuries is reflected, for example, in the books of account of the Genoese Caffa.

Being a Citizen in Fourteenth-Century Trebizond: Economy and Inhabitants

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Anthony Bryer deals with the rural people of the Black Sea region, especially of the Matzouka valley. But he was not discussing the common people of the city of Trebizond. This paper deals with the citizens of the city of Trebizond in the 14th Century, focusing on their economic conditions.

The Empire of Trebizond became a dominant political power in the Black Sea region after the IV. Crusade. Manuel I, second emperor of the Empire of Trebizond, had access to wealth through rich silver mines in the Pontic Alps. With this wealth Manuel I funded his building

programme and army, which emerged as an effective and capable force under his rule. Manuel I's disadvantage, however, lay in the location of his empire. Trebizond stood at the north-east corner of Anatolia, sandwiched between the Black Sea and the Pontic mountains, and thus isolated from direct contact with Constantinople. Its southern and western borders ran against those of the Seljuq Turks, whose powerful state frequently threatened the empire's very survival; and to the east lay Georgia, which also claimed Trebizond as a vassal state. The Mongol conquest of the Caucasus and Anatolia in the 1230s further changed the geopolitical importance of Trebizond. Manuel I's empire was on the fringe of the Byzantine world, yet he sought to proclaim Trebizond as its centre. Manuel I ruled from 1238 until 1263, and for the majority of his rule Constantinople was ruled by Latins. Michael VIII Palaiologos recovered Constantinople only in 1261. Manuel I therefore witnessed enormous change in the nature and status of the Byzantine empire during his reign. This was ultimately connected to the veracity and viability of Manuel I's own claim concerning Trebizond.

The loss of Constantinople raises many questions about the Byzantine empire, its self-perception and about constructions of identity. Examining these reveals much about the very nature of the empire, and so this period must be seen as one of the most interesting in Byzantine cultural history.

The Pontos was probably the most densely populated part of the late Byzantine world, but not the most populous. While the Despotate of the Morea and Empire of Constantinople figure largely in late Byzantine historiography, in terms of human resources the Empire of Trebizond should be understood as the most important fifteenth-century Byzantine polity. Further, the density of population, and hence intensity of agriculture, in the Pontos was on a different scale than the rest of the Byzantine world.

Between the Ottomans and the Venetians: the *Epistolai* of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessaloniki

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The first Ottoman appearance before the city of Thessaloniki occurred in 1372 and had no other result but the devastation of the surrounding area. More serious was the assault of 1383, which developed into a four-year siege and the surrender of Thessaloniki in April 1387. In 1402, the defeat of the Ottomans in Ankara marked a new phase in the history of the city. According to the Byzantine-Ottoman treaty of 1403, Thessaloniki ceded to John VII Palaiologos. When John VII died in 1408, the Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos decided to put Thessaloniki under the rule of his son, Andronikos, giving him the title of "Despot".

Although in 1411, Musa Çelebi, one of the sons of the Sultan Bayezid I, laid siege to Thessaloniki the city enjoyed a period of relative peace and prosperity, as the Bayezid's successors were preoccupied with their own civil war. Once the Ottoman civil war ended and Mehmed I became the sole sultan both in Rumeli and in Anatolia the Ottoman pressure on the city began to increase again. Mehmed I attacked Thessaloniki and raided the surrounding area during the uprising of "false" Mustafa against him (late 1416-early 1417). The Ottoman attacks reached a climax in 1422-1423, when the Sultan Murad II launched another siege on the city. Conditions in Thessaloniki became so serious that famine spread and the population

was suffering. Just as during 1383-1387 siege, the majority of the inhabitants, namely the underprivileged people, started to accuse the political and ecclesiastical authorities of not serving their interests and to declare their intention to join the Ottoman side. The Emperors Manuel II and John VIII were incapable of sending military or any other help to the city since

Constantinople was also under Ottoman attack. Therefore, the Despot Andronikos Palaiologos took the advice of the upper classes of Thessaloniki and decided to cede the city to the Venetians. In September 1423, the Venetians took over the city while the Despot Andronikos left Thessaloniki. Symeon, the last archbishop of Thessaloniki before its conquest by the Ottomans (March 1430) was of Constantinopolitan origin. He became archbishop of Thessaloniki in 1416/1417 and sometime later one of the main political figures of the city. Symeon was a man of firm anti-Ottoman and to a lesser extent anti-Latin sentiments, but certainly not a pro-Unionist. He also believed that the political authority should serve and honour church. Symeon composed theological, historical and many other texts. The scope of this paper is his two advisory letters to Despot Andronikos. Symeon probably wrote the first letter in 1417 and the second one in 1423, in very turbulent and critical moments for the history of late Byzantine Thessaloniki.

What Urban Populations Do:
Groups, Characters, and Action in Late Byzantine Historiography

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Modern historiographical narratives, which claim to represent histories of the Byzantine world and its neighbours, have as their principal protagonists states and their elite male rulers. These two types of characters, intertwined by metonymy, metaphor, and synecdoche, monopolise space in the stories scholars tell. Other types of characters tend to constitute a supporting cast of minor characters, with more limited roles in these modern historiographical narratives. The traditional history of the period between 1204 and 1261 is a case in point. It is a story of the new Nicaean state and its Laskarid rulers returning from exile and either defeating or fending off rival states and rulers. Scholars, if challenged, are likely to defend their elite, male, and statist histories as simply 'reflecting' the predisposition in the dominant surviving 'source material' (i.e. narrative histories). At first glance, this seems reasonable. However, the analysis of character structures in the medieval histories on which these modern stories claim dependence reveal a more complex distribution of agency and the potential for different types of modern histories. This paper explores some of these alternative textual agencies, through the narratological analysis of a traditionally marginalised type of character, namely urban populations, through a comparative reading of the historiographical presentations of the fall of Constantinople in 1204.

Late Byzantine Chios: New Evidence

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Late Byzantine Chios was destined to become the rising star of the Levant. The first half of the fourteenth century witnessed two overlordships led by Genoese merchants and ship-owners (with a very brief interim Byzantine re-occupation). Thanks to the Genoese model *Januensis ergo mercator,* meaning the systematic commercial strategy, the port-town of Chios evolved

into the main node of the Levant interconnecting a vast network of major ports between the Black Sea, the Mediterranean and the West.

A major historical source for this period is a recently acquired manuscript - the existence of which was unknown until two years ago –authored by Hieronymo Giustiniani, member of the ruling clan of Chios, the renowned trade association "Maona of the Giustiniani". The manuscript entitled "History and Description of the Island of Chios" is an account tackling all facets of the Late Byzantine and Genoese Chios, such as politics, diplomacy, economy, administration, urban architecture, social life, family bonds between eastern locals and western settlers through intermarriages and business associations, and last but not least prosopography. Despite the long digressions in the narrative, through every line the author unveils the story of a vibrant social and economic centre, which kept its position as enormous economic power not only during the time of the expansion of the European economy but even further beyond.

Rhetorical Representations of Cities in Late Byzantium:
Memory Maps and the Construction of Reality

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In his treatise, *On Types of Style*, Hermogenes defined encomium as the highest form of poetry. Hermogenes was mainly concerned with two issues: first, the kind of effects an orally delivered speech could have over an audience; and second, the style of encomia which involved, inter alia, grandeur, forcefulness, and rapidity. While Hermogenes mainly dealt with encomia addressed to individuals, other kinds of encomia for objects or places pose a difficulty as to how rhetoricians adapted their praise and outlook. Taking the Hermogenian remarks as a starting point, this paper will survey the encomia for cities written at the turn of the fifteenth century. I will try to address several questions: What role does praise for cities play in the configuration of the rhetoricians' ethos? How was praise of cities embedded in panegyrics and other encomiastic texts addressed to members of the imperial family? More importantly, how do orators who describe cities construct the reality of a highly fragmented and militarized empire? In answering these questions, I will try to move beyond the categories of praise which Menander Rhetor had established and most Byzantine rhetoricians followed, especially in terms of the rubrics of praise that prescribed the norms of glorifying cities. Instead, I look at the personal agency of the orators and the preference of key stylistic devices like analogies and the appeal to synaesthesia, which seem to have been preferred in the rhetoric of the time. Thus, I contend that authors in the late Palaiologan period sought to rhetorically construct a new imperial reality especially by appealing to subtle depictions of cities.

İnalcık's *The Survey of Istanbul 1455* Revisited: A Critique

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This paper combines a critique of the late Halil İnalcık's *The Survey of Istanbul 1455* with a detailed analysis of the information it contains regarding the resettlement of the city's population in the years 1455-1460. It provides a detailed examination of the origins of those forcibly relocated to the city.

The Houses of the Aristocracy in Palaiologan Constantinople

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From the foundation of Constantinople, the houses of the political and administrative elite were important units in the secular life of the imperial city. Along with the monasteries, with which they were often closely associated, they gained in importance during the Palaiologan period (1261-1453), when other traditional institutions of the imperial city either disappeared or were greatly reduced. Just as Constantine had constructed 'very great houses' to induce members of the senatorial aristocracy to settle in his new capital, Michael VIII Palaiologos, the 'New Constantine', made it a priority, when planning the renovation of the capital after the expulsion of the Latin regime in 1261, to ensure that the court aristocracy of the empire of Nicaea were provided with the urban houses to which they had hereditary claims, or failing that, to which their status entitled them. My paper explores the meagre evidence for individual case studies, with particular attention to the houses of five Palaiologan grandees: Theodore and John Synadenos, Theodore Metochites, John Kantakouzenos, Loukas Notaras.

Monasteries of Late Byzantine Constantinople:
New Evidence from the Ottoman Survey of 1455

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The first Ottoman survey of Istanbul, completed in December 1455, is a precious document which registers the buildings and population of the city only two and a half years after its conquest by Mehmed II. Since its publication by the late Halil İnalcık in 2012, the document has so far remained understudied by scholars both of late Byzantine Constantinople and early Ottoman Istanbul. Of the survey's two sections, devoted respectively to Galata and Istanbul, this lecture will focus on the Istanbul section, in which the buildings that were confiscated as

state property and allocated to the Ottoman treasury within thirty-three quarters (*mahalle*s) of the city have been registered, along with information about whether they were occupied or unoccupied, their occupants in the case of the former, and the general state of the buildings in 1455. Among the buildings mentioned in this section, individual churches and monastic complexes (including, within their courtyards, churches, houses, cells, refectories, kitchens, storage units, wineries, stables, etc.) not only figure prominently, but they also frequently serve

as reference points for particular quarters. Through an analysis of the evidence provided on monasteries by the survey of 1455, this lecture aims to contribute to our knowledge of the sacred topography of late Byzantine Constantinople.

The Cities of Epirus (Arta and Ioannina)
An attempt of Economic History (13th-15th c.)

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Between the 4th Crusade and the Ottoman conquest, Epirus was politically separated from the rest of the byzantine world. Arta and Ioannina were its two main cities and their political history is quite well known, reflecting their great political importance. Unfortunately, our knowledge of their economy is more reduced, due to a lack of sources.

About Arta, plenty of Venetian and Ragusan documents give us data about its exportations but there is almost no internal source to inform us about the conditions of production. The trade with other partners is also ignored. Regarding Ioannina, a number of diplomatic and narrative sources give us information about the conditions of production and also about taxation, but there is almost no mention of trade. Archaeological findings, mostly monetary treasures, complete our documentation. Despite these limitations, it is nevertheless possible to give a panorama of the economy of Epirus and of its cities.

First of all, it should be underlined that the cities were the unavoidable centers of the economy of the whole area. The urban elite was one with the landlords of the countryside, so that the goods or the wealth produced in the rear-country finally went to the towns. The latter were also places of production thanks to craft industries and mostly places of trade thanks to their markets.

Regarding the productions, those of the countryside consisted principally of cereals, mostly wheat but also millet. We also have information about vineyards, vivaria and livestock, which implies the production of wine, fish, meat, cheese. Salterns are also mentioned. Urban craft industries produced goods like silverware or weaving.

The trade is mostly known thanks to documents from Venice and Ragusa. Arta was manifestly wide open to the Ionian sea trade and its commercial interests were going westwards. This is probably a part of the explanation of its ongoing refusal to join the Byzantine empire back. Regarding Ioannina, totally absent from this documentation, we can but imagine it was connected to the Balkan trade roads, which linked it to Thessaly and

Macedonia, and then to Serbia and Constantinople. Similarly, this could explain its trend to join the empires located eastwards, namely and successively the Byzantine empire, the Serbian empire, the empire of Trikala and finally the Ottoman empire.

Political authorities were apparently very imaginative in matter of taxes. Sources from Ioannina often mention new taxes and protestations against them. A particularly hated mechanism was the institution of the *metaton*, that is the warehouse where the inhabitants

were obliged to buy the foodstuffs at high price. Another explanation for the various changes of sovereignty of Ioannina is the fiscal exemptions that their new masters were ready to give in order to extend their dominion.

Political history of course had influence on the economy. For instance, invasions caused not only pillages and destructions, but also the deposit of the monetary treasures which were lost for the economy when they were never recovered. Ongoing piracy on the Ionian sea was indeed a disturbing factor for trade. The various wars also led the rulers to increase the tax burden. Nevertheless, the massive Albanian immigration during the 14th century did not necessarily disrupt all of the above presented panorama. Indeed, Albanian peasants stood in for the victims of the Black Death and allowed to maintain the production, while Albanian lords of Arta were eager to maintain the commercial relationship with Venice.

Metamorphoses of the Frontier Kastron: Urbanisation and its Discontents in Western Anatolia after 1261

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The Byzantine provinces in Anatolia emerge from recent research as a thoroughly rural society that retreated to public fortresses for self-defence but otherwise dwelt in hamlets scattered freely across ancient sites. As the economy grew in the Komnenian era and Turkish nomadic groups became a permanent feature of country life, numerous castles were built by the emperors to shelter loyal populations, and ancient city walls were reinforced. However, the character of most places remained rural and it does not appear that settlements moved permanently within walls while imperial hold on the situation was strong. It was only by 1300 that a state of siege by Turkish warbands effectively turned many Anatolian towns into fortresses, forcing them to adopt a more urban form. It will be argued that the landscape familiar from the early Ottoman histories but also from Enveri, a plethora of small towns each defended by a *tekfur* (i.e. a Byzantine emperor in miniature), does not pre-exist Turkish encirclement but is created by it. The frontier, rather than resembling a territorial boundary, has multiple foci as a sharpened urban-rural antagonism expressed in ethno-religious terms.

The initial animus of Turkish attacks was distinctly anti-urban: to neutralise strongholds so that they could be safely bypassed, or to plunder them and withdraw. But this polarisation did not last long; the conquest of cities drew the Turkish leaders into the project of building principalities. The paper will look at the attitudes towards the city in the first decades of beylik rule, which betray a tension between the original Turkish aims and the pull of urban life. It will also address regional differences in the prosperity of western Anatolian cities

during the fourteenth-century fragmentation, and the obstacles to their further development in the Ottoman period.

Patron Saints and Civic Identity after 1204

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In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade several new polities were created. With the exception of the so-called "Despotate of Epiros", the most prominent among them derive their names from their capitals: Empire of Nicaea, Empire of Trebizond, Latin empire of Constantinople, Latin Kingdom of Thessalonike, Empire of Thessalonike. Although these characterisations are
the creations of modern scholarship, they are indicative of the importance played by these cities as emerging centres in areas that used to belong to the periphery.

Each of these capital cities – with the exception of Constantinople, for which we do not have any evidence – appeared to be protected by its own patron saint: Thessalonike by Saint Demetrios, Nicaea by Saint Tryphon, Trebizond by Saint Eugenios. The protection, however, was not limited to the city, but extended to the whole state to which the city belonged. With his quality as protector of the empire, the saint was praised in imperial *enkomia* and was depicted on coinage. Moreover, he was venerated in special ceremonies, with the participation of the emperor, the aristocracy, the higher and lower clergy, the people of the city. Although contemporary writers presented this practice as part of a well-established tradition, a closer look reveals that, with the exception of the cult of Saint Demetrios in Thessalonike, this was not the case.

This paper will investigate the role of patron saints in the successor states of the period 1204-1261 on the basis of literary, visual and numismatic evidence, in an effort to appreciate their role as protectors of the capital cities, as well as of the empires as wholes; to evaluate the significance of Saint Demetrios as a model for the patron saints of the other successor states; and to establish their contribution to the formation of a civic identity. Moreover, it will investigate the survival of these patron saints in the post-1261 period and the afterlife of this tradition in Palaeologan Constantinople.

Tower of Babel for New Constantinople?
Transformations of Fortifications in Nicaea under the Laskarids

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In Late Antiquity walls of Nicaea were very different from the walls of Constantinople. In Middle and Late Byzantine periods the changing status of Nicaea provoked a series of reconstructions that made walls of Nicaea similar to that of Constantinople. This paper investigates the spatial transformation of Nicean fortifications in the reign of the Laskarids.

Roman constructors of the original perimeter used blocks of marble to create a network of square towers and walls, that was visible from afar. In the age of Byzantium, successful defense of the city against the Arabs (727) stimulated renovation of the walls under Leo and Constantine. The evidence for this is the inscription on the tower of Kentinarius in the vicinity

of Istanbul Gate. Inscriptions from "Southern Lake Gate" allow one to ascribe the construction of three towers there to Michael III (840-867). Middle Byzantine reconstructions provided Nicaea with the outlook we still see today. In the eleventh and twelfth century Nicaea became a frontier city. In the 1080s, Nicaea supported the Turks of Sulaiman ibn Qutlamish against Alexios I Komnenos. In 1097 the citizens of Nicaea fought against the participants of the First Crusade. The collapse of one tower stimulated the defenders to surrender the city to Alexios I Komnenos. Alexios used classical spolia and tombstones of his Seljuk enemies to construct a bastion in the south-western corner of the city. He established a fort at Hisar Kalesi/Miskoura that allowed Byzantines to monitor Seljuk movements in Yenisehir valley.

This paper argues that conscious "capitalization" of Nicean fortifications happened under the Laskarids. First, Theodore Laskaris constructed a tower next to the bastion of Alexios I Komnenos. The surviving inscription describes it as the "tower of Babel." One can read it as a hint to Seljuk gravestones. Association with Babylon also conveys the message about the imposing height of the tower. In the present form, "tower of Babel" dominates the cityscape. At another tower, Theodore Laskaris used brick inscription to define his works. Both methods of self-representation were used previously at the Land Walls of Constantinople by the Isaurian emperors between Agios Romanos and Rhegion Gates. In the reign of John III Doukas Batatzes, the construction of the outer walls of Nicaea highlighted similarities between the city and Constantinople. In the region of Yenisehir gate, outer walls had vertical arrow slits, that remind one about similar structures in the vicinity of Golden Gate.

The combination of these renovations allows one to suggest that Laskarids invested a considerable effort into "capitalization" of fortifications of Nicaea. Vertical and horizontal expansion of defence system highlighted the importance of the city as a new capital and conveyed a message of security. The multiple mediums that Laskarids used for this message hints at the complexity of relations between Late Byzantine rulers and inhabitants of the cities over which they ruled.

A Merchant of Thessalonike and His Clients, 1356-1357

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The paper explores the notes a Thessalonian merchant probably called Kasandrenos wrote in the years 1356 and 1357 on empty pages of Vat. Gr. 1110, a manuscript containing works of Barlaam of Calabria. These notes are the longest and perhaps the most interesting of the few such writings that have survived from Byzantium. Indeed, they constitute a source of the greatest value for the study of the society as well as the economy of the city of Thessalonike in the 1350s. Known since 1991, when they were published by P. Schreiner, they have received relatively little scholarly attention, with the exception of six pages devoted to them in the book of K.-P. Matschke and F. Tinnefeld on the late Byzantine society (2001). The notes remain to a significant extent misunderstood and merit a re-examination, especially in light of the recent publication of documents complementing the data of Kasandrenos's notes (in *Actes de Vatopédi* II-III, 2006, 2019) and on account of a number of new readings of the notes. After discussing the manuscript and the notes, the paper examines the information they

provide on the merchant, his various dealings and his clients and associates. Finally, it considers the extent to which this case fits our current understanding of the society and economy of late Byzantium, in particular social stratification, elite lifestyle and mentality, local and regional commerce, and the provisioning of cities in late Byzantium.

Comparison of Cities in Late Byzantine Hagiographical Texts

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Comparison plays an essential role in praise. Its usefulness was already highlighted in ancient Greek rhetoric. The comparison parallels objects, like two cities, to show the superiority of the praised one.

During the late Byzantine period the interest in the ancient literature was great, even a critical approach to ancient writers is ascertained. The sovereignty of Greek consciousness is interpreted as an attempt to change the humiliation by the Latins by being familiarized with the greatness of the past.

The link of the Byzantine scholars with the ancient letters penetrates even the hagiographical texts. This study attempts to examine the rhetorical element of comparison in the hagiographical texts of the late Byzantine period in the context of the praise of cities.

Constantine Akropolites has taken advantage of the rhetorical technique of comparison in several of his hagiographical texts with regard to the cities, while the comparisons of cities contained in the hagiographical texts of Nikephoros Gregoras are extensive. Various comparisons of cities are also found in the Life of Saint Makarios the Makris, by an anonymous writer of the 15th century. The occasion is mostly given by the reference to the saint's homeland, but also to other events related to his life.

The cities most compared are the capital Constantinople (to Rome, Nicea, ancient cities) and the second most important city, Thessaloniki (to ancient cities). The texts in which the praise of Constantinople is closely related to that of Thessaloniki - as well as those in which comparisons of the two cities are encountered or insinuated - are of great interest.

The main issues of the comparison of cities in the hagiographical texts of the late Byzantine era are the location, the climate, the fertility of the soil and the abundance of goods, the size, the beauty, the founders, the age or antiquity, the survival throughout the ages, glory or reputation, growing power, specific building elements, happiness or bliss, humanity, honesty, spiritual progress and the combination of ancient education with Christian wisdom.

The Invisible City: Towers in Palaiologan Constantinople

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Was Constantinople in its last century beginning to look like an Italian city, not only surrounded by towers along its walls but also with a growing number of residential towers? This paper aims to examine and interpret this largely invisible aspect of the city based on both textual and archaeological material.

Mistras' Urban Character: A Question of Shifting Perspectives

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Despite its iconic status as the ultimate Palaiologan fortress-town in Greece, Mistras' character, being the capital of late Byzantine Morea, has been put under scrutiny lately, its urbanity questioned. Nonetheless part of recent scholarship still tries to uncover its city-scape and describe its urban grid.

Perched on a steep hill, abnormally looking to the north, Mistras is viewed as the typical fortress-town, a notion that shaped research on Byzantine cities after the end of late antiquity. Ancient urban centers declined, and they were replaced by hill-top fortress-towns of middle and late Byzantium. Thus, the seat of the Palaiologan Peloponnese's Kephale is described as the archetypal late Byzantine city, replacing ancient Sparta and trying to imitate notions of Constantinopolitan urbanity on a much smaller scale. Modern researchers have even found a leoforos and a palace with an Italian inspired piazza, a meeting place for a town council of democratic politics inspired by the writings of Plethon.

In reality Mistras is the ideal setting for the romanticized orientalizing fiction called "Princess Izambo", written in thirties' modernist Athens amidst the question for the modern Greek identity and its ancient counterpart between Leonidas of Sparta and Constantine Palaiologos. For the Byzantines though a trip to Mistras was a trip to hell, like the one Mazaris is forced to take, offering a rather embarrassing view for the euphemized utopia of Runciman's breath-

taking narratives. One can't help wondering if the only thing actually reminiscent of Constantinople, or even Thessaloniki or Nikaia for that matter, is the density of ecclesiastic institutions and churches still dominating all four corners of its small periphery.

If anything, Mistras emerges as the place where ecclesiastic patronage and civic pride developed in a manner reminiscent of all Byzantium's urban centers but in a shorter period and covering one of the most interesting conflicts of the Palaiologan Period: the rivalry between the Palaiologoi and the Kantakouzenoi. This is the topic of the present paper.

Three of the major churches (the Perivleptos, Hagia Sophia and the Evangelistria) could be attributed to the Kantakouzenoi while three others (the Metropolis, the Vrontochion Katholikon and the Pantanassa) to the Palaiologoi. The details of their founding and their afterlives reveal

a very dense history of continuous change and adaptation shaping the space of the town called Mistras.

City Narratives and the Poetics of Spoliation in Late Medieval Culture

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Antiquity remained a backdrop against which medieval and early modern societies constructed their pasts and deliberated on their presents. Fifteenth-century authors frequently referred to

their cities as ancient and beautiful. They wrote about urban habitats, foundation myths, locations, histories, monuments, and architectural sophistication. As well as cultivating the aesthetic appreciation of ancient architecture and decoration of buildings, these tropes reflected the more general development of fostering the ancient past in the processes of renegotiating one's own civic identity. This paper proposes to explore commonalities in the Byzantine, Italian, South-Slavonic and Ottoman narratives of antiquity by focusing on textual, visual and material evidence for the reception, recovery, and reworking of the past in the first half of the fifteenth century.

Self-Standing City Praises as Political Canvases in Late Byzantium

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My paper aims to examine, under the perspective of their assumed political role, the Byzantine independent or self-standing praises that were produced in the turbulent period stretching from mid. 13th to mid. 15th c. for leading cities of that time, such as Constantinople, Nicaea and Trebizond.

While it is unquestionable that the seven such surviving texts were first delivered orally and then –after succeeding as oratorical pieces– began a second life in manuscript form, their

initial performative contexts differed substantially from each other. Some are believed to have served more practical purposes and to have been presented as honorary gifts, either in front of larger crowds of Byzantine people or in front of smaller groups of Byzantine officials. On the other hand, some of those self-standing *laudes urbium* produced by highly talented rhetors, such as Theodoros II Laskaris, Theodoros Metochites, Georgios Karbones, Bessarion and Ioannes Eugenikos, are presumed to have been displayed as epideictical showpieces in the late Byzantine *theatra*, which means the gatherings of members of the social and cultural elite either to present their owns or to listen to others' literary and rhetorical improvisations. Yet, there is a common thread connecting them all, no other than their exclusive scope to exalt the cities they had been composed for. The particular characteristic, meaning that those extent city praises were not produced as embedded parts of larger *logoi basilikoi*, *epibaterioi*, *patrioi*, *prosphonetikoi* or *kletikoi* or any of the other occasional epideictic speeches, helped them to –even with noticeable delay– win their generic autarky in the plethoric framework of Byzantine literature. So, after decades of being

misleadingly either identified with or related to different kinds of city *ekphraseis* and shorter urban laudatory references, they only recently started being regarded as a separate rhetorically sophisticated, mostly "exhibitionist" literary form.

However, their sophisticated character would not have been fully determined had they not recently been analyzed according to the similarly sophisticated instructions on "how to praise cities" attributed to the famous 3rd c. AD Menander Rhetor. Although it is commonly accepted that the more talented a Byzantine rhetor was the less he advised the rhetorical handbooks, in the case of the extent self-standing *laudes urbium* close-analysis has shown that they would not have been fashioned at all if late Byzantine authors did not have as inspirational guidelines both the 19 pages long instructions by Menander on "how to praise a city" together with the two late antique archetypes, that is to say *Panathenaikos* and *Antiochikos logos* by Aelios Aristides and Libanios respectively.

Therefore, in order to make those often overwhelmingly large epideictic speeches fully comprehensible, all their conscious "departures" from the Menandrean rules need to be located as precisely as possible. By getting past the narrow aspect of their supposed mere aim of enhancing their audience's civic pride, we will be in a better position to point out their hidden political function and, as I hope to prove, to realize that the "further they departed from the canon" the "more political" they became.