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Problems - Paradigms - Perspectives

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In the early fourth century AD, the city of Byzantium looked back on an urban history spanning almost a millennium: Greek colonists from Megara had founded the city in the first half of the seventh century BC. From the Archaic era to the Roman imperial period, however, the city had remained on the fringes of the larger power blocs, its geopolitical significance being largely defined by its location on the Bosporus, the maritime entrance to the Black Sea. The urban development of the city of Byzantium had always been limited, and it had never in any particular way been connected to the city of Aelia Capitolina in the province of Palestine, an even older city that was located about 1,200 Roman miles away in a different peripheral region of the vast Empire. In the early fourth century AD, the cities of Byzantium and Aelia Capitolina looked back on their own individual and separate millennium-old histories, and yet, at the same time, they faced the beginning of an entirely new era: no other two cities of the late-antique world experienced a more remarkable rise than the cities of Byzantium and Aelia Capitolina. Under their new and renewed names of Constantinople and Jerusalem, they rose to become the most important hubs of both the Christian Empire and the Church for centuries to come, and they were interconnected in an increasingly dense and complex net of reciprocal dependencies. The intensifying links between the two cities were reflected in the mid-620s by Theodore the Syncellus, an attentive observer who even saw in the capital of the Byzantine Empire 'the figure and the example of old Jerusalem'.

The impulse for this momentous and far-reaching development was given by the Emperor Constantine. In AD 326, he ordered the re-foundation of the city of Byzantium on the Bosporus, and only four years later, Constantinople was established as a new imperial residence. Initially, the city of Constantinople was an urban symbol, promulgating the lasting peace after the decisive military victory of Constantine over his remaining rival to the imperial throne. Over the years and decades that followed, the city transformed into the most important center of the Empire and for centuries served as the vibrant capital of the Byzantine Empire. Constantine also encouraged the construction of the first monumental churches in and around Aelia Capitolina / Jerusalem – a region that slowly but steadily transformed into the Christian Holy Land over the next centuries. The evolving Christian topography of the Biblical lands represented the power of Constantine's newly adopted Christian religion. Jerusalem, with the imperially founded Church of the Holy Sepulcher (consecrated in 335) at its heart eventually became a theological reference point of both the Christian Empire and the Church.

Throughout late antiquity, the two cities were constantly transforming (and transformable) spaces of religious-political interaction between the monarch, the

Church, and the population of the Empire. Imperial influence, initiatives by the Church, and projects by individuals transformed and reshaped both these significant urban centers into intertwined symbols of imperial and divine power and triumph. Constantinople and Jerusalem thus became important Christian realms of memory and identity as well as central places for Roman imperial representation and legitimation. The most vivid manifestation is to be found in the imperial building program and the development of sacred topographies in the two cities, but also in the translation of relics, in the imperial ceremonial, in the Church calendar, in the symbolic and pictorial idiom of the monarchy, and in pilgrimage. Each of the two cities, however, would run under their distinct frameworks with their own sets of rules for social interaction, communication, conflict resolution, ritual, and discourse. Presumably the most important factor reinforcing a fundamental asymmetry between the two cities was the emperor's almost continuous presence in Constantinople, but absence in Jerusalem: Heraclius in AD 630 was the first Christian emperor to visit the Holy Land – no less than three centuries after the implementation of the first imperial Church building projects in Jerusalem.

The chapters collected in this volume aim to shed light on the late-antique histories of these two cities, their roles for both the Roman monarchy and the Christian Church, their ideological impact, and their unique relationship of mutual influence and independent development. The individual chapters pursue a comparative approach, illuminating the reciprocal relations and interdependencies of Constantinople and Jerusalem in their late-antique contexts: To confine the role of Constantinople to the political and of Jerusalem to the religious sphere would not do justice to the complexity of both cities. Whereas the importance of religion in Constantinople is obvious, it is more difficult to answer the question as to how political (or politicized) late-antique Jerusalem actually was and how the character of the two cities changed over time.

The volume examines the roles and perceptions of Constantinople and Jerusalem from a range of different perspectives and various disciplines. An introductory section (*Part One: The Centers of a New World Order*), with two complementary chapters, locates both cities in their distinct, yet interconnected, late-antique contexts, while the chapters in the subsequent sections cover archaeology and urbanism (*Part Two: Urban Topographies Connected*), the role of religio-political ideologies (*Part Three: The Power of Religion and Empire*), and the rising importance of eschatology on the eve of the Arab conquests, including the historic reverberations of imperial entrances to the Holy City up until the 20th century (*Part Four: Jerusalem, Constantinople and the End of Antiquity*).

In order to understand how the individual parts of this book approach the late-antique cities of Jerusalem and Constantinople within this transformation of world-historical significance and how the individual chapters relate to one another, it will be useful to provide brief outlines of their aims and methods and to introduce their themes and arguments.

Part One: The Centers of a New World Order

The two chapters that form the opening section of this volume provide the basic historical framework. They investigate the long-term developments, and analyze the forces that shaped the late-antique metropolis of Constantinople on the one hand and the Holy Land with Jerusalem as its religious center on the other. The first of the two chapters presents a thorough study of the history of the Holy Land that re-evaluates the imperial influence exercised in the Holy City and its surroundings, while the second meticulously investigates the rise of Constantinople with particular attention paid to its relation to Jerusalem.

In the first chapter, *Kai Trampedach* draws a careful picture of the development and growth of Christian Jerusalem, firmly locating these processes within their Roman imperial context ('The Making of the Holy Land in Late Antiquity'). While for many Christians, and certainly for the emperor Constantine, it must have been clear that Jerusalem was and had always been a very special place, Trampedach shows that the parameters of the city's rise were confined within established traditions and models. This analysis provides an important reminder that while Jerusalem was conceived as the city of God, it became a city of the Caesars as well, who did lend their support to this religious center, but according to the same rules that applied for other cities in the late Roman Empire. At the same time, Trampedach's contribution on the city of Jerusalem firmly introduces important themes for the remaining volume, namely the rise of pilgrimage and desert monasticism, church constructions, as well as the capturing of the city by the Sasanians and the Arabs.

Rene Pfeilschifter investigates the political and religious impact of the new capital on the Bosporus and its complex relationship to Jerusalem ('Always in Second Place: Constantinople as an Imperial and Religious Center in Late Antiquity'). Constantinople became the center of the (East) Roman socio-political system which was characterized by an almost unbreakable bond between city and emperor. Pfeilschifter shows that, for Constantinople, being the city of Caesar went hand in hand with aspiring to become the city of God as well. As Constantinople lacked a distinctly pagan or Jewish character (as in Rome or Jerusalem respectively), an infusion of Christian elements faced fewer obstacles than elsewhere, and an important stimulus was the fact that the inhabitants of Constantinople persistently constituted themselves as a Christian community. In the process of becoming a city of God, Constantinople took more than it gave: It imported relics, eschatological meaning, and finally even the True Cross. Jerusalem received less in return, as Pfeilschifter shows. Above all, it did not become a political or administrative center. While Constantinople assumed functions that originally or primarily belonged to Jerusalem, the opposite did not occur. In fact, Constantinople did not become a model for any other city. In spite of all the importance and all the originality of its development, its political power was seen as having been transferred from Rome. Likewise, Constantinople's

growing holiness and its importance for salvation only resulted in a Second, New Jerusalem.

Part Two: Urban Topographies Connected

Proceeding from the insights gained by Trampedach and Pfeilschifter in the opening chapters, the three case studies of the second section cast a close look at the urban, art historical, and archaeological developments in Constantinople and Jerusalem.

In their jointly written assessment of the late-antique city walls of Constantinople and Jerusalem, *Neslihan Asutay-Effenberger* and *Shlomit Weksler-Bdolah* start from close surveys of the construction methods, building techniques, and defensive qualities of the walls – both case studies are based on extensive archaeological fieldwork ('Delineating the Sacred and the Profane: The Late-Antique Walls of Jerusalem and Constantinople'). Both authors revise previous scholarly assumptions on the structure and chronology of the fortification systems. From there, the contribution tackles questions concerning the role of patronage for the walls and, in particular, what it meant for the population of Constantinople and Jerusalem that their cities became fortified. The contribution discusses the structural similarities and differences between the two fortification systems. It is striking that Jerusalem's walls deliberately incorporated largely unchanged and highly visible building blocks from dismantled Jewish structures, which were obviously meant to demonstrate the victory of Christianity over Judaism and to underline the founder's piety. The walls of Constantinople, on the other hand, were instead meant to express security and imperial power. Thus, the walls of the two cities delineate two different but complementary notions of the Christian monarchy.

In investigating the infrastructure that connected Constantinople with Jerusalem and vice versa, *Marlena Whiting* employs the concept of 'braided systems' ('From the City of Caesar to the City of God: Routes, Networks, and Connectivity Between Constantinople and Jerusalem'). As she demonstrates, a complex interplay of three key needs brought about and maintained the communication networks between the imperial and the holy city: the needs of the imperial administration and the military; the need to ensure the movement of goods and trade; and the need newly arising in the fourth century of ensuring the safety and comfort of pilgrims. The roads to Jerusalem served pilgrims so well because they connected theatres of military activity and trade nodes, because they were maintained for transport of important raw materials and money, and because they were also needed to feed the capital, including products such as the holy wine of Palestine.

In his contribution, *Konstantin Klein* casts a close look at the presence of saints as well as living holy men and women in the cities of Constantinople and Jerusalem ('Neighbours of Christ: Saints and their *Martyria* in Constantinople and Jerusalem'). Holy places commemorating the life and passion of Christ took a paramount role in Jerusalem from the beginning, but (in stark contrast to Constantinople) there were no

churches and almost no private memorial sites for saints in Jerusalem before the mid-fifth century, and no attempts to incorporate living holy men and women within its walls. Then the situation changed rather suddenly: Klein shows that it was Constantinopolitan influence in Jerusalem, namely the sojourn of the empress Eudocia, which brought the cult of saints back to the Holy City that once had produced Christianity's first martyr, St Stephen. With the construction of the first church to him between 438 and 460, Jerusalem's ecclesiastical landscape opened up to *martyria* for saints, and Eudocia's endeavors were soon to be extensively imitated by other inhabitants of Jerusalem. At the same time, Eudocia also left her footprint on the urban topography of Constantinople. This set the stage for reciprocal influence of Christian topography between the Holy Land and the imperial capital on the Bosporus.

Kai Trampedach's contribution on the Justinianic Nea Church further explores this theme, focusing on one of the most ambitious imperial building programs in the history of Jerusalem ('A New Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem? The Construction of the Nea Church (531–543) by Emperor Justinian'). In this chapter, Trampedach examines the religious and political dimensions of the urban refurbishment in Justinianic times. Through a trenchant analysis of the archaeological remains and literary sources, Trampedach carves out the symbolic meaning of the edifice. Since the church did not highlight a locality of salvific history, our understanding of its position within the dense sacred topography of the Holy City depends on its spatial references and its embedment within the religious calendar of Jerusalem, among others. The analysis shows that the building was meant to compete not only with the Constantinian structures, but even with King Solomon's temple. As Trampedach is able to show, Justinian's building activities in the Holy Land also served specific political and religious aims in the center of imperial rule in Constantinople.

Part Three: The Power of Religion and Empire

The third part of the volume focuses on the ecclesiastical, political, and symbolic meaning of Constantinople and Jerusalem.

In his contribution, *Johannes Wienand* examines two of the earliest literary sources we have concerning the Constantinian re-foundations of Jerusalem and Constantinople: two orations by the bishop Eusebius of Caesarea, one given in 335 in the course of the inauguration ceremonies for the Constantinian basilica in Jerusalem, the other given in 336 in the imperial palace of Constantinople on the occasion of the festivities for the thirtieth jubilee of Constantine's reign ('Eusebius in Jerusalem and Constantinople: Two Cities, Two Speeches'). Both speeches deal with the ramifications of the Constantinian religious transformation for the Roman monarchy in a religiously heterogeneous empire. As the differences in character between the two speeches clearly show, the two cities of Jerusalem and Constantinople played diverging but complementary roles in the imperial concept of a Christian monarchy on the one hand and in the interpretations by a Christian bishop on the other. A close

examination of the two speeches in their ceremonial contexts sheds light on the earliest phase of the formation of a Christian Roman Empire and the two single most important cities of the new era.

Nadine Viermann's contribution shows how references to Old Testament Jerusalem were exploited for the political discourse in sixth-century Constantinople ('Surpassing Solomon: Church-Building and Political Discourse in Late Antique Constantinople'). In particular, King Solomon (as the builder of the First Temple) was used as a role model and point of reference for the staging of a distinct imperial self-perception. Viermann employs the example of the church of St Polyeuctus, built by Juliana Anicia, to show how the building's various semantic levels demonstrate the imperial aspirations of its founder. The contribution does not only discuss the famous epigram inscription with its explicit references to King Solomon but also places St Polyeuctus in the context of Prophet Ezekiel's temple vision and of the contemporary eschatological expectations of the sixth century. This subversive and presumptuous concept of St Polyeuctus is contrasted with Emperor Justinian's reactions to Juliana's provocation that also took on the shape of explicit references to the Biblical king. The contribution shows that Solomon served as a multifaceted bearer of meaning in various communicative contexts. We can thus observe the creation of a *topos* predominated by the aspect of surpassing the Old Testament king and his Temple.

The chapter by *Jan-Markus Kötter* analyzes the impact the Council of Chalcedon (451) had on the status and standing of the Church of Jerusalem within the imperial church system ('Palestine at the Periphery of Ecclesiastical Politics? The Bishops of Jerusalem after the Council of Chalcedeon'). The outcome of the Council enabled Jerusalem to compete with the most important players within the empire-wide church hierarchy (Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch). However, prestige and relevance were not precisely fixed but subject to a broad spectrum of negotiation processes. To understand the quest of the Jerusalem church for empire-wide recognition of privileged status, Kötter focuses in particular on the relations between Jerusalem and Constantinople, since the support of the imperial court had a crucial impact on the competition for authority and competences within the Church. Through an in-depth analysis of the relevant power brokers, their social networks, and their communication strategies, Kötter shows that the Church of Jerusalem enforced its claim to pre-eminence vis-à-vis the emperor on the one hand and the patriarchates on the other within a complex field between the two poles of autonomy and influence.

Part Four: Jerusalem, Constantinople and the End of Antiquity

The fourth part of the volume provides two case studies on the relationship between Constantinople and Jerusalem on the eve of the Arab expansion and an analysis of

the historic reverberations of imperial entrances to the Holy City up until the 20th century.

Paul Magdalino's contribution analyzes the political and religious significance of the Church of St John the Apostle situated between the Hippodrome and the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople ('The Church of St John the Apostle and the End of Antiquity in the New Jerusalem'). The building process was begun under Phokas (602–610) and finished by Heraclius (602–641). It was the last recorded major religious foundation in Constantinople before the ninth century, and the last new construction of a major, free-standing public church. In more ways than one, therefore, it marks the end of late antiquity and early Christianity in Constantinople. Furthermore, the church was built in a distinctive form at a central and prestigious location. All this raises compelling questions about the motivation behind the remarkable edifice and the choice of its patron saint. Magdalino conclusively shows how all emperors of the early Byzantine era shared a strategy to accumulate relics and to increase the sacred status of Constantinople in order to transform it into a second Jerusalem and not, as a set of contemporary interpretations suggests, into a second Babylon.

James Howard-Johnston's contribution, on the other hand, analyzes the long-term political and religious repercussions caused by the capture of Jerusalem by Persian forces in spring 614 ('Jerusalem in 630'). On the Roman side, imperial propaganda focused on the True Cross, which had been seized and removed to the Persian capital. On March 21, 630, Heraclius staged a carefully orchestrated ceremony in Jerusalem to celebrate his victory in the long, hard-fought, ideologically charged war, by which the emperor finally restored Roman dominion over the eastern provinces and returned the True Cross to Jerusalem. The emperor tried to use his triumph to bring together the main sectarian factions of the Church, and to bring recalcitrant Jews into the Christian fold. His plans, however, were overtaken by the course of events: the existing world order was challenged by the Arab conquest and its underlying ideology of Holy War. Again the prime focus was Jerusalem, claimed by the Arabs as descendants of Ismael. The cities of Palestine capitulated by the spring of 635 at the latest. Three years later, another solemn ceremony was staged in Jerusalem to receive the second Caliph, Umar I, who was marking Islam's emergence as the new world power.

Lutz Greisiger takes in a diachronic array of entry ceremonies into the Holy City of Jerusalem, starting with Biblical paragons such as Melchizedek and King David, and Jesus Christ's entry to Jerusalem according to the Gospels ('From "King Heraclius, Faithful in Christ" to "Allenby of Armageddon": Christian Reconquistadores Enter the Holy City'). He defines both entries as epochal and – within their respective narratives – revolutionary acts. More than half a millennium later, Heraclius's visit to Jerusalem and his restoration of the True Cross can be interpreted as a similarly epochal change with striking eschatological undertones. Greisiger traces the impact of imperial entry ceremonies in Jerusalem throughout the Middle Ages when, e.g. Godfrey of Bouillon's entry into the city in 1099 following the Crusader conquest was clearly meant to emulate Heraclius's visit. The powerful imagery as well as the polit-

ical importance the act engendered never became unfashionable, as Greisiger demonstrates in his discussion of the entries into Jerusalem by the Russian Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolayevich, the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph, the German Emperor Wilhelm II – and in particular the highly symbolic and meticulously planned entry by General Allenby, who in 1917 took possession of the city of Jerusalem on behalf of the British Crown and was again likened to Godfrey of Bouillon. Strikingly, the manifold connections between Jerusalem and Constantinople salient in the late-antique *adventus* narratives became less important for the Christian 'conquerors' of the modern age.

Taken together, the chapters that make up this volume situate the entangled histories of late-antique Constantinople and Jerusalem in their wider cultural settings. As the City of Caesar and the City of God, Constantinople and Jerusalem are nodal points in a fascinating transition from the ancient Hellenistic and Roman worlds to the more regionalized but still deeply entangled medieval cultures between the Mediterranean and the Middle East.