

KONSTANTIN M. KLEIN – JOHANNES WIENAND (eds), *City of Caesar, City of God: Constantinople and Jerusalem in Late Antiquity* (Millennium Studies 97). Berlin – Boston: De Gruyter 2022. xvi, 349 pp. – ISBN 978-3-11-071720-4

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In late antiquity, there were many important cities in the eastern Mediterranean world that were dominated by the Eastern Roman Empire, which is too often wrongly defined as Byzantium. The latter term derives from the former name of the city that Emperor Constantine designated as the new capital of the Roman Empire, and later the seat of the Eastern Roman Emperors when the Empire was split into two. The new name given to Byzantium was Constantinople, and it was meant to be the new Rome, the city of emperors and the most important city on Earth. However, while Constantinople was the most important city in several aspects, there was another contender in the parameter for holiness: Jerusalem. While Jerusalem was not the most important in terms of church politics, and at first the city had no Patriarch, it was still the place where Jesus visited and died, and the site of the old Jewish temple. Constantinople tried to surpass Jerusalem in many ways to become not only a new Rome but a new Jerusalem as well. Hence, a volume examining the place, relationship and connections between the two in Late antiquity is a deserving feat, and what the current volume has set for itself to achieve.

The volume begins with two maps of the cities, followed by the first paper penned by the two editors, which is more a concise summary of the papers in the volume rather than an introduction. On the other hand, the second paper, written by KAI TRAMPEDACH, is effectively an introduction to Judaea/Palestina, and especially Jerusalem, in the said period from a religious perspective. This paper is a fitting start to the first of four sections that the volume is split into, as it is intended to be introductory in nature and sets a good foundation for the later papers to build upon. The third paper and the last in the first section deals with Constantinople and was written by RENE PFEILSCHIFTER in a more analytic style. Although there are several inaccuracies at the start, such as “It was Late Antiquity that made both cities great” and “only because the city of Christ had become the object of pious

longing that it was able to occupy an important place in the religious topography of Islam” (p. 39), the paper continues to be a fascinating analysis of the importance of Constantinople. It beautifully explains its uniqueness compared to other imperial seats, and why its impregnable fortifications caused the partial removal of the army out of politics because while the emperor controlled the city, he could not be deposed by an army stationed outside the city. This encouraged the emperors to stay in the city and never leave it.

The next section, consisting of four papers, deals with the urban topographies of the two cities. The first, written by NESLIHAN ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER and SHLOMIT WEKSLER-BDOLAH, compares the walls of the two cities, with the former writer presenting Constantinople in the first half of the paper and the latter writer presenting the walls of Jerusalem in the second half. The chapter works excellently as a summary of the available knowledge on these fortifications and is packed with figures, from maps to plans and photos which it benefits from, unlike other chapters in the volume that suffer from a lack of figures. Similarly, MARLENA WHITING’s paper, the fifth in the volume, is supplemented by extensive maps, although it is very different in its theme. It analyses trade routes and ways used by travelers, and superbly emphasizes that the reasons for creating routes and roads were plentiful and intertwined. The most important aspect of the paper is that it tries to stress why the term “the Pilgram road” as a name is misleading and should be abandoned. As clearly stated in this chapter, countless roads were used by pilgrims, and none of the roads were solely built just for such a purpose. The sixth paper, composed by KONSTANTIN M. KLEIN, focuses on the martyrs and how the connection between the cities and the martyrs changed over time, and how martyr worship was brought to Jerusalem from outside the city. The final paper in this section, penned by KAI TRAMPEDACH, concentrates on the Nea Church. It opens with a review of the ancient descriptions of Procopius and Cyril on this church. TRAMPEDACH criticizes OREN GUTTFELD’s analysis of the texts and the archaeological site, and suggests an alternative theory for the two massive columns that were supposedly located in the church. He suggested that the columns represent Jachum and Baaz, the two pillars that stood at the entrance to Solomon temple as the Nea was meant to either be the Temple’s equal or to outshine it. Furthermore, TRAMPEDACH cleverly suggests that the church declined because it was not built on a historically holy place, and ceased to symbolize the Christian victory over the Jews when the Muslims built religious buildings on the temple mount, leading

the church to be eventually abandoned. However, the paper would have benefited from plans and images of the suggested reconstructions of the church, and the area itself.

The third section discusses religion and empire, and it opens with a paper by JOHANNES WIENAND that analyzes the speeches that Eusebius delivered in both cities. The first speech he analyses is one presented in September 335 in Jerusalem, and two others conferred in Constantinople in November 335 and July 336 that were based on the first speech presented in Jerusalem. Here, WIENAND brilliantly dissects the speeches and shows how they differ, what Eusebius decided to omit and amend in later versions, and how the first is connected to the two later ones which were given in front of the emperor, as well as the difference between the two later speeches. Moreover, he analyses how the intended audience influenced the changes in the speeches, alongside the difference between how Eusebius anticipated the speech to be, the proceedings itself and the emperor's attitude during the relevant occasions. Despite this excellent scholarship, the paper deals with Constantine and Eusebius rather than Constantinople and Jerusalem. The next chapter, and the ninth in the volume, was written by NADINE VIERMANN and focuses on certain key figures in Constantinople's attempts to erect grander and grander churches with the intent to surpass Solomon's temple. In contrast, the next paper focuses instead on a position, that of the bishop of Jerusalem in ecclesiastical politics after Chalcedon and its elevation to Patriarchy. Here, JAN-MARKUS KÖTTER explores this bishop's place and shows that Jerusalem's main interest after Chalcedon was to support what was agreed in this council, as the council was the source of their power. Moreover, he stresses that Jerusalem, mainly focused on its own local issues and did not try to enforce changes that would apply to the rest of the empire, unlike other patriarchies.

The following fourth and last section is composed of three papers and focuses on the end of antiquity. The first of the papers, written by PAUL MAGDALINO, focuses on the church of St. John the Apostle that was erected in Constantinople in the seventh century. The first part of the chapter mainly addresses the church itself, although it lacks images, especially of 16th and 17th century art of its ruins that are mentioned in the text. The second part of this paper discuss why so many churches were built in the city, which was more than in any other location. MAGDALINO offers an innovative suggestion for this, and theorises that it was due to fear that Constantinople is the New Babylon and not the New Jerusalem, therefore driving them to either try to force a transformation of the city into a new Jerusalem with all the

construction, or at least make it so holy that God would not destroy it at the end of days. The 12th chapter in the volume, penned by JAMES HOWARD-JOHNSTON, portrays what happened in Jerusalem in 630 when Heraclius marched into the city and returned “the true cross.” It also depicts the earlier two decades before the event, and places emphasis on the Jewish-Christian relations and Heraclius’ policy towards Jews. Putting Jewish-Christian relations at the centre of this vital period is essential, yet is an often overlooked topic. The last paper in the volume also analyses triumphant entries into Jerusalem, including Heraclius’. LUTZ GREISIGER reviews all the major entrances of major Christian leaders into the city, from Heraclius to Allenby, even including the visits of the Emperor Franz Joseph and the Kaiser Wilhelm, among others.

Overall, the volume is very diverse and rich in information and novel research. Unlike many volumes of late, all the papers correspond to what the title promises, discussing and analyzing Jerusalem and Constantinople and their relationships in late antiquity. The fact that this must be mentioned is a sad reminder of the current state of the edited volumes sector when too often such volumes are a mixed bag of unrelated works. On the other hand, the current volume is a solid and cohesive cohort that includes both more introductory papers on the topic, alongside innovative research papers offering new and interesting ideas and suggestions. This makes this volume an important addition to the scholarship on the topic. The editors must also be commended for successfully publishing this important work in an open-access format for everyone to both enjoy and use its useful content.

Keywords

Constantinople; Jerusalem; urban topography