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# Éditorial

Jean-François GERKENS

Voici déjà le troisième volume de la RIDA dans son nouvel emballage... auquel nous espérons que les lecteurs se sont désormais habitués. Après un numéro 62 (en hommage à Jacques Henri Michel) finalement paru en janvier 2017, cette année pourrait bien devenir l'année des trois RIDA, dès lors que d'après nos prévisions (faut-il écrire espoirs ?), le numéro 64 devrait encore paraître avant la fin de l'année 2017.

Le présent numéro comporte les rubriques habituelles, avec un retour d'une chronique de la SIHDA plus complète que dans le numéro précédent, incluant à nouveau les résumés de la plupart des conférences prononcées. Comme le lecteur peut l'imaginer, la différence vient ici en partie de la discipline des conférenciers et des organisateurs de la SIHDA. J'ai dès lors fourni une traduction en français de tous les résumés dont je disposais.

Rendez-vous est maintenant donné pour la 71<sup>e</sup> session de la SIHDA à Bologne et Ravenne, dont le thème central sera : La liberté et les interdictions dans les droits de l'Antiquité. Elle se tiendra du 12 au 16 septembre 2017. Dans l'espoir de vous y rencontrer nombreux, je souhaite à chacun une bonne lecture !

Chaufontaine, le 15 juin 2017  
Jean-François Gerkens



# *Nobile hoc Romani Imperii monumentum: Laudes imperiales in Byzantine Dalmatia*

Marko PETRAK

Université de Zagreb

## 1. Introduction

In mediaeval times, *laudes* to the ruler, primarily the king (*laudes regiae*) or the emperor (*laudes imperiales*) were one of the most important expressions of the supreme political authority of one ruler over a certain territory. By their very nature, *laudes* were liturgical reformulations of ancient Roman imperial acclamations, by which the Roman *populus* expressed public approval or recognition of the Emperor in the ritual form<sup>1</sup>. Mediaeval *laudes* were chanted in honour of a ruler as an integral part of the Holy Liturgy on great fest days of the Church (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the feast day of the local patron saint).

The topic of *laudes regiae* or *imperiales* was researched in detail by the famous historian of medieval political and intellectual history Ernst Kantorowicz (1895–1963) in his fundamental and fascinating book *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship* (1946)<sup>2</sup>. After Kantorowicz, there were some further contributions on the subject<sup>3</sup>, but his book remained the most important and influential study of the kind.

According to Kantorowicz, nearly all *laudes regiae* or *imperiales* were an integral part of the Latin liturgical tradition. Developed from the 8<sup>th</sup> c. onward, these *laudes* can be divided — from the liturgical point of view — into the older Gallo-Frankish and the newer Franco-Roman forms. “From the Gallo-Frankish

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1. On the Roman imperial *acclamations*, see e.g., G.S. ALDRETE, *Gestures and Acclamations in Ancient Rome*, Baltimore, 2003; H.U. WIEMER, “Akklamationen im spätrömischen Reich. Zur Typologie und Funktion eines Kommunikationsrituals”, *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 86 (2004), pp. 27–73.
  2. E. KANTOROWICZ, *Laudes regiae. A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Mediaeval Ruler Worship*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1946.
  3. See e.g., B. OPFERMANN, *Die liturgischen Herrscherakklamationen im Sacrum Imperium des Mittelalters*, Weimar, 1953; R. ELZE, “Herrscherlaudes im Mittelalter”, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung* 40 (1954), pp. 201–223; H.W.C. COWDREY, “The Anglo-Norman *Laudes Regiae*”, *Viator* 12 (1981), pp. 37–78.

form there eventually branched off French, German, Anglo-Norman, and Siculo-Norman *laudes*, whereas the Franco-Roman pattern survived only in the Roman ambit”<sup>4</sup>. The only pattern of *laudes* which did not exclusively belong to the Western *orbis* was the Dalmatian one. Kantorowicz dedicated six pages of his study to the structure and form of that type of mediaeval ruler worship in a comparative context, and pointed out the following facts: “The Dalmatian *laudes* betray their kinship with Byzantium, it is true. But at least they present themselves in Frankish or Roman attire... so that it is justifiable to style them ‘Franco-Byzantine’ *laudes*”<sup>5</sup>. Following Kantorowicz, the aim of this contribution is to add some relevant aspects to his insights. Starting from the oldest preserved sources (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c.) and treatises on Dalmatian and Croatian history like Johannes Lucius’ *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* (1666), the main purpose of the paper is to demonstrate that the Dalmatian *laudes* did not only share “their kinship with Byzantium”, but actually had certain Byzantine origins. Historical and historiographical sources from Dubrovnik (Ragusa) (as the last Dalmatian city which remained under the supreme political authority of Byzantium all until 1205), obviously unknown to Kantorowicz, like the chrysobull of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos to the Raguseans (1192) or the treatise by Seraphinus Maria Cerva named *Prolegomena in sacram metropolim Ragusinam* (18<sup>th</sup> c.), will be the further evidence for that assumption. However, as the direct liturgical sources of Dalmatian *laudes* chanted in honour of the Byzantine Emperor have not been preserved, our first task will be to prove that they once really existed.

## 2. The formularies of Dalmatian *laudes*

The oldest formulary of Dalmatian *laudes* is preserved on the first folio of the Evangelistary, written in Beneventan Script, that once belonged to the collegiate church of St. Simeon in Zadar (*Zara*), and is now held in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin<sup>6</sup>. Since the analyses of the Evangelistary carried out in 1954 by René Jean Hesbert, the prevailing opinion has been that the Zadar *laudes* were written in 1114<sup>7</sup>.

4. Cit. KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 104.

5. Cit. KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 147, p. 153.

6. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (MS. theol. lat. qu. 278).

7. R.J. HESBERT, “L’Évangélaire de Zara (1114)”, *Scriptorium* 8 (1954), pp. 177–204; R. VOJVODA, *Dalmatian illuminated manuscripts written in Beneventan script and Benedictine scriptoria in Zadar, Dubrovnik and Trogir*, PhD dissertation, Central European University, Budapest, 2011. (available at <http://www.etd.ceu.hu/2011/mpfvor01.pdf>), pp. 30–36, pp. 304–313; cf. also A. ZANINOVIĆ, “Un *Christus vincit* en Dalmatie au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle”, *Revue du chant grégorien* 30 (1926), pp. 130–133; KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 148–153; M. GRGIĆ, “The Eleventh Century Book Illumination in Zadar”, *Journal of Croatian studies* 9/10 (1968/69), pp. 41–132, especially p. 84; R. KATIČIĆ, *Literatur- und Geistesgeschichte des kroatischen Frühmittelalters*, Wien, 1999, pp. 443–444.



The formulary is as follows<sup>8</sup>:

*Exaudi, Christe! (ter)*

*Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat! (ter)*

*Paschali summo pontifici et universali papae, salus et vita perpetua. (ter)*

*Colomanno, Ungariae, Dalmatiae et Croatiae almifico regi, vita et victoria (ter)*

*Stephano, clarissimo regi nostro, vita et victoria.*

*Gregorio, venerabili Jaderae praesuli, salus et vita.*

*Cledin, inclito nostro comiti, vita et victoria.*

*Cunctis inclitis, vita!*

In the oldest formulary, the one of Zadar from the first quarter of the 12<sup>th</sup> c., we can see that the highest authority is the Pope (Paschal II, †1118). After him, *laudes* were chanted to Coloman (†1116), king of Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia as well as to his son, king Stephen II (†1131), then to the bishop of the city (*praesul*) and the count (*comes*) who governed the city<sup>9</sup>.

The change of supreme political authority did not discontinue the singing of *laudes* in Zadar. In the year 1202, after the Venetian Doge Enrico Dandolo used the crusaders, on their Fourth Crusade to Palestine, to conquer the city, Zaratines were imposed the obligation to sing *laudes* in honour of the Venetian Doge and the patriarch of Grado at every Christmas and Easter<sup>10</sup>:

*Clerus autem bis in anno, in Natiuitate Domini et in Pascha Resurrectionis, laudes cantabunt in maiori Ecclesia solempniter domino Duci et domino Patriarehe, atque Archiepiscopo suo et Comiti omni anno; propter quod benedictionem recipient consuetam*<sup>11</sup>.

This liturgical tradition continued in Zadar for the next six centuries, all until 1918, when the last *laudes imperiales* were chanted at Easter of that year in honour of the last emperor of the Habsburg Monarchy (and the last king of Dalmatia and Croatia), Charles I of Austria<sup>12</sup>.

8. T. SMIČIKLAS, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2: *Diplomata saeculi XII. continens* (1101–1200), Zagreb, 1904, p. 392.

9. On Coloman's conquest of Dalmatia and the organisation of his government in Dalmatian cities, see L. STEINDORFF, *Die Dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert. Studien zu ihrer politischen Stellung und gesellschaftlichen Entwicklung*, Köln/Wien, 1984, pp. 49–62.

10. On the conflict between Venice and Zadar in that period (1181–1205), which culminated in the Venetian conquest of the city in the context of the Fourth Crusade (1202), see STEINDORFF, *o.c.* (n. 9), pp. 121–132.

11. T. SMIČIKLAS, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 3: *Diplomata annorum 1201–1235. continens*, Zagreb, 1905, p. 45; cf. KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 151; R.C. MUELLER, "Aspects of Venetian Sovereignty in Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia", in C. DEMPSEY (ed), *Quattrocento Adriatico, Fifteenth Century Art of the Adriatic Rim*, Bologna, 1996, p. 40.

12. ZANINović, *o.c.* (n. 7), pp. 130–133.

Another important formulary of *laudes dalmaticae* was preserved in the treatise by the Italian Dominican monk Serafino Razzi (1531–1613) named *La storia di Raugia* and published in 1595. They were chanted in the aristocratic Republic of Dubrovnik around 1590 and had the following text, used all until the 19<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>13</sup>:

*Exaudi, Christe!*

*Exaudi, Christe! Unus Deus Christus vincit. Christus regnat. Christus imperat!*

*Domino nostro Sixto, summo Pontifici et universali Papae, salus et vita.*

*Domino nostro Rodulfo, Serenissimo Imperatori Romanorum, salus, honor, vita et victoria.*

*Domino, regi nostro Ungariae, Bohemiae, Dalmatiae et Croatiae salus, honor, vita et victoria.*

*Domino Paulo, Reverendissimo in Christo patri archiescopo Ragusino, salus et vita.*

*Domino Rectori nostro, illustrissimo, salus, vita, honor et victoria.*

*Exaudi, Christe!*

Once again, the highest authority is the pope (Sixtus V, †1590). After him, there are imperial *laudes* for the *serenissimus imperator Romanorum*. Of course, the *imperator Romanorum* was not in the present case the Byzantine *basileus*, but Rudolph II Habsburg (†1612) as the Holy Roman Emperor. The practice of chanting *laudes* to the Holy Roman Emperor was probably introduced in Dubrovnik only in 1558, when Ferdinand I Habsburg (†1564), king of Hungary and Bohemia (from 1526) as well as of Croatia and Dalmatia (from 1527), succeeded to his brother Charles V Habsburg (†1558). In that context, it is interesting to mention that *laudes* were not chanted in the honour of the *serenissimus imperator Romanorum* because of the Emperor himself, but due to the fact that he was the same person as the king of *Ungariae, Dalmatiae et Croatiae*. The *laudes regiae* to the king of Hungary, Dalmatia and Croatia started to be chanted in Dubrovnik in 1358, when the Crown of Saint Stephen, according to the Treaty of Visegrad, became the supreme political authority in Dubrovnik:

(...) *Item, quod nobis vel filio nostro aut aliis heredibus nostris et successoribus in Ecclesia cathedrali Ragusii decantabuntur laudes ter in anno solemniter, ut est moris (...)*<sup>14</sup>.

The practice of the chanting of *laudes* for the highest political and church authorities three times a year (*ter in anno*), i.e. on Christmas, Easter and the feast of the city's patron saint (Saint Blaise), was already present in Dubrovnik after 1205, when the Republic of Venice, as in the nearly simultaneous case of Zadar, imposed itself as the political authority over the city:

13. S. RAZZI, *La storia di Raugia. Scritta nuovamente in tre libri*, Lucca, 1595, p. 137.

14. T. SMIČIKLAS, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. vol. 12: *Diplomata annorum 1351–1359. continens*, Zagreb, 1914, p. 482; on the Treaty of Visegrad, see B. KREKIĆ, *Dubrovnik in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries: A City between East and West*, Norman, 1972, pp. 40–42; R. HARRIS, *Dubrovnik: A History*, London, 2006, pp. 62–66.

(...) *Clerus autem ter in anno, in Nativitate Domini et in Pascha Resurrectionis et in festo Sancti Blasii, laudes cantabunt in maiori ecclesia sollempniter domino Duci, domino Patriarche, Archiepiscopo suo et Comiti omni anno, propter quod benedictionem recipiet yperperos tres, unum a nobis, alterum ab Archiepiscopo, tertium a Comite (...)*<sup>15</sup>.

These *laudes* were, primarily, *laudes ducis*: they were sung in honour of the Venetian Doge, whose formal title was *dux Venetiarum, Dalmatiae atque Chroatiae, dominator quartae partis et dimidiaie totius imperii Romani*<sup>16</sup>. After him, they were chanted to the patriarch of Grado as the supreme church authority of the Venetian Republic. At the end, as in the case of Zadar, the highest dignitaries of the city were honoured: the Ragusean archbishop (*archiepiscopus*), and the count (*comes*) as the head of the local government. The same regulation on *laudes* for the count is included in a more detailed form in the Statute of Dubrovnik from 1272<sup>17</sup>.

As we can see, liturgical acclamations were chanted for the person who was entitled the ruler of the *imperium Romanum*. Again, this “Roman” ruler was not the Byzantine *basileus*, but only his former *dux*<sup>18</sup>. Is there any direct historical trace in proof of the fact that *laudes* for the Byzantine emperor existed at all in Dalmatia?

### 3. The historical traces of *laudes imperiales* for the Byzantine emperor in Dalmatia

To be sure, no formularies of such *laudes imperiales* were preserved. But there are two important historical sources which confirm the fact that such a liturgical practice existed in Dalmatian cities before Hungarian or Venetian rule was imposed. The first of them, the chrysobull of the Byzantine emperor Isaac II Angelos issued in 1192 to the city of Dubrovnik, was not preserved in its Greek original, but as a 17<sup>th</sup> c. Italian translation<sup>19</sup>. After the short period of the Norman’s rule (1186–1192), the chrysobull of the Byzantine emperor restored the Byzantine supreme political authority over the city and regulated some of the most important

15. T. SMIČIKLAS, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*. vol. 3: *Diplomata annorum 1201–1235. continens*, Zagreb, 1905, p. 352; on the period of the Venetian rule over Dubrovnik (1205–1358) see F.W. CARTER, *Dubrovnik (Ragusa): A Classic City-State*, London, 1972, pp. 84–130; HARRIS, *o.c.* (n. 14), pp. 46–61.

16. SMIČIKLAS, *o.c.* (n. 11), vol. 3., p. 351.

17. *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno 1272* (eds. B. BOGIŠIĆ – C. JIREČEK). *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. IX, Zagreb, 1904, lib. I., cap. II., pp. 3–4.

18. On the complex relations between Byzantium and Venice in the different periods of the Middle Ages, see e.g. D.M. NICOL, *Byzantium and Venice. A study in diplomatic and cultural relations*, Cambridge, 1988.; G. ORTALLI (ed.), *Storia di Venezia, I, Origini-età ducale*, Roma, 1992.

19. SMIČIKLAS, *o.c.* (n. 8), vol. 2., pp. 256–257; F. DÖLGER – P. WIRTH, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches von 565–1453*. 2. Teil, *Regesten von 1025–1204*, München, 1995, Nr. 1611 (June 1192), pp. 311–312.

questions of local government, jurisdiction and defense, allowed and prohibited alliances, and granted Raguseans freedom of trade all over the Empire<sup>20</sup>. One of the fundamental issues were also the *laudes imperiales*. The chrysobull of 1192, in the Italian translation, prescribed the following rule:

(...) *Che il clero cantasse tre volte le lodi dell' imperatore nella chiesa del duomo di Ragusa (...)*

As the normative contents of the chrysobull are not longer than one page, it is hard to overestimate the fundamental religious, political and public law value of *laudes* for the Byzantine emperor. These liturgical acclamations did not have a mere symbolic significance, they represented “a token of submission and public recognition of the respective overlord and at the same time a pledge binding the Church as well as the people”<sup>21</sup>. We have seen that this Byzantine pattern of *laudes*, as something of an essential importance for the relations of one urban community with its political ruler, was later completely adopted by Venetian and Hungarian authorities in Dalmatia<sup>22</sup>.

To sum up, we have the proof that *laudes imperiales* in honour of the Byzantine emperor were still chanted in Dalmatia at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> c. Is there any earlier trace of that type of mediaeval ruler worship? When in the year 1000 Byzantine emperor Basil II started out on a campaign against the Bulgarian ruler Samuel, a Venetian naval expedition along the Dalmatian coast, led by Doge Pietro II Orseolo, was organized in support of the Byzantine operations<sup>23</sup>. According to the chronicle of John the Deacon (*Iohannes Diaconus*, †1009), when Doge Orseolo entered the city of Osor (Ossero) on the island of Cres (Cherso) in North Dalmatia with his fleet, on Pentecost the community chanted *laudes ducis* in his honour:

*Hoc peracto, sacrum diem Pentecosten solemniter celebrantes, predicto principi laudis modulamina decantaverunt*<sup>24</sup>.

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20. On the chrysobull of 1192, see J. LUČIĆ, *Povijest Dubrovnika II. Od VII. st. do godine 1205* [*The history of Dubrovnik. From the 7<sup>th</sup> c. to the year 1205*], Zagreb, 1973, pp. 60–62. (available also in the French translation: J. LUČIĆ, *L'Histoire de Dubrovnik II. Depuis de VII<sup>e</sup> siècle jusqu'en 1205*, Zagreb, 1974.); D. ABULAFIA, “Dalmatian Ragusa and the Norman Kingdom of Sicily”, *The Slavonic and East European Review* 54 (1976), pp. 423–427; J. FERLUGA, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*, Venezia, 1978., pp. 282–283; STEINDORFF, o.c. (n. 9), pp. 138–139.
  21. Cit. KANTOROWICZ, o.c. (n. 2), p. 151.
  22. Cf. M. DEMOVIĆ, *Musik und Musiker in der Republik Dubrovnik (Ragusa) vom Anfang des XI. Jahrhunderts bis zur Mitte des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Regensburg, 1981, pp. 51–54.
  23. On the historical circumstances of the Dalmatian campaign of the Doge Pietro II Orseolo and his close cooperation with Byzantium, see L. MARGETIĆ, “Le cause della spedizione veneziana in Dalmazia nel 1000”, in *Histrica et Adriatica. Raccolta di saggi storico-giuridici e storici*, Trieste, 1983, pp. 217–254; G. ORTALLI, “Pietro II Orseolo, dux Veneticorum et Dalmaticorum”, in N. FIORENTIN (ed.), *Venezia e la Dalmazia anno Mille: secoli di vicende comuni*, Treviso, 2002, pp. 13–27; FERLUGA, o.c. (n. 20), pp. 194–202.
  24. G. MONTICOLO (ed.), *Cronache veneziane antichissime*, Roma, 1890, p. 157; L.A. BERTO (ed.), *Istoria Veneticorum*, Bologna, 1999, p. 190.

Things were somewhat different when the Doge was welcomed by the ecclesiastical (*episcopi*) and political (*priores*) authorities of the Dalmatian cities of Krk (Veglia) and Rab (Arbe):

*Inter quos Veclensis et Arbensis episcopi cum earum civitatum prioribus adfuerunt et pari voto supra sacra evangelistarum dicta iuraverunt quo iuxta illorum scire et posce deinceps domni Petri ducis fidem observare debuissent. Insuper episcopi eisdem sacris confirmaverunt quo feriatis diebus, quibus laudis pompam in aecclesia depromere solebant, istius principis nomen post imperatorum laudis preconiiis glorificarent<sup>25</sup>.*

Firstly, *episcopi and priores civitatum* professed the oath of fidelity to the new political authority, Doge Peter II Orseolo. Secondly, and this is crucial in our context, the bishops made a solemn confirmation that the *laudes principis* to the Venetian Doge will be sung on the great fest days of the Church, but only after the *laudes imperiales* to the Byzantine emperor have been chanted: *istius principis nomen post imperatorum laudis preconiiis glorificarent*. On the one hand, it means that the Byzantine emperor remained the highest political authority of these urban communities, and that the Venetian Doge was treated as his hierarchical subordinated governor of the two mentioned cities<sup>26</sup>. On the other hand, the quoted text of John the Deacon leads us to the conclusion that the chanting of *laudes imperiales* for the Byzantine emperor was a deeply rooted liturgical practice with essential political and legal consequences in Dalmatia around the year 1000. Now that the historical existence of *laudes dalmaticae* for Byzantine *basileus* has been attested, the next section will be dedicated to the very question of Byzantine origins of these liturgical acclamations.

#### 4. The cities of Byzantine Dalmatia and *laudes imperiales*

There are no preserved historical sources on *laudes imperiales* in Dalmatia before the year 1000. But there are two important historiographical treatises, written in a time when the singing of liturgical acclamations, which contain quite some relevant information on Roman-Byzantine origins of Dalmatian *laudes imperiales* and the exact figures on the practice of their chanting in various Dalmatian cities, was still a living tradition. One of these is the *magnum opus* of Johannes Lucius (Ivan Lučić) (†1679), nobleman and historian from Trogir (Traù)<sup>27</sup>, entitled *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae* and published in Amsterdam in 1666. The second one is the manuscript of a Dominican monk from Dubrovnik, Seraphinus Maria Cerva

25. MONTICOLO (ed.), *o.c.* (n. 24), p. 157; BERTO (ed.), *o.c.* (n. 24), p. 190.

26. See MARGETIĆ, *o.c.* (n. 23), pp. 246–247; cf. KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 147–148.

27. On Lucius' life and work see, M. KURELAC, *Ivan Lučić Lucius, otac hrvatske historiografije* [Ivan Lučić Lucius, father of Croatian historiography], Zagreb, 1994.; cf. V. BRUNELLI, "Giovanni Lucio", in G. LUCIO, *Storia del regno di Dalmazia e di Croazia*, Trieste, 1983, pp. 3–46. (originally published in *Rivista Dalmatica* vol. 1–4 [1899–1900]).

(Serafin Marija Crijević) (†1759)<sup>28</sup>, entitled *Prolegomena in sacram metropolim Ragusinam*, written in 18<sup>th</sup> c. and published only in 2008. Both authors consecrated a whole chapter of their respective books to the topic of *laudes*. While Lucius wrote a chapter under the simple name *De laudibus*, Cerva was more descriptive: his chapter bears the title *De laudibus quae in cathedrali Ragusii ecclesia statis diebus decantari solent*<sup>29</sup>.

At the very beginning of his chapter on *laudes*, Lucius solemnly called them *pulcherrimum Romani decoris monumentum in Dalmatia*. Cerva, whose review nearly entirely follows the one of Lucius, but applied to the specific case of Dubrovnik, used similar words: *nobile hoc Romani Imperii monumentum*<sup>30</sup>. Furthermore, Lucius quoted the previously mentioned oldest preserved source on *laudes* in the context of Venetian naval operations in Dalmatia in the year 1000, compared it with the current liturgical practice of his own time, and at the end concluded:

*Hae autem laudes nunc canuntur in his tantum Civitatibus, quae olim Romanorum, vel Dalmatarum nomen retinere, ut dictum est, quae Imperiales etiam dictae fuere ad differentiam Croaticarum, quae Regales suntque Ragusium, Spalatum, Tragurium, Iadra, Arbum, Viglia*<sup>31</sup>.

The same conclusion is expressed even more precisely by Cerva:

*At vero nequaquam in omnibus Dalmatiae urbibus huiusmodi aut obtinet nunc, aut aliquando obtinuit, sed in iis tantum locis quae ad Orientis olim imperium pertinebant, uti sunt Ragusium, Spalatum, Tragurium, Iadra, Arbum, Veglia*<sup>32</sup>.

According to Lucius (and Cerva), *laudes* were chanted only in the cities of Dalmatia which had once been under the Eastern Roman Empire or Byzantium:... *in Dalmaticis quoque Civitatibus quae Orientale Imperium a huc recognoscebant, Laudes cantari solitas statis diebus festis...*<sup>33</sup>. From the historical point of view, only these cities can be properly called Roman, Dalmatian or Imperial. The other central Adriatic maritime cities were not Imperial (*Imperiales*): they belonged to the Kingdom of Croatia and thus deserved the royal name — *Regales*. Lucius (followed again by Cerva) pointed out that there are six such Dalmatian cities which still — i.e. in his 17<sup>th</sup> c. — follow the tradition of chanting *laudes*: 1. *Ragusium* (Dubrovnik,

28. On Cerva's life and work, see S. KRASIĆ, "Crijevićev život i rad [The life and work of Cerva]", in *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, vol. 1, Zagreb, 1975, pp. XII–LXXIX.

29. I. LUCIUS, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, Amstelaedami, 1666, lib. II., cap. VI., pp. 73–75; S.M. CERVA, *Prolegomena in sacram metropolim Ragusinam. Editio princeps* (ed. R. Seferović), Dubrovnik, 2008, cap. XXXIX, pp. 531–534.

30. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 73.; CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 531.

31. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), pp. 74–75.

32. Cit. CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 533.

33. Cit. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 74.; cf. KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 149.



Ragusa), 2. *Spalatum* (Split, Spalato), 3. *Tragurium* (Trogir, Traù), 4. *Iadra* (Zadar, Zara), 5. *Arbum* (Rab, Arbe), 6. *Viglia* (Krk, Veglia). Based on the previously analyzed sources, we saw that these liturgical acclamations were sung in Dubrovnik, Zadar, Rab and Krk<sup>34</sup>. As for the remaining two imperial cities, i.e. Split nad Trogir, Lucius himself collected and presented relevant historical sources, pertaining to the period of Hungarian or Venetian rule and related to the practice of chanting *laudes* in their cathedrals. He especially included in his review the formulary of *laudes* chanted in his native Trogir, together with the interesting remarks printed on the margins of the pages on certain small differences between liturgical acclamations in Trogir's formulary and the formularies of Zadar and Split<sup>35</sup>. Cerva did the same with respect to his native Dubrovnik, inserting the local formulary of *laudes*, already published by Razzi in 1595 (and analyzed *supra*), in his review, but without comparative references to the other formularies<sup>36</sup>.

Both authors also mentioned two further Dalmatian cities that were once *imperiales*, i.e. under the supreme political authority of Byzantium: *Absarus* (Osor, Ossero) and *Ascrivium seu Catharum* (Kotor, Cattaro). Regarding Osor, it is emphasized that *laudes* were once sung there, but the city was deserted at a certain moment in past: *Absari, quod deserta est civitas, amplius non canuntur*<sup>37</sup>. This statement is historically correct. Lucius was familiar with the previously analyzed historical source on liturgical acclamations chanted to the Doge Pietro II Orseolo in Osor in the year 1000<sup>38</sup>. Moreover, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., one formulary of *laudes* was discovered in the Vatican library as a later addition (written in Gothic script) on a blank page of an eleventh-century Evangelistary from Osor (written in Beneventan script)<sup>39</sup>. It contains liturgical acclamations in honour of King Louis the Great (d'Anjou) of Hungary and Croatia, and was most probably written between the years 1378–1382<sup>40</sup>. In any case, Osor was without doubt the seventh once imperial city in Dalmatia, where the tradition of chanting the *laudes* to the ruler had existed for a long time.

34. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 74.; cf. CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 533.

35. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), pp. 74–75.

36. CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), pp. 533–534.

37. Cit. CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), pp. 533–534; cf. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 75.

38. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 74.

39. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (MS. Borg. Lat. 339, fol. 59v).

40. The formulary reads as follows: *Exaudi Christe! (ter) Domino pape Gregorio sumo pontifice et universali pape salus, honor et vita perpetua! Cunctis incliti vita! Domino Ludouico regis Ungarie salus, honor et vita victoria. Cunctis incliti vita! Domino Michaeli episcopo Absarense et tocius insule salus, honor et vita perpetua. Domino Saraceno comite Absarense et tocius insule salus, honor et vita victoria. Cunctis incliti vita!*; on these fourteenth-century *laudes* from Osor cf. A. EBNER, *Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kunstgeschichte des Missale romanum im Mittelalter. Iter Italicum*, Freiburg, 1896, p. 153, n. 2; P. CAGIN, “Le Manuscrit latin M VI., 2 du Musée Borgia”, *Revue des bibliothèques* 12 (1902), pp. 62–70; KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 151–152; GRGIĆ, *o.c.* (n. 7), pp. 78–82; VOJVODA, *o.c.* (n. 7), pp. 347–349.

What was the situation in Kotor as the southernmost of the Dalmatian cities? Lucius and Cerva claimed that *laudes* were never sung there (*non canuntur*), because the city was always governed by Slavic rulers (*Principes Slavorum*)<sup>41</sup>. This was obviously an exceptional case in which Lucius — otherwise very well informed — did not succeed to collect relevant information. For example, in the year 1199, the Slavic prince Vukan who was at that time ruler of Dioclea, which also included the city of Kotor, wrote to the pope Innocent III and pointed out that he had ordered that *laudes* should be sung in his kingdom in honour of the Pope's enthronization ([...] *in communi Deo et beatissimae Mariae perpetuae virgini et beato Petro apostolorum principi nec non et apostolatui vestro laudum praeconia persolventes*)<sup>42</sup>. The most direct confirmation of the existing tradition of the *laudes* chanting in Kotor is the description of the ceremonial events that marked the start of the Venetian rule over Kotor in 1420, including the liturgical acclamations in the cathedral of St. Tryphon for the Doge. The description is contained in the Statute of Kotor, published in Venice in 1616:

*Cum die prescripto facta solemnī processione et elevatis insigniis beatissimi sancti Marci sacramentum super platea civitatis Cathari et in castro civitatis eiusdem ad honorem excellentiam et statum excellentissime ducalis dominationis Venetiarum et celebrata missa solemnī in ecclesia catedrali sancti Triphonis ac facta laude ad honorem et statum prefate illustrissime dominationis (...)*<sup>43</sup>.

According to the recent study on *laudes* in Kotor by Anton Belan, the tradition of liturgical acclamations to the Venetian Doge lasted all until the end of *la Serenissima* in 1797 and the practice of chanting “*lode*” — as they are called in the local dialect — in honour of the patron saint of the city (St. Tryphon) is well alive even in our time, similarly to the so called *laus* that is still acclaimed for St. Blasius in Dubrovnik<sup>44</sup>.

To recapitulate: the tradition of the chanting of *laudes* as liturgical acclamations to the ruler was observed only in the eight Dalmatian cities which were once under the supreme political authority of Byzantium (Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Zadar, Rab, Krk, Osor and Kotor) — remaining in some places all until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is obvious that this liturgical tradition with all its political and legal implications really lasted the ages.

But is it possible, on the basis what has been presented so far, to reconstruct at least partially the genuine Byzantine period of *laudes dalmaticae*? In this context it is interesting to point out that Lucius mentioned in one place, almost *en passant*, one highly important fact about *laudes dalmaticae*: the name of the Byzantine

41. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 75.; cf. CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 533.

42. SMIČIKLAS, *o.c.* (n. 8), vol. 2., p. 333; KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 150.

43. *Statuta civitatis Cathari*, Venetiis, 1616, p. 337.

44. A. BELAN, “*Laudes – Lode – Pohvale [Laudes – Lode – Praises]*”, *Hrvatski glasnik. Glasilo Hrvata Crne Gore* 94 (2013), pp. 12–14.



Emperor was at a certain moment in the past substituted with the name of the Pope as the first one to be solemnly acclaimed ([...] *loco Imperatoris summo Pontifici acclamatur* [...])<sup>45</sup>. Today, no sources remain for such a prompt definitive conclusion. The preserved sources only witness in a direct way that *laudes imperiales* for the Byzantine emperor existed in Krk, Rab and Dubrovnik. Regarding the other five Dalmatian cities, one should presume that liturgical acclamations were chanted there in the Byzantine time, because they were performed in the later periods only in these cities. To corroborate that statement, it is of highest importance to remind that Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus (†959), in the cap. XXIX of his famous piece of writing, the *De administrando imperio*, written between 948 and 952, under the title “Of Dalmatia and of the adjacent nations in it”, described in detail the once spacious Roman province Dalmatia which was reduced in his time to only eight cities and some smaller islands. This Byzantine “octapolis” in Dalmatia included Kotor (Δεκάτερα), Dubrovnik (Ραούσιν), Split (Ασπάλαθον), Trogir (Τετραγγοῦριν), Zadar (Διάδωρα), Rab (Ἄρβη), Krk (Βέκλα) and Osor (Ὅψαρα)<sup>46</sup>. As we can see, these eight cities are exactly the same Dalmatian cities where the tradition of chanting *laudes* existed, and this is surely not a coincidence. The “octapolis” constituted the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia (θέμα Δαλματίας), created after the Aachen Peace between Byzantium and Franks in the year 812<sup>47</sup>. We should thus conclude that the liturgical tradition of chanting *laudes imperiales* in honour of the Emperor was cultivated in the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia and all its eight cities. They presented the unique preserved traces of *laudes* chanted in honour of the Byzantine Emperor within the realm of the Latin liturgical tradition.

## 5. Roman-Byzantine origins of Dalmatian *laudes imperiales*

On the basis of the preserved sources, it is not possible to discover the destiny of the *laudes dalmaticae* before the creation of the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia. It is only possible to analyze the very structure of these liturgical acclamations and to try to unveil their origins. As we have seen, Dalmatian formularies undoubtedly followed the same pattern (with some slight local varieties) which also indicates the same origins. Despite the fact that liturgy celebrated in the Dalmatian cities was all the time part of the Latin tradition, we will try to find the specific Byzantine elements of their oldest structure.

45. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 74.

46. C. PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio* (ed. G. MORAVCSIK, trans. R.J.H. JENKINS), Washington, 1967, cap. XXIX., pp. 122–139.

47. On the Byzantine Dalmatia, see J. FERLUGA, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia*, Venezia, 1978.; cf. also I. GOLDSTEIN, “Byzantine Presence on the Eastern Adriatic Coast. 6<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Century”, *Byzantinoslavica* 57 (1996), pp. 257–264.

The very important hint in that direction is given by Cerva who mentioned the Byzantine practice of polychronion (πολυχρόνιον), solemnly acclaimed wishes for the long life of the Emperor, as the pattern for Dalmatian *laudes*:

*Acclamationes etiam genus erat, dum statis diebus imperatori longiorem vitam seu πολυχρόνιον, quod est ad multos annos, adprecabatur inter praecipuos Constantinopolitanae aulae ministros*<sup>48</sup>.

As a passing remark, a similar opinion was expressed by Katičić some fifteen years ago, when he pointed out that “this old and characteristic tradition of the Dalmatian church” indeed presents the liturgical continuation of the Roman *acclamatio* or Byzantine *euphemia* (εὐφημία), acclamations by which people recognized the imperial dignity of a certain person<sup>49</sup>.

Despite the fact that in the later days of Byzantine empire distinction was made between *polychronion*, which was acclaimed in honour of the Emperor, while the addressee of *euphemia* was a certain Church dignitary, in earlier times both words were used for the imperial acclamations<sup>50</sup>.

Byzantine ceremonies, festivals and services, both political and liturgical, contained plenty of such acclamations in honour of the Emperor. Another piece of writing of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* on the ceremonial of the Byzantine imperial court, written probably around 956–959, describes all the wide range of such a practice<sup>51</sup>. A number of these acclamations had the form of a *polychronion* in the strict sense of the word: formulaic wishes for the long life of the Emperor: εἰς πολλά ἔτη or πολλά τὰ ἔτη! Very similar acclamations in honour of the Byzantine emperor were once also chanted in Rome. As it was mentioned by Lucius and Cerva, pope Gregory the Great, in the year 603, ordered the Roman clergy and senate to perform *acclamationes* in the Lateran Basilica for the emperor Phocas and empress Leontia: *Exaudi Christe! Focae Augusto et Leontiae Augustae vita*<sup>52</sup>!

48. CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 533.

49. KATIČIĆ, *o.c.* (n. 7), p. 444.

50. E. WELLESZ, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 98–102.

51. On the acclamations contained in Porphyrogenitus' *De cerimoniis aulae Byzantinae* see e.g. O. TREITINGER, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell. Vom oströmischen Staats- und Reichsgedanken*, Darmstadt, 1956, pp. 49–84; A. CAMERON, “The construction of court ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies”, in D. CANNADINE, S. PRICE (eds.), *Rituals of Royalty. Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 106–136.; Z.A. WOODROW, *Imperial ideology in middle Byzantine court culture: the evidence of Constantine Porphyrogenitus's de ceremoniis*, Durham theses, Durham University, 2001 (available at <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/3969/>), especially pp. 105–114.

52. P. EWALD – L. HARTMANN (eds.), *Gregorii I papae Registrum epistolarum*, vol. II, Berlin, 1999, p. 365: *Venit autem icona supra scriptorum Phocae et Leontiae Augustorum Romae VII. Kalendarum Maiarum, et acclamatum est eis in Lateranis in Basilica Iulii ab omni Clero vel Senatu: “Exaudi Christe, Phocae Augusto et Leontiae Augustae vita!”*. *Tunc iussit ipsam iconam dominus Beatissimus et Apostolicus Gregorius Papa reponi in Oratorio S. Caesarii Martyris,*

However, one important specificity of *laudes dalmaticae* — unnoted by Kantorowicz in his excellent comparison of the Dalmatian acclamations with the Byzantine and Western ones<sup>53</sup> — was that they did not only comprise the wish for longevity, but also a cumulation of several kinds of best wishes for the ruler: *salus, honor et vita perpetua* (Osor, Zadar, Split); *salus, honor et vita victoria* (Osor); *salus, honor, vita et victoria* (Zadar, Dubrovnik); *laus, honor et decus ac caelestis triumphus*; *laus, honor, gloria et triumphus perpetuus*; *laus, honor, vita et gaudium sempiternum*; *laus, honor, dignitas et vita perpetua*; *laus, honoris augmentum, gaudium perenne et pax sempiterna*; *salus, honor, vita et gaudium perpetuum*; *salus, vita et gaudium salubre* (all from Trogir)<sup>54</sup>. Thus, Dalmatian acclamations were not just a *polychronion*, but an *euphemia*. Is there a Byzantine pattern underlying such a structure?

In Porphyrogenitus' *De cerimoniis*, there is also a description of the imperial ceremonial regarding the final races of the year which were held on Constantinople's Golden Hippodrome. This final Hippodrome ceremony of the year took place on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February and is called *Lupercalia* (or μακελλαρικόν), as the continuation of one of the oldest pre-Christian Roman festivities whose rituals were linked with the foundation myths of Rome<sup>55</sup>.

At a certain moment of the *Lupercalia* festival, the choirs of the two Hippodrome factions, the Blues and Greens, chanted antiphonally the following *euphemia* as acclamations in honour of the Emperor:

Ἰδὲ τὸ ἔαρ τὸ γλυκὺ πάλιν ἐπανατέλλει,  
χαρὰν ὑγίαιαν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν,  
ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐκ Θεοῦ τοῖς βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων  
καὶ νίκην θεοδωρητὸν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων<sup>56</sup>.

It is important to point out that the quoted *euphemia* — the “Hymn of Spring” which in the context of *Lupercalia* obviously had pre-Christian Roman roots<sup>57</sup>, is

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*intra palatium*; LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 74; CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 532; KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 102.

53. KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), pp. 152–153.

54. LUCIUS, *o.c.* (n. 29), pp. 74–75; cf. CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), pp. 533–534.

55. C. PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *Le Livre des Cérémonies* (ed. and French trans. A. VOGT), vol. II, Paris, 1967, cap. 82 (73), pp. 164–168; on the festival of *Lupercalia* as described in *De Cerimoniis*, see M. CHRONZ, “Die Feier von Hypapanté und Luperkalia zu Konstantinopel in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit”, in D. ATANASSOVA – T. CHRONZ (eds), *Synaxis Katholike. Beiträge zu Gottesdienst und Geschichte der fünf altkirchlichen Patriarchate für Heinzgerd Brakmann zum 70. Geburtstag*, Münster, 2014, pp. 107–146, especially pp. 124–133; WOODROW, *o.c.* (n. 51), pp. 231–236.

56. PORPHYROGÉNÈTE, *o.c.* (n. 55), p. 167: “Behold, Spring, sweet Spring which anew is sprung, [bringing] joy, health, life and prosperity, to the Roman Emperors, courage from God and victory, gift of God, against the enemies” (trans. WOODROW, *o.c.* [n. 51], p. 233).

57. On the quoted “Hymn of Spring”, its ancient roots and christianization as well as its use as the *euphemia* acclaimed in honour of the Emperor, see E. WELLESZ, *A History of Byzantine Music*

an example of an *acclamatio* which contains a cumulation of several best wishes to the ruler ([...] χαρὰν, ὑγίειαν καὶ ζωὴν καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν, ἀνδραγαθίαν... καὶ νίκην [...]), as in the case of Dalmatian *laudes*. This kind of cumulation emerged very early on also in the pure Christian context. The most ancient Church's prayer for the political rulers, by the fourth pope, St. Clement of Rome (†99), contained such a formulation: οἷς δός, κύριε, ὑγίειαν, εἰρήνην, ὁμόνοιαν, εὐστάθειαν, εἰς τὸ διέπειν αὐτοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ σοῦ δεδομένην αὐτοῖς ἡγεμονίαν ἀπροσκόπως ("Grant to them, Lord, health, peace, concord, and stability, so that they may blamelessly administer the government that you have given them")<sup>58</sup>. It is necessary to agree with the conclusion that "the elements of peace, harmony, and order, that are so important to the author of this letter, reflect some of the fundamental values of Roman society"<sup>59</sup>.

This type of acclamations with a cumulation of the best wishes to the Emperor also became part of the Byzantine liturgy. The manuscripts of the Divine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom and the Divine Liturgy of St. Basil the Great contain the litany (ἐκτενής) — placed near the end of the Liturgy of the Catechumens, after Gospel Reading — which includes the prayer to the God for "power, victory, perseverance, peace, health and salvation" ([...] κράτους, νίκης, διαμονῆς, εἰρήνης, ὑγείας, σωτηρίας [...]) of the "most religious and God-protected Emperors" ([...] τῶν εὐσεβεστάτων καὶ θεοφυλάκτων βασιλέων [...])<sup>60</sup>. In certain liturgical sources, this prayer for the Emperors is immediately followed by the prayer for the highest Church authorities<sup>61</sup>.

Similarities of these prayers with *laudes dalmaticae* are remarkable. On the one side, as it was demonstrated, Dalmatian liturgical acclamations also contained the cumulation of the best wishes for the ruler. On the other side, from the point of view of the liturgical structure, *laudes* in Dalmatia were performed at the same "place": near the end of the *missa catechumenorum*, after the Gospel chanting: *post cantatum in missa Evangelium*<sup>62</sup>. Already in the oldest preserved Dalmatian formula (Zadar), one can find the following remark: *Laus quae in Pascha et Natali*

and *Hymnography*, Oxford, 1962, p. 102; WOODROW, *o.c.* (n. 51), pp. 233–234.

58. ST. CLEMENT OF ROME, *Ad Corinthios*, cap. 61, in M.W. HOLMES (ed.), *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations*, Grand Rapids, 2007, pp. 126–127.
59. Cit. HOLMES, *o.c.* (n. 58), p. 33; on St. Clement's prayer for the rulers, see e.g. W.C. VAN UNNIK, "Studies on the so-called First Epistle of Clement. The literary genre", in C. BREYTENBACH – P.W. VAN DER HORST, *Sparsa Collecta: The Collected Essays of W.C. van Unnik*. Part Four: *Neotestamentica — Flavius Josephus — Patristica*, Leiden/Boston, 2014, pp. 253–270.
60. See e.g., J.P. MIGNE, *Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 63, Paris, 1862, col. 911.; MIGNE, *op. cit.*, vol. 106, Paris, 1863, col. 1300; on the liturgisation of the acclamations in the Byzantine rite, see generally R.F. TAFT, *A History of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom*, vol. IV: *The Diptychs*, Rome, 1991, pp. 1–7.
61. See e.g. MIGNE, *o.c.* (n. 60), vol. 29, Paris, 1857, p. CCCXXXVIII.
62. Cit. CERVA, *o.c.* (n. 29), p. 533.

*Domini post Evangelium dicitur*<sup>63</sup>. Taking into consideration all the aforementioned facts, it is not inappropriate to conclude that the oldest Roman-Byzantine roots of *laudes dalmaticae* are to be traced to the imperial acclamations contained in ancient festivities such as the *Lupercalia*<sup>64</sup>. After their liturgisation, through the *medium* of the Church liturgical patterns and with the support of the Byzantine political authority, elements of these acclamations found their path to the Dalmatian formularies of *laudes*.

## 6. Concluding remarks

Despite the fact that direct liturgical sources of *laudes dalmaticae* chanted in honour of the Byzantine *basileus* have not been preserved, the existing historical sources, especially from the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c., offer sufficient arguments for the conclusion that these imperial ritual acclamations were once really practised. Given the fact that the liturgical tradition of chanting *laudes* to the ruler was observed continuously all until modern times only in the eight Dalmatian maritime cities (Kotor, Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Zadar, Rab, Krk and Osor) which were once under the supreme political authority of Byzantium, and not in any other city, it is to be presumed that this kind of mediaeval ruler worship had existed already in the period the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia (θέμα Δαλματίας), created after the Aachen Peace in the year 812, and constituted of the same “octapolis”: Δεκάτερα, Ραοῦσιν, Ἀσπάλαθον, Τετραγγούριν, Διάδωρα, Ἄρβη, Βέκλα, Ὀψαρα. Furthermore, the inner structure of *laudes dalmaticae*, especially the cumulation of best wishes to the ruler (e. g. *salus, honor, vita et victoria*), as well as their position within the rite of liturgy, reveals that the oldest Roman-Byzantine roots of *laudes dalmaticae* are to be traced back to the imperial acclamations (εὐφημία) contained in ancient festivities such as *Lupercalia*. These acclamations were later liturgicized in the Constantinopolitan Rite and thereby undoubtedly influenced the practice of imperial worship in the whole Byzantine empire. However, one should specially point out that *laudes dalmaticae* represent the unique preserved trace of evidence of acclamations chanted in honour of the Byzantine Emperor within the realm of the Latin liturgical tradition.

From the point of view of the local urban community, it is hard to overestimate the fundamental political, legal and religious value of *laudes* for the Byzantine *basileus* in Dalmatia. These liturgical acclamations did not have a mere symbolic significance, but represented “a token of submission and public recognition of the respective overlord and at the same time a pledge binding the Church as well as the people” (Kantorowicz). Furthermore, for the ordinary mediaeval people,

63. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek (MS. theol. lat. qu. 278); KANTOROWICZ, *o.c.* (n. 2), p. 149, n. 13; KATIČIĆ, *o.c.* (n. 7), p. 444.

64. On the festival of *Lupercalia*, its pre-imperial origins and continuation in the Byzantine times, see *supra*, including n. 55–57.

these liturgical acclamations undoubtedly also served as a source of knowledge of the most important public law information related to questions such as: what were the highest state and church functions of that time, who were the current incumbents of those functions and what kind of hierarchy existed among them. *Laudes dalmaticae* faithfully fulfilled these purposes for more than one millenium: from the times of the Byzantine θέμα Δαλματίας until the end of the Habsburgian *Königreich Dalmatien*. This *pulcherrimum Romani decoris monumentum in Dalmatia* was really of a *longue durée*.

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