Processions, power and community identity, east and west

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The *Vitas patrum Emeritensium*, the *Lives of the fathers of Mérida*, written in the seventh century, sets out the deeds of the holy men of one of the major cities of Visigothic Spain. Its account of Bishop Fidelis, who lived in the mid-sixth century, tells of a servant, *puer*, of the bishop who was locked out of the city one night and had to wait till dawn to get in. As he waited, he saw a fiery globe, *glovus igneus*, going from the extramural church of S. Fausto to that of S. Lucrecia, and a *multitudo sanctorum* following it, with Fidelis in the middle; they crossed the great Guadiana bridge and the gate opened by divine power to let them into the city, closing again afterwards. The servant told the bishop about this when he came into town the following day, and Fidelis warned him to tell no one during the bishop's lifetime, for fear of his life. Wise words; another man saw Fidelis process with the saints from the church of S. Eulalia, Mérida's main civic saint, around the other martyrial churches outside the walls (these would presumably have included Fausto and Lucrecia again), but did tell people; the bishop warned him that he would die at once, which he did.[2]

On one level, it is quite clear what Fidelis was supposed to have been doing, apparently routinely: he was protecting Mérida in secret, with the most powerful set of associated protectors he could possibly work with. Processing around the walls of a city was a standard way of doing this, as we shall see; not many processions had as much massed saintly back-up as these, however.[3] At least one of the processions also ended with a formal entry into the city, the classic way of

[1] LB would like to thank Vasiliki Manolopoulou (whose PhD thesis is cited in n. 45 below) for stimulating discussion, and Lauren Wainwright for compiling a list of processions in the *Book of Ceremonies*. Both LB and CW thank the rest of the contributors to the Empires and Communities research group for critiques, and ongoing discussions.

[2] *Vitas sanctorum patrum Emeritensium*, ed. A. Maya Sánchez (Turnhout, 1992), 4.7-8.

[3] The named saints' churches would not necessarily have taken Fidelis all around the walls; the first two churches were over the river to the west of the city and Eulalia lay to the north. But Eulalia was nearly at the opposite side of town, so, if we were to be really literal, nearly half the walls might have been traversed externally. But the account does not encourage a literal reading.

expressing power over it; we can guess that the saints ended up in the cathedral afterwards, as processions generally did, for when Fidelis was due to die, it was there that they gathered to ensure it and to take his soul away. The unusual feature of these stories was the secrecy they involved, which evidently mattered to this bishop; he was ruthless about its protection.[4] The secrecy topos is a standard one in hagiographies, of course; but, for processions elsewhere, a highly public aspect was the norm. We can suppose that efficacy here mattered more than publicity; and maybe (who knows) Fidelis was also covering for saints who, being supernatural, preferred anonymity. The *Lives* do not tell us; but their author clearly thought these accounts significant, for they make up half of what is told about Fidelis' episcopacy. It is this significance which gives the stories particular importance for us. This is the sort of thing which a good bishop should be doing, saints or no saints; and good bishops – and many secular rulers, kings, emperors, caliphs – did just the same: all across the early middle ages, from 500 to 1000, the framing dates for this article, and indeed for a long time earlier and later.

Urban processions, that is to say groups of people moving publicly and formally in an urban space, conveyed protection and power in other periods too, as a substantial historiography underlines. Military, civic and religious processions were indeed a hallmark of the ancient and medieval worlds that continued into the Renaissance (and, indeed, continue to this day). Once discussed primarily as models of urban unity and continuity, it has been increasingly recognised that processions were also a powerful tool of civic control and contestation and a way of negotiating power relationships within an urban context.[5] But their public nature, and their public

[4] VPE 4.9. Concerning secrecy, there are two partly parallel stories in Gregory of Tours, *In gloria confessorum*, c. 58 (the most similar), and *Vitae patrum*, 17.4; both are ed. Bruno Krusch in *Monumenta Germaniae historica* [henceforth *MGH*], *SRM*, 1/2, 2nd edn. (1969). [For *MGH* abbreviations, we use *AA* for *Auctores antiquissimi*, *SRG* for *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum*, *SRL* for *Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, *SRM* for *Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, *SS* for *Scriptores in folio*. Publication is either Hannover or Berlin.]

[5] See among very many R. C. Trexler, *Public life in Renaissance Florence* (Ithaca, NY, 1980); N. Z. Davis, 'The sacred and the body social in sixteenth-century Lyon', *Past and present* 90 (1981), 40-70 (two of the progenitors of this historiography); and, for a sample of recent approaches, *Prozessionen, Wallfahrten, Aufmärsche*, ed. J. Gengnagel, M. Thiel-Horstmann and G. Schwedler (Cologne, 2008). For the late Roman background, the basic account is now L. Lavan, *Public space in the late Antique city* (Leiden, 2019), chapter 2.

repetition, also furthered – or potentially furthered – community identity, at least among participants and bystanders, who could, outside Mérida, be very numerous. It is the aim of this chapter to show how this worked, comparatively, in urban societies across Europe and the Mediterranean – for the processional world, which assumed substantial audiences, was normally and above all an urban world. We will look at both the imperial level (and at that of similar rulers east and west) and, where we have enough information, at the local level which underpinned that of rulers. We will include any formalised moving body of people, no matter what it is called in our sources (and, as will become clear, the differences in what sources called such processions are often significant); some of these formalised moving groups were repeated regularly, and others were one-offs, but they had internal orderings even then, and when they did not we will not include them. (We will also not include one-off marriage and funeral processions, which, even if formalised in predictable ways, relate very often to private claims to status rather than to power and community; we also exclude degrading processions of criminals and political losers, despite their intrinsic interest, so as not to overload a very long article.)[6] We will start with Constantinople, the imperial city par excellence in the early middle ages, for both imperial and local came together here, and discuss it in most detail, as a model; we will then look at western parallels, focussing on the Franks and Rome, and also at the Fāṭimids, whose processions in and around Cairo show up some interesting and useful contrasts.

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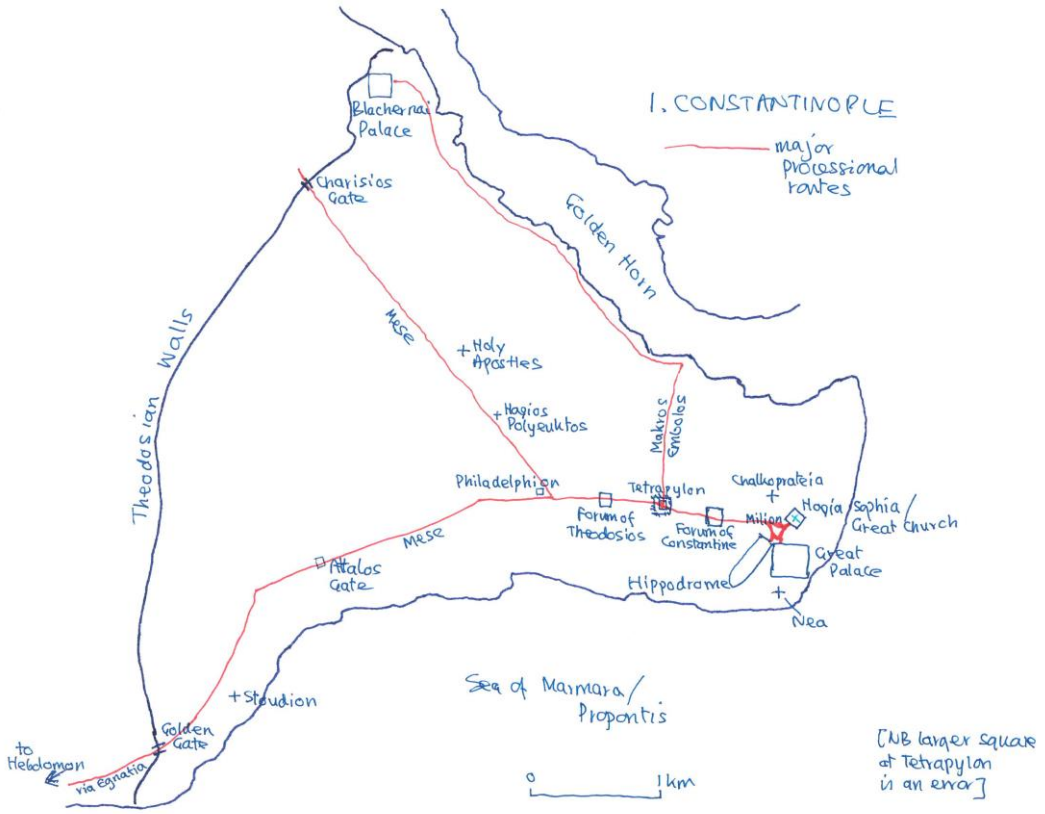
We are very grateful to Luke Lavan for letting us have this chapter in advance of publication, and for permission to cite it. See further, for Flanders, n. 186 below.

[6] Empirically, we need also to add at the start, every procession we discuss will have a religious element; but so did almost all collective activity in this period. For the processions which we exclude, at least up to c.600, see Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2.

Constantinople



Byzantine processions have rarely been explored from the point of view of establishing power relationships and community identity.[7] Though Byzantinists have published on liturgical processions,[8] military processions,[9] and processions as part of court and/or urban ritual (imperial and/or ecclesiastical),[10] there has been no synthetic, historicising, contextualising or comparative

[7] Exceptions are L. Brubaker, 'Topography and the creation of public space in early medieval Constantinople', in *Topographies of power in the early Middle Ages*, ed. M. de Jong and F. Theuws (Leiden, 2001), 31-43 and, especially, N. Andrade, 'The processions of John Chrysostom and the contested spaces of Constantinople', *Journal of early Christian studies*, 18.2 (2010), 161-89.

[8] See, e.g., the classic J. Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship. The origins, development, and meaning of stational liturgy*, Orientalia christiana analecta, 228 (Rome, 1987).

[9] See, e.g., the classic M. McCormick, *Eternal victory: triumphal rulership in late Antiquity, Byzantium and the early medieval West* (Cambridge, 1986).

[10] In addition to the publications cited earlier, see, e.g., R. Janin, 'Les processions religieuses à Byzance', *Revue des études byzantines*, 24 (1966), 69-88; A. Cameron, 'The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*', in *Rituals of royalty: power and ceremonial in traditional societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S.R.F. Price (Cambridge, 1987), 106-36; N.P. Ševčenko, 'Icons in the Liturgy', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 45 (1991), 45-57; A. Berger, 'Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople', in *Byzantine Constantinople: monuments, topography and everyday life*, ed. N. Necipoğlu, The Medieval Mediterranean, 33 (Leiden, 2001), 73-

examination of the Byzantine procession. There has been relatively little study, for example, of the relationship between the 'pagan' processions of the ancient world[11] and the Christian processions of the East Roman world after 380, when the first recorded Christian religious procession in Constantinople took place at the instigation of Gregory of Nazianzos.[12] No one has fully evaluated what, if anything, links liturgical, military/imperial and non-liturgical religious processions in the one Byzantine city where we have sufficient evidence of all three, Constantinople. We can begin to guess why processions followed certain routes, but few have asked whether the Byzantine procession changed over time– and this despite the fact that it would be important to know, for example, whether regular processions (such as those between the two major shrines of the Virgin, the Blachernai and the Chalkoprateia) changed path as the neighbourhoods they traversed changed composition. There are, in short, a lot of unanswered (and unasked) questions about the Byzantine procession. Not all of them can be fully answered here, but they are important to ask for several reasons.

First, medieval processions effectively replaced the relatively static public spaces of the Greek and Roman city such as the agora or the forum to create new and more fluid avenues of public ritual space. There were ancient processions, certainly, but many of them were informal, or one-offs such as *adventus* (see below); there were rather more, and many more regular ones, in the Christian world of the fifth century and onwards.[13] That is to say, although the idea that public

87; F. Bauer, 'Urban space and ritual: Constantinople in late antiquity', *Acta ad archaeologiam et atrium historiam pertinentia*, 15 (2001), 26-61.

[11] On which see the classic W.R. Connor, 'Tribes, festivals and processions: civic ceremonial and political manipulation in archaic Greece', *Journal of Hellenistic Studies*, 107 (1987), 40-50; and more recently I. Östenberg, *Staging the world: spoils, captives, and representations in the Roman triumphal procession* (Oxford, 2009); D. Favro and C. Johanson, 'Death in motion: funeral processions in the Roman forum', *Journal of the society of architectural historians*, 69 (2010), 12-37; *The moving city: processions, passages and promenades in ancient Rome*, ed. I. Östenberg, S. Malmberg and J. Bjørnebye (London, 2015).

[12] For the latter, see Brubaker, 'Topography', 37-38. One of the few comparative studies, Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, esp. text to nn. 327 ff., concludes that there was little relationship between pagan and Christian processions.

[13] Ibid., 43. See in general Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2.

space could move already existed in the Roman period, it accelerated markedly after the advent of Christianity. Understanding processions is thus critical for understanding how urban space worked and was manipulated in the middle ages. Second, processions put into relief what kinds of public behaviour (and misbehaviour) were acceptable. Looking at processions in Constantinople, their contestations and their failures (and the manipulations of these failures in texts[14]) with a critically nuanced eye allows us to begin to develop a more sophisticated social and cultural history of (at least) urban Byzantium. In a related vein, processions involve an audience, as well as participators, and a team of people who prepare for the event (e.g. by decorating the streets with metal, textile and floral embellishments). These people and their activities are virtually invisible in the historical record, yet they are vital to any understanding of the social and cultural history of the Byzantine capital, and how this changed over time.[15]

Third, Byzantine processions took resource (in addition to the cost of street decoration, money was distributed on certain occasions) and a considerable amount of time. If the major written sources concerning Byzantine processions – the *Book of Ceremonies* and the *typikon* of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia), both of the tenth century – are to be believed, there were, on average, a minimum of two processions a week in Constantinople, many of which involved the patriarch and often also the emperor.[16] Both of these men had many other responsibilities; this was time that neither would have squandered were processions not believed to be to their advantage. By 750 or so, processions in Rome were it is true nearly as frequent, but elsewhere in the West they seem to have been normally restricted to major feast-days; Fāṭimid processions were

[14] On which see, esp., P. Buc, *The dangers of ritual. Between early medieval texts and social scientific theory* (Princeton, NJ, 2001).
[15] One scholar who has begun to approach these issues is Anthony Kaldellis, in his *The Byzantine republic* (Cambridge, MA, 2015).
[16] For the *Book of Ceremonies*, see most conveniently Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *The Book of Ceremonies*, 2 vols, trans. A. Moffat and M. Tall, which includes the reprinted Greek edn. of the Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae (ed. J. Reiske, Bonn, 1829), Byzantina australiensia 18 (Canberra, 2012). For the *typikon* of Hagia Sophia, see J. Mateos, *Le typicon, de la Grande Église*, 2 vols, Orientalia christiana analecta, 165-66 (Rome, 1963).

similarly paced across high-points of the year. That processions were significantly more important to the Byzantines than to most of their neighbours, even though in themselves they were often very similar in format, has seldom been noticed.[17]

Fourth, a comparative evaluation of Byzantine processions allows us to understand both how the Byzantines were able to operate in a complex global network defined by local contexts (how and why similar practices developed across the medieval Mediterranean and Islamic world, and how the Byzantines positioned themselves within this nexus) and, more importantly, the extent to which the Byzantines remained resolutely Byzantine.[18] For example, the Byzantine procession had three basic formats, which it shared with others, but whose combination was specific to it. The first, which it held in common with late antique Jerusalem and medieval Rome,[19] went from one intraurban urban space to another, in a fairly linear mode (e.g. many processions that formed part of the stational liturgy, as outlined in the *typikon* of Hagia Sophia, and described in the *Book of Ceremonies*). The second, which it shared with Fāṭimid Cairo, the imperial Roman and early medieval western *adventus* and also the early modern western *joyeuses entrées*, generally went from outside the city to a specific location inside it.[20] The third, with many medieval western parallels as we shall see, went around and enclosed the city protectively (e.g. the procession led by patriarch Sergios in anticipation of the Avar/Persian siege of Constantinople in 626) in a fashion

[17] Baldovin however noted that there were more liturgical processions in tenth-century Constantinople than there were in contemporary Rome or Jerusalem: *The urban character of Christian worship*, 211.

[18] A preliminary exploration of this issue appeared as L. Brubaker, 'Space, place, and culture: processions across the Mediterranean', in *Cross-cultural interaction between Byzantium and the West, 1204-1669*, ed. A. Lymberopoulou (Abingdon, 2018), 219-235.

[19] See, e.g., C. Wickham, *Medieval Rome. Stability and crisis of a city, 900-1150* (Oxford, 2015), with earlier bibliography.

[20] See, e.g., P. Sanders, *Ritual, politics and the city in Fatimid Cairo* (Albany NY, 1994); H. Halm, 'Verhüllung und Enthüllung. Das Zeremoniell der fatimidischen Imam-Kalifen in Kairo', in *Visualisierungen von Herrschaft. Frühmittelalterliche Residenzen. Gestalt und Zeremoniell*, ed. F. Bauer, Byzas, 5 (2006), 273-82; and for later Syrian processions J. Grehan, 'The legend of the Samarmar: parades and communal identity in Syrian towns c. 1500-1800', *Past and present*, 204 (2009), 89-125.

repeated in Byzantine ceremonies of church dedication from at least the eighth century.[21] We will therefore examine the Byzantine procession within the context of other contemporary expressions in both the Christian West and the Islamic caliphates, particularly in Egypt. One of our goals is simply (but crucially) to analyse what is specifically 'Byzantine' about the Byzantine procession alongside an evaluation of, for example, what makes an early medieval Roman procession 'Roman', and a Fāṭimid one 'Fāṭimid'. Why did both the emperor and the patriarch devote so much more time to the procession – at least in the middle Byzantine period – than did all rulers and most religious leaders in either the Christian West or the Islamic world?

We need to set out and develop several key aspects of the Byzantine procession here. After a brief consideration of the problems with the source material, we will look at how the various types of Byzantine procession – liturgical, military, imperial/court, ecclesiastical/religious – 'worked'; how they intersected; and how they operated, across time. We will also evaluate Byzantine processions as expressions of authority and urban control (again, across time) in early and middle Byzantine Constantinople, set against how they are also constitutive of community identity.[22] We will develop the comparative discussion later, when we have looked at our other case studies.

The sources. There are four important types of sources of information on Byzantine processions. First, there are books about ceremonial compiled for the imperial court or its immediate circle. The most famous of these is the mid-tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*; for the later period there is the superficially-related *Offices and ceremonies* attributed to Pseudo-Kodinos.[23]

[21] On which see V. Permjakovs, '"Make this the place where your glory dwells": origins and evolution of the Byzantine rite for the consecration of a church', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Notre Dame, 2012). We are most grateful to Dr Permjakovs for helpful discussion and for allowing us to read his dissertation, which he is currently preparing for publication.

[22] This because, except for isolated examples such as, e.g., fourth-century Jerusalem and twelfth-century Thebes, it is only the Byzantine capital that provides sufficient information to make such an evaluation until the late Byzantine period.

[23] For the *Book of Ceremonies* see n. 16 above; for Pseudo-Kodinos, see R. Macrides, J. Munitiz and D. Angelov, *Pseudo-Kodinos and the Constantinopolitan court: offices and ceremonies*, Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies, 15 (Farnham, 2013).

Second are service books that detail the rites of the liturgical year, of which the *typikon* of the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) is best known. Like the *Book of Ceremonies*, the *typikon* dates to the tenth century, although it is probably from the earlier part of the century, whereas the *Book of Ceremonies* is a mid-century compilation with additions running into the 970s.[24] Third, the anecdotal accounts in Byzantine chronicles, histories and hagiographies incorporate information on processions as part of their larger narrative.[25] The fourth significant source of information is material culture. There are occasional early images of processions – such as that on the Trier ivory[26] – and numerous middle and late Byzantine images of both liturgical or proto-liturgical processions (predominantly in manuscript illustration) and the great Constantinopolitan Marian processions (mostly in wall painting), as well as 'historical' processions such as are found in illustrated chronicles.[27]

The nature of our source material creates certain methodological problems. Most obviously, it concentrates heavily on Constantinople, and the two systematic accounts of processions both date to the tenth century. Historical accounts of processions span the entire Byzantine period, but are clustered in the years before 900. In contrast, images, with the notable exception of the Trier ivory, all date after 900. The purposes of the *Book of Ceremonies*, the *typikon* of the Great Church, histories and hagiographies are also all very different, and the impact this has on accounts of processions is brought out forcefully if one compares texts about the same procession, as we shall see. Correlating image and text is no more straightforward, as is evident from the decades-long argument about which procession the Trier ivory actually represents (if

[24] See n. 16 above.
[25] There are also the law codes. These have been little studied in the context of processions, but occasionally incorporate relevant imperial or ecclesiastical legislation; these will be cited below as needed.
[26] On which see L. Brubaker, 'The Chalke gate, the construction of the past, and the Trier ivory', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies,* 23 (1999), 258-85, and most recently P. Niewöhner, 'Historisch-topographische Überlegungen zum Trierer Prozessionselfenbein, dem Christusbuld an der Chalke, Kaiserin Irenes Triumph im Bilderstreit und der Euphemiakirche am Hippodrom', *Millennium*, 11 (2014), 261-87.
[27] See, e.g., Ševčenko, 'Icons in the Liturgy'; E. Boeck, *Imagining the Byzantine past. The perception of history in the illustrated manuscripts of Skylitzes and Manasses* (Cambridge, 2015); M. Parani, '"The joy of the most holy Mother of God the Hodegetria the one in Constantinople": revisiting the famous representation at the Blacherna monastery, Arta', in *Viewing Greece: Cultural and political agency in the medieval and early modern Mediterranean*, ed. S. Gerstel (Turnhout, 2016), 113-45.

any).[28] Both images and texts are shaped by visual and narrative conventions, so the likelihood of actual reportage from either is anyway remote, though of course both communicate what their creators believed to be in the realm of the possible and show us what their audiences accepted as plausible simulacra. With that we must be content.

Types of processions in Constantinople. There are two broad categories of processions recorded (in words and in images) from late antique and Byzantine Constantinople, and, in modern scholarly literature at least, they are usually kept separate.[29] These two categories are the imperial procession and the religious procession, and the purpose of this section is, first, to evaluate them separately, and then to question whether or not the distinction between them responds to modern conceptions or medieval ones. Finally, we will turn to how processions of either variety intersected with civic and state identity, and evaluate what they tell us about Byzantine urban culture and society between c.500 and c.1000.

Imperial processions. The earliest imperial procession in Constantinople for which we have any textual record – though it is in fact an imperial portrait that processes, and the record is later than the event – is attached to the birthday celebrations for the city on 11 May, apparently established by Constantine I in 330, or, perhaps, instituted to commemorate his death in 337.[30]

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[28] For an overview of the arguments, see the articles cited in n. 26 above.

[29] See, e.g., McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, who considers only imperial processions, though he notes their increasing 'liturgification' (see, e.g., 63, 100-11); Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, who considers only liturgical processions; and F. A. Bauer, 'Urban space and ritual: Constantinople in late antiquity', *Acta ad archaeologiam et atrium historiam pertinentia*, 15 (2001), 26-61, who considers both, but in separate sections, and who emphasises the differences between the two; so also does Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, for the period up to c.600.

[30] The fullest account appears in the sixth-century *Chronicle* of John Malalas, where the annual celebrations are said to continue 'to the present day': *Chronicle* 13.8, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn, 1831), 321-22; E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys and R. Scott, *John Malalas, a translation* (Melbourne, 1986), 175. According to the tenth-century *Patria* (2.87), ed. A. Berger, *Accounts of medieval Constantinople. The Patria* (Washington, DC, 2013), 110-11, these celebrations were terminated by Theodosius I (379-95), but Malalas makes it more likely that it ended later. For discussion of the route see R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian capitals, topography and politics* (Berkeley, CA, 1983), 41-67 and, esp., Bauer, 'Urban space', 32-37, whence the suggestion that the ceremony may be posthumous. For the *adventus* of imperial portraits in general, which seems to begin in the third century, see Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, text to nn. 21-3.

According to the eighth-century *Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, as a preface to the original celebrations a statue of Constantine was moved, in the presence of specially clothed dignitaries carrying candles, from the Philadelphion – located at the point where the two branches of the street later to be called the Mesē forked, roughly in the centre of the Constantinian city, with one fork running southwest and the other northwest – to the Forum of Constantine, which had been sited at the end of the original Mesē, just outside the Severan walls (built c.200).[31] Here, according to the *Parastaseis*, it was honoured with 'many hymns' and 'revered by all, including the army'. The statue was then, like an emperor raised on a shield as part of his acclamation, 'raised on a pillar in the presence of a priest and procession, and everyone crying out "Kyrie eleison" a hundred times'.[32] The city was then dedicated, and, after forty days of celebrations, 'the birthday of the city took place and a great race in the Hippodrome. And the emperor made many gifts there too, instituting these birthday celebrations as an eternal memorial'.[33] The procession, as Franz Alto Bauer noted, was staged (or at least described) as a victory or triumph,[34] even though it involved only a fairly short journey from the centre of Constantine's city – marked with his monuments at the Philadelphion (then decorated with the tetrarchic statue now at San Marco's in Venice) and the Capitolium that he had commissioned[35] – eastward to the site where the new city had expanded out from the old Severan city, marked by Constantine's Forum; eventually, it apparently moved yet further east, onto the Hippodrome. During the birthday celebration itself, another statue of Constantine was escorted by solders carrying candles into the Hippodrome, where it was to be

[31] *Parastaseis* 56, in *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. A. Cameron and J. Herrin Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition, 10 (Leiden, 1984), 130-31.

[32] The raising on a shield is documented from the fourth century onwards: relevant texts are collected and discussed in C. Walter, 'Raising on a shield in Byzantine iconography', *Revue des études byzantines*, 33 (1975), 157-66.

[33] Ibid., 132-33.

[34] Bauer, 'Urban space', 33-34.

[35] For the Philadelphion, see W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls* (Tübingen, 1977), 266-67; for the Capitolium, see the cautious remarks of C. Mango, 'The triumphal way of Constantinople and the Golden Gate', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 54 (2000), 177.

paraded around the *spina* in a chariot until it reached the *kathisma* (throne) of the reigning emperor, who was meant to bow to it.[36] While this latter event was evidently a fairly straightforward attempt by Constantine or his promoters to ensure the emperor's eternal memory as founder of the city, the account of the first statue is more nuanced. For the purposes of this discussion, the key point is that the ceremony as described in the *Parastaseis* fuses acclamations by the army (with intimations of the traditional raising on the shield) with hymns sung by priests and the populace of Constantinople. The earliest procession recorded in the capital, in short, might be classed in the broad category of an imperial triumph, but the sources we have infuse its enactment with heavy overtones of Christian ritual.

There are no other imperial processions associated with Constantine I, though it is possible that some sort of victory procession marked his defeat of the Goths in 331/2.[37] The beginnings of a monumental triumphal pathway through the city were nonetheless established, apparently running from the military grounds at Hebdomon, sited, as its name suggests, at the seventh milestone outside the city, through the Golden Gate (although the appearance, and even its precise location, of the Golden Gate under Constantine is not known, it survived across our period, and was later called the Attalos Gate when the original name had transferred to the later walls of Theodosius II), to Constantine's Forum and on to the Great Palace.[38] A second branch led from the Charisios Gate (now Edirne kapı) past Constantine's mausoleum (later joined by the church of the Holy Apostles) and met up with the main road, as we have already seen, at the Philadelphion. These routes were apparently well established under the Theodosian emperors in the late fourth and fifth centuries, but at least some stretches were already developed under Constantine, as the

[36] So Malalas, with discussion by Krautheimer and Bauer, all as in n. 30 above.
[37] For this and other possibilities, see McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 39.
[38] See esp. Mango, 'Triumphal way', 173-88, with additional comments from Bauer, 'Urban space', 32-37.

accounts we have just discussed and, in particular, the siting of his imperial mausoleum make clear.[39]

After Constantine there is considerably more evidence, and from a broader range of sources.[40] The material for imperial triumphal processions in Constantinople has been studied in some detail by Michael McCormick, and we will simply review his conclusions here, before supplementing his observations with a few additional observations.[41] McCormick makes three points of particular relevance to this chapter. First, he establishes that imperial triumphal or *adventus* (the Latin term for entry into the city) celebrations had as much to do with the political needs of an individual emperor to display his (or, in 784, her) authority publicly as they had with military victories. Hence, triumphs (or at least records of triumphs that have come down to us) appear in clusters and tend to collect around the defeat of usurpers or, conversely, the triumph of a usurper over a former emperor. In both of these cases, stability of rule was threatened and the emperor who won evidently felt the need to broadcast and reinforce his power through civic display of a triumphal nature.[42] An imperial triumphal procession was not, in other words, a mechanical response to a great military victory, but was, rather, choreographed for political mileage. To that degree, imperial processions were opportunistic exercises; and for that reason, flexibility was essential.

Second, McCormick documents an increasing emphasis, from the fifth century onward, on the Hippodrome, both as the site of processions and as the focus of the triumphal celebration, either through the display and humiliation of the defeated or through the races that concluded

[39] See Mango, 'Triumphal way', and Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, 269-70.
[40] They are discussed in chronological order in McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 39-79, 131-88.
[41] McCormick also, very usefully, provides a detailed and synthetic overview of a Byzantine imperial triumph: *Eternal victory*, 189-230. See further Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, for *adventus* and imperial triumphs (which are difficult to separate from *adventus*), in the late Roman empire as a whole.
[42] McCormick makes this point repeatedly, but see especially ibid., 60, 80-83, 133-37, 144-52, 159-84. On the triumph celebrated during Eirene's regency, see ibid., 141. See also J. Shepard, '*Adventus*, arrivistes and rites of rulership in Byzantium and France in the tenth and eleventh century', in A. Beihammer et al. (eds.), *Court ceremonials and rituals of power in Byzantium and the medieval Mediterranean* (Leiden, 2013), 337-371, with a comparison to eleventh-century France.

most triumphs.[43] As we shall see, this, significantly, left the urban procession that walked through the streets of Constantinople largely – though not exclusively – the preserve of the church.

Finally, McCormick charts the increasing role of Christianity in imperial triumphal ceremony, from the inclusion of bishops in Constantius II's celebration in Antioch in 343, to special thanksgiving services ordered by Theodosius I after the defeat of the usurper Eugenius in 394, to the incorporation of Christian churches into the itinerary of an imperial triumphal procession under Justinian I in 559 in Constantinople, to the patriarch's inclusion in the welcoming party during the celebration of Herakleios' triumphal return to the capital from Jerusalem in 628 or 629, and, finally, to the processions celebrating the Virgin's role in imperial victory that also began in seventh-century Constantinople.[44] And, as McCormick observed, public commemorations of past imperial triumphs appear to have died out in the sixth century (they are last described by Prokopios), and liturgical processions commemorating divine salvation from enemies and natural disasters took their place.[45] As this latter change demonstrates, drawing a hard and fast distinction between imperial and ecclesiastical ritual is impossible.

The three processes just outlined – the linkage of usurpers with the celebration of imperial triumphs, the importance of the Hippodrome, and the Christianisation of imperial triumph – are exemplified already in Sokrates' account of the events of 425 when Theodosius II, on learning that the usurper John had been defeated, is said to have interrupted the Hippodrome games, saying: 'Come now, if you please, let us leave these diversions and proceed to the church to offer our thanksgivings to God, whose hand has overthrown the usurper'. Sokrates claims that the 'spectacles were immediately forsaken and neglected, the people all walking out of the circus

[43] See especially McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 60, 92-94, 99.
[44] Ibid., 39-41, 45, 63, 67, 71-72, 74-78, 100-11, 132-33.

[45] Ibid., 74-77. On these litanic processions, see most recently V. Manolopoulou, 'Processing Constantinople. Understanding the role of *litai* in creating the sacred character of the landscape', unpublished PhD thesis (University of Newcastle, 2015).

singing praises …. And once in the church, they passed the remainder of the day in devotional exercises'.[46] Whether or not this actually happened is a moot point; it must also be said that the shifts noted by McCormick probably illuminate changes in authorial attitudes as much as they do modifications of civic ceremonial. As Sokrates' earlier remarks illustrate, he was intent on portraying Theodosius II as an emperor of great piety,[47] and this is not the first time that he caused the emperor to cancel the races. Earlier in the *Ecclesiastical history*, in the face of inclement weather, Sokrates has the emperor order a herald to proclaim to the Hippodrome crowd: 'It is far better and fitter to desist from the show, and unite in common prayer to God, that we may be preserved unhurt from the impending storm', after which 'the people, with greatest joy, began with one accord to offer supplication and sing praises to God … and the emperor himself, in unofficial garments, went into the midst of the multitude and commenced the hymns'.[48] The storm, of course, abated forthwith. Our point here is that just as emperors were opportunistic in using victory celebrations to shore up their reputations, so too did authors use their accounts of the same events to further their own agendas which, in the case of Sokrates, was to promote the piety of Theodosius II.

Religious processions. What distinguished 'religious' from 'imperial' processions was, primarily, whether a member of the ecclesiastical hierarchy or the emperor/empress was the key focus. Both could involve the patriarch; both could involve the imperial family. Religious processions normally ended in a church; imperial processions often – though not invariably – ended in the Hippodrome. We will return, at least briefly, to the distinctions and overlaps between processions focused on thanksgiving and supplication to divine authority and those focused on

[46] McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 60, 111. The relevant text is Sokrates, *Ecclesiastical history*, 7.23, ed. G.C. Hansen, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller* (Berlin, 1995); English trans. from A.C. Zenos, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2nd series, 2 (Buffalo, NY, 1890), 166. On Sokrates' response to the usurper John, see further T. Urbainczyk, *Socrates of Constantinople. Historian of church and state* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1997), 172-75.

[47] On which see Urbainczyk, *Socrates*, 143-45.

[48] Sokrates, *Ecclesiastical history* 7.21, ed. Hansen; Zenos, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 2, 165.

celebrating imperial power, but first we must sketch the history and format of religious processions in Constantinople.

The earliest specifically Christian processions may have taken place in Jerusalem, and were part of various liturgical celebrations described by the pilgrim Egeria in the last quarter of the fourth century.[49] In Constantinople, the earliest documented Christian procession took place in 380, under the leadership of the then-patriarch Gregory of Nazianzos;[50] more are described across the next 25 years, notably by John Chrysostom[51], and after this the religious procession becomes so common that it occasions little comment in the sources – unless something goes wrong, or unless the source is specifically dedicated to discussing ritual, as with the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies* and the *typikon* of the Great Church.[52]

Religious processions could be either liturgical, forming part of the stational liturgy that moved from one 'stational' church to another as part of the regular ecclesiastical calendar of the Christian year, or extra-liturgical responses to a particular situation, such as a natural disaster or other calamity or, more happily, the translation of a saintly relic. In Constantinople, particularly, processions that originated as a one-off extra-liturgical event sometimes became incorporated into

[49] Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, esp. 58-64. On processions in Egeria, see A. Bastiaensen, *Observations sur le vocabulaire liturgique dans l'Itinéraire d'Egérie*, Latinitas christianorum primaeva, 17 (Nijmegen, 1962), 38-39; G. Dal Santo, 'Rite of passage: on ceremonial movements and vicarious memories (fourth century CE)', in Östenberg, Malmberg and Bjørnebye, *The Moving City*, 145-54; and Georgia Frank (whom I thank for discussions on this topic), 'Picturing psalms: pilgrims' processions in late antique Jerusalem', forthcoming.

[50] See Brubaker, 'Topography and the creation of public space', 31-43, esp. 37.

[51] Ibid.; Andrade, 'The processions of John Chrysostom'.

[52] See further Bauer, 'Urban space'; Berger, 'Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople'; and L. Brubaker, 'Processions and public spaces in early and middle Byzantine Constantinople', in *The Byzantine court: source of power and culture. Papers from the second international Sevgi Gönül Byzantine studies symposium*, ed. A. Ödekan, N. Necipoğlu and E. Akyürek (Istanbul, 2013), 123-27.

the regular and repeating cycle of liturgical processions, and there are nearly twenty examples of these noted in the *typikon* of the Great Church.[53]

The major study of the origins and development of the liturgical urban procession is John Baldovin's *The urban character of Christian worship*, published in 1987. Here, Baldovin demonstrated briefly but conclusively that most features of what he called the 'participatory procession' – from the supplication of participants (sometimes barefoot and with their hair unbound) to the custom of walking protective circuits around urban boundaries – migrated from pre-Christian practice into Christian use, as did the carrying of candles, singing and, in Rome at least, processions to selected religious sites on specific days: an institution that Baldovin believed anticipated the stational liturgy of the post-Constantinian church.[54] Baldovin also characterised the main processional differences between the three cities central to his study as, for Jerusalem, an emphasis on mimetic action, matching ritual to historic sites;[55] for Rome, a diffusion of processions due both to the scattering of the Christian population across the urban landscape and to the key nodal sites that ringed the city outside the walls;[56] and, for Constantinople, the importance of imperial presence – with a concomitant emphasis on public urban sites, particularly the Forum of Constantine – and of historical commemorations of events that had affected the city in the past.[57]

Baldovin also noted that in Constantinople, particularly in the late fourth and early fifth centuries, processions were used by different Christian factions as a means to demarcate their own spheres of authority, a point which has been developed further in later scholarship.[58] In the rhetoric

[53] They are conveniently listed in Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 300: nine commemorate earthquakes; the remainder recall events as various as the city's birthday (11 May), the exile of John Chrysostom (13 November), various sieges (5 June, 25 June, 7 August), the great fire (1 September – so also the opening of a new indiction), the hail of cinders (6 November) and the deposition of the Virgin's robe (2 July).
[54] Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 234-38.
[55] Ibid., 83-104.
[56] Ibid., 143-66.
[57] Ibid., 205-36.
[58] Ibid., 209-14. See further Brubaker, 'Topography and the creation of public space in early medieval Constantinople', and Andrade, 'The processions of John Chrysostom'.

that accompanied these early processions, which were effectively demonstrations of ecclesiastical power by the opposing Arian and Nicene factions, the participation of the emperor or empress became an important indicator of success, as is clearly evidenced in the sermons of John Chrysostom.[59] This had two results of significance for our study of the later processions in Constantinople. First, and most obviously, it deliberately co-mingled the patriarchal and imperial spheres of influence, and this fluid elision of one into the other remained a characteristic of Constantinopolitan processions to the end of the empire, as we shall see. But, second, the emperor and empress were not the central focus of the procession, and while they were sometimes (as in the case of these 'processional wars') at least rhetorically of great importance, their celebrity never seems to have blinded participants to the *raison d'être* of the procession. While no one would argue that, in normal circumstances, the patriarch exercised any real power over the emperor (in whose gift was the patriarch's appointment and dismissal),[60] his symbolic power as head of the church was such that even in the specifically imperial processions outlined in the tenth-century *Book of Ceremonies*, the imperial family always defers to the patriarch when he is present. The representative of God trumps the representative of Caesar, at least within the realm of symbolic action.

The religious processions of Constantinople were probably not all controlled by the church and patriarchate. In other cities, guilds ran their own processions, and Nancy Ševčenko has collected the meagre evidence for similar groups in Constantinople, from the seventh century onward, when a brotherhood of some sort connected with the church of John the Baptist is

[59] Detailed analyses in Brubaker and Andrade, as in previous note.
[60] For an indication of how the appointment process may have unfolded in the tenth century, see the *Book of Ceremonies* 2.14 (Moffat and Tall, 564-66) which makes the emperor's complete control of the process crystal clear. It is true that on rare occasions the patriarch of Constantinople either acted as an imperial surrogate (Sergios, acting for Herakleios during the Avar-Persian attach of 626, when the emperor was away on campaign) or actually managed temporarily to bar the emperor from Hagia Sophia (Nicholas Mystikos in 906/7, until he was deposed by Leo VI; Polyeuktos with John Tzimiskes in 969) but these are the exceptions that prove the rule. Patriarch Photios's attempt to realign patriarchal and imperial power did not succeed; see G. Dagron, *Emperor and priest: the imperial office in Byzantium*, trans. J. Birrell (Cambridge, 2003), esp. 106-09 (for Leo VI and Tzimiskes) and 223-47.

mentioned in one of the miracles of St Artemios.[61] There is more evidence (though still not much) for the period after the year 1000, but the main sources for the period covered in this article rarely mention guilds or confraternities. Though slightly later than the period covered here, two mid-eleventh-century accounts are nonetheless worth mentioning. The first is a well-known poem by Michael Psellos on the festival of Agathe, a public procession on 12 May organised by what was probably a guild of female textile workers.[62] This had many civic and professional elements, but incorporated icons, involved priests and, apparently, hymn-singing in the destination church. A roughly contemporary account in a fragmentary poem by Christopher of Mytilene provides a critique of the annual procession of *notarios* students and their teachers in Constantinople, held on the feast day of their patron saints Markianos and Martyrios (25 October).[63] This seems to have had many almost burlesque features, but it too involved a procession to a church, and so, like the Agathe festival, merged professional and ecclesiastical features. These accounts demonstrate two points of considerable importance. First, despite the silence of most of our sources, women were clearly visible on the streets on Constantinople and, equally clearly, they participated in processions. Second, and again despite the lack of much textual evidence (in most of our sources, raucous and unruly behaviour is normally noted only when it disrupts more serious business), it is clear that not all processions were solemn and stately affairs. –So the relevance of these two eleventh-century sources is that they indicate that public processions were not always the male-dominated, hieratic operations that one might assume from other sources. In part, this is because many of our sources for processions are ecclesiastical or imperial, and thus primarily concerned

[61] See, for example, J. Nesbitt and J. Wiita, 'A confraternity of the Comnenian era', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 69 (1975), 360-84; N.P. Ševčenko, 'Servants of the holy icon', in *Byzantine east, Latin west: art historical studies in honor of Kurt Weitzmann*, ed. C. Moss and K. Kiefer (Princeton, NJ, 1995) 547-56.

[62] A. Laiou, 'The festival of "Agathe": comments on the life of Constantinopolitan women', *Byzantium: Tribute to Andreas N Stratos*, 1 (Athens, 1986), 111-22; repr. in A. Laiou, *Gender, society and economic life in Byzantium* (Hampshire, 1992), study 3.

[63] Poem 136, in *The poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous*, ed. and trans. F. Bernard and C. Livanos, Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, 50 (Cambridge MA, 2018), 286-303, 562. See also Laiou, 'The festival of "Agathe"', 121-22.

with processions connected with the stational liturgy or that centred on the emperor. But even from those which we do have, it is clear that processions had multiple functions, often overlapping, and that this was as true for the religious as for the imperial ones.

Most religious processions incorporated elements of supplication, and all were, to some degree, commemorative. Processions that had commemoration at their main focus were usually linear: the participants moved from place to place, within the city, with occasional ventures outside the city walls. In their most basic form, such processions honoured the memory of a special occasion (such as the Ascension) or object (such as the True Cross) or disaster (such as an earthquake) or person (such as the Virgin), by formally processing from somewhere else (in Constantinople, this was often the patriarchal church, Hagia Sophia) to a church associated with the event, object or person being memorialised. Commemorative, linear processions lay at the heart, and were an integral part, of Constantinopolitan church ritual, as part of the stational liturgy from the fourth century onward, with a significant increase in their numbers from the seventh or eighth century.[64]

Sometimes these processions were transportational, in that they carried something from one site to another. Early examples are recorded by John Chrysostom, who around the year 400 described a torchlit procession bearing the relics of an unknown martyr from Hagia Sophia to Drypia, 13.5 km west of the city on the Via Egnatia. The relics, John tells us, were carried by the empress Eudoxia, and the procession stretched along the coast, 'making it a river of fire'; the procession reached the church at dawn, where Chrysostom preached a sermon before returning to Constantinople.[65] Here people from the city ventured outside the walls, and then returned, in a

[64] For a concise list, in chart form, of processions and the locations where they originated, paused, and ended (based on the *typikon* of the Great Church), see Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 292-300.

[65] *Patrologiae cursus completes, series graeca*, 63, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris, 1860), 467-78, quotation at 470. See R. Janin, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. I: le siège de Constantinople et le patriarchate oecuménique, 3. Les églises et les monastères* (Paris, 1969), 183-84; see also Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 183. For a much later visualisation of a similar torch-lit procession in the West, see the early seventeenth-century

process that was at least potentially intrusive. The Friday night procession in honour of the Virgin that moved from the Blachernai to the Chalkoprateia and was initiated by the patriarch Timothy (511-518), which remained within the city walls, involved carrying icons of the Virgin by the middle Byzantine period, and may have done so earlier.[66] And, according to the *Book of Ceremonies*, between 28 July and 13 August the True Cross was carried to 'sanctify every place and every house … but especially the walls themselves, so that the both the city and the whole area around it are filled with grace and holiness'.[67] Details are not provided, but it seems plausible that 'the usual procession' or even a candle-carrying one, both described in the same chapter of the *Book of Ceremonies* for 1 August, when the True Cross was honoured by the senate, accompanied its process around Constantinople, including around its walls.[68]

Whether or not this was the case, protective processions were usually enclosing. That is to say, as with Fidelis in Mérida, the participants walked the boundaries of a city, in order to enclose urban space within a protective wall of sanctity. The Avar-Persian siege of Constantinople in 626, for example, famously prompted a procession around the city walls led by the patriarch Sergios; its success was commemorated annually on the anniversary of the event, 7 August,[69] which fell within the period when the *Book of Ceremonies* tells us that the True Cross sanctified the city. Although the *Book of Ceremonies* does not discuss rituals associated with 7 August itself, the coincidence at least suggests that the True Cross was indeed regularly processed around the walls

panel in Siena: L. Borgia, *et al.*, *Le biccherne. Tavole dipinte delle magistrature senesi (secoli XIII-XVIII)* (Rome, 1984), no. 132.

66 M. Van Esbroeck, 'Le culte de la Vierge de Jérusalem à Constantinople aux 6e-7e siècles', *Revue des études Byzantines,* 46 (1988), 181-190 repr. in idem, *Aux origins de la dormition de la Vierge. Études historiques sur les traditions orientales* (Aldershot, 1995), study 10; Ševčenko, 'Icons in the Liturgy', 51-52.

67 *Book of Ceremonies* 2.8 (Moffat and Tall, 538-41).

68 Ibid., at 539.

69 Van Esbroeck, 'Le culte de la Vierge'; Mateos, *Le typicon,* 1, 362-65; cf. B. Pentcheva, 'The supernatural protector of Constantinople', *Byzantine and modern Greek studies* 26 (2002): 2-41.

as part of its protective and sanctifying circuit. Protective processions also walked around the walls of a church as part of its dedication process for the same reason: to protect it from harm.[70]

Vigils. There are not many evening vigils required by the *typikon* of the Great Church, and they are not demanded of the emperor in the *Book of Ceremonies*, though 1.27 makes allowances for his participation in the vigil at Blachernai for the feast of the Presentation of the Virgin in the temple (2 February) if he wants to attend.[71] In the *typikon*, most processions begin early in the morning or immediately following the morning service (*orthros*), but on ten or eleven occasions a vigil is specified; seven are associated with *litai* celebrating the Virgin.[72] As we have seen, vigils 'spontaneously' occurred at times of stress, when the patriarch led the people in prayers of supplication begging for delivery from the dangers of natural disasters or enemy attacks, but the relative rarity of their appearance in the *typikon* suggests that the exceptional nature of the all-night vigil was recognised and appreciated.

Imperial and religious processions in Constantinople: a reprise. It will be clear by now that there was no clear-cut segregation of the personnel involved in imperial and religious processions: religious processions could and often did involve the imperial family, while imperial processions were not limited to triumphs and they frequently co-opted the patriarch.[73] There are, however, some peculiarities that differentiate the two beyond their primary focus on either the

[70] See V. Ruggieri, 'Consecrazione e dedicazione di Chiesa, secondo il Barberinianus graecus 336', *Orientalia christiana periodica*, 54 (1988), 79-118; Permjakovs, "'Make this the place where your glory dwells'".

[71] *Book of Ceremonies*, 1.27 (Moffat and Tall, 147-48).

[72] Night before 1 September (New Year, Symeon Stylites, Theotokos, 481 fire), 8 September (birth of the Virgin), 18 December (*enkainia* of the Chalkoprateia), 22 or 23 December (Christmas), 2 February (presentation of the Virgin in the temple), 25 March (Annunciation), 8 May (John the evangelist), 5 June (Avar attack of 617), 29 June (Peter and Paul), 15 August (Koimesis) and possibly All Saints' Wednesday (see Mateos, *Le typicon,* 2, 146-47).

[73] Though the emperor is mentioned only twice in the *typikon* of the Great Church, on 2 February for the feast of the Presentation (and this only in a later copy of the text) and on the Saturday of Holy Week (Mateos, *Le typicon,* 1, 223 nn. 1-2; 2, 84-85). Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 198, points out that the *Book of Ceremonies* only records the patriarch as officiating at the liturgy in the palace three times, but he is regularly mentioned as participating in various ceremonies that also included the emperor, and the pair dined together on numerous occasions.

emperor or an ecclesiastic.[74] First, it must be said that the author(s) of the *Book of Ceremonies* distinguishes between a 'religious procession' and a 'customary (or usual) procession'. The opening of book 1, chapter 24, for example, reads (in the Moffat and Tall translation): 'when the usual daily procession takes place in the Sacred Palace (*tēs synēthous kai kathēmerinēs proeleuseōs ginomenēs en tō hierō palatiō*), and everyone goes along in ceremonial dress for the feast days of the twelve days of Christmas…'.[75] 'Ordinary' processions also appear throughout the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos dating to 899, and both here and in the *Book of Ceremonies*, this indicates that they move about the palace,[76] or, occasionally, from the palace to the Great Church, which was more or less directly accessible from the palace. These occasions were hardly public, and have more to do with the reinforcement of élite identity than any relationship to community; 'progress' might, in fact, be a better term for them. The Greek term used is virtually always *proeleusis*, or, less commonly, *prokensos*, which also denotes the rarer imperial processions outside the palace and Church. The equivalence of the two terms is specified directly at the beginning of the *Book of Ceremonies*, in a general introduction to any imperial procession to Hagia Sophia, which explains that the emperor directs the *praipositoi* (chamberlains) to arrange 'the *prokensos*, or procession' (*prokenson ētoi proeleusin*).[77] This may be a relatively self-conscious updating, for *prokesson* (from which *prokensos* presumably derives), itself derived from Latin *processio*, is the term favoured in earlier writers such as John Malalas (mid-sixth century) for imperial processions outside the palace (Malalas was not a courtier and so does not deal with palace progresses).[78] By the early ninth century, Theophanes favoured *proeleusis* or (more

[74] The distinction is noted by Berger, 'Imperial and ecclesiastical processions', 75, 79, but he does not contextualise the differences.
[75] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.24 (Moffat and Tall, 136-37). The palace routes and rituals associated with the usual daily procession and its Sunday variations are also considered in detail in the first two chapters of book 2 (Moffat and Tall, 518-25).
[76] The text appears as *Book of Ceremonies* 2.52-53 (Moffat and Tall, 702-91).
[77] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.1 (Moffat and Tall, 6).
[78] Compare John Malalas, *Chronicle* 14.42 (*litaneuontes*: going on a procession of prayer) and 18.77 (*en litais*: procession and supplication after an earthquake) with 11.33, 13.7, 13.15, 13.35, 13.45, 14.43 and 15.2 (all imperial progresses with no religious implications); *prokensos* is also used, perhaps because the emperor remains the main focus of the event described.

usually) the related word *proelthein/proēlthein* for all kinds of 'usual' processions,[79] and this is the terminology that is developed in the tenth-century sources.

In contrast, in Malalas, Theophanes, the *Book of Ceremonies* and the *Kletorologion*, 'religious processions' are normally outside the palace, and they are called *litē*, or, in the plural, *litai*, just as they are in liturgical protocol. The distinctions between the two modes of procession are not always what we might expect. Malalas tells us that shortly before his death in 450 Theodosius II processed to the Church of St John at Ephesos, and that Anastasius (491-518) processed to the church of St Michael at Sosthenion – both religious pilgrimages – but uses *prokensos,*[80] presumably because they were not primarily liturgical in focus (though the emperor doubtless participated in a liturgical event once he reached the relevant church) and the emperor was the main protagonist of the event described. Theophanes in the early ninth century is even more prescriptive: from him, we learn that in 438 the patriarch Proklos escorted the relics of John Chrysostom from Komana to Constantinople in a public procession (*epi proleuseōs pompeusas*) with the emperor and Pulcheria; in contrast, later that same year (or perhaps the year after[81]), during a severe earthquake, the populace fled to Hebdomon outside the walls and 'spent days in procession (*litaneuontes*) with the bishop in supplication to God'.[82] For Theophanes, even more than for Malalas, imperial participation seems to require *prokensos/proeleusis/proelthein/proēlthein*, even when the patriarch was present or the emperor or empress was processing to church: in 718, Leo III's wife Maria processed (*proēlthen*) to the Great Church for the baptism of her son, Constantine V; after Constantine V elevated his sons to the throne in 769, the emperors processed (*proēlthon*) to the Great Church; on Holy Saturday 776, Leo IV processed (*proēlthen*) to the Great Church to change the altar cloth (an annual imperial

[79] See the citations in n. 83 below.

[80] *Chronicle* 14.26 (Theodosius II) and 16.16 (Anastasius), ed. Dindorf, 366, 405.

[81] See *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813* (Oxford, 1997), trans. C. Mango and R. Scott, 145 n. 4.

[82] De Boor, 92-93 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 144-45). So too when the patriarch Menas processed (*diēlthen*) with the relics of Andrew, Luke and Timothy to the restored church of the Holy Apsotles during the reign of Justinian: de Boor, 227 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 331).

ritual); the next day, in the presence of the patriarch, Leo IV crowned his infant son Constantine VI in the Hippodrome, and the two emperors processed (*proēlthon*) to the Great Church, presumably with the patriarch in attendance; at Christmas 780 Eirene 'went in public imperial procession' (*proelthousa basilikōs dēmosia*) to Hagia Sophia with her son Constantine VI; on Easter Monday 798, Eirene processed (*proēlthen*) from the church of Holy Apostles; and the patricians processed (*proēlthon*) to the Great Church to crown the usurper Nikephoros I in 802.[83] When describing occasions including the emperor, it is normally only when the patriarch is the chief protagonist that Theophanes used *litē*: for Justinian's consecration of Hagia Sophia in 537, for example, Theophanes has the procession (*litē*) led by the patriarch Menas in the imperial carriage while the emperor walked with the people;[84] and at the rededication, the patriarch Eutychios left the church of St Plato after an all-night vigil, and 'set out from there with the litany (*meta tēs litēs*)' to Hagia Sophia with the emperor Justinian.[85] The most notable exception to this rule appears in Theophanes' account of the emperor Maurice's introduction of 'a litany (*tēn litēn*) at Blachernai in memory of the holy Mother of God, at which laudations of our lady were to be delivered',[86] for this reference seems to refer to a church service rather than a procession (though it is likely that a procession was also involved, as one is later recorded in the *typikon* of the Great Church[87]).

The linguistic distinction between imperial and liturgical processions is, by contrast, not rigidly maintained in the *Book of Ceremonies*. Usually, *litai* are led by the patriarch,[88] but the author of the *Book of Ceremonies* also sometimes attaches them to the emperor, and on occasion – for example, on 8 September, the birthday of the Theotokos; in the chapter entitled 'What has to take

[83] De Boor, 400, 444, 450 (Eirene arrived separately, also *to proelthein*), 454, 474, 476.
[84] De Boor, 217 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 316).
[85] De Boor, 238 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 350).
[86] De Boor, 266 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 387); the latter suggest that this refers to the introduction of the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin on 15 August (ibid., 388 n.18).
[87] Mateos, *Le typicon,* 1, 370-71.
[88] E.g. *Book of Ceremonies* 1.11 (to Blachernai, without the emperor, on Easter Tuesday), 18 (to Pēgē, where he met the emperor, on the feast of the Ascension), 27 (Purification of the Virgin and Presentation in the Temple, 2 February, received by the emperor) and 28 (the feast of Orthodoxy, received by the emperor) (Moffat and Tall, 89, 111, 150, 156, 157-58).

place when a triumph with victory hymns is held in the Forum of Constantine with a religious procession'; and on Easter Monday – we are told that the emperor and the patriarch participated in separate religious processions. On 8 September, both *litai* (imperial and patriarchal) moved from Hagia Sophia to the Forum of Constantine, and then the imperial religious procession (*litē*) returned back to the Chalkoprateia (which is close to Hagia Sophia and the palace).[89] For the triumph with victory hymns, the two separate religious processions (*litai*) once again moved from Hagia Sophia to Constantine's forum, after which the emperor returned to the palace and the patriarch returned to the patriarchate on his donkey.[90] So the emperor led his own *litē* here, but in the context of a patriarchal processional ritual, which is doubtless why the word was used. This ceremony is however not included in the *typikon* of the Great Church, according to which the patriarch celebrated the early morning rites at Hagia Sophia and then, at the second hour, the *litē* moved to the Forum and thence to the Chalkoprateia for the liturgy;[91] the emperor is here not mentioned. On Easter Monday, we see the same pattern: the *Book of Ceremonies* tells us that both the emperor and the patriarch arrived at the church of the Holy Apostles in separate *litai*;[92] the *typikon* of the Great Church also locates the celebration at the Holy Apostles, but again ignores the role of the emperor.[93] According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, the other regular religious procession associated with the emperor occurred on 21 May, the commemoration of Constantine and Helena, when the emperor travelled to the church of the Holy Apostles on horseback, and was received in the mausoleum of Constantine by the patriarch; after this the emperor left the patriarch and, in his own religious procession (*litē*), moved away from the church to, apparently, the Church of All Saints, where he was once again met by the patriarch.[94] The *typikon* of the Great Church, unusually, notes here that the emperor and the senate did attend the procession, a deviation that was

[89] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.1 (Moffat and Tall, 28-30).
[90] *Book of Ceremonies* 2.19 (Moffat and Tall, 607-12).
[91] Mateos, *Le typicon,* 1, 18-21.
[92] *Book of Ceremonies* I.10 (Moffat and Tall, 75-76). The long itinerary included the Forum of Constantine, which is also mentioned in the *typikon* of the Great Church (reference in following note).
[93] Mateos, *Le typicon,* 2, 96-99.
[94] *Book of Ceremonies* 2.6 (Moffat and Tall, 532-34).

presumably suggested by the nature of the celebration.[95] The presence or not of the emperor is not, in short, normally of great interest to the compiler of the *typikon* of the Great Church (who was, after all, primarily focused on promoting the eternal cycle of the liturgical year), but the legitimising presence of the patriarch at religious observances is, in contrast, of clear interest to the compiler of the *Book of Ceremonies*, and it is normally in this context that he uses the word *litē* of an imperial-led procession.

This makes the absence of a patriarchal procession in the final imperial religious procession described in the *Book of Ceremonies* notable. The imperial religious procession was the one-off entry into the city by the newly proclaimed emperor Nikephoros II Phokas on 16 August 963, and it is specifically designated as a *litē*.[96] The date was surely selected with some care: as McCormick noted long ago, 16 August was the date of the liturgical celebration of the victory over the Arabs during the reign of Leo III in 718.[97] This is, however, the only instance of an imperial *litē* in the *Book of Ceremonies* where the patriarch is not specified as being in close proximity, and with his own religious procession, even though Nikephoros' *litē* moved from the Forum into Hagia Sophia, where, once inside and having removed his crown, he was met by the patriarch. The omission of the patriarch from the earlier procession is, as we have just seen, unusual, and becomes even more curious when we compare the account in the *Book of Ceremonies* with the liturgical protocol in the *typikon* of the Great Church.

According to the *Book of Ceremonies*, Nikephoros arrived in the city by boat and moored near the Golden Gate, where he was met by 'the whole city'. He then rode on horseback to the monastery of the Abramites, also known as the Acheiropoietos of the Theotokos, after which ('at the third hour', that is, mid-morning) he returned to the Golden Gate and was acclaimed by the populace. He next rode up the Mesē to the Forum of Constantine, dismounted, and walked in

[95] Mateos, *Le typicon,* 1, 296-97.
[96] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.96 (Moffat and Tall, 439).
[97] McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 169; Mateos, *Le typicon,* 1, 372-73.

religious procession to Hagia Sophia, where the patriarch met him and, presumably, officiated at the coronation ritual (this section of the text is lost).[98] The *typikon* for the same day, however, has the patriarch celebrating the morning *orthros* at Hagia Sophia, then processing to the Forum of Constantine, moving on to the Attalos Gate and then through the Golden Gate itself, before entering the nearby sanctuary of the Theotokos, 'called Jerusalem'.[99] We can see from these accounts that the two processions – one the annual liturgical commemoration of the Virgin's salvation of the city, the other a one-off celebration of the ascent of Nikephoros II – were in the same general vicinity, and both of the churches cited were, according to Janin, adjacent to the city walls near the Golden Gate as well.[100] It is clear that Nikephoros (or his aides) exploited the liturgical situation, as well as the date, intentionally. This is yet another indication of the meaninglessness of surgically separating the two types of procession. All the same, we conclude that the failure to mention the patriarch's procession in the *Book of Ceremonies* was intentional, for it would have blurred the triumphal connotations of Nikephoros's entry into the city. The new emperor was a usurping general with other notable victories to his name (one of which had occasioned a triumphal procession in the past[101]), so this was presumably a strategic decision on the part of the here roughly contemporary compiler. The latter was in effect having it both ways, making Nikephoros's implicitly triumphal *adventus* appear more normative because more religious, but at the same time cutting out the main focus of a normal religious procession, the patriarch. It is, in other words, evident both that the Byzantines differentiated (though sometimes only loosely) between an imperial progress – even one with strong religious overtones – and a liturgical procession, and that in fact the former could take on many attributes of the latter.

[98] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.96 (Moffat and Tall, 438-40).
[99] Mateos, *Typicon*, 1, 372-75. On the Attalos Gate, see Mango, 'Triumphal way', 175.
[100] Janin, *Les églises et les monastères*, 5-6, 97 (location of the church of Diomedes, another name for the Theotokos Jerusalem church), 185-86.

[101] On which see McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 167-68.

In numerous other respects, liturgical and imperial processions shared common goals. Both promoted group unity; and both, overtly or not, were essentially expressions of the control of urban space by the church and the secular power. As we have already seen, liturgical and imperial processions also shared (and thus shaped) the same spaces. Numerous monuments recur in both the *Book of Ceremonies* and the *typikon* of the Great Church, most notably the Forum of Constantine (which is cited nearly fifty times in the *typikon*,[102] and appears even more frequently in the *Book of Ceremonies*) and Hagia Sophia itself, which of course appears regularly in the *typikon*, but also is named over two dozen times in the *Book of Ceremonies*, a confluence that underscores the civic elements of the stational liturgy as well as the liturgical elements of imperial processions. Perhaps most striking of all, however, is simply how time-consuming these processions must have been, for all the personnel involved, which in addition to those processing included those preparing the routes and cleaning up afterwards (on which see below). The *typikon* of the Great Church lists nearly seventy stational processions, and that is also approximately the number of processions referenced in the *Book of Ceremonies*.[103] There were also the regular Friday night processions in honour of the Virgin, noted earlier. Some of these, of course, were the same procession (though, as we have also seen, the patriarch and the ruler did not always take the same route); and some may have been less regular than the sources aim to suggest. Others, however, such as those performed by guilds, are not recorded in our two main sources. But even excluding these, and even if we face the problem of irregularity simply by halving the number suggested by the *Book of Ceremonies*, the *typikon* and the sources recording the Friday procession in honour of the Virgin, we are left with roughly two processions a week. Many of these covered considerable distances, especially the route from Hagia Sophia to the churches in Hebdomon, well outside the Theodosian

[102] Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 292-97 lists forty-six instances of the Forum as an intermediate station, but omits 30 November, when the *typikon* specifies a stop there: Mateos, *Le typicon,* 1, 116-17.

[103] For the *typikon*, see the lists in Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 292-97 and Mateos, *Le typicon,* 2, 304-05 (conveniently divided into when the processions occurred, which means that there is some overlap). Baldovin lists sixty-eight processions, but two of them are problematic (nos. 32 and 61).

walls, which were the terminal stations for liturgical processions on 8 May and 5 June;[104] according to the *Kletorologion* of 899, after the liturgy on 5 June, all of the senate dined here as well.[105] Clearly, processions were believed to be important in the world of Constantinople: as noted earlier, no emperor or empress, and no patriarch, would have been prepared to commit so much time, and, as we shall see, so much resource, to them otherwise. We will return to this issue in the conclusions to this section.

The participants. Who participated in processions? As far as we can tell, there were no restrictions imposed on liturgical processions, though there was apparently some attempt at crowd-control for both liturgical and imperial ceremonial. Theophanes, following the now-fragmentary account in Theodore Lektor (d. post-527) tells us that from around the year 500 the prefect of the city was added to the clergy leading processions as a crowd-control officer, to ensure that order was maintained: the emperor Anastasius (491-518) 'decided that the prefect should accompany him at services and at processions of prayer (*en tais litais*), for he was afraid of rebellions among the orthodox. This became customary practice'.[106] Disorderly crowds indeed disrupt processions in many accounts, from Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostom onward.[107] They appear on several occasions in Theophanes: also during the reign of Anastasius, for example, 'the crowds came out in anger on the day of the litany that is celebrated at the Triconch in commemoration of [the fall of] dust' (6 November), and Dioskoros, bishop of Alexandria, 'was insulted in public by the orthodox as he made his way in procession'; the 'disorderly crowd' ultimately came to blows with Dioskoros and his entourage.[108] That crowds could interfere with the orderly progress of a procession is also hinted in the *Book of Ceremonies*, where, in the description of the procession on Easter Monday, it is noted that one of the officials was responsible for 'directing the crowds of

[104] Mateos, *Le typicon,* 1, 282-85, 304-09.
[105] *Book of Ceremonies* 2.52 (Moffat and Tall, 776).
[106] De Boor, 150 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 230). Theodore Lektor, *Ecclesiastical History*, 469, ed. Hansen, 134. Cf. Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 186.
[107] See 16 above.
[108] De Boor, 159, 162-63 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 240, 247).

people so they are not mixed up in the procession'.[109] Evidently the author of the *Book of Ceremonies* expected people to attend, and sometimes indicates that the emperor stopped to address 'the people'.[110] So, in addition to the actual people processing, there was also always an audience, as the participants passed through the city, so that processions incorporated into their sphere of impact many more people than those who actually walked the route. Christopher of Mytilene's fragmentary mid-eleventh-century poem, noted above in our discussion of guild processions, provides tantalising glimpses of how processions could become targets of derision from the crowd; despite its lacunae, it is clear that there were many onlookers, and that the audience actively interacted with those processing.[111] Even non-participants who could not see the procession would have been able to hear it: as indicated in the *typikon* of the Great Church, those walking in liturgical processions chanted psalms as they processed; and the *Book of Ceremonies* makes it clear that the imperial progress was constantly halted for acclamations,[112] sometimes accompanied by drums or other instruments, a tradition which went back to the late Roman empire.[113]

Aside from noting the presence of the patriarch, the emperor or the empress, descriptions of Byzantine processions rarely provide details about who participated directly. The *Book of Ceremonies* regularly invokes the activities of the Blue and the Green Faction, frequently notes that 'the patricians' formed part of the procession,[114] and occasionally cites orphans quite specifically,[115] but on only rare occasions provides any greater specificity. One notable exception is provided by book 32, on the Palm Sunday procession, which lists the eleven participating bodies – seven charitable organisations (the orphanage and six hospices), two churches (Hagia Sophia and the

[109] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.10 (Moffat and Tall, 82).
[110] E.g. at 1.27 (Moffat and Tall, 155). In this case he explains the significance of Lent, after which he is cheered by the people.
[111] Bernard and Livanos, *Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous*, 286-303, 562.
[112] For examples, see *Book of Ceremonies* 1.48 (Factions and the people), 1.70 (Factions and the people), 1.76-7 (the army) (Moffat and Tall, 252-54, 348, 372-73).
[113] E.g. *Book of Ceremonies* 1.70 (Moffat and Tall, 348) (drums); for other instruments, see below. For late Rome, see Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, text to nn. 56-8.
[114] E.g. *Book of Ceremonies* 1.34, 47 (Moffat and Tall, 179, 236-44).
[115] E.g. *Book of Ceremonies* 1.27 (Moffat and Tall, 151).

Blachernai, with the Soros chapel), and the two civic organisations, for the central city and the outskirts (the Peratic demes) – the head of each of which first greets the emperor and empress.[116] Accounts provided by foreign visitors are slightly more useful. One early tenth-century description, attributed to the Arab prisoner Hārun ibn-Yaḥyā, lists 'the common people', plus elders, young men, boys, servants, eunuchs, pages, patricians and the emperor, all processing on mats strewn with aromatic plants along a route hung with brocade.[117] Slightly later, the Italian Liudprand of Cremona noted 'a copious multitude of merchants and common people' lining the 'sides of the roads forming walls, almost, from the palace of Nikephoros to Hagia Sophia'.[118] Foreign observers, that is to say, commented on elements which Byzantine sources themselves took for granted, and only mention implicitly and occasionally. The juxtaposition of these two accounts however also allows us to conclude something else: that the participation of large numbers of people does not really need to be divided between those processing and those watching. This also fits the procession of the *notarioi*, discussed in Christopher of Mytilene's satiric poem, as we have seen. Except in the case of processions with no-one in them except imperial and/or ecclesiastical figures, and except for any processions which had no-one watching – if there were any of either – this interaction was sufficiently great that we can group participants and audience together. This is something which clearly distinguishes Constantinople from Rome, as we shall see.

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[116] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.32 (Moffat and Tall, 171-77) (the empress's presence is indicated in the last sentence).
[117] A. Vasiliev, 'Harun ibn-Yahia and his description of Constantinople', *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 7 (1932), 158-59. Hārun ibn-Yaḥyā does not mention women (though they were presumably included amongst 'the common people'), perhaps because the caliphal ceremonies with which he was most familiar were differently structured and the active participants seem to have been exclusively male. For the date, see G. Ostrogorsky, 'Zum Reisebericht der Harun-ibn-Jahja', *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 7 (1932), 251-58; for commentary (on Vasiliev's translation), see Berger, 'Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople', 77-79. For a comparison between Hārun ibn-Yaḥyā's account and the slightly later description of an imperial procession in Liudprand of Cremona, see J. Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum. Herrschaftsrepräsentation der Fatimiden, Ottonen und frühen Salier an religiösen Hochfesten* (Darmstadt, 2009), 86-95.

[118] Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatio*, c. 9, ed. P. Chiesa, *Antapodosis; Homelia paschalis; Historia Ottonis; Relatio de Legatione Constantinopolitana* (Turnhout, 1998); English trans. P. Squatriti, *The complete works of Liudprand of Cremona* (Washington, DC, 2007).

Images of processions add to this by emphasising the visual significance of candles: virtually all images of processions produced in the period between 500 and 1000 portray the participants carrying large lit candles. There are not many such images, however: the Trier ivory, most recently dated to around the year 800,[119] and the so-called *Menologion* of Basil II (BAV gr.1613, c.1000) are the dominant examples.[120] The former shows a relic procession, and the images in the latter focus on translations of relics. But both again show substantial groups watching and/or participating in the processions. The Trier ivory visualises the point about the importance of audience, for the latter is very prominent in the image, even if we cannot say which procession it is; the *Menologion* images of processions, too, nearly all display large crowds, occasionally incorporating women.[121] We may therefore presume from the juxtaposition of textual and visual evidence that processions could indeed involve large numbers of (sometimes unruly) crowds, even if we cannot assume that they always did.[122]

This is where the processional representation of power intersected with the processional construction of Constantinople as a community. It has often been noted that the crowd of Constantinople was unusually proactive at moments of political crisis by the standards of most medieval capitals. Anthony Kaldellis, for example, has recently provided, via lists of numerous crowd-based political actions between c.500 and c.1200, an entire theory of popular legitimacy in Byzantine politics.[123] Emperors who got on the wrong side of the urban crowd were both unwise

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[119] P. Niewöhner, 'Historisch-topographische Überlegungen', 261-87. For earlier bibliography, see Brubaker, 'The Chalke gate'.

[120] For the date, S. Der Nersessian, 'The illustration of the Metaphrastian menologium', in K. Weitzmann, ed., *Late Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr* (Princeton, NJ, 1955), 222-31 remains central. All images are available at http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.1613. On the casually related images of imperial *adventus* in the middle Byzantine period, see also A. Walker, *The emperor and the world. Exotic elements and the imaging of middle Byzantine imperial power, ninth to thirteenth centuries CE* (Cambridge, 2012), 59-62.

[121] E.g. BAV gr.1613, pp. 204 (with a female participant), 341, 350, 353, 355.

[122] Although, according to Stephen of Novgorod, who visited Constantinople in 1348 or 1349, even for a weekly procession centred on the Hodegon monastery, 'All the people from the city congregate': G. Majeska, *Russian travelers to Constantinople in the fourteenth and fifteenth century* (Washington, DC, 1984), 36.

[123] Kaldellis, *The Byzantine republic*, esp. 118-64.

and, often, unlucky; they could fall, or, if they otherwise died violently (as with Nikephoros II), they could be unavenged. These crowds in the sources assemble threateningly in the Hippodrome in front of the Great Palace (the most common location), or in Hagia Sophia, or sometimes in the Forum of Constantine; our authors are however usually at least in part censorious, and thus insufficiently interested to try to construct their roots, so they tend to appear in the sources out of nowhere. We however conclude that a large element in the construction of this popular identity, sufficiently strong to have direct political consequences in some cases, came from collective participation in processions, that is to say the public world in which power and community met – and which also included and linked all three of these main assembly-points. This was, indeed, much of the point of such processions. Emperors and patriarchs of course assumed, or at least hoped, that the public representation and legitimation of power was the key element – as with, for example, Nikephoros II's processional entry in 963. Probably they were usually correct. But both elements gained force in a processional culture. The clearest example of this, shortly after our period ends, is the fall and death of Michael V in 1042, resulting from an uprising of the crowd against his exile of the empress Zoe, from the imperial Macedonian family, whose adopted son he was. This immediately succeeded a major imperial procession to celebrate the Sunday after Easter; according to two sources, the fact that this procession went exceptionally well, with impressive crowd participation, was what persuaded Michael that this was the moment to move against Zoe. He was very wrong. But it is also important that, according to John Skylitzes, he sought to test 'the opinion of the citizens' (*tēs gnōmēs tōn politōn*) of him through the enthusiasm of their participation in the procession, and only made his move having done so. He thought that the procession conveyed and constructed power; but what it equally conveyed and constructed was community solidarity, and this solidarity, reinforced and quite possibly in this case directly activated by the procession, was far more legitimist than he realised.[124] We will develop this point in what follows.

[124] There are many modern accounts of these events. They all hang on the late eleventh-century narratives of Skylitzes and Attaleiates, respectively *Ioannis Skylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. J. Thurn (Berlin, 1973), 417,

The routes. Cyril Mango, Franz Alto Bauer and Albrecht Berger have published extensive discussions of the imperial processional routes in Constantinople, with maps or schematic diagrams tracking the main routes described in the *Book of Ceremonies*, histories and chronicles.[125] From this it is clear that there were two main routes that were repeatedly, though not exclusively, followed, and that these two main routes were already well-established before iconoclasm. The urban ceremonial of Constantinople was not, however, fossilised: the preserved sources indicate that both processions centred on the emperor and liturgical processions were altered over time in response to changing circumstances.[126]

The main lines of processional routes are trackable (see map 1). As we saw earlier, the main route left from the Augustaion beside the Great Palace and followed the 'middle road', the Mesē, through the Forum of Constantine, the forum of Theodosios, veering south-west at the Sigma, and then moved on past the Stoudion monastery to the Golden Gate, which met the Via Egnatia coming in to the city, and beyond which were the military fields and churches of Hebdomon.[127] A second route branched north from the Mesē at the Capitolium/Philadelphion and led past the churches of Hagios Polyeuktos and the Holy Apostles to the Charisios Gate. A coastal route along the Golden Horn was also used: from the bronze tetrapylon on the Mesē, between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum of Theodosios, the *Makros Embolos* ('long portico', a market street,

and Michael Attaleiates, *The history*, ed. and trans. A. Kaldellis and D. Krallis (Cambridge, MA, 2012), 4.4-5. (The third main source for Michael's fall, Psellos, does not stress the procession.) Attaleiates says the procession was on Easter Sunday; we have used Skylitzes's dating, but it could be either. As usual, the actual historicity of the events is less important than the highly processional imagery which surrounds them in our two main sources.

125 Mango, 'Triumphal way'; Bauer, 'Urban space'; Berger, 'Imperial and ecclesiastical processions in Constantinople'.

126 See 37, below.

127 The development of this route is well described by Bauer, 'Urban space', and its articulation in the modern city of Istanbul is beautifully demonstrated by Mango, 'Triumphal way'.

which still exists as Uzunçarşı, or 'long market street'[128]) headed north until it reached the coast, and which point it turned west and led to the Blachernai complex.

As is clear from our earlier discussion of triumphal entries into Constantinople, not all of the processions recorded in the historical sources were regular, recurring events. Even in the *Book of Ceremonies*, while most of the processional itineraries purport to describe annual rituals, many accounts relate to one-off or occasional events. In the *Book of Ceremonies*, the former category – of which there are over forty examples – includes primarily imperial processions linked to feasts of the church, but also the procession that marked the beginning of the Hippodrome racing season, the Vintage Festival at Hiereia, and on 29 August a commemoration of the emperor Basil I, who died on this date in 886, in the church of the Holy Apostles.[129] In the latter group, with about thirty examples, we find accounts of individual imperial entries into the city, processions associated with appointments to various ranks within the court hierarchy, coronations, ordinations, proclamations, funerals, births, baptisms, and the processional route for the emperor when he wanted to go to the Blachernai to bathe or to the Strategion to inspect the granaries.[130] It is thus clear that while there was, at least ideally, nearly one major imperial procession a week, many of them tied at least loosely to processions also held by the church,[131] there were also a considerable number of other occasional processions, many of which had no official connection with the institutional church at all. This means that the regular cycle of civic events (at least to the extent that it may be understood as regular) was augmented by sporadic parades that sometimes – as in the case of processions

[128] A. Berger, 'Streets and public spaces in Constantinople', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 54 (2000), 161-72, at 166; idem**, '**Regionen und Straßen im frühen Konstantinopel', *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 47 (1997), 349-414.

[129] Feasts: *Book of Ceremonies* 1.1, 7-11, 16-20, 22, 27-28, 30, 33-36, 70; 2.6-7, 9-11, 13. Opening of racing season: *Book of Ceremonies* 2.68; Vintage Festival: 2.79; Commemoration of Basil I: 2.52-53 (= *Kleterologion*).
[130] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.38, 45-48, 50, 52, 55, 60, 91-92, 97, appendix; 2.12-13, 19, 21-22, 27, 30, 38, 51.
[131] Though sometimes, as on the Sunday after Easter (Antipascha) imperial processions on feast days find no echo in the *typikon* of the Great Church: at 1.16 the *Book of Ceremonies* has the emperor processing to Hagia Sophia, though at 1.64 he is said to process to St Mokios, while the *Kletorologion* – and a *scholion* at 1.16 – has him process to the Holy Apostles (Moffit and Tall, 98 and n.2, 284 and n.4, 773). The *typikon* does not catalogue a procession on this day: Mateos, *Le typicon,* 2, 108-09.

associated with promotions that terminated in a meal at the home of the person who had been promoted[132] – apparently traversed parts of the city less used to public displays of this sort.

When processions focussed on the emperor occurred, they were big, flashy events, as we have seen, and would have been hard to miss. But, as noted earlier, it is difficult to determine whether even the events described as annual actually occurred yearly (certainly when the emperor was away they would not have taken place) and it is not always clear whether the reportage in the *Book of Ceremonies* recorded past or present practice, though sometimes the author noted differences between the ways things were once done and how they were done in (presumably) his day.[133] The routes and events described exist in a sort of ideal time, and were – as, again, is sometimes noted in the text – subject to *ad hoc* changes, sometimes depending on weather conditions or, at other times, on human decisions.[134] The routes established by Mango, Bauer and Berger are nonetheless repeated consistently enough that we may accept them as familiar to anyone who spent time in Constantinople. But the historical sources also make it clear that these were not the only routes, and that few places in the city – including crowded market areas such as the *Makros Embolos* – were entirely untouched by processions. The processional community, which, as we have seen, included audiences, would thus have been reached, at least sometimes, even when they did not live close to the regular routes.

As we have already noted, Juan Mateos and John Baldovin listed the sites included in the stational liturgy by the early tenth century in their seminal publications.[135] The most common route found in the *typikon* of the Great Church led from Hagia Sophia to the Forum of Constantine and

[132] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.47-48, 55 (Moffat and Tall, 241, 251, 271).
[133] See for example the *scholion* mentioned in n. 131 above that records a shift in the terminal of the procession from St Mokios to the Holy Apostles, or *Book of Ceremonies* 1.30 (Moffat and Tall, 169), which remarks on a shift in the emperor's position during the liturgy celebrating the Annunciation.
[134] See for example ibid., for changes when the weather was windy.
[135] See above, nn. 64, 102; Baldovin also listed the stational sites referenced in the *Book of Ceremonies*: *Urban character of Christian worship*, 303.

back to Hagia Sophia,[136] or on to another church, most often the Holy Apostles,[137] or the churches dedicated to the Theotokos at Blachernai and Chalkoprateia;[138] the Nea of Basil I appears twice,[139] and the remaining churches are recorded only once. Processions and stations at these sites were engrained in the liturgical cycle, and – though, again, there were changes over time, and these are occasionally noted in the *typikon*[140] – the nature of church ceremonial suggests that normally *litai* occurred as and when the *typikon* indicates. The layering of new routes is nonetheless evident in the processions commemorating civic events, which repeated annually processions originally initiated in direct response to natural disasters or attacks, as well as events such as the birthday of the city and the deposition of the Virgin's robe at Blachernai,[141] thereby embedding them in urban memory. The stability of other religious processions, for example those organised by guilds, is less certain. And we cannot assume that the *typikon* of the Great Church is necessarily a full record of church-sponsored processions: as noted earlier, the Friday night *presbeia*, which moved between the two great shrines of the Virgin, the Chalkoprateia and the Blachernai, is ignored in the *typikon*.[142]

136 On the days 22.12, 17.03, and 11.05.

137 On 18.10 (St Luke), 13.11 (exile of John Chrysostom), 30.11 (St Andrew), 22.01 (Timothy), 02.06 (patriarch Nikephoros), 14.06 (patriarch Methodios), and Easter Monday. The Holy Apostles was also visited without a recorded station at the Forum on 21.05 (Constantine and Helena) and 18.07 (St Stephen) and 27.01 (relics of John Chrysostom; the intermediate station at St Thomas Amantion mimics the route of the relic's translation). It is unclear whether the procession on 25.01 (Gregory of Nazianzos) stopped at the Holy Apostles or the Anastasia church after the stations at Hagia Sophia and the Forum, an ambiguity that Baldovin suspects was deliberate (*The urban character of Christian worship*, 294, n.13) and that may indicate either that both churches were visited or more likely that the patriarch decided between the two depending on other circumstances.

138 Blachernai on 26.12 (Theotokos), 02.02 (Hypapante), 25.06 (677 Saracen attack); Chalkoprateia on 01.09 (Theotokos), 02.02 (Hypapante), and 25.03 (Annunciation). Chalkoprateia was also visited without a recorded station station at the Forum on 21.11 (Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple), 18.12 (enkainia of the church) and the first Sunday after Christmas. Blachernai was visited without a recorded station at the Forum on Easter Tuesday; and on 02.07 the *lite* in honour of the Virgin's robe moved from St Laurence to Blachernai. Both churches were also the sites for celebration on 15.08 (Koimesis) without a station at Hagia Sophia or the Forum.

139 08.11 (Michael) and 20.07 (Elijah).

140 See for example Mateos, *Le typicon,* 2, 66-67 where the *typikon* notes both the old and the new processional routes used on Palm Sunday.

141 See n. 53 above.

142 As noted by Manolopoulou, 'Processing Constantinople', 66-67. On the *presbeia*, see the references in n. 66 above.

Preparation and embellishment. If we accept the *Book of Ceremonies* and the *typikon* of the Great Church as faithful guides to what could, in an ideal world, have happened, it is clear that virtually all of the city of Constantinople might be reached by imperially- or ecclesiastically-sponsored processions. At least sometimes, this must have been so, and we have seen its importance. In actuality, however, as we have also seen, there were evidently a series of favoured routes, and while these modulated over time, it is on these key routes that we may probably assume that preparations for the expected street decorations focussed.

The *Book of Ceremonies* provides a good deal of information about the street decorations that accompanied emperor-centred processions, and these are confirmed by other written sources. On several occasions in the *Book of Ceremonies*, the author notes that the day before a procession, a banner was hung on a balcony of the palace, presumably to indicate to the people that, for example, the Broumalion was to be celebrated the next day,[143] or that there would be chariot racing following the birth of a *porphyrogennetos*, a male child born in the purple.[144] At the same time, for processions commemorating annual events, the streets were normally cleaned and then strewn with sawdust and sweet-smelling herbs,[145] and decorated with garlands as well as, often, draperies.[146] Accounts of individual processions continue these motifs: in the *Military treatises*, Constantine Porphyrogennetos (or his ghost writer) tells us that when the emperor Theophilos returned to Constantinople in 831, the city was adorned like a bridal canopy, and that in 837 he was met by children wearing crowns of flowers.[147] So too, later in the century, when on Basil's return he was met at Hebdomon by 'citizens of every age … with crowns made of flowers and roses'. His route

143 *Book of Ceremonies* 2.18 (Moffat and Tall, 600).
144 *Book of Ceremonies* 2.21 (Moffat and Tall, 615-19).
145 See, e.g., the first procession described in the *Book of Ceremonies* 1.1 (Moffat and Tall, 6); and Constantine Porphyrogennetos, *Three treatises*, ed. J.F. Haldon, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Three treatises on imperial military expeditions*, Corpus fontium historae byzantinae, 28 (Vienna, 1990), 140-41.

146 For draperies see, e.g., *Book of Ceremonies* 2.15 (Moffat and Tall, 573-74); and *Three treatises*, ed. Haldon, 140-41. This too was an old tradition; see, for example, for the coronation of Justin II in 565, Corippus, *In laudem iustini Augusti minoris*, ed. A. Cameron (London, 1976), esp. 3.62-3, 4.1-223.
147 *Three treatises*, ed. Haldon, 146-47, 150-51.

to city was hung with banners, flowers, and polycandela; the ground was strewn with flowers; the Factions wore garlands.[148]

Elsewhere in the *Book of Ceremonies*, reception halls are described as being decorated as for a procession:

> Note that, as usual for processions, [the passageways] were trimmed with laurel in the form of little crosses and wreaths which are called 'parasols', to the right and the left on the wall beneath railings which are called 'little rivers', and those standing vertically which are called 'trees'. They were also trimmed with the rest of the flowers which the season provided then. Their pavements were liberally strewn with ivy and laurel and the more special ones with myrtle and rosemary.[149]

The soundscape of processions was primarily created by human voices chanting and acclaiming,[150] and the sounds of human footfall, sometimes augmented by the noise of a chariot carrying the emperor or patriarch, or the clattering of horses' hooves. These sounds were occasionally supplemented with drums, as noted earlier, and also organs,[151] stringed instruments & cymbals.[152] Here the *Book of Ceremonies* was anticipated by Theophanes, who recorded Eirene and Constantine VI travelling to Thrace with organs and musical instruments in the 780s.[153]

Scent was provided by the herbs strewn on the streets and the floral garlands, complemented by floral bouquets, as when, during the feast of the Ascension, we are told that the

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148 Ibid., 140-41.
149 *Book of Ceremonies* 2.15 (Moffat and Tall, 573-74). At a second reception described in the same chapter, the 'floor was strewn with myrtle and rosemary and roses' (ibid., 586).
150 Both are repeatedly invoked in both the *typikon* of the Great Church (chanting and singing hymns) and the *Book of Ceremonies* (acclamations, but also chanting: see for example 1.1 (Moffat and Tall), 12-14).
151 For example *Book of Ceremonies* 1.80 (Moffat and Tall, 377) though these are normally noted during receptions in the palace, e.g. 2.15 (ibid., 586).
152 *Book of Ceremonies* 1.82 (Moffat and Tall, 379-80).
153 De Boor, 457 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 631). There are also a number of occasions in the *Book of Ceremonies* where people (and especially members of the Factions) dance, but that is a topic for another occasion.

emperor was handed 'sweet smelling flowers'.[154] To this we must add the smell of human and occasionally equine bodies, and sometimes – as seen in the image on the Trier ivory – incense. Food, too, was occasionally distributed, which brought yet another sensory affect to the processional melange. In addition to feasts after processions, which are regularly recorded in the *Book of Ceremonies*, sometimes food was distributed during the procession, as for example bunches of grapes during the Vintage Festival in Hiereia.[155] And the culmination of the great birthday celebrations in Constantinople involved piles of vegetables and cakes, followed by fish, laid out in the Hippodrome for consumption by the crowds.[156]

Who provided these decorations? For palace receptions, the *Book of Ceremonies* tells us that 'clothing merchants and silver dealers decorate … with silks and other valuable clothes and robes, and adorn [the Tribunal] with all kinds of gold and silver vessels';[157] John Skylitzes, describing the already-mentioned post-Easter procession staged by Michael V in 1042,[158] says that the people themselves decorated the fronts of their houses; but normally authors assume a professional team of decorators. The author of the *Military treatises* says that the 'the preparation and adornment of the City was prepared by the Eparch'.[159] Michael Attaleiates, too, writing about the same 1042 procession as Skylitzes, tells us that 'the superintendents of the marketplace made ready for the imperial procession by covering the road with luxuriously woven silk cloths all the way from the palace itself' to Hagia Sophia; after this, the emperor rode on horseback to the Nea church, 'and here they spread out the most luxurious and expensive fabrics while other glittering gold and silver ornaments were affixed along the full length of the route. The entire forum was garlanded … and

[154] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.18 (Moffat and Tall, 111).
[155] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.78 (Moffat and Tall, 373-75).
[156] *Book of Ceremonies* 1.70 (Moffat and Tall, 343-45).
[157] *Book of Ceremonies* I.1 (Moffat and Tall, 12).
[158] Skylitzes, *Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. Thurn, 417.
[159] *Three treatises*, ed. Haldon,144-45.

the City resounded everywhere and was exalted with acclamations, thanksgiving, and songs of praise…'.[160]

The same assumption appears in the *Book of Ceremonies* and, earlier, in Theophanes. In a passage recording the preparations for the elevation of Anastasios after the death of Zeno, the author of the *Book of Ceremonies* tells us that 'the makers of the sacred dress, and the painters and the mint masters took the customary actions'.[161] Theophanes, talking about the decoration of the Hippodrome during the reign of Phokas, has one of his characters say laconically that 'the decorators had done it according to custom'.[162] It would appear, then, that there was a special team of 'decorators' who were responsible for embellishing the palace, Hippodrome and streets of Constantinople for special – though frequent – occasions. The resources needed to pay them, to purchase the materials used and the food consumed, are not delineated, but surely added a considerable body of workers to the palace staff, and added to the mounting cost of the urban procession in medieval Constantinople.

Conclusions. Processions, of whatever sort, created rivers of public space that criss-crossed and surrounded the city. The ancient and late antique city had processions, but its public world was largely focussed on a single major space, the forum (or, in a large city like Rome or Constantinople, several interlinked fora). The medieval city – Christian or Islamic, as we shall see – replaced this single focal point with a moving public space established by processional routes. When we look at urban medieval processions, in other words, we are looking at how repeated ritual created public ownership of municipal space.[163]

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[160] Attaleiates, *The History*, ed. and trans. Kaldellis and Krallis, 19.

[161] Unfortunately, the customary actions are not indicated: *Book of Ceremonies* I.92 (Moffat and Tall, 422). This section of the text was derived from Peter the Patrician in the sixth century.

[162] De Boor, 294 (Mango and Scott, *Theophanes*, 423).

[163] A point made earlier by Brubaker, 'Topography and the creation of public space' and Andrade, 'The processions of John Chrysostom'.

Byzantine processions have a number of attributes that distinguish them from other processions in the medieval world, and we will return to this at the end of this chapter. For now, though, it is worth reiterating five key issues. First, there was tremendous fluidity between imperial and liturgical processions. Imperial processions were, for sure, a moving sign of power, though they sometimes went wrong and backfired. But religious processions, though less flashy, were more regular and therefore arguably more important. In any event, they were seen as important enough by emperors that they muscled in on them when they could. Visible piety clearly had its own aura of power, and that was happily exploited by emperors.

Second, Byzantine processions were about community-building as well as displays of power or piety. Participation in the procession itself, and particularly in the liturgical procession, was not limited, and the evidence suggests that audiences interacted with the processors to such an extent that they formed part of the same performance.

Third, processions demonstrate unequivocally how imperial power was negotiated with the urban populace. (The misjudged procession of Michael V, mentioned several times already, provides an excellent example of how this worked in practice.) This is one reason why the expense and the decoration associated with the imperial procession is so important, and why the emperor was ready to pay for the show both in terms of financial outlay and in terms of time commitment.

Fourth, while there were established processional routes for both imperial and liturgical processions, no place was really immune from potential processing, and even the least accessible corners of the city would have heard the noise of a procession on at least some occasions. The network created by continually walking the city was a cohesive force that bound the community together – and this, too, was something that emperors attempted to exploit.

Finally, it is worth saying once again that not all processions were solemn and stately: on at least some occasions, people had a lot of fun. Sometimes they were fed; sometimes (often) they

were entertained; and sometimes they ridiculed the processors – and in all these cases the rude good health of the city was on display to all.

What we think is most important about all of this is the sense of collective ownership of the city streets of Constantinople. The emperor and the patriarch between them represented the power of the institutions that characterised the Byzantine empire on the broader world stage, but the people of Constantinople owned the streets of their city, and demonstrated their proprietorship regularly and repeatedly.

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When we move outside Constantinople, our evidence is much more heterogeneous; only Rome gives us material which allows a real comparison to be made with the Byzantine capital. A simple typology of urban processions will however give some structure to our material. Seen geographically, as we have seen in the Byzantine capital, there are three main types of such processions: into cities; inside them, including going out and coming back in again; and around them.[164] (We will not develop here the short but highly formalised processions, inside a church or immediately around it, which were part of the liturgy everywhere, and which became ever more elaborate with time.) We have seen that these conveyed different sorts of meanings in Constantinople. How did these meanings play out in other contexts? That is to say: broadly, the meanings they conveyed elsewhere were very similar to those we have just seen (processions around walls were always, for example, protective); but what was the balance between the different types of procession elsewhere, and what was the significance of that for the establishing and

[164] Logically, there should be a fourth type too, leaving the city altogether; but this is not stressed in many early medieval contexts – or, indeed, late Roman ones (see Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, text to nn. 77-8). In processional terms, religious leaders left cities for extramural churches, but they also returned, normally immediately. Rulers might go to war with fanfare, but there is little reference in our sources to this having any particular symbolic weight; in Rome, too, little stress is laid on Frankish emperors leaving to go home after coronation.

reinforcing of identities? Let us look in turn at Frankish Gaul, Rome, and, finally, Fāṭimid Cairo to see how that balance worked.

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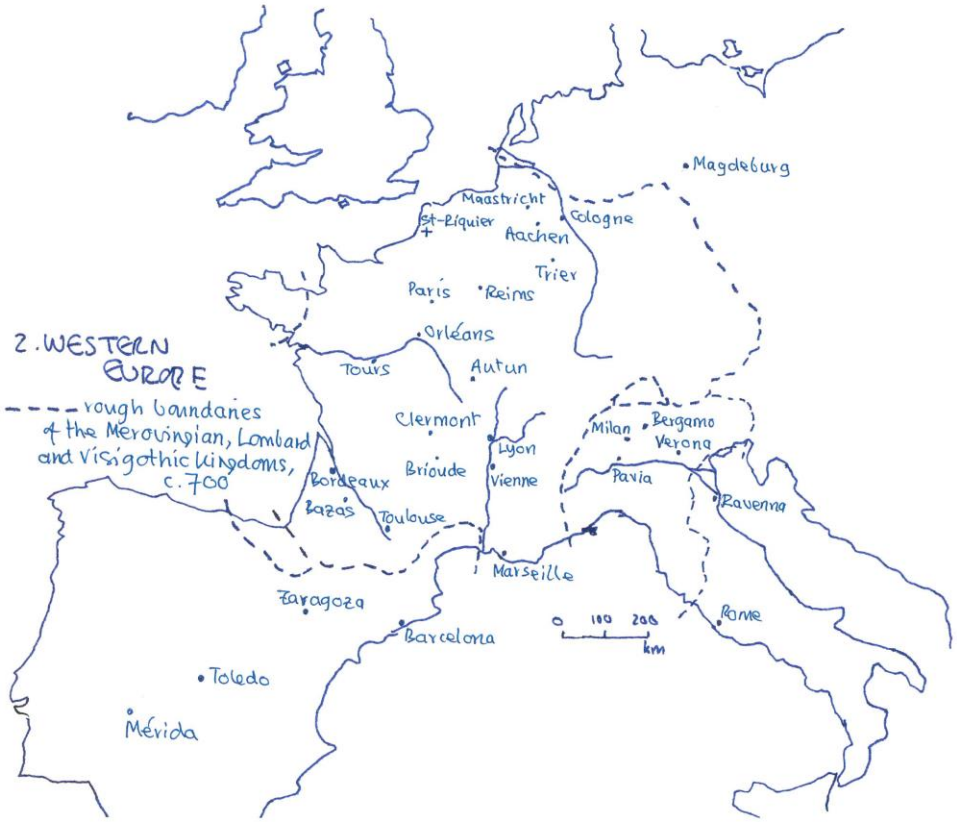
Gaul/the Frankish lands



Merovingian Gaul. Sixth- and seventh-century Frankish narratives, particularly those of Gregory of Tours but in this respect supported by several other accounts from the Merovingian period, mention processions quite regularly. Some are part of episcopal *adventus* into the city, although most accounts of this are not very detailed.[165] Some are attached to feast-days and are a regular part of urban and episcopal religious ceremonial, as the bishop with his clergy and *populus* processed between the churches of the city; some are called *rogationes*, more rarely (following the

[165] McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 330-331, nn., gives lists; see, for elsewhere in the later Roman empire, Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, text to nn. 26-7.

Greek terminology) *letaniae*, the 'minor Rogations/Litanies' held in the week before Ascension, which were apparently invented by Bishop Mamertus of Vienne in c.471 – their main element was collective prayer, to propitiate God against disasters, but they soon involved processions of various kinds; some are processions around the walls of cities, and are rather more ad hoc, reacting to danger. These rough divisions nevertheless overlapped, as Rogations were regular but also reactive to dangers of different types; and processions between churches generally involved leaving the city temporarily, even indeed making what were effectively wall circuits, as walled cities in Gaul were small, so many major churches were extramural. To give examples of each: as to *adventus*, after Bishop Severinus's arrival into Bordeaux (according to Venantius Fortunatus), 'the clergy exults, the place rejoices, the *populus* is renewed'.[166] As to regular processions, Gregory as bishop of Tours regularly processed from the cathedral inside the walls to the basilica of St-Martin a kilometre to the west, the burial-place of Tours's most important bishop but also a major cult site for the whole of Gaul – we have explicit mention of Christmas Eve and Epiphany, but he was in St-Martin in other feast-days too, and must have come there formally then as well.[167] As to Rogations, they were set up to confront urban crisis in Vienne (earthquakes, a fire, wild animals living ominously in the forum), and, although regularised in Gaul by the Council of Orléans in 511, had a crisis feel to them at other times too, as when Quintianus of Clermont was celebrating them during a drought and, when the procession approached the city gate, a significantly liminal location, prayed in the road and sang the antiphon himself, after which it at once rained. Given this context, one-off protective penitential Rogations could be instituted at other times of the year as well, as when (in a non-Gregorian example) Nicetius of Lyon staved off a drought in summer with *letaniae*, or when Gallus of Clermont, to protect his city from plague around 543, laid on a very elaborate set of Rogations in Lent involving a procession all the way to the church of St-Julien at Brioude, some

166 Venantius Fortunatus, *Vita Severini episcopi* (ed. Wilhelm Levison, *SRM*, 7, 1920), c. 3.
167 Gregory, *De virtutibus S. Martini episcopi* (ed. Krusch, *SRM*, 1/2), 2.25, cf. 2.27; *Libri historiarum* (ed. Krusch and Levison, *SRM*, 1/1, 2nd edn., 1951, henceforth *LH*), 5.4. For the wide array of feast-days at Tours, Luce Pietri, *La ville de Tours au VI^e siècle* (Rome, 1984), 448-484.

50 kilometres away – those local Rogations being then themselves regularised, for his successor Cautinus was still doing them a decade later.[168]

In the case of processions around the walls, the protective imagery which we have already seen implicitly for Fidelis in Mérida, and explicitly for Constantinople in 626, is equally explicit in Gaul. The bishop of Bazas, facing a siege by 'Huns' (the name of the king may however imply that they were intended to be Vandals), supposedly walked around the walls himself, but what the Hunnic king saw was a crowd of men in white circling the walls and, later, a globe of fire, and he called off the siege. Quintianus of Clermont did the same walk when his city was besieged by the Frankish king Theuderic I, with equal success. When Reims faced plague, the *populus* warded it off by going to the tomb of Bishop Remigius in the cathedral, and then processing around the city (*urbs*) and its *vici*, the settlements which had grown up around extramural churches. We can add here the Frankish siege of Zaragoza in 541, in which the inhabitants, in hair-shirts for the men, black funerary clothing for the women, and ashes on heads – i.e. clearly in penitential mode – marched around the walls with the tunic of their patron saint, Vincent; here, Gregory of Tours claims that the Franks thought this was magic (*malefitium*) until a local peasant disabused them, and once more they gave up. These are again all from Gregory; but a century later, when Autun faced military attack, its *populus*, on the advice of Bishop Leudegar, sought to stave it off in a similar way by doing a three-day fast and then processing around the walls of the city with relics, stopping at

[168] Vienne: Sidonius Apollinaris, *Epistolae* (in Sidonius, *Poems and letters*, ed. William B. Anderson [Cambridge, MA, 1936-1965]), 7.1 and Avitus, *Homeliae* (ed. R. Peiper, *AA*, 6/2, 1883), 6. For the complexities of their later history north of the Alps, see Joyce Hill, 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England', *Early medieval Europe* 9.2 (2000), 211-246. Quintianus: *Vitae Patrum*, 4.4; Nicetius: *Vita Nicetii* (ed. Krusch, *SRM* 3, 1896), c. 6; Gallus and Cautinus: *Vitae Patrum*, 6.6; *LH*, 4.5, 4.13. We could add here the habit of the *populus* of Bordeaux (*In Gloria confessorum*, c. 44) to go to the extramural funerary church of Bishop Severinus (St-Seurin) to fast and do vigil to ward off all dangers, although this is not called a Rogation by Gregory.

every gate; this was not quite as effective, however, for the siege happened anyway, Leudegar was mutilated and killed, and the town was sacked.[169]

We can clearly see the relationship between processions and protection in these accounts. We have power, too; for bishops are involved in nearly all of these examples – even in the case of those which show the spontaneous actions of an urban *populus*, at Reims and Bordeaux, the first thing they do is go to the tomb of the city's major bishop. The regular liturgical processions from Tours cathedral to St-Martin underpinned power, too, in that Gregory was determined to keep control of this major cult-site, and indeed to leverage that control into privileges for the city as well, and his constant processional presence at St-Martin was necessary for this. Gregory wrote most of these accounts, of course, and his unceasing defence of local episcopal power and authority is well-known; but his stories are matched by others. Conversely, processions also underpinned community, urban and local identity. The *populus* participated in most of them. It is true that we cannot always be sure that this *populus* is actually the urban population; in Tours, the large gatherings Gregory records were often evidently from the countryside as well; but even when this is the case, a local community was still reinforcing itself. Violence against processions was rare and especially heinous, as when Chramn, son of the Frankish king Chlotar I, attacked the Brioude procession in the early 550s to try to arrest Bishop Cautinus; or when in 576 a Jew supposedly insulted a Jewish convert in Clermont during an Easter procession as the *populus* entered the town gate, and as a result a *multitudo* destroyed the synagogue during the procession at Ascension (this example certainly shows how important processions were for collective identity, however unpleasant that identity might be); or when in 580 a popular preacher and his followers tried to disrupt the annual Rogation procession in Paris and was brought down by the local bishop as a result.[170] Processions indeed can be seen as actually constituting or reconstituting cities which had

[169] Bazas: Gregory, *In gloria martyrum* (ed. Krusch, *SRM*, 1/2), 1.12; Clermont: *Vitae patrum*, 4.2; Reims: *In Gloria confessorum*, c. 78; Zaragoza: *LH*, 3.29; Autun: *Passio Leudegarii* (ed. Krusch, *SRM*, 5), cc. 22 for the procession, 23-6 for the siege and sack.
[170] *LH*, 4.13, 5.11, 9.6.

become fragmented spatially, into small intra-urban communities and *vici* around extramural churches, by linking the settlements together, as at Reims; and all those others which wove around the churches outside the walls were able to underpin that too.

These examples show clearly how urban identity was constructed and reinforced processionally in Gaul: collectively (through popular participation as much as or indeed more than popular audience), ritually, and under the authority of local bishops – and almost never, in our (very ecclesiastical) texts, of local secular authorities. The imagery of these collectivities was powerful, whether or not the events in our stories took place as described, or indeed took place at all. The processions were sometimes associated with bishops coming into the city, but were more usually regular collective ones which went in and out of city gates, linking the walled area with external cult sites; the gates were also often locations for significant events, as we have seen. The alternative processions were around the city walls, and were all protective. Popular processions were not divided internally, unlike sometimes in Italy – as with Archbishop Damianus of Ravenna around 700, claimed by Agnellus in the 840s to have choreographed a major penitential procession in sackcloth and ashes after a bloody fight between two urban regions, which was arrayed *segregatim*, first clergy and monks, then laymen, then women, and finally a crowd of the poor, *turma pauperum separatim*, a very clearly liturgically-patterned collectivity.[171] This may again have been because Gallic urban populations were smaller and could get away with being less organised (one popular gathering, accompanying the body of Bishop Bonitus of Clermont to burial around 705, was likened by his hagiographer to an army or the throng at a fair, a much less structured image); but they were effective all the same.[172]

[171] Agnellus Ravennatis, *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. Mauskopf Deliyannis (Turnhout, 2006), c. 129. The editor parallels this to Gregory I's 590 septiform procession described in *LH*, 10.1 and Paul the Deacon, *Historia Langobardorum* (ed. Ludwig Bethmann and Georg Waitz, *SRL*, 1878) 3.24 (which copied *LH*); but the Roman procession described there, although certainly divided into social categories as Damianus' was said to be, was differently organised (see 62, below).
[172] *Vita Boniti* (ed. Krusch, *SRM*, 6, 1913), c. 40.

On the other hand, this picture, fairly evidently, leaves out the Frankish kings, who here represent the other half of the title of this book. It also stops in the early eighth century. How did kings fit into this very localised world, and what happened in the second half of our period? Let us look at these briefly in turn.

No-one who reads Gregory of Tours can imagine that he thought kings were irrelevant, whether to him, to the polity as a whole, or to the Gallic cities he knew (which were mostly in the centre-south of Gaul, even if his accounts go as far north and east as Trier). But it is true that they do not have all that much impact on the processional world we have just been looking at, in any Merovingian text. King Guntram in 588 organises an urban *populus* to do Rogations against a plague, it is true (Gregory does not actually mention a procession, but refers to the rest of the penitential ritual); but that is the context for a miracle, and for Gregory's hints at Guntram's sanctity in a quasi-episcopal way – and it may be significant that Gregory, normally topographically scrupulous, does not here name the city; he perhaps thought that had he done so it would have undermined the authority of the local bishop. Kings do, certainly, do ceremonial entries. Clovis does a triumphal, quasi-consular *adventus* from St-Martin into Tours after the battle of Vouillé in 507, showering coins on the *populi*; in more detail, Guntram enters Orléans in 585 and is met by an immense crowd of people with banners and standards, *inmensa populi turba cum signis adque vixillis*, singing in Latin, Greek and Aramaic. But it is interesting how few these scenes, classic by Roman-Byzantine standards, are in our texts, given the constant movements of the Merovingian kings.[173] The fact is that the relation between Frankish kings and local communities, and between kingdom-

[173] *LH*, 9.21, 2.38, 8.1. Chilperic, too, entered Paris in 583 for Easter 'with the relics of many saints': 6.27. Note further two examples of non-royal *adventus*: Duke Gundulf into Marseille, 6.11 *cum signis et laudibus diversisque honorum vexillis*; Duke Ebrachar into Vannes, 10.9 – bishops ran each event. See McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 328-337 (who stresses in Clovis's case the triumphal/victory symbolism of the event, with provincial Roman parallels); Hendrik W. Day, *The afterlife of the Roman city* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 161-168; Hans-Ulrich Wiemer, 'Rom–Ravenna–Tours', in *Raum und Performanz*, ed. Dietrich Boschung et al., (Stuttgart, 2015), 167-218, at 192-201. Earlier, K. Hauck, 'Von einer spätantiken Randkultur zum karolingischen Europa', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 1 (1967), 3-93, at 30-43, who is detailed, but, like many historians, tends to regard all examples of acclamations of kings as showing a processional entry, which we do not think is sustainable.

wide and local identities, was above all based not on processions but assemblies, large groupings of people called together, by kings or their officials, to make or ratify decisions, both political and legal. Assembly politics was a very generalised feature of all western European societies in the early middle ages (outside Visigothic Spain, at least), and marked the legitimisation of public power at the level of the kingdom and that of the locality alike – indeed, assemblies in themselves delineated public power, in that, at least ideally, the exercise of that power took place in front of them.[174] Assemblies were, however, fixed; and, although we do not need to doubt that a regular assembly place will have had places of greater and lesser power established inside it (in fact, sometimes we know it[175]), we do not find any processional element linking or defining them in any source we have. Royal politics in the Merovingian period, that is to say, and community identity at the level of the kingdom, was structured in ways which separated them from the processional world which this article focusses on. It was specifically in the cities of Merovingian Francia that the processional world had a role; the community identity which was furthered by processions therefore had to be local. It was not developed in opposition to that of the kingdom, but it was differently organised to that of the kingdom. This has some parallels to the situation in Constantinople, where imperial and clerical processions were partially distinct, but in Gaul it was, rather, that clerical power and community were more often expressed processionally than was the power of kings. This also helps to explain the fact that in the Carolingian period, highly documented although it undoubtedly is, processions are actually less well-attested than they had been previously.

Carolingian and post-Carolingian processions. We do not have much narrative evidence from what was still the most urbanised part of Carolingian Francia, southern Gaul, or indeed from Carolingian Italy. This means that we cannot easily say if processional politics

174 See in general, most recently, Chris Wickham, 'Consensus and assemblies in the Romano-Germanic kingdoms', *Vorträge und Forschungen*, 82 (2017), 387-424.

175 For example, well outside the Frankish world, Thingvellir in Iceland, the central annual assembly place (Althing) of the island, had a clearly defined topographical hierarchy, made more permanent by its particular landscape: see for example Jesse Byock, *Viking age Iceland* (London, 2001), 174-175.

continued there – although this is very likely, for it was certainly present in later centuries, as we shall see. We do have two accounts of a major royal *adventus*, each time after important victories in the south: Charlemagne into Pavia after the conquest of Lombard Italy in 774, and Louis the Pious into Barcelona after the conquest of Catalonia in 801.[176] Each was heavily liturgical, involving a formal procession, *laudes*, and so on; each will have conveyed precisely the same meanings, to Frankish armies and urban inhabitants alike, as the triumphal entries into Constantinople (and imperial Rome before it) did, with the additional message of conquest. These two, into cities which had remained large and politically important since the late empire, do not however have more than a few parallels in Francia itself. Louis the Pious entering Orléans with his *proceres* in his succession year of 814, where he was met by the clergy and the *plebs*, singing, and a poem composed for the occasion by Bishop Theodulf, is perhaps the most detailed example.[177] At the same time, the politics of fixed assemblies, regularly called by kings and counts, reached its height in this period, not least in terms of its ritual complexity: the Carolingian obsession with religious legitimacy, which developed quickly towards a culture of individual and collective penance, ensured that.[178] Prayer and other liturgical elements in assemblies, and royal-focussed religion in general, became steadily more elaborate; so did the *laudes* for kings; battles, too, were celebrated with liturgies both before and after, fitting the steady development of victory ceremonial under the Carolingians.[179]

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[176] *Annales Laurissenses minores* (ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, *SS*, 1, 1826), s.a. 774 (p. 117); Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici imperatoris* (ed. Ernst Tremp, *SRG*, 64, 1995), c. 13 (p. 318). See McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 371-375 (including citations of royal visits to churches and monasteries; cf. n. xx below). Charlemagne's 774 entry into Rome was the most elaborate of all, but that was a specific feature of Roman processional practice, and will be discussed later.

[177] Astronomus, *Vita Hludowici*, c. 21; Theodulf, *Carmina* (ed. Ernst Dümmler, *MGH*, *Poetae*, 1, 1881), n. 37. See also Ermoldus Nigellus, *In honorem Hludowici* (ed. Dümmler, *MGH*, *Poetae*, 2, 1884), 2, lines 197-230, for a more vaguely-described reception of Pope Stephen IV by Louis the Pious at Reims in 816. For papal receptions in Francia, see Achim Thomas Hack, *Das Empfangszeremoniell bei mittelalterlichen Papst–Kaiser–Treffen* (Cologne, 1999), 424-434, 458-464.

[178] See especially Mayke de Jong, *The penitential state* (Cambridge, 2009).

[179] See among many Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1946), esp. 13-64. For battles (esp. the battle of the Dyle in 891, which included a procession on the battlefield: *Annales Fuldenses* [ed. Friedrich Kurze, *SRG*, 7, 1891, henceforth *AF*], s.a. 891) and campaign/victory liturgies, see McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 347-362.

The identity of the Frankish people as a whole was tied up in these ceremonies by now. But the processionality of it is seldom clear. It is interesting that even at Aachen, where a large population centre developed around Charlemagne's palace (although Aachen was never seen as a city in our period) – we know little about any royal routes or popular participation.[180] All we can say is that the urban and non-royal processional imagery of the Merovingian period had not gone away, for all that it is relatively rarely attested. In Angers, for example, there was an elaborate Palm Sunday procession around the churches of the city, with substantial secular participation, recorded in another early ninth-century poem by Theodulf; this will certainly have maintained the sort of urban identity we have seen for the sixth. In Reims, the formerly disgraced, now temporarily rehabilitated, Archbishop Ebbo was met on his return to the city in 840 by bishops, clerics, and an 'infinite multitude of both sexes', with palm branches, candles and *laudes*. And an example of protective ceremonial is the Viking siege of Paris in 886, when the inhabitants processed around the walls, bearing the relics of St Germanus, as our long poetic text about the siege says; although this was not, here, more than a minor part of the eventually successful Parisian defence, it was clearly an obvious recourse for the citizens.[181]

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180 The Carolingian *laudes* about royal *adventus* (often into monasteries) cited by Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *Selected studies* (Locust Valley, NY, 1965), 38-41, do not mostly refer to processions; even if the latter occurred, which is quite possible, they were not stressed enough textually for us to be able to say that they had any autonomous signification. Einhard's translated relics had an urban procession in Aachen and also Maastricht, very public ones, but the focus of this was the relics, not any community, royal or local: Einhard, *Translatio et miracula sanctorum Marcellini et Petri* (ed. Waitz, *SS* 15/1, 1887), 2.3-6, 4.14. Some rural monasteries had more elaborate processional celebrations, however; the clearest example is St-Riquier, whose abbot Angilbert describes a three-day Rogations ceremonial with a septiform procession around and into the monastic church, thanks to the participation of seven neighbouring villages, and a *scola* as part of it ('Rapport d'Angilbert sur la restauration de saint-Riquier et les offices qu'il y institue', in *Hariulf. Chronique de l'abbaye de Saint-Riquier (Ve siècle – 1104)*, ed. Ferdinand Lot [Paris, 1894], 296-306, at 299-302). This procession presumably helped to define the relation of the monastery to its surrounding landscape, but it is too obviously copied from the septiform procession and *scolae* of Rome (see 62, 69, below) for us to take the imagery further here.

181 Theodulf, *Carmina*, n. 69; *MGH*, *Concilia*, 2/2 (ed. Albrecht Werminghoff, 1908), n. 61 (p. 809); Abbo, *Bella Parisiacae urbis*, ed. Nirmal Dass, *Viking attacks on Paris* (Paris, 2007), 2.146-153; cf. 308-314 – here, the obviousness of the recourse is underlined by the casual nature of the reference to it in the text. It was, all the same, Germanus who saved the city, both by prayer and in person: e.g. ibid., 2.269-285, 349-386.

Royal processions do return in post-Carolingian sources. Berengar II of Italy's formal reception in 952, a mile outside Magdeburg, by senior aristocrats of Otto I is one indicative instance, although it is an unusual example in our sources for Germany. North of the Alps, kings are more often described as involving themselves in religious ritual: Thietmar of Merseburg tells us that Otto I was on feast days accustomed to go to the church – by implication wherever he was – led by a procession of bishops and clerics with relics; in particular, he did this at Magdeburg on Palm Sunday in 973. In 1002, too, the dead Otto III was taken back to Germany in what looks very like a procession of several hundred miles; it was a tense moment, for who would succeed him was not quite clear, and the candidates tried to make their presence felt by participating in the procession; also, in his last stop at Cologne before his burial at Aachen, Otto III was supposedly taken around five churches in five days, starting on Palm Sunday – that is to say, in effect absorbing the dead emperor into the Easter celebrations of the powerful archbishop of Cologne, which evidently had a processional element too.[182]

This might be taken further. Karl Leyser has said of the *Annales Quedlinburgenses* that they represent Henry II's reign (1002-24) as 'one long procession, … essentially a sacral procession from holy day to holy day, from one church dedication to another, most of them followed by assemblies…'. We do not actually read the *Annales* in that way, however; the structuring of the text seems to us to be different, and the holy days, in different towns and churches, though certainly there, are not connected as tightly as that.[183] It is undoubtedly true, and well-known, that the

[182] Widukind, *Res gestae saxonicae* (5th edn., ed. Paul Hirsch and Hans-Eberhard Lohmann, *SRG*, 60, 1935), 3.10; Thietmar, *Chronicon* (ed. Robert Holtzmann, *SRG*, N.S. 9, 1935), 2.30, 4.50-54 (53 for Cologne); for candidates, see also Adalbold, *Vita Heinrici* (ed. Waitz, *SS*, 4, 1841), cc. 3-4. See in general Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum*, 187-249, 328-34, although she includes as processions events which entirely took place inside churches, notably coronations. She emphasises the importance of Palm Sunday in Ottonian politico-religious ritual, convincingly; but we resist the next stage in this argument, associated powerfully with Ernst Kantorowicz (e.g. *Selected studies*, 37-75), that there was a systematic paralleling of kings with Christ which went beyond the obvious association with the Biblical Palm Sunday entry into Jerusalem.

[183] Karl J. Leyser, *Rule and conflict in an early medieval society* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), 104; *Annales Quedlinburgenses* (ed. Martina Giese, *SRG*, 72, 2004). An earlier example of this traversing of a rural landscape is Dagobert's tournée around Burgundy in the 630s to dispense justice, which was described as an *adventus* (Fredegar, *Chronicae* [ed. Krusch, *SRM*, 2, 1888] 4.58) – it was not one by anyone else's standards, and the actual entries into cities are not much stressed in the text, but the choice of words is interesting. For another

Ottonians were systematically itinerant in a way that the Carolingians were not, and that would logically lead to plenty of entries and plenty of participations in processional activities, even if seldom as systematically as the funerary procession of Otto III, and even if by no means always in an urban context; given that, these citations are fewer than they might be. It is interesting, overall, that the details of Ottonian *adventus* also tend to be relatively un-narrativised in our sources; it happened, but we are not so often told how. More local accounts for Ottonian Germany, indeed, stress the *adventus* of bishops, rather than kings.[184] We must remember, however, that the Merovingians were relatively itinerant, too, and that our city-based narratives did not then lay great stress on royal processional either.

All the same, it is in this period that more examples of formal royal *adventus* reappear as well, at least outside the German lands. Louis IV of West Francia at his accession in 936 was received 'with much adulation (*ambitione*) and allegiance (*obsequio*)' in Laon, a crucial step to wider acceptance, and then in nearby cities too. And Italy was by now a clear practitioner of it. Liudprand of Cremona tells us, for example, that it was 'the custom (*moris*) for the greater citizens to come out of the city to welcome the king arriving in Pavia from other parts'; this is the context for a written-up piece of betrayal by King Hugh in (perhaps) the late 920s, as is typical of Liudprand's stories, but the detail about the custom remains plausible, for the story depends on it. How long that custom had existed we cannot know, but it could well have been a long time, and it has, as we shall see, parallels in Rome from an early date. Certainly, from here on *adventus* is tied up with royal legitimacy in texts about Italy. A particularly good example comes from 1004, when Henry II, seeking to take northern Italy from his rival King Arduin, was – our Henrician sources claim – received and acclaimed by the citizens at Verona and crowned; then by the bishop and citizens at

Merovingian rural procession, from the early 680s, see *Vita Audoini*, cc. 16-17 (ed. Levison, *SRM*, 5, 1910); it crossed the royal political landscape, the *Königslandschaft*, of the Seine and Oise valleys, and helped to define it ceremonially.

[184] For how the narrativization of Ottonian *adventus* worked, see above all David A. Warner, 'Ritual and memory in the Ottonian Reich', *Speculum* 76 (2001), 255-283 – 263-266 for bishops.

Brescia (plus the archbishop of Ravenna); then again at Bergamo (where the archbishop of Milan came too); then at Pavia, where 'a very large multitude of noble Lombards, who were assembled to greet him, received him with deserved applause, with the exultation of the whole city … the clergy, the assembly of nobles, the people of both sexes, all with a single voice acclaimed King Henry…'. Such entries represented royal power directly, and indeed also, by implication in 1004, the community of the whole kingdom of Italy; but these accounts also show it in dialogue with the urban community and its own ceremonial identity, both episcopal and secular. If we had more narratives for the kingdom of Italy in preceding periods, we might well find earlier examples of this sort of organic mutual legitimising relationship, which has parallels to that in Constantinople – at least when kings were properly based in Italy, as with the Lombard kingdom before 774, or under Louis II in the ninth century, or under Berengar I and Hugh in the early tenth.[185] But it would not last in this form, for kings became increasingly external to Italy from the early eleventh century onwards.

These western examples extend by the tenth century out of Gaul into (little-urbanised) Germany and (highly-urbanised) Italy, and in doing so they show some changes. They show how the separation between an urban world in sixth-century Gaul in which processional practices conveyed both power and collective identity, and a royal legitimacy which had little processional basis, was mediated by the tenth century: in Germany, at least, that was by now a world where kings did process, to an extent, and where their hegemony in Italy could sometimes be expressed better in processional terms than had been managed by most Frankish kings in Gaul. Outside Italy, however, and after 962 doubtless inside as well, royal *adventus* was always an imposition of an external power on urban societies, and also only an occasional one. The future history of *adventus*

[185] Richer, *Historiae* (ed. Hartmut Hoffmann, *SS,* 38, 2000), 2.4; Liudprand of Cremona, *Antapodosis*, 3.41, ed. Chiesa (trans. Squatriti, 131); Adalbold, *Vita Heinrici*, c. 36 (see also Thietmar, *Chronicon*, 6.6, with less detail – note however that the Pavesi revolted immediately afterwards). The account in Paul, *Historia Langobardorum*, 5.33 of the whole Lombard political community coming to the frontier of the kingdom to greet the return of the exiled King Perctarit in 672 may be an indication that the custom of meeting the king well outside Pavia was indeed old.

– as in, for example, the rich historiography on the *joyeuse entrée* of dukes of Burgundy and their successors into Flemish towns after 1400[186] – in our view fits with this picture too. In part, this was simply because the linkage between royal power and urban society was always less tight in the Frankish and post-Frankish world. Conversely, although there were now also processional elements in royal progresses, as we have seen for the Ottonians (we have also seen it in the 630s and 680s for the Merovingians), these were across much larger rural landscapes, and were difficult in practice to sustain except in short bursts; they are also not part of the argument of this article.

Even inside cities, we do not in fact have much evidence of the regular processional structuring of urban power and collective identity between 750 and 1000. This is however in our view simply the result of the problems in our evidence – if Angers did it, larger towns are very likely to have done. When Italian cities, in particular, begin to be well-documented after that, the processional world which we saw for the sixth century in Gaul rapidly becomes clear again. The relationship between processions (and their subversion) and the contestation of urban politics and identity is particularly visible in mid-eleventh-century Milan, at the time of the internal battles over clerical purity led by the Pataria movement. By now, royal power, although Henry IV did intervene in those battles, was definitely external to the 'real' politics of the city.[187] This is after our period, so we do not discuss it here, but in our view the processional basis of Milanese political action had roots stretching deep into the past. Which brings us on to the western city where those roots are most continuously visible, Rome.

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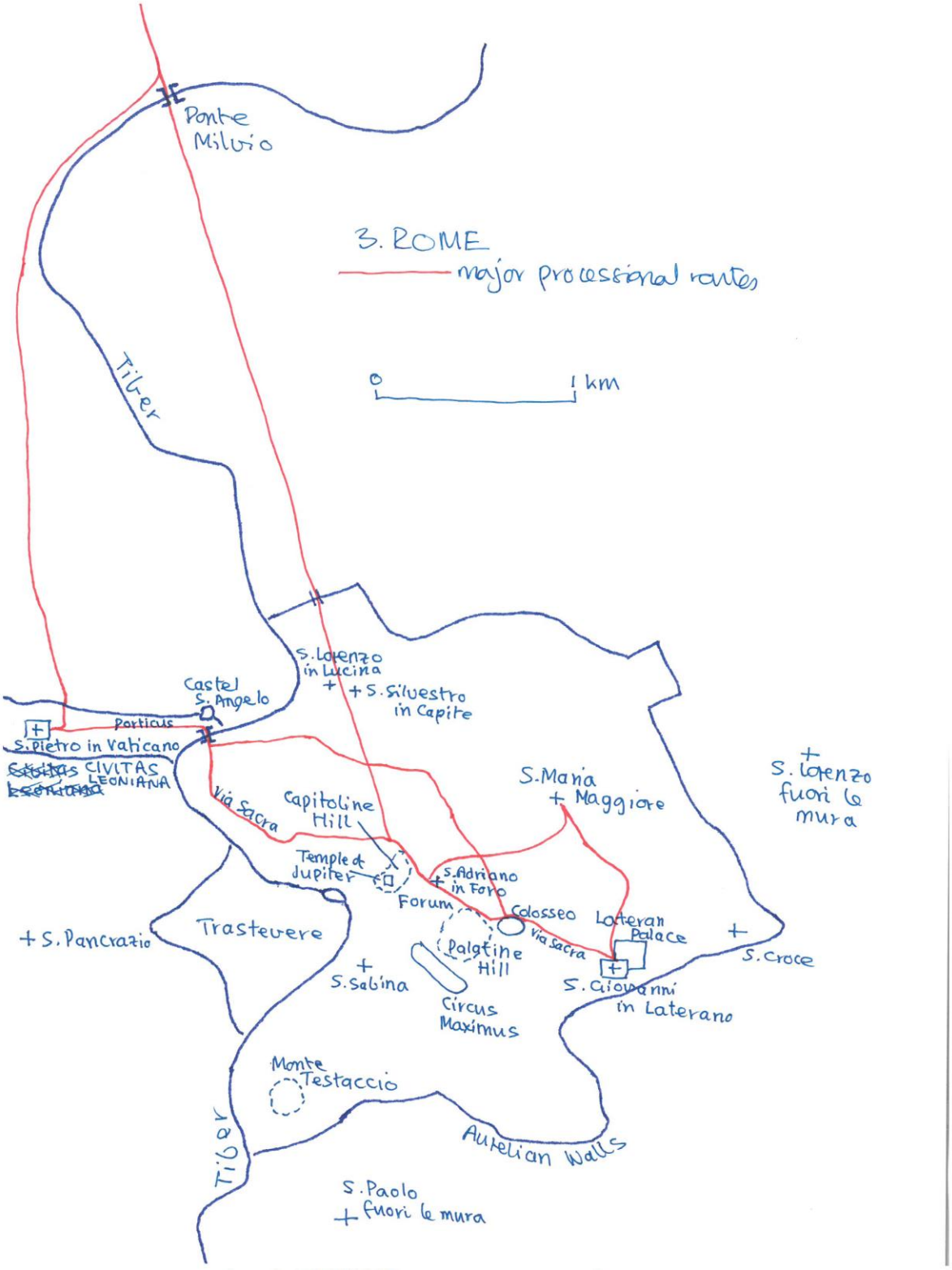
[186] See e.g. Peter J. Arnade, *Realms of ritual* (Ithaca, NY, 1996), esp. 127-158; Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies* (Turnhout, 2004), esp. 103-197, 259-302.
[187] See above all James Norrie, 'Urban ritual and resistance in medieval Milan, c.1050-1130', forthcoming.

Rome



Rome, of all the cities of the west, was the one which most resembled Constantinople – in size (it was substantially smaller than the Byzantine capital, but for long by far the largest city in the West),

in imperial memory, and in ceremonial practice. It had a processional tradition to match this, which was elaborate in different ways in the late empire, in the early middle ages (our sources are particularly clear for the period 590-880, thanks to papal letters and the *Liber Pontificalis*), and then in the twelfth century. Here we will look, of course, above all at the middle one of these periods, but comparing with earlier and later as necessary. In our period (as later) the processional tradition divided clearly between one attached to the city's numerous feast days, and one attached to imperial visits; that is to say, and the point is an important one, ecclesiastical and imperial processions were rather more distinct than they were in Constantinople. We will look at each in turn; but to give it a framing, it is useful to begin with a look forward to the twelfth century – necessarily briefly, but building on more detailed work by one of us – by which time the Roman processional map had routes we can track.

Twelfth-century patterns. In the twelfth century, there were some three dozen documented processions in Rome every year, marking the main steps of the ritual cycle, and that is a minimum figure. They were all focussed on the papacy, and indeed the pope processed in most of them when he was in the city, but several of them had major popular participation, and all of them had a popular audience. Our sources for them are above all normative: processional accounts by three authors of the period, all collected in the *Liber Censuum* of 1192 – as with *The Book of Ceremonies*, this is how processions *ought* to be conducted; but they give us a base-line. The most important of them were Christmas, the Purification of the Virgin on 2 February, the first Sunday after Carnival, the Easter week processions, the Great Litany on 25 April (a major procession for the Roman clergy too), the Assumption on 15 August, the Birth of the Virgin on 8 September and the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 September, but there were plenty of others. In addition, there were any number of *stationes*, stational liturgies, as in the Byzantine capital, in which the pope processed from the Lateran palace to three dozen churches across the city on given days of the year. Taking all of these together and allowing for exaggeration, the Constantinopolitan figure of around two processions per week is thus nearly matched by Rome. The Lateran lay a little outside

the heavily settled parts of Rome in every century from the sixth to the nineteenth; all the same, it was inside the city walls, so processions from it did not constitute an entry into the city. One of the two commonest churches to which the pope processed was S. Maria Maggiore, the most important of the very many Marian churches inside the city; this was relatively close to the Lateran, and the pope did not need to enter populated areas to get there, but two of the major Marian processions of the year took him first into the Forum in the centre of town, to S. Adriano, after which he went back up the hill to S. Maria. The other major processional destination, however, was the huge basilica of S. Pietro in Vaticano, built by Constantine, and this church was outside the city, over the Tiber in an old funerary area, as martyrial churches tended to be everywhere. When the pope went to S. Pietro, therefore, he left the city and re-entered it. (So also did he when he went to S. Paolo and S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, but he did that less often, and in neither case did he go through populated parts of the city.) The processions to S. Pietro went through the most densely-settled regions of Rome on permanent routes, often but not only along the via Sacra through the Forum, round the Capitoline hill to the north, then west to the bridge opposite Castel S. Angelo and along the *porticus* on the other side of the Tiber, to the Vatican. This meant that papal processions to S. Pietro made up a web of routes which connected most of the city together, but from starting- and end-points which were only partially urban (the Lateran) or specifically extra-urban (the Vatican), and in both cases separate from the Rome where people for the most part lived.[188]

This processional system was in the twelfth century above all papal in character, unsurprisingly: the pope was the sovereign of Rome and had been since the third quarter of the eighth century, when he took over the remaining authority of the Byzantine emperor. But it did not exclude the *populus* of the city – which, however they were defined, could be a substantial part of the population. Lay Romans did not participate in every procession, but they were part of many

[188] *Le Liber Censuum de l'église romaine*, 2 vols., ed. Paul Fabre and Louis Duchesne (Paris, 1905-10), 1, 290-316, 2, 90-174; Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, 321-341.

of the most important, such as the Purification, the Great Litany and the Assumption, and above all the largely-lay post-Carnival festival, in which a wide section of the laity, *equites* and *pedites*, went (with the pope) to the games at Monte Testaccio. And they were in the audience for the others; not least the pope's Easter Monday procession back from S. Pietro to the Lateran palace, which was important for two reasons. First, because papal consecrations took place, at least ideally, in S. Pietro, after an election in S. Giovanni in Laterano, and the return of the new pope from extramural S. Pietro to the papal palace was thus his first ceremonial entry into and procession through the city. The Easter Monday return procession explicitly replicated that ceremonial and thus represented, more directly than any other, papal sovereignty in the city – not least because of its annual repetition. Secondly because, although the *populus* was not part of this procession (which was highly articulated, separating out different groups of clergy and papal officials), it was heavily involved in its set-up, with ceremonial arches erected by citizens at nearly a hundred named places along the route, closely parallel in that respect to major Constantinopolitan processions as we have seen, and very large sums of money spent on the laity: in part in payment for the arches, in part through throwings, *iacta*, of money to the audience at five points in the route. The resultant celebrations were collective: papal sovereignty was affirmed, but 'the whole city was crowned with him [the pope]', as several narratives say, reflecting, indeed, imperial Roman imagery.[189] The power of the pope was affirmed with impressive regularity, but so was the cohesion of the Roman people.

Early medieval papal processions. This patterning of the processional geography of Rome took many centuries to develop, and indeed was in constant change, but already by 900 Rome had as dense a structuring of its papal processional practice as it did in the twelfth, as we see in the less detailed references to it in the *Liber Pontificalis* and the various *ordines* and

[189] Ibid., 327-329 (p. 329 for *tota civitas coronatur cum eo*; ibid., 330-331 and Jean-Claude Maire Vigueur, *L'autre Rome* [Paris, 2010], 178-184 for Monte Testaccio). See in general Susan Twyman, *Papal ceremonial at Rome in the twelfth century* (London, 2002), esp. 175-217. For the imperial Roman image of *coronatio urbis*, McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 86. For the origins of the *iacta*, in the *sparsiones* of money in imperial Roman consular processions, see Cameron's commentary to Corippus, *In laudem Iustini*, 195, and Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, text to nn. 89-90.

sacramentaries of the early middle ages. Of course, pre-Christian Rome had too; it had many festivals, some of them quite processionally organised, such as the Robigalia on 25 April, which led north out of the city, over the Milvian Bridge and then back; or the intramural Lupercalia on 15 February, which involved running around the Palatine, and which lasted until the 490s at least; or the processions preceding games in the Circus Maximus, which began at the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline hill and led through the Forum, and which may have lasted, partly Christianised, into the sixth century. It took time for fully Christian ones to match these, and then to replace them; in particular, the pre-Christian (but by now no longer processional) Kalends of January celebrations were still active in the 740s, and indeed, in vestigial form, in the twelfth century.[190] The fifth century seems to have seen the origin of the Great Litany (which replaced the Robigalia on the same day and much of the same route); the stational liturgies probably began in the same period – these developments are not directly documented, but we here accept the deductions made by John Baldovin from other evidence.[191] Then, in the late sixth century, our first penitential and processional *letania* is documented, the septiform litany of Gregory the Great in 590 and 603, in which Gregory twice set up, initially to confront a plague, later for more generic sins, a large-scale procession which started at seven churches at once (the list of churches varies slightly across the two events) and which was divided by social category, with priests, monks, nuns, children, laymen, widows and married women all processing from different churches. The 603 litany also included

[190] For the Robigalia, Augusto Gianferrari, 'Robigalia', in *Agricoltura e commerci nell'Italia antica*, ed. Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli (Rome, 1995), 127-40; for the Lupercalia, John North and Neil McLynn, 'Caesar at the Lupercalia' and 'Crying wolf', *Journal of Roman studies*, 98 (2008), 144-181; for the circus procession (*pompa circensis*), see above all Jacob A. Latham, *Performance, memory, and processions in ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 2016), esp. 183-232; for 1 January, *S. Bonifatii et Lulli epistolae* (ed. Michael Tangl, *MGH*, *Epistolae selectae*, 1, 1916), nn. 50-51 and *Liber Censuum*, 2, 172-173 – these are the latest references to the Kalends celebrations, which were widely celebrated, with processions, into the seventh century across the Roman world: see Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2, text to nn. 293-326..

[191] John F. Baldovin, *The urban character of Christian worship*, 147-151. Victor Saxer, 'L'utilisation par la liturgie de l'espace urbain et suburbain', in *Actes du XIe congrès international d'archéologie chrétienne* (Rome, 1989), 917-1033, at 938-941, cautiously puts it a few decades later, but anyway before c.500. In ibid., 942-50, Saxer lists all the references to *stationes* from the early *ordines* and sacramentaries; by his count, up to c.900, there were 85, in 37 different churches. This long article is a key text for the early medieval liturgy in Rome, together with Sible de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor* (Vatican City, 1994).

pauperes, the poor, as a separate category, as Damianus was later said to do in Ravenna; here, however, they processed with the children.[192]

This procession did not last; significantly, its inception is narrated in Gregory of Tours, not the *Liber Pontificalis*, and its later imagery was strongest north of the Alps. But as a formal intervention it must have been powerful at the time, and it was succeeded, particularly in the 150 years after 680, by the institution of many other *letaniae* which would continue more stably into the twelfth century and later, as is related in the *Liber Pontificalis*, by now a largely contemporary source. The first substantial group were the processions from S. Adriano in Foro to S. Maria Maggiore which Sergius I (687-701) set up for the Marian feasts of the 'Ypapant' (from Greek Hypapante, Purification: see above, 38), Annunciation, Dormition (or Assumption) and Birth. The Assumption, which was the major one to use this route in later centuries, is attested in its full later form, with an acheiropoietic icon of Christ and a large popular following, in 752 (almost certainly) and 847; the Purification procession is attested in the 780s. The Easter procession existed by the eighth century, already in a highly articulated form, for we have an *ordo* for it (it was then on Sunday, not yet Monday). By the 750s, under Stephen II, every Saturday saw a *letania*, to S. Maria Maggiore, S. Pietro and S. Paolo in turn. Around 803, Leo III brought the Gallic tradition of the pre-Ascension 'minor Litanies' into the city, which were to be from S. Maria Maggiore to S. Giovanni in Laterano, S. Sabina to S. Paolo, and S. Croce to S. Lorenzo – an extension and complication of the normal processional web which sprang from the Lateran palace. And so on.[193] By 827, the

[192] *LH*, 10.1; Gregory the Great, *Registrum* (ed. Ludo Moritz Hartmann, *MGH*, *Epistolae*, 2, 1899), 13.2; see Jacob A. Latham, 'The making of a papal Rome', in *The power of religion in late Antiquity*, ed. Andrew Cain and Noel E. Lenski (Farnham, 2009), 293-304. In idem, 'From literal to spiritual soldiers of Christ', *Church history* 81 (2012), 298-327, at 321-324, Latham argues that popes did not develop the processional format until after 550. He sees Pelagius I's *laetania* procession of 556 from S. Pancrazio to S. Pietro as the first (*Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Louis Duchesne (Paris, 1886-1957) [henceforth *LP* with book and chapter numbers; vol. 1 covers papal lives to the end of book 97, a. 795; vol. 2 from then up to 886], 62.2); Saxer, 'L'utilisation', 960, agrees. This procession, done in order to prove to the *populus et plebs* that the pope was innocent of causing the death of his predecessor Vigilius, was however very much a one-off.

[193] Respectively, *LP*, 86.14, 94.11 (de Blaauw, *Cultus et decor*, 438, thinks Stephen II's 752 event was during the Purification procession; it does not seem so to us), 105.19, 94.13, 98.43, plus, for Easter, *Ordo I* in Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines Romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols. (Louvain, 1931-1956), 2, 69-71; the Assumption is treated in most detail in the tenth-century *Ordo L*, in ibid., 5, 358-362. Ambrosius Autpert (d. 784) wrote

papal accession processions from the Lateran, where elections were held, to the consecration ceremony at S. Pietro and back were also fully in place, although they are probably implicit in an account for 769 (in both cases, even though not by the twelfth century, with the participation of a large number of the Roman laity). These dates are *termini ante quem*, for we do not have many detailed accounts of papal elections and consecrations earlier; more fragmentary information however hints at similar practices being in place by the 680s.[194]

These processions were regular. Those which began as penitential/protective *letaniae* often just became standard parts of the urban liturgy thereafter, as with the 'vigils according to the usual custom' which Stephen II's litanies had become by c.819. But, as in Constantinople, ad hoc *letaniae* could be set up too, in 676 (in a papal vacancy) against a flood, or by Gregory II in 716 against rain at harvest-time. All the same, it is striking that when Rome was threatened by a Lombard army in 752, Stephen II simply held the *letania* of the Assumption 'as usual' (*solite*), only bolstering it with extra relics and penitential ash on the heads of the people. By now, the world of processions in the papal city was sufficiently powerful that it was not necessary to add to their number – if there was a major one coming up, at least.[195]

With these many processions, by now substantially larger in number than in the pre-Christian city, we might expect some of them to be subverted or otherwise changed to make political points: not least given the number of contested elections and unpopular popes (or popes

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a sermon on the Purification in which he cites a crowd at the procession in Rome: *Opera*, 3, ed. Robert Weber (Turnhout, 1979), 985, a reference we owe to Francesca dell'Acqua. Other new processions: *LP*, 92.13, 105.26; see further the lists in Saxer, 'L'utilisation', 1016-1019.

[194] Respectively, *LP*, 102.6-8, 96.24. (The 769 ritual was not, technically, for the papal consecration, which had already taken place, but it was the final element in the establishment of Stephen III's victory over a rival.) For the origins of the accession ritual, see Twyman, *Papal ceremonial*, 57-77; by Gregory I's pontificate the consecration took place in S. Pietro, so, if the election took place at the Lateran, the pope would already have to have crossed town to get to S. Pietro and back. Papal election took place at the Lateran by the 680s: *LP*, 84.1, 85.1-2, 86.2, the first of which, for John V, says that the custom of doing so was ancient custom (*iuxta priscam consuetudinem*) but recently in disuse. The processional element to this was thus probably as early as the 680s at least; if it already matched Easter Monday, it was fully developed by the eighth century. Later in the ninth century, these rituals were also 'custom' – ibid, 106.5, 108.9-11 – and were indeed regularly referred to, as also in 104.7, 107.6-7, 108.5, 112.5.

[195] Respectively, *LP*, 100.15, 79.5, 91.6, 94.11.

with factions opposed to them) that there were in Rome. The *Liber Pontificalis* is sufficiently a régime text that it glosses over much trouble, however. At most it stresses enhanced performance of the standard rituals, as with Stephen II in 752, or with Stephen III in 769 after his victory over the rival pope Constantine II – here, the procession to S. Pietro was performed not only with *cunctus populus* but barefoot; or with Benedict III, elected in 855 in the teeth of opposition from the Carolingian emperor Louis II who had tried to impose his own candidate, where the text cites an especially large 'innumerable multitude' of people with him at his (re-)election and a return from his consecration at S. Pietro 'in glory'. Casual reference to these processions however comes when something significant happens during them, as when Leo IV in 847 put to flight a death-dealing basilisk during the Assumption procession; that was already a significant ritual, but the importance of both the procession and the basilisk were reinforced by the events. And that is above all the case in the most clamorous example of the subversion of a procession, the kidnapping of Leo III by his opponents (senior papal bureaucrats and relatives of his predecessor Hadrian I) in 799. Leo had just started on the Great Litany at S. Lorenzo in Lucina and had reached S. Silvestro, the first major church on the route north and out of the city, when he was seized and imprisoned, with his eyes and tongue cut out twice (although later miraculously restored), in the most public assault on a ruling pope in the whole early medieval period. Interestingly, the *Annales regni Francorum*, when recounting the same episode, says that Leo was riding to S. Lorenzo from the Lateran *before* he met the procession when he was taken; but for the author of the life of Leo in the *Liber Pontificalis* the fact that this happened while a major procession was actually going on made the scandal far more appalling. So, in the early middle ages at least, regular Roman liturgical processions were not deviated to make points; but they could be *intensified* to make points, and events were magnified if they took place in a processional context. Leo, in particular, had to seek the help of Charlemagne,

and to face two quasi-judicial hearings, as well as making a very heavily marked ceremonial re-entry into the city as we shall see, to get back his position.[196]

We therefore see that early medieval Rome, as before and after, was constructed ceremonially, far more than any other western city, by processions. It was of course far larger than any of them too, and its populated areas were also, as at Reims and some other Gallic cities, not fully compact – processions helped greatly to keep them together. Many of these processions were entirely intramural, as usually also in Constantinople, although plenty went to and from extramural churches, binding them into the city as well. Those back from S. Pietro were, at papal accessions and at Easter, particularly important from this standpoint, for they allowed for a ceremonial re-entry into the city which was heavily orchestrated, expensive, and important both for papal authority and secular Roman collective identity. That form of re-entry matched the ceremonial aspects of more fully-fledged *adventus*, although the latter processions had a quite different form, and were also more often subverted (according to our sources), as we will see in a moment. But one form of procession is entirely absent: going around the walls.

We have seen that extramural processional circuits were important in Constantinople and also in Gaul, and associated with protection, not least but not only from serious military danger. Rome was not short of threats, and faced military attack often; but never once was this form of procession used to ward off danger in our period (and indeed not in the next centuries either).[197]

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[196] See respectively *LP*, 96.24, 106.20, 105.18-19; for Leo III, 98.11-12 and cf. 19-22 and *Annales regni Francorum* (ed. Kurze, *SRG*, 6, 1895, henceforth *ARF*), s.a. 799 – for which see Walter Mohr, 'Karl der Grosse, Leo III. und der römische Aufstand von 799', *Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 30 (1960), 39-98. Other popes could be mutilated and/or killed, but only after imprisonment or deposition: Constantine II, Benedict VI, John XIV, John XVI. Note that after 799, although in what century is unclear, the Great Litany changed course entirely and adapted itself rather more to the standard network of east-west processions through the city centre: Joseph H. Dyer, 'Roman processions of the Major Litany (*litaniae maiores*) from the sixth to the twelfth century', in *Roma felix*, ed. Éamonn Ó Carragáin and Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Aldershot, 2007), 113-137.

[197] For the next centuries, Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, 334-335. (For one possible, but in our view unlikely, early witness to an extramural procession, see ibid., 335n.) Two extramural processions are described in *LP* (62.2, 67.2), but both were highly atypical: Pelagius I in 556 (see n. 192) made a *laetania* from S. Pancrazio outside Trastevere to S. Pietro, quite far from the wall line; and Sabinianus' funeral cortège in 606 was

To face a plague which was serious enough to have killed his predecessor, Pelagius II, Gregory I's new septiform procession was entirely intramural, however complex. Stephen II's unchanged Assumption procession is the only one which any source cites as reacting to military threat at all. This absence is striking, and all the more so because we know that Romans were well aware of the symbolism and public effect of extramural processions: for Leo IV, after he built the walls around S. Pietro in Vaticano and the *porticus* which led to it, to protect them from Arab attacks, at their completion in (probably) 852 led a procession of bishops and clergy around them, barefoot and with penitential ashes, with prayers at each gate and gifts of money to the (presumably watching) laity, 'so that this city might stand firm and strengthened for ever'. The city in question was not, however, Rome, but the Civitas Leoniana, the new name for this extramural fortification. (Rome itself was in fact generally called an *urbs*.) In 854 Leo did the same with his newly-founded city of Leopolis, up the coast above Civitavecchia.[198] It is true that both of these processions were to ward off future threats, not present ones, but they will have been set up in full knowledge of the role of similar ones elsewhere. We must conclude that the Romans did not feel that their own city needed this sort of ritual protection.

Why was this the case? It was not because Rome was never taken by violence: Totila did in 546 and 549, Arnulf perhaps did in 896, and plenty of others came close. It was at least the case that relatively few of the populated areas of early medieval Rome were close to the walls, so that they had little immediacy to people except when armies appeared, which may have had an effect on their symbolic role – although the walls were nonetheless physically important, and were, as one would expect, systematically repaired when armies threatened.[199] It is also arguable that the very density of the processional world internal to the city's walls, and the ever-changing complexity

'expelled' (*eiectus*) from the city – the text does not say why – and had to go from the Lateran to S. Pietro via the Milvian Bridge, a very long deviation and even further from the walls.

[198] *LP*, 105.72, 103.

[199] Robert Coates-Stephens, 'Le ricostruzioni altomedievali delle Mura Aureliane e degli acquedotti', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen âge*, 111.1 (1999), 209-225.

of the city's politics, fostered a self-absorption which made defensive measures symbolically irrelevant. Whichever way it was, anyway, Roman collective identity did not need a processional boundary, even when danger threatened; that was not the way it worked.

Imperial and royal processions. The second main processional element in early medieval Roman political and religious practice was the *adventus*. This for sure, here as elsewhere, however irregularly, marked political power directly; and it was far more complex here than anything else seen in the west throughout our period and for long after. Its origins lay in imperial entries into Rome, which continued into the fifth century, as Michael McCormick and Luke Lavan have made clear – and see above, 13, for our discussions of Constantinople. That tradition was very elaborate, and its elaboration started some way out of town, with an *occursus* of urban political leaders to meet the emperor: in the Christian period, from the Milvian bridge for Constantine in 312 (unsurprisingly, for that was where he won his great battle), and also for Constantius II in 357 and Honorius and Stilicho in 404. They then came into the city from the north through porta Flaminia, and down the via Lata to the Capitoline hill (though Constantine soon abandoned the stop at the Temple of Jupiter) and the Forum/Palatine. That was perhaps also the route Theodoric took in 500 when he entered Rome; at any rate, he too was met by the *senatus vel populus Romanus* outside the walls.[200] And, into our period, this reception persisted, with the pope and clergy added. When Constans II came to Rome in 663, the only Roman/Byzantine emperor ever to do so between 476 and the fifteenth century, Pope Vitalian *occurrit* to him with his clergy at the sixth mile out of Rome, a little beyond the Milvian bridge; the emperor however then came into Rome from the north-west via S. Pietro, that is to say past the bridge but without crossing it, and this would become the normal entry route from now on. But of course the pope had to know that someone was coming. When the exarch of Ravenna came to Rome to prevent the election of Sergius I (unsuccessfully)

[200] McCormick, *Eternal victory*, 80-130; Lavan, *Public space*, ch. 2; for Constantius, Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, ed. John C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (Cambridge, MA, 1963-1964), 16.10.4-17; for Theodoric, *Anonymus Valesianus, pars posterior*, ed. in ibid., vol. 3, cc. 65-67.

in 687, he did not write in advance, so he did not encounter the 'crosses or the banners (*nec signa nec banda*) as the *militia* of the Roman army would have met him with according to custom (*occurrissent ei iuxta consuetudinem*) in the appropriate place, until close to the city of Rome'.[201]

This is the first reference to the standard early medieval elements of Rome's *adventus* ceremonial, which would be amply followed in the Carolingian period. In general, the *militia*, the Roman army in its ceremonial form, generally divided into *scholae* or *scolae*, would meet incoming kings and emperors with crosses and banners; secular leaders, the clergy, the pope himself, and the *populus* were arranged according to the needs of the occasion; and then the procession would pass the Milvian bridge and go down to S. Pietro. (In this context, the *populus*, however inclusive it was or was not, is clearly not the city's aristocracy, which is called variously *senatus*, *proceres*, or *optimates*, with *exercitus* and *militia*, too, denoting élite membership at a sometimes lesser level; both élites and non-élites thus participated in these receptions, as they also participated in papal elections.[202])

The variations in this pattern were significant. In 774, when Charlemagne was still besieging Pavia, he came to Rome for Easter and was met as much as thirty miles out by an *occursus* of senior papal officials, *iudices*, with banners; then, a mile north of S. Pietro, by the *scolae* of the *militia*, aristocrats, and children with branches, all singing praises, 'as is the custom for receiving an exarch', a phrase clearly indicating the continuities which the Romans, at least, felt. In 800, Charles was met closer in, but still a more than respectable twelve miles out, and by the pope himself. Earlier that year, Leo III staged his own *adventus*, his first return to the city after his kidnapping, which the *Liber Pontificalis* marks up with deliberation; he was met at the Milvian bridge (increasingly the default location, as it had been in the fourth century) by the most inclusive – and carefully described – community possible, all the clergy, all the aristocracy, all the *militia*, and *universus populus* including women, and the *scolae* of foreigners (the communities of Franks, English

201 *LP*, 78.2-3, 86.3.
202 Évelyne Patlagean, 'Les armes et la cité à Rome du VIIe au IXe siècle et le monde européen des trois fonctions sociales', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Moyen âge*, 86.1 (1974), 25-62.

etc. who lived near the Vatican), with banners and *laudes*. The text is so concerned to make this the central point of the narrative that it does not do the same for Charlemagne; his 800 entry is recorded not here but in the Frankish annals. In 844, after the election of Pope Sergius II without asking the consent of the Carolingian king Louis II (as had by then become necessary), Louis arrived with an army; according to the *Liber Pontificalis*, he was met nine miles out, in a ceremony which otherwise copies the 774 description directly. Here, Louis is represented as not getting quite as much attention as Charlemagne had in 774, but nearly; and the text is clear about the careful nature of the reception, given how tense it was – indeed, it descended into violence after the ceremony at S. Pietro, and Sergius shut Rome's gates against what was by now clearly a hostile army, even though Louis was being anointed at the same time. The next time the *Liber Pontificalis* describes a visit by Louis, at another moment of tension in 855, he did not send to say he was coming, so was only met, by Leo IV, at S. Pietro. Shortly after this Leo died, and the Romans elected Benedict III, but this time Louis wanted a different pope, and when his envoys were met at the Milvian bridge by clergy, aristocracy and the *universus populus*, the Franks wickedly took their own candidate Anastasius with them to S. Pietro; they got so close to imposing him that Benedict had to be re-elected before his consecration, as we have already seen.[203]

That is the last Frankish entry which the *Liber Pontificalis* describes, but Frankish annals, although they are in general less thorough in their accounts of imperial/royal entries, the exact details of which were more symbolically important for the Romans than for northerners, sometimes tell the same type of story later. So, when Lothar II in 869 made a very unwelcome visit to Rome to try to get Hadrian II to back down over his self-inflicted marriage difficulties, 'no cleric went to meet him' at S. Pietro, clearly a very bad sign in the eyes of the *Annales Bertiniani* author

[203] Respectively, *LP*, 97.35-37, 98.19 (with *ARF*, s.a. 800), 104.9-12, 105.110, 106.10-18; for Leo III, Twyman, *Papal ceremonial*, 41-43. See in general, among many, Rudolf Schieffer, 'Die Karolinger in Rom', *Settimane di studio*, 49 (2002), 101-127, at 109-115, and the detailed survey in Hack, *Das Empfangszeremoniell*, 293-358. Note also Stephen II's visit to Francia in 754, when he was supposedly met a full hundred miles away from Ponthion by King Pippin's son, and then three miles out by Pippin himself (*LP*, 94.25); this is a very papal image, however, and does not recur in Frankish sources.

Hincmar, who was opposed to Lothar. As to Arnulf in 896: he actually stormed the city, to gain his controversial imperial coronation, but after he had done that, according the the *Annales Fuldenses*, he got a formal entry back at the Milvian bridge, with the Roman aristocracy, the *scola* of the Greeks, banners and *laudes* – even here, clearly, a proper entry was necessary for Arnulf's legitimacy.[204]

It is particularly necessary here to stress that these are texts, and by no means committed to accuracy in their reportage. An *adventus* could be tense, especially under Louis II (not to speak of Arnulf); the relationship between papal sovereignty and a more generalised Carolingian, as also later Ottonian/Salian, supremacy (and indeed that of the exarchs as imperial representatives before them) was negotiable and often renegotiated, and every imperial arrival was a potential challenge to the popes. Our accounts needed to stress both honour and legitimacy, or else its absence; honour came from the level of the ceremony (how many people, how many *laudes*, how far out of town it started, as opposed to small ceremonies just outside S. Pietro), legitimacy came from it going right, with enthusiasm, and not disintegrating into fighting and bad faith, as 844 and 855 did. So also did 864, an emblematic 'bad' *adventus* by Louis II to try to persuade Nicholas I to be more sympathetic to his brother Lothar's marriage, ignored by the *Liber Pontificalis* but written up in Hincmar's annals, in which (although the processional entry itself is not referred to) the emperor's men attacked the clergy and *populus* of Rome at S. Pietro during a *statio* and then engaged in plenty

[204] *Annales Bertiniani* (ed. Waitz, *SRG*, 5, 1883, henceforth *AB*), s.a. 869 (p. 100), *AF*, s.a. 896. For less detailed accounts of, mostly, just an 'honourable reception', *ARF*, s.aa. 823, 824; *AB*, s.aa. 850, 864, 872, 875, 880. The last quasi-Carolingian *adventus* for a coronation was Berengar I in 918; the *Gesta Berengarii* (ed. Paul von Winterfeld, *MGH*, *Poetae*, 4, 1899), 4, lines 89-208), although mentioning crowds, does not discuss a procession, and the text, when it can be pinned down, seems all to take place in S. Pietro; Liudprand's unreliable account of Hugh of Arles in Rome (*Antapodosis*, 3.45), similarly, has him received honourably by the Romans but then located in Castel S. Angelo outside the walls. Ottonian accounts are less detailed on both the Roman and Frankish/German side, but Otto II in 967, for example, was met three miles out by a 'great multitude of senators' with crosses etc. (*Annalista Saxo* [ed. Pertz, *SS*, 6, 1844], 620); anyway, the standard ceremony was still elaborate for Henry V in 1111 (*Annales Romani*, in *LP*, 2, 340). Note also John XIII's formal re-entry after exile in 966, met outside the city by clergy and *populus* with *laudes*: Benedetto, *Chronicon*, 185. For this and some other, less certain, papal *adventus* before 1000, see Twyman, *Papal ceremonial*, 43-46 (and add *LP*, 94.39 for Stephen II coming back from Francia, met outside S. Pietro by priests and a large crowd of men and women); she convincingly emphasises the imperial model for papal entries.

of other destruction. Here, as Philippe Buc has shown, this account of the subversion of a ritual context is far from description, but rather polemic against Louis's defence of his brother.[205] All the other accounts we have looked at are similar constructions, whether positive or negative. In that context it is also worth adding that the violence and other elements of a 'bad' *adventus* tended to happen after the emperor/king had reached S. Pietro – so the initial reception, choregraphed by the Romans, was posed as having gone right, which helped arguments that the incomers, not the Romans, were to blame; perhaps only the (non-Roman) account of Arnulf's siege is different here, for the Romans have in that case to be forced to do it right, once they are defeated. But the imagery works whether the events took place as described, or indeed at all; these were what were *supposed* to happen (or not happen). The Romans in their own accounts, which are the majority, could thus show how they dealt with dangerous but powerful people, people worthy of respect: that is to say, how they coped, honourably, with the tension of having to receive people who did not rule them, but who thought, in different ways, that they did or should.

And that, finally, is shown clearly in one crucial element of these *adventus* processions: they were to S. Pietro, an extra-urban church, not to Rome. It was there that western emperors were crowned; it was there that they had a palace, from Louis II's time onwards at the latest, which is where they stayed when they came.[206] After the end of Byzantine power, only popes, like Leo III in 800, had the sovereign right to move on from there into the city. The *Liber Pontificalis* states (claims) that Charlemagne asked permission from the pope to enter Rome in 774, although after that he toured the great urban churches in what seems to be a stational context. Not only did Sergius II bar the gates to prevent Louis II's army from entering the city, but the account of Louis' three-week sojourn there locates him only in S. Pietro. Even Arnulf, after taking the city and his

[205] *AB*, s.a. 864 (p. 67); Buc, *The dangers of ritual*, 70-79. Note that 864 was not the last; nearly every eleventh- and early twelfth-century imperial coronation apparently saw similar fighting, as for example in Thietmar, *Chronicon*, 7.1 (a. 1004) and Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi* (ed. Harry Bresslau, *SRG*, 61, 1915), c. 16 (a. 1027), although not in those cases depicted as making the coronation or the visit illegitimate.

[206] Carlrichard Brühl, 'Die Kaiserpfalz bei St. Peter und die Pfalz Ottos III. auf dem Palatin' [1954], in idem, *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatik*, 2 vols. (Hildesheim, 1989), 1, 3-31.

coronation in S. Pietro, actually met the Roman *omnis populus* to receive fidelity in S. Paolo, another extramural church – and it is indeed worth wondering whether he actually besieged Rome at all, rather than the Civitas Leoniana, for it was S. Pietro in particular which the *Annales Fuldenses* says was held against him by supporters of his imperial rival Lambert.[207] So, in a sense, setting aside the papal entries of Leo III or John XIII, these *adventus* were not 'real' *adventus*, for, precisely, they were not into the city.[208] They did not convey political authority, only power – and respect, and doubtless fear – as well as, in their correct performance, the reinforcement of the collective identity of the Romans themselves. Possibly this went with the lack of ritual stress on Rome's walls too, since these were not – at least in theory – ever going to be symbolically breached by an outside authority in any legitimate way.

Rome was clearly very like Constantinople, and far less like other western cities, in the great density of its processional world. It was differently structured, however, because in the Byzantine capital the emperor ruled, and in the papal capital he did not. In Constantinople, the overlap between imperial and patriarchal ceremonial was considerable, but in Rome almost all internal processions showcased ecclesiastical and above all papal hegemony and legitimacy, and after 750 secular rulers were, in theory at least, confined to the extramural Vatican. This in fact makes Rome the type-example and to an extent the model for the Gaulish cities with their highly-localised and bishop-centred politics; kings could and did enter them, but were substantially external to their concerns. Rome was a very large city by western standards, but it was a local society too; the lands ruled by the pope were not that large, and popes and other Romans anyway rarely went there. The

[207] *LP*, 97.39-40; 104.12-17; *AF*, s.a. 896. Note that *AB*, s.aa. 869, 872 has Lothar II and then Louis II at the Lateran, the latter after a solemn procession; if that is accurate, we might suppose that they were specifically invited in by Hadrian II – both the rulers were in weak positions at the time, and are unlikely to have forced an entry.

[208] This sharpness broke down to an extent after 962; Otto I certainly did not keep to S. Pietro (e.g. Liudprand, *Historia Ottonis*, c. 22, ed. Chiesa), and Otto III sought to rule Rome directly (see Knut Görich, *Otto III.* [Sigmaringen, 1995], 187-267). But the latter was forced out by revolts, and even the most imperially-minded Roman sources did not propose that these (and their successors in the context of the wars of the Investiture Dispute) were anything other than temporary intrusions: see citations in Wickham, *Medieval Rome*, 378-379.

Romans looked inward (hardly as far as their own walls), in a way that the citizens of Constantinople, the centre of an empire, did not – or, if they did, it was with that belief, characteristic of the inhabitants of capital cities even now, that what they did was of importance far beyond their own city boundaries. And the very great size of Rome by western standards needs to be set against the fact that Constantinople in our period was some five times as large; the Byzantine comparison puts Rome more in perspective. We will come back to this point in the conclusion.

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Cairo

Finally, let us turn more briefly to Cairo in the early Fāṭimid period, from 969/73 to the 1020s, to put these Christian processions into a wider context, and to point up some significant parallels and absences.[209] One absence can be set out instantly: an easily available caliphal tradition for the Fāṭimids to use. 'Abbāsid caliphs did not systematically process in a formal way; people processed to them. There are several accounts of a Byzantine embassy to Baghdad in 917, all of which depict the ambassadors moving through the city in front of crowds and into the palace, with the caliph receiving them there; similarly, the eleventh-century etiquette book by Hilāl al-Ṣābi', when

[209] This focus on the period up to the 1020s (after which Fāṭimid processional documentation is weak for a century), to make the period comparable to that which we have discussed for other places, means that we will therefore not rely on the closest parallel to *The Book of Ceremonies* for tenth-century Constantinople and the *Liber Censuum* for twelfth-century Rome: that is to say the normative descriptions of processions in fifteenth-century compilations which include twelfth-century accounts of Fāṭimid ceremonial, in particular al-Maqrīzī's citations in his *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār fi dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa al-āthār* [henceforth *Khiṭaṭ*] (we have used here where possible the partial trans. by Paul Casanova, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, vols 3 and 4/1 [Paris, 1906-20]) of Ibn al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥī and Ibn al-Ṭuwayr. These latter are indeed parallel to our Constantinopolitan and Roman sources (see Maurice Canard, 'Le cérémonial fatimite et le cérémonial byzantin', *Byzantion*, 21 [1951], 355-420 [396-408 for processions]; Brubaker, 'Space, place and culture', 223-229, which represents an earlier version of some of our arguments here), but the twelfth century in Cairo was too different from the decades around 1000 – it was, in particular, for the most part no longer directly ruled by the caliph, but, rather, his vizier, and was also much more military in political complexion – and so can be read back less easily into earlier centuries than can the later ground-rules for processions in Rome. Here we are lucky to have Paula Sanders' *Ritual, politics and the city in Fatimid Cairo* to guide us.

discussing what caliphs wear during processions, *mawākib*, makes it clear that what the caliph will actually *do* during them is sit stably on his throne. Their viziers processed sometimes, but caliphal ceremonial was firmly located inside the palace.[210] This account does have to be nuanced. For a start, caliphs had traditionally led the *ḥajj* to Mecca, which meant a highly public participation in this central religious event, although it has closer parallels with the rural processions of the West, not urban ones, and anyway after 804 it fell out of use (Hārūn al-Rashīd was the last caliph to lead the *ḥajj*). Secondly, we do find casual mention of caliphal participation in public religious ceremonies, such as the Friday and post-Ramadan prayer processions in Sāmarrā' which led to the assassination of Caliph al-Mutawakkil in 861, which makes us conclude that caliphs by no means always avoided the public world.[211] But the word 'casual' is significant here; more normally, even if such processions took place, they were not narrativized, which implies that, in the eyes of writers, they did not do enough to convey caliphal authority. The 'Abbāsid caliphate was not, that is to say, a processional state to any significant extent – as with the Carolingians, assembly points (here, palaces and mosque courtyards) were more important – and its legitimations were differently located. This choice is important here because it means that the Fāṭimid choice to engage in public processions in their capital of Cairo, founded in 969 just after the conquest of Egypt by the Fāṭimid general Jawhar, was new for a caliphal power. Their models were those of governors, not caliphs, and also those of Mediterranean, not Iraqi, rulers: in Ifrīqiya, roughly modern Tunisia, where the Fāṭimids had ruled for half a century, in the late ninth century their predecessors the Aghlābid *amīr*s had regularly and publicly processed from their political centre of al-'Abbāsiyya to the nearby

[210] Hilāl al-Ṣabi', *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, trans. Elie A. Salem (Beirut, 1979): 73 for caliphal clothing, 16-18 for the Byzantines in 917 – for which see also, among others, *Book of gifts and rarities, Kitāb al-hadāyā wa al-tuḥaf*, trans. Ghāda al-Ḥijjāwī al-Qaddūmi (Cambridge, MA, 1996), 161-164. See Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum*, 98, 269-270; Nadia M. El Sheikh, 'The institutionalisation of 'Abbāsid ceremonial', in *Diverging paths?* ed. John Hudson and Ana Rodríguez (Leiden, 2014), 351-370.

[211] M. E. McMillan, *The meaning of Mecca* (London: Saqi, 2011) for the *ḥajj*; *The history of al-Ṭabari*, 34, trans. Joel L. Kramer (Albany, NY, 1989), 172-173, for 861. Cf. Canard, 'Le cérémonial fatimite', 419 for going to the mosque on Friday. There are a few other similar casual mentions of 'Abbāsid processions; more work needs to be done here. We are grateful to several members of the collective of this book, especially Petra Sijpesteijn, for advice on this.

regional capital of Kairouan during Ramadan; and the funeral cortège of the autonomous governor of Egypt, Ibn Ṭūlūn, at his death in 884, involved a procession divided by category, soldiers, bureaucrats, women, religious experts and the poor – a division which recalls those of Rome.[212]

Their processional choice in Egypt was however immediate. The first entry of Caliph al-Muʿizz into Cairo in 973 was at the end of a rural procession which had moved, slowly, all the way from his former capital in Tunisia, and which entered Cairo formally with the coffins of his ancestors at the beginning of Ramadan, in a close parallel (in its explicit claim to power and potentially risky reception) to a western *adventus*.[213] In the same year, al-Muʿizz also processed northwards outside the walls of the city at *ʿīd al-fiṭr* at the end of Ramadan, one of the two great feasts of Islam, possibly with some popular audience, and this became regular thereafter; the other great feast, the sacrificial *ʿīd al-naḥr* or *al-aḍḥa*, some two months later, was processed to the al-Azhar mosque inside the city by 975 at the latest; Ramadan Friday processions began in 990 under al-ʿAzīz, both to the al-Azhar and to the al-Ḥākim mosque (as it was later named), which was then just outside the city to the north. The 'ritual city' as Paula Sanders has called it, was created and held together by processions of this type. They were later added to and held together further by the processional celebration of the Muslim New Year, which delimited the city by going around the walls from the Bāb [gate] al-Naṣr to the next-door Bāb al-Futūḥ, 100 metres away (either the long way, around virtually the whole wall circuit, or the short way, from gate to gate), although this is not attested until after 1100.[214]

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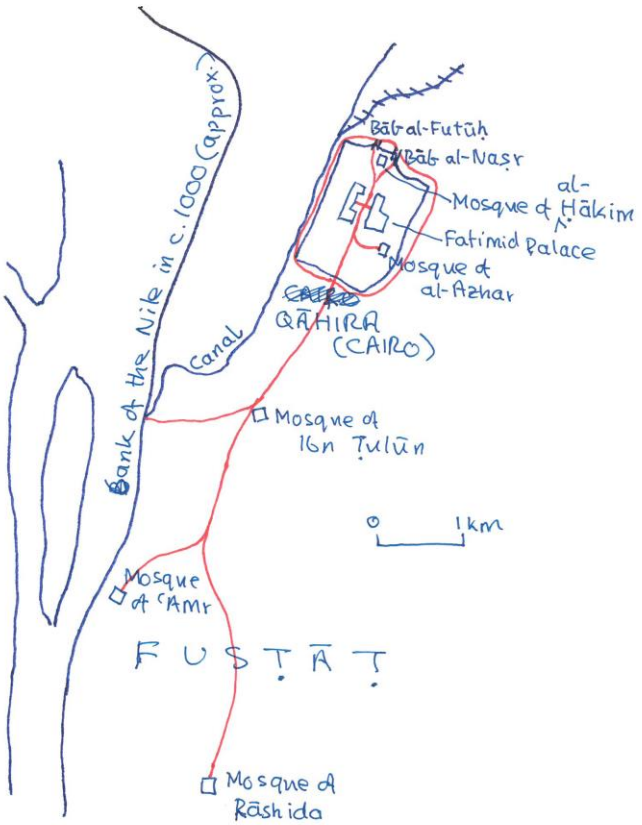
[212] Mohamed Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide, 184-296, 800-909* (Paris, 1966), 254-255; al-Balawī, *Sīrat Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn*, ed. Muḥammad Kurd ʿAlī (Damascus, 1939), 344-346.
[213] Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum*,100-104.
[214] Sanders, *Ritual, politics*, 42-50, 83-98; Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum*, 104-109, 111-128 (and see in general 95-182, 306-311).



What were the Fāṭimids doing here? Some context is needed before we can understand. First, Cairo, Qāhira, was not the main population centre of the area; Fusṭāṭ was, two kilometres to its south. Fusṭāṭ was very large, far larger than Rome and probably even Constantinople; it was the seat of Egypt's government and the home of its administrators, and was also a centre for an

intense artisanal and commercial activity, which was unmatched anywhere else in the late tenth-century Mediterranean. It was inhabited by Sunni Muslims, Christians and Jews. The Fāṭimids were none of these: they were Ismāʿīlī Shīʿis, holding views about political legitimacy (including the view that they, not the rulers of Baghdad, should be caliphs) which Sunnis, had they had a Christian mindset and church hierarchy, would have called heretical. Ismāʿīlī Shīʿism was in fact not even the whole of the Shīʿa movement, and it featured an esoteric theology which others thought strange. The fact that the Fāṭimids founded their own capital beside Fusṭāṭ, to house the caliphal palace and also the army (but not the main administrative offices, which stayed in Fusṭāṭ until the twelfth century), was not in itself unusual – Muslim rulers routinely did this, and had done so since the eighth century. It was less typical to found it so close to the old capital, but this was in itself an Egyptian (as also Tunisian) tradition; north of Fusṭāṭ, between it and Cairo, had been two other such political-military capitals, set up by governors in the eighth and ninth centuries, which were by now partly incorporated into Fusṭāṭ and partly ruined.[215] But the Fāṭimids therefore had a political centre which was in walking distance from the main city of Egypt, and which was inhabited by people whose religions were different from the inhabitants of that city. They needed not to be absorbed by Fusṭāṭ, and they therefore began by constructing Cairo ritually, to make it distinct – and visibly so, for these ceremonies and processions were largely held outside the palace, in public spaces. The audience of such processions was probably quite often just the (initially all Shīʿi) army which largely made them up, a group which it was important to impress and involve, since army leaders in Muslim states could easily enough (although not for another century in Fāṭimid Egypt) grab the reins of real power. Another audience was local non-military Shīʿis, who were a minority, but numerous enough to celebrate the very Shīʿa festival of *ʿīd al-ghadīr* by as early as 973; this was not yet absorbed into caliphal (and Sunni) processional ritual, although it would

[215] See esp. Ayman F. Sayyid, *La capitale de l'Égypte jusqu'à l'époque fatimide; al-Qāhira et al-Fusṭāṭ* (Beirut, 1998), 28-67.

be by the early twelfth century. But anyone could come into the city of Cairo (it was only the palace in its centre which was closed off), and Fusṭāṭ was not far away; non-Shīʿis would be able, if and when they came, to see that Cairo was being constructed as special, and that would be an effective result too. This public representation of ritual distinctiveness was at least as important as the other reason for the initial Fāṭimid choice to be far more processionally-minded than any contemporary Muslim power, that is to say the esoteric elements of their theology: for everything in Fāṭimid imagery had a hidden as well as an open meaning, and processions were no exception here.[216]

Once Cairo was established as ritually distinct, however, another danger became evident: that Fāṭimid power would be seen as too separate from Egyptian politics and society, too religiously marginal, and therefore potentially not legitimate. That the Fāṭimid caliphs disliked, and occasionally sought to prevent, the main Christian religious festivals of the Fusṭāṭīs themselves (including an elaborate procession for the Baptism of Christ, and another for Easter), which in some cases (Baptism, New Year) Sunni Muslims celebrated too, did not help.[217] Now that Cairo had a clear ritual identity, the caliphs apparently decided that it would be only sensible to try to incorporate Fusṭāṭ into Cairo's own liturgical processional ritual, whenever possible. Caliph al-Ḥākim (996-1021) is said to have done this first; in 1002-1005 he built another major mosque, to join al-Azhar in Cairo and the al-Ḥākim mosque he completed just outside that city, at Rāshida on the southern edge of Fusṭāṭ, which he would therefore have to cross when going to Friday prayers there during Ramadan; and in 1012 he began to go to the mosque of 'Amr, Fusṭāṭ's oldest major mosque and focus of the government quarter, as well. Al-Ḥākim was a Shīʿi extremist, capable of

[216] Sanders, *Ritual, politics*, 124-129. For the army, Oesterle, *Kalifat und Könitgum*, 116-121; for the interrelation of political self-presentation and theology, ibid., 175-178.

[217] Al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (trans. Casanova, *Description*, 3, 38-54), for the festivals and occasional Fāṭimid prohibitions (he does not cite the processions, but he is writing 400 years later, when what remained of Fusṭāṭ was long absorbed into Cairo). For the processions at Baptism and Easter (again temporarily prohibited, by al-Ḥākim), see a contemporary text, Yaḥyā al-Anṭakī, *Tārīkh*, 12.126-129, 15.18 (trans. Bartolomeo Pirone, *Cronache dell'Egitto fāṭimide e dell'impero bizantino (937-1033)* [Milan, 1998], 251, 320). See further, for the Christian (and Persian) New Year and the carnivalesque processions which took place in Fusṭāṭ then, Boaz Shoshan, *Popular culture in medieval Cairo* (Cambridge, 1993), 42-50.

destroying or defacing churches, synagogues and (Sunni) mosques and being highly oppressive to the huge non-Shīʿi majority – sometimes at least, for he blew hot and cold. But this does not take away from his apparent awareness that Fusṭāṭ and Cairo needed to be brought together, however much this was done through an imposition of Ismāʿīlī religious hegemony, as Jenny Oesterle stresses. Anyway, it worked; by the twelfth century, and probably in this case earlier, the population of both Cairo and Fusṭāṭ is described as decorating the streets for the caliphal procession in Ramadan to the mosque of ʿAmr, in a ceremonial practice which recalls – to cite only examples from the same rough period – Skylitzes' description of Michael V's post-Easter procession in Constantinople and the description in the *Liber Censuum* of the Easter Monday procession in Rome, and which must have conveyed the same mixture of power and collective identity.[218] And that was also reinforced by the main non-liturgical procession of the year, one which had probably long existed but was again immediately adopted by al-Muʿizz, from his first year in 973, and by all Fāṭimid caliphs after him: out from Cairo to the ritual opening of the canal which ran eastwards from the Nile, and which was only passable when the river was in its annual flood – which meant that the ceremony of cutting the breakwater which opened the canal was part of the collective celebration of Egypt's hoped-for continued fertility. There was a crush of people from the start, and doubtless for ever thereafter; these were from both cities, but they must have been above all Fusṭāṭīs, for the mouth of the canal was closer to Fusṭāṭ than to Cairo.[219]

Descriptions of these processions are fairly numerous in our sources. Many are from much later, but some are contemporary, as with al-Musabbiḥī's chronicle of the years 1024-5, or, not

[218] Sanders, *Ritual, politics*, 52-63, and 72-74 for decorating streets; Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum*, 132-138 and ff., 306-311. On al-Ḥākim, see most recently Paul E. Walker, *Caliph of Cairo* (Cairo, 2010), containing a useful selection of translated texts.

[219] Sanders, *Ritual, politics*, 100-104. The acceptance of the processional imagery of the Fāṭimid court by others is also well shown by a roughly contemporary account of the installation of Patriarch Kīrilluṣ of Alexandria in 1078, which involved a formal visit to Cairo by boat and a procession from the Nile to the palace of the caliph (and then to that of the vizier Badr al-Jamālī, by now the real power in Egypt) before proceeding to Fusṭāṭ for a second consecration: Yassa ʿAbd al-Māsiḥ et al. (eds.), *History of the patriarchs of the Egyptian church*, 2 (Cairo, 1943), 325-326.

long after, in 1047, with the travelogue of the Persian pilgrim Nāṣer-e Khosraw, who was very impressed by the canal-cutting ceremony. They stress the large scale of the processions, including officials of all types – and 10,000 soldiers according to Nāṣer-e Khosraw, which, however implausible, is on a scale supported by later sources – plus giraffes and elephants, and (in some accounts) a large popular audience. They also stress the dramatically high quality of the clothing worn by everyone from the caliph downwards, silk and brocade, plus gold and jewels on swords, belts, horse-collars and saddles. This distinguishes Fāṭimid ceremonial from that of the Franks or the Romans, where wealth as displayed in clothing is rather less stressed; the quality of the clothing doubtless had its own esoteric symbolism, but the Fāṭimids were also at least as rich as the Byzantine emperors (whose clothing was also impressive), which did not hurt.[220] The sources are sufficiently detailed that one can sometimes do a Kremlinology on particular processions, that is to say identify the presence and absence of particular people and its political significance.[221] It would overweight this article to develop that point, but it is certainly significant that sources mention it: it illustrates again the degree to which the detail, not just the fact, of power was meant here to be conveyed visibly in processional form.

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[220] Sanders, *Ritual, politics*, passim, but esp. 29-30, 49, 64, 103, and cf. 151 (from al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, citing Ibn al-Ma'mūn, for the amazingly high expenditures for 1122-1123 on clothing). Al-Musabbiḥī's accounts of the Ramadan processions of November-December 1024, in *Akhbār Miṣr*, 1, ed. Ayman F. Sayyid and Thierry Bianquis (Cairo, 1978), 62-6, 80-1, are translated in Paul E. Walker, *Orations of the Fāṭimid caliphs* (London, 2009), 30-35. See Nāṣer-e Khosraw: *Book of travels (Safarnāma)*, trans. Wheeler M. Thackston (Albany, NY, 1986), 48-51, for the canal-cutting, which does indeed stress the large popular audience; compare Ibn al-Ṭuwayr a century later, cited in al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (trans. Casanova, *Description*, 4/1, 113-14), who says that some 13,000 soldiers standardly paraded for the *'īd al-ghadīr* procession. For popular participation, see also, for example, the account of throngs surrounding al-Ḥākim during one of his Ramadan Friday processions in 1014, described in al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ* (who plausibly took it from the lost sections of al-Musabbiḥī) and translated in Walker, *Caliph of Cairo*, 87. In Constantinople, clothing is stressed in the *Book of Ceremonies*, although not the *typikon* of the Great Church; it showed a similar display of wealth to that in Cairo.

[221] Sanders, *Ritual, politics*, 64-6, commenting on the very detailed surviving portion of al-Musabbiḥī, *Akhbār Miṣr*.

Conclusions

Fāṭimid processional politics was different from those we have seen up to now in some crucial respects. In Constantinople and in papal Rome, there was no spatial separation between ruler and city, so it was easier there than in Fusṭāṭ, at least, to link city identity with imperial/papal (though not imperial Frankish) identity. But Egypt was not more similar to the Frankish west. In the west, imperial/royal power was in general external to city society as a whole, so that local ceremonial underpinned local community and hierarchy above all, and rulers came in from outside, welcome or unwelcome, in *adventus*; but in Cairo the ritual focus of the Fāṭimids was a city that was wholly theirs, so *adventus* was not needed, at least after 973. The Fāṭimids were certainly in many ways, especially in these first decades of their rule, very external indeed to Egyptians and especially Fusṭāṭīs, but they responded by processionalising their own special city, making it ritually important, and then, later, joining it to Fusṭāṭ. Significantly, we also do not have records of any caliphal entry into Fusṭāṭ which really resembled an *adventus* (al-Muʿizz in 973 is specifically said not to have done an entry here[222]); the initial processional linking between Cairo and Fusṭāṭ may have been coercive in some ways – it was, after all, the work of al-Ḥākim – but it was more organic than any formal entry in the Frankish lands.

These are useful contrasts, which illuminate the underlying structures of all of our main examples here. They also show that the considerable cultural and religious differences between Egypt and either Byzantium or the west around 1000 do not have to deter comparison. The fact is that processions in all the areas we have looked at can be usefully paralleled, however dissimilar the detailed patterning of each set of rituals was. There has not been all that much comparison in the field of this article, but it is illuminating, as long as one is careful about comparing like with

[222] See e.g. Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil fi al-tarikh*, trans. Edmond Fagnan, *Annales du Maghreb et de l'Espagne* (Algiers, 1898), 372; al-Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (trans. Casanova, *Description*, 4/1), 20, both late texts.

like. Michael McCormick and Jenny Oesterle have already shown us this;[223] but the comparisons can be developed further – and well beyond the cases studied in this article.

One set of comparisons and contrasts concerns religion. Oesterle stresses that, despite considerable similarities between Ottonian and Fāṭimid uses of the processional world to represent power – uses that indeed, at least in part, went back in each case to the Roman empire – one basic difference between them was that the caliph was a religious leader as well, and the German king was not. Ottonian kings had to enter the religious world of bishops, whereas the caliph, in a religion with no church, actually personified that world, all the more forcefully because of the highly numinous role caliphs had in Ismā'īlī theology.[224] This might put the Fāṭimid caliph together with the pope on one side of a religious divide, the Byzantine emperor and Frankish kings on the other. Even then, however, there are distinctions to be made. The Fāṭimid caliph, in this respect very unlike the pope, had to present his power to an audience which for the most part did not share his religion, or his version of Islam, which made his presentation of power more external, less collective, and potentially more contestable – although, conversely, the caliph had more flexibility than the pope had; it would have been hard, in particular, for any pope to develop as military an imagery as the Fāṭimids managed very rapidly. On the other side of that divide, the Byzantine emperor had much more transactional power in the eastern church than any western ruler had, except possibly in the high Carolingian period, and we have seen his processions overlap with those of the patriarch of Constantinople, in a way that even the most liturgically-minded Ottonian king would not have been able to contemplate – although, conversely, the church was still distinct in Byzantium, and it had its own parallel rituals, which were also less hierarchical than imperial (as also caliphal) rituals were often depicted as being. These are real differences; they are nonetheless

[223] McCormick, *Eternal victory*; Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum*; see also Canard, 'Le cérémonial fatimite', who cautiously proposes (undocumented) Byzantine influence on the ceremonial of Cairo; Shepard, '*Adventus*', focussed more on the eleventh century.

[224] Oesterle, *Kalifat und Königtum*, esp. 360-6, for Ottonians and caliphs; for the Roman inheritance see e.g. Brubaker, 'Space, place and culture', 226; ibid., 226-229, who makes slightly different comparative points to those set out here.

nuances regarding the forms of political representation, for all these figures were using religious ritual and processional imagery to set out their legitimacy, in as regular a form as possible.

When we compare in the context of the main concern of this volume, however, that is to say the relationship between empires (and their analogues) and communities, we have a variety of parameters we can use. One is movement, which respects the fluidity which processions represented in all our examples. Rulers sought publicly to present power everywhere, and, as we have seen, they did it processionally in most places – here, the main exceptions were the Frankish kings in their secular environment, reliant on assembly politics as they were for their main legitimation, and ʿAbbāsid caliphs, outside our area of study, more identified with palaces and mosques, whose commitment to processional self-representation was at best occasional. But the different types of processional routes had different significances. First, entering cities conveyed power and claims to legitimacy everywhere, for bishops, kings, popes, emperors and caliphs – even if the Fāṭimids only did it once, at their arrival in Cairo. The fact that the Frankish and German kings coming to Rome were met with remarkably elaborate ceremony, but did not, with rare exceptions, actually enter the city, marked both the real respect (and fear) which their military power already conveyed and their lack of political legitimacy as rulers in Rome itself. Inside their own kingdoms, on the other hand, the fact that their processional activity was above all one of *adventus* underscores the degree to which kings and their analogues were in a real sense external to urban societies. Indeed, *adventus* ceremonies, although they certainly conveyed power, did not convey the sort of daily hegemonic authority, constructing power and identity, which a regular procession did.

Second, encircling the city represented protection everywhere, but as a processional act it was restricted to religious leaders (which included caliphs), and our different societies placed different levels of reliance on it – in Gaul, especially before 700 but afterwards as well, it was a very common activity; in Constantinople and Cairo it was regular but less central; and in Rome it

was ignored. This points up Roman self-absorption, but also, we think, the greater sense of danger which cities felt they had in Gaul, relatively small demographically and spatially as they were, and also exposed to external political threats, which the three great cities we have otherwise looked at normally weathered more easily. It should be added that one-off propitiatory processions were much commoner in Gaul than elsewhere: they were almost unknown in Rome, and rare in Constantinople (Islam works differently here as a religion, so we should not expect an equivalent in Cairo); this may well reflect a similar sense of danger.

Third, moving processionally inside the city, or sometimes in and out of its walls to include external cult sites, was the work of powerful religious leaders and also Byzantine emperors. This did more than the other two to represent, and indeed to construct, an organic relationship between political power and urban society. Rulers in every one of our examples, including bishops in the more localised societies of Gaul, promoted this. It unified geographically. In Gaul, internal processions promoted the construction of a single community out of sometimes quite scattered areas of urban settlement; the dense web of processional routes had a similar effect in Rome; even in Constantinople, where the main routes were fewer, side routes brought almost all the city into the processional space at least sometimes. Here, the Fāṭimids focussed above all on Cairo, but once they had established their 'ritual city' there, they extended a similar processional network in a fairly organic manner to link it with the far larger and more religiously diverse Fusṭāṭ as well.

Moving processionally inside and close to the city, regularly and repetitively (the more regular the better), preferably with large numbers of people involved, was, however, above all where the representation and the hoped-for legitimisation of power intersected most tightly with the construction of community. Actual popular participation in processions was apparently standard only in Constantinople and Gaul (where urban populations were small) and in some of the major ceremonies in Rome, but popular *audiences* were, as far as we can see, normal and often substantial. Here the Byzantines stand out, for the frequency of processions, the scale of popular

participation, and the apparent scale of audiences, to the extent that it may sometimes have been hard to tell who was processing and who watching. In this case, the processional creation of community was very clear, and it had its practical political counterpart in the fact that Constantinople was the city, more than any other in our period, in which the urban crowd was most autonomously part of politics. This is partially because it was a very large city at the centre of a large empire, and is the only one we are looking at where this was the case – apart, obviously, from Fusṭāṭ-Cairo, although there the minority Ismāʿīlī imagery for official processions made them operate less effectively to construct wider collectivities. But it is also worth stressing that the Byzantine ruling élites accepted this and furthered it. The extensive practice of decorating streets was an act which brought the urban community directly into the project of creating, not just observing, processional space. The study of Byzantine processions, and of their great cost in time and money to both emperor and patriarch, makes it clearer just how much the Byzantine state recognised the legitimacy of urban collective practice, and sought, not to crush it, but rather to negotiate with it, and hopefully also to harness and control it – as well as making it clearer, by comparison, just how rare this was elsewhere. The popes in Rome did this too, spending similar amounts of time and almost as much money; but popular involvement in processions and their decoration, although very great by western standards, was not quite as great as in Constantinople, and crowd politics, although it certainly existed, was for the most part less autonomous, at least in our period. In Fusṭāṭ, once caliphal processional interest included it, streets were sometimes similarly decorated, although here this nod to a need for a community buy-in, which it must indeed have been, did not extend further; Cairo remained ritually more important. That is to say: in Constantinople, the set of meanings and negotiations conveyed by processions was uniquely multi-levelled. They were much less complex elsewhere, except in Rome – but simpler even in Rome.

Finally, it is worth considering which power was being represented by processions. In Gaul, it was bishops, in the very localised communities we looked at, particularly in the sixth century but

later as well. Kings appeared as external figures for the most part, and were not rivals for regular processional space, which was the sphere of the bishop, in his own relationship to local communities. This was above all true for Rome as well, where kings/emperors were not even theoretically sovereign, except for brief and contested periods. To Romans, the elaborate ceremonies of reception for the latter did not at all convey subjection, although, as we have seen, it is entirely possible that kings themselves thought differently. In Fusṭāṭ-Cairo it was of course the caliph whose legitimate power was being expressed processionally. Constantinople was, however, again more complex. The processional world was a very ecclesiastical one even here, and there was a typological difference between imperial and patriarchal processions. But these were often simultaneous, and the terminology for religious processions intercut fluidly with that of more secular ones. We tried to show earlier how the separation between the two was both permanent and constantly lessened by imperial protagonism. We do not see any real tension here (or not much, at least); everyone knew that the emperor was the real power in the city. But even he recognised that the processional world was partly an autonomous ecclesiastical space. The delicate way in which this was negotiated is all the clearer when set against the relatively straightforward way in which power was represented elsewhere. And the need to do this undoubtedly added to the concern for expense which the *Book of Ceremonies*, in particular, is witness to.

All these processions conveyed both power, internal and/or external by turns, and collective identity, of both processers and audience. That identity was important, or else the popular element in processions would have faded away, and also rulers would not have spent so much money on them. Sometimes, indeed, we can see that processional identity move directly into subsequent action, as with the destruction of the Clermont synagogue in 576, or the fall of Michael V in Constantinople in 1042.[225] Public processions were here, as a practice, part of the symbolic

[225] See above, 34, 48. Such examples of post-processional action would become much more common in the sources everywhere after the mid-eleventh century, and across the rest of the middle ages, but we would argue that this is because sources increase in their number and density, not because anything changed in the way processions worked.

construction of community explored, for example, by Anthony Cohen;[226] in cities, at least, they contributed to the whole framework of how people conceived of themselves as a community, however hierarchical, of Constantinopolitans or Tourangeaux or Romans or Fusṭāṭīs, in themselves and with respect to others. How people constructed the processional world collectively also influenced how they played with it later, and, sometimes, how they could contest it. And the existence of the processional world, although not universal in the early middle ages, was significantly widely spread across different societies; notwithstanding differences, it had common patterns, which are illuminating in their differences precisely because they were held in common.

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[226] Anthony P. Cohen, *The symbolic construction of community* (London, 1985).