

## REVISIONS (IN BLUE) BY M. FEATHERSTONE 16.IX.2017

**Nikolaos Mesarites** (ca. 1163 – post 1204)

Relics of the Passion in the Church of the Pharos  
in the *Account* of the usurpation of John Komnenos “the Fat”

Ed. A. Heisenberg, “Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos,” *Programm des k. alten Gymnasiums zu Würzburg für das Studienjahr 1906/1907* (1907): 29–32; textual revisions by E. Kurtz, *BZ* 18 (1908): 176–77.

MS. Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, F 96 sup. (XIII s.), ff. 21v–23.<sup>1</sup>

**Other translations:** M. Angold, *Nicholas Mesarites. His Life and Works (in translation)*, *Translated Texts for Byzantinists* 4 (Liverpool, 2017), p. 52-56; H. A. Klein, “The Crown of His Kingdom: Imperial Ideology, Palace Ritual, and the Relics of Christ’s Passion,” in: *The Emperor’s House: Palaces from Augustus to the Age of Absolutism*, eds. M. Featherstone, J.-M. Spieser, G. Tanman, and U. Wulf-Rheidt, *Urban Spaces* 4 (Berlin, 2015), p. 201 (description of the Crown of thorns only) (English); F. Grabler, “Die Palastrevolution des Joannes Komnenos,” in: *Die Kreuzfahrer erobern Konstantinopel, Byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber* 9, (Graz, 1958), p. 285–90 (German).

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### Significance

Mesarites’ description of the relics in the palace church of the Pharos illustrates the symbolism of the palace church – and thus the imperial state – as the New Jerusalem, the sum of the Old and New Testaments.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not consulted.

<sup>2</sup> On the church of the Pharos, first attested in 768, see Guiland 1969: I, 315–18 and Janin, *ÉglisesCP*, 232–36. Many of the relics kept there are mentioned in the fifth and sixth century in the church of Mount Zion in

## The Author

A high church official, Mesarites was *skeuophylax*, or sacristan, of the palace church of the Pharos until the conquest of the city in 1204. In 1207 he left for Nicaea and became metropolitan of Ephesus. In 1214 he led an ecclesiastical embassy to Constantinople for talks with the Latin Church. Besides the *Account* of the usurpation of John Komnenos, he wrote a description of the church of the Holy Apostles before the sack of 1204.<sup>3</sup>

## Text and Context

Ostensibly written in response to demands by all and sundry for details of events in the Great Palace during the failed coup d'état on 31 July 1200 by John Komnenos, a relation of the former ruling dynasty, against the reigning emperor Alexios III Angelos (r.1195–2003), Mesarites' *Account* is surely not to be seen simply as an occasional piece, but also a political pamphlet. Composed in high, albeit eccentrically vivid personal style, this text with its pronounced imperial piety and xenophobic tendency would appear to convey a message to the élite of the city of the dangers of shifting alliances in the years before the Fourth Crusade. John Komnenos' attempted coup had resulted in the intrusion of the rabble together with Latin mercenaries into the Great Palace and their near profanation of the palace church of the Pharos, the sanctum sanctorum of the Empire with its famed relics of the Passion of Christ. Mesarites' injunction here to the marauding crowd, "Leave this church undefiled!" his pious catalogue of the relics and his subsequent account of John's gruesome end after fleeing from the palace hall of the Mouchroutas with its ceiling decorations in foreign style can be read as a warning against innovation, political, or otherwise.<sup>4</sup>

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Jerusalem, see most recently Klein 2015 passim. Biblical symbolism pervaded palace ceremonial, for example, the rod of Moses (kept in another palace chapel, St Theodore's in the Chrysotriklinos) together with the great (processional) cross of Constantine (kept in the old palace church of St Stephen) regularly accompanied the emperor in procession to St. Sophia, cf. *The Book of Ceremonies*, ed. Reiske, 10.18–16.25.

<sup>3</sup> On Mesarites see Kazhdan and Franklin 1984: 238–42; for his description of the Holy Apostles see Epstein 1982: 79–92.

<sup>4</sup> Translation of the passage on the Mouchroutas in: [Mango, \*Art\*, 228–29](#); [Walker 2010: 94–95](#); [Angold 2017: 70–71](#). Walker 2010: 89 recognizes Mesarites' implication of the incomparability of Islamic with Byzantine art – cultural incompatibility, might one say?— in his description of John's death [after fleeing the palace hall of the Mouchroutas with its painted decorations \(on the coffered ceiling?\) in foreign style](#) by "kinsmen" of John's Persian, viz. Turkish, grandfather, which might be read as a warning against innovation, political or otherwise ([Heisenberg 1907: 45.10–18](#)) ; she does not however discuss the possibility that the Mouchroutas was not a new construction of the Komnenoi, but a re-building of the seventh-century Lausiakos which now disappears in the sources, cf. [Guilland 1969: I, 154–60 and 351–52](#), and, conversely, [Johns 2016: 9–10](#). Interestingly, an earlier re-building of the Lausiakos under Theophilos, apparently to repair the roof, also included coffering, taken from the

## Text

12. Εἶχον μὲν οὖν τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ νεῶ πνευστιῶντας ἡμᾶς ὡς κραιπνῶ πεφθακότας ποδί. καὶ ἀτενίσας ὀρῶ ἄνδρας ξιφήρεις,...τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ πολυοπὸν μιστύλλοντας δίθυρον, προκύπτοντας διὰ τοῦ δίκην ἐκείνου δικτυωτοῦ, παρακύπτοντας διὰ τῶν θυρίδων, κατ' εἰσπομπὴν εἰσορῶντας, τὰς ὠραίας πύλας ἐκείνας τὰς ἀργυρᾶς, ἀνοχλίσαι ταύτας πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἤδη συντιθεμένους βουλήν, λάξ μαιμωμένους καταβαλεῖ ν... ἀλλ' ἐπεσχέθησαν τηνικαῦτα φανέντος μου τῇ συνεργίᾳ τῆς θεομήτορος... «ὦ» γὰρ «ὕμεῖς» ἔλεγον «ἀσεβεῖς, ... τὸν θεῖον ναὸν ἐάσατε ἄσυλον... δέδοικα γὰρ μὴ τῷ Ὁζᾶν ἐκείνῳ τὰ παραπλήσια ὑποσταίητε ἢ τῷ τῆς κλίνης ἀψαμένῳ τῆς θεομήτορος ἀπαιρούσης πρὸς τὰ οὐράνια. κιβωτὸς ἐνταῦθα καὶ νέα Σηλώμ, κιβωτὸς κατ' ἕτερόν τινα τρόπον φέρουσα καὶ δεκάλογον. καὶ προτεθύμημαι, λαὲ ἀγριέλαιε, εἰς καλλιέλαιον ἄρτι μετακεντρίσαι σε καὶ σου λαλήσαι ἐνώπιον οὐ τὴν παρὰ λόγους ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ διπλάσιόν σοι τούτους παραμετρήσαι, ἵνα σου τὸ αἰσχροκερδὲς καὶ κακόσχολον μεταμείψω καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐσεβέστερον μεταπλάσω καὶ μεταγάω πρὸς τὸ εὐνούστερον. μάνθανε τοίνυν τὰς κλήσεις τῆς ἐντεθησαυρισμένης ἐνταυθοῖ δεκαλόγου, καὶ τῇ κατόπιν ἐρχομένη σοι γενεᾷ διηγοῦ τὴν ἐξ ἐμῶν χειλέων ἐφερμηνευομένην θειοτέραν διήγησιν.

13. Πρῶτος εἰς προσκύνησιν ὁ ἀκάνθινος προτίθεται στέφανος, ἔτι χλοάζων καὶ ἐξανθῶν καὶ μένων ἀκήρατος, ὅτι μετέσχε τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἐκ τῆς προσψαύσεως τῆς δεσποτικῆς Χριστοῦ κεφαλῆς εἰς ἔλεγχον τῶν ἔτι μενόντων ἀπίστων Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῷ σταυρῷ μὴ προσκυνούντων Χριστοῦ, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἰδέαν τραχύς, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἀφήν πληκτικός τε καὶ λυπηρός, ἀλλ' εὐανθῆς ὀραθῆναι καὶ εἰ συγχωρητὸν ἀφθῆναι ὀμαλός τε καὶ προσηνέστατος. ἐξανθήματα τούτου οὐχ ὅποια τὰ ἐν τοῖς φραγμοῖς τῶν ἀμπελώνων ἀναφυόμενα καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὰ τὸ τέρμα τοῦ χιτῶνος καὶ τὴν ὄαν ἐπισυνάγοντα ὡς οἱ λωποδυντοῦντες τὰ φώρια, ἃ καὶ λυποῦσιν ἔστιν ὅτε ταῖς ἀμυχαῖς τὴν τοῦ ἐπισυρομένου πέζαν καὶ τοῖς ἀπηγριωμένοις τριβόλοις ἐκείνοις αἰμάσσουσιν, οὕμενον οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' οἷα τὰ τοῦ Λιβάνου ἄνθη τὰ ἐς μικρότατον εἶδος ἔρνου ἀναφυόμενα κατ' ἀναθήλησιν λύγου, κατὰ φυλλαρίων φυήν.

Τίμιος ἦλος, ἰοῦ παντὸς μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὸδε καιροῦ ἀνεπίδεκτος διὰ τὴν ἀνεπιθόλωτον καὶ κακίας ἀπάσης ἀμέθεκτον σάρκα Χριστοῦ, ἦνπερ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πάθους σὺν τρισὶν ἄλλοις διεπερόνησεν. ἦλος οὗτος τῷ μὲν τῆς θεότητος ἐξηνθρακώθη πυρί, τῷ δὲ κυριακῷ

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old palace of Basiliscus, cf. *The Continuation of Theophanes' Chronicle* IV 44, ed. Bekker, 147.10–11 (=ed. Featherstone–Signes, 210.5-8). Further on Mesarites' text: Angold 2015.

αἷματι ἦλος οὗτος ἐστόμωται. τῶν τοῦ παλαμναίου ἐγκάτων ἐντὸς ἦλος οὗτος εἰσέδου καὶ ἀρχεκάκου, καὶ τὸν μὴ θνήσκοντα κατὰ φύσιν ὡς ἄυλον τρόπον ἕτερον ἐθανάτωσε.

Φραγέλλιον σιδηροῦν καὶ αὐτό, κλοιὸς ἐπαυχένιος, ὑπανοιγόμενος μὲν ὅτε κρατεῖται χερσί, συμπτυσσόμενος δ' ὅτε θήκης ἐντὸς ἀνέπαφος συντετήρηται. ὡς κρίκον κάμψας τὸν τράχηλον <τοῦ> ὑψαύχενος σατανᾶ καὶ καταπάτημα θέμενος οὐκ ἀνδράσι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ κόραισιν ἀπαλαῖς.

Ἐντάφιοι σινδόνες Χριστοῦ· αὗται δ' εἰσὶν ἀπὸ λίνου, ὕλης εὐώνου κατὰ τὸ πρόχειρον, ἔτι πνέουσαι μύρα, ὑπερτεροῦσαι φθορᾶς, ὅτι τὸν ἀπερίληπτον νεκρὸν γυμνὸν ἐσμυρνημένον μετὰ τὸ πάθος συνέστειλαν.

Ἐπενδύτης· λέντιον τοῦτο, ὡς ἡ τῶν πολλῶν φησὶ λεκτική, τὸ τεράστιον ἄχρι καὶ ἐς τὸδε καιροῦ συντηρούμενον, ὕδαρόν τε καὶ κάθυγρον τῆς τῶν ἀποστολικῶν ἐκείνων ὠραίων ποδῶν τῶν εὐαγγελισμαμένων εἰρήνην ἐκμαχθείσης ὑγρότητος.

Λόγχη ἢ τὴν κυριακὴν πλευρὰν ἐκκεντήσασα, εἶδος ἀμφικόπου φέρουσα σπάθης, εἰς σταυρικὸν δε σχηματισθεῖσα σημεῖον. εἴ τις οὖν ὀξυδερκέστατος καὶ ὀξυωπέστατος, καὶ ὕφαιμον ὄλην ἐπόψεται, βεβαμμένην ἐκ τοῦ τῆς σωτηρίου πλευρᾶς αἵματός τε καὶ ὕδατος ὑπερφυῶς ἀποβλύσαντος.

Τὸ πορφυροῦν ἐκεῖνο ἱμάτιον, ὃ οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἐκεῖνοι ὡς βασιλέα τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐμπαίζοντες τὸν τῆς δόξης ἐνέδυσαν κύριον, πορφυρῶ θανάτῳ διὰ τῆς τούτου περιβολῆς τὸν ἀθάνατον ὑποβάλλοντες.

Ὁ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ τῷ σωτῆρι Χριστῷ δοθεὶς κάλαμος, ὃ τὴν τοῦ ἀρχεκάκου σατὰν κεφαλὴν κατεάξας τοῦ ὑποδύντος τὸν ὄφιν καὶ εἰς μορφήν ὄφεως ἑαυτὸν σχηματίσαντος, ὅτε τὴν Εὐάν καὶ δι' αὐτῆς τὸν Ἀδάμ ἀπατήσας τοῦ παραδείσου ἐξέβαλεν. ὃ δὲ κάλαμος οὐχ οἶος ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν λεπτὸς καὶ κεκυλινδρωμένος καὶ εὐθραυστος, γόνατα ὑποφαίνων πυκνά, ἀλλὰ παχύς, ἀλλ' εὐμήκης, ἀλλ' ἄκομπος, ἀλλ' ἀγόνατος, παχύς ὅποῖος ἀνδρὸς τινος βριαρόχειρος βραχίων ἐστί· τοιούτῳ γὰρ ὄντι οἱ κατὰ Παλαιστίνην ἀρειμάνιοι ἄνδρες ἀντ' εἰλατίνων χρῶνται δοράτων πρὸς τὰς ἐν πολέμοις μετὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν συμπλοκάς.

Ἴχνη τῶν κυριακῶν ἐκείνων ποδῶν—ταυτί δ' ἐπικέκληνται καὶ σανδάλιδες—δερμάτων ἐκκεκομμένα καὶ τοῖς ὠραίοις ἐκείνοις θείοις ποσὶν εὐφυῶς ἠρμοσμένα, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἰχνῶν ἐκεῖνο μῆκος καὶ πλάτος οὐκ ἐς σπιθαμὴν εὐμήκη ἀνδρὸς τινος εὐπαλάμου ἀποτεινόμενον, ἀλλ' ἐς τὸ σύμμετρον ἀπονεῦον, ὅτι καὶ συμμετρίαν ἠγάπησε καὶ ἀμετρίαν ἐμίσησε. διὰ γοῦν τῶν τοιούτων ἀγίων ἰχνῶν δέδωκεν ἡμῖν ὁ σωτὴρ ἐπάνω ὄφρων καὶ σκορπίων πατεῖν κάπῃ τὸ τοῦ διαβόλου ἅπαν ἐνδύναμον.

Τῆς δεκαλόγου ταύτης τελειωτικὸς ἀριθμὸς λίθος ἐκκεκομμένος τοῦ μνήματος, λίθος τοὺς εἰδωλικοὺς κατεάξας βωμοὺς καὶ συντρίψας καὶ λεπτύνας εἰς χοῦν. λίθος οὗτος ἄλλος

τοῦ Ἰακώβ, τῆς ἐκ νεκρῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μαρτύριον ἀναστάσεως· λίθος οὗτος ἀκρογωνιαίος τοῦ ἀκρογωνιαίου Χριστοῦ, τὰ τῆς θεογνωσίας διεστηκότα συνάψας ἔθνη καὶ εἰς μίαν ἐνώσας τὴν ἀρραγῆ πίστιν καὶ ἀδιάρρηκτον· λίθος εἰς μνήμα χρηματίσας τοῦ θεανθρώπου· πετροβολοῦμεν δὲ διὰ τούτου τὸν νοητὸν Γολιάθ καὶ θανατοῦμεν τὸν θάνατον δι' αὐτοῦ.

14. Ἔχεις, ὦ λαέ, τὴν δεκάλογον, παραστήσω δέ σοι κἀνταῦθα καὶ τὸν νομοδότην αὐτὸν ὡς ἐν πρωτοτύπῳ τετυπωμένον τῷ χειρομάκτρῳ καὶ τῇ εὐθύπτῳ ἐγκεκολαμμένον κεράμῳ ὡς ἐν ἀχειροποιήτῳ τέχνῃ τινὶ γραφικῇ. καὶ τί δεῖ με τῷ λόγῳ μακρηγορεῖν τὰ πολλά; ναὸς οὗτος, τόπος οὗτος Σίναιον ἄλλο, Βηθλεέμ, Ἰορδάνης, Ἱεροσόλυμα, Ναζαρέτ, Βηθανία, Γαλιλαία, Τιβεριάς, νιπτήρ, δεῖπνος, Θαβώριον ὄρος, Πιλάτου πραιτώριον καὶ τόπος Κρανίου μεθερμηνεύμενος Ἑβραῖστί Γολγοθᾶ.

### Translation

12. Thus the forecourt of the church received me, panting on my arrival with hasty foot.<sup>1</sup> Looking about I saw armed men... who were cutting up the openwork of the church's double portal, peering through its lattice, peeping through the openings, gazing upon the entrance, those beautiful silver doors; they had already agreed on the plan of removing them, longing to cast them down underfoot... But they were restrained when I appeared through the cooperation of the Mother of God... "O ye godless," said I..., "leave ye the church undefiled... For I fear lest ye should suffer the same as Uzzah of old, or as he who touched the bier of the Mother of God when she was departing to heaven."<sup>2</sup> In this place is an ark and a new Shiloh;<sup>3</sup> an ark bearing a Decalogue in another wise. I am minded, thou people of the wild olive tree, to graft thee onto a beautiful olive tree<sup>4</sup> and to speak to thee not of the Decalogue through words in church, but to measure out to thee the double of these latter, that I may reform thy sordid greed and frivolity, and remodel thee unto greater piety, and lead thee to greater discernment. Learn then the names of the Decalogue laid up in treasure here, and relate to the generation to follow thee this most holy account declared by my lips.

13. First, the crown of thorns is set out for veneration, still green and efflorescent, ever pure, for it shares in incorruptibility by touching the head of the Lord Christ, in reproach of the Jews who remain without the faith and do not venerate Christ's cross. It is not harsh to the sight, nor prickly and painful to the touch, but is like a flower to grasp and, if it be allowed to touch it, smooth and most pleasant. Its shoots are not like those which grow on the hedges of vineyards, attracting to themselves the edge and border of a cloak—as robbers their booty—

and which sometimes inflict scratches in the instep of one who brushes against them, causing bloody wounds with their wild spikes – not by any means whatsoever! Rather, they are like the flowers of the frankincense-tree, which grow as the smallest shoots, sprouting after the manner of tiny leaves.<sup>5</sup>

The venerable nail, to this very day resistant to any rust on account of the unpolluted flesh of Christ, free of all evil, which with three other nails it pierced at the time of the Passion. This nail was forged with the fire of the Godhead; with the blood of the Lord was this nail hardened; this nail entered the entrails of the murderer and Archenemy and put to death the one who does not die by his nature in other, immaterial wise.<sup>6</sup>

The instrument of scourging, also of iron, a collar to be put round the neck, which opens when taken up in the hands, but folds together when kept untouched in its case: a ring bending the neck<sup>7</sup> of haughty Satan, laying him down to be trampled not only by men but also by delicate maidens.

The burial shrouds of Christ. These are of linen, a cheap material, easy at hand. They smell still of myrrh and have escaped decay, for they were wound about the uncircumscribable bare corpse anointed after the Passion.

The garment, that prodigious cloth, as the common speech calls it, which is preserved even to the present day wet and soaked in the moisture wiped from the beautiful apostolic feet of those who preached the gospel of peace.<sup>8</sup>

The lance that pierced the Lord's side, bearing the form of a double-edged sword, fashioned in the sign of a cross. Whoever is sharp of sight and observation will see that it is all suffused in blood, dipped in the blood and water that sprang from the side of the Savior.<sup>9</sup>

That purple cloak, which the impious mockingly put upon the Lord of glory as king of the Jews, submitting the immortal one to purple death<sup>10</sup> through the putting on of this cloak.

The reed put in the right hand of Christ the Savior which shattered the head of the Archenemy Satan, who, refashioning himself, had assumed the form of a serpent when he deceived Eve and, through her, Adam, and cast them out of paradise. This reed is not fine and rounded and fragile, with many knots, as in our lands, but rather, thick and broad, without knots, thick as a strong man's arm; for the frenzied men of Palestine use this instead of pine spears in struggles with the enemy in war.

The soles of the Lord's feet – these are also called sandals – cut from leather and fitted in shapely wise to those beautiful divine feet. The length and width of these soles reaches not even the span of a large man's hand, but inclines to the moderate, for He loved moderation

and hated excess. Through these holy soles, then, has the Savior granted us to tread on serpents and scorpions and all the might of the devil.<sup>11</sup>

The final item of this Decalogue is a stone cut out of the tomb: stone that shattered and broke and reduced to dust the altars of the idols. This is another stone of Jacob,<sup>12</sup> a witness to Christ's resurrection from the dead. This stone is the cornerstone of the cornerstone Christ<sup>13</sup> who gathered together the nations separated from the knowledge of God and united them in one faith unbreakable and indivisible: stone become memorial of the God-Man; through it we stone the Goliath of the spirit, through it we put death to death.

14. Thus hast thou, oh people, the Decalogue, but I shall also present here the Lawgiver himself, depicted as in prototype on the towel and on the fragile tile, as though by art and drawing not made by human hand.<sup>14</sup> What need is there to prolong my speech? This church is another Sinai, Bethlehem, Jordan, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Bethany, Galilee, Tiberias, font, supper, Mount Tabor, praetorium of Pilate and place of the skull, called in Hebrew Golgotha..."

### Commentary

1. Entering the palace at the building called the Skyla, Mesarites made his way through the hall of the Ioustinianos where he saw John the Fat sitting on the throne amidst great tumult and asked him, in vain, to send soldiers to guard the church of the Pharos; whereupon Mesarites hastened to the church.<sup>5</sup>

2. Uzzah touched the Ark of the Covenant and was stricken down by God; the hands of a Jewish priest who touched the bier of the Theotokos were severed by an angel.<sup>6</sup>

3. Cf. Jos. 18:1.

4. Cf. Rom. 11:17.

5. The crown of thorns, mentioned amongst the relics in the church of Mount Zion in Jerusalem in the fifth century, was apparently in the palace in Constantinople by 985. Perhaps suspended for display on a chain in the church of the Pharos, as were the *Mandylion* and *Keramion* (below n. 14), the crown was bought by Louis IX from his cousin Baldwin II, Latin

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<sup>5</sup> Heisenberg 1907: 27.23–28.37. The exact location of these buildings on the lower terraces of the palace beside the Sea of Marmara is unknown. For a sketch plan, see Berger 2013: 7.

<sup>6</sup>cf. 2Reg. 6:6–7; Symeon Metaphrastes, *Homily on Mary*, col. 559C.

emperor of Constantinople, and arrived in France in 1239. It was kept in the Sainte-Chappelle until the Revolution, and is now in the treasury of Notre-Dame de Paris.<sup>7</sup>

6. Nails from the cross, as well as the crown of thorns, the lance, the purple cloak, the reed and the sandals are also mentioned by Anthony of Novgorod in 1200.<sup>8</sup>

7. Cf. Is 58:5.

8. Cf. Rom. 10:15.

9. Klein maintains that the lance was brought to Constantinople in 629 (the same year as the relic of the True Cross, also kept later in the church of the Pharos).<sup>9</sup>

10. Cf. e.g. Hom., Il. 5.83.

11. Cf. Lc. 10:19.

12. Cf. Gen. 28:11.

13. Cf. Eph. 2:20.

14. The *Mandylion* and the *Keramion*, brought to Constantinople in 944 and 968 respectively, are described by Robert de Clari in 1204 as suspended on silver chains in the middle of the church of the Pharos.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Klein 2015: 204 and 209.

<sup>8</sup> See Majeska, [I.5.3 \(p. ###\)](#) in this volume; cf. Majeska 2003: 387–97.

<sup>9</sup> Klein 2015: 204.

<sup>10</sup> Klein 2015: 202 and n. 6. See also the contribution of R. Ceulemans, [I.6.7](#) in this volume.

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