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1992

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SILK, POWER AND DIPLOMACY IN BYZANTIUM

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Introduction

In Byzantium between the fourth and the twelfth century, a hierarchy of silken splendour was established across social, artistic, religious, economic and political boundaries. On one level silk was a decorative fabric socially exploited for its aesthetic qualities. On another level it was prized as a fabric fit for furnishing the House of God. Above all though, the Imperial house was intent to raise what was essentially a valuable economic asset to the heights of a powerful political weapon. Consequently silk was made to serve both as the prime Imperial ceremonial fabric and as the diplomatic cloth 'par excellence'.¹ The present paper seeks to explore two questions in this context:

How and why did silk assume such a strongly political role in Byzantium?

What were the foreign ramifications of Byzantium's silken diplomacy?

Silk as a power base

Silk was established as a power base in Byzantium between the fourth and the twelfth century under three umbrellas:

- It was granted an elevated status through Imperial legislation and through its association with Imperial murex purple dyes.²
- Concomitantly it was rendered indispensable to Imperial Ceremonial.³
- It was featured in domestic and in foreign policy as a tool for the implementation of Imperial policy.⁴

Imperial silk legislation

Imperial silk legislation survives in two forms: Imperial decrees (embodied in the Theodosian and the Justinianic Codes, in a Novel of Leo the Wise and in the Basilics)⁵ and in economic legislation (as found in the Book of the Prefect).⁶ The Decrees were concerned first to establish and then to maintain an Imperial monopoly over the production of silks intended for court consumption and principal amongst these were the murex dyed purple silks.⁷ From the fourth to the tenth century Imperial silks and purples appear to have been manufactured only in Imperial workshops but in the tenth century some were manufactured under strict control by non-Imperial silk guilds in Constantinople. The Book of the Prefect, which details non Imperial silk guild regulations, indicates that seven categories of Imperial silk garments or purples were in non-Imperial production.⁸ These included whole silk garments and petticoats of Imperial cut, and exclusive Imperial red or blue purples of different strengths, as well as some peach and other green tinted purple silk shades. These purple dyes were produced through labour intensive and costly processing of the light sensitive, purple yielding juices from the glands of murex sea snails. The Imperial monopoly over manufacture and use of the murex purple silks in particular, immediately rendered Imperial silk a political presence. Leo VI (d. 912) was well aware that murex purples had a high political profile and that they had long since become synonymous with Imperial authority and power. Leo VI stated (Novel 80):

'I do not understand why the Emperors, my predecessors, who dressed in purple, were induced to legislate to forbid any piece of purple material from figuring as an article of commerce, or prohibit the purchase and sale thereof. To prevent the trade in a whole piece of the fabric would not be a vain matter for legislation; but since scraps and clippings cannot be of practical use or advantage to buyers and sellers, what honest purpose, and exempt from jealousy of their subjects can have prompted the

idea of the legislators: and how can it be prejudicial or derogatory of the Imperial rank? Since we do not approve of such an idea, we ordain that scraps and clippings, to which our subjects attach distinction and importance, and which they can use for any purpose not forbidden by law, may be bought and sold. Besides other benefits which the Emperor confers upon his subjects he must not be envious of their luxuries.⁹

Imperial silk ceremonial

Certainly, elaborate silk costume played an essential part in Imperial court ceremonial. In the Book of Ceremonies of the tenth century, the Emperor and his consort were described in precious long mantles open on one side accompanied by lavishly decorated, lengthy stoles.¹⁰ Detailed descriptions of individual Emperors also survive. For example, Constantine Manasses described Emperor Nicephoros III (1078-1081) 'mantled in garments glittering with gold and dressed in gold woven pearl bearing cloth, brilliant with purple-dyed blossoms and gold'.¹¹ Nicetas Choniates (1155-1215) in 1176 described how the Emperor 'Manuel I (1143-1180) removed his surcoat (yellowish) embroidered with purple and gold and presented it to Gabras, envoy of the Turkish sultan'.¹² The same author described the Emperor Andronikos (1182/3-1185) as the 'King of dandies', who wore 'a violet coloured garment of Iberian weave, open at the sides and reaching down the knees and buttocks and covering the elbows'. Choniates amusingly confided that this particular individual was titillated by 'fine long robes and especially those that fall down over the buttocks and thighs and are slit and appear to be woven on the body'.¹³ A painted miniature portrait of Emperor Alexius V (Vienna Nat. Libr. Cod. Hist. gr. 53) shows the ruler around 1204 A.D., wearing a long purple robe with woven griffin medallion design and broad gold borders on hems and sleeves.¹⁴

Whilst ceremonial silk and purples in particular expressed Imperial prowess, a vast array of lesser silken cloaks and tunics were required to garb Imperial court officials. Various ranks of court dignitaries were distinguished one from the other through the use of differently coloured silk uniforms, first recorded in detail by Pseudo-Codinus in the fourteenth century.¹⁵ In addition, the tenth century Book of Ceremonies described many short court tunics called 'skaramangia'. The most elaborate of them were patterned with lions, eagles, or griffins and these designs can be paralleled on Byzantine silks datable tenth to eleventh century, which reached the Latin West.¹⁶ These include the Eagle silks of Auxerre and Brixen and the Lion silk of Cologne.¹⁷ The Griffin silk of Sitten is dyed with murex purple, which suggests that this was a piece originally destined for Imperial Byzantine use.¹⁸ The Book of Ceremonies in chapter 46, also listed elaborate costumes worn by high ecclesiastics and important civil dignitaries during religious ceremonies, including white, purple and gold tunics and mantles, and gold breast plates.¹⁹

Silk was featured equally prominently at the Byzantine court on a purely domestic and on a manifestly political front. Silk was considered appropriate for the cradle of the new born Imperial infant just as silk bed sheets were the order of the day for the Emperor engaged on military campaign.²⁰ Silk cloths covered trolleys used to transport immensely heavy fruit filled gold vessels to Imperial banquet tables in the same way as silks were used to cover a supporting raised platform and the Imperial throne, itself.²¹ Palatial silk curtains certainly were described by Pseudo-Codinus in the fourteenth century.²²

Silk on the battlefield

So integral was silk to Imperial living and so closely was it bound to the idea of Imperial power, it was inevitable that it too, should appear with the Imperial retinue upon the battlefield. Silk standards were designed to rally the troops, and these as well as many other silks were transported into the battle zone as part of the Imperial Baggage train, carried in special purple leather pouches secured with metal fastenings.²³ The Imperial workshop was responsible for the supply of these valuable silks, not least for special 'skaramangia', or tunics, some decorated with woven eagles, which were customarily awarded by the Emperor to his generals in honour of outstanding service rendered on the battle field.

The Baggage Train account appended to the tenth century Book of Ceremonies indicated that each category of officer had a specific type and cut of tunic and that these were more or less impressively festooned

according to rank. The tunics with eagles were probably designed to be worn with the silk leggings woven with eagle motifs.²⁴ There were also hornet designs on second quality leggings.²⁵ Additionally, there were tunics and mantles with broad or with narrower stripes and others patterned with what was termed a 'sea design'.²⁶ Hoods and belts were dyed with three categories of superior purple dye as well as with cheaper purples, probably for the lower ranks.²⁷ The Byzantine army must have been a splendid sight in its silken finery, and it is interesting to note that Arab armies too, fought wearing silk.²⁸

A representation of Byzantine military uniform is found on a fresco of the second half of the twelfth century at the Anargyroi church in Kastoria.²⁹ Here two military saints are shown side by side. The left hand side figure wears a cloak above a coat of mail and a short tunic. He has a pair of leggings with diamond lattice design and ankle boots. The right hand side figure wears a long tunic beneath the shorter tunic covering his leggings. This shorter garment is sumptuously patterned with a silk like medallion design. Large decorative borders ornament the upper sleeves, the lower hem and the front of the skirt, which brings to mind a Byzantine saying recorded by Theophanes, 'A robe is revealed in advance by its border'.³⁰ The use of borders on the military uniforms described in the Baggage Train account and the military borders shown on the fresco suggest that such ornaments could have had special significance for distinguishing military rank.

The Baggage Train account illustrates to just what an extent Imperial silken ceremonial was entrenched upon the battlefield.

Silken diplomacy

Silken Imperial ceremonial and silken diplomacy were skilfully merged into one as Palace ceremonial was extended to encompass elaborate political festivals carefully staged in Constantinople. Such occasions provided an opportunity for the finest Imperial silks, resplendent of Imperial power, to be paraded before the citizens of Constantinople and before the eyes of visiting foreign dignitaries. Of the celebrations that followed the victory of the Emperor Manuel I over the Serbs and the Hungarians, Choniates wrote: 'the Emperor led a most splendid procession through the streets of the city (Constantinople). Decked out in magnificent garments far beyond the fortune of captives, the newly captive Hungarians and the captured Serbs enhanced the procession's grandeur. The Emperor provided these adornments so that the victory might appear most glorious and wondrous to citizens and to foreigners alike, for these conquered men were of noble birth and worthy of admiration'.³¹ 'Every purple-bordered and gold speckled cloth' was hung out to mark the return of the Emperor to Constantinople.³² Choniates also described how the same Emperor entered Constantinople with the Sultan. There he proclaimed a magnificent triumph 'resplendent with exquisite and precious robes and diverse adornment cunningly wrought'.³³

It is relevant to note, that the route taken by Emperor Basil I (867-886), from the Golden Gate to the Chalke, following his military victories in Tephrike and in Germanikeia, was decorated with silk hangings and skaramangia, and strewn with flowers by the Eparch of the City of Constantinople: the official, amongst other things, in control of non-Imperial silk guilds of the capital.³⁴ The Emperor entered the capital wearing a skaramangion, which he exchanged for a gold breasted military tunic decorated with pearls. This was subsequently changed for a long ceremonial Imperial tunic with elaborate borders, worn together with a gold embroidered mantle. Thus dressed the Emperor presided over a magnificent feast.³⁵

Silks as diplomatic gifts

Whilst silks were fully exploited for political ends in Byzantine as an integral element of domestic policy, in the context of foreign relations, they also served as valuable, light and easily transportable diplomatic gifts. Byzantine silk were particularly sought after by Islamic courts envious of Byzantine silken magnificence, and Byzantine court ceremonial is known to have had a great influence on the Fatimid court.³⁶ Even more significantly, Byzantine silks were coveted by Latin rulers, who themselves, were totally bereft of any native silk weaving industry before the twelfth century.

At least three different categories of silken diplomacy prompted the despatch of Byzantine textiles:

- Diplomacy designed to stave off imminent military attack

- Diplomacy intended to establish or to renew a political alliance
- Diplomacy engendered so that economic favours could be rendered in return for long term military or naval assistance

Silken diplomacy designed to stave off attack or intended as part of peace treaty negotiations is especially apparent in Byzantium's dealings with the Arabs. Examples include 200 Imperial silk costumes that Basil II sent to Abud al Daulah in 983 and the gift of fifty silk covered chests plus one thousand silk costumes sent by Constantine IX to Caliph Al Mustensir in 1045.³⁷

It was natural that in the face of Arab, Lombard and later Turkish threats to different parts of her Empire including southern Italian possessions, Byzantium was ever anxious to maintain moral allies in the Latin West. Towards this end, no less than sixteen marriages between Byzantium and the West were either negotiated or arranged between the eighth and the twelfth century.³⁸ The survival up to the present day, of a sizeable number of Imperial Byzantine silks in West European Church treasuries, suggests that diplomatic silks were sent by Byzantium to the West in connection with at least some of these negotiations. Imperial Byzantine silks that survive include:

- a. The Mozac Hunter silk.³⁹
- b. The inscribed, so-called 'Nature Goddess' silk at Durham Cathedral.⁴⁰
- c. A series of inscribed Rhenish Lion silks. (Berlin, Schloss Köpenick Museum; Cologne, Diocesan Museum; Crefeld, formerly Kunstgewerbe Museum (lost)/Düsseldorf Kunstgewerbemuseum/Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg Museum, and two documented silks once at Auxerre and Cr  s  py St. Arnoul).⁴¹
- d. The Gunther tapestry in Bamberg.⁴²
- e. The inscribed Aachen Elephant silk.⁴³

The Mozac Hunter silk now at the textile museum of Lyons shows a mounted Imperial Byzantine Emperor dressed in elaborate ceremonial costume. The silk was taken from the relics of St. Austremoine at Mozac in the nineteenth century, from where it passed to the museum and it has been plausibly identified with a silk donated to the saint's relics by Pepin in 764. It may be suggested that the silk arrived as a diplomatic gift sometime during protracted negotiations between the Byzantine Emperor Constantine V and Pepin concerning the marriage of the son of the Byzantine ruler and Pepin's daughter. The reason behind the proposed alliance lay in Byzantium's anxiety over the Lombard threat in southern Italy. Pepin had been approached for support both by the Papacy and by Byzantium but in spite of Byzantium's silken diplomacy he lent his favour to the Papacy.⁴⁴

Another diplomatic silk that has survived is the so-called 'Nature -Goddess' silk at Durham Cathedral treasury. This bears an illegible Greek inscription, which may originally have included the name of the Emperor under whom the silk was woven. The design on the silk is partly worn away but it has been suggested that what was intended was a 'Nature goddess' theme of a type known in Byzantium in the eighth to ninth century, the period the silk was woven. The Durham silk served to shroud the seventh century relics of St. Cuthbert and it could have been one of the two Greek cloths offered by King Edmund for the relics in 944.⁴⁵ The reason for a tenth century Anglo-Byzantine diplomatic alliance is unclear but Anglo-Saxon soldiers were known to have fought in the Byzantine army as mercenaries.

A series of two documented and of five extant Lion silks with Imperial inscriptions, appear to have served as a standard form of diplomatic gift that accompanied marriage negotiations with the Latin West.⁴⁶ The Lion silks of Cologne, D  sseldorf and Berlin together with lost fragments once in Krefeld, belong to the reign of Basil II and Constantine VIII (976-1025). The Lion silk at Schloss K  penick from Siegburg was woven under Romanos and Christophorous his son between 921-923. Documented Lion silks once at Auxerre and at Cr  s  py St. Arnoul, suggest that this type of diplomatic silk was in production earlier also. In the light of the many marriages negotiated and arranged between Byzantium and the West, there would have been many opportunities for these silks to reach the West. They have been preserved around the relics of important saints and it is clear they were donated by Latin Emperors for use in this way.

Beckwith plausibly suggested that a large silk tapestry taken from the grave of Bishop Gunther (d. 1065) in Bamberg, depicted the triumphal entry of the Emperor Basil II into Athens and Constantinople after his

victory over the Bulgars in 1017. This silk was a diplomatic gift sent from the Byzantine Emperor Constantine X (1059-1067) to the German Emperor Henry IV (1056-1106). The envoy Gunther died on the return journey from a combined pilgrimage and diplomatic mission to the Holy Land and Constantinople and the silk was used to shroud his body upon burial. The silk would have been around fifty years old when it was sent as a diplomatic gift from Byzantium, but the triumphal theme would still no doubt, have created the desired impression in the West.⁴⁷

The Aachen Elephant silk was removed from the relics of the Emperor Charlemagne (d. 814) in the nineteenth century, but in the last years it has been returned to the relics within the mediaeval shrine of Charlemagne, completed in 1215.⁴⁸ The silk bears an Imperial Greek inscription indicating that it was woven under Michael a eunuch and personal guard of the Emperor, who was also head of the palace bureau of the Eidikon, which amongst other things served to store imperial silks. The head of the weaving factory at Zeuxippos in Constantinople under whom the piece was produced was named Peter.⁴⁹

The Aachen Elephant fabric cannot be dated through the indiction number intended on the silk, because the areas where this should have twice appeared have worn off. However, Michael the Eidikos has been identified with an official Michael bearing the same titles as those on the silk, who is known from a lead seal datable to the first half of the eleventh century. Stylistically and technically the silk, a paired main warp twill, belongs into the eleventh century. It is clear that it cannot have been buried with Charlemagne but it may have been presented by Frederick I in 1165 on the canonisation of Charlemagne, or by Frederick II on completion of the shrine of Charlemagne in 1215. An eleventh century dating would preclude its presentation by the Emperor Otto III at the recognition of the relics of Charlemagne that took place in the year 1000. When the silk arrived in the West is open to speculation but it clearly belongs with the series of inscribed Lion silks that acted as a channel for diplomatic relationships between Byzantium and the West. Particularly after the marriage of Theophanou to Otto II in 972, Byzantine influence was at its height at the Latin court.⁵⁰

Silk as part of Byzantine domestic and foreign policy

The greater foreign demand for Byzantine silks became, the more expedient it was for Byzantium to further tighten controls on export of her silks. By controlling production and by limiting supply as demonstrated in certain regulations of the Book of the Prefect, she also achieved two further important goals:

- she held in check the silk guilds, who in common with other guilds of the capital, by the eleventh century were to show marked signs of political activity;
- she was able to offer silk trade concessions to foreign powers in exchange for special alliances or for military and naval aid.

In the context of the first point, Hendy has demonstrated the political power of the Constantinopolitan guilds by the eleventh century, a strength which had been built up through the distribution of honours and offices to the mercantile classes by the Byzantine Emperors of the second quarter of the eleventh century. In fact, so powerful a political voice did these classes gain that Hendy suggested they were actually responsible for the deposition of the Emperors Michael V (1041-42), Michael VI (1056-1057) and Michael VII (1071-1078), between the fourth and the seventh decades of the eleventh century.⁵¹

Regarding the second point, the exploitation of silk concessions for political gain, Byzantium's policy was strongly enforced on several fronts. Between 907 and 971 three special silk trade alliances were cemented with Russia against a background of political intercourse that culminated in the conversion of Russia to Byzantine Orthodoxy and by 989 in the marriage of Vladimir of Russia to Anna the sister of the Byzantine Emperor Basil II.⁵²

The Russian trade agreements meant that Russians were specially favoured above other foreigners; they alone could purchase even the most valuable of Byzantine silks costing 50 nomismata, a high price at a date when a good horse might fetch just twelve nomismata. These silks had to bear an Imperial stamp. It is interesting that the Russians also claimed two pieces of silk for any slaves lost on Byzantine territory and that the Russians in 907-911 demanded Byzantine silk sails for their ships as part of the trade agreement negotiations.⁵³

Whilst enjoying these trade privileges Russia was fighting to defend Byzantine interests. In 960-61 Russian infantry soldiers fought for Byzantium in the expedition mounted against Crete and most crucial of all, in 988 Vladimir of Kiev was instrumental in quelling an uprising in Asia Minor, which threatened to depose the Byzantine Emperor Basil II, himself.⁵⁴ Indeed, this was the event which procured for Vladimir a Byzantine princess 'born in the purple', that is of true Imperial stock.

Comparable economic cum political ties were established with Italy. An initial ninth century silk trade agreement between Byzantium and Venice came to nothing but by the tenth century Venice enjoyed privileged silk trade with Byzantium in exchange for naval aid to defend Byzantine southern Italian territory.⁵⁵ In 992, under the Byzantine Emperor Basil II (976-1025), the Venetian Doge procured tax reductions for the Venetian merchant marine in Byzantine waters, in exchange for the transport of Byzantine troops to southern Italy.⁵⁶ Under the Byzantine Emperor Alexius I (1081-1118) the Venetian fleet was called out to engage the Norman fleet off Durazzo but whilst the Venetian fleet was successful at sea, unfortunately the Byzantine army was defeated on land. Nevertheless, Venice received lavish trade concessions for her services: she was exempted from all import, export, sales and purchase taxes in trade transactions with Byzantium and so gained impressive trading advantages over her rivals, Amalfi, Pisa and Genoa.⁵⁷ By the twelfth century in common with these states Venice had her own trading quarters in Constantinople, itself. Military as well as naval assistance appears to have been offered to Byzantium by Venice and certainly, the envoy Liudprand in the tenth century found Venetian mercenaries in the Byzantine army.⁵⁸

On a different note, it was Liudprand whilst on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople, who tried unsuccessfully to export forbidden categories of Byzantine purple silks. It may well be that some foreign diplomatic expenses were covered through gifts of Imperial Byzantine silk, and it may be in this context that Liudprand felt he should not have been subject to usual export controls.⁵⁹ However, he was so scathing about the Byzantine court in general, that his remark concerning Venetian merchants freely carrying prohibited Byzantine silks for sale in the West, should be taken with a pinch of salt. In fact, the tightest security was imposed on the export of such silks from Constantinople in the tenth century Book of the Prefect. In the Carolingian period some imported silks definitely were available at fairs in Pavia.⁶⁰ An early eleventh century decree, probably issued under the Latin Emperor Henry II (1002-1024), limited Venice to selling precious cloths at special fairs in Pavia, and in two other as yet unrecognised centres in the West.⁶¹

Most notable amongst Byzantium's economic/political silk dealings with the Arabs were the trade concessions granted to Syrian silk merchants in the tenth century in exchange for Syrian raw silk and garments. All the Syrian silk had to be purchased whatever its quality, and so short was the supply of raw silk in Constantinople that the ban had to be lifted on the sale of Byzantine silks to the Arabs outside Trebizond.⁶² The major political reason for cementing Byzantine/Syrian relationships was that Byzantium was particularly interested in retaining a presence in Aleppo; a buffer state between Byzantium and hostile Islamic forces. The Byzantine occupation of parts of northern Syria in the tenth century was accompanied by a trade treaty with the Arabs that ensured Byzantium the silk trade taxes collected at Aleppo.⁶³

Conclusion

To summarise, it can be said that silk was consciously built into the fabric of the Byzantine Empire between the fourth and the twelfth century and that economic silk policy came increasingly to be closely allied to political needs during this period. Silken Imperial ceremonial appears to have set the tone for a diplomacy characterised by the wide distribution of silken tribute textiles and diplomatic gifts, but only by understanding the very special association of Byzantine silk with Imperial authority, can the full significance of such textiles be appreciated. These silks represented far more than valuable diplomatic gifts; they were used as political weapons and served as the prime symbol of Imperial Byzantine power. Above all, and most significantly for Byzantium, as economics and politics became inextricably linked, Byzantine silks offered an important means of attracting allies in Byzantium's fight to maintain her territorial boundaries. Inevitably the ramifications of Byzantine silken diplomacy were felt far and wide, but nowhere was the effect more continuously documented than in the Latin West. It is no co-incidence that over one thousand Byzantine silks survive to this day in the treasuries of West European churches. These silks stand both as a symbol of Byzantine silken diplomacy and

as a tribute to her truly magnificent mediaeval silk industry: an industry which either directly or indirectly touched upon the lives of all her citizens.

FOOTNOTES

1. Also discussed in 'Silken Diplomacy', a paper read at the *Spring Symposium of the International Byzantine Congress*, Cambridge University, Cambridge 1990, and at present under publication within a volume of Congress Proceedings.
2. For the historical background to the use of murex purples consult, M. Reinhold, The history of purple as a status symbol in antiquity. *Collection Latomus*. 116 (1970) 50ff. Cf. G. Steigererwald, 'Das Kaiserliche Purpurprivileg in spätrömischer und frühbyzantinischer Zeit'. *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 33 (1990).
3. Byzantine ceremonial is best exemplified in I. I. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogenitui imperatoris, De Caerimoniis aulae Byzantinae*. Bonn 1829-31.
4. In her dealings with Bulgaria, Russia, Venice, Pisa, Genoa, Amalfi, the mediaeval German Empire and the Islamic Mediterranean in particular, Byzantium made extensive use of silken diplomacy and of silk trade concessions. See further in the present paper 'Silk as part of domestic and foreign policy' with bibliographical references.
5. For the Theodosian Code see, C. Pharr, in: *The Corpus of Roman Law*. I. Princeton 1952, 10.21.3; 10.20.17; 7.1.7; 8.1.13; 8.7.4, 8-9, 16; 12.1.70. For the Justinianic Code see P. Krüger, P. Mommsen, T. Schoell, G. Kroll, *Codex Justinianus*. Berlin 1954, IV.40.1. A relevant Novel of Leo the Wise was published in P. Noailles and H. Dain, *Les Nouvelles de Léon VI le sage*. Paris 1944, 272-4. The Basilics are published in H. J. Scheltema, N. Wal, P. Holwerda, *Basilika*, Gröningen 1955-1960, see especially, III, 923, BXIX, I, 82.
6. Most recently published by J. Koder, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*. CFHB 33. Wien 1991.
7. Amongst the publications on murex there is an interesting piece by I. Ziderman, 'Purple dyes made from shellfish in antiquity'. *Review of progress in Coloration and related topics*. 16 (1986) 46-52. Consider also, G. W. Taylor, 'Reds and purples: from the classical world to pre-conquest Britain', in: *Textiles in Northern Archaeology*, P. Walton, J. P. Wild ed., (NESAT II. Textile Symposium York 6-9 May 1987). London 1990, 37-46. Murex purples and other Byzantine dyes are discussed in 'Introduction to Byzantine dyes', chapter 3, in a *History of the Byzantine Silk Industry* by the present author, under publication with the Byzantine Institute, the University of Vienna.
8. See note 6 above. Regulations 4.1; 8.2; 8.4.
9. Noailles and Dain cited in note 5 above.
10. E. Manara, 'Gli abiti di corte dal De Cerimonniis', in: *Aspetti problemi degli studi sci tessili antichi*, ed. G. Chesne, D. Griffio. Firenze 1981, 107-115, on page 107-108.
11. J. Bekker, *Constantine Manesses. Brevarium Historiae*. Bonn 1837, 285.
12. J. L. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates Historia*. CFHB, 11/I, 11/2, Berlin, New-York 1975, 189.
13. Ibid. 139.
14. A. Grabar, *Byzantium*. London 1966, 21 plate 2.
15. On the uniforms of different dignitaries see, *Pseudo Codinus*, ed. J. Verpeaux. Paris 1966, 141-66.
16. Different kinds of ceremonial tunics were discussed by J. Ebersolt, 'Les vêtements impériaux dans le cérémonial', in: *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines*. Paris 1951, part 2, chapter 6, 50-69, with preface by A. Grabar.
17. A. Muthesius, *History of the Byzantine Silk Industry*, Byzantine Institute, University of Vienna (forthcoming), chapter 5, section 2 and catalogue numbers M61, M62, for the Auxerre and the Brixen Eagle silks. For the Cologne Lion silk see chapter 4 and catalogue number M54.
18. Ibid. chapter 5 section 3 and catalogue number M48. The Sion Griffin silk was earlier published in detail by B. Schmedding, *Mittelalterliche Textilien in Kirchen und Klöstern der Schweiz*. Bern 1978, 251.
19. See reference in note 10 above.
20. J. F. Haldon, 'Constantine Porphyrogenitus. Three Treatises on Imperial Military Expeditions'. *C.F.H.B.* 28, Wien 1990, 261.
21. The silk trolley covers were reported by the western envoy Liudprand of Cremona. See J. Becker, *Liudprand*

- Antapodosis*. Hannover-Leipzig 1915, chapter 6, 5.8.
22. Verpeaux, *Pseudo Codinus*, 278, lines 14-30; 279 lines 1-9.
 23. Haldon, *Expeditions*, 300-301, 247, 256.
 24. Ibid. 239.
 25. Ibid. 240-241.
 26. Ibid. 241.
 27. Ibid. 243-244.
 28. M. M. Ahsan, *Social Life under the Abbasids*, London 1979, 60 and notes 274, 276.
 29. S. Pelekanidis, M. Chatzidakis, *Kastoria*, Athens 1984, 22-45, plate 33 lower right.
 30. C. de Boor, *Theophanis Chronographia*. Leipzig 1883, 1885; Hildesheim 1963 reprint, 492.
 31. Van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates*, 93.
 32. Ibid. 157.
 33. Ibid. 119.
 34. Haldon, *Expeditions*, 724ff..
 35. Two important early works on the subject of Byzantine ceremonial are: A. Alföldi, 'Die Aufgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhof', in: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung* 49-50 (1934-35) and O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*. Jena 1938.
 36. M. Canard, Le ceremonial fatimite et le ceremonial byzantin. *Byzantion* 21/2 (1951) 355-420.
 37. M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy*. Cambridge 1985, 269.
 38. For diplomacy between Byzantium and the West see, T. C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu' aux Croisades (407-1096)*. Athens 1980.
 39. Muthesius, *Silk Industry*, chapter 7 section 2 and catalogue number M34.
 40. Ibid. chapter 6 and catalogue number M42.
 41. Ibid. chapter 4 section 1 and catalogue numbers M52, M53, M54.
 42. Ibid. chapter 11 and catalogue number M90.
 43. Ibid. chapter 4 section 2 and catalogue number M58.
 44. See reference in note 1 above.
 45. C. Higgins, 'Some new thoughts on the Nature Goddess silk' and H. Granger-Taylor, 'The inscription on the Nature Goddess silk' both in: *St. Cuthbert, His Cult and his Community to 1200*, G. Bonner, D. Rollason, C. Stancliffe ed. Woodbridge 1989, 329-338 and 339-342 respectively.
Further, H. Granger-Taylor, 'The earth and the ocean silk from the tomb of St. Cuthbert at Durham, in: *Ancient and medieval textiles. Studies in honour of Donald King*, H. Granger-Taylor, L. Monnas ed., *Textile History* 20/2 (1989) 151-166.
 46. Earlier published as a group in A. Muthesius, 'A practical approach to Byzantine silk weaving'. *Jahrbuch des Österreichischen Byzantinistik* 34 (1984) 143-161.
 47. Muthesius, *Silk Industry*, chapter 4 and note 42.
 48. See E. Grimme, 'Der Aachener Domschatz'. *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 42 (1972) 66-69, no. 44 for the shrine of Charlemagne.
 49. For full discussion of the titles see Muthesius cited in note 46 above, 251-252 with notes 47, 48, and 49.
 50. To celebrate the millenium of the death of Theophanou in 1991 two important publications appeared. These were A. von Euw, G. Sporbeck ed., *Vor dem Jahr 1000, Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanou*. Köln 1991, and A. von Euw, P. Schreiner ed., *Kaiserin Theophanuou, Begegnung des Ostens und Westens um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends*, I, II, Köln 1991. In addition there are under publication the Proceedings of an international conference held in Köln and in Gandersheim on the theme of *Theophanou, Byzanz und Abendland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert*, (held under the auspices of the Greek-German Initiative centred in Würzburg and presided over by Professor E. Konstantinou). In these Proceedings, the present author's paper is entitled, 'The role of Byzantine silks in the Ottonian Empire'.
 51. Hendy, *Monetary economy*, 584-585.

52. D. Obolensky, 'Aux sources du Christianisme Russe' in: *Mille Ans de Christianisme Russe 988-1988. Actes du Colloque International de l'Université*. (Paris X-Nanterre, 20-23 Jan. 1988) Paris 1989, 9-15.
53. For Russian-Byzantine trade agreements consult, S.H. Cross, O. P. Sherbowitz, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*. Cambridge Mass. 1953. Silk sails are mentioned on 65 under no. 32. On Byzantine silks in trade in general see, A. Muthesius, 'The impact of the Mediterranean silk trade on western Europe before 1200 A.D.' in: *Textiles in Trade, Proceedings of the Textile Society of America Biennial Symposium*. (Washington, Sept. 14-16, 1990). Washington 1991.
54. Obolensky, cited in note 52 above, 12ff.
55. See D. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice*. Cambridge 1988 and also, G. W. Day, *Genoa's response to Byzantium 1155-1204*. Illinois University 1988.
56. For Basil II's dealings with Venice see Nicol, cited in note above, 39-40, 42-48, 50-51, 55, 186, 423.
57. Byzantine-Italian trade relations were fully discussed in R. J. Lilic, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommonen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi (1081-1204)*. Amsterdam 1984.
58. See note 21 above for Liudprand. Also see W. Heyd, *Histoire du Commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*. Leipzig 1936, 93-125, esp. 112 and note 2, 114-115 and 115 notes 2-3.
59. Liudprand has been translated in F. A. Wright, *The works of Liudprand of Cremona*. London 1930. For Liudprand's difficulties see chapter LIV, 267ff. especially.
60. For foreign silks imported into Carolingian Pavia see, L. Thorpe ed, *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer. Two lives of Charlemagne*. Bungay 1969, 165-167.
61. Heyd, cited in note 58 above, 116 and note 2.
62. The Syrian silks are detailed in the Book of the Prefect, see Koder cited in note 6 above, 94-97.
63. W. A. Farag, 'The Aleppo question'. *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 14 (1990) 44-60.

Acknowledgements

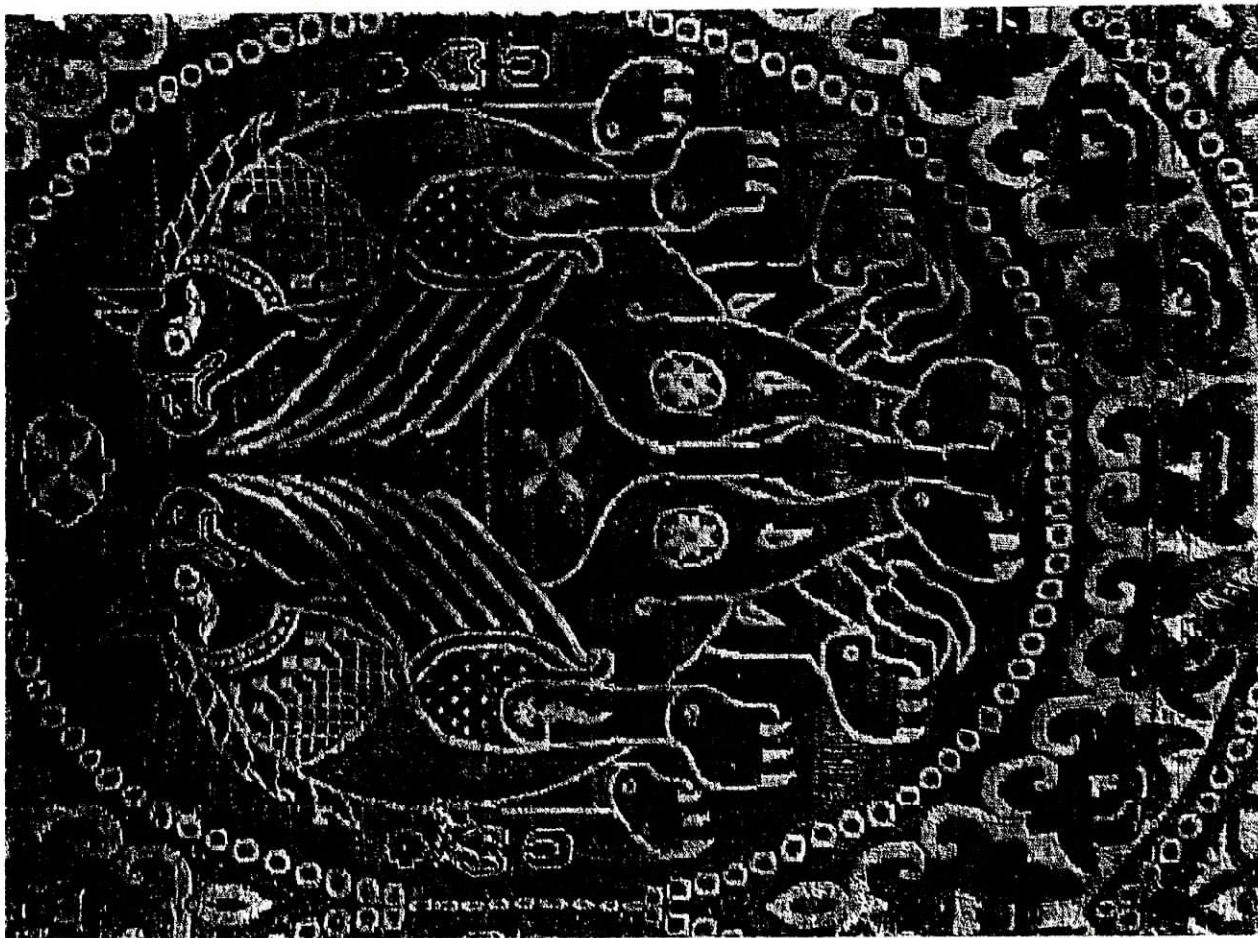
The author wishes to thank Rex Gooch of Welhandy for the preparation of the master print on equipment kindly provided by Wingate Scholarships, and the British Academy and the Pasold Foundation for conference funding.

Plate 1

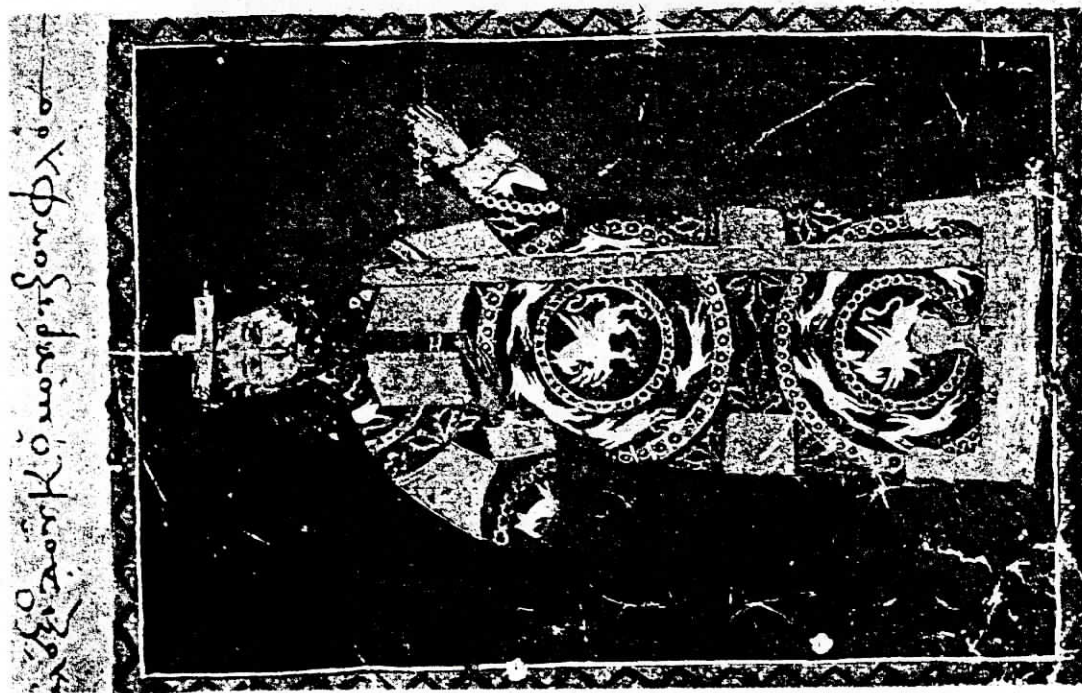


The Mozac Hunter silk.

Plate 2



The Griffin silk of Sitten.

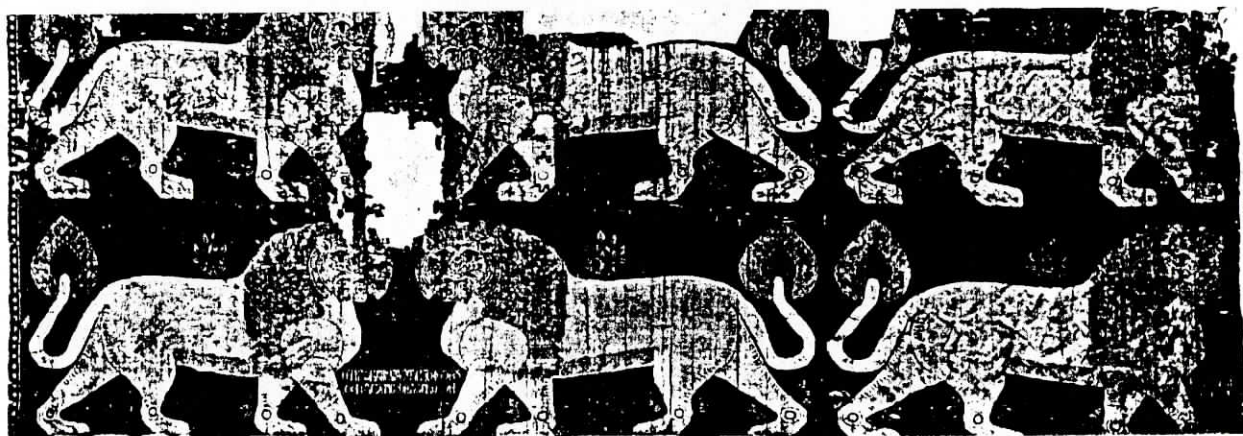


A painted miniature portrait of Emperor Alexius V (Vienna Nat. Libr. Cod. Hist. gr. 53) shows the ruler around 1204 A.D.

Plate 3



Eagle silk of Brixen.



The Lion silk at Schloss Köpenick from Siegburg.