how even the Lusignan churches had decoration which mixed Byzantine and western motives, so that we see the same hybridization of painting as in Crete with a conscious mixture of Greek and Latin styles. He shows how by 1570-1571 AD, when the Ottoman Turks took over the island, Cyprus has a distinctive mix of Byzantine, Gothic and Venetian Renaissance features. Many of the churches became mosques. But new churches built in the 18th and 19th centuries had neo-classical and neo-gothic elements. Even the early 19th century village mosque at Peristerona incorporated a Renaissance style doorway and Gothic style windows. Bacci asks if this is eclecticism without ideology. He declines, for example, to propose that an interest in Neo-Gothic forms came with the establishment of the British mandate in 1878 which might have discouraged Neoclassical forms. He counters this idea by showing that an interest in reviving earlier Gothic forms had already begun in the Ottoman period. Bacci's paper and choice of examples is an important discussion with wider implications about building practices in the Mediterranean.

ROBIN CORMACK
PROFESSOR EMERITUS IN THE HISTORY OF ART,
COURTAULD INSTITUTE OF ART
cormack@byzanz.demon.co.uk

David Jacoby. *Travellers, Merchants and Settlers in the Eastern Mediterranean, 11th-14th Centuries*. pp. viii+336. 2016. New York: Routledge (First Published in 2014 by Ashgate Publishing). ISBN 978-1-472-42579-9 hardback £90.00

The choice of a suitable title for this collection of studies, originally published by David Jacoby between 2003 and 2008, must have been challenging. As a metaphor of the partial nature of any historical or archaeological context, the mentioned categories are far from representative for the whole range of topics the volume covers, and the relationship between them is not completely straightforward at first glance. According to the preface, this eighth *Variorum Collected Studies Series,* similarly to the previous one entitled: *'Latins, Greeks, and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th-15th Centuries'* (2009) aims at investigating 'the growing geographic mobility of Westerners across the Mediterranean in the period extending from the eleventh to the fourteenth century'; furthermore, 'the studies illustrate various aspects of the resulting cultural encounter with the Muslim and oriental Christian communities of the Levant and Greek society in Byzantium and former Byzantine territories.' Therefore, this volume is of great interest not only for scholars studying the Medieval Mediterranean and Near East, but also for those interested in maritime shipping and, more in general, in Mediterranean connectivity.

Considering that this mobility, as Jacoby stresses, 'is reflected by pilgrimage, trade, shipping, the Crusades, military conquests, migration, and settlement' (vii-viii), one may wonder why some of the above categories have been removed from the cover. As it has been suggested by other scholars,[1] some categorizations, such as 'the Crusaders', have been predominant in studies on this particular geographical space and this particular time period; hence, the author has probably tried to emancipate the analysis from the most exploited themes above, in order to put in the foreground the many social aspects and dynamics that shaped the Mediterranean region beside and behind the Crusades. Nonetheless, the choice to omit from the title the *'peregrini'*, a term that in the 13th century, according to ships' passenger lists, covered both pilgrims and crusaders (III, 58, note 8), does not do justice to one of the most interesting aspects that this collection of papers contributes to highlight, namely the intertwined devotional and commercial dimension of Mediterranean mobility, which specialists too often tend to study separately.

The first three contributions directly address this issue. While analyzing the eleventh-century Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land through the eyes of the Bishop Gunther of Bamberg (died in 1065), the first article (I, 267-285) provides useful insights and descriptions of the motivations behind the pilgrimages to the Holy Land (I, 276), as well of the routes usually followed by the pilgrims, and the means of transport they favoured (I, 278). The pilgrims mainly travelled on trade-vessels, and their average dimensions have been used by Jacoby to scale back the rough number of pilgrims that are claimed to have joined the so-called 'German expedition' of 1064-1065. Even though it is clearly impossible to assess precisely the relative importance of land and maritime routes, which often were used concurrently, the author notices that 'individuals at a fairly short distance from the Mediterranean or Adriatic shores generally favoured the sea route' (I, 279); moreover, political developments, such as 'tense relations between Byzantium and Fatimid Egypt and the weakening of Fatimid rule over Syria

[1] Wei-sheng Lin 2014.

and Palestine' may have interfered with the passage of pilgrims overland, and fostered the recourse to maritime transportation' (I, 281). In contrast to what he briefly recalls in the preface, the author doubts in the article that the western pilgrimage to the Holy Land became, as often claimed, a mass movement in the period (I, 278). Nonetheless, the construction of larger ships in the thirteenth century certainly contributed to the reduction of the travel expenses and to the increase of the number of passengers. In this regard the role of the Order of St. John's fleet has been pivotal.

The article 'The Hospitaller ships and transportation across the Mediterranean' (III, 57-72) sheds light on the Order of St John's involvement in maritime transportation, discussing the development of the Order's fleet up until the fall of the Frankish states in 1291, as well as the functions of these vessels. The author documents the shipping privileges that the Order of St John shared together with the Templars, mainly in the form of tax exemption for trading commodities and pilgrims, particularly on the route connecting Marseilles and Acre. The transfer of pilgrims was a business and there were also tour operators offering package trips at convenient fares (III, 63). Despite the common belief according to which the Order owned a considerable number of vessels in the 13th century, Jacoby argues that the Hospitallers were never capable of ensuring the volume of maritime transportation on their own; therefore they took advantage of private ships engaging in commercial sailings, hired whole vessels, purchased them, or commissioned their construction until 1209 (III, 72). The article mentions important historical sources documenting the capacity of the Order's fleet; it also provides information on their average pilgrims-capacity, which nautical archaeologist would enjoy reading and challenging.

The contribution on 'Benjamin the Tudela 'Book of Travels'', which is the second in this collection of studies by D. Jacoby, (II, 135-164) provides a vivid example of the considerable information that may be derived from pilgrims' travel-descriptions, particularly on the places they visited and the routes they followed. The original account has certainly been shortened and edited and many indications about the means of transportation Benjamin used or the perils he encountered along the ways are missing (II, 137). Despite the many uncertainties around the life of this twelfth-century Jewish traveller, and the many missing pieces of information, Benjamin's account of his long journey, which lasted between twelve and fourteen years, is not just a simple description of the places he visited, but rather an important source of information on both the author's emotions (II, 137) and the period's mentality: 'he was avid of historical knowledge, traditions, and stories to strengthen his religious faith and his understanding of reality; [...] he was overly credulous [...] There was no boundary between reality and fantasy, which freely and constantly intermingled and merged in his mind.' (II, 163).

The awareness of both possibilities and dangers connected to seaborne mobility,[2] clearly emerges from the above contribution, and it is explicated by Jacoby, who notes how 'the sea is both a source of food, wealth and prosperity, generated by fishing, shipping, trade and immigrants, yet also of evil. Ships carry the plague from port to port. They also convey enemies, invaders, corsairs and pirates disrupting social and economic life, causing destruction, and engaging in the displacement, deportation and enslavement of populations' (IX, 131). These aspects are highlighted in connection to the demographic evolution of Euboea under Latin Rule, namely between 1205-1470 (IX, 131-179) and particularly in relation to the Turkish raids that at the beginning of the 15th century deeply affected the population living along the coasts (IX, 174). Among the factors causing heavy demographic losses are also the Black Death (1347-1348) and the war waged against Genoa since 1350. As a consequence, a number of measures were taken to attract Latin settlers and Greeks in the region.

Particular attention is given to the city of Negroponte, which became the major emporium of the western Aegean region along the maritime route connecting Italy to Constantinople. The city, particularly the Venice quarter, became an important collection centre for silk textiles that were produced in Euboea and were shipped to Italy, mainly to the two important silk manufacturing centre of Lucca and Venice. Besides the economic factors, others played an important role in attracting overseas settlers; among them fiscal incentives (IX, 148) and citizenship grants promised by the Venice government to settlers resident within the Venetian quarter for at least ten years. (IX, 155-156).

The consequences of the period of Latin rule over different geographical contexts are explored also in the articles focused on Acre (contribution IV and V) and Constantinople (contributions VI, VII and VIII). Particularly, the crucial economic and cultural role played by Venice and Venetian settlers is highlighted. In the two studies 'New Venetian

[2] McCormick 1998.

evidence on crusader Acre' (IV, 240-256) and 'Society, culture and the arts in crusader Acre' (V, 97-137), Jacoby analyses the socio-economic and cultural developments of one of the most important transit stations in the Byzantine pilgrimage to the Holy Land (V, 108). In order to facilitate non-acquainted readers, it would have been better to shift the order of the articles, since the latter provides a broader introduction to Acre's historical context, and the former provides more specific local developments connected to the role Venice covered in Acre after the War of Saint Sabas (1256-1258). Particularly, the 'involvement of Venetian settlers in Acre in trans-Mediterranean trade in the late crusader period' (IV, p. 254) is explored by looking, amongst other documents, at Venetian notarial charters and at the activity of specific traders-settlers, such as Albertino de Placa or Pietro Vessano, a rich Venetian expatriate that after several decades of commercial activity and residence overseas, came back to the homeland in his old age (IV, 249).

While disclosing the main political and historical events behind the rise of Acre as the 'most populated urban centre of the Frankish Levant', the author brings to light the heterogeneous and multicultural background of such a Mediterranean emporium' (V, 100). Particularly, attention is given to the importance that the coexistence of different groups, mostly acculturated, merchants, pilgrims, and the military, had in the development of culture, and as intermediaries in cultural transfers between East and West. Jacoby highlights how Oriental Christian and Muslim craftsmen were aware of the heterogeneous composition of their potential clientele; indeed not only were they combining Christian and Islamic features, they were also avoiding motifs and scenes that may have been offensive to a certain religious community (V, 109). Connected to this, is another noteworthy aspect that has not been specifically addressed in this collection of studies but that Jacoby mentioned elsewhere:[3] not only did different cultural and religious traditions coexist, in specific cases the Christian, Muslim and Jewish worships also converged. Among the possible examples, for which there is already a vast literature,[4] is the Spring of Oxen, in the Urban walls[5] and the Convent of Our Lady at Saidnaya. The latter is mentioned in the fifth study on Acre of this *Variorum Collection* in relation to the hypothesis on the origins of the icon devotion to the Virgin (104-105) and to the existence of a Christian pilgrimage from Constantinople to the shrines of the holy land via Acre (104-105); nonetheless, an allusion to the broader topic is in the endnote citing the eloquent study by B. Z. Kedar 'Convergences of Oriental, Christian, Muslim and Frankish Worshippers: the case of Saydnaya'.[6]

The articles on Constantinople (VI, VII, VIII), focus on the period of Latin Rule over the city (between 1204 and 1261), and on its socio-economic consequences. Particularly, in VII, the author aims to challenge 'the gloomy picture that has been given of this period as an historical hiatus characterised by supposed economic decline and material devastation'. Different considerations are brought to light to support the argument; among them is the abundant Latin immigration to Constantinople between 1204 and 1261, where the presence of women and children suggest interpreting this as stable residence rather than temporary movements (VII, 211). If such movements of new residents involved both Westerners (Venetian, Pisan, Amalfitan, Lombard) and Greeks, the contribution of Venice in the economy of Latin Constantinople has been particularly pivotal, as suggested by the enlargement of the Venetian quarter in Constantinople and the concentration of economic activities there (VI), justifying the expression of '*a state within a state*' used in the title of VIII. Details on the architecture of the city, including building materials and space-management, as well on its governmental and administrative bodies are provided in contributions VI and VIII respectively.

Indication of renewed economic activity of Latin settlers and travelling merchants in Constantinople is also attested to by the intensification of both long-distance shipping and medium-range maritime trades conducted from Constantinople to Abydos, Crete and Negroponte between 1209 and 1212 (VII, 198-199). Constantinople become a central hub and major transit station (VII, 214) particularly in the last decades of Latin rule; the latter the author argues, made a decisive contribution to the long term development of Constantinople's economy and to maritime trade between the Mediterranean and the Black sea (VII, 213). Particularly, 'the collapse of the Byzantine control over navigation and the consolidation of Mongol rule along the Northern coasts of Black Sea by 1240, contributed to the intensification of Western shipping and trade, particularly the Venetian one, in the Black Sea' (VII, 200). Recent astonishing underwater archaeological discoveries in the Black Sea waters, which clearly the author could not take into account at the time of

[3] Jacoby 2014.
[4] Albera 2005. For recent comparative perspectives on religious mixing in the Mediterranean and related debate see: Albera and Couroucli (eds) 2012; Ayoub 1999.
[5] Jacoby 2014: 55.
[6] Note 27, contribution V: 124.

first-publishing, promise to shed new light on this seaborne network.[7]

This volume provides more insights on the socio-economic consequences of Mediterranean mobility between the 11th and 14th century than explicitly promised in the title. While exploring the intra-regional interactions between Westerners and Easterners, the analysis tilts towards a Latin perspective, hence the picture outlined is clearly partial. Nonetheless, the previous collection of the same series titled 'Latins, Greeks and Muslims: Encounters in the Eastern Mediterranean, 10th-15th Centuries' may be considered a valid complement to further explore the multifaceted nature of these inter-religious and cross-cultural connections, since it particularly addresses the relationship between the concepts of 'outsiders' and 'indigenous'.

Manuela Ritondale
Groningen Institute of Archaeology,
University of Groningen
and IMT School for Advanced Studies Lucca
m.ritondale@rug.nl
manuela.ritondale@imtlucca.it

Albera, D. 2005. Pèlerinages mixtes et sanctuaires 'ambigus' en Méditerranée, in S. Chiffoleau and A. Madoeuf (eds) *Les Pèlerinages en Moyen-Orient: Espaces publics, espaces du public*: 347–378. Beirut: Institut Français du Proche-Orient.

Albera, D. and M. Couroucli (eds) 2012. *Sharing Sacred Spaces in the Mediterranean. Christians, Muslims, and Jews at Shrines and Sanctuaries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Ayoub, M. 1999. Cult and culture: common saints and shrines in middle-eastern popular piety, in R. G. Havannisian and G. Sabagh (eds) *Religion and Culture in Medieval Islam:* 103–115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dousse, M. 2005. *Marie la Musulmane*. Paris: Albin Michel.

Hasluck, F. W. 1929. *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. Vol. 1. Istanbul: Isis Press

Jacoby, D. 2014. Ports of pilgrimage to the holy land, eleventh–fourteenth century: Jaffa, Acre, Alexandria, in M. Bacci and M. Rohde (eds) *The Holy Portolano. The Sacred Geography of Navigation in the Middle Ages. Fribourg Colloquium 2013 / Le Portulan sacré. La geographie religieuse de la navigation au Moyen Âge. Colloque Fribourgeois 2013* (Scrinium Friburgense XXXVI): 51-71. Berlin: De Gruyter.

McCormick, M. 1998. Bateaux de vie, bateaux de mort: maladie, commerce, transports, annonaires et le passage économique du Bas-Empire au Moyen Age. *Morfologie sociali e culturali in Europa fra tarda antichitá e alto medioevo. Atti della XLV Settimana di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo (Spoleto, 3-9 aprile 1997)*: 35-118. Spoleto: CISAM

Wei-sheng Lin, 2014. Review of 'Travellers, merchants and settlers in the eastern Mediterranean, 11th-14th centuries'. *Reviews in History. Covering books and digital resources across all fields of history* (Review no. 1671). Institute of Archaeological research, School of Advanced Study University of London. DOI: 10.14296/RiH/2014/1671. (Available at: http://www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1671)

[7] Started in 2015, The Maritime Archaeological Project called Black Sea MAP is led by the University of Southampton and funded by EEF Expeditions Limited. Up to now, 60 well-preserved shipwrecks have been found, covering a chronological range of nearly 2500 years. Further information is available on the University of Southampton website: https://www.southampton.ac.uk/news/2017/09/black-ships.page

Post-Medieval to Modern

Dimitris N. Karidis. *Athens from 1456 to 1920. The Town under Ottoman Rule and the 19th-Century Capital City.* pp. 292, illustrated throughout in black and white. 2014. ISBN 978-1-90573-971-4 paperback £35.00. ISBN 9781784910723 -publication £15.83.

Dimitris N. Karidis. Athens from 1920 to 1940. *A true and just account of how History was enveloped by a modern City and the Place became an Event.* pp. viii+194, illustrated throughout in black & white. 224 2016. ISBN 978-1-78491-311-3 paperback £34.00. ISBN 978-1-78491-312-0 e-publication £15.83.

Dimitris Karidis has given us a veritable feast in these two volumes, while opening us up to a sustained barrage of iconoclastic opinions, definitively backed up by the most impressive research, that rewrite our handed-down narratives about the post-Classical city of Athens and its fate up to the 20th century AD. To do this he does not confine himself to the city itself, but lets us know what was happening in the contemporary Attic countryside. He also regularly provides a detailed background history of the wider Greek world so that the progression of urban life in Athens is set into the broadest relevant context. Thus for example you could read the first volume just to get an excellent informed history of the society and economy of the Ottoman Empire. He also treats us to a great deal of useful architectural theory which will not be well-known to archaeologists and historians.

The largest part of volume 1 is indeed when Athens was under Ottoman rule, and Karidis reflects the tenor of most recent scholarship in rescuing its early centuries from the mythical tales of barbarism and backwardness till recently, and in some quarters even today, put forward as typifying that period after the end of Frankish rule. Athens has long been shown to have been one of the largest towns in the early Ottoman Balkans. We might have anticipated such an approach, after his collaborative volume with the Ottoman text-specialist Machiel Kiel on the Ottoman monuments and population of Lesbos (2002). This reviewer finds it rather curious however, that Karidis, in contrast, is very negative about the Western feudal rulers of Greece in the 13th-15th centuries, and I suspect we shall eventually need to summon up a similar revisionism to reassess the real nature and achievements of the Franks in their palaces on the Acropolis or on the Kadmeia in Thebes. Certainly surface survey suggests that rural population flourished and grew between the preceding Middle Byzantine era and the Frangocratia. However to be fair, this volume after all is officially focussed on the post-Crusader centuries.

The story of Athens, its churches, mosques, streets and public squares, its roads and then its society and economy, during the almost 400 years of Ottoman rule, and then into the next century of the Greek independent state, are painstakingly reconstructed using the surviving and lost monuments, paintings and contemporary descriptions. Probably only the late John Travlos, who paid even more attention to documenting the physical traces of Athens' buildings from Antiquity to the Ottoman period (Travlos 1993), would not be surprised at the information given here, mostly quite unknown to scholars let alone tourists. Yet just as Ottoman monuments long known and dated lie neglected and unlabelled today, one must wonder to what extent Karidis' reminder of the fascinating survivals of these centuries will have any influence on conservation and presentation strategies in the modern city. This reviewer has pointed this out with reference to the beautiful ruined, unfenced and weed-befested 18th century entrance gate of the Medrese or religious school facing the enclosed and well-presented Tower of the Winds near the ancient Agora (Bintliff, 2012, 453).

The decline of Ottoman power in the 17th-19th centuries does live up to a significant extent to the black legend of local abuse of power and corruption, resulting from a weak central government and the rise of regional elites exploiting the vacuum of authority. Equally depressing is the tortuous history of the successes and failures of the Kingdom of Greece in replanning, or failing to plan, the growth of the city after the Independence War, a story continued to 1940 in Volume 2. Few love the modern townscape of Athens as a whole, although there are places and localities of charm and atmosphere and even architectural distinction: Karidis charts with clarity how all this came about as the city grew exponentially and largely out of centrally-directed control.

For anyone with an interest in Greece after Byzantium, these books are a must, and they come with an unexpectedly rich body of maps and images to complement the text.

JOHN BINTLIFF
EDINBURGH AND LEIDEN UNIVERSITY
johnlbintliff@gmail.com