




Bojana Radovanović (Nijmegen)

 <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9622-5236>

## SPREADING THE WORD: ORAL TRANSMISSION OF THE BOGOMIL TEACHINGS, ITS SYMBOLISM, AND BIBLICAL EXEGESIS\*

**Abstract.** The oral biblical exegesis and oral transmission, or the unwritten tradition, represent pillars in the circulation of texts and ideas since the very dawn of Christianity, both in orthodox and heterodox circles. Namely, this vast topic encompasses the concepts related to the concepts of the written sources and the spoken word, and their interrelation, and, furthermore, to the symbolism of the ear, Logos, and secret teachings (*arcana*). The role and impact of the oral transmission will be examined on the example of the Bogomils, and this paper will re-assess the importance and function of the oral transmission of the Bogomil doctrine. Therefore, the Biblical exegesis will also be analyzed in that key, and the question of the Bogomil preachers will be addressed. More broadly, the oral transmission of the Bogomil teachings can be observed as one of the *modi operandi* that the Bogomils resorted to in the aim of propagating their ideas, as well as possibly their interpretative manner to approach the Scriptural material and parables.

**Keywords:** the Bogomils, oral transmission, Biblical exegesis, preaching, symbolism

The oral transmission played a prominent role in Bogomil praxis and exegesis, including the symbolism and the wider implications of the oral transmission and its branching. Thus, the sway and scope of this topic can be structured in a three-fold scheme: the importance of the oral transmission, its social mirroring, symbolism and representation of the aural conception.

In the Bogomil Christology, the incarnation of Jesus was believed to have occurred through the right ear of the Virgin Mary:

He sent forth from His heart the Logos, that is, the son who is God. For it is written: 'My heart has uttered a good word'. They claim that this Logos and Son is the Archangel Michael: 'For his name', they say, 'shall be the Angel of Good Counsel'. They call him Archangel because he is more divine than all other angels, Jesus because He cures all illnesses and diseases, and Christ because he is anointed with flesh.

---

\* This article originated in the course of the Erwin Schrödinger postdoctoral project funded by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF), under the number J 4431-G, and entitled "*Sicut oves in medio luporum*: religious landscapes, dualist dissent, and the 'language of heresy' (11<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries)".

He descended from above and crept through the right ear of the Virgin and put on a body that appears to be physical like a human body, but is, in reality, immaterial and divine. He went out in the same way as He had entered, while the Virgin perceived neither entrance nor exit, but simply found Him lying swaddled in the cave. He accomplished the incarnate plan and acted and taught as explained in the Gospels, except that He only appeared to undergo human suffering<sup>1</sup>.

In Dimitri Obolensky's view, mythological account on Christ's birth, as conveyed by Euthymius Zygabenus and attested to have circulated among the Bogomils and in the *Interrogatio Iohannis*<sup>2</sup>, refers to the hearing of the word of God and of the preaching<sup>3</sup>. The Bogomils may have embraced this idea of Christ's incarnation due to their docetic point of view whilst denying the fact that Christ took human flesh and interpreted it in a literal sense, as it was put forward by Bernard Hamilton<sup>4</sup>. Also Yuri Stoyanov points to the importance of the oral transmission of the canonical as well as extra-canonical textual elements in course of their diffusion among the Slavonic communities, in vernacular:

significantly, such a combination of scriptural exegesis and parabiblical narratives could be preached and disseminated in the vernacular, which in the climate of nascent Christianization, certainly enhanced further the scope of its appeal and impact (particularly, given the importance of orality and oral transmission of tradition in contemporaneous Slavonic cultures)<sup>5</sup>.

### Importance and social implications of the oral transmission

The importance of the oral means of transmission of the earliest Christian tradition was underlined, among other, in Paul's Epistle to the Romans: *Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God*<sup>6</sup>. The *Episcopi vagabontes*, prophets,

<sup>1</sup> EUTHYMIUS ZYGABENUS, *Panoplia Dogmatike*, [in:] J. SANIDOPOULOS, *The Rise of Bogomilism and its Penetration into Constantinople. With a Complete Translation of Euthymios Zygabenos' 'Concerning Bogomilism'*, Rollinsford 2011 [= PETT, 3], p. 87; D. VAN NIEKERK, *The Bogomil and Cathar Teaching of the Birth of Jesus through the Ear of the Virgin Mary*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference Days of Justinian I*, Skopje 2021 (forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> The full name of this text is *Interrogatio Iohannis apostoli et evangelistae in cena secreta regni coelorum de ordinatione mundi istius et de principe et de Adam*.

<sup>3</sup> D. OBOLENSKY, *Bogumili. Studija o balkanskom neomaniheizmu*, Zagreb 2009 (original: *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-manicheism*, Cambridge 1948), p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650–c. 1450*, Manchester–New York 1998, p. 186.

<sup>5</sup> Y. STOYANOV, *The Debate on Medieval Western Christian Dualism through the Prism of Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, *Scri* 14, 2018, p. 339; cf. S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*, Cambridge 1969, p. 74, 82–83.

<sup>6</sup> Rom. 10: 17, KJV.

and early Christian apostles travelled widely and spread the word: to Judea, Asia Minor, Rome, Egypt, the Balkans...<sup>7</sup>. The Gospel of John also undoubtedly makes mention of numerous unwritten events from Christ's life: *And there are also many other things which Jesus did, which, if they should be written every one, I suppose that even the world itself could not contain the books that should be written*<sup>8</sup>. Besides, the New Testament also bears witness of secret mysteries attributed to Paul, which might corroborate the existence of esoteric Christian traditions embedded in the apostolic one, and of its importance<sup>9</sup>. Oral transmission can also echo the emulation of the apostolic tradition and dissemination of the Early Christian doctrine. And furthermore, the more secretive the doctrine, apparently, the lesser the probability it would be transmitted in the writing<sup>10</sup>.

In early Medieval Bulgaria for example, debating on the issues pertaining to the new faith constituted a common practice even before the Christianization of the land<sup>11</sup>.

The Bogomils used to be very active in the process of dissemination of their teachings and to preach from village to village, from town to town<sup>12</sup>, often visiting people at their houses<sup>13</sup>, but also sojourning in Orthodox monasteries<sup>14</sup>. The Messalians and the Paulicians applied the same method whilst propagating their teachings – consisted, among other, of wandering and preaching<sup>15</sup>.

Namely, in the early Middle Ages, the majority of the population was incapable of understanding the sermons in Latin and Greek; additionally, the crisis which hit both the Churches in the Western Europe and in Byzantium in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, has extended its sway<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. A. KAPLAN, *The Bahir. Translation, Introduction, and Commentary*, Boston 1979, p. XV, XVII; K. PARRY, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1996 [= MME, 12], p. 156–165; B. HAMILTON, *Religion and the Laity*, [in:] *NCMH*, vol. IV.1, ed. D. LUSCOMBE, J. RILEY-SMITH, Cambridge 2008, p. 508, 510–511.

<sup>8</sup> Jn. 21: 25, KJV.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. P. TÓTH, *Way out of the Tunnel? Three Hundred Years of Research on the Apocrypha: a Preliminary Approach*, [in:] *Retelling the Bible. Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, ed. L. DOLEŽALOVÁ, T. VISI, Frankfurt am Main 2011, p. 54–55.

<sup>10</sup> EUTHYMIUS ZYGABENUS in J. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies...*, p. 199–200.

<sup>11</sup> Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Централизъм и регионализъм в ранносредновековна България (края на VII – началото на XI в.)*, София 2005, p. 102–103.

<sup>12</sup> Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Богомилството*, София 2000, p. 216; cf. K. PAPASOV, *Christen oder Ketzler – die Bogomilen*, Stuttgart 1983, p. 110–111.

<sup>13</sup> Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Богомилството...*, p. 109, 111; on Euthymius Zygabenus' account: *ibidem*, p. 209; Cosmas: *ibidem*, p. 233.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. ANNA КОМНЕНА, *Alexiade*, XV, 8, vol. III, ed. B. LEIB, Paris 1946 [= CB], p. 485–486; they appeared as monks, physically, D. ОВОЛЕНСКИЙ, *Bogumili...*, p. 202.

<sup>15</sup> Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Богомилството...*, p. 86, 91.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 236–237; B. HAMILTON, *Religion and the Laity...*, p. 510–511.

The Great Schism in 1054 represented, in fact, only a culmination of a long series of events. More precisely, the conflicts which have arisen two centuries before were intrinsically connected to the Byzantine endeavors to expand missionary activities and include new territories into its realm, having started with the Filioque controversy and the ensuing “Photian Schism” in 860’s, and the fierce confrontation between the Frankish and Byzantine missionaries in the Bulgarian territories<sup>17</sup>. Additionally, it was the general war-like-climate which marked the second half of the tenth century that may well have contributed to the spread of heterodox preachers and ideas, underpinned by the feelings of insecurity and instability within the Byzantine and Byzantine-neighboring lands<sup>18</sup>.

In the second half of the ninth century, bishops Clement and Naum of Ohrid, together with Constantine of Preslav, continued the work of Cyril and Methodius aimed at spreading literacy. Constantine was priest in Pliska and Preslav, and later Bishop of Preslav, at the time when Naum moved to Ohrid. Importantly, Constantine translated four homilies composed by Athanasius of Alexandria against the heretics. Could this impetus have mirrored the heretical threat of the epoch, since, at the turn of the tenth century, a heretical presence was attested in Preslav<sup>19</sup>?

At the same time, the heterodox preachers found their audience likewise, eager to hear the Good News in vernacular. Besides, the interrelationship between orthodoxy, heresy and literacy in the Slavonic, Bulgarian and Byzantine cultures played an important role. In the early phases of Slavonic literacy, heretical teachers may have possibly had recurrence to the material from the first translations

<sup>17</sup> F. DVORNIK, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*, Cambridge 1970 [repr.], p. 91–131, esp. p. 122; D. STRATOUDAKI WHITE, *Patriarch Photios of Constantinople. His Life, Scholarly Contributions, and Correspondence together with a Translation of Fifty-two of his Letters*, Brookline 1981, p. 32; T.M. KOLBABA, *Inventing Latin Heretics. Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century*, Kalamazoo 2008, p. 49–75.

<sup>18</sup> M. HURBANICH, *The Byzantine Missionary Concept and its Revitalisation in the 9<sup>th</sup> Century: Some Remarks on the Content of Photius’ Encyclical Letter Ad Archiepiscopales thronos per Orientem obtinentes*, Bsl 63, 2005, p. 103–116; M. HETÉNYI, P. IVANIĆ, *The Contribution of Ss. Cyril and Methodius to Culture and Religion*, Rs 12, 2021, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12060417> [20 VIII 2021], p. 3; D.P. HUPCHICK, *Interlude: from Wary Peace Through Rus’ Intervention, 927–971*, [in:] IDEM *The Bulgarian-Byzantine Wars for Early Medieval Balkan Hegemony: Silver-Lined Skulls and Blinded Armies*, London 2017, p. 221–246; A. POPPE, *The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus’: Byzantine-Russian Relations between 986–89*, DOP 30, 1976, p. 195–244; F. SCHNEIDER, *Byzantine Conquests in the East in the Tenth Century. Campaigns of Nikephoros II Phocas and John Tzimiskes as Were Seen in the Byzantine Sources*, Nijmegen 2018 (MA Thesis), p. 11–12, 23–24, 26–37, 42–49.

<sup>19</sup> F. CURTA, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*, Cambridge 2006 [= CMT], p. 216–236, esp. p. 216–217; K. PETKOV, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh-Fifteenth Century. East, Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450*, Leiden 2008 [= ECEEMA, 5], p. 150–153; M. LOOS, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Prague 1974, p. 43–49; G.C. SOULIS, *The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs*, DOP 19, 1965, p. 29–32; M. HETÉNYI, P. IVANIĆ, *The Contribution of Ss. Cyril and Methodius...*, p. 5–10; P. KOCEV, P. KONDRLA, R. KRÁLIK, M. ROUBALOVÁ, *Sv. Kliment Ochridský a jeho pôsobenie v Macedónsku*, KL 10, 2017, p. 88–97.

of the Scriptural texts into vernacular<sup>20</sup>. And even more: forbidden apocryphal books were in possession of the Bogomil preachers who propagated and preached them<sup>21</sup>. More precisely, scriptural parables and diversified mythological content found often their place in oral retellings, such as legends and apocryphal texts, constituting important links in the chain of the oral transmission. These narratives were not seldom embellished or simply enriched with the addition of some new elements as a result of the very nature of the process of the oral transmission and the inspiration of the preacher.

The rise of wandering preachers in Western Europe is to be sought in the late 11<sup>th</sup> and early 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, similarly to these inclinations and habitual proceeding patterns of the heretical groups of people who have incessantly roamed the roads of Byzantium, so did the wandering heretical preachers like Tanchelm in Flandres, Henry the Monk, and Peter of Bruys<sup>23</sup> in the early 12<sup>th</sup>-century France. Some renegade monks were among the Bogomils, too<sup>24</sup>. Greek communities from Calabria maintained contacts with Byzantium and with monastic communities from the East, including the Athonite monks<sup>25</sup>. On the other hand, the Byzantine monks used to travel to Rome and Jerusalem likewise<sup>26</sup>: the flow of people, goods and ideas was assured, varying from higher to lesser intensity, but inevitably facilitating exchanges as much needed prerequisites for the oral doctrinal transmission<sup>27</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Y. STOYANOV, *The Other God. Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, New Haven–London 2000, p. 162–163.

<sup>21</sup> L. DENKOVA, *Bogomilism and Literacy. (An Attempt of General Analysis of a Tradition)*, EB 1, 1993, p. 90–97; D. BOLENSKY, *Bogumili...*, p. 94–97; G.C. SOULIS, *The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius...*, p. 36; G. MINCZEW, *Słowiańskie teksty antyheretyckie jako źródło do poznania herezji dualistycznych na Bałkanach*, [in:] *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła słowiańskie*, ed. IDEM, M. SKOWRONEK, J.M. WOLSKI, Łódź 2015 [= SeCer, 1], p. 31.

<sup>22</sup> L. MELLINGER, *The First Wandering Preachers*, Portland 1985 (MA Thesis), p. 2–3; cf. F. VAN LIERE, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*, Cambridge 2014, p. 219–222.

<sup>23</sup> L. MELLINGER, *The First Wandering Preachers...*, p. 61–68; cf. B. HAMILTON, *Religion and the Laity...*; this represents a new avenue of research will be addressed more in-depth in the following months.

<sup>24</sup> Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Богомилството...*, p. 92, 112; As for the curious account on monk Theodius who induced local inhabitants to a tree-worship, cf.: E. SANTOS MARINAS, *Encuentros y desencuentros en torno a los árboles: el culto a los árboles en las fuentes sobre la religión eslava precristiana*, [in:] *Religio in labyrintho*, ed. J.J. CAEROLS, Madrid 2013, p. 111–120, esp. p. 115, 112; cf. also PATRIARCHA KALIKST I, *Żywoł Świętego Teodozjusza Tyrnowskiego (fragmenty)*, ed. et trans. J.M. WOLSKI, [in:] *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne...*, p. 193–214.

<sup>25</sup> B. HAMILTON, *Oriente lumen et magistra Latinitas: Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900–1100)*, [in:] *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900–1300)*, ed. IDEM, London 1979, p. 182; cf. the impact of Hesychasm: J. MEYENDORFF, *Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy*, DOP 42, 1988, p. 157–165.

<sup>26</sup> Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Богомилството...*, p. 70.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. B. HAMILTON, *Religion and the Laity...*, esp. p. 510–511.

### Aural conception and its symbolism

Apart from the elaboration of the incarnation *topos* retold in the *Interrogatio Iohannis* and mentioned above<sup>28</sup>, in the Christian tradition, the Virgin Mary was at times viewed as having given birth to Christ through her right ear. This was the case, for example, in Syrian hymns of the fourth and fifth centuries: in his *Harp of the Spirit*, Ephrem the Syrian has emphasized Mary's virginity, similarly to Jacob of Serug in his hymn *On the Mother of God*<sup>29</sup>. Furthermore, this concept of aural conception is *lato sensu* intrinsically connected to that of *aeiparthenos*, perpetual virginity of Virgin Mary, especially underlined in literary sources and evidence shortly preceding or following the Council of Ephesus in 431, upon which Mary was officially proclaimed Mother of God, *Theotokos*. Afterwards, in 553, the Second Council of Constantinople attributed the title *Aeiparthenos* to the Virgin, defining her as the Perpetual Virgin, and it was upon the Council of Lateran in 649 that Pope Martin I proclaimed the threefold character of Mary's virginity – namely, before, during, and after the birth of Christ. The *conceptio per aurem* was banned for good at the Council of Trent (1545–1563).

This doctrine of perpetual virginity of Mary could also mirror some Gnostic views of Mary as an angel, attested in the Cathar elaborations, but also in the concepts attributed to the “Bosnian Christians”<sup>30</sup>, among other. Moreover, this stance smoothly aligns to the docetic inclination of the Bogomil and Cathar communities who saw in Jesus's bodily appearance only a chimera of corporality, whereas in reality it was built up of heavenly and spiritual substance<sup>31</sup>.

According to the Valentinian Gnostics, Jesus was clothed in his corporeal body in appearance only, upon his birth by the Virgin Mary, as he went *through her as if through a channel or tube without taking from her body*<sup>32</sup>. Namely, the Valentinians believed that Jesus *passed through Mary as water goes through a pipe*<sup>33</sup>.

The accounts on Mary's birth in close relation to hearing and obeying of the word of God is found in other apocryphal texts likewise. In the *Gospel of Bartholomew*, dated prior to the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Mary relates that the Angel announced to her the Good News and said: *Yet three years, and I will send my word unto thee and*

<sup>28</sup> Cf. J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies...*, p. 186.

<sup>29</sup> Theodoret of Cyrus (ca. 493–458/466) made a classification and enlisted the antique authors, mainly Gnostic ones, who negated the incarnation of Christ, cf.: THEODORET OF CYRUS, *Epistola CXLV*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXIII, col. 1380BC. Cf. N. CONSTAS, *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity. Homilies 1–5. Texts and Translations*, Leiden 2003 [= VC.S, 66], p. 79–124.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. K. PAPASOV, *Christen oder Ketzer...*, p. 223.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *ibidem*; S. HAMILTON, *The Virgin Mary in Cathar Thought*, JEH 56.1, 2005, p. 26–27; G. MINCZEW, *Słowiańskie teksty antyheretyckie...*, p. 44; M. LOOS, *Dualist Heresy...*, p. 27, 35, 86, 115, 140, 229; S. RUNCIMAN, *The Medieval Manichee...*, p. 60–61.

<sup>32</sup> AURELIUS AUGUSTINE, *Ketters en scheurmakers (De Haeresibus)*, ed. et trans. J. GEHLEN-SPRINGORUM, V. HUNINK, Budel 2009, p. 47, according to D. VAN NIEKERK, *The Bogomil and Cathar Teaching...*

<sup>33</sup> Cf. D.D. HANNAH, *The Ascension of Isaiah and Docetic Christology*, VC 53, 1999, p. 187; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, Piscataway 2004, p. 316.

then shalt conceive my son<sup>34</sup>. In the Gnostic writings attributed to Marcion, Christ's birth is interpreted in analogous terms: Virgin Mary had not in reality given birth, but that the child Jesus simply appeared near her<sup>35</sup>. This narrative reflects also other texts, such as the *Protevangelion of James*<sup>36</sup>. The notion of the *aurem conceptio* was also present in the philosophy of the fifth-century Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus<sup>37</sup>. Even at a significantly later date, in the Kokkinobaphos manuscripts, written in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, monk Iakovos described the conception of the Virgin through a bodiless voice which had caused the Son of God to be clothed in the corporeal nature. This may also indicate the assumption that the Virgin had conceived Christ through the voice of God<sup>38</sup>.

On the tympanum of the *Marienkappelle* in Würzburg (Bavaria, Germany), erected in the early fifteenth century, the apogee of the motif of the ear implying the process of hearing/obeying has been reached: namely, the tube stretching from the Archangel Gabriel to Mary's ear has been prominently portrayed<sup>39</sup>.

In other traditions, the symbol of the ear relates to the act of hearing (in this case – hearing the word of God) too, but not exclusively. The right ear was permeated with the air of life, and the left one with the air of death, according to the ancient Egyptian mythology (in ca. 1550 BCE).

Furthermore, if we advance this symbolism one step further and upgrade it, the ear is structurally and allegorically related to a shell (cf. Serbian *školjka*), as a symbol of birth, rebirth, regeneration, fertility, and eventually, to the symbol of the spiral. More elaborately, the shell is a bearer of the pearl – symbolizing Christ in Origen's exegesis, for example, but also in Syrian Orthodox tradition<sup>40</sup>. Similarly, in the writings of Kosmas Vestitor, Byzantine eighth-century homiletic, Mary is portrayed as an oyster shell of the spotless pearl<sup>41</sup>. Across various cultures and traditions, the pearl has represented an ancient symbol of fertility<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> *The Gospel of Bartholomew*, II, 20, <http://gnosis.org/library/gosbart.htm> [25 IV 2021].

<sup>35</sup> M. VINZENT, *The Ascension of Isaiah as a Response to Marcion of Sinope*, [in:] *The Ascension of Isaiah*, ed. J.N. BREMMER, T.R. KARMANN, T. NICKLAS, Leuven 2016 [= SECA, 11], p. 110.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. M.B. CUNNINGHAM, *The Use of the Protevangelion of James in Eighth-Century Homilies on the Mother of God*, [in:] *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Texts and Images*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, M.B. CUNNINGHAM, London–New York 2011 [= BBOS, 11], p. 163–164, 177.

<sup>37</sup> K. LINARDU, *Depicting the Salvation: Typological Images of Mary in Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts*, [in:] *The Cult of the Mother...*, p. 145, note 57.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 145.

<sup>39</sup> K. GERSTENBERG, *Die Bauplastik in der Marienkappelle zu Würzburg*, ZK 21, 1958, p. 107–121; B. BUCZYNSKI, *Der Skulpturenschmuck Riemenschneiders für die Würzburger Marienkappelle. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, [in:] *Tilman Riemenschneider, vol. I, Werke seiner Blütezeit. Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Mainfränkischen Museum Würzburg, 24. März bis 13. Juni 2004. (Kunst in Franken)*, ed. C. LICHTHE, Regensburg 2004, p. 174–193.

<sup>40</sup> R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom...*, p. 148, 165, 171, 174, 274.

<sup>41</sup> M.B. CUNNINGHAM, *The Use of the Protevangelion of James...*, p. 173.

<sup>42</sup> M. ELIJADE, *Slike i simboli. Ogledi o magijsko-religijskoj simbolici*, trans. D. JANIĆ, Novi Sad 1999 (original: *Images et symbols. Essais sur le symbolisme magique-religieux*, Paris 1980), p. 145–156,

In the Gnostic tradition, the search for the pearl represents a climax of the Gnostic quest and is depicted in the *Hymn of the Pearl*<sup>43</sup>. It relates Christ's descent into the sea of death in Jordan and slaughtering of an aquatic dragon, which symbolically embodies the initiatic obstacle, similarly as the Prince on his quest for the pearl in the *Hymn of the Pearl* would kill the snake – guardian of the pearl. The killing of a dragon ensures immortality<sup>44</sup>.

Pearls in Bogomil teachings represent *the more secret and more valuable doctrines of their error*, according to their interpretation of Matthew 7: 6 and to Euthymius Zygabenus<sup>45</sup>. This passage is also of high relevance to this story, because it implies that there were less and more secret teachings of theirs.

### The Poganovo monastery

In the visual arts, the symbol of the birth from the shell is most famously portrayed in the renaissance paintings which oftentimes have their Greco-Roman pre-Christian origin (such as Botticelli's "Birth of Venus"), but there are also other and significantly more ancient analogous iconographic monuments. For instance, on the Zeugma mosaics, dated to the second century AD and found on the locality of Gaziantep in the western part of the southeastern Anatolia in Turkey, the birth of Aphrodite in a seashell was represented<sup>46</sup>.

The womb of the Virgin Mary was metaphorically represented as a shell on the mosaics of the sixth-century *Basilica Eufrasiana* in Poreč, depicted by the Byzantine authors<sup>47</sup>, but also in a miniature of the representation of the Adoration of the Magi scene in the tenth-century Armenian Etschmiadzin Gospels, among other<sup>48</sup>. Curiously, an iconographic representation of Christ in a shell is to be found in the Balkans.

The Poganovo monastery<sup>49</sup> was with high degree of probability erected by Konstantin Dragaš, Serbian nobleman and lord, nephew of Tsar Dušan at the end

172–175; *Rečnik bozanstava i mitskih ličnosti sveta*, ed. A. BOŠKOVIĆ, M. VUKOMANOVIĆ, Z. JOVANOVIĆ, Beograd 2015, p. 43; R. MURRAY, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom...*, p. 311, 317.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. A.F.J. KLIJN, *The So-Called Hymn of the Pearl (Acts of Thomas ch. 108–113)*, VC 14.3, 1960, p. 154–164; J.L. WELCH, J.V. GARRISON, *The "Hymn of the Pearl": an Ancient Counterpart to "O My Father"*, BYU 36.1, 1996/1997, p. 127–138.

<sup>44</sup> M. ELIJADE, *Slike i simboli...*, p. 172–175, 184–186.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. EUTHYMIUS ZYGABENOS in J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies...*, p. 200; in J. SANIDOPOULOS, *The Rise of Bogomilism...*, p. 127.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. K. GÖRKAY, *Mosaic Programmes in Domestic Contexts at Zeugma*, JMR 10, 2017, p. 183–212.

<sup>47</sup> M. PRELOG, M. BABIĆ, *Eufrazijeva bazilika u Poreču*, Zagreb 1986; A. TERRY, H. MAGUIRE, *Dynamic Splendor. The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*, University Park 2007; M. VICELJA-MATIJAŠIĆ, *Christological Program in the Apse of Basilica Eufrasiana in Poreč*, IJIS 1, 2008, p. 91–102.

<sup>48</sup> H. MAGUIRE, *Body, Clothing, Metaphor: the Virgin in Early Byzantine Art*, [in:] *The Cult of the Mother...*, p. 48.

<sup>49</sup> C. WALTER, *The Monastery of St. John Theologus at Poganovo*, ECR 6, 1974, p. 84–87; С. РАДОЈЧИЋ, *Једна сликарска школа из друге половине XV века. Прилог историји хришћанске уметности*



of the fourteenth century (in ca. 1390) and dedicated to John the Theologian. After Konstantin's death in the battle of Rovine against the Ugars in 1395, the construction of the monastery was continued by his daughter Jelena, wife of Byzantine emperor of Manuel II Paleologus, and mother of the last Byzantine emperors, John VIII and Constantine XII<sup>50</sup>. The monastery is situated on the hilly slopes of the border-region between nowadays Serbia and Bulgaria, near Dimitrovgrad and the village of Sukovo, in the canyon of the Jerma river, and may have been erected either by the local skilled constructors, or the foreign ones, having reached the region from the adjacent areas<sup>51</sup>. The very name reveals possible traits of a former pagan pre-Christian site in the region. At the time of its erection, the monastery lay in the realm of Bulgaria, and more precisely, in the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1396).

The Poganovo monastery was painted in 1499<sup>52</sup>. The iconographic themes represent the Pentecost, Anachorets, Apostles, Christ's passion, details from the life of the Virgin, Christian feasts, Serbian saints; teachings of the church fathers, John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa have been depicted, apostle Paul<sup>53</sup>, as well as celestial liturgy, and Ezekiel's vision and Sources of Wisdom scene<sup>54</sup>.

Some of the iconographic representations which decorate the walls of the Poganovo monastery could be ascribed to the years in which the Hesychast doctrine became officially accepted. Namely, at the Council held at the Blachernae palace in Constantinople in 1351, Hesychasm was proclaimed Orthodox<sup>55</sup>. Besides, the iconographical theme of the Theotokos as the Life-Giving Spring emerged in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, accordingly to the introduction of the new liturgical office in honor of the Virgin Mary in 1335<sup>56</sup>.

---

под Турцима, ЗЛУ 1, 1965, p. 69–104; G. SUBOTIĆ, *Manastir Svetog Jovana Bogoslova kod Pirota*, S.OIN 13, 2006, p. 1–20.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. J.V.A. FINE, *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 1994.

<sup>51</sup> Г. СУБОТИЋ, *Једна градитељска радионица из друге деценије XV века у граничним пределима Бугарске и Србије*, ЗРВИ 50, 2013, p. 825.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. И. ГЕРГОВА, *Иконостас из Погановског манастира*, НВ 8, 2010, p. 367–378; Ц. ВЪЛЕВА, *Сцената рождество Христово в Кремиковския и Погановския манастир в контекста на Костурската художествена продукция*, НВ 4, 2006, p. 297–306; X. АНДРЕЕВ, *Надписът около образа на Иисус Христос Пантократор от църквата в Погановския манастир 'Св. Йоан Богослов'*, ПИ 4, 2012, p. 15–19.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. С. РАДОЧИЋ, *Једна сликарска школа из друге половине XV века...*, p. 97–100.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. B. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Poganovo. Crteži fresaka (predgovor G. Subotić)*. *Spomenici srpskog slikarstva srednjeg veka*, Beograd 1986.

<sup>55</sup> J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies...*, p. 54; nevertheless, some caution in this respect (ascribing the Hesychast elements to the iconographic tendencies of the times), has been expressed by John Meyendorff, cf. J. MEYENDORFF, *Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century...*, p. 164–165.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. A. STREZOVA, *The Hesychasm and Art. The Appearance of New Iconographic Trends in Byzantine and Slavic Lands in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Canberra 2014, p. 235.

The iconography of the Poganovo monastery falls to the artistic school of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, consisted of itinerant painters, and of a team of artists, who decorated the churches and monasteries with fresco-paintings on the territory stretching from the Meteori monasteries in Thessaly, to Kostur, Ohrid, Prilep, Skopje and Niš<sup>57</sup>. The frescoes of Poganovo monastery demonstrate significant topological analogies with those of the Transfiguration Church on the Meteori from 1483, with the frescoes of the church dedicated to saint Nicholas in Kostur of 1486, but also with those of the church of St. Nikita in Skopska Crna Gora from 1483/1484, as well as with one segment of the Treskavica monastery from the same period and with the altar frescoes of the St. Nicholas church in Ohrid<sup>58</sup>. Interestingly, among the frescoes in the apse of the church stands one in which Christ the child is depicted in a shell, in the Virgin Pletytera scene<sup>59</sup>.

This manner of depicting Jesus's birth can well fall to the archaic forms of representation, as stressed by Christopher Walter<sup>60</sup>. In the Pentecost scene, the tongues of fire emanate below the half-sun – which might also point to the act of prophesying, implying the “speaking in tongues” feature.

The Sources of Wisdom scene, represented just beside John Chrysostom and Gregory Theologus had its antecedent in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Lesnovo church in Eastern Macedonia, which shows signs of adoption of some Hesychast elements<sup>61</sup>. Apparently, this theme of the Virgin source of life was a common one, reflecting major artistic trends in the late Byzantine spirituality<sup>62</sup>.

Interestingly, in the 12<sup>th</sup>-century abjuration formula, the Bogomils were alluded to as *Pogomils*<sup>63</sup>. Etymology between “pogan” in Slavonic “languages” (morally filthy, but also heathen) and “pagan” is the same (<\*lat. *pagus*).

According to the account of Euthymius of Periblepton dated to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century, some Bogomils were known to have painted icons<sup>64</sup>. Apart from this short information, similar testimony has been left some time later, by Thomas the Archidiaconus. Namely, the author conveys the story of the two Apulian brothers who came to Bosnia to pursue their career as icon-painters together with the

<sup>57</sup> С. РАДОЧИЋ, *Једна сликарска школа из друге половине XV века...*, p. 70; С. ПЕТКОВИЋ, *Зидно сликарство на подручју Пећке патријаршије 1557–1614*, Нови Сад 1965, p. 115–117; Г. СУБОТИЋ, *Једна градитељска радионица...*; К. СЧМИТ, *Die Malereien des bulgarischen Klosters Poganovo. Einige Worte über mittelalterliche bulgarische Kunstdenkmaler*, BZ 17, 1908, p. 121–128.

<sup>58</sup> С. РАДОЧИЋ, *Једна сликарска школа из друге половине XV века...*, p. 72–73.

<sup>59</sup> С. WALTER, *The Monastery of St. John Theologus...*, p. 86.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>61</sup> А. STREZOVA, *The Hesychasm and Art...*, p. 235.

<sup>62</sup> С. WALTER, *The Monastery of St. John Theologus...*, p. 86.

<sup>63</sup> P. ELEUTERI, A. RIGO, *Eretici, dissidenti, Musulmani ed Ebrei a Bisanzio. Una raccolta eresiologica del XII secolo*, Venice 1993, p. 136–137.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 130.

divulgarion of their Cathar doctrine in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>65</sup>. These two brothers, Matthäus and Aristodus, were said to have been excellent painters (*optimi*), and jewelers, who spread their artistic craft together with their heretical doctrine<sup>66</sup>. The issues knitted around the question of possible Bogomil elements having influenced the artists are to be more furtherly explored<sup>67</sup>.

Additionally, even if the birth through ear may not be directly attributable to the concepts and symbolism of the shell-birth representations, it is certainly interesting to observe the Poganovo monastery and its frescoes from the perspective of the possible artistic influences which came to be reflected on its walls, but also in relation to the very name of the site and its at least possible connections a formerly existing pagan site. At the very least, the name of the monastery which points to the preceding presence of the non-Christians at this location, may point to the potential Bogomil presence in the area.

### Concluding remarks

The symbol of Logos, of the Word, of words and their transmission may have had particular importance among the Bogomils. The opening section of the Gospel of John, the preferred gospel among the Bogomils, which they used to carry in their hand on their journeys, and to use in their rituals, bears reminiscence of the Word of God, having descended among men and taken on a fleshly appearance.

The oral way of transmission of the Bogomil teachings may have been particularly important regarding their most secretive doctrinal corpus, probably established on the basis of the selected non-canonical and apocryphal writings. The Bogomils have probably resorted to this oral means of transmission particularly during their wanderings, and visits to monasteries.

<sup>65</sup> I. VON DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. I, *Geschichte der Gnostisch-Manichäischen Sekten im früheren Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1968, p. 251–252, note 1 on p. 252; cf. *Illirici Sacri III, Ecclesia Spalatensis*, ed. D. FARLATI, Venice 1765, p. 232. I. von Döllinger sees in them the Cathars, whereas Daniele Farlati employs analogously the terms *Patareni*, *Albigenses*, and *Cathari*, heretical groups who spread from the Manichaeans throughout the Balkans in the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. I. BAŠIĆ, *Prilog kritici intertekstualnosti kronike Historia Salonitana i kolektaneja Historia Salonitana Maior*, [in:] *Zbornik Drage Roksandića*, ed. D. AGIČIĆ, H. PETRIĆ, F. ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ, Zagreb 2019, p. 655–676.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. I. VON DÖLLINGER, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters...*, p. 156.

<sup>67</sup> In spite of the fact that in scholarly circles, the fact that the Bogomils were opposed to the veneration of icons is well known and accepted, there may be some hints that they acted as icon-painters as well, but maybe compelled by their aspiration to hide their true faith under the guise of Orthodoxy, which apparently, appears to be one of their *modi operandi*: cf. G. MINCZEW, *Słowiańskie teksty antyheretyckie...*, p. 53–54; testimony by Euthymius of Periblepton, as in P. ELEUTERI, A. RIGO, *Eretici, dissidenti...*, p. 130, note 39.

Conclusively, the Bogomil itinerant preaching may also be seen as a segment of their apostolic tendencies, emulating the first early-Christian apostolic communities and thence the token of their apostolicity and of their self-understanding as guardians of apostolic heritage and tradition. Besides, the official stance of the Christian authorities was that against the wandering priests, monks, and eccentric saints<sup>68</sup>.

The symbol of the ear is closely associated to that of a shell and at the further end – to the spiral, representing one of the aspects of the process of hearing and on the other hand, of the hearing of the word of God, of accepting the Word, and thus, of the oral transmission.

Furthermore, judging by the afore-mentioned, the oral transmission of the Bogomil teachings may have been organized in graded sequences, stages, or, levels: first to be transmitted were those doctrines which were easier to accept and less demanding to be received by the neophyte, based on some more general Christian narratives, and at the second, more advanced stage – the more secretive teachings would be communicated. This may have been corroborated by the very words of Euthymius Zygabenus on the Bogomils:

In the beginning they teach the newly converted simply, exhorting them to believe in the Father the Son and the Holy Spirit, to know that Christ was incarnate and gave the sacred gospel to the apostles. They order them to keep the precepts of the gospel and to pray and to fast and to keep pure from all uncleanness and live in purity and be longsuffering and humble and repentant and tell the truth and love one another. In brief, they teach everything worthy, beguiling them with excellent teaching, hunting them little by little, and unseen bringing them to destruction. As time goes by, they sow tares in the wheat. When they have made the poor wretches tame and obedient and got them within their nets, then, indeed, they give them the deadly potion, blaspheming openly and initiating them into the teaching of the devil.<sup>69</sup>

It may well be that it was in this early stage of their testimony to the others they pretended to be Orthodox<sup>70</sup>.

Additionally, as we know that the Bogomils have mingled between the Orthodox monks, maybe we should also “search” them incognito among other categories of population – for example, among the artists.

<sup>68</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *Vizantijski sveti čovek u dvanaestom veku*, [in:] *Vizantijski svetitelj*, trans. D. KOSTIĆ, ed. S. HACKEL, Beograd 2008 (original: *Byzantine Saint*, London 2001), p. 80–104.

<sup>69</sup> *Euthymii monachi Zygabeni Orthodoxae fidei Panoplia Dogmatica*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CXXX, col. 1320D–1322A. J. SANIDOPOULOS, *The Rise of Bogomilism...*, p. 113; J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, *Christian Dualist Heresies...*, p. 194.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *Житието на св. Теодосия*, ed. Б.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, София 1904, p. 19–20, 26, 33; A. STREZOVA, *The Hesychnism and Art...*; A. RIGO, M. SCARPA, *The Life of Theodosius of Tarnovo Reconsidered*, [in:] *Byzantine Hagiography. Texts, Themes and Projects*, ed. A. RIGO, M. TRIZIO, E. DESPOTAKIS, Turnhout 2018 [= B.SBHC, 13], p. 467–482.

Importantly, Bogomil should be seen also as important mediators in the chain of the transmission of knowledge, of extra-canonical textual threads, but also of literacy, and especially of the vernacular tradition and heritage<sup>71</sup>.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

- ANNA KOMNENA, *Alexiade*, vol. III, ed. B. LEIB, Paris 1946 [= *Collection byzantine*].
- AURELIUS AUGUSTINE, *Letters to the Heretics (De Haeresibus)*, ed. et trans. J. GEHLEN-SPRINGORUM, V. HUNINK, Budel 2009.
- Euthymii monachi Zygabeni Orthodoxae fidei Panoplia Dogmatica, [in:] *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, vol. CXXX, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1865, col. 1289–1332.
- The Gospel of Bartholomew*, <http://gnosis.org/library/gosbart.htm>
- Illirici Sacri III, Ecclesia Spalatensis*, ed. D. FARLATI, Venice 1765.
- SANIDOPOULOS J., *The Rise of Bogomilism and its Penetration into Constantinople. With a Complete Translation of Euthymios Zygabenos' 'Concerning Bogomilism'*, Rollinsford 2011 [= *Patristic and Ecclesiastical Texts and Translations*, 3].
- THEODORET OF CYRUS, *Epistola CXLV*, [in:] *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, vol. LXXXIII, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1865, col. 1375–1390.
- Žitieto na sv. Teodosija (Vita Theodosii)*, ed. B.N. ZLATARSKI, Sofija 1904.

### Secondary Literature

- ANDREEV H., *Nadpisāt okolo obraza na Iisus Hristos Pantokrator ot cārkvata v Poganovskija manastir 'Sv. Joan Bogoslov'*, “Проблеми на изкуството” / “Problemi na izkustvoto” 4, 2012, p. 15–19.
- ANGELOV A., *Bogomilstvoto*, Sofija 2000.
- BAŠIĆ I., *Prilog kritici intertekstualnosti kronike Historia Salonitana i kolektaneja Historia Salonitana Maior*, [in:] *Zbornik Drage Roksandića*, ed. D. AGIČIĆ, H. PETRIĆ, F. ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ, Zagreb 2019, p. 655–676, <https://doi.org/10.17234/9789531759021.46>
- BUCZYNSKI B., *Der Skulpturenschmuck Riemenschneiders für die Würzburger Marienkapelle. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, [in:] *Tilman Riemenschneider*, vol. I, *Werke seiner Blütezeit. Katalog zur gleichnamigen Ausstellung im Mainfränkischen Museum Würzburg*, 24. März bis 13. Juni 2004. (*Kunst in Franken*), ed. C. LICHTER, Regensburg 2004, p. 174–193.
- CONSTAS N., *Proclus of Constantinople and the Cult of the Virgin in Late Antiquity. Homilies 1–5. Texts and Translations*, Leiden 2003 [= *Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae*, 66], <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047404309>
- CUNNINGHAM M.B., *The Use of the Protoevangelion of James in Eighth-Century Homilies on the Mother of God*, [in:] *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Texts and Images*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, M.B. CUNNINGHAM, London–New York 2011 [= *Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies*, 11], p. 163–178.

<sup>71</sup> Е. ЛАЗАРОВА, *Богомили, Катарии и стриголници като книжници и възпитатели*, [in:] *Богомилско-катарската философия като живяна етика*, ed. ЕАДЕМ, София 2013, p. 266, note 7.

- CURTA F., *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*, Cambridge 2006 [= Cambridge Medieval Textbooks], <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511815638>
- DENKOVA L., *Bogomilism and Literacy. (An Attempt of General Analysis of a Tradition)*, “Études Balkaniques” 1, 1993, p. 90–97.
- DÖLLINGER I. VAN, *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. I, *Geschichte der Gnostisch-Manichäischen Sekten im früheren Mittelalter*, Darmstadt 1968.
- DVORNIK F., *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*, Cambridge 1970 [repr.].
- ELEUTERI P., RIGO A., *Eretici, dissidenti, Musulmani ed Ebrei a Bisanzio. Una raccolta eresiologica del XII secolo*, Venice 1993.
- ELIJADE M., *Slike i simboli. Ogledi o magijsko-religijskoj simbolici*, trans. D. JANIĆ, Novi Sad 1999.
- FINE J.V.A., *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 1994, <https://doi.org/10.3998/mpub.7807>
- GERGOVA I., *Ikonostas iz Poganovskog manastira*, “Ниш и Византија” / “Niš i Vizantija” 8, 2010, p. 367–378.
- GERSTENBERG K., *Die Bauplastik in der Marienkapelle zu Würzburg*, “Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte” 21, 1958, p. 107–121, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1481315>
- GÖRKAY K., *Mosaic Programmes in Domestic Contexts at Zeugma*, “Journal of Mosaic Research” 10, 2017, p. 183–212, <https://doi.org/10.26658/jmr.357063>
- HAMILTON B., *Orientalis lumen et magistra Latinitas: Greek Influences on Western Monasticism (900–1100)*, [in:] *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades (900–1300)*, ed. B. HAMILTON, London 1979, p. 181–216.
- HAMILTON B., *Religion and the Laity*, [in:] *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV.1, ed. D. LUSCOMBE, J. RILEY-SMITH, Cambridge 2008, p. 499–533, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521414104.014>
- HAMILTON J., HAMILTON B., *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World c. 650–c. 1450*, Manchester–New York 1998.
- HAMILTON S., *The Virgin Mary in Cathar Thought*, “Journal of Ecclesiastical History” 56.1, 2005, p. 24–49, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046904002118>
- HANNAH D.D., *The Ascension of Isaiah and Docetic Christology*, “Vigiliae Christianae” 53, 1999, p. 165–196, <https://doi.org/10.1163/157007299X00190>
- HETÉNYI M., IVANIĆ P., *The Contribution of Ss. Cyril and Methodius to Culture and Religion*, “Religions” 12, 2021, p. 417, <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel12060417>
- HUPCHICK D.P., *Interlude: from Wary Peace Through Rus’ Intervention, 927–971*, [in:] D.P. HUPCHICK, *The Bulgarian-Byzantine Wars for Early Medieval Balkan Hegemony: Silver-Lined Skulls and Blinded Armies*, London 2017, p. 221–246, [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-56206-3\\_6](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-56206-3_6)
- HURBANICH M., *The Byzantine Missionary Concept and its Revitalisation in the 9<sup>th</sup> Century: Some Remarks on the Content of Photius’ Encyclical Letter Ad Archiepiscopales thronos per Orienten obtinentes*, “Byzantinoslavica” 63, 2005, p. 103–116.
- KAPLAN A., *The Bahir. Translation, Introduction, and Commentary*, Boston 1979.
- KLIJN A.F.J., *The So-Called Hymn of the Pearl (Acts of Thomas ch. 108–113)*, “Vigiliae Christianae” 14.3, 1960, p. 154–164, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1582586>
- KOCEV P., KONDRLA P., KRÁLIK R., ROUBALOVÁ M., *Sv. Kliment Ochridský a jeho pôsobenie v Macedónsku*, “Konštantínove listy” 10, 2017, p. 88–97, <https://doi.org/10.17846/CL.2017.10.2.88-97>

- KOLBABA T.M., *Inventing Latin Heretics. Byzantines and the Filioque in the Ninth Century*, Kalamazoo 2008.
- LAZAROVA E., *Bogomili, Katari i strigolnici kato knižnici i vāzpitateli*, [in:] *Bogomilo-katarskata filiofija kato živnaja etika*, ed. E. LAZAROVA, Sofija 2013, p. 263–272.
- LIERE F. VAN, *An Introduction to the Medieval Bible*, Cambridge 2014.
- LINARDU K., *Depicting the Salvation: Typological Images of Mary in Kokkinobaphos Manuscripts*, [in:] *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Texts and Images*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, M.B. CUNNINGHAM, London–New York 2011 [= Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies, 11], p. 133–152.
- LOOS M., *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Prague 1974.
- MAGDALINO P., *Vizantijski sveti čovek u dvanaestom veku*, [in:] *Vizantijski svetitelj*, trans. D. KOSTIĆ, ed. S. HACKEL, Beograd 2008, p. 80–104.
- MAGUIRE H., *Body, Clothing, Metaphor: the Virgin in Early Byzantine Art*, [in:] *The Cult of the Mother of God in Byzantium. Texts and Images*, ed. L. BRUBAKER, M.B. CUNNINGHAM, London–New York 2011 [= Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies, 11], p. 39–52.
- MELLINGER L., *The First Wandering Preachers*, Portland 1985 (MA Thesis).
- MEYENDORFF J., *Mount Athos in the Fourteenth Century: Spiritual and Intellectual Legacy*, “Dumbarton Oaks Papers” 42, 1988, p. 157–165, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1291594>
- MINCZEW G., *Słowiańskie teksty antyheretyckie jako źródło do poznania herezji dualistycznych na Bałkanach*, [in:] *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła słowiańskie*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, J.M. WOLSKI, Łódź 2015 [= Series Ceranea, 1], p. 13–58.
- MURRAY R., *Symbols of Church and Kingdom. A Study in Early Syriac Tradition*, Piscataway 2004.
- NIKERK D. VAN, *The Bogomil and Cathar Teaching of the Birth of Jesus through the Ear of the Virgin Mary*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 8<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference Days of Justinian I*, Skopje 2021 (forthcoming).
- NIKOLOV G.N., *Centralizām i regionalizām v rannosrednovekovna Bālgarija (kraja na VII – načaloto na XI v.)*, Sofija 2005.
- OBOLENSKY D., *Bogumili. Studija o balkanskom neomaniheizmu*, Zagreb 2009.
- PAPASOV K., *Christen oder Ketzer – Die Bogomilen*, Stuttgart 1983.
- PARRY K., *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1996 [= The Medieval Mediterranean, 12], <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004476189>
- PATRIARCHA KALIKST I, *Żywot Świętego Teodozjusza Tyrnowskiego (fragmenty)*, ed. et trans. J.M. WOLSKI, [in:] *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła słowiańskie*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, J.M. WOLSKI, Łódź 2015 [= Series Ceranea, 1], p. 193–214.
- PETKOV K., *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh–Fifteenth Century. East, Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450*, Leiden 2008 [= East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 5].
- PETKOVIĆ S., *Zidno slikarstvo na području Pečke patrijaršije 1557–1614*, Novi Sad 1965.
- POPPE A., *The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus’: Byzantine–Russian Relations between 986–89*, “Dumbarton Oaks Papers” 30, 1976, p. 195–244, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1291395>
- PRELOG M., BABIĆ M., *Eufrazijeva bazilika u Poreču*, Zagreb 1986.

- RADOJČIĆ S., *Jedna slikarska škola iz druge polovine XV veka. Prilog istoriji hrišćanske umetnosti pod Turcima*, "Зборник за ликовне уметности" / "Zbornik za likovne umetnosti" 1, 1965, p. 69–104.
- Rečnik bozanstava i mitskih ličnosti sveta*, ed. A. BOŠKOVIĆ, M. VUKOMANOVIĆ, Z. JOVANOVIĆ, Beograd 2015.
- RIGO A., SCARPA M., *The Life of Theodosius of Tärnovo Reconsidered*, [in:] *Byzantine Hagiography. Texts, Themes and Projects*, ed. A. RIGO, M. TRIZIO, E. DESPOTAKIS, Turnhout 2018 [= Byzantium. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization, 13], p. 467–482, <https://doi.org/10.1484/M.SBHC-EB.5.115114>
- RUNCIMAN S., *The Medieval Manichee. A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*, Cambridge 1969.
- SANTOS MARINAS E., *Encuentros y desencuentros en torno a los árboles: el culto a los árboles en las fuentes sobre la religión eslava precristiana*, [in:] *Religio in labyrintho*, ed. J.J. CAEROLS, Madrid 2013, p. 111–120.
- SCHMIT K., *Die Malereien des bulgarischen Klosters Poganovo. Einige Worte über mittelalterliche bulgarische Kunstdenkmaler*, "Byzantinische Zeitschrift" 17, 1908, p. 121–128, <https://doi.org/10.1515/byzs.1908.17.1.121>
- SCHNEIDER F., *Byzantine Conquests in the East in the Tenth Century. Campaigns of Nikephoros II Phocas and John Tzimiskes as Were Seen in the Byzantine Sources*, Nijmegen 2018 (MA Thesis).
- SOULIS G.C., *The Legacy of Cyril and Methodius to the Southern Slavs*, "Dumbarton Oaks Papers" 19, 1965, p. 19–43, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1291224>
- STOYANOV Y., *The Debate on Medieval Western Christian Dualism through the Prism of Slavonic Pseudepigrapha*, "Scrinium" 14, 2018, p. 334–350, <https://doi.org/10.1163/18177565-00141P23>
- STOYANOV Y., *The Other God. Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, New Haven–London 2000, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt5vm3q2>
- STRATOUDAKI WHITE D., *Patriarch Photios of Constantinople. His Life, Scholarly Contributions, and Correspondence together with a Translation of Fifty-two of his Letters*, Brookline 1981.
- STREZOVA A., *The Hesychasm and Art. The Appearance of New Iconographic Trends in Byzantine and Slavic Lands in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Canberra 2014.
- SUBOTIĆ G., *Jedna graditeljska radionica iz druge decenije XV veka u graničnim predelima Bugarske i Srbije*, "Зборник Радова Византолошког Института" / "Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta" 50, 2013, p. 811–833.
- SUBOTIĆ G., *Manastir Svetog Jovana Bogoslova kod Pirota*, "Spomenik. Odeljenje Istorijskih Nauka" 13, 2006, p. 1–20.
- TERRY A., MAGUIRE H., *Dynamic Splendor. The Wall Mosaics in the Cathedral of Eufrasius at Poreč*, University Park 2007.
- TÓTH P., *Way out of the Tunnel? Three Hundred Years of Research on the Apocrypha: a Preliminary Approach*, [in:] *Retelling the Bible. Literary, Historical, and Social Contexts*, ed. L. DOLEŽALOVÁ, T. VISI, Frankfurt am Main 2011, p. 45–84.
- VALEVA S., *Scenata roždestvo Hristovo v Kremikovskija i Poganovskija manastir v konteksta na Kosturskata hudoestvena produkcija*, "Ниш и Византија" / "Niš i Vizantija" 4, 2006, p. 297–306.
- VICELJA-MATIJAŠIĆ M., *Christological Program in the Apse of Basilica Eufrasiana in Poreč*, "Ikon. Journal of Iconographic Studies" 1, 2008, p. 91–102, <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.IKON.3.8>
- VINZENT M., *The Ascension of Isaiah as a Response to Marcion of Sinope*, [in:] *The Ascension of Isaiah*, ed. J.N. BREMMER, T.R. KARMANN, T. NICKLAS, Leuven 2016 [= Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha, 11], p. 75–118.



- WALTER C., *The Monastery of St. John Theologus at Poganovo*, "Eastern Churches Review" 6, 1974, p. 84–87.
- WELCH J.L., GARRISON J.V., *The "Hymn of the Pearl": an Ancient Counterpart to "O My Father"*, "BYU Studies Quarterly" 36.1, 1996/1997, p. 127–138.
- ŽIVKOVIĆ B., *Poganovo. Crteži fresaka (predgovor G. Subotić). Spomenici srpskog slikarstva srednjeg veka*, Beograd 1986.

**Bojana Radovanović**

University of Nijmegen

Faculty of Philosophy, Theology, and Religious Studies

Erasmus Building

Houtlaan 4

6525 XZ Nijmegen, The Netherlands

bojana.radovanovic@ftr.ru.nl