

ULUSLARARASI AVCILAR SEMPOZYUMU / INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON AVCILAR

# BÜTÜN YOLLAR AVCILAR'DAN GEÇER

ALL ROADS PASS THROUGH AVCILAR

15-16 MART / MARCH 2018



AVCILAR BELEDİYESİ KATKILARIYLA



ALEV YAYINLARI

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Yayın No: 8



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# İstanbul'da Aziz Mamas Kalıntıları

## Relics of St. Mammes in Istanbul

Tomasz PEŁECH\*

### Özet

Ortaçağ'da Aziz Mamas'ın Fransa Krallığındaki başlıca kült merkezi olan Langres Katedrali bu azize ait, İstanbul'dan getirilmiş çeşitli röliklere ev sahipliği yapmakta idi. Bu katedralde görevli ama adı bize ulaşmayan bir papaz 1209 yılında bu röliklerin katedrale getiriliş süreçleri ile ilgili bilgiler kaleme almıştır. Onun verdiği bilgiler Aziz Mamas'ın İstanbul'daki kült merkezlerinin hangi kilise veya manastırlar olabileceği ile ilgili bazı ipuçları sağlamaktadır. Bu röliklerin en eskisi Aziz Mamas'ın 8. Yüzyıl sonlarında İstanbul'dan getirilen boyun omur kemiğidir ve katedralin azizin kült merkezi olmasını sağlamıştır. Ancak bu kutsal emanetin İstanbul'da nerede korunmuş olduğu ile ilgili bilgi verilmemiştir. Aziz Mamas'ın 11. Yüzyıl sonlarında Bizans İmparatoru (olasılıkla Mikhael VII Dukas) tarafından Langrespiskoposu Hugo Renaud de Bar'a sunulan kol kemiği ise İstanbul'da muhtemelen Faros'lu Teotokos veya Aziz Stefanos olması gereken İmparatorluk Şapelinde saklanmaktaydı. Aziz Mamas'ın 4. haçlı seferini takiben Galon de Dampierre tarafından Langres'a getirilen kafatası ise İstanbul'da azizin kendi adını taşıyan bir manastırda, olasılıkla NeaMammeia Manastırında korunmaktaydı. Bu emanet büyük olasılıkla manastırı yeniden inşa eden imparator İsaakios II Angelos (1185-1195) tarafından Kayseri'den getirilerek manastıra bağışlanmıştı.

### Anahtar Kelimeler:

Aziz Mamas, Vikingler, Küçükçekmece Gölü, Bizanslılaşma

Langres is located in south-western France, in Haute-Marne department of Champagne-Ardenne region. In the Middle Ages the city prospered owing to political influence of the local bishops. In 872 Charles the Bald granted Langres the right to mint their own currency, which was later upheld by Charles III and Odo I<sup>1</sup>. In 967 a bishop of Langres would take over the local count's responsibilities to

administer the city; however, the majority of rights would be held by a vidame. In 1178 Hugh III of Burgundy gave the city of Langres to his uncle Gauthier, who were a bishop, and thus all the power to rule the city was transferred to prince-bishops (Defay 1739: 61-62; Constable 1957: 119). Beginning in the Carolingian era, the diocese of Langres would become one of the most prominent dioceses in

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1 Giry et al. 1952: 15-317; Confirmed by Charles the Fat: Bouquet 1757: 346-347; by Odo: Bouquet 1757: 449-450.

France (Glaudon 1949: 5-29; Becker 1955: 24; Constable 1957: 119). It covered the territories of Champagne, the Duchy of Burgundy and Franche-Comté. The bishops of Langres were princes and peers of the Kingdom of France (Jackson 1971: 27-46), many of them being particularly influential in their rulers' courts.

Langres was the center of Saint Mammes cult in the Kingdom of France. The local cathedral holds the relics of the martyr to this day. This paper refers to the research of Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences conducted for the purposes of the project "Stambul/Constantinople-Kucukcekmece-the Destination Port of the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks, a Centre of "Byzantinization" of the Rus' Community". The aim of the paper is to discuss the connection between the Byzantium Empire and the relics which are held and/or were held in the Cathedral of Langres. Having this particular point of view in mind, data related to the cult of Saint Mammes in the Kingdom of France should prove useful in attempts to locate the monastery of the martyr in Constantinople. The capital of Byzantium, according to Rus'-Byzantine treaties of 907/911 and 944, was the destination of many newcomers from the North (Sielecki 1968: 244-248). The basis for this analysis is the 1209 text on translation of the relic of the martyr from Cappadocia (Lingonensis 1878: 22-34), its author, an anonymous canon, expressed many significant pieces of information on the society he lived in. Before discussing the translation, however, it is important to discuss the saint himself.

Saint Mammes, whose name means "the breastfed one", was a semi-legendary child martyr of the third century. His parents, Theodotus and Rufina were also proclaimed saints after they had been persecuted and lost their lives. There exist several different accounts of St. Mammes' martyrdom (Bollandistes 1900-1901: 771). When he was fifteen, after his parents' death, he was taken in by Ammia, a rich widow. During the rule of emperor Aurelian (270-275), Mammes was tortured and died for the Christian faith (Berger 2002: 241-310). The symbol of the Saint is a lion: according

to a legend, when Mammes was thrown to the beasts he made them tame and obedient. The lion would then become his companion. As they visited Caesarea, its duke Alexander sentenced Mammes to death. The saint is a patron of breastfed babies and of those who suffer from broken bones and hernias. His feast occurs on 17 August for Catholic Church and on 2 September for Orthodox Church.

Radegund (Kleinmann 2000; Tours et. al. 2005; Bernet 2007), the second wife of Chlothar I, moved by the story of the martyr from Caesarea acquired Mammes' finger, a relic which was previously kept in Jerusalem. The remains of the saint were deposited in Holy Cross Abbey in Poitiers (Durand 2002: 182-183). There were many places connected to St. Mammes cult in the Kingdom of France in the Middle Ages. Undefined relics of the saint were kept in Sans Cathedral starting from the eleventh century (Chartraire and Prou 1900: 129-172). The village of Saint-Mammès (Seine-et-Marne) was a common destination of pilgrimages during the crusade period and the remains of the martyr were kept in a nearby monastery of Saint-Mammes in Moret-sur-Loing (Tincelin 1870: 161). The relics of Saint Mammes were also kept in a twelfth century chapel in Courrole by Recey-sur-Ource (Cote-d'Or) (Vauthier 1994: 60), in a thirteenth century church in Sceaux by Paris and in Paris itself in the Church of Saint-Séverin and in Pierrefond (Oise) in the Church of Saint-Sulpice (Durand 2002: 183-184). Moreover, a cathedral in Auxerre had a 12th century stained glass window which depicted Mammes' martyrdom (Favreau et. al. 2000: 27-28).

The cult of St. Mammes in Langres began to develop in the eighth century. It appears that it stemmed from the tradition of Cappadocian martyr cult. At the end of fifth century, translation took place for the relics of St. Speusippus, St. Eleusippus and St. Melapsippus. The local tradition was strongly connected to these saints as they were also secondary patrons of the Langres diocese (Butler 1812: 221-222; Durand 2002: 186). The relics of St. Mammes were offered to the cathedral at the end of eighth century by a wealthy noble who came to



Constantinople as he was returning from Jerusalem (Lingonensis 1878: 24). He heard the story of the great martyr (megamartyr, id est magnus martyr) and decided to obtain his remains. He successfully acquired the cervical vertebra (oschia colli) of the saint, which he later donated to the bishop of Langres under the condition that he changes the patron of the church (Lingonensis 1878: 24). The bishop was hesitant, afraid of John the Evangelist's wrath should he change the patron, and was not convinced even after he called a gathering of the faithful (senioribus et universo populo civitatis) and honored the remains of the saint. God spoke to the bishop, however, telling him to fear not and change the patron of the church (Lingonensis 1878: 24). In the story of the first St. Mammes' relic coming to Langres there is a mention of its initial whereabouts: Constantinople is mentioned but no specific location is given (Lingonensis 1878: 24). Nevertheless Byzantium's capital was a place of the saint's worship and his earthly remains were kept there.

With Cappadocian saint's relic in place, the church in Langres changed its patron by the end of eighth century and ever since it has been guarded by St. Mammes. This change is confirmed by diplomatic records: in 814 in Aachen, Louis the Pious issued a document for bishop Belto in which there is a mention of St. Mammes becoming a new patron of Langres Church: *Lingonicae civitatis ubi habetur ecclesia in honore sancti Mammetis eximii martyris* (Bouquet 1749: 461).

In the second half of 11<sup>th</sup> century Hugo Renaud de Bar, the son of Azeka and Milon III the duke of Tonnerre, became the bishop of Langres (Petit 1888: 422). He is remembered as a propagator of St. Mammes cult and he is known for translating the saint's hagiography from Greek into Latin (Lingonensis 1878: 26). Around 1075 Hugo Renaud embarked on a pilgrimage to the East following in the martyr's footsteps and reached Constantinople (Lingonensis 1878: 26). After he and his men-at-arms helped the emperor and his satraps (*ab imperatore et satrapis eius plurimum amabatur*), they established good relations

(Lingonensis 1878: 27). From the unnamed ruler of Byzantium, most likely Michael VII Doukas (1071-1078) (Durand 2002: 187), Renaud received the arm of St. Mammes, which was previously kept in the emperor's chapel (*brachium beati martyris, quod in capella imperatoris honorifice servabatur*) (Lingonensis 1878: 27).

The symbolism of the gift offered to the bishop of Langres is of particular significance in the Christian context. Arm of a saint would only be offered to respected individuals as a way of acknowledging and emphasizing their status. Such gift would thus mean esteem, good will and generosity of its giver. For instance, in 1000 in Gniezno Bolesław I the Brave, the prince of Poland, offered an arm of St. Adalbert of Prague to emperor Otto III (Anonim et al. 1952: 20; Banaszkiwicz 2002: 290-292; Dygo 2005: 52). The relic newly acquired by bishop Hugo Renaud has thus begun to play a significant symbolic role for the Langres diocese, which is reflected by the cathedral's seal bearing the image of saint's arm and the following inscription: *Brachium b(eat)i Mam(m)etis* (Vauthier 1994: 28).

The description of relic's translation specifies where it was deposited before being moved to France. Why was it held in emperor's chapel and in which particular chapel was it held in? J. Durand discusses two leads relevant to these questions (Durand 2002: 199). The martyr's arm may have been placed in the emperor's chapel as a consequence of Romanos I Lekapenos' endeavors, as in 922 he moved a number of emperors' tombs, including the tomb of emperor Maurice, from decaying St. Mammes' monastery to a newly built Myrelaion church (Band 2000: 973-1041). This theory is in line with the content of the typikon, according to which the condition of the monastery deteriorated at the beginning of tenth century and the restoration of which began in 980 or 984 following the doings of Symeon the New Theologian (Band 2000: 973-974). As the buildings required renovation, the place was no longer appropriate to house the saint's relics. Another possibility, not mutually exclusive with the previous one, is the decision of

emperor Nikephoros II Pokhas (963-969). The emperor was from Cappadocia's Caesarea, the place of St. Mamme's martyrdom which allows for Phocas family close relationship with the saint's cult. Nikephoros would thus move the saint's relics directly from Caesarea to emperor's chapel in Constantinople (Durand 2002: 199).

This might be confirmed by the data indicating that the remains of the saint were previously kept in Cappadocia (Divi enim Mamantis corpus Cesareae situm est)<sup>2</sup>.

The chapel in the emperor's palace mentioned in the text on translation of 1209 might be Theotokos of the Pharos. That chapel housed notable relics of the Passion and of many saints, including St. John the Baptist's arm (Kalavrezou 2004: 55-57), which gave the chapel the names of another Sinai, a Bethlehem, a Jordan, a Jerusalem, a Nazareth, a Bethany, a Galilee, a Tiberias (Klein 2006: 79-99). The second possible location of St. Mammes' remains is St. Stephan chapel. According to C. Mango it was par excellence the second chapel of the emperor's palace (Mango 1972: 193). It housed St. Stephen's arm and other relics, which, according to I. Kalavrezou, unlike the chapel were more political or secular in nature (Kalavrezou 2004: 57). There was also a long-lasting tradition of keeping saints' arms in both emperor's chapels, which reflected each given emperor's or dynasty's respect to a certain patron. By analogy, Macedonian dynasty would keep an arm of St. John the Baptist who was particularly important to the ideology of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959) (Kalavrezou 2004: 75-79). Following this trend, the presence of St. Mamme's remains in either of emperor's chapels could be ascribed to Nikephoros II. The Cappadocian ruler could be propagating the cult of the martyr from his homeland.

St. Mamme's arm relic is related to a miracle which occurred during the preparations for the second crusade. Around 1147, Geoffroy de La Roche-Vanneau (Crozet 1975: 263-268),

the bishop of Langres and a cousin of Bernard of Clairvaux decided to embark on an expedition to Outremer with the king of France, Louis VII (Lingonensis 1878: 27). As the expedition required financing, Geoffroy decided to use the cathedral's treasury. As the jewels and gold which adorned St. Mamme's arm's reliquary had been removed from the altar (dum aurum ac lapides pretiosos, quibus brachium beati Mamantis decoratum erat), a bare bone of the martyr appeared (os nudum brachii) (Lingonensis 1878: 27). Then, blood began to gush out of the arm and was collected in an alabaster vase (in vase alabastrino) (Lingonensis 1878: 27). God intervened to protect the honour of his martyr for he did not want the relics of the saint to be plundered, which would lessen his glory (Lingonensis 1878: 27).

According to the author of the translation, before 1209 Langres housed fragments of a tibia or femur of St. Mammes (os longum, quod de tibia vel de femore esse videtur) (Lingonensis 1878: 33). However, there is little to no data regarding this relic. Both its origins and the date of its arrival in the cathedral are unknown (Durand 2002: 198). It has only been mentioned in a text by an anonymous canon of Langres and it has no story connected to it.

As the armies of the Fourth Crusade plundered Constantinople in 1204 they found the skull of St. Mammes. Galon de Dampierre coming from Langres obtained this priceless relic thanks to mediation of a legate, Peter of Capua. The skull was in a reliquary embellished by two silver stripes with the following inscriptions: ΑΓΙΟC ΜΑΜΑC (Lingonensis 1878: 29; Durand 2002: 196-198). The anonymous canon of Langres also described the efforts related to the transportation of the relic before it finally reached the cathedral (Lingonensis 1878: 29-31). For the purposes of this paper, it is important to note where exactly the relic was held.

In Constantinople, the skull was housed in a monastery the patron of which was St. Mammes, newly built by an emperor named Hysa-

2 Durand 2002: 199 notes 79, 80.

chius (monasterium quod de novo fabricatum erat, sumptibus Hysachii imperatoris Constantinopolitani in honore beati Mamantis [...]) In ecclesia, quam de novo fabricat Hysachius imperator beati martyri) (Lingonensis 1878: 30). The relics, according to the text on translation, were moved to the monastery by a certain sage monk from the place of St. Mammes' martyrdom, Caesarea in Cappadocia, which in the contemporaneous times was held by the Turks (caput patroni nostri, quod quidam calogerus (id est bonus senex monachus), [...] de terra, in qua beatus martyr passus est, Constantinopolim detulit) (Lingonensis 1878: 30).

The emperor mentioned in the narration is most likely Isaac II Angelos (1185-1195). Isaac I Komnenos (1057-1059) is unlikely to be the person in question as the information on the monastery's renovation, had it already began to decay back then, would have been mentioned in the typikon. Moreover, there are multiple mentions of St. Mamme's body being housed in Caesarea in Cappadocia prior to 1185, e.g. by Nicetas of Heraclea who lived at the turn of eleventh and twelfth century (Durand 2002: 199). The skull of St. Mammes, which eventually found its way to Langres, must have been moved to Constantinople when the monastery was being renovated during the rule of Isaac II Angelos. In the current state of research, however, the contemporaneous location of the skull is uncertain (Stanisławski et. al. 2015: 8-25). Possibly, it could have been housed by Nea Mammeia monastery (Chastelain 1709: 863).

In conclusion, the text of St. Mamme's relic translation, written by an anonymous canon of Langres contains information on the relationship of those relics with the Byzantine Empire. The cathedral housed three relics which have been brought there from Constantinople. The first relic, a cervical vertebra, was donated by a wealthy traveler. Later, an arm of St. Mammes found its way to Langres after being donated to bishop Hugo Renaud de Bar by a byzantine emperor. In Byzantium the arm was housed in an emperor's chapel, most likely placed there by Nikephoros II Phocas or Romanos I Lekapenos. Finally, after the

fourth crusade in 1209, Galon de Dampierre coming from Langres brought the skull of St. Mammes to the local cathedral. In 1204 it was housed in a monastery renewed, or rebuilt, by emperor Isaac II Angelos in Constantinople, brought there from Caesarea in Cappadocia. The remaining relics in the cathedral, blood contained in an alabaster vase and a bone fragment of a tibia or a femur are not connected to Byzantium.

The cult of St. Mammes in Langres has been connected to Constantinople, the haven of the martyr's relics, from its very beginnings. The place where the relics had been held was indicated loosely, as in the case of the cervical vertebra or quite precisely by pointing to a particular chapel (arm) or monastery (skull). The information contained in the text on the translation might be a relevant point in the discussion on the location of St. Mamme's monastery, which is currently being researched by a team working on the project "Stambul/Constantinople-Kucukcekmece-the Destination Port of the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks, a Centre of "Byzantinization" of the Rus' Community".

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