

# STUDIA CERANEA



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# STUDIA CERANEA



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**THIRD COLLOQUIA CERANEA  
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## THE SYRIAC CHRISTIANIZATION OF A MEDICAL GREEK RECIPE: FROM *BARBAROS HERA* TO THE “APOSTLES’ OINTMENT”

**Abstract.** During the Late antiquity, several works by Galen (2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>th</sup> CE.) were translated into Syriac for the first time by Sergius of Rēšʿaynā (6<sup>th</sup> CE.), starting up the Hippocratic-Galenic medicine in Syriac Language. Based on these translations, there arose novel versions of compound medicines in Syriac, such as the “Apostles’ Ointment” which is found in *The Book of Medicines*, possibly from Abassid period, edited and translated by E.A.W. Budge in 1913, which contains more ancient Syriac medical prescriptions. The textual pharmaceutical study regarding the therapeutic uses and qualitative composition of the ‘Apostles’ Ointment’, and its comparison with a kind of plaster (*barbaros*) which appears in various Late antiquity Greek recipes (Galen, Oribasius, Aetius of Amida, and Paul of Aegina), reveal the micro-transformations suffered to a new and final Syriac Christian version which we here introduce.

**Keywords:** Apostles’ Ointment, *The Book of Medicines*, Syriac, Greek tradition

### Introduction

The “Apostles’ Ointment” from the anonymous treatise known as *The Book of Medicines*<sup>1</sup> is the Syriac version of a medical prescription of Greek origin, used as plaster to treat bleeding wounds. A Greek similar recipe appears in chapter 22,

<sup>1</sup> *Syrian Anatomy, Pathology and Therapeutics, or, The Book of Medicines*, vol. I–II, ed. et trans. E.A.W. BUDGE, Oxford 1913 (cetera: *The Book of Medicines I–II*). For *The Book of Medicines*, cf. P. GIGNOUX, *On the Syriac Pharmacopoeia*, [in:] *The Harp*, vol. XI–XII, ed. G. PANICKER, J. THEK-EPARAMPIL, A. KALAKUDI, Boston–Berlin 2012, p. 193–202; S. BHAYRO, *Theory and Practice in the Syriac Book of Medicines*, [in:] *In the Wake of the Compendia. Infrastructural Contexts and the Licensing of Empiricism in Ancient and Medieval Mesopotamia*, ed. J. CALE JOHNSON, Boston–Berlin 2015 [= STMAC, 3], p. 147–158; D. ASADE, *La literatura farmacéutica siríaca y árabe: comparación de las recetas de El Libro de las Medicinas (siríaco) con recetas en la literatura farmacéutica árabe*, Buenos Aires 2017 (PhD dissertation); S. BHAYRO, S.M. RUDOLF, *Budge’s Syriac Book of Medicines after One*

from the book 2 of Galen's treatise *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, where it receives the name Βάρβαρος Ἡρα (*Barbaros Hera*, ed. Kühn, 13.557–560)<sup>2</sup>, although possibly Ἄλλη ἔναιμος<sup>3</sup> Ἰουλιανοῦ too (“Other *enaimos* by Iulianus”, ed. Kühn, 13.557). Years later, the same compound appeared again in the Greek writings of renowned physicians from the Late Antiquity period, who gave it different designations, not varying considerably from the mentioned name. Oribasius calls it Βάρβαρος ἔναιμος (*Barbaros enaimos*) in *Eclogae medicamentorum*, 87, 7, 1–9 (ed. Raeder, 6.2.2.264)<sup>4</sup>, Aetius of Amida distinguishes it as Ἡρᾶ Καππάδοκος βάρβαρος (“*Barbaros Cappadocian Hera*”<sup>5</sup>) in *Iatricorum liber XV*, 14, 30–45 (ed. Zervos, p. 7–138)<sup>6</sup>, and Paul of Aegina uses the name Βαρβάρᾶ ἔναιμος (*Barbara enaimos*) in *Epitomae medicae* 7, 17, 42, 1 (ed. Heiberg, 7.358)<sup>7</sup>. The author of *The Book of Medicines* also transmit a Syriac recipe (chapter 8, ed. Budge I, p. 152–153; II, p. 165–166) similar to the Greek formulae<sup>8</sup>, which

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*Hundred Years: Problems and Prospects*, [in:] *Mesopotamian Medicine and Magic. Studies in Honor of Markham J. Geller*, ed. S.V. ΠΑΝΑΥΤΟΥ, L. VACÍN, Leiden 2018 [= AMD, 14], p. 116–130; D. ASADE, *Las recetas de El Libro de las Medicinas (siríaco) y las que figuran en la literatura farmacéutica árabe: una comparación* Do 34.2, 2018, p. 5–13.

<sup>2</sup> GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera libri VII*, [in:] *Claudii Galeni opera omnia*, vol. XIII, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Hildesheim 1965 (= Leipzig 1827) (cetera: GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*).

<sup>3</sup> According to F. RODRÍGUEZ ADRADOS et al., *Diccionario Griego-Español*, Madrid 2020, <http://dge.cchs.csic.es/xdge/>, ἔναιμος has the medical meaning of “full of blood”. For its part, the singular neuter noun, τὸ ἔναιμον, has the meaning of “part of the body that contains blood”. The term ἔναιμος also denotes the idea of “hemostatic, which serves to staunch the blood”, as a φάρμακον (cf. *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei de materia medica libri quinque*, 5, 13, 1, vol. I–III, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berlin 1907–1914 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES)), and of “hemostatic medicine”. Finally, its use refers to the “bleeding” and to “bleeding wounds” (cf. DIOSCORIDES, 1, 110, 2).

<sup>4</sup> *Oribasii Collectionum medicarum reliquiae, libri XLIX–L, libri incerti, eclogae medicamentorum*, ed. J. RAEDER, Leipzig–Berlin 1933 [= CMG, 6.2.22] (cetera: ORIBASIVS).

<sup>5</sup> Ἡρᾶ Καππάδοκος (“Cappadocian *Hera*”) could refer to the physician Heras of Cappadocia (1<sup>st</sup> century). Cf. P. KEYSER, G. IRBY, *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists. The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs*, London 2012, p. 374.

<sup>6</sup> *Ἀετίου Ἀμιδηνοῦ λόγος δέκατος πέμπτος*, ed. S. ZERVOS, Aθ 21, 1909, p. 7–138 (cetera: AETIVS).

<sup>7</sup> PAULUS AEGINETA, *Libri V–VII*, ed. J.L. HEIBERG, Leipzig–Berlin 1924 [= CMG, 11.2] (cetera: PAULUS).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. S. BHAYRO, R. HAWLEY, G. KESSEL, P.E. PORMANN, *The Syriac Galen Palimpsest: Progress, Prospects and Problems*, JSS 58.1, 2013, p. 131–148; S. BHAYRO, S. BROCK, *The Syriac Galen Palimpsest and the Role of Syriac in the Transmission of Greek Medicine in the Orient*, BJRL 89.1, 2013, p. 25–43; S. BHAYRO, *Galen in Syriac: Rethinking Old Assumptions*, ASTu 15, 2017, p. 132–154. In the Sassanid Persian Empire, through the Syriac Christians who led the *Bēt mardūtā* located in Gondēšāpur and Nisibis, a scholastic tradition developed for the teaching of medicine and theology, and a center for the translation of Greek knowledge into Syriac. These schools in Gondēšāpur and Nisibis were heirs to the Edessa “School of the Persians”, and represented the Syriac tradition of receiving Greek medicine. For the School of Gondēšāpur and Nisibis, cf. G.J. REININK, *Theology and Medicine in Jundisḥapur: Cultural Change in the Nestorian School Tradition*, [in:] *Learned Antiquity. Scholarship and*

retains most of the ingredients noted down by the previous authors, while adding others and radically changing the name given by the Greek texts. Instead of reflecting the exact way in which the name of the prescription is rendered in its original Greek language, the anonymous author of this work record the compound with the words: ܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ ܠܠܘܫܬܐ (“Another [plaster ܠܘܫܬܐ], which is called the “Twelve”, after the Twelve Apostles” (Fols. 73b–74a, ed. Budge I, p. 152–153), possibly reflecting the Syriac Christians as the first physicians to Christianize the name of the prescription, as can be deduced from the dating of *The Book of Medicines*.

From the references found in *The Book of Medicines*, E.A.W. Budge proposed that the Hippocratic section of this Syriac book<sup>9</sup>, containing the “Apostles’ Ointment”

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*Society in the Near-East, the Greco-Roman World, and the Early Medieval West*, ed. G.J. REININK, A.A. MACDONALD, M.W. TWOMEY, Leuven–Paris–Sterling 2003, p. 163–174; P. UBIERNA, *Las humanidades. Notas para una historia institucional*, Buenos Aires 2016, p. 33–44. Indeed, in the 6<sup>th</sup> century there was already a predominantly Christian intellectual movement that expressed itself in the Syriac language, being Sergius of Rēšʿaynā (ca. 536 d.C.), the first translator of Galen’s works. Cf. P. UBIERNA, *Las humanidades...*, p. 36–37. For the life and works of Sergius, cf. S. BROCK, *Sergios of Reshaina*, [in:] *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*, ed. S.P. BROCK, A.M. BUTTS, G.A. KIRAZ, L. VAN ROMPAY, Piscataway 2011, p. 366. The oldest ms (MS BL Add 14661) dates from this period, and its authorship is linked to Sergius. This ms is a Syriac version of books 6, 7 and 8 of Galen’s *De simplicium medicamentorum*; each drug contains the Greek name transliterated into Syriac, and also a Syriac comment. Cf. S. BHAYRO, *Syriac Medical Terminology: Sergius and Galen’s Pharmacopia*, ASTu 3.2, 2005, p. 147–165; I. CALÁ, R. HAWLEY, *Transliteration versus Translation of Greek Plant Names in the Syriac Medical Writings of Sergius of Rešʿ Aynā: On the Tables of Contents in BL Add. 14,661*, ASTu 15.2, 2017, p. 155–182. In this way, before the arrival of Islam, Greek pharmaceutical science was already documented in Syriac, having on certain occasions acquired a new meaning in accordance with Christian standards. Cf. S. BHAYRO, *Galen in Syriac...*, p. 140. Just in the 9<sup>th</sup> century, Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq, a Nestorian Christian serving in the Abbasid Islamic court, *aggiornò* the Syriac translations of Sergius for the Syriac readers, and also by means of more idiomatic translations, with the aim of translating them later into Arabic. Cf. E.G. BROWNE, *Arabian Medicine. Being the Fitz Patrick Lectures Delivered at the College of Physicians in November 1919 and November 1920*, Cambridge 1921; D. ASADE, E. GREIF, *Literatura farmacéutica en el mundo oriental medieval: la recuperación árabe del Libro de las Medicinas en lengua siríaca*, SMed 12.1, 2019, p. 53–90.

<sup>9</sup> E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 159–160. *The Book of Medicines* has three main sections: a) a section of medical prescriptions that, according to E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 5–13, it is based on Hippocratic medicine, and is divided into XXIII chapters, missing chapters I, II and XXIV, absent in the original manuscript. For Hippocratic medicine, also called Classical or Scientific, cf. O. TEMKIN, *Galenism. Rise and Decline of Medical Philosophy*, Ithaca 1973, and V. NUTTON, *Ancient Medicine*, London 2004; b) an astrology section, which is not within our competence, although we know that it was used to diagnose and know the right time to prescribe a medicine. This section has been studied independently. Cf. S. RUDOLF, *Syrische Astrologie und das syrische Medizinbuch*, Berlin 2018 [= STMAC, 7]; c) a section of native medical prescriptions, which is not within our competence for our objective, since, according to our criteria, it does not have important connections with Greek medicine, and that we could classify as empirical and magical. According to E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 167, this section was reserved for the ignorant and credulous.

and other prescriptions<sup>10</sup> possibly based on Greek medical works, is a translation into Syriac of the lectures of an Alexandrian teacher<sup>11</sup> (6<sup>th</sup> century), carried out by a Syriac doctor associated with one of the great Syriac Medical Schools of the first centuries of the Christian era<sup>12</sup>. However, E.A.W. Budge's thesis received different opinions from later scholars. M. Meyerhof, for example, also argued that the author may have been Ahrun, a Jacobite-Christian physician and priest, who taught in Alexandria during the 6<sup>th</sup> century<sup>13</sup>, and whose work *Pandecte* was translated into Syriac by Gesios<sup>14</sup> and, from there, into Arabic by Māsarjawayh, under the name *Kunnaš*<sup>15</sup>. Another argument in favor of placing the Syriac work in the Late Antiquity or Early Islamic period is that of P. Gignoux, who observed that, in the text, there are medical terms and names of prescriptions in the Pahlavi language<sup>16</sup> transliterated into Syriac, and who argued that some of these prescriptions

<sup>10</sup> "Hiera of Logadios", "Hiera of Archigenes", "Hiera of Galen", "Hiera of Theodoretus", "Hiera Picra", etc. Cf. E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines II...*, p. 47–53.

<sup>11</sup> The author of *The Book of Medicines* says: *Now when I was in Alexandria, a certain villager was bitten by an asp in one of the fingers of his hand when he was at no very great distance from the city. Immediately he tied round the lowest joint of his finger, which was close to the palm of his hand, a strong bandage, and ran straightway to a certain physician whom he know at the gate of the city, and entreated him to cut off his finger from the lowest joint, namely that which was in the palm of his hand. He expected that if this could be done he would suffer no [further] injury, and his expectation was fulfilled as he thought it would be, for he was saved, and lived, and this only did he seek* (cf. translation E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines II...*, p. 25). According to E.A.W. BUDGE, the author mentions a case of the use of the "tour- niquet", and another case of a man who was bitten by a viper, and who was saved by cutting off the joint that had been bitten, presumably in the neighbourhood of Alexandria, and it seems that he made note of these cases, as physicians do.

<sup>12</sup> E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 5, 159–160, adds that those schools could have been those of *Edessa (Urfa) and Amid (Diarbekir), and Nisibis*. On the medical schools of Syriac tradition, cf. E.R. L'École d'Édesse, Paris 1930; A.H. BECKER, *Fear of God and the Beginning of Wisdom. The School of Nisibis and the Development of Scholastic Culture in Late Antique Mesopotamia*, Philadelphia 2006 [= D.RLAR]; C.R. LE COZ, *Les chrétiens dans la médecine arabe*, Paris 2006, p. XLIV, who suggests that the translation is from the 4<sup>th</sup> century: *Selon lui, il s'agirait de la traduction des leçons d'un professeur d'Alexandrie du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle effectuée par un professeur de Nisibe [...]*.

<sup>13</sup> M. MEYERHOF, *Die Augenheilkunde in der von Budge herausgegebenen syrischen ärztlichen Handschrift*, DI 6, 1916, p. 257–268. According to K. SAMIR, *Ahrun Ibn A'yan Al-Qass*, vol. I, New York 1991, Ahrun would have lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century, or the late 7<sup>th</sup> and early 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. Both the Greek text and its Syriac translation were lost, although some extracts survived in al-Razi's medical encyclopedia (865–925) entitled *al-Hawi*. On the Jacobites, cf. C. SÉLIS, *Les Syriens Orthodoxes et Catholiques*, Belgique 1988, and on the Nestorians, cf. H.G.B. TEULE, *Les Assyro-Chaldéens. Chrétiens d'Irak, d'Iran et de Turquie*, Turnhout 2008.

<sup>14</sup> Gesios was a native of Petra, of a Jacobite Christian religious denomination (late 5<sup>th</sup> and early 6<sup>th</sup> centuries). Cf. C.R. LE COZ, *Les chrétiens...*, p. 59–61.

<sup>15</sup> C.R. LE COZ, *Les médecins nestoriens au Moyen-Âge. Les maîtres des Arabes (Comprendre le Moyen-Orient)*, Paris 2004, p. 80; K. SAMIR, *Ahrun Ibn A'yan Al-Qass...*, doubts who made the Arabic translation.

<sup>16</sup> P. GIGNOUX, *Le traité syriaque anonyme sur les medications*, [in:] *Symposium Syriacum VII: Uppsala University, Department of Asian and African Languages, 11–14 August 1996*, ed. R. LAVENANT, Rome

had circulated before Pahlavi disappeared completely<sup>17</sup> during the Abbasid period<sup>18</sup>. C.R. Le Coz also agrees with E.A.W. Budge's thesis and, as M. Meyerhof does, claims that the author of *The Book of Medicines* could have been a "Jacobite" Christian<sup>19</sup>. S. Bhayro, on the contrary, argues forcefully against the thesis put forward by E.A.W. Budge in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. First, he considers that the work is hardly a possible translation or a Greek lesson<sup>20</sup> in the following terms:

Budge is correct in that his manuscript does indeed contain much Greek science in Syriac translation. Furthermore, it is indeed likely to be a Nestorian scholarly text. But the way in which the Greek science has been received within the text, with its careful ordering of earlier known medical material in abridged form, coupled with the wealth of non-Greco-Roman medical lore, suggests that this is not a translation of Greek medical work or series of lectures into Syriac. Rather, it is a compendium based on a combination of Greco-Roman and Mesopotamian sources.

Then, he elaborates on the idea:

This very much contrasts with the approach of earlier translators such as the sixth-century Sergius and the ninth-century Hunayn. The need for such an easy to use, practical medical handbook may have been a major motivation in the production of the BoM, but another factor may have been the wider intellectual context of the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>21</sup> – the so-called Syriac Renaissance<sup>22</sup>, which saw a flourishing of Syriac intellectual activity between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>23</sup>.

P.E. Pormann and E. Savage-Smith, on the other hand, did not dare to propose a dating and made a description of the text, which falls somewhere in between E.A.W. Budge's and S. Bhayro's proposals, as follows:

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1998 [= OCA, 256], p. 727. The name of the recipe in Syriac character *gwgršn šhryr'n* is meaningless. However, if those same characters are read in the Pahlavi language as *gugārišn šahryārān*, can be translated as "real digestive". The Pahlavi language, also called Middle Persian, was the official language of the Sassanid Empire (226–651), but it survived until the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>17</sup> P. GIGNOUX, *Lexique des termes de la pharmacopée Syriaque*, Paris 2011, p. 7–8.

<sup>18</sup> On the Abbasid period (ca. 750–1259), especially the Translation Movement, cf. D. GUTAS, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture. The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsīd Society (2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup>/8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, London 1998.

<sup>19</sup> C.R. LE COZ, *Les médecins...*, p. 44; IDEM, *Les chrétiens...*, p. 61, 179, where he argues that he was a "Jacobite" Christian, since these were the only ones who could study in Alexandria, implicitly admitting that the Nestorians were prohibited from entering Byzantine territory.

<sup>20</sup> S. BHAYRO, *The Reception of Galen's Art of Medicine in the Syriac Book of Medicines*, [in:] *Medical Books in the Byzantine World*, ed. B. ZIPSER, Bologna 2013, p. 127.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> On the so-called Syriac Renaissance, cf. H.G.B. TEULE, C. FOTESCU TAUWINKL, R.B. TER HAAR ROMENY, J.J. VAN GINKEL, *The Syriac Renaissance*, Leuven–Walpole 2010 [= ECS, 9].

<sup>23</sup> S. BHAYRO, *Theory and Practice...*, p. 156.

Much mystery surrounds it: different scholars have speculated when it might have been written, with suggestions running from the sixth to the thirteenth centuries. Whatever the moment of the final compilation, it is evident that this text contains much material dating back to the sixth and seventh centuries<sup>24</sup>.

Finally, Grigory Kessel, after having consulted him about the dating of *The Book of Medicines*, concludes:

Nobody knows for sure when that text was composed. But even if it was written, let's say, at the 9<sup>th</sup> century (one of the hypothesis) it nevertheless relies and uses material that goes back to the Greek sources of the 2<sup>nd</sup>–6<sup>th</sup>.

One part of *The Book of Medicines* deals with medical recipes and it may be an original Syriac text<sup>25</sup>.

Without a univocal consensus yet, we propose a dating for the “Apostles’ Ointment” by means of a philological-comparative study, thus avoiding a single dating for all the prescriptions in *The Book of Medicines*, whose content and authorship(s) have not yet been fully studied. The philological analysis we have embraced consists of examining the term used for each simple drug appearing in the formula of our plaster, in comparison with the Syriac nomenclature of varied etymology<sup>26</sup>, noted in MS BL Add 14661 by Sergius (6<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>27</sup>, *Syriac Lexicon* by Bar Bahlul (10<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>28</sup>, and *Le candélabre des sanctuaires* by Bar Hebraeus (13<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>29</sup>. Thus, when the terms of the prescription are traced in these works and the philo-

<sup>24</sup> P.E. PORMANN, E. SAVAGE-SMITH, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, Washington D.C. 2007, p. 19.

<sup>25</sup> G. KESSEL bases his answer on R. DEGEN, *Ein Corpus Medicorum Syriacorum*, Mjou 7.1–2, 1972, p. 114–122, esp. at p. 118 n. 21. Another survey can be found in S. Rudolf, *Syrische Astrologie...*, p. 107–108.

<sup>26</sup> The Syriac nomenclature used for the simple medicines present in a certain medical prescription can generally be of Semitic, Persian or Greek etymology. As Semitic terms tend to remain unchanged over time, unlike the different ways of transliterating them into Syriac from Greek, it is convenient to take the latter into account for philological analysis, since it is likely to be found in different ways depending on the dating the source.

<sup>27</sup> This is the Syriac translation of books 6, 7 and 8 of Galen's *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus*. A. MERX, *Proben der syrischen Uebersetzung von Galenus' Schrift über die einfachen Heilmittel*, ZDMG 39.2, 1885, p. 237–305, edited only the alphabetical list of medicinal plants.

<sup>28</sup> H. BAR BAHLUL, R. DUVAL, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Paris 1901.

<sup>29</sup> It has a list of medicinal plants, *A List of Plants and their Properties from the Menârath kudhsê of Gregorius Bar 'Ebhârâya*, ed. R.J.H. GOTTHEIL, [s.l.] 1886, edited from ms. Sachau 81, later corrected, R.J.H. GOTTHEIL, *Berichtungen und Zusätze zu "A List of Plants"*, ZDMG 43, 1889, p. 121–127. The first critical edition is *Le candélabre des Sanctuaires de Grégoire Aboulfaradj dit Barhebraeus*, ed. et trans. J. BAKOŠ, Paris 1933 [= PO, 24] (cetera: GRÉGOIRE ABOULFARADJ DIT BARHEBRAEUS), p. 229–439. Finally, this pharmaceutical list was studied by H. TAKAHASHI within the framework of the European project Floriental (ERC-2010- StG-263783, Floriental, dir. R. HAWLEY), cf. S. BHAYRO, R. HAWLEY, *La littérature botanique et pharmaceutique en langue syriaque*, [in:] *Les sciences en syriaque*, ed. E. VILLEY, Paris 2014 [= ESyr, 11], p. 285–318.



logical analysis is carried out on the Syriac transliterations of the signs of the Greek writing system, we observe differences in the words according to the time of representation. In the case of the drugs from the “Apostles’ Ointment” present in the three works mentioned above, the analysis of some products deriving from medicinal plants<sup>30</sup> – bdellium<sup>31</sup>, resin<sup>32</sup>, wax<sup>33</sup>, galbanum<sup>34</sup>, opopanax<sup>35</sup> – yields the following result:

Greek	The Book of Medicines	MS BL Add 14661	Syriac Lexicon	Le candélabre
βδέλλιον <sup>36</sup>	ܒܕܠܝܘܢ	<sup>37</sup> ܒܕܠܝܘܢ	<sup>38</sup> ܒܕܠܝܘܢ	Not found
πίσσα <sup>39</sup>	ܦܝܫܫܐ	<sup>40</sup> ܦܝܫܫܐ	<sup>41</sup> ܦܝܫܫܐ	<sup>42</sup> ܦܝܫܫܐ
κηρός <sup>43</sup>	ܟܗܪܘܫ	<sup>44</sup> ܟܗܪܘܫ	<sup>45</sup> ܟܗܪܘܫ	Not found

<sup>30</sup> MS BL Add 14661 and the section “des plantes” in GRÉGOIRE ABOULFARADJ DIT BARHEBRAEUS, p. 229–439, only mention herbal medicines.

<sup>31</sup> ܒܕܠܝܘܢ, cf. E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 152, 18.

<sup>32</sup> ܦܝܫܫܐ, cf. E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 152, 18.

<sup>33</sup> ܟܗܪܘܫ cf. E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 152, 18.

<sup>34</sup> ܟܗܪܘܫ cf. E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 152, 19.

<sup>35</sup> ܟܗܪܘܫ, cf. E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 152, 20.

<sup>36</sup> DIOSCORIDES, 1, 67.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. BL Add 14661 f.4r5.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. H. BAR BAHLUL, R. DUVAL, *Lexicon...*, p. 358.

<sup>39</sup> GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, VII, 2, 22 (ed. KÜHN, 13.557–561); ORIBASIOS, 87, 7, 1–9 (ed. RAEDER, 6.2.2.264); AETIUS, XV, 14, 20–46 (ed. ZERVOS, p. 7–138); PAULUS, 7.17 (ed. HEIBERG, 7.358).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. BL Add 14661 f.56v29.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. H. BAR BAHLUL, R. DUVAL, *Lexicon...*, p. 1877.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. GRÉGOIRE ABOULFARADJ DIT BARHEBRAEUS, p. 346.

<sup>43</sup> GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, VII, 2, 22 (ed. KÜHN, 13.557–561); ORIBASIOS, 87, 7, 1–9 (ed. RAEDER, 6.2.2.264); AETIUS, XV, 14, 20–46 (ed. ZERVOS, p. 7–138); PAULUS, 7.17 (ed. HEIBERG, 7.358).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. BL Add 14661 f.33v3.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. H. BAR BAHLUL, R. DUVAL, *Lexicon...*, p. 1838.

<sup>46</sup> GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, VII, 2, 22 (ed. KÜHN, 13.557–561); ORIBASIOS, 87, 7, 1–9 (ed. RAEDER, 6.2.2.264).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. BL Add 14661 f.57r1.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. H. BAR BAHLUL, R. DUVAL, *Lexicon...*, p. 894.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. GRÉGOIRE ABOULFARADJ DIT BARHEBRAEUS, p. 336.

<sup>50</sup> GALEN, *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, VII, 2, 22 (ed. KÜHN, 13.557–561); ORIBASIOS, 87, 7, 1–9 (ed. RAEDER, 6.2.2.264); AETIUS, XV, 14, 20–46 (ed. ZERVOS, p. 7–138); PAULUS, 7.17 (ed. HEIBERG, 7.358).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. BL Add 14661 f.60v6.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. H. BAR BAHLUL, R. DUVAL, *Lexicon...*, p. 894.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. GRÉGOIRE ABOULFARADJ DIT BARHEBRAEUS, p. 335–336.



already transliterated in Syriac from Greek in the *Syriac Lexicon* (10<sup>th</sup> century) the same way that *The Book of Medicines*, while they are mentioned differently in the other two sources<sup>55</sup> (when they appear). This allows us to propose that, at least during the Abbasid period, a Syriac version of the Greek prescriptions existed, with a name Christianizing for the first time. The Syriac author called this new version of the prescription *Βάρβαρος Ἡρα ὁ ἔναμος* “Apostles’ Ointment”, slightly modifying its composition and therapeutic indications. The analysis of the therapeutic uses of the Syriac prescription, in addition to its qualitative composition, in comparison with the plasters of Galen, Oribasius, Aetius of Amida and Paul of Aegina, will allow us to investigate these micro-transformations introduced by the Syriac physicians in the “Apostles’ Ointment”, as we will demonstrate in the following sections.

### The “Apostles’ Ointment” from *The Book of Medicines*

In chapter 8 from *The Book of Medicines* (Fols. 53a–74a), there is a section on plasters for the therapeutic treatment of nerve injuries (Fols. 72b–74a)<sup>56</sup>. According to the author, when the nerves receive a strong blow or become inflamed because of an abscess, or when they are stabbed, crushed, cut or they become ill from the bite of an animal, they need warm and delicate medicines. He recommends warming by means of sweet oil without astringent properties and, especially, the application of plasters, whose therapeutic action, composition and preparation is detailed in a section about several pharmaceutical plasters, formed with fats and substances with different active principles, suitable for their application in wounds. In addition, he names a total of five prescriptions, which are detailed below: 1) “Plaster (or, liniments) of euphorbium which are good for the wounds that take place in the nerves, and for the bites of evil beasts” (Fol. 73a); 2) “Another unguent of euphorbium which is good for wounds of the nerves, and for abscesses of all kinds which are caused by colds and chills, and for wounds caused by evil beasts” (Fol. 73a); 3) “Another unguent of opopanax and vinegar which is to be used for the wounds that come in the nerves, and for the bites of a mad dog” (Fol. 73a); 4) “Another, a musk fillet” (Fol. 73b), which is used a) “for the cutting of the nerves”, b) “for injuries of the nerves even if they are cut or crushed”, c) “for the sores that are produced by breaking of bones”, d) “for the collection of water”, e) “for the constriction, and for abscesses in the anus”; 5) “Another [unguent] which is called the “Persian”, and which is used for pains” (Fol. 73b). Within this group, he includes

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is the “Zwölfbotensalbe” of AVICENNA, 5, 405, *die durch die zweite Rezeptionswelle des Arabismus dem Abendland bekannt wurde*.

<sup>55</sup> This method is valid assuming that the sources are complete in terms of the terminology used in the corresponding periods.

<sup>56</sup> E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 152–153.

a sixth plaster, which he calls “Another [plaster ܟܚܝܢܐ]<sup>57</sup>, which is called<sup>58</sup> the “Twelve”, after the Twelve Apostles” (Fols. 73b–74a, ed. Budge I, p. 152–153; II, p. 165–166). The author does not explain why he decided to give the plaster this name. He only says it is related to the “call [of the] twelve, in reference to the Twelve Apostles”. Because of this denomination, we consider that it was possibly a popular name at the time, perhaps known prior to the annotation in *The Book of Medicines* and related to the “Twelve Apostles”, who were Jesus’ followers. Nor does he mention the word “plaster”, ܟܚܝܢܐ; instead, he uses the term “other”, followed by a long list of therapeutic applications:

ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 :ܟܚܝܢܐ :ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ

Another [plaster] which is called the Twelve, after the Twelve Apostles, and which is useful for all difficult wounds, which come in the nerves and in every member. It is emollient for hard abscesses and dense secretions of viscous pus, and dissolves scrofula, and dissipates cancers, and emollient for sores, and helps old ulcers, and pain in the ears, and boils in the nostrils, and the severe pain which comes in the womb.

He then lists the drugs in the prescription and the quantities of each drug:

ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ  
 ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ ܟܚܝܢܐ

litharge 30 *estire*<sup>59</sup> gum ammoniac 7 bdellium 7 resin 16 drachms wax 16 verdigris 9 galbanum 9 myrrh 8 opopanax 8 aloes 12 frankincense 12 birthwort (long) 12 olive oil (in the summer) 1 *litra*<sup>60</sup> olive oil (in the winter) 1,5.

<sup>57</sup> The translation is direct from Syriac and was made by D. ASADE from the edition of E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines I...*, p. 152–153. Cf. translation by E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines II...*, p. 165–166, who uses the term “unguent” instead of “plaster”, “spum of silver” instead of “litharge”, “cinnabar” instead of “verdigris”.

<sup>58</sup> ܟܚܝܢܐ, “call”, cf. Mt 1: 16.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. ܟܚܝܢܐ, M. SOKOLOFF, C. BROCKELMANN, *A Syriac Lexicon. A Translation from the Latin. Correction, Expansion, and Update of C. Brockelmann’s Lexicon Syriacum*, Winona Lake 2009, p. 80; E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines II...*, p. 526.

<sup>60</sup> The *litra* contains twenty *estire* (i.e. 100 drachms).

As can be observed, the Syriac prescription totals fourteen medicines, including drugs of animal, vegetable and mineral origin. He mentions wax, which is the animal excipient par excellence to give consistency to the preparation. He also adds mineral drugs, such as litharge<sup>61</sup>, and verdigris<sup>62</sup>, which chemically are lead monoxide and cupric acetate respectively, both responsible for the healing and astringent action. Herbal drugs, myrrh, aloe<sup>63</sup>, and frankincense<sup>64</sup>, serve the same function. In addition, both gum ammoniac<sup>65</sup> and galbanum<sup>66</sup> can absorb gum-resin, bdellium, which is an oleo-gum-resin, used as an emollient<sup>67</sup>, the resin is adhesive and aromatic<sup>68</sup>, and the opopanax, used to treat ulcers, the bite of rabid dogs and to heal various wounds<sup>69</sup>, is also added as an aromatic<sup>70</sup>. Vinegar is also included in the Syriac prescription and has a twofold action: it is part of the production process, providing an acid medium for the gums to retain their adhesive properties, and it is used to stop the bleeding<sup>71</sup>. Finally, olive oil, which is the vehicle or excipient, makes it possible to contain the rest of the active substances. This oily vehicle, together with the wax, besides having occlusive and emollient properties, has the purpose of dissolving pharmacologically active oily substances, while the minerals are dispersed in this vehicle until they form a paste.

The fourteen ingredients from the prescription, then, are basic substances with a broad spectrum of use in drug production. Each plaster ingredient serves a particular function as a binder, healing, astringent, absorbent, emollient, adhesive and even aromatic agent. However, the pharmaceutical art required not only knowledge of the properties of the basic substances, but also an indication of the correct elaboration process in order to obtain an effective medicine, which the Syriac prescription details in these terms:

<sup>61</sup> Cf. λιθάργυρος, DIOSCORIDES, 5, 87. On the toxicity of its absorption, cf. J.B. LEIKIN, F.P. PALOUCHEK, *Poisoning and Toxicology Handbook*, Boca Raton 2008, p. 807.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 5, 88. On its irritant capacity for the skin, cf. J.B. LEIKIN, F.P. PALOUCHEK, *Poisoning and Toxicology...*, p. 779.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 3, 22. On its antiseptic properties, cf. J.A. DUKE, *Handbook of Medicinal Herbs*, Boca Raton 2002, p. 15.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 1, 68. On its anti-inflammatory properties, J.A. DUKE, *Handbook...*, p. 15.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 3, 84. Cf. W.C. EVANS, G.E. TREASE, D. EVANS, *Trease and Evans' Pharmacognosy*, Edinburgh 2002, p. 31.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 3, 83. Cf. W.C. EVANS, G.E. TREASE, D. EVANS, *Trease and...*, p. 31.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 1, 67. Cf. J.A. DUKE, *Handbook...*, p. 360.

<sup>68</sup> In this regard, the different resins mentioned by DIOSCORIDES can be consulted in *De materia medica*, 1, 71, 3–4. On its antimicrobial activity, cf. J.A. DUKE, *Handbook...*, p. 282.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 3, 48.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 3, 48.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 5, 13.

ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ  
 ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ  
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 ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ  
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 ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ  
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 ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ ܘܡܘܫܘܢ ܕܠܝܬܘܪܝܘܬܐ

Pound the litharge and beat it to a powder, then pour a little oil upon it, and crush it again until it becomes like a plaster, and boil it over a fire until it dissolves and becomes like honey. Then incorporate the gum ammoniac<sup>72</sup> and myrrh and frankincense and opopanax and bdellium in vinegar, and work them up together until they are dissolved. Then grind verdigris, aloe, and birthwort and pour on the mixture, and work up and use for the pains which have been described. It will keep the wounds free from abscesses, and free from pain and disease, and will heal them.

This pharmacotechnical process is logical according to current pharmacy knowledge. The first step consists of forming a paste between a powder (litharge) and an oily element (oil). In addition, heat has the function of reducing the viscosity of the paste, facilitating its manipulation. At the same time, the gomorresins from the medicinal plants (gum ammoniac, myrrh, franckincense, opopanax and bdellium) are dissolved in vinegar. Finally, the remaining ingredients (verdigris, aloe, and birthwort) are incorporated, in a ground form, to the mixture of the first two steps. In this last part of the prescription, the author also gives some general advice regarding the relationship between the formulation, the therapeutic indications and the season of the year in which it is appropriate to treat certain pathologies, as well as recent and old wounds. Therefore, he claims it is useful for long-lasting ulcers, ear pain, infections in the nostrils and pain in the abdomen, possibly caused by some superficial infection. At the same time, he indicates its application for deep wounds, which involve nerves in different parts of the body and which can become infected.

The author ceases his exposition of the prescription “Apostles’ Ointment” here, after giving precise instructions on the composition formula of the plaster, including the drugs involved in it and their quantities, the way to elaborate it and its application. Now, the Greek medical texts of the Antiquity and Late Antiquity period refer to a plaster with characteristics similar to those mentioned in the Syriac prescription, which could be the sources of that version.

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<sup>72</sup> E.A.W. BUDGE, *The Book of Medicines II...*, p. 165, seems not to recognize the term ܘܡܘܫܘܢ, and transliterates *hoshag*. This is the Syriac name for gum ammoniac, cf. M. SOKOLOFF, C. BROCKELMANN, *A Syriac Lexicon...*, p. 339.

## The Ἄλλη ἔναμος Ἰουλιανοῦ and Βάρβαρος Ἦρα by Galen

In chapter 22 (ed. Kühn, 13.555–561), from the book 2 of Galen's treatise *De compositione medicamentorum per genera* (ed. Kühn, 13.458–561), which integrates Galen's treatise *De compositione medicamentorum per genera libri VII*, four plasters are included: 1) Αἱ δι' ἀσφάλτου βάρβαροι (ed. Kühn, 13.555–556), containing five prescriptions<sup>73</sup>; 2) Βάρβαρος Γαληνοῦ (ed. Kühn, 13.560–561), including two prescriptions<sup>74</sup>; 3) Ἄλλη ἔναμος Ἰουλιανοῦ (ed. Kühn, 13.557); and 4) Βάρβαρος Ἦρα

<sup>73</sup> The first is attributed to Andromachus. It is made up of the following medicines: 6 [drachmae] of bees wax, 6 [drachmae] of pitch, 6 [drachmae] of pine resin, 6 [drachmae] of bitumen, 24 [drachmae] of frankincense-tree, 1 [drachma] of olive oil (κηροῦ ζ'. πίσης ζ'. ῥητίνης ζ'. ἀσφάλτου ζ'. λιβάνου κδ'. ἐλαίου κοτύλην α'. ἄλλη). The second, simply called ἄλλη, is made up of 2 litra of pitch, 1 litra of bitumen, 1 litra of bees wax, 6 of aromatic ammoniac, 6 litra of gum, 3 litra of white lead, kotyle of olive oil, 4 kotylae of vinegar (πίσης λίτρας β'. ἀσφάλτου λίτραν α'. κηροῦ λίτραν α'. ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος γο στ'. μάννης γο στ'. ψιμθίου γο γ'. ἐλαίου κοτύλης δ'. ὄξους κοτύλας δ'). The third is called "other melaina" (μέλαινα ἄλλη). It is prepared with 1 litra of dry pitch, 1 litra of dry pine resin, 1 litra of bitumen, 6 litra of white lead, 3 unciae of gum, solution of blue vitriol, copper sulphate, striped verdigris, half kotyle of olive oil, half kotyke of vinegar (πίσης ξηρᾶς λίτραν α'. ῥητίνης ξηρᾶς λίτραν α'. ἀσφάλτου λίτραν α'. ψιμθίου γο στ'. μάννης, χαλκάνθης, ἰοῦ ἔυστου ἀνά οὐγγίας γ'. ἐλαίου κοτύλης ἥμισυ, ὄξους κοτύλης ἥμισυ). The fourth has the name "other by Gaius" (ἄλλη ἐκ τῶν Γάλλου). It contains 30 [drachmae] of goat fat, eight [drachmae] of verdigris, 50 [drachmae] of bees wax, 25 of aristolochia, 24 of bitumen, 25 [drachmae] of pitch, 12 [drachmas] of aromatic ammoniac, 12 [drachmae] of galbanum, medium (?), 8 [drachmae] of *Ferula tingitana*, 20 [drachmae] of another (?), 12 [drachmae] of gum (στέατος αἰγείου λ'. ἰοῦ η'. κηροῦ ν'. ἀριστολοχίας κε'. ἀσφάλτου κε'. πίσης κε'. ἀμμωνιακοῦ θυμιάματος ιβ'. χαλβάνης ιβ'. ἥμισυ, σιλφίου η'. ἄλλ. κ'. μάννης ιβ'. σκευάζε). The fifth is "otra llamada aniketos" (ἄλλη ἢ καλουμένη ἀνίκητος). Its formula is 100 [drachmae] bees wax, 30 [drachmae] of cow fat, 24 [drachmae] of bitumen, 25 [drachmae] of pitch, 25 [drachmae] of turpentine, 22 [drachmae] of sodium carbonate, medium (?), 12 [drachmae] of aristolochia, 8 [drachmae] of galbanum, 18 drachmae of myrrh, 12 [drachmae] of incense, medium (?), 8 [drachmae] of ammoniac, 8 [drachmae] of Nepaul cardamom, 12 [drachmae] of cardamum, 8 drachmae of opopanax, 15 [drachmae] of deer fat, 12 [drachmae] of verdigris, 8 drachmae of aloe, 16 [drachmae] of bdellium, 2 kotylae of olive oil, I also add 12 drachmae of bee-glue (κηροῦ ρ'. στέατος ταυρείου λ'. ἀσφάλτου κε'. πίσης κε'. τερμινθίνης κε'. νίτρου κβ'. ἥμισυ, ἀριστολοχίας ιβ'. χαλβάνης η'. Σμύρνης δραχμιάς ιη'. λιβάνου ιβ'. ἥμισυ, ἀμμωνιακοῦ δραχμιάς η'. ἀμώμου δραχμιάς η'. καρδαμώμου ιβ'. ὀποπάνακος δραχμιάς η'. μυελοῦ ἐλαφείου ιε'. ἰοῦ ιβ'. ἀλόης δραχμιάς η'. βδελλίου ιστ'. ἐλαίου κοτύλας β'. ἐγὼ δὲ ἔβαλλον προπόλεως δραχμιάς ιβ').

<sup>74</sup> Galen does not give the name of the first recipe. It only indicates its medicines and quantities: 8 litrae of pitch, 6 litrae of bees wax, 8 unciae (?), 5 litrae of pine [resin], 4 unciae (?), 4 litrae of bitumen, 1 litra of olive oil, 6 unciae (?), 24 [litrae] of litharge, white lead and verdigris, half litra of frankincense, 12 [drachmae] of liquid styphthria, 4 unciae of cleft, 12 [drachmae] of opopanax, scale [of metal], galbanum, 4 [drachmae] of aloe, opium, myrrh, 24 unciae of turpentine, 6 [drachmae] mandragora juice, 6 kotylae of vinegar (Πίσης λίτρας η'. κηροῦ λίτρας στ'. οὐγγίας η'. πιτυίνης λίτρας ε'. οὐγγίας δ'. ἀσφάλτου λίτρας δ'. ἐλαίου λίτραν α'. οὐγγίας στ'. λιθαργύρου καὶ ψιμθίου καὶ ἰοῦ ἀνά κδ'. λιβανωτοῦ λίτρας ἥμισυ, στυπτηρίας ὑγρᾶς ιβ'. σχιστῆς οὐγγίας δ'. ὀποπάνακος, λεπίδος, χαλβάνης ἀνά ιβ'. ἀλόης καὶ ὀπίου καὶ σμύρνης ἀνά δ'. τερμινθίνης οὐγγίας κδ'. μανδραγόρου χυλοῦ στ'. ὄξους κοτύλας στ'). Galen also indicates a second recipe, which is *the proportion of the simple barbaros*

(ed. Kühn, 13.557–560), where the prescriptions “black *enaimos* plaster” (μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος ἔναιμος) and “other *barbaros Hera*” (ἄλλη βάρβαρος Ἥρα). Of these four plasters, Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ and Βάρβαρος Ἥρα contain formulas closely related to the Syriac prescription.

The “Other *enaimos* by Iulianus”<sup>75</sup> (Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ, ed. Kühn, 13.557) is attributed to Iulianus (of Alexandria) (ca. 140–160 CE). Galen would have met this Methodist physician sometime during his stay in Alexandria, as J. Scarborough<sup>76</sup> infers, and passed on the drugs in his prescription, composed as follows:

λιθαργύρου ν'. ἀσφάλτου δραχμᾶς ν'. κηροῦ ν'. πίσσης βρυτίας δραχμᾶς ν'. ῥητίνης φρυκτῆς ιε'. λεπίδος χαλκοῦ ιβ'. λιβάνου δραχμᾶς ιδ'. χαλβάνης η'. χαλκίτεως δραχμᾶς δ'. ἀλόης στ'. κηκίδος δ'. σμύρνης δραχμᾶς δ'. ἀριστολοχίας μακρᾶς στ'. ἀριστολοχίας στρογγύλης δραχμᾶς δ'. ἐλαίου παλαιοῦ κοτύλας δ'. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐλαίου κοτύλας γ'.

50 drachmae of litharge, 50 drachmae of bitumen, 50 drachmae of bees wax, 50 drachmae of Bruttium pitch, 15 drachmae of toasted pine resin, 12 drachmae of copper flakes, 14 drachmae of incense, 8 drachmae of galbanum, 14 drachmae of copper ore, 6 aloes drachmae, 4 [drachmae] oak gall, 4 drachmae of myrrh, 6 long-born aristolochia, 4 drachmae of round-born aristolochia, 4 kotylae of old oil; but I [add] 3 kotylae of oil.

Galen lists here the active ingredients and excipients necessary for the mixture of fifteen drugs in total, without an explanation of their therapeutic application. However, J. Scarborough considers that this plaster would have been used

*with the combination* [of the medicines] (ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀπλουστέρας βαρβάρου συμμετρία τῇ συνθέσει), and is prepared with 5 [drachmae] of pitch, bees wax, pine resin, toasted resin, bitumen, 1 litera of these, 10 of litharge, 5 of white lead, 5 of vedigris, 3 of oropanax; 9 unciae of winter oil, 6 unciae of summer (πίσσης, κηροῦ, ῥητίνης πιτυϊνης, ῥητίνης φρυκτῆς, ἀσφάλτου τῶν ε'. τούτων ἀνὰ λίτραν α'. λιθαργύρου ι'. ψιμυθίου ε'. ἰοῦ ε'. ὀποπάνακος γ'. ἐλαίου χειμῶνος οὐγγίας θ'. θέρους οὐγγίας στ'). For this recipe, he indicates the following preparation: *the soluble and dry are poured into a mortar to be crushed with acid vinegar* (τὰ τηκτὰ κατὰ τῶν ξηρῶν καταχεῖται λελειωμένων ἐν θυεῖα μετ' ὄξους δριμέος). And he adds *1 of henbane juice, medium (?), and one of opium* (ἐὰν δὲ ἀνωδυνώτερον εἶναι βουληθῆς τὸ φάρμακον, προσμιξεις ὑοσκυάμου χυλοῦ α'. ἡμισυ. καὶ ὀπίου α').

<sup>75</sup> All translations from the original Greek to English are by Paola DRUILLE, who follows the editions specified in the notes.

<sup>76</sup> J. SCARBOROUGH, *Iulianus (of Alexandria?) (ca 140–160 CE)*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists. The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs*, ed. P.T. KEYSER, G.L. IRBY, London–New York 2008, p. 448, bases its deduction on the statement *it is already more than twenty years since I met him in Alexandria, since when he has written handbook upon handbook, always changing them and altering them, never content with what he has written*. He also maintains that Iulianus had studied with Apollonides of Cyprus, although due to Galen's nuanced condemnation, few remains of Iulianus's writings remain. Against Iulianus Galen *so completely demolishes Methodism's medical logic that Tecusan simply edits and translates the entire tract to suggest the involuted and precise philosophical sarcasm applied to Methodist doctrine, also explicated by Hankinson (1991: 145–160)* (J. SCARBOROUGH, *Iulianus...*, p. 448).



to close wounds and soothe pain<sup>77</sup>, and adds that *the enaimos, prepared in bulk, probably was an ordinarily available plaster to treat wounds suffered by gladiators.* The litharge, the copper flakes and the calcite conferred astringent properties to the skin, the Dead Sea bitumen (asphalts) constituted an occlusive layer to protect it, and the adhesive properties given by beeswax, the carefully roasted pine resin and the pine pitch from Brutcia, would have ensured the practicality of the ἔναιμος. Finally, the smaller amounts of frankincense, myrrh, two types of aristolochia and aloe latex provided the plaster with a mild analgesic and antibiotic quality, augmented with oak gall<sup>78</sup>. Galen does not provide further information on Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ. On the contrary, he quickly introduces the prescriptions of the Βάρβαρος Ἴηρα (ed. Kühn, 13.557–560), whose formulations largely coincide with the plaster of Iulianus.

These prescriptions contain a considerably extensive explanation of the various applications the preparations have for the treatment of bleeding wounds and other conditions, in conjunction with the composition of two formulas and medicinal elaboration. As noted above, the first prescription is called “enaimos melaina plasters” (μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος ἔναιμος). As in the case of Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ, Galen does not justify the terms used to name this prescription<sup>79</sup>. Instead, he adds the possible therapeutic applications (ed. Kühn, 13.557–558):

πρὸς τὰς ἀξιολόγους διαιρέσεις καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ, πρὸς σύριγγας, κόλπους<sup>80</sup>, κατάγματα. [...] καὶ ἡπατικοῖς καὶ σπληνικοῖς, ἀφλεγμάντως [...]. ἐπὶ νεύρων καὶ χόνδρων διακεκομμένων καὶ ὀστέων, ἐπέχει δὲ παραδόξως καὶ αἷμα φερόμενον [...] πρὸς ὑποφορὰς καὶ κόλπους, κολλᾷ γὰρ μεγάλως καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποσθημάτων κομισάμενος τὸ ὑγρὸν [...] ἔστι καὶ ἴσχυαιμος καλλίστη μάλιστα ἐπὶ τῶν αἵμα ἀναγόντων. ἐμπλάσας δὲ εἰς δέρματα δύο, ἐν μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ στήθη καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς ἐπιτίθει, ἕτερον δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μέταφρενον, παραδόξως ἐπέχει τὸ αἷμα. [...] καὶ πρὸς κυνόδηκτα καὶ ἀνθρωπόδηκτα, τὸ ὅλον ἀφλέγματος [...] λῦε χειμῶνος δι’ ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ, θέρους διὰ ε’. ἐὰν δὲ ἐπέιγη διὰ τριῶν.

for major wounds and especially for those of the head, for fistulous abscesses, fistulous ulcers, fractures; [...] to those who suffer from liver and splenic disease, without inflammation [...]; for nerves, broken cartilage and bones, place in the opposite direction to the outgoing blood [...]. Also as a drainage for fistulous ulcers, which coalesces to a great extent and carries fluids towards abscesses [...]; it is very good for getting stagnant blood moving. Plaster on two parts of the skin, one is applied on the chest and [area of] the ribs, another on the back, applied in the opposite direction to the outgoing blood [...]. For dog and human bites, all without inflammation [...]. It wash (the wounds) after seven days in winter, five days in summer. If there is pressure, [open] it after three days.

<sup>77</sup> J. SCARBOROUGH, *Iulianus...*, p. 448.

<sup>78</sup> J. SCARBOROUGH, *Iulianus...*, p. 448.

<sup>79</sup> In medicine, βάρβαρος, plural βαρβάρια, is the name of various plasters. For Galen, cf. *supra* notes 73 and 74.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. κόλπος. It has the meaning of “belly”, but also of “fistulous ulcer” that extends under the skin. Cf. DIOSCORIDES, 1, 128.

This plethora of applications for the treatment of conditions related to bleeding wounds is due to the beneficial drugs that make up the prescription which, in the same way as the “Apostles’ Ointment”, requires pharmaceutical knowledge of the conditions that may affect its efficacy. Galen refers to the exact administration of the plaster, paying particular attention to the condition of the treated wound (ἐὰν δὲ ἐπίγειη διὰ τριῶν, *if there is pressure*, [open] *after three days*) and to the prevailing temperature in the winter and summer seasons (λῦε χειμῶνος δι’ ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ, θέρους διὰ ε’, *open after seven days in winter, five days in summer*), and adds up to a total of nine ingredients (ed. Kühn, 13.558), whose precise fractionation and weight of the active ingredients and necessary excipients follow the quantities indicated in the formula specified below:

κηροῦ λίτραν μίαν, πίσσης λίτραν μίαν, ἀσφάλτου λίτραν, μίαν, πιτυϊνης λίτραν μίαν, μάννης οὐγγίας στ’. ψιμυθίου οὐγγίας δ’. χαλκάνθης οὐγγίας δ’. ὀποπάνακος οὐγγίας β’. ἐλαίου ἡμιούγγιον, οἶ μὲν ἡμίμιναν, οἶ δὲ ἡμίλιτραν, ὄξους κοτύλας β’.

1 litra of bees wax, 1 litra of pitch, 1 litra of bitumen, 1 litra [resin?] of pine, 6 unciae of gum, 4 unciae of white lead, 4 unciae of copper sulphate, 2 unciae of opopanax, semi-uncia of oil olive, on the one hand semi-mineral, on the other semi-litra, 2 kotylae of vinegar.

He then lays out the process of making the prescription (13, 558–559), describing the pharmacotechnical operations of mixing, melting, grinding, sieving, cooling, as detailed below:

κηρὸν, ἄσφαλτον, ἔλαιον, ὄξος ὀλίγον [...], εἰς χύτραν καινὴν βαλὼν τῆκε, εἶτα ἐπίβαλλε τὴν πίσσαν καὶ τὴν ῥητίνην λεπτοκοπήσας ἐπιμελῶς. ὅταν ἡμίεφθος ᾖ, ἄρας τὴν χύτραν καὶ διαψύξας ποσῶς ἔμπασσε διηθημένον τὸ χάλκανθον λειωθὲν ὄξει, ἐκ τῶν δύο κοτυλῶν κατὰ μικρὸν, ἵνα μὴ ὑπερζέση [...] ὅταν ἀμόλυντος ᾖ, ἄρας ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς, ἔγχει τὸν ὀποπάνακα πρὸ μιᾶς βεβρεγμένον εἰς μέρος τοῦ ὑπολειπομένου ὄξους, ὥστε διαλυθῆναι, εἶτα ἔμπασον τὸ ψιμύθιον καὶ τὴν μάνναν ὁμοῦ ἐπιμελῶς λελειωμένα [...], ὡς ἐνωθῆναι φυλασσόμενος μὴ προσκαῆ ὀποπάναξ καὶ ἡ μάννα, κατὰχει εἰς θυεῖαν καὶ ἐάσας συγγῆναι, ἀναμαλάξας ἀπόθου καὶ χρώ.

throw bees wax, bitumen, olive oil, a little vinegar [...], melt it in a new pot. Then pitch and fine minced resin are carefully poured on top. When it is half boiled, when removing the pot and cooling it for a certain time, sprinkle the filtered solution of copper sulphate emulsifying with vinegar, with two kotylae little by little, so that it does not boil (completely) [...]. When it does not stain, remove from the heat, pour the opopanax for a maceration in a part of old vinegar, as it dissolves, then sprinkle together the carefully crushed white lead and gum [...], to unify the reserved opopanax that did not boil and the gum, is poured into the glass and allowed to cool, after collecting by rubbing, place and use.

Like the “Apostles’ Ointment”, the elaboration process of Galen’s compound requires a series of operations, which determine the final product. By mixing the active ingredients and excipients, and heating these components, grinding and sieving the solid drugs, and unifying all the ingredients, which also intersperses a careful cooling step, after various moments of heating the ingredients, the physician is assured of obtaining a homogeneous compound with the adequate degree of moisture and softness.

On the other hand, the second prescription included within Βάρβαρος Ἡρα is designated “another *barbaros Hera*” (ἄλλη βάρβαρος Ἡρα, ed. Kühn, 13.559–560). Unlike the formulation of the μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος ἔναιμος, Galen explains the name of this prescription using these terms:

ὁ μὲν Ἡρας ταύτης μόνης προῦγραψε τὸ βάρβαρος. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἔμπροσθεν ὁμοίως ὠνόμασα, καίτοι μέλαιναν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κεκλημένην, ἐπειδὴ τὰς δι’ ἀσφάλτου βαρβάρους εἰώθασι καλεῖν οἱ πλείστοι τῶν νεωτέρων ἰατρῶν. αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Ἡρας οὕτως περὶ αὐτῆς ἔγραψε κατὰ λέξιν (ed. Kühn 13.559–560).

On the one hand, this single Hera was designated before the [name of the] ointment, and, on the other, I called it similarly before; however, she has been named *melaina* by him, and later most of the younger physician are used to calling her barbarians because of the asphalt. He himself wrote about Hera herself as the phrase says.

Galen does not indicate other data about ἄλλη βάρβαρος Ἡρα, nor does he mention the names of the physicians who call this formulation μέλαιναν or βαρβάρους. On the contrary, once the prescription is named, Galen notes down the details of the application of the ointment according to this prescription:

πρὸς τὰ νεότερωτα, κόλπους, κυνόδηκτα, ἀνθρωπόδηκτα, κονδυλώματα φλεγμαίνοντα, πρὸς τὰ ἐν ἄρθροις πάντα [...] καὶ πρὸς ποδάγραν.

for fresh sores (fresh wounds), fistulous ulcers, [wounds] caused by a dog bite, human bite, inflamed callus lump (with pus), for all [diseases] in the joints [...] and for gout [...]

Then, he documents the active ingredients and excipients of its composition, together with their fractions and weight (13, 560):

κηροῦ μνᾶν α’. πίσσης μνᾶν α’. ῥήτινης φρυκτῆς μνᾶν α’. ἀσφάλτου Ἰουδαϊκῆς μνᾶν α’. λιθαργύρου ι’. ψιμυθίου ε’. ἰοῦ ν’. ὀποπάνακος δ’. ἐλαίου κοτύλην α’. ὄξους κύαθον α’.

1 mine of wax, 1 mine of pitch, 1 mine of toasted pine resin, 1 mine of bitumen *judaicum*, 10 of litharge, 5 of white lead, 50 of verdigris, 4 of opopanax, 1 kotyle of oil [olive], 1 cup of vinegar.

Finally, he recommends that each of these drugs be carefully mixed, starting from the strict implementation of the steps the physician adds towards the end of his prescription:

ἔψε κηρὸν πίσσαν, ἄσφαλτον, ῥητίνην ἕως τακῆ, εἶτα τὰ λοιπὰ μετὰ τοῦ ἐλαίου λελειοτριβημένα ἔμβαλλε, καὶ βαστάσας καὶ μικρὸν διαψύξας ἐκ τοῦ ὄξους κατ' ὀλίγον ἐπίσταζε.

boil the wax, the resin, the bitumen, the pine resin until it melts, then add the rest, mixing with oil, instill little by little, taking and aerating a small [quantity].

It may be noted that Galen devotes a brief space to the preparation of the prescription, the more extensive explanation of which might conform to that added in μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος. Furthermore, its formulation follows very closely both the one indicated in the two previous prescriptions and the one repeated by the Syriac mixture, as shown in the comparative table:

Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ	μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος	ἄλλη βάρβαρος Ἡρα	Apostles' Ointment
Bees wax	wax	wax	wax
Pitch of Bruttium	pitch	pitch	
bitumen	bitumen	<i>judaicum</i> bitumen	
toasted pine resin	pine [resin?]	toasted pine resin	resin
copper flakes and calcitis	copper sulphate	verdigris	verdigris
frankincense			frankincense
myrrh			myrrh
galbanum			galbanum
			bdellium
aloes			aloes
oak gall			
long-birthwort			birthwort (long)
round birthwort			
litharge		litharge	litharge
oil	oil olive	oil [olive]	olive oil (in the summer)
old oil			olive oil (in the winter)

Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ	μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος	ἄλλη βάρβαρος Ἡρα	Apostles' Ointment
	gum white lead opopanax vinegar	white lead opopanax vinegar	gum ammoniac  opopanax vinegar

The prescriptions account for 14 (Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ) and 10 drugs (μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος, ἄλλη βάρβαρος Ἡρα) respectively, whose main therapeutic action, as in the case of the Syriac plaster, is against sores, ulcers and fistulas, differing in their etiology “by dog bite or human bite” (κυνόδηκτα, ἀνθρωπόδηκτα). Of the fourteen drugs described in the Apostles’ Ointment, ten match Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ, and seven match μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος and ἄλλη βάρβαρος Ἡρα.

Although we cannot affirm that the Syriac author used one of Galen’s prescriptions for his ointment, or a combination of the three prescriptions based on the best therapeutic efficacy of the drugs that compose them, according to his experience, we can observe that both the therapeutic indications and the qualitative formulation of Galen’s prescriptions are related to the Syriac prescription, beyond the differences in the proper name of the prescription and in the amount of drugs in its formulation. This relationship becomes even more feasible when we observe that other late-antique physicians, who wrote in Greek and may have kept the formulation in force throughout the centuries, replicated the formulations transmitted by Galen with some modifications.

### **The Βάρβαρος ἔναιμος by Oribasius, Ἡρᾶ Καππάδοκος βάρβαρος by Aetius and Βαρβάρᾳ ἔναιμος by Paul**

In the medical treatises by Oribasius, Aetius of Amidas and Paul of Aegina, mention is made of the plaster for bleeding wounds, with indications similar to those mentioned in Galen’s prescriptions. In *Eclogae medicamentorum* 87 (ed. Raeder, 6.2.2.263–266), Oribasius incorporates a section called Ἐμπλαστροὶ ἔναιμοι πρὸς νευροτρώτους- αἱ δ’ αὐταὶ ποιοῦσι καὶ πρὸς τὰς περιθλάσεις τῶν νεύρων (“Plasters for bleeding wounds from tendon/muscle injuries, which are also made for nerve contusions” 87 tl. (ed. Raeder, 6.2.2.263). This section contains a total of sixteen plaster formulations<sup>81</sup>, where Oribasius prescribes a particular plaster,

<sup>81</sup> ORIBASIIUS includes a total of sixteen plasters. These are as follows: “[Plaster] kíssinon for tendon wounds and injuries” (Τὸ κίσινον πρὸς νευροτρώτους καὶ νύγματα, 87, 1), “[Plaster] Indē”

which he calls Βάρβαρος ἔναιμος 87, 7 (ed. Raeder, 6.2.2.264) and which he recommends for the following cases:

πρὸς τὰς ἀξιολόγους διαιρέσεις, μάλιστα ἐν κεφαλῇ, ὅστέα διακεκομμένα, χόνδρους, ἥπατικούς, σπληνικούς, αἶμα ἀνάγοντας, πρὸς τε κυνόδηκτα, ἀνθρωπόδηκτα, κόλπους

for considerable injury, especially in the head, bone fissures, cartilage, liver diseases, splenic, outgoing blood; also for (wounds) caused by a dog bite, human bite, fistulous ulcers.

After the therapeutic applications, he documents the types of single drugs and their quantities:

Κηροῦ, πίσηςς ξηρᾶς, ἀσφάλτου, πιτυϊνης ἀνά <α>, μάννης <ς>, ψιμυθίου, χαλκάνθου ἀνά <δ>, ὀποπάνακος <β>, ἐλαίου <ε>, ὄξους <β>.

1 [drachma] of wax, solid pitch, bitumen, pine resin, 6 [drachmae] of powder of frankincense, white lead, 4 [drachmae] of copper sulfate, 2 [drachmae] of opopanax, 5 [kotylae] of oil [olive], 2 [kotylae] of vinegar.

While he devotes the final part of his prescription to writing the instructions for the preparation of the plaster:

τὰ τηκτὰ τήξας ἐπάρας τε ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἔσταζε τὸν χάλκανθον διειμένον ὄξει καὶ ἐπιστήσας ἔψε, εἴτ' ἐπάρας πάλιν ἐπίβαλε τὸ ψιμύθιον λελειωμένον ὄξει καὶ πάλιν ἔψε, ἐπὶ τέλει δὲ μάνναν καὶ ὀποπάνακα, καὶ εὐθέως περισπάθιζε, ἕως ψυγῆ, καὶ χρῶ

Instill the dissolved copper sulfate in vinegar after melting and stirring the soluble ones in the fire and boiling; after stirring again, add the white lead, emulsified with vinegar and boil again and, finally, [add] the powder of frankincense and opopanax hispidus; cool (until) dawn, and use.

(*Ἡ Ἰνδή*, 87, 2), “[Plaster] gray or orange of Galen” (*Ἡ φαῖα Γαληνοῦ ἦτοι κίρρα*, 87, 3), “[Plaster] sallow for injuries (on tendons), injuries on tendons and all (other) bleeding wounds” (*Τὸ μελάγχλωρον νύγμασι, νευροτρώτοις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐναίμοις*, 87, 4), “[Plaster] with a mixture of vinegar and oil” (*Ἡ δι' ὄξελαίου*, 87, 5), “[Plaster] Catagmatic saitis, bleeding wound, headache, fistulous ulcer fluency” (*Ἡ Σαῖτις καταγματική, ἔναιμος, κεφαλική, κόλπων κολλητική*, 87, 6), “[Plaster] Athēna” (*Ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ*, 87, 8), “[Plaster] with willow/Salix” (*Ἡ δι' ἰτεῶν*, 87, 9), “[Plaster] also applied in bruised in the sinews as Galen's systematic preparation of tendon wounds” (*Νευροτρώτων ἐμμέθοδος θεραπεία ἐκ τῶν Γαληνοῦ ἢ καὶ τοῖς νευροθλάστοις ἀρμόζουσα*, 87, 10), “[Plaster] for special apostasis in tendon wounds” (*Πρὸς μερικές ἀποστάσεις ἐπὶ νευροτρώτων*, 87, 11), “Enaimos plaster for boxers” (*Ἐναιμος κολλητική πυκτική*, 87, 12), “Preparation [of the plaster] Apochymatos” (*Ἀποχύματος σκευασία*, 87, 13), “[Plaster] xystikon” (*Ξυστικόν*, 87, 14), “Emollient plaster” (*Μαλακτική ἐπισπαστική*, 87, 15), “Plaster aichmalōtos” (*Ἡ αἰχμάλωτος*, 87, 16).

Oribasius then mentions a prescription similar to those by Galen, called “plaster for bleeding wounds” (Βάρβαρος ἔναιμος). However, Oribasius does not incorporate litharge and replaces verdigris with copper sulfate, present in Galen’s μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος. The remaining drugs from Oribasius’ Βάρβαρος ἔναιμος remain unchanged in relation to Galen’s formulation, totaling ten drugs.

In *Iatricorum liber* XV, 14, 20–46 (ed. Zervos, p. 7–138) by Aetius, on the other hand, mention is made of a prescription called “*Barbaros Cappadocian Hera*”, which they simply call “plaster” (Ἡρᾶ Καππάδοκος βάρβαρος, ἦντινες ἄφραν καλοῦσιν), and it is stated that it is a “melaine plasters” (Μέλαινα ἔμπλαστρος). Aetius recommends using this prescription:

πρὸς τὰς ἀξιολόγους διαθέσεις καὶ μάλιστα πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ, πρὸς σύριγγας, κόλπους, κατάγματα ἀφλεγμάντως κολλῶσα, [...] ἐπὶ νεύρων καὶ χόνδρων διακεκομμένων καὶ ὀστέων· ποιεῖ πρὸς ὑποφοράς, κόλπους κολλᾷ μεγάλους καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποστημάτων διελῶν καὶ κομισάμενος τὸ ὑγρὸν [...] καὶ ἥπατικοῖς καὶ σπληνικοῖς; [...] δὲ καὶ ἔναιμος καλλίστη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν αἵμα ἀναγόντων. Ἐμπλάσας εἰς δέρματα δύο, ἐν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος καὶ τὰς πλευρὰς ἐπιτίθει, ἕτερον δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ μετὰφρενον, παραδόξως γὰρ ἐπέχει τὸ αἷμα· ποιεῖ καὶ πρὸς κυνοδήκτους καὶ ἀνθρωποδήκτους· ἔστι γὰρ καθόλου ἀφλέγμα- ντος [...]

for important conditions and especially for those in the head, for fistulous abscess, fistulous ulcer, fracture united free from inflammation, [...] for tendons, broken cartilage and bones, for drainage, large fractures that joins quickly united, divided abscesses, and fluid removed [...] [affections] liver and splenic [...] especially [for wounds] with blood and outgoing blood. It is plastered on two parts of the skin, one is applied on the chest and [area of] the ribs, another on the back, it is applied in the opposite direction to the outgoing blood [...] also for bites caused by a dog and by a human and, in general, it is anti-inflammatory [...]

He immediately lists the drugs in the compound, without further information regarding quantities, except for some particular drugs:

Κηροῦ, πίσης, ἀσφάλτου, πιτυίνης, ἀνὰ λίτραν α, μάννης οὐγγίας ἕξ, ψιμυθίου, χαλκάνθου ἀνὰ οὐγγίας τέσσαρας, ὀποπάνακος οὐγγίας δύο, ἐλαίου, ὄξους, ἀνὰ λίτ. α·

1 litra of wax, pitch, bitumen, pine resin, 6 unctiae of powder of frankincense, white lead, 4 unctiae of copper sulfate, 2 unctiae of opopanax, oil (olive), vinegar, 1 litra.

At the same time, he indicates a long and careful elaboration process, which combines the different substances previously dosed:

τὸν κηρὸν καὶ τὴν ἄσφαλτον λεπτομερῶς κεκομμένην, τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ τὸ ὄξος εἰς χύτραν βαλὼν καινὴν, ὀλίγον τοῦ ὄξους καταλιπὼν τῆκε κινῶν· τακέντων δ' ἐπίβαλλε πίσσαν, πιτυῖνην, λεπτοκοπήσας· τακείσων δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν, διήθει καὶ πάλιν ἔψε· ὅταν δὲ ἡμίεφθος γένηται, ἄρας τὴν χύτραν ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός, ἐπίβαλλε χάλκανθον λειωθὲν σὺν ὄξει ὀλίγῳ κατὰ μικρὸν δέ, ἵνα μὴ ἀναζέση, καὶ ἔψε πάλιν μαλακωτάτῳ πυρὶ· ὅταν δὲ ἀμόλυντον γένηται, ἄρας τὴν χύτραν ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρός, ἐπίβαλλε τὸν ὀποπάνακα προλειωθέντα τῷ ὑπολοίπῳ ὄξει· εἶτα ἔμπασσε ψιμμύθιον καὶ μάνναν λειότατα γενόμενα ξηρά· καὶ μικρὸν χλιάνας, ὡς ἐνωθῆναι μόνον, φυλασσόμενος μὴ προσκαῆ ὁ ὀποπάναξ καὶ ἡ μάννα, κατάχεε ἐν θυῖα, καὶ ἔασας ψυγῆναι, ἀναμαλάξας, ἀπόθου καὶ χρῶ, ὡς προεῖρηται. [...] τὰς τραυματικὰς πάσας ἐνίκησεν, ὡς ἡ πείρα δέδειχε· καὶ λῦε χειμῶνος μὲν δι' ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ, θέρους δὲ διὰ τριῶν.

Placing the oil and vinegar in a new pot dissolves the finely cut wax and bitumen, a bit of reserved vinegar, to stir; the melted pitch is placed, finely chopped; after dissolving them, filter and boil again; When it is half-boiling, put the pot on the fire, gradually place emulsified copper sulfate with a little vinegar, so that it does not boil (to a boil), and boil again over a very low heat; taking care that it does not stick, putting the pot on the fire, place crushed opopanax with the remaining vinegar; then sprinkle with dry white lead and powder of frankincense; once warm, as unified, the opopanax and the stored powder of frankincense that does not burn, pour into a mortar, and let it dry, softening completely, store and use, as prescribed [...] all wounds prevail, as experience show. It opens after seven days in winter, three days in summer.

From the name of plaster appearing in *Iatricorum liber XV*, 14, we can deduce that it would probably be the most popular plaster of the 6<sup>th</sup> century CE, due to the large number of therapeutic applications that its use covers. In comparison with the prescriptions by Galen and Oribasius, the qualitative formulation of the “*Barbaros Cappadocian Hera*” (Ἡρᾶ Καππάδοκος βάρβαρος) is identical to that of Oribasius.

Finally, in *Epitomae medicae libri septem*, 7, 17 (ed. Heiberg, 7.358) by Paul, there is a section about medical formulations “On plasters, and things to be added to the boiling, from the works of Antilus, and on the proportion of wax to oil” (Περὶ ἐμπλάστρων καὶ ἐμβαλλομένων εἰς τὰς ἐψησεις αὐτῶν, ἐκ τῶν Ἀντύλλου- καὶ περὶ συμμετρίας κηροῦ πρὸς ἔλαιον, 7, 17, t1), intended for the treatment of various conditions. According to Paul, some of these plasters *are for wounds and are called plasters for bleeding [wounds], binders and fracture plasters, which must be composed of desiccants* (αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν ἐμπλάστρων αἱ μὲν εἰσι τραυματικά, ἅς ἐναίμους τε καὶ κολλητικάς καὶ καταγματικάς καλοῦμεν, διὰ τῶν ξηραίνόν). These desiccants are willow, oak, cypress, pine bark and pitch, myrrh, rosemary, bitumen, aloe, motherwort, vine wood ashes, ceruse, litharge and most metals<sup>82</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> *Epitomae medicae libri septem*, 7, 17, Paul advises boiling such desiccants until they do not stain. He claims that healing plasters are also made up of desiccants, but more than binders. Such are burnt copper, aeris and ferri scale, verdigris, calcitis, burnt copper flower, alum, gall, molybdenum, calamine, pumice, and shells. Regarding the discutients, he affirms that they are formed from heating



He also maintains that it is necessary to apply the plasters for bleeding [wounds] when the injuries or fractures are recent, and *to open after three days* (λύειν τε διὰ τρίτης, 7, 17, 1). Among the plasters with these characteristics, Paul includes the “plaster for bleeding wounds, which is prescribed for fractured bones” (Βαρβάρᾳ ἔναιμοσ- καὶ πῶρους καταγμάτων δείκνυσιν, 7, 17, 42), naming the plaster as Oribasius does, although he does not elaborate on its etiology. He only specifies its most important application, “for fractured bones” (πῶρους καταγμάτων δείκνυσιν), the drugs in the prescription and their quantities:

Ἀσφάλτου Ἰουδαϊκοῦ, πίσης ξηρᾶς, κη-  
ροῦ, ῥητίνης ἀνά λι. <α>, τερεβινθίνης <β>,  
λιθαργύρου <α>, ψιμυθίου <α>, μάννης  
<β>, ὀποπάνακος <β>, σμύρνης <β>, ἐλαίου  
<γ>, ὄξους τὸ ἀρκοῦν.

1 litra of judaicum bitumen, solid pitch,  
wax, pine resin, 2 of terebinth, 1 of litharge,  
1 of white lead, 2 of powder of frankincense,  
2 of opopanax, 2 of myrrh, 3 of oil (olive),  
whatever is strictly necessary to vinegar.

In addition, Paul does not provide further instructions for preparing the prescription, apart from the recommendation that a sparing amount of vinegar should be used during the process. With respect to the formulation, he is the only Greek physician analyzed in our study who counts twelve medicines in total. Of these, Paul resumes the use of litharge from Galen’s formulation and, as the other Greek authors do, uses white lead and hydrocarbons (pitch and bitumen), discarded by the Syriac prescription. Finally, we observed that Paul incorporates drugs, such as myrrh (which also appears in the Galenic and Syriac plasters) and terebinth, but does not add verdigris or copper sulfate. Summarizing, of the fourteen drugs described in the Apostles’ Ointment, seven match the last Greek recipes described.

## Conclusion

The “Apostles’ Ointment” from *The Book of Medicines* is the Syriac version of a compound medicine of Greek origin, possibly Christianized by Syriac physicians. While it is difficult to determine the Greek antecedents of the Syriac

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and moderately desiccants, such as motherwort, thapsia, old oil and oil of radishes, honey, opobalm, fish, turpentine, galbanum, burnt salts and fleur de sel. In relation to emollients, he maintains that they are formed from litharge, fats, marrow, old oil, bee glue, ammonia, storax, galbanum, bdellium, chew, turpentine, marshmallow root and wild cucumber. Desiccants are made of sulfur, natron, salts, ash, bitumen. It also describes the epispastics, formed from salts, natron, bee glue, verdigris, yeast, manure, sulfur, turpentine, and digestives, composed of wax, labdanum, raisins, amomum, saffron, incense, tar, Egyptian putty, storach, myrrh, galbanum, butter, oesypum, fat, verdigris. Finally, mention the suppuratives, formed from water and oil, pollen, wheat bread, chondro, butter, pork and beef fat, frank incense, tar, rosin, the paregoric, made of litharge, ceruse, oil, dill, chamomile, starch, white wax.

prescription, and even more so the origin of the name given by the Syriac physicians to the Greek ointment, our analysis of the prescriptions by Galen, Oribasius, Aetius and Paul gave us evidences that any of them or all could constitute the sources of the Apostles' Ointment, and then the author of this Syriac recipe felt free to modify it when mix different drugs from different sources. Another clue about the origin of this recipe could be in the content of the Syriac translation of *De compositione medicamentorum per genera*, which unfortunately is not preserved<sup>83</sup>. The Greek authors that we have studied called Βάρβαρος Ἴηρα (Galen, ed. Kühn, 13.557–560) or Ἄλλη ἔναιμος Ἰουλιανοῦ (Galen, ed. Kühn, 13.557), Βάρβαρος ἔναιμος (Oribasius, ed. Raeder, 6.2.2.264), Ἡρᾶ Καππάδοκος βάρβαρος (Aetius, ed. Zervos, p. 7–138), and Βαρβάρᾳ ἔναιμος (Paul, ed. Heiberg, 7.358), with the subsequent perception of a noticeable change in the denomination of the prescription in *The Book of Medicines*. The Syriacs give the name “[plaster ܢܚܘܢ] which is called the Twelve, after the Twelve Apostles” to the prescription of Greek origin, incorporating the plaster into the Syriac-Christian pharmaceutical literature, sometime during the Abbasid Islamic period, as we have been able to ascertain through our philological dating. We also suggest that the name would have been popularized earlier, probably after Paul, since he was the first to formulate this medicine with twelve drugs instead of ten; but unfortunately there is no evidences for this. The Syriac prescription mentions fourteen drugs and incorporates some innovation, by both discarding white lead and hydrocarbons (pitch and bitumen) and adding bdellium. Although it is difficult to justify the name of the Apostles' Ointment from the number of ingredients, we can observe that, after Paul, the prescription would appear Christianized in the Syriac pharmaceutical literature, making the Syriac physicians who may Christianized the name of the Greek prescription, surviving with this name during the Arabic<sup>84</sup> and Latin<sup>85</sup> period.

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<sup>83</sup> Cf. G. KESSEL, *Inventory of Galen's Extant Works in Syriac*, [in:] *Hunayn Ibn Ishaq on his Galen Translations*, Provo 2016, p. 168–192.

<sup>84</sup> D. ASADE, *Recepción del Ungüento de los apóstoles en el Formulario de los hospitales de Ibn Abī l-Bayān*, [in:] *Religión, Derecho y Medicina en Egipto Antiguo, Tardoantiguo y Medieval. Actas del Ciclo de Conferencias en la Embajada de la República Árabe de Egipto*, ed. P. DRUILLE, D. ASADE, Santa Rosa 2021 (in press).

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *Antidotarium Romanum, seu Modus componendi medicamenta quae sunt in usu*, Venetiis 1585, p. 93.

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## CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS (1059–1067) VERSUS UZES – ABOUT THE NOMADS ON BOATS ON THE DANUBE IN 1064

**Abstract.** The reign of the Doukas dynasty in 1059–1078 was a time when new threats to the Byzantine Empire emerge in Europe and Asia. One of them was the increased activity of Turkmen who were penetrating the lands belonging to the Byzantines. A manifestation of these threats was visible during the rule of Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067) in 1064. We have there an invasion of the tribe of Uzes, who crossed the Danube. They ventured so far, as the vicinity of Thessalonica and the province of Hellas, plundering everything in their path. Their actions surprised the defense of the Byzantines. This attack on the empire was related to their crossing of the Danube, about which Michael Attaliates and Skylitzes Continuatus provides us with interesting information. The main aim of this paper therefore will be related to issues linked to the types of vessels used by Uzes to cross this river, as well as an attempt to assess their boatbuilding skills.

**Keywords:** Byzantine Empire, Constantine X Doukas, Uzes, Danube, Nomads' knowledge of river crossings

The decline of the Macedonian dynasty was the end of an era for the Byzantines. The immediate successors of this family faced the threat of the violent pressure of nomadic peoples on the borders of the Roman Empire, both in Asia Minor and in Europe. This was not a new phenomenon for the inhabitants of the Empire, but its scale exceeded all the previous ones. During the reign of Constantine X Doukas (1059–1067) in 1064, there was another successful attempt to cross the Byzantine border. This was done by the nomadic people of Uzes (Oghuz Turks-Torks)<sup>1</sup>, who at this time crossed the Danube and poured into the Balkans.

<sup>1</sup> P.B. GOLDEN, *The Migrations of the Oghuz*, AOTt 4, 1972, p. 45–84. O. PRITSAK, *The Decline of the Empire of the Oghuz Yabghu*, AUAAS 2, 1952, p. 279–292; IDEM, *Uzes*, [in:] *ODB*, vol. III, ed. A. KAZDAN et al., New York–Oxford 1991, p. 2147–2148; G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, Leiden 1983, p. 228; V. SPINEL, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century*, Leiden–Boston 2009 [= *ECEEMA*, 6], p. 113; V.A. IVANOV, M.I. IVANOVA, *Geographical and Political Background of Medieval Nomads Settling in the Steppes of Eastern Europe*, Chr 11, 2011, p. 20–22.

These people used various types of vessels for this purpose. Therefore, this study aims to try to determine the skills of the Uzes ethnos in the field of boatbuilding and crossing watercourses. However, before I go directly to this issue, it is worth mentioning at this point, the course of this military expedition of the Uzes people to the lands of the Empire. The Uzes found themselves on the Danube as a result of the campaign of the Rus princes and also because of the expansion of their Cuman neighbors, who gradually pushed them west<sup>2</sup>.

Our main source of information about events near the Danube are the accounts of the Byzantines, the Continuator of John Skylitzes and Michael Attaliates<sup>3</sup>. The border on the Danube when Uzes arrived, was guarded by the *magistros* Basil Apokapes and the *magistros* Nikephoros Botaneiates, who were there to respond to any attempts to cross that river<sup>4</sup>. These Turkmen crossed the Danube with all their possessions in long “dugouts” and on rafts fashioned from stalks and hides (...τὸν Ἴστρον περαιωθὲν ξύλοις μακροῖς καὶ λέμβοις αὐτοπρέμνοις καὶ βύρσαις...) <sup>5</sup>. Sources further report that both Byzantine commanders, forces of Romans accompanied by Bulgarians, tried to stop Uzes, but they were crushed by them with a sudden attack. Basil Apokapes and Nikephoros Botaneiates were taken prisoner by the nomads, who then plundered the lands on the Byzantine

<sup>2</sup> *Повесть временных лет*, I, ed. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, В.П. АДРИАНОВА-ПЕРЕТИЦ, Москва 1950, p. 109; P.B. GOLDEN, *The Migrations...*, p. 83; P.B. GOLDEN, *The Oghuz (Torki) in the South Russian Steppes. The Peoples of the South Russian Steppes*, [in:] *The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia*, ed. D. SINIOR, Cambridge 2008, p. 275–277; O. PRITSAK, *Uzes...*, p. 2148; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum w dobie bitwy pod Manzikert. Znaczenie zagrożenia seldżuckiego w polityce bizantyńskiej w XI wieku*, Kraków 2011 [= N.SAB, 7], p. 72; V. SPINELI, *The Great Migrations in the East and Southeast of Europe from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century. History and Political Organization*, vol. I, *Hungarians, Pechenegs, and Uzes*, Cluj-Napoca 2003, p. 161–215; IDEM, *The Romanians...*, p. 114; T. NAGRODZKA-MAJCHRZYK, *Czarni Klobucy*, Warszawa 1985, p. 84–86; E. ТАМИМ, *Cumans and Russians (1055–1240)*, Chr 11, 2011, p. 200.

<sup>3</sup> *Η Συνέχεια της Χρονογραφίας του Ιωάννου Σκυλίτζη (Ioannes Skylitzes Continuatus)*, ed. Ε.Τ. ΤΣΟΛΑΚΗΣ, Θεσσαλονίκη 1968 (cetera: SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS); *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles. The Continuation of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes (1057–1079)*, ed. E. MCGEER, J. NESBITT, Boston–Leiden 2020 [= MMe, 120] (cetera: *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*); MIGUEL ATALIATES, *Historia*, ed., praef. et trans. I.P. MARTÍN, Madrid 2002 [= NueR, 15] (cetera: MIGUEL ATALIATES); MICHAEL ATTALIATES, *The History*, ed. A. KALDELLIS, D. KRALLIS, London 2012 [= DOML, 16] (cetera: MICHAEL ATTALIATES); I. IORDANOV, *Molybdobulles nouvellement découverts de Basile Apokapes*, EB 1, 1986, p. 125–127; В.П. СТЕПАНЕНКО, А.С. МОХОВ, *Балканский этап карьеры Васила, сына Анухана*, BB 67, 2008, p. 63–75.

<sup>4</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 113–114; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 5 (114), p. 58–62; MIGUEL ATALIATES, IX, p. 63; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 6, p. 150–152; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 88; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2000, p. 95; A. PAROŃ, *Pieczynowie. Koczownicy w krajobrazie politycznym i kulturowym średniowiecznej Europy*, Wrocław 2015, p. 394; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Leiden–Boston 2013 [= ECEEMA, 22], p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 114; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 5 (114), p. 62; MIGUEL ATALIATES, IX, p. 63; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 6, p. 152.



bank of the Danube<sup>6</sup>. In the ranks of the Uzes were to be 600,000 people (*ethnos*) (60,000 according to Zonaras<sup>7</sup>), and a contingent of considerable strength was sent out south and penetrated as far as Thessalonike and the theme of Hellas, plundering all the lands of the empire in their way<sup>8</sup>. On the way back to the Danube, this horde was surprised by the weather conditions (violent storms), as a result of what, that Uzes lost the spoils they had captured from the Byzantines<sup>9</sup>.

The arrival of these Torks on the banks of the Danube is a testimony to the determination of the Uzes. The term “*ethnos*” used by Attaliates to refer to these newcomers from the East represent not so much a group of lonely warriors, but also their families, i.e. women, children, and the elderly. These people, relying on the care of men, had to be looked after, and also they had to be transferred to the other side of the river. Therefore, if we assume that for one horse warrior there were 3–4 members of his immediate family, it had to be between 10 and 15 thousand people capable of fighting and conducting offensive actions. It is also clear that on this part of Uzes the obligation was laid, to provide them and their families with means of transport to cross the Danube. Even today, such a task would be a logistical nightmare.

Constantine X Doukas, after hearing about these events, did not immediately proceed to the warfare against Uzes. The emperor did not take such actions, because according to sources, he did not want to spend money on the army, and he was also afraid of a clash with such a huge horde of enemies<sup>10</sup>. Instead, he sent envoys to the chiefs of Uzes, and also tried somehow to get them to his side. The hostilities of Uzes’ in the Balkans led to the fact that some of the inhabitants of the provinces they invaded, decided to leave their places of residence and settle somewhere else. The lands most affected by nomad plunder were Bulgaria,

<sup>6</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 114; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 5 (114), p. 62; MIGUEL ATALIATES, IX, p. 63; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 6, p. 152; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum libri XIII–XVIII*, rec. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonnæ 1897 [= CSHB, 49] (cetera: ZONARAS), p. 678; *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, ed. A.E. DOSTOURIAN, New York 1993, p. 105; J. DUDEK, *Ludy tureckie w Cesarstwie Bizantyńskim w latach 1025–1097*, BP 14, 2007, p. 90; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 89; E. MALAMUT, *L’image byzantine des Petchénègues*, BZ 88, 1995, p. 129; A. PAROŃ, *Pieczynowie...*, p. 394; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine...*, p. 72, 129; V. SPINEI, *The Romanians...*, p. 114.

<sup>7</sup> ZONARAS, p. 678.

<sup>8</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 114; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 5 (114), p. 62; MIGUEL ATALIATES, IX, p. 63; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 6, p. 152; ZONARAS, p. 678; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204. A Political History*, London 1984, p. 16; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 89; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium’s...*, p. 95; M. MEŠKO, *Vývin obranného systému Byzantskej ríše v 11. storočí – príklad témy Paradoxnavon*, Bsl 1, 2006, p. 139; В.П. СТЕПАНЕНКО, А.С. МОХОВ, *Балканский...*, p. 67; A. PAROŃ, *Pieczynowie...*, p. 394; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine...*, p. 129; V. SPINEI, *The Romanians...*, p. 114.

<sup>9</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 114; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 5 (114), p. 62; MIGUEL ATALIATES, IX, p. 63; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 6, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 115; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 6 (115), p. 62; MIGUEL ATALIATES, IX, p. 64; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 7, p. 152; A. PAROŃ, *Pieczynowie...*, p. 394.

Macedonia, and Thrace, and it did not escape the public attention in the capital, which forced Constantine to act more decisively<sup>11</sup>. However, before that happened, the emperor received information that the Uzes had ceased to exist. Their leaders abandoned them and crossed the Danube in boats (σκάφεισι). Also, hunger and the plague thinned the ranks of the Uzes, to such an extent that they became easy prey for their enemies – Bulgarians and Pechenegs, and were crushed under the wheels of their wagons<sup>12</sup>.

Alexandru Madgearu, when he described the course of this expedition of the Uzes to Byzantium, draws our attention to the archaeological material preserved after the passage of the Uzes, as well as the seals of the Byzantine commanders found at the sites of the alleged activity of that nomads. The Byzantine outposts in Garvăn, Oltina, Nufăru, Păcuiul lui Soare, were the points that resisted the Uzes during their crossing of the Danube<sup>13</sup>. Citing the finds of three Basil Apokapes seals found near Silistra, Bradvari, and Popina, that researcher shows us the fact that Byzantine commanders moved troops west expecting an attack from the valley of the Mostiștea<sup>14</sup>. A. Madgearu also suspects that the nomads may have used fords near Derwent, Garvăn, and perhaps Isaccea<sup>15</sup>. Another author, Victor Spinei, suggests that the Uzes made their way into the Balkans via the Danube at Bugeac<sup>16</sup>.

The Main account of Uzes' expedition to the lands of Byzantium is a testimony left by Michael Attaliates, which was later repeated after him by the Continuator of Skylitzes. After serving on the court, in the vicinity of Emperor Constantin X, Michael was probably also an eyewitness to the actions taken by this ruler to hold the invasion of the Uzes. We can consider the information he quotes as reliable, with the possible exception of some 600,000 Uzes, who invaded Byzantium<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 115; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 6 (115), p. 62; MIGUEL ATALIATES, IX, p. 63; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 8, p. 154; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 89; J. DUDEK, *Ludy...*, p. 90; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's...*, p. 95; В.П. СТЕПАНИЧЕНКО, А.С. МОХОВ, *Балканский...*, p. 68.

<sup>12</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 115; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 6 (115), p. 64; MIGUEL ATALIATES, IX, p. 64; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 9, p. 152–156; ZONARAS, p. 679; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 89; V. TĂRKOVA-ZAÏMOVA, *Les μίξοβάρβαροι et la situation politique et ethnique au Bas-Danube pendant la seconde moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> s.*, [in:] *Actes du XVI<sup>e</sup> Congrès International des Études Byzantines, Bucarest, 6–12 Septembre, 1971*, vol. II, Bucarest 1975, p. 617; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine...*, p. 17; J. DUDEK, *Ludy...*, p. 90; E. MALAMUT, *L'image...*, p. 129; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's...*, p. 95; T. NAGRODZKA-MAJCHRZYK, *Czarni...*, p. 28; В.П. СТЕПАНИЧЕНКО, А.С. МОХОВ, *Балканский...*, p. 68; A. PAROŃ, *Pieczynogowie...*, p. 395; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine...*, p. 130; V. SPINEI, *The Romanians...*, p. 114.

<sup>13</sup> A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine...*, p. 130.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 131.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>16</sup> V. SPINEI, *The Romanians...*, p. 115.

<sup>17</sup> The number of 60,000 people given by Zonaras is more credible. MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 6, p. 152; ZONARAS, p. 678; J. BONAREK, *Bizancjum...*, p. 88; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine...*, p. 129; O. PRITSAK, *Uzes...*, p. 2148.

Therefore, the data provided by Attaliates about the vessels used for river crossing by these nomads, which are hidden under the names ξύλοις μακροίς και λέμβοις αύτοπρέμνοις και βύρσαις, is extremely intriguing<sup>18</sup>. We can, at this point raise the questions of whether the names described by this Byzantine author should in fact be regarded as evidence of the boatbuilding skills of the nomadic Uzes? Or are we dealing here rather with the use of the boatbuilding skills of the population (Slavs, Wallachians) living near the banks of the Danube?

The first of the terms, ξύλοις μακροίς, quoted by the sources simply means a raft or a dugout, are one of the oldest means of transport, both by river and sea, which were particularly well known to the Slavs<sup>19</sup>. They could be made from any type of wood, but the most durable were those made of oak. The nomads knew the technique of building wooden rafts but used it extremely rarely<sup>20</sup>. The presence of dugouts or long rafts may also suggest that some local element was involved, which could make rafts of this type for Uzes. Representatives of the local community could have been forced to make this type of transport, or the Uzes had seized all the vessels they have used daily<sup>21</sup>. It was also possible with this type of rafts by connecting them, to create much larger units, which could be necessary for transport across the Danube, especially the wagons of the nomads. However, in this case, we should completely not dismiss the possibility that the Uzes themselves prepared their rafts. Having a large amount of wood on-site, they had the full possibility of making them on their own, because it was easy to cut down a sufficient number of trees and then tie them together. Therefore, it was not even necessary to waste time on making the dugouts. Besides, such versions seem to be confirmed by the sources, when they mention the sudden attack of the Uzes on the Byzantines.

The situation is slightly different in the case of λέμβοις αύτοπρέμνοις και βύρσαις. In Asia and Europe, the technique of crossing rivers using bags made of animal skins has been known since ancient times. Thanks to the bas-reliefs in the Palace of Sennaelemb, at Koulanjik, Iraq, we know that the ancient Assyrians had a raft called “kelek”, made of inflated ox-hides<sup>22</sup>. As depicted on the surviving reliefs, they were used to transport building materials. This method was also known to the Greeks, and it was used quite effectively for military purposes by Alexander

<sup>18</sup> SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, p. 114; *Byzantium in the Time of Troubles*, 5 (114), p. 62; MIGUEL ATTALIATES, IX, p. 63; MICHAEL ATTALIATES, XIV, 6, p. 152; V. SPINEI, *The Romanians...*, p. 115.

<sup>19</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, 9, ed. G. MORAVCSIK, trans. R.J.H. JENKINS, Washington 1993 [= *CFHB*, 1; *DOT*, 1], p. 58–62; L. HAVLIKOVA, *Slavic Ships in 5<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries Byzantine Historiography*, Bsl 52, 1991, p. 89–104; P.M. STRÄSSLE, *To monoxylon in Konstantin VII Porphyrogenetos Werk De administrando Imperio*, EB 26.2, 1990, p. 93–106; M. BÖHM, *The Byzantine Boats in the Era of the Comnenian Dynasty*, [in:] *Dialog intercultural Polono-Moldovenesc. Culegere de studii*, vol. III.1–4, *Materialele Congresului Științific Internațional Polono-Moldo-Român. Educație-Politică Societate*, ed. V. CONSTANTINOV, N. PIKUŁA, Chișinău 2019, p. 279–289.

<sup>20</sup> D. SINOR, *On Water-transport in Central Eurasia*, UAJ 33, 1961, p. 156–179.

<sup>21</sup> V. SPINEI, *The Romanians...*, p. 115–116.

<sup>22</sup> J. HORNEILL, *Water Transport. Origins and Early Evolution*, Cambridge 1946, p. 27.

the Great. During his campaign on the Danube against the Geats, where, without enough boats and dugouts to cross the river, he ordered his soldiers to sew the skins of their tents together to make bags, which they filled with hay. Thanks to this method, he transferred 1,500 cavalry and 4,000 infantry to the other side of the Danube<sup>23</sup>. This technique was also used by the ancient Romans, for which we have evidence in the iconography. We found proof in the depiction of crossing a river by the Roman auxiliary infantry, probably on the Danube, on a pontoon bridge, the basis of which was made of inflated ox-hides. That event takes place during the emperor Trajan's Dacian wars, and it is presented on one of the panels from Trajan's Column.

Knowledge of how to use animal hides to build primitive boats or rafts was therefore widely popular in both Europe and Asia. This technique was also familiar to nomads. We find evidence of this in the sources related to other peoples from Central Asia, written down by the Franciscan, Giovanni di Plano Carpini. He introduced the following information about the Tatars crossing the river:

<12>. Quando autem ad flumina perveniunt, hoc modo transeunt illa, etiam si sunt magna. Maiores unum rotundum et leve corium habent, in quo in summitate per circuitum crebas faciunt ansas, in quibus funem imponunt et stringunt, ita quod in circuitu faciunt quemdam ventrem quem replent vestibus et aliis rebus, et fortissime ad invicem comprimunt; post hec in medio ponunt sellas et alias res duriores. Homines etiam in medio sedent, et ligant ad caudam equi navem hanc taliter preparatam. Et unum hominem, qui equum regat, faciunt pariter cum equo ante natate; vel habent aliquando duos remos et cum illis remigant ultra aquam, et sic transeunt flumen. Equos vero pellunt in aquam, et unus homo iuxta unum equum quem regit natat, et alii equi omnes illum sequuntur; et sic transeunt aquas et flumina magna. Alii vero pauperiores unam bursam habent de corio bene consutam (unusquisque tenetur habere), in qua bursa vel in quo sacco, vestes et omnes res suas imponunt, et in summitate saccum fortissime ligant, et suspendunt ad caudam equi et transeunt, ut superius dictum est.<sup>24</sup>

Whenever the Tartars come upon rivers they cross them this way even if they are large: most men have a light round leather hide and they make loops all around the edge of it through which they put a cord and tighten it, and thus make a sack which they fill with clothing and other things, and draw it together tightly. After this

<sup>23</sup> ARRIAN, *Anabasis Alexandri*, I, 3, ed. P.A. BRUNT, London–Cambridge, Mass. 1983–1989, p. 15; J. HORNELL, *Water...*, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> IOHANNES DE PLANO CARPINI, *Historia Mongalorum*, [in:] GIOVANNI DI PIANO DI CARPINE, *Storia dei Mongoli*, ed. E. MENESTÒ, trans. M.C. LUNGAROTTI, praef. L. PETECH, Spoleto 1989, p. 280.

they put saddles in the middle of them as well as other heavy things. The men sit in the middle of them and tie the boat they have prepared to the tail of a horse. They make one man, swim before the horse and lead it; or they sometimes have two oars and paddle over the water with these and cross the river. In fact, they drive the horses into the water and one man swims next to a horse which he leads and all the other horses follow it, and they cross water and large rivers this way. Other Tartars who are poor have a leather sack sewed up well (everyone must have one) into which they put all their clothing and their possessions and they tie up the mouth of the sack strongly and hang it from the horse's tail and cross as explained above.<sup>25</sup>

This description of an eyewitness shows that the nomads were well acquainted with building primitive, one-person boats, for which the hull was made of animal hide and the skeleton was made from a saddle. These boats could be tied to horse-tails so that the animals were their main driving force in the flow, or two oars could be used to cross a water obstacle. The poorer Tartars used leather bags filled with their belongings to cross the river, which were tied to the horses' tails. Nomads were able to build much larger boats or rafts from animal hides, which could then be transported with them and used in times of need. Evidence of this is provided by the account of Ahmad ibn Fadlan, a 10<sup>th</sup>-century Muslim traveler who traveled through lands inhabited by various tribes of the Turks. In one of the fragments of his report of the expedition towards the Volga, he wrote the following relation:

Halfway into Shawwal of 309 [February, 922], the season began to change and the Jayhūn melted. We set about acquiring the items we needed for our journey. We purchased Turkish camels, constructed the camel-skin rafts for crossing all the rivers we had to cross in the realm of the Turks, and packed provisions of bread, millet, and cured meat to last three months.<sup>26</sup>

This passage in the context of camel-skin rafts is related to the later one:

We pushed on as far as the Bghndī River, where the people got their camel-hide rafts out, spread them flat, put the round saddle frames from their Turkish camels inside the hides, and stretched them tight. They loaded them with clothes and goods. When the

<sup>25</sup> GIOVANNI DI PLANO CARPINI, *The Story of the Mongols whom we Call the Tartars*, trans. E. HILDINGER, Boston 1996, p. 74.

<sup>26</sup> AHMAD IBN FADLAN, *Mission to the Volga*, 13, trans. J.E. MONTGOMERY, New York 2017 [= LAL, 28] (cetera: AHMAD IBN FADLAN), p. 8.

rafts were full, groups of people, four, five, and six strong, sat on top of them, took hold of pieces of khadhank and used them as oars. The rafts floated on the water, spinning round and round, while the people paddled furiously. We crossed the river in this manner. The horses and the camels were urged on with shouts, and they swam across. We needed to send a group of fully armed soldiers across the river first, before the rest of the caravan. They were the advance guard, protection for the people against the Bāshghird. There was a fear they might carry out an ambush during the crossing. This is how we crossed the Bghndī River. Then we crossed a river called the Jām, also on rafts, then the Jākhsh, the Adhl, the Ardn, the Wārsh, the Akhtī, and the Wbnā. These are all mighty rivers.<sup>27</sup>

From the account of Ahmad ibn Fadlan, it is clear that such camel skin boats were strengthened by the use of camel saddles as a frame, and their primary propulsion was the strength of human muscles, which was provided by those people who sat on them. These rafts were extremely difficult to steer, so horses and camels swam across. It is also important that rafts were easy to transport after unfolding and could be used repeatedly. The information about sending armed soldiers ahead is also noteworthy. After landing on the other bank of the river, these armed men were supposed to protect the caravan from a sudden attack by a potential enemy, Bāshghird, which we can also associate as neighbors of the Uzes.

The above-mentioned technique of building leather rafts was also known to the opponents of the Uzes-Cumans. We know this from the account of Niketas Choniates, who mentions an interesting event during the reign of Manuel Komnenos (1143–1180). In a time of this emperor's wars with these nomads, they also proved that they did not need bridges or fords to cross the Danube. Choniates mentions that common Cuman tightly stitched leather (διφθέρα) filled with hay (κάρφης) so that the resulting bag was waterproof. Then he tied that pontoon to a horsetail next placed his saddle on it and stood straddling, navigating with the strength of a horse which, in Choniates' opinion, served as a sail (διαπλωϊζεται), while the pontoon was a boat (σκάφος), with which it was possible to sail on the waters of the Danube<sup>28</sup>.

With all the knowledge presented above, we can therefore speculate that the Uzes also used similar techniques to cross rivers, including the Danube. Perhaps, each of the Uzes was equipped with light and durable leather, which allowed him to build a primitive one-person boat, similar to one we called a coracle<sup>29</sup>, with

<sup>27</sup> AHMAD IBN FADLAN, 34, p. 58–59.

<sup>28</sup> *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, rec. I.A. VAN DIETEN, Berolini 1975 [= *CFHB*, 11], p. 94.

<sup>29</sup> Such a boat resembles a basket in its shape. D.A. AGIUS, *Classic Ships of Islam. From Mesopotamia to the Indian Ocean*, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= *HOS.NME*, 92], p. 130; Coracle it was not a kayak-type unit, but much more primitive. Classic kayaks are much better adapted to sailing and more maneu-

using a frame made of a saddle and branches or roots, or they acted similarly to the Tatars and Cumans described above, using a leather dinghy tied to a horsetail. Unfortunately, we do not know what kind of animal hides they could have used for this purpose. Probably oxen or sheepskin. Any piece of wood could be used as an oar or oars. The use of such a technique of boat assembling made it possible, to quickly transfer the troops to the other bank of the river and to surprise the enemy because only the warriors themselves and their mounts crossed water obstacle. After taking over the other side, the wagons were transported on wooden rafts, along with the rest of the nomad's belongings. The Uzes, in crossing the Danube, did not do so in one place, but rather in many points, also using the fords on this river for this purpose. The momentum of this operation and its speed must therefore have been the factors that surprised the Byzantines.

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## IF NOT BOGOMILISM THAN WHAT? THE ORIGINS OF CATHARISM IN THE LIGHT OF THE SOURCES

**Abstract.** Since the end of the twentieth Century the traditional interpretation of Catharism, assuming its Eastern roots and dualist character is the object of a harsh criticism, formulated by the deconstructionist scholars. The moderated version of their new interpretation assumes that dualism didn't play an important role in Catharism, and that the Cathar "dissidence" was not influenced by the Eastern dualist heresies (especially Bogomilism), but appeared independently in the West. According to the radical version Catharism didn't exist at all and contemporary scholars should accept a new paradigm – Middle-Ages without Catharism.

The aim of this article is to examine the source arguments, which stand behind both interpretations – on one side the arguments concerning the contacts of the Cahars with the Eastern dualists, with special attention paid to the time of their emergence and character of these relations, and on the other the arguments concerning Cathar dualist doctrines, which according to the deconstructionists were constructed arbitrarily by the Catholic polemicists, basing on the ancient anti-heretical works, especially anti-Manichaean writings of St. Augustine. The article will try to find the answer to the question if the Cathar doctrines described in the Catholic sources are indeed so closely similar to the Manichaean teachings known from St. Augustine and at the same time so different from the Bogomil dualism. The analysis of the sources will show if the new interpretation is based on the arguments that are strong enough to overthrow the traditional one and if the theory assuming lack of Bogomil influence can be considered as a serious alternative.

**Keywords:** Catharism, Bogomilism, Medieval dualism, Cathar doctrine, origins of Catharism

Since the time of Charles Schmidt (middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century), scholars of Catharism, basing on the testimonies of the sources, underlined the Eastern, precisely Bogomil roots of this heresy. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the new sources were discovered, scholars of next generations, such as Antoine Dondaine, Arno Borst, Christine Thouzellier, Malcolm Lambert or Edina Bozoky, confirmed and specified the claims of the German scholar, proving, that Catharism appeared under the influence of the earlier, eastern dualist heresies, especially Bogomilism<sup>1</sup>. Bernard

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<sup>1</sup> C. SCHMIDT, *Histoire et doctrine de la secte des Cathares ou Albigeois*, vol. I–II, Geneve 1849; A. DONDAINE, *La hiérarchie cathare en Italie II*, AFP 20, 1950, p. 275–277; IDEM, *L'origine de l'hérésie*

Hamilton in his research noted also indirect influence of Paulicianism on Catharism, through the radically dualistic Bogomil church of Drugunthia<sup>2</sup>.

Since more than two decades however, this traditional vision of Catharism is questioned by the adherents of the deconstructionist interpretation, who openly try to overthrow it. Revolutionary claims of this school were presented in 1998 in the volume entitled *Inventer l'hérésie?*, edited by Monique Zerner<sup>3</sup>. Deconstructionist interpretation indeed totally deconstructs our whole knowledge about Catharism, because it denies both its Eastern roots and dualistic character. Its radical adherents (such as J.L. Biget, J. Thery or U. Brunn) even demand to abandon the names Cathars and Catharism, or openly claim, that our traditional perception of Catharism should be replaced with the modified one<sup>4</sup>. Mark Gregory Pegg openly says about the need of a new paradigm – “Middle Ages without Catharism”<sup>5</sup>. In more moderate form, the deconstructionist interpretation denies the Eastern origins of Catharism, but does not reject the relations of the Cathars with the East, usually claiming, that they appeared later, when their heresy was already formed. This moderate option bases on the interpretation, formulated in the 1950s by R. Morghen, later developed also by J. Duvernoy, who claimed that Catharism was an evangelical heresy, that appeared in the West, totally independently from any external influence, and its dualistic doctrine was the effect of a specific exegesis of the Bible<sup>6</sup>. As Ernst Werner has put it – the Cathars had reinterpreted Christianity based on St. John’s Gospel, just like Martin Luther did it later, based on St. Paul’s epistle to the Romans<sup>7</sup>. Moderate deconstructionists accept these claims,

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*médiévale. A propos d'un livre récent*, RSCI 6, 1952, p. 49–59; A. BORST, *Die Katharer*, Stuttgart 1953, p. 89–98, 229–230; C. THOUZELLIER, *Hérésie et croisade au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, RHE 49, 1954, p. 855–872; M. LAMBERT, *The Cathars*, Oxford 1998, p. 29–37; E. BOZOKY, *Le livre secret des cathares. Interrogatio Iohannis. Edition critique, traduction commentaire*, Paris 2009, p. 26–32, 192–202.

<sup>2</sup> B. HAMILTON, *The Origins of the Dualist Church of Drugunthia*, ECR 6, 1974, p. 115–124; cf. also: IDEM, *Bogomil Influences on Western Heresy*, [in:] *Heresy and the Persecuting Society in the Middle-Ages. Essays on the Work of R.I. Moore*, ed. M. FRASSETTO, Leiden–Boston 2006 [= SHCT, 129], p. 104.

<sup>3</sup> *Inventer l'hérésie? Discours polémiques et pouvoirs avant l'Inquisition*, ed. M. ZERNER, Nice 1998 [= CEMN, 2].

<sup>4</sup> J.L. BIGET, *Réflexions sur «l'hérésie» dans le Midi de la France au Moyen Âge*, Here 36–37, 2001, p. 29–51; J. THÉRY, *L'hérésie des bons hommes. Comment nommer la dissidence religieuse non vaudoise ni béguine en Languedoc (XII<sup>e</sup> – début XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle)?*, Here 36–37, 2002, p. 36, 105; U. BRUNN, *Cathari, catharistae et cataphrygae. Ancêtres des cathares du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Here 36–37, 2002, p. 183–200; IDEM, *Des contestataires aux “Cathares”. Discours de réforme et propagande antihérétique dans les pays du Rhin et de la Meuse avant l'Inquisition*, Paris 2006, p. 238–239, 331–333, 342–348.

<sup>5</sup> M.G. PEGG, *The Paradigm of Catharism; or, the Historians' Illusions*, [in:] *Cathars in Question*, ed. A. SENNIS, York 2016 [= HIMA], p. 21–35, 52.

<sup>6</sup> R. MORGHEN, *Medioevo cristiano*, Bari 1951, p. 212–224; IDEM, *Problèmes sur l'origine de l'hérésie au moyen âge*, RH 236, 1966, p. 1–16; R. MANSSELLI, *L'eresia del male*, Napoli 1964, p. 76–80, 196; IDEM, *Evangelisme et mythe dans la foi cathare*, Here 5, 1985, p. 5–17; J. DUVERNOY, *Le catharisme. La religion des cathares*, Toulouse 1976, p. 343–346, 363–365, 377–386.

<sup>7</sup> E. WERNER, *L'évangile de Jean et le dualisme médiéval*, Here 12, 1989, p. 15–24.

however they significantly depreciate Cathar dualism, claiming that it did not play an important role in this heresy. Following M. Zerner and her adherents they accept the assumption (as it is in the case of P. Jimenez, J.L. Biget or U. Brunn), that the Cathar dualism had been arbitrarily constructed by the Catholic polemist, before it appeared among the dissidents as the effect of their independent exegesis, developed in the heretical schools. The main aim of the Catholic polemist was to discredit the evangelic dissidents through openly heretical, dualistic doctrine and to justify their persecution<sup>8</sup>. According to this interpretation, when the dualist doctrine was already formed, the Cathars established contacts with the Bogomils – as Anne Brenon says – both groups grew from the same need of the return to the original Christianity, but appeared totally independently<sup>9</sup>.

Already the first look at this concept shows its weaknesses, inconsistency and improbable character. First of all it says that the Cathars formed dualistic doctrine independently and later established contacts with the Bogomils, who existed earlier and accidentally professed very similar doctrine. Second – the Cathars accepted doctrinal concepts constructed by their enemies to discredit them, and later developed these concepts in their exegetical schools. Why would they do this? As J.L. Biget explained – it was the effect of simple psycho-social mechanisms – unfortunately he did not specify what kind of mechanisms he was thinking about<sup>10</sup>. The concept that assumes arbitrary construction of the heresy to discredit the Cathars, who in fact were evangelic dissidents, trying to restore early Christianity basing on the Holy Scripture can also be logically questioned. In relation to it an obvious question arises: why would the Catholic polemist impose this dualist doctrine only on the Cathars and not on the Waldensians? And second: if the Cathars originally were not dualists, but evangelic dissidents, then what actually distinguished them from the Waldensians and what was the core of their identity? Besides, if we assume, that the Catholics had arbitrarily constructed

<sup>8</sup> M. ZERNER, *Introduction*, [in:] *Inventer l'hérésie?*..., p. 7–13; J.L. BIGET, *Réflexions*..., p. 39–44, 46–51; P. JIMÉNEZ-SANCHEZ, *Les catharismes. Modèles dissidents du christianisme médiéval (XII<sup>e</sup>–XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Rennes 2008, p. 207–210; 354–376; EADEM, *Catharisme ou catharismes? Variations spatiales et temporelles dans l'organisation et dans l'encadrement des communautés dites «cathares»*, Here 39, 2003, p. 38–39; EADEM, *De la participation des cathares rhénans (1163) à la notion d'hérésie générale*, Here 36–37, 2002, p. 204–217; U. BRUNN, *Cathari*..., p. 183–200; IDEM, *Des contestataires*..., p. 342–364; cf. also: H. CHIU, *Alan of Lille's Academic Concept of the Manichee*, JRH 35, 2011, p. 492–506; J. THÉRY, *L'hérésie*..., p. 98–101.

<sup>9</sup> A. BRENON, *Les Cathares: Bons chrétiens et hérétiques*, Here 13–14, 1990, p. 115–155; EADEM, *Les hérésies de l'an mil: Nouvelles perspectives sur les origines du catharisme*, Here 24, 1995, p. 21–36.

<sup>10</sup> J.L. BIGET, *Réflexions*..., p. 46–51. Similar opinion was also expressed by P. Jiménez-Sánchez and J. Chiffolleau, cf.: P. JIMÉNEZ-SANCHEZ, *À propos de la controverse sur la nature doctrinale du Nihil cathare*, [in:] *Les Cathares devant l'histoire. Mélanges offerts à Jean Duvernoy*, ed. M. AURELL, Cahors 2005, p. 322; EADEM, *Les catharismes*..., p. 374; M. ZERNER, *Compte rendu des interventions de M. Zerner, J.-L. Biget et J. Chiffolleau*, [in:] *L'Histoire du catharisme en discussion. Le «concile» de Saint-Félix (1167)*, ed. EADEM, Nice 2001 [= CEMN, 3], p. 55.

dualistic doctrine and imposed it on one part of dissidents, calling them Cathars, than why would the representatives of the second part of the dissidents – the Waldensians, join this Catholic action of discrediting their evangelical brothers and fought their dualism in disputes and their own polemics, as it was in the case of Durand of Huesca<sup>11</sup>?

In the light of the above-mentioned inconsistencies it's understandable, that the deconstructionist interpretation is criticized by many scholars, such as M. Roquebert, P. Biller, Y. Stoyanov, or J. Arnold, who accuse its adherents of selective attitude towards the sources and bending the facts to the previously formed assumptions<sup>12</sup>. On the other hand, the deconstructionist scholars very often roughly depreciate the claims of the traditional interpretation. M.G. Pegg says, that its adherents dwell in the old paradigm and ignore all new research<sup>13</sup>, while P. Jimenez calls the traditional interpretation “Catholic”, unambiguously suggesting that the religious adherence of the scholars determine the results of their research (it was directed primarily against A. Dondaine)<sup>14</sup>. As we can see, there are two irreconcilable interpretations of Catharism – first, developed through at least one and a half of a century, perceiving Catharism as a dualist heresy, rooted in Bogomilism, and second – a bit more than twenty years old that totally rejects all the conclusions of the previous, claiming that Catharism appeared independently in the West and originally was not dualistic in character. In such a situation we should take a closer look at the arguments (especially those taken from the source material), which

<sup>11</sup> C. THOUZELLIER, *Controverses vaudoises-cathares à la fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, AHDLMA 27, 1960, p. 137–141; P. BILLER, *Goodbye to Catharism?*, [in:] *Cathars in Question...*, p. 298–299.

<sup>12</sup> M. ROQUEBERT, *Le déconstructionnisme et les études cathares*, [in:] *Les Cathares devant l'Histoire...*, p. 127–133; P. BILLER, *Goodbye...*, p. 275–277, 280–304; Y. STOYANOV, *Pseudepigraphic and Parabiblical Narratives in Medieval Eastern Christian Dualism, and their Implications for the Study of Catharism*, [in:] *Cathars in Question...*, p. 174; J. ARNOLD, *The Cathar Middle Ages as a Methodological and Historiographical Problem*, [in:] *Cathars in Question...*, p. 56–77; cf. also: T. DRAKOPOULOS, *L'unité de Bogomilo-Catharisme d'après quatre textes latins analysés à la lumière des sources byzantines*, Geneve 2010, p. 20, <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:12233> (6 V 2020); J. FEUCHTER, *The 'heretic' of Languedoc: Local Holy Men and Women or Organized Religious Group? New Evidence from Inquisitorial, Notarial and Historiographical Sources*, [in:] *Cathars in Question...*, p. 113–115; 129; D. ZBIRAL, *Pokřtěni ohněm. Katarské křesťanství ve světle dobových pramenů (12.–14. století)*, Praha 2019, p. 74–86.

<sup>13</sup> M.G. PEGG, *The Paradigm...*, p. 21, 34–35, 52. Throwing serious accusations at his opponents M.G. Pegg himself seems to ignore the criticism directed against his radically deconstructionist claims, denying the existence of Catharism. In 2011 Zdenko Zlatar overtook all the revolutionary claims formulated by M.G. Pegg in his detailed analysis based on the testimony of the inquisitorial sources, cf.: Z. ZLATAR, *What's in a Name? A Critical Examination of Published and Website Sources on the Dualism of the Cathars in Languedoc*, JRH 35, 2011, p. 546–561.

<sup>14</sup> P. JIMÉNEZ-SANCHEZ, *Les catharismes...*, p. 28–47; EADEM, *La vision médiévale du catharisme chez les historiens des années 1950. Un néo-manichéisme*, [in:] *Catharisme. L'édifice imaginaire. Actes du 7<sup>e</sup> colloque du Centre d'études cathares / René Nelli, Carcassonne, 29 août – 2 septembre 1994*, ed. J. BERLIOZ, J.-C. HÉLAS, Carcassonne 1998, p. 67.

stand behind both conceptions to determine if the younger one can be treated as a serious alternative to the older.

The deconstructionists in their interpretation of Catharism try to deny by all means its Eastern roots, but to do this, they have to propose a convincing reinterpretation of various source testimonies confirming Bogomil origins of this heresy. Pilar Jimenez presented an explanation, according to which, the Eastern origins of Catharism is a part of a corps of stereotypes, constructed by the Catholic clergymen to discredit the dissidents by attributing to them the connections with the negatively perceived East – a place of the crusaders defeat<sup>15</sup>. Very similar is the opinion of J.L. Biget, who claims that the East was perceived extremely negatively as a source of all the heresies<sup>16</sup>. According to M. Zerner the idea of the Eastern origins appeared already during the times of Gregory IX, when the relations of papacy with Bulgaria deteriorated<sup>17</sup>. However, because all these scholars are obviously aware of the fact, that the contacts between the Cathars and the Bogomil East cannot be totally denied, so – as it was said above – they shift the beginnings of these contacts in time, claiming, that they actually appeared later. According to P. Jimenez they were established at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, according to J.L. Biget – during the Fourth Crusade<sup>18</sup>. This shift in time, aimed at eliminating the possibility of external influence on the formation of Catharism, is not a new idea. Even much earlier J. Duvernoy claimed that the Cathars did not know the Bulgarian dualism until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century – precisely to the time, when *Interrogatio Iohannis* appeared in the West<sup>19</sup>.

Also in this case, serious reservations arise to the theories of the deconstructionist scholars. First it seems, that they forget, that we are talking about the Middle Ages (12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries) and not about the 20<sup>th</sup> century, so the Catholic polemical works were not a part of a propaganda aimed at turning the society against the group that the authorities tried to eliminate. Second – as it was pointed out by T. Drakopoulos – the East at that time was not perceived so negatively as the deconstructionists claim, and connecting it with the “dissidents” would not be an effective tool to discredit them<sup>20</sup>. Bernard Hamilton on the other hand noticed, that the Catholic authors were not especially interested in the issue of the origins of Catharism focusing rather on religious matters, which proves,

<sup>15</sup> P. JIMÉNEZ-SANCHEZ, *Le catharisme: une origine orientale à deux tendances?*, SIOc 16, 2003, p. 225; EADEM, *Les catharismes...*, p. 122.

<sup>16</sup> J.L. BIGET, *Le Midi hérétique: construction d'une image (vers 1140–1209)*, ReHi 46, 2012, p. 44–45; IDEM, *Réflexions...*, p. 49; IDEM, *Les bons hommes sont-ils les fils des bogomiles? Examen critique d'une idée reçue*, SIOc 16, 2003, p. 160–161.

<sup>17</sup> M. ZERNER, *Du court moment où on appela les hérétiques des «Bougres». Et quelques déductions*, CCM 32, 1989, p. 318–324.

<sup>18</sup> P. JIMÉNEZ-SANCHEZ, *Les catharismes...*, p. 187, 345, 349; J.L. BIGET, *Le Midi...*, p. 40–45.

<sup>19</sup> J. DUVERNOY, *Le catharisme...*, p. 346–347.

<sup>20</sup> T. DRAKOPOULOS, *L'unité...*, p. 27.

that the Eastern origins could not have been a tool of a propaganda aimed at discrediting of the dissidents<sup>21</sup>. So as we can see, the deconstructionist interpretation is based on the assumption that the Catholic polemicists have invented the Eastern origins of Catharism, which is based on another assumption that the East was perceived so negatively that connecting some group with it must have resulted with its total discrediting and stigmatization. None of these general assumptions is based on the source material.

What about the second, at the first glance more probable part of this concept, which says that the contacts with the Bogomils appeared when Catharism was already doctrinally formed – so at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century or later? To verify this hypothesis we should analyze numerous source testimonies confirming the contacts of the Cathars with the East. First sources mentioning the East as a source of the Cathar heresy appeared very early<sup>22</sup>. In 1143 Evervin of Steinfeld in his letter to Bernard of Clairvaux quoted the words of the heretics caught in Cologne (whom he had interrogated), who said, that their faith survived since the times of the apostles in Greece and other lands<sup>23</sup>. From 1167 we have the acts of the Cathar council of Saint-Felix-de-Caraman, which was led by “papa” Nicetas – Bogomil bishop of Constantinople, who administered to the Cathars the sacrament consolamentum and episcopal ordinations, and at the end instructed them about the organization of the heretical churches<sup>24</sup>. The same Nicetas appeared also in the anonymous *De heresi catharorum in Lombardia* from the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, which mentioned his visit in Italy, and presented him as the representative of the Drugunthian order (*ordo Drugonthiae*), trying to distract the Italian Cathars from the Bulgarian order (*ordo Bulgariae*), which they professed until then<sup>25</sup>. The same source also says about the visit of a certain Petracius “from across

<sup>21</sup> B. HAMILTON, *The Cathars and the Seven Churches of Asia*, [in:] *Crusaders, Cathars and the Holy Places*, ed. IDEM, Aldershot 1999, p. 270.

<sup>22</sup> The possibility of the Bogomil activity in the West in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and their influence on the heresies of that time is underlined by the scholars, cf. e.g. C. TAYLOR, *The Letter of Heribert of Perigord as a Source for Dualist Heresy in the Society of Early Eleventh-century Aquitaine*, JMH 26, 2000, p. 313–349; D. CALLAHAN, *Ademar of Chabannes and the Bogomils*, [in:] *Heresy and the Persecuting Society...*, p. 31–42.

<sup>23</sup> EVERVINUS STEINFELDENSIS, *Epistola CDXXXII, ad. S. Bernardum, De haereticis sui temporis*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CLXXXII, col. 187: *Illi vero qui combusti sunt, dixerunt nobis in defensione sua, hanc haeresim usque ad haec tempora occultatam fuisse a temporibus martyrum, et permansisse in Graecia, et quibusdam aliis terris.*

<sup>24</sup> *Charte de Niquinta, antipape des heretiques surnommés d'Albigois*, ed. D. ZBIRAL, [in:] *1209–2009 Cathares. Une histoire à pacifier?*, ed. A. BRENON, Loubatieres 2010 (cetera: *Charte de Niquinta*), p. 47.

<sup>25</sup> *De Heresi Catharorum in Lombardia*, ed. A. DONDAINE, AFP 19, 1949 (cetera: *De Heresi*), p. 306, *Et iste marcus habebat ordinem suum de bulgaria. Adveniens quidam papasnicheta nomine, de constantinopolitanis patibus in lombardiam, cepit causari ordinem bulgarie, quem marcus habebat. Unde marcus episcopus cum suis subditis hesitare incipiens, relicto ordine bulgarie, suscepit ab ipso nicheta ordinem drugonthie.* Cf. also: *Tractatus de Hereticis*, ed. A. DONDAINE, AFP 20, 1950 (cetera: *Tractatus de Hereticis*), p. 309.



the sea”, who brought new information discrediting Nicetas (claiming that he had committed a mortal sin), which caused a schism among the Italians<sup>26</sup>. To end the internal conflict the Italian Cathars went to the bishop “from behind the mountains” – so from France – and he ordered that they should choose a new bishop and send him to Bulgaria for ordination<sup>27</sup>. Finally, after various perturbations the Italian Cathars split into several independent churches, which newly elected bishops were sent to the East – to Bulgaria, Drugonthia or Slavonia for ordination<sup>28</sup>. Independent French source from the 20s. of the 13<sup>th</sup> century – *Contra manichaeos* written by Durand of Huesca, a Waldensian converted to Catholicism, confirms the information of the *De heresi*. It says that the Cathars are internally divided and some of them are obedient to the heretics from Bulgaria, some to those from Greece, and others to those from Drugonthia<sup>29</sup>. In the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century an Italian inquisitor and former Cathar perfect through 17 years – Rainer Sacconi finally explains the situation. Enumerating all the dualistic churches, existing at that time, at the end he says that all of them come from the two main ones – the church of Bulgaria or the church of Drugonthia<sup>30</sup>. Finally the *Tractatus de hereticis*, written in the 60s of the 13<sup>th</sup> century probably by the inquisitor Anselm of Alessandria, contain a short mention, which can be described as a summary of the history of Catharism<sup>31</sup>. The author derives the whole medieval dualism from Mani – who

<sup>26</sup> *De Heresi*, p. 306: *Preterea alio tempore venit quidam de ultramarinis partibus, petracius nomine cum sociis suis, et quedam retulit nova de quodam symone episcopo drugonthie, a quo origo suscepti ordinis a nicheta processerat. Et dicebat ipse petracius, quod ille simon fuit inventus in conclavi cum quadam, et quia alia contra rationem fecerat.*

<sup>27</sup> *De Heresi*, p. 306: *...ille episcopus rationibus utriusque partis auditis et diligenter inspectis, talem protulit sententiam, [...] ut ille episcopus sorte electus iret in bulgariam ordinem episcopatus suscipere; et ut repatriatus, suscepto ordine bulgarie, totam multitudinem illorum reconcilaretur per impositionem manuum.*

<sup>28</sup> *De Heresi*, p. 308: *Ipse episcopus [...] misit Johanni iudeo ut iret in bulgariam et compleret que continebantur in sententia, ut esset prelatus in lombardia, omnibus subesse volentibus. [...] quidem de diszennzano, facta congregatione elegerunt quendam sibi episcopum nomine Johannem bellum, et eum miserunt ultra mare in drugonthiam ut ibi ordinaretur episcopus [...] Item quidam de mantua cum suis sequacibus elegerunt quendam nomine Caloiannem sibi in episcopum et, eo in Slavenia misso, post receptionem ordinis, episcopatus officio super eos functus est. Eodem itaque modo, quidam alius, Nicola nomine, a congregatione vincentiorum electus et in Slavania ad ordinem recipiendum missus, post reditum ab eis, episcopus teneretur.*

<sup>29</sup> DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, [in:] *Une somme anti-cathare. Le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, ed. C. THOUZELLIER, Louvain 1964 [= SSLo, 32] (cetera: DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*), p. 138–139: *Nonnuli enim eorum obediunt Grecis hereticis, alii autem Bulgaris et alii Drogovetis. Et ita capita divisa gerentes caudas habent ad invicem colligatas, et ita regnum eorum divisum est et corruptum, et ita teste Christo desolatione dignissimum, et ideo non est Christi.*

<sup>30</sup> *Summa Fratris Raineri de ordine fratrum praedicatorum, de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, [in:] *Un Traité Neo-Manicheen du 13 siècle, Le Liber de duobus principiis suivi d'un fragment de Rituel Cathare*, ed. A. DONDAINE, Roma 1939 (cetera: *Summa Fratris Raineri*), p. 70: *...Ecclesia Bulgariae et Ecclesia Drugonthiae. Et omnes habuerunt originem de duabus ultimis.*

<sup>31</sup> On the author and the date of this source cf.: A. DONDAINE, *La hiérarchie...*, p. 235–239.

allegedly spread his teachings in Bulgaria and Drugonthia. From Bulgaria the heresy was brought to Constantinople by the Greek merchants and later the crusaders brought it from Constantinople to France<sup>32</sup>. To what conclusions do these sources lead us? First it becomes clear, that the deconstructionist theory assuming the construction of the Eastern origins of Catharism by the Catholic polemicists is unsustainable. Undoubtedly it would be much easier for the deconstructionists, if the earliest source was *Tractatus de hereticis*, because it would mean, that its relation became a pattern for the later Catholic authors. But the truth is different, *Tractatus* is the latest source and about the earlier ones we cannot say that they were written with the intention of discrediting the Cathars, through the connection of their heresy with the East. Mentions about the contacts with the East that appear in them are rather fragmentary and accidental and no author uses them to discredit the Cathars. Only combined together they give a clear image of Cathar contacts with the East. Second important thing is that the testimonies of the above-mentioned sources show clearly that the attempts of shifting the beginnings of the contacts with the East forward in time to the 13<sup>th</sup> century are unjustified. Even if we skipped Evervin's mention about Greece, still the council in Saint-Felix and Nicetas's visit in the West, confirmed by the *De heresi*, would remain. Besides all these sources show clearly that the contacts between the Cathars and the Bogomils cannot be perceived as meetings of equal communities, accidentally professing similar doctrines. They show that the Cathars were totally dependent from the Bogomils in religious matters. From the Bogomils they accepted the sacrament – consolation and episcopal ordinations (as it was in Saint-Felix) and sent their newly elected bishops to the Bogomil churches. The French Cathar bishop did not dare to solve the conflict among his Italian brothers on his own, but sent them to Bulgaria. Finally, the leader of the Italian Cathars – Mark in the time of Nicetas' visit did not profess any independent evangelical doctrine, but was the adherent of *ordo Bulgariae*. It seems that Durand of Huesca was correct when he had said that the Cathars are obedient to the Eastern dualist heretics.

From all the above-mentioned sources undoubtedly the most important are the acts of the Saint-Felix council – a document written by the Cathars themselves, confirming their dependence from the East. As a main counter-argument against deconstructionist interpretation it was questioned by the scholars under

<sup>32</sup> *Tractatus de hereticis*, p. 308: *Notandum, quod in Persia fuit quidam, qui vocabatur Manes [...] Et docuit in partibus Drugontie et Bulgarie et Filadelfie et multiplicata est ibi heresis, ita quod fecerunt tres episcopos: Drugontie, alius Bulgarie, alius Filadelfie. Postmodum Greci de Constantinopolim, qui sunt confines Bulgarie per tres dietas, iverunt causa mercationis illuc et reversi ad terram suam, cum multiplicaretur, ibi fecerunt episcopum, qui dicitur episcopus grecorum. Postea francigene iverunt Constantinopolim ut subiungarent terram et invenerunt istam secta, et multiplicati fecerunt episcopum, qui dicitur episcopus latinorum. [...] Postea francigene, qui iverant Constantinopolim, redierunt ad propria et predicaverunt, et multiplicati constituerunt episcopum Francie. Et quia francigene seducti fuerunt primo in Constantinopoli a bulgaris, vocant per totam Franciam hereticos bulgaros.*

the leadership of Monique Zerner, who in 1999 organized a conference aimed at proving that it was a forgery<sup>33</sup>. Their starting point was the fact that the original manuscript of this document did not survive and we know it only from the 17<sup>th</sup> century copy made by G. Besse<sup>34</sup>. Hypothesis proposed by Zerner that assumed it was a modern forgery was refuted by the formal analysis of this document prepared by the specialists from *Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes*, who were invited to the conference<sup>35</sup>. Slightly different approach was presented by J.L. Biget, who claimed that the document was forged in the Middle-Ages by the Catholics, trying to discredit the dissidents. According to him the forged document was intended as an incentive (*excitatorium*) to the crusade against the Cathars<sup>36</sup>. The weakness of this hypothesis lies in the fact that J.L. Biget did not explain how could the alleged Catholic forger have gained precise information concerning Cathar hierarchy in France and Italy, and the borders of the heretical dioceses, which are mentioned in this document, and are confirmed by the later inquisitorial sources. He also did not notice that this document is completely unsuitable for the *excitatorium* because it was not mentioned in any polemical source and it does not contain any information that can discredit the Cathars<sup>37</sup>. It informs about the visit of Nicetas, who administered the consolamentum and episcopal ordinations to the Cathars and delivered a sermon about the organization of the churches in the East<sup>38</sup>. The document does not contain even a word about the dualist doctrine that according to the deconstructionists was the main tool of the Catholics in their action of the discreditation of the “dissidents”. J.L. Biget also did not consider *De heresi*, which mentions Nicetas’ visit to Italy, but does not say anything about the Saint-Felix council. If indeed its author has based on the forged acts of this council it is obvious that he would have mentioned this event.

<sup>33</sup> Materials from this conference, entitled “Revisiter l’herésie meridionale: le suppose concile cathare de Saint-Félix 1167” were published in a volume: *L’Histoire du catharisme en discussion...*

<sup>34</sup> The document was published in: G. BESSE, *Histoire de ducs, marquis et comtes de Narbonne*, Paris 1660, p. 483–486. More on this source and its significance cf.: D. ZBIRAL, *La Charte de Niquinta et le rassemblement de Saint-Félix: État de la question*, [in:] *1209–2009 Cathares...*, p. 31–32; IDEM, *Pokřtěni...*, p. 99–106.

<sup>35</sup> M. ZERNER, *La charte de Niquinta, l’hérésie et l’érudition des années 1650–1660*, [in:] *L’Histoire du catharisme en discussion...*, p. 203–248; EADEM, *Compte rendu des interventions...*, p. 39–40. Zerner’s conception was questioned by David Zbiral, cf.: D. ZBIRAL, *La Charte...*, p. 33–35. On the formal analysis of the document cf.: J. DALARUN, A. DUFOUR, A. GRONDEUX, D. MUZERELLE, F. ZINELLI, *La charte de Niquinta. Analyse formelle*, [in:] *L’Histoire du catharisme en discussion...*, p. 135–199. More on the rehabilitation of the Saint-Felix acts cf.: *Heresy and Inquisition in France, 1200–1300*, ed. et trans. J.H. ARNOLD, P. BILLER, Manchester 2016, p. 16.

<sup>36</sup> J.L. BIGET, *Un faux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle? Examen d’une hypothèse*, [in:] *L’Histoire du catharisme en discussion...*, p. 105–133.

<sup>37</sup> On substantive criticism of Biget’s arguments cf.: D. ZBIRAL, *La Charte...*, p. 31, 35–36; T. DRAKOPOULOS, *L’unité...*, p. 126, 143–155.

<sup>38</sup> *Charte de Niquinta*, p. 47–48.

The above-mentioned sources, which authenticity was not convincingly questioned by anyone are not the only proofs for the Eastern origins. Another very important arguments for it are the names used to describe the Cathars. In the anonymous sermon from Saint-Vaast d'Arras, written around 1200, the Cathars professing radical dualism are called "Bulgars"<sup>39</sup>. In 1201 Robert of Auxerre mentioned the heretics, professing the "heresy of the Bulgars" (*heresis Bulgarorum*), and William of Tudela in his Song of the Albigensian Crusade called the Cathars "those from Bulgaria"<sup>40</sup>. The name "Bulgars" was also used by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines writing about the Cathars burned in 1239 by Robert le Bougre<sup>41</sup>. The nickname of this inquisitor "Le Bougre" – the Bulgarian was the remainder of his history before the conversion, when he professed Catharism<sup>42</sup>. The name "Bulgari" is also confirmed by many other sources, which do not try to convince the reader (except for the *Tractatus de hereticis*) to the Eastern origins of Catharism, and therefore cannot be perceived as products of the Catholic anti-dissident propaganda<sup>43</sup>. Obviously Eastern, precisely Greek, roots has also the name *Cathari*, first mentioned in 1163 by Eckbert of Schönau, who said that it was used for the dualist heretics in Germany<sup>44</sup>. It is a very important argument for the Eastern origins, especially in the context of the letter of Evervin of Steinfeld saying about the Greek roots of the Cathar heresy.

Another very important argument for the Eastern origins of Catharism are the Bogomil apocryphal books, used by the Cathars – the *Interrogatio Iohannis* and the *Vision of Isaiah*. The first was brought from Bulgaria in 1190 by Nazarius

<sup>39</sup> *Accipite nobis vulpes parvulas, que demoliuntur vineas Domini*, ed. B. DELMAIRE, Here 17, 1991 (cetera: *Accipite nobis*), p. 11.

<sup>40</sup> *Roberti Autissiodorensis Chronicon*, ed. O. HOLDER-EGGER, [in:] *MGH.SS*, vol. XXVI, Hannoverae 1882, p. 260, 271; *La chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, vol. I, ed. E. MARTIN-CHABOT, Paris 1931, p. 10: *E li autre legat, ab cels de Bolgaria*.

<sup>41</sup> *Alberici Monachii Trium Fontium Chronicon*, ed. P. SCHEFFER-BOICHORST, [in:] *MGH.SS*, vol. XXI-II, Hannoverae 1874 (cetera: *Alberici Monachii Trium Fontium Chronicon*), p. 944: *In anno isto ebdomada ante pontecosten 6. feria factum est maximum holocaustum et placabile Domino in combustione Bulgrorum, siquidem 183 Bulgri combusti sunt...*; The "Bulgars" persecuted by Robert le Bougre were also mentioned in: *Ex Annalibus S. Medardi Suessionensibus*, ed. G. WAITZ, [in:] *MGH.SS*, vol. XXVI, Hannoverae 1882, p. 522.

<sup>42</sup> Earlier life of Robert was described by Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, cf.: *Alberici Monachii Trium Fontium Chronicon*, p. 940.

<sup>43</sup> The "Bulgars" also known as patarenes are mentioned also by Matthew of Paris, writing in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, cf.: MATTHAEUS PARISENSIS, *Chronica Maiora*, ed. F. LIEBERMANN, [in:] *MGH.SS*, vol. XXVIII, Hannoverae 1888, p. 133. The name "Bulgars" was also used in relation to the Cathars by Philippe Mouskes in the 40s. of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and later by the inquisitor Etienne de Bourbon, cf.: *Ex Philippi Mousket Historia Regum Francorum*, ed. A. TOBIER, [in:] *MGH.SS*, vol. XXVI, Hannoverae 1882, p. 805; ETIENNE DE BOURBON, *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues*, ed. A. LECOY DE LA MARCHE, Paris 1877, p. 300.

<sup>44</sup> ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS, *Sermones contra catharos*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CXCIV (cetera: ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS), col. 13: *Hos nostra Germania, Catharos, Flandria Piphles, Gallia Texerant, ab usu texendi appellat*.

– the bishop of the Italian Cathar church of Concorezzo<sup>45</sup>. On the copy of this book from the archives of the inquisition in Carcassonne we can find a significant notice: *Hoc est secretum hereticorum de Concorezo portatum de Bulgaria, plenam erroribus et etiam falsis latinis*<sup>46</sup>. Various sources confirm as well that the Cathars knew the Vision of Isaiah. It is mentioned in the works of Durand of Huesca, Moneta of Cremona, and in the registers of Jacques Fournier from the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>47</sup>. Of course for the deconstructionist scholars it is not a proof for the Eastern origins of Catharism, but rather for the fact that the Cathars established contacts with the Bogomils at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. However, even if we ignore the above-mentioned sources, which show that these contacts were established much earlier, and if we follow the deconstructionist logic, still one question will remain: why did the evangelical dissidents, who had constructed their doctrine independently, based on the Holy Scripture, accepted the teachings from the Bogomil apocrypha brought from the East?

After the verification of the first part of the deconstructionist theory, denying the Eastern roots of Catharism it is time to take a closer look at its second part, concerning the dualist doctrine. Its main assumption is (as it was said above) that the Cathars were evangelical dissidents, trying to restore the original Christianity, and their dualist doctrine was arbitrarily constructed by the Catholic authors, based on the ancient anti-heretical works, mainly anti-Manichaean writings of St. Augustine. According to the deconstructionist scholars the Catholic authors tried to create the image of Catharism as doctrinally well-defined counter-church, competitive to Catholicism, thus justifying the persecution against the dissidents<sup>48</sup>. The starting point of this hypothesis was the fact that the Catholic clergymen very often used the name “Manichaeans” in relation to the Cathars or (as it was in the case of *Tractatus de hereticis*) derived Catharism directly from the ancient Manichaeism. According to U. Brunn, the pioneer of this Catholic action of construction of the heresy was German Benedictine abbot Eckbert of Schönau, who in his *Sermones contra catharos*, written in 1163, presented the Cathars as modern Manichaeans and even claimed that they celebrate the Manichaean feast – Bema.

<sup>45</sup> *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 76; *Tractatus de Hereticis*, p. 311.

<sup>46</sup> More on *Interrogatio Iohannis*, its origins and its use by the Cathars cf.: E. BOZOKY, *Le livre...*, p. 17–27, 176–197.

<sup>47</sup> MONETA DE CREMONA, *Adversus Catharos et Valdenses libri quinque*, ed. T.A. RICCHINI, Roma 1743 (cetera: MONETA DE CREMONA), p. 218; DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, p. 256; *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier, évêque de Pamiers (1318–1325)*, ed. J. DUVERNOY, vol. III, Toulouse 1965 (cetera: *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*), p. 200–201. More on the use of the Vision of Isaiah by the Cathars, cf.: A. ACERBI, *La Visione di Isaia nelle vicende dottrinali del catarismo lombardo e provenzale*, CS 1, 1980, p. 75–122.

<sup>48</sup> J.L. BIGET, *Réflexions...*, p. 29–51; IDEM, *Les bons hommes...*, p. 161; P. JIMÉNEZ-SANCHEZ, *Les catharismes...*, p. 47; 347; U. BRUNN, *Cathari...*, p. 183–200; IDEM, *Des contestataires...*, p. 184–186; J. THÉRY, *L'hérésie...*, p. 77, 98–101, 107, 117; H. CHIU, *Alan of Lille's...*, p. 495–497; M. ZERNER, *Introduction...*, p. 16.

Moreover – at the end of his work he added an excerpt from the *De haeresibus* of St. Augustine<sup>49</sup>. So at first glance it seems that some foundations for the hypothesis assuming the construction of the heresy indeed exist, the problem is that they are not based on a deeper analysis of the sources. To verify the probability of the deconstructionist hypothesis we should check if the Cathar doctrines described in the sources, are indeed so similar to the doctrines of St. Augustine's Manichaeans, and at the same time, so different from the Bogomil teachings known from the Eastern sources. And finally, if the image of Catharism contained in the Catholic sources can be considered as the image of a counter-church.

Problems with the deconstructionist concept appear when we take a look at the most general issue that is the type of dualism. St. Augustine in his *De heresibus* says clearly that the Manichaeans are radical dualists – they believe in two eternal, opposite principles – the good one, which is the source of all the spiritual beings, and the evil one, which is the source of the 5 elements of darkness that are the fabric of the material world<sup>50</sup>. Meanwhile in Catharism the radical dualism, similar to that of the Manichaeans was only one of two options – the second was the moderate dualism. The latter is confirmed by various sources, beginning with the 12<sup>th</sup> century, for example Radulf of Coggeshall for France or *Vita haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus* for Italy<sup>51</sup>. From the later sources we know that this type of dualism was professed by the biggest Italian Cathar church from Concorezzo and the church of Bagnolo, and in France its traces can be found in the inquisitorial registers from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> and beginnings of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>52</sup>. Main assumptions of this type of dualism – the existence of only one God-creator and Satan, who is his creature, a rebelled angel, who forms the visible world and human bodies from the matter created by his father, are exactly the same as in the Bogomil doctrines known from the Eastern sources and the *Interrogatio*

<sup>49</sup> U. BRUNN, *Des contestataires...*, p. 160, 238–239, 316–333, 342–348; IDEM, *Cathari...*, p. 184–185; ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS, *PL*, vol. CXCIV, col. 16–17, 24.

<sup>50</sup> AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS, *De heresibus*, [in:] *The De Haeresibus of Saint Augustine*, ed. L.G. MÜLLER, Washington 1956 [= PSt, 90] (cetera: AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS HIPONENSIS), p. 84–88.

<sup>51</sup> *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. STEVENSON, [in:] *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores*, vol. LXVI, London 1875, p. 124–125; *Vita Haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CCIV (cetera: *Vita Haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus*), col. 775–776.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. e.g. *De Heresi*, p. 310–311; S. PETRUS MARTYR, *Summa contra haereticos*, ed. T. KAPELLI, AFP 17, 1947 (cetera: S. PETRUS MARTYR), p. 325; JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS, *Disputationes nonnullae adversus haereticos*, ed. D. BAZZOCCHI, [in:] *L'eresia catara. Appendice*, Bologna 1920 (cetera: JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS), p. XXVI; MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 5, 110; *Tractatus de Hereticis*, p. 312; *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 76. In the inquisitorial sources moderate dualism can be found e.g. in: *Cahiers de Bernard de Caux. Ms Doat XXII B. N. Paris*, ed. J. DUVERNOY, Agen–Cahors–Toulouse 1988, p. 26, 50, [www.jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/bdecaux.pdf](http://www.jean.duvernoy.free.fr/text/pdf/bdecaux.pdf) [11 XII 2020]; *Edition and Translation of Doat 25–26*, [in:] *Inquisitors and Heretics in Thirteenth-Century Languedoc*, ed. et trans. P. BILLER, C. BRUSCHI, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= SHCT, 147], p. 264; *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, vol. II, p. 407–408; vol. III, p. 223.

*Iohannis*<sup>53</sup>. Of course one might say that these assumptions are too general and therefore cannot be a convincing proof for the theory, but the same argument cannot be used against the doctrine described by *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium* from the beginnings of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and Pierre des Vaux de Cernay writing in the times of Albigensian crusade. According to these sources, moderate French dualists believed in the existence of only one God who had two sons – Christ and the devil. This doctrine, is characteristic for the Bogomils, it was described by Cosmas the Priest or Euthymius Zigabenus, and for sure the Catholic polemicists could not have found it in the scriptures of St. Augustine<sup>54</sup>.

The theory assuming the construction of the heresy based on anti-Manichaean works of St. Augustine is unsustainable, also when we consider the Cathar radical dualism. Catholic authors usually do not focus on the opposition of light and darkness that was typical for the Manichaeans, although sometimes there are exceptions to this rule, as it is in case of Eckbert of Schönau or Alan of Lille<sup>55</sup>. In the majority of the texts, two co-eternal and opposite principles are characterized, through their relation to the time. Both the French and the Italian sources beginning from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, mention the opposition between the good, spiritual being, which is eternal and unchangeable, and the evil being, which is changeable and transient<sup>56</sup>. This opposition: eternal-transient, so typical for the radical

<sup>53</sup> *Interrogatio Iohannis*, [in:] *Le livre secret des cathares. Interrogatio Iohannis. Edition critique, traduction commentaire*, ed. et trans. E. BOZOKY, Paris 2009 (cetera: *Interrogatio Iohannis*), p. 42–56. Cf. also COSMAS THE PRIEST, *The Discours against Bogomils*, [in:] *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World, c. 650 – c. 1450*, trans. J. HAMILTON, B. HAMILTON, Manchester–New York 2013 (cetera: COSMAS THE PRIEST), p. 126–128. Similarities between the Cathar and the Bogomil myths concerning the creation were also noticed by Claire Taylor, cf.: C. TAYLOR, *Evidence for Dualism in Inquisitorial Registers of the 1240s: a Contribution to a Debate*, HJHA 98, 2013, p. 341–343.

<sup>54</sup> *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, ed. A. CAZENAVE, [in:] *Die Mächte des Guten und Bösen. Vorstellungen im XII. u. XIII. Jahrhundert über ihr Wirken in der Heilsgeschichte*, ed. A. ZIMMERMANN, Berlin 1977 [= MMed, 11] (cetera: *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*), p. 386: *Est autem quedam heresis que de novo prosilivit inter eos, nam nonnulli ex eis credunt, unum tantum esse deum, quem dicunt habere duos filios, Christum scilicet et principem huius mundi, unde habent in evangelio: Homo quidam habuit duos filios*. PETRUS VALLIUM SARNAII MONACHUS, *Hystoria Albigensis*, vol. I, ed. P. GUEBIN, E. LYON, Paris 1926, p. 12. In Bogomilism, the idea of Satan as a son of God appears very early. It is mentioned by many sources, beginning with the 10<sup>th</sup> century, cf.: JAN EGZARCHA, *Heksameron (fragmenty)*, ed. et trans. M. SKOWRONEK, [in:] *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Balkanach*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, J.M. WOLSKI, Łódź 2015 [= SeCer, 1], p. 63; COSMAS THE PRIEST, p. 128; EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, *Panoplia dogmatica*, [in:] PG, vol. CXXX (cetera: EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS), col. 129.

<sup>55</sup> ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS, PL, vol. CXCIV, col. 17; ALANUS DE INSULIS, *De fide catholica contra Haereticos sui temporis*, [in:] PL, vol. CCX (cetera: ALANUS DE INSULIS), col. 308.

<sup>56</sup> This “time dualism” was mentioned in 1178 in the letter of the Cardinal Peter of Pavia, cf.: *Epistola Petri tituli Sancti Chrysogoni praesbyteri cardinalis, apostolicae sedis legati*, [in:] *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, vol. II, ed. W. STUBBS, London 1869, p. 158; at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century by Alan of Lille, cf.: ALANUS DE INSULIS, PL, vol. CCX, col. 308–312; in 1200 in *Accipite nobis*, p. 12; at the

Cathars (later developed in their theological Treatise, the so-called Manichaeon Treatise) does not appear in the works of St. Augustine, but strongly resembles the Paulician radical dualism with its opposition between the good God – the lord of the future and the evil one – the ruler of present times identified with St. Paul's god of this age (*deus huius saeculi*)<sup>57</sup>. The Cathar author of the Manichaeon Treatise identifies matter, which through its changeability tends to nothingness with *nihil* from the prologue of the Gospel of St. John that emerged without God (*sine ipso factum est nihil*). So when this matter, tending to nothingness will finally pass than in the future only one principle will survive – the good God, exactly as it is in the Paulician doctrine<sup>58</sup>.

The Paulician origins of the Cathar radical dualism seem to be quite probable, especially in the light of the conception proposed by B. Hamilton, who argued that it appeared under the influence of the Bogomil church of Drugonthia, which in turn was formed under Paulician influence<sup>59</sup>. It is noteworthy especially when we consider the fact that the famous Nicetas, who presided over the Cathar council of Saint-Felix, and earlier tried to convert the Italian Cathars from *ordo Bulgariae* to *ordo Drugonthiae*, was ordained by Simon – bishop of Drugonthia.

No analogy, or even similarity to the Manichaeon doctrines known from St. Augustine's scriptures, can be found in the Cathar cosmology or anthropology presented by the Catholic authors. In their works (including Eckbert of Schönau) we would not find anything about five elements of darkness and opposed elements of light. The elements mentioned in the polemical works are classical – earth, water, fire and air. In case of anthropology, no polemical source mention the lords of smoke, who according to St. Augustine's *De haeresibus* were the parents of Adam

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beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in: EBRARDUS BETHUNENSIS, *Trias scriptorum adversus Valdensium sectam*, ed. M. DE LA BIGNE, [in:] *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, vol. XXIV, Lugduni 1677, col. 1540; in the chronicle of William of Nangis: GUILLELMUS DE NANGIACO, *Chronicon*, ed. M. BOUQUET, [in:] *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XX, Paris 1840, p. 741. Similar characteristics of two opposed principles appears also in the Italian sources, cf.: MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 3; *Brevis Summula*, ed. A. MOLINIER, AMi 22, 1910 (cetera: *Brevis Summula*), p. 200; *Disputatio inter catholicum et paterinum hereticum*, ed. I. DA MILANO, Ae 14, 1940 (cetera: *Disputatio inter catholicum*), p. 130.

<sup>57</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, *Historia utilis et refutatio atque eversio haeresos Manichaeorum qui et Pauliciani dicuntur*, [in:] PG, vol. CIV, col. 1254. The Paulicians based their conception on the passage from St. Paul's letter to Corinthians (2 Cor 4: 4), cf.: PETRUS SICULUS, *Sermones adversus Manichaeos*, [in:] PG, vol. CIV, col. 1307.

<sup>58</sup> The characteristics of two opposed principles through their relation to time can be found in many chapters of the *Manichaeon Treatise*, cf.: *Tractatus manicheorum*, [in:] *Un traité cathare inédit du début du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le Liber contra Manicheos de Durand de Huesca*, ed. C. THOUZELLIER, Louvain 1961 (cetera: *Tractatus manicheorum*), p. 89–90, 98–99, 110. Finally, the author identifies the material being – transient and deprived of love with nothingness (*nihil*), cf.: *Tractatus manicheorum*, p. 102–103: *Si omnes mali spiritus et mali homines, que possunt videri in hoc mundo, nichil sunt, quia sunt sine caritate, ergo sine Deo facta sunt. Non ergo Deus fecit ea, quia sine ipso factum est nichil.*

<sup>59</sup> Cf. note 2.



and Eve<sup>60</sup>. Eckbert of Schönau said that the Cathars identified human souls with the angels fallen from heaven and honestly added that this doctrine (as many other Cathar ideas) cannot be found in the works of St. Augustine. This remark is especially noteworthy because it shows that Eckbert, who obviously firmly believed that the Cathars were the descendants of the Manichaeans, was honest and did not try to create the false image of this heresy<sup>61</sup>. The angelic origin of the human souls, unknown to the Manichaeans, appears in many Cathar doctrines – both radical and moderate<sup>62</sup>. Its roots again can be found in the Bogomil teachings – precisely in the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, but the fact that Eckbert mentioned it in 1163, shows that the Cathars knew it long before this secret Bogomil book arrived to the West. So as we can see, it is another strong argument for the Bogomil origins of Catharism<sup>63</sup>.

In case of the doctrine of the fall, crucial for the dualists, the situation is analogical as in anthropology. In many polemical works describing both the radical and the moderate Cathar doctrines, Satan is identified with the unjust steward from the Gospel of St. Luke (Lc 16: 1–8), so again we are dealing with a theme that is absent in the Manichaean teachings, but characteristic for Bogomilism<sup>64</sup>. It is mentioned by Cosmas the Priest and *Interrogatio Iohannis*, where Satan – a rebelled angel, acts exactly as the evangelical unjust steward, reducing the duties of the angels to God<sup>65</sup>. The Cathars were so deeply bound with this idea that they did not dare to abandon it even when they accepted radical dualism, where it completely does not make sense, which was noticed by their Catholic opponents<sup>66</sup>.

<sup>60</sup> AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, p. 89, 95.

<sup>61</sup> ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS, *PL*, vol. CXCIV, col. 96: *De ea haeresi loquor, quia dicunt nihil aliud esse animas humanas, nisi illos apostatas spiritus, qui in principio mundi ceciderunt a regno Dei; et hos posse in corporibus humanis promereri salutem: non autem nisi inter eos qui sunt de secta eorum. Hoc autem non legitur inter errores Manichaei*; ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS, *PL*, vol. CXCIV, col. 16: *...indubitanter secta eorum, de quibus agimus, originem accepit a Manichaeo haeresiarcha, cujus doctrina maledicta erat et tota venenosa, et radicata est in populo isto perverso. Multa tamen permista habent doctrinae magistri sui, quae inter haereses illius non inveniuntur.*

<sup>62</sup> In France this doctrine is mentioned by: ALANUS DE INSULIS, *PL*, vol. CCX, col. 316–317; DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber antiheresis*, [in:] *Die ersten Waldenser. Mit Edition des Liber Antiheresis des Durandus von Ossa*, vol. II, ed. K.V. SELGE, Berlin 1967 [= Aki, 37], p. 236; *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, p. 385; *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, vol. I, p. 228, 241; vol. II, p. 33–34, 179, 199, 472, 488–489, 508–509. In Italy: *Vita Haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, *PL*, vol. CCIV, col. 775; *De Heresi*, p. 309–311; S. PETRUS MARTYR, p. 325–326; JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS, p. VII; MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 4, 7, 47, 52, 110–115, 129; *Brevis Summula*, p. 201, 208; *Disputatio inter catholicum*, p. 131–135; *Summa Fratris Raineri*, p. 71, 77.

<sup>63</sup> *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 52–59.

<sup>64</sup> *Manifestatio haeresis albigensium et lugdunensium*, p. 385; *De Heresi*, p. 309; MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 4, 110; S. PETRUS MARTYR, p. 325; *Disputatio inter catholicum*, p. 132; *Brevis Summula*, p. 201; *Tractatus de Hereticis*, p. 312.

<sup>65</sup> COSMAS THE PRIEST, p. 126; *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 42–50.

<sup>66</sup> MONETA DE CREMONA, p. 39–44.

In addition, another Cathar concept – reported by the polemical sources, according to which the fall was caused by the carnal sin – has its analogy in Bogomilism. It appears most often in the moderate doctrines, where Satan has carnal intercourse with Eve, which leads to the enslavement of the angelic element in the material body, but sometimes we can find it also in the radical dualism, where carnal sin is committed by the bodiless angels or spirits (which is illogical). Such a conception was mentioned by Durand of Huesca in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and later in the 14<sup>th</sup> by the witnesses interrogated by Jacques Fournier<sup>67</sup>. Also, St. Augustine says that the Manichaeans connect carnal desire with matter and avoid procreation, but he never mentions the idea that the fall of human beings or angels was caused by the carnal sin<sup>68</sup>.

An exact analogy to this specific Cathar doctrine can be found in the Bogomil teachings – not only in the *Interrogatio Iohannis*, but also in the *Panoplia Dogmatica* of Euthymius Zigabenus from the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. In both sources the carnal sin was originated by Satan (in *Panoplia* it was Satanael – the son of God), who had carnal intercourse with Eve; later Eve had carnal intercourse with Adam and so people started to reproduce thus enslaving the spiritual element in material body. The significance of this sin is especially underlined in the *Panoplia*, where Satanael, for his sexual intercourse with Eve, was punished with the loss of his angelic shine and the power of creation, although he had not lost them after the rebellion against God<sup>69</sup>. This repulsion to the carnal sin and strict observance of chastity by the Cathar perfecti is honestly mentioned by almost all the Catholic polemicists, which is another strong argument against the hypothesis assuming the construction of Cathar heresy based on St. Augustine's works. Bishop of Hippo in his most commonly known *De heresibus* accused Manichaeans of debaucherous practices, claiming that during their obscene rituals they consume Eucharist mixed with semen and rape their female adepts<sup>70</sup>. So if the Catholic authors indeed have constructed Cathar heresy to discredit the dissidents, then why have they not used these themes? Why have they not used another shocking Manichaean doctrine contained in the *De heresibus*, according to which Christ was identified with the serpent from paradise<sup>71</sup>?

<sup>67</sup> DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, p. 236: *Et ipsum [malum deum] dicunt esse ingresum curiam patris celestis ad decipiendos angelos, et quosdam fecisse fornicari credunt, et ob hanc causam patrem dicunt surrexisse contra eum et eum de patria celesti depulisse...*; *Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier*, vol. II, p. 33–34; vol. III, p. 130–131, 406–407. For Italy cf. e.g. *Vita Haereticorum quam fecit Bonacursus*, PL, vol. CCIV, col. 776; *De Heresi*, p. 310; JACOBUS DE CAPELLIS, p. XXVII.

<sup>68</sup> AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, p. 93, 97.

<sup>69</sup> *Interrogatio Iohannis*, p. 60–62; EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, PG, vol. CXXX, col. 1298.

<sup>70</sup> AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, p. 89–91.

<sup>71</sup> AURELIUS AUGUSTINUS HIPPONENSIS, p. 95.

Confronted with the sources, the deconstructionist hypothesis assuming the construction of Cathar heresy, based on St. Augustine works seems to be highly improbable<sup>72</sup>.

Equally improbable in the light of the sources is also another deconstructionist conception, according to which the Catholic polemist have created the image of Catharism as a well-organized and doctrinally defined counter-church. Even Eckbert of Schönau says that the Cathars are internally divided and profess various doctrines<sup>73</sup>. Such an opinion is confirmed later in France, by the anonymous *Manifestatio heresis albigenensium et lugdunensium* and Durand of Huesca, and in Italy by Rainer Sacchoni and Salvo Burci<sup>74</sup>. In the polemical sources we can find many various doctrines – moderately dualistic, radically dualistic, and mixes of these two types. Besides, the Catholics willingly emphasized the divisions among the heretics to prove, that their faith (in the opposition to Catholicism) does not come from God. Considering this, it is really hard to talk about the image of a strong, doctrinally well-defined Cathar church.

The analysis of the sources shows that the deconstructionist interpretation of Catharism cannot be treated as a serious alternative to the traditional one, assuming Eastern, Bogomil roots of this heresy. The latter is based on an extensive source material, confirming both the contacts of the Cathars with the East since the first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and striking doctrinal similarities between Catharism and Bogomilism. The deconstructionist theory is not based on any new discoveries of the sources that could change our perception of Catharism, but rather on a new methodology, proposed by M. Zerner and her collaborators. This methodology rejects all the Catholic sources as unreliable, which is a consequence of the arbitrary assumption that their authors were hostile towards the Cathars and their main aim was to discredit them and justify their persecution. This assumption is presented almost as a dogma, beyond any discussion, and leads to another dogma formulated by Julien Thery, who said that the deconstruction of a clerical

<sup>72</sup> As C. Taylor and Z. Zlatar point out, the use of the term “Manichaeans” by the Catholic authors in relation to the Cathars was caused by the similarities of general dualist assumptions in both heresies and the lack of the term “dualists” at that time, cf.: C. TAYLOR, *Evidence...*, p. 329–330; Z. ZLATAR, *What's in a Name?...*, p. 559–561.

<sup>73</sup> ECKBERTUS ABBAS SCHONAUGENSIS, *PL*, vol. CXCIV, col. 17: *Multi quidem sunt errores illorum, ita ut nemo omnes enumerando prosequi valeat [...]* *Divisi sunt etiam contra semetipsos, quia nonnulla quae ab aliquibus eorum dicuntur, ab aliis negantur.*

<sup>74</sup> *Manifestatio haeresis albigenensium et lugdunensium*, p. 386: *Et sicut sunt diversi ac divisi fide et habitu a ceteris hominibus ita inter se diversas sentiunt hereses*; DURANDUS DE HUESCA, *Liber contra manicheos*, p. 138–139; SALVO BURCI, *Liber supra stella*, ed. I. DA MILANO, Ae 19, 1945, p. 309: *Contra Catharos, qui appellantur Albanenses et Concorricii, qui inter se valde discrepant, videlicet quia unus alterum ad mortem condempnat, dicentes Albanenses adversus Concorricos, se esse ecclesiam Dei, et dicentes, illos fuisse ex ipsis, et a nobis secessi sunt; et e converso Coucorricii vero dicunt illud idem, Summa Fratris Raineri, p. 77.*

discourse should become an imperative<sup>75</sup>. The scholars following this “imperative” focus on questioning the sources, which do not fit to their theory, including the sources of Cathar provenience, as it was in the case of the acts of St-Felix or the so called Manichaean Treatise<sup>76</sup>. While the traditional interpretation of Catharism, assuming its Eastern origins and dualistic character, is based on the analysis of the sources of various provenance – both Western (Cathar and Catholic) and Eastern, in case of the deconstructionist interpretation the conclusions are formed a priori, based on selected and usually very limited source material. Considering this, it seems that the deconstructionist interpretation cannot be perceived as an equal alternative to the traditional one assuming the Bogomil roots of Catharism.

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<sup>75</sup> J. THÉRY, *L’hérésie...*, p. 107.

<sup>76</sup> On the conceptions assuming that the Manichaean Treatise is a Catholic forgery cf.: J.L. BIGET, *Réflexions...*, p. 40; M. ZERNER, *Compte rendu des interventions...*, p. 51.

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## GALEN, BODY AND SOUL IN *VITA CYRILLI XI*, 13–20

**Abstract.** The paper points to a hitherto not recognized quotation from Galen in the Old Church Slavonic Life of S. Cyril of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (chapter XI, 15) which demonstrates the Galenic maxim “*contraria contrariis curentur*”. The Galenic argument is brought forth by the Christian philosopher Cyril in a discussion with Jewish theologians. The paper firstly demonstrates that the author of VC does not only enrich Cyril’s speech with allusions to Biblical formulations but makes also the Jewish interlocutors use a direct quotation from Paul’s Epistle to the Colossians. The Christian and Jewish arguments complement each other leading to the ultimate Christian answer that Christ is the real physician to heal body and soul. In contextualizing the findings and pointing to another passage of *Vita Cyrilli* the paper shows, that the metaphor of “Christ, the physician” both times occurs in a context, where the Original sin is the main topic. Finally, the paper is concerned with the rhetoric of the metaphor and the limits of what can be possibly expressed by it. The ultimate healing in a Christian sense is expressed in the faith into bodily resurrection and thus transcends the comparison with concrete physical therapy. In contrast to concrete bodily health the qualities of a “body of the resurrection” cannot be positively named and thus are designated by the metaphor of “enjoying the fruit” in the heavens.

**Keywords:** Vita Constantini-Cyrilli, Galen, Christ as physician, original sin, bodily resurrection

### Allusions

Besides casual remarks about physical conditions the Old Church Slavonic (OCS) Vita of Constantine-Cyril (VC) contains two passages which directly address the domain of physical therapy. Our article will comment on both passages, but the first allows for better contextualization<sup>1</sup>, so we will focus on it. In VC chapter XI, 13–20 the author of the Vita refers a discussion between Constantine-Cyril and Jewish interlocutors in the course of which Cyril is directly pointing to a medical principle. The sentences VC XI, 13–20<sup>2</sup> suffer from reading variants,

<sup>1</sup> Reasons see footnote 26 beneath.

<sup>2</sup> VC is quoted after *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses. Fontes*, ed. F. GRIVEC, F. TOMŠIČ, Zagreb 1960 [= RStI, 4] (cetera: CONSTANTINUS), p. 123 (text) and p. 125 (apparatus).

which are a consequence of the saturation of VC with grecisms<sup>3</sup>. The reading variants<sup>4</sup> are basically not problematic, because they do not alter the logic of

<sup>3</sup> T. DAIBER, *Variant reading and reconstruction. Grecisms in the Life of Constantine-Cyril*, [in:] *Гуманитарное образование и наука в техническом вузе*, ed. В.А. БАРАНОВ, Ижевск 2017, p. 377–382; IDEM, *Gräzismen in der Vita des hl. Kyrill*, [in:] *Deutsche Beiträge zum 16. Internationalen Slavistenkongress*, ed. S. KEMPGEN, M. WINGENDER, L. UDOLPH, Wiesbaden 2018 [= WS, 63], p. 111–116M; IDEM, *Vita Cyrilli X: 75–81: Jewish and Christian Polemics on Abraham, Esau, and Jacob (Vita Constantini-Cyrilli X: 75–81)*, [in:] *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe*, ed. L. TASEVA, R. MARTI, Brăila 2020, p. 43–58; IDEM, *Еще раз к “русским буквам” в Житии Константина-Кирилла*, [in:] *Sub specie aeternitatis. Сборник научных статей к 60-летию В.В. Крысько*, ed. М.А. ПУЗИНА, Москва 2021, p. 311–320; IDEM, *The Vita Constantini-Cyrilli XII:1–6 and its Greek Original*, [in:] *Studien zum frühen Slavischen und zu älteren slavischen Texten*, ed. J. FUCHSBAUER, E. KLOTZ, Berlin 2021 [= SST, 14], p. 115–129. There is no doubt anymore, that VC had originally been written in Greek and we possess only a more or less meticulous translation into OCS.

<sup>4</sup> I) Sentence XI, 13 has *ѡдоу* (?) against all other mss. having the participle preterite active *ѡдъшоу*, which nicely corresponds to the following participle *пивъшу*, so the form *ѡдоу* seems to be a scribal error. II) X, 13 ends with a form *исцѣлѣки*, which resembles an imperative form, but could well be a defective writing of *исцѣлѣши* (2<sup>nd</sup> ps sg), as the majority of copies display. Because the majority reading is parallel to a second *исцѣлѣши* in the next sentence XI, 14, which occurs in the same speech act with analogical semantics, the form *исцѣлѣши* is preferable. III) XI, 15 consists of two prescriptions of the doctor (1: ‘drinking something bitter...’, 2: ‘drinking something warm...’), which both have problems with their last word (1: ‘... go on a diet’, 2: ‘... you will warm yourself up’). In the first prescription the imperative *постисѣ* ‘fast = go on a diet’ cannot be easily rejected, because the two forgoing sentences 13 and 14 also have direct (figurative) speech from the doctor to his patient. However, instead of the imperative the majority reading displays an infinitive (*поститисѣ*) with two obviously not meaningful variations *противитисѣ* (‘to refuse’) and *проститисѣ* (‘to apologize’). The majority infinitive reading would have the advantage to sound more generically like a recipe, and, additionally, it seems to me, that nowhere else in VC direct speech occurs without an introducing *verbum dicendi*. Considering the alternation between imperative and connected to it direct speech (‘go on a diet’) or infinitive and connected to it recipe-like style (‘to go on a diet’) the majority reading again seems to be right. Support comes from the second prescription of XI, 15, whose last word is also posing a reading problem because of a recipe-like generic formulation. In the second prescription of XI, 15 we have the choice between several participles (*гореще* vs. 11 times *горѣщесѣ*, 3 *горѣщисѣ*, 2 *гореще*), which go back to either *горѣти* ‘to burn’ (P.M. ЦЕЙТЛИН, Р. ВЕЧЕРКИ, Э. БЛАГОВОЙ, *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)*, Москва 1994, p. 175, no reflexive form mentioned) or to *горѣтисѣ* ‘to worm oneself up’ (*ibidem*, p. 180). The latter meaning is, of course, the intended. A simple infinitive *горѣтисѣ* – expectable in analogy to assumed original infinitive *поститисѣ* in the first prescription of XI, 15 – should not cause much reading problems. Because none of the mss. has conserved an infinitive, it must be assumed, that OCS translates a Greek participle, which can substitute a finite verb out of stylistic reasons (B.L. GILDERSLEEVE, *On the Stylistic Effect of the Greek Participle*, AJP 9, 1888, p. 137–157; F. SAAJMAN, *Conjunctions in Classical Greek Syntax*, AClas 33, 1990, p. 91–102; M.E. HAYES, *An Analysis of the Attributive Participle and the Relative Clause in the Greek New Testament*, Frankfurt am Main 2018 [= SBG, 18]). Note also, that the conjunction *и* ‘and’ is superfluous before a participle which serves in the position of a finite verb, and that the superfluous conjunction may well indicate the non-canonical use of the ‘finite’ participle in Slavic; also in Greek a conjunction may introduce the ‘participle-sentence’ (K. BENTEIN, *Verbal Periphrasis in Ancient Greek. A State of the Art*, RBPH 90, 2012, p. 43), but I know of no Greek

the argument. In citing the passage the suggested reading (none not documented by variants) is inferred in brackets:

13. философъ же рече: “то аще боудеть кому пакость медь падоу или стоуденоу водѣ пивъшу, пришьде врачъ глаголетъ юмѣ: ‘юще мнѡгъ медь паде исцѣлѣни (= исцѣлѣши)’. 14. а иже боудеть водѣ пивъ, томоу глаголетъ: ‘стоудени се воды напивъ нагъ на мразѣ ставъ исцѣлѣши.’ 15. Дроугы же врачъ не тако глаголетъ, нъ противно врачей’ство заповѣдають: ‘въ меда мѣсто гор’коу пиюще постисе (= поститисѣ), а въ стоуденаго мѣсто топлоу и гореще (= грѣющисѣ).’ 16. которыи оубо шть овоу хытрѣю врачующе?” 17. штвещаше в’си: “иже противнаа врачьствѣ (= врачьства) заповѣдають. 18. горестію во житіа сего похотноу сласти (= похотноу сласть) достонть оумръвити и смѣреніемъ грьдость, против’ными противнаа врачующе.

19. а мы бо глаголемъ, тако дрѣво, иже прѣвѣю трънь сътворить, то послѣди слад’къ плодъ приплодитъ.” 20. (Add. in initio 16 mss.: Паки же отвѣща философъ: “Добрѣ рекосте/ркетсѣ: “Христовъ во законъ остроотю (= остроотю) навлѣють вожїа житїа, по томъ же въ вѣчныхъ жилищахъ стократичю плодъ приносятъ.”

13. The Philosopher then said: “And if harm were to befall someone who ate honey or drank cold water, and a doctor comes and says to him: ‘Eat more honey and you will recover’. 14. And to the one who will have drunk the water he says: ‘Drink your fill of cold water and stand naked in the frost’ and you will recover’. 15. But another doctor speaks otherwise and prescribes the opposite treatment: ‘Instead of honey drink something bitter and fast; and instead of cold drink something tepid and warm yourself’. 16. Thus, which of these two treats more skillfully?” 17. They all answered: “The one who prescribes the opposite treatment<sup>6</sup>. 18. For it is fitting to destroy lustful sweetness with the bitterness of life<sup>7</sup>, and pride with humility, treating everything with its opposite”.

example using *каі* as the expected source for OCS *и*. The syntactic construction, found in OCS (like here) and in Old Russian (Л.А. Булаховский, *Исторический комментарий к литературному русскому языку*, <sup>5</sup>Киев 1958, p. 401, examples from the 14<sup>th</sup> c.), which introduces participles with a conjunction, when the participle functions as a finite verb, remains to be explained. IV) In X, 17 a doubtful *противнаа врачьствѣ* [dat sg] = “the opposite to the treatment” is corrected in analogy to X, 15 *противно врачев’ство* [nom sg] = “the opposite treatment” into *противнаа врачьства* (acc pl like in 9 mss.) = “the opposite treatments”, which is in accordance with the overall line of argumentation. V) X, 18 displays the gen sg *похотноу сласти*, changed in many mss. to *похотноу сласть* (acc sg), which gives a smooth syntactic reading. Maybe we deal originally with a gr. gen. partitivus in distributive meaning, which does not change the meaning very much. VI) The quotative sentence is most probably not a later addition but missing in the edited ms of CONSTANTINUS. – X, 20 *остротю* (instr sg) should be changed with many mss to *остротю* (acc sg), constructed as direct object to *навлѣти* in the sense of *δεικνύναι* (P.M. Цейтлин, P. Вечерки, Э. Благовой, *Старославянский...*, p. 65).

<sup>5</sup> OCS could also be translated: “on the ice”.

<sup>6</sup> Literal “the opposite treatments” (pl), and indeed, it is spoken about two prescriptions of the doctor.

<sup>7</sup> Literal “of this life”; there is not only a temporal, but also a local meaning to the demonstrative pronoun, designating the life on “this” side of the *koiné*, while on the other side lies the paradise. The local expression “this side” occurs in VC IX, 11 (cf. T. DAIBER, „Wenn einer den Abendmahlskelch zerbricht...” – VC XV:10–11 und das irische Thema der Slavenmission, Cyr, in print). Cyril’s concept fits into the common Medieval geographical ideas.

19. And we also say: “The tree which is first to put forth a thorn will be last to bear sweet fruit”. 20. And again the Philosopher answered: “Well spoken. For Christs law reveals the austerity of a godly life which later, in the eternal dwellings, brings hundred-fold fruit”<sup>8</sup>.

The passage is full of quotations from the New Testament, which are found in Cyril’s speech and – surprisingly – also in the speech of the Jews. In general, both Cyril and his Jewish interlocutors assure the validity of the medical maxim “*contraria contrariis curentur*” “the opposite will be cured by its opposite” – a maxim of physical treatment, which usually is seen as the main maxim of the Greek physician Galen of Pergamon<sup>9</sup>. VC does not allude to this principle by hear-saying. Already the pair “cold – warm” is typical for Galen’s humoral theory<sup>10</sup>, but the connection of the pair “cold – warm” with the pair “honey – bitter” brings directly to mind a prescribe of Galen from his writing *On the Powers of Foods* regarding honey and a “hot body”:

For the honey... turns to bile easily in a hot body. It is more suited to a cold body, whether it is so disposed through age, illness or nature<sup>11</sup>.

Thus, sentences XI, 13–15 are recapitulating a specific prescription of Galen and may give evidence of the presence of Galen’s work in 9<sup>th</sup> c. Byzantium. The sense of the passage, of course, does not consist in showcasing Cyril’s broad erudition,

<sup>8</sup> The English translation of VC in this paper is taken from *The Vita of Constantine and The Vita of Methodius*, trans. et ed. M. KANTOR, R.S. WHITE, Michigan 1976 [= MSM, 1], here p. 37 and p. 39 with sentence numbering added according to CONSTANTINUS. If I find it necessary to alter the English translation, I will indicate the change, but nevertheless try to stay as close as possible to the wording of *The Vita of Constantine...* (trans. M. KANTOR, R. WHITE). – In this passage a line break was inserted after XI, 18, while the breaks after XI, 16 and XI, 19 had been removed. – Biblical quotations are taken from the King James Version of the English Bible.

<sup>9</sup> Hippocrates also declares, that remedy should be achieved *in contradiction to the cause of the disease* (*Die Heilung aber hat man der Ursache der Krankheit entgegengesetzt zu bewerkstelligen*, quoted after G. PREISER, *Allgemeine Krankheitsbezeichnungen im Corpus Hippocraticum. Gebrauch und Bedeutung von Nousos und Nosema*, Berlin–New York 1976, p. 58), who was together with Galen one of the pillars of ancient medical education (cf. P. BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, *Reading Galen in Byzantium. The Fate of Therapeutics to Glaucon*, [in:] *Greek Medical Literature and its Readers. From Hippocrates to Islam and Byzantium*, ed. P. BOURAS-VALLIANATOS, S. XENOPHONTOS, London–New York 2018 [= PCHS, 20], p. 188: *Students followed a medical curriculum consisting of Hippocratic and Galenic texts*. P. Bouras-Vallianatos’s description of medical education in Alexandria after the 6<sup>th</sup> c. surely is also true for Constantinople). Hippocrates and Galen differ not so much in their views on medical problems but are representing different stages in the development of medicine as a rational science (D.A. BALALYKIN, N.P. SHOK, *The Apodictic Method in the Tradition of Ancient Greek Rational Medicine: Hippocrates, Aristotle, Galen*, HM.RJ 3, 2016, p. 377–391). On Galen’s frequent use of the writings of Hippocrates cf. the detailed index in GALEN, *Works on Human Nature*, vol. I, *Mixtures (De Temperamentis)*, ed. et trans. P.N. SINGER, P.J. VAN DER EIJK, Cambridge 2018, p. 265.

<sup>10</sup> J.M. SCHMIDT, *Samuel Hahnemann und das Ähnlichkeitsprinzip*, MedGG 29, 2010, p. 153 (“humoral-pathologische Qualitäten”).

<sup>11</sup> *Galen on Food and Diet*, ed. M. GRANT, London–New York 2000, p. 187.

who instead of offering theological arguments seems now to lecture about medical treatments<sup>12</sup>. In the end, Jesus Christ is the one healer for body and soul<sup>13</sup>, and concepts of physical treatment within a theological context are common in early Christian theology. Every reader of a theological treatise in the 9<sup>th</sup> century expected, that asking for a ‘skillful doctor’ will lead to Jesus as the ultimate physician.

It is our task to reconstruct the context, which specifically evokes the comparison between healing the body and healing the soul or evokes the metaphor of Christ as physician. At least, in VC the context is specific. Cyril is arguing with the Jewish Khazars about the problem, which religion would give the best guideline in order to re-enter paradise. The Jews relativize Cyril’s Christian point of view in stating, that *surely each considers his own council best, the Saracens too, and others theirs* (XI, 7–8<sup>14</sup>; trans. M. Kantor, R. White, p. 37), but Cyril replies in pointing to methodology: *through reason man distinguishes a lie from the truth*<sup>15</sup>. In the next sentence Cyril and his interlocutors agree, that the expulsion from paradise had happened because of the Original sin *beholding the sweet fruit as well as craving divinity*<sup>16</sup>. Now, as the cause of man’s misery on earth is known, the remedy to it should be determined, and here Cyril comes up with Galen: If one wants to defeat a wrong desire, the desire’s opposite as its remedy should be applied. If the Original sin of man is to be cured, then what is its opposite? It is, expectable, the “Son of man”, who is not touched by it.

Not so much the outcome of the argument surprises us, but the formulations of the interlocutors. The use of Galen’s *maxim* as the leading principle in answering the question, how the Original Sin could be cured, lets one expect the worst, namely, that the Jews (like the Moslems before<sup>17</sup>) are put into the position of an *advocatus diaboli* by promoting dull morality, while the Christian orator wisely points to philosophy. But the author of VC acts more reconcilably and concedes the Jews be on the right way and the Christians just additionally be in possession of the ultimate solution. To perform this task, the author of VC lets the Jews speak

<sup>12</sup> By the way, Galen is at the same time physician and philosopher, so reading his works is by no means out of the scope of a Greek philosopher in the 9<sup>th</sup> c. Cf. Galen himself: *What reason, then, remains why the doctor, who practises the Art in a manner worthy of Hippocrates, should not be a philosopher? For since, in order to discover the nature of the body, and the distinctions between diseases, and the indications for remedies, he must exercise his mind in rational thought, and since, so that he may persevere laboriously in the practice of these things, he must despise riches and exercise temperance* (P. BRAIN, *Galen on the Ideal of the Physician*, ASMJ 52, 1977, p. 937). This fits very well to the quoted passage of VC with its plea for moderation and rationality.

<sup>13</sup> M. DÖRNEMANN, *Einer ist Arzt, Christus. Medizinales Verständnis von Erlösung in der Theologie der griechischen Kirchenväter des zweiten bis vierten Jahrhunderts*, ZAC 17, 2013, p. 102–124.

<sup>14</sup> 7: свои бо съвѣтъ къждо добръшии творить. 8: Врацины такожде и инѣи инѣ (CONSTANTINUS, p. 123).

<sup>15</sup> 10: чловѣкъ оумомъ штебѣкають лъжѣ ште истины (CONSTANTINUS, p. 123).

<sup>16</sup> 11: ште видѣнѣа ли и плода слад’каго и похотѣнѣа на божество (CONSTANTINUS, p. 123).

<sup>17</sup> VI, 22: ...нѣсть вѣстерноудъ гнѣва и похоти, нѣ попоустилъ = Mohammed *restrained not your anger and lust, but allowed it* (trans. M. KANTOR, R. WHITE, p. 15sqq).

in a nearly Christian manner when they propose to *destroy lustful sweetness with the bitterness of life* (XI, 18). The verb “destroy” should better be literally translated as “putting to death” (οὐ μὴ ὀφθαλμοῦν) in order to not obscure the allusion to Col 3: 5 (Νεκρώσατε οὖν τὰ μέλη ὑμῶν<sup>18</sup> τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς... = *Mortify therefore your members which are upon the earth*), which makes the Jews sound like the apostle Paul. Paul’s epistle to the Colossians could well have served as inspiration for the quoted passage of VC. At least, the topic and the manner of speaking are similar in Col 3 and our passage of VC. Col 3: 11 states, that in renewing the original image of man the differences between Greek, Jews, Barbarians and other identities will wane, which is (one-sidedly) performed by VC in letting the Jewish interlocutors speak in a Paulinian manner. Cyril’s final hint to Christ (XI, 20) as the ultimate image of man also is an allusion to Col 3: 11 (πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν χριστός = *Christ is all, and in all*). And as Cyril and his interlocutors basically follow the same Biblical passage, their statements are not so much contradicting arguments, but evolve one from another, and at the end Cyril will give the polyauthorial discourse a distinct Christian interpretation by use of Galen’s principle: To cure the Original Sin you not only have to constrain your wrong desires (‘as you Jews say’), but you have to free yourself from wrong desires, at all, by following the One, who is free from wrong desires (‘as we Christians know’). F. Grivec and F. Tomšič (CONSTANTINUS, p. 195) point in this context to Homily 32 (*In Evangelia*, lib. II) of Gregory the Great: *Dominus noster contraria opposuit praedicamenta peccatis...* (PL, vol. LXXVI, col. 1232sq<sup>19</sup>).

In the course of the author’s attempt to place Jews and Christians on a developmental line, as if the Jewish interlocutors would already argue towards the final Christian truth, also sentence X, 19 has its place. The Jews put forth a pedagogical maxim in form of a botanical analogy “first thorn – then fruit”. If we won’t assume an allusion to Christ’s thorny crown or the tree of the cross (which would sound really odd in Jewish speech), this could be an allusion to the botanical genus *Rhamnus*, categorizing hundreds of trees which grow in the Middle East, best known among them the thorny and fruity *Ziziphus spina Christi*, known or even respected, albeit out of different reasons, by Jews, Christians and Moslems alike<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> The possessive pronoun is only extant in Byzantine reading.

<sup>19</sup> In going through some examples for curing a vice with its opposite, Gregory mentions “elatis praeciperet humilitatem” (*The Vita of Constantine...*, trans. M. KANTOR, R. WHITE, p. 15sq), which recalls the Jewish speech from XI, 18 as if the passage from VC were a compilation from Paul’s letter to the Colossians and Gregory’s homily.

<sup>20</sup> *The only tree in the Middle East that can be regarded as close to ‘holy tree’ is Ziziphus spina christi, which is mentioned in the Quran. Individual trees of this species are highly respected by Muslims, but are worshipped only in connection with a saintly person, and not per se. The Druzes treat this species at the same manner, but it is still regarded as a ‘blessed’ tree (A. DAFNI, On the Typology and the Worship Status of Sacred Trees with a Special Reference to the Middle East, JEE 2, 2006) and In Israel Ziziphus spina christi is especially respected because of its red sap, which looks like blood; it appears when the tree is hurt (IDEM, The Supernatural Characters and Powers of Sacred Trees in the Holy Land, JEE 3, 2007).*



Not only the Paul-like manner of speaking, also the hint to the tree can be seen as a strategy of the author of VC, to connect the Jewish and the Christian rhetoric conceptualization of the world as aspects of a common development, especially, if we consider, that the alleged Jewish saying can be contextualized by metaphors in the New Testament, as well<sup>21</sup>. But the “thorn” is not only part of a botanical comparison, as the Jewish speakers put it, or part of Biblical metaphoric, as a reader of the Gospels would understand, but can be recognized in a specific Patristic sense.

In his answer XI, 20, Cyril takes up the Jewish speech in affirming it (“well spoken”) and tops the Jewish argument by pointing to Christ: The term “the law of Christ” is taken from Gal 6: 2 *Bear ye one another’s burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ*. Fulfilling Christ’s law will bring a “hundred-fold fruit”, which makes the transition to Matth 19: 29: *And every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name’s sake, shall receive an hundredfold (ἑκατονταπλασίονα), and shall inherit everlasting life*. It should be noted, that Ambrose – likely one of Cyril’s favourite authors<sup>22</sup> – teaches, how to estimate the relationship between body and soul in lib. II, chap. 2 of his work *On the duties of the clergy*. Ambrose introduces Matth 19: 29 with the comment, *that eternal life rests on a knowledge of divine things and on the fruit of good works*<sup>23</sup>, and while the fruit of the good works will be harvested after death, in this life a “thorn” (taken by Ambrose from Jes Sir 28: 24sq. *Hedge thy possession about with thorns...*) is needed to preserve the Christian vocation, the “inner life”:

Hedge in, then, this possession of thine, enclose it with thought, guard it with thorns, that is, with pious care, lest the fierce passions of the flesh should rush upon it and lead it captive, lest strong emotions should assault it, and, overstepping their bounds, carry off its vintage (*ibidem*, lib. I, chap. 3 = AMBROSE, p. 3).

<sup>21</sup> I cannot exclude that the hint to a thorny and fruitbearing tree is another allusion to Galen, in whose gigantic work on pharmacy many plants are mentioned. Indeed, as Professor John Wilkins (University of Exeter) kindly points out to me, the *Ziziphus spina Christi* actually appears in Galen (C. GALENUS, *Opera Omnia*, vol. XII, ed. K.G. KÜHN, Leipzig 1826, [repr. Oxford 2011] (cetera GALENUS), p. 93; under the tribe name “Paliureae”, but Galen does not mention a botanical saying about fruit and thorns. Παλιούρος is attested in koiné-Greek and may designate Christ’s thorn (W. BAUER, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, ed. K. ALAND, B. ALAND, Berlin–Boston 1988, p. 1228). Besides *Ziziphus spina Christi* also ράχος (“Blackberry”; *ibidem*, p. 1470) qualifies as thorny and fruity, but does not belong to trees. – Particularly fitting to the Jewish saying in the given context of “fruits” and “thorns” is Matth 7: 16: *Ye shall know them by their fruits. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?* Given this context, the alleged Jewish saying is understandable to a reader of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. as mere paraphrase of a saying of Jesus.

<sup>22</sup> T. DAIBER, *Vita Cyrilli X*: 75–81..., p. 55.

<sup>23</sup> *St. Ambrose*, ed. P. SCHAFF, H. WACE, Oxford–London–New York 1894 [= Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of Christian Church. Second Series, 10] (cetera: AMBROSE), p. 44.

So, in the end Cyril accepts the truth of the alleged Jewish saying by giving it a special Christian meaning. As the author of VC already made the Jewish interlocutors speak in the manner of the apostle Paul and made them utter a botanical analogy, which resembles the metaphors of the New Testament, the “thorn” can ultimately be turned into the “thorn in the flesh” of Paul (2 Cor 12: 17). “Thorn” is not, as we would have thought in the context of a botanical analogy, a threat to bodily integrity, but is in Paulinian and Patristic contextualization a help to preserve mental integrity. Thorn is not, like in the botanical analogy, the opposite of the fruit, but from a Christian point of view rather the condition, which helps to produce the fruit. The “thorn in the flesh” is a life-long reminder of the possibility of bodily sins, which, if not explicitly brought to consciousness by a thorn, would detract the subject from producing and finally enjoying his eternal fruits<sup>24</sup>.

So far, we tried to recapitulate the rhetoric of VC, which show – at least in VC XI, 13–20 – that the Christian and the Jewish arguments are not presented as contradictory, but rather as complementary arguments, which are open for a final Christian meaning. The Jews produce a clear Paulinian formulation and also a botanical analogy, which can be assigned a Christian interpretation, and the ‘body part’ of the comparison “thorn – fruit” turns in the end to be no contradiction to the ‘soul part’ “fruit”, but rather a help to producing the “fruit”. There is some dialectic movement in the arguments, which brings the “thorn” in close relation to “fruit” and which does not come up by chance, but is resulting from the overall context of comparisons between body and soul – the Original sin.

### Exercise

It is easy to see, why the author of VC lets Christians and Jews speak in much the same way by using complementary arguments. Both already stand on common ground in acknowledging the Original sin to be the cause of man’s misery on earth, but only the Christians, of course, point to Jesus as the ultimate remedy against sins and the ultimate answer to the question, how to reenter paradise. Arguing about the Original sin is the specific context in VC to evoke a comparison with medical treatment. In the second passage of VC (IX, 30–33) to display a metaphor from the domain of physical treatment, the question of the Original sin is the topic, too:

<sup>24</sup> There is another domain of metaphoric meaning, modelled around the “thorn of sins” – *pars pro toto*, cf. Gregory of Nyssa, ed. P. SCHAFF, H. WACE, Oxford–London–New York 1893 [= NPFC. SS, 5], p. 349 (= *On Virginity*, chap. 4) – which in the scheme “first thorn – then fruit as reward” would bring out a frivolous sense. The two metaphors “thorn in the flesh as reminder of the possibility to sin” and “thorn of bodily sins” are connected by their shared concept “body”, but the latter meaning of “thorn” cannot be (directly) applied to the passage of VC.

30. чловѣчьскѣс оубо родѣ на истлѣнїе пришѣдѣшѣ, шть кого би пакы обновленїе принель, аще не шть самого творца. 31. штвѣщанте ли, аще врачъ хотѣ приложити пластырь болецїи, приложитъ ли дрѣвѣ или камени? 32. и гавит ли шть сего чловѣка исцѣлѣв'ша?

From whom can mankind, having come to perdition, further await to receive renewal if not from the very Creator himself? Answer me, if a doctor wishes<sup>25</sup> to apply a plaster<sup>26</sup> to the sick, would he or would he not apply it to a tree or to a stone? And appears from that, that the man is now healed?<sup>27</sup>

Cyril argues, that physical treatment, to be effective, cannot be applied to phenomena, which are not connected with the disease. Applying a plaster has only sense if it is applied to the body part, which is experiencing illness. And so – if we follow literally the comparison – healing the Original Sin is only possibly if the body part, which is experiencing the disease, comes in connection with Christ as the healing “plaster”. Now we would say, that the comparison is somehow misleading, because there is no “body part”, experiencing sin – it is the soul, who does. But exactly that may not be the prevalent idea of the connection between body and soul in the 9<sup>th</sup> century.

The connection between body and soul from a Christian point of view is not the concept of a container (body) and a contained (soul). Body and soul both interact, to the detriment of the body (*the wages of sin is death*, Rom 6: 23) and to the

<sup>25</sup> Grecism: Participle in the function of a finite verb (see footnote 4: III).

<sup>26</sup> The “plaster” occurs in The Old Testament twice (Jes 38: 21; 2 Kings 20: 7), but these *loci* do not serve as a specific reference in regard to VC; likewise an allusion to Galen can only be speculated: *Every noted physician and pharmacologist before Galen seems to have invented a special plaster, and the Galenic corpus contains an enormous collection of references* (GALENUS, vol. XX, Leipzig 1833, p. 219–222) *to the plasters of Asclepiades, Andromachus, Philoxenus, Criton, Diophantus, Hicesius, Herodotus, Tryphon, etc., as well as some that Galen apparently concocted on his own* (J. SCARBOROUGH, *The Galenic Question*, SAr 65, 1981, p. 7, footnote 32). – VC IX, 30–33 is somehow irritating, because nobody seriously expects a pharmaceutical plaster to become an efficient therapeutical means, if not applied to a sick body, but to a “tree” or “stone”. The context, Cyril and his interlocutors are arguing, could be some dispute over magical topics, as reported by I. GRIMM-STADELMANN, *Untersuchungen zur Iatromagie in der byzantinischen Zeit. Zur Tradierung gräkoägyptischer und spätantiker iatromagischer Motive*, Berlin–Boston 2020 [= BArchiv. Series Medica, 1], p. 428, who quotes a formula to be recited in applying a plaster with the invocation ἐπὶ κορυφᾶς δένδρων (“by the treetops”). Maybe there is some Iudaeo-Christian folklore in the background, which cannot be reconstructed by the wording as reported of VC.

<sup>27</sup> *The Vita of Constantine...* (trans. M. KANTOR, R. WHITE) (following another manuscript than CONSTANTINUS) translates very differently and does not get it right with the Grecism in the last sentence: transitive use of OCS *явити* (P.M. ЦЕЙТЛИН, Р. ВЕЧЕРКИ, Э. БЛАГОВОЙ, *Старославянский...*, p. 64) translates Gr. φανεροῦν ‘to let appear’ (W. VAUER, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch...*, p. 1700), which is the matrix sentence, followed by a *genetivus absolutus* as its object sentence (compare similar constructions in F. BLASS, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, Göttingen 1896, p. 245sqq).

detriment of the soul alike (*the spirit indeed is willing, but the flesh is weak*, Matth 26: 41). The interaction between body and soul is not in full equality, because the flesh would by itself tend to sin, if not hindered by the soul, but the soul is reminded to guard the desires of the flesh by feeling the thorn in the flesh. The specific interaction between body and soul is also affecting the way of healing – both – soul and body.

Towards the end of his Homilia in Matth. 74 (PG, vol. LVIII, col. 679pp.) Chrysostom – profound in using the physician metaphor<sup>28</sup> – makes several times use of the comparison “like a physician..., so also the teachings...” in respect to prophets, apostles and their head Jesus Christ<sup>29</sup>. Christ, who compares himself with a doctor (Matth 9: 12) and is mocked to be unable to help himself (Luke 4: 23 Ἰατρὲ, θεράπευσον σεαυτὸν – “Physician, heal thyself”) will treat the “wicked” not by their opposite (Matth 21: 41 Κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολέσει αὐτούς – “malos male perdet”<sup>30</sup>), but instead call the faithful to “return”, to exert the opposite by themselves.

The important point is “exertion”. There is a difference between healing on earth and healing in the heavens and we should pay attention as to which extend the comparison “treatment of the body is like treatment of the soul” can possibly be hold up. Chrysostom in his homily remarks:

Let us also then, while in sickness, send for physicians, and lay out money, and exert unceasing diligence, that having risen up from our affliction, we may depart hence in health (trans.: LFHCC, 34, p. 989)

= καὶ σπουδῆν διηνεκῆ εἰσφέρωμεν, ἵνα ἀναστάντες ἀπὸ τῆς κακίας, ὑγιεῖς ἐντεῦθεν ἀπέλωμεν (PG, vol. LVIII, col. 683)

= literally: ...and let us bring in eagerness without respite, that we may rise up from these evils...

While one may rise up from a bodily disease and henceforth live healthy, the cure from the Original sin is only achieved after having risen up to eternal life and Chrysostom obviously is playing with the double meaning of the Greek verb “anastasein”. The pair “thorn – fruit” noticed in the reading of VC XI is ready to be positioned as antagonism along an axis “earth – haven”: either bodily existence suffering the thorn in the flesh and the bitterness of life or resurrected subjects in heaven enjoying the freedom of the soul and the sweet fruits of eternal life. Under such transcendental view one can have only one side of the pair: living on

<sup>28</sup> Cf. the lemma “medicus” in the index to JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *Tomus primus omnium Operum, locis pene innumeris ad collationem exemplarium utriusque linguae...*, Paris: S. Nivellius, 1581.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, *The Homilies on the Gospel of Matthew*, pars 3, *Hom. LIX–XC*, Oxford 1851 [= LFHCC, 34], p. 990.

<sup>30</sup> The play with words is not heard in KJV: *He will miserably destroy those wicked men.*

earth means thorn, living in heaven means fruit. But note, that principally this is the Pagan view on body and soul:

When the body is awake the soul is its servant, and is never its own mistress, but divides her attention among many things, assigning a part of it to each faculty of the body [...] But when the body is at rest, the soul, being set in motion and awake, administers her own household, and of herself performs all the acts of the body<sup>31</sup>.

No wonder, that the Byzantines called sleep a “death”<sup>32</sup>, if death is the state when the immortal soul is free from the body, fully integrated with herself and fully attentive to all impressions, unobstructed by mortal instruments of perception. But the plain contradiction “immortal soul – mortal body”<sup>33</sup> is not the theological Christian concept of the connection between body and soul: In Christianity, the soul is not helplessly enslaved to the body, but may learn to master him, and therefore she has also no need to flee body’s imprisonment after death. The axis “earth = thorn, heaven = fruit” is too simple to catch the meaning of Cyril’s (or Chrysostom’s) argument. The pair “thorn – fruit” has to be aligned along the axis “earthly exercise – heavenly reward”, where it is dialectically positioned: on earth the bodily thorn is the condition which reminds the soul to eagerly behave pleasing in the sight of God and after having risen up to heaven body and soul are both restored to integrity. In his homily Chrysostom plays with this double perspective. In one perspective he is speaking about the antagonism between health and sickness on earth: the patient is either sick or may rise up from his bed and live healthy. In another perspective Chrysostom is speaking about the dialectical condition to be always in the state of bodily and mental sickness on earth, but uninterrupted “eager” exertion will bring, after resurrection from death, health in heaven to both body and soul. This transcendental meaning is clearly seen also in the words of Cyril in XI, 20: “later, in the eternal dwellings” will the actual healing happen, here, on earth, healing is only a limited affair and bodily pains have to be endured. Christ’s suffering is the way to be exerted by his followers towards healing<sup>34</sup>. Exerting “diligence” or “eagerness”, as the quotation from Chrysostom

<sup>31</sup> S.M. OBERHELMAN, *The Diagnostic Dream in Ancient Medical Theory and Practice*, BHM 61, 1987, p. 51.

<sup>32</sup> Which is used by the author of VC as the medium of Cyril’s heavenly marriage with Christ (T. DAIBER, *Vita Cyrilli III:1–8. Wer ist die Sophia?*, ZSP 77, 2021, p. 49).

<sup>33</sup> The depreciation of the body in favour of “higher” mental-psychical activities is typical for Pre-Christian philosophy. D.C. YOUNG, *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano? Body and Mind in Ancient Greece*, IJHS 22, 2005, p. 25: *In actual ancient Greek texts, I cannot find a word that would support, even in the abstract, the supposed concept of the well-rounded elite athlete-scholar. All the evidence suggests that in Greek society the foremost athletes and the foremost intellectuals were as clearly divided as in American society today.*

<sup>34</sup> D. DE MOULIN (*A Historical-Phenomenological Study of Bodily Pain in Western Man*, BHM 48, 1974, p. 540–570) offers an informed survey about behaviour towards bodily pain through the ages;

calls it, does not only mean suffering bodily pain (the “thorn”), but also to learn how to work towards restoration in heaven (the “fruit”). This is the point, where the comparison between a human physician and Christ, the ultimate physician, breaks up, and here the Christian authors would have to become more concrete in speaking about the restored body in heaven in comparison to the known state of a healthy body on earth. Because the restored body in heaven could only be metaphorically imagined, the quotations cover it under the metaphor of – “fruit”.

## Resume

It would be unreasonable to burden the passage VC XI, 13–20 with more theological context than the text demands for its understanding. The greater theological context would inevitably have to discuss the Christian faith in bodily resurrection<sup>35</sup> as the ultimate healing of body and soul, which comes as a consequence of the metaphor ‘Christ the ultimate physician’, because the two natures of Christ

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although at all times men have differently reacted to pain, patiently suffering has always been regarded as the sign of noble souls. The topic “suffering” prominently appears in VC XII, 3 (T. DAIBER, *The Vita Constantini-Cyrelli XII:1–6...*), where suffering becomes possible with the help of the Holy Spirit. And being silent about details of Cyril’s illness VC lets him speak on his deathbed about the “teeth of the invisible enemies” (XVIII, 3), which he is now escaping. Using the common formulation for Satan and his demons may nevertheless be a conscious choice in the given context as a hint to the pain, Cyril actually was suffering like a true philosopher (keeping the soul free from bodily influence seems to be the maxim where Stoicism and Early Christianity are in closest proximity). Suffering is also the concept, where the antique physician and Christ as the metaphorical physician have their best point of comparison: *The righteous doctor suffered together with his patients and carried his share of sorrow, looking upon the suffering of the others as his own concern. One patient might bear his pain with more resignation than another, but one must practically be a saint to bear the violent pain of a surgical operation without complaint* (D. DE MOULIN, *A Historical-Phenomenological Study...*, p. 564).

<sup>35</sup> C.W. BYNUM (*Bodily Miracles and the Resurrection of the Body in the High Middle Ages*, [in:] *Belief in History. Innovative Approaches to European and American Religion*, ed. T. KSELMAN, Notre Dame 1991, p. 94, footnote 43) finds Ambrose’s definition of the connection between body and soul “strictly Platonic” as an exception to the rule, that regularly in Early Christianity man is seen as an “entity composed of body and soul”. The quoted passage from Ambrose (*PL*, vol. XVI, col. 1377sq) indeed uses the Platonic image, that the soul will part from the body, leaving all earthly beneath by flying up like an eagle towards God. But the forgoing passage is speaking about the beauty of the body and Ambrose is looking forward to see his spouse (this is Christ) in heaven (*Tenetur in coelo sponsio mea, etsi non tenetur in terris, ibidem*), which is not much a Platonic expectation of the after-life. I would not say, that Ambrose’s vision of body and soul is purely Platonic, but that he leaves open the question, which body indeed will resurrect and be unified with Christ, who also is risen up in the body. Is the temporal body also the one to resurrect or will there be a radical transformation of the temporal body into a luminous one, as J.R. DOUGLASS (“*This Flesh Will Rise Again*”: *Retrieving Early Christian Faith in Bodily Resurrection*, Pittsburg 2007 (PhD Theses), p. 54) reports the view of apostle Mark? Because VC does not comment on this special questions we cannot but point to problem, that the metaphor of Christ the Physician, who has bodily risen, ultimately leads to the concept, that not only the soul, but also the body will be restored to health.

and His own bodily resurrection let the faithful expect to be resurrected in their physical nature, too<sup>36</sup>. While the problem of bodily resurrection respectively the question, how the “body of resurrection” would look like, is clearly out of the scope of our paper, it was, however, necessary to not only point to a possible quotation from Galen, but to consider the rhetorics and context it is embedded in:

1. Comparisons of physical treatment with spiritual treatment are two times (IX, 30–33; XI, 13–20) displayed in VC, and both passages are embedded within the overall topic “Original sin”<sup>37</sup>.
2. Curing the Original sin means from a Christian point of view a radical renewal of the “image of man”, therefore the renewal of body and soul includes the eschatological perspective of “bodily resurrection”.
3. The concept of bodily resurrection is transcending the realistic domain of “physical treatment”. This seems to be the reason, that the author of VC (and Chrysostom, as well) tend to use formulations, which appear to have a double meaning. One meaning can be located within the concrete domain of medical treatment (sickness can be healed), but the second, Christian meaning is located in the abstract-theological domain (body and soul will be restored) and metaphorically addressed as “fruit”, left open for the reader to elaborate on.

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<sup>36</sup> Note, that belief in bodily resurrection is already present before the First Nicean Council (325), e.g. HIPPOLYTUS, *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 34, 3, ed. M. MARCOVICH, Berlin–New York 1986 [= PTS, 25], p. 416: ...ἔξεις δὲ ἀθάνατον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀφθαρτον ἄμα (τῆ) ψυχῆ. Cf.: Hippolytus, *Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix*, ed. A. ROBERTS, J. DONALDSON, *American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition*, ed. A. CLEVELAND COXE, Buffalo 1886 [= ANF, 5], p. 153: *And thou shalt possess an immortal body, even one placed beyond the possibility of corruption, just like the soul.*

<sup>37</sup> In his analysis of sermons on penance already A. HARNACK (*Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, vol. I, *Die Mission in Wort und Tat*, Leipzig 1906, p. 98) noted, that it would be the overall tendency in these texts to compare medical treatment with the “metanoia”, the “return” to a renewed Christian life (*Am häufigsten aber wird das Bußverfahren mit dem Heilverfahren verglichen...*).

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YOUNG D.C., *Mens Sana in Corpore Sano? Body and Mind in Ancient Greece*, "The International Journal of the History of Sport" 22, 2005, p. 22–41, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0952336052000314638>

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## BETWEEN REBELLION AND STATESMANSHIP: ATTEMPTING A BIOGRAPHY OF IVANKO, 1196/1200 (?)

**Abstract.** The paper analyses the actions of Ivanko, a Bulgarian nobleman, possibly a member of the ruling family of the Asenides, who in 1196 killed the ruling tsar, Asen, and escaped to Constantinople once his plan to take control of the country failed. Owing to the benevolence of Alexios III Angelos, he joined the Byzantine military and very quickly rose through its ranks until he became the military commander of the region of Philippopolis. In 1198 or 1199 he defected and created an independent dominion on the slopes of the Stara Planina massif, precariously balanced between Bulgaria and the empire, exploiting to his own advantage the constant state of warfare between the two polities. His adventure was short-lived: in 1200 he was captured through deception by the Byzantines, taken prisoner, and presumably executed. While his political career was very short, his importance for the history of medieval Bulgaria is not to be underestimated. It is a testimony of the fluidity of the political situation at the Bulgaro-Byzantine border, whose instability often allowed ambitious and cunning local commanders to carve up autonomous dominions, and of the difficulties experienced by the central power in keeping control of the peripheral areas of the state. It is also proof of the constantly shifting ethnic and cultural allegiances of the citizens of those polities, entangled between different and often conflicting identities, usually regarded as irreconcilable but that were actually the object of a continuous negotiation and adjusting. Ivanko is an interesting case study in regard to all of those factors, especially when considered within the larger phenomenon of provincial separatism in the imperial (and Bulgarian) lands between the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

**Keywords:** Byzantine history, medieval Bulgaria, ethnicity, royal power in the Middle Ages, subversion and separatism

In 1196, on a night that, following Niketas Choniates' theatrical description of the events, we are supposed to imagine dark and stormy, the ruling tsar of the so-called second Bulgarian kingdom, Asen, was murdered in his apartments in the capital, Tărnovo<sup>1</sup>. He had recently returned from a campaign in Macedonia,

<sup>1</sup> *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin–New York 1975 [= *CFHB*, 11] (cetera: CHONIATES, *Historia*), p. 469–470. English edition and translation, *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, Detroit 1984 [= *BTT*]. Translations from Choniates, where not otherwise specified, are of the author.

where his army had inflicted a series of defeats to the Byzantines, carrying home a large amount of plunder and prisoners. One of them was the *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos, who commanded the Byzantine forces at Serres<sup>2</sup>; another one was an unnamed priest, who asked Asen, *in the language of the Vlachs*, to be released<sup>3</sup>. Asen refused, mocking the unfortunate captive, and the priest, crying pitifully, prophesied him that very soon he would die as well: not peacefully, but like violent men do. And according to the providential chain of cause and effect related by Choniates, this is precisely what happened<sup>4</sup>.

The unexpected death of Asen was, potentially, a catastrophe for a state that had regained its independence from the Byzantine empire only for about ten years, and whose survival, even after a series of successful campaigns that enlarged its boundaries and secured a relatively large portion of territory, was still insecure. The name of the man who killed the tsar was Ivanko (Ἰβανκός): regrettably, one of the very few details we know about him. We do not know when he was born, nor where, and we know nothing about his life and deeds except for a short period of four years, covered by a handful of foreign and biased sources relying, at best, on second-hand accounts<sup>5</sup>. Admittedly, not the most encouraging basis to attempt a biography.

<sup>2</sup> On Isaac's unfortunate expedition, see CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 465–468.

<sup>3</sup> As it is well known, Choniates consistently calls the rebels 'Vlachs' rather than 'Bulgarians'. This has generated a long, at times ferocious, and often pointless, historiographic debate between Bulgarian and Romanian scholars: a good outline of the diatribe can be found in R. DASKALOV, *Feud over the Middle Ages: Bulgarian-Romanian Historiographical Debates*, [in:] *Entangled Histories of the Balkans*, vol. III, *Shared Pasts, Disputed Legacies*, ed. R. DASKALOV, A. VEZENKOV, Leiden 2015 [= BSL, 16], p. 274–354. My position on the matter, which I have already expressed elsewhere (see for instance F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Interaction between Nomadic and Sedentary Peoples on the Lower Danube: the Cumans and the 'Second Bulgarian Empire'*, [in:] *The Steppe Lands and the World beyond them. Studies in Honor of Victor Spinei on his 70<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, ed. F. CURTA, B.-P. MALEON, Iași 2013, p. 299–312, esp. p. 300–304) is that the second Bulgarian kingdom was the joint creation of Bulgarians and Vlachs, while its political ideology and cultural character was predominantly Bulgarian. Therefore, while for the sake of brevity I will be referring to the kingdom as 'Bulgaria' and to its inhabitants as 'Bulgarians', I include the Vlachs in those definitions.

<sup>4</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 468. I. VÁSÁRY, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*, Cambridge 2005, p. 36–37, takes Choniates' narration at face value and considers it the indisputable proof of Asen's Vlach ethnicity. But the exchange, and possibly the whole episode, is clearly a fabrication of Choniates, since Asen's answer (μηδὴ ποτε προθέσται Ῥωμαίους λύειν, ἀλλ' ἀπολλύειν) makes sense only in Greek.

<sup>5</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 468–473, 509–514, 518–519; *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. J.L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin–New York 1972 [= CFHB, 3] (cetera: CHONIATES, *Orationes*), p. 59–65; THEODORUS SCUTARIOTA, *Compendium Chronicum*, ed. C.N. SATHAS, Parisiis 1894 [= MBt, 7] (cetera: SKUTARIOTES), p. 416–418, 424–427, 458; EPHRAEM AENIOTA, *Historia Cronica*, rec. O. LAMP-SIDES, Athenis 1990 [= CFHB, 27], p. 228–229, 231–232; *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. HEISENBERG, rev. P. WIRTH, Stuttgart 1978 [= BSGR] (cetera: AKROPOLITES. English edition and translation: GEORGE AKROPOLITES, *The History*, trans. R. MACRIDES, Oxford–New York 2007 [= OSB]).

Notwithstanding the scarcity of information about Ivanko and the very short time in which his political and military activity unfurled, his importance for the history of medieval Bulgaria is indubitable. For this reason, he has received a great deal of attention, especially, as it would be reasonable to expect, by Bulgarian scholars<sup>6</sup>. However, his assessment has been generally negative, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century general histories of Bulgaria where he is usually characterized as a villain, or an adventurer at best. As a general rule, those works concentrate on the main dynastic line of the Asenids, in an attempt at presenting the rebellion of 1185, the establishment of the second Bulgarian kingdom, or empire, and its subsequent history as a series of events all being part of a coherent and planned state- and nation-building process<sup>7</sup>.

The drawback of this nationalist-oriented approach (which of course is not exclusive to Bulgarian historiography, or to the 20<sup>th</sup> century) is that it tends to be biased against any interference with the 'natural' and progressive development of the nation, and with the dynasty that, in their opinion, embodied the State: and

<sup>6</sup> See especially Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения във възобновеното Българско царство (края на XII – средата на XIII в.)*, София 2011, p. 124–137; М. КАИ-МАКАМОВА, *Владетелите на Родопската област (към въпроса за сепаратизма на Балканите през средновековието)*, Rh 1/2, 2002, p. 303–333, here at p. 306–309; R. RADÍĆ, *Обласни господари у Византији крајем XII и у правим деценијама XIII века*, ЗРВИ 24/25, 1986, p. 151–289, here at p. 176–92; Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Образът на трима сепаратисти в произведенията на Никита Хониат*, [in:] *Средновековният българин и «другите»*. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на проф. дин Петър Ангелов, ed. А. НИКОЛОВ, Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2013, p. 249–262, here at p. 251–256; J. HOFFMANN, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210). Untersuchungen über Unabhängigkeitsbestrebungen und ihr Verhältnis zu Kaiser und Reich*, München 1974 [= MBM, 17], p. 51–55, 92–95; J.-С. СНЕУНЕТ, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Paris 1990, p. 131–34; В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на Българската държава през средните векове*, vol. III, София 1994 [repr.], p. 89–104, 108–120, 132–134; Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *България при Асеневици*, София 1978, p. 41–44; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, София 1994, p. 27–68, 33–34, 41, 44–45; ИДЕМ, *Българите в Византийската империя*, София 1995, p. 311–312. Ivanko left a trace in Bulgarian literature as well, as the protagonist of *Иванку, убиецът на Асъня I* (Ivanko, the murderer of Asen I), a tragedy written in 1872 by Vasil Drumev.

<sup>7</sup> On the generally negative attitude towards Ivanko (and other separatists) in Bulgarian historiography see also the remarks of Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Образът на трима сепаратисти...*, p. 249. On the 'master narrative' of the national history of medieval Bulgaria, and its emphasis on the continuity and stability of state institutions, see Р. ДАСКАЛОВ, *Големите разкази за Българското средновековие*, София 2018; R. DASKALOV, *Historical Master Narratives and the Master Narrative of the Bulgarian Middle Ages*, SCer 10, 2020, p. 259–280; D.I. POLYVYANNYY, *Dynasticity in the Second Bulgarian Tsardom and its Manifestations in Medieval History Writing*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 351–365 (see especially p. 353: *In the academic historiography of medieval Bulgaria dynasticity was often represented as a natural state of things, beginning with the first Bulgarian rulers [...] and ending with the commonly mentioned "Asen dynasty"*). For two classical examples of this approach, see П. ПЕТРОВ, *Образуване на българската държава*, София 1981; Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Образуване на българската народност*, София 1987.

much more so when the interference originated from an internal source. Thus, Zlatarski states that Ivanko's motive for the murder was *tribal disagreements*<sup>8</sup>, the impulse of a primitive clansman unable to sacrifice his ambitions for the greater good of the nation; Genoveva Cankova-Petkova suggests that Ivanko and his associates had reached an agreement with Constantinople before killing Asen<sup>9</sup>; Bozhilov does not dedicate a separate entry to Ivanko in his otherwise extremely accurate research on the prosopography of the Asenides, which includes also secondary or marginal characters whose affiliation with the clan is hypothetical, and only covers *the first anti-dynastic conspiracy in the history of the second [Bulgarian] kingdom*<sup>10</sup> in the entries dedicated to Asen, Peter and Kalojan.

We know nothing about Ivanko's life before the fatal night in which he murdered Asen. It is possible that the killer and the victim were relatives. Choniates is not very clear on the matter: according to him, Asen was murdered *παρά τινος τῶν οἰκείων*, *by one of his household*, adding that Ivanko was *ὁμοφυής* and *ὁμότροπος*, of the same nature and habits<sup>11</sup>. Those words do not necessarily indicate a family relationship. Moreover, while discussing the aftermath of the event, Choniates differentiates between the clans, or the associates, of Ivanko and Asen: Ivanko consulted *those related [to him] by blood and [his] friends*<sup>12</sup>, fearing the reaction *of the brothers of the deceased and those close to him by birth and friendship*<sup>13</sup>. Akropolites, on the other hand, writes that Ivanko was Asen's first cousin, *πρωτεξάδελφος*<sup>14</sup>, while Skuthariotes calls him *ὁμογενής*<sup>15</sup>.

Modern historiography is divided on the issue<sup>16</sup>. Related or not to the main line, or dynasty, of the Asenid clan, Ivanko was certainly a man of high standing in Tărnovo, prominent enough to convince a part of the Bulgarian aristocracy to follow him in his risky adventure. Choniates' description of the triggering cause of the murder, fictional and novelesque as it may seem<sup>17</sup>, could be a hint at Ivanko's

<sup>8</sup> *Родова враждебност*: В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 96.

<sup>9</sup> Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *България при Асеневици...*, p. 42: *група недоволни боляри*, 'a group of dissatisfied boljars'.

<sup>10</sup> И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 33 (*първия антидинастически заговор в историята на Второто царство*). Ivanko is featured in a separate entry in IDEM, *Българите...*, p. 311–312.

<sup>11</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 469. H.J. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium...*, p. 257, translates *one of his own kin*.

<sup>12</sup> τοῖς καθ' αἷμα καὶ φίλοις: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 469. H.J. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium...*, p. 257, translates *his blood relations and friends*.

<sup>13</sup> τοὺς τοῦ πεσόντος ὁμαίμονας καὶ ὅσον αὐτῷ πρὸς γένους καὶ φίλιον: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 470. H.J. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium...*, p. 258, translates *brothers, kinsmen, and friends*.

<sup>14</sup> ΑΚΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ, p. 21.

<sup>15</sup> SKUTARIOTES, p. 416.

<sup>16</sup> For some examples see Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 125, note 4. В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, seems ambivalent: on p. 89 he calls Ivanko *съплеменникъ*, 'fellow countryman', but on p. 100 he is Asen's cousin (*братовчед*).

<sup>17</sup> Choniates' descriptions of historical events, and of the motivations guiding those taking part in them, cannot be taken at face value: and not just regarding Ivanko. On his style and tropes, and on

attempt at becoming more closely associated with the ruling bloodline by courting Asen's sister-in-law<sup>18</sup>: but it also suggests that the murder was not the result of an organized insurrection and happened rather by chance, because Ivanko was forced to kill Asen to save his own life.

According to the historian (again, it must be stressed out that the whole episode is construed more as a novel than as a chronicle of events), when Asen was informed of the affair, he directed his anger towards his wife<sup>19</sup>, accusing her of being an accomplice. He sentenced her to death, but she convinced him that she was not involved in anything suspicious. Asen, more and more outraged, summoned Ivanko in the middle of the night. Evidently worried, Ivanko refused to go, but was summoned again. He consulted with his relatives and his friends, and they advised him to carry a sword, hidden in his mantle: if Asen would limit himself to a reproach, however harsh, he should accept it and beg for forgiveness, but if he were to act violently Ivanko should kill him. The enraged Asen assaulted him once he set foot in the room, but Ivanko stroke him first. He then returned to his accomplices, and they quickly decided that their only hope was open rebellion, since Asen's brothers and kinsmen would surely want to avenge his death. They concluded that this was, after all, for the best, because they would rule the country more justly and rightfully than Asen, who was always ready to resort to the sword<sup>20</sup>. Choniates represents the death of Asen as the inevitable effect of the lack of restraint and reason that he typically attributes to the barbarians, especially to the Bulgarians, and particularly to Asen, whom he always represents as

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his limits as a source, see especially W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, London 2013, p. 422–456; Niketas Choniates. *A Historian and a Writer*, ed. A. SIMPSON, S. EFTHYMIADIS, Genève 2009; A. SIMPSON, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study*, Oxford 2013 [= OSB]; IDEM, *Niketas Choniates*, [in:] *Franks and Crusades in Medieval Eastern Christian Historiography*, ed. A. MALLET, Turnhout 2020, p. 93–123; T. URBAINCZYK, *Writing about Byzantium. The History of Niketas Choniates*, London–New York 2018 [= BBOS, 23]; J. HARRIS, *Distortion, Divine Providence and Genre in Nicetas Choniates's Account of the Collapse of Byzantium 1180–1204*, *JMH* 26, 2000, p. 19–31; IDEM, *Looking Back on 1204: Nicetas Choniates in Nicaea*, *Més* 12, 2001, p. 117–124.

<sup>18</sup> I am following the hypothesis of Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 126. According to В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 101, Ivanko began his relation with Asen's sister-in-law out of the necessity to find allies at court, and promised to marry her and to make her queen. This is, of course, pure speculation.

<sup>19</sup> Nothing is known about her. The Synodikon of Boril records her lay name, Elena, and the name she took as a nun, Evgenija: *Борилово Синодик. Издание и превод*, ed. А.М. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. БИЛЯРСКИ, София 2010, p. 314, 34a.

<sup>20</sup> This is the sequence of events as related by CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 469–470. According to P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2000, p. 305, [Asen's] power rested not only with his ability to secure and distribute booty [...] but also to intimidate the natives of Trnovo and its environs. His intimate association with the Cumans must have contributed to this 'reign of terror', if that is what it was. However, judging on the basis of CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 371, the population of Tärnovo does not appear at all intimidated by Asen: on the contrary, they followed him quite enthusiastically.

a man unable to control his anger, arrogance and viciousness<sup>21</sup>. In the historian's account of that fateful night, every action performed by the tsar is driven exclusively by blind rage and violent emotions, with a complete absence of the rational qualities that should characterize a civilized leader: like the priest predicted, his violent death is the fitting consequence of his brutal life. In comparison Ivanko is represented as clever and discerning, and his motivations, apart from the obvious necessity to save his own life, have an evident political undertone, since he aspired to establish a conciliar style of ruling contrasting the autocratic leadership favoured by Asen, that apparently caused dissatisfaction in certain elements of the Bulgarian nobility<sup>22</sup>. Along with his associates, he even devised a contingency plan: should things take a turn for the worse they would request help from the Byzantine emperor.

In that same night, the conspirators gathered some support within the ranks of the aristocracy, took control of Tǎrnovo, and *opposed those siding with Peter*<sup>23</sup>, Asen's elder brother. It is unclear whether this confrontation was of a military or political nature, but apparently Ivanko's attempt at seizing power was immediately opposed by the rest of the Bulgarian aristocracy who recognized Peter as the legitimate tsar<sup>24</sup>. Peter's whereabouts in 1196 are unknown, but he was probably in his appanage in Preslav, where he had retired to, for unknown reasons, between 1190 and 1193, after having been the leading political figure during the first years of the Bulgarian insurrection<sup>25</sup>. Peter, however, *did not find it easy to crush*

<sup>21</sup> See for instance the characterization of Asen in CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 368–369.

<sup>22</sup> According to Zlatarski, who cannot agree with such a characterization of Ivanko as a cunning politician, and of Asen as a tyrant, the Bulgarian aristocracy was unanimous in its support of the Asenides, whose aims and methods it endorsed wholeheartedly: Ivanko was not the interpreter of their dissatisfaction but the tool of a 'Cuman party' that tried to manipulate the Bulgarian court for its own ends: see В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 96–101.

<sup>23</sup> τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πέτρον ἀντέστησαν: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 470.

<sup>24</sup> According to AKROPOLITES, p. 21, the Bulgarians actually sided with Kalojan, not with Peter, whom they did not want as their tsar. Choniates does not mention anything like this, but the fact that Peter did not enjoy the complete support of the aristocracy is evident by the fact that in the following year he was killed as well. Asen had two children, both minors when he was killed: one of them, Ivan Asen II, would rule Bulgaria from 1218 to 1241, but was not taken into consideration as a successor. See F. DALL'AGLIO, *Tǎrnovo 1218: Coronation or Usurpation?*, [in:] *Цар Иван Асен II (1218–1241). Сборник по случай 800-годишнината от неговото възшествие на българския престол*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, И.Г. Илиев, К. НЕНОВ, Пловдив 2019, p. 173–186, at 178.

<sup>25</sup> According to CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 373, Peter was crowned tsar of the Bulgarians shortly after the insurrection of 1185, and it was him who enlisted the help of the Cumans after the first successful Byzantine counterattack (CHONIATES, *Orationes*, p. 7–9; interestingly, in the History it is Asen who convinces the Cumans: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 374). The Western sources of the Third Crusade mention Peter as tsar of the Bulgarians in 1189: *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, rec. A. CHROUST, [in:] *MGH.SRG*, vol. V, Berolini 1928, p. 15–70, at p. 33, 58; *Historia Peregrinorum*, rec. A. CHROUST, [in:] *MGH.SRG*, vol. V, Berolini 1928, p. 129–152, at p. 135, 149. On the alleged disagreement between the two brothers, which forced Peter to step down from power, see A. KAZHDAN,



Ivanko<sup>26</sup> and decided to stall, at least for the time being, probably to muster more troops and political support, in the hope that the rebellion would die out by itself.

Peter's tactic proved successful. Ivanko realised that he could not endure a long confrontation and urged Alexios to send an army and take control of Bulgaria. It is impossible to figure out whether he just wanted to save his life at the cost of handing the Bulgarian kingdom to Constantinople, or if he believed that Alexios would leave him on the throne of Tŕrnovo as an ally. Choniates seems to imply that some sort of agreement between Ivanko and Constantinople had been reached even before the death of Asen. The historian relates the rumour that Ivanko had been convinced to kill Asen by the *sebastokrator* Isaakios Komnenos, taken prisoner by the Bulgarians in Macedonia, who had promised him the hand of his daughter (and niece of Alexios III) Theodora: but the same Choniates immediately disproves the allegation, remembering the readers that Isaakios died in prison well before the murder was committed<sup>27</sup>. As a matter of fact, once Ivanko escaped to Constantinople Alexios decided to fulfil Isaakios' promise and betrothed him to Theodora, leading us to believe that the conversation related by Choniates did actually take place (although it remains difficult to understand how)<sup>28</sup>: but it seems improbable that this was the main motivation for the murder of Asen, especially because, after the death of Isaakios, Ivanko had no way of knowing if the emperor would approve the terms of the agreement, and particularly the marriage with Theodora that would associate him with the imperial family. It is also entirely possible that the whole story was fabricated by Ivanko to increase his standing in Constantinople, or a rumour spread after his engagement with Theodora to justify such an outstanding honour. If we follow Choniates' account of the events, that might be the very same that Ivanko circulated after his escape, the murder and the

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*La date de la rupture entre Pierre et Asen (vers 1193)*, В 35, 1965, p. 167–174; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 290–291. On Peter's appanage in Preslav see AKROPOLITES, p. 21; see also Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 59–62, with a comprehensive analysis of the sources.

<sup>26</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 471. According to C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*, Cambridge MA 1968, p. 126, Peter's hesitation was due to the fact that *the Vlach-Bulgarians knew little of siegecraft*. Brand probably made this assumption on the basis of the unsuccessful attempt at capturing Preslav in the early stages of the revolt, but in the following years the Bulgarian army took quite a large number of cities and citadels. Moreover, Choniates states that Tŕrnovo was very well fortified: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 470.

<sup>27</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 471.

<sup>28</sup> According to Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *България при Асеневици...*, p. 42, Isaac was killed because his role in the conspiracy was discovered: but she does not explain why the Bulgarian schemers were not punished as well, including Ivanko. According to В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 92, it is impossible that Isaac and Ivanko reached any agreement since Isaac was a prisoner, and it is unseemly that in that position he could organize a plot. According to И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията...*, p. 33–34, Isaac, acting more like a spy than a prisoner (my consideration), convinced Ivanko *that he was worthy to take the royal crown*, and his death did not change the agreement that (my consideration again) had been somehow notified to Constantinople, given Alexios' willingness to respect its terms.

attempted usurpation were neither premeditated nor arranged in complicity with the Byzantines: but once Ivanko found himself in a dire predicament he decided to make good use of Isaac's promise – again, assuming that such a promise had been made.

Choniates is extremely critical of Alexios' lacklustre reaction at Ivanko's proposal to send an army to Bulgaria: according to him, the emperor should have acted swiftly and take control of Tărnovo, from which he could have easily conquered the rest of the country<sup>29</sup>. Leaving aside Choniates' enthusiasm, which was in all probability excessive, Alexios preferred not to personally lead the expedition, and sent an army under the command of the *protostrator* Manuel Kamytzes. Since the soldiers refused to cross the mountains and turned back<sup>30</sup>, a second and larger expedition was planned, but it failed as well and Ivanko received no support. *Worried for the way things were going in Tarnovo, because the supporters of Peter grew stronger and received new troops*<sup>31</sup>, he decided to take refuge in Constantinople, where Alexios received him with great benevolence. Nothing is said about his associates.

The account that Choniates gives of Ivanko, upon his arrival in Constantinople, is largely positive: he was tall, clever, and very strong, and he proved useful to the Romans fighting with great energy against the Bulgarians and the Cumans in the region of Philippopolis. But he also exhibited the traits usually associated to the barbarians: he was stubborn and easy to anger, and unable to learn the moderation of Byzantine customs<sup>32</sup>. Choniates relates one incident that intends to show that the uncivilized nature of Ivanko could not be reformed. Alexios confirmed the marriage proposal originally given by Isaakios, postponing it until the bride would come of age, since she was still a child. Ivanko, however, *having fantasies of a more prestigious marriage*<sup>33</sup>, was much more interested in her mother Anna and expressed his preference with an inopportune simile involving sucklings and grown sheeps, and the respective mating qualities of both: a comparison that was not only rude and inappropriate, but that also betrayed the rusticity of his 'Vlach' upbringing.

<sup>29</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 471.

<sup>30</sup> On the difficulties encountered by the Byzantine armies in the mountains of Bulgaria, see especially K. MARINOV, *Бунтовният Хемус. Масивът като база за нападения и убежище по време на първите Асеневици*, Епо 23, 2015, p. 330–347; IDEM, *Across Haimos: Inconveniences and Dangers in Crossing the Mountains of Bulgaria in the Middle Ages*, VTUR 1, 2018, p. 11–24.

<sup>31</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 472.

<sup>32</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 473. On Alexios III's reasons for employing Ivanko, see A. SIMPSON, *Byzantium's Retreating Balkan Frontiers during the Reign of the Angeloi (1185–1203): a Reconsideration*, [in:] *The Balkans and the Byzantine World before and after the Captures of Constantinople, 1204 and 1453*, ed. V. STANKOVIĆ, Lanham 2016, p. 3–22, here at p. 12.

<sup>33</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 473.

Ivanko received the command of the troops in the region of Philippopolis, and convinced a part of *those of his own tribe*<sup>34</sup> to join the ranks of his army, bestowing gifts and providing weapons. He also built, or refurbished, some mountain fortresses on the borderland between Bulgaria and the empire. Alexios was well-disposed to his zeal, while some of his counsellors (probably including Choniates) advised him to be more cautious, pointing out the fact that Ivanko was strengthening *the army of his fellow countrymen*<sup>35</sup>, while reducing the share of Byzantine soldiers, keeping them in reserve and away from the frontlines. They suspected that he may have more ambitious plans than being a local commander in the Byzantine army, and their fears were proved true when he defected. This happened shortly after the marriage of two of the emperor's daughters, one of which was Theodora's mother Anna, who married Theodore Laskaris<sup>36</sup>. Unfortunately Choniates only records that the weddings took place in February, without specifying the year. Various dates have been proposed, ranging between 1198 and 1200<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ὁμόφυλον: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 509.

<sup>35</sup> τὸ ἐμφύλιον αὐτῷ στρατεύμα: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 510; see also CHONIATES, *Orationes*, p. 60, where the same concept is repeated in different wording.

<sup>36</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 508–509, for an extensive account of the ceremony and the festivities.

<sup>37</sup> For the date of 1198, which I tend to favour, see В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История...*, p. 115, in note; R. RADIĆ, *Обласни господари...*, p. 187–188; Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 129 (the author subsequently came to a different conclusion, since in ИДЕМ, *Образът на трима сепаратисти...*, p. 253, the date is set to the early spring of 1200); Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *България при Асеневици...*, p. 43. To the considerations expressed by the aforementioned scholars, it can be added that after the account of Ivanko's first military actions against the Byzantines, Choniates makes a long digression (CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 514–517) to discuss a theological dispute that took place in Constantinople during the same period, regarding the corruptible or incorruptible nature of the bread and wine used during the Eucharist. He was personally involved in the polemics and had to defend himself from the accusations moved against him by John Kama-teros (CHONIATES, *Orationes*, p. 6–12; J.L. VAN DIETEN, *Niketas Choniates. Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie*, Berlin–New York 1971 [= SupByz], p. 30–31, 106–115). The matter was resolved after a synod presided by Alexios (see V. GRUMEL, J. DARROUZÈS, *Les Regestes des Actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, vol. I, Paris 1989 [= PByz], p. 606–607) that ended in March 1200; Choniates states that, after the emperor *followed the best opinion* regarding the discussion, he moved the army against Ivanko (CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 518). So, in the text of Choniates the theological dispute is framed between the start of Ivanko's rebellion and the campaign that ended it: that is, from the second half of 1198 to the spring of 1200. H.J. MAGOULIAS, *O City of Byzantium...*, p. 280; J.V.A. FINE, JR., *The Late Medieval Balkans. A Critical Survey from the Late Twelfth Century to the Ottoman Conquest*, Ann Arbor 1994, p. 30; J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations...*, p. 133; and J. HOFFMANN, *Rudimente...*, p. 53, all incline towards 1199; see also C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts the West...*, p. 130; P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier...*, p. 307. According to J.L. van Dieten (CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 508; J.L. VAN DIETEN, *Niketas Choniates...*, p. 97–101), M. ANGOLD, *Byzantine Politics vis-à-vis the Fourth Crusade*, [in:] *Urbs Capta: the Fourth Crusade and its Consequences*, ed. A. LAIOU, Paris 2005, p. 55–68, here at p. 60, and D. ANGELOV, *The Byzantine Hellene. The Life of Emperor Theodore Laskaris and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 2019, p. 19–20 the marriage took place in 1200.

The news of Ivanko's defection took Alexios as a surprise. Bewildered and indecisive as usual (at least according to Choniates' characterization), he sent a eunuch to remind Ivanko of the favour he had always enjoyed at court, hoping that he would reconsider his decision, while his sons-in-law Alexios Palaiologos and Theodore Laskaris started preparation for an expedition. The eunuch, far from convincing Ivanko, actually warned him of the emperor's plans and suggested, out of clumsiness or on purpose, that he should avoid the plains and take refuge on the mountains<sup>38</sup>. There were many disagreements about the strategy to pursue against Ivanko. In the end, it was decided to avoid any direct engagements with his army, and instead retake, one by one, the fortresses he had occupied. This strategy proved successful and some citadels were recovered, either by force or bribery; the siege of Kritzimos, modern Kričim, was a particularly bloody affair, but in the end the fortress was taken<sup>39</sup>.

This show of force, however, did not deter Ivanko. Since he knew that he could not resist indefinitely on his own resources, he came to an agreement with Kalojan, who had become tsar of the Bulgarians in 1197<sup>40</sup>. Evidently Ivanko had been pardoned for Asen's murder, since his usefulness in the fight against the empire far outweighed his past transgression against the Bulgarian crown. We are not informed about the terms of the agreement, but in exchange for Kalojan's assistance, Ivanko was supposed to send him a convoy of cattle and prisoners. He made use of this to set up an ambush for the Byzantines who, led by the *protostrator* Manuel Kamytzes, controlled the local roads. The convoy travelled with a small escort: this detail, along with the perspective of a rich plunder, convinced Kamytzes to swiftly intercept and seize it. The bulk of Ivanko's army was waiting in the nearby woods and the Byzantine forces were surrounded and defeated. Kamytzes was taken prisoner and sent to Kalojan, who hoped to have him ransomed<sup>41</sup>. This defeat destroyed the morale of the Byzantine army, that limited its actions to the defence of Philippopolis. Ivanko, unopposed, pushed his advance as far as Xanthe

<sup>38</sup> Eunuchs are usually represented by Choniates in negative terms, despite (or maybe because) their importance in the Byzantine administration: see especially S. TOUGHER, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society*, London–New York 2008; G. SIDÉRIS, 'Eunuchs of Light': Power, Imperial Ceremonial and Positive Representations of Eunuchs in Byzantium (4<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries AD), [in:] *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. S. TOUGHER, London 2002, p. 161–175; K.M. RINGROSE, *Eunuchs as Cultural Mediators*, BF 23, 1996, p. 75–93.

<sup>39</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 511–512.

<sup>40</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 512.

<sup>41</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 512–513. Kamitzes was not ransomed by Alexios, who profited from his capture to seize his possessions (CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 513–514). After some vicissitudes he was set free by Kalojan and joined forces with another rebel of Bulgarian origins, Dobromir Chrisos, who had also carved up an independent dominion on the Bulgaro-Byzantine border in Macedonia: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 533–535. On Chrisos see Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 70–94; R. RADIĆ, *Обласни господари...*, p. 193–205; J. HOFFMANN, *Rudimente...*, p. 47–50, 90–91.

and Abdera, on the Aegean Sea, killing gruesomely or chasing away the Byzantines but leaving his countrymen in peace<sup>42</sup>.

It has been postulated that one of the reasons of Ivanko's success was the ethnic character of the dominion he established, which convinced the locals to side with him against the Byzantines<sup>43</sup>. Choniates and his many references to the *fellow countrymen* who fought alongside him are certainly proof that this characteristic had been noted and considered important: but we have no evidence whatsoever about the number of soldiers in his army, or about the actual participation of the local population. It would be quite interesting to know whether the propaganda of the second Bulgarian kingdom, with its constant references to the glorious past of the first Bulgarian kingdom<sup>44</sup>, would also reach outside the boundaries of the state and affect the population of Bulgarian origins still living under Byzantine domination: and it would also be interesting to know if Ivanko purposefully employed a similar propaganda, if he organized his army along ethnic lines. Regarding the territorial extent of his dominion, it seems unlikely that he actually controlled all the towns and regions listed by Choniates. Although the historian admits that he was *much more dangerous than the previous rebels*<sup>45</sup> and that he was spreading *like a contagious disease*<sup>46</sup>, it is more likely, given also the very short temporal span in which he was able to remain independent, that he only sacked those cities or forced them into tribute, and that the core of his 'state' was centred in the network of mountain fortresses and citadels that he had built or refurbished when in Byzantine service<sup>47</sup>.

After his swift expansion, Ivanko's end came unexpectedly and just as quickly. In the late spring of 1200, after the conclusion of the synod in Constantinople<sup>48</sup>, Alexios organized a new expedition against Ivanko. He moved his troops to Adrianople, where he remained undecided for some weeks, especially because his army appeared, as usual, unwilling to engage the rebel. He decided to try a diplomatic approach diplomacy, sending emissaries to Ivanko, but to no avail. Finally,

<sup>42</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 513.

<sup>43</sup> Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 131.

<sup>44</sup> М. КАЙМАКАМОВА, *Власт и история в средновековна България, VII–XIV век*, София 2011, p. 217–226; С. KOLAROV, Y. ANDREEV, *Certaines questions ayant trait aux manifestations de continuité d'idées en Bulgarie médiévale au des XII–XIV siècles*, EHi 9, 1979, p. 77–97, at p. 77–82; F. DALL'AGLIO, "As it Had Been in the Past": the Idea of National Continuity in the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom, [in:] *Laudator Temporis Acti: Studia in Memoriam Ioannis A. Božilov*, vol. I, ed. I. ВІЛІАРСЬКУ, София 2018, p. 282–299; ИДЕМ, *The Second Bulgarian Kingdom as an «Imagined Community» and as a Community of Memory*, [in:] *България и българите: бит, душевност, национална идентичност*, Шумен 2020, p. 117–124; Д.И. ПОЛЫВЯННЫЙ, *Историческая память о первом болгарском царстве в правление первых Асенией*, ТКШ 11, 2019, p. 532–543.

<sup>45</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 513.

<sup>46</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 513.

<sup>47</sup> For a list of his fortresses, see Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 202–204.

<sup>48</sup> See above, note 37.

he moved to Philippopolis and besieged the fortress of Stanimakon, which he managed to capture along with many prisoners. This was a hard blow for Ivanko. Now it was his turn to negotiate, and he did so quite haughtily, demanding that Alexios return him the citadels he had conquered and send him Theodora, that had been promised to him, *along with the insignia of his office*, evidently hoping that he could revert to his past dignity of military commander and that, as happened with Kalojan, his treason might be pardoned. Alexios pretended to agree: but when Ivanko showed himself at his camp, he had him arrested. With the rebel imprisoned it was easy to take control of his dominion; his brother Mito, an otherwise unknown character, escaped to Bulgaria<sup>49</sup>.

In his account, where the demise of Ivanko comes as completely anticlimactic, Choniates is slightly embarrassed at the emperor so blatantly violating a sworn oath<sup>50</sup>. The tone, however, is completely different in the encomiastic speech he wrote to celebrate Alexios' victory, in which the emperor is praised for his cunning and insight, and the description of Ivanko is much less flattering<sup>51</sup>. In the History Ivanko was criticized for his barbaric traits, similar to those of the man he had killed and to those of all the Bulgarians, but he was also represented as a serious threat for the empire. In his oration, Choniates belittles and ridicules Ivanko's pretension of power, with a series of disqualifying paragons all centred on the dualism between civilization and rusticity, restraint and recklessness, and between the real power of the emperor and the usurped power of the rebel. He describes him as a runaway slave, a savage and boorish shepherd dressed in sheepskin and furs who, despite the fact that his feet were wrapped in rags, had pretensions to wear the red boots<sup>52</sup>.

Ivanko, after having been paraded in the streets of Constantinople on a donkey<sup>53</sup>, probably died in prison, and his small dominion died with him, to be contended in the following years and decades between Bulgaria, the Byzantine empire and the Latins of Constantinople. As usual, when dealing with Bulgarian medieval history, we are left with more questions than answers. Was he a rebel, an adventurer, a statesman? Was his plan too ambitious for his forces, or did he have no

<sup>49</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 518–519; CHONIATES, *Orationes*, p. 59–65.

<sup>50</sup> *The emperor took a decision, I do not know how fitting to generals and emperors, who should be true to their oaths more than anything else*: CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 519.

<sup>51</sup> CHONIATES, *Orationes*, p. 59–65.

<sup>52</sup> CHONIATES, *Orationes*, p. 60–61. For the plants, animals and characters taken from ancient Greek literature and mythology to whom Ivanko is compared, see Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, *Образът на трима сепаратисти...*, p. 259–261.

<sup>53</sup> On the parade of a vanquished enemy on a ridiculous mount, well attested at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century (CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 249, 349), see Н. МАРКОВ, “С онашката в ръцете”: бележки по повод на един малко известен византийски обичай, ИНИМ 27, 2015, p. 185–231, with English parallel text; R. MELLINKOFF, *Riding Backwards: Theme of Humiliation and Symbol of Evil*, “Viator” 4, 1973, p. 153–186.

plan and just improvised, biding his time until the inevitable end? Was he just an unlucky Asenid, who was not able to build his own state, as Asen and Peter had done? It would be even more interesting to reconstruct his networks of relations, both in Bulgaria and Constantinople. This would tell us so much about the circles of power in the Bulgarian capital, of which we know next to nothing, or about the way the Byzantine empire made use of political dissidents against its enemies. What is certain is that Ivanko was not an isolated case. He was one of the many provincial commanders who tried to make their own fortune, on both sides of the porous borderland between Bulgaria and Constantinople between the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, profiting from the almost constant state of warfare between the two polities, and from their incapacity to keep control of the more remote areas of their territory. Along with Peter and Asen, with Dobromir Chris, Manuel Kamytzes, John Spiridonakis<sup>54</sup>, and some years later Slav and Strez<sup>55</sup>, Ivanko is proof that the provinces far away from the central power, both in Bulgaria and Constantinople, were quite often hotbeds of dissension and the ideal place for dissatisfied local administrators, or wannabe independent rulers, to carve some land for their own; and that, regardless of their ethnic origins, some of them decided, or were forced, to escape the binary distinction between 'Bulgarian' and 'Byzantine', and create an identity that, as the territory upon which it expressed itself, was a combination of both. All those local principalities did not last long, and those embryonic 'border identities' did not have time to develop; and it is of course unclear whether this could have happened at all. The relations between Bulgaria and Constantinople were in no way only relations between states. They were first and foremost a relation of people: and some of those people, like Ivanko, decided to maintain their balance between Tărnovo and Constantinople, and chose neither.

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<sup>54</sup> Г.Н. Николов, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 138–43; R. RADIC, *Обласни господари...*, p. 216–222; J.-C. СНЕУНЕТ, *Pouvoir et contestations...*, p. 138; J. HOFFMANN, *Rudimente...*, p. 92.

<sup>55</sup> Both Slav and Strez created independent dominions on the Bulgarian borders after the death of Kalojan in 1207. On Slav, see Г.Н. Николов, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 143–181; И. Божилков, *Фамилията...*, p. 95–98. On Strez, see Г.Н. Николов, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения...*, p. 95–123; И. Божилков, *Фамилията...*, p. 98–100.

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## THE SWORD WITH THE SLEEVE CROSS-GUARD IN THE FRESCO FROM THE CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY CROSS ON AGHTAMAR ISLAND

**Abstract.** There is an indisputable fact that in Medieval Armenia, as in most countries of the Middle Ages, the sword was a popular (but expensive) type of weapon. However, what did these “swords” look like? The aim of the article is to analyse one internal fresco called “Massacre of the Innocents” from Aghtamar Church (915–921), where a depiction of the sword with the sleeve cross-guard could be found.

Comparisons of the known archaeological finds of “Byzantine” type swords from Eastern Europe and Near East have been made, proving the idea that such type of swords actually existed. The authors, with the following analysis, would like to support the idea that medieval figurative sources are a very accurate for studying medieval military history.

**Keywords:** Bagratid Armenia, Vaspurakan kingdom, Aghtamar, Msho Arakelots, Iran, Byzantine/Roman Empire, Muslim world, weapon, sword, sleeve cross-guard, Garabonc

### Introduction

The Cathedral of the Holy Cross on Aghtamar island (modern Eastern Turkey, Figs. 1–3) is one of the best examples of Armenian medieval art. Built in 915–921 by Vaspurakan king Gagik Artsruni (908–943)<sup>1</sup> the Cathedral became a residence and a palatine church for the kings of Vaspurakan (908–1021)<sup>2</sup>, and

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<sup>1</sup> On King Gagik, see C. TOUMANOFF, *Les dynasties de la Caucasic Chrétienne: de l'Antiquité jusqu'au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Roma 1990, p. 102sq, 505, 520.

<sup>2</sup> Kingdom of Vaspurakan (908–1021) – independent Armenian kingdom ruled by Artsruni dynasty, which was separated from Bagratid kingdom (884/886–1045/1064) in 908 as the result of the struggle between these two families for the control of the country.

later serving as the seat of the Catholicosate of Aghtamar. The Cathedral was decorated with many external reliefs and internal frescoes, where biblical and daily life scenes were portrayed along with the images of military and civil costumes, and logically weapons. Our attention was drawn to one depiction of a sword with the sleeve cross-guard depicted on the internal fresco “Massacre of the Innocents” (Figs. 4–6), which will be the object of our research.

The task of the research is to reconstruct the real view of the sword through comparisons with the well-known East-Roman and Muslim archaeological elements and figurative sources. Located between two civilizations (Byzantium and Muslim) Armenians adopted the best military solutions from both sides, creating their own culture<sup>3</sup>. Special attention will be paid to the relief on the door from the Msho Arakelots monastery (1134) too, as another example of Armenian art where is represented a further depiction of a sword with the sleeve cross-guard.

The originality of the article lies in fact that it will be the first analysis of the representation of the swords of the Aghtamar from the military point of view. Obtained results will be valuable for Armenian, Byzantine, Georgian and Muslim arms and armour studies, showing some patterns and connections between them.

## Historiography and sources

The Aghtamar Church was the object of the study for many art historians: Lynn Jones<sup>4</sup>, John Davies<sup>5</sup>, Sirarpie Der Nersessian<sup>6</sup>, Josef Orbeli<sup>7</sup>, Christina Maranci<sup>8</sup>, Lilit Mikayelyan, Armen Kazaryan<sup>9</sup>, Thomas Mathews<sup>10</sup>, Connie Waltz<sup>11</sup>, Sasha

<sup>3</sup> On the topic, see D. NICOLLE, *The Armies of Islam 7<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Oxford 1982, p. 19–20, 22–23; IDEM, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350. Islam, Eastern Europe, Asia*, London 1999, p. 67sq.

<sup>4</sup> L. JONES, *The Visual Expression of Power and Piety in Medieval Armenia: The Palace and Palace Church at Aghtamar*, [in:] *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium*, ed. A. EASTMOND, Aldershot 2001, p. 221–241; IDEM, *Between Islam and Byzantium*, Aldershot 2007.

<sup>5</sup> J. DAVIES, *Medieval Armenian Art and Architecture. Church of the Holy Cross, Aght'amar*, London 1991.

<sup>6</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Aght'amar. Church of the Holy Cross*, Cambridge 1965; IDEM, *Documents of Armenian Architecture*, vol. VIII, *Aght'amar*, Milan 1974; IDEM, *Achtamar*, Venice 1987.

<sup>7</sup> И. ОРБЕЛИ, *Избранные труды*, vol. I, Москва 1968.

<sup>8</sup> C. MARANCI, *The Art of Armenia. An Introduction*, Oxford 2018.

<sup>9</sup> L. MIKAYELYAN, A. KAZARYAN, *Architectural Decoration of the Armenian Churches of the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries and their Presumably Sasanian Sources*, [in:] *Sasanidische Spuren in der byzantinischen, kaukasischen und islamischen Kunst und Kultur / Sasanian Elements in Byzantine, Caucasian and Islamic Art and Culture*, ed. F. DAIM, N. ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER, Mainz 2019 [= BOO, 15], p. 75–93.

<sup>10</sup> T. MATHEWS, *The Genesis Frescoes of Aht'amar*, REArm 16, 1982, p. 245–257.

<sup>11</sup> C. WALTZ, *Sources and Iconography of the Figural Sculpture of the Church of the Holy Cross at Aght'amar*, Columbus 1986 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

Grishin<sup>12</sup>, Mazhar İpşiroğlu<sup>13</sup>, Stepan Mnats'akanian<sup>14</sup>, Takeko Harada<sup>15</sup> and others<sup>16</sup>. However, nobody of them has deeply analysed the different types of arms and armours depicted on reliefs or frescoes<sup>17</sup>. Moreover, the same situation is concerned with the Armenian medieval miniatures and artworks, which generally have not been studied from the military angle of view<sup>18</sup>.

This can be explained by the fact that military history of Medieval Armenia is almost unresearched. Only a few historians and archaeologists did researches related to the Medieval Armenian arms and armours studies: Armen Aivazian<sup>19</sup>, Michał Chlipała<sup>20</sup>, Valentina Abramian<sup>21</sup>, Babken Arakelian<sup>22</sup>, Maria Romanova<sup>23</sup>,

<sup>12</sup> S. GRISHIN, *The Aght'amar Wall Paintings: Some New Observations*, Parer 3, 1985, p. 39–51.

<sup>13</sup> M. İPŞİROĞLU, *Die Kirche von Achtamar. Bauplastik im Leben des Lichtes*, Berlin 1963.

<sup>14</sup> С. МНАЦАКАНЯН, *Ахтамар*, Ереван 1986.

<sup>15</sup> T. HARADA, *The Book of Ahtmar Reliefs*, Istanbul 2003.

<sup>16</sup> On the history of the church, see the *préambule* of Jean-Pierre Mahé in the compendium of articles and essays recently published by Zara Pogossian and Edda Vardanyan – *The Church of the Holy Cross of Aht'amar*, ed. Z. POGOSSIAN, E. VARDANYAN, Leiden 2019, p. XVI–XXIII.

<sup>17</sup> For example S. Grishin comments the scene of the massacre of the innocents without referring to the sword or to the soldier brandishing it. – S. GRISHIN, *The Aght'amar...*, p. 43, 47. Also, Thomas Sinclair describes *a soldier with upraised sword*, without further comments or illustrations. – T. SINCLAIR, *Eastern Turkey. An Architectural and Archaeological Survey*, vol. I, London 1987, p. 199.

<sup>18</sup> A notable exception are the studies of English scholars Ian Heath, Timothy Dawson and David Nicolle, who based their visual reconstructions of the medieval Armenian warriors on the Aghtamar reliefs and other sources. – I. HEATH, *Armies and Enemies of the Crusades, 1096–1291 AD*, Worthing 1978, p. 73–74; IDEM, *Armies of the Dark Ages, 600–1066 AD*, Worthing 1980, p. 100–101; IDEM, *Armies of the Middle Ages*, vol. II, Worthing 1984, p. 122–123; D. NICOLLE, *The Military Technology of Classical Islam*, vol. I–III, Edinburg 1982 (unpublished PhD dissertation), p. 289–290; IDEM, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350*, vol. I–II, New York 1988, p. 54–64; IDEM, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350. Islam, Eastern Europe...*, p. 67–79; T. DAWSON, *Armour Never Wears: Scale and Lamellar Armour in the West, from the Bronze Age to the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*, Cheltenham 2013, p. 87–89. For more information, see: D. ДУМЫДУК, *The Relief on the Door of the Msho Arakelots Monastery (1134) as a Source for Studying Arms and Armour of Medieval Armenian Warriors*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 209–210.

<sup>19</sup> А. АЙВАЗЯН, *Армяно-персидская война 449–451 гг. Кампании и сражения*, Санкт-Петербург 2017.

<sup>20</sup> M. CHLIPIAŁA, *Wojskowość królestwa Armenii cylicyjskiej w czasach wypraw krzyżowych*, Tarnowskie Góry 2013.

<sup>21</sup> Վ. ԱՐԲԱՍԵԱՆ, *Արհեստները եւ հանքարական կազմակերպությունները Հայաստանում IX–XIII դդ.*, Երևան 1946; IDEM, *Միջնադարյան Հայաստանի զենքերի տեսակները*, ՊՊԹ 2, 1950, p. 37–98; IDEM, *Արհեստները Հայաստանում IV–XVIII դդ.*, Երևան 1956.

<sup>22</sup> Բ. ԱՌԱԲԵՆՅԱՆ, *Քաղաքները և արհեստները Հայաստանում IX–XIII դդ.*, Երևան 1958; IDEM, Բ. ԱՌԱԲԵՆՅԱՆ, *Արհեստների զարգացումը: Ֆեոդալական քաղաքի ձևակերպումը*, [in:] *Հայ Տորպիլրի Պատմություն*, vol. III, ed. IDEM, Երևան 1976, p. 187–209; Б. АРАКЕЛЯН, *Армения в IX–XIII вв.*, [in:] *Крым, Северо-Восточное Причерноморье и Закавказье в эпоху средневековья IV–XIII века*, ed. С. ПЛЕТНЕВА, Москва 2003, p. 335–351.

<sup>23</sup> M. РОМАНОВА, *Вооружение и обмундирование армянского Киликийского воина (1073–1375)*, [in:] *Հայրդ պատմության հարցեր*, ed. Ա. ՄԵԼՔՆՅԱՆ, Երևան 2011, p. 64–81.

Ripsime Djanpoladian, Anatoliy Kirpichnikov<sup>24</sup>, Aram Kalantarian<sup>25</sup> and one of the authors of this article<sup>26</sup>.

It is worth noting that Armenian historian Karine Voskanian was the only person who defended dissertation on the military organization of the Bagratid era (9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries)<sup>27</sup>. The researcher partially analysed arms and armour of the Bagratid Armenia but did not use reliefs and frescoes from Aghtamar Church at all (except for the relief “David and Goliath” (Figs. 7–9)<sup>28</sup>, which makes this topic interesting and relevant for us, because it has not been researched at all).

Unfortunately, the situation with Armenian archaeological and written sources does not look better. Armenian chronicles are less useful for the study of the blade weapons because they give only general information about them without a detailed description<sup>29</sup>. Furthermore, many terminological problems concerning

<sup>24</sup> Р. Джанполадян, А. Кирпичников, *Средневековая сабля с армянской надписью, найденная в Приполярном Урале*, Эп 21, 1972, р. 23–29; R. DJANPOLADIAN, A. KIRPICHNIKOV, *Mittelalterlicher Säbel mit einer Armenischen Inschrift, gefunden im Subpolaren Ural*, Gla 10, 1972, р. 15–23.

<sup>25</sup> Ա. ՔԱԼԱՆՏԱՐԻԱՆ, *Պաշտպանական սպարազինությունը միջնադարյան հայաստանում*, ԳԱՏ ՀԳ 10, 1965, р. 68–74; IDEM, *Չհերերը V–VIII դարերում (Ըստ Դվինի հնագիտական պեղումների)*, ՊԲՀ 4, 1965, р. 241–248.

<sup>26</sup> Д. ДИМИДУК, *Озброєння вірменського воїна (IX–XI ст.)*, НЗТНПУСІ 1/2, 2017, р. 3–12; IDEM, *Лук і стріла у Вірменії епохи Багратидів (кінець IX – середина XI ст.)*, ПІВІВМ 1, 2018, р. 7–33; IDEM, *Существовали ли кривые клинки в Армении Багратидов (конец IX – середина XI вв.)?*, [in:] *Արևիկյան սիրտը և հիմունքները և/ու պատմագրությունը իս դարասրբի Հայաստանում*, ed. Ա. ԲՈՂՈՅԱՆ, Երևան 2019, р. 25–27; IDEM, *Холодное оружие в армянских хрониках эпохи Багратидов (конец IX – середина XI вв.): терминология вопроса*, ՊՄՀՀ 2, 2019, р. 33–48; D. DUMYDUK, *Broń biała w Armenii epoki Bagratydów (koniec IX – połowa XI w.): problem interpretacji i badania niektórych źródeł graficznych*, ПІВІВМ 2, 2019, р. 7–31; IDEM, *Mace in Bagratid Armenia (End of IX – Middle of XI c.)*, [in:] *Shirak Historical and Cultural Heritage. Contemporary Issues of Armenology*, vol. X, ed. А. НАՅՐԱՔԵԿՅԱՆ, Yerevan 2019, р. 122–124; IDEM, *The Relief on the Door...*, р. 205–248. In connection with the Armenians inside the Roman Medieval Army, see also R. D'AMATO, *Old and New Evidence on the East-Roman Helmets from the 9 to the 12 Centuries*, AMM 11, 2015, р. 67 (n. 40), 139–140 (n. 124, 127).

<sup>27</sup> Շ. ՈՍԿԱՆԻԱՆ, *Հայոց բանակը Բագրատունյաց շրջանում (IX–XI դարեր)*, Երևան 2010 (unpublished PhD dissertation).

<sup>28</sup> It is worth noting that the sword depicted on the relief “David and Goliath”, of which we will speak again later, was the subject of study by many military historians. For more information on the subject, see: D. DUMYDUK, *Broń biała...*, р. 10–14.

<sup>29</sup> We can assume that in the Bagratid era, the word “սուր” (sur) probably meant a simple double-edged sword, and together with the word “սուսեր” (suser) they were the most popular in medieval Armenian chronicles, while the word “թուր” (tur) was used rarely. In order to clarify the information about on what the swords looked like, chroniclers could use additional words like “երկսայր” (yerk-sayr – double-edged) or “միասուն” (miaser – single-edged). In order to emphasize quality of the swords the word “պողովաւ” (poghovat) could be used what means tempered steel or bulat steel. Please note, that in those times chronicles did not contain any information which would indicate the curvature of the blades. See: D. DUMYDUK, *Холодное оружие...*, р. 33–48.

names of the bladed weapons, differences between them, interdependences of their use and their physical characteristics remain unresolved<sup>30</sup>.

On the other hand, only a few artefacts of arms and armours from Bagratid era (9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries) and adjacent periods (8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries) have survived to this day<sup>31</sup>, most of which were poorly researched and undated<sup>32</sup>. We know only one archaeological find of a sword from Ani, which was dated to the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>34</sup>. However, the sword was lost in mysterious circumstances and until our times what was left of it was just a drawing, which was published in the previously mentioned works (Fig. 10)<sup>35</sup>.

Due to the lack of archaeological finds of swords from the territory of Medieval Armenia and terminological problems in chronicles, special attention should be paid to the figurative sources such as the fresco “Massacre of the Innocents” from Aghtamar Church. However, it should be noted that the question of the possibility of using medieval figurative sources for the reconstruction of medieval weapons remains open<sup>36</sup>. The problem arisen by some scholars is that the frescoes were

<sup>30</sup> Armenian terms for the blade weapons: “սուր” (sur), “սուսեր” (suser), “թուր” (tur), “վաղակ” (vaghak), “նրան” (nran), etc. – D. ДУМЫДУК, *Холодное оружие...*, p. 33–48; Ч. ПУЧУБЭВ, *Հայրիքային...*, p. 121–125.

<sup>31</sup> P. ДЖАНПОЛАДЯН, А. КИРПИЧНИКОВ, *Средневековая сабля...*, p. 28; D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350. Islam, Eastern Europe...*, p. 72, fig. 125; D. ДУМЫДУК, *The Relief on the Door...*, p. 208.

<sup>32</sup> Due to the Short Term Travel Grant from Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and permission from the History Museum of Armenia administration (Yerevan), one of the authors of this article – Dmytro Dymydyuk, was able to work with the museum funds in September 2019 looking for archaeological artefacts of arms and armours from 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries. Unfortunately, he found only a few artefacts of axes, spearheads and several dozen remains of arrowheads, knives and daggers, interpretation of which is complicated because of their poor state; some weapons, the frescoes of Ani and the depots of East-Roman grenades from Ani were investigated in the Museum of Kars by Dr. D’Amato and Dr. Theotokis, and will be soon object of an extensive publication about arms and armours of Byzantium from the nowadays Turkish territories.

<sup>33</sup> Ч. ЦАРՇԱՅԱՆ, *Միջնադարյան Հայաստանի...*, p. 67, fig. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Б. АРАКЕЛЯН, *Армения в IX–XIII вв...*, p. 342–343, fig. 156.1.

<sup>35</sup> During the work with the museum funds of the History Museum of Armenia D. Dymydyuk could not find the sword from Ani. In addition, there is no information about it in the museum catalogue. – Ե. ՍՈՒՅԵՂՅԱՆ, *Անի քաղաքի պեղումներից հայտնաբերված ամսրիկաները*, Երևան 1982. Most likely, this sword was lost during the hasty evacuation of archaeological materials from Ani in 1918 through the Turkish offensive on the Caucasus front or in other mysterious circumstances.

<sup>36</sup> R. D’AMATO, *The Betrayal: Military Iconography and Archaeology in the Byzantine Paintings of XI–XV Centuries AD Representing the Arrest of Our Lord, [in:] Weapons Bring Peace? Warfare in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. L. MAREK, Wrocław 2010, p. 70–71, 93; IDEM, *A Prōtopatharios, Magistros, and Strategos Autokrator of 11<sup>th</sup> c.: the Equipment of Georgios Maniakes and his Army according to the Skylitzes Matritensis Miniatures and other Artistic Sources of the Middle Byzantine Period*, Porph 4, 2005, p. 5sqq; P. GROTOWSKI, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)*, Leiden 2010 [= MMe, 87], p. 3–4.

made by clergy, whose knowledge of armaments could have been negligible. From the other side can be opposed to this conception that not all the frescoes of the churches were painted by priests or monks, but also by professional painters<sup>37</sup>, laymen who knew very well the material culture of their own time: and by the way, even when the painters were Church people, their knowledge of the contemporary weaponry was not necessarily negligible, because many monks were ex-warriors and in any case they saw often the soldiers of their age with their eyes.

Some scholars propose to be cautious because painters frequently used biblical descriptions and borrowings from older works, which might have distorted the real look of the presented weapons<sup>38</sup>. On the other hand, it cannot be excluded that these authors were good observers and faithfully presented the reality surrounding them<sup>39</sup>.

Thus, despite all these reservations, we believe that visual art could be a valuable and relatively objective source that – after critical analysis and comparisons with other sources – should be used to reconstruct the armament of the warriors of Medieval Armenia<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> A layman was for example Manuel Panselinos, one of the most proficient painters of 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries Byzantium (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΚ ΦΟΥΡΝΑ, *Ερημνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης: εκ χειρογράφου του η' αιώνος εκδοθείσα κατά το πρωτότυπον αυτής κείμενον*, ed. Α. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ-ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ, Αγία Πετρούπολη 1900, p. 3) or the famous painters of Ohrid Perivleptos, Michael Astrapas and his father Eutychios, 13<sup>th</sup> century painters from Thessaloniki whose signed works literally take your breath away. See for instance: Μ. ΜΑΡΚΟΒΙĆ, *The Painter Eutychios – Father of Michael Astrapas and Protomaster of the Frescoes in the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Ohrid*, ЗМСЛУ 38, 2010, p. 19–20, 31 (n. 45–46).

<sup>38</sup> T. KOLIAS, *Byzantinische Waffen. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Waffenkunde von den Anfängen bis zur lateinischen Eroberung*, Wien 1988 [= BV, 17], p. 33.

<sup>39</sup> R. D'AMATO, *The Betrayal...*, p. 69; IDEM, *A Prōtopatharios...*, p. 5–7; Ч. ЦАРЦИШВІЦЬ, *Уродішпершні <ушшишні>...*, p. 64, 77.

<sup>40</sup> Such method of research, fully or partially, was and is used by many historians who studied Byzantine or Muslim arms and armours studies: Г. БАРАНОВ, *Новая находка перекрестья и навершия рукояти византийского меча с территории Черкасского района Черкасской области Украины*, МАИАСК 7, 2015, p. 87–105; IDEM, *Византийские (средиземноморские) мечи с перекрестьями с муфтой IX–XI вв.*, МАИАСК 9, 2017, p. 248–283; IDEM, *Византийский меч с территории Украины*, [in:] *Война и оружие. Новые исследования и материалы*, vol. I, ed. С. ЕФИМОВ, Санкт-Петербург 2017, p. 171–177; IDEM, *Новые данные о находке византийского меча на территории Харьковской области*, His 8, 2019, p. 91–98; R. D'AMATO, *The Eastern Romans 330–1461 AD*, Hong Kong 2007; IDEM, *The Varangian Guard (988–1453)*, Oxford 2010; IDEM, *Σιδηροράβδιον, βαρδούκιον, ματζούκιον, κορύνη. The War-mace of Byzantium, 9<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c. AD: New Evidence from the Balkans in the Collection of the World Museum of Man, Florida*, AMM 7, 2011, p. 7–48; IDEM, *Byzantine Imperial Guardsmen, 925–1025*, Oxford 2012; IDEM, *Old and New Evidence...*, p. 27–157; IDEM, *The Betrayal...*, p. 69–95; T. DAWSON, *Banded Lamellar – a Solution*, VaV 23, 1992, p. 16; IDEM, *Kremas-mata, Kabadion, Klibanion: Some Aspects of Middle Byzantine Military Equipment Reconsidered*, BMGS 22, 1998, p. 38–50; IDEM, *Klivanion Revisited: an Evolutionary Typology and Catalogue of Middle Byzantine Lamellar*, JRMES 12/13, 2001/2002, p. 89–95; IDEM, *Byzantine Infantryman. Eastern Roman Empire c. 900–1204*, Oxford 2007; IDEM, *'Fit for the Task': Equipment Sizes and the Transmis-*



## The sword on the fresco from the Aghtamar Church

The sword that is interesting for us is depicted on the fresco “Massacre of the Innocents” (Fig. 4–6)<sup>41</sup> on the west exedra of the Aghtamar Church<sup>42</sup>. On the left side of the fresco sits crowned Herod the Great, on a high, decorative throne, wearing a crown and dressed in a long tunic and *chlamys* fastened by a brooch on the right side of the body<sup>43</sup>. Around him there are various children, and in front of him stands a tall crowned warrior<sup>44</sup> who grabbed a child by his leg and raised a sword to

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*sion of Military Lore, Sixth to Tenth Centuries*, BMGS 31, 2007, p. 1–12; IDEM, *Byzantine Cavalryman c. 900–1204*, Oxford 2009; IDEM, *Armour Never Wears...;* D. DYMIDYUK, *The Relief on the Door...*, p. 205–248; P. GROTHOWSKI, *Arms and Armour...*; I. HEATH, *Armies of the Dark...*; A. HOFFMEYER, *Military Equipment in the Byzantine Manuscript of Scylitzes in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid*, GlA 5, 1966, p. 1–160; K. JARA, M. GLINIANOWICZ, P. KOTOWICZ, *Ikony ze zbiorów sanockich muzeów jako źródło do poznania uzbrojenia pogranicza Małopolski i Rusi Czerwonej w późnym średniowieczu*, [in:] *Cum Arma per Aeva. Uzbrojenie indywidualne na przestrzeni wieków*, ed. P. KUCYPERA, P. PUDEŁO, Toruń 2011, p. 222–273; D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350. Islam, Eastern Europe...*; IDEM, *The Military Technology...*; IDEM, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era...*; IDEM, *Byzantine and Islamic Arms and Armour: Evidence for Mutual Influence*, GA 4, 1991, p. 299–325; S. AL-SARRAF, *Close Combat Weapons in the Early Abbasid Period*, [in:] *A Companion to Medieval Arms and Armour*, ed. D. NICOLLE, Woodbridge 2002, p. 149–178; M. TSURTSUMIA, *The Evolution of Splint Armour in Georgia and Byzantium: Lamellar and Scale Armour in the 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ВΣΥΜ 21, 2011, p. 65–99; V. YOTOV, *Byzantine Time Swords (10–11 c.)*, SUC 1, 2011, p. 35–45; IDEM, *A New Byzantine Type of Swords (7<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, [in:] *Niš and Byzantium*, vol. IX, ed. M. RAKOCIJA, Niš 2011, p. 113–124; IDEM, *Byzantine Weaponry and Military Equipment in the Homilies of St Gregory of Nazianzus (Paris, Gr. 510)*, FAH 30, 2017, p. 153–163; B. ЙОТОВ, *Въоръжението и снаряжението от българското средновековие (VII–XI век)*, Варна 2004.

<sup>41</sup> In the New Testament, the Massacre of the Innocents is the incident in the Nativity narrative of the Gospel of Matthew, in which Herod the Great, king of Judea, orders the execution of all male children aged two and under in the vicinity of Bethlehem. In such way, Herod tried to protect himself against a possible competitor – Jesus, a new Jewish king, who was just born. – Bible: Mt 2: 16–18 (see: *The Gospel according to Matthew*, ed. L. MORRIS, Grand Rapids 1992).

<sup>42</sup> In all probability, it is one of the first depictions of such scene known to us in Armenian art.

<sup>43</sup> The garments of the King echoes the royal regalia gifted to the Bagratids by the Baghdad and Byzantium’s Court: in AD 890 the Emperor Leo VI sent to King Smbat I *beautiful weapons, ornaments, robes wrought with gold, goblets, and cups, and girdles of pure gold studded with gems* to confirm his status in the eyes of the Byzantine court – YOVHANNĒS DRASXANAKERTC’I, *History of Armenia*, trans. K. MAKSOUDIAN, Atlanta 1987, p. 138. And already in 862 AD the Caliph had sent to the King Ashot I in 884 for its investiture to Kingship “a royal crown”, which was formally presented to Ashot together with royal robes, horses, weapons, and ornaments (see A. EASTMOND, L. JONES, *Robing, Power, and Legitimacy in Armenia and Georgia*, [in:] *Robes and Honor. The Medieval World of Investiture*, ed. S. GORDON, New York–Basingstoke 2001 [= NMA], p. 150, 152; L. JONES, *Between Islam...*, p. 21).

<sup>44</sup> The soldier show to be more similar to a Muslim warrior than to a Roman one: he wears an extremely long cloth, typical of Muslim fashion in Sāmānid Armies, and it is virtually identical to the dress worn by Perseus in the miniature of the Kitāb-Al-Sufār (Book of the Stars) of Abd Al Raḥmān Al Sūfi, made in Egypt, Iraq or Iran in around 1009 AD (Fig. 11). – D. NICOLLE, *Armies of the Caliphates (862–1098)*, Oxford 1998, p. 42, 44. In this miniature (Bodleian Library, Ms. 144, f. 111)

kill him. The Warrior is represented without any armour, only in a hat and a tunic, and with an empty scabbard hanging from his waist belt<sup>45</sup>.

On the fresco we could see a straight two-edged sword with unusual sleeve cross-guard with a  $\Pi$ -shaped sleeve facing to the blade (Figs. 4–6). According to the righteous remark made by the Bulgarian historian Valery Yotov *the typology of swords is often a typology of the sword-guards*<sup>46</sup>.

The swords with the sleeve cross-guards are one of the “Byzantine”<sup>47</sup> types of swords which were identified and researched by Valery Yotov<sup>48</sup>, Gennady Baranov<sup>49</sup>, Deyan Rabovyanov<sup>50</sup>, Marko Aleksić<sup>51</sup>, Samuil Kamburov<sup>52</sup>, Raffaele D’Amato<sup>53</sup>, etc. These types of cross-guards were popular in the 8<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries in Kyivan Rus (Figs. 18–19), Balkan Peninsula, Middle East and Byzantium<sup>54</sup>.

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the tunic’s sleeve is pulled up like in the fresco of Aghtamar. The crown-helmet of the fresco in the Holy Cross Church shows Iranian influences and it is similar to a specimen recently found in a post-Islamic conquest grave from Beirut (Figs. 12–15), belonging to a man, maybe leader of the Christian community, killed by an arrow; this tiara helmet was found on the 9 August 2001 and it shows, exactly as in the fresco, an upper crown and a lower decorated rim.

<sup>45</sup> S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Aghtamar. Church...*, p. 39, fig. 64–66. The “Massacre of the Innocents” was a popular scene in Christian art since the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD, and especially in the Eastern Roman and Armenian ones. On frescoes and miniatures warriors, who kill children, were mainly portrayed with the swords, *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, National Library of France, gr.Basil 1510, f. 137r, 215v (Fig. 16–17); *Four Gospels*, Freer Gallery of Art, Ms. 32.18, f. 17v (see S. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenian manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington 1963, fig. 205); *Theodore Psalter*, British Library, Add. 19.352, f. 123r (see D. NICOLLE, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era: 1050–1350. Islam, Eastern Europe...*, fig. 33J); *Ardjesh Gospel*, Matenadaran, Ms. 4052, f. 1b (H. HAKOPIAN, *Armenian Miniature. Vaspurakan*, Yerevan 1978, fig. 5).

<sup>46</sup> V. YOTOV, *A New Byzantine...*, p. 115.

<sup>47</sup> The Romans in the Middle Age, nowadays conventionally referred to as the “Byzantines”, borrowed many types of weapons from neighbouring states, and consequently it is not possible to determine beyond all doubt which types of swords were created by them. The term “Byzantine swords” can be used conventionally to indicate a type of sword produced inside the Eastern Roman Empire or, perhaps, in Abbasid Caliphate which went for export to neighbouring countries. However, the origin of swords with sleeve cross-guards is unknown – С. КАМБУРОВ, “Арабски” ранносредновековни мечове в днешните български земи, *Ист* 25.3, 2017, p. 271; R. D’AMATO, *Byzantine Imperial...*, p. 5, 43–44; V. YOTOV, *A New Byzantine...*, p. 115.

<sup>48</sup> V. YOTOV, *Byzantine Time...*, p. 35–45; ИДЕМ, *A New Byzantine...*, p. 113–124; ИДЕМ, *Byzantine Weaponry...*, p. 153–163; В. ЙОТОВ, *Въоръжението и снаряжението...*

<sup>49</sup> Г. БАРАНОВ, *Новая находка...*, p. 87–105; ИДЕМ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, p. 248–283; ИДЕМ, *Византийский меч...*, p. 171–177; ИДЕМ, *Новые данные...*, p. 91–98.

<sup>50</sup> D. RABOVYANOV, *Early Medieval Sword Guards from Bulgaria*, *ABu* 2, 2011, p. 73–86.

<sup>51</sup> M. ALEKSIĆ, *Some Typological Features of Byzantine Spatha*, *ЗРВИ* 47, 2010, p. 121–138.

<sup>52</sup> С. КАМБУРОВ, “Арабски” ранносредновековни..., p. 271.

<sup>53</sup> R. D’AMATO, *Byzantine Imperial...*, p. 5, 43–44.

<sup>54</sup> Note that under the typology of Byzantine swords suggested by T. Dawson (which was based on the miniatures of Basil’s Menologion), the sleeve cross-guard was presented under number 2 – T. DAWSON, *Byzantine Cavalryman...*, p. 5.

According to the typology of V. Yotov<sup>55</sup> and G. Baranov<sup>56</sup> done on the basis of several archaeological finds from Central-Eastern Europe and Near East, we can assume that on the fresco from Aghtamar Church is depicted the so-called “Garabonc” type of sleeve cross-guards (Figs. 20–21).

Currently, this is the most representative type of “Byzantine” cross-guards in terms of the number of archaeological finds and iconography<sup>57</sup>. A specific feature of these guards is the presence of a  $\Omega$ -shaped sleeve, which is fixed to the  $\perp$ -shaped throat of a scabbard, due to which the chance of losing the sword during the battle was decreasing<sup>58</sup>. Sleeve cross-guards were created in order to protect the joint between the edge and the hilt from breaking<sup>59</sup>.

According to another theory, the appearance of the sleeve cross-guards was connected with the way of grasping called “Italian grip”, realized when the swordsman’s index finger covers the stop and rests on the heel of the blade (*ricasso*)<sup>60</sup>, and prevented also entering moisture and pollution inside the scabbard; and a further function during the fighting was the possibility to grasp with the extension the blade the enemy’s sword and in such a way decreasing the energy of the blow<sup>61</sup>.

The dissemination area of the “Garabonc” type of cross-guards was very wide (Fig. 21). We know archaeological finds from Hungary (Garabonc-I)<sup>62</sup>, Ukraine (Kharkiv, Vinnytsia and Cherkasy oblasts)<sup>63</sup> as well as a hilt of the unknown origin (most likely from Iran) from the Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection<sup>64</sup> which is clearly the most similar to the weapon of the Aghtamar fresco (Figs. 27–28). These findings were dated to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries. The average length of these swords is 84–90 cm, the blade width 3,5–4,8 cm, the sleeve width 6–7 cm<sup>65</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> V. YOTOV, *A New Byzantine...*, p. 116–117; IDEM, *Byzantine Weaponry...*, p. 155–156, fig. 3–4.

<sup>56</sup> Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, p. 251, fig. 21.

<sup>57</sup> Apart from the already quoted artworks, such swords with sleeve guards are visible on the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries Cappadocian frescoes, like those of the “Dark Church” (Karanlik Kilise, second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century). See: Figs. 22–24 (Saint Michail); Fig. 25 (Longinos at the Crucifixion); Fig. 26 (Saint George). In Byzantium, beside the other three types of sleeve-guards classified by Baranov, the modified “Garabonc” type survived until at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 30) (see n. 29).

<sup>58</sup> Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, p. 258.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 251, 265.

<sup>60</sup> D. NICOLLE, *Byzantine and Islamic...*, p. 305. It needs to be noticed that the “Italian grip” existed already in the times of the Sasanian Empire – K. FARROKH, G. KARAMIAN, K. МАКСЫМУК, *A Synopsis of Sasanian Military Organization and Combat Units*, Siedlce–Tehran 2018, p. 35–36, fig. 32–34.

<sup>61</sup> Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, p. 250; IDEM, *Византийский меч...*, p. 171.

<sup>62</sup> For more information, see: Á. BÍRÓ, *Fegyverek a 10–11. századi Kárpát-medencében*, Budapest 2012 (unpublished PhD dissertation), p. 276–280, 291–292; B. SZŐKE, *Karoling-kori szolgálónépi temetkezések Mosaburg/Zalavár vonzáskörzetében: Garabonc-Ófalu III*, ZM 5, 1994, p. 263.

<sup>63</sup> We think that the cross-guard of the sword from the territory of Cherkasy oblast is the less similar to Aghtamar’s cross-guard because of the presence of a decorative figure in the arch of the sleeve, which resembles a “heraldic lily”. – Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, p. 252.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibidem*, fig. 2–6.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 251–252, 260; V. YOTOV, *Byzantine Weaponry...*, p. 155–156, fig. 3–4.

Although it is difficult to state any exact information about their origin or centre of production, the most part of the quoted scholars agree on the circumstance that this kind of swords were of Eastern Roman origin, and probably produced in the military workshops of the Eastern Roman Empire.

As we have already mentioned, the pictorial evidence of similar type of sleeve cross-guards is widely observable in the Byzantium's pictorial sources from 9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries (Figs. 16–17, 22–26).

To add a further example, on the miniature “The Martyrdom of St. Cyprian” (Fig. 29) from *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus* (879–882)<sup>66</sup> a warrior drawing out his sword from the scabbard is depicted holding such kind of sword. On this miniature the sleeve of the cross-guard is presented in the form of two lines, which grasp the blade from both sides, exactly like the “Garabonc” type<sup>67</sup>.

Moreover, on the miniatures from the Menologion of Basil II (end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century) the “Garabonc” type of sleeve cross-guard can be seen (Figs. 33–34)<sup>68</sup> together with the developed “Garabonc” type (Figs. 35–37)<sup>69</sup> illustrated also on the Cappadocian frescoes (Fig. 22)<sup>70</sup>.

The use of such swords by Armenian warriors of Bagratid Era is further attested in the very famous Goliath sculpture from the Aghtamar Church. A very detailed observation of the cross-guard of the sword of Goliath, in comparison with the swords of the Executioners depicted in the *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus* (Figs. 16–17)<sup>71</sup> reveals as the “Garabonc” type with the extension shaped like a lily flower could be possibly identified on the relief of Aghtamar too, which is therefore representing a further sleeved cross-guard of “Byzantine” typology (Fig. 38).

There is no doubt that the sword of Goliath belongs to the categories of the straight double-edged sword. The problem is if really, as supposed in previous works, the quillons (cross-guard) are turned down towards the blade or if what we think to be the quillons are in reality the extension of the sleeve cross-guard, like in the swords of the Paris Manuscript (Figs. 16–17). Contemporary swords

<sup>66</sup> Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, p. 272; V. УОТОВ, *Byzantine Weaponry...*, p. 155–156, fig. 3–4.

<sup>67</sup> The samples can be multiplied. In the same manuscript, the Garabonc type sword is illustrated in the hands of the executioner of Saint Paul (Fig. 31) and in those of the Archangel Michail (Fig. 32).

<sup>68</sup> *Menologion of Basil II*, Vatican Library, Ms. Vat. gr. 1613, f. 179, 189; See also f. 49 in: Г. БАРАНОВ, *Новая находка...*, fig. 9.

<sup>69</sup> *Menologion of Basil II*, f. 18, 33, 122.

<sup>70</sup> Note that on the mosaic of St. Bacchus (1100) from Daphni Monastery (Athens, Greece) the similar  $\Pi$ -shaped sleeve is presented but with long and narrow quillons with small branches at the ends (Fig. 30). Taking into consideration some subjectivity of figurative sources, it is difficult to say if it is the next stage of development of the “Garabonc” type (what it is highly probable) of sleeve cross-guards or it is a new one. This idea has been suggested to us by the courtesy of G. Baranov (member of the Archaeologia Militaris Scientific Workshop at the Institute of Archaeology by the Russian Academy of Sciences).

<sup>71</sup> *Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus*, National Library of France, gr. 510, f. 137r, 215v.

(10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries) with the curved cross-guard were found in Georgia<sup>72</sup>, with all probability also of East-Roman production. Moreover, also the Harbaville triptych (representing military Saints as Roman cataphracts in the middle of 11<sup>th</sup> century) depicted the same cross-guard (Fig. 39). Both the interpretations can be kept<sup>73</sup>, however the close-up photo of the Goliath sword seems to focus decisively on the representation, in the sculpture, of a “Garabonc” type sword with the cross-guard sleeve shaped as a lily flower (Fig. 38). This kind of sleeved cross-guard was still in use in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries, as proved by a find of a specimens from the fortress of Dinogetia<sup>74</sup>.

The presence of Eastern Roman swords in the Bagratid Armies should not be a surprise. Not only a great number of Armenians enrolled in the Roman army of 10<sup>th</sup> century and were employed in Roman military outfits<sup>75</sup>, not only did Byzantium, Armenia and Islamic States exchange influences in terms of military equipment<sup>76</sup>, but the sources expressly recorded the gifts of weapons from the Roman Emperors to the Bagratid rulers<sup>77</sup>.

It is worth noting that we know another example of the sleeve cross-guard from the territory of Armenia depicted on the door from Msho Arakelots monastery (1134). In the upper left corner of the door we see two horsemen, one of whom is trying to escape while the other pierces him through with a sword with the sleeve cross-guard (Figs. 40–42).

Again, we are in front of a sword with all probability reflecting the influence of Byzantium. The cross-guard is most similar to the “Galovo” and “Pliska-48” types<sup>78</sup> specimens of which were found in Central-Eastern Europe and Near East and dated to the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>79</sup> or recently presented in private collections<sup>80</sup> (Fig. 43–44). Also, they are visible on Eastern Roman miniatures

<sup>72</sup> M. TSURTSUMIA, *Medieval Sword and Sabre from the Georgian National Museum*, AMM 11, 2015, fig. 1.

<sup>73</sup> For more information on the topic, see D. DYMYDYUK, *Broń biała...*, p. 10–14, figs. 8–16.

<sup>74</sup> G. ȘTEFAN, I. BARNEA, M. COMȘA, E. COMȘA, *Dinogetia, Așezarea feudală timpurie de la Biserica-ța-Garvăn*, București 1967, fig. 35, n. 19.

<sup>75</sup> One of the greatest Roman Emperors of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Iohannes Tzimiskes (969–976), was a member of a leading Armenian aristocratic family – D. NICOLLE, *No Way Overland, Evidence for Byzantine Arms and Armour on the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Century Taurus Frontier*, [in:] *Warriors and their Weapons around the Time of the Crusades. Relationships between Byzantium, the West and the Islamic World*, ed. IDEM, London 2002 [= VCSS, CS756], p. 227.

<sup>76</sup> D. NICOLLE, *Byzantine and Islamic...*, p. 301–302.

<sup>77</sup> A. EASTMOND, L. JONES, *Robing, Power, and Legitimacy...*, p. 152.

<sup>78</sup> Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, p. 255–257; I. NORMAN, *A Likely Byzantine or Fatimid Sword of the X<sup>th</sup>–XI<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, 2019, <http://iainnorman.com/essays/2019/01/a-likely-byzantine-or-fatimid-sword-of-the-xth-xith-centuries/> [30 X 2020]. Unfortunately, it is unclear which of these two types best match the sword depicted on the relief, because the sword on the relief is presented too schematically.

<sup>79</sup> D. DYMYDYUK, *The Relief on the Door...*, p. 211–213, fig. 2, 8–10.

<sup>80</sup> I. NORMAN, *A Likely Byzantine...*

from the Theodore Gospel (1066)<sup>81</sup> and the Menologion of Basil II (end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>82</sup> (Figs. 45–48).

## Conclusions

The analysis of the sword depicted on the fresco “Massacre of the Innocents” from the Aghtamar Church enables us to make conclusion that the “Garabonc” type of sleeve cross-guard is presented here. With all probability, also the “Garabonc” type of sleeve cross-guard lily shaped is visible on the Goliath’s sword carved on the outside of the same Church. In the painting of the killing of the Innocents in Aghtamar and in the sword of Goliath from the same church (Fig. 9) we see the first representations of a sleeve cross-guard in the Armenian art<sup>83</sup>.

These are not only the first representation of a sleeve cross-guard in the Armenian art but, possibly, in South Caucasus region at all, that allow us to include these territories to the areas where such type of cross-guard was spread<sup>84</sup>. This is highly probable considering that the archaeological finds of sleeve cross-guards were found on the territories under Byzantium or Muslim influences (Eastern Europe and Near East) and the Armenia, located between them, was a cross-road vehicle for the military technology adopting the sleeve cross-guard from both sides.

It is worth noting that the hilt from Aghtamar’s fresco (Fig. 5) is the most similar, by its shape, to the hilt from Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection (Iran?) (Figs. 27–28), which allows us to conclude that, perhaps, this kind of sleeve cross-guards came to Armenia from the territory of Iran or Near East<sup>85</sup>. However, this does not exclude the reciprocal influence of Byzantium and Muslim potentates on the diffusion of such weapons in Armenia and Caucasus. The sword of Goliath, instead, shows a more incisive influence from the Byzantine “Garabonc” type 1 of the G. Baranov category<sup>86</sup>.

<sup>81</sup> *Theodore Psalter*, British Library, Add. 19.352, f. 123r, 191.

<sup>82</sup> *Menologion of Basil II*, fig. f. 7, 135, 247, 311.

<sup>83</sup> What it is not wondering, considering that the first representations of such swords in Byzantium’s art began from the 9<sup>th</sup> century (for example in the mentioned Homilies of St. Gregory of Nazianzus – figs. 16–17).

<sup>84</sup> Finds of cuffed guards within Europe alone include Bulgaria, Hungary, Serbia, Ukraine, Armenia and Georgia within the Caucasus to Syria, Egypt, Persia, and even in Makurai in modern day Sudan and Nubia (the fresco from the cathedral at Faras, modern day Sudan, Fig. 49) – I. NORMAN, *A Likely Byzantine...*; T. GÓRECKI, *Z problematyki ikonografii świętych wojowników w malarstwie ściennym katedry w Faras*, RMNW 24, 1980, p. 173–259; S. JAKOBIELSKI, *The Murals on Entrance Porch of the Faras Cathedral*, ET.SP 34, 2016, p. 75–94.

<sup>85</sup> It needs to be noticed that Byzantine swords were more standardized, while Muslim swords were more decorated because they were sold without a cross-guard, which every warrior could attach by himself – Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, p. 252, 260; B. FEHÉR, *Byzantine Sword Art as Seen by the Arabs*, AA.ASH 41, 2001, p. 161.

<sup>86</sup> Г. БАРАНОВ, *Византийские (средиземноморские)...*, figs. 1, 7–8, 21.

Furthermore, based on the fact that the Aghtamar church was built in 915–921, we could extend the chronology of existence of the “Garabonc” type of sleeve cross-guards from the 8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries, and probably even more, considering the “Garabonc” type represented on the Menologion of Basil II (Figs. 33–34, 36–37), the frescoes of Cappadocia (Figs. 22–26) and the mosaics of Daphni Monastery (Fig. 30), these latter very similar to the sword from the Furusiyya Art Foundation Collection.

Taking into consideration the fact that we know another depiction of a sleeve cross-guard (“Galovo” or “Pliska-48” type) on the door from the Msho Arakelots monastery (Figs. 40–42), we can suppose that other types of sleeve cross-guards could have been also popular in Armenia in 8<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> centuries, always following the influence of Byzantium.

With the help of the comparative analysis we have still again proved the idea that medieval figurative sources are a very accurate material for studying medieval military history. A strong evidence for this is very often the presence of the specific military details (in this case the depiction of a sword with a sleeve cross-guard) on the frescoes or other artworks, which helped us to identify exactly this type of the sword or weapon and fixing its chronology.

We believe that this study offers further research perspectives in terms of a deeper archaeological and graphic analysis of the sources, which will allow a more comprehensive reconstruction of the equipment of the Medieval Armenian warrior.

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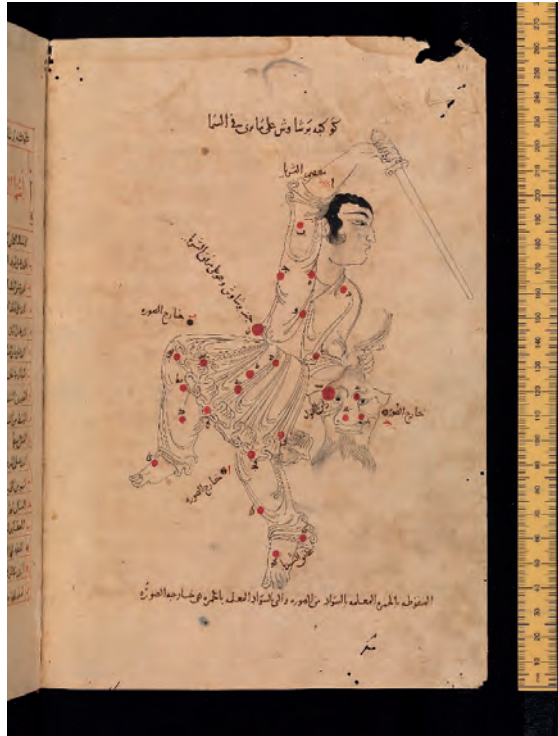
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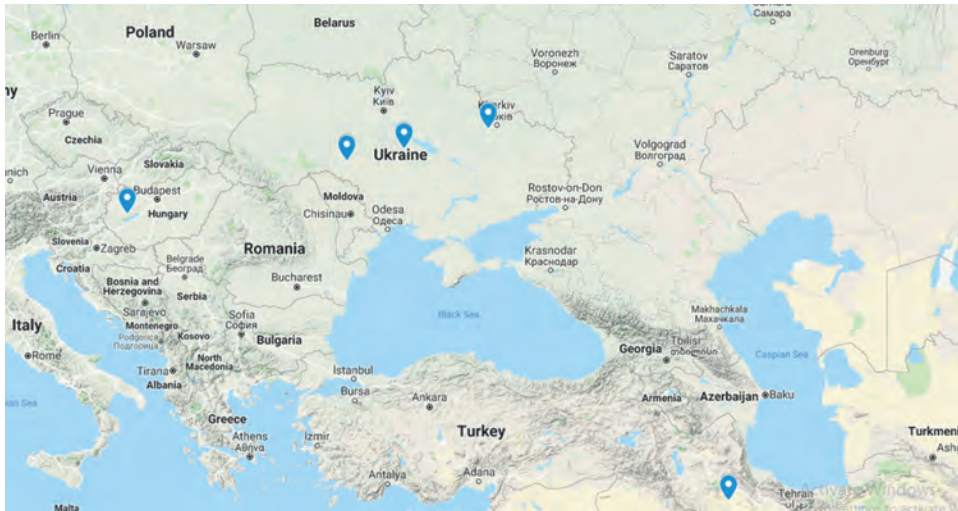
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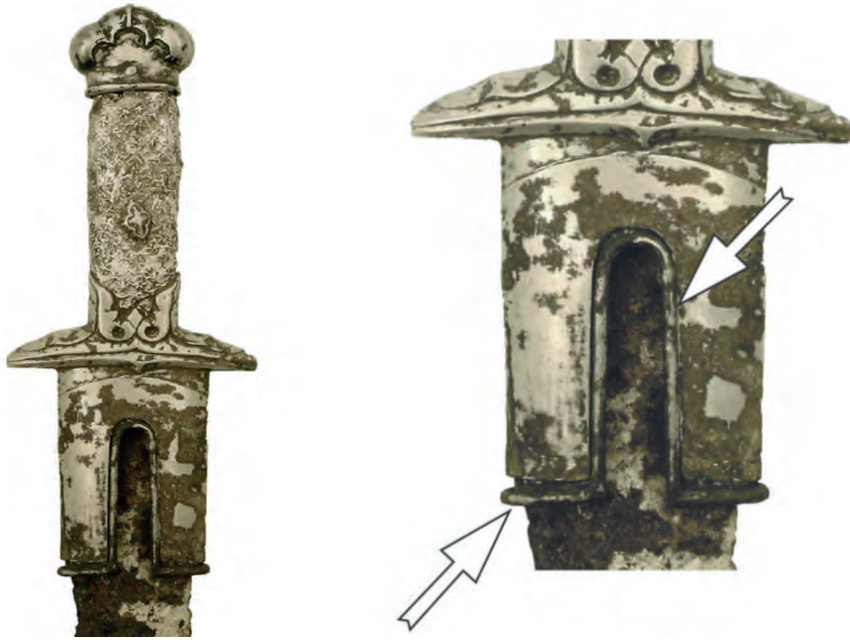
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## AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CATALOGUE IN GEORGE THE MONK'S CHRONICLE\*

**Abstract.** In Book I of George the Monk's *Chronicle* we read a long chapter dedicated to Alexander the Great, which includes an extensive section on his encounter with the Brahmins and the description of their customs. In particular, George the Monk follows the first part of the treatise *De Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* by Palladius, of which he provides almost *verbatim* excerpts. Thereafter, we find an ethnographic section devoted to the customs of the Seres, the Bactrians, the Chaldeans, the Gelae, the Britons, and the Amazons. The aim of this study, therefore, is to explore the reception of Greek ethnographic literature in the erudite compilation of George the Monk.

**Keywords:** George the Monk, universal chronicle, Brahmins, barbarian populations

From the ancient world we have several Graeco-Roman texts on the lifestyle of barbaric populations<sup>1</sup>. The Greeks and the Romans reflected extensively on the traditions of *alien* peoples and interpreted them from their point of view. Geographers and ethnographers like Herodotus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Plinius – just to mention some famous names – had devoted long chapters of their works to the description of areas such as Persia, Bactria, India and the Caucasus, and to the habits of their inhabitants. The Graeco-Roman ethnographic production, in particular, left a long lasting legacy to the following late antique, Byzantine and medieval tradition. This article focuses mainly on the reception process of the immense quantity of ethnographic material of Greek origin concerning the community of the Brahmins and other ethnic groups in one of the Byzantine

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<sup>1</sup> The relevant literature on this subject is very extensive. Essential are the works of F. HARTOG, *Le miroir d'Hérodote. Essai sur la représentation de l'autre*, Paris 1980 and *Mémoire d'Ulysse. Récits sur la frontière en Grèce ancienne*, Paris 1996. See also B. GATZ, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit und sinnverwandte Vorstellungen*, Hildesheim 1967; J. ROMM, *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*, Princeton, NJ 1992; P. CARTLEDGE, *The Greeks. A Portrait of Self and Others*, Oxford 2002; *Greeks and Barbarians*, ed. T. HARRISON, Edinburgh 2002 [= ERAW]; E.S. GRUEN, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, Princeton, NJ–Oxford 2011 [= MCL]; K. VLASSOPOULOS, *Greeks and Barbarians*, Cambridge 2013; E. JENSEN, *Barbarians in the Greek and Roman World*, Indianapolis 2018.

chronographies. The text that will be here analysed is the *Brief Chronicle* (*Chronikon Syntomon*) by George the Monk<sup>2</sup>, a work written in the 9<sup>th</sup> century as a sort of “monastic chronicle”, according to A. Kazhdan’s definition<sup>3</sup>. George the Monk was acquainted with the Greek texts, but the information he provides derives from Christian sources<sup>4</sup>, as Byzantine chroniclers used to do<sup>5</sup>. In his work, Book I is the preface to the actual chronicle – which extends from Book II to Book IX according to C. De Boor’s reconstruction<sup>6</sup> – and contains the long chapter 19 which focuses on the history of Alexander the Great: here there is an extensive description of the lifestyle of the Brahmins and of other barbaric populations, the Seri, the Bactrians, the Chaldeans, the Gelae, the Britons, followed by the mythical Amazons<sup>7</sup>. These contents were later synthetically reproduced and reprocessed in the universal chronicles by George Cedrenus (11<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>8</sup> and Michael Glycas (12<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>9</sup>.

### The island of the Brahmins

The information in George the Monk’s passage on the Brahmins’ lifestyle appears as an epitomized reproduction of the first part of the treatise attributed to Palladius, *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*<sup>10</sup>. It is a short treatise from the late antiquity, probably composed at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century by Palladius, bishop

<sup>2</sup> *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, vol. I, ed. C. DE BOOR, P. WIRTH, Stuttgartiae 1978 [= BSGR] (cetera: GEORGIUS MONACHUS). On the compilation of George the Monk’s *Chronicle*, see H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. I, München 1978, p. 347–351; E.M. JEFFREYS, *Malalas in Greek*, [in:] *Studies in John Malalas*, ed. E.M. JEFFREYS, B. CROKE, R. SCOTT, Sydney 1990 [= BAus, 6], p. 245–268, especially p. 261–262; D.E. AFINOGENOV, *Some Observations on Genres of Byzantine Historiography*, B 62, 1992, p. 13–33; R. SCOTT, *Byzantine Chronicles*, MChr 6, 2009, p. 31–58, especially p. 45–46; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, New York 2013, p. 114–120; L. NEVILLE, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, Cambridge 2018, p. 87–92.

<sup>3</sup> A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*, ed. C. ANGELIDI, Athens 2006, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 45.

<sup>5</sup> As to George the Monk’s knowledge of scriptural and patristic texts, see W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle...*, p. 117. On the method of the Byzantine chroniclers, who in compiling their chronicles derived their material from the Church Fathers and ecclesiastical sources, see the remarks in the introduction of *The Chronography of George Synkellos. A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation*, ed. W. ADLER, P. TUFFIN, Oxford 2002, p. LX–LXII. Also, as an example of John Malalas’ use of sources, see the study by E.M. JEFFREYS, *Malalas’ Sources*, [in:] *Studies...*, p. 167–216.

<sup>6</sup> Following the subdivision of the books in C. DE BOOR’s edition, the first part corresponds to Book I; the second part comprises Books II–VII; the third consists of Books VIII and IX, which are, however, the most extensive. On the subdivision of the contents of the *Chronicle*, see W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle...*, p. 118.

<sup>7</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 35, 6 – p. 39, 10).

<sup>8</sup> *Georgii Cedreni Historiarum Compendium*, vol. I, ed. L. TARTAGLIA, Roma 2016, p. 299–302.

<sup>9</sup> *Michaelis Glycae Annales*, rec. I. BEKKER, Bonnae 1836 [= CSHB], p. 269–270.

<sup>10</sup> PALLADIUS, *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, ed. W. BERGHOF, Meisenheim am Glan 1967 [= BKP, 24] (cetera: PALLADIUS).

of Helenopolis<sup>11</sup>. However, this section differs from Palladius' text because it provides new elements. This is the beginning of George the Monk's narration<sup>12</sup>:

Ὅς γε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἐνδοτάτων Ἰνδῶν καὶ τοῦ κυκλοῦντος πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ὠκεανοῦ μεγάλου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς μεγίστης νήσου τῶν Βραχμάνων φθάσας, ὧν καὶ τὸν θαυμάσιον καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄνθρωπον βίον καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸν πάντων θεὸν εὐσέβειάν τε καὶ λατρείαν μεμαθηκῶς ἐξεπλάγη πάνυ καὶ ἡγάσθη τῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκείνων ἀκροτάτης φιλοσοφίας. ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ καὶ στήλην στήσας ἐπέγραψεν· ἐγὼ μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος βασιλεὺς ἔφθασα μέχρι τούτου. ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ κατοικοῦσιν οἱ λεγόμενοι Μακρόβιοι. ζῶσι γὰρ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν περὶ τὰ ρν' ἔτη διὰ τὴν πολλὴν καθαρότητα καὶ εὐκρασίαν τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ ἀνεξερευνήτον θεοῦ κρίμα, ἐν ᾗ πάλιν οὐδέποτε ὁπώρα παντοία λείπει τὸν ὅλον χρόνον, ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῳ ἢ μὲν ἀνθει, ἢ δὲ ὀμφορίζει, ἢ δὲ τρυγᾶται, καὶ γε καὶ τὰ μέγιστα Ἰνδικὰ γίνονται κάρυα καὶ τὰ δυσπόριστα ἡμῖν καὶ πανεπέραστα ἀρώματα καὶ ὁ μαγνήτης λίθος.

He reached the furthest parts of India and the Great Ocean which encircles the world, and in it the great isle of the Brahmans. He discovered their wonderful, even superhuman, way of life, their reverence and worship of the God of all things, by which he was very impressed, admiring the heights of philosophy which these men had reached. He set up a pillar in that place with the following inscription: "I, Alexander the Great, reached this place". In that island live the so-called Long-lived Ones. Most of them live on the age of 150 because of the pure and well-balanced atmosphere and the undiscoverable judgement of God. In that place every kind of fruit is in season all year round, inasmuch as while one is in flower, another is ripening and another is ready to harvest. The large Indian nuts grow there, and the spices which we love so much and which are so hard to obtain, and the stone called magnet.

The most remarkable element in this passage is the mentioning of an island of the Brahmans, while the first part of Palladius' *De gentibus Indiae* indicates that the Brahmans live in India and in Serica by the river Ganges<sup>13</sup>. Moreover, Palladius states that his information on the Brahmans derive from a Theban man of law<sup>14</sup> who had visited India and had reached the island of Taprobane<sup>15</sup>. The Theban had provided the following information about this island: this is where the Macrobian live<sup>16</sup> and it is also the seat of the Great King of the Indians<sup>17</sup>; in the nearby islands there is a special magnetic stone<sup>18</sup>; five long rivers flow there<sup>19</sup>; the production

<sup>11</sup> On the date and history of the text of Palladius' *De gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus* see Alexander der Grosse und die "nackten Weisen" Indiens, ed. M. STEINMANN, Berlin 2012 [= KPh, 4], p. 42–49. Cf. *Alexandre le Grand et les Brahmanes. Palladius d'Hélénopolis. Les Mœurs des Brahmanes de l'Inde, suivie de Correspondance d'Alexandre et de Dindime (Anonyme)*, ed. P. MARAVAL, Paris 2016, p. IX–L.

<sup>12</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 35, 6–21). Translation in R. STONEMAN, *Legends of Alexander the Great*, London–New York 2012, p. 30–31.

<sup>13</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 1.

<sup>14</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 3.

<sup>15</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 4.

<sup>16</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 4.

<sup>17</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 4.

<sup>18</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 5.

<sup>19</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 6.

of fruit is incessant<sup>20</sup>; the tall Indian nut trees grow there<sup>21</sup>; finally, the inhabitants of the island feed on milk, rice, fruit and use the skins of local sheep as clothes<sup>22</sup>.

If we compare the information provided by George the Monk with the text of Palladius, we can see how the former has excerpted the latter. The element which mostly stands out in his version is the fact that he places the Brahmans on an island which is not mentioned by Palladius, but which is clearly to be identified with Palladius' Taprobane<sup>23</sup>. This geographical displacement is important because it is often reported in the medieval tradition<sup>24</sup>. For instance, we find it in the Byzantine re-writing of the *Alexander Romance*, the so-called recension  $\epsilon$ <sup>25</sup>, which can be dated back to the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>26</sup>. This Byzantine version of the *Romance* presents the episode of Philon, a friend of Alexander, who explores an island which is placed right opposite the easternmost limit of the territory reached by the Macedonian king<sup>27</sup>. When Philon is back, Alexander decides to visit the island where he meets some naked men who direct him to the island of the blessed<sup>28</sup>. This episode in the recension  $\epsilon$  was then re-worked in the later recension  $\gamma$ <sup>29</sup>, in which we also find the interpolation of Palladius' treatise.

In general, the passage from George the Monk – although not original because of its derivation from Palladius – is interesting because it is a synthesis of all the necessary ethnographic information on the island where the Brahmans live. Specifically, George the Monk provides a list of features about the territory, the people and the animals that live there. His narration follows an old model of Greek

<sup>20</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 6.

<sup>21</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 6.

<sup>22</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 6.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. R. STONEMAN, *Naked Philosophers: the Brahmans in the Alexander Historians and the Alexander Romance*, JHS 115, 1995, p. 99–114, especially p. 107, n. 52.

<sup>24</sup> The island of the Brahmans can be found in the *Policraticus* of John of Salisbury (12<sup>th</sup> century), in the *Speculum historiale* of Vincent of Beauvais (13<sup>th</sup> century), and in the *Polychronicon* of Ranulf of Higden (14<sup>th</sup> century). See M. STEINMANN, *Eine fiktive Depesche der Gymnosophisten an Alexander den Großen: die Epistula Bragmanorum ad Alexandrum als Einleitung zu einer moralisch-ethnographischen Epitome*, CM 66, 2015, p. 221–242. See also my forthcoming article *The Brahmans' Utopia from the Greek Sources to John of Salisbury's Policraticus*, IGr 15, 2021.

<sup>25</sup> Concerning the location of the Brahmans' utopian community on an island, see C. JOUANNO, *Des Gymnosophistes aux Réchabites: une utopie antique et sa christianisation*, AC 79, 2010, p. 53–76, especially p. 60–61. See also M. STEINMANN, *Eine fiktive Depesche...*, p. 226–227. See the island's description in the edition of the recension  $\epsilon$  *Anonymi Byzantini Vita Alexandri Regis Macedonum*, 30–31, ed. J. TRUMPF, Stuttgartiae 1974 [= BSGR], p. 104–109 (cetera: *Vita Alexandri*).

<sup>26</sup> J. TRUMPF, *Alexander, die Bersiler und die Brüste des Nordens*, BZ 64, 1971, p. 326–328 demonstrated that the recension  $\epsilon$  dates back to the early 8<sup>th</sup> century. For the dating of the recension  $\epsilon$  see the introduction by R. STONEMAN, in *Il Romanzo di Alessandro*, vol. I, ed. R. STONEMAN, T. GARGIULO, Milano 2012, p. LXXX. See also C. JOUANNO, *Naissance et métamorphose du Roman d'Alexandre*, Paris 2002, p. 339.

<sup>27</sup> *Vita Alexandri*, 30, 1–3.

<sup>28</sup> *Vita Alexandri*, 30, 5.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Il Romanzo di Alessandro*, II, 35a, 1, vol. II..., p. 225–227.

ethnographic literature. In fact, the first part of Palladius' treatise is already organized as an ethnographic account which reports a journey made by a third character who narrated his experience to the author. George the Monk's summary lists all the *cultural markers* that refer to the divide between the Graeco-Roman civilized world and far off populations. If we follow the sequence of information in George the Monk's text, we find a series of *topoi* on India and its peoples that not only Palladius but several earlier Greek authors had already used<sup>30</sup>. To recapitulate, we can notice that:

- a) the longevity of the Macrobian is a quite common trait attributed to the populations of India<sup>31</sup> and Ethiopia<sup>32</sup>;
- b) the constant production of any kind of fruit as a typical element of the Indian territory – with special reference to the habitat of the Brahmans and the food they eat<sup>33</sup> – appears in the *Alexander Romance*<sup>34</sup>;
- c) the production of nuts and spices and the presence of a magnet in India are details that already appear in the passages attributed to Ctesias' *Indika*<sup>35</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> The Graeco-Roman sources on the Brahmans are in *Fontes historiae religionum Indicarum*, ed. B. BRELOER, F. BÖMER, Bonnae 1939 [= FHR, 7]. The main studies on the Greek sources are by R. STONEMAN: *Who Are the Brahmans? Indian Lore and Cynic Doctrine in Palladius' De Bragmanibus and its Models*, CQ 44, 1994, p. 500–510; IDEM, *Naked Philosophers...*; IDEM, *Alexander the Great. A Life in Legend*, New Haven–London 2008, p. 91–102.

<sup>31</sup> STRABO, *Geography*, vol. VII, *Books 15–16*, XV, 1, 34, trans. H.L. JONES, Cambridge–London 1930 [= LCL, 241] (cetera: STRABO); DIO CHRYSOSTOM, *Discourses 31–36*, XXXV, 21, vol. III, trans. J.W. COHOON, H. LAMAR CROSBY, Cambridge–London 1940 [= LCL, 358]; LUCIAN, vol. I, *Longaevi*, 5, trans. A.M. HARMON, Cambridge–London 1913 [= LCL, 14], p. 224–225. The data are collected in P. SCHNEIDER, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde. Interférences et confusions aux extrémités du monde antique (VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. – VI<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.)*, Rome 2004, p. 100–102.

<sup>32</sup> *Herodoti Historiae*, III, 23; III, 97; III, 114, vol. I–II, ed. H.B. ROSÉN, Stuttgartiae–Lipsiae 1987–1997 [= BSGR] (cetera: HERODOTUS); ATHENAEUS, *The Learned Banqueters*, vol. VI, *Books 12–13.594b*, XIII, 20, 566 c, trans. S. DOUGLAS OLSON, Cambridge, Mass. 2010 [= LCL, 327]; PHILOSTRATUS, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, vol. II, *Books 5–8*, VI, 4, trans. F.C. CONYBEARE, Cambridge–London 1911 [= LCL, 17]; CAIUS PLINIUS SECUNDUS, *Naturalis Historia*, VI, 190, vol. I, ed. L. IAN, C. MAYHOFF, Lipsiae 1970 [= BSGR] (cetera: PLINIUS). Data collected in P. SCHNEIDER, *L'Éthiopie et l'Inde...*, p. 100–102.

<sup>33</sup> See PLUTARCHUS, *Moralia*, 332B, vol. II, ed. W. NACHSTÄDT, W. SIEVEKING, J. TITCHENER, Lipsiae 1935 [= BSGR] (cetera: PLUTARCHUS); *Flavii Arriani Quae extant omnia*, vol. I, *Alexandri Anabasis*, VII 2, 4, ed. A.G. ROOS, Lipsiae 1967 [= BSGR]; *Flavii Arriani Quae extant omnia*, vol. II, *Scripta minora et fragmenta, Indica XI*, 8, ed. A.G. ROOS, Lipsiae 1968 [= BSGR]; *Porphyrus philosophi platonici opuscula selecta, De Abstinentia IV*, 17, 4–5, rec. A. NAUCK, Hildesheim 1963 [= BSGR] (cetera: PORPHYRIUS); *Refutation of All Heresies*, I, 24, 1, ed. M.D. LITWA, Atalanta 2016 [= WGRW, 40] (cetera: *Refutatio*).

<sup>34</sup> See the extended tale of the recension  $\beta$  in *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension  $\beta$* , III, 5–6, ed. L. BERGSON, Stockholm–Göteborg–Uppsala 1965.

<sup>35</sup> CTÉSIAS DE CNIDE, *La Perse. L'Inde. Autres fragments*, F 45, 6; 28; 47, ed. D. LENFANT, Paris 2004 [= CUF.SG, 435] (cetera: CTESIAS).

The successive section in George the Monk's work then further follows the first part of Palladius' *De gentibus Indiae*<sup>36</sup>. Here the habits of the Brahmins are described: they lead a very simple life, naked, in contact with nature and with no possessions; they have neither gold, nor silver, nor do they breed animals or cultivate the land, they have no houses, no iron, no fire, they eat no bread nor wine nor meat<sup>37</sup>. The text stresses twice that they celebrate and worship God<sup>38</sup>. Then their peculiar sexual habits are mentioned, according to which they mate with women only during the summer months and plan births with a limit of two children<sup>39</sup>. Finally, the text mentions the monstrous creature that haunts the waters of their river: the Odontotyranos, and the huge wild animals that live in the deserts, the elephants, the snakes, the scorpions, the ants<sup>40</sup>.

Regarding George the Monk's synthesis on the life of the Brahmins, it is worth mentioning that the Graeco-Roman sources providing information on the image of this community are numerous and cover a long period of time starting from the Hellenistic authors who considered them as symbols of oriental wisdom<sup>41</sup>. Among the Church Fathers<sup>42</sup> – and Palladius is one of them – they are mentioned as positive models of asceticism<sup>43</sup>.

### The ethnographic survey

After the section devoted to the Brahmins, George the Monk's account catalogues several different populations and describes their peculiar habits. We find the Seres, the Bactrians, the Chaldeans, the Babylonians, the Gelae, the Britons and the Amazons. In this part the chronicler explicitly declares that his source is Caesarius of Nazianzus, brother of Gregory<sup>44</sup>. In particular, the account of George the Monk

<sup>36</sup> PALLADIUS, I, 11–15.

<sup>37</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 35, 21 – p. 36, 9).

<sup>38</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 35, 24 – p. 36, 1; 8–9).

<sup>39</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 36, 9 – p. 37, 6).

<sup>40</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 37, 7–22).

<sup>41</sup> K. KARTTUNEN, *Greeks and Indian Wisdom*, [in:] *Beyond Orientalism. The Work of Wilhelm Halbfass and its Impact on Indian and Cross-Cultural Studies*, ed. E. FRANCO, K. PREISENDANZ, Amsterdam–Atalanta 1997, p. 117–122.

<sup>42</sup> Many passages by Christian authors on the Brahmins are collected in my article *The Lifestyle of the Brahmins in the Refutatio omnium haeresium*, Huma 76, 2020, p. 57–82.

<sup>43</sup> See for instance the commentary to chapter 24 of Book I in the *Refutatio omnium haeresium* by J. FILLIOZAT, *La doctrine des brâhmanes d'après saint Hippolyte*, RHR 130, 1945, p. 59–91. Cf. B. BERG, *Dandamis: an Early Christian Portrait of Indian Asceticism*, CM 31, 1970, p. 269–305.

<sup>44</sup> Although Gregory of Nazianzus actually had a brother named Caesarius, the work *Questiones et responsiones* – the source of George the Monk – is attributed to the latter only in the title that has come down to us, and it is therefore a pseudo-epigraphic text. See PSEUDO-KAISARIOS, *Die Erotapokriseis*, ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berlin 1989 [= GCS] (cetera: PSEUDO-KAISARIOS), p. 9. On the problem of the identity of 'Pseudo-Caesarius' see I. PERCZEL, *Finding a Place for the Erotapokriseis of Pseudo-Caesarius: A New Document of Sixth-Century Palestinian Origenism*, ARAM.P 18, 2006, p. 49–83.

contains an almost literal quotation from the chapter 108 of the *Quaestiones et responsiones* by Caesarius<sup>45</sup>, who summarizes a long passage from the work *Against Fate* (*Κατὰ Είμαρμένης*), or *Liber legum regionum*, by Bardesanes of Edessa<sup>46</sup> that describes the specific norms of the lifestyle of various barbaric peoples<sup>47</sup>. This is the indirect source of the section on the barbaric peoples in the *Chronicle* of George the Monk. Additionally, the same contents of Bardesanes' passage are quoted more extensively in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* by Eusebius of Caesarea, which is the main source to reconstruct the lost Greek text of Bardesanes<sup>48</sup>.

Chapter 108 of Caesarius' *Quaestiones et responsiones* is dedicated to the refutation of the theory that events in human life do not happen by the determination of the constellations or fate<sup>49</sup>. Caesarius rejects this thesis by demonstrating that various peoples are not forced by astral conjunctions to make certain life choices<sup>50</sup>, but are guided by their free will<sup>51</sup> which determines their customs (*nomoi*)<sup>52</sup>. In this regard, it should be noted that Caesarius reworks the text of Bardesanes, following the same arguments against the theory that fate has any influence on human beings<sup>53</sup>. In Bardesanes' work, the main interest focuses on the habits that regulate the life of cultures far from the Christian world, to show how free will, and not astral influence, is decisive. On the basis of this acquisition and intellectual foundation, Bardesanes reviews the customs of numerous peoples located far from the *oikoumene*. The same interpretative model, together with the same expository scheme, reaches as far as George the Monk's ethnographic survey.

<sup>45</sup> PSEUDO-KAISARIOS, 108, 26–73.

<sup>46</sup> Bardesanes' fragments with commentary can be found in *The Book of the Laws of Countries. Dialogue on Fate of Bardaisan of Edessa*, ed. H.J.W. DRIJVERS, Assen 1965. See also BARDESANE, *Contro il fato. Κατὰ Είμαρμένης*, ed. I. RAMELLI, Roma–Bologna 2009 (cetera: BARDESANE). On Bardesanes' thought, see A. CAMPLANI, *Bardesane et les Bardesanites*, AEPHE V 112, 2003–2004, p. 29–50.

<sup>47</sup> PSEUDO-KAISARIOS, 108–111.

<sup>48</sup> The text of Eusebius with the Italian translation can be found in BARDESANE, *Contro il fato...*, p. 511–530. On Eusebius as a source of Bardesanes' text see BARDESANE, *Contro il fato...*, p. 257–265, and also I. RAMELLI, *Bardesane e la sua scuola tra la cultura occidentale e quella orientale: il lessico della libertà nel Liber Legum Regionum*, [in:] *Pensiero e istituzioni del mondo classico nelle culture del Vicino Oriente. Atti del Seminario Nazionale di Studio, Brescia 14–16 ottobre 1999*, ed. R.B. FINAZZI, A. VALVO, Alessandria 2001, p. 237–255.

<sup>49</sup> The title of chapter 108 is: Περὶ σεβασμάτων Ἑλληνικῶν καὶ ὅτι οὐ κατὰ ἀστρολογίαν ἢ εἰμαρμένην τινὰ συμβαίνει ἡμῖν. "On the cults of the Greeks and on the fact that everything does not happen to us in accordance with astrology or fate".

<sup>50</sup> PSEUDO-KAISARIOS, 108, 31–35; 47–49; 55–58; 73–75.

<sup>51</sup> See the passage in PSEUDO-KAISARIOS, 108, 31–35, which tells about the "self-determination" (τὸ αὐτεξούσιον) of each person that cannot be constrained by the "necessity" (ἀνάγκη) of the stars.

<sup>52</sup> PSEUDO-KAISARIOS, 108, *passim*.

<sup>53</sup> On the question of free will in Bardesanes' *Against Fate* see the observations of I. RAMELLI in BARDESANE, *Contro il fato...*, p. 61–93. See also H.J.W. DRIJVERS, *Bardaisan of Edessa*, Assen 1966 [= SSN, 6], p. 103–104.

The value of this ethnographic section lies above all in the method used by George the Monk to synthesize his model: the compilation clearly shows the choice of listing in brief the most relevant aspects of the customs of a number of foreign peoples. If we compare his text with that of Caesarius, we can see that there are some differences: a) in his ethnographic survey George the Monk has completely eliminated the references to the question of astral influences on human life; b) the peoples listed are fewer in number than those presented in chapter 108 of Caesarius' work<sup>54</sup>. It is evident that George the Monk's selection was determined by his idea of composing a chronicle, and not a doctrinaire work like that of Caesarius. George the Monk's catalogue of the barbarian peoples begins with a repetition of the same statement in Caesarius' text: *in every land and in every nation there is either a written law-code or customary usage*<sup>55</sup>. Subsequently, in the survey of George the Monk – as in Caesarius' passage – the word *nomos* is repeated every time the customs of a different population are introduced. Evidently, the primary purpose of such a repetitive formulation is to illustrate the different way of life of other cultures by giving numerous examples. It should also be noted that the list of the customs of the barbarian populations is built on the assumption that these habits are exceptional, abnormal and opposite to the norms of Western civilisation.

## The Seres

In George the Monk's ethnographic survey the first mention is for the Seres<sup>56</sup>:

ὦν πρόωτοι Σήρες οἱ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς γῆς οἰκοῦντες νόμον ἔχουσι τὸ πατρῶον ἔθος μὴ πορνεύειν ἢ μοιχεύειν ἢ κλέπτειν ἢ λοιδορεῖν ἢ φονεύειν ἢ κακουργεῖν τὸ σύνολον.

First among these are the Seres, who live on the edge of the earth: they have a written law incorporating ancestral custom, which forbids adultery and traffic with prostitutes, thefts, slander, murder and every sort of crime.

The population of the Seres is not often mentioned in the Greek sources. What we learn is that they lived on an island in the Red Sea<sup>57</sup>, or around the Caspian Sea<sup>58</sup>, or in India<sup>59</sup>. They belonged to the same race as the Ethiopians, or they were

<sup>54</sup> Chapter 108 from the *Quaestiones et responsiones* also mentions the Medes, the Indians, the Germans, who are not listed in the passage I, 19 of George the Monk's *Chronicle*.

<sup>55</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 38, 2–4): ἐν γὰρ ἐκάστη χώρᾳ καὶ ἔθνεσιν ἐν τοῖς μὲν ἔγγραφος νόμος ἐστίν, ἐν τοῖς δὲ ἢ συνήθεια. Translation by R. STONEMAN, *Legends...*, p. 32.

<sup>56</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 38, 5–7). Translation by R. STONEMAN, *Legends...*, p. 32.

<sup>57</sup> See *Pausaniae Graeciae Descriptio*, VI, 26, 9, ed. M.H. ROCHA-PEREIRA, Lipsiae 1973–1981 [= BSGR] (cetera: PAUSANIAS).

<sup>58</sup> Cf. DIONISIO DI ALESSANDRIA, *Descrizione della Terra abitata*, 760, ed. E. AMATO, Milano 2005 (cetera: DIONYSIUS PERIEGETA).

<sup>59</sup> STRABO, XV, 1, 37; PLINIUS, VI, 87.



Scythians mixed with Indians<sup>60</sup>. We also learn that they lived a long life because they reached the age of 130<sup>61</sup>, or 140<sup>62</sup>, or lived longer than 200 years<sup>63</sup>; they were also able to produce garments with multi-coloured threads<sup>64</sup> which they traded<sup>65</sup>. Ammianus' description of the Seres<sup>66</sup> is especially remarkable because it attributes to them several features that the Graeco-Roman authors had already assigned to the Brahmans, as in Palladius' treatise: they are peaceful, do not use weapons, and live like wild animals far from other human beings; their sky is sunny and their climate pleasant; they have plenty of trees whose fruits after soaking become fluffy and are transformed into silk.

In George the Monk's text the characteristics attributed to the Seres place them among those populations that Christian authors admired because their customs were "naturally" good<sup>67</sup>.

### The Bactrians and the Brahmans

Later, in the same passage we are introduced to the Bactrians and the Brahmans. The latter are mentioned again here because George the Monk reproduces the contents of chapter 108 of Caesarius' work. This is what the author writes about them<sup>68</sup>:

νόμος δὲ καὶ παρὰ Βακτριάναις ἦτοι Βραχμάναις καὶ Νησιώταις ἢ ἐκ προγόνων παιδεία τε καὶ εὐσέβεια μὴ κρεοφαγεῖν ἢ οἰνοποτεῖν ἢ λαγνεύειν ἢ παντοῖαν κακίαν διαπράττεσθαι διὰ πολλὸν φόβον θεοῦ καὶ πίστιν

There is a law also among the Bactrians or Brahmans and Islanders; it consists of an education and religious practice focused on the ancestors, and forbids the eating of meat, the drinking of wine, lechery and all other kinds of evil, the sanction being their fear of and trust in God.

These populations, as the Seres, are presented in very positive terms. It was quite common among the Greek<sup>69</sup> and Christian authors<sup>70</sup> to describe the Brahmans

<sup>60</sup> PAUSANIAS, VI, 26, 9.

<sup>61</sup> STRABO, XV, 1, 34.

<sup>62</sup> PLINIUS, VII, 2, 27.

<sup>63</sup> STRABO, XV, 1, 37.

<sup>64</sup> DIONYSIUS PERIEGETA, 752–757; PAUSANIAS, VI, 26, 6–8. See also *Publi Vergili Maronis Opera, Georg. II*, 121, rec. R.A.B. MYNORS, Oxonii 1969 [= SCBO]; *Ammiani Marcellini Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XXIII, 6, 67, vol. I, ed. W. SEYFARTH, Lipsiae 1978 [= BSGR] (cetera: AMMIANUS).

<sup>65</sup> PLINIUS, VI, 20, 54; VI 21, 88; AMMIANUS, XXIII, 6, 68.

<sup>66</sup> AMMIANUS, XXIII, 6, 67–68.

<sup>67</sup> See the description of the Seres in Bardesanes' work: BARDESANE, p. 512.

<sup>68</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 38, 7–11). Translation by R. STONEMAN, *Legends...*, p. 32.

<sup>69</sup> See STRABO, XV, 1, 59 quoting Megasthenes, in *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 715, F 33, ed. F. JACOBY, Leiden 1923–1958 (cetera: *Die Fragmente*) and STRABO, XV, 1, 65, quoting Onesicritus, in *Die Fragmente*, 134, F 17a. See also PORPHYRIUS, *Abst.* IV, 17, 5.

<sup>70</sup> *Refutatio*, I, 24, 1; CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, *Stromata. Buch I–VI*, III, 7, 60, vol. I, ed. O. STÄHLIN, Lipsiae 1906 [= GCS] (cetera: CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS).

as vegetarians and non-drinkers<sup>71</sup>. In George the Monk's successive words, however – but we find the same information also in Bardesanes' quotation provided by Eusebius<sup>72</sup> –, other Indians appear who are murderous and commit every type of crime, they even devour the foreigners who happen to go there<sup>73</sup>. This type of representation reproduces a typical scheme of Greek ethnographic literature which often attributes to the same population commendable and noble qualities as well as terrible and disgusting habits. It is worth remarking here that Herodotus himself attributed wild customs to the Indians<sup>74</sup>, while Ctesias defined them as extremely honest<sup>75</sup>.

### The Chaldeans and the Babylonians

The list of the customs of foreign populations continues with the Chaldeans and the Babylonians about whom we learn that<sup>76</sup>:

Χαλδαίοις τε καὶ Βαβυλωνίοις μητρογαμείν, ἀδελφοτεκνοφθορεῖν καὶ μαιφονεῖν καὶ πᾶσαν θεοστουγῇ πράξιιν ὡς ἀρετὴν ἀποτελεῖν, κἂν πόρρω τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν γένωνται.

The Chaldeans and the Babylonians have different customs again, involving marrying their mothers, sibling infanticide, murder and all practices hateful to God: they regard these things as virtuous, even if they are far from their own country.

Here the description of the Chaldeans and the Babylonians is thoroughly negative due to their terrible customs. This is in line with the tradition of the Christian apologists who discredit them because they are considered champions of idolatry for their interest in astrology<sup>77</sup> and every kind of divination<sup>78</sup>, activities which question the belief in a single god<sup>79</sup>. To this purpose, we may mention, for instance, the criticism of Aristides of Athens<sup>80</sup>. In the older Greek tradition, the Chaldeans are often described as the inventors and best experts of astronomy<sup>81</sup>, but this attribute

<sup>71</sup> PALLADIUS, II, 45–47.

<sup>72</sup> BARDESANE, p. 513; 523.

<sup>73</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 38, 11–15).

<sup>74</sup> HERODOTUS, III, 98–101.

<sup>75</sup> CTESIAS, F 45, 16.

<sup>76</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 38, 15–18). Translation by R. STONEMAN, *Legends...*, p. 32.

<sup>77</sup> CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, I, 16, 74. Cf. THÉODORET DE CYR, *Thérapeutique des maladies helléniques*, vol. I, ed. P. CANIVET, Paris 1958 [= SC, 57].

<sup>78</sup> CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, VI, 16, 143.

<sup>79</sup> See the refutation of the astrological knowledge of the Chaldeans in *Refutatio*, IV, 2–3. On the controversy against the worship of many gods practiced by the Chaldeans, see ARNOBIO DI SICCA, *Difesa della vera religione contro i pagani*, IV, 13, ed. B. AMATA, Roma 2012.

<sup>80</sup> ARISTIDE, *Apologie*, II, 2; III, 2; VII, 4, ed. B. POUDERON, M.-J. PIERRE, Paris 2003 [= SC, 470].

<sup>81</sup> STRABO, XVI, 1, 6. See also *Diogenis Laertii Vitae Philosophorum*, vol. I, *Libri I–X*, I, 1, 6, ed. M. MARCOVICH, Stuttgartiae–Lipsiae 1999 [= BSGR]. Moreover, it is interesting that LUCIAN,

is not always a negative one. For instance, Diodorus Siculus praises the Chaldeans for their wisdom, as they are great scholars, famous for being excellent astrologers and well acquainted with the art of divination that they have practiced since their young age with their fathers<sup>82</sup>.

In the long quotation from Bardesanes' *Liber* in Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica*, the crime of incest with the mothers is attributed to the Persians and the Magi<sup>83</sup>. In general, the motif of incestuous relations with mothers, sisters, or daughters among the Persians and other Eastern peoples takes on a negative connotation among both Greek<sup>84</sup> and Christian writers<sup>85</sup>. On this regard, it must be added that the anomaly of sexual customs in George the Monk's passage is a sort of *leitmotiv* that appears repeatedly in the peoples he mentions.

### The Gelae

After the Chaldeans we find the description of the Gelae (Γηλαίοι). They are characterized as a community where male and female roles are reversed<sup>86</sup>:

ἄλλος δὲ παρὰ Γηλαίοις νόμος γυναῖκας γεωργεῖν καὶ οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀνδρῶν πράττειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προνεύειν ὡς ἂν βούλωνται μὴ κωλυόμεναι παντελῶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν ἢ ζηλούμεναι. ἐν αἷς ὑπάρχουσι καὶ πολεμικώταται καὶ θηρώσαι τὰ μὴ λίαν ἰσχυρότατα τῶν θηρίων. ἄρχουσι δὲ τῶν οἰκειῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ κυριεύουσι.

Among the Gelae is customary for the women to work the fields, build houses, and do all kinds of men's work, and also to prostitute themselves to whomever they like, without any objection or envy from their husbands. Some of these women are very warlike and will hunt animals, at least those that are not too fierce. They are rulers of their household and dominate their husbands.

In this kind of description, we find the constructed image of a utopian community where women are dominant because they have the power. This feature is part of the popular way in which Greek ethnography represented Eastern populations as a "reversed world". Such stereotype is confirmed by the sources that place the

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vol. V, *Astrologia*, 36, 8, trans. A.M. HARMON, Cambridge-London 1936 [= LCL, 302], writes that the Babylonians are expert astrologists.

<sup>82</sup> *Diodori Bibliotheca Historica*, II, 29, vol. I, rec. L. DINDORF, F. VOGEL, Stuttgartiae 1964 [= BSGR] (cetera: DIODORUS).

<sup>83</sup> BARDESANE, *Contro il fato...*, p. 513; 523.

<sup>84</sup> See PLUTARCHUS, 328 C, that mentions the custom of marrying mothers among the Persians. Cf. HERODOTUS, III, 31.

<sup>85</sup> MINUCIUS FELIX, *Octavius*, 31, ed. J. BEAUJEU, Paris 1964 [= CUF.SL]; TERTULLIEN, *Apologétique*, 9, 16, ed. J.P. WALTZING, <sup>2</sup>Paris 1961 [= CUF].

<sup>86</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 38, 18–24). Translation by R. STONEMAN (with one minimal change), *Legends...*, p. 32–33.

Gelae among the Scythians<sup>87</sup> and the information from Diodorus Siculus who reports that women among the Scythians are as strong as men and are expert warriors<sup>88</sup>. To give some further examples on this theme, we read in Strabo that among the Siginni, a population that live in the Caucasus, women are able to drive war chariots and choose their partners<sup>89</sup>. Still Strabo narrates that among the Indians the care of the king is committed to women who participate in hunting and military campaigns<sup>90</sup>. We could mention here several other examples, but it suffices to point out that Graeco-Roman literature shows a great number of oriental queens who play a role usually attributed to men<sup>91</sup>: the most famous are Semiramis<sup>92</sup>, Nitocris<sup>93</sup>, Atossa<sup>94</sup>, Artemisia<sup>95</sup>.

### The Britons

The text by George the Monk introduces then the inhabitants of Britain who are characterized by very open sexual behaviours, so much so that<sup>96</sup>:

ἐν δὲ Βρεττανία πλείστοι ἄνδρες μᾶ συγκαθεύδουσι γυναῖκι καὶ πολλαὶ γυναῖκες ἐνὶ ἔται-  
ρίζονται ἀνδρί, καὶ τὸ παράνομον ὡς νόμον καλὸν καὶ πατρῶον πράττουσιν ἀζήλωτον καὶ  
ἀκώλυτον.

In Britain many men sleep with a single woman, and many women with a single man, and they regard what is immoral as moral and ancestral custom, and do so without arousing objection or envy.

This tradition of the sharing of women among the Britons is already in Cassius Dio<sup>97</sup> and in Caesar<sup>98</sup>. It must also be added here that another testimony of the

<sup>87</sup> In HERODOTUS, IV, 102; 108; 109 this population is called Γελωνοί and lives by the Scythians. In STRABO, XI, 5, 1, they are called Γῆλαι and Σκύθαι (Scythians).

<sup>88</sup> DIODORUS, II, 44.

<sup>89</sup> STRABO, XI, 11, 8.

<sup>90</sup> STRABO, XV, 1, 55.

<sup>91</sup> See in this regard the extensive study on warrior-queens in *De mulieribus* by D. GERA, *Warrior Women. The Anonymous Tractatus De Mulieribus*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= Mn.S, 162].

<sup>92</sup> Semiramis, queen of the Assyrians, is described as a conqueror and skilful military leader: HERODOTUS, I, 184; CTESIUS, F 6b; DIODORUS, II, 5–20.

<sup>93</sup> Nitocris, queen of the Assyrians after Semiramis, ordered numerous fortifications to defend the city of Babylon: HERODOTUS, I, 185–187.

<sup>94</sup> Atossa, queen of the Persians, advises her husband Darius to lead an expedition against Greece: HERODOTUS, III, 134.

<sup>95</sup> Artemisia, queen of Caria, is an ally of Xerxes during the war against the Greeks, and is his best general: HERODOTUS, VII, 99; VIII, 68–69; 87–88; 101; 107.

<sup>96</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 38, 24 – p. 39, 3). Translation by R. STONEMAN, *Legends...*, p. 33.

<sup>97</sup> DIO CASSIUS, *Roman History*, vol. IX, *Books 71–80*, LXXVII, 12, 2, trans. E. CARY, H.B. FOSTER, Cambridge–London 1927 [= LCL, 177].

<sup>98</sup> GAIVS IVLIVS CAESAR, *Commentarii*, vol. I, *Commentarii Belli Gallici*, V, 14, 4, ed. A. KLOTZ, Lipsiae 1952 [= BSGR].

atypical habits of the Britons, like common property and their eating men's and dogs' meat, can be found in the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies*<sup>99</sup>. This is not surprising considering that the pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* also report another long quotation from the same passage of Bardesanes' *Liber legum regionum*<sup>100</sup>, which is the source for Caesarius' text.

## The Amazons

At the end of the ethnographic section, George the Monk provides a description of the Amazons<sup>101</sup>:

Ἀμαζόνες δὲ ἄνδρας οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα ἅπαξ τοῦ ἔτους περὶ τὴν ἔαρινὴν ἰσημερινὰν ὑπερόροιοι γίνονται καὶ μιγνύμεναι τοῖς γειτνιῶσιν ἀνδράσιν ὡς πανήγυριν τινα καὶ μεγάλην ἑορτὴν τὸν καιρὸν ἐκείνον ἡγοῦνται. ἔξ ὧν καὶ κατὰ γαστρὸς συλλαβοῦσαι παλινδρομοῦσιν οἴκαδε πᾶσαι. τῷ δὲ καιρῷ τῆς ἀποκνήσεως τὸν μὲν ἄρρενα φθείρουσιν, τὸ δὲ θῆλυ ζωογονοῦσι καὶ τιθηνοῦσιν ἐπιμελῶς καὶ ἐκτρέφουσιν.

The Amazons have no husbands, but like wild animals they cross their borders once a year, at the spring equinox, and have intercourse with the neighbouring men, making a kind of huge party and festival out of it. Then when they have conceived, they all go home again. When they have given birth, they kill all the male children, but preserve the female ones and nurse them with every attention until they grow up.

The most interesting element of this survey on the customs of barbaric peoples is the fact that it ends with a mythical community. Herodotus was the first to report the story of these mythical female warriors<sup>102</sup>. Later, they became the object of a large literary production covering several centuries which has reproduced the same *topoi*: their ability in warfare, the free choice of their partners and their raising daughters<sup>103</sup>. The tradition on the anomalous sexual behaviour of the Amazons continues among the Christian authors and, as we have seen, is also reproduced by the source of George the Monk.

<sup>99</sup> *Die Pseudoklementinen*, vol. I, *Homilien*, XIX, 19, 7, ed. B. REHM, G. STRECKER, Berlin 1992 [= GCS, 42].

<sup>100</sup> *Die Pseudoklementinen*, vol. II, *Recognitiones in Rufins Übersetzung*, IX, 24, ed. B. REHM, G. STRECKER, Berlin 1994 [= GCS, 51].

<sup>101</sup> GEORGIUS MONACHUS, I, 19 (p. 39, 3–10). Translation by R. STONEMAN, *Legends...*, p. 33.

<sup>102</sup> HERODOTUS, IV, 110–117.

<sup>103</sup> On the mythical tales about the Amazons, see L. HARDWICK, *Ancient Amazons – Heroes, Outsiders or Women?*, GR 37, 1990, p. 14–36; E. FANTHAM et al., *Women in the Classical World. Image and Text*, New York–Oxford 1994, p. 128–135; J. BLOK, *The Early Amazons. Modern and Ancient Perspectives on a Persistent Myth*, Leiden 1994 [= RGRW, 120]; A. MAYOR, *The Amazons. Lives and Legends of Warrior Women across the Ancient World*, Princeton 2014.

### Method and scope of the ethnographic *excursus*

If we consider the whole section that is devoted to the customs of the Brahmins and of other barbaric peoples (I, 19) in the *Brief Chronicle* by George the Monk, we can notice that, although the contents are scarcely original, the author freely rearranged his two sources Palladius and Caesarius<sup>104</sup>.

The most significant aspects that explain the reasons for George the Monk's selection of ethnographic material are the structure and the aims that characterize the literary genre of the Byzantine chronicles. The stereotypes already codified in the late antique literature on barbarian peoples became common and transmissible heritage in the texts of Byzantine scholars, who reproduced the available documentary material mainly derived from the works of early Christian writers. In this process of rewriting, which can be understood as a "culture of the sylloge", according to the definition formulated by P. Odorico<sup>105</sup> and adopted by P. Manafis with regard to the *Excerpta Constantiniana*<sup>106</sup>, the sources are summarized and reworked to the point of producing new, quite autonomous texts. The *excursus* contained in Book I, chapter 19, of George the Monk's *Chronicle* – in turn imitated in the chronicles of George Cedrenus and Michael Glycas – explicitly reveals this method of appropriation of already existing texts.

The compilation of the ethnographic survey by George the Monk constitutes a significant testimony of the reception in Byzantine literature of what had been elaborated in late antiquity about barbarian peoples. George the Monk's text shows how erudite Byzantine chronographies had inherited a tradition that interpreted the customs of foreign peoples as *exempla*<sup>107</sup>, in order to show alien worlds to Western civilisation. The narrative of the *Chronicle* appears as a scanty list of information about barbaric peoples, but it is evident that the selection of the material highlights the "oddities" of the way of life of *other* peoples. In this regard, it is worth remarking that among the customs described some space is given to sexual habits, starting with the Brahmins who live on an island and continuing with the Chaldeans, the Babylonians, the Gelae, the Britons and the Amazons. This recurring theme shows how sexual behaviour is one of the strongest *cultural markers*

<sup>104</sup> George the Monk adheres to the chroniclers' method of rewriting by paraphrasing or copying texts of earlier authors: on this practice see R. SCOTT, *Byzantine...*, p. 33–34; E.M. JEFFREYS, *The Attitudes of Byzantine Chroniclers towards Ancient History*, B 49, 1979, p. 199–238, especially p. 207–209.

<sup>105</sup> P. ODORICO, *La cultura della Συλλογή*: 1) *Il cosiddetto enciclopedismo bizantino*. 2) *Le tavole del sapere di Giovanni Damasceno*, BZ 83, 1990, p. 1–21; IDEM, *Cadre d'exposition/cadre de pensée – la culture du recueil*, [in:] *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?*, ed. P. VAN DEUN, C. MACÉ, Leuven–Paris–Walpole 2011 [= OLA, 212], p. 89–107.

<sup>106</sup> P. MANAFIS, *(Re)writing History in Byzantium. A Critical Study of Collections of Historical Excerpts*, Abington–New York 2020, p. XXII. The work *Excerpta Constantiniana* is a 10<sup>th</sup> century anthology of Greek excerpts on ancient history, of which only four volumes are preserved.

<sup>107</sup> On the use of *exempla* in George the Monk's *Chronicle*, see Ja. LJUBARSKIJ, *George the Monk as a Short-Story Writer*, JÖB 44, 1994, p. 255–264.

that Western civilisation – starting with the Greeks – used for centuries to define the *otherness* of distant cultures<sup>108</sup>. George the Monk's account represents one step in a long process of re-elaborations of cultural models produced by Greek ethnographic literature – although mediated through the works of Christian authors such as Bardesanes and Caesarius – which applied its interpretative perspective to *other* peoples, distant in time and space.

The most significant aspect of this ethnographic section is the criterion followed by George the Monk in inserting it within the chapter dedicated to Alexander the Great. The plausible reason for this choice lies in the fact that this section is placed immediately after the episode of Alexander's arrival on the island of the Brahmans, who are presented as a people living according to extraordinary customs. Alongside this motif, a catalogue of other peoples with singular customs follows in the text. The result is a significant ethnographic picture, where the populations described are found on the margins of what the Greeks called *oikoumene*, in places located in lands to the far East or West of the central Mediterranean area<sup>109</sup>. George the Monk's rewriting, which reproduces earlier sources, shows how deeply rooted the same cultural model was. Therefore, the choice of connecting the ethnographic *excursus* to the episode of Alexander's expedition to the furthest borders of the East does not seem accidental. The account on the customs of the Brahmans and other barbaric peoples takes on the function of illustrating different rules of life compared to the world known to the Greeks, and later to Western civilisation in general.

Looking at the whole of Book I of George the Monk's *Brief Chronicle*, the order of contents shows what must have been the criterion for including a section on the customs of the barbarians. Book I constitutes a sort of preamble to the chronicle itself<sup>110</sup>. In this order the topics are: the genealogy of Adam; the kings of the Assyrians; Pharon, king of the Egyptians; Pelops, king of the Peloponnese; the foundation of Rome and the story of Romulus and Remus; the deeds of Alexander the Great where the ethnographic *excursus* in question is inserted. The facts narrated in Book I have been chosen and collected according to the criterion that they have no bearing on the history of the Jews<sup>111</sup>, which is dealt with in Book II. On the

<sup>108</sup> On this issue, see the remarks of C. TUPLIN, *Greek Racism? Observations on the Character and Limits of Greek Ethnic Prejudice*, [in:] *Ancient Greeks West and East*, ed. G.R. TSETSKHLADZE, Leiden–Boston–Köln 1999 [= Mn.S, 196], p. 47–75, especially p. 57–60.

<sup>109</sup> It should be noted that already in Bardesanes' text, quoted by Eusebius, the Britons appear together with a long series of Eastern peoples (cf. BARDESANE, *Contro il fato...*, p. 525).

<sup>110</sup> In the preface to his *Chronicle*, George the Monk specifies how his topics are arranged indicating that they are divided into three parts. See n. 6.

<sup>111</sup> The problem faced by Byzantine chronographers who had to arrange and reconcile the events of a "sacred" history, i.e. the narration of the biblical texts, with those of secular history has been underlined by J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *The Chronicle and Other Forms of Historical Writing in Byzantium*, MChr 10, 2015, p. 1–22, especially p. 2.

whole, the events of Book I precede the chronicle itself, which is told in a sequence of stories leading from the creation of Adam, through the lives of the Jewish patriarchs, to the foundation of the Christian empire under Constantine, and beyond. From this point of view, the *Chronicle* of George the Monk follows the typical expository scheme of universal history directed by a divine plan<sup>112</sup>. We could say that the contents of Book I constitute a primordial history, a narration that has no connection to recorded time, in which historical and mythical characters coexist at the same time<sup>113</sup>, and in which the forms of Christianised civilisation are not yet established. This same context of distance from the order of history and of civilisation, also includes geographically distant populations. In conclusion, Book I of George the Monk's *Chronicle* shows how the vertical line of time, marked by the succession of kings, is complemented by a horizontal line of space which is characterized by the overview of different peoples and their customs.

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<sup>112</sup> Cf. *ibidem*, p. 4.

<sup>113</sup> For instance, it may be noted that in the genealogies of kings in Book I, some characters belong to Greek mythology, such as Perseus, son of Zeus, or Pelops, and others to Roman mythology, such as Romulus and Remus.



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## THE SAINT AS FOOD, THE TORTURE AS MEDICINE: SOME ASPECTS OF CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE'S IMAGERY IN HIS DODECASYLLABIC CALENDAR AND ITS SOUTH SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS\*

**Abstract.** Christopher of Mytilene, a secular poet of the early 11<sup>th</sup> century, had embarked on a difficult task when creating his dodecasyllabic Christian Calendar, that is two-verse storytelling about saints and, mainly, about the tortures they died of. He accomplished it more than successfully, besides in quite a vivid and spectacular way, by means of various poetic and rhetorical techniques. Food and medicine imagery was just a minute aspect of his mastery, yet a powerful one, acquiring not only artistic and rhetorical, but also mnemonic functions. The poet used such images – just as he used e.g. Biblical allusions – as a way to convey a variety of details in succinct messages; the information thus compressed is unfolded by means of associations in the mind of the perceiver. These associations are related not only to Christianity, but also to many other aspects of the Byzantine cultured life, including certain elements from Antiquity. I will try to reveal this mechanism and to show the attempts of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century South Slavonic translators to render it as well as their decisions in cases of *realia* unknown to their audience. For this purpose, I have selected certain Greek verse memories (as given in the editions of Eustratiadis and Cresci & Skomorochova Venturini) from the *Verse Synaxarion* for the summer half of the year together with their two South-Slavonic correspondences of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (according to the two respective early manuscripts of the Slavonic *Verse Prolog*), again only for the months from March to August.

**Keywords:** medieval Slavonic translations of Byzantine poetry, Christophoros Mitylenaios' Orthodox iambic calendar, verse memories of martyrs, rhetorical figures

A first encounter with the imagery of Christopher of Mytilene's (ca. 1000 – after 1050)<sup>1</sup> dodecasyllabic Calendar is inevitably striking. And the overall puzzle we would mentally assemble while reading the verse memories, reminds

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<sup>1</sup> On Christopher of Mytilene, a professional secular poet and erudite and on his poetry cf. e.g., E. KURTZ, *Die Gedichte des Christophoros Mitylenaios*, Leipzig 1903, p. III–XV. Floris Bernard is

almost of a surrealist work of art<sup>2</sup>. A vivid and bright one, full of colours, flavours, tastes, smells and other sensory details. A picture<sup>3</sup> in which the holy martyrs appear before Christ dressed-up in garments made of their own blood or of the water they were drowned in, wear make-up of their gore or jewels of the tools that brought them to death. Other saints stand out as aromatic plants, incense offerings or vessels filled with consecrated oil or oil for lamps, as various types of food or are otherwise accepting medicines in the form of either torture or God's words to relieve their suffering.

The poetic cycle under consideration here is one of the four Orthodox calendars composed by Christopher of Mytilene<sup>4</sup> – the dodecasyllabic one – which entered the *Verse Synaxarion* and was so translated among the South Slavs twice in the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>5</sup>. One of the translations, known as Bulgarian (or Tărnovo redaction)

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perhaps the most prominent recent scholar profoundly studying Christopher's works as part of the 11<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine poetry (cf. e.g., *the Poems of Christopher of Mytilene and John Mauropous*, ed. et trans. F. BERNARD, C. LIVANOS, Cambridge 2018 [= DOML, 50]; F. BERNARD, *Rhythm in the Byzantine Dodecasyllable: Practices and Perceptions*, [in:] *Middle and Late Byzantine Poetry. Texts and Contexts*, ed. A. RHOBY, N. ZAGKLAS, Turnhout 2018 [= B.SBHC, 14], p. 13–41; IDEM, *Writing and Reading Byzantine Secular Poetry, 1025–1081*, Oxford 2014; *Poetry and its Contexts in Eleventh-century Byzantium*, ed. F. BERNARD, K. DEMOEN, London–New York 2016, p. 11) but he is not much concerned with his calendars, even though he admits in a recent study that they were one of the two categories of poetry most popular in later Byzantium (F. BERNARD, *the 11<sup>th</sup> Century: Michael Psellos and Contemporaries*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantine Poetry*, ed. W. HÖRANDNER, A. RHOBY, N. ZAGKLAS, Leiden–Boston 2019 [= BCBW, 4], p. 229).

<sup>2</sup> I mean Edgar Endé's *Der gefallene Engel*. The epigram closest to it in its imagery is Γαστήρ Κυρίλλου Λευΐτου διὰ ξίφους, /Ωσει πάχος γῆς, εἶπε Δαυΐδ, ἔρράγη, which is under the date of the 28<sup>th</sup> of March in the *Verse Synaxarion*.

<sup>3</sup> Andreas Rhoby, the most prominent modern specialist in Byzantine epigrams inscribed on religious works of art, who have recently published a detailed series on such monuments (found on mosaics and frescoes, stone, icons and miniatures) has especially examined inscriptions of Christopher of Mytilene's calendar distichs (A. RHOBY, *On the Inscriptional Versions of the Epigrams of Christophoros Mitylenaios*, [in:] *Poetry and its Contexts...*, p. 147–155). He identifies 9 churches located in a large region – from nowadays Bulgaria and Northern Macedonia to Cyprus – proves that the inscribed epigrams (32 of which by Christopher of Mytilene) themselves were taken from the Menaia and analyses the inscriptional variant readings in comparison to the manuscript tradition of these poetic texts. Verse memories accompany depictions of martyrdoms but are also present only as inscriptions (around the saints, often in the scrolls they hold) (p. 149).

<sup>4</sup> For more details on them cf. E. FOLLIERI, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, vol. I, *Introduzione, testo e traduzione*, Bruxelles 1980 [= SHa, 63], p. 6–15; she is the scholar dedicating most research effort to them together with Lia Raffaella Cresci; cf. also the list of E. Follieri's works on the issue given in L.R. CRESCI, *Διὰ βραχέων ἐπέων (K83.2): Stratégies de composition dans les calendriers métriques de Christophore Mitylenaios*, [in:] *Poetry and Its Contexts...*, p. 115 and F. Bernard's comments on them in F. BERNARD, *the 11<sup>th</sup> Century...*, p. 224.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. L.R. CRESCI, L. SKOMOROCHOVA VENTURINI, *I versetti del Prolog stišnoj. Traduzione slava dei distici e dei monastici di Cristoforo di Mitilene. (Mesi: settembre, ottobre, novembre 1–25, dicembre, gennaio 1–11, aprile)*, Torino, 1999, p. 10–13; Г. ПЕТКОВ, *Стишиният пролог в старата българска, сръбска и руска литература (XIV–XV в.). Археογραφία, текстология и изд. на проложните*

has been edited three times already<sup>6</sup>. Its earliest copy is MS Zogr. 80 of the time between the years 1345 and 1360. The second translation, referred to as Serbian, has not been edited yet, even though it was first mentioned about a century ago<sup>7</sup>. Its fullest copy for the summer half of the year, which I study, is MS Wuk 29 dated to the late 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>.

In this article I am going to focus not only on some crucial examples of the imagery related to food and medicine in the dodecasyllabic distichs<sup>9</sup> by Christopher of Mytilene which were incorporated into the *Verse Synaxarion* but also on their translations into South Slavonic. I will also study the ways in which they were used in both the source and the target texts for various artistic and rhetorical purposes. Special attention will be given to the mechanism allowing the poet to express much in a few words<sup>10</sup>.

The examples of food imagery in the verse memories from March to August are about sixty<sup>11</sup> but I am going to focus on just two of them in my attempt to

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*стихове*, Пловдив 2000, p. 17–59; Л. СКОМОРОХОВА-ВЕНТУРИНИ, *Л. Двустийния Стишиного Пролога*, ТОДЛ 53, 2003, p. 459–469; Л. ТАСЕВА, *Параллельные южнославянские переводы Стишиного пролога и триодных синаксарей*, BSl 64, 2006, p. 170–171 and the literature quoted in all the above studies.

<sup>6</sup> 1. L.R. CRESCI, L. SKOMORCHOVA VENTURINI, *I versetti...*; ЕАЕДЕМ, *I versetti del Prolog stišnoj. Traduzione slava dei distici e dei monastici di Cristoforo di Mitilene*, vol. II, *Mesi: gennaio, febbraio, marzo, maggio, luglio, agosto*, Torino 2002; 2. Г. ПЕТКОВ, *Стишиният пролог...*; 3. Г. ПЕТКОВ, М. СПАСОВА, *Търновската редакция на Стишиния пролог. Текстовете. Лексикален индекс*, vol. I–XII, Пловдив 2008–2014.

<sup>7</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Мелкие тексты и заметки по старинной славянской и русской литературе*, ИОРЯС 21.1, 1916, p. 42–44. А.И. Yatsimirsky holds the opinion that the two translations are Bulgarian; later scholars suppose Serbian origin of the second one (briefly on this cf. e.g. Л. ТАСЕВА, *Параллельные...*, p. 170–171).

<sup>8</sup> Е. МАТТНЕС, *Katalog der slavischen Handschriften in Bibliotheken der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Wiesbaden 1990, p. 36–37.

<sup>9</sup> In the *Verse Synaxarion*, the verses for the first day of each month have three verses of which the last one indicates the date and hardly ever follows the rhythmical pattern of the rest. There are also poetic parts much larger than distichs, but even in them two verses are dedicated to a saint or a group of saints.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. e.g. L.R. CRESCI, *Il calendario giambico di Cristoforo Mitileneo fra artifici retorici e testo scritturale*, BBGG 53, 1999 (= *Ὀπώρα. Studi in onore di mrg. Paul Canart per il LXX Compleanno*, vol. III, ed. S. LUCÀ, L. PERRIA, Grottaferrata 1999), p. 103. L.R. Cresci has pointed out that in his calendars Christopher of Mytilene initiated a new genre – even though it was Georgios Pisides who first wrote iambic distichs on saints – by applying hagiographic and hymnographic peculiarities in the epigrammatic form and, as a result, he obtained expressivity and maximum compression (L.R. CRESCI, *Διὰ βραχέων...*, p. 116). On the same peculiarity – maximum accumulation of information within short phrase – cf. also L.R. CRESCI, *Il calendario giambico...*, p. 103–118; ЕАЕДЕМ, *Esegesi nel testo poetico. Il caso del Calendario giambico di Cristoforo Mitileneo*, RAALBAN 70, 2001, p. 251–267.

<sup>11</sup> Here follow the main ones: two holy men are the product of unploughed land, St Sabbas, hanged on a fig tree, bears early fruit, while Anthimos, just like Steironites, bears fruit of virtues; St Theophanes is a ripe grape cluster; Aberkios is a honeycomb to the Saviour and Maurikios finds the bees' stings sweeter than honey; Pionius, Loukios, Kyriakos and Theodoulos are like various types of bread;

reveal the mechanism, the way in which the sensory words work on us and convey condensed information. The first example I have chosen is the distich about St Aberkios whose torture was to be smeared with honey so that a swarm of bees stung him to death:

Βρώσις μελίσσαις Ἀβέρκιος προυτέθη,  
᾿Ων βρώσις ὄφθη Κυρίῳ τὸ κηρίον<sup>12</sup>.

26 May, III<sup>13</sup>

Zogr. 80

сѢНѢДѢ ПΥΕΛΑΔΗΪ ἈΒΕΡΚΙῚ ΠΡῚΕΛΟΚΗΝΤΪ·  
ΗΖΚΕ Η ΠΗΜΑ ΓΑΒΛΪ ΣΑ ΣΛΑΔΑΚΑ ΓΪΗ·

Wuk 29

снѣдѣ пѹеладѣ Ἀβερκίѣ προστρѣθη βρώς·  
ἰάκῳ снѣдѣ ἰάβѣη се ᾿βη βοєскѣ·

The first thing to notice here is the limitation of poetry that Christopher set to himself. This distich is not just made of two twelve-syllable lines, but the lines are paroxytone and have caesura after the fifth syllable<sup>14</sup>. The three features prove to be a rule for the whole cycle.

Here, on the poetic and rhetorical level of the text, phonetic and semantic repetitions emphasise on certain keywords: there is an anthanacsis of βρώσις, the paronomasia Κυρίῳ τὸ κηρίον, various phonetic alternations (Βρῶ-... -βέρ-... -βρῶ-... -ρίο-... -ρίω-). Indeed, every word is related to food, even the polysemic

Laurentios, Philadelphos and Kyprinos are paralleled to fish; several other saints are better than cooked lambs and calves, skewered, grilled or fried meat. The rich Antipatros offers a big korban of virtues, and Pompeios is like a sheep milked by a sword from his neck. Clearly, this group is partly overlapping the agricultural one.

<sup>12</sup> All the Greek verses are according to Σ. ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, *Αγιολόγιον της Ορθοδόξου Εκκλησίας*, [Αθήναι] 1961.

<sup>13</sup> The Roman numeral in the designations preceding each of the quoted commemorations in this article signifies which one it is for the date; the dates are after MS Wuk 29.

<sup>14</sup> In fact, fixed number of syllables and caesura either after the fifth or the seventh syllable are the main syllabic and tonic peculiarities of the Byzantine dodecasyllable in general. The twelve syllables per verse are not just analytically proven by P. MAAS, *Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber*, BZ 12, 1903, p. 278–323, but also reflected in Byzantine treatises (cf. W. HÖRANDNER, *Beobachtungen zur Literarästhetik der Byzantiner. Einige byzantinische Zeugnisse zu Metrik und Rhythmik*, BSl 56.2, 1995, p. 86 and F. BERNARD, *Rhythm...*, p. 17 on the issue); the place of the caesura, i.e. the verse structure of the type 5+7 or 7+5 syllables, is supported by exact statistics (cf. e.g. F. BERNARD, *Rhythm...*, p. 27 and the literature quoted there); the rule for a predominantly paroxytone clausulae is known even before P. Maas (e.g. E. BOUVY, *Poètes et mélodies. Étude sur les origines du rythme tonique dans l'hymnographie de l'église grecque*, Nîmes 1886, p. 155–157 or I. HILBERG, *Über die Accentuation der Versausgänge in den iambischen Trimetern des Georgios Pisides*, [in:] *Festschrift Johannes Vahlen zum siebenzigsten Geburtstag. Gewidmet von Seinen Schülern*, Berlin 1900, p. 149–172) and was actually attested in Byzantine writings (e.g. W. HÖRANDNER, *Beobachtungen...*, p. 288 and F. BERNARD, *Rhythm...*, p. 20, 22 who quote a particular treatise recommending paroxytone endings of dodecasyllabic verses.



verb προτίθημι, fixed also with meanings related to meals – i.e. ‘serving of food’ – and it delicately directs us to particular practices in Byzantium.

We have food not just on the poetic and rhetorical level – food imagery is linked both to the historical meaning (what exactly happened to the saint, how he died) and to many Biblical allusions<sup>15</sup>. And precisely to the Biblical allusions is related the riddle of the text<sup>16</sup>. I name this *intellectual* level of the work. From all the occurrences of bee-honey imagery in the Bible we have only one key to the proper understanding of this verse. That is the moment when Christ’s disciples offered Him, after His Resurrection, a piece of a broiled fish, and of a honeycomb (Lc 24: 42)<sup>17</sup>. It is after the solving of the riddle that perceivers come to the *emotional* level – as it is only then that the text arouses not just compassion to the sufferer but absolute awe of his offering.

Translators of this text needed to consider several semantic layers – at least the poetic, the historical and the Biblical ones – besides, concentrated around certain keywords. Neither of the two manuscripts, witnessing respectively the two Slavonic translators of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, however, shows the direct counterpart of ‘honeycomb’ – which should be *чѣпъ*, a word which would not destroy the rhythmical structure of the verses. So, the two translators’ choices were obviously prompted by something else. In Wuk 29 the word is metonymically rendered with *воскъ* ‘wax’ while the other manuscript, Zogr. 80, emphasises on the taste qualities of the food – *сладка* ‘sweet’. Yet, even if the entire New Testament meaning is lost in translation, poetic and historical layers are relatively preserved there, especially in Wuk 29.

<sup>15</sup> Special attention to the quotations and allusions from the Holy Scripture in Christopher’s dodecasyllabic calendar is given in L.R. CRESCI, *Il calendario giambico...*, who studies the particular mechanisms in their application (most prominent of which their ‘decontextualisation’) as well as peculiar metaphors of Biblical origin. Cf. also L.R. CRESCI, *Esegesi...*

<sup>16</sup> Setting riddles is something Christopher of Mytilene is extremely fond of. Cf. especially L.R. CRESCI, *Esegesi...*

<sup>17</sup> I have to open a bracket here because the modern Greek and English Bibles lack the part with the honeycomb in this particular reference. But I checked several Byzantine manuscripts and the phrase is still there. For example, in Paris Gr. 70, a Gospel Book of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, on f. 302v we see not only *ἰχθύος ὀπτοῦ μέρος* (as in the modern versions) but also *καὶ ἀπὸ μελισσίου κηρίον...* the same is the situation also in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Bulgarian Book of Gospels – the one of Tsar Ivan Alexander (Add MS 39627) – where we can read *ѿ пчелъ чѣпъ*. This addition is mentioned in the critical apparatus of *Novum Testamentum Graece*, ed. B. ALAND, K. ALAND, J. KARAVIDOPOULOS, C.M. MARTINI, B.M. METZGER, [Stuttgart] 2001, p. 245. I would like to thank my colleagues in the project entitled *the Vocabulary of Constantine of Preslav’s Uchitel’noe evangelie* (‘Didactic Gospel’): *Old Bulgarian-Greek and Greek-Old Bulgarian Word Indices* and especially to Dobriela Kotova for helping me find the exact place in the Greek manuscripts. The reason this martyr is so delicately related to the Holy Apostles in our text is the belief he was the son of Apostle Alpheos, as clearly stated also in the heading of the text – *въ тѣхъ дѣнь сѣмь аверкіе апла алфеа сѣмъ*.

Let us turn to the other example I have chosen of a martyr paralleled to food – one of the several including fish. As fish by itself has loads of additional meanings in Christianity.

Τὸν **Λαυρέντιον λαύρακα** [Cr λάβρακα] Χριστοῦ λέγω,  
Ἐπ’ ἐσχάρας ἄνθραξιν ἐξωπτημένον.

10 Aug, I

Zogr. 80

ΛΑΥΡΕΝΤΊΑ ρΑΚΚ ΧΕΒ ΓΛΑ•  
НА СΚΟΒΡΔΛѢ ЖГЛѢМЪ НСПЕВЕНДАГО.

Wuk 29

ΛΑΥΡΕΝΤΊΑ, ρΟΥΨ ΧΕΟΥ ΓΛΙΟ•:  
НА СΚΟΒΡΔΛѢ ЖГННѢН НСПЕВЕНА•:

This is one of the numerous examples of adnominatio in the Calendar – that is phonetic, semantic or etymological wordplay including proper names<sup>18</sup>. This rhetorical device is based here only on phonetic similarity of the name Λαυρέντιον to the noun λαύρακα. The image kernel in this verse – λάβραξ, -ἄκος, ὄ – known in modern Greece as λαβράκι, the sea bass, seems lost in translation together with the adnominatio, but the presence of -ρακ- in the Zograf copy makes it compulsory to consider a probable reconstruction of an initial \*ΛΑΥΡΑΚΑ, which might well be rethought as ράκα – ‘coffin; treasury box’ later; or it may be speculated that the sememe of ‘tree, wood’ is present in both the name derived from the Latin *laurus* and in ράκα as those boxes were usually made of wood.

In Wuk 29 the counterpart ρούψον designates ‘hand, arm’ and the image it results in – a grilled human upper limb – seems odd and would be easily related to a copyist’s error. Yet, another explanation is possible – that the naming of the saint “a hand of Christ” (ρΟΥΨ ΧΕΟΥ ΓΛΙΟ) has its grounds in both the Vita of Laurentios and in the Gospels as hand alludes to charity in both. We read in Laurentios’ short Life coming after his verse memory in the Synaxarion that he was responsible for the Church treasury and, when requested to submit it to the emperor, he gave it away to the poor and the handicapped whom he then brought to the court. So, both hand and treasury box may be not translator’s or copyist’s error but a successful translator’s decision activating the historical and Biblical semantic layers of the text to compensate for the deliberately omitted sea food imagery foreign to the

<sup>18</sup> Adnominatio is a very characteristic feature of the synaxar verses and, even under different designations, was studied in them first by H. HUNGER, *Byzantinische Namensdeutungen in iambischen Synaxarversen*, Buč 13.1, 1985, p. 1–26 and then by L.R. CRESCI, *Il calendario giambico...*, who names it “λογοπαίγνιον sul nome” and who analyses two punned place names as well. Further examples are given in L.R. CRESCI, *Esegesi...* In their South Slavonic translation, the figurae related to proper names, is examined by e.g. L.R. CRESCI, L. SKOMOROCHOVA VENTURINI, *I versetti...*, p. 63–73 and L. TASEVA, *Da predadesh nepredavaemoto: Igrosliviya i aliteracii vav vizantijski kalendarni stihove i v tehните balgarski i srabski prevodi*, [in:] *Glasovi i slike. Oblici komunikacije na sredњovekovnom Balkanu (IV–XVI vek)*, ed. S. BOJANIN, L. MILANOVICH, M. TSVETKOVICH, Beograd 2020, p. 457–486.

Slavonic realm. The other translation, proposing the image of a treasury box, also alludes, to some extent, to the Vita of the saint.

But let us move to the imagery, related to medicine. It is not as rich as the food imagery, yet it seems similarly striking: St Benjamin receives spiritual relief by means of an enema through a stake, Athanasios the healer's painful soul is cured by beheading and the physician Thalelaios is healed by the herb of decapitation; St Iustinos is made to drink Conium (poison hemlock) and he is about to heal those who made him drink it; St Ibistion is sent, by means of hyssop, to the place of no tears and St Styrakios, after being cut down by a sword, lets out mind-acquirable aroma<sup>19</sup>. Another aspect I have not mentioned – present also in the food imagery – is Christ's interference as support and cure. His Word is the remedy to the lepper and the antidote to temptation; the dew of Scripture heals the 27 martyrs burnt to death.

It is quite interesting how the Slavonic translators rendered the epigram on St Athanasios the Magician. Zogr. 80 tried to preserve the etymological emphasis on φαρμακός – φάρμακον but created quite a different image: 'the beheading, the herb (βυλίε) for Athanasios,/ found a strange herb for the crippled soul, while Wuk 29 remained closer to the original but lost the pun – 'Athanasios the sorcerer through beheading/ found a strange medicine for the ill soul'.

Ἀθανάσιος φαρμακός τομὴν κάρας  
Ψυχῆς νοσοῦσης εὖρε φάρμακον ξένον.

23 Apr, V

ἀθανασίῳ βυλίε γλῶσσης ποσέκτῃ •  
Δὴν ἠελιοβόων ὠρεῖτε βυλίε στροννο •

ἀθανασίε ὠβελαννίτικῃ οὐρεκνοβενίενης γλῶσσην, •  
Δὴν βολεψίτη ὠρεῖτε λένεου στροννο: •—

The verse memory of Benjamin, who died after stake was thrust into his bowels, offers a parallel of this deadly torture to some healing cleansing procedure, even though in a purely spiritual sense:

Ἀθλητικῷ κλυστήρι, τῷ πάλλω λέγω.  
Πᾶν Βενιαμὶν ψυχικὸν κενοὶ βάρος.

In the South Slavonic version, in one of the manuscripts we have a rare occurrence of multiple translations within the same codex (Wuk 29): the memory of St Benjamin is present under both 11<sup>th</sup> of March and 10<sup>th</sup> of June<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Besides, some parallels of saints to scents and plants in these verses may also be added to this imagery.

<sup>20</sup> St Benjamin the Deacon of Persia is celebrated mainly on the 31<sup>st</sup> of March according to both the Orthodox and the Catholic calendar (see the mention of this and other dates e.g. in Σ. ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ,

11 Mar, VI

στράλινυъскою ѿз'воіό конѣцъ глаю•  
 прїиѣ венѣаминнѣ дшоу нозѣннѣ ѱпоуѣиеть•

The first rendering is quite far from the supposed original: 'Through martyr's wound, I say, the end/ accepting Benjamin violently let out his soul'. In it κλυστήρι corresponds to ѿз'воіό '[through] wound' and τῷ πάλω to конѣцъ 'end'. This discrepancy may signal for a different Greek source but the visual (orthographic) similarity between конѣцъ and κόλινъ, found in the distich for the 10<sup>th</sup> of June in the same manuscript, suggests rather an illegible primary text.

10 Jun, V

στράλινυъскоε ορχαδίε κόλινъ нарича•  
 понѣ венѣаминнѣ дшевенжа ѱтъѣщи тѣготѣ•

στράλινυъскоіε врагѣваннїе κόλινъ глаю:—  
 всакоу венѣаминнѣ дшевноюію ѱтъѣшаемѣ  
 теготѣ:•—

It may seem strange at first glance that both interpreters opted for 'stake' (κόλινъ/ κόλινъ) for πάλος 'lot; short straw', but they probably comprehended it as πᾶλος 'stake' as suggested also by the Vita of this martyr. As far as κλυστήρι is concerned, Wuk 29 emphasises the semantics of medicine and cure (вранѣваннїе), while Zogr. 80 renders it vaguely with ορχαδίε 'thing' with later meaning 'tool', even though it also keeps the analogy. The second verse in the distich quite closely corresponds to the original in both translations as in either of them it states that Benjamin let out his spiritual burden. This epigram is not elaborate in terms of poetic devices and there is no apparent Biblical key for it.

But in another distich the saint's name is again interwoven in adnominatio:<sup>21</sup>

Ἀνήκε τμηθεῖς ὁ Στυράκιος ξίφει  
 Ὅσμην νοητὴν ὡς νοητός τις στύραξ.

7 Aug, X<sup>21</sup>

вѣзиде посѣвенѣ стѣракіе мевеннѣ•  
 ѡханїе ѡгнїно іакоже нѣкотоурын мыслѣнын  
 тѣсѣкѣ•

ἄψε ἢ οὔσ'εκκνοβενѣ ѱн стѣракіе мѣвеннѣ:—  
 воню ювѣстѣннѣноу оуію ѱпоуѣиешн іако  
 ювѣстѣннѣннѣ нѣкїн стѣракѣ:•—

*Αγιολόγιον...*, p. 79 where also 10 June is given, but not 11 March). The peculiarities related to the dates of the commemorations, including all the discrepancies, may well be a subject to a separate study which would probably answer whether in this case the manuscript reflects a particular stage in the establishment of the dates or whether it just resulted from an attempt to compensate for mechanical loss in the original.

<sup>21</sup> The feast should be on the 8<sup>th</sup> of August, cf. e.g. Σ. ΕΥΣΤΡΑΤΙΑΔΗΣ, *Αγιολόγιον...*, p. 435, but here I follow the dates as given in MS Wuk 29.

I will not elaborate on the way the poetic, historical, Biblical, intellectual and emotional levels interact here. Rather I will concentrate on the purely Christian layer signified by the two derivatives of νοῦς<sup>22</sup> – this notion so distinctive for the mystical discourse after Dionysius the Areopagite. The same mechanism for compressing information – as in the other verses – unfolds here a whole mystical dimension, which is even more strengthened by the olfactory sensation. The key word σῦραξ is rendered as *realia* (σῦρακῆ) by one of the translators to preserve the pun, besides interweaving it with another repetition – of ὑφωβεστέβηη (‘perceivable; sensible’). In the other manuscript, however, we come across the relatively rare word τῦεσῆκῆ which could hardly be a name of a plant – as it derives from a root for ‘pressing’ – and which stays in other texts, including New Testament ones, for either ὑπολήγιον or ληνός<sup>23</sup>. The whole imagery changes from therapeutically aromatic to the one of the vessels here (besides, a mental vessel – μυσαλῆνῆη τῦεσῆκῆ) and so activates the respective New Testament allusions, some of them related to wine production. This translator’s experiment seems to be successful and this is only to demonstrate that he had fully comprehended the mechanism and applied it according to the worldview of his addressees.

In conclusion, the food and medicine imagery in the verse memories for the months from March to August proves to be, on the one hand, part of the mechanism for compressing information, for expressing much in single epigrams, and, on the other, respectively, some of the keys for unlocking whole stories and associations in the mind of the perceiver. The examples observed showed the extent to which this mechanism was transmitted from the source into the target texts, usually successfully. What is lost in translation is on the basic semantic levels – e.g. certain everyday practices, the usual types of food<sup>24</sup> – any part of the casual life and knowledge which is not related to Christianity, or, exceptionally, as in the first example given, not entirely recognised as the exact Biblical reference meant in the original (St Aberkios as a honeycomb to God), but even then the overall spiritual meaning is preserved.

Indeed, the Christian understanding is the leading principle for the two South Slavonic translators and the heaviest semantic layer. Besides, the one they and their audience know best from all the aspects of the Byzantine life. Everything else is seen, so to say, through this prism – from the perspective of Paradise.

<sup>22</sup> On the metaphors including νοητός in the Calendar, cf. L.R. CRESCI, *Esegesi...*, p. 261–262.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. e.g. <http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?recordId=35449> [30 V 2021].

<sup>24</sup> Some examples of food imagery not transmitted to the target text have been given above, yet there are others when the food imagery in it does not have the exact counterpart in the source text. I have come across just two examples of the kind – St Anthusa, paralleled to rose in the original, is seen as an apple or rosehip by the translators, while the stones killing the holy martyrs Rhodopianos and Diodoros appear as roses in the source but apples – in the target text. This, obviously, is related rather to the everyday aspect than to the Christian symbolics.

As far as food imagery is concerned, there is one main message – the eternal feast in Paradise. But it should be also studied whether similes and metaphors related to meals are more frequent in the periods of fasting, as it seems at a first glance, or whether there are other triggers to it. One thing is sure – the study of the issue should continue and should be put in a broader, also statistical, frame.

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## PROCOPIUS ON THE RELIGION OF THE EARLY SLAVS: COMPARISON WITH OTHER BARBARIANS\*

**Abstract.** The works of Procopius of Caesarea are generally perceived as one of the earliest and main Byzantine sources on culture of the early Slavs. Its various passages have repeatedly become subject of numerous interpretations and hypotheses. The present article adopts a different approach to this material and compares the information on the religion of the Sclavenes and the Antes with the beliefs of other barbarian groups mentioned by Procopius. The study demonstrates that the sentences on early Slavic religion are rather unique in Procopius's works especially in respect to the variety of his topics. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that the most similar elements in his descriptions of religious practices connect the early Slavs and the inhabitants of the island of Thule. This does not mean, however, that they were perceived as related by Procopius as there are no similarities in the description of other cultural specificities. The textual evidence nevertheless indicates that Procopius described the religious practices of these two groups in similar terms.

**Keywords:** Procopius of Caesarea, early Slavs, early Slavic religion

The accounts on the Sclavenes and Antes in the work of Procopius of Caesarea is a very well-studied topic that has been extensively researched in the past. In general, the information in Procopius' work is considered to be one of the oldest testimonies on the ethnonym Sclavenes who, together with the Antes, are generally perceived to be the early Slavs<sup>1</sup>. Traditionally, Procopius' works are cited as

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. J. UDOLPH, *Zum Stand der Diskussion um die Urheimat der Slawen*, BN N.F. 14, 1979, p. 1–23; A. ŁUKASZEWICZ, *De Sclavinis et slavivis...*, DHA 24.2, 1998, p. 129; E. MÜHLE, *Die Slaven im Mittelalter*, Berlin–Boston 2016, p. 4–5; G. WEISS, *Das Ethnikon Sklabenoi, Sklaboi in den griechischen Quellen bis 1025*, [in:] *Glossar zur frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte im östlichen Europa*, Beiheft 5, Stuttgart 1988, p. 25–44; P. HEATHER, *Empires and Barbarians. The Fall of Rome and the Birth of Europe*, Oxford 2010, p. 392–393; P.M. BARFORD, *The Early Slavs. Culture and Society in Early Medieval Eastern Europe*, New York 2001, p. 35–36.

one of the main sources of our knowledge on the early Slavs' culture. Although he mentioned the beliefs of the Sclavenes and Antes very briefly in his excursus on these ethnicities, his testimony is one of the most quoted and discussed concerning their religion<sup>2</sup>, as despite its shortness it is the most detailed account on Slavic pre-Christian religion in an early Byzantine source. Nevertheless, the aim of this study is to focus on the problem of describing the religion of the Sclavenes and Antes in Procopius' work from a different point of view. The key question is how much the description of the religious customs of the Sclavenes differs from the description of the religions of other barbarian ethnicities, which the Byzantine author dealt with. From the Byzantine perspective the attention that Procopius generally paid to details about various pagan religions is rather unique. Other Byzantine authors from this period usually did not address issues related to non-Christian religions and in case they did, the texts definitely provided fewer details or a smaller amount of information than Procopius.

The aim of the present article is not to put the early Slavic religion in the context of contemporary knowledge about the culture of the early Slavs nor to interpret the content of testimonies, but to answer the question of how much the Sclavenes' faith was perceived by Procopius differently or similarly in comparison with other barbarians he paid attention to.

### Procopius on the religion of the Sclavenes and Antes:

#### Ὑπὲρ τῶν πολέμων<sup>3</sup> VII (III) XIV

[23] θεὸν μὲν γὰρ ἓνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων κύριον μόνον αὐτὸν νομίζουσιν εἶναι, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ βόας τε καὶ ἱερεῖα πάντα· εἰμαρμένην δὲ οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε ἄλλως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἓν γε ἀνθρώποις ῥοπήν τινα ἔχειν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς ἐν ποσὶν ἤδη ὁ θάνατος εἴη, ἢ νόσῳ ἀλοῦσιν ἢ ἐς πόλεμον καθισταμένοις, ἐπαγγέλλονται μὲν, ἦν διαφύγωσι, θυσίαν τῷ θεῷ ἀντὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτίκα ποιήσῃν, διαφυγόντες δὲ θύουσιν ὄπερ ὑπέσχοντο, καὶ οἴονται τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῆς δὴ τῆς θυσίας αὐτοῖς ἐωνῆσθαι.

[24] σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα δαμόνια, καὶ θύουσι καὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπασι, τὰς τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς θυσίαις ποιοῦνται...

<sup>2</sup> E.g. L. NIEDERLE, *Slovanské starožitnosti*, vol. II.1, Praha 1916, p. 66, 93 and elsewhere; M. TÉRA, *Prokopiova relace o víře starých Slovanů*, [in:] *Konference mladých slavistů I. Slavistika dnes. Trendy a perspektivy*, ed. D. FILIPPOVÁ, Praha 2005, p. 113–118; A. LOMA, *Procopius about the Supreme God of the Slavs (Bella VII 14, 23): Two Critical Remarks*, 3PBI 41, 2004, p. 67–70; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian i jej upadek*, Warszawa 1979, p. 82–90; A. SZYJEWski, *Religia Słowian*, Kraków 2003, p. 43–44, 100, 138sqg; R. BENEDICTY, *Die Milieu-Theorie bei Prokop von Kaisareia*, BZ 55, 1962, p. 1–10; E.R. LUJÁN MARTÍNEZ, *Texts in Greek*, [in:] *Sources of Slavic Pre-Christian Religion*, ed. J.A. ÁLVAREZ-PEDROSA, Leiden–Boston 2021 [= TSHR, 169], p. 22–26. And many other publications.

<sup>3</sup> PROCOPius CAESARIENSIS, *De bellis*, [in:] *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. II, rec. J. HAURY, Lipsiae 1905 [= BSGR] (cetera: PROCOPius, *De bellis*), p. 357–358.

### The Wars of Justinian<sup>4</sup> VII (III) XIV

[23] They believe that one god, the maker of lightning, is alone lord of all things, and they sacrifice to him cattle and all other victims; but as for fate, they neither know it nor in any way admit that it has power over men, whenever they face death, either stricken with sickness or at the start of a war, they promise that, if they escape, they will immediately make a sacrifice just what they have promised and consider that their safety has been bought with this same sacrifice.

[24] But they also revere rivers and nymphs and some other spirits, and they sacrifice to all these too, and they make their divinations in connection with these sacrifices....

### The “Creator of lightning”

Among the most frequently quoted passages from Procopius’ work related to the Slavic pre-Christian religion is the one informing about the god, creator of lightning (... τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν...). Traditionally, the passage has been considered to be the oldest written testimony of the god Perun or Svarog<sup>5</sup>. There exist several different interpretations and translations of this passage<sup>6</sup>. Some scholars translate the part of the sentence as follows: *the creator of lightning is the sole ruler of everything*<sup>7</sup>. This translation supports the interpretation that the passage was influenced by the attempts to search for parallels between barbaric paganism and ancient Greek religion, where the chief god was Zeus<sup>8</sup>, who was also referred to

<sup>4</sup> PROKOPIOS, *The Wars of Justinian*, trans. H.B. DEWING, rev. A. KALDELLIS, Indianapolis 2014 (cetera: H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS), p. 408–409.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. J. MÁCHAL, *Bájesloví slovanské*, Praha 1907, p. 54; L. NIEDERLE, *Slovanské...*, p. 93; A. BRÜCKNER, *Mitologja słowiańska*, Kraków 1918, p. 35; M. TĚRA, *Perun – bůh hromovládcce. Sonda do slovanského archaického náboženství*, Červený Kostelec 2009, p. 66; N. PROFANTOVÁ, M. PROFANT, *Encyklopedie slovanských bohů a mýtů*, Praha 2004, p. 91–92; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 82–85; A. SZYJEWSKI, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 43–47, 99–101; M. BIAŁOUS, *Fenomen religii prasłowian*, El 18, 2006, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> For the overview cf., e.g. H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 82–85 or М.Г. ПИТАЛЕВ, *Славяне. Происхождение язычества*, Москва 2019, p. 18–20.

<sup>7</sup> English translation: *For they believe that one god, the maker of the lightning, is alone lord of all things...* (Procopius in Seven Volumes, vol. IV, *History of the Wars, Books 6 (cont.) – 7*, trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, London 1962 [= LCL, 173], p. 271); Czech translation: *Věří, že je jediný bůh, tvůrce hromu, a jediný pán všech věcí...* (PROKOPIOS Z KAISAREIE, *Válka s Góty*, trans. P. BENEŠ, Praha 1985, p. 211); Polish translation: *boga bowiem jednego twórcę błyskawicy uważają za jedynego pana wszechrzeczy...* (in: H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 82); German translation: *Sie glauben an einen einzigen Gott, den Blitzeschleuderer und alleinigen Herrn über alles...* (PROKOP, *Gotenkriege*, ed. et trans. O. VEH, München 1966, p. 527).

<sup>8</sup> A. BRÜCKNER, *Mitologja słowiańska...*, p. 108; М.Г. ПИТАЛЕВ, *Славяне...*, p. 20; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 86 (H. Łowmiański noted that Tacitus used a similar expression when describing a god of Germans). Some scholars even emphasized that the particular expression ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν is rather close to the passage in Sophocles’ *Aias* (*Aias* 1035: ἐχάλκευσε ξίφος... Αἴδης δημιουργὸς ἄγριος), cf. *Свод древнейших письменных известий о славянах I (I–VI в.в.)*. *Согрус*

in ancient sources as ἀστράπαιος<sup>9</sup>. Furthermore, the expression τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν is considered to be unusual in Greek literature in general<sup>10</sup>. Also an opinion has been expressed that in this early period, one divine figure could indeed dominate the religious ideas of the Slavs<sup>11</sup>.

Of particular note is the reality that with respect to other barbarians, the cult of a god of thunder/lightning is not mentioned at all by Procopius. Concerning other ethnic groups in Procopius' works, in most cases there are no indications of the functions of particular deities, and almost no mention exists suggesting the primacy of one god over the others. The only exceptions exist in the cases of the inhabitants of the island of Thule and the Persians. In the case of the inhabitants of Thule, Procopius noted that they sacrifice the first war captive to Ares, whom they regard as the greatest god<sup>12</sup>. In the context of the Persians, Procopius stated that they honour fire above all gods and, moreover, in this passage there exists a connection to ancient Roman cults<sup>13</sup>. As regards other ethnicities, there is mention of the existence of a cult of the Sun, however there is no indication that the cult is in any way the most significant one<sup>14</sup>.

*testimiorum vetustiorum ad historiam slavica pertinentium I (I–VI saecula)*, ed. L.A. GINDIN, S.A. IVANOV, G.G. LITAVRIN, Moskva 1991, p. 221 (com. 70).

<sup>9</sup> E.g. *LSJ*, p. 262; or ... ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ ἀστραπαιῶν Διός... in *Strabonis Geographica*, IX, II, 11, vol. II, rec. A. MEINEKE, Lipsiae 1877, p. 571.

<sup>10</sup> A. LOMA, *Procopius about the Supreme God...*, p. 68–69.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. R. BENEDICTY, *Prokopios' berichte über die slavische vorzeit. Beiträge zur historiographischen method des Prokopios von Kaisareia*, *JÖB* 14, 1965, p. 71; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 82 – On the discussion cf. M. TÉRA, *Prokopiova relace...*, p. 113–117; IDEM, *Perun...*, p. 65–66.

<sup>12</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, VI, XV, [25], vol. II, p. 218: τοῦτον γὰρ τῷ Ἄρει θύουσιν, ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι / *for they sacrifice him to Ares, whom they regard as the greatest god* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 350).

<sup>13</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, II, XXIV, 2, vol. I, p. 260: τὸ μέγα πυρεῖον ἐνταυῦθ' ἔστιν, ὃ σέβονται Πέρσαι θεῶν μάλιστα... τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ πῦρ, ὅπερ Ἑστίαν ἐκάλουν τε καὶ ἐσέβοντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι / *In that place is the great sanctuary of fire, which the Persians revere above all other gods... this is the fire which the Romans worshipped under the name of Hestia in ancient times* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 125).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. in the case of the Persians: PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, II, XI, 1, vol. I, p. 198: Τότε ὁ Χοσρόης ἐς Σελεύκειαν, πόλιν ἐπιθαλασσίαν, Ἀντιοχείας τριάκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίοις διέχουσαν ἦλθεν, ἐνταυῦθ' αὖτε Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα οὔτε εὐράν οὔτε λυμηνάμενος ἀπελούσατο μὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης τῷ ὕδατι μόνος, θύσας τε τῷ ἡλίῳ καὶ οἴσισιν ἄλλοις ἐβούλετο, πολλὰ τε ἐπιθειάσας ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνεν / *Then Chosroes went to Seleukeia, a city by the sea, 130 stades distant from Antioch; and there he neither met nor harmed a single Roman, but bathed alone in the sea, sacrificed to the sun and such other divinities as he wished and, calling upon the gods many times, went back* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 95). On Blemyes: PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, I, XIX, 36, vol. I, p. 106: οἱ μέντοι Βλέμυες καὶ ἀνθρώπους τῷ ἡλίῳ θύειν εἰώθασιν. ταῦτα δὲ τὰ ἐν Φίλαις ἱερὰ οὗτοι δὴ οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ εἶχον, ἀλλὰ βασιλεὺς αὐτὰ Ἰουστινιανὸς καθελεῖν ἔγνω / *But the Blemyes are accustomed also to sacrifice human beings to the Sun...* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 52).

Several scholars noted the possibility of a different reading and interpretation of the passage about the main god of the Slavs using a different manuscript edition of Procopius' text from the turn of the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>15</sup>. In this version there exists a plural form of the word θεός (θεῶν μὲν γὰρ ἕνα τὸν τῆς ἀστραπῆς δημιουργὸν [...] νομίζουσιν εἶναι). This text enables one to translate the passage as "he believes that one of the gods – the god of lightning – is the chief ruler of everything"<sup>16</sup>. If this variant reading is accepted, we can see that there is even one more similarity with the description of the inhabitants of Thule: in both cases Procopius speaks about a kind of henotheism, thus meaning a worship of one overarching god beside which exist various other deities. Such an interpretation actually makes the reports on the Slavic religion and on the religion of Thule's inhabitants even closer.

The use of the word θεός (god), which Procopius employed a total of twice in connection with the Slavs, is very interesting. The noun appeared in Procopius' works more than one hundred and seventy times, but the vast majority of the examples related to the Christian God (Chart 1). Only in a few cases did Procopius speak of a god/gods in connection with the religion of the ancient nations<sup>17</sup>, and in fifteen instances the word has been identified in cases that related to the pagan religion of the barbarians (Chart 2). It is obvious that in the case of the pagans, the use of this term was severely limited<sup>18</sup>. In addition, the word δημιουργός (creator) is not a common expression in Procopius' works, and apart from the Sclavenes, the term was used only in connection with the Christian God (Creator)<sup>19</sup>.

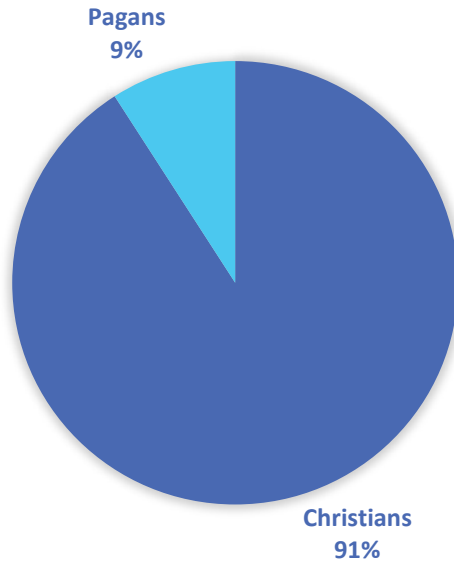
<sup>15</sup> Свод древнейших..., р. 12–13, 221–223; О.Н. ТРУБАЧЕВ, *Мысли о дохристианской религии славян в свете славянского языкознания (по поводу новой книги: Leszek Moszyński. Die vorchristliche Religion der Slaven im Lichte der slavischen Sprachwissenschaft. Böhlau Verlag, Köln–Weimar–Wien, 1992)*, ВЯ 1994, р. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Свод древнейших..., р. 183, 221 (com. 70): *Ибо они считают, что один из богов – изготовитель молний – именно он есть единый влаыка всего.*

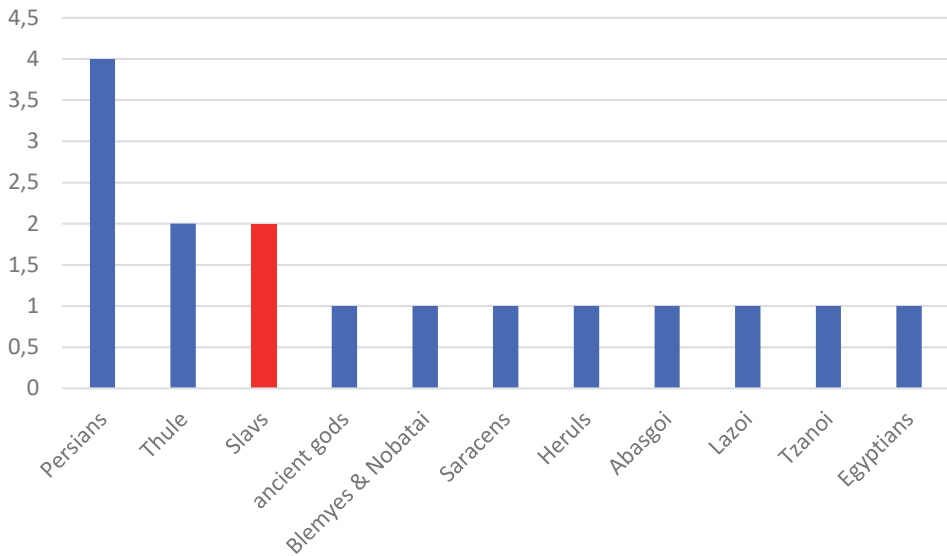
<sup>17</sup> E.g. PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, V, XXV, 19 (Romans); *Procopius in Seven Volumes*, vol. VII, *Buildings, General Index to Procopius*, VI, I, 12 (Egyptians), trans. H.B. DEWING, coll. G. DOWNEY, London 1971 [= LCL, 343] (cetera: PROCOPUS, *De aedificiis*), p. 364–365.

<sup>18</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, I, XIV, 11 (Persians); I, XIX, 35 (Blemyes a Nobatai); II, VII, 22 (Persians); II, IX, 1 and 3 (Persians); II, XVI, 18 (Saracens/Arabs); II, XXIV, 2 (Persians); VI, XIV, 1 (Heruls); VI, XV, 23 and 25 (Scrithifini from the island of Thule); VI, XIV, 23 and 24 (Slavs); VIII, II, 14 (Abasgoi); VIII, XVI, 10 (Lazoi). PROCOPUS, *De aedificiis*, III, VI, 2 (Tzanoi).

<sup>19</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, VIII, VI, 29, vol. II, p. 515: ...ἐν δὲ Λαζικῇ πανταχόθεν ἡ γῆ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀποκρουομένη τὴν πρόοδον καὶ ἀναχαιτίζουσα τὸν αὐτῆς δρόμον, πρῶτόν τε καὶ μόνον ἀπολήγειν αὐτὴν ἐνταῦθα ποιεῖ, τοῦ δημιουργοῦ δηλονότι τὰ ὅρια σφίσι τῆδε θεμένου... / *But in Lazike the land checks the advance of the sea on all sides and puts a stop to its movement, and thus makes its first and only ending at that point, the Creator obviously having set bounds there for the sea and land* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 474–475).



**Chart 1.** The frequency of the noun “god” (θεός)  
(prepared by Pavla Gkantzos Drapelova)



**Chart 2.** The frequency of the noun “god” (θεός) among pagans  
(prepared by Pavla Gkantzos Drapelova)

## Worship of deities

The following paragraph begins with the verb to worship (σέβω)<sup>20</sup>. In total, various forms of this verb are found in Procopius' works fifteen times. In several cases, the verb was used by Procopius in a figurative sense, for example in sentences expressing the fact that someone honours or respects someone or something<sup>21</sup>. In most cases, however, the verb had a religious meaning. In the *Wars*, all cases were associated with pagan worship<sup>22</sup>. In the *Secret History* and the *Buildings*, this verb was used primarily in connection with the Christian faith<sup>23</sup>. Only in two cases in the *Buildings* was the term used in the context of non-Christian religion<sup>24</sup>.

In addition, the text indicated the author's endeavour to emphasize the relationship of the early Slavs to the water deities. Procopius literally states that the Sclavenes and Antes worshipped rivers. The term ποταμός (river) in connection with religion appeared only twice: in the cases of the Slavs and Scythifini, the inhabitants of the island of Thule<sup>25</sup>. In the case of the people from Thule, Procopius noted that they worship demons living in water springs, a similar practice is not mentioned in the case of any other nation. Only in one passage can there be considered indirect evidence of the role of the river during sacrifices. In the case of the Franks, Procopius stated that they threw the bodies of Gothic women and children they had previously sacrificed in a river<sup>26</sup>.

The word νύμφη (nymph) is also relatively rare in Procopius' works. Moreover, this noun did not necessarily express a water deity, but in its original meaning it referred to a young woman or a bride. Procopius used the term "nymph"

<sup>20</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VII, XIV, 24, vol. II, p. 357: σέβουσι μέντοι καὶ ποταμούς τε καὶ νύμφας καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα δαιμόνια... / *But they also revere rivers and nymphs and some other spirits* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 409).

<sup>21</sup> E.g. PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, XI, 5; VII, XVI, 9.

<sup>22</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, XI, 35 (Persians); I, XIX, 35 (Blemyes and Nobatai); I, XX, 1 (Himyarites); VI, XV, 23 (Thule); VII, XIV, 24 (Slavs).

<sup>23</sup> E.g. PROCOPIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Historia arcana*, III, 24, [in:] *Procopii Caesariensis Opera Omnia*, vol. III, rec. J. HAURY, Lipsiae 1906 [= BSGR] (cetera: PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*). PROCOPIUS, *De aedificiis*, I, VI, 4; II, XI, 4 and elsewhere.

<sup>24</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De aedificiis*, III, VI, 2 (Tzanoi); V, VII, 2 (Samaritans).

<sup>25</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XV, 23, vol. II, p. 218: ...Οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι Θουλίται ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες οὐδέν τι μέγα διαλλάσσοσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, θεοῦ μέντοι καὶ δαίμονας πολλοὺς σέβουσι, οὐρανίους τε καὶ ἀερίους, ἐγγεῖους τε καὶ θαλασσίους, καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα δαιμόνια ἐν ὕδασι πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν εἶναι λεγόμενα / ...*All the other inhabitants of Thule, practically speaking, do not differ much from the rest of mankind, but they revere many gods and spirits both of the heavens and the air, of the earth and the sea, and sundry other spirits that are said to be in the waters of springs and rivers* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 350).

<sup>26</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XXV, 9, vol. II, p. 262: ἐπιλαβόμενοι δὲ τῆς γεφύρας οἱ Φράγγοι παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν Γότθων, οὐσπερ ἐνταῦθα εὗρον, ἰερευόν τε καὶ αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα ἐς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀκροθίνια τοῦ πολέμου ἐρρίπτουν / ...*But, upon getting control of the bridge, the Franks began to sacrifice the women and children of the Goths whom they found there and to throw their bodies into the river as the first fruits of the war...* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 369).

in connection with religion only twice: in the contexts of the early Slavs and the Persians<sup>27</sup>. In the case of the Slavs, many scholars interpret this testimony as evidence of a faith in fairies – rusalki<sup>28</sup>.

In the case of the Persians, however, there was only a mere mention, which does not allow one to formulate a hypothesis about the Persians' belief in water deities. Procopius reports that during his military expedition to Byzantine Syria, the Persian King Chosroes sacrificed to the nymphs of Daphne, a very important cult site near Antioch. So this testimony means that the Persian king actually visited and made a sacrifice at a place related to an old Hellenic cult.

Furthermore, Procopius stated that the Sclavenes and Antes worshipped various demons. The term δαιμόνιον, which Procopius used in their case, appeared in his works more than twenty times. In most cases, this noun has a clearly negative meaning and was used in the sense of “evil power” or “supernatural power”. This term thus appeared several times in the context of someone doing something or something happening to someone as a result of some higher power<sup>29</sup>. Only in two other cases was the word used in the same sense: that someone worships “supernatural powers”, i.e. demons. Both cases, like the passage on the early Slavs, come from the *Wars* and they concern the Persians<sup>30</sup> and the inhabitants of the island of Thule<sup>31</sup>. In the *Secret History*, the term was used more or less only in connection with a negative description of the reign of Justinian and Theodora<sup>32</sup>.

S.A. Ivanov in his commentary on Procopius' works, stated that the Byzantine author used the word δαιμόνιον in the singular to express some abstract divine power and saw a certain archaization in it, and *vice versa*, in the plural he used it in connection with pagan faith<sup>33</sup>. Another term – δαίμων – also appeared in the meaning of some supernatural power several times in Procopius' work and again very often had a negative sense, but it was not used in the context of barbarian worship.

<sup>27</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, II, XI, 6, vol. I, p. 199: καὶ θύσας ταῖς νύμφαις ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο... / *After sacrificing to the nymphs he departed...* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 95).

<sup>28</sup> J. DYNDA, *Rusalki: Anthropology of Time, Death, and Sexuality in Slavic Folklore*, SMS 20, 2017, p. 86. Lubomír Niederle noted that the identification with the rusalki is not sure, but it is considerable, L. NIEDERLE, *Slovanské...*, p. 58, 60.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, III, XXV, 18; IV, IV, 16; VII, XXXV, 3 etc.

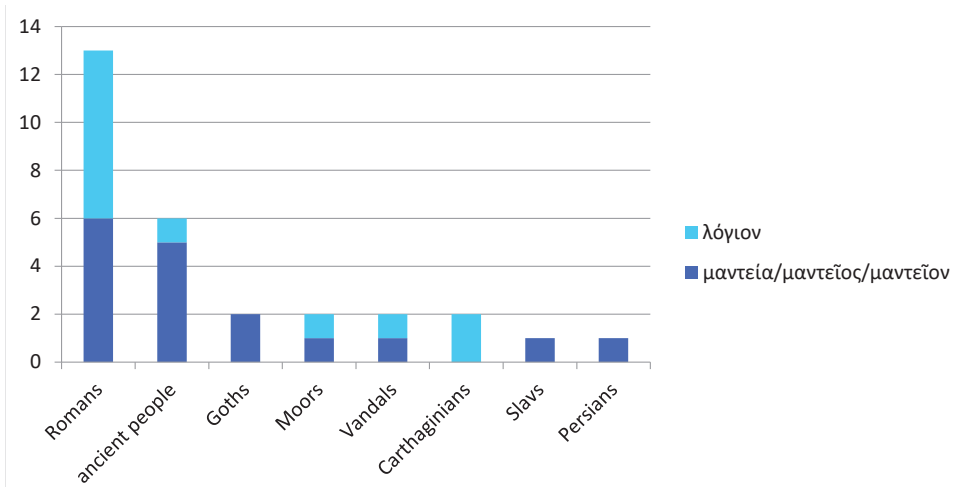
<sup>30</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, XI, 35, vol. I, p. 55 about Chosroes: καὶνὰ τε γὰρ αὐτὸν δαιμόνια σέβειν καὶ τελευτήσασαν ἔναγχος τὴν γυναῖκα θάψαι, ἀπειρημένον τοῖς Περσῶν νόμοις γῆ κρύπτειν ποτὲ τὰ τῶν νεκρῶν σώματα / *For he revered strange new divinities and recently by the laws of the Persians ever to hide in the earth the bodies of the dead* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 26).

<sup>31</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XV, 23, vol. II, p. 218: καὶ δαίμονας πολλοὺς σέβουσιν, οὐρανίου τε καὶ ἀερίου, ἐγγείου τε καὶ θαλασσίους, καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα δαιμόνια ἐν ὕδασι πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν εἶναι λεγόμενα / ...they revere many gods and spirits both of the heavens and the air, of the earth and the sea, and sundry other spirits that are said to be in the waters of springs and rivers (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 350).

<sup>32</sup> PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, XII, 14, 15, 19, 20, 28; XXII, 25 and 28.

<sup>33</sup> *Свод древнейших...*, p. 223 (com. 79).





**Chart 3.** The frequency of terms related to prophecy (prepared by Pavla Gkantziou Drapelova)

Moreover, Procopius mentioned that prophecies were performed by the Sclavenes and Antes in connection with the worship of these various deities (τε μαντείας ἐν ταύταις δὴ ταῖς θυσίαις ποιοῦνται). Words expressing divination or a prophecy with the same word-forming root (μαντεία/μαντεῖος/μαντεῖον) appeared in the context of different nations, including the Byzantines themselves and the ancient Greeks (Chart 3). The closest parallel can be found in the context of the Franks in whose case Procopius noted that they receive prophecies after sacrifices<sup>34</sup>. In addition to these terms, Procopius used the noun *λόγιον* several times in his work in the sense of prophecy<sup>35</sup>, but never in connection with the Sclavenes and Antes.

## Fate

Another of Procopius' statements that provoked debate among scholars and became a subject of various discussions is the reference to the fact that the Sclavenes and Antes did not believe in fate, *heimarmene*<sup>36</sup>. The verb *μείρομαι* (εἰμαρμένην – acc. part. perf. med.) literally means “to get one's share”, i.e. one's destiny<sup>37</sup>. This verb is

<sup>34</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XXV, 10, vol. II, p. 262: θυσίαις τε χρώμενοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλα οὐχ ὄσια ἱερεύοντες, ταύτη τε τὰς μαντείας ποιοῦμενοι / for they still make human sacrifices and other unholy offerings, and thereby they obtain oracles (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 369).

<sup>35</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, III, XXI, 14 and 16; IV, VIII, 17; IV, XII, 28 and elsewhere.

<sup>36</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VII, XIV, 23, vol. II, p. 357: εἰμαρμένην δὲ οὔτε ἴσασιν οὔτε ἄλλως ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐν γὰρ ἀνθρώποις ῥοπήν τινεῖ / but as for fate, they neither know it nor in any way admit that it has power over men (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 408).

<sup>37</sup> LSJ, p. 1093.

not common in Procopius' work at all and except for the instance in the context of the early Slavs, which is included in various editions, it appeared in Procopius' text exclusively in two Parisian manuscripts in a note expressing the fact that the belief in Fate is in contrast to Christianity<sup>38</sup>.

Various scholars explain the passage as saying that the Slavs did not believe in an irreversible fate, but believed in demons and supernatural forces that could influence their life<sup>39</sup> and this interpretation is in line with the facts known from Slavic folklore<sup>40</sup>. In any case, there exist various interpretations<sup>41</sup>. It is noteworthy that Procopius did not address similar issues (e.g. a belief in Fate or Providence) in the case of other barbarians, and only in the context of the early Slavs did he mention their different perceptions in any way. Just in the case of the Byzantines themselves did Procopius note the existence of cults of Fate's personifications that were connected to an older Roman tradition<sup>42</sup>.

### Sacrifice

The short passage on the Slavs and their religion actually mentions several times the fact that the early Slavs sacrificed to their deities. In the case of the "thunderlord" god, Procopius states that cattle (βοῦς) and other sacrifices were offered up to him. The very fact that Procopius mentioned a specific sacrificial animal is interesting, because in the case of other barbarians he did not do so<sup>43</sup>. Furthermore, in the case of nymphs and other deities (demons) worshipped by the early Slavs he does not specify the type of sacrifice.

<sup>38</sup> οὐκ ὀρθῶς παρεισφέρεις τῇ τῶν Χριστιανῶν πίστει δαιμόνιον καὶ τύχην καὶ εἰμαρμένην in Codex B, it is written εἰμαρμένην τύχη in Codex A, cf. F. DAHN, *Prokopius von Cäsarea. Ein Beitrag zur Historiographie der Völkerwanderung und des sinkenden Römerthums*, Berlin 1865, p. 190; M.A. ELFERINK, *ΤΥΧΗ et Dieu chez Procope de Césarée*, AClas 10, 1967, p. 111.

<sup>39</sup> J. MÁCHAL, *Bájesloví...*, p. 54; L. NIEDERLE, *Slovanské...*, p. 66; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 89–90; *Свод древнейших...*, p. 222 (com. 74). In addition, see on the concept of heimarmene among neoplatonists I. HADOT, *Studies on the Neoplatonist Hierocles*, trans. M. CHASE, Philadelphia 2004 [= TAPS, 94], p. 98–125. I. Hadot notes on page 122 that *If Heimarmenê exerts its influence on the external and physical conditions of our life that is, if the demons ensure the complete accomplishment of all the elements included in the lot that Heimarmenê assigns to us as a consequence of our choice – it is therefore Heimarmenê that settles almost all the external details of our life.*

<sup>40</sup> I. SEDAČKOVA, *The Notion of Fate (Russian судьба) in Slavonic Folk Tradition: an Ethnolinguistic Approach*, C.YTCS 28, 2012, p. 154–169. *Славянские древности. Этнолингвистический словарь*, vol. V, ed. Н.И. Толстой, Москва 2012, p. 206.

<sup>41</sup> On various interpretations of this passage, cf. e.g. A. SZYJEWSKI, *Religia Słowian...*, p. 144; D. BRODKA, *Die Geschichtsphilosophie in der Spätantiken Historiographie Studien zu Prokopios von Kaisareia, Agathias von Myrina und Theophylaktos Simokattes*, Frankfurt am Main 2004 [= STB, 5], p. 41; L. NIEDERLE, *Slovanské...*, p. 66; *Свод древнейших...*, p. 222 (com. 74); A. WOLEK, *Obraz Słowian w dziełach Prokopiusza z Cezarei*, ŻHE 5, 2012, p. 227–228.

<sup>42</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, V, XV, 11 and V, XXV, 19–20.

<sup>43</sup> The only case in which the certain connection between cattle and religion in Procopius' work can be identified was an event in Rome, when a man of Etruscan origin made a prediction based on the standing of a bull next to a brass statue, cf. PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, VIII, XXI, 11–16.

The verb θύω (sacrifice) was used three times in a given passage about the Sclavenes and Antes. This verb is not really very common in Procopius' works, and in his *Wars* it appears in various forms a total of twelve times<sup>44</sup>. In two cases, it was used in the comparison that someone was killed similarly to sacrificial cattle<sup>45</sup>. Nor can a purely negative connotation be sought in these examples, because in one case it was a Byzantine who managed to kill the enemy in this way, and in the other it concerned a Goth who was killed by another Goth. In the remaining ten cases, the term was used in the context of religious sacrifice<sup>46</sup>. Human sacrifices are mentioned in context with the peoples of the Blemyes, Saracens (i.e. Arabs) and Scythifini of Thule. In the case of the Arabs and Scythifini, Procopius specifically states that prisoners were sacrificed.

Likewise, the noun θυσία (sacrifice) is not common in Procopius' work. Most of the cases come again from the *Wars*<sup>47</sup>, and only one from the *Secret History*<sup>48</sup>. Procopius mentioned this term in connection with three nations: Slavs (3x), Heruls (1x) and Franks (1x). In the case of the Heruls and Franks, it is again directly linked to human sacrifices.

Another term for sacrifice that Procopius used in connection with the Slavs is ἱερεῖον. This term was used by Procopius in his work in a religious context only three times, two of which were in the context of the inhabitants of the island of Thule<sup>49</sup>. In the case of Thule, the sacrifices are also specified: one case speaks of "all kinds of sacrifices" and the other instance is directly related again to human sacrifices<sup>50</sup>. The verb ἱερεύω was employed by Procopius exclusively in the case of the inhabitants of Thule and the Franks and in both the cases the term was again related to human sacrifices<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> In the other two works, there are no passages in which this Byzantine author spoke explicitly of any pagan sacrifices.

<sup>45</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, XIII, 32; V, XI, 9.

<sup>46</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, XIX, 36 (Blemyes); II, XI, 1 (Persians); II, XI, 6 (Persians); II, XXVIII, 13 (Arabs), VI, XV, 24–25 (3x Thule); VII, XIV, 23–24 (3x Slavs).

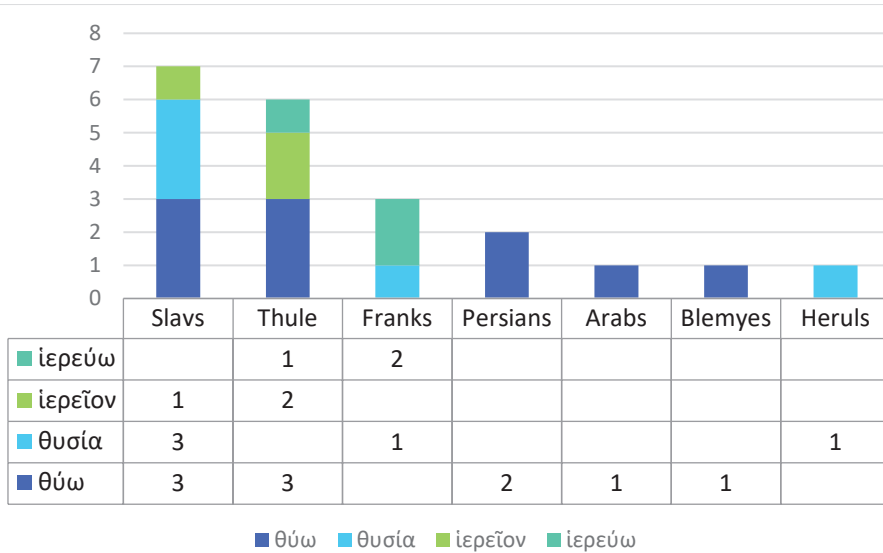
<sup>47</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XIV, 1 (Heruls); VI, XXV, 10 (Franks); VII, XIV, 23–24 (3x Slavs).

<sup>48</sup> PROCOPIUS, *Historia arcana*, XI, 32 (pagans).

<sup>49</sup> Twice this term was employed in a figurative sense PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, XIII, 32 and V, XI, 9.

<sup>50</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XV, 24, vol. II, p. 218: θύουσι δὲ ἐνδεδεχέστατα ἱερεῖα πάντα καὶ ἐναγίζουσι, τῶν δὲ ἱερείων σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν ὄνπερ δορυάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτον / *They incessantly offer up all kinds of sacrifices, in their eyes, is the first human being whom they have taken captive in war* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 350).

<sup>51</sup> On Thule: PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XV, 25, vol. II, p. 218: ...ἱεραῖνται δὲ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον... / *They sanctify the captive...* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 350); on Franks: PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XXV, 9, vol. II, p. 262: ...οἱ Φράγγοι, παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας τῶν Γότθων, οὐσπερ ἐνταῦθα εὖρον ἱερευόν / *the Franks began to sacrifice the women and children of the Goths* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 369); PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XXV, 10, vol. II, p. 262: ...θυσίας τε χρώμενοι ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἄλλα οὐχ ὅσα ἱερεύοντες /...*for they still make human sacrifices and other unholy offerings...* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 369).

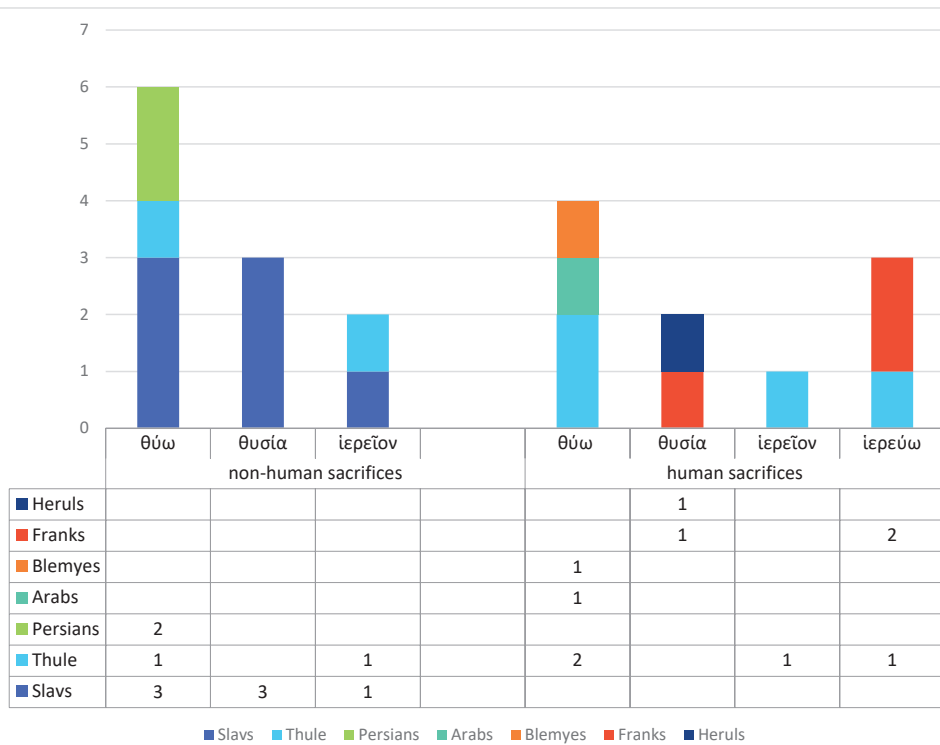


**Chart 4.** The frequency of terms related to sacrifices (θύω, θυσία, ιερεῖον, ιερεύω) (prepared by Pavla Gkantzios Drapelova)

If we look at the statistics (Chart 4), we see that all the terms used by Procopius to denote sacrifices in the case of the Slavs (the verb θύω and nouns θυσία and ιερεῖον) appeared also in connection with other barbarians, and always exclusively in the context of pagan religion. Of special interest is the fact that all three terms were also employed to describe human sacrifices. The only two nations in whose context the terms were never used explicitly in the sense of human sacrifice are the Persians and the Scлавenes (together with the Antes) (Chart 5).

In the context of the Scлавenes or Antes, Procopius did not mention human sacrifices at any point, although a hypothesis was formulated in the past that a certain passage in his work can be interpreted as evidence of the practice of sacrificing prisoners<sup>52</sup>. In his study, Eugenio Luján expressed the view that Procopius' description of the events that followed the conquest of the Byzantine city of Topeiros in 549/550 (the *Wars* VII, XXXVIII, 20–22) could be interpreted as a ritual sacrifice of prisoners by the Slavs. The scholar drew attention to the fact that the passage referring exclusively to the Scлавenes (not the Antes) mentioned several ways in which the prisoners were killed after the conquest of the city (impalement, beating to death, burning alive together with cattle) and attempted to interpret those as ritual practices comparing them with information on human sacrifices in the Slavic context from other sources.

<sup>52</sup> E. LUJÁN, *Procopius, De bello Gothico III 38.17–23: a Description of Ritual Pagan Slavic Slayings?*, SMS 11, 2008, p. 105–111.



**Chart 5.** Frequency of terms related to sacrifices (θύω, θυσία, ἱερεῖον, ἱερεῦω) depending on whether or not it is a human sacrifice (prepared by Pavla Gkantziou Drapelova)

Actually, impalement is one of the usual forms of punishment or an act of revenge in Procopius’ works and is mentioned in connection with the Persians, the Goths and the Roman (i.e. Byzantine) soldiers or the inhabitants of the Empire<sup>53</sup>. The only thing that makes the description of impalement really specific in the case of the Slavs is the absence of the verb ἀνασκολοπιζω (i.e. stabbing on a pole), which was used in all the other recorded cases<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, II, XI, 37–38; II, XVII, 11–12; III, III, 33; III, XII, 9 and 22; IV, I, 8; IV, XVIII, 18; V, X, 47.

<sup>54</sup> In the case of the Slavs the act was delivered in a rather descriptive form as follows: PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VII, XXXVIII, 20, vol. II, p. 470: ἔκτεινον δὲ τοὺς παραπίπτοντας οὔτε ξίφει οὔτε δόρατι οὔτε τῷ ἄλλῳ εἰωθότι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ σκόλοπας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πηξάμενοι ἰσχυρότατα, ὄξεις τε αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ποιησάμενοι, ἐπὶ τούτων ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ τοὺς δειλαίους ἐκάθιζον, τὴν τε σκολόπων ἀκμὴν γλουτῶν κατὰ μέσον ἐνεῖροντες ὠθοῦντές τε ἄχρι ἐς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὰ ἔγκατα, οὕτω δὲ αὐτοὺς διαχρήσασθαι ἠξιοῦν / They killed their victims not with sword or spear, nor in any other familiar way, but by planting stakes very firmly in the earth, having made them extremely sharp, and, by impaling the poor wretches upon them with great force, drove the point of the stake between the buttocks and pushed it up into the intestines. That was how they preferred to kill them (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELIS, p. 456–457).

From the aspect of the described brutality, the following two statements concerning the beating to death and burning alive are exceptional<sup>55</sup>. Procopius did not mention the beating or burning of prisoners anywhere else in his work. The acts of beatings or burning were usually associated with battles as a part of the turmoil of war<sup>56</sup>. In no other case is it possible to find in Procopius' works a similar testimony as in the case of the Slavs: there are no descriptions of torture and mass massacres of captives. Only in the cases of some barbarians (e.g. Franks, Scythians, Arabs) – that were mentioned above – was it stated that a captive or a group of captives was sacrificed. In addition, in the context of the Scythians from Thule Procopius described in detail the way in which the captives were sacrificed and noted the fact that the death was rather cruel<sup>57</sup>. Though the passage about the brutal killing of captives by the Sclavenes is really largely unusual and deviates somewhat from Procopius' texts. Nevertheless, the question remains whether the passage about the behaviour of the Sclavenes after the battle at Toperos can be interpreted as indirect evidence of the sacrifice of prisoners<sup>58</sup>, or if these acts should be perceived more as a "mere" description of barbaric cruelty<sup>59</sup> which for some reason

<sup>55</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VII, XXXVIII, 21, vol. II, p. 470: καὶ ξύλα δὲ παχέα τέτταρα ἐπὶ πλείστον ἐς γῆν κατορύξαντες οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τε χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας τῶν ἠλωκότων δεσμεύοντες, εἴτα ῥοπάλοις αὐτοὺς κατὰ κόρρης ἐνδελεχέστατα παίοντες, ὡς δὴ κύνας ἢ ὄφεις ἢ ἄλλο τι θηρίον διέφθειρον / *These barbarians also had a method of planting four thick stakes very deep in the ground and, after binding the hands and feet of the captives to them, they would then assiduously beat them over the head with clubs, killing them like dogs, snakes, or some other beast* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 457). PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VII, XXXVIII, 22, vol. II, p. 470: ἄλλους δὲ ζῦν τε βοῦσι καὶ προβάτοις, ὅσα δὴ ἐπάγεσθαι ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἦθη ὡς ἦκιστα εἶχον, ἐν τοῖς δωματίοις καθιέρξαντες, οὐδεμιᾶ φειδοῖ ἐνεπίμψασαν. οὕτω μὲν Σκλαβηνοὶ τοὺς ἐντυχόντας ἀεὶ ἀνήρουν / *Others again they would imprison in their huts together with their cattle and sheep – those, of course, which they were unable to take with them to their native haunts – and then they would set fire to the huts without mercy* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 457).

<sup>56</sup> E.g. on beating during fights: PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, I, XIII, 31 and 34; I, XXIV, 51 and various other examples; on impalement: PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XXVI, 26: Roman soldiers burned a traitor from their ranks as an act of revenge; PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VII, XIX, 19: Roman soldiers managed to set fire to ships containing enemy soldiers; PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VIII, XI, 61: Roman soldiers managed to set fire to the tower, in which enemy soldiers subsequently burned down.

<sup>57</sup> PROCOPIUS, *De bellis*, VI, XV, 25, vol. II, p. 218: ...ἱερῶνται δὲ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον οὐ θύοντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ξύλου κρεμώντες, καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας ῥιπτοῦντες, ταῖς ἄλλαις τε κτείνοντες θανάτου ιδέαις οἰκτίσταις / ...*They sanctify the captive not only by sacrificing him on an altar but alternately by hanging him from a tree, throwing him among thorns, or killing him by some other most cruel form of death* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 350).

<sup>58</sup> E. LUJÁN, *Prokopios...*, p. 105–111.

<sup>59</sup> Some scholars pointed out in the past that such brutal acts were actually common at this time, *Свод древнейших...*, p. 239 (com. 160). F. CURTA, *The Making of the Slavs. History and Archaeology of the Lower Danube Region, c. 500–700*, Cambridge 2001 [= CSMLT, 52], p. 85: *Procopius' description of the atrocities committed by the Sclavenes after conquering Topeiros matches not only contemporary historiographical clichés about barbarians, but also the appalling portrait of the Sclavenes by Pseudo-Caesarius.*

attracted Procopius and therefore he paid more attention to it. Given the absence of parallels in the context of other barbarians and the fact that a similar description does not occur in the other passages describing the raids of the early Slavs, it is unlikely that it would be a mere cliché aimed at depicting the Slavs in the worst possible light<sup>60</sup>. However, this does not confirm or deny that the given description of brutal treatment could be related to the ritual sacrifices of prisoners.

### Slavs versus other barbarians in Procopius' eyes

It is definitely worth mentioning the fact that most information on pagan religion in Procopius' works tended to be just random mentions that only completed the picture of a certain situation<sup>61</sup>. In the case of some barbarian ethnicities, the topic of religion was not addressed at all by Procopius. Only in the cases of the Slavs, Abasgoi<sup>62</sup>, Tzanoi<sup>63</sup>, Heruls<sup>64</sup> and Scythifini from Thule<sup>65</sup> are the descriptions

<sup>60</sup> In his monograph on the early Slavs in connection with the description of the massacres following the conquest of Toperos, Paul M. Barford stated that part of the description may be a literary topos, but that some of Procopius' observations seem to have a real basis, cf. P.M. BARFORD, *The Early Slavs...*, p. 58.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. the fact that the Persians worship fire, PROCOPIOUS, *De bellis*, II, XXIV, 2 or the fact that the Saracens celebrate the equinox, PROCOPIOUS, *De bellis*, II, XVI, 18 and perform human sacrifices, PROCOPIOUS, *De bellis*, II, XXVIII, 12–14.

<sup>62</sup> PROCOPIOUS, *De bellis*, VIII, III, 14, vol. II, p. 498: οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὗτοι μέχρι μὲν ἐς ἐμὲ ἄλση τε καὶ ὕλας ἐσέβοντο. θεοὺς γὰρ τὰ δένδρα βαρβάρῳ τινὶ ἀφελεία ὑπώπτειον εἶναι / *These barbarians have worshipped groves and forests down to my time, for with a sort of barbarian simplicity they supposed the trees were gods* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 468).

<sup>63</sup> PROCOPIOUS, *De aedificiis*, III, VI, 2–3, p. 204–207: αὐτόνομοι μὲν Τζάνοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἀναρχοὶ ᾤκουν, θηριώδη τινὰ βιοτήν ἔχοντες, θεοὺς μὲν τὰ τε ἄλση καὶ ὄρνις καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ζῶα ἠγούμενοί τε καὶ σέβοντες, ἐν ὄρεσι δὲ οὐρανομήκεσι τε καὶ ἀμφιλαρέσι τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα διαίταν ἔχοντες, γῆν δὲ οὐδαμῇ γεωργοῦντες, ἀλλὰ ληστευόντες τε καὶ τοῖς φωρίοις αἰεὶ ἀποζῶντες. αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ ἀμελέτητοὶ εἰσὶν ἐργάεσθαι γῆν καὶ ἡ χώρα σφίσιν, ἔνθα δὴ μὴ ὄρη τὰ γε ἀποτομώτατα περιβέβληται, λοφώδης ἐστὶν / *From ancient times the Tzanoi have lived as an independent people, without rulers, following a savage-like manner of life, regarding as gods the trees and birds and sundry creatures besides, and worshipping them, and spending their whole lives among mountains reaching to the sky and covered with forests, and cultivating no land whatever, but robbing and living always on their plunder. For they themselves are not skilled in cultivating the soil, and their country, at least where it is not occupied by the steepest mountains, is hilly.*

<sup>64</sup> PROCOPIOUS, *De bellis*, VI, XIV, 1, vol. II, p. 208: Οἵτινες δὲ ἀνθρώπων εἰσὶν Ἐρουλοὶ καὶ ὄθεν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς ξυμμαχίαν κατέστησαν ἐρών ἔρχομαι. ὑπὲρ μὲν Ἰστρον ποταμῶν ἐκ παλαιοῦ ᾤκουν πολὺν τινα νομιζόντες θεῶν ὄμιλον, οὓς δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπων θυσίας ἰλάσκεσθαι ὄσιον αὐτοῖς ἔδοκει εἶναι / *I turn now to explain who in the world the Heruls are and how they made an alliance with the Romans. They used to live beyond the Danube River from ancient times and worshipped a great host of gods, whom it seemed to them holy to appease even by human sacrifice* (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 345–346).

<sup>65</sup> PROCOPIOUS, *De bellis*, VI, XV, 23–25, vol. II, p. 218: 23 / τοῦτοις μὲν οὖν δὴ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὰ ἐς τὴν διαίταν ταύτη πη ἔχει. οἱ μέντοι ἄλλοι Θεουλῖται ὡς εἰπεῖν ἅπαντες οὐδὲν τι μέγα διαλλάσσουσι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, θεοὺς μέντοι καὶ δαίμονας πολλοὺς σέβουσι, οὐρανίους τε καὶ ἀερίους,

of religion parts of a broader excursus into the culture of these nations, and therefore the information about the pagan faith of these groups is covered in more detail by Procopius. The descriptions of Slavic, Abasgoi, Tzanoi and Scythifini religions also bear several similar features, although it can be said that the descriptions of the Slavic religion and the religion of the inhabitants of the island of Thule are the closest ones. Moreover, there is almost no match between the vocabulary used by Procopius in the cases of the Slavs and Abasgoi, Tzanoi and Heruls. Except for the Heruls, Procopius emphasized in these cases faith in the power of nature: the Slavs worship water deities and the creator of lightning, the Abasgoi worship forests and groves, the Tzanoi regard trees and birds to be gods, and the Scythifini worship deities associated with heaven and air, earth and sea, and the “demons” of springs and rivers.

Nevertheless, some of the topics mentioned by Procopius in connection with the religion of the Scлавenes and Antes were not mentioned in the context of other barbarians (e.g. dis/belief in fate, type of sacrificial animals), some other motifs were widespread and found in the description of other barbarians too (e.g. prophecy) and at various times the vocabulary was rather similar to the vocabulary used in the context of the inhabitants of Thule and the Persians (main god, sacrifices, demons, water deities). If we look at the list of terms employed by Procopius in the sentences on the religion of the Scлавenes and Antes (Chart 6), it is obvious that most matches exist in cases of Thule<sup>66</sup> and the Persians. Actually, many matches exist also in the case of the Christians, but of course, here the vocabulary was used in a completely different context and sense than in the case of barbarians.

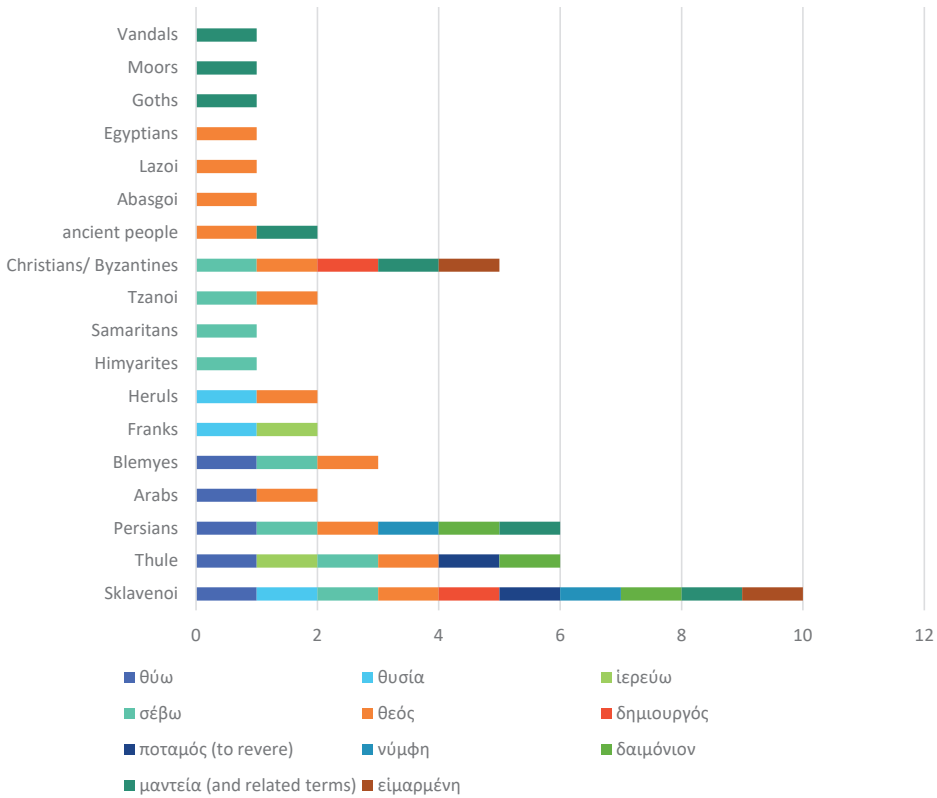
It is also worth mentioning the fact that in the case of the Persians, we speak about terms that were incorporated in narrations about Persians in various chapters of Procopius' work and they do not present a consistent testimony about their

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ἐγγείους τε καὶ θαλασσίους, καὶ ἄλλα ἅττα δαμόνια ἐν ὕδασι πηγῶν τε καὶ ποταμῶν εἶναι λεγόμενα. 24/ θύουσι δὲ ἐνδελεχέστατα ἱερεῖα πάντα καὶ ἐναγίζουσι, τῶν δὲ ἱερείων σφίσι τὸ κάλλιστον ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν ὄνπερ δορυάλωτον ποιήσαιντο πρῶτον: 25/ τοῦτον γὰρ τῷ Ἄρει θύουσι, ἐπεὶ θεὸν αὐτὸν νομίζουσι μέγιστον εἶναι. ἱερῶνται δὲ τὸν αἰχμάλωτον οὐ θύοντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ ξύλου κρεμῶντες, καὶ ἐς τὰς ἀκάνθας ῥίπτουντες, ταῖς ἄλλαις τε κτείνοντες θανάτου ἰδέαις οἰκτιρίαις / [23] *So much, then, for the daily life of these barbarians. All the other inhabitants of Thule, practically speaking, do not differ much from the rest of mankind, but they revere many gods and spirits both of the heavens and the air, of the earth and the sea, and sundry other spirits that are said to be in the waters of springs and rivers. [24] They incessantly offer up all kinds of sacrifices and make oblations to the dead, but the noblest of sacrifices, in their eyes, is the first human being whom they have taken captive in war. [25] Him they sacrifice to Ares, whom they regard as the greatest god. They sanctify the captive not only by sacrificing him on an altar but alternately by hanging him from a tree, throwing him among thorns, or killing him by some other most cruel form of death* (trans. H.B. DEWING/ A. KALDELLIS, p. 350).

<sup>66</sup> Already Averil Cameron noted in her monograph on Procopius the similarity between the religion of the Scлавenes and Thule concerning their worship of rivers and spirits, cf. A. CAMERON, *Procopius and the Sixth Century*, London 1985 [= TCH, 10], p. 218.





**Chart 6.** The variety of terminology used in the context of the Slavic religion (prepared by Pavla Gkantzios Drapelova)

culture, but random information in the context of other events and sometimes were even related to a particular person and not a group/nation. In the case of the inhabitants of Thule, the situation is the same as that of the Sclavenes and Antes: it is a part of a broader excursus that should introduce to readers some information about the ethnicity.

It is definitely interesting that the description of the religion of the early Slavs has most in common with the description of the religion of the slightly mysterious Scythifini ethnicity, which is mentioned in only one chapter of Procopius' work. Today, the prevailing view is that the island of Thule, inhabited by these Scythifini, was a designation for Scandinavia<sup>67</sup> and, in general, was perceived as a very remote

<sup>67</sup> A. KALDELLIS, *Ethnography after Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature*, Philadelphia 2013 [= EAF], p. 4, 9. A.H. MERRILLS, *History and Geography in Late Antiquity*, Cambridge 2005 [= CSMLT, 64], p. 126–127. F. Nansen at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century even expressed an opinion that Procopius referred to the Sami, i.e. Lapps, by this term F. NANSEN, *Northern Mists. Arctic Exploration in Early Times*, vol. I, New York 1911, p. 132, 149.

place on the “edge of the world”<sup>68</sup>. The parallels in the description of the religions of the Slavs and Scythifini from Thule can thus indicate several factors: one is the reality that both of these groups (regardless of who precisely Procopius meant by the names Sclavenes, Antes and Scythifini) still had a religious system based equally on archaic Indo-European polytheistic starting points. Furthermore, the fact that Procopius and his contemporaries probably did not have much experience with either nation seems very likely, and therefore it seemed very useful to Procopius to include in his work excursus in which he would introduce these nations.

In describing the religions of both, he used a vocabulary and context he knew from classical texts to find parallels to the type of paganism most familiar to him<sup>69</sup>: in the case of the Slavs, the chief god is the ruler of lightning, in the case of the Scythifini it is Ares; both nations worship waters and various demons or spirits and in the case of the Slavs, Procopius even used the term nymph, which he used exclusively in this case and in the case of the ancient cult in Daphne. Such an *interpretatio graeca* and various borrowings from the ancient vocabulary are quite common in Procopius’ texts in general<sup>70</sup>, both in connection with the Sclavenes and other ethnic groups<sup>71</sup>.

Already S.A. Ivanov in the commentaries to Procopius’ text noted that Procopius’ excursus on early Slavs is extraordinary from the aspect of the number of various subjects implying that there existed an obvious interest of the writer and readers<sup>72</sup>. It is noteworthy that Procopius did not mention in the case of the Sclavenes and Antes any funeral customs; nevertheless in the case of some other barbarians he noted what they do when someone dies (e.g. the Persians<sup>73</sup>, Heruls<sup>74</sup> and White Huns<sup>75</sup>). Even in the case of the Scythifini he noted that they make oblations to the dead<sup>76</sup>. This fact also suggests that Procopius may have been unfamiliar with these customs, because the Sclavenes could be known to him primarily as raiders and

<sup>68</sup> P. VAN NUFFELEN, *Beside the Rim of the Ocean: the Edges of the World in Fifth- and Sixth-Century Historiography*, [in:] *Historiography and Space in Late Antiquity*, ed. IDEM, Cambridge 2019, p. 43–49, 54.

<sup>69</sup> On ancient influence in Procopius’ description of Slavic religion, cf. R. BENEDICTY, *Prokopios’ berichte...*, p. 54–55.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. Robert Benedicty speaks mainly about the impact of Herodotus and Thucidydes on Procopius’ texts, cf. R. BENEDICTY, *Die Milieu-Theorie...*, p. 1.

<sup>71</sup> Already Robert Benedicty noted on the use of Greek or foreign expressions that have become indigenous to Greek in the case of Procopius’ description of the Slavic society, cf. R. BENEDICTY, *Die auf die frühslavische Gesellschaft bezügliche byzantinische Terminologie*, [in:] *Actes du XII<sup>e</sup> congrès international d’études byzantines, Ochride 10–16 Septembre 1961*, vol. II, Beograd 1964, p. 45–46 and that the topoi of ancient origin play a significant role in Procopius’ formulation of the reports on the Slavs, cf. IDEM, *Prokopios’ berichte...*, p. 77.

<sup>72</sup> *Свод древнейших...*, p. 219 (com. 64).

<sup>73</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, I, XI, 35; I, XII, 4.

<sup>74</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, VI, XIV, 2–7.

<sup>75</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, I, III, 7.

<sup>76</sup> PROCOPUS, *De bellis*, VI, XV, 24.

mercenaries, whose goal was to become enriched and then leave the region. Procopius evidently perceived the Slavs as newcomers – a reality already expressed by various modern scholars<sup>77</sup>, thus it seems that it was desirable to comprehensively introduce the new entity<sup>78</sup>, Procopius' description of the Slavic religion appears to be an attempt to introduce the customs of a hitherto unknown and highly “exotic” nation. These factors would explain the attention that Procopius paid to the Slavic religion, because as regards most of the other barbarians, he evidently did not concentrate on such a topic. It is also important to mention the fact that Procopius did not devote as much space to the early Slavs and to the inhabitants of the island of Thule in his work as to other nations. He devoted an excursus to both of them, but in terms of the number of times he mentioned them in his texts, it is clear that he wrote about other barbarian groups much more often<sup>79</sup>. So neither of these nations was the centre of his attention, but in the case of both, he considered it useful to provide some details about their chief god, the worship of other deities, and sacrifices. It is worth mentioning that in other aspects the descriptions of the early Slavs and the Scythians do not match; however, they both follow features of classical topoi about barbarians<sup>80</sup>.

Some scholars discussed the methodological dilemma as to what extent Procopius' testimony on the Sclavenes and Antes represents an ethnographic stereotype impacted by classical tradition<sup>81</sup>. In general a huge discussion has been held on the topic as to what extent Procopius' writing just followed classical literature models and to what extent his testimonies are based on the sixth century realities<sup>82</sup>. Actually the excursus about the Sclavenes and Antes became the subject of scholarly debate about the authenticity of information and the evident influences of classical topoi about the barbarians<sup>83</sup>. Some scholars expressed the opinion that although the influences of ancient and Byzantine topoi and stereotypes about barbarians are

<sup>77</sup> Л. Гиндин, *Проблема славянизации карпато-балканского пространства в свете семантического анализа глаголов обитания у Прокопия Кесарийского*, ВДИ 2, 1988, p. 173–182; F. CURTA, *The Making of the Slavs...*, p. 39.

<sup>78</sup> Already Maria Cesa mentioned in her article that in general the Byzantines wanted to know about the various barbarians who posed a new danger so that they could better understand how to deal with them, cf. M. CESA, *Etnografia e geografia nella visione storica di Procopio di Cesarea*, SCO 32, 1983, p. 189–192.

<sup>79</sup> The Slavs were named by Procopius a total of 41 times, the inhabitants of Thule even less, but on the other hand Huns were mentioned 118 and the Persians 719 times.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. it corresponds to types of topoi in ancient literature listed by Karl Trüdinger, cf. K. TRÜDINGER, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie*, Basel 1918, p. 175; M. CESA, *Etnografia e geografia...*, p. 189–215.

<sup>81</sup> A. CAMERON, *Procopius...*, p. 218–219.

<sup>82</sup> From the recent scholarship cf. e.g. P. VAN NUFFELEN, *The Wor(l)ds of Prokopios*, [in:] *Procopius of Caesarea. Literary and Historical Interpretations*, ed. C. LILLINGTON-MARTIN, E. TURQUOIS, London 2017, p. 40–55.

<sup>83</sup> A kind of overview is offered in R.B. FORD, *Rome, China, and the Barbarians. Ethnographic Traditions and the Transformation of Empires*, Cambridge 2020, p. 130–133.

obvious, this does not always mean the falsity of the information provided<sup>84</sup>. Since Procopius himself was most likely not an eyewitness and the information was passed on to him<sup>85</sup>, he tended to liken his new knowledge to the paganism he was aware of, that is, to the ancient religion he knew from classical texts. Such a search for parallels with Greek realities can be found also in other passages concerning the Sclavenes and Antes<sup>86</sup>. Moreover, the comparison of a pagan religion to the religion of the ancient Greeks was also not strange to Procopius in the case of other barbarians<sup>87</sup>. Nevertheless, it is necessary to compare the information provided by early Byzantine sources with other sources so that their authenticity can be verified<sup>88</sup>. Some scholars also emphasize the fact that information about the Slavs in the early Byzantine sources must be taken into consideration with caution<sup>89</sup>.

Obviously, Procopius in the contexts of the Sclavenes/Antes and Thulites definitely followed similar patterns, influenced partly by his knowledge of the ancient religion. Whereas, there are very few matches between these two ethnicities concerning the rest of the information provided in the excursus on them. On the contrary, it is possible to find parallels between the Slavs and other nations concerning other topics<sup>90</sup>. Nevertheless, both descriptions of the religion of these two ethnici-

<sup>84</sup> Such an attitude was adopted by e.g. R. BENEDICTY, *Die Milieu-Theorie...*; IDEM, *Prokopios' berichte...*, p. 77–78; A.M. ΡΕΒΑΝΟΓΛΟΥ, *Γεωγραφικά και εθνογραφικά στοιχεία στο έργο του Προκοπίου Καισαρείας*, Thessaloniki 2005, p. 224–244. On the fact that sometime the classicizing topos could correspond to the reality, cf. A. SARANTIS, *Roman or Barbarian? Ethnic Identities and Political Loyalties in the Balkans according to Procopius*, [in:] *Procopius of Caesarea...*, p. 228–229. Many modern scholars thus approach the information about the Sclavenes in Procopius' work as serious and reliable information. E.g. T. ΖΙΥΚΟΒΙĆ, *Forging Unity. The South Slavs between East and West, 550–1150*, Belgrade 2008, p. 31–44.

<sup>85</sup> D. BRODKA, *Prokop von Kaisareia und seine Informanten*, *Hi* 65, 2016, p. 108–124.

<sup>86</sup> E.g. R. BENEDICTY, *Prokopios' berichte...*, p. 54–78.

<sup>87</sup> E.g. Blemyes and Nobatai, in connection with which Procopius stated that they worshipped the same gods as the ancient Greeks: PROCOPIOUS, *De bellis*, I, XIX, 35, vol. I, p. 106: διὸ δὴ καὶ Φίλας ἐπωνόμασε τὸ χωρίον. ἀμφω δὲ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη, οἳ τε Βλέμυες καὶ οἱ Νοβάται, τοὺς τε ἄλλους θεοὺς, οὐσπερ Ἕλληνας νομίζουσι πάντας, καὶ τὴν τε Ἴσιν τὸν τε Ὄσιριν σέβουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα γε τὸν Πρίαπον / Hence he named the place Philai. Now both of these nations, the Blemyes and the Nobatai, believe in all the gods in which the Greeks believe, and they also revere Isis and Osiris, and not least of all Priapus (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 52). Or in the case of the Saracens (Arabs) Procopius noted that they were sacrificing to Aphrodite: PROCOPIOUS, *De bellis*, II, XXVIII, 13, vol. I, p. 284: καὶ Ἀλαμούνδαρος μὲν ἕνα τῶν Ἀρέθα παίδων ἵππους νέμοντα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς ἐλὼν τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ εὐθὺς ἔθυσσε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐγνώσθη οὐ καταπροΐεσθαι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα Πέρσαις Ἀρέθαν / Al-Mundhir captured one of the sons of al-Harith in a sudden raid while he was pasturing horses, and immediately sacrificed him to Aphrodite (trans. H.B. DEWING/A. KALDELLIS, p. 135).

<sup>88</sup> E.g. B. ΖΑΣΤΕΡΟΒÁ, *Zur Problematik der ethnographischen Topoi*, [in:] *Griechenland – Byzanz – Europa. Ein Studienband*, ed. J. HERRMANN, Berlin 1985 [= BBA, 52], p. 19; G. MAJESKA, *The Byzantines on the Slavs: on the Problem of Ethnic Stereotyping*, *ABF* 9, 1999, p. 82.

<sup>89</sup> G. MAJESKA, *The Byzantines on the Slavs...*, p. 82; G. KARDARAS, *A Re-approach of Procopius' Ethnographic Account on the Early Slavs*, *ΒΣυμ* 27, 2017, p. 256.

<sup>90</sup> For example, already Averil Cameron noted that concerning the appearance of the Slavs we can find parallels with the Goths and concerning the Slavic fighting we can find parallels with the Franks

ties – despite their shortness – are rather unique in Procopius' text especially from the aspect of informativeness and the number of mentioned themes. Regardless of the reliability of the information, it seems that in Procopius' eyes the pre-Christian Slavic religion was different to the religion of most other non-Roman groups.

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and Britons, cf. A. CAMERON, *Procopius...*, p. 218–219. L. Gindin already in the 1980s proved that vocabulary employed by Procopius to describe the state of living is close to the vocabulary used in the context of nomads, cf. Л. Гиндин, *Проблема славянизации...*, p. 173–182. Such similarities can be found also in other aspects and with other ethnicities.

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## THE BYZANTINE GARDEN. WHAT TO PLANT IN THE GARDEN ACCORDING TO 12<sup>TH</sup> BOOK OF *GEOPONICA* BY CASSIANUS BASSUS?

**Abstract.** The main aim of this paper is to analyse the text of the 12<sup>th</sup> book of *Geoponica* for the purpose of identification of vegetable plants, which were described by Cassianus Bassus. The analysis will serve as the first step for further inquiries that will include the reconstruction of recipes that require some of the vegetables presented in the text.

The text of *Geoponica* is a basic source learn about the agriculture but also the culinary art of the Byzantine Empire, even though it is rather hard to read due to the complicated style and quite a large number of technical terms (i.e. botanical, agronomical or astrological to name just a few). As already mentioned, the first part of the analysis is to identify the plants mentioned by Bassus, which will allow me to take further steps, i.e. to reconstruct the culinary recipes, in which the plants mentioned by the Author can be found. Without this precise identification, the reconstruction of the recipes would not be possible at all.

In the 12<sup>th</sup> book of his *Geoponica* Bassus gave descriptions of several plants that should be taken into consideration while planning the garden, mostly for their medicinal or cooking properties. Amongst them, Author mentioned garlic, artichoke, melon, leek, radish, celery, and cucumbers. Having the rather big number of plants narrowed down will allow to demonstrate *in vivo* how they were served according to *De re coquinaria* by Apicius and present the practical usage of vegetables proposed by Bassus for cultivation. As Apicius' cookbook is the only one preserved from Antiquity, it will remain the major source of the recipes presented in this paper.

**Keywords:** *Geoponica*, Byzantine garden, garlic, artichoke, melon, leek, radish, celery, cucumbers, *De re coquinaria*, Apicius

The relative peace and stability of life in the first period of the resilient rule of the Macedonian emperors fostered a revival of science<sup>1</sup>. In a wider context, one can see the return to the achievements of the world, which has for long remained in the realm of memories, i.e. to the culture and the thought of Ancient Greece. On the initiative and under the supervision of Emperor Constantine VII

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<sup>1</sup> O. JUREWICZ, *Historia literatury bizantyńskiej. Zarys*, Warszawa 2007, p. 149.

Porphirogenitus many encyclopaedic works were created<sup>2</sup>, on all areas of life known at that time. One of them is the work of *Geoponica*, the authorship of which is attributed to Cassianus Bassus<sup>3</sup>. It is worth mentioning that the *Geoponica*, also known as *The Encyclopedia of agricultural knowledge* (Περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί) that we have today is the new edition of the text from 6<sup>th</sup> c. A.D. that was initiated by the Emperor and later dedicated to him. The dispute, whether the 10<sup>th</sup> century text should be attributed to Bassus or how big impact the Emperor himself had in the new edition of the text, is not in my interest at this moment, as this issue is not that relevant to identifying of plants shown in this article. Although, I am fully aware of Bassus' doubtful authorship of the text that we have today, and despite the fact that scholars have been pointing out for a long period of time that for sure the 10<sup>th</sup> century edition of *Geoponica* had not come out from one's author hand, for the purposes of this article, all the references to the Greek text will be made in the name of Bassus<sup>4</sup>.

Nevertheless, we should note that the significance of the reign of Constantine VII lies precisely in his scientific activities, though they had compilatory character, in the end, it led to preserving some of the outstanding texts. As Georgij Ostrogorski indicated, the purpose of the writing activity of that time was fully practical and didactic, so the compilations were to serve to the posterity<sup>5</sup>.

The encyclopaedia itself consists of 20 books that give a rather wide view on agriculture of the (later) Antiquity in such spheres as astronomy and weather, the tillage, the calendar of works to be done throughout the year, the establishment and maintenance of vineyards, cultivation of the olive trees, fruit trees, decorative plants, cultivation of vegetables, breeding and herding of birds, cattle, horses, bees, fish and hunting. Considering the vast area of interest of the work, we can say that the vegetation takes up quite a lot of space in the text, but from the perspective of this article, the most interesting is the 12<sup>th</sup> book. Here the author gives some pieces of advice that concern the horticulture i.e. the growing of useful vegetables. Bassus names the plants that could be easily grown in the climate of Constantinople and have dietary meaning. It is worth stating here that the monthly sowing calendar, implemented in this part of the encyclopaedia, might be one of the indicators suggesting that the text was indeed re-edited in the Byzantine times<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> R. RODGERS, *Κηποποιία: Garden Making and Garden Culture in the Geoponica*, [in:] *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. A. LITTLEWOOD, H. MAGUIRE, J. WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, Washington 2002, p. 160, 162.

<sup>3</sup> KASSIANUS BASSUS, *Geoponica. Bizantyńska encyklopedia rolnicza*, trans. I. MIKOŁAJCZYK, Toruń 2012, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Great analysis on the matter of possible authorship of the text is provided by M. DECKER, *The Authorship and Context of Early Byzantine Farming Manuals*, B 77, 2007, p. 106–115. His investigations on placing of the estate *Maratonumo* mentioned in the *Geoponica* should be very helpful for eventual archeobotanical research, that could shed some more light on the accuracy of identifying of plants.

<sup>5</sup> G. OSTROGORSKI, *Dzieje Bizancjum*, trans. H. EVERT-KAPPESOWA, Warszawa 2008, p. 283–284.

<sup>6</sup> Robert Rodgers is of the right opinion that the opening chapter of this book, alongside with the dedication to the Emperor and the linguistic analysis, is one of many 10<sup>th</sup> century additions, taken perhaps from an unknown calendar, R. RODGERS, *Κηποποιία...*, p. 169.

The 12<sup>th</sup> book of *Geoponica* consists of 41 chapters and can be easily divided into 2 parts. The first one includes the first 11 chapters, which contain the instructions and the useful pieces of information about the horticulture, i.e. how to keep the garden tidy, without worms, with blossoming flowers, what is the best fertilizer to be used, what kind of soil is good for cultivating the vegetables, and how to have them grow in dry places. The author even gives a short remark on how to hurt the gardener (Πρὸς τὸ κηπουρὸν ἀδικῆσαι) by spraying some goose feces<sup>7</sup>:

Χηνῶν ἀφόδευμα ἄλλη λυσας ράϊνε τὰ λάχανα<sup>8</sup>

[To hurt the gardener] spray the vegetables with goose feces diluted in water<sup>9</sup>.

The second botanical part starts with chapter 12 and ends with 41. Among them Bassus cites 26 kinds of vegetables, presenting more or less precise descriptions of their medicinal properties. In the later parts of this paper, I will focus on 6 of them, i.e. the cucumber, the melon, the radish, the celery, the leek, and the artichokes. The analysis of the text of *Geoponica* will help me in reconstructing some of the culinary recipes held in Apicius' cookbook *De re coquinaria libri X*.

It has to be stated here that even though the names of the plants sound familiar and the plants themselves have been well-known for millennia, the cultivation process that was taking place over the centuries, and also genetic engineering in recent times, changed not only the look of most of the vegetables described by Bassus, but most of all their properties. One needs to have this remark in mind, when translating the text of *Geoponica* or reconstructing the culinary recipes, as in case of this article, as we are not discussing exactly the same plants. Still, reconstructions given in this text could help to shed some light on alimentation and cuisine of the late Antiquity and Byzantium.

Each name of the identified plant is presented with English and taxonomical name. It needs to be remarked that the botanical name (called *binomen*, binominal name) needs to be in the Latin language and at the level of species always consists of two parts: the first part of the name is the generic name, which is always considered as a noun and the first letter has to be written in capitals; the second part is an epithet, which is always considered as an adjective and has to be a one word only. The Latin name is followed by the abbreviation of the creator of the name, i.e. the first person who correctly published the systematical description. In case the epithet would need to consist of two words then it has to be written with a hyphen e.g. the scientific name of maidenhair fern is *Adiantum capillus-veneris* where *Adiantum* is the generic name, but the epithet *capillus-veneris* is written with hyphen

<sup>7</sup> Probably the quote was taken from Julius Africanus, R. RODGERS, *Κηποποιία...*, p. 170.

<sup>8</sup> *Geoponica sive Cassiani Bassi Scholastici de re rustica eclogae*, XII, 11, rec. H. ВЕСКН, Lipsiae 1984 [= BSGR] (cetera: *Geoponica*).

<sup>9</sup> All the translations from *Geoponica* or other Classical texts that are quoted in this paper, if not indicated differently, were made by the author.

as per the rules of the *International Code of Nomenclature for algae, fungi, and plants*<sup>10</sup>. The rules of the Latin grammar and orthography may not be followed, as it always depends on how well Latin was known to the botanist who created the name.

### 1. Σίκυος – cucumber, *Cucumis sativus* L. (the other forms σικυός, σίκυος)<sup>11</sup>

In chapter 19. entitled Περὶ κολοκυντῶν καὶ σικύων<sup>12</sup> – *Concerning gourds and cucumbers*<sup>13</sup> Bassus uses the form σίκυος for the cucumber. He says that there are two ways to avoid the seeds in the cucumber: 1. the first stem of the plant should be dug in the soil so only the top of the stem would be visible, when the stem grows up it is covered with the soil once again and this needs to be repeated three times; 2. the same result getting soaked the seeds in sesame oil three days before sowing. Bassus here also gives a rather interesting solution for the fevering infant. According to the text, when the baby has a fever, one needs to place the cucumbers of equal length next to it during sleep. This, as Bassus says, will recover the baby quickly, because the cucumbers would absorb the fever. Dried root mixed with sweet wine, or water with honey is the best remedy for sickness. To obtain purgative cucumbers one needs to soak the root of the wild plant for two or three days in the water and then use it to water the plants for five days (this should be repeated five times). The other way to have even stronger purgative cucumbers is to dig a hole around the roots, when they give the first stems, and put there few hellebore twigs and then bury them again.

The cucumber – *Cucumis sativus* belongs to the family *Cucurbitaceae*, is thought to be native to India, however, the evidence is just circumstantial as the plant has never been observed in the wild (not for certain, maybe *C. sativus* var. *hardwickii*?)<sup>14</sup>, furthermore some suggestions were being made in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the plant could have been cultivated for over 3 000 years in India<sup>15</sup>. All in all, the cucumbers were widespread and loved in Ancient Greece and Rome, probably the seeds were brought to Greece from Egypt and further to Sicily by the Greeks. The Romans used to grow cucumbers like grape wine. It was also said that they were fond of growing them in different shapes, putting the vegetable into a reed or specially made baskets<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> Cf.: <https://www.iaptglobal.org/icn>.

<sup>11</sup> *LSJ*, p. 1598; this dictionary proposes the identification with *Cucumis sativus*, Jacques André did not agree with this. J. ANDRÉ, *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome Antique*, Paris 2010, p. 80, 238.

<sup>12</sup> *Geoponica*, XII, 19, 1–19.

<sup>13</sup> In his analysis Robert Rodgers suggests referring to the Greek κολοκύντη as pumpkin. I would be personally very cautious with this as the pumpkin was unknown to Ancient world and was brought to Europe after Christopher Columbus' expeditions, R. RODGERS, *Κηποποιΐα...*, p. 168.

<sup>14</sup> J. ROBERTS, *Powab jabłka. Fascynujące dzieje owoców i warzyw*, Warszawa 2004, p. 136.

<sup>15</sup> *Evolution of Crop Plants*, ed. N.W. SIMMONDS, London 1976, p. 65, 67.

<sup>16</sup> J. ROBERTS, *Powab...*, p. 136.

## 2. Μηλόπεπον – the melon, *Cucumis melo* L.<sup>17</sup>

The next plant from the same family *Cucurbitaceae* is the melon from chapter 20 Περί μηλοπεπόνων<sup>18</sup> – *Concerning melons*. Here Bassus says that melons are very refreshing and antiemetic, they remove the phlegm, help to increase the salivation, clean the head, and also help to cut the thirst caused by a fever. To make them have the rose aroma one should plant the seeds with dried roses. To obtain sweet melons the seeds should be soaked in milk with honey, then dried before sowing. In this chapter, Bassus also warns menstruating women against approaching the plants because the melons would either wither or become bitter.

The melon τὸ μηλόπεπον – *Cucumis melo* from the same family *Cucurbitaceae* is a plant of major economic importance. It appears to be native to Africa, still, truly wild species were being reported in eastern tropical Africa only, somehow the plant was rather a latecomer to man's list of crops. Its cultivars were dispersed rapidly throughout Europe<sup>19</sup>. When not grown in monoculture, melons tend to have good resistance against the powdery mildew caused by *Sphaerotheca fuliginea*<sup>20</sup>.

## 3. Ῥαφανίς – the radish, *Raphanus sativus* L. nowadays described as *Raphanus raphanistrum* subsp. *sativus* (L.) Domin<sup>21</sup>

Not only cucurbits were in the interest of Bassus. In the 12<sup>th</sup> book of *Geoponica*, chapter 22 Περί ῥαφανίδων<sup>22</sup> – *Concerning the radish* author, as in the previous chapter, quotes Florentinus, however, it seems that Columella Moderatus and Palladius also should be taken into consideration. Here, Bassus brings up both the ways to cultivate the vegetable and its medicinal properties. According to the text, the radish is good in treating phlegm and different kinds of kidney diseases, eaten with honey would be a cure for cough, and dyspnoea can be treated by eating roasted seeds also with honey. Radish given to women in labour is supposed to increase lactation. Moreover, the vegetable was seen as a general remedy for different venoms: eaten on an empty stomach the radish frees it from all toxins, drinking the radish juice with water is also an antidote. Needless to say, Bassus quotes that anyone who would spread the radish on his hands, would be able to catch vipers and the plant itself placed on the scorpion would cause its death. Last but not least, ground radish should heal the wounds, remove freckles, and prevents alopecia. When eaten after the meal is a good carminative.

<sup>17</sup> LSJ, p. 1566; J. ANDRÉ, *Les noms...*, p. 215.

<sup>18</sup> *Geoponica*, XII, 20, 1–5.

<sup>19</sup> *Evolution...*, p. 67.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 65.

<sup>21</sup> LSJ, p. 1127; J. ANDRÉ, *Les noms...*, p. 158.

<sup>22</sup> *Geoponica*, XII, 22, 1–11.

In the text we can see the form ῥαφανίς, ῥαφανίδος (and its derivatives) – the radish from the family *Brassicaceae* (= *Cruciferae*), *Raphanus sativus* and its varieties *radicula*, *niger*, with the probable wild species is *R. raphanistrum*. According to G. Becker<sup>23</sup> the black variety was known in Ancient Egypt and this could imply that the Mediterranean was the source of the crop<sup>24</sup>. The *niger* type is older than the *radicula*, while the white, long-form appeared in Europe maybe in the 16<sup>th</sup> century AD.

#### 4. Σέλινον – celery or parsley, *Apium graveolens* L.<sup>25</sup>

Another useful plant presented by Bassus is τὸ σέλινον from chapter 23 Περί σελίνων – *Concerning celery/parsley*<sup>26</sup>. The word σέλινον is usually used in Ancient Greek for celery, but sometimes it can also indicate parsley (cf. Theocritus, *Odyssey Calypso's cave*), though for the latter the Greek language had separate term πετροσέλινον. The problem is that both plants belong to the same family *Apiaceae* (= *Umbelliferae*) and are not always that easy to distinguish, what is even more, in the wild they often are being confused with other, nonrelated species, that share the same look. Yet, most of the times τὸ σέλινον is identified with celery.

Bassus quotes that to obtain a big celery three pinches of seeds should be wrapped in a cloth, then spread with fertilizer and watered. One can get the same result by digging a hole around the root and covering it around with chaff. To obtain more curly plants the seeds should be crushed before sowing. In the later part of the chapter, Bassus presents few pieces of information about the properties of the plant. According to the text, celery is strictly forbidden for nursing mothers as it can cause milk loss and arouses passion. On the other hand, the celery can be used to refresh the breath, and as Bassus says the actors used this plant for this purpose. Eaten with bread it can cure rubella and the decoction used for a sitz bath can treat the urinary tract and kidneys.

Celery σέλινον can be identified with *Apium graveolens* from family *Apiaceae* (= *Umbelliferae*) occurs in the wild mostly in Eurasia. The modern cultivated plant is derived from by selection for size and succulence of the petioles. Probably, was used first by the Greeks as a medicinal and later as a cooking plant, the domestication is assumed to take place in the Mediterranean Basin<sup>27</sup>. It is worth mentioning that Pliny the Elder distinguished cultivated and wild celery<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> G. BECKER, *Rettich and Radies (Raphanus sativus)*, [in:] *Handbuch der Pflanzenzüchtung*, Berlin 1962, p. 23–78.

<sup>24</sup> *Evolution...*, p. 60.

<sup>25</sup> *LSJ*, p. 1590; J. ANDRÉ, *Les noms...*, p. 234.

<sup>26</sup> *Geoponica*, XII, 23, 1–5.

<sup>27</sup> *Evloution...*, p. 322–323.

<sup>28</sup> *NH*, XIX, 46.

### 5. Πράσον – the leek, *Allium ampeloprasum* L. (= *Allium porrum* L.)<sup>29</sup>

The next plant that found its place the *Geoponica* is τὸ πρᾶσον – the leek presented in chapter 29 entitled Περὶ πρᾶσων – *Concerning the leek*<sup>30</sup>. Bassus from the beginning of this chapter states precisely that he is quoting Sotion, and according to his source there are three ways to grow a magnificent plant: 1. the seeds should not be watered till the fourth day after sowing, also they should be trampled; 2. a shell or flat stone should be placed upon the seeds, without any watering; 3. the head should be pierced with twig or reed and then the seeds should be placed so they stick to each other and give more glamorous plant. There is also another way involving some fertilizer: three pinches of seeds need to be rolled into linen, then covered with fertilizer and water. This is supposed to make the seeds come together to create a magnificent plant. Bassus also provides some information about the medicinal properties: grounded leek cures bites (of tarantula and reptiles), cooked leek eaten with honey helps in all kinds of cardiovascular diseases, and the decoction mixed with sweet wine cures the urinary tract. The leek juice drunk with water and the leek wrap help to cure animal bites. According to the text, this plant might have been a remedy for nearly everything, however, Bassus adheres that the constant consumption may weaken the eyesight and harm the stomach. All in all, to get the best from this plant it needs to be eaten very fresh and it is also as nutritious as meat.

The word πρᾶσον is identified with *Allium ampeloprasum* L. from the family *Amaryllidaceae*, till 1981 it was classified under the *Liliaceae*, but at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, phylogenetic research has established the current valid classification. It belongs to the same botanical genus *Apium* together with chives, onion, and garlic, the latter two are also mentioned in *Geoponica*.

According to Vavilov the centre of origin of the leek would be the Near East and the Mediterranean<sup>31</sup>. References to onion, garlic, and leek can be traced back to the 1<sup>st</sup> Egyptian dynasty, the biblical accounts of Exodus, and by the time of Greek and Roman authors from Hippocrates to Pliny the Elder several cultivars were named. The leek was also well known in Europe in the Middle Ages, prized for different qualities.

<sup>29</sup> LSJ, p. 1460; J. ANDRÉ, *Les noms...*, p. 207.

<sup>30</sup> *Geoponica*, XII, 29, 1–10.

<sup>31</sup> N.I. VAVILOV, *Origin and Geography of Cultivated Plants*, trans. D. LOEWE, Cambridge 1992, p. 121–124.

## 6. Κιβάρα – the artichoke, *Cynara cardunculus* var. *scolymus* L.<sup>32</sup>

The last plant selected for this paper is κιβάρα the artichoke from chapter 39 Περὶ κιναρῶν – *Concerning the artichokes*<sup>33</sup>. Bassus says that the best time to plant artichokes is November, because during the spring the plants will bear fruits, if it is planted in spring they will not be able to flourish. To achieve any aroma the seeds need to be soaked in the rose, lily or bay juice before sowing, however, the other way to obtain the same result according to the text is to put the seed into the laurel berry. If the plant is to grow without any spikes if the seeds need to be either blunted with stones, or put into the pieces of lettuce root, and then planted. Sweet artichokes can be obtained by sowing dried seeds that were earlier soaked in milk with honey.

The artichoke *Cynara cardunculus* from the family *Asteraceae* is a native plant of the Mediterranean Basin and Canary Isles. Tall, perennial thistle with large and fleshy, edible *capitula* (the chokes). The plant was domesticated and spread in the Old World, grown and appreciated by the Greeks and Romans<sup>34</sup>. The best artichokes were delivered from Cordoba and Cartago. The Romans used to associate the plant with erotica and one of the proofs is the fresco from *Domus Vettii* in Pompeii.

This concludes Bassus' list of the vegetables and their properties. The plants were not only meant to be planted for aesthetic reasons, but primarily, as a source of culinary ingredients. They were supposed to be served either as the side dishes, in the company to different kinds of meat, or separate appetizers or main courses. Fortunately, there is an Ancient cookery book that has been preserved to our time, containing ca. 450 recipes, a rather wide and interesting collection from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD till 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD. This compilation called *De re coquinaria*<sup>35</sup>, attributed to Apicius, but not edited entirely by him, is the oldest cookery book of the West and serves as the example of the invention and decadence of the Romans from the Imperial period<sup>36</sup>. All of the six plants described earlier were also used by Apicius, and since the 12<sup>th</sup> book of *Geoponica* corresponds with the 3<sup>rd</sup> book of *De re coquinaria* entitled *Cepuros. De holeribus – Concerning the vegetables*, this is not a surprise as both treat about the vegetables. This is the reason, why all of the reconstructed recipes are taken from the 3<sup>rd</sup> book of Apicius. The main issue with his formulas, however, is that they usually do not contain any proportions and it is all in the hands of the person, who is trying to recreate the dishes, to put all his/her knowledge of cooking to achieve any edible results.

<sup>32</sup> LSJ, p. 951–952; J. ANDRÉ, *Les noms...*, p. 66.

<sup>33</sup> *Geoponica*, XII, 39, 1–9.

<sup>34</sup> *Evolution...*, p. 305.

<sup>35</sup> APICIUS, *L'art culinaire*, ed. J. ANDRÉ, Paris 2017 (cetera: APICIUS).

<sup>36</sup> M.G. DE RUBEIS, *La Cucina dell'Antica Roma. Ingredienti, ricette, fonti*, Roma 2020, p. 14–20.



Apicius gives only three recipes for cucumbers and all of them should be classified as appetizers, in my opinion. The basic recipe is as follows: peel the cucumbers, sprinkle with pepper and *garum/liquamen* or *oenogarum* (fish sauce with wine)<sup>37</sup>. Apicius gives a notable remark there that they are easy to digest and do not cause vomiting or any sickness<sup>38</sup>. The second recipe requires brains, cumin, celery seeds, a bit of honey, fish sauce, olive oil, eggs and pepper<sup>39</sup>. The last recipe is easier to reconstruct as it does not call for brains and the taste of the fish sauce is reduced by the mint:

Aliter cucumeres: piper, puleium, mel vel passum, liquamen et acetum. Interdum et silfi accedit<sup>40</sup>.

Cucumbers in a different way: in the mortar grind pepper, pennyroyal, honey or passum, fermented fish sauce and vinegar. Sometimes some silphium is added.

Ingredients:

2 long cucumbers (or more smaller ones)

1teaspoon of peppercorns

1tbs of chopped mint

2tbs of honey

1tbs of fish sauce

1teaspoon of vinegar

pinch of asafoetida (*silphium* has been extinct since Nero!)

Peel the cucumbers, chop them into long pieces. In the mortar grind the pepper, chop the mint. In the jar mix honey, asafoetida and fish sauce till the honey dissolves. Add the vinegar and stir. Add the mint and pepper, pour the mixture over the cucumbers and serve them quickly. The cucumbers will give some juice as the fish sauce contains salt.

In the same 3<sup>rd</sup> book, chapter 7 there is only one recipe for melons, also to be included in the group of appetizers, and it is a fruit salad. It is nearly the same as the 3<sup>rd</sup> recipe for cucumbers:

Pepones et melones: piper, puleium, mel vel passum, liquamen, acetum. Interdum et silfi accēdit<sup>41</sup>.

Melons or watermelons: you shall take some pepper, pennyroyal, honey or raisin wine, fish sauce, vinegar. Sometimes some silphium is added.

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<sup>37</sup> For further reading cf.: P. MATUSIAK, *Some Reflections Concerning the Usage of liquamen in the Roman Cookery*, SCl 6, 2006, p. 57–67; M. KOKOSZKO, *Sosy w kuchni greckiej. Garum i pochodne*, VP 26, 2006, p. 289–298.

<sup>38</sup> APICIUS, III, 6, 1.

<sup>39</sup> APICIUS, III, 6, 1.

<sup>40</sup> APICIUS, III, 6, 3.

<sup>41</sup> APICIUS, III, 7.

## Ingredients:

1 melon (Canatloupe)  
 1teaspoon of peppercorns  
 1tbs of chopped mint  
 2tbs of honey  
 1tbs of fish sauce  
 1teaspoon of vinegar  
 pinch of asafoetida

Chill the melon. Chop it into mediocre cubes. In the mortar grind the pepper, chop the mint. In the jar mix honey, asafoetida and fish sauce till the honey dissolves. Add the vinegar and stir. Add the mint and pepper, pour the mixture over the chunks. Serve as salad or side dish.

The next plant from the *Geoponica* is the radish. Apicius gives only one recipe in the chapter entitled *Rapas sive napos*:

Raphanos: Raphanos cum piperato, ita ut piper cum liquamine teras<sup>42</sup>.

Radishes: Radishes you will prepare with pepper sauce that you will make from the fermented fish sauce with ground peppercorns.

## Ingredients:

1 bunch of radish  
 1teaspoon of pepper  
 1tbs of fish sauce

Wash the radish and separate them, cut off the stems. Cut the radish into desired shapes: slices, quarters or cut artistically into halves. Grind the pepper in the mortar, mix with fish sauce. Put the radish in a plate and pour over the sauce.

The recipe for mashed celery is in the next chapter, i.e. 15<sup>th</sup> *Holus molle – Vegetable puree*. Apicius gives four formulas there for different purees, one of which consists of celery (the second one):

Aliter holus molle: apium coques ex aqua nitrata, exprimes et concides minutatim. In mortario teres piper, ligusticum, origanum, cepam, vinum, liquamen et oleum. Coques in pul-tario, et sic apium commisces<sup>43</sup>.

Vegetable puree in a different way: you shall cook the celery in water with some sodium bicarbonate, then rinse and chop it finely. In the mortar grind peppercorns, lovage, oregano, onion, wine, fish sauce and oil. You shall cook this in the pot and add the celery.

## Ingredients:

1 big celeriac  
 1tbs of sodium bicarbonate

<sup>42</sup> APICIUS, III, 14.

<sup>43</sup> APICIUS, III, 15, 2.

1teaspoon of peppercorns  
2tbs of olive oil  
½ bunch of lovage  
½ bunch of oregano  
½ of big onion  
½ of a cup of dry wine  
2tbs of fish sauce

In a pot boil water, add sodium bicarbonate. Clean and peel the celeriac, cut it into big chunks. Add to the boiling water and cook until soft. Chop finely or mash.

Sauce: grind the pepper in the mortar, add lovage, grind, add oregano, grind, add the olive oil and pulp everything. Chop the onion finely, add to the spices, grind and add the fish sauce and a bit of wine. Pour the rest of the wine into the pot, add the mixture from the mortar. Bring to a boil and reduce for 5–7 minutes (let it simmer). Add the celery, mix together and serve. It contains wine and should be eaten the same day as it might get acidic or bitter.

As far as it concerns the leek Apicius gives four recipes in chapter 10 *Porros – The leeks*, all of them cooked. To me the most appealing is the first one for mature leeks:

Porros maturos fieri: pugnum salis, aquam et oleum: mixtum facies et ibi coques et eximes. Cum oleo, liquamine, mero et inferes<sup>44</sup>.

Cooking the mature leeks: you shall take a handful of salt, water and oil. Mix it and cook the leeks in it. Rinse the leeks and pour with oil, fish sauce, clear wine and serve.

Ingredients:  
2 leeks (much of white and light green needed)  
2tbs of olive oil (for water)  
handful of salt  
sauce:  
2tbs of olive oil  
1tbs of fish sauce  
1–2tbs of white wine (dry)

Boil the water in a pot with salt and olive oil. Clear the leeks and chop them cut lengthwise or into slices. Put the leeks into the boiling water and parboil till soft (*al dente*), but do not overcook. Drain off, put into a plate.

Sauce: olive oil, wine, fish sauce put into a jar and mix (or shake) until you get the vinaigrette. Pour over the leeks, mix and serve.

Last but not least is the artichoke. Needless to say that Apicius gives much attention to the artichoke, the most of all of the vegetables analysed in this paper. In chapter 20<sup>45</sup>. *Sphondyli vel fundili – The artichoke inflorescens* Apicius presents six recipes and advises to serve them either cooked or fried in fish sauce, usually

<sup>44</sup> APICIUS, III, 10, 1.

<sup>45</sup> APICIUS, III, 20, 1–6.

combined with olive oil, wine, *garum* and herbs like rue/herb-of-grace or fresh coriander. It is worth mentioning that the last recipe of the chapter has nothing in common with artichoke and probably was put here by compiler by mistake (the term *sphondyli* is also used for oysters). Two of the recipes were the subject of reconstruction:

Aliter: sphondylos elixos perfundes amulato infra scripto: apii semen, rutam, mel, piper teres, passum, liquamen et oleum modice. Amulo obligas, piper asperges et inferes<sup>46</sup>.

The other recipe: cooked hearts of the artichoke you shall cover with the starch sauce, that you shall make according to the following recipe: you will grind celery seeds, rue, honey, peppercorns, raisin wine, fish sauce and a bit of oil. You shall thicken it with starch, then sprinkle with some pepper and serve.

Ingredients:

160–200g of cooked artichokes' hearts

1teaspoon of celery seeds

1ts of rue herb

1tbs of honey

½ ts of peppercorns

½ ice wine or raisin wine

1tbs of fish sauce

2tbs of olive oil

1½ts of wheat starch (or if you want to be less accurate Maizena)

pepper to sprinkle

Grind seeds and herbs in the mortar. In the pot combine the wine, honey and fish sauce. Add the olive oil and leave it on a low heat to boil. When it starts boiling, add the herbs and spices and reduce for ca. 5 minutes. Dissolve the starch in a small amount of water, add to the sauce and bring to boil whisking. When the sauce thickens, remove it from the heat. Pour the sauce over the artichokes.

Aliter: sphondylos elixatos praedurabis, mittes in caccabum oleum, liquamen, piper. Passum colorabis et obligas<sup>47</sup>.

The other way: pre-fry cooked hearts of the artichoke. In the pot, you shall pour the oil, fish sauce, add some pepper. Tinge the dish with raisin wine and serve.

Ingredients:

200–250g of cooked artichokes hearts

¼ts of peppercorns

1tbs of fish sauce

2–3tbs of olive oil (1tbs for frying)

¼cup of wine

1ts of wheat starch

<sup>46</sup> APICIUS, III, 20, 3.

<sup>47</sup> APICIUS, III, 20, 5.

On the frying pan put 1tbs of olive oil, heat properly and place the artichokes. Fry the artichokes up on all sides till golden brown, when fried place them on the plate. Pour the rest of the oil into the pan (1–2tbs). Ground the pepper in the mortar. Pour the fish sauce on the pan, whisk vividly, add pepper and fry for a second. Pour the wine, stir and reduce for 2–3 minutes. Dissolve the starch in a small amount of water, pour into the sauce, whisk vividly. Bring to boil. Pour the sauce over the artichokes.

All the plants presented in this paper have been valued for centuries for their medicinal and culinary properties. It is indeed a blessing from the Olympians that these two texts the great and precious encyclopaedia by Bassus and the Roman cookbook by Apicius were preserved. The *Geoponica* as the significant compilation of all the Ancient knowledge on agri- and horticulture, containing various, sometimes lost, Hellenistic and Roman-period Greek agriculture and veterinary authors, and *De re coquinaria* as the only cookery book from ancient times, with all its variety of recipes that gives us the opportunity to take a look for a little while the Roman banquet. We can only imagine how much harder would it be for scholars and researchers if these two texts would not have survived to our time, especially when we take into consideration that the corpus of Greek agricultural works is almost entirely lost.

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## CRUSADING IN LIVONIA AND BYZANTINE ROMANIA CONSIDERED IN A COMPARATIVE REVIEW KEY ISSUES AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

**Abstract.** The article focuses on a topic that so far has not been studied in a comparative approach. The author addresses some basic problems of the comparative research, focusing on the general and the specific causes, the course, and the consequences of the crusading actions in the lands of Livonia and Estonia – in the northeast, and Romania – in the southeast. Reconsidering the already established models and theses in historical research on the Baltic campaigns, on the one hand, and the Third, the Fourth, and the Fifth Crusades, on the other, the author formulates some guidelines and approaches for a comparative study on crusading ‘on the edges’ in the late 12<sup>th</sup> – the early 13<sup>th</sup> centuries. The article analyzes several factors including the role of geographical and climatic conditions, the demographic expansion, the papal policy, the commercial maritime activity, and the role of the Knightly orders in the crusading campaigns under review. Furthermore, the author explores the political and social background of the crusading campaigns under question and the different models of interaction between the colonization stratum and the local population in Livonia and the Latin Empire in Constantinople.

**Keywords:** Medieval Crusades, Livonia, Romania, Latin Empire of Constantinople

The crusade activity in the Baltic and Byzantine territories has a long history and various aspects, but one of the common features is its permanence in the years after the initial conquests at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (1198–1205). In the lands of the Eastern Baltic, it manifested in new military campaigns led by the Order of Sword Brothers, the Teutonic Order, the Bishop of Riga, the Danish Crown, and other political and military factors. Similarly, a series of crusades were declared in defense of the Frankish states which were set up in the formerly Byzantine territories. This development defined the policy of the papacy, of the Latin crusaders, and the local states and authorities, and had a profound impact on Greco-Bulgarian-Latin relations in the thirteenth century. The late 12<sup>th</sup> and the early 13<sup>th</sup> century were characterized by an intense crusade movement, directed not only towards the Holy Lands but also the Eastern Baltic lands and Byzantine Empire (the lands of Romania). These crusades

changed, to a greater or lesser extent, the course of local history and, despite the considerable geographical distance, they were a manifestation of common (or similar) ambitious religious, political, and economic interests.

What was shared between and specific about the Livonian crusade from the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century and the Fourth Crusade (1202–1204)? What were the motives, the driving forces, and the ultimate goals of the papal policy in the Baltic region and the Balkans at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century? What were the consequences of these crusades for the Baltic and Balkan peoples? What were the shared and distinguishing characteristics of the *Terra Mariana* founded in 1207 and the *Latin Empire* established in former Byzantine lands in 1204, with Constantinople as its political centre? What was the scale of commercial activities involved in the Livonian crusade and the Fourth Crusade? What were the general and the specific trends in the history of the Southeastern region and of the East-Baltic region in the first three decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century when locals were strongly affected by the expanding papal power and influence on the eastern borders of the European continent? These are just some of the issues that can be the basis of such a comparative study. This paper is aimed at mapping out the main problems and a brief historiographical overview to further comparative interdisciplinary research of the Crusades and their consequences in Livonia and Romania.

Yet, despite their importance, to date these expeditions and crusading activities have not been systematically examined in a comparative approach. As far as the state of the research related to the issue is concerned, so far no comparative studies have been carried out on the Livonian Crusade and the Fourth Crusade. The only close studies have been devoted to comparative research between the Crusaders in the Iberian peninsula and the Baltic region and between the Baltic Crusades and the Holy Lands<sup>1</sup>. Bulgarian historiography too lacks a comparative study of the mentioned processes in Livonia and Romania during the period in question. The historical parallels between Livonia and Romania (Latin Empire of Constantinople) have been partially explored.

However, as far as research on the Baltic Crusades is concerned, the period is the subject of considerable research activity. First of all, I would note some Latvian and Estonian historians and archaeologists as I. Šterns, A. Šnē, E. Eihmane, A. Levāns, G. Zariņa, M. Sound, A. Selart and A. Mänd<sup>2</sup>. The Baltic Crusades,

<sup>1</sup> *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. T.K. NIELSEN, I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, Turnhout 2016; N. MORTON, *The Division of Resources between the Holy Land and the Baltic*, [in:] *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land, 1190–1291*, Woodbridge 2017, p. 118–130.

<sup>2</sup> I. ŠTERNS, *Latvijas vēsture 1180–1290: Krustakari*, Rīga 2002; A. ŠNĒ, *Multicoloured Culture: Co-existence of the Local and the Western in the Territory of Latvia During the Middle Ages*, [in:] *Colours of Archaeology. Material Culture and Society*, Vilnius–Helsinki–Riga–Tartu 2007, p. 139–154; IDEM, *The Emergence of Livonia: the Transformations of Social and Political Structures in the Territory of Latvia During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, [in:] *The Clash of Cultures on the Medi-*



the military orders, and the early history of medieval Livonia are also brilliantly presented in the research of historians as Nils Blomkvist and Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt, Richard Spence, Barbara Bombi (the Popes, the Catholic church and the Baltic Crusades), Eric Christiansen, John Lind, Alan Murray, William Urban, Roman Czaja, A. Pluskowski and H. Valk (the Livonian Sword Brothers, the Teutonic Order, and the conquest of Livonia)<sup>3</sup>. These studies are only part of the vast historiography on the problems of the Livonian Crusades. They do not present in full the historiographical base, but point to opportunities for comparative

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*eval Baltic Frontier*, ed. A.V. MURRAY, Farnham 2009, p. 53–73; IDEM, *The Image of the Other or the Own: Representation of Local Societies in Heinrici Chronicon*, [in:] *The Medieval Chronicle*, vol. VI, ed. E. KOOPER, Amsterdam–New York 2009, p. 247–260; IDEM, *The Hanseatic League and the Eastern Baltic: Towns, Trade and Politics in Medieval Livonia from the Thirteenth to the Mid-Sixteenth Century*, [in:] *The North-Eastern Frontiers of Medieval Europe. The Expansion of Latin Christendom in the Baltic Lands*, ed. A.V. MURRAY, Farnham 2014 [= ELE, 4], p. 353–378; IDEM, *Faith, Society and Identity: Religious and Social Identity in Latvia on the Eve and Early Stages of the Crusades*, [in:] *Today I Am Not the One I Was Yesterday: Archaeology, Identity and Change*, Tartu–Helsinki–Riga–Vilnius 2015, p. 137–150; E. EIHMANE, *The Baltic Crusades: A Clash of Two Identities*, [in:] *The Clash of Cultures...*, p. 37–52; A. LEVANS, *Tuvās vēstures ainas. Vēsturisko priekšstatu par Livoniju rašanās 13. gadsimta historiogrāfijā*, Rīga 2014; G. ZARINA, *Latvijas iedzīvotāju paleodemogrāfija. 7. g.t. pr.Kr. – 1800. g.*, Rīga 2009; A. SELART, *Confessional Conflict and Political Co-operation: Livonia and Russia in the Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier, 1150–1500*, ed. A.V. MURRAY, Aldershot 2001, p. 151–176; IDEM, *Der livländische Deutsche Orden und Rusland*, [in:] *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico*, ed. H. HOUBEN, Galatino 2008, p. 253–276; IDEM, *Livland und die Rus' im 13. Jahrhundert*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2007; IDEM, *Popes and Livonia in the First Half of the Thirteenth Century: Means and Chances to Shape the Periphery*, CHR 100.3, 2014, p. 437–458; IDEM, *Livland-eine Region am Ende der Welt?: Forschungen zum Verhältnis zwischen Zentrum und Peripherie im späten Mittelalter*, Köln 2017; IDEM, *Die Kreuzzüge in Livland Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts und das dänische Königshaus*, [in:] *Narva und die Ostseeregion. Beiträge der II Internationalen Konferenz über die politischen und kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Russland und der Ostseeregion (Narva, 1.–3. Mai 2003)*, Narva 2004; IDEM, *Livonia, Rus' and the Baltic Crusades in the Thirteenth Century*, Leiden–Boston 2015 [= ECEEMA, 29].

<sup>3</sup> N. BLOMKVIST, *The Discovery of the Baltic. The Reception of a Catholic World-system in the European North (AD 1075–1225)*, Leiden–Boston 2004 [= NW, 15]; I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, *The Popes and the Baltic Crusades, 1147–1254*, Leiden–Boston 2007 [= NW, 26]; R. SPENCE, *Pope Gregory IX and the Crusade on the Baltic*, CHR 69.1, 1983, p. 1–19; B. BOMBI, *Innocent III and the Baltic Crusade after the Conquest of Constantinople*, [in:] *Crusading on the Edge. Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, ed. T. NIELSEN, I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, Turnhout 2016, p. 117–133; E. CHRISTIANSEN, *The Northern Crusades. The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100–1525*, London 1980; J. LIND, *Collaboration and Confrontation between East and West on the Baltic Rim as a Result of the Baltic Crusades*, [in:] *Der Ostseeraum und ointinentaleuropa, 1100–1600. Culture Clash or Compromise*, Schwerin 2004, p. 123–126; A.V. MURRAY, *The Structure, Genre and Intended Audience of the Livonian Rhymed Chronicle*, [in:] *Crusade and Conversion...*, p. 235–251; W. URBAN, *The Livonian Crusade*, Washington 2004; IDEM, *The Military Occupation of Semgallia in the Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Baltic History*, Columbus 1974, p. 21–34; R. CZAJA, *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia. The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures 13<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> Century*, Toruń 2016; A. PLUSKOWSKI, H. VALK, *Conquest and Europeanization: the Archaeology of the Crusades in Livonia, Prussia and Lithuania*, [in:] *The Crusader World*, ed. A.J. BOAS, London 2016, p. 568–593.

research regarding other regions and crusades – in this case the Fourth Crusade and the Balkans in the period under consideration.

The comparative approach to studying society has a long tradition dating back to the Ancient World. Since the nineteenth century, philosophers, anthropologists, political scientists, and historians have used cross-cultural comparisons to achieve various objectives. For researchers adopting a normative perspective, comparisons have served as a tool for developing classifications of social phenomena and for establishing whether the shared phenomena can be explained by the same causes. For many researchers, comparisons have provided an analytical framework for examining and explaining social and cultural differences and specificities.

A research study on this topic requires a comparative historical and intercultural analysis, thus aiming at (and emphasizing) the similarities and substantial differences between Livonia and the Balkans in the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Such a comparative study also requires careful definition of chronological boundaries that correspond to specific events and dates in the Crusading activity in the Eastern Baltic and the Balkans in the first decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In my opinion, the beginning can be set at the start of the Livonian Crusade in 1198 or the very end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. In fact, only four years separate 1198 and the beginning of the Fourth Crusade in 1202. Following the above, the starting chronological date of this research can be fixed in 1198, and the end can be marked by Gregory IX's attempted expeditions in defense of the Latin Empire in the years 1238–1240.

Such a comparative study requires careful identification of key issues and subtopics. In the first place, I would define *the evolution of crusading in the context of political circumstances across Europe, the role of the papal policy in Livonia and Romania in the first decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century*<sup>4</sup>. One of the specific objectives

<sup>4</sup> For further reference on the topic cf.: W. URBAN, *The Livonian...*; B. BOMBI, *Innocent III...*, p. 117–133; E. CHRISTIANSEN, *The Northern...*; S. EKDAHL, *Crusades and Colonisation in the Baltic: a Historiographic Analysis*, RIPS 19, 2003/2004, p. 1–43; I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, *The Popes...*; A. SELART, *Popes...*, p. 437–458; M. TAMM, *How to Justify a Crusade? The Conquest of Livonia and New Crusade Rhetoric in the Early Thirteenth Century*, JMH 39.4, 2013, p. 431–455; A. ŠNĚ, *Multicoloured Culture...*, p. 139–154; IDEM, *The Emergence of Livonia...*, p. 53–73; E. EIHMANE, *The Baltic Crusades...*, p. 37–52; A. SELART, *Confessional...*, p. 151–176; IDEM, *Der livländische...*, p. 253–276; N. BLOMKVIST, *Discovery of the Baltic...*; I. FONNESBERG-SCHMIDT, *The Popes...*; R. SPENCE, *Pope Gregory IX...*, p. 1–19; J. LIND, *Collaboration...*, p. 123–126; A.V. MURRAY, *The Structure...*, p. 235–251; W. URBAN, *The Military Occupation...*, p. 21–34; A. PLUSKOWSKI, H. VALK, *Conquest and Europeanization...*, p. 568–593; *The North-Eastern Frontiers...*; M. TAMM, *How to Justify...*, p. 431–455; IDEM, *Inventing Livonia: The Name and Fame of a New Christian Colony on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ZfO 60, 2011, p. 186–209; J. FRANCE, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714*, London 2005. For further reference on Crusades in Byzantine Romania (the Balkans) cf.: N. CHRISSIS, *Crusading in Frankish Greece. A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204–1282*, Turnhout 2012 [= MCS, 22]; IDEM, *New Frontiers: Frankish Greece and the Development of Crusading in the Early Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Contact and Conflict in Frankish*

regarding the issue is the Vatican politics from the first half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (the pontificates of Innocent III, Honorius III, and Gregory IX), when both the Eastern Baltic and the Balkans were strongly affected by the expanding papal power and a series of crusades directed to the eastern borders of Latin Europe. Also, the role of the pontificate of Pope Gregory IX and the apogee of the crusading activity against John III Vatatzes and John II Asen and in helping Latin Romania must be emphasized<sup>5</sup>. The studies on the Crusades, especially on the Fourth Crusade and its impact on the Balkan peoples and states, are also numerous and diverse<sup>6</sup>.

This brief overview cannot represent the enormous historiography based on Papal politics, the Livonian Crusade, and the Fourth Crusade, but the studies conducted so far are a reliable basis for comparative research of the history of the Baltic and Balkan regions at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and in the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

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*Greece and the Aegean, 1204–1453. Crusade, Religion and Trade between Latins, Greeks and Turks*, ed. N. CHRISISS, M. CARR, Burlington 2014, p. 17–41; IDEM, *A Diversion that Never Was: Thibaut IV of Champagne, Richard of Cornwall and Pope Gregory IX's Crusading Plans for Constantinople, 1235–1239*, C 9, 2010, p. 123–145; K. SETTON, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204–1171)*, vol. I, Philadelphia 1976; *Byzantium and the West. Perception and Reality (11<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> c.)*, ed. N. CHRISISS, A. KOLIA-DEMITZAKI, A. PAPAGEORGIOU, London–New York 2019; Z. PENTEK, *Cesarstwo Łacińskie 1204–1261. Kolonialne państwo krzyżowców czy Neobizancjum?*, Poznań 2004; IDEM, *Geoffroy de Villehardouin. Rycerz i kronikarz IV wyprawy krzyżowej*, Poznań 1996; ROBERT DE CLARI, *Zdobycie Konstantynopola*, ed. et trans. Z. PENTEK, Poznań 1997; F. DALL'AGLIO, *Crusading in a Nearer East: the Balkan Politics of Honorius III and Gregory IX (1221–1241)*, [in:] *La Papauté et les croisades. Actes du VII<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East*, ed. M. BALARD, Farnham 2011, p. 173–184; C. MORRIS, *Geoffroy de Villehardouin and the Conquest of Constantinople*, His 53, 1968, p. 24–34; A. МАЙОРОВ, *The Alliance between Byzantium and Rus' before the Conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204*, RHis 42.3, 2015, p. 272–303; В. ИВАНОВ, *Рицарите йоанити, кръстоносните походи и Балканите (XI–XIII в.)*, София 2020.

<sup>5</sup> J.S. LANGDON, *The Forgotten Byzantino-Bulgarian Assault and Siege of Constantinople, 1235–1236, and the Breakup of the Entente Cordiale between John III Ducas Vatatzes and John Asen II in 1236 as Background to the Genesis of the Hohenstaufen Vatatzes Alliance of 1242*, BMbyz 4, 1985, p. 105–135.

<sup>6</sup> Nikolaos Chrissis can be considered one of the best researchers of the crusaders' impact on Byzantine Empire in the period under question: N. CHRISISS, *Crusading...*; IDEM, *New Frontiers...*, p. 17–41; IDEM, *A Diversion...*, p. 123–145. Concerning the Crusades in Romania, the Politics of the Papacy and the Latin Empire, cf. the following titles: *Contact and Conflict...*; F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Second Bulgarian Kingdom and the Latin Empire of Constantinople: a General Overview*, Pbg 37.1, 2013, p. 109–117; В.Н. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. III, *Второто българско царство. България при Асеневици (1187–1280)*, София 1994 [1940]; В. ПРИМОВ, *The Papacy, the Fourth Crusade and Bulgaria*, ВВг 1, 1971, p. 183–213; П. ПЕТРОВ, *Унията между България и Римската църква през 1204 г. и четвъртият кръстоносен поход*, ИП 2, 1955, p. 35–57; А. ДАНЧЕВА-ВАСИЛЕВА, *България и Латинската империя (1204–1261)*, София 1985; ЕАДЕМ, *Старофренските хроники като извор за българската история през първата половина на XIII в.*, [in:] *Сборник в памет на проф. Станчо Ваклинов*, София 1984, p. 51–59; ЕАДЕМ, *Хрониката на Ернул и българо-латинските политически отношения*, [in:] *Сборник в чест на академик Димитър Ангелов*, София 1994, p. 65–72; К. ГАГОВА, *Кръстоносните походи и Средновековна България*, София 2004.

But in the wider scope of the Crusades in Livonia and Romania, more general issues can be distinguished. That is the reason why I would next point to the problem of the technology of the Crusading warfare in the Eastern Baltic and Romania, which can be examined in terms of *the military strategy, the role of military orders, the armaments and tactics of the opposing armies in these large-scale and protracted military conflicts*. Among the important topics are the role of the military orders in Livonia and the Balkans at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and the first three decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>. Also, I would like to stress the fact that Greeks, Bulgarians, and the Baltic peoples succeeded in fighting and defeating the Crusaders by forming alliances against the powerful knights. In parallel, Lithuania and some Russian principalities played an important role in the military conflicts in Livonia in the first decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. A similar role in the south

<sup>7</sup> For further reference on the Livonian Brothers of the Sword and the Teutonic Order, cf.: Э. ХЕШ, *Восточная политика Ливонского Ордена в XIII в.*, [in:] *Князь Александр Невский и его эпоха, Санкт-Петербург* 1995, p. 65–72; F. BENNINGHOVEN, *Der Orden der Schwertbrüder, Fratres Milicie Christi de Livonia*, Cologne–Graz 1965; IDEM, *Unter Kreuz und Adler. Der Deutsche Orden im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1990; IDEM, *Zur Rolle des Schwertbrüderordens und des Deutschen Ordens im politischen Gefüge Alt-Livlands*, ZfO 41, 1992, p. 165–171; W. URBAN, *The Teutonic Knights. A Military History*, London 2003; IDEM, *The Military Occupation...*, p. 21–34; IDEM, *The Organization of Defense of the Livonian Frontier in the Thirteenth Century*, S 48, 1973, p. 525–532; IDEM, *The Sense of Humor among the Teutonic Knight of the Thirteenth Century*, IQ 42, 1979, p. 40–47; IDEM, *Victims of the Baltic Crusade*, JBS 29.3, 1998, p. 195–212; S. EKDAHL, *Horses of Crossbows: Two Important Warfare Advantages of the Teutonic Order in Prussia*, [in:] *The Military Orders*, ed. H. NICHOLSON, Aldershot 1998, p. 119–151; IDEM, *The Treatment of Prisoners of War during the Fighting between the Teutonic Order and Lithuania*, [in:] *The Military Orders. Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick*, ed. M. BARBER, Aldershot 1994, p. 263–270; IDEM, *The Strategic Organization of the Commanderies of the Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, [in:] *La Commanderie, institution des ordres militaires dans l'Occident medieval*, Paris 2002, p. 219–298; A.J. FOREY, *The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the Thirteenth Century*, EHR 104, 1989, p. 1–24; K. KĻAVIŅŠ, *Vācu ordenis un Livonija*, Riga 2000; E. MUGUREVICS, *The Military Activity of the Order of the Sword Brethren (1202–1236)*, [in:] *The North-Eastern Frontiers...*, p. 117–122; A.V. MURRAY, *The Sword Brothers at War: Observations on the Military Activity of the Knighthood of Christ in the Conquest of Livonia and Estonia (1203–1227)*, Omi 18, 2013, p. 27–39; A. SELART, *Der livländische...*, p. 253–276.

<sup>8</sup> On the technical aspects of the Crusades in Livonia and Romania, cf.: J. GILLINGHAM, *A Strategy of Total War? Henry of Livonia and the Conquest of Estonia, 1208–1227*, JMMH 15, 2017, p. 186–214; A. MAESALU, *Mechanical Artillery and Warfare in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, [in:] *Crusading and Chronicle Writing on the Medieval Baltic Frontier. A Companion to the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia*, ed. M. TAMM, L. KALJUNDI, C.S. JENSEN, Farnham 2011, p. 265–290; W. URBAN, *The Organization of Defense...*, p. 525–532. On the war in Romania and the Balkans, cf.: B. HENDRICKX, *A propos du nombre des troupes de la quatrième croisade et l'empereur Baudouin I*, BAR 3, 1971, p. 29–41; B. HENDRICKX, T. SANSARIDOU-HENDRICKX, *Indigenous and Local Troops and Mercenaries in the Service of the 'Latin' Conquerors of the Byzantine Empire After 1204*, JECH 4, 2014, p. 40–53; J. HALDON, *Byzantium at War AD, 600–1453*, London 2002; P.Ł. GROTOWSKI, *Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints. Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)*, trans. R. BRZEZINSKI, Leiden–Boston 2010 [= Mme, 87]; F. DALL'AGLIO, *The Military Alliance between*

was played by the Bulgarians, who, in alliance with the Cumans, the Vlachs, and at times with the Greeks in Thrace, entered into a bloody conflict with the newly established Latin Empire. What were the political, religious, and cultural motives for such a confrontation? What were the consequences for the local societies and their leaders after the emergence of the new Crusaders states – Livonia and Latin Empire? Undoubtedly, a comparative approach calls for an answer to these and a host of other questions.

Quite interesting are also the attempts of Novgorod and the Galician Principality to exert political influence in Livonia and the Balkans, in the context and aftermath of the crusades under consideration. In 1216, the Novgorod prince Mstislav Mstislavich led Novgorod troops into Livonia as far as Riga. In a similar manner, and roughly at the same time, a civil war for the throne broke out in Bulgaria, one of the opposing parties being supported by Russian mercenaries from the Galician Principality<sup>9</sup>.

Another important problem in such a comparative study is *Livonia and Latin Empire as Crusader states*. The considered events and processes lead to the emergence of a new political organization and significant changes in the region. There is also immediate influence on part of the neighboring states, their powers in crusading activities in the Eastern Baltic, the Southern Balkans, and Eastern Asia Minor. Some authors consider the formation of medieval Livonia and the Latin Empire, and the construction of a new feudal system. Without doubt, these

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*the Cumans and Bulgaria from the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom to the Mongol Invasion*, АЕМА 16, 2008/2009, p. 29–54; S. KYRIAKIDIS, *Crusaders and Mercenaries: the West-European Soldiers of the Laskarids of Nicaea (1204–1258)*, MHR 29.2, 2014, p. 139–153; А.В. МАЙОРОВ, *Рассказ Никиты Хониата о Русско-византийском военном союзе в начале XIII века*, [in:] *Русские древности*, ed. А.Ю. Дворниченко, Санкт-Петербург 2011, p. 165–181; V. MARCULEȚ, *Țaratul Vlaho-Bulgar și puterile cruciadei în timpul domniei țarului Boril Asan (1207–1218). De la conflict armat la colaborare politică și militară*, Тър SN 10.2, 2016, p. 35–52; V. NINOV, *Един малко познат в българската историография извор за съдбата на император Бодуен I*, ИП 5–6, 2015, p. 22–30; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Кумани и българи срещу латинци (няколко фрагмента от Морейската хроника)*, [in:] *Българско царство. Сборник в чест на 60-годишнината на доц. д-р Георги Н. Николов*, ed. ИДЕМ, София 2018, p. 568–581; И. ИВАНОВ, *Българо-латинските войни от първата половина на XIII в. Опит за количествен анализ*, [in:] *Сб. от конференция по повод 830 годишнината от въстанието на Петър и Асен, Велико Търново, 26–28 октомври 2015 г.*, ed. П. ПАВЛОВ, Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2016, p. 178–187; ИДЕМ, *Тевтонският орден, куманите и България през второто десетилетие на XIII в. (1211–1225)*, ЕЛО 26.2, 2018, p. 383–393; ИДЕМ, *Българо-латинската война от 1205–1207 г.: численост, битки, обсади, жертви, стратегия и тактика на противостоящите страни*, ВС 1, 2015, p. 73–87; К. ЙОРДАНОВ, *Нов поглед към битката при Адрианопол (Военният ресурс на ранната Латинска империя и кампанията от април 1205 г.)*, Меди 2, 2011, p. 106–147; Н. ДЮЛГЕРОВ, *Войската в Ахейското княжество (XIII–XIV в.)*, Ист 23.3, 2015, p. 244–263.

<sup>9</sup> А. МАЙОРОВ, *Rus', Byzantium and Western Europe in the Late Twelfth – Early Thirteenth Centuries*, ВСПУИ 4, 2018, p. 31–43.

characteristics in Livonia and Romania are very specific, but at the same time, some basic parallels can be drawn, providing a basis for a comparative study of the clash between local traditions and the Western European feudal system<sup>10</sup>.

Of crucial importance was also *the role of the commercial interests in crusade activity in Livonia and Romania*. Some prominent researchers analyze the role of the merchants in Livonia and Romania, and this also provides a solid basis for the comparative study<sup>11</sup>. Unlike Livonia and Northern Europe, the Mediterranean region retained the traditions of Roman law and legal practices. What is more, the larger population on the shores and adjacent areas around the Mediterranean Sea generated a much larger volume of trade than the peoples in Livonia and the Baltic Sea. Next, unlike the merchants of the Hanseatic League, who established a solid cartel that allowed them to monopolize trade in the Baltic Sea, the Italian merchants could not afford such a course of action. Also, the significance of winter routes along the frozen rivers and lakes in Livonia in comparison to Southern and Southeastern Europe should be highlighted in such comparative research. Furthermore, based on the comparison with Venetian and Genoese trade in the Mediterranean Sea, the Black Sea, and the Sea of Azov a conclusion can be drawn that the longer routes of the Italians involved more risk factors. While the longest trade routes of the Hanseatic merchants in travel and transport of goods from west-northwest to east-southeast reached 1200–1300 kilometers by sea and land, the trade routes of the Italians to the Sea of Azov reached 1900–2000 kilometers. The longer routes also suggested more risk factors in the course of trade. In this aspect, Livonia was in control of relatively shorter and more easily accessible routes, with summer

<sup>10</sup> A. ŠNĚ, *The Emergence of Livonia...*, p. 53–73; R.L. WOLFF, *Romania: the Latin Empire of Constantinople*, S 23, 1948, p. 1–34; IDEM, *Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261*, DOP 8, 1954, p. 225–303; IDEM, *Baldwin of Flanders and Hainaut, First Latin Emperor of Constantinople: his Life, Death, and Resurrection, 1172–1225*, S 27, 1952, p. 281–322; F.V. TRICHT, *La politique étrangère de l'empire de Constantinople, de 1210 à 1216. Sa position en Méditerranée orientale: problèmes de chronologie et d'interprétation*, MA 107.2, 2001, p. 219–238; IDEM, *The Latin Renovatio of Byzantium. The Empire of Constantinople (1204–1228)*, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= MMe, 90]; IDEM, *The Byzantino-Latin Principality of Adrianople and the Challenge of Feudalism (1204/6–ca. 1227/28): Empire, Venice, and Local Autonomy*, DOP 68, 2014, p. 325–342; B. HENDRICKX, *Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261): la chancellerie*, AClaS 19, 1976, p. 123–131; M.T. LOWER, *Negotiating Interfaith Relations in Eastern Christendom: Pope Gregory IX, Bela IV of Hungary, and the Latin Empire*, EMS 21, 2004, p. 49–62; V. NINOV, *Един малко познат...*, p. 22–30; А. НИКОЛОВ, *Второто българско царство и влахо-българските дилеми*, [in:] *Великите Асеневици*, ed. П. ПАВЛОВ, Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2016, p. 84–99.

<sup>11</sup> M.R. MUNZINGER, *The Profits of the Cross: Merchant Involvement in the Baltic Crusade (c. 1180–1230)*, JMH 32.2, 2006, p. 163–185; C.S. JENSEN, *Urban Life and the Crusades in North Germany and the Baltic Lands in the Early Thirteenth Century*, [in:] *Crusade and Conversion...*, p. 85; R. LOPEZ, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350*, Cambridge 1976; A. ŠNĚ, *The Hanseatic League...*, p. 353–379; И. ИВАНОВ, *Търговия и интеграционни процеси в средновековна Ливония през XIII в.: Основни тенденции и исторически паралели*, [in:] *Известия на Центъра за стопанско-исторически изследвания. Пазари, общество, власт*, vol. V, Варна 2020, p. 27–38.

and winter options. This contributed to the flourishing of trade in that region as well as the fostering of international and domestic integration over the following centuries. It could also be pointed out that the Hanseatic merchants formed a stable cartel based on their exclusive trade privileges, effectively monopolizing trade in the Baltic Sea. Such behavior was possible only for a few decades for Venetians as a result of the Fourth Crusade. Also, Italian merchants from different cities did not share common privileges in the manner and model of their Hanseatic counterparts. Instead, Italian traders competed for trade privileges, and in the long run, this competition was settled by a *de facto* division of markets. The economic consequences of this Latin “thalassocracy” were expressed in the inclusion of the Balkans and the Aegean in a “subordinate” economic system in the period under question.

Last but not least comes the need for a *comparative study of the clash and co-operation as a result of the crusades in Livonia and Romania* during the first decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Traditionally seen as sharp opposition and conflict, these crusades are increasingly the subject of a different research approach and research methodology. Many contemporary historians see Livonia and the Latin Empire not only as areas of conflict but also of coexistence and mutual influence and intertwining of different cultural identities<sup>12</sup>. Next, according to some researchers of the Baltic crusades, significant demographic changes in the form of mass movements of the local tribes which mixed in a proto-national community started in the 13<sup>th</sup> c. The main factor was closely connected with the Crusades and their consequences. Indisputably, the Livonian Crusade had a terrible effect on the local population, but from another point of view, they also accelerated the process of unification of the local tribes. Besides, collisions and interactions have many other dimensions. Similarly, the Fourth Crusade resulted not only in sharp enmity but in mutual influences and the emergence of new identities and cultural models in the lands of Romania<sup>13</sup>.

Thus, the proposed main problems and topics in chronological order, as specified above, provide a framework for a new and promising comparative study, for which the key purpose is to study the similarities and distinctive characteristics of the Crusades in two remote regions of medieval Europe. I hope that the final

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<sup>12</sup> E. EIHMANE, *The Baltic Crusades...*, p. 37–52; J. LIND, *Collaboration...*, p. 123–126; A. MURRAY, *The Saracens of the Baltic: Pagan and Christian Lithuanians in the Perception of English and French Crusaders to Late Medieval Prussia*, JBS 41.4, 2010, p. 413–429; A. SELART, *Confessional...*, p. 151–176; A. ŠNĚ, *Multicoloured Culture...*, p. 139–154; IDEM, *The Image...*, p. 247–260; IDEM, *Faith, Society and Identity...*, p. 137–150.

<sup>13</sup> A. ILIEVA, *Frankish Morea, 1205–1262. Socio-Cultural Interaction between the Franks and the Local Population*, Athens 1991; M. DOUROU-ELIOPOULOU, *The Image of the ‘Greek’ and the Reality of Greco-Latin Interaction in Romania, according to 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup>-century Latin Sources*, [in:] *Byzantium and the West...*, p. 220–230; D. JACOBY, *The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade*, AHR 78.4, 1973, p. 873–906.

results will be both compelling and useful in the research of the broader topic of the Crusades – a subject which has provoked and will continue to arouse strong interest among medievalists.

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## WRITTEN LANGUAGES IN WALLACHIA DURING THE REIGN OF NEAGOE BASARAB (1512–1521)

**Abstract.** The reign of Neagoe Basarab (1512–1521) represented one of the cultural peaks of Wallachian history. Using the written sources preserved from this period, we tried to present the written Slavonic varieties and other languages (Romanian and Latin) that were used in that period. The Slavonic varieties are examined according to three criteria: spelling, morphosyntax and vocabulary. The standard variety (Church Slavonic) and the specific local written variety we may call Wallachian Slavonic, most purely represented by the epistolography, are opposed in morphosyntax and vocabulary. Both types of varieties are competing in acts and some colophons, eventually other original texts. The spelling criterion permits us to distinguish up to four Church Slavonic varieties, whence two are international ones (Moldavian Trinovitan (Târnovo) variety and Resavian variety) and two comprise local adaptations – the Trinovitan variety influenced by the Wallachian liturgical pronunciation and the administrative Church Slavonic representing a simplified combination of both Trinovitan and Resavian norms. The Romanian language (written in Cyrillic) is not represented just by its oldest dated coherent text (Neacșu's letter), but also by frequent penetrations mainly in the documents. The main common feature of the Latin documents with other Wallachian varieties is the presence of the proper names.

**Keywords:** Neagoe Basarab, Romanian Slavonic, Wallachia, Church Slavonic, Old Serbian, Old Romanian, Middle Bulgarian

The traditional functional stratification of the written varieties of the Church Slavonic Cultural Area<sup>1</sup> significantly differed from that of the Latin or Greek Europe<sup>2</sup>. The reason was a different method of written language acquisition, which lacked, for a long time, a grammatical approach<sup>3</sup>. The most curious part

<sup>1</sup> Let us remind us that the *Church Slavonic Cultural Area* is not equivalent to *Slavia Orthodoxa* as it also includes the Croatian (Catholic) and Medieval Bosnian (with its own church) environments.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. В.М. ЖИВОВ, *История языка русской письменности*, vol. I, Москва 2017, p. 97–109.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the description of the traditional method from the time it was being replaced by the modern (Latin-inspired) one, e.g. in the Râmnic edition of Smotryc'kyj's Church Slavonic Grammar from 1755. *Граммати́ка*, ed. иждѣвѣніемъ Пáвла Ненáдовича, в' ѣ́пкопій Рѹ́мѣннческо́й дѹ́нѣ, p. 7 or in D. CANTEMIRII, *Descriptio antiqui et hodierni status Moldaviae*, Bucuresci 1872 (originally writ-

of the Church Slavonic Cultural Area was the territory where the Romanian language was spoken<sup>4</sup>. As an example of the mutual relationship among the written lects in this zone, we have chosen Wallachia of the second decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, a rare time of a political and social stability and extraordinary cultural flourishing<sup>5</sup>.

A probe to the period of the reign of Neogoe Basarab shows us already stabilized written Slavonic varieties, whose functions were not yet really challenged by written Romanian or other languages. The original writing in Slavonic of that period had not lost yet its vivacity and did not fall completely into a petrified formalism. Moreover, the main protagonist of the period provided one of the most remarkable works of the Romanian Slavonic literature in general – the *Teachings of Neogoe Basarab to his son Teodosie* – that likewise reflect the characteristics and structure of the language situation in Wallachia. Another prominent text of this period is Neacșu's letter, the first extant dated text in Romanian that had remained the only known similar text for several consecutive decades<sup>6</sup>.

### Spoken languages

Before we discuss the character of the written varieties and languages used in Wallachia of voivode Neogoe Basarab, let us stop shortly by the question of the spoken languages of that period. The dominant spoken language was apparently Romanian. This was manifested in the Slavonic texts mainly by onomastics and morphosyntactic impact (including the insensibility to the main Slavonic grammatical categories). Less frequently, the Romanian language background came up on the phonological and lexical levels.

In Câmpulung, there was a German speaking community, which is attested e.g. by an Early New High German (with new diphthongs) letter issued by the mayors

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ten as manuscript in St Petersburg ca 1714), p. 153, where the use of Slavonic in Moldavia until the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century is described. It may be supposed the method was not different in Wallachia of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century. V.M. Živov describes the full method in detail. He considered it had been used from the beginning of the Church Slavonic culture. В.М. ЖИВОВ, *История...*, p. 150–204.

<sup>4</sup> We will not discuss here the complex question of the adoption of Church Slavonic as the cultural language by the Romance population of the Balkan Peninsula. At this place, let us just mention that many authors, from very different reasons, may agree about a very early adoption (i.e. already the 10<sup>th</sup> century). Cf. e.g. D.P. BOGDAN, *Paleografia romano-slavă. Tratat și album*, București 1978, p. 176; G. SCHRAMM, *Ein Damm bricht. Die römische Donaugrenze und die Invasionen des 5.–7. Jahrhunderts im Lichte von Namen und Wörtern*, München 1997, p. 337–338.

<sup>5</sup> St. ȘTEFĂNESCU, *Țara Românească*, [in:] *Istoria românilor*, vol. IV, *De la universalitatea creștină către Europa „patriilor”*, București 2001, p. 414.

<sup>6</sup> Another candidate for the oldest extant Romanian text is the *Hurmuzaki Psalter* (Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. Rom. 3077, maybe even the first decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), cf. the introduction to its edition: *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki I. Studiu filologic, studiu lingvistic și ediție*, ed. I. GHEȚIE, M. TEODORESCU, București 2005, p. 19.



and burghers of the town on the 11<sup>th</sup> February 1524<sup>7</sup>. A more challenging question is the existence of a Slavonic speaking population in Wallachia. It is mostly accepted that the autochthonous Slavonic population had already been assimilated long ago<sup>8</sup>. From the other side, a new colonization from the South likely began already in the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Nevertheless, its intensity and impact remain questionable<sup>9</sup>. The presence of such Slavs in the Wallachian society might be reflected in the presence of toponyms and anthroponyms derived from the stem *сръв-*<sup>10</sup>, which served as a general denomination of the South Slavs in that time<sup>11</sup>. In the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, we may count also with the business, cultural and family relations with the South Slavs. Neagoe Basarab himself was married to Despina (ДѢСПИНА) a Serbian noble, daughter of Serbian despot John Branković. Among the cultural

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the edition in *Documentele privitoare la Istoria Românilor culese de Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki*, vol. XV, *Acte și scrisori din arhivele orașelor ardelene (Bistrița, Brașov, Sibiu)*, partea I, 1358–1600, ed. N. IORGA, București 1911 (cetera: IORGA), p. 277–278.

<sup>8</sup> According to the generally accepted idea in the Romanian scholarship, the assimilation of the previous Slavonic population was completed before the establishment of the Wallachian state. The most spread opinion refers to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. G. МИНĂИЛĂ, *Dicționar al limbii române vechi (sfârșitul sec. X – începutul sec. XVI)*, București 1974, p. 14; A. ROSETTI, *Istoria limbii române*, București 1968, p. 292. Panaitescu spoke about the period before the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. P.P. PANAITESCU, *Contribuții la istoria culturii românești*, București 1971, p. 15. A later datation of the assimilation was proposed by L. Miletič (14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries) and especially by S.B. Bernštejn, who dated the end of the assimilation process to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Cf. Л. МИЛЕТИЧЪ, *Дако-ромъните и тъхната славянска писменост II. Нови влахо-български грамоти отъ Брашов*, [in:] *Сборникъ за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина*, vol. XIII, 1896, p. 4; С.Б. БЕРНШТЕЙН, *Разыскания в области болгарской исторической диалектологии*, vol. I, *Язык валашских грамот XIV–XV веков*, Москва–Ленинград 1948, p. 363.

<sup>9</sup> М.С. МЛАДЕНОВ, *Българските говори в Румъния*, София 1993, p. 7. Early attestations of the settlement of the population north of the Danube are linked with the military actions on the Ottoman frontier, e.g. the settlement after the battle of Varna in 1444. Cf. Ц. ГЕОРГИЕВА, Н. ГЕНЧЕВ, *История на България 15–19 век*, София 1999, p. 63.

<sup>10</sup> Such toponyms appearing in the documents until the reign of Neagoe Basarab comprise e.g. the villages *Сръвѣн* (27<sup>th</sup> January 1499, *Documenta Romaniae Historica B. Țara Românească*, vol. I, (1247–1500), ed. P.P. PANAITESCU, D. MIOS, București 1966 (cetera: DRH I), p. 475), *Сръвшо-ри* (1<sup>st</sup> June 1483, DRH I, p. 301), *Сръвещи* (4<sup>th</sup> June 1521, *Documenta Romaniae Historica B. Țara Românească*, vol. II, (1501–1525), ed. Ș. ȘTEFĂNESCU, O. DIACONESCU, București 1972 (cetera: DRH II), p. 404). Some persons mentioned in the administrative documents bear the *lastname* *Сръвѣ(ѣ)*, especially the members of the voivodal council (*сръвѣ*) *Станчо Сръвѣоуѣ* (mentioned 1418, DRH I, p. 87), *Татѣ Сръвѣ* (mentioned between 1428–1441, DRH I, p. 578). In the chrysobull to the monastery of Koutloumoussiou by Neagoe Basarab, there are two persons called *Сръвѣ* mentioned (DRH II, p. 209, 210) serving as witnesses to the delimitation of a domain.

<sup>11</sup> The older denomination for (South) Slavs, *Șchei*, was later attested in Câmpulung, where it might have been related to the Bulgarian population of Transylvania. Т. БАЛКАНСКИ, *Трансилванските (седмиградските) българи. Етнос. Език. Етнонимия. Ономастика. Просопографии*, Велико Търново 1996, p. 47. In the Wallachian documents until the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, this name (*Шкѣн*) is related (as today) to the quarter *Șchei* of Brașov. See the document from the reign of Radu the Great, 1495–1508, cf. 534 *Documente istorice slavo-române din Țara-Românească și Moldova privitoare la legăturile cu Ardealul 1346–1603*, ed. G.G. TOCILESCU, București 1931 (cetera: TOCILESCU), p. 206.

contacts, we must mention the Serbian Slavonic cultural background of the foundation of the monastery of Bistrița (Бистрица)<sup>12</sup> in West Wallachia (Oltenia) as well as the support provided to the monastery of Hilandar (Хиландар)<sup>13</sup>.

### Types of texts

Which types of texts are datable to the nine years of Neagoie's reign? Among the books including the basic liturgical and biblical literature, there are just four manuscripts and one printed book possessing a colophon. The ruler himself ordered the composition of the *Tetraevangelion* (Четвѣрѣвѣнѣвѣстїѣ), printed by hieromonk Macarie in 1512, and the *Menaion for November* (First Romanian School in Brașov, 3, 1517)<sup>14</sup> written for the metropolia of Târgoviște, whose new main temple was built by Neagoie<sup>15</sup>. The composition of two manuscripts, *Apostolos* (Праксъ, Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 202, 1519)<sup>16</sup> and *Menaion for January* (Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 262, 1521)<sup>17</sup> was ordered by Preda of Craiova (жѡѣпѣ Прѣда)<sup>18</sup>, Neagoie's cousin. Both these manuscripts were written by the most famous Wallachian scribe of the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> century: dean Dragomir of Bistrița (чѣтвѣрѣвѣнѣвѣстїѣ дѣлѣкъ Дрѣгомї), the second one with the participation of his colleague Dieniș (Дїенї). The most precious manuscript of Neagoie's time was *Marcea's Tetraevangelion* (National Museum of Art of Romania, 7, 1518–1519)<sup>19</sup> written on the command of Neagoie's brother-in-law, great postelnic Marcea (жѣпѣ Марчѣ постелнї)<sup>20</sup>. Independently, the colophons of these manuscripts should be considered. A specific manuscript written by Neagoie himself is the manuscript of the National Library St. St. Cyril and Methodius in Sofia, 748 (from 1520–1521)<sup>21</sup> containing about one third<sup>22</sup> of the Slavonic original of the already mentioned text *Teachings of Neagoie Basarab*.

<sup>12</sup> R. FLORA, *Relațiile iugoslavo-române. Sinteză*, Lum 22.6, 1968, p. 294.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. DRH II, p. 304–305.

<sup>14</sup> E. LIȚA, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române din Brașov*, București 1985, p. 42–44.

<sup>15</sup> *Viața Sfântului Nifon patriarhul Constantinopolului*, ed. T. SIMEDREA, BOR 55, 1937, p. 5–6, 295.

<sup>16</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКІЙ, *Славянскія и русскія рукописи румынскихъ библиотекъ*, С. Петербург 1905, p. 330–331; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele slave din Biblioteca Academiei RPR*, vol. I, București 1959, p. 379–383.

<sup>17</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКІЙ, *Славянскія...*, p. 402–403; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele...*, p. 357–358.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. N. STOICESCU, *Dicționar al marilor dregători din Țara românească și Moldova. Sec. XIV–XVII*, București 1971, p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> E. LIȚA, L. DJAMO-DIACONIȚĂ, O. STOICOVICI, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române din București*, București 1981, p. 22–24; L. TUGEARU et al., *Miniatura și ornamentul manuscriselor din colecția de artă medievală românească a Muzeului național de artă al României*, vol. II, *Manuscrise slavone, un manuscris latin și unul românesc*, București 2006, p. 99–111, pictures p. 221–223.

<sup>20</sup> N. STOICESCU, *Dicționar...*, p. 70.

<sup>21</sup> Edited by *Învățăturile lui Neagoie Basarab către fiul său Theodosie. Versiunea originală*, ed. G. MIHĂILĂ, București 1996. Further cited according to the folio of the facsimile.

<sup>22</sup> *Învățăturile...*, p. LXIII.

Besides these manuscripts, Vasiljev, Grozdanović and Jovanović<sup>23</sup> dated approximately to this period further four manuscripts that might have been written in Wallachia:

- *Турѣикон* (Типикъ, Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 212, ca 1505/1515)<sup>24</sup>,
- *Нотосанон* (Изложениѣ правилонъ апостольскыѣ, Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 285, ca 1505–1515)<sup>25</sup>,
- *Syntagma* by Matthew Blastares (Сѣччиніеніѣ по съставѣхъ объѣтїихъ въсѣхъ винъ, сщєнныѣ и бжѣтвенныѣ правилъ, Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 286, 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, ca 1521)<sup>26</sup>,
- *Bee* (Пчела, Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 310, ca 1515/1525)<sup>27</sup>.

There are, of course, further manuscripts, currently dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century that shall be dated more exactly in the future<sup>28</sup>.

The second group of texts from this period includes the inscriptions. These may be divided into two corpora linked to two monasteries. The most famed inscriptions of this period are two long ktetor inscriptions in the Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God of the Argeş monastery that were written around 1517<sup>29</sup> and were signed by Neagoe himself. These inscriptions were related to the consecration of the monastery held on the 15<sup>th</sup> August 1517 with the participation of patriarch Theoleptos I of Constantinople<sup>30</sup>. In the same monastery, there are further two short tombstone inscriptions from ca 1518 relating the death of Neagoe's children Angelina and Ion<sup>31</sup> and the tombstone inscription of Neagoe Basarab himself from the 15<sup>th</sup> September 1521<sup>32</sup>. The second set of inscriptions is linked with Church of the Dormition of the Mother of God of the monastery of Bistriţa. The longest inscription<sup>33</sup> is signed by Dobromir (Добромиръ), Dumitru (Дѣмитръ) and Chirtop

<sup>23</sup> Љ. ВАСИЉЕВ, М. ГРОЗДАНОВИЋ, Б. ЈОВАНОВИЋ, *Ново датирање српских рукописа у Библиотеци Румунске академије наука*, АПри 2, 1980, p. 41–69.

<sup>24</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Славянскія...*, p. 355; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele...*, p. 307–308.

<sup>25</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Славянскія...*, p. 431–433; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele...*, p. 379–383.

<sup>26</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Славянскія...*, p. 355, 433–435; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele...*, p. 383–385.

<sup>27</sup> А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Славянскія...*, p. 485–488; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavoromâne și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. II, Bucureşti 2003, p. 55–58.

<sup>28</sup> E.g. *Турѣикон* (Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 23), *Paraenesis by Ephrem the Syrian* (Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 290) and *Synaxarion* (Library of the Romanian Academy, Ms. sl. 274) that are all datable to the 1<sup>st</sup> quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrisele...*, p. 36–37, 369, 389.

<sup>29</sup> Edition: C. BĂLAN, *Inscripțiile medievale și din epoca modernă a României*, vol. II, *Județul istoric Argeş (sec. XIV – 1848)*, Bucureşti 1994, p. 203–212.

<sup>30</sup> The consecration was described in detail by one of the participants, protos Gavriil, dwelling at the court of voivode Neagoe, in his *Life of St Nephon*. Cf. *Viața Sfântului Nifon...*, p. 296–297.

<sup>31</sup> Ed. C. BĂLAN, *Inscripțiile... Argeş...*, p. 217–221.

<sup>32</sup> Ed. C. BĂLAN, *Inscripțiile... Argeş...*, p. 222–224.

<sup>33</sup> Ed. C. BĂLAN [coord.]: *Inscripțiile medievale și din epoca modernă a României*, vol. III, *Județul istoric Vâlcea (sec. XIV – 1848)*, Bucureşti 2005, p. 212–213.

(Кириѣтопъ). It is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> October 1519 and it mentions the ruler as well as the tectors of the monastery, the brother of Craiova, starting with great ban Barbul (Барбуль великїи банъ)<sup>34</sup>. His tombstone inscription from 1520 is also placed in the church together with the mention that he died as a monk in the monastery with the name Pahomie (Пахомїѣ)<sup>35</sup>. Two small inscriptions from this period are placed on liturgical objects: a silver goblet (чаша, ca 1519)<sup>36</sup> and a cover with a golden ring (единъ покров и един прѣстенъ златъ, 1514)<sup>37</sup>.

The largest group of the texts surely originating in the reign of Neagoe are the letters (or correspondence) and acts. The great majority of them were issued by the ruler. Seventy-six of them are the simple acts, or *horismoi* (traditional name: *врисмо*, a newer name: *повелѣніѣ*)<sup>38</sup>. The simple acts are well distinguishable by the incipit *Млѣтїю вѣжїю* ‘By Grace of God’ and the *promulgatio* formula *дава ѣво ми сїе повелѣніѣ*<sup>39</sup> ‘my lordship gives this horismos/command’. The second largest group are the letters (fourty-one pieces, traditional name *книга*)<sup>40</sup>. They mostly have the same incipit, but the *promulgatio* formula sounds *пише ѣво ми* ‘my lordship writes’ or *пишемо* ‘we write’. Neagoe Basarab left us also thirteen chrysobulls (*хрисовѣ*)<sup>41</sup>, from which just two lack the full arenga. The chrysobull is simply recognizable by an arenga, made up usually of commented biblical citations or, in case of a simple chrysobull, by the archaic incipit *Вѣъ хѣа бѣа блѣговѣрни* ‘Well-believing in Christ the God’. Neagoe uses six of the existing ten Wallachian arengas, one chrysobull starts untypically with an *inscriptio*<sup>42</sup>. All these documents were issued by the voivodal chancellery mostly in the capital Târgoviște or in Pitești, Bucharest and Argeș, eventually in another place. Except in the correspondence, the scribe may be mentioned. All chrysobulls are addressed to monasteries, while the *horismoi* may be addressed to both monasteries and laymen (mostly Wallachian boyars). The letters are mostly addressed to the mayor of Brașov. The head of the chancellery was great logofăt Ivan Călinescu (*Ива ѣ велики логѣфѣ*) since 1512<sup>43</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Uncle of the voivode. Cf. N. STOICESCU, *Dicționar...*, p. 17.

<sup>35</sup> Ed. C. BĂLAN, *Inscripțiile... Vâlcea...*, p. 214–215, 229. In his office of great ban of Craiova, he was succeeded by his already mentioned nephew Preda.

<sup>36</sup> Ed. C. BĂLAN, *Inscripțiile... Vâlcea...*, p. 534.

<sup>37</sup> Currently placed in the Romanian National Museum of Art, inv. 837. Ed. A. ELIAN, *Inscripțiile medievale și din epoca modernă a României*, vol. I, *Orașul București (1395–1800)*, București 1965, p. 735.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. D.P. BOGDAN, *Diplomatica slavo-română*, [in:] *Documente privind istoria României. Introducere*, vol. II, București 1956, p. 24/22.

<sup>39</sup> Both formulas have spelling and morphologic variants.

<sup>40</sup> The letters issued by Neagoe Basarab were published by TOCILESCU, p. 223–269.

<sup>41</sup> The *horismoi* and the chrysobulls were published in DRH II, p. 193–405. We cite them per number in the edition.

<sup>42</sup> DRH II, p. 223–224.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. N. STOICESCU, *Dicționar...*, p. 66.

After he became a monk of the monastery of Snagov in 1514, the responsibility was given to his brother Harvat of Grozești (Хрѣвѣ велики логѡфѣ)<sup>44</sup>. Only three different scribes of chrysobulls are known: grāmātic Stoica (Стоика грамаѣи), grāmātic Florea (Флорѣ грамаѣи) and grāmātic Vâlsan Furcovici (Вѣлса Фурковикю синь грамаѣи).

From these traditional document types, two documents structurally differ. These are the homage act (заклинаніе на вѣрѡ) to king Louis of Hungary and Bohemia (Лѡѣ краѣ) from the 17<sup>th</sup> March 1517<sup>45</sup> and the agreement (тѣкмеженію) with voivode John Szapolyai of Transylvania (Яно кралю арделскіи) about the borders (ради хотарѡвѣ) between Wallachia and Transylvania from the 9<sup>th</sup> June 1520<sup>46</sup>. This document was written by grāmātic Bogdan.

Few letters in Slavonic were issued by other personalities. Six letters were sent by Neagoe's great dvornic Calotă of Stoenesti and Slăveni (Калотж вели дворни)<sup>47</sup>, one of them together with great logofăt Harvat. One letter was issued by spătar Lazăr (Лазă спатă, 1520)<sup>48</sup>. A unique document is the act by Toma, mayor of Târgoviște (Тѡма сѣдцѡ), who issued an act confirming a purchase of a house in the capital<sup>49</sup>. All the documents mentioned so far are in Slavonic, while the letter by Neacșu of Câmpulung (Нѣшѡ ѡ Дѣлгополѣ, 29./30.6.1521)<sup>50</sup> is written, except the *inscriptio* and salutations, in Romanian (in Cyrillic). Besides these documents, there are also ten Latin letters issued by Neagoe Basarab to the Transylvanian towns, one of them to Brașov (*Brassov*), the remaining one to Sibiu (*Civitas Cibiniensis*), the capital of the Saxon autonomy. The Latin letters were issued in the same towns as the Slavonic ones, their scribes are not mentioned.

### Varieties in the Church Slavonic cultural area

According to the current sociolinguistic models<sup>51</sup>, there were three types of written Slavonic varieties employed in the Church Slavonic Cultural Area:

<sup>44</sup> Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 63.

<sup>45</sup> Ed. TOCILESCU, p. 261–264.

<sup>46</sup> DRH II, p. 375–379.

<sup>47</sup> Ed. TOCILESCU, p. 416–421. On the issuer, cf. N. STOICESCU, *Dictionar...*, p. 39–40.

<sup>48</sup> Ed. TOCILESCU, p. 421–422.

<sup>49</sup> DRH II, p. 192.

<sup>50</sup> Ed. TOCILESCU, p. 456–458.

<sup>51</sup> Generally, this system is explained in R. MATHIESEN, *The Church Slavonic Language Question: an Overview (IX–XX Centuries)*, [in:] *Aspects of the Slavonic Language Question I*, ed. R. ПІСНІО, Н. GOLDBLATT, New Haven 1984, p. 45–55. For the East Slavonic area cf. В.М. ЖИВОВ, *История...*, p. 231; М.Л. РЕМНЕВА, *Пути развития русского литературного языка XI–XVII вв.*, Москва 2003, p. 29–31). Since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the system of varieties of the East Slavs within the Moscow State and Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been subjected to significant divergent changes.

- Bookish or standard variety (local variety of the Church Slavonic language), patterned on the biblical-liturgical corpus.
- Vernacular-based variety manifested mostly in the administration, eventually local law.
- Hybrid variety (eventually called lower style/norm, amalgam) representing a mix of both preceding varieties that was mostly manifested in the non-liturgical sphere and particularly in the original narrative literature. The proportion of the bookish or vernacular elements may be different in various text genres or single texts depending on the theme, supposed readers and prestige of the text.

The basic contrast at the spelling, morphosyntactic and lexical level is supposed to have been provided between the bookish and vernacular-based variety.

It is evident that in Wallachia, where the vernacular was a non-Slavonic language, the system was more complicated. In order to understand it, we will first discuss each of the main language elements (spelling, morphosyntax, vocabulary) found in the Wallachian texts and then divide the texts in accordance with the occurrence of different types of these language elements.

### Spelling systems

In the Slavonic texts of Wallachia, we can find the traits of four interrelated spelling systems. Two of them are represented by two coexisting<sup>52</sup> Middle<sup>53</sup> Church Slavonic (CS) norms: the Trinovitan (Tärново) and the Resavian ones. The Trinovitan CS was based on the norm of the Late Second Bulgarian Empire and its actual epicentre was Moldavia. The Resavian CS was mainly based on the Serbian CS tradition. At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, it was used mainly by Orthodox South Slavs. The third spelling system was the one prevailing in the Wallachian

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For the Croatian Glagolitic area cf. K. LOZIĆ KNEZOVIĆ, G. GALIĆ KAKKONEN, *Odnos crkvenoslavenskoga jezika i govornoga jezika u hrvatskome srednjovjekovlju*, ČHS 6, 2010, p. 211; for the Serbian area J. ГРКОВИЋ-МЕЈДОР, *Стуси из историјске лингвистике*, Нови Сад 2007, p. 444. A similar situation existed apparently in the Bosnian area, which is clearly distinguishable from both the Croatian and Serbian ones (V. KNOLL, *Црквени слованština v pozdním středověku*, Praha 2019, p. 288). In the Bulgarian area, we can actually not speak about such trichotomy (V. KNOLL, *Црквени...*, p. 187). Except for the East Slavonic area, this system was mainly functioning in the Late Middle Ages.

<sup>52</sup> This situation is comparable to the area of current North Macedonia and Western Bulgaria, where also two varieties were coexisting during the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>53</sup> The Middle CS norms originated in the 14<sup>th</sup> – early 15<sup>th</sup> centuries through the approximation and mutual impact of the CS norms used by Orthodox Slavs. Based on R. MATHIESEN, *The Church Slavonic Language...*, p. 58–61.

correspondence. This system was patterned on the spelling of the Serbian chancellery language, which became one of the models for the international diplomatic language of the Balkans in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>54</sup>. The specifics of the spelling system of the Wallachian correspondence in contrast with other Štokavian-based systems are linked to the traces of the older, Trinovitan-based chancellery language used in Wallachia. The new Wallachian chancellery language stabilized approximately since the 1470s.

Besides these three main spelling systems, we can already distinguish the fourth one, used for recording of the Romanian language in Cyrillic. This spelling system was developing from the very beginning of the Wallachian chancellery writing for Romanian onomastics. It apparently stabilized ca 1500<sup>55</sup>. It was based on the spelling of Trinovitan CS and it kept its character even after the deep language changes happening in the Wallachian chancellery language mainly during the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it was enriched by specific letters used only in Romanian words. One can count with the mutual influence of the Romanian spelling in different lands.

Let us characterize the most visible features of these spelling systems, without going into details. The model manuscripts of the Trinovitan CS of this period are the printed *Macarie's Tetraevangelion* and the handwritten *Marcea's Tetraevangelion*. Their spelling is near to the ideal standard, patterned on the Moldavian manuscripts. These may be contrasted with the Resavian manuscripts represented by the *Typikon* and *Syntagma*, both found in the monastery of Bistrița. The spelling represented by the language of the correspondence will be further called the Administrative one.

The most visible difference between all the spelling systems is the use of juses<sup>56</sup>. This we may call a primary trait:

<sup>54</sup> The letters, the language of which was patterned on the traditional Serbian chancellery language, were being issued by Ottoman sultans and officials, Hungarian kings, Albanian leaders and of course the local South Slavonic chancelleries – cf. editions Љ. СТОЈАНОВИЋ, *Старе српске повеље и писма*, vol. I, *Дубровник и суседи његови. Други део*, Београд 1934; DRH I. Some of these letters contain elements originating from the Bosnian or Dubrovnik chancellery. Likely, through the Wallachian mediation, it had some impact on the Moldavian administrative and especially the epistolary writing.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. I. GHETIÈ, A. MAREȘ, *Originele scrisului în limba română*, București 1985, p. 137–141.

<sup>56</sup> Letters that originally denoted Common Slavonic nasal vowels.





	Trinovitan CS	Romanian	Administrative	Resavian CS
*ĭ > ɛ, *-ŭkŭ > -oŭkŭ	Yes <sup>68</sup> .	(Yes in Slavonic loanwords in Romanian) <sup>69</sup> .	Optional <sup>70</sup> .	Mostly no <sup>71</sup> .
Specific letters	s	ș /dʒ/, Ț /in /or /im/	It can marginally include any specific letter from other spelling systems.	ș, most regularly behind ʌ, u, optionally in other positions <sup>72</sup> .
ы	Used even if homophonous with и.	Missing.	Missing <sup>73</sup> .	Used even if homophonous with и.
ѣ/ѣ distribution	The letter ѣ is used in monosyllabs and in the words interior <sup>74</sup> , otherwise ѣ.	Neașu's letter mostly distinguishes ѣ /ə/ and ѣ (mute), in other documents this is not fully respected.	Random distribution, ѣ is most frequent in prepositions and prefixes.	Random distribution, ѣ is most frequent in prepositions and prefixes.

Besides the above mentioned spelling differences, there are further typical forms of the administrative spelling that were partly inherited from the Serbian chancellery and they are opposed to the CS spelling (both Trinovitan and Resavian). We will call them tertiary traits. The frequency of these traits depends on the type of the document or they can be randomly replaced by the CS elements:

<sup>68</sup> *Marcea's Tetraevangelion*, Gospel of Matthew, pericope 3, 9v шѣ' шѣ, pericope 43, 24r крѣтокъ.

<sup>69</sup> E.g. *temniță* 'jail', *stareț* 'elder', *dobitoc* 'cattle'.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 227: добитокѣ, p. 236: добитѣ, p. 247: добитѣ, p. 249: добитѣ – добитокѣ 'property'; DRH II, no. 160: старѣ 'elder'.

<sup>71</sup> E.g. *Typikon*: 8r съшѣ' 'having come down', 12r чѣколювѣць 'lover of men', but 41r вѣсь 'whole'.

<sup>72</sup> E.g. *Typikon*: 8v оугѣвѣленѣ (it) prepares', 11v ѣ (it) is'; *Syntagma*: 2 ѣ ѣмѣже 'about whom', 3v рѣдитѣмѣ 'to parents'.

<sup>73</sup> Exception: TOCILESCU, p. 236: мы ѣчинѣ 'we will do' (such spelling is rather typical for Moldavian chancellery documents).

<sup>74</sup> Most frequent exceptions comprise the position behind ч that we find in the *Marcea's Tetraevangelion*. Nevertheless, Macarie's Tetraevangelion prefers ѣ at this place, being stricter in following the jer distribution rule. This is the ideal as represented in the Moldavian manuscripts, actually not thus typical for Wallachia.

	CS	Administrative	Romanian
*vjsja 'all' (nominative plural neuter)	вѣсѣк (Trinovitan), вѣса (Resavian)	сва <sup>75</sup>	(тогге)
*tj/*dj	щ/жд	к (хокю) / г (мегю) <sup>76</sup>	The Slavonic loanwords in Romanian have mostly /ʃt/ and /ʒd/ <sup>77</sup> .
*vŭ(-)	вѣ(-)	ʒ(-) <sup>78</sup>	(а 'in')
*xv	хв	хв or ф <sup>79</sup>	Slavonic loanwords in Romanian have older /xv/ and younger /f/ <sup>80</sup> .

Less frequent tertiary administrative features comprise further South Slavonic vernacular traits: the Serbian (*Štokavian*) traits, as the shift \*ŭl > ʒ<sup>81</sup>, the spelling of the type сѣѣ *ними* 'with them'<sup>82</sup>, the switch of final \*-l > -w<sup>83</sup>, and the switch of the Common Slavonic reduced vowels to а<sup>84</sup>. A reflex of a widespread feature of different Balkan languages can be revealed in the traces of the variation of the unstressed *e/i* and *o/u*<sup>85</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 247: сѣѣ сѣѣ љзети 'to take with all things', p. 262: сѣѣ сва землѣ 'with the whole land'.

<sup>76</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 223: такогере 'also', хокю 'I want', ке вити '(he) will be', хокѣ '(he) wants', p. 225: прѣге 'before', p. 227: мегю вѣ 'among you', p. 251: мегю нами 'between us'.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. *peșteră* 'cave', *primejdje* 'danger'.

<sup>78</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 223 *взимаше* 'he took', p. 225 њ не ѡтавите љ миѣ 'do not let them in peace', p. 225 *љзети* 'to take', p. 248 кон не ке љѣти љ горциниљ 'who will not submit himself to the tax for small animals'.

<sup>79</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 228: љфатили 'they captured' vs. захвалѣти 'to thank'. These traits can be found also in the (almost) contemporary letters from 1507 and 1511 by Firuz Bey (Феризъ Бегъ), the sanjak-bey of Bosnia: Љ. Стојановиѣ, *Старе српске...*, p. 384–385 *зафалисмо* 'we thanked', *фале* 'of praise'.

<sup>80</sup> E.g. Moxa's Chronicle (*Russian National Library* f. 87, no. 64, 1620), 147г хвѣлж 'praise'.

<sup>81</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 230: дљжни 'due', p. 246: кю послати све пѣ пѣниљ 'I will send everything fully', p. 254: *Дљрополѣ* 'Câmpulung (a town in Wallachia)'. Cf. the letter by sultan Selim the Strong from 1513, Љ. Стојановиѣ, *Старе српске...*, p. 390 *дљге* 'debts'.

<sup>82</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 225.

<sup>83</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 247: ѡтавиви сѣѣ 'I left', p. 249: ѣ сѣѣрав 'he gathered', p. 244: сѣѣ разѣлѣѣ 'I understood', p. 238: ми си порѣчав 'you ordered me'. This trait can be found, e.g. in a contemporary letter by future sultan Süleyman the Magnificent (*Сулейменъ шахъ*) from 1517: Љ. Стојановиѣ, *Старе српске...*, p. 397: ѣ љзѣо 'he took', *самѣ извадаѣ* 'I brought'.

<sup>84</sup> *Horismos*: DRH II, no. 184: сѣѣ дащѣри 'with daughter', border agreement: љтакмихѣо 'we agreed'. While in the Wallachian texts of this period it is a very rare feature, in the contemporary Štokavian correspondence out of Wallachia, it is widespread, see e.g. the correspondence by sultan Selim the Strong, Љ. Стојановиѣ, *Старе српске...*, p. 389–392.

<sup>85</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 227: ѣдно дљрѣљ 'various things', p. 240: љслобовити 'to free', *пишемљ* 'we write', *вашемо* 'to your', p. 242: *книгѣ* 'book' (object), p. 256: не можимо 'we cannot', p. 258: *чети љзети* 'you will

From these spelling systems the most prestigious one was apparently the Trinovitan CS. This was the variety that dominated in the printed books and it was the one, which was used in the most precious manuscripts with colophons including the *Marcea's Tetraevangelion* and *Menaion for November* dedicated to the metropolia. It was also chosen by Neagoe for his own work.

Now let us see how these four *ideal* spelling systems are realized in the concrete texts. In the CS texts modelled on Trinovitan CS, the most frequent deviation is the replacement of ѡ by ѣ, which can be caused by both the pronunciation and the impact of the administrative spelling. Such replacement is rare in the above mentioned Tetraevangelia<sup>86</sup>, but very frequent in the *Teachings* of Neagoe Basarab. The inscriptions of Argeş almost lack ѡ. Neagoe's *Teachings* show marginally further Resavisms: the use of the letter ѣ<sup>87</sup>, once the spelling вѣса (40r) and very few cases of оу/ю on the place of \*о<sup>88</sup>. The latter phenomenon can occur in the second inscription of Argeş<sup>89</sup>. Dieniş's part of the Menaion for January is using practically just ѡ, while otherwise it follows quite attentive Trinovitan spelling (with random switch ѡ > ѣ).

Resavian manuscripts comprise all the above-mentioned features except those already marked as Trinovitan. Dragomir's Apostolos from 1519 is an example of a text containing the primary traits of Resavian, but secondary traits of Trinovitan. Thus, the text does not use neither juses, nor ѣ behind consonants<sup>90</sup>. It also shows ѣ behind consonants in the positions corresponding to the Resavian ѡ/а<sup>91</sup> and the e-vocalization<sup>92</sup>. This spelling resembles the administrative spelling without tertiary traits.

The administrative spelling is typical for the documents. The tertiary features (reflecting South Slavonic vernacular) are prevailing in the correspondence. Nevertheless, also there, they may be interchangeable with the CS ones<sup>93</sup>. In the

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take'. The same phenomenon in the formula ѡ сложенїа мирѡ in an arena of a chrysobull (DRH II, no. 116) actually causes a change of meaning ('from the serving to the world' instead of ѡ сложенїа мирѡ 'from the creation of the world').

<sup>86</sup> E.g. *Marcea's Tetraevangelion*, Gospel of Matthew, pericope 4, 10r оу мѣршоу 'when he died'; pericope 6, 11r грѣдыць 'going'.

<sup>87</sup> This is lexicalized in the words ѣ '(it) is' (18v, 20r, 30v) and ѣще 'yet' (18v, 19r, 30v), in few cases in other places, e.g. in the typical Resavian spelling 80r понѣже 'while'.

<sup>88</sup> Found twice in the 1<sup>st</sup> singular of the present tense (73v понеже ви хоцѣ познати, 68v даю вѣ) and more frequently in the instrumental singular of the nominal flexion: e.g. 61v съ силою моею 'with my force', 61v своею милтію 'with his grace', 92v съ многою скръвїю 'with much sorrow'.

<sup>89</sup> E.g. тѣщѣ во се 'I make effort', сѣт 'they are', variation рѣка/рѣка 'hand'.

<sup>90</sup> E.g. 3r глеть (he) says, ѡставленїе 'remission'.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. 2r дивлѣху же се 'they were surprised', 4r вѣсѣка дѣа 'each soul', but 5r вѣса 'all'.

<sup>92</sup> E.g. 1r сѣшѣсе се 'having met'.

<sup>93</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, p. 223: просѣши 'asking', p. 227: надеждѣ 'hope' (object), p. 229: да плащѣ 'they shall pay', p. 234: вѣсѣ мархѣ 'all merchandise', p. 235: такожде 'also', p. 247: хоцѣ 'I/we want' vs. p. 248: хокю 'I want', p. 248: сви си плащѣ горциниѣ 'all pay the tax for small animals', p. 262: глѣре преже на вїши 'lords being before us' (subject of the sentence).

chrysobulls and *horismoï*, such features can be found in the segment of *dispositio*, which contains the lowest frequency of formulas and often includes the description of the domain and rights confirmed to the addressee. The preposition § ‘in’ appears typically in the *datatio* and generally before toponyms. All documents and in particular *horismoï* may contain also the words using the Romanian spelling – this concerns mainly the onomastics, eventually ad hoc borrowings from Romanian<sup>94</sup>. In the chrysobulls and *horismoï*, these are concentrated in the *dispositio* and *corroboratio* (list of the members of the voivodal council). The chrysobulls contain larger parts written in CS (the segments of *arenga* and *sanctio*) that may contain unsystematic traces of the strictly Trinovitan spelling<sup>95</sup>. In a lesser extent this may happen in the fixed forms of *horismoï*, especially those addressed to the monasteries (description of the monastery). The tertiary administrative features are widespread in the act of homage and the border agreement as they represent rather non-formulaic texts. In addition, Neagoë’s tombstone in Argeş and the Bistriţa inscriptions actually represent the administrative spelling without tertiary traits. This is also caused by the fact they are too short. Dobromir’s inscription shows also the Romanian spellings ПѠРВЪЛЪ (Pârval) and especially СТОВАНИЪ (Stoian). Both Dragomir’s colophons use the administrative spelling, while the colophon of the printed Tetraevangelion and the Menaion for November is patterned on Trinovitan CS (with variation Ѡ/Ѡ). The colophon of Marcea’s Tetraevangelion is too short to state anything.

Likewise, the Latin documents have to deal with the spelling of Romanian onomastics, but using, of course, the Latin script. Moreover, the names can be submitted to a certain Latinization<sup>96</sup>. In the few recorded names, we see the variation *i/y*, *o/u*, the phoneme /ʃ/ is marked as *s*<sup>97</sup>, the cluster /ɛr/ or perhaps already /ir/ may be written in two manners<sup>98</sup>. There is a visible uncertainty of representing the diphthong /ɛa/<sup>99</sup>. Curious spellings are Pwrwul (*Pârval*)<sup>100</sup> and Neagoë’s signature Bozorab<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 246: ꙗѠдѠ ѠашѠга чѠга ГѠцѠж ‘I sent our man Gheaţă, ѡ хѠлѠи ‘of stoat’, p. 256: жѠпѠ ХанѠ и жѠпѠ ЦюрѠцю ‘Sir Hanăş and Sir Giurgiu’.

<sup>95</sup> Particularly the chrysobull to the monastery of Glavacioc by grāmâtico Stoica (DRH II, no. 108), where the Trinovitan forms prevail (except the low frequency of Ѡ). In some other chrysobulls, the appearance of the Trinovitan forms is random or they reflect the Trinovitan pronunciation, e.g. DRH II, no. 153: воѠнѠе ‘of water’, no. 131: вѠ славлѠ ‘for the glory’, no. 189: сѠ славлѠе ‘with glory’.

<sup>96</sup> IORGA, p. 235 (1517) ex oppido arghensi ‘from Curtea de Argeş’, p. 240 (13<sup>th</sup> October 1519) Tergovistia ‘Târgovişte’, p. 240–241 (20<sup>th</sup> October 1519) Mylus ‘Miloş (name)’, Tergovysta ‘Târgovişte’.

<sup>97</sup> IORGA, p. 220 (21<sup>st</sup> April 1512) Bocoaresth ‘Bucharest’, p. 238 (18<sup>th</sup> December 1518) Pytest ‘Piteşti’.

<sup>98</sup> IORGA, p. 216 (1<sup>st</sup> February 1512): Targovistie, p. 240 (13<sup>th</sup> October 1519) Tergovistia.

<sup>99</sup> IORGA, p. 220 (21<sup>st</sup> April 1512) Oppre vs. p. 238 (18<sup>th</sup> December 1518) Opra (Rom. *Oprea*), p. 240–241 (20<sup>th</sup> October) filius Woyvode Myhnye ‘son of voivode Mihnea’ (can be considered also as genitive singular).

<sup>100</sup> IORGA, p. 221 (4<sup>th</sup> December 1512).

<sup>101</sup> IORGA, p. 216 (1<sup>st</sup> February 1512).

## Morphosyntax

The Middle Church Slavonic morphosyntax differed minimally from the one we know from Old Church Slavonic as the model texts did not change radically. The most important differences consisted in the use of concrete flexional endings – newer ones might have coexisted with the archaic ones, some of the newer ones prevailed<sup>102</sup>. The morphosyntax of the biblical text contrasted with the morphosyntax prevailing in the Wallachian letters. Their grammar was highly balkanized and clearly showed the Romanian background of the writers. Thus, the language represented by the letters can be denominated as Wallachian Slavonic (WS). The typical morphosyntactic features of this variety can be divided into two groups:

- systematic morphosyntactic features,
- neglected morphosyntactic features.

The systematic morphosyntactic features comprise the adaptation of Romanian morphosyntax on the predominantly Serbian-like grammatical shape<sup>103</sup>. Its tendency towards systematization does not mean the Grammar was regular as it was facing various levels of Church Slavonic impact and included rests of older Bulgarian traits.

Let us make a basic description of the WS morphosyntactic system. At the beginning, it should be said that the forms might be influenced by the habit to shorten the words by the above-writing of the last consonant omitting thus an eventual final vowel<sup>104</sup>. The noun system mostly distinguishes two main cases – the common case and the dative. The common case serves as subject, object and it dominates behind prepositions. In a-stem feminines and animate o-stem masculines, either original nominative or accusative singular may be used as both subject and object of the sentence<sup>105</sup>. In plural, it is the nominative of the masculine o-stem that is mostly used as a common case<sup>106</sup>. The common case of the plural

<sup>102</sup> The most typical new ending is -ѣ in the nominative plural of masculine jo-stems, e.g. *Marcea's Tetraevangelion*, Gospel of Matthew, pericope 36, 21v голѣѣѣ.

<sup>103</sup> This combination reminds us the current Timok-Prizren dialects.

<sup>104</sup> This tendency is most evident in a-stems: e.g. TOCILESCU, p. 223: на глаѣ 'on the head', p. 225: на потреѣ 'for need'. It contributed to the confusion of the 1<sup>st</sup> singular and plural in voivodal letters, cf. e.g. the self-addressing of the voivode in the same letter: TOCILESCU, p. 242: пишемо нашиѣ 'we write to our' – даваѣ 'I/we give' – що ли стѣ нарѣчали 'what you ordered me' – сѣкъ разѣмех 'I understood' – захвалѣѣ 'we/I thank' – зарадѣ нашою потребоѣ 'for our need' – сѣкъ допѣстиѣ 'I sent' – кемо пѣстити 'we will send' – кю пѣстити 'I will send'.

<sup>105</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 225: послано нашега слѣга 'we sent our servant' – vs. p. 231: ке дойти слѣга 'our servant will come', p. 225: да ли еѣде парѣвѣ 'I shall get the damage' vs. p. 234: не ке ѣтѣвити наши сиромѣши ѣ парѣвѣ 'we/I will not leave my subjects in danger', p. 227: принде ѣвоган наше чѣка 'this our man came' vs. p. 244: по вашога чѣка 'through your man'.

<sup>106</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 227: допѣстимо наше чѣбци 'we sent our men' vs. на чѣбци, а ни сѣ дошли 'our men and they came' – p. 230: ѣ ваше чѣци 'from your men', p. 247: пѣтироѣ посѣчи 'to execute

feminine a-stems prefers the Štokavian ending *-e*<sup>107</sup>. A specific, Romanian-inspired ending *-ŝ/ю* may optionally appear in the common case of masculine o-stems and neuter jo-stems<sup>108</sup>. The inspiration of the first case is the older Romanian *-ŭ* ending of masculines, the second case is surely provoked by the regular transfer of Slavonic neuter jo-stems to the feminine declension in Romanian. The latter form we found more frequently in *horismoi*. The *-ŝ/ю* ending of the common case in neuter jo-stems is a feature more frequently found in the acts and it is linked to the fact that such nouns are borrowed to Romanian as feminines<sup>109</sup>. The same may also concern the neuter o-stems in case they represent the shared Slavonic-Romanian vocabulary<sup>110</sup>.

The dative case expresses both the indirect object and the possessiveness<sup>111</sup>. As it appears just in few, mostly fixed phrases, there are few different forms attested in the correspondence, mostly o-stems and jo-stems. As the singular dative form of these declensions has the ending *-ŝ/ю*, it may be homophonous to the Romanian-inspired common case<sup>112</sup>. In dative plural, both the CS ending and the nominative enriched with an above written *м* can be found<sup>113</sup>. In exceptional cases, the dative can be replaced by a common case in a simple apposition (mainly if the dative is expressed e.g. by the pronoun or adjective)<sup>114</sup>, once the preposition *на* is used<sup>115</sup>. Sometimes, the appositional common case appears by the jjo-stems in the acts and colophons, specifically in the description of a religious establishment<sup>116</sup>. Behind the preposition *съ/сѣ* 'with', the CS or Štokavian form of instrumental

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the shepherds', but p. 227: *•нѣ аспре [...] сѣе ѝзели* 'you took 50 silver coins' vs. p. 237: *за ѣ ѡпри* 'for 200 silver coins'.

<sup>107</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 223: *книге* 'books', p. 223: *на главе* 'on the heads', p. 225: *ръке* 'hands', p. 262: *преко планине* 'over the mountains'.

<sup>108</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 227: *ѡ се подижѣ едѣн лотрѣѝ* 'a bandit raised', p. 238: *сѣе до едѣн аспрѣѝ* 'everything up to the last silver coin', and even p. 245: *радѣи нашега правителю* 'regarding our official'. An analogic form can be found in the tombstone inscription of voivode's son Ion (*прѣстави се рѣѝѝ вѣѝю* 'God's serf died').

<sup>109</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 258: *ѝ ѡѣтию* 'for eating'; DRH II, no. 107: *на полю* 'on the field', no. 112: *они имали сѣпренѝѝ* 'they had a quarrel', no. 191: *сѣю повелѣнѝю* 'this *horismos*', no. 178: *въ покрѣпленѝю* 'for the support'.

<sup>110</sup> DRH II, no. 106: *блатѝ нѣкою* 'a lake' (Rom. *vreo baltă*), no. 203: *на Чернѝ блатѝ* 'in Baltă Neagră (Black Lake)', no. 188: *ѡ грѣлѝ* 'of rivulet'.

<sup>111</sup> The possessive genitive is generally absent in the letters excerpt for the fixed phrase *гѣа ми* 'of my lordship'.

<sup>112</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 251: *зарадѣи едѣн ациганѝ волѣринѝ гѣа ми* 'regarding a Gypsy of the boyar of my lordship'. The first noun represents the common case, while the second one the possessive dative.

<sup>113</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 223, 225: *прѣателѝѝ* – p. 224, 228: *прѣателѝѝ* – p. 231: *прѣателѝѝ* 'to the friends'; e.g. TOCILESCU, p. 224: *сѣседаѝѝ* – p. 231: *сѣседаѝѝ* 'to the neighbours'.

<sup>114</sup> 250 *зарадѣи работѝ ѡвѣзи сиромаси* 'regarding those subjects', 223 *за работѝ ѡномѝ члѣкѝ* 'regarding that man', p. 253 *добриѝ прѣатели* 'to good friends'.

<sup>115</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 230: *аспрѝ длѣжни на едѣна жена* 'silver coins owed to a women'.

<sup>116</sup> Colophon of the Menaion for January: *храѝ ѡѣспѣкнѝѝ* 'temple of Dormition'.

can be found along with the prevailing common case<sup>117</sup>. In few cases, there is the locative behind the preposition *по*<sup>118</sup>. Other appearance of case endings in the letters is mostly limited to random fixed phrases<sup>119</sup>. A specific feature of the *horismoï* (mainly in the fixed formulas) is the use of locative plural behind the preposition *ѡ* 'of, from' inspired by the confusion of adjective and noun paradigm<sup>120</sup>. The declension of adjectives and personal pronouns in letters uses the *Štokavian* ending, but they mostly do not agree with the noun.

The paradigm of personal pronouns is very regular and generally corresponds to the one known in fully balkanized Slavonic languages. The personal pronouns distinguish nominative, accusative and dative short forms that all precede the verb<sup>121</sup>. The dative form may be used as the postpositive possessive form<sup>122</sup>. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> person, a special form is preferred<sup>123</sup>. A different long form of the pronoun is used behind prepositions<sup>124</sup>. The characteristic form of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person of the singular masculine is the *Štokavian* *га* found also in the masculine adjective paradigm – in Wallachian documents it should be considered common case singular animate. Sometimes, the double object is expressed<sup>125</sup>. There is a typical WS set of indefinite pronouns introduced by *варѣ* (Romanian *oare*)<sup>126</sup>. Less frequently, further types of pronouns appear<sup>127</sup>.

The WS verb flexion has the following characteristics. Its most visible feature is the analytical creation of the future tense using the short form of the verb *velle* (preferring the Serbian chancellery spelling) and the infinitive<sup>128</sup>. The use of the preterite with l-participle and simple tenses is equivalent. The typical 1<sup>st</sup> plural

<sup>117</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 228: *съ любовью* 'with love', p. 232: *съ нашими потребними рѣчи* 'with our needed things', p. 234: *съ Радѡло* 'with Radul', p. 247: *съ ѡцдани и съ свѣпални* 'with sheep and pigs', p. 262: *съ правѡ слѡво* 'by just service', p. 259: *съ печатю* 'with a seal'.

<sup>118</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 256: *по евакуе тръгове и по вароше* 'in all markets and towns', p. 223: *по сѣ* 'after that'.

<sup>119</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 247: *бжтѣ хотѣнїе* 'by God's will', p. 247: *мѣ ѣ поминѡва бѣ владѣо землѡ* 'God donated me the Wallachian land', p. 254: *ѡ Дѡгополѣ* 'in Cămpulung', p. 251: *мегю нами* 'between us'.

<sup>120</sup> DRH II, no. 98: *словодни [...] ѡ въсехъ слѡжбѡ и дажбѡ* 'exempted from all services and taxes', *никто ѡ слѡгѡ* 'nobody from the servants', no. 125: *ѡ горѡ и ѡ полнѣ* 'of woods and fields'.

<sup>121</sup> DRH II, no. 125: *ю ни даде* 'he gave her to them', TOCILESCU, p. 255: *ви чека* 'I am/we are waiting for you', p. 255: *ѡни га сѣ збили* 'they killed him', p. 235: *ѡ ѣ сѣ зели* 'what did you take him', p. 228: *да ѣ пѣститѣ* 'you shall release them', p. 223: *мѡ съ послѡ* 'I sent him'.

<sup>122</sup> 230 *къ гѣа ви* 'to your lordship', 229 *ѡ мѡжа си* 'from her husband'.

<sup>123</sup> DRH II, no. 122: *ниѡно колѣно* 'their family', TOCILESCU, p. 240: *неговѡ товѡ* 'his merchandise', p. 239: *зарадѣ неговѣ работѡ* 'regarding his issue'.

<sup>124</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 227: *мегю вѡ* 'between you', p. 260: *за нега* 'for him'.

<sup>125</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 224: *ако га наидѣ прѡ члѣкъ* 'If I will find the right man'.

<sup>126</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 230: *варѣ ѡ* 'whatever', p. 225: *варѣ кога* 'whomever'.

<sup>127</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 225: *ниѡа* 'nothing', p. 227: *тѣко* 'who', p. 235: *нитѣко* 'nobody', p. 257: *повсѣде* 'everywhere'.

<sup>128</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 231: *ке доитѣ* – p. 238: *че доитѣ* 'he will come', a unique form is p. 258: *ѡложикѣте* 'you will provide'.

ending is -*лю* (both in present and aorist) that can be reduced to the above-written final *л*, which can be interpreted as both plural and singular. There are examples of an analytical comparison of adverbs (no example for adjectives)<sup>129</sup>. A rare, but remarkable feature is the use of calqued composed prepositions<sup>130</sup>.

In the interpretation of the texts impacted by WS, one must take into consideration the morphosyntactic features that are caused by the negligence of the writers to these phenomena. We already mentioned the neglecting of the difference between nominative and accusative and the use of the common case, whose outcome is the non-distinction of expression of the position and direction. We also mentioned the frequent lack of distinguishing the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular and plural of verbs, rarely found also in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person. In some cases, we see the confusion of aorist, present and infinitive. This is supported by the above-writing of the final *т* in the 3<sup>rd</sup> person present and infinitive or its simple omission<sup>131</sup>. However, the most frequently neglected morphosyntactic feature is the agreement in case and gender between adjective, numeral or pronoun and noun<sup>132</sup>. Otherwise, the endings of the adjectives and personal pronouns are *Štokavian*-based. Just in a few cases both endings are totally random.

The WS morphosyntax is the typical feature of the correspondence and actually also of *horismoi*, which might, however, suffer some CS impact in the fixed formulas. The chrysobulls follow the CS morphosyntax, the impact of the WS can be noted in the *dispositio*. An important impact of the WS morphosyntax can be traced in Dragomir's colophons, Argeş and Dobromir's inscriptions, even if these texts are patterned on CS. These texts show a frequent use of common case including the appositional possessive with variations shown above besides the correct Middle CS endings. The colophon in Dragomir's *Apostolos* contains the pronoun forms *МОѢГЛ* (as accusative singular animate), *ГА* 'him', *ЩО* 'what', 1-preterite (*СЪМЬ ГЛЕДА* 'I was looking'), analytical future and the replacement of the infinitive by the *ДА*-construction<sup>133</sup>. The colophon in the *Menaion* for January contains the feminine a-stem treatment of the word for 'monastery'<sup>134</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 225: *ПОВЕКЕ* 'more', p. 238: *ПОВОЛЕ* 'better'; DRH II, no. 116: *НАИДОЛ* 'to the lowest place', *ПОВИШЕ* 'upper'.

<sup>130</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 239: *Ѡ КЪ СТРАНС* 'from the side' (Rom. *de câtre*); DRH II, no. 205: *Ѡ ПРЕ ГѢО МИ* 'from my lordship' (Rom. *dinainte*), no. 140: *Ѡ МЕГИ ИЗВОДЪ* 'between sources' (Rom. *dintre*).

<sup>131</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 225: *НЕ КЮ ѠСТАВИ* 'I will not leave' (expected *СТАВИТИ*), p. 253: *Ѡ МЛТИ ВЪРЪЕТИ ЕМЪ* 'your Grace believes him' (expected *ВЪРЪЕ(Т)*), p. 244: *ХТЕ ДОИТИ НАШЕГА ЧЛКА* 'our man will come' (this auxiliary form is otherwise used as 3<sup>rd</sup> plural), p. 238: *КЮ ПЛАТИТЕ* 'I will pay' (2<sup>nd</sup> plural instead of infinitive), p. 230: *ДА МЪ СЕ ПЛАТИ АСПРИ* 'silver coins should be paid to him' (singular instead of plural).

<sup>132</sup> E.g. TOCILESCU, p. 224: *КЪ ВОЕВДА ЕРДѢСКОМЪ* 'to the voivode of Transylvania', p. 225: *ЗА НАШЕ РАБОТЪ* 'for our affair', p. 228: *ДРЪГО ВИНЪ* 'another guilt', p. 225: *ЕДИ ГРЪЛО* 'a necklace', p. 234: *НИЕДНО МЕТЕХЪ* 'no discord', p. 237: *ВАШЕМЪ МЛТИ* 'to your Grace', p. 242: *ЗАРАДІ НАШОЮ ПОТРЕБЪ* 'for our need', p. 249: *ВЪСЕ ДОВИТЪ* 'the whole property'.

<sup>133</sup> *КО ГА КЕ ПОКОУСИ ДА ГА ПРИНЕ* 'who will try to bring it'.

<sup>134</sup> *ВЪ СѠУЮЮ МОНАСТИРОУ* 'to the holy monastery'. Masculine o-stem in CS, but feminine in Romanian. This is actually the most frequently found word in Slavonic written by Romanians with a switched gender.



The second Argeş inscription contains the pronouns *нѣгово* 'his' and *нища* 'nothing' and the use of common case<sup>135</sup>. The *Teachings of Neagoie Basarab* do not contain the common case except for unique cases<sup>136</sup>, few cases of confusion of position and direction<sup>137</sup>, and variation in agreement of the noun *слоуга*<sup>138</sup>. There are, however, few forms of analytical comparative<sup>139</sup>. In a-stems, there are few *Štokavian* forms<sup>140</sup>.

Specifically in *horismo* (and of course in Neacşu's letter), we may find the Romanian or mixed flexional forms. These are linked to the landscape appellatives or proper names of places or persons. Most frequently, we see the Romanian article of the common case in the Romanian words<sup>141</sup>. The genitive-dative ending appears rarely<sup>142</sup>. Otherwise, mixed endings (*лѣ* for *-lui* and *лѣ* for *-lor*) may be applied in the toponyms<sup>143</sup>. The Romanian common case endings without articles resemble the Slavonic ones, even if sometimes the clearly Romanian ending is applied<sup>144</sup>. A curious expression is *волни* used in the adjective sense 'free; allowed'<sup>145</sup>, which can be considered a Romanian adaptation, as the Slavonic adjective suffix *-nyj* is regularly borrowed as *-nic*.

## Vocabulary

There are many ways to deal with the vocabulary. For our needs, we will divide it according to the part of speech, thematic group, origin and their attestation in Romanian<sup>146</sup>. We will present here a short overview of some typical terms found in the original Slavonic texts.

<sup>135</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> inscription: *ѿ владстеле своихъ* 'from own officials', *ѿ гсѣво ти* 'from your lordship'.

<sup>136</sup> E.g. 67v *скровнице вашѣ* 'your treasury', 80r *оверѣтаетъ съ вода жива* 'there is the water of life', 76v *съ двѣхъ пагубы голѣми* 'with two great damages', 97r *ѿ цѣри* 'from the emperors', 104v *ѿ гласове* 'from voices'.

<sup>137</sup> E.g. 13v *на земли падеши* 'you fall on earth', 31v *понадѣмъ съже ниѣ оу недѣннаго гѣна шного* 'let us go to that unworthy lord', 32v *сѣдиши на трапезѣ* 'you are sitting at the table'.

<sup>138</sup> 42v *слоуга моа слакаа* 'my sweet servant', 43v *любимаа слоуга моа* 'my beloved servant'.

<sup>139</sup> 44r *по выше* 'higher', 48r *по долѣ* 'lower', 94r *по вещьше* 'more'.

<sup>140</sup> Acc. pl. 27v *слоуге*, 27v *правѣ слоужбѣ* 'with right service', but also Šumadija-Vojvodina forms 29r *на трапезы* 'at the table', 89v *къ Евви* 'to Eve', otherwise absent in WS.

<sup>141</sup> DRH II, no. 156: *врѣхѣ* 'the peak', *платѣ* 'the plateau', *лакѣ* 'the lake', *стѣпанѣ* 'the border sign', no. 184: *дѣлѣ* 'the hill', no. 156: *валѣ* 'the valley', no. 142: *съ селициа* 'with the villages', no. 132: *платѣре* и *лѣнчеле* 'the plateaux and the meadows'.

<sup>142</sup> DRH II, no. 135: *манасти Радѣ постелникѣши* 'monastery of postelnic Radu'.

<sup>143</sup> E.g. DRH II, no. 156: *пискѣ глѣдолѣ* 'mud peak' (piscul glodului), *врѣхѣ рѣделѣ* 'mine peak' (piscul minelor), no. 208: *лѣнка глѣдѣлѣ* 'mud meadow' (lunca glodului), no. 146: *Станчулѣ лѣгѣфѣлѣ* 'of Stanciu logofăt', no. 208: *предѣлѣ корѣлѣ* 'rook hillock' (predealul corbului).

<sup>144</sup> DRH II, no. 161: *ливези* 'meadows'.

<sup>145</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 257: *съ вѣнници продавати* 'they are free to sell'.

<sup>146</sup> We are aware this criterion is very tricky as all fully Romanian texts were created after the period we are evaluating, but still we consider such consideration is valid. As the reference point for the attestation, we choose the database <https://dexonline.ro/>.

The first group of terms will concern the titles and functions<sup>147</sup>. Here we may distinguish the following types:

- Old terms attested already in Old Church Slavonic<sup>148</sup>: **гнѣ** (господинъ) ‘lord, head of a country’<sup>149</sup>, **волѣри** ‘boyar, nobleman’<sup>150</sup>, **жспѣ** ‘boyar’s title’<sup>151</sup>, **црѣ** ‘(Ottoman) sultan’<sup>152</sup>, **воивода** ‘voivode’<sup>153</sup>, **кралъ** ‘king (of Hungary)’<sup>154</sup>, **сѣдѣ** ‘judge, mayor’<sup>155</sup>, **грамати** ‘secretary of the chancellery, grāmātic’<sup>156</sup>.
- Terms of Byzantine origin borrowed at least partly through the mediation of the Bulgarian and Serbian state organization: **комѣ** ‘court official in charge of the provisioning’<sup>157</sup>, **спата** ‘commander of cavalry’<sup>158</sup>, **вистѣа** ‘head of finance’<sup>159</sup>,

<sup>147</sup> As the lexemes denoting titles and functions are very frequent especially in the documents, we note just one attestation.

<sup>148</sup> Here and further, if the term is attested in OCS, it means it can be found in the database *Old Church Slavonic Dictionary*, [in:] GORAZD. *The Old Church Slavonic Digital Hub*, ed. Š. PILÁT, Prague 2016–2020. Online: <http://gorazd.org/gulliver/> [28 IV 2021]. The spelling corresponds to the usual form attested in the documents.

<sup>149</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 223. In Latin corresponding to *dominus* (IORGA, p. 243). The typical form of address related to this title is **гнѣ** (господство) ‘lordship’, translated into Latin as *Dominacio* (IORGA, p. 221), eventually *dominium* ‘dignity of being lord’ (IORGA p. 243). The self-addressing in the Latin letters is just *nos* ‘we’. In Romanian corresponding to *domn*.

<sup>150</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 251, in a Latin document as *boyero* (IORGA, p. 243). Romanian *boier*.

<sup>151</sup> DRH II, no. 94.

<sup>152</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 261. In Latin *imperator Turcorum* (IORGA, p. 240) or even *Imperator Cesar Turcorum* (IORGA, p. 243). In Neacșu’s letter **црѣратѣ**.

<sup>153</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 261, in Latin *waywoda* (IORGA, p. 218), there is also a neologism *Waywodatum* ‘function of the voivode’ (IORGA, p. 246), Romanian *voevod*, *voivod*, *voivodă*, etc.

<sup>154</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 262. Corresponding to Latin *rex* (IORGA, p. 243). ‘His majesty’ is denoted, on the same place as **сѣа корѣна** ‘holy crown’.

<sup>155</sup> DRH II, no. 116; TOCILESCU, p. 223, in Latin *iudex* (IORGA, p. 222). Romanian *jude*, cf. *Dicționarul elementelor românești din documente slavo-române 1374–1600*, ed. G. BOLOCAN, București 1981, p. 117 **жсдѣ** since 1409 in Moldavia, 1510 in Wallachia.

<sup>156</sup> DRH II, no. 103, in no. 114 translated as **словоѣстроитѣ**, in no. 161 as **словоположителю**.

<sup>157</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 236. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 52 (Moldavia and Wallachia) *comis*; A. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти на българските царе*, София 2005, p. 205–206 (Bulgaria); *Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*, vol. IV, ed. E. TRAPP et al., Wien 1994–2017 (cetera: LBG), p. 852 **кѣμης** ‘Graf’.

<sup>158</sup> DRH II, no. 100; *Teachings* 28v, in Latin *spatarius* (IORGA, p. 218) or *zpatayr* (IORGA, p. 221). Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 219 **spătar** (Moldavia and Wallachia); *Исторически речник*, [in:] *Cyrrilomethodiana*, [https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/dictionary/show/d\\_08826](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/dictionary/show/d_08826) [28 IV 2021]; LBG, vol. VII, p. 1588: **спаθάριος**.

<sup>159</sup> DRH II, no. 100; *Teachings* 59r, less **вѣстѣарни** (TOCILESCU, p. 262), in a Latin document *vizter* (IORGA, p. 238). Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 261–262 *vistiari* (Wallachia), *vistiarnic* (Moldavia); LBG, vol. II, p. 275 **βεστιάριος** ‘ein Hofbeamter’.

логѡфѣ̂ ‘head or official of the chancellery’<sup>160</sup>, страторни̂ ‘master of court ceremonies’<sup>161</sup>, поклицѣ̂ ‘envoy’<sup>162</sup>, портѣ̂ ‘court official in charge of the court protocol’<sup>163</sup>.

- Terms attested in the Bulgarian or Serbian context: вѣтѣ̂ ‘head of a group of courtiers’<sup>164</sup>, стопань ‘lord, owner’<sup>165</sup>, ключѣ̂ ‘court official in charge of the food storage’<sup>166</sup>.
- Terms taken or adapted from the Hungarian (respectively Transylvanian) administration: вѣ̂ ‘administrator of Oltenia’<sup>167</sup>, мѣцнѣ̂ ‘owner of the neighbouring domain’<sup>168</sup>, пѣгѣ̂ мѣцнѣ̂ ‘mayor’<sup>169</sup>, прѣкъкълѣ̂ ‘head of an administrative district’<sup>170</sup>, пѣргѣ̂ ‘town councillor’<sup>171</sup>.

<sup>160</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 262. In a Latin document, the 2<sup>nd</sup> logofăt is denoted as *vicecancellarius*. Also in OCS, as Serbian official cf. Ђ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник из књижевних старина српских*, vol. II, Биоград 1863, p. 18. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 126–127 *logofăt* (Wallachia and Moldavia); LBG, vol. V, p. 945 λογοθέτης ‘Vorsteher einer Kanzlei’.

<sup>161</sup> DRH II, no. 118. Cf. Ђ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник из књижевних старина српских*, vol. III, Биоград 1864, p. 184; А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 359 страторъ; LBG, vol. VII, p. 1621 стрѣтор ‘Stallmeister’.

<sup>162</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 261; *Teachings* 37r, also 18v поклицарство ‘delegation’. Both terms also in Ђ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 345–346 (Serbian and Ottoman chancellery). The term поклицарь is attested also in Moldavia, cf. *Словник староукраїнської мови XIV–XV ст.*, vol. I–II, ed. Л.Л. Гумецька, Київ 1977–1978, p. 178. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 61 апокрисиарь (Bulgaria), 2, 178; LBG, vol. I, p. 169 ἀποκρισιάριος ‘Gesandter’.

<sup>163</sup> DRH II, no. 132, also spelled 232 прѣкълѣ̂ (TOCILESCU, p. 232). Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 190 *portar* (Wallachia and Moldavia); LBG, vol. VI, p. 1354 портάρης ‘Pfortner’.

<sup>164</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 243; *Teachings* 28v. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 90 (Bulgaria); *Dicționarul...*, p. 257 *vătah* (Wallachia and Moldavia).

<sup>165</sup> *Teachings* 71r 85v, comp. Romanian *stăpân*, Bulgarian *стопан(ин)*, cf. *Български етимологичен речник*, vol. VII, София 2013, p. 477–478.

<sup>166</sup> DRH II, no. 116. Cf. Ђ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник из књижевних старина српских*, vol. I, Биоград 1863, p. 450 ‘claviger’; *Исторически речник*, [https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/dictionary/show/d\\_03725](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/dictionary/show/d_03725); *Dicționarul...*, p. 48 *clucer* (Wallachia only), in Moldavia *ключникъ*, cf. *Словник...*, vol. I, p. 477.

<sup>167</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 262, also in Dobromir’s inscription. Cf. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Ungarischen*, ed. L. BENKŐ, Budapest 1992–1995, p. 77 ‘Ban’. *Dicționarul...*, p. 11 (Wallachia only); Ђ. ДАНИЧИЋ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 25 for lord of Bosnia, Croatia and a Dubravnik official.

<sup>168</sup> DRH II, no. 114, also spelled мѣцнѣ̂ши (DRH II, no. 116). Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 140 *megias*; *Magyar nyelvtörténeti szótár a legrégebb nyelvelmélektől a nyelvújításig*, vol. II, ed. G. SZARVAS, Z. SIMONYI, Budapest 1891, p. 720 *megyés* ‘habens districtum, circuitum’.

<sup>169</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 261. Cf. *Magyar nyelvtörténeti...*, vol. II, p. 791 *polgármester* ‘consul’.

<sup>170</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 261. Cf. *Etymologisches...*, p. 1189 *porkoláb* ‘Burgvogt’; *Magyar nyelvtörténeti...*, vol. II, p. 1315 ‘castellanus’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 179–180 *pârcălab* (Moldavia and Wallachia).

<sup>171</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 223, in Latin *consul* (IOGA, p. 221). Cf. *Etymologisches...*, p. 1182 *polgár*; *Magyar nyelvtörténeti...*, vol. II, p. 1307 ‘civis’; *Dicționarul...*, p. 181 *pârgar* (Wallachia, exceptionally Moldavia).

- Specific terms used in Wallachia and Moldavia: дѡѡннѣ 'head of state administration'<sup>172</sup>, поствѣлннѣ 'master of court ceremonies'<sup>173</sup>, сѡлцѣрѡѡ 'court official responsible for the provisioning of meat'<sup>174</sup>, шѣтрѡѡ 'military official in charge of the provisioning of military campaigns with the tents and weapons'<sup>175</sup>, стѡлннѣ 'court official in charge of the provisioning of voivode's table'<sup>176</sup>, испрѡвннѣ 'any official in charge of the execution of voivode's will'<sup>177</sup>, хѡтарннѣ 'border surveyor'<sup>178</sup>, пѣхарннѣ/пахарннѣ 'court official in charge of the wine cellars'<sup>179</sup>, питѡѡ 'court official in charge of the provisioning with bread'<sup>180</sup>.
- Terms specifically used in the *Teachings*: кѡѡртѡнѣ 'courtier'<sup>181</sup>, крѣдинчѣрѡѡ 'confidant'<sup>182</sup>.

This type of terms appears in all acts, always in the *corroboratio* containing the list of the members of the voivodal council. Less regularly, but still frequently, they can be found in the letters (both Slavonic and Latin ones) and other original texts, where an official is involved: the inscriptions (ktetor or defuncted person), colophons (orderer) and the *Teachings of Neagoe Basarab*.

The terms related to the war are much less frequent. They mostly appear in the letters, the border agreement, eventually in the corresponding parts of the *Teachings*. The most typical terms found in the texts in question are размирица 'conflict'<sup>183</sup> and вражмѡѡ 'enemy'<sup>184</sup>. Very specific terms can be found in the *Teachings*: 54v глѡта 'simple soldiers'<sup>185</sup>, 56r стѡража 'core of the army'<sup>186</sup>, 74v скѡпѡтѡѡ

<sup>172</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 262, also in Dobromir's inscription. In a Latin document spelled *dwornick* (IOGA, p. 221). Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 72–73.

<sup>173</sup> DRH II, no. 99. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 191–192. A more recent term for стѡратѡрннѣ.

<sup>174</sup> DRH II, no. 135, also spelled сѡцѡѡ (no. 165). Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 225–226 *sulger* (Wallachia and Moldavia).

<sup>175</sup> DRH II, no. 99. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 230 *șetrar*.

<sup>176</sup> DRH II, no. 99. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 223 *stolnic*.

<sup>177</sup> DRH II, no. 99. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 112 *ispravnic*.

<sup>178</sup> DRH II, no. 208. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 107–108 *hotarnic*.

<sup>179</sup> DRH II, no. 100. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 167–168 *păharnic*.

<sup>180</sup> DRH II, no. 139, in a Latin document *pytar/pyttar* (IOGA, p. 238). Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 177 *pitar*.

<sup>181</sup> *Teachings* 57v. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 62 *curtean*.

<sup>182</sup> *Teachings* 28v. Romanian *credincer*.

<sup>183</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 255, in the border agreement (DRH II, no. 194) with the morphological variants размириѣ (TOCILESCU, p. 255; *Teachings* 53r) and размиренїѣ (*Teachings* 50v). Cf. размирица/размириѣ in Moldavian (*Словник...*, vol. II, p. 287), Serbian and Ottoman documents (Ђ. Даничиѣв, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 27). Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 200 *răzmiriță*.

<sup>184</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 223. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 265 *vrajmăș*.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. *Български...*, vol. I, p. 251 'crowd, group', Romanian *gloată*.

<sup>186</sup> OCS 'guard, watch', Romanian *strajă*.

'battalion'<sup>187</sup>, 28v *лафачіе* 'mercenaries'<sup>188</sup>, 60r *трѣсковы* 'fire weapons'<sup>189</sup>. A curious lexeme is *пистрѣ* 'distance covered by a shot of an arrow'<sup>190</sup>. A specific lexeme, denoting a person provoking a conflict is *лотрѣ* 'bandit'<sup>191</sup>.

The largest terminological group concerns the administration, law, trade and finance, which are hardly dividable. From the perspective of the origin of the term, we can distinguish the following types:

- Terms attested in the Old Church Slavonic corpus or found in various Slavonic varieties: *вчина* 'inherited property'<sup>192</sup>, *дажда* 'tax'<sup>193</sup>, *печѣ* 'seal'<sup>194</sup>, *сѣжба* 'service, attendance'<sup>195</sup>, *дѣдина* 'inherited domain'<sup>196</sup>, *дѣбнѣ* 'property'<sup>197</sup>, *пивница* 'cellar'<sup>198</sup>, *товѣ* 'load, property'<sup>199</sup>, *вбрѣ* 'tax in kind'<sup>200</sup>.
- Terms of Byzantine origin mediated via Bulgarian and/or Serbian administration: *метѣ* 'monastery property out of the monastery complex'<sup>201</sup>, *аспрѣ*

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 115 'agmen'; *Евтимиев речник*, [in:] *Cyrrilomethodiana*, [https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/evtdict/evt\\_show/d\\_04684](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/evtdict/evt_show/d_04684); LBG, vol. VII, p. 1566 *скѣлрон* 'Schwadron'.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 124 *lefegiu*.

<sup>189</sup> Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 320 *трѣсковѣ* 'fragores'.

<sup>190</sup> DRH II, no. 161. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 177 *pistreală*.

<sup>191</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 227, also in Neacșu's letter as an insult. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 127–128 *lotru*.

<sup>192</sup> DRH II, no. 184. In this meaning used in the East Slavonic milieu, cf. *Словарь русского языка (XI–XVII вв.)*, выпуск 14, p. 64–65 *отчина*, but almost absent in Moldavia, cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 161 *ocină*.

<sup>193</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 257. Not used in Moldavia. Cf. OCS 'contributing; bribe'. Romanian *dajdie*, *dajde*. Not used in Moldavia.

<sup>194</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 260. Also in OCS. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 172 *pecete*.

<sup>195</sup> DRH II, no. 116. Also in OCS, Romanian *slujbă*.

<sup>196</sup> DRH II, no. 122. Romanian *dedină*. Cf. *Словник...*, vol. I, p. 335 (Moldavia); Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 325 (Serbia); *Словарь...*, 14, p. 64 (East Slavonic milieu).

<sup>197</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 260. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 285 'facultates'; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, p. 138 'gain, profit'; *Словник...*, vol. I, p. 305; Romanian *dobitoc* 'cattle'.

<sup>198</sup> DRH II, no. 94. Romanian *pivniță*. Attested in Ruthenian since 1489 (*Словник...*, vol. II, p. 144–145).

<sup>199</sup> DRH II, no. 160. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 294 'onus'; *Словник...*, vol. II, p. 433 'merchandise; cattle; property' (in Moldavia and Wallachia), Romanian (Banat) *tovar* 'load'.

<sup>200</sup> DRH II, no. 109. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 160 *obroc* (Moldavia and Wallachia); Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 191 'stipendium; viaticum'.

<sup>201</sup> DRH II, no. 185. Cf. А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, p. 185; Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 59 'terra monasterio subjecta'; *Dicționarul...*, p. 141 *metoh*; LBG, vol. V, p. 1017 *μετόχιον* 'Dependance eines Klosters'.

‘silver coin’<sup>202</sup>, *перпери* ‘golden coins’<sup>203</sup>, *прѣкию* ‘dowry’<sup>204</sup>, *оризъ*<sup>205</sup>, *хора* ‘rural area’<sup>206</sup>, *кома* ‘pieces’<sup>207</sup>,

- Other terms attested in the Bulgarian or Serbian context: *дѣсетѣ*<sup>208</sup> ‘tithe’<sup>208</sup>, *пръ-далика* ‘escheat’<sup>209</sup>, *дворба* ‘service’<sup>210</sup>,  *глоба* ‘fine’<sup>211</sup>, *вѣ* ‘tax’<sup>212</sup>, *сиромѣ* ‘simple subject of a ruler’<sup>213</sup>, *сѣдство* ‘administrative unit’<sup>214</sup>, *доходкъ* ‘income’<sup>215</sup>, *воденица* ‘water mill’<sup>216</sup>, *спѣнза* ‘expense’<sup>217</sup>, *сѣ* *дигнѣ*<sup>218</sup> ‘with increase, as a wholesale’<sup>218</sup>, *правина* ‘justice; just amount’<sup>219</sup>.

<sup>202</sup> TOSILESCU, p. 238. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 19 *аспра*; *Dicționarul...*, p. 7 *aspru*; LBG, vol. II, p. 217 *аспров* ‘Sibermünze’.

<sup>203</sup> DRH II, no. 98. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 285 *перпѣра*; *Dicționarul...*, p. 173 *perper* ‘ancienne monnaie utilisée dans la Valachie’; LBG, vol. VIII, p. 1867 *ѹпѣрперон* ‘Goldmünze’.

<sup>204</sup> DRH II, no. 129. Cf. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, Vindobonae 1862–1865, p. 668 *пркиня*; *Български...*, vol. V, p. 714 *прикия*, *прикие*; LBG, vol. VIII, p. 6, 1395 *проі-киюв* ‘Mitgift’.

<sup>205</sup> DRH II, no. 94. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 266; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 229 *оризлю* ‘decretum’ (in a Bulgarian document); G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 973 *ὀρισμός* ‘decree’.

<sup>206</sup> DRH II, no. 98. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 397 ‘Bulgarian administrative unit’; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 419 ‘regio’; LBG, vol. VIII, p. 2031 *хѹра* ‘Ortschaft, Dorf’. In the *Teachings*, there is the expression *б7г ѿ хѹрѣнь* ‘of peasants’, cf. Romanian regionally *horean* ‘big boy; healthy boy’, <https://dexonline.ro/definitie/horean>.

<sup>207</sup> DRH II, no. 22 and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Argeș inscription. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 466 ‘pars, frustum, aliquantum’; LBG, vol. IV, p. 853 *коѹмѣтѣ* ‘Stück, Teil’.

<sup>208</sup> DRH II, no. 98. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 133.

<sup>209</sup> DRH II, no. 94. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 318; *Dicționarul...*, p. 195 *prădalică*.

<sup>210</sup> *Teachings* 33v, 37r, 69r. Cf. F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon...*, p. 156 ‘servitium’; *Cyrrillomethodiana* (Trojan Story).

<sup>211</sup> DRH II, no. 98. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 118; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 209 ‘mulcta’.

<sup>212</sup> DRH II, no. 98. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 40–41 ‘census clero praebendus’; А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 68 *вирѹкъ*; *Dicționarul...*, p. 16–17 *bir*.

<sup>213</sup> TOSILESCU, p. 234, *Teachings* 28v. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 113 ‘pauper’.

<sup>214</sup> DRH II, no. 108. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 199 ‘conventus, terra iudicis’, whence the current Romanian *județ* ‘county’.

<sup>215</sup> *Teachings* 41r. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 143; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 296–297 ‘reditus, tributum’.

<sup>216</sup> DRH II, no. 122. Cf. А. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамоти...*, p. 98; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 144 ‘mola aquaria’.

<sup>217</sup> DRH II, no. 109. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 142 ‘expensa’.

<sup>218</sup> TOSILESCU, p. 257, 262 (homage act). The form may have been created both from an o-stem or a-stem. Cf. Štokavian *dignuti*, Bulgarian *дигна* ‘to raise’, *Български...*, p. 386.

<sup>219</sup> TOSILESCU, p. 262. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 409–410 ‘jus, justitia; justa’.

- Terms taken from the Hungarian administration: *вѣма* 'toll'<sup>220</sup>, *дѣжма* 'tithe'<sup>221</sup>, *мѣрѣтѣикъ* 'payment in kind'<sup>222</sup>, *хотѣ* 'border'<sup>223</sup>, *варѣ* 'town'<sup>224</sup>, *газда* 'owner'<sup>225</sup>, *кѣчи* 'expense'<sup>226</sup>, *марѣха* 'merchandise'<sup>227</sup>, *флорини* 'Hungarian *floreni*'<sup>228</sup>,
- Specific Wallachian and Moldavian terms: *тѣкѣмѣ* 'agreement'<sup>229</sup>, 249 *горѣцинѣ* 'tax from sheep and pigs'<sup>230</sup>,
- Specific Wallachian terms: *охаба* 'inalienable heritable property'<sup>231</sup>, *вѣчи* 'serf'<sup>232</sup>, *поводникари* 'collectors of a specific tax'<sup>233</sup>, *винари* 'wine tax'<sup>234</sup>.

A linguistically very specific group of terms comprises the professions and merchandise. A specific Wallachian term, integrated into the local Slavonic, is *скоулицѣ* 'jewellery, treasury'<sup>235</sup>. Another typical term, this time of the Bulgarian origin, comprises *рѣтициѣ* 'clothing'<sup>236</sup>.

<sup>220</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 262, 2<sup>nd</sup> Argeş inscription. *Etymologisches...*, p. 1603 *vám* 'Zollstelle; Abgabe für Waren'; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 253–254 *vamă*. A linked substantive is DRH II, no. 108 *вѣмѣширина* 'income of a customs point', cf. *Dicţionarul...*, p. 257 *vămeşerie*.

<sup>221</sup> DRH II, no. 98. *Etymologisches...*, p. 259 *dézsma*; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 68 *dijmă*. From this lexeme, the term *дѣжмари* 'collectors of taxes' on the same place is derived. Cf. *Dicţionarul...*, p. 68.

<sup>222</sup> DRH II, no. 98. Cf. *Magyar nyelvtörténeti...*, vol. II, p. 776 *mérték* 'mensura, metrum; modius; pondus'; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 105 *мѣрѣтѣикъ* 'demensum'; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 140 'ration; don annuel en nature ou en espèces; mesure de capacité pour les grains'.

<sup>223</sup> DRH II, 140. *Dicţionarul...*, p. 105–107 *hotar* (both Wallachia and Moldavia); *Etymologisches...*, p. 537 *határ*.

<sup>224</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 251; DRH II, no. 140, 161. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 102; *Etymologisches...*, p. 1609 *város*. On DRH II, no. 175, there is also the derivation *варошани* 'burghers'.

<sup>225</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 260. Cf. *Etymologisches...*, p. 450–451 *gazda* 'Hauswirt; 1544 Verwalter; 1570 Besitzer'; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 89 *hôte*.

<sup>226</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 260. Cf. *Dicţionarul...*, p. 40 *chelciug*; *Etymologisches...*, p. 815 *költség*.

<sup>227</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 234. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 51 *марѣха* 'merx'; *Etymologisches...*, p. 938 *marha* 'Vermögen; bewegliches Gut'.

<sup>228</sup> DRH II, no. 108. *Dicţionarul...*, p. 82 *florin*.

<sup>229</sup> DRH II, no. 196. Cf. *Словник...*, vol. II, p. 435 *токлиж(а)*.

<sup>230</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 249. Cf. *Словник...*, vol. I, p. 253; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 95.

<sup>231</sup> DRH II, no. 184. *Dicţionarul...*, p. 163–164. In most documents replaced by *дѣдина*.

<sup>232</sup> DRH II, no. 98. Cf. *Dicţionarul...*, p. 258 *vecin*.

<sup>233</sup> DRH II, no. 98; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 192 *povodnicar*.

<sup>234</sup> DRH II, no. 98; *Dicţionarul...*, p. 260 *vinarici*.

<sup>235</sup> *Teachings* 48v and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Argeş inscription.

<sup>236</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 246. *Български...*, vol. VI, p. 353.

Further terms are rather occasionalisms:

- professions:  $\widehat{\text{MAGANA}}$  'jeweller'<sup>237</sup>  $\widehat{\text{KPOHTOPIO}}$  'tailor'<sup>238</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{MAHCITD}}$  'craftsman'<sup>239</sup>,
- merchandise:  $\widehat{\text{POATe}}$ <sup>240</sup>  $\widehat{\text{W}}$   $\widehat{\text{KOJA}}$  'wheels of vehicle',  $\widehat{\text{FALCHE}}$  'old units of measurement'<sup>241</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{PpBLO}}$ <sup>242</sup>  $\widehat{\text{W}}$   $\widehat{\text{BICE}}$  'pearl necklace',  $\widehat{\text{W}}$   $\widehat{\text{XELIHI}}$  'of stoat'<sup>243</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{TIPAPe}}$  'casting forms'<sup>244</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{XAMIBP}}$  'armours'<sup>245</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{IIPBIBP}}$  'horse harness'<sup>246</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{TAPHICE}}$  'saddles'<sup>247</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{KACITD/KOCITD}}$  'lead'<sup>248</sup>.

One must mention the very curious phonological adaptation of the lexeme  $\widehat{\text{CBINA}}$  'pig'<sup>249</sup>. All these terms appear mostly in the letters, rarely in other texts.

A very specific semantic group are the lexemes describing the landscape. Such words can be divided into the following types:

- General Slavonic (or OCS) terms:  $\widehat{\text{BpTB}}$  'top of a hill'<sup>250</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{PBCbTbHbK}}$  'desert'<sup>251</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{PEIIE-PA}}$  'cave'<sup>252</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{Lb}}$  'riparian forest'<sup>253</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{ABPABA}}$  'oak forest'<sup>254</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{AOLHHA}}$  'valley'<sup>255</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{POTD}}$  'brook'<sup>256</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{CTAK}}$  'border sign'<sup>257</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{IA33}}$  'little lake; pond'<sup>258</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{CBTIE}}$  'river mouth'<sup>259</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{BIAI3/BIAIIO}}$  'little lake'<sup>260</sup>,  $\widehat{\text{BHHOPIA}}$  'vineyard'<sup>261</sup>.

<sup>237</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 225. Linked to the Greek  $\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\nu\epsilon\acute{\iota}\alpha$  'trickery', while  $\mu\alpha\gamma\gamma\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\varsigma$  is used for 'mechanical engineer'. Cf. G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 818.

<sup>238</sup> DRH II, no. 146. *Dicționarul...*, p. 59 *croitor*.

<sup>239</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 224. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Pјечник...*, vol. II, p. 43 'орифек'; *Български...*, vol. III, p. 617.

<sup>240</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 243. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 202 *roată* 'wheel'.

<sup>241</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 207. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 76 *falce*.

<sup>242</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 225. Homophonous to  $\widehat{\text{PpBLO}}$  'brook', metonymy linked to  $\widehat{\text{PpBLO}}$  'throat'. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Pјечник...*, vol. I, p. 241 'guttur'.

<sup>243</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 246. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 104 *helge*.

<sup>244</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 225. *Dicționarul...*, p. 236 *tipar* 'moule, matrice'.

<sup>245</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 243. *Dicționarul...*, p. 102 *ham* 'harnais'.

<sup>246</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 243. *Dicționarul...*, p. 233 *ștreang* 'courroie d'attelage'.

<sup>247</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 243. *Dicționarul...*, p. 235 *tarniță*.

<sup>248</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 238, 242. *Dicționarul...*, p. 55 *cositor*.

<sup>249</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 252.

<sup>250</sup> DRH II, no. 140. Romanian *vârf*.

<sup>251</sup> *Teachings* 110v. An OCS lexeme. Romanian *pustie*.

<sup>252</sup> *Teachings* 110v. An OCS lexeme. Romanian *peșteră*.

<sup>253</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Pјечник...*, vol. II, p. 21 лугъ 'nemus'.

<sup>254</sup> DRH II, no. 105. *Dicționarul...*, p. 71–72 *dumbravă*.

<sup>255</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Pјечник...*, vol. I, p. 289 'vallis'. Romanian *dolină* 'a hollow or basin in a karstic region'.

<sup>256</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Romanian of Banat *potoc*.

<sup>257</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 22 *stâlp*.

<sup>258</sup> DRH II, no. 141. *Dicționarul...*, p. 110 *iaz*.

<sup>259</sup> DRH II, no. 143. An OCS lexeme.

<sup>260</sup> DRH II, no. 106 and 183. In OCS 'swamp, mud'. Romanian *baltă*.

<sup>261</sup> DRH II, no. 161. Already in OCS.



- Lexemes of South Slavonic origin attested in Romanian: *гръло/гръла* 'brook'<sup>262</sup>, *вбрѣжїѣ* 'slope'<sup>263</sup>, *гомила* 'small bank'<sup>264</sup>, *слеме* 'top of the hill'<sup>265</sup>, *бранище/бранища* 'forest or place forbidden for hunting or fishing'<sup>266</sup>, *вбръшїѣ* 'upper part of a watercourse'<sup>267</sup>, *извѣ* 'source'<sup>268</sup>, *хрїѣ* 'ridge'<sup>269</sup>, *припѣ* 'slope'<sup>270</sup>, *вѣртѣжѣ* 'whirlpool'<sup>271</sup>.
- Greek terms mediated through South Slavonic: *ливези* 'meadows'<sup>272</sup>, *периволие* 'garden'<sup>273</sup>.
- Slavonic terms not attested in Romanian: *вара* 'small river'<sup>274</sup>, *планина* 'mountain'<sup>275</sup>, *врѣ* 'ford'<sup>276</sup>, *шѣма* 'forest'<sup>277</sup>, *поле* 'field'<sup>278</sup>, *крѣшка* 'pear tree'<sup>279</sup>, *врѣдо* 'mountain'<sup>280</sup>, *липа*

<sup>262</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 256. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 92 *gârlă*. *Речник на българския език*, <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/гръло/гръла> 'place where the groundwater flows up on the surface'.

<sup>263</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 160 *obrejie* 'colline, taules, pente, flanc de coteau'. *Български...*, vol. IV, p. 754 *обреш* 'path to the steep top, highlands'.

<sup>264</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 217 'collis'. Romanian in Banat *gomilă* 'small uplift of earth or stones, made to serve as a boundary between two places'.

<sup>265</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. *Български...*, vol. VI, p. 867 'beam'; *Dicționarul...*, p. 216 'sommet d'une montagne, crête'.

<sup>266</sup> DRH II, no. 144. Cf. *Български...*, p. 74; *Dicționarul...*, p. 21–22.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 192 *вбръш(ина)* 'collis'; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, p. 262 'highlands'.

<sup>268</sup> DRH II, no. 120. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 395 'fons'.

<sup>269</sup> DRH II, no. 143. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 429 'rupes'; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, p. 398 'ridge'.

<sup>270</sup> DRH II, no. 156. *Dicționarul...*, p. 194 *prapor* 'pente, versant raide, talus'. Cf. *Български...*, vol. V, p. 760 'steep place'.

<sup>271</sup> DRH II, no. 156. *Dicționarul...*, p. 264 *vârtej*. Cf. *Речник на българския език*, <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/вѣртеж/> 'going around'.

<sup>272</sup> DRH II, no. 161. *Dicționarul...* p. 125 *livadă* 'verger; prairie'. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 11 'pratun'; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, p. 219; G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 801 *λιβάδιον* 'marshy place, damp meadow'.

<sup>273</sup> DRH II, no. 161. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 284 *периволь* 'hortus'; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, p. 279 *периволь* 'garden; court'; LBG, vol. VI, p. 1267 *περιβόλις* 'Garten'.

<sup>274</sup> DRH II, no. 105 and 106. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 27 'palus'; *Български...*, vol. I, p. 32 'small river, waterlogged place'.

<sup>275</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 244. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 309–310 'mons'; *Словник...*, vol. II, p. 150 (Moldavia).

<sup>276</sup> DRH II, no. 122. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 79 'vadum'.

<sup>277</sup> DRH II, no. 105, 107, 120. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 492 'silva'.

<sup>278</sup> DRH II, no. 105. In OCS.

<sup>279</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 497 'pirus'.

<sup>280</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. Ъ. ДаничиѢ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 80 'mons'; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, p. 83.

‘linden’<sup>281</sup>, *рѣтъѡ* ‘to the top’<sup>282</sup>, *пашѣ* ‘ash’<sup>283</sup>, *кладѣнѣ* ‘well’<sup>284</sup>, *гѣмно* ‘threshing floor’<sup>285</sup>, *дѣ* ‘oak’<sup>286</sup>.

- Slavonic lexemes adapted to Romanian: *лѣнка* ‘river meadow’<sup>287</sup>, *попана* ‘clearing’<sup>288</sup>, *на пазерѣ* ‘on the lake’<sup>289</sup>, *платюреѣ* ‘plateaux’<sup>290</sup>, *садѣреѣ* ‘orchards’<sup>291</sup>, *дѣлѣ* ‘the hill’<sup>292</sup>, *кривина* ‘marshy place’<sup>293</sup>, *пажице* ‘pasturage’<sup>294</sup>,
- Specific Romanian lexemes: *връ* ‘fir’<sup>295</sup>, *фѣ* ‘beech’<sup>296</sup>, *дѣмбѣ* (*dâmbul*) ‘the hillock’<sup>297</sup>, *кѣрмичѣтърѣ* ‘depression on the top of a hill’<sup>298</sup>, *пискѣ* ‘the top of the mountain’<sup>299</sup>, *стѣпинѣ* ‘apiary’<sup>300</sup>, *рѣптѣра* ‘trench’<sup>301</sup>, *магѣрѣ* ‘the hillock’<sup>302</sup>, *валѣ* ‘the valley’<sup>303</sup>.

Among the abstract terms, we can mention those that are not limited to the religious sphere, but also appear in the documents or in other original works. Among such, we will mention:

<sup>281</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рѣчник...*, vol. II, p. 13 ‘tilia’.

<sup>282</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рѣчник...*, vol. III, p. 66–67 ‘apex’.

<sup>283</sup> DRH II, no. 105. *Речник на българския език*, <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/ясен/>.

<sup>284</sup> DRH II, no. 208. In no. 112 and 156, there is the form *кладѣница*. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рѣчник...*, vol. I, p. 444 *кладѣнѣць* ‘puteus’.

<sup>285</sup> DRH II, no. 178. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рѣчник...*, vol. I, p. 244 ‘area’; *Български...*, vol. I, p. 294 ‘threshing floor, stackyard’.

<sup>286</sup> DRH II, no. 184. OCS *дѣбѣ*.

<sup>287</sup> DRH II, no. 107. In the no. 132, there is the Romanian plural *лѣнчѣлѣ*. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 128 *luncă*.

<sup>288</sup> DRH II, no. 118. On DRH II, no. 184, there is a spelling variant *пѣѣ*, on DRH II, no. 119, the Romanian plural *поѣнѣнѣлѣ*. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 186 *poiană*.

<sup>289</sup> DRH II, no. 105. *Dicționarul...*, p. 111 *iezer*, OCS *язеро*, *язерѣ*.

<sup>290</sup> DRH II, no. 132. *Dicționarul...*, p. 182 *plai* ‘plateau d’une haute montagne’.

<sup>291</sup> DRH II, no. 132. *Dicționarul...*, p. 206 *sad* ‘jeune vigne, verger’.

<sup>292</sup> DRH II, no. 184. *Dicționarul...*, p. 65 *deal*.

<sup>293</sup> DRH II, no. 105. *Dicționarul...*, p. 58 *crivină*.

<sup>294</sup> DRH II, no. 105. *Dicționarul...*, p. 168 *pajiște*. Cf. OCS *пажитѣ* ‘grass, pasture, lawn’, also A. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, p. 274.

<sup>295</sup> DRH II, no. 105. *Dicționarul...*, p. 21 *brad*.

<sup>296</sup> DRH II, no. 208. *Dicționarul...*, p. 76 *fag*.

<sup>297</sup> DRH II, no. 165. *Dicționarul...*, p. 69 *dâmb*; *Etymologisches...*, p. 272 *domb* ‘Hügel; Erdaufschüttung’.

<sup>298</sup> DRH II, no. 156. *Dicționarul...*, p. 62 *curmătură*.

<sup>299</sup> DRH II, no. 156. *Dicționarul...*, p. 175–176 *pisc(ul)*.

<sup>300</sup> DRH II, no. 178. *Dicționarul...*, p. 225 *stupină*.

<sup>301</sup> DRH II, no. 184. *Dicționarul...*, p. 205 *ruptură* ‘rupture; fondrière’.

<sup>302</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. *Dicționarul...*, p. 136 *măgură*.

<sup>303</sup> DRH II, no. 105. *Dicționarul...*, p. 251–253 *vale(a)*.

- Words attested in Old Church Slavonic: *пaгѹба* ‘damage’<sup>304</sup>, *хoгѹла* ‘insult’<sup>305</sup>, *пo вѡбычѣю* ‘following the habit’<sup>306</sup>, *нaдѣжa* ‘hope’<sup>307</sup>, *врѣмe* ‘time’<sup>308</sup>, *вѣ* ‘age’<sup>309</sup>, *слaвa* ‘glory’<sup>310</sup>, *пoxвaлѣ* ‘praise’<sup>311</sup>, *нeвoлѹ* ‘need’<sup>312</sup>, *пpѡ* ‘dispute, accusation’<sup>313</sup>,
- Words of Greek origin: *ωpгiа* ‘anger’<sup>314</sup>, *φeмeлiѣ* ‘base’<sup>315</sup>, *χapь нлчѣтн* ‘to thank’<sup>316</sup>, *скaндaлѡ* ‘disturbance’<sup>317</sup>, *мeтeχѡ*<sup>318</sup>,
- South Slavonic lexemes: *ѡнлo* ‘violence’<sup>319</sup>, *pазлo* ‘reason’<sup>320</sup>, *тpа* ‘trace’<sup>321</sup>, *вeлe* ‘sign’<sup>322</sup>,
- Church Slavonic lexemes absent in Romanian: *сѣпpѣнiѣ* ‘dispute’<sup>323</sup>,
- Specific Romanian words: *пpилeжѣ* ‘occasion’<sup>324</sup>.

<sup>304</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 260. Romanian *pagubă*.

<sup>305</sup> *Teachings* 58r. Romanian *hulă*.

<sup>306</sup> DRH II, no. 97. Romanian *obicei*.

<sup>307</sup> *Teachings* 50v. Romanian *nădejde*.

<sup>308</sup> DRH II, no. 109. Romanian *vreme*.

<sup>309</sup> DRH II, no. 109. Romanian *veac*.

<sup>310</sup> DRH II, no. 109. Romanian *slavă*.

<sup>311</sup> DRH II, no. 131. Romanian *poňfală*.

<sup>312</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 258, Romanian *nevoie*. *Teachings* 59r *нлчѣтн нeвoлa*. Romanian *a avea nevoie* ‘to need’.

<sup>313</sup> DRH II, no. 143. Romanian *pără*.

<sup>314</sup> DRH II, no. 98, *Teachings* 32r. Cf. A. ДАСКАЛОВА, М. РАЙКОВА, *Грамoтн...*, p. 266; Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 230 (in a Bulgarian document); G.W.H. ЛАМРЕ, *A Patristic...*, p. 970 *οpγή*.

<sup>315</sup> *Teachings* 25r. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 286 ‘fundamentum’; G.W.H. ЛАМРЕ, *A Patristic...*, p. 623 *θεμελιον* ‘foundation’.

<sup>316</sup> *Teachings* 72r. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 408 ‘gratia’, Romanian *har*.

<sup>317</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 225; DRH II, no. 143. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 114 *скaндaлѡ* ‘scandalum’; G.W.H. ЛАМРЕ, *A Patristic...*, p. 1235 *σκάνδαλον* ‘obstacle; difficulty; offence’, Romanian *scandal*.

<sup>318</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 234; DRH II, no. 161. Cf. *Български...*, vol. III, p. 768 *метехам* ‘I make a mistake; I hinder’ from Greek *μετέχω* ‘I participate’.

<sup>319</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 229. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 381 ‘violentia’. There is a variant *силo* at the same place.

<sup>320</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 246. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 25–26 ‘ratio; argumentum’. Romanian archaic *răzlog* ‘advice’.

<sup>321</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. *Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика*, <https://www.srpskirecnik.com/stranica/6/248>.

<sup>322</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. Ъ. ДАНИЧИЪ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 100 *вѣлѣгѣ* ‘signum’. Romanian archaic *beleag* ‘watchword’.

<sup>323</sup> DRH II, no. 143. With the spelling variant of no. 112 *сѣпpѣнiѡ* and no. 132 *сѡпpѣнiѣ*. Cf. *Словарь...*, 26, p. 126 *сопpѣнiѣ/сѣпpѣнiѣ*.

<sup>324</sup> *Teachings* 28v. Romanian *prilej*.

To this group, we could also order the names of months.

Separately, we must evaluate the verbs that may be divided into the following types:

- Verbs attested both in Church Slavonic and Romanian: *порѣчити* ‘to order, to command’<sup>325</sup>, *сѣветовати* ‘to advise’<sup>326</sup>, *сѣврѣшити* ‘to finish’<sup>327</sup>, *трѣбѣ* ‘it is needed’<sup>328</sup>, *свадѣти се*<sup>329</sup>.
- Verbs of Greek origin mediated via South Slavonic: *пѣдѣсати* ‘to instruct’<sup>330</sup>, *мартѣрїсати* ‘to witness’<sup>331</sup>.
- Verbs attested both South Slavonic and Romanian: *пазити* ‘to care; to guard’<sup>332</sup>, *исправити* ‘to execute, to arrange’<sup>333</sup>, *слобѣти* ‘to free, to liberate’<sup>334</sup>, *хранити* ‘to support materially’<sup>335</sup>, *трѣговати* ‘to trade’<sup>336</sup>.
- Verbs differing from the form attested in Romanian by a prefix: *оутѣкнѣти* ‘to arrange; to agree’<sup>337</sup>, *извѣсѣдити* ‘to utter’<sup>338</sup>, *нарѣчити* ‘to command’<sup>339</sup>, *замѣчити*

<sup>325</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 223, 238. OCS *порѣчити*. Romanian *a porunci*.

<sup>326</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 257. Attested in OCS. Romanian *a sfătui*.

<sup>327</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 258. Attested in OCS. Romanian *a sfârși/săvârși*.

<sup>328</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 243; *Teachings* *трѣвоуѣтъ* e.g. 37v, 41v, 52v. Thus is OCS. Romanian *trebuie*.

<sup>329</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 255. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 218 *свадѣти се* ‘inimicitias suscipere’, Romanian *a se sfădi*.

<sup>330</sup> Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 283–284 ‘punire’ Romanian *a pedepsi* ‘to teach, to educate, to instruct, to convict’; G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 996 *παίδεω* ‘to instruct, to educate; to train, to discipline; to chastise’.

<sup>331</sup> DRH II, no. 101. Cf. *Български...*, vol. III, p. 364 *мартѣрїсати* (17<sup>th</sup> century); *Dicționarul...*, p. 139 *a mărturisi* ‘avouer, déclarer, affirmer’; LBG, vol. V, p. 976 *мартурїѡ* ‘zum Zeugen anrufen’.

<sup>332</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 255. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 268 ‘custodire’.

<sup>333</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 237. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 420–421 ‘perficere; absolvere, componere; solvere’, Romanian *a isprăvi*.

<sup>334</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 257. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 126 *слободити* ‘liberare’. Romanian *a slobozi*.

<sup>335</sup> Cf. OCS ‘to protect; to guard; to hide; to keep; to take care’; Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 425 ‘custodire’, Romanian *hrăni* ‘to sustain, to nourish, to feed’.

<sup>336</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 23, 262. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 310–311 ‘mercaturam facere’. Romanian *a târgui* ‘to buy’.

<sup>337</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 227. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 394 ‘constituere; convenire’; *Словник...*, vol. II, p. 491 *оутѣкнѣти*. Romanian *a întocmi*. In the *Teachings* (55r), there is the deverbative *оутѣкнѣнїѣ* ‘arrangement, agreement’. Romanian *întocmire*.

<sup>338</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 244. Romanian *a besedui*. Cf. *Словарь...*, 6, p. 96–97 *извѣсѣдовати* ‘to express; to explain’.

<sup>339</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 242. Cf. Ъ. Даничиѣ, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 123 ‘mandare’. Romanian *a porunci*.

‘to make suffer’<sup>340</sup>, *ѡслѡбодити* ‘to liberate’<sup>341</sup>, *захвалѣ* ‘I thank’<sup>342</sup>, *ѡщрѡбити* ‘to get impoverished’<sup>343</sup>.

- Verbs borrowed or adapted from Hungarian: *вантовати* ‘to bother’<sup>344</sup>, *келтовати* ‘to spend’<sup>345</sup>, *хотарити* ‘to border’<sup>346</sup>.
- Specific Romanian Slavonisms: *гравити се* ‘to hurry’<sup>347</sup>, *дворвити* ‘to serve, to discuss’<sup>348</sup>.
- CS-lexemes with a different vernacular meaning not attested in Romanian: *чекати* ‘to wait’<sup>349</sup>, *говорити* ‘to speak’<sup>350</sup>, *ѡчинити* ‘to do’<sup>351</sup>, *казати* ‘to say’<sup>352</sup>, *знати* ‘to know’<sup>353</sup>.
- Non-CS lexemes not attested in Romanian: *хѡсовати* ‘to rob’<sup>354</sup>, *тѡжити* ‘to litigate’<sup>355</sup>, *халати* ‘to care’<sup>356</sup>, *ѡлѣти* ‘to reach’<sup>357</sup>, *се дигже* ‘he made an action’<sup>358</sup>,

<sup>340</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 260. Cf. *Речник српскохрватскога књижевног језика*, <https://www.srpskirecnik.com/stranica/2/164 замучити> ‘to expose to torment’. Romanian *a tunci*.

<sup>341</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 229 with spelling variant on p. 240: *ѡслѡбовити*. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 235 ‘liberare’. Romanian *a slobozi*.

<sup>342</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 223. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 369 *захвалити* ‘gratias agere’. Old Romanian *făli* ‘to praise’.

<sup>343</sup> *Teachings* 41r. Linked to cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 492 *ѡрѡбъ* ‘manus’. Romanian *a știrbi*.

<sup>344</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 240. Cf. *Etymologisches...*, p. 78 *bánt* ‘mißhandeln; hindern’, Romanian *bântuii băntui*.

<sup>345</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 260. Cf. *Etymologisches...*, p. 815 *költ* ‘verbringen (Zeit); ausgeben (Geld)’, Romanian *a cheltui*.

<sup>346</sup> DRH II, no. 105. Cf. *Словник...*, vol. II, p. 513.

<sup>347</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 223.

<sup>348</sup> *Dicționarul...*, p. 72.

<sup>349</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 239. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 459 ‘expectare’.

<sup>350</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 241. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 212 ‘loqui’.

<sup>351</sup> Cf. in OCS ‘to arrange; to appoint; to turn something into something’; Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 398–399 ‘facere’.

<sup>352</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 227. OCS ‘to show; to instruct; to order; to preach’. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 429 ‘dicere; ostendere; monere; punire’.

<sup>353</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 261. Already in OCS attested as ‘to know’. In the letters, it fully replaces the verb *вѣдѣти* as in most South and East Slavonic languages.

<sup>354</sup> DRH II, no. 194. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 438 ‘latrocinari’.

<sup>355</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 234. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 324 ‘lamentari; conqueri’.

<sup>356</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 225. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, p. 409 ‘curare’.

<sup>357</sup> TOCILESCU, p. 224. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 178 ‘ingredi’.

<sup>358</sup> DRH II, no. 146. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 269 *дигноүти* ‘surgere’. In TOCILESCU, p. 227 with a prefix *ѡ* *се подигже* ‘he raised’. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 332 *подигноүти* ‘tollere’.

СПЕНЗИВАТИ 'to spend'<sup>359</sup>, МЕТЕХАТИ 'to hinder'<sup>360</sup>, РАЗВРАТИ 'to understand'<sup>361</sup>, РАСХАБЕНА 'spoiled'<sup>362</sup>, СЦЪКНИТИ 'to put a value'<sup>363</sup>, ИВАДИТИ 'to take out'<sup>364</sup>, ТЕГЛИТИ 'to burden'<sup>365</sup>, РАСКИНЪТИ 'to break'<sup>366</sup>, ЪКНИЪТИ (СЪБЪ) 'to reject (an advice)'<sup>367</sup>.

Some of the above mentioned verbs create a stylistical opposition with the strictly CS ones, e.g. НАИТИ vs. ОБРЪКСТИ, СЪТВОРИТИ vs. ОУЧИНИТИ<sup>368</sup>.

The correspondence and the *dispositiones* of other documents contain a typical set of function words, the biggest part of which comprise the conjunctions attested in the Serbian chancellery tradition: АКО 'if'<sup>369</sup>, ТЕРЕ 'and'<sup>370</sup>, ЕРЕ 'that; while'<sup>371</sup>, АЛИ 'but'<sup>372</sup>, ДОКЛЕ 'until'<sup>373</sup>, КАКО 'that'<sup>374</sup> the adverbs КЪДА 'when'<sup>375</sup> and СЪДА 'now'<sup>376</sup>, ЪВЪДЕ 'here'<sup>377</sup>, ЗАЕДНО 'together'<sup>378</sup>, ДОРИ 'even'<sup>379</sup>, ВЪМА 'very'<sup>380</sup>, the prepositions ЗАРАДЪ 'regarding'<sup>381</sup>, КЪ 'by, near, at'<sup>382</sup>, the particle НЕКА 'let it'<sup>383</sup> and the invariable relative pronoun ЦЮ 'which'<sup>384</sup>. In other original texts, such words appear randomly.

<sup>359</sup> Тосилеску, р. 223. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 141 спензџа 'expensa'.

<sup>360</sup> DRH II, no. 123. Cf. *Български...*, vol. III, р. 768 метехам 'I make a mistake; I hinder'.

<sup>361</sup> Тосилеску, р. 260. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 20 'comperire'.

<sup>362</sup> Тосилеску, р. 258. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 406 хабити 'damnum inferre'; *Речник на българския език*, <https://ibl.bas.bg/rbe/lang/bg/хабя/> 'I spend in vain; I spoil, I make something unusable'.

<sup>363</sup> Тосилеску, р. 246. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 397 'pretium stature'.

<sup>364</sup> Тосилеску, р. 241. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 391 'eximere'.

<sup>365</sup> Тосилеску, р. 227. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 284 'pondo valere'.

<sup>366</sup> Тосилеску, р. 260. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 35 'conscindere, abolere; diruere'.

<sup>367</sup> Тосилеску, р. 257. Cf. *Словарь...*, 13, р. 247 'to reject'.

<sup>368</sup> See the occurrence in the CS correspondences in the *homage act*.

<sup>369</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 223. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 6; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, р. 58.

<sup>370</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 223; *Teachings* 28v. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 283–284 те, терь, тере 'et'.

<sup>371</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 223; *Teachings* 108r. In the meaning 'because' cf. Тосилеску, р. 229. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 523–526 'quod'.

<sup>372</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 255; *Teachings* 28r 49r. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 8 'sed'.

<sup>373</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 238; DRH II, no. 122. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 288 'quousque'.

<sup>374</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 223. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 430–431 in this meaning. As the same place also combined with да as the conjunction 'in order to'.

<sup>375</sup> Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 516 'quando'.

<sup>376</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 241. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 232 'nunc'.

<sup>377</sup> Тосилеску, р. 254. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 203 'hic'.

<sup>378</sup> DRH II, no. 175. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 370–371 'una'.

<sup>379</sup> DRH II, no. 140. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 292 'usque'.

<sup>380</sup> Тосилеску, р. 228. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 109 'valde'.

<sup>381</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 229. It may be combined with да as the conjunction 'in order to' (Тосилеску, р. 230). Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, р. 364 'propter'.

<sup>382</sup> DRH II, no. 146. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, р. 461.

<sup>383</sup> *Teachings* 71r. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, р. 140–141.

<sup>384</sup> E.g. Тосилеску, р. 223. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. III, р. 483–484; А. Даскалова, М. Райкова, *Грамоти...*, р. 403; *Словник...*, р. 564–565.

A typical expression of the *dispositio* of some acts is the Greek preposition *ката* 'each, per'<sup>385</sup>. Some of these function words are clearly opposed to the CS ones as e.g. *ако* vs. *аще*, *цю* vs. *иже*, *ере/како* vs. *тако*, *сѣда* vs. *нѣкѣ*.

The religious terms are, of course, largely present in the biblical and liturgical writings including the *Teachings*, the majority of which comprise moral instructions. The documents addressed to the monasteries, colophons and inscriptions may share a part of the strictly religious vocabulary, which comprises the titles of clerics, religious terms, religious establishments and few, already mentioned abstract terms. Few terms of religious contents are specific for the documents addressed to monasteries or inscriptions, the most particular is the request of the voivode to the monks to do in his favour *параклиѣ*<sup>386</sup> *сѣ прилевокѣ*<sup>387</sup> *и каливо*<sup>388</sup> 'preaching with the ritual drinking of wine and cooking of wheat'<sup>389</sup>. The family terminology is generally the Slavonic one, with the exception of the frequent Grecism *анепсѣи* 'nephew'<sup>390</sup> and the occasionalism once appearing *филастрѣ* 'stepson'<sup>391</sup> of Romanian origin.

### Written varieties in Wallachia

At the very end, it is needed to sum up the system of existing written lects used in Wallachia in the second decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It can be stated that one can distinguish actually four varieties of Church Slavonic applied in the Wallachian environment. The most prestigious one was the Trinovitan Church Slavonic patterned on the Moldavian norm, which was the variety used in the most prestigious books containing the biblical texts. Another variety exclusive for the manuscripts containing shared texts was the Resavian CS. As the books containing a most characteristic example of this variety are not signed, one cannot definitively say, if they were just used in Wallachia and brought from abroad (Athos, Serbia, Bulgaria) or they were copied exactly according to the Resavian models particularly in the Western Wallachian (Oltenian) monasteries. The traces of some Trinovitan

<sup>385</sup> DRH II, no. 97 *ката* *годинѣ*, comp. DRH II, no. 108 *на свакѣ годѣнѣ* 'every year'. Cf. *ката* *годинѣ* 'quotannis' in Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 441 and *Български...*, vol. II, p. 266.

<sup>386</sup> Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 275 'preces'; G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic...*, p. 1018 'consolation'.

<sup>387</sup> Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. II, p. 429 'additamentum vini'.

<sup>388</sup> DRH II, no. 153. For *каливо* cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 463 'frumentum coctum'; *Български...*, vol. III, p. 556 'boiled wheat in memory of the dead'; LBG, vol. IV, p. 850 *κόλλυβα* 'gekochter Weizen'.

<sup>389</sup> For more details on this ritual, cf. В. Савић, *Литургијски елементи у повељи деспотице Јелене манастиру Хиландару из 1504. године*, [in:] *Теолонгвистичка проучавања словенских језика*, ed. Ј. Грковић-Мейцор, К. Кончаревић, Београд 2013, p. 483–484.

<sup>390</sup> DRH II, no. 102. Cf. Ђ. Даничић, *Рјечник...*, vol. I, p. 10; LBG, vol. I, p. 106 *ἀνεψιός*.

<sup>391</sup> DRH II, no. 196. Cf. *Dictionarul...*, p. 79 *fiastru* 'beau-fils'.

features (especially the jer vocalization) could speak in favour of the relationship with an earlier Trinovitan tradition or copying in Wallachia (or Bulgaria).

A little *lower* variety was the Wallachian Trinovitan, i.e. the variety used in both shared and original texts (*Teachings*, some colophons and inscriptions) that was patterned on the Trinovitan norm, but was submitted to a more visible influence of the bookish pronunciation (in particular Ѧ > ѣ, Ѧ/ѣ variation, eventually traces of Resavian elements). A compromise variety, representing a combination of primary Resavian traits (no juses) and the secondary Trinovitan features, can be called Wallachian Administrative Church Slavonic. Such variety could be also used in the literature of the basic corpus, but its main field were the Church Slavonic parts of the documents (especially arengas and *sanctions*), colophons and inscriptions. The CS production in such smaller texts is generally less attentive than the copied texts of the basic corpus.

The variety, opposed to the Church Slavonic, i.e. to the bookish variety, is the Wallachian Slavonic. Functionally, the Wallachian Slavonic corresponded to the vernacular-based varieties in Slavonic speech communities including their impact in the various types of acts<sup>392</sup>. Linguistically, the Wallachian Slavonic represented a specific, artificial language of a complicated origin. It was definable by the use of the administrative spelling generally patterned on the Serbian chancellery tradition<sup>393</sup>. The morphology was formally based on the Štokavian and thus showed similarities with the administrative texts issued by other contemporary chancelleries of the Balkans. Nevertheless, the morphosyntax was highly balkanized and generally patterned on Romanian. This was mostly manifested by the two-case system (opposition of the common case and dative) and especially by the spread negligence to agreement of gender and number revealing thus a non-Slavonic speaker behind the text. The main components of the vocabulary were the basic South Slavonic vocabulary, which was enriched with the Wallachian chancellery terminology, comprising the inherited Bulgarian and Serbian chancellery traditions (including the Byzantine terminology absorbed by those traditions), Hungarian loanwords, Romanian Slavonic neologisms and rather rare words taken directly from Romanian. Such Romanian expressions comprised mainly the landscape phenomena (that can be often considered toponyms) and few occasionalisms. In its purest shape, the Wallachian Slavonic appeared in the correspondence.

In the Wallachian context, we would thus define the hybrid variety to be a combination of the Church Slavonic and Wallachian Slavonic features. The most characteristic representant of this variety would be the *horismoj*. In the chrysobulls, the hybrid variety or the Wallachian Slavonic is often recognizable in the *dispositio*. In addition, some colophons can be of hybrid character.

<sup>392</sup> Thus, the Wallachian *diplomatic trichotomy* resembles to the linguistically three types of Serbian documents as described by J. ГРКОВИЋ-МЕЈДОР, *Списи из историјске...*, p. 448–449.

<sup>393</sup> Thus being opposed to the Wallachian Chancellery Language of the late 14<sup>th</sup> and early 15<sup>th</sup> century that was Bulgarian based.



Out of Slavonic, but not fully separated from it yet, is the Romanian written in Cyrillic. In our period, it is represented by Neacșu's letter, but also by the examples of code-switching in the *horismoi* (description of the domain). Actually, also Neacșu's letter represents an example of the code-switching as it contains Slavonic formulas. The Latin documents represent a different chancellery tradition based on the Hungarian one, which shows a minimal penetration of the Wallachian Slavonic features, reduced practically just to onomastics and specific, hardly translatable Wallachian titles.

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## DIETARY CALENDARS IN THE SLAVIC MIDDLE AGES: A CASE STUDY\*

**Abstract.** The article attempts to delineate the boundaries of dissemination of dietary calendars in the Balkan Slavic cultural area through the evidence that can be obtained from the names, places, and very rarely patrons, found in the manuscripts that contain them. Special attention is paid to the most eminent men of letters who included dieteticons in their miscellanies – the Moldavian copyist Gavriil Urik, the Serbian monks Gavriil of Mount Athos and Gavriilo Trojičanin, and the Bulgarian priest Avram Dimitrievič. The analysis of the dissemination of dietary calendars in mediaeval South Slavic and Slavic-Moldavian literatures shows that the trajectory of this marginal genre started from royal codices, ran through manuscripts commissioned by rich patrons and produced in scriptoria, and ended in the miscellanies of ordinary priests and laypersons. Whatever their hierarchical dynamics may be in Slavic literatures, they, as a whole, remain outside the context of properly medical knowledge, gravitating around miscellanies of divinatory and astrological works, erotapokriseis and apocrypha.

**Keywords:** dietary calendars, dissemination in the Balkan Slavic manuscripts, patrons and copyist, Gavriil Urik, Gavriilo Trojičanin, Avram Dimitrievič, monks Gavriil of Mount Athos

As is known, dietetics originated in Antiquity as an attempt to synthesize the humoral theory invented by Alcmaeon of Croton and later developed further by Hippocrates and Galen. A specific form of the genre of dietetic texts are dietary calendars, which contain month-by-month instructions for each month of the year about the consumption of, or abstention from, certain foods and beverages as well as about the observance of particular hygiene practices (bloodletting, bathing, laxative procedures, etc.). Dietetic works found their way into Bulgaria and the rest of the Slavic world through translations from Byzantine literature. It must be noted, however, that the Slavs did not know the extensive dietary calendars with prescriptions for each day of the year, or the detailed instructions for

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making ointments, culinary recipes, prescriptions for therapies, physical exercises, massages, etc., which are found in Byzantine literature. The earliest extant Slavic copies are characterized by brevity, very rarely offering instructions about more than just a few foods and/or beverages<sup>1</sup>.

This article delineates the boundaries of dissemination of dietary calendars (henceforth also referred to as dieteticons) in the Balkan Slavic cultural area, attempting to answer the following questions: What kind of manuscripts contain dieteticons, who were they commissioned by, are there any known names of scribes and readers of these texts? When, and in which territories, do we find a heightened interest in dietetics during the long period of the Slavic Middle Ages?

### The texts

So far, I know of twenty-four copies of dietary calendars – most of them of South Slavic or Moldavian origin; I have little evidence about the Russian tradition of these works. The extant copies can be classified into several main groups. The only attributed one among them is represented by the *Verses on the Twelve Months* (Στίχοι εἰς τοὺς δώδεκα μῆνας) by Nicholas Kallikles. The text is known in two redactions of one and the same translation. The older redaction is South Slavic and it is represented by State Historical Museum (cetera: GIM), Moscow, Hludov Collection, No. 114 of ca. 1404<sup>2</sup>, and Russian State Library (cetera: RGB), Moscow, Museum Collection, No. 921 of the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup>. The later redaction is Russian and it is represented by two copies in RGB, Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius Collection, No. 177 and No. 762, both of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>. Since the Russian copies contain an abridged version of the text, it is presumed that the translation is South Slavic and could have been done on Mount Athos<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For an archaeographic review of the extant Balkan Slavic copies, cf. И. Кузидова-Караджинова, *Диетологичните текстове в средновековната славянска книжнина. Предварителни бележки*, [in:] *Кирило-Методиевски четения 2019*, ed. А.-М. Тотоманова, Д. Атанасова, София 2020, p. 139–153.

<sup>2</sup> Edition and study: А. Турилов, *Ранний славянский список календарных эпиграмм Николая Калликла („Птохопродрома“): к вопросу о времени перевода*, [in:] *ИДЕМ, Межславянские культурные связи эпохи средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры славян. Этюды и характеристики*, Москва 2012, p. 471–477.

<sup>3</sup> Edition and study: В. Былинин, *Календарные эпиграммы Николая Калликла в южнославянской и русской письменности XV–XVI вв.*, [in:] *Естественно-научные представления Древней Руси*, ed. А. Боголюбов, Р. Симонов, Москва 1988, p. 39–51. А. Turilov defines the codex as Moldavian, stressing that the content of the manuscript is more typical rather of Wallachian manuscripts, while the archetype of the miscellany is most probably Serbian, cf. А. Турилов, *Ранний славянский список...*, p. 472.

<sup>4</sup> Edition based on MS 177 of the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius: Н. Тихонравов, *Памятники отреченной русской литературы*, vol. II, Москва 1863, p. 402–404.

<sup>5</sup> А. Турилов, *Ранний славянский список...*, p. 474.

The dietary calendars ascribed to King Solomon are the most widespread in the Balkan Slavic world. All representatives of this group begin with the month of September, but only some of them contain the name of the biblical king as a pseudograph. The instructions are exclusively about nutrition, with brief notes on the possible pathology if the regimen is not followed. There are variant readings between the copies themselves, mainly when it comes to food terms, but it is obvious that they belong to a common archetype. This group includes the following manuscripts: MS 677, SS Cyril and Methodius National Library (cetera: NBKM), Sofia, of the 15<sup>th</sup> century; a calendar preserved in two fragments held by different libraries: Russian State Archive of Ancient Acts (cetera: RGADA), Collection 188, No. 778, and RGB, fund 178, No 923, of 1447; MS F. 313, No. 47, National Library of Ukraine, ca. 1561<sup>6</sup>; MS 201, fund 209, Ovčinnikov Collection, RGB, of the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>; MS 649, Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences (Tulcea Miscellany), of the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>; MS 36, National Library of Serbia (Prizren Miscellany), dated to the third quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; MS 428, Library of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, of the 16<sup>th</sup> century; MS 394, National Library of Serbia, of the year 1800; MS A 42/18, Library of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, of 1836; MS IIIз27 (250), Zographou monastery, of the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Another group is comprised of the anonymous dietary calendar **О исправленіе зодиахъ**. Only three copies belong to this group. Two of them begin with March – MS 724 in NBKM, of the 18<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>, and MS 698 in NBKM, of 1824 (Gabrovo Miscellany) – while the third, MS 115 in the National Library in Plovdiv (Bulgaria), of 1674, begins with September<sup>10</sup>. The copies in this group are the most extensive in content. They include humoral explanations for the prescriptions, notes on climate for each month, the listed foodstuffs are many more in number, and the advice offered covers a wider range of topics (bloodletting, bathing, abstaining from physical activity, drinking laxative herbs, etc.).

A version ascribed to John of Damascus is known in two copies. One is attested in Tsar Symeon's florilegium (*Izbornik*) of 1073<sup>11</sup>, the other is the second dietary calendar in the above-mentioned Tulcea Miscellany<sup>12</sup>. The distinctive feature

<sup>6</sup> Edition: А. ПАСКАЛЬ, *Неизвестное апокрифическое сочинение „Сказание Соломона како ясти во вся дни” в славяно-молдавской книжности XV–XVI вв.*, Р 54.4, 2018, р. 13–32.

<sup>7</sup> Edition: А. ПАСКАЛЬ, *Неизвестное апокрифическое сочинение...*, р. 13–32.

<sup>8</sup> Edition and study: М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Храна и аксиология според два текста в молдовската сборник Ms. Slav. VAR 649 от XVI век*, Slov 8.2, 2019, р. 140–162.

<sup>9</sup> Electronic edition: <http://www.scripta-bulgaria.eu/bg/sources/dietetikon-sporod-mesecite> [30 V 2021].

<sup>10</sup> The text is published almost in full in Б. ЦОНЕВ, *Опис на славянските ръкописи и старопечатни книги в Пловдивската народна библиотека*, София 1920, р. 173–181.

<sup>11</sup> *Симеонов сборник (по Станиславовия препис от 1073 г.)*, vol. I, *Изследвания и текст*, София 1991, р. 695. *Симеонов сборник (по Станиславовия препис от 1073 г.)*, vol. III, *Гръцки извори*, София 2015, р. 1154. The Old Bulgarian translation is on p. 1155.

<sup>12</sup> Edition and study: М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Храна и аксиология...*, р. 140–162.

of this dieteticon is its brevity – for each month, there is a single, short sentence, which usually refers to only one foodstuff or beverage.

A separate group is comprised of *О лѣтнѣ обѣдѣхъ и въдоушнѣхъ промѣненнѣхъ*, which is found in three copies: MS Slav. 83 in the Austrian National Library, of 1644<sup>13</sup>; MS IXG7 in the National Museum in Prague, of 1648<sup>14</sup>; and the above-mentioned MS 177 in the Trinity Lavra of St. Sergius Collection, which contains also the dieteticon of Nicholas Kallikles. These calendars begin with March and include information – found also in other manuscripts – about the names of the months in different languages, seasonal characteristics, and the humoral dynamics directly related to the latter.

The last group is represented by an anonymous, untitled dietary calendar. It consists of a dieteticon in MS 159 in the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and a dieteticon in MS 54 in the National Library of Serbia, of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, which was burned during the Second World War<sup>15</sup>. In the later copy the dietary prescriptions are not formulated as calendar entries for each month, they are given as general instructions, but both texts undoubtedly stem from a common archetype. In both manuscripts the dieteticons are preceded by the work *Галиново на Ипократа* (*Galen's Interpretations of the Doctrine of Hippocrates*).

### Time of dissemination

Tracing the dissemination of dietary calendars in the Balkan Slavic world, one is impressed by the prevalence of late copies. The only early copy, in Tsar Symeon's florilegium of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, is followed by a four-century-long hiatus until the appearance of the next copies. The heightened interest in them during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries is largely due to the flowering of Slavic-Moldavian literature at the time, which often reproduced the Middle Bulgarian written tradition<sup>16</sup>. A significant part of the copies of dietary calendars known to me are of Moldavian origin. The hypothesis that there could have been earlier, 14<sup>th</sup>-century, translations of dietetic works in Bulgaria which have not survived to this day, needs further

<sup>13</sup> The text is included for variant readings in an edition based on MS IXG7 in the National Museum in Prague, cf. П. СЫРКУ, *Стари српски рукописи са сликама*, [in:] *Летопис Матице српске*, vol. СХСVII.1, Нови Сад 1899, p. 1–54.

<sup>14</sup> Edition and commentary: П. СЫРКУ, *Стари српски рукописи...*, p. 1–54.

<sup>15</sup> For a description and dating of the manuscript as well as for an edition of the dietary calendar, cf. С. НОВАКОВИЋ, *Сказаніе ѡ пиштахъ чловѣчьскыхъ и кою пользѣ творѣтъ и кою врачеваніа соутъ въ нихъ и како подѡбають части и блюсти се*, [in:] *Примери књижевности и језика старога и српско-словенскога*, ed. Т. ЈОВАНОВИЋ, Београд 2000, p. 587–589.

<sup>16</sup> On the character of Slavic-Moldavian literature, cf. А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Критерии определения славяно-молдавскихъ рукописей XV–XVI вв.*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Slavia Cyrillomethodiana. Источниковедение истории и культуры южныхъ славян и Древней Руси. Межславянские культурные связи эпохи средневековья*, Москва 2010, p. 410–438.



proof of the existence of a Bulgarian translation of the collections in which these texts are found<sup>17</sup>. Another literary phenomenon also contributed to the wider dissemination of dietary calendars in the Late Middle Ages – the appearance of mixed-content miscellanies. As is known, these miscellanies comprise works on various subjects and in various genres – astrology, prognostication, medicine, Old Testament and New Testament apocrypha, Paterikon stories, erotapokriseis, etc.<sup>18</sup> At the same time, a significant part of their content is purely liturgical – excerpts from euchologia and hieratika, hymnographic works for particular feasts in the church calendar, typikon instructions, etc. Given their utilitarian purposes, these miscellanies included works providing medical knowledge – in the form of excerpts from medicinal books, and dietary calendars. There were several preconditions for the emergence of this type of miscellanies. On the one hand, the increasing literacy of ordinary laypeople to whom it was important to learn about the lives of martyrs, to catechize themselves through erotapokritic works, to recall biblical stories and parables, but also to learn about the health of their own bodies, about the possibilities of predicting their future from natural omens, even to learn a recipe for ink. On the other hand, these miscellanies were often compiled by itinerant monks and priests who served large areas beyond their small parishes and provided diverse services – hence the reason why the miscellanies acquired this anthological, manual-like form. In this sense, the dieteticon found itself in an ambivalent setting – in the unpretentious miscellanies of the low clergy who, however, had to respond to the needs of their ever more curious parishioners.

### Patrons and copyists

The patron of a dietary calendar – Tsar Symeon the Great – can be identified with certainty only in the case of the earliest miscellany containing a dieteticon, the *Izbornik* of 1073. The latter is also the only, the earliest, and the most eloquent example of the place of this genre in mediaeval Bulgarian culture, considering who it was commissioned by.

As for the copyists, four can be identified with certainty. All four of them were men of letters and, furthermore, among the most eminent in their regions and cultural areas. They are the Moldavian man of letters Gavriil Urik (15<sup>th</sup> century), the Serbian monk Gavriil (beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century), who copied and translated works at Mount Athos, the Serbian man of letters Gavriilo Trojičanin (17<sup>th</sup> century), and the Bulgarian priest Avram Dimitrievič (17<sup>th</sup> century) from Karlovo.

<sup>17</sup> A. Turilov points out the group of astrological and prognostic works, which include dietary calendars, as one of the few cases in which texts found in Slavic-Moldavian copies are not attested in Bulgarian literature of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, cf. A. ТУРИЛОВ, *Slavia Cyrillomethodiana...*, p. 424, note 22.

<sup>18</sup> For more on the structure and dissemination of mixed-content miscellanies, cf. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Сборници с неустойчив, непостоянен състав*, [in:] *История на българската средновековна литература*, ed. ЕАДЕМ, София 2008, p. 715–718.

Undoubtedly the best-known of the four is Gavriil Urik<sup>19</sup>. As is known, he worked at the Neamț monastery (Romania) at the time of hegumen Domentian, in the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. According to A. Paskal, we know of no other so prolific scribe who has left such a rich manuscript legacy in mediaeval Moldavia<sup>20</sup>. His work directly attests to the entry of the Târnovo, Middle Bulgarian, repertory into Romanian spiritual culture<sup>21</sup>. Evidence that he worked on commission is found in a colophon in a richly decorated tetraevangelion of 1429, now kept at the Bodleian Library (cod. Can. greci. No. 122). The manuscript was commissioned by Marina, the wife of the Moldavian voivode Alexander the Good (1400–1432). However, it is difficult to tell whether it was written at the request of the hegumen of the Neamț monastery or of a layperson, since the extant manuscript is incomplete. Most of it is missing; the few surviving folios are kept at RGB, fund 178, No. 923, and fund 247, No. 75; and RGADA, fund 188, No. 778<sup>22</sup>. Unlike a significant number of Gavriil Urik's manuscripts, which are liturgical or contain typikon readings including multiple copies of new-redaction<sup>23</sup> texts, the codex in which the dietiticon is found is a mixed-content miscellany. According to A. Paskal, judging from the numbering of the surviving quires, the manuscript most probably consisted of approximately 400 folios, of which only twenty folios have been preserved and identified to date. The Russian scholar has published the dietary calendar preserved in these fragments<sup>24</sup> and has identified another copy written in Middle Bulgarian orthography, which is completely identical to Gavriil Urik's text – in a manuscript of 1561 from the Pochayiv Lavra, now kept at by the National Library of Ukraine, fund 313, No. 47<sup>25</sup>.

Another Gavriil<sup>26</sup> appears in a manuscript containing a dieteticon: the Serbian monk Gavriil who worked in the Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos where,

<sup>19</sup> For the latest studies and a bibliography on Gavriil Urik's works, cf. А. ПАСКАЛЬ, *Новые данные о рукописном наследии Гавриила Урика в славяно-молдавской книжности первой половины XV в.*, [in:] *Румянцевские чтения*, vol. II, Москва 2016, p. 31–36; ИДЕМ, *О рукописном наследии молдавского книжника Гавриила Урика из монастыря Нямы*, [in:] *Istorie și cultură. In onoarea academișian Andrei Eșanu*, ed. С. МАНОЛАЧЕ, Chișinău 2018, p. 343–375; ИДЕМ, *О новых автографах молдавского книжника Гавриила Урика из собрания Рогожского кладбища отдела рукописей РГБ*, [in:] *Румянцевские чтения. Библиотеки и музеи как культурные и научные центры. Историческая ретроспектива и взгляд в будущее*, Москва 2018, p. 246–251; ИДЕМ, *Новые данные о книжной деятельности Гавриила Урика Нямецкого*, ТКШ 5, 1994, p. 409–413.

<sup>20</sup> А. ПАСКАЛЬ, *О рукописном наследии...*, p. 344.

<sup>21</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Незабелязан фрагмент от Словото за всички светии на патриарх Филотей, автограф на Гавриил Урик*, Pbg 40.3, 2016, p. 7–28.

<sup>22</sup> А. ПАСКАЛЬ, *О рукописном наследии...*, p. 350.

<sup>23</sup> The term “new redaction” (*новоизводен*) refers to collections structured according to the Jerusalem typikon and composed mainly during and after the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Târnovo or on Mount Athos.

<sup>24</sup> А. ПАСКАЛЬ, *Неизвестное апокрифическое сочинение...*, p. 13–32.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>26</sup> For a brief biography of the Serbian monk Gavriil, cf. А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Гавриил*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. X, Москва 2005, p. 205–206, <https://www.pravenc.ru/text/161273.html> [30 V 2021].

in 1412, he copied – and may have also translated or revised – the translation of the Book of Job with commentaries by Olympiodorus of Alexandria (GIM, Moscow, Synodal Library, No. 202)<sup>27</sup>. Another two translations are ascribed to him, albeit not unanimously – of Catena B<sub>2</sub> with commentaries on the Song of Songs<sup>28</sup> and of the Books of Kingdoms<sup>29</sup>. The evidence about the life and work of the monk Gavriil is scarce: it is found only in his colophons in the manuscript containing the translation of the Book of Job<sup>30</sup>. In addition to the year and place of production of the codex, the sources from which the translation was made are mentioned. Even if he did not translate any of the above-noted biblical books with commentaries<sup>31</sup>, Gavriil was undoubtedly an experienced copyist and erudite man of letters. In the colophon at the beginning of the codex, he demonstrates proficiency in the history of the translations of the Old Testament books from Hebrew to Greek<sup>32</sup>, comments on the principles of translation, and expresses his disapproval of the quality of the previous translation of the Book of Job.

<sup>27</sup> For more on the manuscript, the colophons in it, and the work of monk Gavriil, cf. И. ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, *Книга Йов с тълкувания в славянския превод (по Владиславовия препис от 1456 г., ръкопис № 4/14 от сбирката на Рилския манастир)*, София 2007, p. 18–20.

<sup>28</sup> The folio with the colophon mentioning the monk Gavriil is now kept at RGB, Grigorovič Collection, No. 52.II. It was long assumed that the colophon was about a translation of the Wisdom of Solomon, but M. Dimitrova has recently presented a well-argued hypothesis that it is about a translation of a catena with commentaries which survives in a single copy in MS 2/24 of the Rila monastery. The folio with the colophon was most probably torn from the Rila codex. М. ДИМИТРОВА, *Тълкувания на Песен на песните в ркп. 2/24 от Рилската света обител*, София 2012, p. 21–29.

<sup>29</sup> According to F. Thomson, in 1416, in the Hilandar monastery again, the monk Gavriil also translated a catena on the Books of Kingdoms, cf. F. THOMSON, *The Slavonic Translation of the Old Testament*, [in:] *Interpretation of the Bible*, ed. J. KRAŠOVEC, Ljubljana 1998, p. 762–763. The catena on Kingdoms in the Odessa State Scientific Library, Grigorovič Collection, No. 6, 1/106, contains a colophon in which the copyist, Dositej, copied the colophon of the original autograph in which the translator explained that the translation was commissioned by despot Stefan Lazarevič. For more on the hypotheses about the Slavonic translations of Kingdoms, cf. М. ДИМИТРОВА, *Тълкувания на Песен на песните...*, p. 29.

<sup>30</sup> Edition of and commentary on the colophons in GIM, Synodal Collection, No. 202: Б. ТРИФУНОВИЧ, *Записи инок Гаврила, преводиоца тумачења књиге о Јову*, [in:] *Литературознание и фолклористика. В чест на 70-годишнината на акад. Петър Динев*, София 1983, p. 108–111.

<sup>31</sup> D. Trifunović, following precisely the information provided by the copyist, assumes that the translator of the biblical books is the monk Gavriil, who signed the colophons, cf. Б. ТРИФУНОВИЧ, *Записи инок Гаврила...*, p. 108. I. Hristova-Šomova thinks that this is possible but not certain, and that it is more likely that Gavriil copied earlier translations, cf. И. ХРИСТОВА-ШОМОВА, *Книга Йов...*, p. 18–19. M. Dimitrova does not rule out the possibility that it was Gavriil who translated the Book of Job with catena, but presumes that the translator of Catena B<sub>2</sub> with commentaries on the Song of Songs could have been someone else, cf. М. ДИМИТРОВА, *Тълкувания на Песен на песните...*, p. 28.

<sup>32</sup> For the general commentary on the translation of the Old Testament books from Hebrew to Greek in *Treatise on the Letters* by Constantine of Kostenets, *Panegyric of Patriarch Euthymius* by Gregory Tsamblak, Gavriil's colophon in Synod. 202, and the colophon in the Books of Kingdoms with catena, cf. М. ДИМИТРОВА, *Тълкувания на Песен на песните...*, p. 34.

Another translation has also been ascribed to the monk Gavriil: a liturgical miscellany, dated to ca. 1404, GIM, Hludov Collection, No. 114. M. Černilovskaja, after a detailed palaeographic and codicological analysis of the manuscript, has identified the main hand of the manuscript as that of the Serbian man of letters Gavriil<sup>33</sup>. The codex contains the earliest copy of the calendrical epigrams of the court physician and poet Nicholas Kallikles (end of the 11<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 12<sup>th</sup> century). A. Turilov, who has published the copy, supposes that Gavriil was not the translator of the dietetikon, but that the translation was most probably done on Mount Athos<sup>34</sup>, possibly in connection with the Serbian translation of the Byzantine *Iatrosophia*<sup>35</sup>.

Gavrilo Trojičanin, an erudite monk from the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Pljevlja, Montenegro, is the other prolific man of letters who we know for certain copied dietary calendars in his miscellanies of 1644 and 1648. For Serbian Mediaeval Studies, Gavrilo is important above all with his *Vrhobreznica Chronicle* (*Vrhobreznički ljetopis*) of 1650, but besides this historiographic collection, he penned another approximately ten voluminous collections, some of which are known to have been produced in cooperation with famous illuminators in his day. Such are the Psalter with akolouthia of 1643 (Novi Sad, Matica Srpska Library, PP II 19) and the Hexameron with *Christian Topography* by Cosmas Indicopleustes of 1649 (MS 79 of Pljevlja)<sup>36</sup>. Very little is known about the life of this Serbian monk – except that he was a hieromonk and that, according to the colophon in the *Vrhobreznica Chronicle*, he was born ѿ стѣфана полта, еже ѿ междорѣчїе тарское и пивское. As P. Syrku concludes, the writing of psalters with akolouthia and menaia shows that Gavrilo produced liturgical books and miscellanies on commission for high-ranking individuals or institutions<sup>37</sup>. Gavrilo Trojičanin was not merely an exquisite calligrapher with a sense of artistic composition of the magnificent collections he produced. He was a very prolific copyist with encyclopaedic interests and erudition, an active editor and compiler – he abridged, revised, and selected his texts, he invented the overall design and structure of his manuscripts.

Dietary calendars are contained in two of his psalters with akolouthia – in MS IXG7 in the National Museum in Prague, of 1648, and in MS Slav. 83 (II/180) in the Austrian National Library, of 1644. According to the codicological analysis, the Prague codex is a convolute and the dietary calendar is located

<sup>33</sup> М. ЧЕРНИЛОВСКАЯ, *Об идентификации почерков трех сербских рукописей XV в. с Афона*, [in:] *Вопросы славяно-русской палеографии, кодикологии, эпиграфики*, Москва 1987, p. 39–41, 94–97.

<sup>34</sup> А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Ранний славянский список...*, p. 474.

<sup>35</sup> Only fragments of which survive in a single copy in MS 462 of the Hilandar monastery, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Edition: Р. КАТИЋ, *Медицина код срба у средњем веку*, Београд 1958, p. 60–62.

<sup>36</sup> For information, photographs and literature on the two manuscripts, cf. *Свет српске рукописне књиге (XII–XVII век)*, ed. Z. RAKIĆ, I. SPADIJER, Београд 2016, p. 404–417.

<sup>37</sup> П. СЫРКУ, *Стари српски рукописи...*, p. 22.

in the first, main part of the manuscript<sup>38</sup>. The quire with the calendrical tables and hygiene prescriptions is not included either in the original foliation of the copyist or in the contents he has listed in the beginning of the manuscript. In all likelihood, this quire was written separately and was planned to be the final one of the first part of the convolute<sup>39</sup>. The difference between the language of the calendar notes and synaxarion tables, on the one hand, and of the main text of the manuscript, on the other, has been pointed out by P. Syrku<sup>40</sup>. In his linguistic commentary on three psalters of hieromonk Gavriilo, the Russian scholar underlines the abundance of Bulgarianisms and vernacular vocabulary in the calendar instructions in MS IXG7 in the National Museum in Prague, unlike the “usual Serbian redaction” characteristic of the rest of the codex as well as of Gavriilo’s other psalters<sup>41</sup>. These two facts, the missing foliation and the language of the dietary calendar, suggest that Gavriilo may have used also another, Bulgarian, collection, with which he enriched the contents of his codex.

Among the copyists of dieteticons we find the name of another professional scribe – Avram Dimitrievič from Karlovo. It is known that he *worked on commission for several literary centers*<sup>42</sup> – the Sopot, Troyan, and Zographou monasteries – and that his scribal activity was associated with the Karlovo-Kuklen school<sup>43</sup>. The scribe left colophons in part of his manuscripts, mentioning patrons and monasteries that had commissioned the codices. Undoubtedly, Avram was one of the most illustrious calligraphers of the 17<sup>th</sup> century – educated in a school with an established tradition, he himself was an active scribe who left luxurious liturgical codices and *damaskins* as well as disciples. The dietary calendar is included in an impressive codex that ends with a colophon bearing the year, 1674, and the name of the copyist: the much-sinful Avram priest, son of Dimitri (Dimitrievič). The manuscript is voluminous, 626 folios, with rich decoration similar to that of the Elena and Troyan *damaskins*. The dieteticon is published almost in full by B. Conev in his inventory of the manuscripts in the National Library in Plovdiv<sup>44</sup>. It is not in the conventional form of textual exposition – here the dietary instructions are located, similarly to the psalters of Trojičanin, around a calendrical table, along with ecclesiastical and historical information as well as climate characteristics. It is presumed that the calendar may have been based on a Western Catholic

<sup>38</sup> For a contemporary description of the manuscript, cf. И. ШПАДИЈЕР, В. ТРИЈИЋ, З. РАКИЋ, З. РАНКОВИЋ, *Српске рукописне књиге у Чешкој*, Београд 2015, p. 72–77.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 73.

<sup>40</sup> П. СЫРКУ, *Стари српски рукописи са сликама...*, p. 1–54.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 29–34.

<sup>42</sup> Д. РАДОСЛАВОВА, *Българската книжнина от XVII век. Центрове, книжовници, репертоар*, София 2020, p. 129.

<sup>43</sup> On the scribal activity of Avram Dimitrievič, cf. Б. АНГЕЛОВ, *Старобългарски книжовни средища*, ИНБ 14, 1976, p. 35–51; Д. РАДОСЛАВОВА, *Българската книжнина от XVII век...*, p. 129–135.

<sup>44</sup> Б. ЦОНЕВ, *Опис на славянските ръкописи...*, p. 173–181. For more on the content, cf. X. ТОНЧЕВА, *Календарът в Аврамовия сборник*, СЛ 39/40, 2008, p. 220–234.

original because it contains Western commemorations<sup>45</sup>. In terms of content, the dieteticon is identical to the dietary instructions in a Gabrovo *damaskin* of 1824, NBKM, No. 698, and in a *damaskin* of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, NBKM, No. 724, the only difference being that it begins with September.

In addition to the above-noted attributed manuscripts containing dietary calendars, also extant are other codices with names. They are the latest copies of dieteticons and reveal rather the “private character” of the codices – they cannot be associated with consistent work in scriptoria, with commissions from noble or rich patrons, etc. Conversely, they illustrate the individual interests of their owners and copyists. Among them are the Prayer Book of Sophronius of Studenica of the year 1800 (No. 394, National Library of Serbia), the Prayer Book of the priest Jovan Lorović of Crmnica, Montenegro, of 1836 (Library of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, No. A42/18), the Medicinal Book of hieromonk Stefan Vitanović of Lepavina, Croatia, of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century – all of them being manuscripts of the Modern Age which are representative of another type of culture and were most probably influenced by both the Western and the Russian tradition as well as by printing. They bear the imprint of ecclesiastical literacy as their owners and compilers were priests or monks, and have a purely utilitarian character – they were meant to serve as a personal manual on how to care for one’s spiritual as well as physical health<sup>46</sup>.

### The codices

A brief overview of the contents of Balkan Slavic manuscripts containing dietary calendars is sufficient to establish that such calendars are rarely found in medical codices. Their logical place would be in medical codices – medicinal books or translated compilations such as the Hilandar medical codex<sup>47</sup>. The fact is, however, that they very rarely appear in such codices. The only codices specifically devoted to medical subjects in which we find dieteticons are MS 54 in the National Library of Serbia, which was burned during the Second World War, the medicinal book of hieromonk Stefan Vitanović, and medicinal book No. 407, NBKM. If there is a thematic core that can be identified around dieteticons, it is the core of divinatory books. Most of the manuscripts in which we find health prescriptions also contain copies of brontologia, palmomantic texts, the *Story about Good and Bad Days*. The

<sup>45</sup> Л. Илиева, *Българският език в предисторията на компаративната лингвистика и в езиковия свят на ранния европейски модернизъм*, Благоевград 2011, p. 59.

<sup>46</sup> On the syncretic role of the lower clergy in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, cf. S. NOVAKOVIĆ, *Apokrifski zbornik našega vijeka*, [in:] *Starine*, vol. XVIII, Zagreb 1886, p. 165–182.

<sup>47</sup> MS 517 of the Hilandar monastery, of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century. The manuscript contains treatises on pulse diagnostics, phlebotomy, uroscopy, fevers, etc., which are based on the Hippocratic-Galenic tradition.

list of works usually contained in manuscripts along with such prescriptions can be extended with astronomical and astrological articles, as well as with *The Story about the Twelve Fridays*. It must be noted that this combination of medicine and prognostication is not specific to South Slavic manuscripts – it is characteristic also of the Western Middle Ages.

Another specific feature of the written tradition of Slavic dietary calendars is that they are often included as unplanned additions, they are not an integral part of a thought-out periphery. Some of the codices are with blank folios, sloppy handwriting, they are written without a preliminary concept of their composition, and it is very likely that the dietary calendar was copied to fill a blank space in the manuscript with a brief and useful text<sup>48</sup>. The only basis on which the dieteticon is incorporated into the text of the manuscripts is the calendrical one.

On the other hand, however, the modest statistics of attributed copies of dietary texts raises the question of whether the dieteticons were copied in manuscripts designed for the large monasteries. Paradoxically, the few preserved names point us to professional scribes, to highly erudite men of letters who were connected to prestigious scriptoria and monasteries – Neamț, the Holy Trinity at Pljevlja, Mount Athos, Karlovo. And while Gavriil Urik and the Athonite priest Gavriil devoted their efforts to the development of monastic libraries and translations, the later Gavriilo Trojičanin and Avram Dimitrievič specialized in the production of luxurious manuscripts commissioned also by lay persons<sup>49</sup>. In the codices of these four men of letters, the dietary calendar is not a random addition. It is part of the complex amalgam of miscellanies in which the biblical and liturgical layers intersect with that of everyday pragmatism<sup>50</sup>.

It seems as if the reception of this genre was stretched between two extremes – to be part of the monastic encyclopedia<sup>51</sup>, and to be an element of the diverse structure of the unpretentious mixed-content miscellanies. In other words, the receptive trajectory of this marginal genre started from royal codices, ran through manuscripts commissioned by rich patrons and produced in scriptoria, and ended in the miscellanies of ordinary priests as well as of laypersons.

<sup>48</sup> In a detailed analysis of the dietary calendar in MS 649 in the Library of the Romanian Academy of Sciences (Tulcea Miscellany), M. Cibranska-Kostova confirms the fact that the dietary calendar has no connection with the previous texts, cf. M. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Храна и аксиология...*, p. 143.

<sup>49</sup> On the central role of the Mount Sredna Gora literary circle, to which Avram Dimitrievič belonged, in the creation and dissemination of luxurious manuscripts by analogy with Greek ones, cf. E. МУСАНОВА, *Луксозните ръкописи на 17 век*, [in:] *По следите на българската книга. Описи. Находки. Библиология*, Пловдив 2015, p. 247–263.

<sup>50</sup> M. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Храна и аксиология...*, p. 156.

<sup>51</sup> We can define as a “monastic encyclopedia” not only Tsar Symeon’s *Izbornik* of 1073 but also part of the Moldavian manuscripts of the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. M. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Храна и аксиология...*, p. 143.

This article examined only one of the possible perspectives on the question of the reception of the dietary calendar genre in mediaeval South Slavic and Slavic-Moldavian literature – through the evidence that can be obtained from the names, places, and very rarely patrons, found in the codices. It is just as important, however, to identify the sources of the translations as well as to compare the Byzantine and Slavic traditions of dietary calendars. This will enable us to pinpoint the changes and specificities in the history of Balkan Slavic dietary prescriptions.



**Fig. 1.** Dietary calendar in Psalter with akolouthia of 1674 written by priest Avram Dimitrievič from Karlovo. MS No 115 of the National Library in Plovdiv, Bulgaria



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## THE TITLE HIERARCHY OF THE LAST KOMNENOI AND THE ANGELOS DYNASTY – FROM *SEBASTOHPERTATOS* TO *SEBASTOKRATOR*\*

**Abstract.** The system of dignities introduced by Alexios I Komnenos was an answer for the need of a new reformed title hierarchy, adequate for aristocratic model of exercising power. It served as a clear manifestation of the special privileged position of emperor's kinsmen. The titles granted to those relatives and affines can be traced accurately up to the reign of Manuel I. So far, however, little space has been devoted to the analysis of that system during the Angelos dynasty.

It is often generally assumed following Niketas Choniates testimony, that the title hierarchy in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century suffered certain loss of value or inflation. It is worth taking a closer look at this process, on the example of the titles traditionally granted to the closest family members, at the courts of Andronicus I Komnenos and the Angeloi. I would like to focus particularly on those dignities, that at the time of the Komnenoi were given to the emperor's siblings and his sons-in-law – from *sebastohypertatos* to *sebastokrator*. That part of the title hierarchy was much closer to a ruler, making it easier to trace.

The basic problem encountered by researchers of this period is the small number of sources, not allowing for full reconstruction of the title hierarchy. However, very limited information found in the written sources can be complemented by aristocratic lead seals, which often included the dignity of their owners.

From such an analysis emerges a picture of a steady evolution of the Komnenian system. The emperors of the late 12<sup>th</sup> century adjusted court dignities to need at hand. Yet that process doesn't seem to diminish significantly the value of the highest titles.

**Keywords:** Byzantine aristocracy, Komnenos, Angelos, titles, *sebastokrator*, *kaisar*, *panhypersebastos*, *sebastohypertatos*

The status of the extended Komnenos family in 12<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine society was based not only on the wealth, lands and privileges accumulated in their hands. In comparison with the Latin West, the Byzantine society was much less

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hierarchical. Without a firm border between commoners and the powerful, elements such as fame or prestige at the court were equally important aspects of one's position<sup>1</sup>. One of the ways of expressing these aspects of social prominence were honorary dignities granted by the emperor. They functioned as a crucial element of one's status alongside the actual administrative offices in the bureaucratic or military structure of the state.

In the actions of the emperors of the Komnenian dynasty, one can see a clear understanding of the important role that manifestations of power and prestige played in building the elite position of the ruling family in Byzantine society. The ceremonial took on an even more public character, which can be seen in the return to the custom of triumphs, or in a special ceremonies such as *prokypsis*<sup>2</sup>. Court ranks became one of the central determinants of the position in the dynastic "clan". The internal hierarchy of this particular structure of aristocrats bound by blood to the Komnenoi was based on titles that were expanded and revised. That in some way "overwrote" the previous hierarchy from the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>3</sup>.

So far, the most complete and coherent picture of titles granted during the time of Komnenos "clan" hegemony has been presented by Lucien Stiernon. He distinguished eight levels of hierarchy, characteristic for the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>4</sup>. The highest position of emperor, was followed by *sebastokrator*, *gambros* (including people with titles from *panhypersebastos* to *sebastohypertatos*), emperor's cousins (including people with the title *protosebastos*), *sebastos*, *nobilissimos*, *kouropalates* and *proedros*. The last three are not part of the Komnenos "clan" which I understand as a structure strictly based on consanguinity<sup>5</sup>. They were granted to very prominent

<sup>1</sup> D. NICOL, *The Prosopography of the Byzantine Aristocracy*, [in:] *The Byzantine Aristocracy IX to XIII Centuries*, ed. M. ANGOLD, Oxford 1984, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Triumph of 1133*, [in:] *John II Komnenos, Emperor of Byzantium. In the Shadow of Father and Son*, ed. A. BUCOSI, A. RODRIGUEZ SUÁREZ, London–New York 2016, p. 62–63; M. JEFFREYS, *The Komnenian Prokypsis*, Pa 5, 1987, p. 38–53.

<sup>3</sup> P. FRANKOPAN, *Kinship and the Distribution of Power in Komnenian Byzantium*, EHR 122, 2007, p. 7; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204. A Political History*, London–New York 1997, p. 128; P. MAGDALINO, *Court Society and Aristocracy*, [in:] *The Social History of Byzantium*, ed. J. HALDON, Oxford 2009, p. 226.

<sup>4</sup> L. Stiernon published a series of four articles concerning byzantine titles in 12<sup>th</sup> century: L. STIERNON, *Notes de prosopographie et de titulature byzantines. Constantin Ange (pan)sébastohypertate*, REB 19, 1961, p. 273–283; IDEM, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Adrien (Jean) et Constantin Comnène, sébastes*, REB 21, 1963, p. 179–198; IDEM, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. A propos de trois membres de la famille Rogerios (XII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, REB 22, 1964, p. 184–198. In context of this article, particularly interesting is the last one that includes a full stratification of Komnenian rank hierarchy: IDEM, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et Gambros*, REB 23, 1965, p. 222–225.

<sup>5</sup> The so-called "clan" of the Komnenoi that *de facto* ruled the empire in 12<sup>th</sup> century is a structure that I understand as an extensive and hermetic group of allied aristocratic families, concentrated around the ruling dynasty and linked with them through blood-relations or marriages. I explain-

aristocrats without genealogical connection with the ruling dynasty. The French Byzantinist, apart from distinguishing and organizing the title precedence of the Komnenian era, also pointed out some rules that emperors usually followed when assigning such dignities to members of the court. These ranks were granted for life and could only be taken away as a part of banishment or total infamy. Rare but not unusual were promotions from lower rank. One of the examples is John Rogerios Dalassenos raised from the position of *panhypersebastos* to *kaisar*<sup>6</sup>. On the other hand, there seem to be no cases of degradation from higher to lower ranks with the only exception to this rule being Bela (Alexios) who's rank was lowered from *despotes* to *kaisar*<sup>7</sup>. Some titles like *kaisar* or *panhypersebastos* between 1100 to 1180 were only granted to one person at the same time. They could be passed on to someone else only in the case of vacancy<sup>8</sup>.

There is no doubt that Alexios I Komnenos at the beginning of his reign had to pursue a very flexible policy and use *ad hoc* measures. Some of the decisions in retrospect turned out to be detrimental for the state. Yet one has to take into account particularly difficult time that was the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. The emperor had to improvise and look for any opportunity if he wanted to establish his new dynasty. In line with this philosophy, new court titles were most likely created to support Alexios' new family policy. The old court hierarchy lost some of its value and importance, especially during the reign of Nicephorus III<sup>9</sup>. This fact was used to build a revised hierarchy in which the emperor's family played the central role.

A good example of adapting policy to the needs at hand is the way in which the rank of *sebastokrator* was created<sup>10</sup>. Alexios' older brother – Isaac Komnenos, due to his age and experience, could potentially aspire for the throne. Certainly there are no indications of conflict between these brothers at any point, however rivalry

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ed that more elaborately in my previous publication: P. LACHOWICZ, *Power and Aristocracy – Transformation and Composition of the Komnenos "Clan" (1081–1200) – A Statistical Approach*, SCer 10, 2020, p. 144–153.

<sup>6</sup> Κ. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. I, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, p. 350. Other examples include Nicephorus Bryennios raised from the rank of *panhypersebastos* to *kaisar* and Isaac Komnenos (son of Alexios I) raised from the rank of *kaisar* to *sebastokrator*. Both by the emperor John II Komnenos.

<sup>7</sup> *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, rec. A. MEINEKE, Bonnae 1836 [= CSHB, 23.1] (cetera: KINNAMOS), p. 287.

<sup>8</sup> See above. The case of John Rogerios Dalassenos is one of the examples that can support this hypothesis. He was raised to the rank of *kaisar* only after the death of its previous bearer – Nicephorus Bryennios. There are more examples of such practice in the period of 1100–1180. It is apparent that titles of *kaisar*, *panhypersebastos*, *protosebastohypertatos* and *sebastohypertatos* were given only to one person at the same time.

<sup>9</sup> *Nicéphore Bryennios Histoire*, IV, 1–2, rec. P. GAUTIER, Bruxelles 1975 [= CFHB, 9], p. 257–259; J. SHEA, *Politics and Government in Byzantium. The Rise and Fall of the Bureaucrats*, London 2020 [= NDBS], p. 158–159.

<sup>10</sup> *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, III, 4, 1, vol. I, rec. D.R. REINSCH, A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin 2001 [= CFHB. SBe, 40] (cetera: KOMNENE), p. 95.

and tensions inside aristocratic families were a common occurrence in Byzantium. These factors had to be taken into account by the emperor even in case of a loyal brother such as Isaac. It was expected that he should be honoured properly to compensate for his secondary position. However, since the title of *kaisar* was already granted to Nicephorus Melissenos – another pretender to the throne, Isaac had to receive an even higher dignity that would be appropriate for older brother<sup>11</sup>. The solution was to create a new title, the aforementioned *sebastokrator*, which was the highest dignity right after the emperor. It was a sensible decision. A mark of the emperor's political awareness and pragmatism.

The rank hierarchy after the death of Manuel I still remains a mystery to a large extent. The problem stems from the much smaller number of sources available to historians for the period after 1180. First of all, there are no synodal lists, which were an indispensable help in reconstructing the precedence of aristocrats at the imperial court. Written sources often focus on the functions performed by historical figures, omitting the court titles. Abundant poetic material written by court literati becomes rather sparse by the end of the century. These gaps in knowledge can be filled by the few seals containing the dignity of its issuer. The most well-known passage from source material that directly describes the change in the honorary titles system is included in Niketas Choniates' most famous work – *Chronikē diēgēsis*. A short remark that seems to be the basis of all conclusions regarding this issue<sup>12</sup>. This Byzantine historian writes, criticizing the incompetent rule of Alexios III Angelos, that dignities again were sold to commoners, just as in the 11<sup>th</sup> century. According to his account, the title of *sebastos* was granted even to the lower *strata* of society: merchants and townspeople<sup>13</sup>. While this passage is one of the most specific descriptions of title inflation in the late 12<sup>th</sup> century, one can trace that process as early as 1120s.

Three sons of John II received the title of *sebastokrator*, which was previously reserved to only one person. Andronicus, Isaac and Manuel are praised by Theodoros Prodromos as a venerable triad of *sebastokrators*<sup>14</sup>. At the same time, both younger brothers of emperor John held the same dignity. Was that situation one of the factors that led to long rivalry with Isaac Komnenos? Nothing is known for sure, as we don't have enough information<sup>15</sup>. It is noteworthy however, that in the Chora monastery restored by him, he chose to describe himself simply as a son of

<sup>11</sup> B. SKOULATOS, *Les personnages byzantins de l'Alexiade. Analyse prosopographique et synthèse*, Louvain 1980, p. 241.

<sup>12</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *Court Society...*, p. 226–227.

<sup>13</sup> *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, vol. I, rec. I.A. VAN DIETEN, Berolini 1975 [= *CFHB*, 11] (cetera: CHONIATES), p. 483–484.

<sup>14</sup> THEODOROS PRODROMOS, *Historische Gedichte*, IX, a 21–22; X, b 22–23; c 24, rec. W. HÖRANDNER, Wien 1974 [= *WBS*, 11], p. 245, 250–251.

<sup>15</sup> CHONIATES, p. 32. Choniates does not explain precisely reasons for Isaac's animosity towards John II.

Alexios I, completely omitting the title of *sebastokrator* as if it was not significant enough to mention<sup>16</sup>. This process of dropping official ranks in favour of genealogical adjectives such as *gambros*, *adelphos*, *exadelphos* etc., is observable during the reign of Manuel I and was already described in scholarly works<sup>17</sup>.

Choniates' comment on the fall of court ranks significance shows only the rear end of that long and progressive inflation of court titles. Given that the dignity of *sebastos* was a Hellenized form of the word *augustus* and as such was reserved exclusively for the most illustrious persons at the court, it is striking that from the mid-11<sup>th</sup> to the late 12<sup>th</sup> century it lost so much of its value<sup>18</sup>. In face of these facts it might be tempting to assume that this process touched on the whole hierarchy of titles to the same extent. However, while *sebastos* has indeed lost its high rank, the situation of higher titles cannot be generalized in that way. Top layer of the hierarchy has to be perceived separately as its own entity, more rigid in its principles and therefore less prone to changes. *Sebastohypertatos* and following it higher ranks were reserved to a much smaller circle of aristocrats. The main focus of this article is to check to what extent said inflation affected that group in the years 1180–1204.

Let's start the analysis of that problem by examining the situation just before the death of Manuel I. At that point in time we can identify only one *sebastokrator* – Alexios Komnenos<sup>19</sup>. He was one of the illegitimate sons of the emperor, recognized later by Manuel. Noteworthy is almost complete absence of people with titles attributed to sons-in-law. By 1180 all of the emperor's brothers-in-law and previous bearers of those ranks were already dead. Those titles were most likely vacant for a long period. That was until the marriage of Maria Komnene, Manuel's daughter, with Renier of Montferrat. Since Maria was the eldest and only legal daughter of the emperor, her husband in accordance with the usual custom, received the title of *kaisar*, just as John Rogerios Dalassenos (husband of the eldest daughter of John II) and Nicephorus Bryennios (only after the death of Alexios I)<sup>20</sup>. It's worth mentioning that when Maria Komnene was previously engaged to Hungarian prince Bela (Alexios), he did not receive the title of *sebastokrator*, which would equate him with the emperor's illegitimate son. Instead, Manuel devised a new title – *despotes*, which elevated the position of the would-be son-in-law and heir<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> K. LINARDOU, *Imperial Impersonations: Disguised Portraits of a Komnenian Prince and his Father*, [in:] *John II Komnenos...*, p. 157–158.

<sup>17</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge 1993, p. 182–183; IDEM, *Court Society...*, p. 230.

<sup>18</sup> L. STIERNON, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste...*, p. 226–227; N. KANEV, *Byzantine Rank Hierarchy in the 9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, SCer 8, 2018, p. 162–164.

<sup>19</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 482.

<sup>20</sup> L. STIERNON, *Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. A propos...*, p. 188–189.

<sup>21</sup> KINNAMOS, p. 215; N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Pictorial Propaganda in XII<sup>th</sup> c. Constantinople*, [in:] *Society, Culture and Politics in Byzantium*, ed. IDEM, Aldershot 2005, p. 97.

Yet, when Bela returned to Hungary, Maria's husband did not receive that title but the one of *kaisar*, because by that time empress gave birth to long awaited successor – Alexios.

The death of Manuel Komnenos and the regency period initially did not bring any significant changes in this matter. The accession to the throne of Andronicus and the death of Alexios II marks the first period when one can observe some changes in the Komnenian title hierarchy. However, the new emperor in this respect was not a revolutionary. His actions did not break with the order established by his grandfather at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. During his short reign, he followed the same patterns of dynastic policy as his predecessors<sup>22</sup>. The differences come from the circumstances of his reign. Andronicus did not have a large family. His only brother lived outside the empire<sup>23</sup>. His sisters remained either irrelevant at the court or were already dead by that time<sup>24</sup>. All his attention was therefore focused on the offspring who he tried to establish as successors, after the annihilation of the dynastic line of John II Komnenos. Here too circumstances didn't favour Andronicus. He only had three legal descendants, and none of them were *porphyrogennetoi*<sup>25</sup>. He had two sons: Manuel and John. Having only one legal daughter, Maria, he was also, greatly limited in his capabilities of creating family alliances with the aristocracy.

Titles awarded to his children did not deviate from the rules adopted in the empire so far. The eldest son, Manuel, received the title of *sebastokrator*, probably as a form of compensation for not being appointed as successor<sup>26</sup>. The younger son and designated heir John Komnenos was co-emperor and although there are no specific references to his title, we could assume with some probability that he was granted the position of *despotes* – a title reserved for successors<sup>27</sup>. The dignity of *sebastokrator* at least for some time also belonged to illegitimate son of Manuel – Alexios Komnenos granted to him definitely before 1180. When Andronicus deprived him of his sight, he was also stripped of any rank<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir et contestations à Byzance (963–1210)*, Paris 1990, p. 433.

<sup>23</sup> John Komnenos was the first son of *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos. He abandoned the Byzantine Empire and spent his life in Sultanate of Ikonion, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 35–36.

<sup>24</sup> The date of death of Maria and Anna, two sisters of Andronicus, is unknown. They don't appear in the sources past 1180, cf.: K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 488, 492.

<sup>25</sup> That was rather unfavourable situation. The special status of *porphyrogennetos* gave a person stronger claim to the throne. The Komnenian dynasty paid special attention to this custom, as it's indicated by the number of dynasty members born in purple, at that time, cf.: P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel...*, p. 244.

<sup>26</sup> Manuel was not designated as successor, because of AIMA prophecy that led Andronicus to believe that his younger son – John (Ioannes) should be the heir to the throne, cf.: C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, p. 68.

<sup>27</sup> There is a certain *passus* in Niketas Choniates where the author suggests that sons of Andronicus Komnenos received some wealth and dignities taken away from previous owners, but we have no further information about it, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 257.

<sup>28</sup> CHONIATES, p. 309.



Andronicus' daughter Maria was married to a certain aristocrat – Theodoros Synadenos, perhaps, as Konstantinos Varzos suggests, in 1182<sup>29</sup>. It was not a long lasting relationship. Not long after, Synadenos died in mysterious circumstances<sup>30</sup>. It cannot be determined if Andronicus was involved in this case or not. Soon enough Maria was married again, this time with a certain Romanos *doux* of Dyr-rachion. This marriage did not last long either and most likely ended abruptly with his death during the coup d'état of Isaac Angelos in September 1185<sup>31</sup>. Were Maria's spouses granted any title during their short marriage? Unfortunately, we do not have any evidence in that regard. Even the exact identity of Romanos is unknown. We can only presume that, following the logic of previous emperors, they could have received the title of *kaisar*, which was vacant at that time after the deaths of Maria Komnene (daughter of Manuel I) and Renier of Montferrat.

Andronicus had two other, illegitimate children. His daughter – Eirene Komnene married the already mentioned illegitimate son of Manuel, so for some time she enjoyed the title of *sebastokratorissa* before she was banished by her father<sup>32</sup>. The younger child – Alexios, reached legal age of 15 only in 1185, so he probably did not receive any dignity before the fall of his father's regime<sup>33</sup>.

The title of *panhypersebastos* was given to Constantine Makrodoukas who was a husband of Anna – sister of Andronicus' mistress Theodora Komnene Vatatzes<sup>34</sup>. He wasn't *de iure* his brother-in-law, since Theodora wasn't formally a wife of the emperor but that clearly wasn't an obstacle. That's all information available in regards to that layer of ranks, in the discussed two year long period. There are no references to any *proto-/sebastohypertatos* found in sources, meaning that these titles were most likely vacant.

This overview of the title hierarchy at Andronicus' court shows that despite his unprecedented, brutal and highly pragmatic politics he was not a revolutionary in terms of dynastic policy and court titles management. Far from it, in his actions one can see that he was following the patterns set by his predecessors. His management of high court dignities does not differ drastically from the previous times. The new emperor elevated his immediate family to the highest ranks, and his activities were concentrated on building a new, faithful aristocratic group, in place of the previous one centred around Manuel's family. The circumstances faced by the new emperor were different from those of his predecessors. Elite dignities still played essential role on his court and there are no signs of inflation in that short

<sup>29</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 533.

<sup>30</sup> EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKI, *The Capture of Thessaloniki. A Translation with Introduction and Commentary*, ed. et trans. J.R. MELVILLE JONES, Canberra 1988 [= BAus, 8] (cetera: EUSTATHIOS), p. 28.

<sup>31</sup> J. DUDEK, "Cała Ziemia Dyrracheńska" pod panowaniem bizantyńskim w latach 1005–1205, Zielona Góra 1999, p. 165.

<sup>32</sup> CHONIATES, p. 309.

<sup>33</sup> EUSTATHIOS, p. 64.

<sup>34</sup> CHONIATES, p. 313–314.

period. Andronicus Komnenos at least in that regard pursued the same policy as his grandfather and high court ranks still maintained its elite and strictly consanguineal character<sup>35</sup>.

Table 1

**The upper part of the title hierarchy of Andronicus I Komnenos (1183–1185)**

<i>Despotes</i>	John Komnenos?
<i>Sebastokrator</i>	Manuel Komnenos Alexios Komnenos (son of Manuel I)
<i>Kaisar</i>	Theodoros Synadenos? Romanos <i>doux</i> of Dyrrachion?
<i>Panhypsebastos</i>	Constantine Makrodoukas
<i>Proto-/Sebastohypertatos</i>	Vacant?

The coup of Isaac Angelos in September 1185 is a clear turning point not only in the political history of the empire, but also in the title hierarchy of the court. It is important to underline that Isaac, being an adversary of Andronicus and his allies, did not support his family and clients. His victory led to a total defamation of the previous group in power<sup>36</sup>. This meant that unlike the previous emperors of the Komnenian dynasty (including partially Andronicus Komnenos), there was no direct continuity between the aristocrats holding high court titles before and after 1185. All persons with the dignities of *sebastokrator*, *kaisar* and lower, have lost their position<sup>37</sup>. The only exception seems to be Alexios Branas, who was not affected by this infamy. During the dramatic events that happened in Constantinople,

<sup>35</sup> The interpretation of Andronicus' motives and policy requires further research. His short, turbulent reign had a significant impact both on internal and external situation of the empire. For many years a persisting point of view on his actions was strongly dependent on biased testimony of Niketas Choniates and Eustathios of Thessalonika. Alexander Kazhdan saw Andronicus as a leader of anti-aristocratic group, cf.: А.П. КАЖДАН, *Социальный состав господствующего класса Византии XI–XII вв.*, Москва 1974, p. 264. Jean-Claude Cheynet contradicted this idea, cf.: J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 433.

<sup>36</sup> CHONIATES, p. 355–356.

<sup>37</sup> According to Choniates' narrative Branas was dispatched by Andronicus around summer of 1185. By September he was most likely still in Thrace and was not involved in the rebellion of the Angeloi, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 318, 358.

he was still in command of an army sent to stop Norman invasion and succeeded in driving them off the empire<sup>38</sup>. Because of this, the newly crowned emperor was willing to turn a blind eye to his loyalty to the previous ruler, especially since Branas had an army under his command<sup>39</sup>. Consequently, it can be assumed with a high degree of probability that Branas not only retained his position after the overthrow of Andronicus, but was even raised to a higher rank of *panhypersebastos* by Isaac II<sup>40</sup>.

Other seals of Alexios Branas contain also the lower titles of the court hierarchy. Those dated to the reign of Manuel Komnenos specify the dignity of *sebastos* at that time<sup>41</sup>. The position of *protosebastos* attested by one of them was probably conferred on Alexios at a later date, but certainly before he was awarded the title of *panhypersebastos*. Titles were always awarded as a form of advancement on the social ladder of the empire. It can therefore be assumed that the seal with the title of *protosebastos* may date from the reign of Andronicus Komnenos<sup>42</sup>.

Aside from Branas, Isaac's assumption of power brought new people to court elite and titles were redistributed. The new emperor, in contrast to his predecessor, had a much larger family that at least in theory provided him a better base for the construction of a loyal party<sup>43</sup>. He had five brothers. Four of them were blinded by Andronicus but still remained quite active at the court. He also had two married sisters and an uncle, John Doukas who was at the time the senior member of the Angelos family<sup>44</sup>. Unsurprisingly he rewarded them with highest honours, but the choice of titles turns out to be quite puzzling.

<sup>38</sup> P. STEPHENSON, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2004, p. 287–288.

<sup>39</sup> Niketas Choniates describes Branas disposition towards Isaac as full of contempt. Just after the fall of Andronicus, when he was still in command of forces at the end of 1185 he revealed his imperial ambitions. Isaac decision of granting him the title of *panhypersebastos* could have been an attempt to ease the situation and improve relations with that subversive aristocrat, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 376–377.

<sup>40</sup> A single seal of Alexios Branas *panhypersebastos* is sometimes identified as coming from the years 1183–1185. This date doesn't seem to be correct. As it was mentioned earlier, during the reign of Andronicus I, the rank of *panhypersebastos* was already occupied by Constantine Makrodoukas and it seems very unlikely that Branas received the same title, especially since he was only distantly related to Andronicus, cf.: <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/5256/> [20 IV 2021]; CHONIATES, p. 313–314. See also: J.-C. CHEYNET, *Pouvoir...*, p. 437.

<sup>41</sup> <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/3044/> [20 IV 2021].

<sup>42</sup> <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/5899/> [20 IV 2021].

<sup>43</sup> The family of Isaac Angelos however proved to be unreliable and untrustworthy. Cf.: C. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts...*, p. 96–97.

<sup>44</sup> John Doukas was the oldest child of *sebastohypertatos* Constantine Angelos, cf.: K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. I, p. 641.

The title of *sebastokrator* was given to John Doukas – the emperor’s uncle and alternative candidate for the throne during the September insurrection in 1185<sup>45</sup>. Again, it can be understood as a compensation for imperial title. Doukas had a righteous claim to the throne, as he was the oldest member of the Angelos family at that time and was well qualified for exercising power. The only reason that he was not chosen is because the people of Constantinople rejected him on account of his old age<sup>46</sup>. Undoubtedly it was a reasonable decision to reward him with a high dignity and keep his actions in check, since as it is known he did not abandon his imperial ambitions<sup>47</sup>. Apart from him next persons at the court raised to this rank were Isaac’s older brothers: blinded by Andronicus, Constantine Angelos Komnenos and the future emperor Alexios Angelos<sup>48</sup>.

The situation becomes puzzling, however, in the case of Isaac’s three other brothers. John, Michael and Theodoros Angelos received the titles of *kaisar*, which is indicated by their seals<sup>49</sup>. This would mean a complete break with the current policy of giving only one *kaisar* title to one person at a time and handing it over to another aristocrat at the time of the death of the previous bearer. In addition, this title up to that point in time was reserved exclusively for brothers-in-law or sons-in-law of the emperor. Isaac Angelos was the first ruler to abandon this custom. It seems that his fourth and fifth brother – Michael and Theodoros Angelos – never received the rank of *sebastokrator*.

Even more perplexing is the position of John Angelos. If the order of seniority of Isaac’s brothers is correct, then Constantine was the oldest one, followed by John, Alexios, Michael, Theodoros and lastly Isaac<sup>50</sup>. As it was mentioned before, Alexios and Constantine received the rank of *sebastokrator*. In this case one can ask why John who was second in seniority was apparently granted just the title

<sup>45</sup> CHONIATES, p. 343.

<sup>46</sup> CHONIATES, p. 345; A. KALDELLIS, *How to Usurp the Throne in Byzantium: The Role of Public Opinion in Sedition and Rebellion*, [in:] *Power and Subversion in Byzantium*, ed. D. ANGELOV, M. SAXBY, New York 2016, p. 43–56.

<sup>47</sup> CHONIATES, p. 374. A recurring theme in the history of the Komnenos “clan” is the inheritance of imperial ambitions. Doukas claims were transmitted to his sons. Constantine Angelos rebelled against Isaac II Angelos and so did Michael Doukas Komnenos Angelos during Alexios III reign, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 435, 529.

<sup>48</sup> M. BACHMANN, F. DÖLGER, *Die Rede des μέγας δρουγγάριος Gregorios Antiochos auf den Sebastokrator Konstantinos Angelos*, BZ 40.2, 1940, p. 364; <http://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/86/> [20 IV 2021].

<sup>49</sup> There is one seal of *kaisar* John Angelos: <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/3051/> [20 IV 2021]; and one seal of *kaisar* Michael Angelos: <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/3050/> [20 IV 2021]. Theodoros is not attested as *kaisar*, however we can assume that he received the same rank as his other brothers, cf.: K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 806.

<sup>50</sup> Isaac II Angelos is the only one from among his brothers with attested date of birth (September 1156). It is mentioned by Choniates, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 596. His younger siblings dates of birth can only be estimated, cf.: K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 716.

of *kaisar*? The problem was addressed by K. Varzos, who assumed that he was later on raised to the rank of *sebastokrator*<sup>51</sup>. The motives that led Isaac II to that decision are enigmatic, especially since the written sources gives hardly any background about Angelos' brothers aside from Alexios and Constantine. To resolve this problem we shall have to wait for more evidence in form of seals or for reinterpretation of already available sources. Undeniably there were some quarrels among the Angeloi but their true nature will have to remain a mystery for the time being.

These are not the only problems that one faces in trying to analyze the title hierarchy of Isaac II. It is also known that the title of *kaisar* was held by Conrad of Montferrat due to his marriage to Theodora Angelina, the emperor's sister<sup>52</sup>. That was not for long, because shortly after the rebellion of Alexios Branas, Conrad left the Byzantine Empire. In the early years of Angelos' reign, the title of *kaisar* was also given to blinded Alexios Komnenos – Manuel's illegitimate son, already mentioned<sup>53</sup>. About the same time, the husband of Isaac's sister – Eirene, was another person to be awarded the title of *kaisar*<sup>54</sup>. His name was John Kantakouzenos – yet another aristocrat blinded by Andronicus Komnenos<sup>55</sup>. Choniates' narrative shows that he received this title before Conrad of Montferrat left, which confirms that there was more than one *kaisar* at the same time<sup>56</sup>. In such a situation it is hardly surprising that Conrad was dissatisfied with his position at the court of the Angeloi. As Choniates writes, he gained nothing from his affinity to the emperor, apart from the insignia appropriate for the *kaisar*<sup>57</sup>. This comes as no surprise, because higher number of so well-endowed aristocrats meant that the title lost some of its prominence during that time. Behind prestigious name and ceremonial, there were no tangible benefits in the form of military or administrative offices. Conrad may not have received any financial benefits that were usually accompanying the title.

Isaac II Angelos had only two daughters – Eirene and Anna-Euphrosyne. However, unlike the emperors of the Komnenian dynasty, he pursued a slightly different matrimonial policy. His main focus was not put on great aristocratic families and the creation of interfamilial alliances. Instead, he paid much more attention to foreign policy and opportunities among the western neighbours of Byzantium.

<sup>51</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 725.

<sup>52</sup> CHONIATES, p. 382–383.

<sup>53</sup> CHONIATES, p. 426.

<sup>54</sup> CHONIATES, p. 374–375.

<sup>55</sup> CHONIATES, p. 258; D. NICOL, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos (Cantacuzenus) ca. 1100–1460. A Genealogical and Prosopographical Study*, Washington 1968 [= DOS, 11], p. 5–7.

<sup>56</sup> John Kantakouzenos was a commander during the first uprising of Peter and Asan before being replaced by Alexios Branas. That means he was already *kaisar* before Conrad of Montferrat left the Byzantine Empire, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 375–376.

<sup>57</sup> CHONIATES, p. 395; E. PILTZ, *Middle Byzantine Court Costume*, [in:] *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington D.C. 1997, p. 41.

It was a more sensible approach considering very difficult situation on the empire's north-west flank after the death of Manuel I. Therefore, it is not surprising that Eirene was married to Roger III of Sicily, and later to Philip of Swabia<sup>58</sup>. While Anna-Euphrosyne married the Ruthenian prince Roman the Great<sup>59</sup>. Of course, the emperor's sons-in-law, being foreign rulers did not receive court titles in this case<sup>60</sup>. Which means that the dignities of *panhypersebastos* and lower variants may have remained empty after the death of Alexios Branas. In any case, no further information exists about them during the period from 1185 to 1195.

Table 2

**The upper part of the title hierarchy of Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195)**

<i>Sebastokrator</i>	John Doukas Alexios Angelos Constantine Angelos Komnenos John Angelos (later period)
<i>Kaisar</i>	John Angelos (early during Isaac's reign) Michael Angelos Theodoros Angelos John Kantakouzenos Alexios Komnenos Conrad of Montferrat (1185–1187)
<i>Panhypersebastos</i>	Alexios Branas (1185–1186/7)
<i>Proto-/Sebastohypertatos</i>	Vacant?

The coup of Alexios Angelos in 1195 did not bring about great changes, at least in the group of the emperor's siblings. There is no indication that younger brothers were contesting the authority of the new emperor. It seems, therefore, that they retained their titles of *sebastokrator* and *kaisar*. The information available in the sources is very sparse. We don't know much about them aside from the fact that

<sup>58</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 814; CHONIATES, p. 481.

<sup>59</sup> Regarding the marriage of Anna-Euphrosyne Angelina see especially: H. GRALA, *Drugie małżeństwo Romana Mściśławicza*, SO 31.3–4, 1982, p. 115–127; A. MAIOROV, *The Daughter of a Byzantine Emperor – the Wife of a Galician-Volhynian Prince*, Bsl 72, 2014, p. 188–233.

<sup>60</sup> There are some exceptions to this rule. Venetian doge Domenico Silvio was according to Anna Komnene granted the title of *protosebastos* by Alexios I, cf.: KOMNENE, VI, 5, 10, p. 178. Another example is Stefan “the First Crowned” Nemanjić, cf.: note 56.

they were still alive at least until 1199<sup>61</sup>. However, this absence of data proves that none of Alexios' brothers caused issues, so the new emperor had no reason to strip them of their titles given by predecessor.

The title of *sebastokrator* was given to certain Isaac Vatatzes Komnenos, the first husband of Anna Angelina daughter of Alexios III. It was possibly also at this time that Stefan Nemanjić, the husband of Eudocia Angelina, received that rank<sup>62</sup>. Undoubtedly some elite value was lost in the process as the title was given now not only to children and siblings but also to emperor's sons-in-law. Yet still, it was reserved only for a very small group of those closely related and loyal to the ruler<sup>63</sup>.

A noticeable change took place among the emperor's closest sons-in-law. He faced a serious dilemma that influenced his dynastic policy. He had no sons and no heir, so according to Byzantine custom, the eldest daughter was expected to continue the dynasty through her husband.

This troublesome situation forced Alexios to take close care when choosing appropriate candidates for successors. He rejected the claims of Manuel Kamytzes, John Doukas and numerous nephews to their discontent and married off his two older daughters – Eirene and Anna, to loyal aristocrats. The youngest Eudocia was already married to Stefan “the First Crowned” – grand prince of Serbia<sup>64</sup>. Eirene was officially recognized as the heir of Alexios. According to the account of Nicephorus Gregoras, he ordered her to wear red shoes – the mark of imperial power<sup>65</sup>. She and Anna were married twice. Originally, the husband of the eldest sister was Andronicus Kontostephanos, and the of the younger was the aforementioned *sebastokrator* Isaac Vatatzes Komnenos.

<sup>61</sup> V. LAURENT, *Le sébastocrator Constantin Ange et le péplum du musée de Saint-Marc à Venise*, REB 18, 1960, p. 213; K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η γενεαλογία...*, vol. II, p. 725–726.

<sup>62</sup> Б. ФЕРЈАНЧИЋ, *Севастократори у Византији*, ЗРВИ 11, 1968, p. 167–169. Eudocia Angelina was married to Stefan “the First Crowned” before Alexios III became the emperor. I find it doubtful that Nemanjić was given the title of *sebastokrator* immediately after the marriage. Since Eudocia was a daughter of Alexios not Isaac Angelos, I find it much more plausible that the title of *sebastokrator* was given to her husband only after the coup in 1195.

<sup>63</sup> Niketas Choniates writes that Alexios V Doukas confiscated goods belonging to wealthy *kaisars* and *sebastokrators*. It is noteworthy that he specifically uses the plural form σεβαστοκράτορι and καίσαροι. Who were those people? Possibly close relatives and supporters of the Angeloi. In any case the plural form further confirms that the title of *kaisar* was no longer given to one person. Yet the fact that Alexios V confiscated their wealth to fill imperial treasury indicates that both titles remained very prestigious dignities connected with the most influential aristocrats of the empire, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 566.

<sup>64</sup> The marriage was arranged by Isaac II Angelos, cf.: CHONIATES, p. 531; V. STANKOVIĆ, *Stronger than It Appears? Byzantium and its European Hinterland after the Death of Manuel I Komnenos*, [in:] *Byzantium, 1180–1204. “The Sad Quarter of a Century”?*, ed. A. SIMPSON, Athens 2015, p. 43–45.

<sup>65</sup> *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, III, 4, vol. I, rec. L. SCHOPEN, Bonnae 1829 [= CSHB, 19] (cetera: GREGORAS), p. 69.

Around 1199, they were married again to Alexios Paleologos and Theodoros Laskaris<sup>66</sup>. Paleologos, as the husband of the eldest daughter, received the highest honour in the form of the rank of *despotes*<sup>67</sup>. As for Theodoros Laskaris, on one of the seals he presents himself as an ordinary *sebastos* holding the office of *protovestiarios*<sup>68</sup>. This seal, however, does not seem to match the period following his marriage to the Emperor's daughter. It would be quite demeaning if he, as one of the most important persons in the state, bare this deprived of all value title, as Choniates points out. However, there is also a seal of Laskaris with the rank of *despotes*<sup>69</sup>. It's doubtful that he enjoyed this illustrious position at the same time as Alexios Paleologos. Most likely the seal comes from a short period after the death of Paleologos in early 1203, but before Alexios III fled from Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade<sup>70</sup>. For a brief time Theodoros was the true successor, which undoubtedly had influence on his later actions in Anatolia.

Lastly, there is the remaining issue of the titles *panhypersebastos*, *protosebasto-hypertatos* and *sebastohypertatos* during Alexios' rule. We do not have extensive knowledge in this regard. A single seal of Leo Sgouros is the only clue. It can be dated to the period before he was defeated by Boniface of Montferrat, but after his marriage to Eudocia Angelos<sup>71</sup>. Sgouros was granted by exiled Alexios III the dignity of *sebastohypertatos* – the lowest rank from those granted to sons-in-law. Could that be hinting that the higher one of *panhypersebastos* was occupied at that time? There is no satisfying answer to that question. Sgouros' seal can only prove the continuity of this title hierarchy at the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>72</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> CHONIATES, p. 508–509. The exact year of wedding ceremony is unclear. Three dates are considered in this case. It is possible that marriage of Angelos' sons-in-law (and directly following it rebellion of Ivanko) took place in 1198, cf.: Р. РАДИЋ, *Обласни господари у Византији крајем 12. и у првим деценијама 13. века*, ЗРВИ 24–25, 1986, p. 187–188; Г. НИКОЛОВ, *Самостоятелни и полусамостоятелни владения във възобновеното Българско царство, края на XII – средата на XIII в.*, София 2011, p. 129. Charles Brand dates it to 1199, cf.: С. BRAND, *Byzantium Confronts...*, p. 130. Jan-Louis van Dieten and Dimiter Angelov place that event even further, in the early 1200, cf. CHONIATES, p. 508; D. ANGELOV, *The Byzantine Hellene. The Life of Emperor Theodore Laskaris and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 2019, p. 19–20.

<sup>67</sup> <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/92/> [20 IV 2021]; <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/5593/> [20 IV 2021]; GREGORAS, III, 4, p. 69.

<sup>68</sup> G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris 1884, p. 672.

<sup>69</sup> <https://pbw2016.kdl.kcl.ac.uk/boulloterion/3058/> [20 IV 2021].

<sup>70</sup> Theodore Skoutariotes notes that Alexios Paleologos died before the fall of Alexios III, cf.: *Ανάπτυξοις Σύνοψις Χρονική*, rec. K. SATHAS, Venetia 1894 [= BGM, 7], p. 450.

<sup>71</sup> CHONIATES, p. 608.

<sup>72</sup> G. SCHLUMBERGER, *Sigillographie...*, p. 698–699.



Table 3

**The upper part of the title hierarchy of Alexios III Angelos (1195–1204)**

<i>Despotes</i>	Alexios Paleologos (ca. 1199–1203) Theodoros Laskaris (1203)
<i>Sebastokrator</i>	John Doukas (until his death ca. 1200) Constantine Angelos Komnenos John Angelos Isaac Vatatzes Komnenos (1195–1196) Stefan “the First Crowned” Nemanjić
<i>Kaisar</i>	Michael Angelos Theodoros Angelos Theodoros Laskaris? (ca. 1199–1203)
<i>Panhypers Sebastos</i>	Vacant?
<i>Sebastohypertatos</i>	Leo Sgouros (1204)

The analysis of the rank hierarchy at the court of the last Komnenoi and the Angelos dynasty shows that it was undergoing progressive and noticeable transformation at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Emperors adapted the existing system to their immediate needs. However even in the face of these changes it is apparent that, the upper part of Komnenian rank hierarchy generally retained its elite status, suffering only minor loss of prestige. Even the allegedly inept administration of Alexios III did not change much in this regard. Selling of titles had no effect on the upper part of the hierarchy. In regards to that group, the Angeloi followed the same policy as his predecessors. The whole structure of Komnenian dignities, despite its decay and partial replacement by genealogical terminology, was still in use up to at least the beginning of 13<sup>th</sup> century. Close blood relations with emperor’s family and loyalty were still the most important qualities among the bearers of highest court titles.

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## TĂRNOVGRAD VIEWED BY THE OTHERS: THE CASE OF NIKETAS CHONIATES

**Abstract.** The text is devoted to the analysis of the portrayal of Tărnovo, the new capital of the restored near the end of the twelfth century Bulgarian state, in the historical work and speeches by Niketas Choniates, a Byzantine historian, official and rhetorician from the latter half of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. As a direct witness of the contemporary Byzantine-Bulgarian relations, a high ranking court dignitary throughout most of the discussed period, and the author of the most important sources shedding light on the restitution of Bulgaria, he left a legacy of extraordinary importance, one which has shaped views of the subsequent generations of Byzantine historians. While examining Tărnovo's role shows it did not occupy a particularly significant place in the historian's narrative, and the remarks concerning it appear as if in passing, he nonetheless was fully conscious of the city's significance not only for the Bulgarians themselves, but also in the context of the prospective expansion of the Empire in the direction of its northern neighbours. It is therefore no accident that in his brief characterisation the city the author focused on the description of the defensive qualities of Tărnovo. Paradoxically, his arguments on this subject may play an important role in the present ongoing discussion among the archaeologists exploring the former capital on the subject of chronology and size of the fortifications surrounding the two most important hills on which the city developed, namely Tsarevets and Trapezitsa.

**Keywords:** Niketas Choniates, Tărnovgrad, Tsarevets, Trapezitsa, Veliko Tărnovo, medieval fortifications, Byzantium and Bulgaria, the Assenids, medieval Bulgaria, medieval Balkans, medieval capitals, Byzantine historiography, Byzantine rhetoric, the others in Byzantine sources, Bulgaria in Byzantine sources

The works of Niketas Choniates (ca. 1155 – ca. 1217), a Byzantine historian, rhetorician and official in the latter half of the twelfth and early thirteenth century<sup>1</sup>, are the main sources on the restored at the end of the twelfth century

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of Niketas and his literary legacy cf. J.-L. VAN DIETEN, *Niketas Choniates. Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie*, Berlin–New York 1971 [= *SupByz*, 2]; А.П. КАЖДАН, *Никита Хониат и его время*, Санкт-Петербург 2005; *Niketas Choniates. A Historian and a Writer*, ed. A. SIMPSON, S. EFTHYMIADIS, Geneva 2009; A. SIMPSON, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study*, Oxford 2013; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke–New York 2013, p. 422–456.

Bulgarian state<sup>2</sup>. The significance and wealth of the information the historian provided cannot therefore be overstated, especially since that information was subsequently readily used by other historians of the empire, such as George Akropolites or Theodore Skoutariotes, and therefore to some degree his narrative shaped their opinions as well.

The Byzantine's historical work titled *Χρονική διήγησις*, which annalistically presented the history of Byzantium from 1118 to 1206, in greater detail for the 1180–1206 period, and his extant *Λόγοι*, also include information about the capital of the late mediaeval Bulgarian State, Tărnovo<sup>3</sup>. The analysis of information on its subject is going to be the subject of the below remarks. I note here that in my considerations, I am focusing primarily on the direct mentions of Tărnovo (where the city's name appears), although I am not omitting the passages in which the historian referred to the city indirectly, or where we may surmise that given information may have also related to it. The only passage I do not consider in the text, which is traditionally associated with Tărnovo, is the description of the anonymous centre where the Bulgarian rebellion was announced. I do so because it requires a separate study.

### Tărnovo – characteristics of the city

Niketas Choniates left us the following characterisation of Tărnovo:

τοῦ Τερνόβου (ὁ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρυμνοτάτη ἅμα καὶ προφερεστάτη τῶν κατὰ τὸν Αἴμιον ἀπασῶν πόλεων, τείχεσί τε ἰσχυροῖς περιβεβλημένη καὶ ῥεύματι ποταμῶ διειλημμένη καὶ ὄρους ἀκρωνυχία πεπολισμένη)...

Tărnovo (this is the best fortified and most excellent of all the cities located in the Haimos, encompassed by mighty walls, divided by a river stream, and built on a ridge of the mountain)...<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> On this subject cf. e.g. Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *България при Асеневци*, София 1978, p. 21–50; П. ПЕТРОВ, *Възстановяване на българската държава 1185–1197*, София 1985; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *История на Средновековна България*, vol. II, *Християнска България*, София 2017, p. 281–304; A. MADGEARU, *The Asanids. The Political and Military History of the Second Bulgarian Empire (1185–1280)*, Leiden–Boston 2017 [= ECEEMA, 41], p. 35–113.

<sup>3</sup> On this city cf. e.g. *История на Велико Търново*, vol. I, *Праистория, античност и средновековие*, ed. П. ПЕТРОВ, София 1986; П. ПАНОВА, *Столичният град в културата на средновековна България*, София 1995, p. 141–186; К. ТОТЕВ, Д. КОСЕВА, *Столичният Търнов в християнската култура на Балканския свят*, [in:] *Великите Асеневци. Сборник с доклади от конференция, посветена на 830 години от въстанието на братята Петър и Асен, началото на Второто българско царство и обявяването на Търново за столица на България и 780 години от легитимното възобновяване на Българската патриаршия*, ed. П. ПАВЛОВ, Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2016, p. 364–376.

<sup>4</sup> *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, vol. I, *Praefationem et textum continens*, rec. I.A. VAN DIETEN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1975 [= CFHB, 11.1] (cetera: CHONIATES, *Historia*), p. 470, 75–78; Eng. trans. – *O City of Byzantium. Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, Detroit 1984 [= BTT], p. 258

One may draw several conclusions from this relation. Firstly, that this description fully corresponds with the real layout and development of the city, and therefore it is based on a relation of someone who knew the city first-hand (e.g. a member of one of the expeditions of Isaac II in 1186 or 1190, the Byzantine envoys from the later period, Ivanko, the killer of John Assen I, who fled to Constantinople in 1196, or even Kaloyan, the youngest of the rebellious brothers, who after 1188 supposedly spent some time in the Byzantine capital as a hostage)<sup>5</sup>. Secondly, geographically, this centre was associated with the Haimos mountain massif (nowadays the Stara Planina mountain range)<sup>6</sup>, and this is where the Byzantine author had placed it. This is further confirmed by more precise data on its location included in the description, namely the fact that the city was on a hilltop. Tǎrnovo is indeed located in the area of the so-called Tǎrnovo Hills, which are one of the northernmost parts of the Stara Planina foreland (Pre-Balkan), and the hills themselves (Tsarevets and Trapezitsa, along with Momina Krepost and Holy Mountain), on which the “old town” was located are separated by the meandering around them Yantra river<sup>7</sup>. It needs to be, however strongly emphasised that the contemporary authors, following the example of the ancient authorities, first and foremost geographers such as Strabo, saw the Stara Planina foreland as an integral part of the Haimos massif, much like the range of Sredna Gora (Anti-Balkan), to the south of Stara Planina<sup>8</sup>. This fact further reinforces my proposition of the translation of the phrase

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(with my amendments – K.M.). A similar characterisation of Tǎrnovo is found in two lections of thirteenth-century manuscripts of Niketas' work, specifically L (Laurentianus IX 24) and O (Oxoniensis Bodleianus Roe 22) – CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 616, ad v. 61–62: ...ἐξ Τέρνοβον (Τέρουβον according to O) τὴν προφερεστέραν πασῶν τῶν ἐν Μυσίᾳ πόλεων... – wherein it appears by the way of the description of the events related to the history of Bulgarian-Latin relations, specifically the battle of Adrianople in 1205 and the fate of the Latin Emperor Baldwin I.

<sup>5</sup> On these expeditions and deputations cf. e.g. Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *България...*, p. 28–29, 32–33, 38–40, 41–42, 51–52; П. ПЕТРОВ, *Възстановяване...*, p. 120–129, 146, 148, 218–232, 264–268; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, <sup>2</sup>София 1995, p. 43–44 (по. 3); ИДЕМ, *История...*, p. 291–295, 297–298, 307; А. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 67–71, 80–81, 98–101, 111–112, 117–118. More on the subject of the sources used by Choniates: А. SIMPSON, *Niketas...*, p. 214–250; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians...*, p. 437–438, 443–445.

<sup>6</sup> On the subject of these mountains cf. e.g. Е. ОВЕРХУММЕР, *Haimos*, [in:] *RE*, vol. VII.2, p. 2221–2226; P. SOUSTAL, *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, vol. VI, *Thrakien (Thrakē, Rodorē und Haimimontos)*, Wien 1991, p. 279–280; К. ГАГОВА, *Тракия през българското Средновековие. Историческа география*, <sup>2</sup>София 2002, p. 319–322.

<sup>7</sup> Т. ОВЧАРОВ, *За топографския и архитектурния облик на средновековния Търновград (XII–XIV в.)*, [in:] *ТКШ*, vol. II, *Ученици и последователи на Евтимий Търновски. Втори международен симпозиум Велико Търново, 20–23 май 1976*, ed. П. РУСЕВ et al., София 1980, p. 464–477.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. СТРАВОН, *Géographie*, vol. IV, *Livre VII*, 5, 1, ed. R. BALADIÉ, Paris 2003, p. 114, 14–18; VII, 6, 1, p. 127, 13–16; VII, fr. 10, p. 154, 7–19; *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, XIV, 8, 6, vol. I, rec. D.R. REINSCH, А. КАМВЪЛИС, *Berolini–Novi Eboraci* 2001, p. 456, 76–87. Presently the Stara Planina foreland, along with the massif of Stara Planina itself, constitute a part of the so-called Stara Planina Region. On the subject of the modern day division of the above mentioned orographic units cf. В. НИКОЛОВ, М. ЙОРДАНОВА, *Планините в България*, <sup>2</sup>София 2002, p. 9–57.

τῶν κατὰ τὸν Αἶμον ἀπασῶν πόλεων as *all the cities located in the Haimos*, contrary to the traditional *all the cities along the Haimos*<sup>9</sup>. The same translation of the key phrase κατὰ τὸν Αἶμον, although in a somewhat different context, was accepted by Ivan Dujčev for Choniates' τὸς κατὰ τὸν Αἶμον τὸ ὄρος βαρβάρους, appearing in the initial description of the beginning of the Assenid rebellion. A somewhat further analogy, though semantically related, would be the translation by Dimitrios Gonis, appearing in Nikefor Gregoras, of the phrase περὶ τὸν Αἶμον φρούρια associating the mentioned fortifications with the interior of the mountain massif, rather than with its surroundings<sup>10</sup>. In the light of the thirteenth-century lections of the manuscripts A (Vaticanus graecus 1623) and P (Parisinus graecus 1778) and the fourteenth-fifteenth century W (Vindobonensis Historicus graecus 105), which were accepted as the original version in the older editions of Choniates's work, prepared by August Immanuel Bekker, Preslav, the old Bulgarian capital, was described by the Byzantine historian in a manner analogous to Tărnovo. He stated that it was in greater part surrounded by Haimos (καὶ πλείστην ὄσιν περὶ τὸν Αἶμον τὴν περίμετρον ἔχουσα)<sup>11</sup>, although it is known that, once again, the description pertains to Pre-Balkan. We may therefore, without much error, count Tărnovo among the fortresses, mentioned several times in Choniates' works, located on steepnesses and high hills, superbly fortified, linked to Haimos, in which Bulgarians took shelter from Byzantine armed forces<sup>12</sup>.

The remark about the city's plan on the hilltop also draws attention, as indeed the main buildings of the city were located on the relatively flat (Trapezitsa) or terraced (Tsarevets) top parts of the hills, while their steep slopes stretching towards

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed., praef. et trans. V. ТАРКОВА, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. XI, София 1983 (cetera: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, trans. V. ТАРКОВА), p. 51; *O City of Byzantium...*, p. 258.

<sup>10</sup> *CHONIATES, Historia*, p. 368, 50–51; *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, X, 4, vol. I, ed. L. SCHORRENI, Bonn 1829 [= *CSHB*, 4], p. 488, 1; И. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Въстанието на Асеневици и култът на свети Димитрия Солунски*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Проучвания върху българското средновековие*, София 1945 (= *СББАНИ* 41.1, 1945), p. 45, fn. 3 (no. IX); ИДЕМ, *Въстанието в 1185 г. и неговата хронология*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Проучвания върху средновековната българска история и култура*, София 1981, p. 53; Д. ГОНИС, *Търново и крайбрежните митрополии и архиепископии (Варна, Месемврия, Созопол и Анхиало) през XIV век*, [in:] *ТКШ*, vol. V, *Паметници. Поетика. Историко-география. Пети международен симпозиум Велико Търново, 6–8 септември 1989*, ed. Г. ДАНЧЕВ, Велико Търново 1994, p. 469, n. 31.

<sup>11</sup> *CHONIATES, Historia*, p. 372, 43–45; *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, rec. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1835 [= *CSHB*] (cetera: *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, rec. I. BEKKER), p. 486, 18–21. This clarification that the city was in larger part surrounded by this mountain massif, although it perfectly fits with the real location of the city in relation to the Stara Planina foreland, was not included in Jan-Louis VAN DIETEN's reconstruction of the text.

<sup>12</sup> *CHONIATES, Historia*, p. 368, 53–55; p. 373, 59–63; p. 428, 67 – 429, 72; *Nicetae Choniatae Orationes et epistulae, Or. II*, rec. I.A. VAN DIETEN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1972 [= *CFHB*, 3], p. 8, 2–5. A broader commentary on the manner in which Haimos was utilised in the context of the restoration of the Bulgarian state at the end of the twelfth century in К. МАРИНОВ, *Бунтовният Хемус. Масивът като база за нападения и убежище по време на първите Асеневици*, Епо 23.2, 2015, p. 330–347.



the river remained undeveloped. Further buildings were located only by the riverbed itself, at the base of the hills. The author however does not mention them, which may mean that in his brief description he focused on the dominant elements, or the most important characteristics of the city plan and buildings, omitting details, or (in a different interpretation) the development along the riverbed had not been very prominent at the time. The indication that the Bulgarian capital was located exclusively on one hill is also striking and, at least at first glance, obviously does not agree with the realities of how the city was planned. Of course, one could suppose that this attests to the concentration of the settlement at the end of the twelfth or in the early thirteenth century solely on one of the Tărnovo hills, likely on Tsarevets, or to accept that it was that latter hill that was referred to as Tărnovo, which appears to be suggested by some of the native old Bulgarian sources<sup>13</sup>. Indeed, in the light of archaeological research to date, Tărnovo gained a clear urban appearance only during the times of Tsar John Asen II (Tsarevets) and his direct successors in the 1240s (Trapezitza)<sup>14</sup>. This does not, however, mean that there had been no earlier settlement in the area of Trapezitza<sup>15</sup>, and other

<sup>13</sup> Д.И. ПОЛЫВЯННЫЙ, *Търновград глазами средневекового современника*, [in:] *ТКШ*, vol. IV, *Културно развитие на българската държава. Краят на XII–XIV век. Четвърти международен симпозиум Велико Търново, 16–18 октомври 1985 г.*, ed. А. ДАВИДОВ et al., София 1985, p. 263. Cf. В. БАРАКОВ, *Градът във Второто българско царство. Раждане, типология и структура*, Велико Търново 2015, p. 124.

<sup>14</sup> Д. РАБОВЯНОВ, *Археологически проучвания в южния сектор на Трапезица*, vol. I, *Средновековният град*, Велико Търново 2015, p. 51–52, 66–70, 125–128; ИДЕМ [rec.], Венелин Бараков. *Градът във Второто българско царство. Раждане, типология и структура*. Издателство „Абагар“, Велико Търново, 2015. 424 с., 129 образа и 4 карти – ИНИМ 30, 2018, p. 337, 341, 347. Somewhat differently V. БАРАКОВ, *The Medieval City of Tarnov. Capital of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom*, [s.l., s.a.], p. 10, 11.

<sup>15</sup> General remarks, in some cases debatable – Й. АЛЕКСИЕВ, *Предстоличният Търнов*, [in:] *Сборник в чест на акад. Димитър Ангелов*, ed. В. ВЕЛКОВ, София 1994, p. 198; М. ДОЛМОВА-ЛУКАНОВСКА, *Трапезица в светлината на археологическите разкопки*, Велико Търново 2008, p. 49–51, 119–120; В. БАРАКОВ, *Градът...*, p. 119, 122–123, 130–132, 142, 313, 317–318, 332–333. Traces of settlement and a necropolis from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries have been confirmed in the South-Eastern sector of the fortress. At the end of the twelfth century, at its eastern base there had also been an active pottery workshop, while a metallurgical workshop was briefly present near the main entrance to the fortress. It is possible that the churches no. 3, 16 and 19 had been built as early as the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The process of fortifying and permanently settling the northern part of the acclivity began during the first years of the thirteenth century. The erection of the defensive walls in the western part of the hill are also dated to this period – М. РОБОВ, *Производствени комплекси за строителна и битова керамика от предстоличния период на Търново*, [in:] *Средновековно Търново. Археологически проучвания. Юбилеен сборник по случай тридесет години от създаването на Филиала на Археологическия институт с музей при Българската академия на науките Велико Търново 1974–2004*, ed. К. ТОТЕВ, М. РОБОВ, И. АЛЕКСАНДРОВ, Велико Търново 2004, p. 93–107; ИДЕМ, *Гражданският комплекс в Югоизточния сектор на Трапезица*, [in:] *ТКШ*, vol. X, *Търновската държава на Духа. Десети юбилеен международен симпозиум Велико Търново, 17–19 октомври 2013 г.*, ed. Д. КЕНАНОВ, Велико

remarks in Byzantine texts suggest rather that the name Tǎrnovo referred to the entirety of the Bulgarian capital, and included the latter upland, which along with Tsarevets constituted the core settlement of the city<sup>16</sup>. A certain detail of the analysed passage appears to indicate that Choniates made use of the single hill according to the principle of *pars pro toto*, pointing to the general fact of erecting the city's buildings on the tops of the local hills, as well as likely having in mind the most important one, the very Tsarevets on which the Assenid seat was located. He stated that the city was erected on the hilltop, but was divided by a river. This information would not make sense if it indeed referred to buildings concentrated on one hill surrounded by the river valley. If the Byzantine wanted only to emphasise that the city was separated from the surrounding terrain, and therefore was entirely or largely surrounded by the river, one would have expected him to have used the expression *περίμετρον*, as he did in the case of Preslav, surrounded by the Haimos massif. Alternatively, he would have used the word *περιβάλλω*, which he used earlier in the same sentence referring to Tǎrnovo to emphasise that the capital was surrounded by mighty defensive walls. The use of *διαλαμβάνω* in turn makes sense if we accept that it reflects the real plan of a city located on at least two hills, separated by a river. This had indeed been the case.

The information about the fortifications, perfection or splendour of the city also deserves attention. Undoubtedly Tǎrnovo was seen as the mightiest Bulgarian fortress and to this fact, the most important to the Byzantine author, he drew the greatest attention. From this statement it indirectly follows that the Byzantines had the knowledge of other contemporary Bulgarian fortresses and cities (primarily those they associated with Haimos) and it was against their backdrop that they were able to evaluate the defensive qualities of Tǎrnovo. In the light of this description, there were three components that made up the specific characteristics of the city's defence – the mighty walls encircling it, the river obstructing access to it, and the fact that the city was located on an elevation or, as stated by the author, on the hilltop. Paradoxically it is the artificial component, the intentionally constructed city walls, that comes to the fore. These were *de facto* an additional element, reinforcing the naturally fortified, through its very location, city. It follows therefore

Търново 2015, р. 606–619; ИДЕМ, *Некрополът до църква № 3 на Трапезица*, [in:] ВТУ „Св. св. Кирил и Методий“ и българската археология, vol. II, Проф. д-р Борис Д. Борисов – ученици и приятели, ed. Б.Д. БОРИСОВ, Велико Търново 2016, р. 741–750; К. ТОТЕВ, Е. ДЕРМЕНДЖИЕВ, П. КАРАИЛИЕВ, Д. КОСЕВА, *Археологически проучвания на средновековния град Трапезица*, vol. I, Сектор Север (Северна кула, Северна порта, Военна сграда, Западна крепостна стена, Железарска работилница, Църква № 19 и Централен площад, Разкопки 2007–2009 г.), Велико Търново 2011, р. 201; К. ТОТЕВ, *Археологически проучвания на средновековния град Трапезица – северна част (2007–2010)*, [in:] *Българско средновековие: общество, власт, история. Сборник в чест на проф. д-р Милияна Каймакамова*, ed. Г.Н. НИКОЛОВ, София 2013, р. 581–582, 583–585, 587–588; К. ТОТЕВ, Д. КОСЕВА, *Столичният Търнов...*, р. 371.

<sup>16</sup> Т. ОВЧАРОВ, *За топографския и архитектурния облик...*, р. 468.

that as early as in the discussed period (the 1190s), or at least prior to our author's death (that is, ca. 1217), or even not long after 1206 (when the narrative of the final version of the work breaks off), the city, or at least some part of it, was surrounded by walls.

The above chronology may be narrowed down even further, as the work of Choniates is preserved in two basic versions, significantly differing in some respects. The first was created before the capture of Constantinople by the knights participating in the Fourth Crusade, in April 1204. Until that time the author held high positions at the imperial court, and therefore had free access to current political information, including that concerning Byzantium's neighbours. For some time he even served as an imperial governor in Thrace, specifically of the Philippopolis theme (from 1189), and so he was no stranger to the Bulgarian affairs. The second version was drafted after 1206, when he was correcting and supplementing the earlier text, adding to it a lot of information, specifically adding his own characterisation and appraisal of the state's elites which had led to the empire's downfall. At the time he was already in exile by the Asia Minor Nicaea, he lived in poverty, deprived of his position and influence. It therefore appears highly likely that he obtained the above information about Tărnovo and included it in his work prior to 1204, especially since we know that he brought his original narrative up to 1202, to subsequently supplement it during 1204–1206 with the description of events related to the fall of Constantinople and its immediate aftermath (in the manuscript version LO he brought the description of events up to ca. 1210). In addition, comparison of the shorter version of the work with the longer one does not show the author's later interference into the cited above topographical characterisation of the Bulgarian capital<sup>17</sup>.

From the archaeological examinations we know that the aforementioned defensive walls of Tărnovo stretched along the edge of the peaks of the particular hills and formed the culmination of the slopes quite steeply descending towards the Yantra valley. The information indicated in the discussed source may be of significance in considering the timeline of fortifying the Tsarevets or Trapezitsa hills (in the case of the latter, primarily in relation to the question of the development of settlement therein), which is being disputed by the specialists conducting excavations in the area of the former capital<sup>18</sup>. Regardless of the disagreements between

<sup>17</sup> On the subject of life and chronology of creation of Choniates' historical work cf. A. SIMPSON, *Niketas...*, p. 2–3, 11–124; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians...*, p. 422–435, 441–442.

<sup>18</sup> The fullest description of the city walls surrounding Tsarevets was provided by В. ВЪЛОВ, *Царевград Търнов*, vol. V, *Археологически разкопки и проучвания на крепостните стени на хълма Царевец 1966–1969 г.*, София 1992. Cf. also Т. ОВЧАРОВ, *Археологически проучвания на терасата източно и югозападно от Патриаршията до Малката Порта и на южния склон на Царевец*, Велико Търново 2005; М. ДОЛМОВА-ЛУКАНОВСКА, *Археологически проучвания на средновековна улица по северозападния склон, квартал при трета порта на главния вход, източна*

the scholars studying this matter, there is no doubt that some span of fortifications spanning at least the Tsarevets hill was in place already at the time when the Byzantine historian was writing his work. The walls must have been at least sufficiently impressive (Choniates describes them outright as mighty) for the arrivals to have found them noteworthy, likely even from some distance. If we were to add to this the information that Tarnovo was more splendid than the other fortresses spread across Stara Planina and its foreland, then even assuming its small size, it would be difficult to interpret it as a small defensive installation of a size similar to the later architectural complex of the Bulgarian Patriarchate, which may have been present at the highest terrace of Tsarevets still during the Byzantine rule<sup>19</sup>. Clearly the description of the Byzantine historian is referring to the walls encircling the hill (hills?) already during the period following the restitution of the Bulgarian

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*крепостна стена и квартал при Френкхисарската порта на Царевец, Велико Търново* 2007. In the case of Tsarevets, nowadays the existence of settlement and some span of city fortifications during the time after the restitution of Bulgarian statehood in 1180s is not being negated, however there are diverse views on the scope of these investments – on this subject cf. the following brief considerations and cited literature in the present paper. Regarding Trapezitsa, the date of the erection of the first fortifications surrounding the hilltop, or at least the beginning of their construction, is presently thought to be between the very end of the twelfth or rather earliest years of thirteenth century (thus e.g. К. ТОТЕВ, *Археологически проучвания...*, p. 581–582, 583–585; ИДЕМ, Н. ТОДОРОВ, П. КАРАИЛИЕВ, *Към фортификацията на крепостта Трапезица. Стени, порти, комуникации и военни сгради*, [in:] *Владетел, държава и църква на Балканите през Средновековието. Сборник с доклади от международната конференция, посветена на 60-годишнината на проф. д-р Пламен Павлов*, ed. Н. КЪНЕВ, Н. ХРИСИМОВ, Велико Търново 2019, p. 400, 401, 403–404, 414, 419, 422, 424) up to 1220s or 1230s (М. ДОЛМОВА, *За укрепителната система на крепостта „Трапезица“ (предварително съобщение)*, *Арх* 37.3, 1995, p. 40; ЕАДЕМ, *Трапезица...*, p. 45; Д. РАБОВЯНОВ, *Фортификацията на крепостта Трапезица – втората цитадела на българската столица Търновград*, [in:] *In honorem*, vol. IV, *TEMPUS FUGIT. Юбилеен сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на проф. д-р Стоян Витлянов*, ed. И. ЙОРДАНОВ, Шумен 2017, p. 180–181, p. 21; ИДЕМ, *Крепостта Трапезица в развитието на Търновград като столица на Второто българско царство*, [in:] *Владетел...*, p. 381, 382). The hitherto results of archaeological examinations of the Trapezitsa fortifications are collectively discussed by Н. ТОДОРОВ, *История на проучванията на фортификацията на крепостта Трапезица*, [in:] *Великите Асеневици...*, p. 502–522; ИДЕМ, *Към въпроса за периодизацията на крепостното строителство на Трапезица*, *ГИФВУКМ* 1 (33), 2017, p. 471–480.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Е. ДЕРМЕНДЖИЕВ, *За патриаршиския комплекс, царския дворец и фортификацията на средновековната крепост на хълма Царевец в предстоличния Търнов*, *ИРИМВТ* 31, 2016, p. 40–46; Д. РАБОВЯНОВ, *Може ли археологията да се триумфи? Отзив за студията на Евгени Дерменджиев „За патриаршиския комплекс, Царския дворец и фортификацията на средновековната крепост на хълма Царевец в предстоличния Търнов“*, *ИРИМВТ* 32, 2017, p. 360, 364, 365; ИДЕМ, *Крепостта Трапезица...*, p. 383–384; Е. ДЕРМЕНДЖИЕВ, *Отговор на отзива на Д. Рабовянов „Може ли археологията да се триумфи?“* (*„Известия на Регионален исторически музей – Велико Търново“* 32, 2017, 359–367) *за моята студия „За патриаршиския комплекс, Царския дворец и фортификацията на средновековната крепост на хълма Царевец в предстоличния Търнов“* (*„Известия на Регионален исторически музей – Велико Търново“* 31, 2016, 39–100), *ИРИМВТ* 33, 2018, p. 445.

state during the mid-1180s, perhaps even to situation from the turn of the centuries (times of Kaloyan), known to the Byzantine and somewhat retrospectively transposed onto the times of Ivanko's rebellion of 1196, in the context of which the analysed description of the city appears on Choniates' pages. From the perspective of the source however one may not rule out that the aforementioned fortifications existed during the events relating to the death of Tsar Assen (1196), or even somewhat earlier (but after the restoration of Bulgarian statehood?)<sup>20</sup>. At least, that was the image of the Bulgarian city that Niketas' readers received. In addition, the Byzantine historian's text indicates that he considered the city's core to *de facto* include more than one hill (therefore at least two), which in the light of our archaeological knowledge speaks in favour of the view that it may have referred to at least Trapezitsa. Keeping that in mind, may one suppose that when writing about the span of walls encircling the city the author may have also meant a second hill, also fortified, or did he only mean that the settlement, located on both hills, was divided by a river, *ergo* the second hill was not fortified? It is difficult to say for certain although, as I have mentioned earlier, the most recent excavations show a possibility that at least some fortifications may have surrounded Trapezitsa in the early thirteenth century<sup>21</sup>, which would have corresponded to the times during which Choniates was writing his work.

The aforementioned paradox, however, relates to the fact that it was the riverbed that constituted the first obstacle to be overcome on the way to the city, excepting of course the main approach to Tsarevets, located in the south-western part of the hill and not defended by the body of water. Listing the city walls first may have been referring to those fortifications which guarded the main approach, although I personally think it was a result of the good visibility of the city walls, further enhanced by their location. We otherwise know that during the discussed period Yantra carried a greater volume of water, which made it a more robust barrier for any potential aggressors. The mountain (read: hills) itself formed the third component of the defences of the city located thereon. It is a known fact that fortresses and cities located on the peaks of hills and mountains were among the most difficult to capture and frequently the contemporary experts in the art of war recommended that these should be taken through trickery and deceit, especially if a lengthy siege intended to starve out the defenders was to be avoided. A direct assault was generally advised against, as the defenders had a natural advantage,

<sup>20</sup> This fact can be in part correlated with the presently accepted by archaeologists, albeit hesitantly, the dating of the first span of the perimeter fortifications of the Tsarevets hill – Е. ДЕРМЕНДЖИЕВ, *За патриаршеския комплекс...*, p. 61–75; Д. РАВОВЯНОВ, *Може ли археологията...*, p. 359–361, 362–365; Е. ДЕРМЕНДЖИЕВ, *Отговор...*, p. 447.

<sup>21</sup> К. ТОТЕВ, Е. ДЕРМЕНДЖИЕВ, П. КАРАИЛИЕВ, Д. КОСЕВА, *Археологически проучвания...*, p. 30, 31, 125–126; К. ТОТЕВ, *Археологически проучвания...*, p. 581–582, 583–585. Differently М. ДОЛМОВА-ЛУКАНОВСКА, *Трапезица...*, p. 31–46; В. БАРАКОВ, *Градът...*, p. 131, 247–248 (the latter scholar dates Trapezitsa's fortifications to 1180s).

occupying combat position on a higher ground, and thus fulfilling the cardinal recommendation regarding military actions in the mountains and in high-lying terrains in general<sup>22</sup>. Thus in discussing Tärnovo's defensive qualities the author emphasised three obstacles – two natural ones, the water and steepness of Tärnovo's slopes, which made approach to the city's buildings significantly more difficult, slowing down the enemy's assault and forcing him to considerable exertion in order to reach the third obstacle, namely the city walls guarded by the local garrison. It is clear that such emphasis on the question of the city's defences and their particular components stemmed from the fact that the Byzantines were forced to attack it, *ergo* struggle against the aforementioned obstacles.

The matter of particular defensibility of Tärnovo may also be associated somewhat with the used in the quote term *προφερεστάτη* (from *προφερός*), which may be translated as *most excellent*, which should be understood also as meaning *superior*, i.e. *above other [cities]*<sup>23</sup>. The city therefore stood above others because of its fortifications. On the other hand all these adjectives, including the acceptable, somewhat looser translation *most beautiful*<sup>24</sup> indicate both the aesthetic qualities of the city's location (emphasised by other mediaeval authors, and even more so by modern era travellers and contemporary authors)<sup>25</sup>, as well as its role as a capital, also in this respect elevating it above other Bulgarian cities.

The accuracy of the Byzantine description of Tärnovo may be further attested by the fifteenth-century text by a Tärnovian, Gregory Tsamblak, who in his *Tale of the transfer of Petka of Tärnovo to Vidin and Belgrade*, related to the capture of the Bulgarian capital by the Ottoman Turks in 1393, stated the following:

Иже ѿ пришеѣ, въсѣ оубо българскыя прѣдѣлы ѿкоже гнѣздѣ шарѣжа. на чудныи же градѣ  
пришеѣ, недооучкваше къ прїетїю. мѣста оубо тврѣдость зрѣ ѿкоже ѿ ю. стрѣлицимаи  
горѣ ѿ хлѣнѣ высокыи затворено. ѿ стѣнами великыи оукрѣплено. ѿ вѣнѣторѣ же

<sup>22</sup> К. Маринов, *Как трябва да се водят планински сражения. Препорѣки в някои византийски и антични стратегикони*, ВМд 4/5, 2013/2014, p. 368, 377–378; IDEM, *Przez wąwozy i lasy. Armia bizantyńska wobec trudno dostępných obszarów w świetle IX konstytucji „Taktyk” Leona VI Mądrego*, AUL.FH 99, 2017, p. 19–20.

<sup>23</sup> *LSJ*, p. 1539.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, trans. V. ТАРКОВА, p. 51.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. e.g. *Ανωνύμου Σύνοψις Χρονική*, [in:] BGM, vol. VII, rec. C. SATHAS, Parisii 1894, p. 417, 13–16; R. RÖHNICHT, *Die Jerusalemfahrt des Peter Sparnau und Ulrich von Tennstaedt (1385)*, ZGEB 26, 1891, p. 490 (Peter Sparnau); Григорїа архїєпискоупа русїйскаго похвално иже въ святыхъ шѣца нашего ѿвѣїміа патрїарха тръншвскаго, 50.1, [in:] П. РУСЕВ, И. ГЪЛББОВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, Г. ДАНЧЕВ, *Похвално слово за Евтимий от Григорий Цамблак*, София 1971, p. 198; *Възрожденски пѣтеписи*, ed. С. ГЮРОВА, София 1969, p. 38, 78–79, 80, 125–126; К. ИРЕЧЕК, *Пѣтуваня по България*, trans. С. АРГИРОВ, ed. Е. БУЖАШКИ, В. ВЕЛКОВ, София 1974, p. 281–295; М. ЙОВКОВ, *Търново в релациите на католишките мисионери*, [in:] *Велико Търново през вековете*, ed. П. ПЕТРОВ, София 1982, p. 108–109 (Petär Bogdan Bakšev).

прѣбныѣ мно҃гочѣстными мо́щими трѣгоубо оутверѣжено. и ꙗко воина непобѣдима сѣѣ по срѣдѣхъ ѿмоуѣиамъ, ѿже тамо жителеѣ. И по сихъ оубо вещей вездѣльнъ хѣтѣаше възвратити се вѣрварь. къ стѣнамъ же ѿ чѣсти что ѿще и възмогъ би. къ крепости же прѣбныѣ не ѿнако оупѣла би. развѣ ꙗко же стѣно къ ѿгню. Нѣ слышитъ и тѣ побно, Моуѣсеѣ же и ѿреамѣи. ѿво оубо не моли се о людехъ сихъ. ѿво же, ѿзиди изъ града сего. мѣтвы въ твое ꙗко стѣна мѣдна соутъ къ възвращенію гнѣва моегѡ. И тако ѿ горькыѣ пѡвѣсти грѣхѡу прѣвѣзъшѣшъ въ роукоу бѣѣ бѣе, ѿже никогдаже сѣѣ положити мнѣшому се.

On his [Ottoman ruler Bayezid I Yıldırım – K.M.] arrival occupied the Bulgarian territories as if they were an [empty] bird's nest. Standing before **the marvelous city** [i.e. Tárnovo – K.M.], **he wondered how to seize it, for he saw that it was a tough place, surrounded by steep mountain slopes and high hills fortified with formidable ramparts** and from the inside triply strengthened with the most honorable relics of the venerable [i.e. St. Petka of Tárnovo – K.M.]. The latter stood in the midst of the people who lived there like an invincible warrior. For this reason the barbarian tsar [despaired] and wished to turn back without success. He could have breached **the walls**, but against the fortress of the venerable he would have been as successful as hay against fire. Like Moses and Jeremiah he [the invincible warrior, i.e. St. Petka – K.M.] heard “Do not pray for these people” or “Leave this city, for your prayers defend it against my wrath like a copper wall!” And yet – oh such sorrowful tale to tell! – when sin prevailed, all of a sudden [he] saw what he thought he would never have falling in his hands.<sup>26</sup>

Of course, in comparing the above quotation with the description by Choniates one has to keep in mind the temporal distance dividing the two texts and the advancements in architectural planning and development of the Bulgarian capital. Tárnovo of the late twelfth and late fourteenth centuries differed significantly from each other<sup>27</sup>. Nonetheless both the descriptions not only emphasised practically the same elements of its positioning and fortification, but also did so in almost the same words. True, a remark about the river is absent from Tsamblak's relation, and several of the mountains and hills which enclosed the city have been mentioned directly. However the remaining elements are fully compatible with each other – like in Niketas, we have a magnificent, wonderful city, an epithet undoubtedly referring both to its charming location as well as, primarily, its exceptional character, obtained thanks to the relics of St. Petka of Tárnovo resting within its walls. We have a recollection of the natural features guarding the access to the capital, such

<sup>26</sup> Пренасяне на моцѣте на св. Петка отъ Търново въ Видинъ и оттамъ въ Сърбия. Разказъ отъ Григория Цамблакъ, [in:] Й. ИВАНОВ, *Български старини от Македония*, ed. Б. АНГЕЛОВ, Д. АНГЕЛОВ, <sup>2</sup>София 1970, p. 434 (no. LI); Eng. trans. – К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh–Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture*, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= ECEEMA, 5], p. 377–378 (with my minor correction and boldface – K.M.).

<sup>27</sup> On the subject of the city's development during the two hundred years of its existence, including the substantial advancement of the Trapezitsa hill as the constituent core of the settlement centre and the appearance of subsequent residential districts cf. Д. РАБОВЯНОВ, *Крепостта Трапезица...*, p. 384–386; К. ТОТЕВ, Н. ТОДОРОВ, П. КАРАИЛИЕВ, *Към фортификацията...*, p. 396.

as the location among the steep-sloped mountains and hills, and the emphasis of its fortification with great and mighty walls. Once again, three elements comprising Tǎrnovo's defensibility have been named<sup>28</sup>, although instead of the river, Tsamblak emphasised the ultimate, spiritual protection of the city, namely the Saint's intercession. The latter can however be easily explained by the hagiographic nature of his work.

### **Tǎrnovo – the seat of the Assenids and the capital of the restored Bulgarian state**

I have mentioned earlier that the discussed quotation from the work of Niketas Choniates was included in the narrative describing the killing of Assen by one Ivanko in 1196 and the latter's attempt at seizing power in Bulgaria<sup>29</sup>. Tǎrnovo is mentioned four times in the text, and the context of these references is very important. After Assen's death Ivanko, along with his supporters, started a rebellion against supporters of Peter, Assen's brother, and took control of the city, aiming to establish his rule over Moesia (i.e. Bulgaria). As the news of the ruler's death spread not only within the city but also outside its walls (τῶν τοῦ Τερνόβου τειχέων)<sup>30</sup>, and reached Peter, who was residing in Preslav, Ivanko, fearing adverse developments, turned to Emperor Alexios III Angelos with a request for military support. He encouraged the Byzantine ruler to first capture Tǎrnovo, and to join forces to fight for the rule over the entire Moesia. At the same time the author also relates that Peter himself did not think he would easily defeat Ivanko, and deliberately delayed an attack, and only in time his supporters outside, and maybe also inside (?) of the city grew in power, as he continuously sent them new armed units. Commenting on the rebel's offer made to the Emperor, Choniates throws in a remark that had the Emperor put in the appropriate effort, then after capturing Tǎrnovo he would have easily and effortlessly conquered the entirety of Moesia. This, however, did not happen, and Ivanko did not receive sufficient support from Byzantium. Faced with an increasingly uncertain situation, he doubted his situation and position in Tǎrnovo and left it in secret, making his way to Byzantium<sup>31</sup>.

Throughout the entire narrative Tǎrnovo is found at the centre of events. Firstly, Assen, the Bulgarian Tsar resided in this city, and was murdered here. The city became the centre of the rebellion, and it was from here that the attack on and the

<sup>28</sup> More on the defensive scheme of the city: А. Попов, *Крепостната система на средновековната столица Търновград*, ВС 48.4, 1979, p. 124–143.

<sup>29</sup> On Ivanko and attempt on Assen cf. e.g. Г. ЦАНКОВА-ПЕТКОВА, *България...*, p. 41–42; П. ПЕТРОВ, *Възстановяване...*, p. 264–271; И. БОЖИЛОВ, *Българите във Византийската империя*, София 1995, p. 311–312 (no. 359); ИДЕМ, *Фамилията на Асеневици (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, <sup>2</sup>София 1995, p. 33–34 (no. 1); ИДЕМ, *История...*, p. 297–298; А. MADGEARU, *The Asanids...*, p. 111–112.

<sup>30</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 470, 79.

<sup>31</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 468, 24 – 472, 19.



subsequent subjugation of the other Bulgarian territories was to come. There is a notable separation in the narrative between Tărnovo and Moesia, the remaining lands subject to the Assenids. The city is the main goal of military operations, and only from there they are directed against other territories. Once the city is taken, the remaining lands will be easily captured – not the other way round. Seizing of the city by Ivanko was supposed to gain him the crown and power. Thus, entering into the city was crucial for imposing rule over the other Bulgarian. Of course, the chief obstacle on the way to a lasting and firm position within the city, but even more so beyond its walls, was Assen's brother, another Bulgarian ruler. The repeated reference to the city's walls is emblematic of the discussed description; these, along with the previously discussed characterisation of Tărnovo's defensive qualities, splendidly explain Peter's hesitation. He likely recognised both the location and the fortifications of the city, realising the difficulties inherent in attempting to capture it. Therefore a rational delay, intended to allow gathering of forces sufficient to be brought before the city, and possibly make an attempt at taking it. The latter was undoubtedly being facilitated by the fears, doubts and hesitation of the Byzantine contingents regarding the crossing of the Stara Planina massif on the way to relieving Ivanko, who remained confined to the city<sup>32</sup>. The latter, in turn, was aware that mastery of Tărnovo, the mightiest of the fortresses in Haimos, and the splendour associated with the city's dominant authority, would ensure him not only safety, but also obedience. Of course, if he had an armed force sufficient to deal with the opposition from Peter. Ivanko intended to make Tărnovo into a base of operations in his efforts to expand his rule over the entirety of Moesia. Losing Tărnovo would have meant losing any real chance for real and legitimate power. Peter was also aware of this, and he immediately took steps to not only avenge his brother, but also to regain the state's central city. Choniates' commentary, once the secretive escape from the city and Ivanko's flight to the Emperor was confirmed and Peter consolidated his forces, was unequivocal – *Thus the rule over the Mysians was fully transferred once again into the hands of Peter* (καὶ μετῆλθεν οὕτω καθαρῶς πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον πάλιν ἡ ἀρχηγία Μυσῶν)<sup>33</sup>. In other words, we clearly have here the most important centre of the restored Bulgarian state, its capital; at least, this was the case in 1196<sup>34</sup>.

The confirmation of Tărnovo's significance as the capital and the most important city of the restored state and the seat of the Bulgarian ruler is also found in the remark devoted by Niketas to the fate of Baldwin I (1204–1205), the first Emperor of the Latin Empire of Constantinople, in the context of the defeat of the Western

<sup>32</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 471, 6 – 472, 15.

<sup>33</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 472, 18–19; Eng. trans. – *O City of Byzantium...*, p. 25 (with my correction – K.M.).

<sup>34</sup> Д.И. ПОЛЫБЯННЫЙ, *Культурная идентичность, историческое сознание и книжное наследие средневековой Болгарии*, Москва–Санкт-Петербург 2018, p. 259.

European knights in the battle of Adrianople in 1205. According to the Byzantine historian's relation, the Emperor was to have been taken captive and taken by the Bulgarians to Tărnovo (ἐς Τέρνοβον), where he was thrown into a dungeon, tied with chains up to his neck<sup>35</sup>. In another place in his work Niketas reported Baldwin's death. Kaloyan, the then Bulgarian ruler (1197–1207), by then had kept him in captivity for a long time, and because of an anti-Bulgarian rebellion of Alexios Aspietes in Philippopolis, the Bulgarian became enraged at the Latins as well. As a result, in a murderous rage, he led the Latin Emperor from the dungeon and ordered his legs hacked off at the knees and arms at shoulders with a Tenedian axe, and to be then thrown headfirst into a ravine. The unfortunate man, left to be devoured by wild birds, was supposed to have lived for three more days after that, before finally expiring. In a similarly inhuman manner the Bulgarian Tsar put to death the remaining Byzantines he had in captivity, having no regard for their cries and pleading. Among them was also said to have the *logothetēs tou dromou* Constantine Tornikes, who reluctantly agreed to serve under the Latin ruler after the fall of the Byzantine capital. He was at first in Cuman (lit. Scythian) captivity, then fled to Kaloyan (in the text: John), hoping to be welcomed with highest honours, as had often been the case in the past when he stayed at the Bulgarian court as a Byzantine envoy. As Choniates ironically commented on his fate, he instead experienced *hospitality*, which was expressed through numerous sword wounds across his entire body, and being denied burial after the murder<sup>36</sup>.

Apart from the clear characterisation of attitude and actions of Tsar Kaloyan and his subordinates towards defenceless captives, the described events provide us with some valuable information on the subject of Tărnovo itself, or at least about the city as it was perceived by the Byzantine author. Within the city the Bulgarian ruler held high ranking Byzantine and Latin dignitaries, including Emperor Baldwin himself, after they have been captured following the defeat at the battle of Adrianople, or as a result of anti-Byzantine actions of Kaloyan in Thrace

<sup>35</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 616, 60–62. The fourteenth-century demotic paraphrase of Choniates' *History* (manuscript B – Monacensis graecus 450) in turn states that Baldwin was guarded in a dungeon, with a chain on his neck and legs clasped in irons – *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, rec. I. BEKKER, p. 814, ad v. 5.

<sup>36</sup> CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 642, 86 – 643, 10. Somewhat earlier (CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 628, 7–12) the historian specified that after the capture of the rebellious Philippopolis and the killing of Aspietes the Bulgarian Tsar returned to Moesia (Bulgaria) and, as the Byzantine author phrased it, he got matters dealt with, viz. severely punished Byzantine traitors, which included killing them in imaginative ways. It cannot be ruled out that this information should be considered in conjunction with the previously mentioned information about the fate of the Byzantine captives kept at Tărnovo. In particular, as the lections of the L and O manuscripts of Niketas' work describe in this place the deaths of Baldwin and the captured Byzantines – CHONIATES, *Historia*, p. 628, ad v. 7–14. In the light of the narrative included there Kaloyan, enraged at the illustrious Byzantine prisoners he held in chains, sentenced them all to death. Emperor Baldwin was also supposed to have been among the prisoners; he was cast into a chasm and was left to be devoured by dogs and birds of prey.

in 1205. Since Constantine Tornikes, who had earlier come to the Tsar hoping for a more than a kind reception, it is evident that the aforementioned city was the seat of the Bulgarian ruler and his court. Kaloyan therefore permanently resided in Tărnovo, which was obvious to Constantine, since as a former imperial envoy he had prior knowledge and experience in this regard. He knew therefore where to go to meet the most important decision makers in Bulgaria. Already by then Tărnovo had permanently entered Byzantine consciousness as the main centre of the Bulgarian state. It is also evident that the Bulgarian Tsar wished to have the imprisoned dignitaries at hand, likely for purely political and military reasons, as Tărnovo was a sufficiently mighty (by Bulgarian standards, of course) fortress to guarantee a strong defence against attackers who might wish to free the captives. Holding them in the capital, Kaloyan thus controlled the situation, had full command over their fate, which is clearly attested to in Niketas' account. It also indicates the presence of dungeons within the city (Baldwin) or some unspecified places (Byzantines), in which the captives were being held.

Of particular interest to me is another detail of the narrative, namely the one relating to how Latin Emperor was put to death. It is the matter of the casting down the horrifically mutilated Baldwin into a chasm. This information deserves attention since once again it demonstrates at least relative familiarity of topography of the Bulgarian city. Located on hills, with built-over peaks and relatively steep slopes leading down to the river valley, with flat strips of land at the base of the hills located on both sides of the river, it made carrying out the aforementioned execution possible. The victim could therefore have been cast down from the height of the city walls surrounding the peak, or from the rocky edge of a hill, towards the river valley floor located tens of metres below. We do know of another example of a death sentence on a high ranking state dignitary carried out in this manner. In 1300 Joachim III, the then Bulgarian Patriarch, accused of working with the Tatars and betrayal, was put to death in the same way. On the orders of Tsar Theodore Svetoslav (1300–1321) the hierarch was cast into a chasm, as some scholars assume from the so-called Skull Rock (this identification has a legendary nature), that is the northernmost part of Tsarevets, a sharp mountain top, prominently extending over the precipice below<sup>37</sup>. Regardless of where specifically the aforementioned execution was carried out, this testimony adds credibility to the description of Baldwin I's death, or at least provides evidence of its location within the topographical boundaries of Tărnovo. The author's clear irony aside, in Choniates' relation also stand out the previously mentioned *highest honours* and *hospitality*, on which Constantine Tornikes was hoping for at Kaloyan's court.

<sup>37</sup> Georgii Pachymeris *Relationes historicas*, IX, 26, vol. III, ed. A. FAILLER, Parisii 1999 [= *CFHB*, 24.3], p. 291, 26 – 293, 6. Discussion of the controversy about the cause of the conflict between the Tsar and the Patriarch: К. КРЪСТЕВ, *Българското царство при династията на Тертеревци (1280–1323)*, Пловдив 2011, p. 112–114.

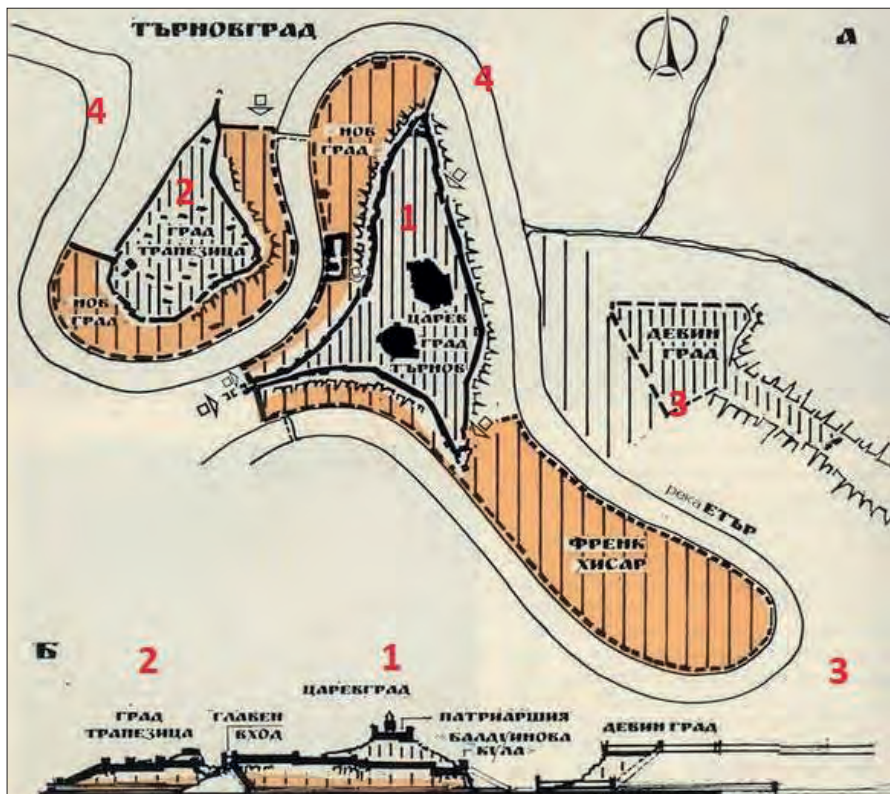


Fig 1. Main Tǎrnovo's hills. After: М.А. ХАРБОВА, *Отбранителни съоръжения в българското средновековие*, София 1981, p. 168 (fig. 72).

1 – Tsarevets, 2 – Trapezitsa, 3 – Momina Krepost, 4 – Yantra river

It allows us to think that high ranking guests and envoys could be received there with appropriate esteem.

### Summary

Direct remarks about Tǎrnovo in Niketas Choniates' text are not particularly numerous, although they are undoubtedly emblematic and bring with them a considerable amount of information. They are also surprisingly precise. The city was of no particular interest to the historian, but there is no doubt that it did not escape his attention, either in terms of its location and the main characteristics of its planning, nor regarding its political significance in the newly created state, also among other centres in the early Assenid Bulgaria.

*Translated by Michał Zytka*

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## ONCE AGAIN ABOUT THE MULTIFOLD SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS AND THEIR CONTEXT: *ON PRAYER* BY EVAGRIUS OF PONTUS (CPG 2452)

**Abstract.** The article examines the history of the Slavic translations of the work *On Prayer* by Evagrius (Evagrius) of Pontus (CPG 2452). The witnesses are more than 35 – in manuscripts of Russian, Serbian, Bulgarian and Moldavian-Wallachian provenance, from the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Two translations are analysed, which are distributed in monastic collections compiled in different ways. The first of these can be situated in the context of the early parenetic literature of the First Bulgarian Kingdom (10<sup>th</sup> c.), and the other is related to the literary tradition and ascetical practices of Hesychasm in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. A version of the first translation, which appeared in the 14<sup>th</sup> century in the Bulgarian milieu is also considered. The comparison of the language of the translations with their Greek original allows for extremely interesting observations on the translators' approaches. The reception of the text *On Prayer* is a key to understanding the processes that take place in the Slavic literature over a long period, characterized on the one hand by the continuity, and on the other by the introduction of new phenomena, both in the selection of vocabulary and in the compositions of the manuscripts as a whole. The history of the work *On Prayer* sheds light on the connections of the monastic centres on the Balkans, Russia, and Mount Athos.

**Keywords:** Slavic literature of the Middle Ages, multifold translations, paraenetic style, Hesychasm, the composition of anthologies

### Introduction

Evagrius Ponticus (Evagrius Ponticus) (345–399)<sup>1</sup> is chronologically the third patristic author to dedicate a work to the subject of prayer after Clement of Alexandria (150–215) and Origen (c. 184–c. 253). The work under the title of *Περὶ προσευχῆς* (*De oratione*) (CPG 2452; PG, vol. LXXIX, col. 1165–1200) is one of his most popular texts attested by the existence of translations into different languages. The tradition of the Greek text, known from about 150 copies in full

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is a part of the international project on the monastic heritage of Slavia Orthodoxa, and in the project the Greek forms of the names are preferred (ending -os, not -us), as is customary in the inventories.

text and excerpts, has been studied well and has been published in a critical edition<sup>2</sup>. The work is an anthology of wise sentences in paraenetic style, planned as a collection of 153 texts – similar to the number of fish in the miraculous catch of Simon Peter (John 21: 11). This reasoning for the composition's relation to the New Testament has been developed in the Prologue, with arguments supporting the intellectual communication with God. The objective of the author is not the liturgical application of prayer or the explanation of its content, but rather an intellectual, contemplative aspect, the rising to God and its achievement in solitude. Underscored by researchers, this peculiarity of the text also determines the context in which it is found in Slavic manuscripts, as we shall see from the descriptions of their characteristics. The language used by Evagrius belongs to *Haute literature*, with purposeful use of symbolism and rhetorical devices (anaphora, epiphora, parallel syntax, and others). Therefore the question about the technique of the Slavic translation and to what extent it follows complements or deviates from the Greek original is important. The present initial study aims to establish the translations and redactions, and their chronology, but a study on the style of the translation is forthcoming.

As has already been established, a large portion of the works of Evagrius was copied under the name of Neilos (Nilus) of Ancyra (of Sinai) (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. – 430), others are encountered with the name of Hesychios (Hesychius) of Jerusalem (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. – ca. 450/451). Pseudo-authorship was made necessary by the fact that Evagrius was declared heretical at the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) on the charges that he was a follower of Origen (ca. 185 – ca. 254), with views close to Gnosticism, and was thus condemned with Origen himself. The sentence was confirmed by the Sixth Ecumenical Council. Because of the interpretations and the suggestions close to those of Origen, all his texts were anathematised at the Lateran Council of 649, and those who did not want to reject the works of Evagrius were also subject to anathema<sup>3</sup>.

However, the anathema on Evagrius and the confiscation of his works from the Greek Orthodox libraries after 553 did not diminish the popularity of his works. In addition to Greek, they are also known in translations into Syriac<sup>4</sup>, Coptic, Arabic, Armenian and Georgian<sup>5</sup>, but also in Slavic. I shall note that one of the earliest

<sup>2</sup> ÉVAGRE LE PONTIQUE, *Chapitres sur la prière*, ed. et trans. P. GÉHIN, Paris 2017 [= SC, 589].

<sup>3</sup> Г.И. БЕНЕВИЧ, *Евагрий Понтийский и палестинская философско-богословская традиция*, АЕГу 23, 2017, p. 21–26.

<sup>4</sup> J. MUYLDERMANS, *Evagriana Syriaca. Textes inédits du British Museum et de la Vaticane*, Louvain 1952, p. 39–46.

<sup>5</sup> K. SAMIR, *Evagre le Pontique dans la tradition arabo-copte*, [in:] *Actes du IV<sup>e</sup> Congrès Copte. Louvain-la-Neuve, 5–10 septembre 1988*, vol. II, ed. M. RASSART-DERBERGH, J. RIES, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992 [= PIOL, 41], p. 132–133. Evagrius' works have also been translated into Romanian: D. MUTALÂP, *The Structure and Composition of a Proto-Philokalic Romanian Manuscript from 1769*, [in:] *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Literature*, ed. L. TASEVA, R. MARTI, Brăila 2020, p. 309;

translated works is a combination of wise sayings, known as *Capita paraenetica* (CPG 6583a and 6583b) under the title: Прѣбнаго вѣда нашего нила. в разоумыи оученїа дшѣпользнаа. Incip.: Стрѣ имѣи бжїи и ѣтомъ къ всеѣмъ свѣтѣльствомъ свѣсти своеѣ вѣсѣдоуи. The *sententiae* has three known translations: (1) in the so-called *Knjažeski Izbornik* (*Princely Collection*) (10<sup>th</sup> c.) which has reached us in the *Izbornik of 1076*<sup>6</sup>; (2) in manuscripts related to No. 382 of Hilandar monastery, end 13<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and its protograph<sup>7</sup>; (3) in the traditions of the Slavic *Pčela* (the *Bee*) miscellany<sup>8</sup>, and (4) a new translation of an excerpt of the wise sayings with a different composition compared with the Greek text, included in miscellanies of ascetic literature<sup>9</sup>. Despite the considerable academic interest in the work of Evagrius Ponticos and its distribution among the Slavs<sup>10</sup>, a number of translations remain unstudied, including their chronology and their transmission, and these works include *De oratione*. As I noted above, all copies bear the name of Neilos of Ancyra. The original authorship was already established in the 1930s by father Irénée Hausherr<sup>11</sup>. A recent comprehensive review of the works, publications and commentaries was made by Joel Kalvesmaki<sup>12</sup>.

The distribution of *De oratione* in Slavic translation presents both the interpretation of the subject in different periods of the development of medieval literature and the context of the concrete text.

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IDEM, *Redacția scurtă a unei scrieri ascetico-mistice atribuite lui Evagrie Ponticul în literatura română veche (I)*, LR 69, 2020, p. 31–48.

<sup>6</sup> У. ФЕДЕР, *Кънажски изборникъ за възпитание на канартикина*, vol. II, Велико Търново 2008, p. 8–10, 35–48.

<sup>7</sup> This Bulgarian translation can be attributed to the 10<sup>th</sup> century. The contents are duplicated in: No. 72, 14<sup>th</sup> century and No. 310, 16<sup>th</sup> century of the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest. Cf. A. MILTENOVA, *Towards the Slavic Translations of Capita Paraenetica Ascribed to either Nilus of Ankyra or to Hesychius of Jerusalem*, [in:] *Σπαράγματα Βυζαντινοσλαβικής Κληρονομιάς. (Χαριστήριος Τόμος στον Καθηγητή Ιωάννη Χρ. Ταρνανίδη)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2011, p. 125–154.

<sup>8</sup> MS Ф.п.І.44, parchment, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century, contains the sentences of Menandros and Barnabas, cf. В.М. СЕМЕНОВ, *Изречения Исихия и Варнавы по русским спискам*, ПДП 92, 1892, p. 1–9.

<sup>9</sup> Published after a Russian manuscript: М.Н. СПЕРАНСКИЙ, *Переводные сборники изречений в славянорусской письменности. Исследование и текст*, Москва 1904, p. 195–203. The Middle Bulgarian copies are known, but have not been studied, e.g. No. 80 (Ryapov miscellany), BAS Archive, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>10</sup> К.В. ВЕРШИНИН, *Из истории славянских переводов Евагрия Понтийского*, [in:] *Письменность, литература, фольклор славянских народов. История славистики XVI Международной съезд славистов. Белград, 20–27 августа 2018 г. Доклады российской делегации*, Москва 2018, p. 52–61.

<sup>11</sup> I. HAUSHERR, *Le traité de l'oraison d'Évagre le Pontique (Pseudo-Nil)*, RAM 15, 1934, p. 34–93, 113–170; IDEM, *Le 'De oratione' d'Évagre le Pontique en syriaque et en arabe*, OCP 5, 1939, p. 7–71; IDEM, *Les leçons d'un contemplatif. Le Traité de l'oraison d'Évagre le Pontique*, Paris 1960. The author notes the presence of the work in the *Bibliotheca* of Patriarch Photios (Photius: *Bibliotheca*, cod. 201).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. <http://evagriusponticus.net/corpus.htm#cpg2452> [28 XII 2020]. J. KALVESMAKI, *Evagrius and his Legacy*, Notre Dame, Ind. 2016.

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The copies in Slavic manuscripts of Serbian, Bulgarian, Russian and Slavonic Romanian provenance number over 35, and the most typical examples of the translations and redactions can be given as follows<sup>13</sup>:

1. MS 93, Dečani monastery collection, 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century, parchment, 192 folia, 4°. Of Russian provenance. F. 179v.–186r: Прп(д)бнго оца нашего нила о млтвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть благовоны тьманъ творити. то чистыи ливанъ и касиа поноухъ и стактикъ тзъно сложить по законуу. си жи (!) соуть четърство добро-правьемь. аще во испзаль и равна боудоуть. то непреданъ боудеть оумъ<sup>14</sup>.

Explic.: Мо(л)твѣ похвала. не просто колитѣство. нъ каквоѣство. и се авлаеть. възсходивъши въ цркви. и вы молаць са не блгословите (sic!) и прочее и прочее. Елма же въ помыслѣ еси тѣлеснѣмь. и оумъ ти стѣннына обзходить красоты. нѣси не оу млтвѣ видѣлъ мѣста. нъ и еше далече блжены еа. пжтъ есть. егда прѣстоа въ млтвѣ. паце всако арости онаа бывааше. тзгда въ истиную обрѣте молитвоу.

2. MS 10d (253), Hludov Collection, State Historical Museum, together with fragment No 323, N.K. Nikolsky Collection, Russian Academy Library, parchment, 13<sup>th</sup> century. Of Russian provenance. F. 125r–151 Прп(д)бнаго оца нила о млтвѣ. главизнъ. рѣг. Incip.: Иже хощеть блговоны тьманъ творити. то чистыи ливанъ, и касию.<sup>15</sup>

3. MS 644, Synodal Collection, State Historical Museum, end-14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, parchment, 135 folia. Of Russian provenance. F. 96v–114v: Прп(д)бна(г) оца нашего нила о молитвѣ главизнъ р. и п. и г. Incip.: Иже хощеть блговонын тьманъ творити<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Acknowledgments: I am very grateful to the monks of the Hilandar Monastery and the Hilandar Research Library for the opportunity to work with manuscripts.

<sup>14</sup> Д. БОГДАНОВИЪ, Н.Р. СИНДИК, *Опис ћирилскихъ рукописнихъ књига манастира Високи Дечани*, vol. I, Београд 2011, p. 376–380; W. VEDER, *Евагрий Понтийскій О Молитве. К вопросу о глаголице на Руси*, [in:] *Forma formans. Studi in onore di Boris Uspenskij*, ed. S. VERTOLISSI et al., Napoli 2010, p. 243–266; Т.И. АФАНАСЬЕВА, Д.М. БУЛАНИН, У. ФЕДЕР, *Письменные памятники истории и культуры России в собраниях зарубежных архивов и библиотек*, vol. VII, Берлинский Кормчий. Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV века, ed. Д.М. Буланин, Санкт Петербург 2018.

<sup>15</sup> А. ПОПОВ, *Первое прибавление к описанию рукописей и каталогу книг церковной печати библиотеки А.И. Хлудова*, Москва 1875, p. 8–9; *Сводный каталог славяно-русскихъ рукописныхъ книгъ, хранящихся в СССР. XI–XIII вв.*, Москва 1984, № 229 (Sobolevsky, following A.N. Popov, incorrectly dated the manuscript to the 15<sup>th</sup> century); a fragment from it – Russian Academic Library, St. Petersburg, Nikolsky Collection, No. 323 (СК XI–XIII, No 308); identification of the parts: Д.М. Буланин, *Реконструкция древнерусского сборника XIII в.*, [in:] *Исследования по древней и новой литературе*, Ленинград 1987, p. 342–345; *Каталог памятников древнерусской письменности XI–XIV вв. (Рукописные книги)*, ed. Д.М. Буланин, А.А. Романова et al., Санкт Петербург 2014 [= SSO, 7], p. 250. The manuscript is not accessible *de visu* to me.

<sup>16</sup> А. ГОРСКИЙ, К. НЕВОСТРУЕВ, *Описание славянскихъ рукописей Московской Синодальной библиотеки*, vol. II, *Писания святыхъ отцовъ*, pars 3, *Разные богословские сочинения*, Москва 1857,

4. MS Hamilton 381, State Library in Berlin, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Russian provenance. F. 100v-c-d-110r-a-b: Прп(д)бнаго оца нила о млтѣвѣ главизнѣ. ѿ. и ѿ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блговонными темьянѣ творити то ч(с)твыи ливанѣ и касию и онухѣ и стакти точено. положить по законуу си же сущѣ чѣтыре добронравнемь. аще во исполнѣ нравна будуть. то не преданѣ будетъ оумѣ<sup>17</sup>.

Explic.: О млтѣвѣ похвала. не просто количѣство. но каковѣство. и се являють възсходи-  
вшен въ црѣвѣ и вы молаще са не бладословите. и прочее. рѣд. елма же в помыслѣ  
еси телеснѣмь. и оумѣ ти стѣннына овьходитъ красоты. не си оуне млтѣвѣ видѣлѣ  
мѣст(а) но и еце далече блжнныи ема путь кестъ. рѣд. егда престоа въ молитвѣвѣ  
паче всакоа радости иноа бываше. тогда во истинуу обрѣте молитву.

5. MS 1036, National library in Sofia, paper, 297 folia, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Bulgarian provenance, Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 196v-203r: Прѣп(д)бнаго оца нашего нила ѡ м(л)тѣвѣ главѣ ѿ и ѿѣ. Incip.: Їже хоцетъ блговонныа, димѣаны творити. тѡ чиствыи ливанѣ, и касѣа, и смирна, и стакти, тѣчно възложитъ по законѣ. си же сѣтѣ чѣтыре двѣрини нрави. аще бѡ испльнѣ и равна бѣдетъ оумѣ<sup>18</sup>.

Explic.: Млтѣва похвала е(с) не просто количѣство. нѣ ко(ли)чѣ (sic!) вство и се являѣтѣ  
въсходащен въ црѣвѣ. и вы не бладословите молаще се, и прочее. Елма же еси въ  
помыслѣ тѣлеснѣмь. и оумѣ ти вѣхидитъ стѣнныѣ красоты. не оуеси оувѣдѣлѣ  
мѣста млтѣвныа красоты. нѣ и еце далече е(с) пѣть еѣ блаженныи. егда прѣ(д)  
стоиши въ млтѣвѣ. паче инѡѣ възсѣкыа радости бываеши, тѡгда въ истинѣ  
те млтѣвѣ. славаце оца и сѣа и стѣо дѣа. нинѣ и присно и въ вѣкы вѣкомѣ а(м).

6. MS 2 (old 13 /29/), State Archive of the Republic of Moldova, Chişinău, paper, 328 folia, the third quarter of 14<sup>th</sup> c.; semiuncial; without juses, two jers (inconsistent) orthography with traces of Middle Bulgarian; Moldavian provenance, New Neamţ monastery<sup>19</sup>. F. 23v-30r: Прѣовна(г) ѡца ѿшего нила

vol. II, pars 2, № 154, p. 283-287; *Предварительный список славяно-русских рукописных книг XV в., хранящихся в СССР*, ed. А.А. Турилов, Москва 1986, № 458; СК-2, № 89; *Каталог памятников древнерусской письменности XI-XIV вв...*, p. 250.

<sup>17</sup> Д.М. Буланин, *Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV в. Berlin, Hamilton 381 и его бывший владелиц Александр, 10-й герцог Гамильтон*, pars 1, RAnt 1 (14), 2017, p. 23-75; pars 2, RAnt 2 (15), 2017, p. 79-98; *Берлинский Кормчий. Древнерусский учительный сборник XIV века...*

<sup>18</sup> М. Стоянов, Х. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в Софийската народна библиотека*, vol. III, София 1964, p. 231-239. Contains redaction γ f of the *Aprophthegmata Patrum* – the classification of the manuscripts of the *Svodny Paterik* follows the distribution of И. Еремин, “Сводный” *Патерик у південно-слов’янських, українському та московському письменствах*, ЗІФВУАН 12, 1927, p. 46-77; 15, 1927, p. 50-77; cf. С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази в историята на старата българска литература*, СЛ 1, 1971, p. 167-191; С. Николова, *Патеричните разкази в българската средновековна литература*, София 1980, p. 36-37.

<sup>19</sup> No analytical description has been published. Inventory (typewriting): Фонд 2119. Опись № 2 славяно-русских рукописных книг, XIV-XIX вв. Кишинев, 1983. The manuscript has been used *de visu*.

в мѣтвѣ, главъ ѿ и ѿв. Incip.: Іже хощеть бл҃говонныи фѣмианы творити. то чистыи ливань, и касію, и смирна и стакти. тѣюно вьложитъ по законуу.

Explic.: Мѣтва похвала іе(с) не просто количѣство. нѣ ко (sic!) вѣзство и се являють вьзходещи вь црѣвѣ. и вы не бледословите мѣще се, и прочи. Елма же неси вь помыслѣ тѣлеснѣмь. и оумь ти вьвходитъ стѣнныи красоты. не оуеси оувѣдѣль мѣста мѣтвѣныи красоты. нѣ и еше далече іе(с) пѣтъ ие блаженныи. Егда прѣв(д) стоиши вь мѣтвѣ. паѣе иноуе вѣзсакое радости бываеши, тог(д)а вь истинуу вьрѣте мѣтвѣ. славецѣ вѣца и сѣа и стѣго дѣа. нина и пр(с)но и вь вѣкы.

7. MS 151 п, coll. 301, Church Archaeological Museum at the Kyiv Theological Academy – now in Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine, Kyiv, paper, 631 folia, 80–90 years of 14<sup>th</sup> century, Serbian orthography. From the collection of Archimandrite Antonin Kapustin, monastery St Paul (Mount Athos). 410v–417v: Ніла постника главизны в мѣтвѣ. Incip.: Іже хощеть бл҃говонїни дїмїа(м) оустроити<sup>20</sup>.

8. MS 47, Hilferding Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, paper, 510 folia, third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Bulgarian provenance. 120r–131v: Ніла постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Іже хощеть бл҃говонныи димїанѣ оустроити. ч(с)тное ливано. и касіѣ. и ониѣа и стакти, равнѣ да сьложитъ по законуу. сїа же сѣтъ, чѣтворица добродѣтелемь<sup>21</sup>.

Explic.: Мѣтвѣ похвала, не простѣ количѣство, нѣ качѣство. и се являеть вьзыше(д) шеи вь стѣлицѣ. нѣ и еже и вы молаще са не лихоглїте и прочаа бѣу же нашему слава вь вѣкы вѣкѣ(м), аминь:–

9. MS 80, Archive of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (Ryapov miscellany), paper, 394 folia, second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Bulgarian provenance, Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 188r–194v: Прп(д)бнаго вѣца нашего ніла в мѣтвѣ, главъ, рѣв. Incip. Іже хощеть благовонныѣ дїмїаны творити. то чисты ливань. и касїа, и смїрна, и стакти тѣюно вьложитъ по законуу. си же сѣтъ чѣтыре добри прави. аще бо испльнь и равна воудеть, не прѣда(н) вѣде оу(м). The text stops after chapter чѣ – torn folia, no explicit<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Л.А. Гнатенко, О.С. Онищенко, В.В. Нимчук, С.Г. Даневич, Л.А. Дубровина, Н.М. Зубкова, *Слов'янська кирилична рукописна книга XIV ст. З фондів Інституту рукопису Національної бібліотеки України імені в. І. Вернадського. Каталог. Кодиколого-орфографічне дослідження. Палеографічний альбом*, Київ 2007, р. 119–127. The manuscript is not accessible *de visu* to me.

<sup>21</sup> В. Мошин, *К датировке рукописей из собрания А.Ф. Гильфердинга Государственной Публичной библиотеки*, ТОДЛ 15, 1958, р. 409–417, 414, № 47; Б. Христова, В.М. Загребин, Г.П. Енин, Е.М. Шварц, *Славянские рукописи болгарского происхождения в Российской национальной библиотеке*, Санкт Петербург 2009, р. 121–126.

<sup>22</sup> Х. Кодов, *Опис на славянските ръкописи в библиотеката на Българската академия на науките*, София 1969, р. 174–188.

10. MS 456, Hilandar monastery, paper, 314 folia, end 14<sup>th</sup> century. Of Serbian provenance, Raška orthography<sup>23</sup>. F. 144v–154v: Нила по(с)ника главизни в млѣвѣ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блѣговонныи дѣмѣанъ оустроити. ч(с)тное ливано и касѣе и ониѣа и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законуу. сѣа же соу(т), четворица добродѣтелиѣ(м). аще бо испльнѣны и равны боудѣтъ, непрѣданъ боудѣтъ оумь.

Explic.: Млѣвѣ похвала, не просто количѣство. нь качѣство. и се явлѣють вышь(д)шеи въ сѣтилище. нь и еже и вы млѣще се не лихо(о)глѣте и проѣаа.

11. MS 468, Hilandar monastery, paper, 278 folia, end 14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Serbian orthography<sup>24</sup>. F. 98r–107v: П(р)ѣпо(д)но(г) вѣда н(а) шго нила по(с)тника главызнѣи. в млѣвѣ. глава ѡ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блѣговонныи димѣамъ оустроити. чѣсноѣ ливана касѣе, и ониѣа, и стакти. равнѣ да сложитъ по законѣ. сѣа же соу(т) четвор(и)ца доб(д)талмь. аще бо испльнѣнѣи и равны(и) боудѣ(т) непрѣданъ боудѣтъ оумь.

Explic.: Млѣвѣ похвала не просто количѣство нь качѣство. и се явлѣють вышьдышии въ свѣтилище. нь и еже и вѣи молеще се, не лихоглѣте и проѣаа. Directly following the text and added in another hand (?) another work with incip.: Велика врѣжѣа мльѣщом(ѣ) съ трыпѣнѣемь. въз(д)рѣжанѣе. и любовь. и млѣва. и прочитанѣе, with the right margin containing the note: да(л)сѣев(о), and after that: нилово.

12. MS 28, Austrian National Library, Vienna, paper, 544 folia, mid-15<sup>th</sup> century. Originates from Hilandar monastery, Raška orthography. F. 219r–239v: Нила постника главизны в млѣвѣ. сто. и петъдесе(тъ). Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блѣговоннѣи дѣмѣа(м) оустроити. ч(с)тное ливано и касѣе и ониѣа и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законуу. сѣа же соу(т), четворица добродѣтелиѣ(м). аще оубо испльнѣнѣни и равны боудѣ(т)тъ, непрѣданъ боудѣтъ оумь<sup>25</sup>.

Explic.: Млѣвѣ похвала, не просто количѣство, нь качѣство. и се явлѣанѣ(т) вышь(д)шеи въ сѣтилище. нь и еже и вы млѣще се не лихоглѣте и проѣаа.

<sup>23</sup> P. МАТЕЈИС, Н. ТНОМАС, *Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library (The Ohio State University)*. Catalog, vol. I–II, Columbus 1992, p. 548; Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Каталог ћирилских рукописа манастира Хиландара*, vol. I, Београд 1978, p. 175: Нила Посника о молитви у 150 глав. The description wrongly registers a copy in MS 475 Hilandar, ca. 1320–1330, Raška orthography. 42b–50: Нила Постника 150. In fact, this is a *Stoslovets (Centuria de fide)* ascribed to the Patriarch of Constantinople, Genadios.

<sup>24</sup> P. МАТЕЈИС, Н. ТНОМАС, *Manuscripts on Microform of the Hilandar Research Library...*, p. 558; Д. БОГДАНОВИЋ, *Каталог ћирилских...*, p. 179: Нила Посника о молитви глави 150. W. VEDER, *Евагрий Понтийский О Молитве...* allows reconstruction of the protograph of the copy in Dečani 93 of manuscripts 456 and 468 from Hilandar, but they constitute another translation of the work.

<sup>25</sup> G. BIRKFEHLNER, *Glagolitische und kyrillische Handschriften in Oesterreich*, Wien 1975 [= SB.LA, 23], p. 132–137.

13. MS 426 (31) National Library of Serbia, Belgrade (destroyed in World War II). Convolute. *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites, 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century. The main part dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. F. 407v–414r: СѢаго нила постника главизны в м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хоцет благовонныи диміан оустроити ѹстное ливано и касіа и ониѡа и стакти равнѣ да сложитъ по законуу сѣа же соуѣ ѹтворица добродѣтель<sup>26</sup>.
14. MS 159, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, paper, 322 folia, end 14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century. Brought from Mount Athos by Paisios Velichkovsky (copyist Davud and others), Middle Bulgarian orthography. F. 115v–128v: Нила постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ рѣ. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) бл҃говонныи думіанъ оустроити. ѹстное ливано. и касіѣ. и вниѡа и стакти, равнѣ да съложи(т) по законѣ сѣа же сѣ(т) ѹтворица добродѣтелем...<sup>27</sup>.
15. MS 315, Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, paper, 257 folia, the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> – 15<sup>th</sup> century, of Bulgarian provenance. Middle Bulgarian orthography. Convolute. F. 1r–140r: (without title or incipit) Нила постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ рѣ. Contains chapters 1–7, 12, 14, 17, 24–29, 33, 35–36, 43, 48–49, 53, 60–61, 80–88<sup>28</sup>.
16. MS 165 (1720) Homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza with additions, 1414, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. Two-*jus*, two-*jer* orthography. F. 236r–251r: Нила постника. главизны о м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) бл҃говонныи диміанъ оустроити. ѹ(с)тное ливано и касіа и вниѡа и стакти, равнѣ да сложи(т) по законуу, сѣа же сѣ(т), ѹтворица добродѣтеле(м). аце во исполнены и равны бѣдоу(т). непреданъ вѣде(т) оумъ.
- Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала. не просто количѣство, но качѣство. и се являють възше(д)шенъ въз стѣилице. но и еже и вы малце са не лихоглѣте и прѡ(ч)д.
17. MS 116 (91) Interpretative apostolos with added articles, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. Two-*jus*, two-*jer* orthography. F. 321v–330v: Нила по[стника] главизны о м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) бл҃говонныи диміанъ оусторити, ѹ(с)тное ливано и касіа и ониѡа и стакти. равнѣ да съложитъ по законѣ. сѣа же сѣтъ, ѹтворица добродѣтеле, а(це) во исплзнены и равны бѣдѣтъ. непреданъ бѣдетъ оумъ.
- No explic.: [П]ѣніе оубо, стр(с)ти оуталѣе(т). и раствореніе тѣлесное без'млзвѣствова-ти съдѣловажть. млѣва же дѣ... (incomplete).

<sup>26</sup> Љ. Стојановиѣ, *Каталог Народне библиотеке у Београду*, Београд 1982, p. 174–179.

<sup>27</sup> I.-R. MİRCEA, P. VOİCNEVA, S. TODOROVA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie. Auteurs byzantines et slaves*, Sofia 2005, p. 141; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Manuscrișele slave din Biblioteca Academiei R.P.R.*, vol. I, Bucuresști 1959, p. 236–237.

<sup>28</sup> I.-R. MİRCEA, P. VOİCNEVA, S. TODOROVA, *Répertoire des manuscrits slaves en Roumanie...*, p. 141; P.P. PANAITESCU, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române și slave din Biblioteca Academiei Române*, vol. II, ed. D.-L. ARAMĂ, G. MINĂILĂ, G. ȘTREMPEL, Bucuresști 2003, p. 66–71.



18. MS 167 (1673) *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza with additions, 1423, Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 515r–527v: Нила постника главизны в м(л)твѣ. гл(в) ѿ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говннѣны диміанъ оустроити. ч(с)тноє ливано и касїа и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же соуть, четворица добродѣтеле(м). аще бо исполнены и равны боудоуть.

Explic. (written partly in the right margin): Млѣтвѣ похвала. не просто коли(ч)ство. но и се явлѣю(т) възше(д)шеи въз сѣтилице. но и еже и вы млаще (с) не лихоголите и прочаа.

19. MS 183 (1675) *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Symeon the New Theologian with additions, 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 332v–343r: Сѣго нила постника. главизны в мо(л). Incip.: Иже хоще(т) бл҃говонныи диміанъ оустроити, ч(с)тноє ливано и касїа и вниха и стактї равнѣ да сложи(т) по законуу. сїа же соу(т) четворица добродѣтеле(м). аще бо исполнены боудоу(т), непереданъ боуде(т) оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала. не просто количѣство, но качѣство. и се явлѣють възше(д)шеи въз сѣтилице. но и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа.

20. MS 756 (1637) Miscellany, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 89r–103r: Нила постника. главизны в м(л)твѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи фиміанъ оустроити. ч(с)тноє ливано и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же соуть, четворица добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены(и) и равны боудоуть. непереданъ боудеть оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣтвѣ похвала. не првств квличѣств. нв качѣство. и се явлѣють възше(д)шеи въз сѣтилице. но и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа.

21. MS 1054, Pogodin Collection, Russian National Library, St. Peterburg. *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza, mid-14<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Tărnovo two-*jus*, two-*jer* orthography<sup>29</sup>. Of Bulgarian provenance up to f. 327, from there on the text is written by a Russian scribe who used a Middle Bulgarian source. F. 343r–344v: missing incipit and folia until chapter ꙗѣ ꙗѣс – Любаи бѣ тѣмъ ꙗко ѡцѣ пр(с)но събесѣде(т). ѡвраа(ц) вѣсѣко помышленїе кр(с)тно.

Explic.: рї. М(л)твѣ похвала, не прств коли(ч)ство, нж качѣство. и се явлѣе(т) възше(д)ше и въз сѣтилице. нж и еже и вы млаще са не лихоголите и прочаа:~

22. MS 49, Homilies of Symeon the New Theologian, Moscow Theological Academy, Russian State Library, Moscow, end-14<sup>th</sup> – beginning of 15<sup>th</sup> century,

<sup>29</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски кирилски ръкописи в сбирката на М.П. Погодин*, София 1981, p. 308–325.

parchment, 245 folia. Of Russian provenance with traces of Middle Bulgarian protograph. F. 126r–138v. Нила поетника главизны о молитвъѣ. Incip.: Иже хоцетъ блговонныи диміанъ оустроитъ ч(с)тное ливано и касіа и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да сложитъ по законуу, сіа же соутъ, четворица добродѣтѣлемъ. аще бо испльненыи равны боудутъ– непреданъ боудеть оумъ<sup>30</sup>.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала. не просто количѣство, но качѣство, и се явлѣють възше(д)ше и въ стилице. но и еже и вы молаще са не лихоглите и прощаа:~

23. MS 1044, Pogodin Collection, Russian National Library, Moscow. From the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. One-*jer* Serbian orthography. F. 149r–165v: Нила поетника гла[в]зни в молитвъѣ. Иже хоцетъ, блговонныи дѣміанъ оустроити, чѣстное ливани касіе, и вниха и стакти, равнѣ да съложитъ по законѣ, сіа же соутъ четворица добродѣтѣлемъ, аще испльненыи равны бѣдѣтъ, непреданъ бѣдѣтъ оумъ<sup>31</sup>.

24. MS 323, Mazurin (196), Russian State Archive, Moscow, first quarter of 15<sup>th</sup> century. F. 429v–443, f. 429v–443: Главизны в млѣвъ. Иже хоце(т) блговонныи дѣміанъ оустроити<sup>32</sup>.

25. MS 269 (1134/1244), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>33</sup>. Catechetical sermons of Theodore the Studite<sup>34</sup>. F. 110–120v: Прп(д)на(г) оца наше(г) нила в млѣвъ главизна рѣг. Incip.: Иже хоце(т) блг(о)влныи (!) темъанъ творити. то ч(с)тныи ливанъ и касію и онѣхъ. и стактіи. ч(с)тно сложитъ по законѣ си(ж) сѣтъ четырѣство добронравіемъ. аще бо исполнь и равно бѣдѣ(т). да непреданъ бѣде(т) оумъ.

Explic.: Млѣвъ похвала не просто количѣство. но каковѣство и се явлѣють. възсходивши въз црѣви и вы молаще(с) б(с)лвте и прощаа. Елма же в помыслѣ еси тѣлесне(м). и оумъ ти стѣнныа обходити красоты. нѣ си(не) (sic!) въз млѣвъ видѣлъ мѣста. но и еще далече блжнъ еа пѣтъ есть. Егда престоа въз млѣвъ. па(ч) всакоа рад(до)сти сна бываши. тог(д)а въз истинѣ вѣрѣте млѣвъ. The final formula is missing, what follows is a text from another text about the spiritual vices.

<sup>30</sup> Леонид архим (Л.А. Кавелин), *Сведение о славянских рукописях, поступивших из книгохранилища св. Троицкой Сергиевой лавры в библиотеку Троицкой Духовной семинарии в 1747 году. Ныне находящихся в библиотеке Московской Духовной Академии*, Москва 1887, р. 5–7 (№ 3).

<sup>31</sup> К. Иванова, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски...*, р. 374–381.

<sup>32</sup> И.Л. Жучкова, Л.В. Мошкова, А.А. Турилов, *Каталог славяно-русских рукописных книг XV века хранящихся в РГАДА*, Москва 2000, р. 214–218. I had no access to the manuscript.

<sup>33</sup> [И.Я. Порфирьев, А.В. Вадковский, Н.Ф. Красносельцев], *Описание рукописей Соловецкого монастыря, находящихся в библиотеке Казанской Духовной Академии*, Казань 1881, р. 409–419.

<sup>34</sup> Д.С. Ищенко, *Огласительные поучения Феодора Студита в Византии и у славян*, ВВ 40, 1979, р. 164.

26. MS 1320, Sofia Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg. Russian. Great Reading Menaion, February, 16<sup>th</sup> century. F. 234r–238r: *Нила постника. глави(з)ны в млтѣвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи дѣмїанъ оустроити. ч҃естное ливано и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законѣ, сїа же сѣть, четворица добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены правны бѣдѣть. непреданъ бѣдетъ оумъ.*
27. MS 189 (1613) Theological miscellany, end-16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century. Holy Trinity – St. Sergius Lavra, Russian State Library, Moscow. F. 270r–278r: *Нила постника. главизны в м(л)тѣвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи фимїанъ оустроити. ч҃(с)тное ливана и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же сѣть, четверїца добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены и равны бѣдѣть. непреданъ боудетъ оумъ.*
- On f. 614r–617v: the same redaction, without title. Incip.: *Иже хощеть бл҃говонныи фимїанъ оустроити. ч҃(с)тное ливана и касїа и вниха и стакти. равнѣ да сложить по законуу, сїа же сѣть, четверїца добродѣтелемъ. аще бо исполнены и равны бѣдѣть. непреданъ боудетъ оумъ.*
28. MS 297 (597), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>35</sup>. Homilies of Nil Sorsky with added works. Among these: f. 367–373: *Глава дв. Нила постника главизны. о млтѣвѣ.* The same anthology in MS 298 (598), 17<sup>th</sup> century and 299(599), end-18<sup>th</sup> century.
29. MS 398 (85), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>36</sup>. Collection named ‘Glavnik’ (ascetic miscellany composed of chapters). F. 149–163v: *Нила постника главизны о млтѣвѣ.* The description notes that the copy is the same as in No. 276.
30. MS 276 (797), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>37</sup>. Gregory of Sinai et al., ascetic works. F. 227–252: *Нила постника главизны о молитвѣ. Incip.: Иже хощетъ благовоныи фимїанъ оустроити.*
31. MS 406 (471), Solovetsky Collection, Russian National Library, St. Petersburg, 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>38</sup>. Collection named ‘Koinobion’ (ascetic miscellany). Cursive. F. 250б–265: *Преп. отца нашего Нила постника главы о молитвѣ.* The description notes that the copy is the same as the one in No. 276.

In this listing, I do not include a copy in a 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript from the State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University “K.D. Ushinskiy” in Perm

<sup>35</sup> [И.Я. Порфирьев, А.В. Вадковский, Н.Ф. Красносельцев], *Описание рукописей Соловецкого монастыря...*, p. 461–463.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 463.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 463–464.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 743–745.

(Russia), of Bulgarian provenance<sup>39</sup>, regrettably lost today<sup>40</sup>. The manuscript is a quarto, 442 folia, written in schooled semi-uncial, incipit missing, Middle Bulgarian orthography – two-*jer*, two-*jus* (with typical mixing of nasals); contains the homilies of Isaac of Nineveh (f. 2–396) and other articles, among which a copy of *On Prayer* by Neilos of Ancyra (414r–428v), the work of Patriarch Germanos I (634–733) *The kindest poems to the tearful guilt* (Стиси добрейши къ вине слъзней) (f. 428v–430), as well as Evagrius' *Of the eight spirits of wickedness* (430v–433r) again with the name of Neilos of Ancyra. Then come excerpts from chapters of Abba Isaiah and Abba Mark (f. 433–442v) probably from the *Aprophthegmata Patrum*. The copies of *On Prayer* and *Of the eight spirits of wickedness* deserve special attention in respect to the chronology of the translation of the text, as they are among the earliest as regards the overall content. *The kindest poems* are known in Slavic copies from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the language and style of the translation indicating ascetic literature related to Hesychasm. Parchment miscellany No. 49 from the Moscow Theological Academy Collection, Russian State Library (here No. 21) is close in content with this manuscript book. A subsequent publication of N.S. Demkova and I.P. Medvedev<sup>41</sup> follows the Slavic tradition of the work of Patriarch Germanos I in detail, the commentary remarking on the value of the Perm manuscript. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century, it belonged to an educated family and later fell into the hands of Ural peasants. Interestingly, 19<sup>th</sup>-century marginal notes call the book an 'adviser': *Светникъ книга. Хорошо. Сия книга Съветник, деревни Неверова*<sup>42</sup>.

### Slavic translations and versions

The copies listed above can be grouped into two translations – there are differences both in the title of the work and in its content. The title in the earliest recorded sample in MS Dečani 93 and the copies of the first translation (hereinafter A) is the following: Прр(д)бнаго оца нашего нила о млтвѣ, or in more detail: Прр(д)бнаго оца нила о млтвѣ. главизнѣ. рѣг. A version with editorial changes is observed in MS 80 (Руаров miscellany), Archive of Bulgarian Academy in Sofia, MS 1036, National Library in Sofia: Прр(д)бнаго ѿца нашего нѣла ѡ млтвѣ, главѣ, рѣв; Прѣпн(д)бнаго ѿца нашего нила ѡ м(л)твѣ главѣ рѣ и нѣв, and in the MS 2 from State Archive

<sup>39</sup> Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, С.А. СЕМЯЧКО, "Стиси добрейши" патриарха Германа в южнославянской рукописи середины XV в. из собрания Пермского педагогического института, [in:] Грузинская и русская средневековые литературы, Тбилиси 1992, p. 93–99.

<sup>40</sup> The researchers worked with the manuscript in 1984, they dated it according to watermarks and underscored its great value. It disappeared after 1986. I am exceedingly grateful to Svetlana Semyachko for the information about this manuscript, as well as for providing access to the publication.

<sup>41</sup> Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, И.П. МЕДВЕДЕВ, «Стиси добрейши къ винѣ слъзньи» византийского патриарха Германа (VIII в.) в славянских и древнерусских рукописях, Psl 10.1, 2002, p. 36–53.

<sup>42</sup> Н.С. ДЕМКОВА, С.А. СЕМЯЧКО, "Стиси добрейши" патриарха Германа..., p. 95.

of Republic Moldova. In the copies of the second translation (hereinafter B) the title almost everywhere includes the definition “hermit” – see, for example, the record in MS Vienna 28: *Нила пвстника главижны в млтвѣ. сто. и петъдесе(тъ),* with variant: *Нила постника. глави(з)ны в млтвѣ.*

The incipit is distinguished with differences that indicate a different Greek source for the two translations:

	Dečani 93	Hamilton	ABAS 80	NL 1036	Hilferding 47	Vienna 28
	ПРГѢНГО ОЦА НАШЕГО НИЛА О МЛТВѢ	Прг(д)внаго оца нила. О млтвѣ гла- визнѣ.р. и н.	Прг(д) внаго оца нашего нила. в млтвѣ, главь, рнѣ.	Прѣпн(д)вна- го оца нашего нила. в м(л) твѣ главь.р. и нѣ.	Нила постника. главижны в м(л)твѣ.	НИЛА ПВСТНИКА ГЛАВИЖНЫ в млтвѣ. сто. и петъдесе(тъ)
Α. Εἰ τις βούλοιο εὐώ- δες θυμίαμα σκεύασαι, τὸν διαφανῆ λίβανον, καὶ τὴν κασσίαν καὶ τὴν στάκτιν ἐξίσου συνθή- σει κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ταῦτα δέ ἐστιν ἡ τε- τρας τῶν ἀρε- τῶν· ἐὰν γὰρ πληρέσταιαι, καὶ ἴσαι τυ- χάνωσιν, οὐ προδοθήσεται ὁ νοῦς.	Иже хощеть благовонны тьмянъ творити. то уистыи ли- ванъ и касиа и оноухъ и стактикъ тзъно сложить по закону. си жи (sic!) соуть четырство добронравьемъ. аще бо испъл- нь и равна воудуать. то непреданъ воудеть оумъ.	Иже хощеть блговонныи темыанъ тво- рити то <u>ч(с)</u> <u>тзыи ливанъ.</u> и касию и ону- хъ и стакти точено. по- ложитъ по закону си же соуть четьре добронрав- ннмъ. аще бо исполнь и рав- на воудуть. то непреданъ воудеть оумъ.	Иже хощеть блговонныѣ дѣмианы творити. то уистыи ли- ванъ, и касіа, и смѣрна, и стакти, и стакти. тзъ- но въложитъ по закону. си же сѣтъ, четьре добрн правн. аще бв исп- льнь и равна вждать, непрѣ- да(н) вжде(т) оум(м).	Иже хощеть блговонна диміаны творити. тѣ уистыи ли- ванъ, и касіа, и смѣрна, и стакти, и стакти. тзъ- но въло- жить по законѣ. си же сѣтъ, четьре дѣбри правн. аще бв исп- льнь и равна вждать оумъ.	Иже хощеть блговонныи диміанъ оустроити. <u>ч(с)</u> <u>тное ливано.</u> и касіѣ. и они- ха. и стакти, равнѣ да сѣложитъ по закону. сіа же сѣтъ, чет- ворца до- вродѣтѣлемъ. аще бо испъл- ньны и равны вждѣтъ, непрѣданъ воудеть оумъ.	Иже хощеть блговонни дѣмѣ(м) оустроити. <u>ч(с)</u> <u>тное ливано</u> и касіе и ониха и стакти, равнѣ да сѣложитъ по закону. снѣ же соуть, четворца до- вродѣтелие(м). аще оубо испълнен- ни и равны воуд(д)ать, непрѣданъ воудеть оумъ.

The volume of the chapters is different: in the first translation, they are 153 (sometimes the last chapter is presented in the form of a conclusion), while in the second translation the chapters number 150 and there is no conclusion.

The differences between the two groups of witnesses can be described as follows:

Translation A was made in the earliest period of Old Bulgarian literature, probably at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. In the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, the translation was attested in Russian manuscripts, with the following witnesses: Dečani 93, Khludov 10d (253), Synod 644, Hamilton 381 and Solov 269 (1134/1244). The text, published after a Russian copy in MS Dečani 93 by W. Veder, preserves, according to his research, traces of a Glagolitic prototype. The language is characterized by several ancient features, about which even A.V. Gorsky and K.I. Nevostruev, describing Synod. 644 (ascetic works of Maximos the Confessor,

Theodore of Edessa and Neilos of Ancyra, as well as *Enchiridion* by Epiktetos<sup>43</sup>), they underscored the following: *рассматриваемая рукопись сохранила даже некоторые выражения в древнейшем виде, нежели Изборник [the manuscript in question even preserved some expressions in the oldest form, as if coming from the Izbornik]* (p. 284). The authors dwell on the following peculiarities of the archaic translation: ἀρετὴ is translated by добронравие; ἐνάρετος – добронравный (ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ τετραὰς τῶν ἀρετῶν· – сина же соуть, четворица добродѣтели(м.); θυσιαστήριον – трѣбникъ; ἐγκαλεῖν – поимы творити; πάντως, παντελῶς – вѣхма, вѣшиж and others.

In translation A, after analysis, a branch is found with additional editorial changes in two Middle Bulgarian manuscripts: NL 1036, ABAS 80 (Ryapov miscellany) and one Slavic-Romanian MS 2 (old 13 /29/), State Archive of the Republic of Moldova. Examples will be discussed below. Solov from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. 269 (1134/1244) is an interesting case, as it retains archaic features characteristic only of Dečani 93; but at the end there is another text in the form of questions and answers, contaminated without a separate title<sup>44</sup>.

Translation B was made at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in Bulgaria or a Bulgarian environment on Mount Athos. It includes the following manuscripts: Hilandar 456, Kiv 151, Gilferding 47, Moscow Theological Academy 49, MS from the State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University in Perm (today lost), Hilandar 468, Vienna 28, Belgrade 426 (31), Bucharest 159, Bucharest 315, Trinity-Sergius Lavra 116 (91), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 165 (1720), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 167 (1673), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 183 (1675), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 189 (1613) (two copies), Trinity-Sergius Lavra 756 (1637), Pogodin 1054, Pogodin 1044, Mazurin 323, Solov. 276 (797), Solov. 297 (597), Solov. 298 (598), Solov. 299 (599), Solov. 398 (85), Solov. 406 (471), Sof. 1320 (Great Reading Menaion). The language of translation B follows all distinctive features of the Middle Bulgarian period. There are differences in comparison with translation A regarding specifics of grammar and lexis, while changes in respect to composition are minimal.

Some typical differences in the tradition of the text can be illustrated with the following examples<sup>45</sup>:

<sup>43</sup> Д.М. Буланин, *Античные традиции в древнерусской литературе XI–XVI вв.*, München 1991 [= SBe, 278], p. 96–137 (research), 301–327 (publication).

<sup>44</sup> I am very grateful to Zhana Levshina for her help with access to this manuscript.

<sup>45</sup> I use the Greek text according to *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, vol. LXXIX, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1865, col. 1165–1200. *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae® (TLG®)*, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/Iris/Cite?4110:024:42799> [25 II 2021]. The numbering of the wise saying differs in the translations, as well as in the individual copies, for this reason I quote it according to the Greek text. In the parallels translation A follows the text of Dečani 93, redaction of A – NL 1036, and translation B – Vienna 28.

Η'. Μὴ οὖν εἰς πάθος τρέψῃς τὸ τῶν παθῶν ἀλέξιμα, ἵνα μὴ πλέον παροργίσης τὸν δεδωκότα τὴν χάριν·

Translation A: не взврати боу на стрѣсть страстзноюю лѣтѣ да не паѣе прог(н)ладеши да-вшаго бл҃гдѣть.

Redaction: не взврати са оубо на страстныа връѣ да не прогнѣдеши паѣе давшааго.

Translation B: да не оубо на страсть вератише страстемь връевание. ѡко да не множае прогнѣваси давшаго ти бл(д)ть.

ΙΒ'. Ἦνίκα ἄν ἀπαντήσῃ σοι πειρασμός, ἢ ἀντιλογία, ἢ διερεθίσῃ πρὸς τὴν δι' ἐναντίας ἄμυνα κίνησαι θυμὸν, ἢ τινᾶ ἄσημον ῥήξαι φωνήν, μνήσθητι τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν κρίματος· καὶ εὐθέως ἢ ἔν σοι ἄτακτος κίνησις ἡρεμήσει.

Translation A: ѿгда срѣцет тѧ напасть ли ѿвѣщаніе. или дражи или кз противникоу брань. двигнотѣ ароть или нѣкыи изврѣци гл҃сѣ. помани млтѣоу. и еже неосужение. и

двие соущее в тебе. вещинное движение оумлзкнетъ.

Redaction: ѿгда срѣцет тѧ напасть или ѿвѣщаніе, или раздраженіе, или кз противникоу брань. двигнѣти ѡроть, или нѣкыи, изврѣци гл҃с(с). помѣни млтѣѡ. и еже ѡ неи неспж(д)еніе. и двіе спцее въ тебѣ вещинное движеніе, оумлзкнетъ.

Translation B: Вьнегда аще прїдетъ ти искушение или прѣврѣкание. или раздражане(т) къ съпротивномуу ѿмьщяющоуоу подвигоутѣ ѡроо(с). или нѣкоие вещин'но реци словѡ. помени млтѣоу и юже ѡ неи соудбоу. и двіе же вътебе вещин'ное подвижение оутиши(т) се.

ΙΓ'. Ὅσα ἄν ποιήσῃς πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀδελφοῦ ἡδίκηκός (42) σε, ἅπαντα εἰς σκάνδαλόν σοι γενήσεται ἐν καιρῷ προσευχῆς

Translation A: Ѣлико же аще твориши на соупривное (!) братоу по обидѣвшомоу тѧ. все то на блазнъ ти боудеть въ (в)рема млтѣѡ.

Redaction: Ѣлико аще сзтвориши на сзпротивие братѡ прѣобидѣвшоу тѧ. вѣсе тѡ на сзблазнъ ти вѣдетъ. въ врѣма млтѣѡ.

Translation B: Ѣлика аще сзтвориши къ ѿмьщению братоу вбидѣвшомоу те, все не на добру тебѣ боудотъ въ врѣме млтѣѡ.

ΙΕ'. Προσευχή ἐστὶ χαρᾶς καὶ εὐχαριστίας πρόβλημα.

Ις'. Προσευχή ἐστὶ λύπης καὶ ἀθυμίας ἀλέξιμα.

Translation A: Млтѣа есть печали и оуныиниа л(ѣ)тѣѡ. Млтѣа есть радости и бл(л)гдѣти податель.

Redaction: Млтѣа е(с), радости, и бл҃годѣти поданіе. Млтѣа е(с), оуныиніоу, и печали лѣтѣа.

Translation B: Млтѣа есть радости бл҃годарениа гананіе. Млтѣа есть печали и скръби прѣмѣненіе

ΙΗ'. Εἰ βούλει ἐπαινετῶς προσεύχεσθαι, ἄρνησαι ἑαυτὸν καθ' ὥραν, καὶ πάμπολα δεινὰ πάμπολα ὑπὲρ προσευχῆς φιλοσόφει.

Translation A: Аще хоцещи похвалнѣ молити са. ѿвръзи са себе на все часѣи (Лк 9:23) и много зло стража въ млтѣѡ прѣвзиван.

Redaction: Аще хоцещи беспечѣлнѣ молити са. ѿвръзи са себе на вѣса часы. и много бѡ зло страж(д)ѡ, трзпи прѣвзиваѡ въ млтѣѡ.

Translation B: Лице хоцеши похвал'нѣ помл'ити се, ѿвѣрзи се себе на кьждо час. и прѣвмннwgла лютаа стражде w млтѣвѣ любовоудрѣствоуи.

ΚΔ'...πάση μηχανῇ χρῆσαι πρὸς τὸ μὴ ῥῆξαι θυμόν

Превод А: ꙗꙑдъ вѣсѣмъ оубо. злпгѣн(ѣ)немъ държи са не испогустити гнѣва

Redaction: ꙗꙑдъ вѣсѣмъ оубо ~~злпгѣмъ~~ (!) дръжи са не испогустити гнѣвъ

Превод Б: ѿи всакъ оубо кьзньн сътвори неже (не)изнести глрнеть

Λζ'. Εἰ προσεύξασθαι ποθεῖς, ἀπόταξι τοῖς σύμπτασιν, ἵνα τὸ πᾶν κληρονομήσῃς

Translation A: Лице молити са хоцеши отъвѣрзи са всакычъ: да все причаститиши.

Redaction: Лице молити са хоцеши. ѿвѣрзи са вѣсего, да вѣсе наслѣдиши.

Translation B: Лице мл'ити се желдеши, ѿрци се всагъскын(ч) ꙗко да все наслѣди(ш).

ΜΖ'. Ὅταν πολλὰ ποιήσας ὁ πονηρότατος δαίμων

Translation A: ѿгда много сътворивъ: пронзиривзи бѣсѣ

Redaction: ѿгда много сътворитъ пронърливын бѣсѣ.

Translation B: ѿгда многоа сътворивъ логкавнѣиши бѣсѣ

ΜΘ'. ἢ περὶ πνευματικῆς προσευχῆς· λίαν γὰρ πολέμιος αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ

Translation A: нъ о дх'овнѣи млтѣвѣ. зѣло бо съпостатъ имъ естъ. и на таготоу

Redaction: нѣ w дх'ѣнѣи млтѣвѣ. зѣло бо съпостатъ намъ естъ на таготѣ.

Translation B: развѣ w дх'овнѣи млтѣвѣ. зѣло бw ратникъ тѣмъ естъ и ненавист'на.

ΝΑ'. Τὰς ἀρετὰς μετερχόμεθα διὰ τοὺς λόγους τῶν γεγονότων, καὶ τούτους διὰ τὸν οὐσιώσαντα Κύριον, οὗτος δὲ ἐν τῇ καταστάσει τῆς προσευχῆς ἀναφαίνεσθαι εἴθε.

Translation A: Доброуравна проходимъ словесъ ради взиавшичъ и соучествовавшаго дѣла бѣ съ же вѣ съвршенѣи молитвѣ авлати са овзиган имат

Redaction: Доброуравѣа проходимъ, словесъ дѣла бивши(ч). неспцгъствовавшаго дѣла бѣ. съи же вбъгн съвршенѣи мн(ли)тѣвѣ, гавити са иматъ.

Translation B: Добродѣтѣли проходи(м), ра(ди) словесе бивши(ч), и си(ч), ради соучествов'наго словесе. Сие же въ оустройении млтѣвнѣмъ вбывавлати се вбъгѣ.

ΡΑΒ'. Ὁμηρετέωσάν σοι αἱ σωματικαὶ ἀρεταὶ πρὸς τὰς ψυχικάς, καὶ αἱ ψυχικαὶ πρὸς τὰς πνευματικὰς. Καὶ αὗται πρὸς τὴν αὔλον γινῶσιν.

Translation A: Да тазаютъ. телеснаа блгонравна: къ дшѣвнннмъ: и сиа къ чистомоу. и соучествовномуу разумоу.

Redaction: Да та задаватъ тѣлеснаа добронравѣа, къ дшѣвннмъ. и сиа къ чистомѣ, и спцгъствовномуу разумоу.

Translation B: Да не парет'ти тѣлесные добродѣтѣли, къ дшѣвннмъ. и дшѣв'ные къ дх'овннмъ. и дх'ов'ные пакы къ невеществономѣ разумѣ.



PM'. Μὴ παραιτοῦ τοὺς κναφεῖς· εἰ γὰρ καὶ τύπτουσι πατοῦντες, καὶ τείνοντες ξαίνουσι, ἀλλὰ γὰρ διὰ τούτων λαμπρὰ ἢ αἴσθησίς σου γίνεται.

Translation A: Не взъзми са отъ вѣлильникъ· аще бо виють пероуцѣ· и протажощѣ гревоуць· нъ сиχъ ДѢЛА свѣтъла риза твоа· бѣваетъ.

Redaction: Не взъзми са ѿ вѣлильникъ· аще бо виють пероуцѣ· и протажощѣ бѣють· нъ си(хъ) ДАЛЕ (sic!) свѣтъла риза твоа бѣваетъ.

Translation B: Не ѿрицаи се пероуци(хъ)· аще бо и виють пероуцѣ, и протажощѣ строжеть, нъ оубо си(хъ) ради свѣтъла одежда твоа бѣваетъ.

PMZ'. Εἰ τὸν μετὰ δώρου προσελθόντα ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ὁ ἀνενδεὴς, καὶ ἀδέκατος ἕως τοῦριον οὐκ ἐδέξατο, ὁ ἀνενδεὴς, καὶ ἀδέκατος ἕως τοῦ διαλλαγήναι τῷ πλησίον λυπομένῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν, σκόπει πόσης φυλακῆς καὶ διακρίσεως χρεια, ἵνα εὐπρόσδεκτον δώμεν τῷ Θεῷ θυμίαμα ἐν τῷ νοητῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ.

Translation A: Аще съ даромъ приходацааго къ тревъникуу не приа· обиазиви (sic!) и безъмъздънии· дондеже съмирить са· съ ближнимиъ· опечальнымиъ смотри колика храненияа и расуждениа потреба есть· да блгоприатънъ дамъ боу тьманъ· на разоумънзи тревькъ· (sic!)

Redaction: Аще съ даромъ при(хъ)дацааго къ жрътвникуу не приициалъ· и безъмъзди· дондеже съмиритъ са съ ближнимиъ впечаленымиъ· съмътри колико храненияа, и расъж(д)енна потреба е(с)· да блгоприатенъ дамы бѣви на разоумъныи ватаръ.

Translation B: Аще иже съ даромъ пришь(д)шаго къ жрътв'никуу не прие(т) не трѣвоуѣи ниш'–тоже и не мьздо приемни, дон'деже съмирити се искры'ннемоу печалуотоцоу на нь· съмътри коликоу храненияоу потреба и разоуж(д)енно, яко да блгоприет'ни воуде(м) бѣи кадило приносеѣе на мыслъни жрътвникъ.

The end of the work in both translations reads in the following way:

PNA'. Προσευχῆς ἔπαινος, οὐχ ἀπλῶς ἢ ποσότης, ἀλλ' ἢ ποιότης, καὶ τοῦτο δηλοῦσιν οἱ ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ ἱερόν, καὶ τὸ, «Υμεῖς προσευχόμενοι, μὴ βαττολογήσητε» καὶ τὰ ἐξήχ.

PNB'. Εφ' ὅσον τῇ ἀναλογία προσέχεις τοῦ σώματος, καὶ ὁ νοῦς σου τὰ τῆς σκηνῆς περιέπει терпнв, οὐδέπω τῆς προσευχῆς ἐώρακας τόπον· ἀλλὰ μα- κρὰν ἀπὸ σοῦ ἢ μακαρία ταύτης ὁδὸς τυγχάνει.

PNΓ'. Οταν παριστάμενος εἰς προσευχὴν ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν ἄλλην χαρὰν γένη, τότε ἀληθῶς εὔρη- κας προσευχῆν.

Translation A

Мо(л)твѣ похваала· не просто количѣство· нъ каквоѣство· и се авлаеть· възходивъшии въ цркви· и вы молащѣ са не блгословите (sic!) и прочее· и прочее· елма же въ помыслѣ еси тѣлесныѣмъ· и оумъ ти стѣньныа възходитъ красоты· нѣси не оу млтвѣ видѣлъ мѣста· нъ и еше далече бл- жены еа· пѣтъ есть· егда прѣстоа въ млтвѣ· паѣе всако ярости онаа бѣвааше· тьгда въ истиноу оеврѣте молитвоу· (Dečani 93)

рпѣ· О млтвѣ похваала· не просто количѣство· но каквоѣство· и се авлають възходившии въ цркѣь· и вы молащѣ са не блаословите· и прочее· рпѣ· елма же в помыслѣ еси телесныѣмъ· и оумъ ти стѣньныа възходитъ красоты· не си оуне млтвѣ видѣлъ мѣст(а) но и еше далече блжныи еа· путь есть· рпѣ· егда престоа въ молитвѣ паѣе всакоа радості иноа бѣвааше· тогда во истиноу оеврѣте молитву· (Hamilton 381)

## Redaction of translation A

рн. МЛТВА ПОХВАЛА ЕС(С) НЕ ПРОСТО КОЛИЧЬСТВО. НЖ КО(ЛИЧЬ СИ)ВСТВО<sup>46</sup> И СЕ ЯВЛѢЖТЪ ВЪЗХОДАЩЕИ ВЪ ЦРКВЪ. И ВЫ НЕ БЛАДОСЛОВИТЕ МОЛАЩЕ СЕ, И ПРОЧЕЕ.

рпа. ЕЛМА ЖЕ ЕСИ ВЪ ПОМЫСЛѢ ТЪБЛЕСНѢМЪ. И ОУМЪ ТИ ВЕХУДИТЪ СТѢННЫѢ КРАСОТЫ. НЕ ОУЕСИ ОУЧѢДѢЛЪЗ МѢСТА МЛТВНЫѢ КРАСОТЫ. НЖ И ЕЩЕ ДАЛЕЧЕ ЕС(С) ПЖТЪ ЕЖ БЛАЖЕНЫИ.

рпв. ЕГДА ПРѢ(Д)СТОИШИ ВЪ МЛТВѢ. ПАЧЕ ИНУЖ ВЪСѢКЫѢ РАДОСТИ БЫВАЕШИ, ТУГДА ВЪ ИСТИНЖ ВЕРѢТЕ МЛТВЖ. СЛАВАЩЕ УЦА И СНА И СТГО ДХА. НИНѢ И ПРИСНО И ВЪ ВѢКЫ ВѢКОМЪ А(М). (NL 1036)

## Translation B

рпа. МЛТВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТО КОЛИЧЬСТВО, НЪ КАЧЬСТВО. И СЕ ЯВЛѢ(Т) ВЫШЕ(Д)ШЕИ ВЪ СТѢЛИЩЕ. НЪ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МЛ'ЕЩЕ СЕ НЕ ЛИХОГЛѢТЕ И ПРОУДА. (Vienna 28)

МЛТВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТУ КОЛИЧЬСТВО, НЪ КАЧЬСТВО. И СЕ ЯВЛѢЕТЪ ВЪЗЫШЕ(Д)ШЕИ ВЪ СТѢЛИЩЕ. НЪ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МОЛАЩЕ СА НЕ ЛИХОГЛѢТЕ И ПРОУДА БЮЖЕ НАШЕМОУ СЛАВА ВЪ ВѢКЫ ВѢКО(М), АМИНЪ:– (Hilferding 47)

рпв. М(Л)ТВѢ ПОХВАЛА, НЕ ПРОСТУ КОЛИ(Ч)СТВО, НЖ КАЧЬСТВО. И СЕ ЯВЛѢ(Т) ВЪЗ'ШЕ(Д)ШЕ И ВЪ СТѢЛИЩЕ. НЖ И ЕЖЕ И ВЫ МОЛАЩЕ СА НЕ ЛИХОГЛѢТЕ И ПРЮУДА. (Pogodin 1054)

The copies of the early translation A are not numerous and, as I have shown, have reached us mainly in Russian manuscripts whose contents are connected with either the *Scete Paterikon* (Dečani 93) or with the so-called *Menaion Izbornik*, introduced to science by D.M. Bulanin who studied it in depth (Hludov 10d, State Historical Museum, Moscow and the fragment Nikolskiy 323, Library of Russian Academy, St. Petersburg, 13<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>47</sup>. Without any doubt, the translation of *On Prayer* corresponds to the tradition of 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century Old Church Slavonic texts. Compared with the tradition of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, it underwent development only in the two Middle Bulgarian manuscripts NL 1036 and ABAS 80 (Ryapov miscellany), and in one Slavonic Romanian MS 2, State Archive of the Republic of Moldova, so far not introduced in academic circulation. In most cases, they preserve the archaic readings, but along with that (as seen from the examples above) some new translations of Greek lexemes are introduced, as well as corrections of the archaic text, for example:

- ονουχъ in translation A, the Gk. ὄνυξ, ὄ<sup>48</sup> in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century redaction is substituted for смѣрна, and the entire phrase from the Old Testament quotation (Sir 24: 17–18, Exod 30: 34) sounds in the following manner: то чистыи ливань, и касѣа, и смѣрна, и стакти.

<sup>46</sup> The syllable личъ is superscribed above the word between the row, in an attempt to correct the word *какосьство* which the scribe could not understand.

<sup>47</sup> Д.М. Буланин, *Реконструкция древнерусского сборника...*, p. 342–345; ИДЕМ, *Античные традиции...*, p. 132.

<sup>48</sup> One of the components of holy frankincense burnt only in the sanctuary.

- **ЧЕТЫРСТВО ДОБРОПРАВЪЕМЪ** in translation A, the Gk. ἡ τετρας τῶν ἀρετῶν is substituted for the combination **ЧЕТЫРЕ ДОБРИ ПРАВИ**, while everywhere in translation B ἀρετή, ἡ it is translated with **ДОБРОДѢТЕЛЬ** and the derivatives of this lexeme (see above).
- At places, the 14<sup>th</sup>-century redaction has restored early forms in comparison with the early Russian copies. For example, instead of **РАДИ** it introduces **ДѢЛА**, but elsewhere the text has not been understood;
- In separate cases, in the South Slavic copies of translation B (also at places in the redaction of translation A) lexemes from the early Russian copies are substituted for older lexemes, as for example: **Μολαцію ти са въз λῆπτοу. сица ти са сзрациоуть вещи да мниши праведно соуце все сз гнѣвзъмь дадати. а нѣсть правѣдно гнѣвз на ближнаго отиноудь** (translation A); **Молециоу же ти се по(д)бнѣ, такоѡи приидоу(т) тебѣ вещи, тако да мниши праведно быти всако разъарити се. нѣ(с) же праведна гаростъ на искрънаго ѡноудь** (translation B).
- The example with the adverbs **ВЪШИЖ /ВЪШИА** and **ВЪХМА** is indicative:

	Dečani 93	Hamilton	ABAS 80	NL 1036	Hilferding 47	Vienna 28
<p>ΛΑ'. Μῆ προσεύχου τὰ σα θελήματα γενέσθαι, οὐδὲ γὰρ πάντως συμωνοῦσι τῷ βουλήματι τοῦ θεοῦ ἀλλὰ μάλλον καθὼς ἐδιδάχθης, προσεύχου λέγων· &lt;Γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου&gt; ἐν ἐμοί. Καὶ ἐπὶ παντὶ δὲ πράγματι οὕτως αὐτὸν αἶτει, ἵνα τὸ αὐτοῦ γένηται θέλημα· θέλει γὰρ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ συμφέρον τῆ ψυχῆ σου· σου δὲ οὐ πάντως τοῦτο ζητεῖς.</p>	<p>Не моли са твоимъ воламъ възги. не во и <b>ВЪХМА</b> сзглас(с)ують. сзвѣтоу бжю. нъ паѣ акоже еси наоученъ. моли са глѧ. да будетъ вола тво (Mt 6:10) на мнѣ (Mt 26:42) и о всакои же вещи тако ѡ него проси да того будетъ вола. хочеть во блгооуму и полезномуу дши.(!) ты же сзхма не того просиши.</p>	<p>лѧ. Не моли са твоимъ воламъ възги. не во и <b>ВЪХМА</b> сзгласують сзвѣту бжю. но паѣ акоже еси наоученъ глѧ, да бждеть вола твоа на мнѣ. и о всакои вещи тако ты ѡ него проси да того будетъ вола. хочеть во блгому и полезномуу дши. ты же възхма не того просиши.</p>	<p>ѣр. Не моли са твоимъ волѣмъ възги. не сзгласѣшт' во <b>ВЪШИЖ</b>, сзвѣтоу бжю, нъ паѣ акоже еси наоученъ глѧ, да бждеть волѣ твоа на мнѣ. и о всѣхъ кон же вещи тако проси ѡ него. да того(бж)деть волѣ. хочеть во блгому и полезномуу дши. ты же тычиж не того просиши.</p>	<p>кѧ. Не моли са твоимъ волѣмъ възги. не сзгласоужт во <b>ВЪШИА</b>, сзвѣтоу бжю. нъ паѣ акоже еси наоученъ глѧ, да бждеть волѣ твоа на мнѣ. и о всѣхъ кон же вещи тако проси ѡ него. да твого да бждеть волѣ. хочеть во блгому и полезномуу дши. ты же тзчѧ, не твого просиши.</p>	<p>лѧ. Не мѧи са твоимъ волѣмъ възги, ни во сзгласоужт хотѣнѧ бжю. нъ паѣ акоже наѣченъ бы(с) мѧи са глѧ, да бждеть волѣ твоа въ мнѣ. и въ всѣхъ кон же вещи. сице егво моли, тако да волѣ его бждеть. хочеть бж блгое и полезное дши. ты же не всѣхъ(о) се ици(е)ш(и).</p>	<p>Не мѧи се твоимъ волѣмъ възги, ни во сзгласоують хотѣнѧ бжю. нъ паѣ акоже наоученъ бы(с) мѧи се глѧ, да будетъ вола твоа къ мнѣ. и въ всакои же вещи. Сице него мѧи. тако да вола него будетъ. хочеть бж блгое, и полезное дши. тыи же не всако се ициши.</p>

At places, the redacted text shows relocation in the order of the wise sayings, e.g.: МЛТВА ЕСТЬ КРОТОСТИ И БЕЗГНѢВІЮ ПРОЗАБЕНІЕ. МЛТВА ЕСТЬ ПЕЧАЛИ И ОУНЪИИИА Л(Ъ)УБА. МЛТВА ЕСТЬ РАДОСТИ И Б(Л)ГДИ ПОДАТЕЛЬ (translation A) in the redaction reads as: МОЛИТВА Е(С) КРОТОСТИ, И БЕЗГНѢВІОУ ПРОЗАБЛЕНІЕ. МЛТВА Е(С), РАДОСТИ, И БЛГОДѢТИ ПОДАНІЕ. МЛТВА Е(С), ОУНЪИИОУ, И ПЕЧАЛИ ЛЪУБА (National Library 1036). There are also other insignificant differences, which give reason to conclude that the initial translation served as the basis for the redaction.

The copies indicate different versions of the Byzantine tradition, but the prologue, in which allegory is used to explain the number of chapters of wise sayings (153), the ratio of the numerical values and their symbolism<sup>49</sup> is missing. A most general comparison between translations A and B makes it clear that the second translation uses that branch of the Greek tradition which contains additional changes in respect to the ending. The work in translation B is definitely imbued with the ideas of Hesychasm and its main guidelines for 'intelligent' ascesis. The style and language follow certain rhetorical techniques typical of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Without a doubt, translation B did gain some authority and that was why it spread in manuscripts of an origin both like the Tărnovo school or Balkan literary centres and from Hilandar monastery on Mount Athos. It was precisely this remake of the work that spread quite widely in manuscript tradition of 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century South Slavic, Moldo-Wallachian and Russian ascetic miscellanies, also being accepted and included in the Great Reading Menaion of Makarios.

Hilferding 47 of the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century is a representative Middle Bulgarian manuscript preserving translation B. At the end of the manuscript, there is a marginal note stating that it was in the Orthodox monastery of Piva in Montenegro, where it was found later on. The works of Gregory of Sinai, Symeon the New Theologian, the *Chapters on Love* by Maximos the Confessor, Diadochos of Photike, the 40 chapters of Thalassios the Libyan to presbyter Paul, chapters by Abba Macarios, Abba Mark, chapters by Theodore of Edessa, Abba Isaiah, questions and answers of Athanasios of Alexandria to Prince Antioch, *Stoslovets* (*Centuria de fide*) attributed to Genadios, the Patriarch of Constantinople, and other texts, characterize the contents. As I have already pointed out, the 15<sup>th</sup> century manuscript from the Perm State Humanitarian and Pedagogical University, of Bulgarian provenance, mainly contains part of the sermons for hermits of Isaac of Nineveh, as well as excerpts with the names of Abba Isaiah and Abba Mark. The content of Kiiiv 151 is similar: the ascetic sermons of Isaac of Nineveh, the sermons of Stephen of Thebes<sup>50</sup>, chapters by Abba Macarios, Abba Mark, chapters by Theodore

<sup>49</sup> C. JOEST, *Die arithmetische Feinstruktur im Traktat De oratione des Evagrius Pontikos*, VC 72, 2018, p. 21–40.

<sup>50</sup> The first translation is contained in Dečani 93; the second revised translation is preserved in the group of manuscripts which contain the second translation of *De oratione*, cf. W. VEDER, *The Commandments of Stephen of Thebes*, [in:] ПКИИ, vol. XII, София 2012, p. 165–190.

of Edessa, Gregory of Sinai, Abba Isaiah, Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, chapters by Niketas Stethatos, questions and answers of Athanasios of Alexandria to Prince Antioch, etc. The content of MS 1054, Pogodin Collection, *Scala Paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza, works of Gregory of Sinai and others, is no less important. The similarity between the Bulgarian part of the book with the hand and the design of the miscellany came from the pen of the scribe Lavrentii – No. F.I.376 from the collection of the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg (known as the miscellany of Ivan-Alexander of 1348) – is well known and equally well studied<sup>51</sup>. The copy is a good presentation of *De oratione* in a didactic content of monastic type. The Russian scribe copied the text of *De oratione* (preserved in part because of missing folia) from a Middle Bulgarian protograph. K. Ivanova assumed that the manuscript, written in the capital of Târnovo, was already in Russia by the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>52</sup>. The copy of the translation B in MS 1044 of the Pogodin collection (with one-*jer*, Serbian orthography, probably originating in Western Serbia or Bosnia<sup>53</sup>), which is similar in content to the Ryapov miscellany, is evidence of how widespread it was in the Balkans and of its connection with the Athonite monasteries.

MS 159 and 315 from the Romanian Academy Library, Bucharest, are ascetic miscellanies. In addition to the listed authors, No. 159 includes the treatise of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, chapters by Niketas Stethatos and others, and No. 315 – excerpts from Anastasios of Sinai, Athanasios of Alexandria, Ephrem the Syrian, Makarios of Egypt, and others. The manuscripts of Serbian provenance from Hilandar obviously follow the tradition of ascetic miscellanies – No. 28 is probably the most distinguished example, written by a highly educated scribe, containing works of Diadochos of Photike, Philotheos Monachos, Symeon the New Theologian, Niketas Stethatos, *Stosloveti* of Genadios with accompanying short florilegia, chapters of Thalassios the Libyan, the treatises of Gregory of Sinai, the chapters of Maximos the Confessor, as well as of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos. The miscellanies from Hilandar No. 456 and No. 468 are also included in the group, with works belonging to Gregory of Sinai, Symeon the New Theologian, the chapters of Maximos the Confessor about love, of Hesychios of Jerusalem to Theodoulos, the “acting” chapters of Theodore of Edessa, Diadochos of Photike, Macarios of Egypt and excerpts from the Paterikon.

This shortlisting makes it clear that the second translation of *De oratione* by Evagrius Ponticos (with the name of Neilos of Ancyra) has been incorporated into a permanent context. M. Scarpa thinks that its formation was completed around

<sup>51</sup> А.А. Турилов, *К истории Тырновского “царского” скриптория XIV в.*, [in:] *Межславянские культурные связи эпохи средневековья и источниковедение истории и культуры славян. Этюды и характеристики*, Москва 2012, p. 318–319, 539 (note 26/1).

<sup>52</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Български, сръбски и молдо-влахийски...*, p. 325.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 381.

the middle to the end of the 1360s, Hilferding 47 being quoted as an example together with the closely related National Library in Sofia 672<sup>54</sup>. In his quest for a Greek source of appropriate content, he cites the miscellany quoted by Italian researcher A. Rigo as written in an environment close to Patriarch Kallistos the First: Matsouki Ecclesiae S. Parasceuae (olim monasterii Bylizas 5) of the third quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>55</sup> and Mosqu. Synod. 509 (Vladimir 247) of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, written at the Iviron monastery<sup>56</sup>. To this period M. Scarpa adds the Ryapov miscellany No. 80, NL 1036, and now I am adding the newly discovered No. 2 from the State Archives of the Republic of Moldova, from New Neamț monastery. I can hypothesize that the archetype of these three manuscripts may have been written before the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but this is the subject of relevant research.

In Russian 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup>-century tradition, translation B is part of contents of identical type. Interesting cases include the manuscripts with traces of a Middle Bulgarian protograph, in which the discussed work is included together with the text of the Epistles with interpretation (Solov. 116 (91), which is an exception), with the homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza (Solov. 165 (1720)) and the *Scala paradisi* by John Sinaites and homilies of Dorotheos of Gaza (Solov. 167 (1673), 183 (1675)). More examples can be given related to the distribution of translation B, topical from the end of 14<sup>th</sup> through the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century, such as the formation of the ascetic collection called “Glavnik” by Metropolitan Daniel (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century – 1547) who gathered in one book the translations of authors, read and popularized by monks in the era of Hesychasm<sup>57</sup>. An important attestation to the transmission of *De oratione* is its inclusion in the contents of the Great Reading Menaion for February. As T. Chertoritskaya<sup>58</sup> has underscored, on the one hand, the contents for this month as a whole reveals continuity compared with the topical trends in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and on the other – the perception of the works as complex.

<sup>54</sup> М. СКАРПА, *Аскетико-монашеские сборники XIV в.: содержание и среда составления*, Рбг 36.2, 2012, p. 46; ИДЕМ, *Славянские переводы аскетико-монашеских сборников в XIV в.: между Болгарией и Святой горой*, [in:] *Афон и славянский мир. Сборник 3. Материалы международной научной конференции, посвященной 1000-летию присутствия русских на Святой горе. Киев 21–23 мая 2015 г.*, Афон 2016, p. 311–316; ИДЕМ, *Аскетико-монашески сборници между България и Атон в XIV столетие*, [in:] *Сребърният век. Нови открития*, София 2016, p. 221–227.

<sup>55</sup> Description of the manuscript and bibliography: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/cote/40509/> [26 II 2021].

<sup>56</sup> А. RIGO, *Il monaco, la Chiesa e la liturgia. I Capitoli sulle gerarchie di Gregorio il Sinaita*, Firenze 2005 [= МСОУ, 4], p. XXI–XXIV, XXVI–XXXIII; ИДЕМ, *Callisto I patriarca, I 100 (109) capitoli sulla purezza dell'anima. Introduzione, edizione e traduzione*, B 80, 2010, p. 333–407.

<sup>57</sup> MS 134 (489), 16<sup>th</sup> c., collection of Joseph Volokolamsk Monastery (113), Russian State Library, Moscow. ИОСИФ ИЕРОМ, *Опись рукописей перенесенных из библиотеки Иосифова монастыря в библиотеку Московской духовной академии*, Москва 1882, p. 101–107.

<sup>58</sup> Т.В. ЧЕРТОРИЦКАЯ, *Четъи сборники в составе Великих Миней Четъих митрополита Макария*, ТОДЛ 46, 1993, p. 100–101.

The transmission of *De oratione* turns over a new leaf in the entire account of connections and exchange of translated works, both in initial and new forms, between Tärnovo, Mount Athos, the Balkan literary centres and Russia. The continuity between the ages, on the one hand, and the reconsideration of the genre of didactic “chapters” (κεφάλαια) in the different periods, on the other, are a distinctive accent in the panorama of Orthodox literature. The translated anthologies of rich content are proof of a wide circle of sources used by scribes. The veritable boom of ascetic literature strengthens the ideological and cultural principles in the spiritual life of Orthodox Christians.

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## OBSERVATIONS ON THE PORTRAYAL OF THE RULER IN THE NOVELS OF LEO VI\*

**Abstract.** The legal texts of the Byzantine period contain elements that clearly portray the role and duties of the emperor as ruler of the State. Leo VI the Wise (886–912 AD), famous for his abundant legislative and general legal work, promulgated numerous general laws (*novels*). His novels promote certain “ideals”, especially equality, justice, charity and clemency, along with other principles of Christian ethics. The emperor is illustrated as a ruler who has a close relationship with God, theologizes, and philosophizes at the same time. In parallel, the emperor infiltrates the mentality of his subjects as the one responsible for the people on earth, their tireless defender, and lawmaker. Furthermore, Leo appears to consistently try to accurately determine the most appropriate, prudent, and fair solution to each problem after meticulous study. He is a philanthropist, a lenient ruler and a supporter of equality and moderation. He acts as a protector of social institutions and regulates his subjects’ lives so that they can become more well-behaved and prefer only the useful things in life. Finally, in Leo’s novels the emperor is depicted not only as the person chosen by God to rule the Empire, but also as the true embodiment of justice, dignity and divine piety.

**Keywords:** Byzantium, care, chosen by God, Christian ethics, clemency, Collection of 113 Novels, customs, ecclesiastical mind, Emperor, emperor-philosopher, equality, justice, ideals, lawmaker, laws, legal texts, Leo VI the Wise, modesty, Novels, philanthropy, political theology, portrait, preambles, responsible for the people on earth, rhetoric, ruler (of the State), tireless defender

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## I. The emperor and his portrayal

The position of the emperor in the state organization of the Eastern Roman Empire (Byzantium) is dominant. He is the bearer of all powers and the regulator of the regime and political life. He constitutes the cornerstone of the state edifice and according to the political theory of the Byzantines he is the ἀρχων τῆς οἰκουμένης (*ruler of the universe*), following the Davidic model of the χριστός Κυρίου (*anointed by God*)<sup>1</sup>. The emperor governs the Empire and cares for every matter concerning the State and his subjects, whose “shepherding” he has been entrusted with by God and for whose salvation he is responsible<sup>2</sup>.

Although no systematic textbook of political theory has survived from the Byzantine era, the image of the emperor as head of the State appears in literary<sup>3</sup> and legal sources. Perhaps the most formal presentation and projection of the image of the emperor as a ruler in the context of imperial ideology<sup>4</sup> is encountered in the

<sup>1</sup> The centralism and totalitarian power of the emperor are mitigated, firstly, by the ideological – political connection of the imperial authority with God and the relevant obligation of the emperor to care for the welfare of his subjects and, secondly, by the occasionally compensatory function of state “institutions”/“actors”, such as the Senate, the Demes and the Church. Cf. A. KALDELLIS, *The Byzantine Republic. People and Power in New Rome*, Cambridge–London 2015, *passim*; A. ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΙΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Το πολίτευμα και οι θεσμοί της Βυζαντινής αυτοκρατορίας, 324–1204. Κράτος – Διοίκηση – Οικονομία – Κοινωνία*, Ἀθήνα 2004, p. 198–199, 352–367 and *passim*; W. ENSSLIN, *Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden*, [in:] *Das byzantinische Herrscherbild*, ed. H. HUNGER, Darmstadt 1975 [= WF, 341], p. 54–85; H.G. BECK, *Senat und Volk von Konstantinopel. Probleme der byzantinischen Verfassungsgeschichte*, [in:] *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild...*, p. 353–378 and IDEM, *Res Publica Romana. Vom Staatsdenken der Byzantiner*, [in:] *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild...*, p. 379–414.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. H.G. BECK, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend*, München 1978, p. 22–23, 87sq (esp. p. 89–90).

<sup>3</sup> The most distinctive of those are laudatory speeches (on them, cf. H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. I, Munich 1978 [= HA.BH, 12.5], p. 65–74) and guides to “proper princely behaviour” (βασιλικοί ἀνδριάντες – *specula Principis*). On the latter, cf. S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen des byzantinischen Rechts*, trans. D. SIMON, S. NEYE, Berlin–Boston 2017, p. 102 and K. ΠΑΪΔΑΣ, *Η θεματική των βυζαντινών Κατόπτρων Ηγεμόνων της πρώιμης και μέσης περιόδου (398–1085). Συμβολή στην πολιτική θεωρία των Βυζαντινών*, Ἀθήνα 2005 and IDEM, *Τα βυζαντινά κάτοπτρα ηγεμόνος της ύστερης περιόδου (1254–1403). Εκφράσεις του βυζαντινού βασιλικού ιδεώδους*, Ἀθήνα 2006. Cf. also, H. COUFALOVÁ-BORHNOVÁ, *Mirrors for Princes: Genuine Byzantine Genre or Academic Construct?*, GLB 22, 2017, p. 5–16 with all relevant bibliography. On Leo’s image as depicted in hagiographical texts of the late 9<sup>th</sup> and the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, cf. G. TSIAPLES, *A Byzantine Emperor between Reality and Imagination: the Image of Leo VI in the Hagiographical Texts of the Middle Byzantine Period*, Pare 4, 2014, p. 85–110.

<sup>4</sup> For imperial ideology, cf. H.G. BECK, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend...*, p. 78–86, 87–108, and H. AHRWEILER, *L’idéologie politique de l’empire byzantin*, Paris 1975. Cf. A. KALDELLIS, *The Byzantine Republic...*, p. 165–198 and S. RUNCIMAN, *The Byzantine Theocracy*, Cambridge–London–New York–Melbourne 1977 [repr. 2003]. On the Byzantine emperor (especially on the emperor as a ruler), apart from the references above in note 1, cf. also B. STOLTE, ‘Law is king of all things?’ *The Emperor and the Law*, [in:] *The Emperor in the Byzantine World*, ed. S. TOUGHER, New York 2019, p. 171–178; F.R. TROMBLEY, *The Emperor at War: Duties and Ideals*, [in:] *The Emperor in the Byzantine World...*, p. 179–195 and the other studies included in the same volume and G. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest*.

texts of laws – mainly general laws – which since the time of Justinian I have been called *novels* (*novellae constitutiones* – *new constitutions*)<sup>5</sup>. The texts of those laws and especially their preambles<sup>6</sup> firmly project the image of the ideal ruler of the Empire, to whom they attribute certain characteristics and qualities<sup>7</sup>.

## II. The novels of Leo VI the Wise

Most of the novels issued by Leo VI the Wise (886–912)<sup>8</sup> are included in a collection of 113 Novels<sup>9</sup>. According to the prevailing view, the texts of these Novels – or

*The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, trans. J. BIRRELL, Cambridge–New York 2003 [= PP.P], esp. p. 13–124. Cf. also D. KARAMBOULA, *Der byzantinische Kaiser als Politiker, Philosoph und Gesetzgeber (Politikos – Philosophos – Nomothetes)*, JÖB 50, 2000, p. 5–50.

<sup>5</sup> For the imperial acts and their evolution, cf. S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 9, 11, 26–27; A. ΔΗΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ρωμαϊκό Δίκαιο. Αναδρομή στις πηγές του σύγχρονου δικαίου*, Αθήνα 2020, p. 104–108 and D. IBBETSON, *Sources of Law from the Republic to the Dominate*, [in:] *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Law*, ed. D. JOHNSTON, Cambridge 2015, p. 25–44.

<sup>6</sup> For the structure of imperial documents, cf. F. DÖLGER, I. KARAYANNOPULOS, *Byzantinische Urkundenlehre. 1. Abschnitt: Die Kaiserurkunden*, München 1968 [= HA.BH, 3.1.1], p. 48–56, 71–87 and *passim*. The preambles (*praefatio*) of laws, especially novels, serve as a kind of rhetorical introduction to the rest of the text. By means of *political theology* and rhetoric, the preamble makes those subject to this law more receptive to its provisions and prepares them emotionally for the content of the regulation that follows. Cf. S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 26–27, 180, and H. HUNGER, *Prooimion. Elemente der Byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden*, Wien 1964. For the preambles of chrysobulls, cf. B.A. ΚΟΛΛΙΑΣ, *Τα χρυσόβουλλα στο βυζαντινό δίκαιο*, Αθήνα 2020, p. 178–211.

<sup>7</sup> S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 27. For the rhetorical character of the texts of imperial acts, cf. *ibidem*, p. 8 with references. From the older literature on the subject, cf. especially P.E. PIELER, *Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur*, [in:] H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur...*, vol. II, p. 343–480, esp. p. 351–365 and *passim*. On *political theology* in Byzantium, cf. A. CARILE, *Political Theology in Byzantium as Seen by 20<sup>th</sup> Century Historians*, CSCH 7, 2007, p. 73–109, <https://doi.org/10.6092/issn.1973-9494/1304>. Studies on the image of the Byzantine emperor cf. also in *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild...*

<sup>8</sup> For this emperor and his reign, cf. S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI (886–912). Politics and People*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= MME, 15]; M. RIEDEL, *Leo VI and the Transformation of Byzantine Christian Identity. Writings of an Unexpected Emperor*, Cambridge 2018, p. 1–38 and J. SHEPARD – *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492*, ed. J. SHEPARD, Cambridge–New York 2008, p. 493–505. For Leo's legislative and general legal work, cf. S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 33–34, 173–185 (for novels), 196–200, 202–211, 244–248, 254, for the *Procheiros Nomos* (Πρόχειρος Νόμος), the *Basilika* (Βασιλικά), the *Book of the Eparch* (Επαρχικόν βιβλίον) and the *Tactica* (Τακτικά) respectively cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές του Λέοντος ΣΤ' του Σοφού*, Αθήνα 2007, esp. p. 17–37 (comments on the collection of the 113 Novels). Cf. also M. RIEDEL, *Leo VI...*, p. 95–136 and *passim*; Θ. ΔΕΤΟΡΑΚΗΣ, *Βυζαντινή Φιλολογία. Τα πρόσωπα και τα κείμενα*, vol. III, Αθήνα 2018, p. 31–64; E. ΠΑΡΑΓΙΑΝΝΙ, *Gesetzgebung und Rechtspraxis*, [in:] *Byzanz. Historisch-kulturwissenschaftliches Handbuch*, ed. F. DAIM, Stuttgart 2016 [= NPa, SB, 11], p. 422–423, 445–446 and J. SIGNES CODONER, *The Corpus of Leo's Novels. Some Suggestions Concerning their Date and Promulgation*, SGr 9, 2009, p. 1–33 with many interesting comments and suggestions as per the promulgation of Leo's novels.

<sup>9</sup> Editions: Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 39–317 (collection of 113 Novels) and p. 321–322 (omitted: two novels that do not belong to the above collection and whose authenticity has not been undoubtedly

at least their preambles – were authored by Leo himself<sup>10</sup>. Their language is rich in metaphors, while they aim to be as persuasive as possible using logical schemes, images, and examples. At the same time, the grandeur and elegance of their style are highlighted by the use of carefully selected conceptual and verbal forms. Ideals such as equality (ισότης), justice (δικαιοσύνη), charity (φιλανθρωπία) and clemency (ἐπιείκεια) are strongly promoted in these novels, which led researchers to speak of “a unique example” of “symbolic legislation” in Byzantine history<sup>11</sup>. Moreover, the presentation of the principles of Christian ethics is so intense that the texts of those laws, which are often akin to the rhetorical genre of homily<sup>12</sup>, are sometimes reminiscent of religious sermons<sup>13</sup>.

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proven to date) and P. NOAILLES, A. DAIN, *Les nouvelles de Léon VI le Sage*, Paris 1944. According to the prevailing opinion, the publication of the novels relates to the codification of law at the time of the Macedonian emperors and, in particular, with the codification of Basil I “in 40 books” (the later Βασιλικά ξ' βιβλία – the *Basilika*) and the *Eisagoge* (Εισαγωγή), a new piece of legislation of the same emperor (cf. S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 191–196, 202–205, respectively), in the context of the *cleansing of the ancient laws* (ἀνακάθαρσις τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων – for this, cf. E. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΙ, *Gesetzgebung und Rechtspraxis...*, p. 422–423, 442–443 and S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 168–169). For the regulatory content of Leo's novels in general, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 22–23 and the separate studies of S. TROIANOS in the *Appendix* of this publication (*ibidem*, p. 413sqq), where further relevant literature can be found. Cf. also the studies of K. ΜΠΟΥΡΔΑΡΑ in ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Επιλογή μελετών Ιστορίας Δικαίου (ρωμαϊκό βυζαντινό – μεταβυζαντινό δίκαιο και θεσμοί)*, Αθήνα 2017, with further literature. For criminal law, cf. the recent Ε. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗ, *Οι αξιόποινες πράξεις και ο κολασμός τους στις Νεαρές Λέοντος του Σοφού*, [in:] *Ἄρετήν τήν καλλίστην. Σύμμεικτα προς τιμὴν Καλλιόπης (Κέλλυ) Μπουρδάρα*, ed. I. ΤΖΑΜΤΖΗΣ, Χ. ΣΤΑΥΡΑΚΟΣ, Π. ΑΝΤΩΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, Αθήνα–Θεσσαλονίκη 2021, p. 647–671.

<sup>10</sup> S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 34. For the long preambles of Leo's VI novels, which are usually “uniform in structure” and through which the *ratio legis* is projected whilst the *occasio* of each regulation is only rarely mentioned, cf. *ibidem*, p. 173sqq. Cf. also Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 25, note 29 with further references. It should be noted, however, that it is not always easy to distinguish the preamble (προοίμιον – *praefatio*) of a Leo's novel from its *historical part* (ιστορικὸν μέρος – *narratio*) or sometimes from the *disposition* (διατακτικὸν – *dispositio*) itself.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. M. T. FÖGEN, *Gesetz und Gesetzgebung in Byzanz. Versuch einer Funktionsanalyse*, IC 14, 1987, p. 151–153; S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 182–183, and T. ΑΝΤΩΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise and the ‘First Byzantine Humanism’: on the Quest for Renovation and Cultural Synthesis*, TM 21.2, 2017 (= *Autour du Premier humanisme byzantin et des Cinq études sur le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle, quarante ans après Paul Lemerle*, ed. B. FLUSIN, J.C. CHEYNET), p. 217–218, who in summary states: *Leo strived for the ideals of equality (in the sense of equal treatment of all people in similar circumstances), justice, peace, piety, forgiveness, the emperor's care and love for his people, and the latter's consent, that is to say an ideal world, governed by deeply humane values.*

<sup>12</sup> For Leo VI as author of homilies, cf. M. RIEDEL, *Leo VI...*, p. 137–153 and T. ΑΝΤΩΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise...*

<sup>13</sup> S. TROIANOS, *Die Quellen...*, p. 34 and P.E. PIELER, *Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur...*, p. 358–359.

### III. General points: The characteristics of the ruler in the Novels of Leo VI

In the texts of the 113 Novels<sup>14</sup> of Leo VI, especially their preambles, the emperor is portrayed as the chosen of God, as a ruler who theologizes and philosophizes, as responsible for the people on earth, as the tireless defender of the people and as lawmaker.

The source material is rich and extensive, so in this paper we will limit ourselves to a presentation (in some cases, indicative) of the most representative samples from each of the categories just mentioned.

It should be emphasized that the texts of Leo's Novels create the impression that this emperor successfully embodies the model of the ideal ruler. Nonetheless, they also tend to project Leo as a distinctive example of a ruler that not only maintains a close relationship with God who chose him to rule the Empire, not only has all the abilities and talents required to rule the State effectively for the benefit of his subjects, but at the same time, *wise* as he is<sup>15</sup>, he is able to philosophize and theologize, sometimes taking positions that demonstrate breadth of mind<sup>16</sup> and a progressive and realistic outlook<sup>17</sup>.

What is more, Leo seems to have been driven by the realization that as emperor he was "obliged" to "Christianise" (i.e. to shape in a Christian way) the state entrusted to him by God, strictly adhering to the principle of justice and the values of Christian morality<sup>18</sup>. Furthermore, as is common with many other emperors, Leo appears to study carefully and in depth, locked in his study room, to find the fairest settlement – solution to any issue<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> The four novels of dubious authenticity published by P. NOAILLES, A. DAIN, *Les nouvelles...*, p. 376–378, will not be used here. Two of them have been proven to be nongenuine, while serious reservations have been expressed about the authenticity of one of the other two. Cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 321. In any case, they do not add anything substantial to the present research.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI...*, p. 110–132.

<sup>16</sup> Breadth of mind is obvious in the dialectical essence of some of the texts under consideration, which is somewhat surprising, given that the emperor as an absolute monarch (whose power is certainly delimited, as mentioned above in note 1) does not put into discussion the regulations he promulgates.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, Ε. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗ, *Η Νεαρά 17 Λέοντος του Σοφού και μία επιτομή της*, [in:] Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 500, with further literature, and T. ANTONOPOULOU, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise...*, p. 233.

<sup>18</sup> S. TROIANOS, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen Leons VI. und ihre Quellen*, SGr 4, 1990 (= *Novella Constitutio. Studies in Honour of Nicolaas van der Wal*), p. 246.

<sup>19</sup> P.E. PIELER, *Byzantinische Rechtsliteratur...*, p. 359–361, 450–451.

## IV. The various categories

### 1. The emperor's relationship with God

First, in the context of projecting the emperor's relationship with God<sup>20</sup>, Leo praises Justinian (who was his role model)<sup>21</sup> for his piety, which was accompanied by a sense of care (πρόνοια, φροντίς) for his subjects<sup>22</sup>.

In addition, in Novel 60, Leo appears to act with the help of God, before whom he places his hopes for the success of his task<sup>23</sup>. In the same context, in Novels 2 and 109, he refers to his reign as granted "by God" (ἐκ Θεοῦ), an idea also found in the Novels of other emperors<sup>24</sup>.

Furthermore, in many of his Novels, Leo uses images and phrasing, by which the emperor appears as "imitating" attributes of God (God's power and charity, provision for his people, love/kindness)<sup>25</sup>. To convey this, the texts emphasize that the emperor cares (*provides*) for the people by the power given to him by God<sup>26</sup>. Moreover, the emperor provides assistance, benefits and philanthropy to his subjects, caring for the welfare of the Empire<sup>27</sup>. He also combines clemency

<sup>20</sup> Cf. in general H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 49–83 and W. ENSSLIN, *Gottkaiser und Kaiser von Gottes Gnaden...*, p. 54–85.

<sup>21</sup> Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 30.

<sup>22</sup> In the historical part of Novel 30, it is written that Justinian's *care for his subjects along with his piety brightened the crown* (Ιουστινιανὸς ἐκείνος, οὐ μετὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ ἡ περὶ τὸ ὑπήκοον φροντίς ἐσέμυνε τὸ διάδημα), Novel 30, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 126.17–18. Cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 89, 167, note 15.

<sup>23</sup> As he states: *So we believe that we are not allowed to ignore this situation, and by determining the proper punishment through law we try with the help of God to stop those who do not hesitate to harm a divine creature in this way* (Τοῦτο οὖν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἠγούμεθα παριδεῖν, ἀλλὰ νόμῳ τὴν περὶ αὐτοῦ ποινὴν ὀρίζοντες πειρώμεθα σὺν Θεῷ τῆς τόλμης ἐπισχεῖν τοὺς οὕτω μὴ διευλαβουμένους τῷ θείῳ λυμᾶνεσθαι πλάσματι), Novel 60, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 200.14–17. Cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 152, note 360, p. 169, note 18.

<sup>24</sup> Novel 2, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 48.29 and Novel 109, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 300.20–302.21. Also cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 51, 58, respectively.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 58–63.

<sup>26</sup> The wording of Novel 40 is quite characteristic: *Our Majesty judged that this is a situation we could not ignore, but as we have otherwise cared for the good management of State affairs by virtue of the power given to us by the Almighty, we likewise decided to improve the regulation regarding captives* (Τοῦτο οὖν οὕτως ἔχον οὐκ ἔδοξε τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἡμῶν δίκαιον παριδεῖν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις κατὰ δύναμιν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Κρείττονος διδομένην ὥστε τὴν ἡμετέραν πολιτείαν εὖ διοικονομεῖσθαι πεφροντικάμεν, οὕτω πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐπανορθοῦν διεγνώκαμεν), Novel 40, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 156.68–73.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. indicatively Novel 108, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 298.4–7; Novel 27, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 118.66 (cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 140, 167, note 15); Novel 1, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 44.12–18. For Novel 1 cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Αλληλουχία συμμόρφωσης στην παράδοση και ανανέωσης στα βυζαντινά νομοθετικά κείμενα*, [in:] *Ζ' Συνάντηση Βυζαντινολόγων Ελλάδος και Κύπρου*, ed. Μ. ΤΖΙΑΤΖΗ-ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗ, Γ. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗΣ, Κομοτηνή 2011, p. 70–71, and H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 100.



with justice<sup>28</sup> and modesty<sup>29</sup>. Additionally, he takes charity<sup>30</sup> into account when introducing or amending rules of law<sup>31</sup>. As is characteristically stated in Novel 32, the emperor *almost always takes the most charitable view*<sup>32</sup>.

What is more, as a peacemaker, Leo brings, as he affirms in Novel 1, *peace and harmony to the provisions of law* and to the legal order in general, thus ensuring social peace<sup>33</sup>.

In addition, we believe that the imitation of Christ lies behind many expressions used in Leo's Novels, by which the emperor appears as *humble*, but at the same time neither his prestige and majesty nor his unquestionable omnipotence diminish. Furthermore, the emperor asserts that any condescension and favor on

<sup>28</sup> Novel 1, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 46.49–52. For *justice* in Leo's Novels, cf. indicatively M. RIEDEL, *Leo VI...*, p. 128.

<sup>29</sup> Novel 38, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 148.7–14.

<sup>30</sup> For *charity* particularly in the Novels of Leo and as a feature of his own legislation, cf. Τ. ΑΝΤΟΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise...*, p. 218, with further literature in note 146. Most of the relevant excerpts on fair character, charity and proportionality can be found in the Novels of Leo that deal with criminal actions, where issues related to sentences and their purpose and characteristics are discussed, among others. Cf. Ε. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗ, *Οι αξιόποινες πράξεις...* Cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Λέων C' ο Σοφός: νομική σκέψη και κοινωνική συνείδηση*, [in:] IDEM, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 419–422; IDEM, *Παρατηρήσεις στη Νεαρά 92 του Λέοντος C'*, [in:] IDEM, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 527–537 and Κ. ΜΠΟΥΡΔΑΡΑ, *Νομοθετήματα κατά της διαφθοράς στο Βυζάντιο (Νεαρές Λέοντος Στ' του Σοφού)*, [in:] ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Επιλογή μελετών Ιστορίας Δικαίου...*, p. 171–188, esp. p. 183–186. The following Novels are notable in terms of phrasing: Novel 61, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 202.3–204.23; Novel 62, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 206.3–11; Novel 63, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 206.3–208.7; Novel 64, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 210.3–21; Novel 66, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 214.4–13, 214.14–19; Novel 67, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 216.5–21, 218.34–36; Novel 96, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 268.3–8 and Novel 105, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 292.4–25, 292.26–294.31.

<sup>31</sup> For the fact that Leo promulgates laws regulating life relationships, as it appears in the text of the Novels 46, 47, 78, 94 and 95, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Λέων C' ο Σοφός: νομική σκέψη και κοινωνική συνείδηση...*, p. 416.

<sup>32</sup> Πλήν ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ πάλαι φόνω τιμωμένης τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ἔδοξε τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα φιλανθρωποτέραν ἐκφέρειν ψῆφον, αἰεὶ δὲ πῶς ἡμᾶς ἡ φιλανθρωποτέρα ἐφέλκεται γνώμη, [...] (*But although in the past the act was punished with death, the later [legislators] decided to provide for a more lenient sentence, and we almost always take the most charitable view*), Novel 32, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 130.11–13. Cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 151. Cf. also Novel 26, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 112.13–32; Novel 40, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 152.5–11 (cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 53, 105, note 199, p. 151 and 167, note 15) and Novel 111, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 306.26–29. Cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 90, note 139, p. 100, note 177, p. 148, note 354 and p. 152. For Novel 111, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Το διαζύγιο λόγω ψυχικής νόσου στο βυζαντινό δίκαιο. Οι Νεαρές 111 και 112 Λέοντος του Σοφού*, [in:] IDEM, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 565–577, esp. p. 569–570 and *passim*.

<sup>33</sup> For this, cf. Novel 1, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 44.27–28 (for Justinian) and p. 44.39–45; Novel 6, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 60.14–16 and Novel 14, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 76.19–22. For this issue, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Λέων C' ο Σοφός: νομική σκέψη και κοινωνική συνείδηση...*, p. 423 and *passim*, and Κ. ΜΠΟΥΡΔΑΡΑ, *Κεκωλυμένα αντικείμενα και σχετικές νομοθετικές ρυθμίσεις του Λέοντος Στ' του Σοφού*, [in:] ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Επιλογή μελετών Ιστορίας Δικαίου...*, p. 123–140, esp. p. 137–138.

his part in one case or another never involves a comparison to the (incomparable) imperial grandeur, due to which the emperor has nothing to “envy” of his subjects, whom, however, he incessantly benefits<sup>34</sup>. Therefore, Leo legislates at the request of ecclesiastical officials, particularly the patriarch (and his own brother in flesh) Stephen<sup>35</sup> and his Synod, thus resolving disputes in matters concerning the Church<sup>36</sup>. After all, the emperor humbly identifies himself as spiritually guided by the patriarch, whose appeals or advice he attends to<sup>37</sup>. In another case, the emperor declares that he will legislate instead of the Synod, but at the request of the Synod (as he states at least), although *in ecclesiastical matters, a decree of the Synod is appropriate*, and not an imperial law<sup>38</sup>.

Moreover, in matters concerning the monks, the emperor intervenes regulatorily, but he simultaneously “explains” that he does so to protect monasticism<sup>39</sup>.

What is more, the emperor stands with special reverence and respect towards the divine commandments of the Gospel and the holy canons. When the question of the correlation between laws and holy canons is raised<sup>40</sup>, Leo very carefully declares that the regulations of the canons are correct, and the laws must be adapted

<sup>34</sup> Novel 80, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 240.17–18. For this Novel, cf. C. BOURDARA, *Κεκωλυμένα αντικείμενα...*, esp. p. 129–131, 136–137.

<sup>35</sup> For him, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, Ε. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗ, *Η Νεαρά 17...*, p. 485, note 3 with further literature. That the text means the patriarch of Constantinople was shown by Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Παρατηρήσεις στη Νεαρά 92...*, p. 527–530.

<sup>36</sup> Novel 5, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 54.24–56.27. For this, cf. S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen...*, p. 237.

<sup>37</sup> In this particular case, Leo had ruled on a legal dispute and by his judgment he showed “compassion” (συμπαθέστερόν πως ἐπὶ τῷ πάθει διαθεμιμένοις) to the victim, who had been blinded during a violent quarrel. This compassion and that specific charitable judgment (apparently given in imitation of the divine mercy and charity) (τὸ τῆς διαθέσεως φιλόανθρωπον), was eventually made a law of the State, allegedly upon the request of the patriarch, which the emperor immediately accepted. Novel 92, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 258.4–260.22. Cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Παρατηρήσεις στη Νεαρά 92...*, p. 527–537. Cf. IDEM, *Λέων C’ ο Σοφός: νομική σκέψη και κοινωνική συνείδηση...*, p. 419–420 and Κ. ΜΠΟΥΡΔΑΡΑ, *Η νομολογία, κίνητρο νομοθετικής πρωτοβουλίας του Λέοντος Στ’ του Σοφού*, [in:] ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Επιλογή μελετών Ιστορίας Δικαίου...*, p. 157–170, esp. p. 164–166.

<sup>38</sup> Here the hurdle is overcome with a convincing excuse credited to the requesting patriarch and linked to the argument that the Synod should not be convened to consider a single issue when the emperor can legislate on a specific case.

<sup>39</sup> Novel 10, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 68.7–9. Cf. Novel 5, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 58.73–75.

<sup>40</sup> Especially for the relations between the State and the Church in Byzantium and principally the view of the Church as a “public (or state) institution (organization)” and the relation between state laws and ecclesiastical canons, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, Ι. ΒΕΛΙΣΣΑΡΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ-ΚΑΡΑΚΩΣΤΑ, *Ιστορία Δικαίου*, 4<sup>η</sup> Αθήνα 2010, p. 174–186; D. HUNT, *The Church as a Public Institution*, [in:] *The Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. XIII, *The Late Empire, A.D. 337–425*, ed. A. CAMERON, P. GARNSEY, Cambridge 1998 [repr. 2007], p. 238–276. Cf. also the relevant chapters by G. FOWDEN, H. CHADWICK and P. BROWN, *ibidem*, p. 538sq and E. PAPAGIANNI, *Gesetzgebung und Rechtspraxis...*, p. 424–434 with further literature.

to them<sup>41</sup>. At the same time, however, when he chooses the appropriate solution to each issue and when he adapts the laws of the State, he considers which regulation provides the greatest security to the regulated life relationships (ἀσφαλέστερον τοῖς πράγμασι)<sup>42</sup>. He does so either by complying with the regulations of the holy canons<sup>43</sup>, which of course he is apt to interpret<sup>44</sup>, or by legislating in a way that deviates from the provisions of the canons only because the earthly human things must be regulated by the law, as the holy canons stand in such a height that cannot be reached by anyone who does not aim at perfection through keeping the divine commandments<sup>45</sup>. After all, the opposition of the law to the holy canons or the Gospel is only apparent and not real, hence the law ultimately serves the (always interpreted by the emperor) purpose of the holy canons or the Gospel word<sup>46</sup>.

<sup>41</sup> Novel 3, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 50.9–12; Novel 2, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 46.9–48.12; Novel 90, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 256.11–22; Novel 14, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 76.23–27; Novel 2, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 48.13–15; Novel 14, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 76.10–11; Novel 74, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 230.3–232.5, 232.12–13, 232.17–20, and Novel 96, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 268.8–270.18. Cf. S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen...*, p. 244–245 and Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Καταλογισμός και ελαφρυντικές περιστάσεις στη νομοθεσία Λέοντος του Σοφού: Η Νεαρά 96 κατά των τυμβωρύχων*, [in:] ΙΔΕΜ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 539–547. In Novel 58, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 196.3–21, esp. p. 196.14–19 it is clearly stated that what the Gospel and the holy canons stipulate are also in accordance with the “values of the state”, while in Novel 91, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 256.3–258.14 it is argued that the commands of the canons correspond to the commands of nature and logic.

<sup>42</sup> Novel 7, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 64.9–12; Novel 15, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 78.7–80.13 (cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 105, note 199) and Novel 54, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 186.3–188.17 (cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 128).

<sup>43</sup> Novel 2, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 48.13–15; Novel 8, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 66.29–34; Novel 9, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 68.6–9; Novel 11, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 72.7–8 and Novel 7, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 64.12–15. Particularly for ecclesiastical matters: Novel 16, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 80.10–13; Novel 75, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 232.5–8 and Novel 76, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 234.3sq. For the Novels of Leo VI that are related to ecclesiastical law or have ecclesiastical content, cf. S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen...* and Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι κανόνες της συνόδου “εν Τρούλλω” (Πενθέκτης) στις Νεαρές του Λέοντος C’ του Σοφού*, [in:] ΙΔΕΜ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 469–483.

<sup>44</sup> Novel 6, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 62.29–32; Novel 6, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 62.35–36; Novel 17, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 84.42–45 and Novel 15, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 80.16–28. Cf. Novel 88, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 252.3–254.16, where Leo fills a “gap” of the holy canon (S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen...*, p. 243), which is also the case with Novel 17 (for which, cf. *ibidem*, p. 239 and Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, Ε. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗ, *Η Νεαρά 17...*) and with Novel 6 (cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι κανόνες της συνόδου “εν Τρούλλω”...*, p. 474–475).

<sup>45</sup> Novel 51, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 180.3–10 (cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 85); Novel 83, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 244.3–8; Novel 83, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 244.18–20, 244.21–23 (for the relevant positions in Novel 83, cf. G. ΜΙΧΑΗΛΙΔΗΣ-ΝΟΥΑΡΟΣ, *Αί φιλοσοφικαί καί κοινωνιολογικαί ιδέαι...*, p. 104–105); Novel 86, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 250.11–24; Novel 87, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 252.8–15; Novel 97, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 270.19–272.28 and Novel 35, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 140.3–9.

<sup>46</sup> Novel 97, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 270.6–272.28. Cf. S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen...*, p. 245.

In any case, the legislation still needs to be amended to correspond to the circumstances, particularly to the ecclesiastical “mentality”, which should define it<sup>47</sup>. The emperor, of course, can handle matters even by circumventing the law (through *οικονομία*, *economia* – *economy*, dispensation), always invoking the divine command, in virtue of which he has been assigned the administration of the Empire<sup>48</sup>.

## 2. The emperor theologizes

Second, apart from the qualities and the relationship of the emperor with the Divine in general, in the texts of his Novels Leo employs expressions and puts forth reasoning with a strong theological essence<sup>49</sup>. This consists of individual language constructions and arguments that are parts of other wider reflections and are used to underscore specific aspects of the whole reasoning or to signify a specific “godly” way of thinking. Hence, this may be regarded as another way in which the emperor’s bonding with God is revealed. That bonding, as is sometimes obvious, concerns both his personal religious position<sup>50</sup> and his attitude as a ruler “appointed (by God)” and having the “right” or the “ability/capability” to interpret the Holy Scriptures and the holy canons and to use them to serve his purposes, always for the benefit of the subjects, whose government he has been entrusted with by God.

In this context, Leo refers to the Incarnation and the salvatory work of Christ<sup>51</sup>, acknowledges the superiority of the spirit over the flesh<sup>52</sup>, notes that the souls of the

<sup>47</sup> Novel 89, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 254.3–13.

<sup>48</sup> Novel 109, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 300.16–302.23, which states among other points: *Those to whom God has entrusted the management of worldly affairs have the power to handle such matters by circumventing the law that applies to the subjects*. For the concept of *economy* (used especially in Ecclesiastical Law), cf. R. POTZ, E. SYNEK, S. TROIANOS, A. KLUTSCHEWSKY, *Orthodoxes Kirchenrecht. Eine Einführung*, <sup>2</sup>Freistadt 2014, p. 335–339 and Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, Γ. ΠΟΥΛΗΣ, *Εκκλησιαστικό Δίκαιο*, Αθήνα–Κομοτηνή 2003, esp. p. 21–24 with further literature. Novel 109 specifies the legal age for engagement. Researchers consider that the relevant provisions of this Novel, especially the final one just cited, were introduced to deal with cases of engagement of imperial family members and, in this specific case, of Leo’s daughter Anna (from his second marriage), in view of her desired marriage to the king of Burgundy and later emperor of the West, Louis III. Cf. Κ. ΜΠΟΥΡΔΑΡΑ, *Δίκαιο και Πολιτική. Η Νεαρά 109 Λέοντος Στ’ του Σοφού για τη νόμιμη ηλικία σύναψης μνηστείας*, [in:] ΕΑΔΕΜ, *Επιλογή μελετών Ιστορίας Δικαίου...*, p. 141–156, esp. p. 143sq, 150–155. For the above provision (not a “preamble” in absolute terms) of this Novel, which corresponds to the idea of the emperor as the *animate law*, cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 119. In this idea, cf. generally D. SIMON, *Princeps legibus solutus. Die Stellung des byzantinischen Kaisers zum Gesetz*, [in:] *Gedächtnisschrift W. Kunkel*, Frankfurt am Main 1984, p. 449–492.

<sup>49</sup> As regards Leo’s personal religious attitude, cf. T. ANTONOPOULOU, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise...*, p. 214–215 and S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI...*, p. 110–132.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. T. ANTONOPOULOU, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise...*, p. 214–215 and S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI...*, p. 110–132.

<sup>51</sup> Novel 17, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 82.9–11.

<sup>52</sup> Novel 3, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 50.22–26.

dead benefit from memorial services, which are also beneficial to those who perform them (i.e., the living)<sup>53</sup>, while he does not ignore the relief that the dead receive from the transfer of their property and possessions to others, who are thus aided<sup>54</sup>.

Furthermore, the emperor refers to the value of monasticism<sup>55</sup>, especially the adherence to the monastic vows<sup>56</sup>, and seems to be quite familiar with the theological-patristic approach to monasticism<sup>57</sup>.

He also acknowledges that the fruits of the earth are a gift from God and largely depend on Him, whilst he states that magic is dangerous for the human soul and strongly advocates the significance of the Sunday holiday<sup>58</sup>.

What is more, the emperor interprets the Gospel in a way that essentially justifies his regulatory interventions<sup>59</sup>, but he also makes several general references<sup>60</sup>. He underscores the importance of baptism and the churching of a mother and child after forty days and speaks of marriage as a divine and precious gift to man. He refers specifically to the marital union as effected by God<sup>61</sup>, while in many

<sup>53</sup> Novel 4, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 52.41–45.

<sup>54</sup> Novel 42, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 162.30–164.35, 164.61–66. Cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 167, note 15. The “ψυχικά καὶ μνημόσυνα” implied here do not seem to be offered to churches or monasteries (i.e., for the performance of memorial services for the deceased), but as acts of charity and support to other people. For the *ψυχικά καὶ μνημόσυνα* in general, cf. Ε. ΠΑΠΑΓΙΑΝΝΗ, *Περὶ “ψυχικῶν” καὶ “μνημοσύνων”*. *Τὸ νομικὸ υπόβαθρο μιᾶς ηθικῆς υποχρέωσης*, ΕΕΘΣΤΘΚΘ 13, 2008, p. 171–187.

<sup>55</sup> He specifically mentions that monasticism is a “saving venture” (Novel 6, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 62.32–35), “worthy of admiration and divine” and for this reason the emperor must “touch upon” it (that is, regulate it) with all reverence-carefulness (cf. S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen...*, p. 236–237); Novel 10, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 68.9–10. He also states that those dedicated to the service of God must remain free from worldly cares and earthly distractions: Novel 68, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 220.10–12, 220.33–35.

<sup>56</sup> Novel 5, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 58.76–77. In another instance, Leo recognizes the value of monastic promises and how worthy and respected those giving them are: Novel 10, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 68.5–7. For the “renouncement” and the monastic vows for obedience, chastity and poverty, cf. A.M. TALBOT, *An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism*, ICS 12.2, 1987, p. 229–241 and I.M. ΚΟΝΙΔΑΡΗΣ, *Τὸ δίκαιον τῆς μοναστηριακῆς περιουσίας ἀπὸ τοῦ 9<sup>ου</sup> μέχρι τοῦ 12<sup>ου</sup> αἰῶνος*, Αθήνα 1979, p. 87–95, 134, note 7.

<sup>57</sup> *Monasticism requires its members to constantly look to the cross of Christ and to death*, Novel 10, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 70.32–36.

<sup>58</sup> Novel 54, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 188.19–23 (cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Η Νεαρά 54 Λέοντος του Σοφοῦ για τὴν ἀργία τῆς Κυριακῆς καὶ οἱ πηγές τῆς*, [in:] IDEM, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 503–513); Novel 65, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 212.21–27 (cf. S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen...*, p. 241) and Novel 54, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 188.24–190.39) (cf. S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novellen...*, p. 239–240 and Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Η Νεαρά 54...*, p. 503–513), respectively.

<sup>59</sup> The introduction of a law as a way to root out the jealous indifference towards one’s neighbor is justified in Novel 51, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 180.10–18.

<sup>60</sup> Novel 14, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 76.4–10.

<sup>61</sup> Novel 17, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 82.23–25, 84.64–86.67; Novel 17, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 84.57–63; Novel 26, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 110.5–112.13; Novel

Novels he extensively analyses the purpose of marriage<sup>62</sup>. He also refers to priests in general<sup>63</sup> and to priesthood as dedication to God<sup>64</sup>.

Very interesting in this respect would be a hymnological invocation of the divine Light found in the preamble of Novel 5. This invocation is the only one encountered in the texts of Leo's Novels, but it is quite characteristic<sup>65</sup>.

### 3. The emperor-philosopher

Third, Leo sporadically expresses philosophical thoughts that are usually short, always complete in meaning, insightful, interesting, and eloquently articulated. Of course, since these are texts of state laws, one would not expect to read thorough discussions of a high philosophical level. Though, it is interesting that the "Wise" emperor does not refrain from philosophical reflection while composing the texts of his laws.

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30, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 126.34–36 and Novel 31, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 128.3–11, respectively. For Leo's legislation and positions regarding marriage, cf. M. RIEDEL, *Leo VI...*, p. 114–117, 132–136.

<sup>62</sup> Especially in Novels 98 and 111, the emperor interprets the Gospel, setting forth theological reasoning as to the purpose of marriage. Novel 98, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 276.58–69 (cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 126–127) and Novel 111, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 306.29–40. Cf. Novel 17, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 82.23–25, 84.64–86.67, 84.57–63; Novel 26, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 110.5–112.13; Novel 30, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 126.34–36; Novel 31, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 128.3–11; Novel 98, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 272.5–276.58; Novel 111, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 304.9–18 and Novel 112, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 312.56–314.77. For the legislation and the positions of Leo regarding marriage, cf. M. RIEDEL, *Leo VI...*, p. 114–117, 132–136. This emperor's legislation and positions regarding marriage is quite interesting, as it is known that his tetragamy became a source of political, theological and legal disputes. On Leo's tetragamy, cf. S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI...*, p. 1 note 2, p. 133sq and *passim*; P. L'HUILLIER, *Novella 89 of Leo the Wise on Marriage: an Insight into its Theoretical and Practical Impact*, *GOTR* 32.2, 1987, p. 153–162; N. ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΔΗΣ, *Leo VI's Legislation of 907 Forbidding Fourth Marriages: an Interpolation in the "Procheiros Nomos" (IV, 25–27)*, *DOP* 30, 1976, p. 173–193 and R.J.H. JENKINS, *Three Documents concerning the "Tetragamy"*, *DOP* 16, 1962, p. 231–241.

<sup>63</sup> Novel 86, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 250.3–11.

<sup>64</sup> Novel 79, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 236.3–238.8.

<sup>65</sup> ὦ θεῖον φῶς καὶ καταπυρσεύειν τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου φωτὸς ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας στερεώματι τεθεμενῶν (*Divine Light, thou that has been placed by the Source of Light in the great sky of the Church*), Novel 5, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 54.18–20. For Leo VI as hymnographer and the hymnographic elements contained in his works, cf. Θ. ΔΕΤΟΡΑΚΗΣ, *Βυζαντινὴ Φιλολογία...*, vol. III, p. 37–38; Τ. ΑΝΤΩΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise...*, p. 202, 232, and M. RIEDEL, *Leo VI...*, esp. p. 3, 143 with further literature.

Particularly, the emperor is preoccupied with the problem of truth, which must go hand in hand with fairness and reason<sup>66</sup>. At the same time, as a realist<sup>67</sup>, Leo finds that people habitually support already formed views, even irrational ones<sup>68</sup>.

Moreover, in the preamble of Novel 90, he emphasizes that man, who has been created by God as a rational being, should not lag behind in “virtue” in relation to animals, which sometimes display “virtuous” behaviors<sup>69</sup>.

Furthermore, Leo quotes proverbs and expresses ideas rich in meanings and with various contents<sup>70</sup>. In one of these reflections, he states that the greatest benefit

<sup>66</sup> As the emperor states in Novel 19, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 90.42–92.47: Οὐ γὰρ δὴ προτιμότερον τῆς ἀληθείας ποιῆσθαι εὐλογον τὸ ψεῦδος, οὐδ’ ἔννομον, οὐδ’ ἀρμόζον λογικῶ ζῶν τὰς ἰδίας τῶν λόγων ὁμολογίας δι’ ἀθετήσεως κιβδηλεύειν· ἀλλ’ εἴπερ τι ἄλλο τοῦτο πρέπον ἀνθρώπων φυλάττειν λόγου ἀληθειαν, εἴ γε μὴ μέλλοι <έν> τῷ διαφθεῖρειν ψεῦδει τὸ ἀληθὲς ἔρημος λόγου γινόμενος ἀπὸ λογικῆς ἐκπεσεῖν τάξεως (*it is not reasonable to give priority to falsehood over truth, nor is it in accordance with the law, nor is it fitting for a rational being to falsify agreements by breaking them. For man, it is more proper than anything else to preserve the faith of his words, if he is not going, through distorting the truths with lies, to fall, by becoming reasonless, into the order of irrational beings*).

<sup>67</sup> See note 17 above.

<sup>68</sup> As he declares in the preamble of Novel 20: Ἀλλὰ γὰρ φιλόνηκον ἢ συνήθεια καὶ πολλάκις τῇ μακρᾷ ὁμιλίᾳ ὡς πῆξιν λαβὸν ἐν ταῖς ἀνθρώπων γνώμαις ἀτοπον δόγμα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοις μὴ ὀρθῶ κριτηρίῳ ἐπιμέλεια τότε συνορᾶν, οὐκ ἐθέλει ῥαδίως ἐκμοχλεύεσθαι, τὴν φθάσαναν πρόληψιν κἂν ἀτοπος ἢ ἀγαπώντων καὶ μὴ βουλομένων ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς ἀμείνοσιν (*The custom, however, is competitive, and quite often, with frequent use, an irrational view of things is established in people’s minds, especially in the minds of those who do not care enough to examine things with correct criteria, [a perspective] which is not easily eradicated, because people adhere to already formed views, no matter how irrational, and are not willing to adopt other, better ones*), Novel 20, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 94.50–96.54. Cf. G. MICHAELIDES-ΝΟΥΑΡΟΣ, *Αἱ φιλοσοφικαὶ καὶ κοινωνιολογικαὶ ἰδέαι...*, p. 106. For the custom in Leo’s Novels, cf. IDEM, *Les idées philosophiques de Léon le Sage sur les limites du pouvoir législatif et son attitude envers les coutumes*, ΕΕΣΝΟΕΑΠΘ 8, 1960–1963, p. 25–54.

<sup>69</sup> Ἐδει δὴ πλάσμα τῆς θείας ὄντας ἡμᾶς παλάμης καὶ νῶ καὶ λόγῳ τετιμημένους μὴ τῆς προσούσης ἐν τισιν ἀλόγοις ἀρετῆς ἡττάσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἔξω κατηγορίας τὸ ἦττημα οὐδὲ μῶμων δικαίων ἐλεύθερον, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ὑπόδικον ὅσον τῆς ἀλόγου φύσεως ἡ λογικῆ περι τὸ ἄμεινον. Ἐδει οὖν τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐν τοῖς γαμικοῖς μὴ τὸ ἔλαττον τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς σωφροσύνης προσεῖναι ἀνθρώποις. Πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ἀλόγων τοῦ ὁμοζύγου προαποφθαρέντος διὰ βίου τὴν χρεῖαν ἀντασπάζεται καὶ δευτέρους οὐκ ἐθέλει γάμοις τὸν πρῶτον ὡσπερ καταχωννύειν (*Of course, since we have been created by the hand of God and endowed with reason and the gift of speech, we should not seem to lag behind in virtues found in some species of the animal kingdom. Because this weakness, which is subject to fierce criticism and is not exempt from justified deprecation, is as guilty as reason is superior to irrational nature. So, in the matter of marriage, among other things, wisdom should not appear diminished in humans. Many animals remain widowed after the death of their mate and do not want to bury, in a way, the first union by creating a second one*), Novel 90, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 256.3–11.

<sup>70</sup> Novel 16, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 80.3–5: *The old principle that requires one to listen carefully to anyone who talks about issues familiar to himself is correct in any case but proves to be much more correct here*; Novel 18, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 86.5–8: *The best choice in every respect, both in deeds and in words, must not be condemned, and the agreement or rejection must be made*

is caused whenever benevolence is most needed<sup>71</sup>. Elsewhere he notes that items are not bad, but what can be bad is their use<sup>72</sup>. Moreover, man, “who has been endowed with reason” must always choose the appropriate time for his actions – this applies especially to marriage<sup>73</sup>.

The emperor considers freedom and priesthood as the most valuable (τιμιώτατα) principles in human life<sup>74</sup>, while he favors true piety and not its phony imitation, which constitutes delusional and harmful irreverence<sup>75</sup>.

Leo also attaches great importance to trust (πίστις), which should not be betrayed by anyone that has enjoyed it<sup>76</sup>. As a profound observer of human nature (ἴσμεν γὰρ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον – *we know human things very well* – as he states), he is able to recognize human behaviors that are not virtuous but are based on selfish incentives<sup>77</sup>.

What is more, the emperor considers that collective action in general has and should have consequences for all those who participate in it, either with positive or negative results<sup>78</sup>, whilst especially in the field of criminal offenses he points out that what happens by chance cannot constitute crime<sup>79</sup>.

Additionally, Leo expresses – not so progressive (by modern standards), indeed – views on the position of women at his time, aiming on the one hand to draw a distinction between men and women and on the other hand to protect the latter’s propriety<sup>80</sup>, while he addresses many issues in relation to eunuchs<sup>81</sup>.

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*not according to the doers or sayers, but according to the essence of the deeds or words*, and Novel 39, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 148.5–150.11: *No man has reached such a [high] point of perfection so as not to attempt anything contrary to his interests, nor, I think, has there been anyone so unlucky in mind that he does not often prove useful to himself. For God does not allow even the one who relies solely on his prudence to do everything perfectly, nor, as a creator who cares for his creatures, does he allow the one who lacks wisdom to constantly make mistakes due to his foolishness.* For this latter Novel, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Λέων C’ ο Σοφός: νομική σκέψη και κοινωνική συνείδηση...*, p. 419.

<sup>71</sup> Novel 26, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 112.32–33.

<sup>72</sup> Novel 65, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 212.3–5. Cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 105, note 198, p. 107.

<sup>73</sup> Novel 109, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 300.4–10.

<sup>74</sup> Novel 11, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 72.15–16.

<sup>75</sup> Novel 17, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 82.20–22.

<sup>76</sup> Novel 34, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 138.5–7, on a regulation concerning the *guardians* of minor children.

<sup>77</sup> Novel 40, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 154.35–39. Cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 105, note 199. For human nature as a factor determining the limits of the emperor’s legislative authority as specified in Nov. 83, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Λέων C’ ο Σοφός: νομική σκέψη και κοινωνική συνείδηση...*, p. 416, note 4.

<sup>78</sup> Novel 70, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 224.4–12.

<sup>79</sup> Novel 82, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 242.4–6, 242.10–12.

<sup>80</sup> Novel 48, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 174.3–176.27. For this issue, cf. C. BOURDARA, *Η διάκριση των φύλων ως κριτήριο στις ρυθμίσεις των Νεαρών του Λέοντος Στ’ Σοφού*, Αθήνα–Κομοτηνή 2011.

<sup>81</sup> Novel 98, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 276.69–80.



With regard to the organization of life and social institutions<sup>82</sup>, especially marriage, he argues that there are only two paths: either celibacy or marriage, with the latter being now perceived (even since the issue of Novel 89) as the one performed in the proper, legal manner, i.e., solemnization<sup>83</sup>.

#### 4. Responsible for the people on earth, tireless supporter, benefactor

Fourth, the emperor's care for the people is manifested in many cases, some of the most characteristic of which are mentioned below.

The emperor always strives – through his legislation – to protect anything good and beneficial to the life of his subjects, “being responsible for their welfare”<sup>84</sup>.

Moreover, Leo cares for “the good management of State affairs”, always by the power granted to him by God<sup>85</sup>. In addition, as stated in the preamble of Novel 13, he abolishes through his legislation, for the sake of the poor, any practice that is *generally painful to anyone, but much more painful to the poor, because it makes their poverty more unbearable*<sup>86</sup>.

Being responsible for the administration of the Empire, in the preamble of Novel 23, Leo refers to the way in which public officials should generally act and behave<sup>87</sup>.

<sup>82</sup> It should be noted here that Leo, as protector of social institutions, shows special care in his novels for infants, children, women, orphans, the needy, the mentally ill, the eunuchs and the captives. Cf. Θ. ΔΕΤΟΡΑΚΗΣ, *Βυζαντινή Φιλολογία...*, vol. III, p. 31–64.

<sup>83</sup> Novel 89, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 254.17–21.

<sup>84</sup> In this respect, Leo states in the preamble of Novel 107: Ἄριστόν ἐστι πάν εἰ τι καλὸν καὶ τῷ βίῳ συμφέρον ἀγήρατον καὶ ἀειθαλὲς διαμένειν καὶ μηδέποτε τῶν τοιούτων ἀπομαραινέσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν. Εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ συμβῆ, καθάπερ πολλάκις συμβαίνειν φιλεῖ, παραμεληθὲν πως ἀπορρηγῆναι τὸ χρήσιμον, ἀλλὰ τοὺς γε φροντίδα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων καλῶν ποιουμένους προσήκε μὴ κατολιγωρεῖν τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ λυσιτέλειαν τῷ βίῳ παρεχομένου (*It is imperative that anything good and useful in life is kept ageless and evergreen, and the usefulness of these things must never lose its timeliness. If the latter does happen though, as is often the case, and the usefulness is degenerated by negligence, it is the duty of those responsible for the wellbeing of the people to care without delay for the restoration of anything beneficial in life*), Novel 107, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 296.6–12.

<sup>85</sup> See the relevant text of Novel 40 above (note 26), ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 156.68–73.

<sup>86</sup> Τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ ἄλλως μὲν χαλεπὸν ἅπασιν ὑπάρχον συνορῶντες, μάλιστα δὲ γινόμενον χαλεπώτερον ἐν τοῖς ἀπορωτέροις δι' ὧν αὐτοῖς βαρυτέρα ἢ τῆς ἀπορίας ἀνάγκη καθίσταται, οὐκ ἔτι οὕτω γίνεσθαι νόμον τιθέμεθα, [...], Novel 13, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 74.15–18.

<sup>87</sup> Ἦν μὲν οὖν ἄξιον καὶ ἀνθρωπίνης διανοίας καὶ ἀρχικῆς ἀρετῆς τοὺς εἰς ἀρχὴν προβαλλομένους, ἀνθ' ὧν ὑπὲρ πολλοὺς τοὺς ἄλλους δόξης ἀπέλαυσαν καὶ τιμῆς, εὐλαβείας εἶναι περὶ τὴν συντήρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων, καὶ προνοητικῶς περιέπειν τὸ ὑποχείριον, ἀλλὰ μὴ συνθλιβεῖν αὐτοὺς χειρὶ βαρεῖα (*It was fair, in terms of both human thought and virtue befitting the lords, that those who have been elevated to offices, in view of the glory and honors they enjoy to a greater degree than many others, to observe and respect with particular reverence the provisions of divine law, to surround the governed with care and not crush them by oppressing them with the burden of power*), Novel 23, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 102.6–104.10. Cf. Novel 27, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 114.8–10.

Equally interesting is what the emperor states about economic activity and the importance of a stable economy for political and State stability. In the preamble of Novel 52, he writes: *If economic means constitute the nervous system of legal relations and if the vigorousness of the latter ensures the stability of the State, the old [legislators] rightly fought economic hardship as disease and devastation [...]*<sup>88</sup>.

## 5. Lawmaker

Finally, the exercise of legislative power is extensively mentioned in Novels. Here again we will only refer to some of the many examples.

In the preamble to the Collection of 113 Novels<sup>89</sup>, the emperor states that the prudent and rational choice of fair provisions contributes to the preservation of peace and tranquility in the State<sup>90</sup>.

Fulfilling the purpose it is expected to serve, the legislation which the emperor enacts or maintains in each case abides by the properness (πρέπον), the appropriateness (προσηκόν), the measure (μέτρον) and the harmony (εὐαρμοσσία) of the legal and general order (εὐταξία). With this objective, the emperor abolishes those elements that disturb that harmony<sup>91</sup>, makes the existing provisions complete/perfect by correcting their shortcomings<sup>92</sup> and intervenes to preserve order (εὐταξία) even in ecclesiastical affairs<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>88</sup> Εἰ νεῦρα τῶν πραγμάτων αἱ τούτων εὐποροὶ ἀφορμαί, εὐστάθεια δὲ πολιτείας ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων δυνάμεως, καλῶς ἄρα οἱ παλαιοὶ τὴν ἔνδειαν ὡς νόσον καὶ φθορὰν κἀντεῦθεν ἐδίωκον, Novel 52, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 182.3–5.

<sup>89</sup> For this, cf. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 19.

<sup>90</sup> Τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἄξιον παριδεῖν κρίναντες ἐν τοσαύτῃ συγχύσει καὶ ταραχῇ φέρεσθαι ὧν ἡ γαλήνη καὶ ἀταραξία τῆς πολιτείας ἐξήρηται, ἐπισκέψεώς τε ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἐπιμελεστάτης τοὺς νόμους ἠξιώσαμεν, καὶ ὧν λυσιτελεῖς ὑπάρχειν τὸ κράτος κατενοήσαμεν, τούτων ἐκλογὴν ποιησάμενοι, δόγματι ἐγγράφῳ τῆς βασιλείας ἡμῶν τὴν εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοῖς παρρησίαν ἐβεβαιώσαμεν καὶ τοῖς πράγμασι διαιτῶν ἐπεψηφισάμεθα (*Judging that we could not overlook the confusion and disorder that prevailed in the things on which the peace and tranquility of the State depend, we subjected the laws to the most careful inspection and after making a selection among those whose power we found beneficial, we confirmed their validity within the territory by a written determination of our Imperial Majesty and we ordered that they are applied in resolving disputes*), Preamble to the Collection, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 40.26–42.32.

<sup>91</sup> Novel 1, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 44.17–25 (reference to Justinian). Cf. *preface* to the entire Collection (p. 40.26–41.40).

<sup>92</sup> Novel 37, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 146.3–4 (cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 112) and Novel 55, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 190.25–27, where the shortcoming lies in the failure to repeal earlier provisions (cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 177–178).

<sup>93</sup> Novel 9, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 68.5–6.

Moreover, in the preamble of Novel 29, Leo refers to the characteristics of the “true law”<sup>94</sup>, whereas in Novel 4 the emperor argues that the law must principally safeguard the true (i.e., orthodox) faith<sup>95</sup>.

What is more, in the preamble of Novel 19, he states that *the stability of laws is more important than anything for the stability of the State*<sup>96</sup>.

Equality before the law seems to be an issue of particular concern to Leo. His rather liberal spirit<sup>97</sup> (considering his time and position) is remarkable, as he argues that it is not fair to those who equally constitute the State not to participate to the same extent in the enjoyment of the rights according to which their compatriots live<sup>98</sup>.

Correspondingly, dominant is the idea of the remediation (restoration – ἐπανόρθωσις) of legislation<sup>99</sup>, which, as mentioned in Novel 34, the emperor “cleans from stains”<sup>100</sup>. As regards the remediation of the laws that effectively

<sup>94</sup> Ὡσπερ ἀληθῆ καὶ ὀρθὸν λόγον ἴσμεν τὸν ψεύδους διαστροφὴν οὐκ ἐμφαίνοντα, οὕτω καὶ ἀληθῆ νόμον ὃς μὴ ἐλέγχεται τῷ ἀδίκῳ παρατρεπόμενος· ὡς εἴ γε τις τοῦτο οὐ διασφάζει, οὐκ ἂν εἴη νόμος, κἀν τῆς τοιαύτης προσηγορίας ἤξιωται. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο νόμου τὸ νέμειν ὅπερ ἐκάστῳ ἀρμόδιον, πῶς ὁ μὴ τοῦτο ποιῶν νόμος ἔσται; (*Just as we consider true and sincere the reason that does not seem to have undergone the distortion of falsehood, in the same way [we consider] true the law which proves not to have been corrupted by injustice; therefore, if a law does not retain this attribute, it is not a law, even if it is honored with that name. If the hallmark of law is to give everyone what they deserve, how could one that does not do so be a law?*), Novel 29, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 122.3–7. Of course, this phrasing is reminiscent of the definition of law provided by the 2<sup>nd</sup>-century Roman jurist Celsus [“the art of good and equal” (“*ius est ars boni et aequi*”, Dig. 1.1.1.pr.)] and the three principles of law defined by Ulpian about a century later, the so-called “*praecepta iuris*”, e.g., the “*honeste vivere*”, the “*alterum non laedere*” and the “*suum cuique tribuere*”. Cf. Α. ΔΗΜΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Ρωμαϊκό Δίκαιο...*, p. 139, 141. For the preamble of Novel 29 cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 111, 133, 167, note 15.

<sup>95</sup> Novel 4, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 52.13–20. Cf. S. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Die kirchenrechtlichen Novel-len...*, p. 235–236 and Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ κανόνες της συνόδου “ἐν Τρούλλῳ”...*, p. 472–473.

<sup>96</sup> [...] ἐκεῖνο εἰδότες ὡς πάντων προτιμότερον εἰς κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας ἢ τῶν νόμων κατάστασις, Novel 19, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 88.9–11.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. what is stated by Τ. ΑΝΤΩΝΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Emperor Leo VI the Wise...*, p. 217–218, 222–229, 233 regarding this emperor’s “humanistic attitude”.

<sup>98</sup> Οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον ἡγοῦμεθα τοὺς ἐπίσης μετέχοντας τοῦ κοινῷ τῆς πολιτείας ὀνόματος μὴ ἴση μοῖρα τῶν τοῦ νόμου δικαίων τιμᾶσθαι καθ’ οὓς τὸ ὁμόφυλον πολιτεύεται, [...] (*Because we do not consider it fair to those who equally constitute this State not to participate to the same extent in the enjoyment of the rights according to which their compatriots live...*), Novel 40, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οἱ Νεαρές...*, p. 156.82–87. On the notion of equality (among others, in Leo’s Novel 40), cf. I. ΜΕΔΒΕΔΕΒ, *L’égallité comme principe de justice sociale chez les byzantins*, ΒΣυμ 9, 1994 (= *Μνήμη Δ.Α. Ζακυθινού Μέρου Β’*, ed. Ν.Γ. ΜΟΣΧΟΝΑΣ), p. 124–136 (here esp. p. 124).

<sup>99</sup> For the remediation (ἐπανόρθωσις) in the preambles of laws in general, cf. H. HUNGER, *Prooimion...*, p. 103–109.

<sup>100</sup> Ἴνα οὖν ὡσπερ κηλῖδα μῶμόν τινα τῷ νόμῳ προστριβομένην καθάρωμεν, τὸ προσφέρεσθαι τῷ δημοσίῳ τὴν ὑπαρξίν τοῦ φθορέως ἀποθεσπίζομεν, κελεύομεν δὲ ἐκεῖ ταύτην ἀπέναι οὐ τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ τὸ δυστύχημα ὃ τῆς ὑπάρξεως κύριος κατεβάλετο (*In order to free the law from a reproach that has settled on it like a stain, we abolish the confiscation of the corruptor’s property by the State, and we*

contribute to the improvement of people's education and life in general, the preamble of Novel 77 states that ambiguity, especially in the case of the legislative texts, is "reprehensible" because *legal institutions are not mysteries, so as to remain incomprehensible to many; on the contrary, if possible, they should not escape the attention of anyone, neither man nor child nor woman, because they help in the most effective way to improve people's behavior and usefulness in life*<sup>101</sup>.

Finally, in the preamble of Novel 36 Leo argues that for the State to remain secure the legislation must be kept sound<sup>102</sup>.

## V. Conclusion

Conclusively, the image of the emperor as a ruler is vividly illustrated in the texts of Leo VI's novels. Leo presents himself (and any other emperor) as God's chosen leader, as a theologian and philosopher, as a tireless supporter of the people and as the lawmaker on earth. It was evidently his choice to depict the emperor as innately imbued with such attributes with the aim of strengthening his image

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*rule that it is offered to those whom the owner of the property wronged and to whom he spread misery*), Novel 34, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 138.28–140.31.

<sup>101</sup> Ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τῷ νομίμῳ ἐδάφει, οὐκ ἀνέγκλητον ἡ ἀσάφεια. Δεῖ γάρ, οἶμαι, εἶ που καὶ ἄλλοθι που σκολιάς διαπλάσεως ἀμοιρεῖν τὸν λόγον καὶ πρὸς τὸ εὐθὺ ἐναρμόζεσθαι. Οὐ γὰρ μυστήρια τοῦ νόμου τὰ θέσμιμα ὥστε ἀναχωρεῖν αὐτὰ τῆς τῶν πολλῶν καταλήψεως, ἀλλ' εἶ γε οἷόν τε ἦν, ἐχρῆν μηδένα λανθάνειν ταῦτα, μὴ ἄνδρα, μὴ παῖδα, μὴ γύναιον, ὡς μάλιστα τούτου τῆ πρὸς τὸ ἄμεινον τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀγωγῆ καὶ τῆ τοῦ βίου λυσιτελεῖα συνεπιλαμβάνοντος (*In many and various matters, but above all in the field of law, ambiguity is reprehensible, because nowhere else, as I believe, is it more necessary for words to be precise and free of obscurities. Legal institutions are not mysteries, so as to remain inaccessible to the perception of many; on the contrary, if possible, they should not escape the attention of anyone, neither man nor child nor woman, because they help in the most efficient way to improve people's attitude and usefulness in life*), Novel 77, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 234.3–236.10.

<sup>102</sup> Εἰ τῆς πολιτείας ἐρείσματα καὶ κρηπίδες οἱ νόμοι, εἶ γε μέλλοι αὐτῆ ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ εἶναι τοὺς νόμους χρῆ τὸ ὑγιὲς διασφῆναι. Νόμου δὲ ὑγείαν τί ἂν τις ἄλλο ἢ τὸ δίκαιον φαίη; Περὶ τούτου οὖν, ὥστε δικαίως διακεῖσθαι τοὺς οἱ τὴν ἡμετέραν ἄγουσι πολιτείαν νόμους, ἀεὶ στρέφοντες τὴν διάνοιαν, καὶ τὸν νόμον ἐκείνον ὃς βούλεται τὸν ἐκ δύο αἰχμαλώτων μηδὲ κληρονομεῖν τῶν διαφερόντων τοῦ ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις μεμενηκότος, τοῦτον οὖν κατανοήσαντες κινδυνεύοντα τῆς τῶν νόμων ὑγείας, ἥπερ ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ἀποστειρεῖσθαι, μετασκευάζειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸ ὑγιὲς προεθυμήθημεν (*If the legislation constitutes the support and foundation of the State, in order for the State to remain secure the legislation must be kept sound. And what else could one consider as the soundness of legislation other than fairness? Therefore, as we are constantly concerned with the fair content of the laws that govern our State, we are ready to restore the soundness of that law which stipulates that the child of two captives cannot inherit any of the property of the person who remained captive of the enemy, because we realize that this particular law is at risk of losing its soundness, which is fairness. That the current provision is unfair is easily understood by anyone*), Novel 36, ed. Σ. ΤΡΩΙΑΝΟΣ, *Οι Νεαρές...*, p. 142.5–13. Here Leo refers to an order of the emperors Severus and Antoninus that survives without date of issue and is included in the *Justinian Code* 8.50(51).1, ed. P. KRUEGER, *Codex Iustinianus (Corpus Iuris Civilis, 2)*, Berlin 1877 [repr. Hildesheim, 1997], p. 360.

in the context of projecting imperial ideology. Moreover, the attributes and skills projected are standard as opposed to novel ideas, thus not at all new in the context of Byzantine imperial ideology and political theory in general. However, the way they are presented, especially in Leo's novels, is very interesting. Leo uses legal texts as a venue to preach about theological, philosophical, moral, and even everyday matters; his writing is rather free of stylistic limitations, since he chooses complex, impressive expressions in some cases but simple, understandable expressions in others; he skillfully preserves both the transparency of expression and the clarity of regulations. He is humble yet all-powerful, conciliatory, and simultaneously the sole regulator of life relations through the legislation he promulgates. Finally, he is "human", but he is also the ruler of a great Empire and is placed on the pedestal of its' glorious throne. Even if Leo himself was not the ideal ruler (a question that this paper does not aim to answer), the skillfulness with which his novels portray the role and duties of the emperor could become a source of inspiration even for rulers of our own times.

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## THE NAMING OF FOOD AND DRINK IN THE *LADDER* OF JOHN CLIMACUS

**Abstract.** The article is devoted to the analysis of the names of food and drink in the *Ladder* of John Climacus. The material for analysis is the published text of the work (*Patrologia Graeca*, vol. LXXXVIII) and three unpublished ancient Greek manuscripts of the *Ladder*. In total, 21 words were found in the work, included in the lexical-semantic group “Food”, and 6 words included in the lexical-semantic group “Drink”. In many cases, lexemes are used in pairs (salt and oil, milk and honey, bread and water, bread and mustard). This use is obviously due to the biblical tradition, on the basis of which the author of the *Ladder* built his book. For the general designation of food, nouns such as βρώμα, τροφή, τρυφή, βρώσις, ἔδεσμα, ἐστίασις, ὕψον, τράπεζα, ἐδώδιμον are used. In a collective sense, the lexemes καρπός and ὀπώρα are used to designate fruits. For the names of vegetables (herbs) in the *Ladder*, lexemes such as πικρίς and λάχανον are used. Of the specific types of food in the *Ladder*, there are names of baked goods (ἄρτος ‘bread’ and ἄζυμον ‘unleavened bread’), grapes (βότρυς and ῥάγας), spices (ἔλαιον ‘olive oil’ and ἄλας ‘salt’), honey (μέλι) and cheese (τυρός). To designate drink, in general, in the *Ladder* there are the lexemes πόμα, νάμα and ποτόν. Specific drinks are called ὕδωρ ‘water’, οἶνος ‘wine’ and γάλα ‘milk’. In the lexical-semantic groups “Food” and “Drink” hyperonyms clearly prevail over hyponyms. The small amount of specific vocabulary is explained by the fact that for a monk, as he moves up the ladder of virtues, it is less and less important what food he consumes. Monks who have reached the highest degrees of spiritual life (ισάγγελοι, equal to the angels) no longer feel the taste of food and forget to take it; for them the most important thing is spiritual food. In the lexico-semantic groups “Food” and “Drink” in the *Ladder*, as in the texts of the Holy Scriptures, direct (physical) and figurative (spiritual) meanings are masterfully connected. Almost all examples of the use of these words can be viewed both in the direct and in the symbolic sense. In the highest metaphorical meaning, all lexemes included in the thematic field “Nutrition” represent a symbol of participation in God’s salvation in Christ.

**Keywords:** *Ladder* of John Climacus, Food, Egyptian monasticism, Byzantine literature, Ancient Greek, Ancient Manuscripts

The book called *Ladder*, written by the Sinai monk John at the turn of the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 7<sup>th</sup> century, is a grandiose metaphorical panorama of climbing the ladder of moral improvement, based on the biblical story “Jacob’s Dream” (Gn 28: 12–16). The *Ladder* not only reflects theological and philosophical themes, but

also describes the realities of everyday life in Egyptian monasticism, including those associated with the use of food.

The main material for linguistic analysis in this work are the texts of the *Ladder* itself but also a biography of John Climacus, published by J.-P. Migne in *Patrologia Graeca*<sup>1</sup>. The variants are indicated from the texts of unpublished Greek codices, the choice of which is due to the antiquity and differences in handwritten traditions:

1. Cod. 1069, a collection of Greek manuscripts in the National Library of France (Paris), late 9<sup>th</sup> century, index in the Pinakes database: 50664<sup>2</sup>;
2. Cod. 49, a collection of Palatina graeca in the Apostolic Library (Vatican), late 9<sup>th</sup> century, index in the Pinakes database: 65782<sup>3</sup>;
3. Cod. 417, a collection of Greek manuscripts in the monastery of St. Catherine (Sinai), 10<sup>th</sup> century, index in the Pinakes database: 58792<sup>4</sup>.

In general, in Byzantine ascetic literature the naming of food and drink is rare, since the virtues of Christian monasticism are abstinence, fasting, and the fight against gluttony. One who had embarked on the path of a monastic life voluntarily and consciously *abstained from many and sweet foods*: πολλῶν καὶ ἡδυνωντων βρωμάτων ἐαυτὸν στερήσειεν (PG, 641C).

Like other works of Byzantine ascetic literature, the *Ladder* describes the struggle of a monk with the passions personified in demons. One of those passions was gluttony, overeating (γαστριμαργία):

ὁ δαίμων τῷ στομάχῳ καθέζεται, καὶ μὴ κορέννυσθαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον παρασκευάζει, κἂν πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον φάγη, καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον [ποταμὸν]<sup>5</sup> πῖη (PG, 868C)

the demon sits in the stomach and does not allow someone to satisfy his hunger, even if he ate all the food of Egypt and drank all the water of the Nile River;

Γαστριμαργία ἐστὶν [...] μέτρια δεχομένη, τὰ δε σύμπαντα καταπίνειν ὕφεν ὑποτιθεμένη (PG, 864C)

Gluttony [...] encourages us to eat everything at once.

<sup>1</sup> *Climaci Joannis Scala paradisi*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXVIII, Paris 1860, col. 631–1210. I refer here to the Vita of John Climacus by Daniel of Raithu, *De vita S. Climaci*, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXVIII, Paris 1860, col. 596–608.

<sup>2</sup> Cetera: Paris 1069.

<sup>3</sup> Cetera: Vat. Palat. gr. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Cetera: Sin. gr. 417.

<sup>5</sup> In Paris 1069, 47r, Sin. gr. 417, 108v, this word isn't there.

This demon does not give rest even at night, showing various foods to the sleeping monk: Ἐνύπνια τροφῶν καὶ βρωμάτων ἐν καρδίᾳ γαστριμάργων (PG, 865D) / *In the heart, there are gluttonous dreams of food and delicacies.*

Gluttony is the cause of other pernicious passions and sins: πλήθος βρωμάτων πλήθος πτωμάτων, καὶ πονηρῶν λογισμῶν καὶ ἐνυπνίων ἐργάζεται (PG, 1088D) / *from a multitude of foods come many falls, evil thoughts and dreams.* The fall of the novice monks is often associated especially with the consumption of delicious food: ἐν μὲν τοῖς εἰσαγωγικοῖς ἐκ τρυφῆς τὰ πτώματα ἐπὶ πᾶν πεφύκασι γίνεσθαι τὰ τοῦ σώματος (PG, 881D) / *with young monks, falls usually happen from the enjoyment of food.* The author of the *Ladder* explains this by the fact that, in the spiritual struggle against a monk, demons do not act in isolation – they unite.

First of all, the sin of overeating is closely related to the sin of fornication. The demon of gluttony sends to the satiated monk a prodigal demon:

Μετὰ τὴν τροφὴν ἀναχωρεῖ ὁ ἀνόσιος, καὶ τὸν τῆς πορνείας ἡμῖν ἀποστέλλει, ἀπαγγέλλας αὐτῷ τὰ γενόμενα, Κατάλαβε, [κατάλαβε]<sup>6</sup>, θορύβησον αὐτὸν, τῆς κοιτίας γὰρ ἐμπεφορημένης [οὐ πολὺ]<sup>7</sup> [κοπίασεις]<sup>8</sup> (PG, 868C)

Upon our satiety, this unclean spirit departs and sends a prodigal demon to us, telling him: “Go, go, disturb him, his belly is full, and therefore it will be easy for you to deal with him”.

For a young man inclined to fornication, who wants to find a teacher on the path of monastic life, John Climacus advises: ἔστω σοι περὶ τὸ λάγνον [ἀκρατῶς]<sup>9</sup> ἔχοντι καὶ ῥέποντι, γυμναστής, ἀσκητής, καὶ ἀπαράκλητος πρὸς τροφήν (PG, 725C) / *if you are inclined to carnal lust, then let your teacher be a strict ascetic one, unfor-giving about food.* The inextricable connection between the passion of gluttony and the passion of fornication was vividly expressed in the proverb Κόρος βρωμάτων πορνείας πατήρ (PG, 864C) / *Saturation of the belly is the father of fornication*<sup>10</sup>.

In addition to the prodigal demon, the demon of gluttony in the struggle against the monk unites with such demons as the demon of despondency and the demon of verbosity. The consumption of fine food entails drowsiness and despondency: ἐκ τρυφῆς ὁ ὕπνος ὁ πολὺς [...], ἡ ἀκηδία [...] ἀπὸ τρυφῆς (PG, 1024B). The passion of gluttony is connected with the passion of verbosity: Θλίβε κοιτίαν, καὶ πάντως κλείσεις καὶ στόμα, νευροῦνται γὰρ γλώσσα ὑπὸ πλήθους ἐδεσμάτων (PG, 868A) / *Oppress the stomach with abstinence, and thereby you can block*

<sup>6</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 75r; Paris 1069, 47r; Sin. gr. 417, 108v. In PG: λέγων.

<sup>7</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 75r; Sin. gr. 417, 108v. Paris 1069, 47r: οὐ πολλὰ. In PG this fragment isn't there.

<sup>8</sup> Paris 1069, 47v. In PG: κοπιθήση.

<sup>9</sup> In Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 43r, Paris 1069, 21r, Sin. gr. 417, 60r, this word isn't there.

<sup>10</sup> For the proverbs in the *Ladder*, cf. K. KRUMBACHER, *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter*, München 1893, p. 228–233.

*the mouth, for the tongue is strengthened from many foods; ἡ πολυλογία [...] ἀπὸ γαστριμαργίας (PG, 1024B) / verbosity is from gluttony.*

A great joy for the gluttonous monk are the church holidays. The *slave of gluttony* (κοιλιόδουλος) counts the days long before Easter, plans a festive meal and prepares it a few days before the holiday: Πρὸ χρόνου τὸ Πάσχα ψηφίζει, καὶ πρὸ ἡμερῶν τὰ ἐδέσματα εὐτρεπίζει. Ψηφίζει κοιλιόδουλος ἐν ποίος βρώμασιν ἐορτάσει (PG, 864D). A monk who loves delicious food considers the arrival of guests as an excuse to drink wine: ἐπὶ παρουσίᾳ τινῶν, τοῦ οἴνου [λύσιν]<sup>11</sup> ἐσκέψατο (PG, 864D).

As a means of getting rid of the passion of gluttony, the author of the *Ladder* considers the memory of death, the Last Judgment and fiery hell (Mt 5: 22, 29, 30; Mt 18: 9; Mc 9: 43; Lc 12: 5): Μνήμη θανάτου ἐναργῆς περιέκοψε βρώματα (PG, 796B) / *The memory of death suppresses intemperance in food; αὐτὴ σοὶ ἡ τῆς τραπέζης ἀπόλαυσις, τῆς τῶν σκωλήκων ἐκείνων ὀδυνηρᾶς τραπέζης γενέσθω ἀνάμνησις (PG, 805B) / when you are sitting at the table, bring to mind a deplorable meal of worms; Ἐν τραπέζῃ ἐδεσμάτων ἀνακλινόμενος, μνήμην θανάτου καὶ κρίσεως εἰς μέσον ἄγε (PG, 868D) / Sitting at the table, think about death and the Last Judgment; τοῦ ποτοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος μεταλαμβάνων, τῆς δίψης τῆς φλογὸς ἐκείνης ἀμνημονήσεις (PG, 805B) / when you drink water, do not forget about thirst in the never-extinguishing flame.*

In the work *the food of the soul* (τροφὴ ψυχῆς (PG, 1129B)) means prayer. The author of the *Ladder* calls fasting (νηστεία) the doors of paradise, heavenly delight: παραδείσου θύρα [τρυφῆς]<sup>12</sup> (PG, 869B). Meanwhile, among the monks there were often gluttons. John Climacus counts himself among them. Chapter 14 (“Περὶ τῆς [παμφίλου]<sup>13</sup> καὶ δεσποίνης πονηρᾶς γαστροῦ” “On that clamorous mistress, the stomach”) begins with these words: Μέλλοντες περὶ γαστροῦ λέγειν, ὡς ἐν ἅπασι, [πλέον]<sup>14</sup> καθ’ ἑαυτῶν φιλοσοφεῖν προεθέμεθα (PG, 864C) / *When I start talking about the stomach, I speak against myself more than ever.* This chapter of the *Ladder* is built on the parable of the narrow gate (Mt 7: 13–14; Lc 13: 24–30). For those, wishing to enter through *the narrow gate*, John Climacus gives practical advice: Ἐὰν τὴν στενὴν καὶ τεθλιμμένην ὁδὸν ὀδεύειν τῷ Χριστῷ συνετάξω, στένωσον τὴν γαστέρα (PG, 868C) / *If you promised Christ to walk the narrow and cramped path, then oppress your stomach; στενὴν ὁδὸν ἐμφανίσει σοὶ [...] μέτρον ὕδατος, ἄρτου ἔνδεια (PG, 656D–657A) / the narrow path will show you moderate drinking of water and eating a little bread.*

Therefore, the vocabulary with the meaning of food and drink in the *Ladder* is not rich. In total, 21 words in the work included in the lexical-semantic group

<sup>11</sup> Sin. gr. 417, 105v: καταλύειν.

<sup>12</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 75v; Sin. gr. 417, 109v. In PG: καὶ τρυφή.

<sup>13</sup> Paris 1069, 45r, Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 73v, Sin. gr. 417, 105r: παμφήμου.

<sup>14</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 73v, Paris 1069, 45r: πλήν.

“Food” and 6 words included in the lexical-semantic group “Drink”<sup>15</sup> were found. In general, in terms of the functioning of the lexemes of these groups, the text of the *Ladder* is similar to the text of the Bible<sup>16</sup>.

For the general designation of food, such nouns as βρῶμα (19)<sup>17</sup>, τροφή (17), τρυφή (15), βρώσις (9), ἔδεσμα (3), ἐστίασις (2), ὄψον (1), τράπεζα (1) and ἐδώδιμον (1) are used. In a collective sense, the lexemes καρπός (15) and ὀπώρα (1) are used to designate fruits. For the names of vegetables (herbs), lexemes such as πικρίς<sup>18</sup> (5) and λάχανον (2) are used in the *Ladder*.

Furthermore, there are names of such specific types of food as baked goods (ἄρτος (23) ‘bread’ and ἄζυμον (6) ‘unleavened bread’), grapes (βότρυς (3) and ῥάγας (1)), spices (ἔλαιον (8) ‘olive oil’ and ἅλας (2) ‘salt’), honey (μέλι (3)) and cheese (τυρός (1)).

Thus, in the functioning of the lexical-semantic group “Food” in the *Ladder*, the prevalence of words with a general, broad, collective meaning (hyperonyms) is obvious: for 13 hyperonyms (in 91 uses), there are 8 hyponyms (in 47 uses).

First of all, it is necessary to pay attention to the lexemes τροφή and τρυφή. These words have an important semantic difference: while τροφή means any food, τρυφή means only tasty food, delicious dishes, delicacies. The words τροφή and τρυφή in Byzantine manuscripts were often confused due to the proximity of spellings and inattention of the scribes, and this variability can cause distortion of the contextual meaning<sup>19</sup> (as well as translation errors when a manuscript with mistakes became the original for the translation). An example of the erroneous understanding of the meaning of the text by the scribes of the *Ladder* is the fragment Εὐλήφαμεν ἔφρσιν τροφῆς, οὐ μέντοι ἄσωτίας (PG, 1068D) / *By nature we need food, but in order to maintain life, and not for lust*. Scribe Vat. Palat. gr. 49 did not understand this fragment and wrote τρυφῆς instead of τροφῆς (137r), possibly rewriting a mistake from an antigraph manuscript. As a result, the meaning of the fragment was distorted (*By nature we need delicious food*). Meanwhile, in this fragment, the author writes about food, without which, according to the laws of nature, it is impossible to live: οὐκ ἔστι ζῆν κατὰ φύσιν ἄνευ βρώσεως (1088B). Delicious food is an excess that anyone who enters the monk’s path must refuse: “Ὅσοι νεοί

<sup>15</sup> Cf. attachment.

<sup>16</sup> For the subject group “Eating” in the text of the Bible, cf. *Dictionary of Biblical Imagery*, ed. L. RYKEN, J.C. WILHOIT, T. LONGMAN III, Downers Grove 1998, p. 308–310.

<sup>17</sup> Hereinafter, in parentheses, the number of uses of the lexeme is indicated not in general in the *Ladder*, but with the meaning of ‘food’. So, for example, the lexeme τράπεζα is used in the *Ladder* at least 27 times, while only once with the meaning of ‘food’: τραπεζῆς ἐτομασία ἐδοκίμασε γαστριμάργους (PG, 941A) *cooking reveals gluttons*.

<sup>18</sup> In different sources (translations of the Bible and interpretations of it), the lexeme πικρίς is interpreted in different ways: bitter lettuce, endive, chicory, wormwood, dandelions. In a broad sense, πικρίς means bitter herbs.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. about this E.M. ВЕРЕЩАГИН, *Христианская книжность Древней Руси*, Москва 1996, p. 81.

[...] τῆ μοναδικῆ πολιτεία προσελθεῖν βούλονται [...] πείσωσι πάσης τρυφῆς (PG, 657C) / *young people, if they want to enter monasticism, let all the delicacies be removed*; οὐ μὴ προσχῆ ὁ ἐναργῶς θρηγῶν τρυφῆ (PG, 813D) / *a truly crying person will not want tasty food*.

The lexeme καρπός in the *Ladder* is used in the biblical sense. On the one hand, καρπός can denote the forbidden fruit (Gn 2: 16–17sq): Φεύγοντες φεύγωμεν τοῦ μὴ βλέπειν, μηδὲ ἀκούειν καρποῦ, οὐ μὴ γεύσασθαι λοιπὸν συνεταξάμεθα (PG, 893C) / *Let us try with all our might not to see or hear of the fruit that we promised never to eat*; καρποῦ γὰρ μὴ παρόντος, οὐ συνεχῶς ὀρεγόμεθα (PG, 665A) / *when we do not see the forbidden fruit, we do not want it so much*. On the other hand, καρπός can be understood as the natural fruits of the earth: εἶδον σπόρον ἐν γῆ ἀκουσίως ἐκπεσόντα [...] καρπὸν πολὺν καὶ εὐθαλῆ πεποιηκόντα (PG, 637D) / *I saw that a seed that accidentally fell to the ground bore abundant and beautiful fruit*. This passage is a reminiscence of the parable of the sower (Mt 13: 3–23; Mc 4: 3–20; Lc 8: 5–15).

The most common food item in the *Ladder* is ἄρτος ‘bread’. Bread was the main food of a monk, *it is better than any other food*: πασῶν τροφῶν ὁ ἄρτος ἀναγκαιότερος (PG, 793B). In 6<sup>th</sup>/7<sup>th</sup> century Egypt, bread was baked from wheat flour. This is evidenced by such fragments of the *Ladder* as ὁ σίτος παρὰ τὸν ἄρτον (PG, 949A) / *wheat before the bread* and οὐ γὰρ πάντες οἱ ἄρτοι, τῆς πνευματικῆς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ σίτου ἐργασίας, μονοειδεῖς ὑπάρχουσι (PG, 1116A) / *not all breads baked from heavenly wheat have the same appearance*.

The lexeme ἄρτος can be used in its direct meaning: οὐ δίκαιον, ἀλλ’ ἐλεεινόν, ἐκλιμῶπτοντος νηπίου τὸν ἄρτον ἐκ στόματος ἀφαρπάσαι (PG, 692D) / *it is unfair but merciful to snatch bread from the mouth of a baby dying of hunger*. However, ἄρτος is much more common as a symbol of participating in a holy meal, which represents membership in the Christian Church.

As in the cases with other names of food in the *Ladder*, the metaphorical meaning of the lexeme ἄρτος is ‘spiritual food’: Λέληθα ὑμῖν, ὦ φίλοι, καὶ τοῦτον παραθεῖναι τὸν ἡδὺν τῆς ἀρετῆς ἄρτον (PG, 705C) / *I forgot, friends, to offer you another sweet bread of virtue*.

Just as one cannot live without bread, so one cannot live without faith. Many fragments of the *Ladder* are associated with the metaphor “bread of life” (Io 6: 25–40). People eat this bread in order to receive eternal life. This bread is a symbol of communion with the bodily death of the Savior. The earthly bread nourishes the body, and the heavenly bread nourishes the soul (the heavenly bread refers to God’s Word). Both of these meanings are combined in a quotation from Ps 101: 5 (ἐπελαθόμαν τοῦ φαγεῖν τὸν ἄρτον μου, *I forget to eat my bread*), included twice in the *Ladder*: ἐπιλανθανομένους τοῦ φαγεῖν τὸν ἄρτον αὐτῶν (PG, 768B) and ἐπελάθητό τις τοῦ φαγεῖν τὸν ἄρτον αὐτοῦ (PG, 801D). A deep symbolic meaning lies in another quote from the Psalter (Ps 101: 10: σποδὸν ὡσεὶ ἄρτον ἔφαγον,



*I eat ashes like bread*). Ashes instead of bread in the *Ladder* means the bitter fate of the prisoners of the monastery's jail: σποδὸν καὶ τέφραν ἀντὶ ἄρτου ἐσθιοντας (PG, 768B). The monks in prison limited their food intake to the most necessary: τοῦ ἄρτου μικρὸν μεταλαμβάνοντες, τοῦτον τῆ χειρὶ μακρὰν ἀπέρριπτον (PG, 768C) / *having tasted a little bread, they threw it far away with their hands*.

Another symbolic meaning of the lexeme ἄρτος is the soul of a monk, for which an unclean force is constantly hunting:

ἀεὶ περιστάσθαι τινα κύνα ἐν τῇ τραπέζῃ τῆς καλῆς συνοδίας καὶ ἄρτον ἡγουν ψυχὴν ἐκ ταύτης ἀφαρπάζειν δοκιμάζοντα, καὶ τοῦτον τῷ στόματι ἐπιφερόμενον λοιπὸν ἀποτρέχοντα, καὶ καθ' ἡσυχίαν τοῦτον ἐσθιοντα (PG, 1096D)

near the meal of the good brotherhood there is always a certain dog trying to steal bread, that is, the soul, and, holding it in his mouth, run away and devour it in silence.

In addition to simple bread, the work also mentions the sacred bread of the Eucharist. John Climacus denounces the hypocritical monks who remain insensitive before the sacred meal; *partaking of this heavenly gift, as it were, they ate of simple bread*: πρὸ τὴν ἱερὰν τράπεζαν παριστάμενοι, ἀναισθητοῦσι, τοῦ δώρου μεταλαμβάνοντες, ὡς ψιλοῦ ἄρτου [τὴν γεύσιν]<sup>20</sup> διάκεινται (PG, 933C).

The image of unleavened bread (ἄζυμος) in the *Ladder* is used in the same way as in the New Testament: in the parable of the leaven (Mt 13: 33; Lc 13: 20–21) and in the letter of the Apostle Paul (1Cor 5: 6–8). John Climacus calls on all readers to avoid the “leaven” of sin, and ἄζυμον ‘unleavened bread’ symbolizes such a Christian virtue as humility – ἡ μακαρία ταπείνωσις, ἡ ἄζυμος καὶ ἄτυφος (PG, 989D).

To the lexemes ἄρτος and ἄζυμα the lexeme πικρίς is closely related. It occurs twice in the Bible, both times in the Pentateuch of Moses (Ex 12: 8 and Nm 9: 11), and both times in combination with the noun ἄζυμα ‘unleavened bread’. In the *Ladder* the lexeme πικρίς occurs 5 times: 4 times in combination with ἄζυμα, 1 time with ἄρτος.

Bitter herbs and unleavened bread are the main food of a monk (both literally and figuratively):

οὐ μὴ τοῦ Φαραῶ ἐλευθερωθῆσῃ, οὐδὲ τὸ ἄνω Πάσχα θεάσῃ, ἂν οὐ πικρίδας καὶ [ἄζυμα]<sup>21</sup> φάγησ διὰ παντός. Πικρίδες ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς νηστείας βία καὶ πόνος, ἄζυμα δέ, τὸ μὴ φουσάμενον φρόνημα (PG, 869A)

you will not free yourself from the mental pharaoh and will not see the heavenly Easter until you always eat bitter herbs and unleavened bread. Bitter herbs are fasting and labor, unleavened bread is a humble spirit.

<sup>20</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 92v. In PG: ἐπιγεύσει.

<sup>21</sup> Paris 1069, 47v, Sin. gr. 417, 109v: ἄζυμον.

In these two images (πικρίς and ἄζυμα) an extensive fragment of the Homily to the abbot is built:

Τύπος σοι [...] Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας ἔσται [...] οὐ γὰρ δεδύνηται τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοῦ Φαραῶ ἐλευθερώσαι, ἄχρις οὐ τὸ ἄζυμον μετὰ πικρίδων ἔφαγον (PG, 1201A)

An example for you may be the great Moses, who could not liberate obedient people from Pharaoh's slavery until he forced them to eat unleavened bread with bitter herbs.

As in the example above, John Climacus gives the interpretation of these biblical images:

Ἄζυμον δὲ ἐστὶ ψυχὴ, μὴ ἔχουσα πρόσλήμιμα τοῦ ἑαυτῆς θελήματος, τοῦτο γὰρ τυφοῦν καὶ ἐπαίρειν αὐτὴν δύναται, τὸ δὲ ἄζυμον αἰεὶ τεταπεινῶνται (PG, 1201A–B)

Unleavened bread means a soul that bears the cutting off of its will, because self-will gives rise to arrogance, and unleavened bread is always humbled.

Πικρίδας δὲ νοήσωμεν, ποτὲ μὲν τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἐπιταγῆς παρεπομένην τούτοις δριμύτητα, ποτὲ δὲ τὴν διὰ τῆς πικρότητος τῆς νηστείας στενοχωρίαν (PG, 1201B)

Bitter herbs are sometimes understood as the grief of submitting to the one who gives the commands, and sometimes as the bitterness of severe fasting.

Thus, the lexeme πικρίς in the *Ladder* is used both in the literal sense (bitter herbs) and as a metaphor for strict fasting (τῆς νηστείας βία) and obedience work (πόνος).

In addition to πικρίς, Climacus uses the noun λάχανον (λάχανα) to designate garden plants. Bread and some greens were the food of the prisoners in the monastery prison:

Οὐκ ἦν ἐκεῖσε πώποτε καπνὸν ὀφθῆναι, οὐκ οἶνον, οὐκ ἔλαιον εἰς βρῶσιν, οὐκ ἕτερον τι ἄλλο, ἢ ἄρτος καὶ λεπτὰ λάχανα (PG, 704A)

no smoke, no wine, no oil and no other food was ever to be seen except bread and a bit of greens.

The lexeme λάχανον in the *Ladder* functions as part of an accurate quotation from the Psalter (Ps 36: 2) ὡσεὶ λάχανα χλόης ταχὺ ἀποπεσοῦνται (PG, 984A) / *like green herbs, will soon fade*. This quote describes the fragility and short duration of the prosperity of the wicked.

To designate spices in the *Ladder*, the lexemes ἔλαιον ‘olive oil’ and ἄλας ‘salt’ are used. Once these nouns are found in conjunction with each other in a direct meaning: ἐξαρτύειν ὄψα ἔλαιον καὶ ἄλας πεφύκασι (PG, 1132C) / *season food with oil and salt*. In its direct meaning, ἔλαιον is also used in a context of describing the food of prisoners in a monastery jail (PG, 704A).

The *Ladder* reflects the phenomenon of oil fire. When oil burns, fire spreads instantly. The vivid image of burning oil appears twice in comparisons: just as it is impossible to extinguish a fire by adding oil to it, so it is impossible to cope with the passion of fornication without coping with the passion of gluttony (Ὁ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θεραπεύων γαστέρα, καὶ πνεῦμα πορνείας νικῆσαι βουλόμενος, ὁμοίως ἔστι τὸ μετὰ ἐλαίου σβεννύοντι [ἐμπυρισμόν]<sup>22</sup> PG, 868A and Ὁ μετὰ γαστριμαργίας καὶ κόρου τὸν τῆς πορνείας νικῆσαι βουλόμενος δαίμονα, ὁμοίως ἔστι τὸ μετὰ ἐλαίου σβεννύοντι [ἐμπυρισμόν]<sup>23</sup> PG, 888C). Both of these examples clearly illustrate the close connection between the sin of gluttony and the sin of fornication, which was discussed at the beginning of this article.

The lexeme ἔλαιον in the *Ladder* is also used allegorically. Oil (i.e., meekness, humility, obedience) tames the sea (passions):

Ὅσπερ τὸ ἔλαιον, καὶ μὴ βουλομένην, ἡμεροῖ τὴν θάλασσαν, οὕτως καὶ ἡ νηστεία, καὶ ἀκουσίας, κατασβεννύει τὰς σώματος πυρώσεις (PG, 1085D)

As the sea is involuntarily tamed by oil, so fasting also quenches the involuntary incitement of the flesh;

ἀσκὸς χρηστὸς ἐλαίου μεστός τὸ κῦμα παρενέγκαι καὶ γαληνιάσαι ποιεῖ τὴν ὀλκάδα (PG, 832D)

A good wineskin full of oil can tame the waves and give the ship a quiet sailing.

Explanations of the symbolic images found in these fragments are given in one of the anonymous interpretations of the *Ladder* text: a *wineskin* means a body, *oil* means meekness, a *wave* (sea) means arrogance, and a *ship* means monastic brotherhood (PG, 840B).

Close to the concept of meekness is the concept of mercy, alms (ἔλεος). The lexemes ἔλαιον and ἔλεος are similar in spelling (especially in the dative-singular form). They can also converge in meaning; in these cases, a variation of ἐλέω and ἐλαίω is observed in the *Ladder* manuscripts and it is impossible to determine which form was in the original of the work. An example is a fragment from the Life of John Climacus: εἰδώλων δὲ προσκύνησιν ἐλέω (ἐλαίω) καὶ σπάνει ἀναγκαίων

<sup>22</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 75r, Paris 1069, 46v, Sin. gr. 417, 107v. In PG: ἐμπυρισμόν.

<sup>23</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 81v, Sin. gr. 417, 117r. In PG: ἐμπυρισμόν.

[...] διέφυγε (PG, 600B) / *conquered idolatry with oil (alms) and limitation of needs*. One can overcome sinful passions both with the help of fasting (excluding animal food) and with the help of good deeds (charity). In the original of the first Slavonic translation of the *Ladder*, this fragment was read ἐλαίω, and the translator rendered the form as wood oil<sup>24</sup>. In the original of a later and very popular translation in the Slavonic environment, which became the basis for the most famous Russian version of the work, it was read ἐλέω, translated as alms<sup>25</sup>.

In the use of the noun ἄλας *Ladder* echoes the New Testament. The combination of the noun ἄλας with the verb μωραίνω in the Gospel (Mt 5: 13; Lc 14: 34) means 'lose power'. In this sense, ἄλας is used in the fragment Ψυχὴ γὰρ στραφεῖσα ὅθεν ἐξῆλθεν, ὡς τὸ ἄλας μωρανθήσεται καὶ ἀκίνητος λοιπὸν μενεῖ (PG, 665B) / *The soul, returning to where it came from, will become like salt that has lost its strength, and will become immobile*.

The *Ladder* reflects one of the most important symbols of the Christian religion, based on the biblical metaphor (Io 15: 1) – grapes. The lexemes ῥάγας 'grape berries' and βότρυς 'grapes' are associated with this image.

A bunch of grapes could be a gift and breakfast for a monk: τίνι [...] τῶν ἡσυχάζοντων βότρυν τις προσκεκόμικε πρωτὶ λίαν (PG, 1064C) / *someone brought grapes to one of the hesychasts early in the morning*.

The noun βότρυς in the *Ladder* is used not only literally, but also metaphorically:

ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ὁ τῆς ὀσίας ταύτης ἐπανθεῖν βότρυς ἀρξῆται, μισοῦμεν εὐθέως [...] πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν καὶ εὐφημίαν, θυμὸν καὶ ὀργὴν ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἐξορίζοντες (PG, 989B)

when the holy bunch begins to flourish in us, then we will hate all human glory and praise, driving away irritability and anger from ourselves.

In this case, the grape means such a virtue as humility (ταπεινωσις).

The direct and figurative meanings of the lexeme βότρυς are connected in a fragment: τῆρει [...] καὶ τότε ὄψει πῶς, καὶ πότε, καὶ πόθεν, καὶ πόσοι, καὶ ποῖοι κλέπται εἰσελθεῖν καὶ κλέψαι τοὺς βότρυας ἔρχονται (PG, 1100B) / *watch how, and when, and from where, and how many, and what thieves come to steal your bunches*. Here the lexeme βότρυς is used both literally ('grapes') and figuratively, symbolizing the broad concept of virtues, which demons, fighting with the monk, attempt to steal.

Several meanings are connected in context Ὁ καλὸς ῥαγολόγος τὰς πεποῖρους ῥάγας ἐσθίων, οὐδὲν περὶ τῶν ὀμφάκων ἐπραγολογήσει (PG, 848D) / *A good grape picker eats only ripe berries and avoids sour ones*. The image of sour grapes, setting

<sup>24</sup> Cf. T.G. Попова, *Житие Лествичника (по древнейшей славянской рукописи Лествицы)*, ДРВМ 56, 2014, p. 87.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Лествица преподобного Иоанна, игумена Синайской горы*, Сергиев Посад 1908, p. 10.

teeth on edge, is found in the Bible (Jer 31: 29–30; Ez 18: 2) as a symbol of sin and its dire consequences. A monk striving for perfection avoids sinful passions (doesn't eat sour berries) and enriches himself with exploits and virtues (picks only ripe, sweet grapes).

Observations on the vocabulary denoting food show the acquaintance of the John Climacus with the Ancient Patericon (*Apophthegmata Patrum*). The noun τυρός 'cheese' occurs once in the story of Abba Simon. This hermit showed an example of true humility by taking upon himself the sin of gluttony, which he did not have. When a nobleman came to see him, wishing to receive a blessing from the saint, Abba Simon came out to meet him, chewing bread and cheese, and thus aroused the contempt of this nobleman<sup>26</sup>: οὕτως ὁ τὸν ἄρτον καὶ τὸν τυρὸν μετὰ χεῖρας εἰληφως, πεποίηκεν (PG, 997C).

Of the group of nouns that have the general meaning of 'sweets', only one is found in the *Ladder*: μέλι 'honey'. *The sweetness of honey cannot be explained by words and examples to people who have never tasted it*: ἀνδρὶ τῷ τοῖς μὴ γευσάμενοις μέλιτος πώποτε τὴν τούτου γλυκύτητα διὰ [λόγων]<sup>27</sup> καὶ ὑποδειγμάτων διδάσκειν (PG, 988B).

The lexeme μέλι functions twice as part of comparisons (a favorite stylistic device of the author of the *Ladder*): Οἱ δὲ ἔπαινοι, τιμαὶ τε καὶ εὐφημίαι, μέλιτος δίκην, ἐν τοῖς ἡδυπαθέσιν ἡδύτητα πᾶσαν ἀποτίκτουσι (PG, 717A) / *Praise, honoring and approval, as the honey give birth in the voluptuous all sins* and καθ' ἡμέραν πίνε, ὡσεὶ [γάλα καὶ μέλι]<sup>28</sup>, μυκτηρισμὸν καὶ χλευασμὸν (PG, 724B) / *drink, like milk and honey, every day mockery and humiliation*. In the last example, the lexeme μέλι means a drink made from honey.

To designate drink, in general, there are the lexemes πόμα (3), νάμα (1) and ποτόν (1). Specific drinks are called ὕδωρ 'water' (35), οἶνος 'wine' (8) and γάλα 'milk' (2).

Calculations have shown that ὕδωρ 'water' is the most frequent noun in group of designations for food and drink. As in other cases, by using this lexeme, the author of the *Ladder* skillfully connects direct and figurative meanings, based on the texts of the Holy Scriptures.

At the second place in terms of the number of uses in the analyzed group of words is ἄρτος. In small quantities bread and water are the main food of the monk: ὀπηνίκα διαφόρων βρωμάτων ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐν ἄρτῳ στενοῦσθω καὶ ὕδατι (PG, 865B) / *When our soul desires various foods, we need to exhaust it with bread and water*. The *Ladder* includes the story of Hesyehii Horivit, who imprisoned himself in a cell; for 12 years he did not say a single word to anyone and ate only bread and drank only water:

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Достопамятные сказания о подвижничестве святых и блаженных отцов*, Москва 1845, p. 313.

<sup>27</sup> Paris 1069, 72r: λόγου.

<sup>28</sup> Paris 1069, 16r; Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 42r; Sin. gr. 417, 58r. In PG: μέλι καὶ γάλα.

τὴν θύραν τῆς κέλλης ἀνοικοδομήσας, ἔμεινεν ἔνδον χρόνους δύο καὶ δέκα, μηδενὶ τὸ παράπαν συντετυχηκῶς οὐ μικρὸν, οὐ μέγαν λόγον [...], ἀλλ' ἡ ἄρτου καὶ ὕδατος ἀπογευόμενος (PG, 796D).

The water that the monk drinks must be salty from tears: τὸ δὲ πόμα τοῦ ὕδατος μετὰ κλαυθμοῦ κερνῶντας<sup>29</sup> (PG, 768B), Τὸ πόμα πίνων, τοῦ ὄξους καὶ τῆς χολῆς τοῦ σοῦ Δεσπότου<sup>30</sup> μὴ παύση ἐννοῶν (PG, 868D–869A) / *When you drink, keep in mind the vinegar and bile of your Lord*. The bread that the monk eats must also be bitter:

Δοκιμαζέτω δὲ ἕκαστος ἑαυτόν, καὶ εἴθ' οὕτως ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου αὐτῆς, τοῦ μετὰ πικριδίων, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου αὐτῆς, τοῦ μετὰ δακρύων, ἐσθιέτω καὶ πινέτω<sup>31</sup> (PG, 636C)

Everyone [who wants to become a monk – TP], first let him check himself, and then let him eat the bread that is with mustard, and let him drink the water which is with tears.

Water is a key symbol of spiritual cleansing, rebirth to a new life. Twice the *Ladder* includes the biblical metaphor for the *water of life* (Io 4: 10; Apc 22: 17): ὕδωρ ζῶν (PG, 701A), ὕδωρ ζωῆς (PG, 713B). To designate water as a cleansing, life-giving substance, the nouns νάμα and πόμα are used: λάκκος ζωοποιοῦ τούτου νάματος (PG, 992C) / *a well of life-giving water of humility*, ἀτιμίας πόμα καθάρσιον (PG, 657A) / *the cleansing drink of dishonor*. The author of the *Ladder* metaphorically calls tears *living water* (ζῶσι ὕδασι, PG, 809B).

The verb πίνω 'to drink' in the *Ladder* is used three times in combination with the noun μυκτηρισμός 'abuse, mockery'. The metaphor *drink mockery* is reinforced by comparisons dating back to the text of the Bible (*like living water*<sup>32</sup>, *like milk and honey*<sup>33</sup>): Πίνε μυκτηρισμὸν καθ' ὥραν, ὡσπερ ὕδωρ ζῶν (PG, 701A) / *Drink mockery every hour like living water*, Πίνε προθύμως μυκτηρισμὸν, ὡς ὕδωρ ζωῆς, παρὰ παντὸς ἀνθρώπου (PG, 713B) / *Drink diligently insults from every man like living water*<sup>34</sup>. As medicine, the monk *drinks obedience*: πίνοντα ὑπακοῆς ἴαμα (PG, 1020C). The cup from which the monk drinks is filled with tears ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου αὐτῆς, τοῦ μετὰ δακρύων, [...] πινέτω (PG, 636C).

<sup>29</sup> Ps 101: 10.

<sup>30</sup> Mt 27: 34; Mt 27: 48; Mc 15: 36; Lc 23: 36; Io 19: 28–29.

<sup>31</sup> This is a good example to show the peculiarities of the *Ladder's* style. John Climacus often takes a syntactic model from a biblical book and supplements it with his insertions. In this case, the fragment 1Cor 11: 28 (ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου ἐσθιέτω καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποτηρίου πινέτω) is used as a basis.

<sup>32</sup> Io 4: 10; Apc 22: 17.

<sup>33</sup> Ct 4: 11.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. also the example above: καθ' ἡμέραν πίνε, ὡσεὶ γάλα καὶ μέλι, μυκτηρισμὸν καὶ χλευασμὸν (PG, 724B), *drink like milk and honey, every day mockery and humiliation*.

*Like cool water* (ὡς ὕδωρ ψυχρόν PG, 808B), the monk's soul longs for comfort from God. *To distract a monk from prayer is even more cruel than to wrest water from the mouth of the thirsty*<sup>35</sup>: Χαλεπὸν ἐκ στόματος διψῶντος ὕδωρ ἀφαρπάσαι, χαλεπώτερον δὲ ψυχὴν, μετὰ κατανύξεως προσευχομένην [...] ταύτης [...] τῆς παραστάσεως τῆς πολυποθήτου [ἀποκόψαι]<sup>36</sup> (PG, 1137B).

The lexeme ποτόν can be used not only in the sense of 'drink' (τοῦ ποτοῦ τοῦ ὕδατος, PG, 805B), but also with the meaning of 'medicinal drink': Κέκτησο καὶ σὺ, ὦ θαυμάσιε, ἔμπλαστρα, ξηρία, κολλούρια, ποτὰ [...] / *Have you too, oh worthy man, plasters, powders, eye ointments, drinks* [...]. Water can also be a cure (for a hangover): ἔξ οἴνου οἱ σκοτισθέντες, ἐνίσαντο πολλάκις ὕδατι (PG, 1072A) / *those who are sick from wine are often healed with water*.

John Climacus warns the reader against excessive alcohol consumption; in order to feel the taste of wine, one cup is enough: Μία κύλιξ πολλάκις γεῦσιν [πολλοῦ]<sup>37</sup> οἴνου ἐσήμανε (PG, 1116D). A wine of good quality must be well aged: οὐ [...] ἔχει πίστιν οἴνος εὐθέως ἐκ τῶν ληνῶν ἐγκλειόμενος (PG, 808C) / *that wine is unreliable, which is directly from the winepress in a vessel*.

Young monks took part in the wine feasts (ἐν συμποσίοις τοῦ οἴνου PG, 865A). The use of wine was completely excluded in the monastery prison (PG, 704A). The prisoners drove away even thoughts of it, just as they drove away thoughts of delicious food:

ποῦ τρυφῆς λοιπὸν ἐλπίς; ποῦ οἴνου ἔννοια; ποῦ ὀπώρας γεῦσις; ποῦ χύτρας παράκλησις;  
ποῦ λάρυγγος γλυκασμός; (PG, 768D)

Where is the hope for a delicious meal? Where are the thoughts of wine? Where is the eating of fruit? Where is the invitation to cook? Where is the joy of food?

The fragment Ὁ οἴνω εὐφρανθεῖς, ἀκουσίως ἀληθεύση εἰς πάντα (PG, 856C–D) / *drunken against his will speaks the truth in everything* obviously echoes the antique winged expression *In vino veritas* (Ἐν οἴνω ἀλήθεια).

The noun γάλα is used both in its direct meaning ('milk') and figuratively ('spiritual drink for young monks'):

Τοῖς μὲν τῷ δρόμῳ νεανιουμένοις, εὖ μάλα ἀρίστως τὰ ἀμείνω καὶ ὑπέρτερα παράβαλλε [βρώματα]<sup>38</sup>, τοῖς δὲ κατόπιν ἢ γνώμῃ ἢ τρόποις διακειμένοις, γάλα, ὡς νηπιάζουσι, καιρὸς γὰρ πάσης [βρώσεως]<sup>39</sup> (PG, 1189A)

<sup>35</sup> Ct 2: 7; Ct 3: 5; Ct 8: 4.

<sup>36</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 160v: ἀποκρῦσαι.

<sup>37</sup> Paris 1069, 92r. In PG this form isn't there.

<sup>38</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 174v. In PG this form isn't there.

<sup>39</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 175v: παρακλήσεως.

For those who, like strong youths, diligently strive in the spiritual field, offer the best and the highest, and those who stay behind in mind or way of life, feed them with milk, like babies, for all food has its own time.

This fragment of the *Ladder* obviously echoes the letters of the Apostle Paul: γάλα ὑμᾶς ἐπότισα, οὐ βρῶμα, οὐπω γὰρ ἐδύνασθε, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἔτι νῦν δύνασθε / *I fed you milk, not solid food, for you were still weak, and even now you are weak* (1Cor 3: 2) and γεγόνατε χρεῖαν ἔχοντες γάλακτος, καὶ οὐ στερεᾶς τροφῆς / *you need milk, not solid food* (Heb 5: 12).

The text of the *Ladder* contains indications of different types of food: harmful and healthy. Some types of food are harmful and lead to disease: τὰ τὸ σῶμα βλάπτοντα βρώματα μετὰ χρόνον, ἢ ἡμέραν τὴν νόσον ἡμῖν ποιεῖν πεφύκασιν (PG, 892B) / *food that is harmful to the body after some time or a day later produces illness in us*. About the hypocritical monk John Climacus writes this: κατὰ τοῦ πάθους φθέγγεται, καὶ τὰ βλάπτοντα ἐσθίων οὐ παύεται (PG, 932C) / *he complains of illness and does not stop eating harmful foods*. The author of the *Ladder* advises monks to exclude, first of all, fatty foods, then spicy, then sweet: Περικόψομεν τέως τὰ λιπαίνοντα, εἶτα τὰ ἐκκαίοντα, εἶθ' οὕτως τὰ ἠδύνοντα (PG, 865B). To satisfy the feeling of hunger, John Climacus suggests giving the stomach food that is quickly satiating and easily digestible: δίδου τῇ σῆ κοιλίᾳ τροφήν ἐμπιπλώσαν καὶ εὐπεπτον (PG, 865B).

In general, the *Ladder* has no prohibitions on eating any food. The only food-related prohibition is the prohibition of sharing meals with heretics: αἰρετικοῖς μὴ συνεσθιέτωσιν (PG, 1192A). The Life of Saint John Climacus says that he ate all kinds of food, but very little of it: ἤσθιε μὲν ἅπαντα [...] βραχὺ δὲ λίαν (PG, 600A).

Food deprivation was practiced in the monastery as a punishment. For example, monks who quarreled were either forbidden to eat until reconciliation, or were expelled from the monastery: ἢ μὴ μεταλαμβάνειν τροφῆς ἄχρι τῆς διαλλαγῆς ἐπετιμῶντο, ἢ τῆς μονῆς [ἐξεβάλλοντο]<sup>40</sup> (PG, 688A). There were also monks in the monastery who refused food in protest, out of resentment or anger. John Climacus condemns such “hunger strikes” and considers them to be the multiplication of sinful passions: εἶδον ὀργισθέντας, καὶ ἐκ πικρίας τὴν τροφήν ἀψασμένους, καὶ μέντοι ἰὸν ἰῶ διὰ τῆς ἀλόγου ἐγκρατείας προσελάβοντο (PG, 829D) / *I have seen people in anger who rejected food from disappointment, and this reckless abstinence added poison to poison*.

Analysis of the functioning of the lexemes denoting food and drink allow us to draw the following **conclusions**:

1. In many cases, lexemes are used in pairs (salt and oil, milk and honey, bread and water, bread and bitter herbs). This use is due to the biblical tradition, on the basis of which the author of the *Ladder* built his book.

<sup>40</sup> Paris 1069, 86v: ἐξεβλήσκοντο.



2. In the named lexical-semantic groups, hyperonyms clearly prevail over hyponyms. The small amount of specific vocabulary is explained by the fact that for a monk it is less and less important which food he consumes as he moves up the ladder of virtues. Monks who have reached the highest degrees of spiritual life (ισάγγελοι, equal to the angels) *no longer quite feel the taste of food*: οὐκ αἰσθήσονται [...] βρώσεως (PG, 1101A), μηδὲ αὐτὴν βρώσιν, ἣν προσίενται λοιπὸν μεθ' ἡδύτητος προσίεσθαι (PG, 1157B). They forget to eat: ἰσάγγελον κατειληφότες [βαθμὸν]<sup>41</sup>, πολλάκις τροφῆς σωματικῆς ἐπιλανθάνονται (PG, 1157B). The most important thing for them is spiritual food.
3. In the lexical-semantic groups “Food” and “Drink” of the *Ladder*, as well as the texts of the Holy Scriptures, direct (physical) and figurative (spiritual) meanings are masterfully connected. Almost all examples of the usage of these words can be viewed both in the direct and in the symbolic sense. In the highest metaphorical meaning, all lexemes included in the thematic field “Nutrition” represent a symbol of participation in God’s salvation in Christ.

### Attachment

1. Ἄζυμον (6) unleavened bread
2. Ἄλας (2) salt
3. Ἄρτος (23) bread
4. Βότρυς (3) grapes
5. Βρῶμα (19) food
6. Βρῶσις (9) food
7. Γάλα (2) milk
8. Ἔδεσμα (3) food
9. Ἐδώδιμον (1) food
10. Ἐλαιον (8) olive oil
11. Ἐστίασις (2) food
12. Καρπός (15) fruits
13. Λάχανον (2) herbs
14. Μέλι (3) honey
15. Νάμα (1) drink
16. Οἶνος (8) wine
17. Ὀπώρα (1) fruits

<sup>41</sup> Vat. Palat. gr. 49, 166v; Paris 1069, 99v; Sin. gr. 417, 231v. In PG this form isn't there.

18. Ὄψον (1) food
19. Πικρίς (5) bitter herbs
20. Πόμα (3) drink
21. Ποτόν (2) drink
22. Ῥάγας (1) grapes
23. Τράπεζα (1) food
24. Τροφή (17) food
25. Τρυφή (15) tasty food, delicacies
26. Τυρός (1) cheese
27. Ὑδωρ (35) water

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## 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.

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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 [= PATT, 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 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 [= 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 Protoevangelion 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>.

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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 грађитељска 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>.

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<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.

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## A COMMONWEALTH OF INTEREST IN THE RUS'IAN-BYZANTINE TREATY (CA. 944)\*

**Abstract.** The preamble to the Rus'ian-Byzantine treaty, which was concluded around 944, contains dozens of anthroponyms – the names of members of the Kyivian elite, their envoys as well as merchants. Several of them can be identified as Slavonic. The author attempted to answer the question about the identity of these Slavs and their status within the “decision-making collective” of the early Rus'ian state. He has compared the information contained in the treaty with material consisting of other Rus'ian and Byzantine sources. Additionally the author compared the system of governance in the state of the first Rurikids with the model present among the Yotvingians and other medieval Baltic societies, which have also come under the influence of the Scandinavians.

**Keywords:** Rus'ian-Byzantine treaties, Rurik dynasty, medieval Rus', Rus'ian-Byzantine relations, *Primary Chronicle*, Igor, Yotvingians

Relations with the Byzantine Empire, including those of a commercial nature, played a special role in the formation of Rus'ian state in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>. A unique testimony to these early contacts and the process of gradual incorporation of Rus' into the Byzantine *oikumene* are the texts of treaties from the time of the first Rurikids, which have survived in the *Primary Chronicle* (*Tale of Bygone*

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<sup>1</sup> On trade between the Varangians and Byzantium cf.: А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Древняя Русь на международных путях. Междисциплинарные очерки культурных, торговых, политических связей IX–XII вв.*, Москва 2001, p. 70–71, 213–2015 (further literature there); J. SHEPARD, *Some Problems of Russo-Byzantine Relations c. 860–c. 1050*, SEER 52, 1976, p. 27; T. NOONAN, *European Russia, c. 500–c. 1050*, [in:] NCMH, vol. III, ed. T. REUTER, Cambridge–New York 2000, p. 490, 507; S. JAKOBSSON, *The Varangians. In God's Holy Fire*, London 2020 [= NABHC], p. 28. On the Byzantine concept of *oikumene* cf.: D. BOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe 500–1453*, London 1971, p. 52. From an archaeological perspective, the issue was discussed, e.g., by M. BOGUCKI, *Między wagą a mieczem. Kupcy wikińscy w świetle źródeł pisanych i archeologicznych*, Ru 5, 2010, p. 30–32.

Years) as a Slavonic translation<sup>2</sup>. The question of how these sources came to Rus' and, consequently, into the hands of the author of the *Chronicle*, remains a matter of dispute<sup>3</sup>. However, it is likely that they were for him one of the main sources of knowledge about Kyiv's-Constantinople relations at that time – a kind of base on which he has built his narrative<sup>4</sup>.

The most extensive, and also the most significant, is the text of the treaty, which the author of the *Chronicle* placed under the year 6453 (c. 945)<sup>5</sup>. The object of the agreement, which has been confirmed by a double (Christian and pagan) oath<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>2</sup> The role of these treaties in the context of Byzantine politics in the 10<sup>th</sup> century is described by, among others: М. Бибииков, *Тексты договоров Руси с греками в свете византийской дипломатической практики*, [in:] *Антидорон: к 75-летию академика РАН Геннадия Григорьевича Литаврина*, ed. С. Чичуров, Санкт-Петербург 2003, p. 47–54.

<sup>3</sup> The Byzantine origin of the texts of the treaty is indicated by the use of the September style – in the case of the majority of the *Primary Chronicle* it is the March style. Some scholars assumed that the documents arrived in Kyiv shortly after the conclusion of the treaties, and in this form, at the turn of the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries, monks from the Pechersky monastery gained access to them, cf.: М. Бибииков, *Тексты...*, p. 56; Р. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт и летопись*, ТОДЛ 50, 1997, p. 316, 320–321. According to J. Malingoudis it took place around 1046 and was related to the conclusion of another Rus'ian-Byzantine peace treaty, cf.: Я. МАЛИНГУДИ, *Русско-византийские договоры в X в. в свете дипломатики*, ВВ 57, 1997, p. 69, 86 (the author used extensive comparative material consisting of later Byzantine bilateral treaties); J. MALINGOUDI, *Die russisch-byzantinischen Verträge des 10. Jhds. aus diplomatischer Sicht*, Thessaloniki 1994; Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Византия, Болгария, Древняя Русь (IX – начало XII в.)*, Санкт-Петербург 2000, p. 78sq. S. Kashtanov formulated the hypothesis that the author of the *Chronicle* used a compilation of copies of documents that had been made for one of the Kyiv metropolitans (perhaps Nikephoros I) before his departure to Rus'. This hypothesis, in the context of Vladimir Monomakh's foreign policy, has been expanded by O. Tolochko, cf.: С. КАШТАНОВ, *К вопросу о происхождении текста русско-византийских договоров X в. в составе Повести временных лет*, [in:] *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Политическая структура Древнерусского государства. Чтения памяти В.Т. Папуто*, ed. Е. Мельникова, Москва 1996, p. 39–42; А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки начальной Руси*, Киев–Санкт-Петербург 2015, p. 51–59. The treaties were also discussed by, i.a.: I. SORLIN, *Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au X<sup>e</sup> siècle (I–II)*, СМР 2.3–4, 1961, p. 313–360, 447–475; М. БИБИКОВ, *Русь в византийской дипломатии: договоры Руси с греками X в.*, ДРВМ 1, 2005, p. 5–15.

<sup>4</sup> He wrote about the essential role of treaties in the process of creating the *Primary Chronicle*, cf.: А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 49–59sq (there, *inter alia*, the concept of “symmetrical chronology” of the medieval Rus'ian chronicles). However, this book should be treated with some reserve due to the controversy it has generated within the academic world (it is a transcript of delivered lectures and the back matter is rather scant), cf. e.g.: Y. МІКНАЙЛОВА, [rec.:] *Ocherki nachal' noi Rusi by Tolochko Aleksei...*, SRev 4, 2017, p. 1117–1118; В. ВОВИНА-ЛЕБЕДЕВА, *Угасший мир древнерусских летописей: взгляд сегодня*, РИ 4, 2019, p. 3–27; А. ЩАВЕЛЕВ, *Славянские «племена» Восточной Европы X – первой половины XI в.: аутентификация, локализация и хронология*, SSBP 2, 2015, p. 103–104.

<sup>5</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись*, [in:] *Полное собрание русских летописей*, vol. I, Ленинград 1926–1927 (setera: *Лаврентьевская летопись*), col. 46.

<sup>6</sup> Evidence of an evolution of the rising Rus'ian state is also provided by the fact that for the first time some of its representatives took the Christian oath, cf. e.g.: А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 288; Я. МАЛИНГУДИ, *Русско-византийские договоры...*, p. 90.

was to re-regulate the rules of the trade conducting by Rus'ian merchants with Byzantium, the provision of armed aid, the staying of Rus'ians in the territory of the Empire (with emphasis on the northern coast of the Black Sea), the prosecution of fugitives and several more minor questions<sup>7</sup>. Its concluding was a result of Igor's unsuccessful expedition against Constantinople. It is worth noting that, compared to an earlier agreement concluded by Oleg, the text of which is given by the author of the *Chronicle* under the year 6420 (с. 912), the terms of the treaty were slightly less favourable for Rus'<sup>8</sup>. When analysing a specific source such as this treaty, we have to look at it through a double prism: of the Byzantine clerks who perceived their Rus'ian partners in a certain way and referred them by a certain terms, and of the Rus'ian translator (perhaps the author of the *Chronicle* himself). The latter could have interfered with the text (as evidenced by the mention of Pereaslav among the Rus'ian towns, the foundation of which is mentioned in the pages of the *Chronicle* in the context of the reign of Vladimir the Great) and adapted it to the reality of his times<sup>9</sup>.

Looking at the text of the treaty, and especially at its preamble, we can notice that it has the form of a solemn declaration of the representatives of Rus' (the first person plural has been used) to the Byzantine emperors: Romanos I Lekapenos and his sons-coregents: Constantine and Stephen<sup>10</sup>. Let us pay attention to how the Rus'ian side is defined:

<sup>7</sup> The problem of the presence of the Rus'ians on the northern coast of the Black Sea was discussed, among others, by: Я. МАЛИНГУДИ, *Русско-византийские договоры...*, p. 88; J. SHEPARD, *Some Problems...*, p. 11; T. NOONAN, *European Russia...*, p. 490, 507 (this author wrote also about the expansion of the "Rhos" into the lands of the Slavs and creates the concept of a "tributary state").

<sup>8</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись*, col. 32–33; D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth...*, p. 511; В. ПАШУТО, *Внешняя политика Древней Руси*, Москва 1968, p. 62; S. JAKOBSSON, *The Varangians...*, p. 51; Я. МАЛИНГУДИ, *Русско-византийские договоры...*, p. 82, 85; А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Князь и дружина в эпоху договоров Руси с Греками*, [in] *Русь в IX–XII веках. Общество, государство, культура*, ed. Н.А. МАКАРОВ, А.Е. ЛЕОНТЬЕВ, Москва–Вологда 2014, p. 15 (there a comparative analysis of the treaties); М. БИБИКОВ, *Тексты...*, p. 51–54; А. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople*, ДОР 6, 1951, p. 170–171sq (there is a review of the literature on Oleg's expedition against Constantinople). The claim that the treaty was less favourable than previous ones has been criticised, among others, by Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Византия...*, p. 78–86 (further literature there).

<sup>9</sup> According to R. Skrynnikov, the Rus'ian translator has probably slavised some of the Scandinavian names mentioned in the text of the treaty, cf.: Р. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт...*, p. 319–320. About Pereaslav cf.: S. JAKOBSSON, *The Varangians...*, p. 40.

<sup>10</sup> The fact that Roman I Lekapen's reign ended in 944 allows us to set a *terminus ad quem* for the concluding of the treaty. It is also puzzling that the text does not mention Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, who, despite the lack of real power, held at that time the nominal dignity of the fourth in the hierarchy of co-rulers. Perhaps the translator was surprised by the presence of two Constantines in the text and thought that it was a single person. J. Malingoudis believed that we are dealing with a written authorization (посредническая грамота), with which Igor equipped the Rus'ian envoys. This, according to the author, was an adopted practice in the Byzantine diplomacy. This version is also backed up by the mention in the treaty of written credentials with which the prince of Kyiv was to equip envoys and merchants (нѣмѣ же увѣдѣль естъ князь нашъ. посылати грамоту ко црѣву нашему), cf.: Я. МАЛИНГУДИ, *Русско-византийские договоры...*, p. 84.

We are the envoys (and merchants) from the Rus'ian nation [...] sent by Igor, Great Prince of Rus' and from each prince and all the people of the land of Rus' [...] Our Great Prince Igor [and his princes] and his boyars and the whole people [of Rus'] [...] and the Great Prince of Rus' and his boyars [...] From Igor and all his boyars and all the people of the land of Rus' [...] Igor, Great Prince of Rus' and to his subjects<sup>11</sup>.

In of the treaty concluded by Oleg we have similar terms: *we of the Rus'ian nation, Sent by Oleg, Great Prince of Rus' and by all the serene and great princes and the great boyars under his sway*<sup>12</sup>. We can see that the Rus'ian side was presenting itself as a collective, headed by Igor, entitled "Great Prince of Rus'"<sup>13</sup>. He was responsible for implementing the provisions of the treaty: he issued written credentials for the envoys and merchants going to Constantinople, he was the trustee of peaceful relations, he was in charge of prosecuting fugitives, repurchasing captives, restoring damages and enforcing other norms of law which are mentioned in the treaty<sup>14</sup>. As a direct partner of the Empire, he also conducted diplomatic correspondence<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> *лгы ѿ рода Рꙋскаго. съди и гостѣе [...] послании ѿ Игоря. великого князя Рꙋскаго. и ѿ всякоя княжѣи и ѿ всѣхꙋ людии Рꙋския земли [...] великии князь нашъ Игорь. [и князи] и боладѣ его и людѣе вси [...] а великии князь Рꙋскии и боладѣ его [...] ѿ Игоря и ѿ всѣхꙋ боладѣ. и ѿ всѣхꙋ людии. ѿ странгы Рꙋския [...] къ великому князю Рꙋскому Игореву. и к людемꙋ его, Лаврентьевская летопись, col. 46–48; *The Russian Primary Chronicle. Laurentian Text*, ed. S.H. CROSS, O.P. SHERWOWITZ-WETZOR, Cambridge, Mass. 1953 (cetera: *Primary Chronicle*), p. 73–74. Noteworthy is the use of the word "родъ", which is sometimes considered as a translation of the Old-Greek "γένος/γένεᾶ", cf.: А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Князь...*, p. 18–19 (the author has also suggested other forms of Greek translations of the quoted fragments of the treaty). The word suggests a family/lineage or ethnic group, but it can also mean a community of people united under something in common ("tribe", "nation", "people"), cf.: *Slovník jazyka staroslovenskeho*, vol. III, ed. B. HAVRANEK, J. PETR, Praha 1982, p. 644–645. From the perspective of linguistics, the treaty has been analysed, e.g., by: С. ОБНОРСКИЙ, *Язык договоров русских с греками*, ЯМ 6–7, 1936, p. 97–103.*

<sup>12</sup> *лгы ѿ рода Рꙋскаго, послании ѿ Улга великоꙋ князю Рꙋскаго. и ѿ всѣхꙋ и соꙋꙋ еꙋ сѣвѣтлыꙋ и великиꙋ князю. и еꙋ великиꙋ боярꙋ, Лаврентьевская летопись, col. 32–33; *Primary Chronicle*, p. 65–66.*

<sup>13</sup> O. Tolochko rightly stated that the then Rus' was not *exactly a state*, but rather *a group of people engaged in common affairs: collecting contributions from the Slavonic tribes and trading these goods at the markets in Constantinople*. According to G. Litvarin, the "serene/great princes" mentioned in Oleg's treaty were Slavonic leaders, cf.: А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 280; Г. ЛИТВАРИН, *Византия...*, p. 103–104. The use of the title "grand (great) prince" may also be a kind of anachronism – in Rus', until the 12<sup>th</sup> century, it was a posthumous title, cf.: А. ПОРРЕ, *O tytule wielkosiądzęcy na Rusi*, РН 73.3, 1984, p. 423–439; Я. МАЛИНГУДИ, *Русско-византийские договоры...*, p. 87; А. ФИЛЮШКИН, *Титулы русских государей*, Москва–Санкт-Петербург 2006, p. 12–49; P. BOROŃ, *Kniaziowie, królowie, carowie... Tytuły i nazwy władców słowiańskich we wczesnym średniowieczu*, Katowice 2010, p. 81–97.

<sup>14</sup> In Soviet historiography, mentions of the "Rus'ian law" have often been regarded as evidence of the high level of development of early Rus'ian state. In recent times, S. Jakobsson marked a similarity to some norms of Scandinavian law, cf.: S. JAKOBSSON, *The Varangians...*, p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> J. Shepard has rightly remarked that due to the contacts with Byzantium the level of administration of the rising Rus'ian state was taken to a higher level: a chancellery, where worked the people who knew the Old-Greek language, had to be established in Kyiv, cf.: J. SHEPARD, *Some Problems...*, p. 18–21; D. BOBOLENSKY, *Byzantium and the Slavs*, London 1971, p. 54.



Within the collective we can separate three groups: “the Great Prince of Rus’” (ВЕЛИКИЙ КНЯЗЬ РУСКИИ), the widely understood elite, probably Igor’s entourage consisting of “his [the Great Prince’s] boyars” (БОЛАРИ ЕГО, the term is used several times in the treaty) or “all the princes” (Ѡ ВСАКОЯ КНЯЖЬЯ, the term appears only once) and “all the people of the land of Rus’ ” (Ѡ ВСѢХЪ ЛЮДИИ РУСКИЯ ЗЕМЛѦ). The document consists of 75 (76 in the Hypatian Codex) anthroponyms – names of witnesses categorised into the following groups: Igor and his envoy, 24 of his relatives, and other members of the elite and the “other envoys” (ѠБѢЧНИИ СЛИ) representing them, as well as 25 merchants<sup>16</sup>. These tradesmen, as is clear from the source, hold a distinctly lower status than the envoys and were probably the most important “direct” contributors of trade with Constantinople<sup>17</sup>. The most controversial question is the composition of the group sending the envoys<sup>18</sup>: according to some scholars, the Old-Greek original of the document did not mention “boyars and all the princes”, but only so-called αρχωντες<sup>19</sup>. On this ground Alexandr

<sup>16</sup> С. БЕЛЕЦКИЙ, *Кто такой Володислав договора 944 г.?*, [in:] *Норна у источника Судьбы. Сборник статей в честь Елены Александровны Мельниковой*, Москва 2001, p. 17. In Oleg’s treaty, only 15 witnesses appear, with no indication of their hierarchy. The hierarchical structure in both treaties has been analysed, *inter alia*, by А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Некоторые соображения о договоре Руси с Греками 944 г. в связи с политической структурой Древнерусского государства*, [in:] *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Политическая структура Древнерусского государства...*, p. 58–63.

<sup>17</sup> Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Русско-византийские связи в середине X века*, ВИ 6, 1986, p. 41–52; А. НАЗАРЕНКО, «Слы и гостие». *О структуре политической элиты Древней Руси в первой половине – середине X в.*, [in:] *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Политические институты и верховная власть. XIX Чтения памяти В.Т. Пащито*, Москва, 16–18 апреля 2007 г. *Материалы конференции*, Москва 2007, p. 169–174; А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 280–281; Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Византия...*, p. 119–120. G. Litavrin has referred to this group as “elite of the regional centres of commerce and craft”, and O. Tolochko has named them “commercial agents of the ‘serene princes’”.

<sup>18</sup> One of the theories regards this group as the “senior *druzhina*” – Igor’s immediate entourage, cf. e.g.: А. ПРЕСНЯКОВ, *Княжое право в Древней Руси. Очерки по X–XII векам*, Москва 1993, p. 28–29, 317–318; В. ГРЕКОВ, *Ruś Kijowska*, Warszawa 1955, p. 16, 130–131. Another version mentions elites of various Scandinavian and Slavonic groups, cf. e.g.: Б. РЫБАКОВ, *Киевская Русь и русские княжества XII–XIII веков*, Москва 1982, p. 328–329; Н. КОТЛЯР, *Древнерусская государственность*, Санкт-Петербург 1998, p. 197. М. Sverdlov considered that members of these elites could have been part of the *druzhina* of the ruler of Kyiv, М. СВЕРДЛОВ, *Домонгольская Русь. Князь и княжеская власть на Руси VI – первой трети XIII в.в.*, Санкт-Петербург 2003, p. 197.

<sup>19</sup> П. СТЕФАНОВИЧ, *Кого представляли послы «от рода рускаго» в договоре Руси с Греками 944 г.?*, ДРВМ 3, 2001, p. 109–110; ИДЕМ, *Правящая верхушка Руси по русско-византийским договорам X в.*, ТИРИ 11, 2013, p. 28–31. Nevertheless this term in Byzantine documents simply meant people of sufficiently high status, and cannot be taken exclusively as the equivalent of “prince/member of the ruling house”, cf.: Е.А. СОРНОЦЕС, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, Hildesheim–Zurich–New York 1992, p. 259–260; А. КАЗНДАН, *Archon*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, ed. ИДЕМ, Oxford–New York 1991, p. 160. According to М. Bibikov and V. Shusharin this title the Byzantines referred to *provincial rulers, military commanders, wealthy people, foreign rulers and tribal chiefs*, cf.: М. БИБИКОВ, В. ШУШАРИН, *Комментарии*, [in:] *Константин Багрянородный, Об управлении империей*, ed. Г. ЛИТАВРИН, Москва 1989, p. 291; P. BOROŃ, *Kniazowie...*, p. 20–33.

Nazarenko, Oleksiy Tolochko and some other authors concluded that we are talking only about members of the princely clan, which constituted a “decision-making collective”<sup>20</sup>.

Some scholars have compared the list of witnesses of the treaty with the record of Princess Olga’s stay in Constantinople from the *Book of Ceremonies* by Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos. She was surrounded by a group of women “in the rank of archontissa”, as well as by 22 envoys (a number similar to that in the treaty) and 44 merchants<sup>21</sup>. According to one theory, the envoys were sent by approximately the same members of the princely clan who have concluded the treaty a few years earlier. Some authors noted that Olga was accompanied by her own relatives, who were not members of the princely clan, however they could participate in the negotiations with the Byzantines. It is also worth noting that in the list of witnesses of the treaty, only for selected anthroponyms their relationship to Igor was explicitly indicated (*Vefast representing Sviatoslav, son of Igor [...] Slothi for Igor, nephew of Igor [...] Freystein for Akun, nephew of Igor*)<sup>22</sup>. It is also unlikely that if merchants, representing themselves, took part in the concluding of the treaty, members of the Igor’s entourage – representatives of Kyivian military circles – would be deprived of this right.

<sup>20</sup> In the opinion of A. Nazarenko (who prefers the term “group of relatives”, Russian: “кровнородственная группа”), the members of the *druzhina* were the envoys enumerated in the treaty – they represented particular members of the clan. He believes that the term “ѡбѣщани снѣ” used in the source should be understood as “envoys of common archons” or “envoys of the commonwealth of archons”. According to the author, Igor’s *druzhina* was an important body, but its members, as Igor’s immediate subjects, could not send their own envoys. A. Rukavishnikov considered that we are facing the protoplasts of the “pagan lines” of the house of Rurik, cf.: А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Некоторые соображения...*, p. 63; ИДЕМ, *Князь...*, p. 14–24 (there you can find a review of the literature on the role of the *druzhina* and the *boyars* in the early Rus’ian state); А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 277–279; А. РУКАВИШНИКОВ, *Проблема «непризнания родства» в раннесредневековых хрониках и Повесть временных лет*, [in:] *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Мнимые реальности в античной и средневековой историографии. Чтения памяти В.Т. Пашуто*, ed. Е.А. МЕЛЬНИКОВА, Москва 2002, p. 198–203.

<sup>21</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENETOS, *The Book of Ceremonies*, trans. A. MOFFATT, M. TALL, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= ВАus, 18], p. 594–597; А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 275–276; А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Некоторые соображения...*, p. 62; ИДЕМ, *Князь...*, p. 19–21 (according to O. Tolochko each member of the princely house has sent one envoy and two merchants to Constantinople. Similarly, A. Nazarenko stressed that the status of the members of Olga’s entourage has been based exclusively on this kinship – on this logic, the *druzhina* should be seen as a group strictly dependent on the prince rather than autonomous); S. JAKOBSSON, *The Varangians...*, p. 55 (there is an interesting hypothesis according to which the mention of Olga among the witnesses of the treaty is a later insertion); Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Состав посольства Ольги в Константинополе и «дары» императора*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Византийские очерки*, Москва 1982, p. 71–92.

<sup>22</sup> Вѡѣѡстѣтъ Сѡѡтослаѡѡвѣ съѡ Игорѡѡвѣтъ [...] Слѡдѡтъ Игорѡѡвѣтъ. ѡѡтѡ Игорѡѡвѣтъ [...] Прѡстѡѡнѡѡ ѡѡѡнѡѡ. ѡѡтѡ Игорѡѡвѣтъ, *Primary Chronicle*, p. 73; A. Nazarenko considers that the information about the kinship of some of the witnesses with Igor originates not in the text of the treaty but in the registry notes annexed to it: А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Князь...*, p. 20.

Let us pay attention to a fragment of the anonymous *Life of Emperor Basil I*, which is also known as the *Vita Basilii* (Βίος Βασιλείου). This source probably comes from the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, so its appearance more or less coincided to the time when the treaty was concluded<sup>23</sup>. In its cards an attempt to Christianise the Rus' (Rhos) has been described. The leader, referred to as "archon" (ἄρχων), cannot impose his will on his "subjects". He is surrounded by a group of "elders" (γέροντες): the author of the *Vita* did not write that they were relatives of the principal leader. Collectively they convened an assembly (σύλλογος) of all the people of the "archon", which was the decision-making body. Considering the probable time of writing of the *Vita*, we can assume that its author described the domestic system of the "Rhouses" as he knew it from his times: it is thus possible that the source contains data relating to the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, not the 9<sup>th</sup> century. All this leads us to the conclusion that on the Rus'ian side the treaty was concluded not only by Igor and his relatives, but by a broader military and mercantile elite<sup>24</sup>.

In comparison to the treaty of 912, the treaty of 944/945 differs not only in the number of witnesses and the appearance of a clearly defined hierarchy, but also because the preamble contains some Slavonic anthroponyms<sup>25</sup>. One of these names is held by Igor's son, Sviatoslav – its appearance within the Rurik dynasty is the subject of debate<sup>26</sup>. It is highly probable that it can be considered as an evidence of gradual slavisation of the princely house and all the Varangian elite of Rus'. Much more enigmatic is Volodislav, represented by his envoy named Gleb (О҃҃лѣбъ)<sup>27</sup>. He was mentioned directly after Igor's closest relatives, and just before "Akun", who

<sup>23</sup> The authorship of the source is usually attributed to Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos or to a scholarly official of his court. Theodore Daphnopates, cf.: A. KAZHDAN, A. CUTLER, *Vita Basilii*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. III..., p. 2180–2181.

<sup>24</sup> *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur Liber quo Vita Basilii Imperatoris amplexitur*, ed. I. ШЕВЦЕНКО, Berlin 2012 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 42]; S. ЈАКОВССОН, *The Varangians...*, p. 30; П. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Из истории начального этапа византийско-русских отношений*, ИВ 1, 2012–2015, p. 84–85.

<sup>25</sup> According to J. Shepard and S. Franklin we are faced with an increase in the number of people involved in the trade, which may also have included representatives of the Slavonic groups linked to the Rurikids, cf.: J. SHEPARD, S. FRANKLIN, *The Emergence of Rus, 750–1200*, London–New York 1996, p. 139; V. THOMSON, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State*, Oxford 1977, p. 131–132, 139, 140–141.

<sup>26</sup> According to R. Skrynnikov, this name is a Scandinavian version of the name "Sfendisleifr", cf.: Р. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт...*; П. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Из истории...*, p. 319–320 (there on the topic of the slavisation of the Varagians). A. Litvina and F. Uspensky proposed the hypothesis that the Slavonic suffix "-slav" is equivalent to the Scandinavian "-leifr", cf.: А. ЛИТВИНА, Ф. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Выбор имени у русских князей в X–XVI вв. Династическая история сквозь призму антропоники*, Москва 2006, p. 41sq.

<sup>27</sup> J. KORPELA, *Beiträge zur Bevölkerungsgeschichte und Prosopographie der Kiever Rus' bis zum Tode von Vladimir Monomach*, Jyväskylä 1995, p. 225. V. Tatishchev and some other authors believed that Volodislav was the envoy of Gleb, however the construction of the list of witnesses makes this version very unlikely, cf.: С. БЕЛЕЦКИЙ, *Кто такой Володислав...*, p. 19–20 (literature review there).

was also named as a relative of Great Prince<sup>28</sup>. Some scholars have pointed out that this anthroponym is related to “authority” (due to the prefix “volodi-”, “to rule”)<sup>29</sup>. The “West-Slavonic” provenance of the name is also emphasized (Volodislav as a form of the name Vladislav)<sup>30</sup>. However, it is worth noting that later in the Rus’ian sources the name “Volodislav” appears primarily as a boyar name, rather than a princely (dynastic)<sup>31</sup>.

The identification of this “Slavonic” witness of the treaty is the subject of dispute. Some authors have considered him a member of the Rurik dynasty<sup>32</sup>. Others believed that we have to do with an unrelated member of Igor’s immediate entourage (“Slavonic boyar”)<sup>33</sup>. The “West-Slavonic” attributes of the name “Volodislav” have generated several “Polish-Lendian” hypotheses<sup>34</sup>. Along with Volodislav, another enigmatic female name “Predslava” is mentioned. The Princess Olga, also listed among the witnesses of the treaty, appears immediately after Igor and Sviatoslav: we may therefore assume that Predslava was the wife of Volodislav<sup>35</sup>. The fact that

<sup>28</sup> P. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт...*, p. 317.

<sup>29</sup> С. ВЕСЕЛОВСКИЙ, *Ономастикон. Древнерусские имена, прозвища и фамилии*, Москва 1974; T. SKULINA, W. SWOBODA, *Wołodzislaw*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich. Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych*, vol. VI, ed. G. LABUDA, Z. STIEBER, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk 1977, p. 573; T. SKULINA, *Staroruskie imiennictwo osobowe*, vol. II, Warszawa 1974, p. 16–21; А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 277.

<sup>30</sup> H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Początki Polski*, vol. V, Warszawa 1977, p. 496 (literature review there).

<sup>31</sup> Н. ТУПИКОВ, *Словарь древнерусских личных собственных имен*, Санкт-Петербург 1903, p. 92.

<sup>32</sup> M. Prisolkov wrote that Volodislav and Predslava were children of the “Igor the younger” mentioned directly before them, cf.: М. ПРИСЕЛКОВ, *Киевское государство второй половины X в. по византийским источникам*, УЗЛ 73, 1941, p. 241. J. Konovalov put forward a specific hypothesis that Volodislav was the second husband of Olga and the father of Sviatoslav. H. Łowmiański, A. Nazarenko, A. Gorskiy and E. Pchelov considered Volodislav as a member of the princely clan without pointing to a concrete form of kinship, cf.: X. ЛОВМЯНЬСКИЙ, *Русь и норманны*, Москва 1985, p. 221; А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Некоторые соображения...*, p. 58–63; А. ГОРСКИЙ, *Русь от славянского Расселения до Московского царства*, Москва 2004, p. 66–67; E. ПЧЕЛОВ, *Рюриковичи. 1000 лет одного рода. История династии*, Москва 2001, p. 54.

<sup>33</sup> С. БЕЛЕЦКИЙ, *Кто такой Володислав...*, p. 22–23; Б. ГРЕКОВ, *Киевская Русь*, Москва 1957, p. 107, 275.

<sup>34</sup> S.M. Kuczyński described him simply as a “Polish duke”. V. Pashuto wrote that Volodislav ruled the lands “on the frontier with Poland” in the region of Cherven and Sandomierz. H. Łowmiański and R. Skrynnikow recognised him as the “duke of Lendians”. W. Swoboda wrote cautiously that Volodislav may have been the leader of the Ulichians, Krivichians, Trivets or other Slavs who participated in the expedition against Constantinople. S.M. KUCZYŃSKI, *Studia z dziejów Europy wschodniej X–XVII w.*, Warszawa 1965, p. 15, 233; В. ПАШУТО, *Внешняя политика...*, p. 32, 64; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Początki Polski...*, p. 496, 499; P. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт...*, p. 317–318; T. SKULINA, W. SWOBODA, *Wołodzislaw...*, p. 573. However, it should be noted that, according to R. Skrynnikow, the “Lendians” were a great super-tribal body, which included, among others, the Dnieper Polans, the Radymichians, the Viaticians and other “tribes” mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle*. According to him, *the Normans could not conduct great wars without the support of the Slavonic elites and the Slavonic tribal forces. Volodislav and Predslava may have been members of a significant Lendians’ elite.*

<sup>35</sup> P. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт...*, p. 317; А. ПОРРЕ, *Przeclawa*, [in:] *Słownik starożytności*

this woman was represented by her own envoy shows her high social status. In the context of possible links between the Rurikids and the Slavs, a question to which I shall return, it is important to note that that this name, unlike Volodislav, survived within the Rurik dynasty (it was borne among others by one of the daughters of Vladimir the Great). The names of two merchants, Sinko and Borich, are also sometimes considered to be Slavonic, however their identity will not be the focus of our study<sup>36</sup>.

It seems most probable that Volodislav and Predslava were members of the elite of a Slavonic group – probably linked to the Rurikids by ties of dependence or cooperation. We can read about this kind of Slavonic “princes” in the Rus’ian chronicles: the *Primary Chronicle* informs about a Drevlians’ “chief” named Mal. In an 11<sup>th</sup> century context, the author mentioned Khodota – the leader of the Viatichians<sup>37</sup>. The descriptions of Oleg and Igor’s expeditions against Byzantine Empire includes lists of reinforcements staged by various Slavonic “tribes”<sup>38</sup>. At this point the question arises: with which ethnos might Volodislav and Predslava have been related?

Let us turn our attention to the treatise *On the Governance of the Empire* (the Latin title *De administrando imperio*), which is a kind of “handbook” written under the auspices of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos for his son, Emperor Romanos II (the Greek title of the source is: Πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν Ρωμανόν). It dates from the turn of the fifth and sixth decades of 10<sup>th</sup> century, so around the time when the treaty with Rus’ had been concluded. Even if some of the information that Constantine (or rather a collective headed by a literate emperor) was in possession of, would have been from earlier times, we can suppose that the image of the “Rhosēs” (Ρως) more or less corresponds to the situation in the middle of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>39</sup>.

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słowiańskich. *Encyklopedyczny zarys kultury Słowian od czasów najdawniejszych*, vol. IV, ed. G. LABUDA, Z. STIEBER, Warszawa 1970, p. 37 (A. Poppe believed that Predslava was the daughter of Igor and Olga).

<sup>36</sup> According to T. Skulina, the name “Sinko” may derive from the Slavonic “siny” (blue) or be a diminutive of the Christian name “Xenophon”. The Polish author associates the name of Borich with the “Borich crossing”, which was described by the author of the *Primary Chronicle* when he wrote about Drevlians’ legation to Princess Olga, cf.: T. SKULINA, *Staroruskie imiennictwo...*, vol. II, p. 61; P. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт...*, p. 318.

<sup>37</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись*, col. 56, 248; T. NOONAN, *European Russia...*, p. 506.

<sup>38</sup> А. ШАВЕЛЕВ, «Племена» восточных славян этапы завоевания и степень зависимости от державы Рюриковичей в X в., [in:] *Русь эпохи Владимира Великого. Государство, церковь, культура*, ed. Н. МАКАРОВ, А. НАЗАРЕНКО, Москва–Вологда 2017, p. 46 (literature review there).

<sup>39</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, ed. G. MORAVCSIK, trans. R.J.H. JENKINS, Washington 1967 [= *CFHB*, 1] (cetera: CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS); А. ШАВЕЛЕВ, *Славянские «племена»...*, p. 106; ИДЕМ, «Племена»..., p. 39; В. ПАШУТО, *Летописная традиция о «племенных княжениях» и варяжский вопрос*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Русь, Прибалтика, панство*, Москва 2011, p. 167–176. About the sources of the information which the author of *De administrando imperio* had at his disposal cf. e.g.: J.B. BURY, *The Treatise De administrando imperio*, BZ 15.2, 1906, p. 517–577; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *The De administrando imperio: a Re-Examination of the Text and a Re-Evaluation of its Evidence about the Rus*, [in:] *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre*

The information contained in the ninth and thirty-seventh chapters of *De administrando imperio* is especially relevant from the point of view of our study. Constantine has repeatedly mentioned various “tributaries” of Rus’, whom he referred to as “paktiots” (πακτιῶται)<sup>40</sup>. He named the lands inhabited by them as “External Rus’”<sup>41</sup>. This list, which includes, among others, the Drevlians, the Dregoviches, the Krivichians, the Severians and “the rest of the Slavs”, largely corresponds to the information given by the *Primary Chronicle*. Constantine stressed that these groups had their own towns – therefore they had relative independence<sup>42</sup>. In chapter thirty-seven, we read about the Slavonic groups that bordered the various “themes” of the Pechenegs<sup>43</sup>. Constantine made a clear distinction between the “Rhosēs”, neighbouring the “theme” of *Charaboi*, and the ethnoses bordering the *Iabdiertim* – the Ulichians, the Drevlians, the mysterious λενζενίνοι and “the rest of the Slavs”<sup>44</sup>.

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*Scandinavia, Byzance et Orient*, ed. M. KAZANSKI, Paris 2000 [= RByz, 7], p. 301–336; А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 211–212; Е. МЕЛЬНИКОВА, *Росы и их пактиоты в трактате «Об управлении империей» Константина VII Багрянородного*, [in:] *«По любви, вь правду, безо всякие хитрости»*. Друзья и коллеги к 80-летию В.А. Кучкина, Москва 2014, p. 75–88.

<sup>40</sup> This term comes from the word “пактá” (Latin *pactum* – agreement, pact) meaning either “tribute/tribute” or “arrangement” and “dependence/affiliation”. The author of *De administrando imperio* uses this term to describe the nations inhabiting the territories over which the Byzantine Empire claimed sovereignty. The word “πακτιῶται” can also be compared to the Roman term *foederati* (the status of *foederati* did not involve interference by a “superior” in internal matters of autonomy), cf.: А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 202, 207, 216–217; Ю. КОБИЩАНОВ, *Полюдь. Явление отечественной и всемирной истории цивилизаций*, Москва 1995; С. ТЕМУШЕВ, *Налоги и дань в Древней Руси*, Минск 2015; D. SIMON, *Pacta*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. III..., p. 1550–1551.

<sup>41</sup> А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 203–205, 208. The author believes that, by default, “internal Rus’” was the relatively small territory directly subordinate to the Rurikids: mainly Kyiv with its adjacencies and the “northern outpost” in Novgorod.

<sup>42</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, IX, 9–10, 16, p. 56–58. On the Slavonic “tribes” in the *Primary Chronicle* and its “ethnographic” aspect cf.: А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 69sq (literature review there), 203, 214sq; А. ЩАВЕЛЕВ, *Славянские «племена»...*, p. 99–133; ИДЕМ, *«Племена»...*, p. 24–48 (the author discusses various forms of dependency of the Slavonic groups); А. КИБИНЬ, *От Ятвяги до Литвы. Русское пограничье с ятвягами и Литвой в X–XIII веках*, Москва 2014, p. 9–15 (there a critical view of the “cabinet” concept of the Slavonic “tribes”), 31–32.

<sup>43</sup> On the Pechenegs in the *De administrando imperio*, also in a Rus’ian context, cf.: А. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack...*, p. 185–187; И. КОНОВАЛОВА, *Печенежское досье Константина Багрянородного*, [in:] *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Проблемы эллинизма и образования Боспорского царства. Чтения памяти В.Т. Паушто*, ed. А. Подосинов, Москва 2009, p. 139–146; С. КОЗЛОВ, *Константин Багрянородный о печенежских «фемах»* (DAI. *car.* 37) и проблема его источников, [in:] *Восточная Европа в древности и средневековье. Миграции, расселение, война как факторы политогенеза. Чтения памяти В.Т. Паушто*, ed. Т. ДЖАКСОН, Москва 2012, p. 113–120; А. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 196; А. PAROŃ, *Pieczyngowie. Koczownicy w krajobrazie politycznym i kulturowym średniowiecznej Europy*, Wrocław 2015; ИДЕМ, *The Pechenegs. Nomads in the Political and Cultural Landscape of Medieval Europe*, Boston–Leiden 2021 [= ECEEMA, 72]; ИДЕМ, *Pieczyngowie na kartach “De administrando imperio” Konstantyna VII Porfirogenety*, A UW.CW 27, 2007, p. 97–112; S. JAKOBSSON, *The Varangians...*, p. 36.

<sup>44</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, XXXVII, 40–45, p. 168.

The ninth chapter is a description of the annual cycle of the “Rhouses”, the central elements of which are: collecting of tribute from the “paktiots” and trading with Constantinople. In this context the emperor highlighted the names of two ethnoses – Κριβιτσηνοι and λενζανήνοι<sup>45</sup>. According to Constantine, these Slavs inhabit in the Dnieper basin and manufacture boats (μονόξυλον), which they then float to Kyiv and sell (rather than give as tribute) to the “Rhouses”<sup>46</sup>. The name Κριβιτσηνοι can be quite clearly linked to the Krivichians, known from the *Primary Chronicle* as a people inhabiting the basin of Daugava and upper Dnieper rivers<sup>47</sup>. The question of λενζανήνοι is less clear – this ethnonym does not appear in the Rus'ian sources<sup>48</sup>. In my opinion, the most likely hypothesis is that λενζενινοι was a large frontier ethnos (even a proto-state organism) – the same one mentioned by the *Bavarian Geographer* under the name *Lendizi*. This organism, referred by the author of the *Chronicle* as Ляхи, became the object of Vladimir the Great's expedition, mentioned under the year 6489 (с. 981)<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Constantine also used the form λενζενινοι.

<sup>46</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, IX, 1–19, p. 57–58; А. Толочко, *Очерки...*, p. 201; P.M. STRÄSSLE, *To Μονόξυλον in Konstantin VII. Prophyrogenetos' Werk «De Administrando Impero»*, EB 2, 1990, p. 93–106; L. HAVLIKOVA, *Slavic Ships in 5<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries Byzantine Historiography*, BS 52, 1991, p. 89–104.

<sup>47</sup> Significantly, among the towns belonging to the “paktiots”, Constantine mentioned, *inter alia*, Miliniska – a toponym identified with Smolensk, probably the main centre of the Krivichians. About the Rus'ian towns in the *De administrando imperio* wrote, e.g.: S. JAKOBSSON, *The Varangians...*, p. 54; А. Толочко, *Очерки...*, p. 202–203, 210; А. ЩАВЕЛЕВ, *Славянские «племена»...*, p. 118–119; А. КИБИНЬ, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 35, 99–101.

<sup>48</sup> Some authors identified λενζενινοι with the Radimichians or the Dnieper Polans. This version does not correspond to the division between “External Rus” (ἡ ἔξω Ῥωσία) and the “heart” with the centre in Kyiv, i.e. in the land of the Dnieper Polans, cf.: М. ЖИХ, *Лендзяне Константина Багрянородного и радимичи «от рода Ляхов»*, <https://zapadrus.su/slavm/ispubsm/1969-lendzyane-konstantina-bagryanorodnogo-i-radimichi-ot-roda-lyakhov.html> [15 III 2021]; М. ПРИСЕЛКОВ, *Киевское государство...*, p. 235; Р. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт...*, p. 313 (there the concept of the “Lendians” as a large supra-tribal organism in the Dnieper basin, which included, among others, the Polanians, and which collapsed under the influence of Scandinavian expansion); О. ТРУБАЧЕВ, *Этногенез и культура древнейших славян. Лингвистические исследования*, Москва 2002, p. 234, 286; А. ЩАВЕЛЕВ, «Племена»..., p. 39; ИДЕМ, *Еще раз об идентификации и локализации славянского «племени» Ленζανήνοι / Ленζενίνοι / \* lędjane*, [in:] *Вспомогательные и специальные науки истории в XX – начале XXI в. Призвание, творчество, общественное служение историка. Материалы XXVI Международной научной конференции*, Москва 2014, p. 424–427; ИДЕМ, *Славянские «племена»...*, p. 111–113 (there the concept that “Polans” is a native name and “Lendians” – a given name).

<sup>49</sup> Т. ЛЕНР-СПЛАВИŃСКИ, *Łędzice – Łędzianie – Lachowie*, [in:] *Opuscula Casimiro Tymieniecki septuagenario dedicata*, Poznań 1959, p. 195–197; H. ŁOWMIAŃСКИ, *Łędzianie*, SA 4, 1953, p. 97–116 (there a hypothesis of “Lendians-Volhynians”); ИДЕМ, *Początki Polski...*, p. 496–498. According to the author, Constantine mistakenly classified the “Ledyans” among the “paktiots” of Rus’ – in fact they were the commercial partners of Kyiv. Cf.: А. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Немецкие латиноязычные источники IX–XI веков. Тексты, перевод, комментарий*, Москва 1993 [= ДИВЕ], p. 31–34 (literature review there). According to *De administrando imperio*, the territories of these “paktiots” were located

Another worth-noting detail contained in *De administrando imperio* is that the description of the journey of the “Rhosēs” to Constantinople includes information on numerous hydrographical points, including *porohs* on the Dnieper River. Very significant is the fact that two names of each of them – Scandinavian and Slavonic – are given<sup>50</sup>. It can be assumed that Constantine obtained some of his information from the Slavonic participants of the trade, which had a dual, Scandinavian and Slavonic, character<sup>51</sup>. In this context, therefore, it would not be surprising if at least certain members of the Slavonic “tribal” elite, who at the same time were part of the “commonwealth of interest” centred around the Rurikids, were involved in concluding agreements with Byzantine partners<sup>52</sup>.

When we discuss the relationship between the Rurik dynasty and the Slavs, the question of possible family ties comes up naturally: could Volodislav and Predslava have belonged to Igor’s family? In the case of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the source material we have, it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions. However, if we consider some other source information we will obtain some indications that may be helpful in at least partially explaining this issue.

The *Primary Chronicle* contains mentions of the possibility of such links: after the death of Igor, the elders of the Drevlians offered Olga to marry their “prince” Mal<sup>53</sup>. This story may be a testimony of memory about the character of relations linking the first Rurikids with members of the elites of the Slavonic groups. Of a slightly different character is the information about Malusha, Sviatoslav’s concubine and Vladimir the Great’s mother. Her brother Dobrynia already during the reign of Sviatoslav entered not only the circle of family rulers of Kyiv, but first of all became an influential member of the elite of the Rus’ian state<sup>54</sup>. Significant for our study is a mention from the year 6496 (c. 988) about the names of the

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in the mountains (εἰς τὰ ὄρη). Some scholars have tried to consider this information with the Dnieper mountains, mentioned in the *Primary Chronicle*. In my opinion, in some of the critical editions of Constantine’s work, the word *opoc* has been mistranslated: it can mean not only mountains, but also a border, an estate or a district, cf.: E.A. ΣΟΡΗΟСLΕS, *Greek Lexicon*..., p. 819; A. ЩАВЕЛЕВ, *Славянские «племена»*..., p. 112, 118 (there more about the “geographical” location of the ethnoses mentioned in *De administrando imperio*).

<sup>50</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, IX, 25–65, p. 58–61.

<sup>51</sup> P. СКРЫННИКОВ, *Исторический факт*..., p. 311; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Początki Polski*..., p. 497 (according to H. Łowmiański, the information on Slavonic groups was provided to the author of *De administrando imperio* by the Pechenegs).

<sup>52</sup> A. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки*..., p. 213. According to the author, this information could have been provided by the Rus’ian envoys on the occasion of the conclusion of the treaty. Imperial clerks registering the Rus’ian merchants, who are mentioned in the text of the treaty, may also have been involved in obtaining information. As an additional indication of the “double” nature of trade with Constantinople, we can take these fragments of the *Primary Chronicle* concerning the participation of the Slavs in the expeditions of Oleg, Igor and Sviatoslav against Byzantium, cf.: *Лаврентьевская летопись*, col. 21, 33; A. ЩАВЕЛЕВ, «Племена»..., p. 28–29.

<sup>53</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись*, col. 54–55.

<sup>54</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись*, col. 69.



sons of Vladimir<sup>55</sup>. Four of them, mentioned as the last, also bore names with a West-Slavonic provenance: Stanislav, Pozvizd and Sudislav<sup>56</sup>. These sons were not mentioned in the note under the same date about Vladimir's division of the Rus'ian towns between his descendants. As the name of Volodislav, their names did not gain a dynastic status among the house of Rurik, but became popular among the Rus'ian boyars.

Thus, we are dealing with a set of non-standard ("West-Slavonic") anthroponyms, occurring at one time within the princely house and later becoming popular among the Rus'ian boyars<sup>57</sup>. It is possible that up to a certain moment (e.g. until the baptism of Vladimir), family ties between the Rurikids and members of the upper classes of the Slavonic and Varangian groups remaining in the Kyiv's sphere of influence have been something common. In this context we can mention the story of Vladimir's marriage to Rogneda of Polotsk, the daughter of a local Scandinavian leader. However, these ties were not important enough to make knowledge about them a part of the dynastic tradition: possibly the sons from such marriages did not achieve a high position, as can be seen by the very laconic references in the Rus'ian chronicles<sup>58</sup>. As the state became more consolidated and powerful, Rus'ian rulers wanted to establish family ties with other Christian dynasties: Vladimir's marriage to Anna Porphyrogenneta is the most prominent example of these policy (we also know of a number of marriages between the Rurikids and members of the Polish, Hungarian, French and German dynasties). In the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, family ties to local Slavonic (Volodislav?) and Scandinavian (Rogvolod) leaders may have been important, but fifty years later they may have lost relevance. Christianisation of the princely house prevented the ruler of Kyiv from having several spouses and forced him to conduct a more cautious dynastic policy directed at relations with more powerful allies.

The preamble of the treaty contains one more specific anthroponym which is difficult to clearly qualify as Slavic or Scandinavian. Among the Rus'ian envoys,

<sup>55</sup> Лаврентьевская летопись, col. 121.

<sup>56</sup> В. КОРОЛЮК, *Западные славяне и Киевская Русь в X–XI вв.*, Москва 1964, p. 98; J. KORPELA, *Beiträge...*, p. 200, 210, 212. A. Brückner wrote that Stanislav and Pozvizd were the children of Vladimir's "Polish consort" (this view was partly supported by T. Skulina). According to L. Voitovych Stanislav and Sudislav were sons of Adela – daughter of a "duke" of the Croats based in Przemyśl, cf.: A. BRÜCKNER, *Polska pogańska i słowiańska*, Kraków 1923, p. 14; T. SKULINA, *Staroruskie imiennictwo...*, vol. I, p. 112, vol. II, p. 17; Л. ВОЙТОВИЧ, *Княжа доба...*, p. 274, 277 (there a review of the information from the later Rus'ian codexes). Only in the case of Sudislav we have reliable information on his further fate – he lost the Pskov principality as a result of a conflict with his brother Yaroslav. He was then captured and freed by his nephews after two decades. He died as a monk and the last surviving son of Vladimir the Great. Stanislav and Pozvizd died probably while their father was still alive.

<sup>57</sup> This fact could also serve as an indication that the later Rus'ian boyar's class had their origins not only in the Great Prince's immediate surroundings, but also in the Slavonic elites.

<sup>58</sup> Then A. Rukavishnikov's hypothesis about "forgotten pagan lines of the house of Rurik" has some signs of rightness.

a person named “Yatvyag – the envoy of Gunar” was mentioned<sup>59</sup>. This name may be related to the Yotvingians, a Baltic ethnos mentioned in Rus’ian sources, with whom Vladimir the Great and his son Yaroslav have been fighting<sup>60</sup>. As the Yotvingians did not create any written sources, their identity and origin is a subject of debate among historians, archaeologists and philologists<sup>61</sup>. In recent times, a hypothesis by the Russian historian Alexei Kibin’ has gained popularity: he made a thorough analysis of the origin of the ethnonym, concluding that it does not necessarily have the Baltic origins<sup>62</sup>. According to Kibin’, the form “Yatviagi” (Явѣаги), appearing, for example, in the *Primary Chronicle*, is similar to such terms as “Variagi” (Варази) or “Kolbiagi” (Колбяги), which refers to members of various Scandinavian groups. A. Kibin’ also associates the name of Yatviag with the Scandinavian name “Eadwig” stating that Yotvingians could mean “the descendants or people of Yatviag”<sup>63</sup>.

In the basin of the Neman river, areas traditionally identified as the Yotvingian lands, we encounter some traces of the existence of Scandinavian culture in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>64</sup>. According to A. Kibin’, not only the “Rhosens” of Kyiv but also many other groups of Scandinavians operated in the Central-Eastern Europe at that time. In a certain way, this is confirmed by those fragments of the *Primary Chronicle* that mention Rogvolod of Polotsk, the mysterious Tury (legendary founder of Turov) and Princess Olga, who, according to the *Chronicle*, came from Pskov. According to the Moscow scholar, a not large but well-organised group

<sup>59</sup> Явѣагъ. Гунаровъ.

<sup>60</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись*, col. 82, 153. J. POWIERSKI, *Najdawniejsze nazwy etniczne z terenu Prus i niektórych obszarów sąsiednich*, KMW 2, 1966, p. 161–183; IDEM, *Czynniki warunkujące rozwój polityczny ludów zachodniobałtyjskich*, ABS 19, 1990, p. 96; IDEM, *Bałtowie i ich relacje z Polska do końca XII wieku (na tle stosunków w strefie bałtyckiej)*, [in:] IDEM, *Prussica. Artykuły wybrane z lat 1965–1995*, vol. II, Malbork 2005, p. 622. According to some authors this man’s name was “Yatviag Gunarov”). J. Powierski believed that it was a Yotvingian envoy of Gunar – a Varangian governor of his native lands. The dispute over his identity was aptly summarised by B. Uspensky. Russian author stated that Yatviag could be *someone from the Yotvingian tribe, someone resembling a Yotvingian or having connections with the Yotvingians*, cf.: Ф. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Скандинавы. Варяги. Русь. Историко-филологические очерки*, Москва 2002, p. 61. Also noteworthy is that the Yotvingians were not mentioned in the list of peoples and “tribes” included in the *Primary Chronicle*, cf.: M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki gradowe*, Warszawa 2020, p. 278.

<sup>61</sup> H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Prusy pogańskie*, Toruń 1938, p. 15; А. КИБИНЬ, *Ятвяги в X–XI вв.: «балтское племя» или «береговое братство»?*, SSBP 2.4, 2008, p. 117–132; IDEM, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 18sq, 44–46; M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki...*, p. 274.

<sup>62</sup> А. КИБИНЬ, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 50–53; M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki...*, p. 274.

<sup>63</sup> А. КИБИНЬ, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 54–56, 61, 70; M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki...*, p. 280. A. Kibin’ emphasises that it is necessary to differentiate between the ethnonym “Jaćwings”, which the author of the *Primary Chronicle* used to describe events taking place in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the later “Yotvingia” (Sudovia), which in his view is a geographical name rather than an ethnonym.

<sup>64</sup> А. КИБИНЬ, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 62–63.

of Scandinavians, engaged in military and trading activities, could take control over part of the Baltics and introduce their social model, including the system of governance<sup>65</sup>.

The hypothesis of A. Kibin' was recently endorsed by Marcin Engel, who compared written sources with archaeological data. According to his observations, for the period from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century in the Neman basin we can see signs of major cultural transformations (including the development of strong settlement centres) and the Scandinavian element has played a decisive role in this process. At the end of that period many local centres collapsed, which may be connected with the military actions of the Rurikids against the Yotvingians, which the *Primary Chronicle* informs us about. According to M. Engel their result was *the elimination of the independent elite groups, which dominated in the Prussian area during the Viking period and the removal of the elite groups which determined the shape of culture*<sup>66</sup>.

Let us take a brief look at the sources mentioning "Yotvingians" and other Balts with particular emphasis on the internal structure<sup>67</sup>. The *Bavarian Geographer* while writing about the "Bruzi" people (Prussians?) stressed that they occupied a large territory, however the author did not provide any information about the number of their towns. Some scholars consider this to be evidence of the non-unified structure of this folk<sup>68</sup>. The account of Wulfstan's journey to Truso, included in the *Book of Alfred*, King of Wessex, contains data about the "Estes" – people, who inhabited the land called "Estland". The author of the source mentioned that they had many strongholds ruled by chiefs who competed with each other. The description of the funeral rites of the "Estes" gives us information on social stratification<sup>69</sup>. The *Life of Saint Adalbert of Prague* by Bruno of Querfurt (*Sancti Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris vita altera*) includes information on the Prussians ("Pruze"): their lands were divided into districts headed by *primas*, with an assembly as the supreme governing body. Bruno also mentioned a man named Sico, whom he described as "primus dux et magister nefarie" – such a combination of chieftainship and religious role was present also in the 13<sup>th</sup> century Yotvingia<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 60–61, 69; M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki...*, p. 279–280, 283.

<sup>66</sup> А. КИВИНЬ, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 59–60; M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki...*, p. 284.

<sup>67</sup> Cf.: H. ŁOWMIANŃSKI, *Stosunki polsko-pruskie za Piastów*, [in:] IDEM, *Prusy – Litwa – Krzyżacy*, Warszawa 1989, p. 97sq.

<sup>68</sup> *Opis grodów i terytoryów z północnej strony Dunaju czyli tzw. Geograf Bawarski*, ed. S. ZAKRZEWSKI, Lwów 1917, p. 4–5; А. КИВИНЬ, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 34; M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki...*, p. 261.

<sup>69</sup> *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum*, vol. I, ed. T. HIRSCH, M. TOEPPEN, Leipzig 1861, p. 732–734; cf.: M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki...*, p. 276 (further literature there).

<sup>70</sup> *Sancti Adalberti Pragensis, episcopi et martyris vita altera auctore*, ed. A. BIEŁOWSKI, Lwów 1964 [= MPH, 1], p. 180, 182, 220, 221; *Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika Żywot pierwszy*, ed. J. KARWASIŃSKA, Warszawa 1962 [= MPH.SN, 4.1], p. 46; *Adalberti Pragensis episcopi et martyris Vita altera auctore Brunone Querfurtensi*, ed. J. KARWASIŃSKA, Warszawa 1969 [= MPH.SN, 4.2], p. 39,

Adam of Bremen wrote that the Prussians did not recognize any lord or superior authority over them<sup>71</sup>.

Much of the information on 13<sup>th</sup> century “Yotvingia” and the local leaders comes from the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle*. Its author, describing the way of conducting wars by the Yotvingian “princes”, stressed several times that they operated as a collective<sup>72</sup>. When negotiating peace with the Rus’ian princes, Yotvingian legations very often consisted of several leaders and were sent on behalf of “all Yotvingia”<sup>73</sup>. Very important is also the mention of the deputation of several Lithuanian *kunigai* to the widow of Roman Mstislavich and her sons: Daniel and Vasylko. The written document which was drawn up then included a list of their names with a classification into “older” and “younger” princes<sup>74</sup>.

We can conclude that this “collective” way of decision-making reminds us of the situation we faced in the case of the Rus’ian-Byzantine treaty. The 13<sup>th</sup> century “Yotvingia” appears as an archaic form of society organised in a manner similar to that of the early Kyiv state. The decision-making body was a community bringing to mind the model known from Scandinavian societies (*ting* – an assembly of all free men)<sup>75</sup>. If the theory of A. Kibin’ is correct, we can suppose that this model was implemented in the early Middle Ages in the lands of the Balts. Later, although the expansion of the Rurikids caused the collapse of other Scandinavian groups, this “collective system of government”, known from the time of Oleg and Igor, in the Neman basin could survive until the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>76</sup>.

Let us summarise the main conclusions. The Rus’ian-Byzantine treaty, which is placed in the *Primary Chronicle* under the year 6453 (c. 945) but was actually concluded in 944 at the latest, is an agreement between two sides: the Byzantine emperors and a *commonwealth of interest* consisting of several dozen individuals,

68; A. KAMIŃSKI, *Jaćwież. Terytorium, ludność, stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne*, Łódź 1953, p. 146; H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Studia nad dziejami Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, Poznań 1983, p. 326, 327, after: M. ENGEL, *Jaćwieskie ośrodki...*, p. 277.

<sup>71</sup> ADAM VON BREMEN, *Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte (Magistri Adam Bremensis Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae Pontificum)*, ed. B. SCHMEIDLER, Hannoverae-Lipsiae 1917 [= MGH.SRG, 2], p. 245.

<sup>72</sup> *Chronica Galiciano-Voliniana. Chronica Romanoviciana*, ed. A. JUSUPOVIĆ, D. DAJBROWSKI, Kraków-Warszawa 2017 [= MPH.SN, 16] (cetera: *Chronica*), p. 123, 267–268, 300–310; A. КИБИНЬ, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 48–50.

<sup>73</sup> *Chronica*, p. 300–310, 362–276, 472–474, 494.

<sup>74</sup> *Chronica*, p. 71–74. Cf. also: A. JUSUPOVIĆ, *Kronika halicko-wołyńska (Kronika Romanowiczów) w latopisarskiej kolekcji historycznej*, Kraków-Warszawa 2019, p. 54.

<sup>75</sup> On the Slavonic *veche* and the Scandinavian *ting* cf.: *Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы. Материалы и исследования. 2004 год. Политические институты Древней Руси*, ed. Т. ГИМОН, Е. МЕЛЬНИКОВА, Москва 2006, p. 139. On the *veche* among the Balts cf.: H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Prusy...*, p. 29–30.

<sup>76</sup> It is also worth highlighting that this area remained pagan for a very long period, which was also not favourable for the consolidation of the Balts, cf.: H. ŁOWMIAŃSKI, *Prusy pogańskie...*, p. 15sq; A. КИБИНЬ, *От Ятвязи...*, p. 104.

which was headed by the Kyivian ruler Igor – the executor of the terms of the treaty. This group was multi-ethnic and included various people involved in trade with Constantinople: members of the princely clan, other noble Scandinavians (called “boyars” by the Slavonic translator), representatives of merchants and leaders of Slavonic groups connected with Kyiv by ties of dependence or partnership. The latter include witnesses of the treaty who bore Slavonic names: Volodislav and Predslava (his wife or daughter) – people of high position within the Rus'ian commonwealth. They should be considered as members of the Slavonic elite. Two other Slavs, Sinko and Borich, were present among the merchants. When analysing the work of Constantine VII Porphyrogenetos, we have highlighted two Slavonic ethnoses: Κριβιτσηνοι (Krivichians) and λενζανηνοι/λενζενινοι (“Lendians”). These Slavs were not simply “tributaries” of the “Rhouses”, but also their partners and participants of the international trade, which had a dual Scandinavian-Slavonic character. Volodislav and Predslava probably came from the elite of one of these groups, which would explain their high status. The “West-Slavonic” features of the anthroponym “Volodislav” indicate that this man might have belonged to the “Lendians” – of course, if we accept the hypothesis according to which they inhabited the area of the later Polish-Rus'ian borderland. It is possible that these people had family bonds with the house of Rurik, although it is difficult to formulate a definite thesis in this case. The leader (“prince”) of a large Slavonic group affiliated with Kyiv, and connected to Igor by family ties, could be treated as a rightful member of the “Rhouses” elite.

Considering the structure of the Balts as presented above, we can conclude that in the early medieval Central-Eastern Europe the Scandinavian model of governing became widely adopted. It involved a collective decision-making one, for example, agreements with foreign political organisms. The internally diversified community acted as one in such cases. The Rus'ian – Byzantine treaty shows that this model existed in the early Rus'ian state. Among the Balts it survived until the 13<sup>th</sup> century as a kind of political archaism.

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## PRELIMINARY NOTES ON THE PHYSICIAN KRATEUAS (2<sup>ND</sup>–1<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY BC). A NEW COLLECTION OF HIS T AND F

**Abstract.** The physician Krateuas lived in the first part of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC, worked at the court of Mithridates and wrote a *Rhizotomikon* (*Herbal*) of which only a few fragments remain. More than a century ago, Max Wellmann studied this physician (1897; 1898) and collected his Testimonies (T) and Fragments (F) as an appendix of his edition of Dioscorides *De materia medica* (1914). After Wellmann, only short studies (mostly encyclopedia entries) have been carried on Krateuas, whose work influenced Dioscorides. This paper is a first step towards a monograph on this physician and a new edition of T and F with translation and historical commentary.

**Keywords:** Krateuas, ancient physicians, ancient medicine

### Introduction

Many studies have been published about different aspects of ancient medicine and on famous physicians such as Praxagoras of Kos (Steckerl 1958), Erasistratus of Keos (Garofalo 1988), Herophilus of Chalkedon (von Staden 1989), Diokles of Karystos (van der Eijk 2000–2001)<sup>1</sup>.

In the year 2004 I started approaching the important figure of Menekrates of Syracuse (4<sup>th</sup> century BC) with a couple of preliminary articles<sup>2</sup> and a large monograph in which I collected and studied all his extant T and F<sup>3</sup>. In 2013, I began a second research project on another physician of Great Greece, Philistion

<sup>1</sup> *The Fragments of Praxagoras of Cos and his School*, ed. F. STECKERL, Leiden 1958; *Erasistrati Fragmenta*, ed. I. GAROFALO, Pisa 1988; HEROPHILUS, *The Art of Medicine in early Alexandria*, ed. H. VON STADEN, Cambridge 1989; *DIOCLES OF CARYSTUS, A Collection of the Fragments with Translation and Commentary*, vol. I–II, ed. P. VAN DER EIJK, Leiden 2000–2001 [= SAM, 22–23].

<sup>2</sup> G. SQUILLACE, *Le lettere di Menekrate/Zeus ad Agesilao di Sparta e Filippo II di Macedonia*, Kok 46, 2004, p. 175–191; IDEM, *Medicina e regalità: Menekrate di Siracusa e Filippo II*, [in:] *Tyrannis, basileia, imperium. Forme, prassi e simboli del potere politico nel mondo greco e romano*, ed. M. CALTABIANO CACCAMO, C. RACCUA, E. SANTAGATI, Soveria Mannelli 2010, p. 192–207.

<sup>3</sup> MENEKRATE DI SIRACUSA, *Un medico di IV secolo a.C. tra Sicilia, Grecia e Macedonia*, ed. G. SQUILLACE, Hildesheim 2012 [= S.SKPG, 141].

of Lokroi (4<sup>th</sup> century BC), on which I published two preliminary articles and finally a monograph in which I collected, translated, and commented all the T<sup>4</sup>.

As for Menekrates and Philistion, studies on the physician Krateuas, who lived at the court of Mithridates VI Eupator, king of Pontus from 120 to 63 BC<sup>5</sup>, are few. In 1897 Wellmann published an article dealing specifically with Krateuas, and in 1898 a second on the authors of *Herbaria*, among which Krateuas<sup>6</sup>. Finally in 1914 he published Krateuas' T and F as an Appendix to the 3<sup>rd</sup> volume of his edition of Dioscorides' *De materia medica*<sup>7</sup>.

Wellmann's two long articles (1897 and 1898) and *Fragmentesammlung* (with a detailed preface)<sup>8</sup> were followed by a paper of Singer (1927) and a monograph of Riddle (1985) – only partially specifically devoted to Krateuas<sup>9</sup> – and more recently by an article of González Castro (1999)<sup>10</sup>. All the other works on Krateuas are short encyclopaedic entries (Kind 1922; Kudlien 1969; Touwaide 1999; Ihn 2005; Jacques 2008)<sup>11</sup>; dictionary entries (Scarborough 2012; 2018)<sup>12</sup>; brief

<sup>4</sup> G. SQUILLACE, *Tra Grecia e Magna Grecia: le dottrine mediche di Filistione di Locri*, [in:] *La Calabria nel Mediterraneo. Flussi di persone, idee e risorse*, ed. G. DE SENSI SESTITO, Soveria Mannelli 2013, p. 69–81; IDEM, *Da Locri a Siracusa: percorsi possibili per il medico Filistione*, *Hor* 6, 2014, p. 129–138; FILISTIONE DI LOCRI, *Un medico del IV secolo a.C. tra Grecia, Magna Grecia e Sicilia*, ed. G. SQUILLACE, Hildesheim 2017 [= S.SKPG, 170].

<sup>5</sup> On Mithridates: T. REINACH, *Mithridates Eupator König von Pontus*, Leipzig 1895; A. DUGGAN, *King of Pontus. The Story of Mithradates Eupator*, New York 1959; J. HIND, *Mithridates*, [in:] *CAH*, vol. IX, *Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 BC*, ed. J.A. CROOK, A. LINTOTT, E. RAWSON, <sup>2</sup>Cambridge 1994, p. 129–164; L.P. BALLESTEROS, *Mithridates Eupator, rey del Ponto*, Granada 1996; M. ARSLAN, *Mithradates VI Eupator. Roma'nin Büyük Düşmanı*, Istanbul 2007; P. MATYSZAK, *Mithridates the Great, Rome's Indomitable Enemy*, London 2008; J.M. HØJTE, *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom*, Aarhus 2009 [= BSS, 9]; A. MAYOR, *The Poison King. The Life and Legend of Mithradates, Rome's Deadliest Enemy*, Princeton 2010.

<sup>6</sup> M. WELLMANN, *Krateuas*, *AAWG.PHK NF* 2, 1897, p. 3–32; IDEM, *Das älteste Kräuterbuch der Griechen*, [in:] *Festgabe für Franz Susemihl*, Leipzig 1898, p. 1–31.

<sup>7</sup> *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica libri V*, vol. I–III, ed. M. WELLMANN, Berolini 1906–1914 (cetera: DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*), vol. III, *Appendix* 1. *Krateuas*, Berolini 1914, p. 139–146.

<sup>8</sup> DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, vol. II, p. V–XXVI.

<sup>9</sup> C. SINGER, *The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages*, *JHS* 47, 1927, p. 1–52, part. p. 5–18; J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine*, Austin 1985, p. 20–21, 176–177, 185–191.

<sup>10</sup> J.F. GONZÁLEZ CASTRO, *Crateuas: su influencia en Dioscórides y en Plinio el Viejo*, [in:] *Τῆς φιλικῆς τὰδε δῶρα. Miscelánea léxica en memoria de Conchita Serrano*, ed. L.C. PÉREZ CASTRO, F.R. AD-RADOS, Madrid 1999, p. 477–482.

<sup>11</sup> F.E. KIND, s.v. *Krateuas*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XI.2, Stuttgart 1922, col. 1644–1646; F. KUDLIEN, s.v. *Krateuas*, [in:] *Der Kleine Pauly*, vol. III, Stuttgart 1969, col. 329; A. TOUWAIDE, s.v. *Krateuas*, [in:] *Der Neue Pauly*, vol. VI, Stuttgart 1999, col. 815–816; S. IHM, s.v. *Krateuas*, [in:] *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon*, ed. K.H. LEVEN, München 2005, p. 537–538; J.M. JACQUES, s.v. *Krateuas*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists. The Greek Tradition and its Many Heirs*, ed. P. KEYSER, G. IRBY MASSIE, London–New York 2008, p. 491.

<sup>12</sup> J. SCARBOROUGH, s.v. *Crateuas*, [in:] *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. HORNBLOWER, A. SPAWFORTH, E. EIDENOW, <sup>4</sup>Oxford–New York 2012, p. 391; IDEM, *Pharmacology in the Early Ro-*

quotations in studies on different topics (for instance Weitmann 2013)<sup>13</sup>, or in monographs on Mithridates<sup>14</sup>, ancient medicine<sup>15</sup>, ancient botany<sup>16</sup>. They all provide some biographical information about life and career of Krateuas, but they do not offer anything new on the *Quellenforschung* and on the historical, scientific, and cultural context in which this physician was trained, lived and worked, or on the transmission of his writings from the East (Kingdom of Pontus) to the West (Rome).

Krateuas was an herbalist, and is called ‘roots picker’ (*rhizotomos*) by the sources<sup>17</sup>. Probably he wrote an essay entitled *Rhizotomikon* (*Herbal*) in which the entries on plants included their synonyms, a formal description, and a list of their medicinal properties<sup>18</sup>. In honour of his king, Krateuas called a plant *Mithridatia*<sup>19</sup>. It provided an effective antidote against poisons and magical practices<sup>20</sup>. He also dealt with the remedies extracted from metals (*metallika pharmaka*), which, as in the case of his writings about medicinal botany, may have been exposed in a larger pharmacological work<sup>21</sup>. Krateuas also wrote a popular *Herbal* in which descriptions were illustrated in colour plates<sup>22</sup>.

On Krateuas Wellmann collected 32 T and 10 F. Most of them come from Pliny the Elder, Dioscorides, Galen, and the *scholia* to Theocritus and to Nikander’s *Theriaka*. Today, nevertheless, Wellmann’s excellent edition appears obsolete, and it is necessary:

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*man Empire: Dioscorides and his Multicultural Gleanings*, [in:] *Oxford Handbook of Science and Medicine in the Classical World*, ed. P.T. KEYSER, J. SCARBOROUGH, Oxford 2018 (online).

<sup>13</sup> P. WEITMANN, *Zu Charakter und Genese des Herbariums des Wiener Dioskurides*, CMI 89–90, 2013, p. 1–12.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. A. MAYOR, *The Poison King...*, p. 101, 125, 238, 240.

<sup>15</sup> V. NUTTON, *Ancient Medicine*, <sup>2</sup>London–New York 2013, p. 143–144.

<sup>16</sup> E.H.F. MEYER, *Geschichte der Botanik*, vol. I, Königsberg 1854, p. 250–256; M.E. IRWIN, *Greek and Roman Botany*, [in:] *A Companion to Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Greece and Rome*, vol. I, ed. G.L. IRBY, Malden–Oxford–Chichester 2016 [= BCAW], p. 265–280, part. p. 271–272; G. HARDY, L. TOTELIN, *Ancient Botany*, London–New York 2016, p. 93, 100, 113, 118.

<sup>17</sup> KRATEUAS TT 7–8 Wellmann, but also KRATEUAS FF 1–10 Wellmann.

<sup>18</sup> KRATEUAS T 23 Wellmann, but also KRATEUAS FF 1–10 Wellmann.

<sup>19</sup> KRATEUAS T 1 Wellmann. J. SCARBOROUGH, s.v. *Krateuas...*, p. 391, identifies the plant with the *Erythronium dens canis* L.

<sup>20</sup> C. *Plini Secundi Naturalis historiae libri XXXVII*, XXV, 127, vol. I–VI, ed. C. MAYHOFF, Lipsiae 1875–1906 [= BSGR] (cetera: PLINY, *Naturalis historia*).

<sup>21</sup> KRATEUAS T 4 Wellmann.

<sup>22</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 8 = KRATEUAS T 2 Wellmann: *Praeter hos graeci auctores prodidere, quos suis locis diximus, ex his Crateuas, Dionysius, Metrodorus ratione blandissima, sed qua nihil paene aliud quam difficultas rei intellegatur. Pinxere namque effigies herbarum atque ita subscripsere effectus. Verum et pictura fallax est coloribus tam numerosis, praesertim in aemulationem naturae, multumque degenerat transcribentium socordia. Praeterea parum est singulas earum aetates pingi, cum quadripertitis varietatibus anni faciem mutant.* Cf.: J.M. JACQUES, s.v. *Krateuas...*, p. 491.

1. to review all the extant texts in the light of the new critical editions of the transmitting sources, like Galen;
2. to verify the nature of the quotations (T or F?)<sup>23</sup>;
3. to pay more attention to the features of the sources and to the context in which they are placed;
4. to provide modern translations of T and F;
5. to give, as in most current editions of fragmentary works<sup>24</sup>, a historical commentary, that sheds light on the teacher/teachers of Krateuas; his links with other contemporary physicians; his influence on Mithridates, who was an expert on plants, remedies, poisons, and antidotes.

### **Towards a new edition: first traces of a historical commentary**

While most T come from Pliny the Elder, Dioscorides, Galen, and the *scholia* to Theocritus and to Nikander's *Theriaka*, F are all drawn from the *Codex Constatinopolitanus* (Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek) also called *Codex Vindobonensis*, *Codex medicus graecus* 1, *Juliana Anicia Codex*, or *Vienna Dioscorides Codex*. This manuscript, organized in alphabetical order and illustrated with 383 paintings of plants and 391 descriptions<sup>25</sup>, was composed at Constantinople in the

<sup>23</sup> On the distinction between T and F cf. *Collecting Fragments. Fragmente sammeln*, ed. G.W. MOST, Göttingen 1997 [= A.KSP, 1]; *Le età della trasmissione. Alessandria, Roma, Bisanzio. Atti delle giornate di studio sulla storiografia greca frammentaria*, Genova 29–30 maggio 2012, ed. F. GAZZANO, G. OTTONE, Tivoli 2013; *Historia para doxan. Documenti greci in frammenti: nuove prospettive esegetiche. Atti dell'incontro internazionale di studi*, Genova 10–11 marzo 2016, ed. G. OTTONE, Tivoli 2017.

<sup>24</sup> For instance: HEROPHILUS, ed. H. VON STADEN (on the physician Herophilus); DIOCLES OF CARYSTUS, ed. P. VAN DER EIJK (on the physician Diocles); *Brill's New Jacoby*, ed. I. WORTHINGTON, Leiden–Boston 2007– (online) and *I frammenti degli storici greci*, ed. E. LANZILLOTTA, V. COSTA, Tivoli 2002– (both on fragmentary historical works); the editorial project *Fragmenta Comica* (Albert Ludwigs Universität of Freiburg) part of which is, e.g., EPHIPPUS, *Introduction, Translation, Commentary*, ed. A. PAPACHRYSTOSOMOU, Göttingen 2021 (on the comedian Ephippus).

<sup>25</sup> *Folia* 12v–387r of *Codex Constatinopolitanus* reproduce Dioscorides' text accompanying it with wonderful colour pictures of the plants: cf. E.H.F. MEYER, *Geschichte der Botanik*, vol. I..., p. 252–256; DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, vol. II, p. XVI; L. BRUBAKER, *The Vienna Dioskorides and Anicia Juliana*, [in:] *Byzantine Garden Culture*, ed. A. LITTLEWOOD, H. MAGUIRE, J. WOLSCHKE-BULMAHN, Washington 2002, p. 189–214; A. MOTTANA, *Ricerche di iconografia mineralogica: I. La pietra «gagate» nel Codex medicus graecus 1 della Biblioteca Nazionale Austriaca*, RL.SFN 13, 2002, p. 89–112, part. p. 91–94; J. JANICK, K.E. HUMMER, *The 1500<sup>th</sup> Anniversary (512–2012) of the Juliana Anicia Codex: an Illustrated Dioscoridean Recension*, CHor 52.3, 2012, p. 9–15, part. p. 9–10; A.E. MÜLLER, *Ein vermeintlich fester Anker. Das Jahr 512 als zeitlicher Ansatz des "Wiener Dioskurides"*, JÖB 62, 2012, p. 103–111; G. HARDY, L. TOTELIN, *Ancient Botany...*, p. 118–119; F. MARCHETTI, *La trasmissione delle illustrazioni del Dioscoride di Vienna negli anni intorno alla caduta di Costantinopoli*, JÖB 66, 2016, p. 153–178. Three facsimile printed editions of *Codex Vindobonensis* with commentary have

year 512 AD (or some times before)<sup>26</sup> in honor of the princess Juliana Anicia, daughter of Anicius Olybrius, emperor of the Western part of the Roman Empire for a few months of 472 BC<sup>27</sup>.

Si tratta di un codice miscelaneo di 491 fogli, in parte scritti e in parte illustrati, entrato nella biblioteca nel 1569 grazie a un acquisto effettuato circa dieci anni prima a Istanbul dall'inviato imperiale presso la Sublime Porta, Augerio di Bulbecke, che lo pagò 100 ducati d'oro al figlio dell'ultimo utente: l'ebreo Hamon, medico personale del sultano Solimano I il Magnifico<sup>28</sup>.

According to Wellmann, the author of the *Codex Constantinopolitanus* copied the plant images from Krateuas' work. His hypothesis was followed by Singer according to which

these illustrations (*sc.* from *Juliana Anicia Codex*), like the texts which accompany them, are presumably copied from the older Krateuas herbal. [...] If, as there is no reason to doubt, they come ultimately from Krateuas himself, then we can obtain a glimpse of his work in something like its original form<sup>29</sup>.

### A. T, F and other sources

In his edition Wellmann reported the main sources citing Krateuas and listed other texts which, without mentioning the physician, nevertheless offer similar information. Wellmann applied this method to his entire collection. For instance, the main source of T 11 is the scholion to Theocritus<sup>30</sup>, but Wellmann also names

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been edited by J. VON KARABACEK, A. VON PREMIERSTEIN, C. WESSELY, J. MANTUANI, *De codicis Dioscuridei Aniciae Iulianae nunc Vindobonensis Med. Gr. 1*, vol. I–IV, Leiden 1906; J. GERSTINGER, *Dioscurides Codex Vindobonensis Med. Gr. 1*, vol. I–V, Graz 1965–1970; O. MAZAL, *Der Wiener Dioskurides. Codex medicus graecus 1 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. I–II, Graz 1998–1999.

<sup>26</sup> A. MOTTANA, *Ricerche di iconografia mineralogica: I. La pietra...*, p. 92; F. MARCHETTI, *La trasmissione delle illustrazioni del Dioscoride di Vienna...*, p. 153, note 2.

<sup>27</sup> M. WELLMANN, *Krateuas...*, p. 21–22; but also IDEM, *Das älteste Kräuterbuch der Griechen...*, p. 1–31; DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, vol. II, p. XVI; C. SINGER, *The Herbal in Antiquity...*, p. 6; A. MOTTANA, *Ricerche di iconografia mineralogica: I. La pietra...*, p. 96; J. SCARBOROUGH, *s.v. Krateuas...*, p. 391. Against a direct borrowing from Krateuas' work: J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and...*, p. 190–191, but also M. COLLINS, *Medieval Herbals. The Illustrative Traditions*, London 2000, p. 48. On the writing of the *Codex*: G. CAVALLO, H. MAEHLER, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period A.D. 300–800*, London 1987, p. 58.

<sup>28</sup> A. MOTTANA, *Ricerche di iconografia mineralogica: I. La pietra...*, p. 91.

<sup>29</sup> C. SINGER, *The Herbal in Antiquity...*, p. 7, 8–17 (images of the plants depicted and described by Krateuas in his *Herbal* and survived in the *Fragments* selected by Wellmann – DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, vol. III, p. 144–146).

<sup>30</sup> *Scholia in Theocritum vetera*, V, 92, ed. C. WENDEL, Stutgardiae 1967 (1914) [= BSGR] = KRATEUAS T 11 Wellmann.

Dioscorides and Pliny the Elder<sup>31</sup>; likewise the main source of T 6 is the scholion to Nikander<sup>32</sup>, but Wellmann mentions also Dioscorides<sup>33</sup>.

I think, it would be appropriate to cite extensively all the other sources after the main text, since they complete it and help the *Quellenforschung* on Krateuas. Sometimes the data coming from a T can be integrated by other sources: although they do not mention explicitly our physician, we can be sure they used his work. For instance, according to Pliny the Elder, Krateuas called a plant *Mithridatia* in honor of his king Mithridates (T 1)<sup>34</sup>. This information is clarified by another passage of Pliny, who passes Krateuas under silence – and for this reason Wellmann does not include it among the T on Krateuas –, but names the *Mithridatia* among the plants that can be useful against poisons<sup>35</sup>. Furthermore, immediately after the *Mithridatia*, Pliny mentions the *Eupatoria*, another plant whose name honored Mithridates Eupator. This time the Roman naturalist does not cite Krateuas, but it is likely that the physician, who used to honor his king this way, was the author of both names, *Mithridatia* and *Eupatoria*<sup>36</sup>.

## B. Krateuas at Mithridates' court

Some sources give a more precise historical contextualization of Krateuas' medical activities at Mithridates' court. Dioscorides, mentioning the toxic honey from Pontus, does not name his source<sup>37</sup>. We can presume that this information originated

<sup>31</sup> DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 176; PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXI, 164.

<sup>32</sup> *Scholia in Nicandri Theriaca cum glossis*, 529, ed. A. CRUGNOLA, Milano–Varese 1971 = KRATEUAS T 16 Wellmann.

<sup>33</sup> DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, IV, 153.

<sup>34</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 62 = KRATEUAS T 2 Wellmann: *Ipsi Mithridati Crateuas adscripsit unam, Mithridatiam vocatam. huic folia II a radice, acantho simile, caulis inter utraque sustinens roseum florem.*

<sup>35</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 127: *Proxima ab his malis venena sunt, quae sibimet ipsi homines excogitant. Contra haec omnia magicasque artes erit primum illud Homericum moly, dein Mithridatia ac scordotis. et centaurium potu omnia mala medicamenta exigit per alvum, Vettonicae semen in mulso aut passo vel farina drachma in vini veteris cyathis IIII; vomere cogendi atque iterum bibere.*

<sup>36</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 65: *Eupatoria quoque regiam auctoritatem habet, [...]. Cf.: A. MAYOR, *The Poison King...*, p. 101. On Pliny and his work, cf. M. BEAGON, *Roman Nature. The Thought of Pliny the Elder*, Oxford 1992 [= OCM].*

<sup>37</sup> DIOSCORIDES, *De materia medica*, II, 82.4–5. We find the information also in Xenophon: *Xenophon's Expeditio Cyri. Anabasis*, IV, 8.20, ed. C. HUDE, Leipzig 1972 (cetera: XENOPHON, *Anabasis*). According to him the soldiers who ate of the honey all went off their heads, and suffered from vomiting and diarrhoea, and not one of them could stand up, but those who had eaten a little were like people exceedingly drunk, while those who had eaten a great deal seemed like crazy, or even, in some cases, dying men (trans. by C.L. BROWNSON, *Xenophon. Anabasis*, Oxford 1980). According to J.W.I. Lee *The drunken, crazed behavior the Cyreans exhibited (XENOPHON, Anabasis, IV, 8.20–22) on this occasion was probably the result of ingesting toxic honey containing grayanotoxins from rhododendron pollen* (J.W.I. LEE, *A Greek Army on the March. Soldiers and Survival in Xenophon's Anabasis*, Cambridge 2007, p. 29, note 72, who cites above all S. GEROULANOS, B. ATTINGER, M. ÇAKMAKÇI, *Honigbedingte*



at Mithridates' court and, perhaps, from Krateuas himself, whose work Dioscorides used and cited in many circumstances<sup>38</sup>. Because Krateuas had a vast knowledge on Pontus (a part of Mithridates' kingdom) and its natural resources<sup>39</sup>, and, as already said, in honor of his king he called *Mithridatia* a plant offering an effective remedy against all kinds of poison<sup>40</sup>, he very likely knew also the toxic Pontic honey, like Mithridates himself who, as we all know, was so familiar with plants and poisons to personally prepared an antidote called *Mithridatium/Mithridation* and to mix the blood of the Pontic ducks into his potions<sup>41</sup>.

Royal court was a place where medical and botanical knowledge was developed, produced and disseminated. Mithridates was in touch with famous physicians: Zopyrus of Alexandria sent to him a recipe for an antidote that was useful against snakebites and poisons<sup>42</sup>; Asclepiades of Bithynia, whom he in vain tried

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*Intoxikationen*, SRM 81.17, 1992, p. 535–540; N. SÜTLÜPİNAR, A. MAT, Y. SATGANOĞLU, *Poisoning by Toxic Honey in Turkey*, ATox 67, 1993, p. 148–150; A. MAYOR, *Mad Honey!*, Archo 48.6, 1995, p. 32–40). Today – it notes A. Mayor in a second study – in northern Turkey and the Caucasus, the honey is called deli bal (“mad honey”) and known to Westerners as miel fou: A. MAYOR, *Greek Fire, Poison Arrows and Scorpion Bombs. Biological and Chemical Warfare in the Ancient World*, New York 2009, p. 145–148, part. p. 146.

<sup>38</sup> KRATEUAS TT 7; 12; 14–15; 17; 28–29 Wellmann. Cf.: M. WELLMANN, *Krateuas...*, p. 3–32; C. SINGER, *The Herbal in Antiquity...*, p. 5–7; J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and...*, p. 20–21, 176–177, 185–191; J.F. GONZÁLEZ CASTRO, *Cratevas: su influencia en Dioscórides y en Plinio el Viejo...*, p. 477–482.

<sup>39</sup> J. SCARBOROUGH, V. NUTTON, *The Preface of Dioscorides' Materia Medica. Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*, TSCPP 4.3, 1982, p. 187–227; D. FAUSTI, *La prefazione al De materia medica di Dioscoride: vocabolario tecnico e retorica*, [in:] *Odoi dizisios: le vie della ricerca. Scritti in onore di Francesco Adorno*, ed. M.S. FUNGHI, Firenze 1996, p. 191–200.

<sup>40</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 62 = KRATEUAS T 1 Wellmann; PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 127.

<sup>41</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXIII, 149; XXV, 3–7; APPIEN, *Histoire romaine*, XVI, 111, vol. VII, *Livre XII. La guerre de Mithridate*, ed. P. GOUKOWSKY, Paris 2001 but also DION CASSIUS, *Histoire romaine. Livres 36–37*, XXXVII, 13, ed. G. LACHENAUD, Paris 2018; cf. J.P. GRIFFIN, *Mithridates VI of Pontus, the First Experimental Toxicologist*, ADRAPR 14, 1995, p. 1–6; G. SQUILLACE, *I balsami di Afrodite. Medici, malattie e farmaci nel mondo antico*, Sansepolcro 2015, p. 161–164. On the ingredients of *Mithridatium/Mithridation*: PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXIX, 24–25; A. *Cornelii Celsi quae supersunt*, V, 23.3, rec. F. MARX, Leipzig–Berlin 1915 [= CMLat, 1]; *Scribonii Largi Compositiones*, 170, ed. S. SCONOCCHIA, Berlin 2020 [= CMLat, 2.1] (cetera: SCRIBONIUS LARGUS, *Compositiones*); *Galeni de antidotis libri II*, II, 1 (XIV, 107–109 Kühn); II, 2 (XIV, 115–119 Kühn), [in:] *Claudi Galeni Opera Omnia*, vol. XIV, ed. C.G. KÜHN, Lipsiae 1827 (cetera: GALEN, *De antidotis*); cf. G.W. CORNER, *Mithridatium and Theriac*, JHHB 26, 1915, p. 222–226; G. WATSON, *Theriac and Mithridatium. A Study in Therapeutics*, London 1966; L. CILLIERS, F.P. RETIEF, *Poisons, Poisoning and the Drug Trade in Ancient Rome*, Akro 45, 2000, p. 88–100; L. TOTELIN, *Mithradates' Antidote – A Pharmacological Ghost*, ESM 9, 2004, p. 1–19; S. NORTON, *The Pharmacology of Mithridatium: a 2000-Year-Old Remedy*, Moll 6, 2006, p. 60–66; S. PAIN, *From Poison to Plague: Mithridates's Marvelous Medicine*, NewS (January 26), 2008, p. 52–53; A. MAYOR, *The Poison King...*, p. 239–246, but also 70, 101–102; G. SQUILLACE, *I balsami di Afrodite...*, p. 163–165.

<sup>42</sup> GALEN, *De antidotis*, II, 7 (XIV, 150 Kühn), but also SCRIBONIUS LARGUS, *Compositiones*, 169. On this physician: G. MARASCO, s.v. *Zopyros v. Alexandria*, [in:] *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon...*, p. 938–939; F. STOK, s.v. *Zopuros of Alexandria*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists...*, p. 851.

to invite to his court, sent to him some writings, because he stayed at Rome<sup>43</sup>. Considering these contacts, we cannot exclude that Krateuas too, personally or through his king, could have been in touch with these physicians and benefited from their studies.

### C. Krateuas in the West

We have to consider also the arrival of Krateuas' writing in the West, i.e. to Rome.

We do not know the exact chronology of the physician; scholars generically date him under the reign of Mithridates (120–63 BC)<sup>44</sup> or, more precisely, between 100 and 70 or 60 BC<sup>45</sup>. Pliny the Elder gives an important notice: Pompey, after defeating Mithridates in 63 BC, would have taken possession of the king's treasures, among which there were some royal notebooks. Mithridates, who displayed a peculiar aptitude for enquiring into medical arts, used to note down on them the results which upon experiment had been produced. Pompey gave these diaries to his freedman, the grammarian Lenaeus, and charged him to translate them into Latin<sup>46</sup>. If Pliny clearly attests the arrival to Rome of these notebooks, in which the king has assembled all his medical and botanical knowledge (learned at least in part

<sup>43</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 6, but also VII, 124. On Asclepiades of Prusa: E. RAWSON, *The Life and Death of Asclepiades of Bithynia*, CQ 32, 1982, p. 358–370 (= EADEM, *Roman Culture and Society: Collected Papers*, Oxford 1991, p. 427–443); S. IHM, s.v. *Asklepiades v. Bithynien*, [in:] *Antike Medizin. Ein Lexikon*..., p. 108; J. SCARBOROUGH, s.v. *Asklepiades of Buthinia*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists*..., p. 170–171.

<sup>44</sup> S. IHM, s.v. *Krateuas*..., col. 537; J. SCARBOROUGH, s.v. *Krateuas*..., p. 391; M.E. IRWIN, *Greek and Roman Botany*..., p. 271.

<sup>45</sup> É. SAMAMA, *Thaumapoioi pharmakopôlai. La singulière image des préparateurs et vendeurs de remèdes dans les textes grecs*, [in:] *Pharmacopoles et apothicaires. Les «pharmaciens» de l'Antiquité au Grand Siècle*, ed. F. COLLARD, É. SAMAMA, Paris 2006, p. 7–27, part. p. 10, note 12; J.M. JACQUES, s.v. *Krateuas*..., p. 491. V. NUTTON, *Ancient Medicine*..., p. 144, dated Krateuas' floruit around 90 BC.

<sup>46</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 5–7: (5) *Antea condiderat solus apud nos, quod equidem inveniam, Pompeius Lenaei Magni libertus, quo primum tempore hanc scientiam ad nostros pervenisse animo adverto. Namque Mithridates, maximus sua aetate regum, quem debellavit Pompeius, omnium ante se genitorum diligentissimus vita fuisse argumentis, praeterquam fama, intellegitur. (6) Uni ei excogitatum cotidie venenum bibere praesumptis remediis, ut consuetudine ipsa innoxium fieret; primo inventa genera antidoti, ex quibus unum etiam nomen eius retinet; illius inventum, sanguinem anatum Ponticarum miscere antidotis, quoniam veneno viverent; ad illum Asclepiadis medendi arte clari volumina composita extant, cum sollicitatus ex urbe Roma praecepta pro se mitteret; illum solum mortalium certum est XXII linguis locutum, nec e subiectis gentibus ullum hominem per interpretem appellatum ab eo annis LVI, quibus regnavit. (7) Is ergo in reliqua ingeni magnitudine medicinae peculiariter curiosus et ab omnibus subiectis, qui fuere magna pars terrarum, singula exquirens scrinium commentationum harum et exemplaria effectusque in arcanis suis reliquit, Pompeius autem omni praeda regia potitus transferre ea sermone nostro libertum suum Lenaeum grammaticae artis iussit vitaeque ita profuit non minus quam republicae victoria illa. On Lenaeus cf. also: C. SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS, *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*, 15, ed. R.A. KASTER, London 1995. Cf.: L. FEZZI, *Pompeo. Conquistatore del mondo, difensore della res publica, eroe tragico*, Roma 2019, p. 75.*

from famous physicians like Asclepiades, Zopyros, and, of course, Krateuas), a passage of Memnon of Heraclea gives supplementary information. According to him, Clearchos, the violent and egocentric tyrant of Heraclea Pontica, between 364 and 352 BC had founded a library that made famous his tyranny<sup>47</sup>. Under Mithridates the library of Heraclea became the Royal Library, and it was accessible to court intellectuals like the rhetorician Metrodoros of Scepsis and the philosopher and rhetorician Diodoros of Adramyttion<sup>48</sup>. In 73–70 BC Heraclea was conquered by Lucullus together with Amisos, Sinope, Kabeira, Pharnacia, and the entire Pontus, and the library fell into the hands of the Roman general, although a late source like Isidorus says generically that *Romae primus librorum copiam advexit Aemilius Paulus, Perse Macedonum rege devicto; deinde Lucullus e Pontica praeda*<sup>49</sup>. In 66, Lucullus was replaced by Pompey in the war against Mithridates and returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph. In a magnificent parade, he showed what he had taken to the enemy: prisoners, precious weapons, a golden statue of Mithridates, money<sup>50</sup>. The Royal Library was likely part of the booty, even if we are not able to know how many documents and books from Heraclea – and generally from the cities of Pontus – were brought into Lucullus' Great Library, that, according to the sources, Greek intellectuals and the same Cicero were able to read<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>47</sup> MEMNON, *FGrHist* 434, F 1.2 = *BNJ* 434, F 1.2 and commentary by A. KEAVENEY, J.A. MADDEN, *Memnon* (434), [in:] *Brill's New Jacoby*, ed. I. WORTHINGTON, Leiden–Boston 2011 (online); cf. also: S. GALLOTTA, *Appunti su Memnone di Eraclea*, *E–L* 2, 2012, p. 65–77; EADEM, *Dall'ideale di un monarca illuminato al più crudele dei tiranni: Clearco di Eraclea Pontica*, *MN* 10, 2019–2020, p. 55–60, part. p. 56. On the significance and aim of the library: S.M. BURSTEIN, *Outpost of Hellenism. The Emergence of Heraclea on the Black Sea*, Berkeley 1974, p. 61; A. BITTNER, *Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft in Kerakleia Pontike. Eine Polis zwischen Tyrannis und Selbstverwaltung*, Bonn 1998, p. 30–31.

<sup>48</sup> *Strabon's Geographika*, XIII, 1.55 (Metrodoros); XIII, 1.66 (Diodoros of Adramyttion), vol. I–X, ed. S. RADT, Göttingen 2002–2011. Cf.: L. CANFORA, *Per una storia delle biblioteche*, Roma 2017, p. 45, but also A. MAYOR, *The Poison King...*, p. 279–287.

<sup>49</sup> *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, VI, 5.1, vol. I–II, ed. W.M. LINDSAY, Oxford 1911 [= SCBO] (cetera: ISIDORUS, *Etymologiae*).

<sup>50</sup> PLUTARQUE, *Lucullus*, 37, [in:] PLUTARQUE, *Vies*, vol. VII, *Cimon-Lucullus. Nicias-Crassus*, ed. E. CHAMBRY, R. FLACELIÈRE, Paris 1972 (cetera: PLUTARCH, *Lucullus*).

<sup>51</sup> PLUTARCH, *Lucullus*, 42.1–2; ISIDORUS, *Etymologiae*, VI, 5.1; and, above all, CICÉRON, *Des Termes extrêmes des biens et des maux*, III, 2.7, vol. I–II, ed. C. LÉVY, C. RAMBAUX, J. MARTHA, Paris 1928–1930: *Nam in Tusculano cum essem vellemque e bibliotheca pueri Luculli quibusdam libris uti, veni in eius villam, ut eos ipse, ut solebam, depromerem. quo cum venissem, M. Catonem, quem ibi esse nescieram, vidi in bibliotheca sedentem multis circumfusum Stoicorum libris. Erat enim, ut scis, in eo aviditas legendi, nec satiari poterat, quippe qui ne reprehensionem quidem vulgi inanem reformidans in ipsa curia soleret legere saepe, dum senatus cogeretur, nihil operae rei publicae detrahens. quo magis tum in summo otio maximaque copia quasi helluari libris, si hoc verbo in tam clara re utendum est, videbatur*. Cf.: A. KEAVENEY, *Lucullus. A Life*, London–New York 1992, p. 10, 146; L. CASSON, *Libraries in the Ancient World*, New Haven 2001, p. 69–74; F. PESANDO, *Libri e biblioteche*, Roma 1994 [repr. 2010], p. 54; Y.L. TOO, *The Idea of the Library in the Ancient World*, Oxford 2010, p. 42.

Before concluding, I would like quickly to mention the use of pictures to illustrate, along with the text, the plants: an innovation ascribed by Pliny to Krateuas and to the contemporary physicians Dionysios of Utica and Metrodoros<sup>52</sup>. Ancient scholars had illustrated verbally what they did not know. For instance, Theophrastus described some exotic plants, like incense and myrrh, comparing them with similar Mediterranean trees<sup>53</sup>, and Pliny did the same<sup>54</sup>. Although this was the most followed method<sup>55</sup>, nevertheless we have cases in which picture visibly represents the unknown or accompanies the writing. If Egyptians already from the second millennium BC used to picture papyrus scrolls, Greeks (and later Romans) from the 5<sup>th</sup> century onwards *illustrated literary works, such as Homer, and diagrammed scientific works, such as a mathematical treatise by Hippocrates of Chios*<sup>56</sup>. Furthermore, according to Düring, Aristotle also accompanied some of his zoological works with images. In particular, it seems that his *Anatomai* in 7 books were provided with plates<sup>57</sup>. If it is likely that Dioscorides, in some passages of his botanical work, accompanied the plants with pictures<sup>58</sup>, Pliny, describing the plant called *dracontium*, reports that he had seen three different species from three different representations, thus attesting the use at his time of combining text and image, and the circulation of illustrated botanical works<sup>59</sup>.

## Conclusion

Because this research has just started and I am dealing with collecting and translating the texts, I have been able to present some preliminary conclusions and many hypothesis on Krateuas. First, I want once again underline the originality and the

<sup>52</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 8 = KRATEUAS T 2 Wellmann. On Dionysios of Utica and Metrodoros: P. THIBODEAU, s.v. *Dionusios of Utica, Cassius*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists...*, p. 265; G. IRBY MASSIE, s.v. *Metrodoros*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 553.

<sup>53</sup> G. SQUILLACE, *Nuove terre per nuove ricerche: i paradisi delle spezie negli studi di botanica di Teofrasto*, *Hor* 10, 2018, p. 419–443.

<sup>54</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, book XII.

<sup>55</sup> P. LI CAUSI, *Cognitive Applicability. The Natural History of the Unicorn from Ctesias to TV News*, *AOFL* 7.2, 2012, p. 12–30; IDEM, *From Descriptions to Acts. The Paradoxical Animals of the Ancients from a Cognitive Perspective*, [in:] *Knowledge, Text and Practice in Ancient Technical Writing*, ed. M. FORMISANO, P. VAN DER EIJK, Cambridge 2017, p. 252–268.

<sup>56</sup> J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and...*, p. 176. On the illustrated herbals in the antiquity cf. also: D. FAUSTI, *Erbari illustrati su papiro e tradizione iconografica botanica*, [in:] *Testi medici su papiro. Atti del Seminario di Studio (Firenze, 3–4 giugno 2002)*, ed. I. ANDORLINI, Firenze 2004, p. 131–150; M.-H. MARGANNE, *Le livre médical dans le monde gréco-romain*, Liège 2004, p. 37–42; G. HARDY, L. TOTELIN, *Ancient Botany...*, p. 113–124.

<sup>57</sup> I. DÜRING, *Aristotele*, Heidelberg 1966 (It. trans. Milano 1976), p. 63–64, 578.

<sup>58</sup> J.M. RIDDLE, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and...*, p. 177.

<sup>59</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXIV, 150. Pliny used the illustrated botanical work of Antonius Castor: PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XX, 174; XXV, 9. On Antonius Castor (10–75 AD): P. KEYSER, s.v. *Antonius Castor*, [in:] *The Encyclopedia of Ancient Natural Scientists...*, p. 100.

cultural depth of this physician. If the title of his writing – *Rhizotomikon* – is probably modelled on the work of Diokles of Karystos (4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century BC)<sup>60</sup>, the choice to depict the plants to complement the text and to show their morphology<sup>61</sup> seems fully new<sup>62</sup>. Rightly Singer called Krateuas “the father of plant illustration”, who exercised great influence not only on the subsequent development of the herbal, but also on the course of scientific botany<sup>63</sup>.

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<sup>60</sup> On the F from this work: DIOCLES FF 204; 206a; 206b, P. VAN DER EIJK; cf. J. SCARBOROUGH, *Theophrastus on Herbs and Herbal Remedies*, JHB 11, 1978, p. 353–385, part. p. 354–356; DIOCLES OF CARYSTUS, vol. I, ed. P. VAN DER EIJK, p. XXXIV. On authors of *Rhizothomika*, cf. M. WELLMANN, *Krateuas...*, p. 4, note 4; but also IDEM, *Das älteste Kräuterbuch der Griechen...*, p. 1–31; G. SQUILLACE, *Tracce del Rhizotomikon di Eumaco di Corcira? Nota ad Ateneo 15.681e*, [in:] *Sulla rotta per la Sicilia. L'Epiro, Corcira e l'Occidente*, ed. G. DE SENSI SESTITO, M. INTRIERI, Pisa 2011, p. 311–322, part. p. 316–317.

<sup>61</sup> PLINY, *Naturalis historia*, XXV, 8 = KRATEUAS T 2 Wellmann.

<sup>62</sup> M. WELLMANN, *Krateuas...*, p. 20.

<sup>63</sup> C. SINGER, *The Herbal in Antiquity...*, p. 5.

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## CHRISTIAN HERETICAL PARTICIPATION IN THE REBELLION OF BÖRKLÜCE MUSTAFA AND SHEIKH BEDREDDIN – REAPPRAISING THE EVIDENCE

**Abstract.** The outbreak and Balkan and Anatolian trajectories of the rebellions of Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin in 1416 still pose a series of religio-historic problems which still do not allow a satisfactory and detailed reconstruction of their chronology. Widening the investigation of the source base for these uprisings and their following remains a crucial desideratum for a better understanding of the turbulent period of the Ottoman interregnum and the Ottoman-Byzantine transition in eastern Anatolia in the early fifteenth century. Apart from the social and political features of the rebellions (which have been treated in a variety of contrasting ideological and methodological frameworks, their striking religious dimension has been also increasingly attracting scholarly and general attention. Earlier and recent research on the Ottoman interregnum period have occasionally advanced arguments for the active participation of Christian heretical groups, whether Christian dualist (Bogomil or Paulician) or radical apocalyptic insurgents of Eastern or Western Christian provenance. Drawing on new advances in research on religious trends in the late Byzantine and Balkan Orthodox and early Ottoman religious life and inter-religious contacts, the paper will offer an reassessment of the evidence of such proposed Christian heretical presence in the uprisings, while also exploring other venues for the provenance of their religious and trans-confessional underpinnings.

**Keywords:** Islamic-Christian relations, syncretism, heresy, Christian dualism, Ottomans, Byzantium, apocalypticism, social movements and rebellions

The outbreak, course and suppressions of the rebellions of Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin in 1416 still pose some of the most intricate religious and historiographic problems of the early Ottoman era in the Balkans and Anatolia. The uprisings broke out in the aftermath of the turbulent period of the Ottoman interregnum and civil war (1402–1413) which came in the wake of the defeat of Bayezid I's Ottoman forces (reinforced with his vassals) by Timur's Mongol army at Ankara in 1402. While the study of this period has lately enjoyed

various promising advances of research<sup>1</sup>, the current state of evidence still does not allow a satisfying and detailed reconstruction of the provenance and exact chronology of these uprisings. Further close study needs to widen further the exploration of the source base for the principal instigators, leadership, organisation and justification of the rebellions, as well as for the main social groups which came to comprise the two Balkan and Anatolian trends of the rebellious movement.

The social and political aspects of the rebellions, as reconstructable from the sources, have been approached and interpreted in a variety of often contrasting ideological and methodological frameworks. The intriguing if overall abstruse evidence of their religious dimension (arguably verging on supra-confessionalism) also has been for some time the focus of scholarly and general attention. An objective and cautious evidence-based analysis of the religious agendas of the leaders and principal protagonists of the rebellions is of direct relevance to the ongoing and intensifying debates on the religious and cultural processes and transformations in urban centres and rural regions incorporated into the expanding early Ottoman state. Insufficiently illuminated as yet, these processes include the convoluted and controversial area of the nature of Christian-Muslim interrelations on both elite and popular levels in late Byzantine and early Ottoman Balkans and western Anatolia.

Progress in research on the religious climate of the early Ottoman empire (before the eventual more thorough Sunnization of Ottoman ruling establishments and what has been described as the parallel Shi'itization of the Anatolian *Kızılbaş* communities in the late fifteenth and sixteenth century) increasingly shows that it was characterized by fluidity and diversity. Shi'ite-Sunni religious and spiritual borders in particular were often fluctuating and permeable rather than fixed<sup>2</sup>. Hence early Ottoman Islam seems to have been a more heterogeneous phenomenon, with pronounced syncretistic, antinomian and Shi'ite-related/leaning trends, which could provoke religious ferment and religio-political opposition and movements against the centralizing policies of the emerging empire. Among other important developments, during this period the main currents of Anatolian Sufism were evolving, either in their formative phases or already in a transition towards their eventual institutionalization and further growth in the early and mid-Ottoman era<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the recent reconstruction of the political and military developments of the period and its specific political culture in D. KASTRITSIS, *The Sons of Bayezid. Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413*, Leiden–Boston 2007 [= OEI, 38].

<sup>2</sup> Cf., for example, C. KAFADAR, *Between Two Worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1995, p. 76, *passim*; D. TERZIOĞLU, *Sufis in the Age of State-Building and Confessionalization*, [in:] *The Ottoman World*, ed. C. WOODHEAD, New York 2011, p. 86–100.

<sup>3</sup> The process of the migration and re-settlement of Sufi groups into Anatolia proceeded with various intensity from the beginning of the twelfth century onwards – see the wide-ranging reassessment of the extant evidence and recent scholarship in A. KARAMUSTAFA, *Çalendars, Abdâls, Hayderis:*

Other promising avenues for research which have been increasingly and successfully exploited in the last few decades concern the processes of Christian-Islamic syncretisms in the Ottoman era, including the involvement of the dervish orders in these long-term developments. The evolving study of the inter-relations and cross-fertilization between the different local varieties of Christianity and Islam has particularly expanded in the sphere of shared sanctuaries, saints and feasts or some superstitious and quasi-magic beliefs and practices. This accumulated evidence shows that ordinary and mostly illiterate Christians and Muslims (especially those inhabiting rural Balkan and Anatolian areas of the Ottoman empire could blend their respective beliefs and cultic practices much more easily than their corresponding intellectual and religious elites<sup>4</sup>.

An ample religio-historical understanding of the insurrections of Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin hence seems essential for the exploration of a number of important and vigorously debated processes and episodes in early Ottoman religious history. Some of these processes raise the major question of whether major Ottoman-era mainline or heterodox religious and political figures and establishments also made attempts at rapprochement and even theological equivalentism between Islam and Christianity. Attempts at Christian-Muslim accord might have developed in missionary frameworks but also arguably could reflect distinct and broader religio-political programmes. Such wider agendas certainly could underlie the reports of Christian-Muslim alliances, solidarity and accord in the primary sources for the rebellious movements of Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin. The reported trans-confessional aspects of the insurrections seem also significant in the context of the current reappraisals of the role of western Anatolian and Balkan Christian aristocratic and military figures and clans (and their power-sharing networks) in Ottoman state-building and initial expansions, as well as in the eventual formation of the Ottoman polity and elites. These reappraisals have also necessitated reassessments of the evidence of early Ottoman religious and ideological attitudes to Christianity and the Christian powers that they encountered in western Anatolia and the politically fragmented Balkans, whether as their adversaries,

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*the Formation of the Bektâşiye in the Sixteenth Century*, [in:] *Süleyman the Second and his Time*, ed. H. İNALCIK, C. KAFADAR, Istanbul 1993 [= AI.OTS], p. 121–129; IDEM, *God's Unruly Friends. Dervish Groups in the Islamic Later Middle Period, 1200–1550*, Salt Lake City 1994 [repr. Oxford 2006]; IDEM, *Origins of Anatolian Sufism*, [in:] *Sufism and Sufis in Ottoman Society. Sources, Doctrine, Rituals, Turuq, Architecture, Literature and Fine Arts, Modernisms*, ed. A.Y. OCAK, Ankara 2005, p. 67–95.

<sup>4</sup> The collection and preliminary analysis of much valuable material on this phenomenon by Frederick William Hasluck (1878–1920): F.W. HASLUCK, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*, vol. I–II, Oxford 1929, has been followed by a succession of studies and publications of further evidence of these syncretistic phenomena or reappraising Hasluck's earlier assembled data and conclusions – cf., for example, the various contributions in *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia. The Life and Times of F.W. Hasluck, 1878–1920*, vol. I–III, ed. D. SHANKLAND, Istanbul 2004–2013 [= AI.OTS, 2].

allies or vassals. All this accumulation of new material and explanatory models has led to more nuanced understanding of the various social, tribal and religious groups and networks of the characteristic western Anatolian frontier societies from which emerged the expansive Ottoman emirate.

The increasing awareness of the Byzantine/Christian contribution (apart from the Seljuk and Ilkhanid impact) to the inclusive socio-political “syncretism” of the early Ottoman state’s political and military administration<sup>5</sup> have also led to some searching questions as to whether a corresponding syncretism also developed in the religious and cultural spheres. All the more that the steady progress of the study of the preceding Seljuk era in Anatolia (1077–1308) has extended beyond the written word into areas of material culture such as art, architecture, inscriptions, coinage and battlefield and conquest archaeology. Hence the chronology and nature of Christian-Muslim co-existence, interaction and symbioses during this period can now be explored in greater depth<sup>6</sup>. Symptomatically, much of this valuable material remains outside the scope and concerns of the contemporaneous and later historical chronicles and official documents, predominantly focused as they are on the grand narratives of military conquests, political events and deeds of rulers, high clerics and warrior chieftains.

At the same time, the Christian-Muslim accord and alliances ventured during the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin uprisings have been reported as going much further than the Christian-Muslim symbioses of the Seljuk era which were largely based on co-existence. This new kind of Christian-Muslim rapprochement went much further than mere fraternization of Christian and Muslim rebels along social lines. The evidence thus raises the question if the insurrections might have represented a manifestation of a religio-political Islamic-Christian synthesis which had been developing for some time among both the ruling elites and rural communities in the early stages of Ottoman conquest<sup>7</sup>. In this line of argument

<sup>5</sup> H.A. GIBBONS, *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire. A History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I (1300–1403)*, Oxford 1916; S. VRYONIS, *The Byzantine Legacy and Ottoman Forms*, DOP 23/24, 1969/1970, p. 251–308.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. the syntheses of the evidence in M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée dans les Balkans ottomans. Vie du cheikh Bedreddin, le “Hallâj des Turcs”, 1358/59–1416*, Istanbul 1995, p. 5–35; K. HOPWOOD, *Christian-Muslim Symbiosis in Anatolia*, [in:] *Archaeology, Anthropology and Heritage...*, p. 13–30; cf. the contributions in *Islam and Christianity in Medieval Anatolia*, ed. A.C.S. PEACOCK, B. DE NICOLA, S.N. YILDIZ, Burlington, VT 2015.

<sup>7</sup> H.W. LOWRY, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany 2003, esp. p. 131–144; K. BARKEY, *Empire of Difference. The Ottomans in Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge–New York 2008, p. 169–176 (K. Barkey provides a sociological framework to this thesis). Cf. the view of E. Zachariadou that Sheikh Bedreddin’s “revolution” aimed to establish a “state based on a new religion derived from both Islam and Christianity”, E. ZACHARIADOU, *Religious Dialogue between Byzantines and Turks During the Ottoman Expansion*, [in:] *Religionssprache im Mittelalter*, ed. B. LEWIS, F. NIEWÖHNER, Wiesbaden 1992, p. 295–304, at 301–302. A comparable and earlier version of this theory has been applied to the regime of one of the Ottoman princes of the interregnum period, Musa Çelebi, in the Balkans

the attempt to foster such Islamic-Christian synthesis reflected the new and changing political realities in the early Ottoman Balkans and Anatolia and came into conflict with the “high” Sunni Islam of the Ottoman urban administrative structures. The latter emerged victorious from this conflict and in the following decades during the successive reigns of Murad II and Mehmed II between 1421 and 1481 imposed further centralization and the stricter social and religious order of institutionalized Sunni Islam.

This attractively structured theory draws on novel approaches to and insights in the primary written records and surviving material culture of the early Ottoman era and would parallel comparable developments in regions newly annexed to Islamic rule. The period of Ottoman empire-building and initial conquests, however, still abounds in massive gaps and insurmountable research problems<sup>8</sup> and such a reconstruction accordingly remains a “highly speculative” alternative to the construction of early Ottoman political and religious history in later Ottoman sources<sup>9</sup>. The other major problem is that the extant evidence of the Sheikh Bedreddin rebellion in the Balkans is insufficient to allow a conclusive reconstruction of Christian participation in its organization and abortive course. Hence the direct and circumstantial evidence of Christian involvement in and support for the Börklüce Mustafa insurrection in the Anatolian Aegean coastal area acquires even more importance, though the local Anatolian characteristics (despite some parallels) differed in a number of important respects from the north-eastern and eastern Balkans traversed by Sheikh Bedreddin in preparation for the armed rebellion<sup>10</sup>.

Both early and current research on Börklüce Mustafa’s rebellion have focused and spent much effort on identifying and reconstructing the social, socio-economic, political and religious realities behind the account of the insurrection in Doukas’ *Historia Turko-Bizantina*<sup>11</sup>, with its assertions about the ideals of

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(he acted as a co-sultan and reigned over the European/Balkan Ottoman provinces in 1411–1413 and appointed Sheikh Bedreddin as a chief military judge, *cadıasker*, in 1411) in P. WITTEK, *De la défaite d’Ankara à la prise de Constantinople*, REI 12, 1938, p. 21–4; cf. the critique of this approach to Musa Çelebi’s reign and policies in C. IMBER, *Paul Wittek’s De la défaite d’Ankara à la prise de Constantinople*, OARA 5, 1986, p. 65–81. Cf. also N. Siniosoglou’s thesis of that Sheikh Bedreddin’s syncretistic religio-political reformism represented “an attempt at unifying the three Abrahamic monotheistic religions into a universal religion destined to subvert the Ottoman establishment”, N. SINIOSGLOU, *Sect and Utopia in Shifting Empires: Plethon, Elissaios, Bedreddin*, BMGS 36.1, 2012, p. 38–55, at p. 51–52.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the well-known definition of the earliest history of the Ottomans as a “black hole”, with any attempt to fill it, resulting *simply in the creation of more fables* in C. IMBER, *The Myth of Osman Gazi*, [in:] *The Ottoman Emirate (1300–1389)*, ed. E. ZACHARIADOU, Rethymon 1993, p. 66–76, at p. 75.

<sup>9</sup> H.W. LOWRY, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State...*, p. 143.

<sup>10</sup> On the differences between these two rebellions, cf. N. ANTOV, *The Ottoman “Wild West”. The Balkan Frontier in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge 2017, p. 103.

<sup>11</sup> DOUKAS, *Historia Turko-Bizantina*, ed. et trans. V. GRECU, *Istoria Turco-Bizantina*, Bucharest 1958; for the account of Börklüce Mustafa’s revolt, cf. ch. 21.11–14, 149–153. Translations in DOUKAS,

communal property, voluntary poverty and Christian-Muslim equality advocated by the rebels, as well as its messianic and prophetic aspects. The history of the study of the Börklüce Mustafa's insurrection displays an obvious tendency to project modern political and social concerns and/or agendas on the motives and goals of the insurrection. This is especially visible in cases where Börklüce Mustafa's movement is regarded as entirely or predominantly a manifestation of a violent peasant, anti-feudal protest, triggered by socio-economic conditions and socio-political conflicts or shifts during the early Ottoman conquests and the Ottoman interregnum period. This approach has been most forcefully and consistently advanced in the Eastern Block's institutionalized Marxist historiographies of the Ottoman empire during the Cold War period<sup>12</sup> (or in some contemporary politicized leftist ideological schemas).

At the same time, the possibility that Sheikh Bedreddin and Börklüce Mustafa could have joined and transformed the two rebellious social movements which were already in progress in the Balkans and Anatolia, initially as participants and not as principal instigators, cannot be ignored. An analogous evolution of socio-political engagement could be indeed discerned in other popular uprisings which were not necessarily triggered by social and economic crises and conditions. If Sheikh Bedreddin and Börklüce Mustafa did not act as the main ideologues of the revolts at the time of their outbreak, these uprisings were not necessarily linked (at least in their early stages) to their personal beliefs and agendas<sup>13</sup>. Nevertheless, the evidence of Sheikh Bedreddin's travels in Anatolia and the Balkans and his accumulation of associations with major political regional players prior to the insurrection do suggest that he was already involved in the establishment of a network of anti-Ottoman alliances. The political objectives of the rebellion

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*Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks. An Annotated Translation of "Historia Turco-Byzantina"*, ed. et trans. H.J. MAGOULIAS, Detroit 1975; DOUKAS, *Historia Turco-Bizantina*, ed. et trans. J. DAYANTIS, Doukas, *histoire turco-byzantine*, Lille 2004. On Doukas' *Historia Turco-Bizantina*, as a source on Christian-Muslim relations, cf. now G. PRINZING, Doukas, [in:] *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History (1350–1500)*, vol. V, ed. D. THOMAS, A. MALLETT, Leiden–Boston 2013, p. 469–478.

<sup>12</sup> A brief treatment of references to Soviet and Bulgarian Cold War-era historiography of the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin movement can be found in N. GRAMATIKOVA, *XIV. Yüzyıl Sonundan XV. Yüzyılın Başına Kadar Gerçekleşen Olayların Biyografik ve Tarihsel Kaynağı Olarak Simavnalı Şeyh Bedreddin'in Hafız Halil Tarafından Yazılan Menâkıbname's*, [in:] *International Börklüce Mustafa Symposium / Uluslararası Börklüce Mustafa Sempozyumu*, ed. A. KAYA et al., Izmir 2017, p. 141–187, at p. 144–147; for a systematic application of Marxist methodology to the rebellions of Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin, cf. E. WERNER, *Häresie, Klassenkampf und religiöse Toleranz in einer islamisch-christlichen Kontaktzone: Bedr ed-Din und Börklüce Mustafa*, ZG 12, 1964, p. 255–276; IDEM, *Ketzer und Weltverbesserer. Zwei Beiträge zur Geschichte Südosteuropas im 13. und 15. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1974, p. 27–47.

<sup>13</sup> S. SALGIRLI, *The Rebellion of 1416: Recontextualizing an Ottoman Social Movement*, JESHO 55, 2012, p. 32–73.



may indeed reflect several political programs<sup>14</sup>. There a number of indications that Sheikh Bedreddin's rebellion was related with the simultaneous revolt of the Ottoman Prince Mustafa Düzme (the False)<sup>15</sup> and that Sheikh Bedreddin's Anatolian travels and designs represented an endeavour to form an anti-Ottoman political alliance with the lord of Smyrna (Izmir), Cünayd<sup>16</sup>, and the Anatolian emirates of Karaman<sup>17</sup> and Germiyan<sup>18</sup>. This network of anti-Ottoman alliances clearly possessed some kind of a coherent political programme which underpinned the rebellion from its onset. The reports of the announcement of the Balkan insurrection in the sources<sup>19</sup> suggest strong links between the political agendas of the Balkan and Anatolian rebellions. The important role of the (formerly) enfeoffed and disaffected cavalry in Sheikh Bedreddin's revolt and its downfall indicates another military-political power base for his movement, with its specific socio-economic interests<sup>20</sup>. At the same time, the evidence of Börklüce Mustafa's leadership of the Anatolian revolt demonstrates some of the obvious traits of charismatic leadership (prophetic claims, miracle-making<sup>21</sup>, etc.) which find analogies both in contemporary Europe and in earlier oppositional (especially Shi'ite) movements

<sup>14</sup> N. ANTOV, *The Ottoman "Wild West"...*, p. 104.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. N. FILIPOVIĆ, *Princ Musa i šejh Bedreddin*, Sarajevo 1971, ch. 10, *passim*; M. BALIVET, *Un épisode méconnu de la campagne de Mehmed 1<sup>er</sup> en Macédoine: L'apparition de Serrès (1416/819 H.)*, Tur 18, 1986, p. 137–146; D. KASTRITSIS, *The Revolt of Şeykh Bedreddin in the Context of the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–1413*, [in:] *Halcyon Days in Crete VII*, ed. A. ANASTASOPOULOS, Rethymno 2012, p. 221–238, at p. 236; M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, p. 80–85.

<sup>16</sup> DOUKAS, *Historia Turko-Bizantina*, p. 115–161, 18.5–22.6; on the possible alliance between Sheikh Bedreddin and Cünayd, cf. M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, p. 80–85, 88–91.

<sup>17</sup> HALİL BİN İSMÂİL BİN ŞEYH BEDRÜDDİN MAHMÛD, *Sınavna Kadısoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manâkıbı*, ed. A. GÖLPINARLI, İ. SUNGURBEY, Istanbul 1967 (cetera: HALİL BİN İSMÂİL, *Sınavna Kadısoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manâkıbı*), p. 86–87.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. N. FILIPOVIĆ, *Princ Musa...*, ch. 10; H.E. ÇİPA, *Contextualizing Şeyh Bedreddin. Notes on Halil b. İsmâ'il's Menâkıb-ı Şeyh Bedreddin b. İsrâ'il* (sic), [in:] *Şinasi Tekin'in Anısına. Uygurlardan Osmanlıya*, Istanbul 2005, p. 285–95, at p. 290; D. KASTRITSIS, *The Revolt of Şeykh Bedreddin...*, p. 229–231; M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, p. 80–85.

<sup>19</sup> AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarih*, ed. K. YAVUZ, Y. SARAC, Istanbul 2003 (cetera: AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarih*), p. 427; NEŞRİ, *Kitab-ı Cihan-numa: Neşri Tarihi*, vol. II, ed. F.R. UNAT, M.A. KOYMEN, Ankara 1957 (cetera: NEŞRİ, *Kitab-ı Cihan-numa: Neşri Tarihi*), p. 541–547; ORUÇ BEĞ, *Oruç Beğ Tarihi*, [Osmanlı Tarihi (1288–1502)], ed. N. ÖZTÜRK, Istanbul 2014, p. 47–49; MÜNECCİMBAŞI AHMET DEDE, *Müneccimbaşı Tarihi*, vol. I, ed. I. ERÜNSAL, *Sahâif-ül-Ahbar fi Vekayi'ül-a'sar*, Istanbul 1974, p. 189–190; HOCA SÂDEDDİN EFENDİ, *Tâci'ü't-tevârih*, vol. II, ed. İ. PARMAKSIZOĞLU, Ankara 1974–1979 [repr. 1999], p. 179; M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, p. 80–85.

<sup>20</sup> HALİL BİN İSMÂİL, *Sınavna Kadısoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manâkıbı*, p. 111; AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarih*, p. 427; NEŞRİ, *Kitab-ı Cihan-numa: Neşri Tarihi*, vol. II, p. 547; *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, pars 1, *Text und Variantenverzeichnis*, ed. F. GIESE, Breslau 1922, p. 54, 55.

<sup>21</sup> DOUKAS, *Historia Turko-Bizantina*, p. 149–150.

in the Islamic world. These analogies do not diminish the social dimension of the Börklüce Mustafa uprising but indicate that it is hardly possible to isolate its social from its religious and political features<sup>22</sup>.

The decades preceding the rebellion witnessed dramatic social changes, escalating forms of protest from the urban and rural poor, as well as anti-aristocratic tensions and violence in the western Anatolian and Balkan regions controlled by the Ottomans, the Aegean emirates and fractured Byzantium. These turbulent socio-political shifts and transformations undoubtedly impacted crucially the social dynamics and aspirations of the Börklüce Mustafa movement<sup>23</sup>. Such emphasis on the socio-economic dimension of the insurrections, however, should not downplay or ignore the cumulative evidence of the various written and material culture records, attesting their religious features, and in the case of Sheikh Bedreddin, their dynastic aspects. The socio-economic approach alone cannot account for the complexity and diversity of this evidence, including the participation of the *torlak* mendicant dervishes in the the Börklüce Mustafa revolt<sup>24</sup>. Arguments for parallels between some of the reported notions of socio-religious utopianism of the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin movements, on one hand, and their contemporary, George Gemistos Plethon, on the other<sup>25</sup>, also deserve a fresh reappraisal.

A growing amount of data and research indicates that the aspirations for Christian-Muslim solidarity and equality articulated in the sources for the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin movements need to be explored and contextualized in the wider framework of the evolving trends towards Christian-Muslim theological and religious-political accord during the fifteenth century<sup>26</sup> (as well as some earlier precedents). Arguments that the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin uprisings represented the high point of a movement towards “Islam-ochristian synthesis” need to integrate the earlier and newly made available data regarding the nature, tensions and patterns of Islamic-Christian syncretism (and

<sup>22</sup> Cf. D. Kastritsis's comments on the impossibility of studying Sheikh Bedreddin's rebellion as “purely social, political or religious phenomenon” as it represented a combination of these characteristics, D. KASTRITSIS, *The Revolt of Şeykh Bedreddin...*, p. 238.

<sup>23</sup> See the up-to-date analysis of these social, economic and political developments in S. SALGIRLI, *The Rebellion of 1416...*

<sup>24</sup> HALİL BIN İSMÂİL, *Simavna Kadısoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manâkıbı*, p. 84–94, 117. On the participation of the *torlak* dervishes under the leadership of Torlak Kemal (described as a disciple of Sheikh Bedreddin) in the rebellion of Börklüce Mustafa, cf. *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. GIESE, p. 54–55; AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarih*, p. 426; NEŞRİ, *Kitab-ı Cihan-numa: Neşri Tarihi*, vol. II, p. 543, 544. On the *torlak* dervishes, cf. also A.Y. OCAK, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Marjinal Sufilik. Kalenderiler, XIV–XVII. Yüzyıllar*, Ankara 1992, p. 74–85; KARAMUSTAFA, *God's Unruly Friends...*, p. 65–67.

<sup>25</sup> Cf., for example, N. SINOSSOGLU, *Sect and Utopia...*, p. 51–52; M. BALIVET, *Deux partisans de la fusion religieuse des chrétiens et des musulmans au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *BuÇ* 10, 1980, p. 363–390.

<sup>26</sup> Cf., for example, M. BALIVET, *Deux partisans...*, *passim*; IDEM, *Islam mystique...*, chs. 1–2.

anti-syncretism)<sup>27</sup>. The same applies to new studies of the fourteenth and fifteenth century fortunes of those major (originally) Christian families and figures who took an active and crucial part in the early Ottoman conquests and power struggles, including those of the interregnum period<sup>28</sup>.

The inter-relations and inter-dependencies between the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin uprisings are repeatedly asserted in the written testimonies and Sheikh Bedreddin is reported to have enjoyed considerable popularity and following in the Smyrna area. The comparative survey of utopian, universalistic, prophetic, messianic and egalitarian ideas in the sources for the Börklüce Mustafa uprising and the teachings of Sheikh Bedreddin thus clearly needs to be further widened. Starting with the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin-related accounts in the Ottoman chronicles, Sheikh Bedreddin's *Menakıbnâme* (composed by his grand-son, Halil bin İsmâil)<sup>29</sup>, earlier ground-breaking research<sup>30</sup> has paved the way for a scrutiny of his own writings, lately and with a mixed success for notions anticipating the radical agendas of the 1416 uprisings<sup>31</sup>.

While critically sifting through the evident agendas of its author, evolving research on the *Menakıbnâme*, in particular, has made it possible to chart the intellectual and religious evolution of Sheikh Bedreddin during his extensive travels and his eventual and intensive involvement with mysticism, mystical and Sufi milieu<sup>32</sup> (his proficient scholarship in law and theology is attested also in other sources)<sup>33</sup>. The *Menakıbnâme* contains also some useful indications regarding the religious and political networks and alliances he was seeking and establishing. At the same time, other episodes and assertions in the *Menakıbnâme* need to be treated critically (such as the posited Seljukite ancestry of Sheikh<sup>34</sup> and the exact

<sup>27</sup> Cf., for example, T. KRSTIĆ, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford, CA 2011, p. 50–75.

<sup>28</sup> H. LOWRY, *Fourteenth Century Ottoman Realities. (In Search of Hacı-Gazi Evrenos)*, Istanbul 2012; M. KIPROVSKA, *The Mihaloğlu Family: Gazi Warriors and Patrons of Dervish Hospices*, OArA 32, 2008, p. 173–202; EADEM, *Byzantine Renegade and Holy Warrior: Reassessing the Character of Köse Mihal, a Hero of the Byzantino-Ottoman Borderland*, JTUS 40, 2013 (= *Defterology. Festschrift in Honour of Heath Lowry*, ed. S. KURU, B. TEZCAN), p. 245–269.

<sup>29</sup> HALİL BIN İSMÂİL, *Sınavna Kadıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manâkıbı*.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. respectively F. BABINGER, *Scheich Bedr ed-Dîn, der Sohn des Richters von Simâw*, DI 11, 1921, p. 1–106 (for analysis of the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin-related material in the Ottoman chronicles) and H.J. KISSLING, *Das Menâqıbnâme Scheich Bedr ed-Dîn's, des Sohnes des Richters von Samâvna*, ZDMG 100, 1950, p. 112–176 (for analysis of the *Menakıbnâme*).

<sup>31</sup> Cf., for example, V. TİMURÖĞLÜ, *Varıdat*, Ankara 1979; İ.Z. EYUBOĞLU, *Şeyh Bedreddin ve Varıdat*, Istanbul 1980, and the contributions in *Şeyh Bedreddin (1358?–1420)*, ed. A.H. KÖKER, Kayseri 1996.

<sup>32</sup> HALİL BIN İSMÂİL, *Sınavna Kadıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manâkıbı*, p. 5–7.

<sup>33</sup> İBN 'ARABŞAH, *al-'Uqūd al-naşîha*, trans. A. GÖLPINARLI, *Sınavna Kadıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin*, Istanbul 1966, p. X.

<sup>34</sup> HALİL BIN İSMÂİL, *Sınavna Kadıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manâkıbı*, p. 5–7; on the validity of this claim and Shaykh Bedreddin's quest for political legitimacy, cf. H. İNALCIK, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300–1600*, London 1973, p.188–189; A.Y. OCAK, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler Yahut Dairenin Dışına Çıkanlar (15.–17. Yüzyıllar)*, Istanbul 2013, p. 170.

nature of his encounter with the Orthodox clerics at Chios)<sup>35</sup> or contradict other sources (like the rejection of the tradition of his claim to the sultanate attributed to him in the Ottoman chronicles<sup>36</sup>).

Though it is tempting to approach Shaykh Bedreddin as a “martyr for the co-existence between Christianity and Islam”<sup>37</sup> in the evolution of Anatolian heterodoxy and inter-religious tolerance<sup>38</sup>, the contradictory nature of the sources makes it difficult to piece together his actual aspiration and designs. Exploring the Sheikh Bedreddin and Börklüce Mustafa movements in the wider context of comparable trends in the contemporary Islamic world<sup>39</sup> would undoubtedly provide some crucial clues to their possible religious provenance. Such clues may be sought in the extensive trajectories of Sheikh Bedreddin’s travels and their potential relations with the wide-ranging and active mystical-millenarian networks, some of which were opposed to centralized Timurid rule at that time<sup>40</sup>. Sheikh Bedreddin’s attested involvement with Hurufi networks, both in their cradle-lands and their extensions in areas under Ottoman control also seem with increasing certainty to be of potentially great importance<sup>41</sup> for the reconstruction of his religio-political vision and utopianism. Significantly enough, Hurufism’s emphatic focus on prophetology<sup>42</sup>, messianism and apocalypticism drew on Christian apocalyptic works<sup>43</sup> in creating the complex and eclectic Hurufi belief system.

<sup>35</sup> HALİL BİN İSMÂİL, *Simavna Kadısıoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin Manâkıbı*, p. 92. On this episode cf. M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, p. 58–63; D. KASTRITSIS, *The Revolt of Şeykh Bedreddin...*, p. 230; S. SALGIRLI, *The Rebellion of 1416...*, p. 52 (S. Salgırlı considers elements of the narrative a “hagiographical trope”, intended “to adorn the sheikh with a saintly influence that extends even to Christians”).

<sup>36</sup> AŞIKPAŞAZADE, *Osmanoğulları’nın Tarih*, p. 427; NEŞRİ, *Kitab-ı Cihan-numa: Neşri Tarihi*, vol. II, p. 546.

<sup>37</sup> H. COTSONIS, *Aus der Endzeit von Byzanz: Bürklüdsche Mustafa. Ein Märtyrer für die Koexistenz Zwischen Islam und Christentum*, BZ 50.2, 1958, p. 397–404.

<sup>38</sup> M. KESKIN, *Der Aufstand Scheich Bedreddin Mahmud Isra’ils und die Toleranzidee in der anatolischen Heterodoxie*, Berlin 2003.

<sup>39</sup> An example of such survey may be found in A.Y. OCAK, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar ve Mülhidler*, Istanbul 1998, p. 136–202; cf. C. IMBER, *The Ottoman Empire: 1300–1481*, Istanbul 1990, p. 83–84.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. now I.E. BINBAŞ, *Intellectual Networks in Timurid Iran Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Alī Yazdī and the Islamic Republic of Letters*, Cambridge 2016.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, p. 42, 51, 54, 108–110; A.Y. OCAK, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar...*, p. 158, 198; D. KASTRITSIS, *The Revolt of Şeykh Bedreddin...*, p. 225–226, 227, 231, 238; N. SINOSSOĞLOU, *Sect and Utopia...*, p. 44, 51–52. On the historical geography of Hurufi networks in the fifteenth century, cf. C.H. FLEISCHER, *Ancient Wisdom and New Sciences: Prophecies at the Ottoman Court in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*, [in:] *Falnama. The Book of Omens*, ed. M. FARHAD, S. BAĞCI, Washington, D.C. 2009, p. 232–243; cf. I. MÉLIKOFF, *Hadji Bektach: un mythe et ses avatars. Genèse et évolution du soufisme populaire en Turquie*, Leiden 1998 [= IHC, 20], p. 175f, 237f.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. now O. MİR-KASIMOV, *Ummis versus Imams in the Hurufi Prophetology: an Attempt at a Sunni/Shi’i Synthesis*, [in:] *Unity in Diversity. Mysticism, Messianism and the Construction of Religious Authority in Islam*, ed. IDEM, Leiden 2013 [= IHC, 105], p. 221–247.

<sup>43</sup> O. MİR-KASIMOV, *Words of Power. Hurufi Teachings between Shi’ism and Sufism in Medieval Islam. The Original Doctrine of Fad Allāh Astarābādī*, London 2015, p. 427–434.

All these Islamic (and Islamic-Christian) eclectic contexts are also of considerable importance for a better understanding of the continuous reappraisals of and attitudes to the spiritual and ideological legacy of Sheikh Bedreddin in Ottoman and post-Ottoman cultures, religiosities and Sufi traditions<sup>44</sup>. They could also shed new light on the historical and symbolic afterlife of the Sheikh Bedreddin and Börklüce Mustafa movements in the fifteenth century and in later contexts of religious dissent, non-conformism and sectarianism. The later contexts include the self-identity of some Balkan Alevi groups which have retained foundational narratives focused on Sheikh Bedreddin<sup>45</sup>. Given the foundational role of Sheikh Bedreddin in these Balkan Alevi group identities, there have been attempts to integrate his uprising and its agendas within the ideological models of Slavo-Turkic continuities and imaginaries which have been advanced since the nineteenth century to explain the Islamicisation and Turkification processes in the Balkans<sup>46</sup>.

Early and more recent reiterations of these Slavo-Turkic heretical imaginaries as a rule draw on a general preconceived model of a medieval Eastern Christian dualist (Bogomil and Paulician) core layers in Alevism. However, the proposed claims for a Bogomil and Paulician Christian dualist formative impact on Alevism in areas like organizational hierarchy, socio-political stances, angelology, diabolology, visionary mysticism and eschatology are on the whole either anachronistic or historically flawed and untenable<sup>47</sup>. Their more recent formulations in South-East Europe and Turkey have been further compromised by their application of dubious methodologies and strategies which have included the drastic falsification of primary source material to implement obvious ideological and ethno-confessional agendas<sup>48</sup>. In the case of Sheikh Bedreddin the allegations of his doctrinal transgressions did not include accusations of anything approaching theological dualism, while his own writings remain emphatic about the tenet of the “Oneness of Being”. Hence claims for socio-religious continuity between Christian dualist

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the preliminary analysis in A. GÖLPINARLI, *Simavna Kadısoğlu Şeyh Bedreddin*, Istanbul 1966, p. 42–48; N. FILIPOVIĆ, *Princ Musa...*, ch. 11; M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, ch. 3.

<sup>45</sup> On these groups, cf. H. ГАВРИЛОВА, *Движението на шейх Бедреддин Махмуд и неговите последователи*, [in:] *Българският петнадесети век. Сборник с доклади за българската обща и културна история през XV век, София, 19–21. X. 1992*, ed. A. МИНЧЕВА, Б. РАЙКОВ, К. ИВАНОВА, София 1993, p. 93–107; F. DE JONG, *Problems concerning the Origins of the Qizilbaş in Bulgaria: Remnants of the Safaviyya?*, [in:] *Convegno sul tema. La Shiʿa nell'Impero Ottomano (Roma, 15 Aprile 1991)*, Rome 1993, p. 203–216, at p. 205; T. ZARCONI, *Nouvelles perspectives dans les recherches sur les Kızılbaş – Alévis et les Bektachis de la Dobroudja, de Deli Orman et de la Thrace orientale*, AMO 4, 1992, p. 1–11; M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, p. 96–99, 108–111.

<sup>46</sup> Y. STOYANOV, *Modern and Post-Secular Alevi and Bektāšī Religiosities and the Slavo-Turkic Heretical Imaginary*, [in:] *The Experience of Faith in Slavic Cultures and Literatures in the Context of Postsecular Thought*, ed. D. SOSNOWSKA, E. DRZEWIECKA, Warsaw 2018, p. 128–144.

<sup>47</sup> Analysis and critique in Y. STOYANOV, *Early and Recent Formulations of Theories for a Formative Christian Heterodox Impact on Alevism*, BJMES 37.3, 2010, p. 261–272.

<sup>48</sup> Y. STOYANOV, *Early and Recent Formulations...*, p. 271–272; H. AKSUT, H. HARMANCI, Ü. ÖZTÜRK, *Alevi Tarih Yazmında Skandal*, Istanbul 2010.

Bogomilism and Sheikh Bedreddin's movement in the Balkans<sup>49</sup> still lack any theological and doctrinal data which could support conjectures of Christian dualist (Bogomil and/or Paulician) participation in his insurrection and support for his broader agendas and goals.

The communal use of property, collectivism and egalitarianism preached during the Börklüce Mustafa's rebellion invite obvious parallels with earlier Islamic socio-religious movements such as the tenth-century Qarmatians<sup>50</sup> though without any evidence of historical connections bridging the four-century gap between the two movements. Some earlier trends in the study of Bogomilism and Paulicianism attributed similar teachings to their medieval communities and drawing on such often ideologized reconstructions, attempts have been made to integrate them into the social base of the Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin movements<sup>51</sup> but without offering any concrete evidence of the social nature and features of these communities in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. It seems quite plausible that Borkluce Mustafa's teaching of the communal use of property (as reported in the Doukas account of the rebellion) reflects Islamic apocalyptic traditions on the sharing of wealth and abolishing of poverty in the end times<sup>52</sup>. It is also worth noting that as the physical location of the "Seven Churches of Asia" in Revelation 2–3, the Western Anatolian and the Aegean coastal area played a continuous role in medieval Christian apocalyptic lore. Smyrna and Philadelphia appear, moreover, in medieval Christian polemical literature as prominent centres of Christian dissent, heterodoxy and heresy. Important communities or "churches" of the early medieval Paulician movement in Anatolia at the height of its influence and high medieval Eastern Christian dualism were located in the region<sup>53</sup>. As in the case of other Balkan and Anatolian areas, this again raises the inevitable question as to whether there may have been actual historical links and continuity between the earlier outbreaks of Christian dissent and heterodoxy and the later instances of Islamic heterodox and antinomian movements which spread and challenged Ottoman authorities in the same or adjacent areas<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> For such claims and theories, cf. H.Z. ÜLKEN, *İslâm düşüncesi*, Istanbul 1946, p. 188–198; П. ПАРУШЕВ, *Шейх Бедредин еретика*, София 1982 [repr. in: *Трима радетели за мюсюлмано-християнско единение през XV век*, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, София 2012, p. 142–232, at p. 159, 185, 228]; D. АВСЛОĞЛУ, *Türklerin tarihi*, Istanbul 1978, p. 11, 816–818; П. КОНСТАТИНОВ, *История на България*, София 1992, p. 42; M. DAŞ, *Bizans'ta Sosyal-Dini İçerikli Bir Halk Hareketi: Bogomiller*, [in:] *International Börklüce Mustafa Symposium...*, p. 293–298.

<sup>50</sup> M. BALIVET, *Islam mystique et révolution armée...*, p. 78.

<sup>51</sup> See note 37 above.

<sup>52</sup> A. GÖLPINARLI, *Simavna Kadısoğlu...*, p. 9.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. B. HAMILTON, *The Cathars and the Seven Churches of Asia*, [in:] IDEM, *Crusaders, Cathars and the Holy Places*, Aldershot 1999, p. 269–295 [repr.]; Y. STOYANOV, *The Other God. Dualist Religions from Antiquity to the Cathar Heresy*, London–New Haven 2000, p. 127–131, 195–202.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. A.Y. ОСАК, *Un aperçu général sur l'hétérodoxie musulmane en Turquie: réflexions sur les origines et les caractéristiques du Kizilbachisme (Alévisme) dans la perspective de l'histoire*, [in:] *Syncretistic*

Throughout the thirteenth and early fourteenth century the Aegean coastal area remained a rather active contact zone of shifting coalitions, frontlines and geopolitics involving the extant regional Byzantine aristocratic and military elites, Muslim and Christian frontier warriors, early Ottomans and their Christian allies, Turkish maritime emirates and the various central and peripheral political or trade players active at that stage in the East Mediterranean and Black Sea areas. This was also a period of intense cross-cultural and cross-religious encounters and interchange for the region which are of undoubted importance for understanding the religious dynamic of the late Byzantine and early Ottoman era in western Anatolia and the southern Balkans.

The Ottoman conquests in Anatolia and the Balkans had already triggered the last phase of Byzantine historical apocalypticism and imperial prophecies which were replete with pronounced eschatological expectations<sup>55</sup> and deepened the increasing sense of major spiritual crises and dilemmas, especially but not only in the rapidly shrinking Byzantine dominions. Recent research has drawn attention to the potential contribution of contemporary Western apocalypticism to the religious ferment of the period in the Aegean coastal region via the import of sectarian and dissident offshoots of the mendicant orders (mainly the Franciscans) who had been subjected to censure and persecution in Italy<sup>56</sup>. Such groups which adopted and fostered extreme forms of Franciscan Joachimism were reportedly establishing missions and colonies in the East Mediterranean, Near East and Caucasus, including the Aegean coastal zone and islands<sup>57</sup>.

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*Religious Communities in the Near East*, ed. K. KEHL-BODROGI et al., Leiden 1997, p. 195–204; IDEM, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Zındıklar...*, p. 183; Y. STOYANOV, *On Some Parallels between Anatolian and Balkan Islamic Heterodox Traditions and the Problem of their Co-Existence and Interchange with Popular Christianity*, [in:] *Syncretismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seljoukide et ottoman des XII<sup>e</sup>–XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. G. VEINSTEIN, Paris 2005, p. 75–119, at 99–101.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. A. PERTUSI, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo. Significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in Oriente e Occidente*, Rome 1988, *passim*; M. BALIVET, *Textes de fin d'Empire, récits de fin du Monde: à propos de quelques thèmes communs aux groupes de la zone byzantino-turque*, [in:] *Les traditions apocalyptiques au tournant de la chute de Constantinople*, ed. B. LELLOUCH, S. YÉRASIMOS, Paris–Montréal 1999, p. 5–19; I. BELDICEANU, *Péchés, calamités et salut par le triomphe de l'Islam. Le discours apocalyptique relatif à l'Anatolie (fin XIII<sup>e</sup> – fin XV<sup>e</sup> s.)*, [in:] *Les traditions apocalyptiques*, Lellouch–Yérasimos, p. 19–35; P. GURAN, *Eschatology and Political Theology in the Last Centuries of Byzantium*, RESEE 45.1, 2007, p. 73–87.

<sup>56</sup> К. ЖУКОВ, *К истории религиозных движений в восточном средиземноморье в XIV–XV вв.: новая интерпретация восстания Берклудже Мустафы в Турции (около 1415 г.)*, ППСб 98, 1998, p. 84–98; K. ZHUKOV, *Börklüce Mustafa, Was he Another Mazdak*, [in:] *Syncretismes et hérésies...*, p. 119–129.

<sup>57</sup> Analysis of the evidence in К. ЖУКОВ, *К истории религиозных движений...*, p. 87–89. On the stay and activities of Angelo da Clareno (1247–1337), the leader of one of the Fraticelli groups, in Greece, cf. D. BURR, *The Spiritual Franciscans. From Protest to Persecution in the Century After Saint Francis*, University Park, PA 2001, p. 279–305.

Franciscan Joachimism had emerged under the impact of radical forms of the practice of the Franciscan way of life and evangelical poverty and also developed a vigorous critique of the papacy, accompanied by eschatological and millenarian speculations. Eventually this apocalyptic ferment contributed to the emergence of movements such as the followers of Fra Dolcino (the Dulcinians) in north Italy and the Taborites in Bohemia in which an apocalyptic understanding of history was reinforced by radical programmes of violent opposition to church and state authorities, legitimizing military action and armed rebellion. Indeed some of the tenets of the Dulcinian movement invite close parallels to those of the Börklüce Mustafa rebellion: egalitarianism, collectivism, communal use of property, violent opposition to the contemporary political status quo<sup>58</sup>. The presence and routes of similar offshoots of heterodox Franciscan Joachimism in the fourteenth-century Aegean coastal area (and their potential input in contemporaneous religious and ideological and cultural struggles) thus broadens the context in which eschatological and millenarian ideas spread and operated in the region during this period.

This line of enquiry seems certain to open new possibilities for exploring the provenance of the ideals of communal property and voluntary poverty practiced by the Börklüce Mustafa movement and its possible apocalyptic dimension. With the current state of evidence, conjectures about possible Christian heretical dualist input in the ideology and organization of the rebellions of Börklüce Mustafa and Sheikh Bedreddin remain unsupported by any direct or circumstantial data. However, there are growing indications that the Sheikh Bedreddin and Börklüce Mustafa uprisings were in some way part of a wider wave and networks of dissenting movements, socio-religious agitation, protest and utopianism which extended from parts of Catholic Europe to the Balkans and Anatolia in the late Byzantine and early Ottoman periods.

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<sup>58</sup> К. Жуков, *К истории религиозных движений...*, p. 92–93.



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## MENTAL ILLNESSES IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THEIR REFLECTION IN THE SOUTH SLAVONIC HAGIOGRAPHIC LITERATURE

**Abstract.** The main points are related to the cultural-anthropological (Michel Foucault) and theological contextualization of diseases (Jean-Claude Larchet) and their treatment in the Middle Ages. Based on the South Slavonic hagiographic literature, the terms *physician* and *healer* are defined and specified. The study focuses on the mental disease (insanity), which according to the methodology of Larchet is three types: somatic nature of madness, the madness of demonic origin, and madness of spiritual origin. Also partly concerns the problem of God fools' insanity.

**Keywords:** mental illness, demon-possessed, healer, treatment, saint

The idea of medical knowledge and practices, spiritual and physical diseases, and their treatment from the Middle Ages in hagiographic manuscripts are still insufficiently studied mainly due to the diversity of topics. Throughout the Middle Ages, the archetypal model of the healer was undoubtedly Jesus Christ. This gives a high impact on the hagiographic literature created in Slavia Orthodoxa in 13<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Bulgarian scholar Stefan Mutafov<sup>1</sup> points out that in the four Gospels there are over 50 cases where healings performed by Christ are specifically mentioned. The treatment he provides affects two groups of patients: with specified diagnoses, miraculously cured, and treatment of people without specifying the specific method of treatment. From the point of view of modern medicine, the patients treated by Christ suffered from diseases mainly from the following four groups:

1. Mental and neurological diseases;
2. Sensorimotor and speech defects – blind people, stuttering, patients with a dry hand, partial or complete paralysis, etc.;
3. Other diseases – treatment of bleeding, severe fever, treatment of gout;
4. Resurrections (i.e. resuscitation probably from clinical death).

<sup>1</sup> С. МУТАФОВ, *Медицината в българската иконопис*, София 1992, p. 97–98.

Some of these diseases have their specific terminology, which is described in the Gospel text. For example, patients from the first group, i.e. with mental and neurological diseases are designated as follows:

- 1.1. Possessed by evil spirits (i.e. mentally ill, including oligophrenics and epileptics) – Jesus Christ healed the daughter of a Canaanite woman from an evil spirit (Mt. 15: 22, 28; Mk. 7: 25, 30). He also exorcised the impure spirit from a man in the Capernaum Synagogue (Lk. 4: 33–35), he exorcised the “Legion” demon from a man in the Gerasenes country (Mk. 5: 1–15; Lk. 8: 27–39), he restored two demon-possessed men from the region of the Gadarene (Mt. 8: 28–33).
- 1.2. Paralyzed people (including other neurologically ill people) – he heals the paralyzed man in the bath in Bethsaida (Jn. 5: 2–15), someone else paralyzed man (Mt. 9: 2, 7), he also healed the man who had fallen through the roof of the house (Mk. 2: 1–12; Lk. 5: 18–25). It is no coincidence that the Fourth Sunday after Easter is called the ‘Sunday of the Paralytic’ and the church honors the miraculous healing of the paralyzed for 38 years at the Bethsaida bath. *Later Jesus found him at the temple and said to him, “See, you are well again. Stop sinning or something worse may happen to you”* (Jn. 5: 14). In this context, the idea of the moral determinism of the disease and its only possible cure – faith in God’s grace – is clearly seen.
- 1.3. Somnambulism – Jesus Christ heals a lunatic epileptic boy (Mt. 17: 14–18; Mk. 9: 17–27; Lk. 9: 38–42).

The diseases from the other groups are presented descriptively. A special place is given to the fourth group, the resurrection because it has a certain theological significance and is associated with the Resurrection of Christ himself. Other similar cases are either anticipation of this event (the Resurrection of Lazarus) or a consequence of prayers by the righteous, sometimes healers, but done only at God’s discretion. Because people can heal if God allows them, but they cannot give life.

The topic of madness, mental illness and their treatment in connection with the question of the functioning of the cult of saints in society as a whole is rarely addressed in the researches. Since 1960, in Europe, this issue has been developed within the framework of socio-anthropological research. From the Bulgarian research in this direction in recent years should be mentioned the book *Medicine in Bulgarian Icon Painting* by St. Mutafov<sup>2</sup>, where the issue of patronage of saints-healers over the mentally ill is mainly based on murals and icons. He describes in more detail the places of treatment and the healing procedures themselves: the chains to which the madmen were attached, bathing springs in some of the Bulgarian monasteries: Rila Monastery, Monastery of Kuklen,

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem.*



Monastery of Bachkovo. He notes that saint-healers of mental illness are considered St. Terapontus, St. Anthony the Great.

Another interesting opinion is given by Bulgarian scholar Galina Valchinova<sup>3</sup>, who, studying the interpretations of madness in traditional medicine and in particular the cult of St. Terapontus, says the following:

...the saint in whose name the healing is performed gives the object 'miraculous' healing. Thus it becomes an inalienable element of the whole ritual-ideological complex, within the framework of which the mentally ill person finds or regulates his sexual identity, regains or acquires marital status...

In 2011, one of the latest studies on medical texts and knowledge in Bulgaria is Mincho Georgiev's book *Old Bulgarian Medicine*<sup>4</sup>, which offers a broader view of the medieval Slavonic, and in particular, Bulgarian knowledge about the human body, its diseases and ways of their healing.

Such studies reflect a broader, sociocultural approach to the subject of mental illness and the saints – their healers. They fit into the context of a number of studies of European science, which seeks to reconstruct the anthropological and socio-psychological model of medieval society and the mechanisms it has developed to deal with this type of disease. The search is in two directions – to a philosophical understanding of the phenomena and to highlight the Christian-theological basis of their healing.

The first direction is very indicative of the works of Michel Foucault, who studied mental illness in detail in his book *History of Madness in the Classical Age*<sup>5</sup> tracing from the Middle Ages the signs of madness and its connection with the social and physical exclusion of lepers. According to him, after the disappearance of leprosy, insanity begins to take the place of exclusion. For him, it is an "absence of action". In 17<sup>th</sup> century Europe, in a movement that M. Foucault called the Great Prison, "unreasonable" members of society were imprisoned and institutionalized. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, madness became the opposite of Reason, and only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was it defined as a mental illness. In *The Birth of the Clinic. An Archaeology of Medical Perception*<sup>6</sup>, M. Foucault continues the line of the history of mentality, aiming to understand how and when the space of disease coincided with the space of the human body. In Bulgaria, the main publication in this direction is the encyclopedia *The Mythology of the Human Body. Anthropological Dictionary*<sup>7</sup>,

<sup>3</sup> Г. ВЪЛЧИНОВА, *Свещецът и трактовката на лудостта в традиционната култура*, БЕТ 2, 2005, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> М. ГЕОРГИЕВ, *Старобългарската медицина*, София 2011.

<sup>5</sup> М. ФУКО, *История на Лудостта в класическата епоха*, trans. А. КОЛЕВА, Плевен 1996.

<sup>6</sup> ИДЕМ, *Раждање на клиниката. Археология на медицинския поглед*, trans. В. ГРАДЕВ, И. КРЪСТЕВА, София 1994.

<sup>7</sup> *Митология на човешкото тяло. Антропологичен речник*, ed. М. ГЕОРГИЕВ, София 2008.

which describes the notions of the human body in its most common uses as part of traditional cultural knowledge (anatomical body, sick, sexual, the sacred body, etc.). Such researches allow us to trace the mental stereotypes in which the idea of mental illness is situated.

Representative of the second direction in the study of the notions of disease in the Middle Ages is Jean-Claude Larcher, a prominent scholar studying diseases from the point of view of Christian theology and the concept of body and disease developed in the patristic and hagiographic texts of the Christian East. As he points out<sup>8</sup>, *Christian thought has developed a complex concept of mental illness, which identifies three possible causes of their origin: organic, demonic, and spiritual, and they also imply specific therapeutic approaches*. He divides madness into three types: *somatic madness, demonic madness, and spiritual madness*.

*Somatic madness* is caused by a typical physical illness. Often its source is fever, a common symptom of many diseases. It is actually a disease of the body that is treated on a physiological level. The treatment is carried out by taking medicines based on plant, mineral and animal extracts, baths, and diets. St. St. Cyrus and John (January 31), as doctors, heal physical ailments, including fever. In the seventh century, Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, described approximately 70 miracles performed by these saints.

The *madness of demonic origin* is caused by the direct intervention of demons. Numerous such cases are presented in hagiographic texts, clearly defined as insanity under the direct influence of one or more demons. In the Christian interpretation, this is a disease – a test of faith. Through the power of Jesus Christ, expressed in the invocation of his name, all demons are cast out. Usually, healers make a cross sign to cast out demons. Also used is oil for rubbing and anointing (e.g. St. Barypsabas uses the blood of Jesus, which he mixes with oil and heals with this mixture), and holy water. The laying on of hands is also often used – a traditional form of exorcism, which commands the demon to get rid of. In order to expel the demon, the patient was often tied to a pole with chains (similar practices were carried out in Bulgaria: Monastery of Kuklen, the Monastery of St. Anthony in Melnik).

The last kind of madness is the *madness of spiritual origin*. If for the first type of madness the cause of the disease is fallen human nature, for the second – the demons, then the third type of madness stems from the free will of man – depression, drooping, and sadness. The first possible cause of sadness is the disappointment of some available or expected pleasure. In this case, healing is done by renouncing carnal desires and pleasures (e.g. St. Anthony). The second main cause of sadness is anger as a reaction or consequence of an insult. Meeting another person allows for faster healing than loneliness. Prayer in all its forms is a basic remedy for sorrow, as is psalm-singing. There are four main methods of treating

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<sup>8</sup> Ж.-К. ЛАРШЕ, *Терапия на менталните болести. Опитът на християнския Изток от първите векове*, trans. Ю. ТАЛЕВА, София 2013, p. 16.

depression – the first is that one must fight alone to resist it (and mainly through prayer), i.e. treatment of the disease should be sought in the attitude of man to himself and not to others. The drooping can be overcome through the second method of treatment – hope. The third remedy is repentance, repentant weeping, and contrition. The fourth cure – is that of labor of the hands, through physical labor.

As a special kind of madness, J.-C. Larcher brings out the holy foolishness, because the foolishness for Christ actually pretends to be crazy. As he notes<sup>9</sup>, the biographer of St. Simeon the Holy Fool from Edessa repeatedly emphasizes the imaginary nature of his madness. The main biblical reasons for foolishness to Christ must be sought in the New Testament. Thus, in his epistle to the Romans and in his first epistle to the Corinthians ap. Paul emphasizes the complete opposite between the wisdom of the world and the wisdom of God (1 Cor 1: 18; 20; 27; 1 Cor 2: 14; 1 Cor 3: 19; Rom 1: 22).

Madness corresponds to the conversion of values made by Jesus Christ, which is illustrated in the Gospels of the Apostles (Mt. 18: 4; 20: 16; Mk. 9: 35; 10: 44; Lk. 14: 11). The madness in its use must be understood in a spiritual sense, not in a psychopathological one. I must note that the phenomenon of foolishness has been studied in great detail. It is most fully presented in the research of the Russian Byzantine historian Sergey Ivanov through his books *Byzantium Foolishness*<sup>10</sup> and *Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond*<sup>11</sup>. These are God's Fool's saints whose vita have been translated and their cults spread among the southern and eastern Slavs. They do not need the intervention of other people, as long as they control their madness. Recent studies of this type of madness show that the attitude towards them is not always unequivocally positive. As Polish scholar Cesary Wodziński notes<sup>12</sup>, *the demons in the space of madness for Christ's sake are completely devoid of the semi-divine and Hermes character of the Greek mediators between the divine and the human world*. He<sup>13</sup> also emphasizes the fact that the treatment of demon-possessed people is a part of the typical repertoire of miracles of Russian foolishnesses. Something like their professional duty. But in general, they are beyond the specific object of the present presentation of mental illnesses and their treatment in the South Slavonic medieval literature. The focus of my research is the madness of a demonic nature, described both in the translated Bulgarian hagiography and in the original Bulgarian vita basically during 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries. The reason for this madness is the demons (δαίμων)<sup>14</sup>. But who are they? In different historical

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 159.

<sup>10</sup> С.А. ИВАНОВ, *Византийское юродство*, Москва 1994.

<sup>11</sup> ИДЕМ, *Блаженные похабы. Культурная история юродства*, Москва 2005.

<sup>12</sup> Ц. ВОДЖИНСКИ, *Светият идиот. Проект за апофатична антропология*, София 2004, p. 70.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 87.

<sup>14</sup> A detailed review of research on demonology can be found in the book by Gerasim Petrinski: Г. ПЕТРИНСКИ, *Образът на демона във византийската житиепис (VI–X в.)*, София 2018, p. 20–29.

epochs, demons have specific transformations of perception. In the Homeric age, the demon is an unknown and irrational force that fatally affects human life, causing diseases and natural disasters such as storms. Hesiod for the first time creates specific demonology, and according to him they are of mortal origin, inhabit the earth. In his interpretation, demons are entirely useful to human beings – they are keepers of mortals and protectors of evil. In late antiquity, the idea of a keeper-demon was probably mixed with various magical notions. A magic papyrus mentions the so-called δαίμων-πάρεδρος – a powerful air spirit that can be summoned and subdued by the Magus or his client through certain spells for a certain period of time or for in all born days. He has to be inseparable from his master and fulfill all his desires. In connection with this purpose, the air spirit has its power and numerous servants – evil demons who help him to carry out the commandments<sup>15</sup>. Such similar supernatural helpers of magicians are also mentioned in Christian hagiography (for example, Heliodorus, described in Vita of St. Leo of Catania<sup>16</sup>, with the help of a Jewish sorcerer summons the devil who comes through the air, a riding deer, who gives him the demon Gaspar as his helper). In the demonology that developed Christianity from the first century onwards, the notion of a certain enemy, personification and original source of Evil in the world occupies a central place, and the notions of it are formed gradually over many centuries. Demons in Christianity are seen as servants of the Devil and generally have more masculine than feminine features. They are both anthropomorphic (e.g., black Ethiopian, the female demon Gello, and many others) and zoomorphic (a snake, a dragon, a scorpion, etc.), and sometimes even phytomorphic (for example, a tree).

Briefly, I would like to clarify exactly how demons are cast out, which implies the method of healing the sick person. One of the most common methods is the prayer by which Jesus Christ is called and by the power of the verbal word the demons are cast out. Healing saints often resort to the following methods of healing: oil for rubbing and anointing, holy water for sprinkling, laying on of hands, sleeping in Christian temples. More radical methods of treatment are also possible, such as shackling the patient, striking with a scepter – all this, of course, accompanied by the main method of struggle – the healing prayer. As the Bulgarian researcher M. Georgiev<sup>17</sup> notes, *with prayers to God the saints give health to all who have sought their intercession in faith... Prayers for healing assimilate pagan spells and thus form an array of medieval texts of spells with mentions of saints in them.*

During the Christian era, saints were the ones who fought fierce battles with demons, both in life and after death, through their relics. Their feat is accomplished by renouncing worldly temptations, following Christ through fasting and prayer. But in this research I will not pay attention to the internal struggle with

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 139.

<sup>16</sup> *Житие на свети Лъв, епископ Катански*, [in:] Чети-минеи за ноември–декември от манастира Драгомирна от 15 в., Драг706/1795.

<sup>17</sup> М. ГЕОРГИЕВ, *Старобългарската...*, p. 150.

my own demons, but only to the external struggle, which, of course, is also part of the healing process. Here is the moment to give a few examples of the exorcism of demons by saints from the translated hagiography from Greek in various South Slavonic manuscripts.

Such a saint is, for example, Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain, which is venerated by the Orthodox and Catholic Churches on May 24. The nickname 'Wondrous Mountain' ('Divnogorets', 'Дивногорец') is due to the fact that he struggles on a pillar tower located in the mountain 'Divna'. He was born at Antioch in 522. As a child he was brought up to be educated by the stylist John and he himself devoted himself to pillar-dwelling. Later he went to Wondrous Mountain near Antioch, where he founded a monastery and built a pillar on a rock. Many people come to him for healing. Saint Simeon was honored by God with the gift of miracles and foresight because he foretold many future events. He was ordained a priest at the age of 33 by Bishop Dionysius of Seleucia. At age 75 St. Symeon was warned by the Lord of his impending end. The saint is considered a reverend. In addition, his exploits place him in the category of stylites. When examining his character, I use his Vita structured by the new Jerusalem typikon panegyricon of January–May from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Zogr90<sup>18</sup>). The vita is on ff. 198 – 217<sup>19</sup> and the end is missing. Saint Symeon heals people suffering from various diseases, as well as an obsessed man with the help of prayer: *ТА ЖЕ ПРИВЕДЕНЪ БЫ(С) НѢКЫИ КЪ НЕМОУ БѢСНОУСА... И ТОГО Ѡ ИМЕНИ ХВѢ ПРИЗВАВЪ... ЗНАМЕНІЕ ВЪЗЛОЖЪ, И ѠТЖДОУ ИЗГНАВЪ, З(Д)РАВА ЧѢКА ѠПОУСТИ* (ff. 205 – 2056).

The memory of the Venerable Euphrasia of Constantinople is venerated by the Orthodox Church on July 25 and by the Catholic Church on March 13. Euphrasia was the only daughter of Antigonus – a nobleman of the court of Emperor Theodosius I, to whom he was related – and of Euphrasia, his wife. With her mother, who remained a widow when she was young, they moved to Egypt and traveled over the monasteries there. At the age of seven, Reverend Euphrasia became a nun. He leads a strict and ascetic life. Honored by God with the gift of miracles and healing, the Reverend died in 413 at the age of 30. In this research I will present the Vita of the Venerable Eupraxia<sup>20</sup> (ff. 267 – 2856) from Gilf58<sup>21</sup>. A significant topic

<sup>18</sup> *Житие на преподобен Симеон Дивногорец*, [in:] Новоизводен панигирик минеен за януари–май от 14 в., Зографска електронно-научна библиотека, Зограф90. Menaion Homiliary structured by the new Jerusalem typikon for January–May, 14<sup>th</sup> century from Zoграф Monastery, No. 90. The manuscript contains 217 fol. Without beginning and end. With many gaps inside. It is written with semi-uncial. The manuscript has been digitized and can be found in the Zoграфou Electronic Research Library at Sofia University.

<sup>19</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*, София 2008, p. 535.

<sup>20</sup> *Житие на преподобна Евпраксия Константинопольска*, [in:] Сборник, съдържащ патерик и извлечение от новоизводен панигирик, 15 в., РНБ, Гилф58.

<sup>21</sup> The miscellany contains the Paterikon and an extract from homiliary structured by the new Jerusalem typikon with not following a calendar order and with other additional texts. The manuscript dates from the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The miscellany probably was created by a copyist from the Rila Monastery. It is written with semi-uncial.

(ff. 2796 – 282) of the structure of Gilf58 is the story of the treatment of the demon obsessed woman, who is living in the monastery: **БѢ ЖЕ ВЪ МОНАСТЫРИ НѢКАА ЖЕНА Ѡ МЛ(Д)НЬСТВА БѢСНЮЩИ СЕ И СВЕЗАНА, МЪЩИ ДЪХЪ НАЧЕЛНЫИ • ВЪЖИ ЖЕЛѢЗНИМИ ОКОВАНА ПО РОУКЪ И ПО НООГЪ • И БѢ ПѢНЫ ТѢЩЕЩИ И ЗЪБЫ СКРЪЖЕЩИЩИ...** (f. 279). As J.-C. Larcher notes<sup>22</sup>, tying the demon obsessed is a common practice. After some hesitation, the saint decided to try. Initially, she makes the sign of the cross to the sick woman, but the devil does not want to come out, and then the saint takes the wand and strikes the devil three times: **И ОУДАРИВШИ ЗА ЛАНИТЪ ТРИЩИ, ГЛА ЕМЪ • ИЗЫДИ Ѡ СЪЗДАНІА БѢЖІА НЕЧИСТЫИ ДЪШЕ... И ИЗЫДЕ Ѡ НЮЕ НЕВЫДИМЫ ВЫ(С) • И ИСЦѢЛѢ ЖЕНА Ѡ ЧАСА ВНОГО** (ff. 2816 – 282). The episode of casting out the demon is reminiscent of the more famous casting out of the demon from St. Margarita (Marina), where she fights him by hitting him on the head with a hammer, and given the similarity between the two episodes, it is obvious that this is a *topoi*.

Hilarion the Great cast outs many demons. His feast day is celebrated on October 21. Saint Hilarion the Great was born in 292 AD at Tabatha, a town near Gaza in Palestine. His family was pagans. He converted to Christianity and was baptized after studying in Alexandria. While he was in Egypt he became a disciple of St. Anthony the Great, an event that inspired him to devote himself entirely to the ascetic life. When his parents died, he returned to Gaza and sold all of his inheritance, distributing all of his wealth to the poor. After this he departed for the desert of Palestine, devoting himself entirely to prayer and fasting. His asceticism was based on St. Anthony the Great's model. God rewarded his spiritual efforts and bestowed upon him the grace to perform miracles. His fame spread throughout Palestine, and it was not long before he fled these distractions and settled eventually in Cyprus. St. Hilarion departed from this world in 372 AD at age of 80. St. Hilarion is considered by some to be the founder of Palestinian monasticism and venerated as a saint by the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church. I will give examples from the saint's *vita* (ff. 2466 – 276)<sup>23</sup>, from Reading Menaion for September–November from the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Drag700<sup>24</sup>). The Christian healing art applied by Hilarion works only if the patient is also a Christian. Such is the case with the *strategus* from Gaza Italicus, who drives a chariot and is possessed by a demon in such a way that he even paralyzes the whole (topic 16): **ОУДАРЕНЬ БЫВЪ БѢСѠ(М). И ОСЛАБЛЕНЬ БЫВЪ ВЕСЬ ОЦѢПѢНѢ. НЕ МОГЫ НИ ЕДИНѢМ ЖЕ ОУДЪ СВОИ(Х) ДВИЗАТИСА** (f. 2526). And only after receiving baptism is he healed by the saint: **И АБІА ДЪШЕА И ТѢЛОМЪ ЗР(Д)АВЪ ВЫ(С)** (f. 2526). Another demon-possessed man finds his healing (topic 17). Again, a very powerful youth called Marsitas was afflicted with a grievous demon: **СВЕРѢПСТВОМ ЖЕ БѢСА** (f. 2526). The demon

<sup>22</sup> Ж.-К. ЛАРШЕ, *Терапия на менталните болести...*, p. 95.

<sup>23</sup> *Житие на преподобен Иларион Велики*, [in:] Чети-миней за септември–ноември, последна четвърт на 15 в., Зографска електронно-научна библиотека, Драг700.

<sup>24</sup> In the Reading Menaion is used semi-uncial. Contains a total of 48 works. The manuscript is kept in the Dragomirna Monastery in Moldavia.

is so strong that the youth has to be chained and brought to the saint in chains. Hilarion the Great makes him bow his head: и он же поклонъ главѣ въсе свѣрѣпствоу оукротивъ (f. 253). The healing process in this patient includes prayer and the laying on of hands: ...мѣса ѡ немь • и възложь на нь рѣцѣ (f. 253). However, the Venerable took more radical measures in the treatment of the wealthy man named Orion, possessed by many demons and all chained (episode 18): свѣзанъ по нѣгма и повын веригами... очи же его бѣхѣ тако же крѣвь (f. 253). To defeat the demons, the saint resorted to physical violence against Orion: ...и за власы вѣрже прѣ(д) нѣгма своима на землѣ. и рѣками стиснѣвъ его. и настѣплѣ на нь нѣгма (f. 253б). Then he ordered the demon to come out, и изыде ѿ него (f. 253б). Another demon-possessed is helped by the saint who како ѿ единого тѣлесе, мнѡжѣство различныи(х) гласѡвъ... слышано бывааше (f. 253б). To heal him, he lays his hands on: ...и възложь на нь рѣцѣ, и зр(д)авѣ бы(с) (f. 254). An youth is possessed by the “demon” of love for a lass (topic 21): одръжѣцаго вѣса (f. 255) and goes to a famous magician in Memphis, Egypt: иде въ мемфие егѡпетскыѣ, къ единому вѣлѣвѣ именитоу (f. 255б), to help him. Learned by the devil’s wizard, he returns home and paints various images on a copper plate and buries her in front of the girls’ doorstep: ...прїиде въ дв(м) свои отрокъ, и искова дѣсчицѣ мѣдѣнѣ. и написавъ на неи вѣразы вѣсныѣ. и того злочѣстїа обрѣченѣ словеса и ископавъ по(д) прагомъ домѣ тоѣ дѣвѣцѣ, ота и погребѣ ѡ втиде (f. 255б). As a result of this pagan love magic, the girl is possessed by a demon: смѣщена бы(с) дѣвица оумомъ, начатъ неистовитисѣ и очи развращати... и съ съвѣ вес мѣтати покровы срамныѣ, и главѣ ѡкрывати. и скрежетати зѣбы... (f. 255б). Her compatriots brought her to the monastery of St. Hilarion. And he ordered the board to be taken out: велишими изыти... дѣсчици по(д) прагѡ(м) (f. 255б). The saint spoke to the demon, and in order to heal her, he laid his hands on her: повелѣно бы(с), се исповѣдати, и възложѣ рѣцѣ на главѣ дѣвѣци, въ имѣ гѣ іѡ хѣ ѡчистиѣ... ѡпоуѣнена же бывши отиде въ домъ свои (f. 256). In this regard, attention should be paid to the function and meaning of Egyptian magic. Magic is essentially a sign of one of the oldest steps of religious consciousness. Egyptian magic is characterized by three main principles that determine the magical ritual system in general<sup>25</sup>: the principle of similarity, the principle of substitution and the principle of the miraculous power of words. Egyptian magicians had the fame of great magicians. The Exodus (7: 10–23) of the Bible describes a contest between the Egyptian court pharaoh magicians, Moses and Aaron. In Greco-Roman times, magic, in its various aspects, became especially popular in Egypt. The ancient Egyptians believed that if a wizard-healer could cure diseases, then he could cause them. The magic is also used for the man to win the love of the chosen one of his heart<sup>26</sup> (as described in topic 21 of Drag700) or to accelerate his movement up the social hierarchy.

<sup>25</sup> М. КОРОСТОВЦЕВ, *Религията на древен Египет. Богове, жреци и магия*, София 1999, p. 49.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 55.

By laying on of his hands, the monk healed a person close to Emperor Constantius, who was possessed by a demon who would not let him sleep at night: *иже творѣше емоу по вѣса ноши, вѣнезапаж вѣскриати велми, и стенати, и скрежетати зѣбы и влѣтиса* (f. 256b). Upon learning of the saint's power, he begged the Emperor to let him go to the Palestinian lands. Upon arrival, he finds the saint by the sea and confesses to him about his illness, *исповѣдовати емоу о недѣзѣ* (f. 257). This demon is very different. It makes a person speak languages hitherto unknown to him. The demon knows many languages: *...и римсы начатъ бесѣдовати. противѣж вѣпрошенію стго. палестинскимъ азыкѡ(и) никакже знаѣща. ѡвѣщаваше емоу, вѣсѣ сирскы... начатъ грѣчьскимъ вѣпрашати его блжєныи. також(д)е еже и тѣ нач(т) грѣчьскы ѡвѣщавати. тако твореніемъ чаровъ, вѣниде вѣ нь* (f. 257). Gerasim Petrinski<sup>27</sup> notes that in hagiography demons who speak foreign languages remained a relatively rare phenomenon until the seventh century, and from the seventh to the tenth century they did not occur at all. And all this in the text is compared to magic (*твореніемъ чаровъ*). By the power of the name of Jesus and the laying on of hands, this demon is cast out: *вѣзлѡжи рѣцѣ на нь вѣ имѣ гѣ їса и абїе мѣжъ ѡчистиса* (f. 257). Hilarion heals not only demon-possessed people, but also demon-possessed animals (topic 24). Such is the case with the camel (*вѣлѣжда*) in which a demon inhabits, *вѣс же лють* (f. 257b). The saint orders the demon to come out, and it happens: *и изыде ѡ него* (f. 257b).

Saint Aberkios of Hierapolis is venerated by the Catholic and Orthodox Churches on October 22. He was a bishop of Hierapolis at the time of Marcus Aurelius (161–180). Abercius is said to have evangelized Syria and Mesopotamia and is on that basis referred to as one of the Equals-to-the-Apostles. He died about 167. Here I will use the *vita* of the saint<sup>28</sup> from Stanislav's Reading Menaion from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (NBKM1039<sup>29</sup>). He heals human diseases and, in particular, cures a demon-possessed youth: *и сице помѣивъ се и възрѣвъ на бѣсныю и ударъ жѣзломъ вѣ главы ихъ и рече. вѣ имѣ гѣ ис хѣ живааго бѣга, излѣзыте нечистыи доусы ѡ юношь... юноше же исцѣлѣвшѣ падоше на ногу стѣаго аверкына... и сташѣ юноше зр(д)ави и съ оумомъ* (f. 261b). The emperor's daughter Luciada, who is engaged to Leucir, is possessed by a demon: *и вѣниде вѣ дщєрь антѡннина цѣра ѣи же имѣ лоуқыада... нь тако вѣроученна бѣ моужеви дѣвца лѣвкироу... ѡтроковица же бѣсновата. власы свои трѣзѡущи, и пы(т) св(о)ю грызоущи* (f. 268). The treatment of the emperor's daughter is done through verbal prayer: *възрѣв же на нѣѡ стѣи помѣи се* (f. 270b) и... *излѣзоу из нею* (f. 271).

<sup>27</sup> Г. ПЕТРИНСКИ, *Образът на демона...*, p. 209.

<sup>28</sup> *Житие на равноапостолѣн Аверкий Йерѡполски*, [in:] Станиславов чети-миней от 14 в., Национална библиотека "Св. св. Кирил и Методий", NBKM1039.

<sup>29</sup> Stanislav's Reading Menaion (NBKM1039) contains old versions hagiographic texts. He was named 'Stanislavov' after one of the copyist. The manuscript is digitized and can be found on the website of the National Library "St. St. Cyril and Methodius".



Our venerable and God-bearing Father Ioannikios the Great was an ascetic who lived during the eighth and ninth centuries. His feast day is celebrated on November 4. Ioannikios was born in the village of Marikata in the province of Bithynia in Asia Minor. He was raised by his father Myritrikios and mother Anastasia as a shepherd. As an adult he was called to duty as a soldier and served with courage, particularly in the wars with the Bulgarians. After his military service, Ioannikios became an ascetic, withdrawing to Mount Olympus in Asia Minor. There, he was tonsured a monk. Having taken an active part in the destiny of God's Church, he entered the iconoclast controversy, first supporting iconoclasm, but finding himself deceived, he tore himself away from the iconoclast position and became an ardent iconodule who championed the veneration of icons. Ioannikios reposed peacefully in the Lord in the year 846, having lived 94 years. I will give an example of the expulsion of demons from his vita<sup>30</sup> from the Reading Menaion for September–November of the 15<sup>th</sup> century from the monastery in Dragomirna, No. Drag700<sup>31</sup>. It mentions how the saint heals a woman possessed by demons through the communicative act of prayer: *ЖЕНА НѢКАА ОКРЪЖЕНА Ѡ ВѢСВІА ЛННІГЫ... СЪ ЖЕ, ГѢВИ ПОМЛІВШСА... ЖЕНА ГЕ СТР(С)ТИ ИЗБАВЪШИСА. И ВЪЗВРАЩЪШИСА ВЪ ДОМЪ (f. 359).*

In this study, I would like to draw attention to St. Daniel the Stylite as I will use the vita of the Venerable<sup>32</sup> (ff. 2496 – 3106 from the Reading Menaion for November–December of the Zograf Monastery from the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Zogr94<sup>33</sup>). He is commemorated on 11 December. St. Daniel was born in a village in upper Mesopotamia near Samosata in present-day Turkey. He entered a monastery at the age of 12 and lived there until he was 38. During a voyage he made with his abbot to Antioch, he passed by the city of Telanissos (today 'Deir Semaan') and received the benediction and encouragement of St. Symeon the Stylite. St. Daniel established his pillar north of Constantinople. Daniel lived on the pillar for 33 years Daniel died in 493 and became the best-known Stylite after St. Symeon Stylites the Elder. He healed a demon-possessed young man named John, whom his father brought to the saint:

*...прїиде нѣкын старецъ Ѡ страны тарсїнскыж хытросетїа... нмын с собож сѣна єдино чадд... именемъ іѡана. Ѡ вѣса люта мжчина... гла къ старцоу блаженны данїилъ. гаже съ вѣрою просите, вѣсе прїимите Ѡ бѣа. аще ѡво вѣроуши. како множ грѣшннмъ исцѣлить бѣ сѣна твоєго... и повѣлкѣ втрокѣ вѣнннн прѣ(д) нимь... напоити то(г) Ѡ дрѣвѣно маслиннїа стѣхъ, и вы(с) тако. поврѣже и вѣсѣ на земал тоу и валѣаше(с) та(ж) вѣставѣ вѣпїаше заклиннажсѣ вѣсѣ како сын днѣ изыдж (ff. 3036 – 304).*

<sup>30</sup> *Житие на преподобен Йоаникий Велики*, [in:] Чети-миней за септември–ноември, новоизведен от 15 в., Зографска електронно-научна библиотека, Драг700.

<sup>31</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica...*, p. 68.

<sup>32</sup> *Житие на преподобен Даниил Стълник*, [in:] Чети-миней за ноември–декември от преходен тип от 14 в., Зографска електронно-научна библиотека, Зогр94.

<sup>33</sup> Reading Menaion for November–December from Zograf Monastery, 14<sup>th</sup> century (Zogr94). Written by several copyists. This is a Bulgarian manuscript, probably written on Mount Athos.

The demon can only be defeated if the sick person is a Christian. In this “classic” exorcism process, the so-called wood oil or unction is used. Also Alexandria, the daughter of Emperor Theodosius is possessed by a demon: *имѣхше дѣщерѣ именемъ левѣандрїѡ и та ѿ доуха зла мжчина* (ff. 304 – 304б). She is taken to Daniel to read prayers to her so that the wicked spirit may be cast out. That’s what happens. He comes out of it: *...въ ѣ днии ѿ вѣса свободи* (f. 304б). The saint also managed to heal a demon-possessed man posthumously: *на прѣставленїи его... исцѣли мжжа вѣсноужшася* (f. 309).

Of course, there are many more examples in which Christian saints cast out demons from possessed people and thus cure them of this mental illness. Although the main focus of this study is on the examples of demon casting, reflected in the translated hagiographic literature distributed in the southern Balkans, I would like to briefly turn to this practice, reflected in the Bulgarian original hagiography in the person and through the healing activity carried out by St. John of Rila (9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> cc.), a widely revered saint in Bulgaria from the Middle Ages to the present day. The main sources for it are the so-called “Popular Vita of St. John of Rila” (11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> cc.)<sup>34</sup>, the Greek Vita by George Skylitzes (12<sup>th</sup> century), two Vita probably written in the 13<sup>th</sup> century) and the later Vita by Patriarch Euthymius (14<sup>th</sup> century). He was the first Bulgarian hermit. St. John was born app. 876 in Skrino, Bulgaria. At the age of 25, St. John of Rila became a priest. After accepting the life of a monk, he left the monastery in order to continue his life in solitude and prayer. According to legend, Saint John of Rila was known to have performed a multitude of miracles in order to help the people. Shortly before his death (August 18, 946) St. John of Rila wrote his Testament (Zavet). As the patron saint of the Bulgarian people, his dormition is commemorated each year on August 18 and October 19.

In the various vita of the saint there are descriptions of the casting out of demons. For example, in the St. John of Rila’s Vita<sup>35</sup>, written in the 12<sup>th</sup> century by the Byzantine writer and high dignitary George Skylitzes (ff. 54a–746)<sup>36</sup>, in addition to fighting one’s own demons, the expulsion of a demon by a man through prayer is also described:

*мж(ж) нѣкто единосѣльникъ дѣх(м) лжкавинь злѣ въземьствовань раздираа ризы своа,  
и въ дванѣ не живѣше, ни врача обрѣсти не надѣаше(с)... на нѣо очи свои възвѣ(д), и ржцѣ  
простерѣ. възва страждашаго именень. прѣпо(д)вныи же възвѣ(д)иже его ржкож. и въсемѣ*

<sup>34</sup> The subject of the saint’s struggle with his own demons is widely used in the Popular Vita, but not the topoi of casting out demons from the sick. The central episodes include the meeting of the anchorite with Tsar Peter and the transfer of the relics of the saint from the king to Sredets. The lack of this hagiographic topoi could be explained by the fact that in the 13<sup>th</sup> century a rethinking of the cult of the saint began, which became local from national.

<sup>35</sup> *Житие на св. Иван Рилски от Георги Скилица (пространно)*.

<sup>36</sup> The collection containing canons, offices and vita about St. John of Rila from the last quarter of 15<sup>th</sup> c. (NMRM 1/26), dating 19 October, fol. 54a–746, <http://www.scripts-bulgarica.eu/bg/sources/zhitie-na-sv-ivan-rilski-ot-georgi-skilica-prostranno> [15 III 2021].

МНѠЖЪСТЕШЪ ВЪЗЪПНТИ ПОВЕЛѢ. Ꙗи ПОДЛЪБИ ЛЮДЕ(М) ЖЕ ШВО ПРѢПО(Д)ВНАГО ТВОРАЩЕНЫ ПОВЕЛѢНІЕ... СЕБѢ БѢ МЛЪ СЪ. ВЪШЕ БО И СИЦЕ СЪ ВЪСѢКИ ВСЕБДЪШЪ. И ШТОЛѢ ЛЖКАВОМЪ ДЪХЪ МЖЧИТИ ТОГО И СЪКРЪШИТИ ЗАПРѢЩЕНО БЫ(С). НЖ ТЪ ШВО ПРОГНАНЪ БЫ(С).

In the St. John of Rila's Vita from the First Verse Prologue<sup>37</sup> it is noted that the saint posthumously healed demon-possessed people: БЪСНІИ ИСЦѢЛѢВААТЪ<sup>38</sup>. The vita includes a biographical part, hermit exploits and miracles in Rila, gathering of students and founding of the monastery, election of a new abbot, death of the saint, transfer of the relics of St. John in Sredets (10<sup>th</sup> century), in the Hungarian town of Ostrog (between 1173 and 1183) and in Tărnovo (in 1195 by King Ivan Asen I), miracles with relics and final prayer. And Patriarch Euthymius in his version of Vita<sup>39</sup> also describes the exorcism of a demon by a man during the saint's lifetime: МЖЖЪ НѢКИИ ДУХЪМЪ НЕЧИСТЫИМЪ ЛЮТѢ ШЪ МНОГЪ ЛѢ(Т) СЪМЖЩАЕМЪ... ОНИ ЖЕ СЕВЪЗВШЕ ЕРѠ ВЛѢЧАХЪ... ПОМОЛИВШЪ СЪ, АВѢЕ БЪСЪ ИЗЫДЕ ШЪ ЧЛКА И ЗДРАВА БЫ(С)... (ff. 98 – 98б).

Here, of course, I will only briefly note that examples in this direction according to the model set by St. John of Rila is also found in the Vita of the other Slavonic hermits: Prohor of Pčinja, Joachim of Osogovo and Gabriel of Lesnovo.

At all historical stages, diseases initially occupy a middle ground between human life and death. The hagiographic texts provides extremely detailed information related to the diseases, and in particular to the mental illnesses. Of course, it largely transfers the diseases of the soul and its healing to the realm of the wonderful. The demon in the Middle Ages was the enemy of man and of the Good – he was both an internal and external antihero. At the same time, hagiography constantly emphasizes that the saint is a mediator between God and people in their healing. That is why he healed people from both physical and mental illnesses during his lifetime and posthumously through his relics. In the examples I have given, it is clear that the healing is carried out through the power of Christian prayer (Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain, Hilarion the Great, John of Rila), which is sometimes accompanied by the laying on of hands by the saint on the sick person (Hilarion the Great), or baptism (Eupraxia of Constantinople), anointing with oil (Daniel the Stylite), and sometimes more radical measures are applied – e.g. beating with a scepter (Eupraxia of Constantinople). And the demon possessing the pagan can be cast out only by accepting the new Christian faith (Hilarion the Great, Daniel the Stylite).

<sup>37</sup> *Житие на св. Иван Рилски от Стишния пролог (първо).*

<sup>38</sup> Verse Prologue for September–February, 1368/76, BAN 73, 86a–88b, <http://www.scripta-bulgaria.eu/bg/sources/zhitie-na-sv-ivan-rilski-ot-stishniya-prolog-prvo> [15 III 2021].

<sup>39</sup> *Пространно житие на свети Патриарх Евтимий*, [in:] Й. ИВАНОВ, *Български старини из Македония*, София 1908, p. 116–134, [https://archive.org/details/libgen\\_00283897/page/n11/mode/2up](https://archive.org/details/libgen_00283897/page/n11/mode/2up) [15 III 2021].

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## THE CONCEPT OF WHOLE SUBSTANCE IN GALEN'S *SIMPLE MEDICINES*

**Abstract.** Galen's great treatise on drugs, *Simple Medicines*, begins with 5 theoretical books which explain the mechanisms of drug actions in the following catalogues. The key agent of change is the mixture of the qualities hot, cold, wet and dry. But drugs also have substance, the leaf, root or fruit of plants, the material of animals and minerals. How does substance act on the human body? This is one of the key questions for the theory of drugs, since mixtures had already been explored by Galen in *Mixtures*. Galen's exploration of substance brings him to the composition of a drug – in thick or fine particles – and to the notion of substances in the plural and the notion of whole substance in the cases of foods and poisons, all of which Galen places in the class of drugs. Whole substance is the core of the paper. Galen's understanding of substance as of qualities depends heavily, as often, on Aristotle. The paper presents an argument based on the key passages in *Simples I–V*, which I have recently translated for the Cambridge Galen series, as too on related passages in *Mixtures* and *On the Capacities of Foods*.

**Keywords:** ancient medicine, Greek medicine, Galen, concept of whole substance, *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, *On the Mixtures and Capacities of Simple Medicines*

The aim of this article is to discuss Galen's understanding of change in the body: his broad proposition is that food maintains the body as it is, while drugs change it. Beneficial drugs restore the balance of health, while poisonous drugs attack the body. My specific task is to challenge a recent article by Peter Singer in a collection of articles edited by Martelli et al. (2020). Galen has a concept of change of the 'whole substance' when a body is fed or poisoned: I present his use of the term in his principal text on drugs, while Singer places more emphasis on some exceptional cases. It should be noted that while the 'humours' (which I translate as 'bodily fluids') play a part in Galen's discussion, they are not of great importance in Galen's argument. Rather, the body's health or illness is determined by the balance of the 'qualities' of heat, cold, wetness and moisture in the 'mixture' of the body. Everybody's mixture is particular to them.

Galen's magisterial treatise on drugs, *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus*, *On the Mixtures and Capacities of Simple Medicines* (abbreviated to SMT)<sup>1</sup>, has a central position in his theoretical works, between on the one hand the elemental theory of *de Elementis secundum Hippocratem*, *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*; his work on the potentialities<sup>2</sup> of foods and drugs – *de naturalibus facultatibus*, *On Natural Faculties*<sup>3</sup>; and the work on the mixtures (κράσεις) of qualities (ποιότητες) – *de Temperamentis*, *On Mixtures*; and on the other, dependent volumes on nutrition and regimen, which refer back to SMT, such as *de alimentorum facultatibus*, *On the Capacities<sup>4</sup> of Foods*, *de Bonis et Malis succis*, *On Good and Bad Juices* and *de Sanitate*, *On Matters of Health*.

In SMT, Galen sets out in five books how drugs work, and then gives a catalogue of drugs in the following six books, on plants, minerals and animals, much of it in alphabetical order<sup>5</sup>. The catalogue entries do not normally contain experimental data, as the catalogue of foods does in *de alimentorum facultatibus*, *On the Capacities of Foods*. Rather, the catalogues set out the drug properties as Galen has inherited them and as modified by the tests he has done on the drugs, following the methodology described in the first five books. In these five theoretical books, Galen emphasises that drug action is normally activated by the biological qualities of heating, cooling, drying and moistening<sup>6</sup>: in a food these qualities normally replace lost energy<sup>7</sup>, but in a drug they introduce change to restore the balance of the body to a healthy state. As Galen puts it at the beginning of SMT,

<sup>1</sup> The text I use for SMT is the standard edition of Kühn 1826, modified by my collation of two manuscripts, detailed in note 15. Translations are my own, forthcoming in the Cambridge Galen series.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Quod animi mores corporis temperament sequuntur* (QAM) 4.769–70 K *therefore we say that the substance has as many capacities as activities: for example the aloe has a capacity for cleansing, and toning the mouth of the stomach... Without there being some other thing that performs each of these actions apart from the aloe itself. For it is the aloe that does these things: and it is because it can do these things that it is said of it that it has these capacities, as many as the actions* (P. SINGER, *A Change in the Substance: Theory and its Limits in Galen's Simples*, *AIHS* 70, 2020 (= *Galen's Treatise On Simple Drugs. Interpretation and Transmission*, ed. M. MARTELLI, C. PETIT, L. RAGETTI), p. 377).

<sup>3</sup> 1.1–2, 2.4–6 K, alteration (ἀλλοίωσις) of the whole substance is discussed: *no one will consider that it is as it were a 'meeting of valleys' of bone, flesh, nerve and each of the other parts that befalls the bread, and then that each of them separates out and goes off in the body with what is of a similar kind to itself. No. Before this separation all the bread clearly becomes blood.*

<sup>4</sup> I translate the term δύναμις as 'capacity'. Alternative translations are 'powers', 'properties', 'faculties', 'potentialities', some of which appear in standard English translations of titles of Galen's works.

<sup>5</sup> The essays in *Galen's Treatise On Simple Drugs...* gives a valuable assessment of our current understanding of SMT, along with its characteristics and bibliography.

<sup>6</sup> On the overwhelming importance of qualities rather than humours as the agents of change in Galen, cf. P. VAN DER EIJK, *Galen on the Assessment of Bodily Mixtures*, [in:] *The Frontiers of Ancient Science. Essays in Honor of Heinrich von Staden*, ed. B. HOLMES, K.-D. FISCHER, Berlin–Boston 2015, p. 675–698. Cf. also V. BOUDON-MILLOT, *La notion de mélange dans la pensée médicale de Galien: mixis ou crisis?*, *REG* 124, 2011, p. 261–279.

<sup>7</sup> Galen defines a food as a replacement of lost energy: other parts of nutrition which a modern scientist would include, such as proteins, vitamins and minerals, are classed as drug actions by Galen.



We call a drug whatever produces change in our nature, just as in my opinion we call food whatever increases our substance (1.1, 11.380 K).

Galen, somewhat arrestingly, announces that he has nothing new to say about the mixtures of qualities (SMT 1.1, 11.381 K), and refers the reader to *Mixtures* itself. What he does have to add in SMT builds on that earlier treatise, and extends the enquiry to questions about substance, the internal composition of drugs<sup>8</sup>, and their speed of action<sup>9</sup>. Galen elaborates at SMT 1.3, 11.385 K<sup>10</sup>:

Distinguish food from drug and remember in relation to what purpose each is described: often they are composed around one substance, in line with what I also demonstrated. But no less because **some act towards each other and are acted upon** with their **whole substances**, while others **in respect of one or two qualities**. Additionally, some are finely composed, others thickly. Fine are those which are easily broken down into fine bits, thick the opposite.

This passage brings me to the kernel of the present chapter, Galen's concept of 'whole substance'. What does he mean by 'whole substance' and how is it distinguished from 'in respect of one or two qualities'? What does he mean by 'act towards each other and are acted upon'? What does he mean by fine and thick composition of a drug? These are questions that Galen examines in order to solve two problems: simple drugs are not simple; people make contradictory claims about many simples, thereby making prescriptions to patients uncertain.

To these questions Galen brings also an experimental method. The first step is to gather data by using the perception of the senses: touch, vision, and for drugs in particular taste and smell. Once this is gathered together, along with evidence from patients both healthy and sick, then logical deductions can be made. These must be done by the physician, who should not merely believe received claims from the tradition. Once all the experimental data is in and conclusions logically reached, explanations can be made about how and why drugs work.

<sup>8</sup> A drug may be of fine or thick in composition (λεπτομερής or παχυμερής), terms familiar in Greek science from the PreSocratics onwards: A. DEBRU, *Philosophie et pharmacologie: la dynamique des substances leptomères chez Galien*, [in:] *Galen on Pharmacology. Philosophy, History, and Medicine*, ed. IDEM, Leiden 1997 [= SAM, 16] notes that there are over 500 uses of the terms in SMT, in contrast with Dioscorides who barely uses the term or the concept. As we shall see below, Galen is also interested in the density or porosity of a drug, as too of the body tissue on which it is acting; in opposing qualities in the substance and mixture of a drug, among other factors.

<sup>9</sup> The intensity of a drug is discussed only briefly in the theoretical books 1–5, and specified in about 30% of the drugs in the catalogue: cf. G. HARIG, *Bestimmung der Intensität im medizinischen System Galens*, Berlin 1974.

<sup>10</sup> Διωρίσθω σοι καὶ τροφή φαρμάκου καὶ μνημονεύεσθω πρὸς τι μὲν ἄμφω λεγόμενα, πολλαχόθι δὲ περὶ μίαν οὐσίαν συνιστάμενα, καθ' ὅ τι καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεδείξαμεν. οὐδὲν δὲ ἦττον ὅτι τὰ μὲν ὅλαις ταῖς οὐσίαις εἰς ἄλληλα δρᾶ καὶ πάσχει, τὰ δὲ κατὰ μίαν ἢ δύο ποιότητας· καὶ πρὸς τούτοις τὰ μὲν εἶναι λεπτομερῆ, τὰ δὲ παχυμερῆ· λεπτομερῆ μὲν ὅσα ῥαδίως εἰς λεπτὰ καταθραύεται, παχυμερῆ δὲ τάναντία.

Singer (2020) gathered together some of the passages featuring Galen's concept of 'whole substance' in his pharmacological and associated works. Here I shall bring in more passages explicitly from SMT in order to establish how Galen uses the concept. Singer found that the concept normally applies either to the total transformation of food into bodily fluids or to the deadly action of poison on the body's systems, as we shall see shortly. First, though, Galen sets out what he means in *Mixtures* 3.1, 91, 2–14 H:

there are four capacities of the whole body... and these capacities belong to the **whole substance** of each body, which substance we state to arise from a mixture of hot, cold, dry and wet. But when the body effects a change on something that comes in contact with it through any one of the qualities in it, then one should not take it that it acts through its **whole substance**, nor that the object of change can ever be fully assimilated. Consequently, an object so changed will never be able to provide nourishment to any of those bodies effecting the change, either. If, however, the body produces a sufficiently big change, i.e. when it acts through its **whole substance**, then it will assimilate the object itself, and be nourished by the object so changed (trans. Singer).

The aim of the body, when it wishes to nourish itself, is to find food that is most appropriate (οικειός) and similar (ὅμοιος) to itself, which it will be able to process and absorb fully, assimilating to the extent that the bread, for example, will become blood, and the blood, in a second change will become tissue, bone or organ-parts, as needed (see SMT 3.4 below). This is change of the whole substance, as opposed to change of one or two qualities, to which we will come shortly. The whole substance change is a big one, in which the heat of the body acts on the foodstuff, assimilates it and increases its own energy: it acts upon and is acted upon in these respects. The change is not merely a big one, as Galen puts it: it is also an everyday, life-sustaining part of human and animal life, part of daily life we might say.

The second manifestation of change of the whole substance, Galen tells us, is the reverse, in the action of poisons. Here, the poison, activated by the body's heat (and, if a cold substance, helped along by a warming precursor such as wine) overcomes the body and kills the whole organism. In this instance, the body heat acts on the poison and then suffers its overwhelming power. Poisons and foods are thus at extreme ends of a spectrum of whole-substance-activity, that starts with life-giving food and ends with the destruction of the body. All other foodstuffs and drugs come somewhere in between, acting not with whole substance but with 'one or two qualities'. This could apply to a food such as pomegranates, which for Galen have no nutritive qualities, but nevertheless are astringent and aid various body functions, or to a drug such as wormwood (*Artemisia abrotanum*) which is bitter and heating. Drug and food in fact overlap, and pomegranate is discussed in both SMT and *On the Capacities of Foods*.

Singer's study embraces other passages where the concept of whole substance is used to explain unaccountable phenomena, one on the nature of the soul in the

In *Hippocratis Epidemiarum, Commentary on the Hippocratic Epidemics*<sup>11</sup>, one on a stone amulet<sup>12</sup> and the other on the amazing properties of burnt river crabs<sup>13</sup>. Singer takes these special cases to be part of Galen's concept of whole substance. My view is a different one, that such cases are rare and that the predominant use of the concept is applied to daily nourishment. This view is supported in the very late treatise of Galen, *de Propriis placitis, On My Own Opinions*, where Galen applies the term to digestion, liver action, nutrition and blood-making (84.86 and 86.13, p. 173 Nutton).

Galen refers to 'the whole substance or one or two qualities' on numerous occasions in SMT. We have already seen the first, at 1.3, 11.385 K, where whole substances and acting upon/acted upon are introduced. In the following survey, I follow the order of the books to note significant references to either the term 'whole substance' or to 'act and be acted upon' or related phrases. The overall context of the phrase concerns alteration (ἀλλοίωσις), change (μεταβολή), similarity (ὁμοιότης) or appropriateness (οἰκειότης) of one substance (normally the drug) to another (normally the body and its heat).

1.10–11, 11.398–400 K, Galen expands the description of fine and thick composition of drugs. Is the drug continuous with itself, dense in its entirety, or does it have gaps and a porous consistency? The examples given are pepper and fire. Pepper acts more rapidly if ground into a fine powder, indicating that Galen understands 'fine in composition' in a physical sense, as equivalent to being in the smallest achievable form. In this state pepper will best be able to act as a heating drug,

<sup>11</sup> VI V, 5, 17B.248 K = 271, 12–7 Wenkebach.

<sup>12</sup> SMT 9.2, 12.192 K. Crabs at 11.24, 12.336 K.

<sup>13</sup> An interesting and illuminating influence on Galen's thinking on whole substance may be Alexander of Aphrodisias *On Mixture*, who discusses the arguments of the Stoic philosopher Chrysippus on 'whole substances' in the context of mixture (48C Long & Sedley). Alexander of Aphrodisias' quotation includes the notion of whole substance in a heap of wheat (the individual unblended grains), dismissal of Atomism, refining of substance in incense and comparison with iron and fire. Chrysippus also considered 'appropriateness' in mixtures, and famously believed that a drop of wine diluted in the sea coexisted in the mixture with the vast amount of water and was not fully assimilated into it, as Galen's theory would insist upon. For Chrysippus, the mixture was held together with the tension of pneuma in a kind of mutual coexistence. Galen discusses this at *de Methodo medendi On the Therapeutic Method* 1.2, 1016–7 K, where he follows Aristotle against Chrysippus. In his excellent thesis, Robert VINKESTEIJN, *Philosophical Perspectives on Galen of Pergamum*, Utrecht 2020 (PhD dissertation), p. 98 remarks on Galen's concept of substance from a different perspective: primary substance is viewed either in its material aspect (underlying subject) or its formal aspect (most basic properties which determine secondary properties). He compares *On Elements* 128.11– de Lacy for discussion of the four qualities alone, which, by altering the underlying substance, cause the elements to change into each other, and also QAM 1.3, 773 K, where each of the organs has its own specific substance: *let us not yet enquire precisely what this is, but let us remember, regarding the common substance of all bodies, that this was shown by us to be composed of two principles, matter and form, matter being conceptually without quality, but having in itself a mixture of four qualities, hotness, coldness, dryness and wetness.*

and will be closer to the elemental heat of fire. Turning to fire itself, Galen observes that *it is the finest of all in composition and at the same time is the hottest of all and readily penetrates deep down and breaks down, refines, brings change, overpowers and transforms into its own nature, assimilating in every way and overcoming what is close to it*. When dry reeds are put on to a blaze, *what was previously reed has now become fire, so as to augment the whole substance of the fire which transformed it*. The elemental fire, Galen explains, shows on a large scale how food is transformed into blood by the action of the body's heat. The fire acts on the reeds and is acted upon in the sense of increasing its power through the addition of the fuel.

1.17, 11.407–8 K, Galen expands on how thick or thin composition may impede, promote or stop a capacity working. Wine is the example of fine composition, olive oil of thick. At 1.18, 11.411–2 K, fineness and thickness of composition determines how a drug will act or be acted upon. Asphalt is given as an example of a heating drug which is thick in composition, as are lead and tin.

3.4, 11.546–7 K, Galen adapts from *Mixtures* (87.4–17, 1.647–8 K) the process of how bread

changes into blood and phlegm by 'cooking' in the belly and the veins; and then from these substances into bone, flesh and all the other parts of the body. It is altered in its **whole substance** and loses its former nature by changing into another form. All the affective systems of the body are acted upon by nothing other than the hot, the cold, the dry and the wet, as I have shown, as they accept alteration and change into another kind of substance. And for this reason we said that there are four primary, elemental and form-changing qualities, namely moisture, dryness, heat and cold; and we asked of each drug which one of these qualities had acquired an excess in the mixture of the drug.

3.7, 11.552 K, Galen shows how assimilation works:

there are certain appropriate relationships and conflicts between qualities in all things; and what is appropriate<sup>14</sup> is readily assimilated, and what is opposed sometimes changes and brings destruction to plants and animals. Furthermore, how their appropriate relationships arise according to the particularity of the **whole substance** I have spoken about and shown on many occasions.

3.15, 11.577–8 K, Galen explains how quantity of substance interacts with capacity:

the tongue is often moved<sup>15</sup> in line with the abundance of the substance, but the activity is present in line with the strength of the capacity. So when the substance is small, but with

<sup>14</sup> οἰκεῖος.

<sup>15</sup> ἐκινήθη M: ἐνικήθη Pal., K, victa est Gaudanus. These manuscript reports and those following refer to Marcianus App. Cl. V, 6 (which I title M) and Palatinus gr. 31 (which I title Pal.). I have used these two witnesses to correct the standard edition of Kühn (which I title K in following notes). Gaudanus is the translator of the Latin version in Kühn.

a strong capacity, and is mixed with much other substance of weak capacity and comes into the body, it is undetected by taste but activates much more action than taste.

### 3.15, 11.579 K, a mixed composition may introduce confusing effects:

numerous<sup>16</sup> other foods are more astringent than aloe, copper flakes and burnt copper itself. In the case of such things, the mixed composition of the substance is instantly apparent; and in others even if it is not apparent it must be deduced and it should not be thought that the astringency works in one way in the aloe but in another in the apple.

### 4.10, 11.651–2 K, Galen declares, in his discussion of flavours in the fourth book,

all nourishment is in the class of sweet things<sup>17</sup>. Nourishment quite reasonably belongs to sweet things in addition through the very substance, such as it can be, of food. For nourishment is the filling of what has been emptied. What was emptied out was appropriate to it, so that the nourishment must also be appropriate. And if it is appropriate it must of<sup>18</sup> necessity be pleasant and friendly, and immediately with a balanced warmth in respect of what is being nourished. But in this process, the more and the less is no small matter because we come to foods when we are not in a strictly natural state. The body of those in need of food must be emptied, if they<sup>19</sup> are going to be really knowledgeable about their own appropriate quality. And if in addition to this they are hotter than they should be, or if they become colder either in the body as a whole or in places near the tongue or the stomach, they will need not only things which will nourish but also things that will cool or warm. And for this reason sometimes one food seems more pleasant to them, pleasantness being two-fold in kind, one being filling up what is emptied, which is the case with food, and the other curing what has been altered. And this indeed is a drug combining with foods when they are eaten by bodies that are not only emptied but also changed in their quality, to please<sup>20</sup> indeed in two ways, as nourishment and as drugs. Now as drugs some will, following our argument, assist and help as agents that cool, warm, dry and moisten, while as foods they will assist only as they are related and appropriate to the **totality of the substances** in the bodies being nourished. Clearly, they must instantly be moderately warm towards what is being nourished.

### 4.15, 11.666–71 K turns to sharp flavours:

sharpness in flavours is most likely to arise in change brought about by heat, when it does not prevail completely<sup>21</sup>. One can find evidence for this not least also in heartburn, which does not follow on from foods that are not wholly changed in the stomach, nor, likewise, those that are properly digested, but only those that are semi-digested, as one might say. By semi-digested I mean those that undergo alteration by heat in the stomach but are not overcome by it to completion.

<sup>16</sup> μύρια MPal, innumera Gaudanus. ὁμοίως K.

<sup>17</sup> The link between sweetness and nourishing goes back to Aristotle and Theophrastus CP 6.7.

<sup>18</sup> ἐξ Pal.M, om. K.

<sup>19</sup> μέλλομεν M.

<sup>20</sup> ἠδύνεσθαι om. Pal.

<sup>21</sup> τελέως om. Pal.M.

...

The tongue can distinguish the two [pungent and biting flavours], both those combined in common, like any other of the sensory bodies, and the individual ones, in its function as an organ of taste. And it seems to me that this is its excellent feature in relation to the appropriateness and foreignness of **whole substances**. I have said and shown on many occasions, and will say again no less what it is to act or be acted upon in **whole substances**. I think I will mention it now too, as far as suffices for present purposes, starting from this point: generation for all individual bodies derives from the four elements, and they are unequal and differ in their mixtures. Some have more fire than other elements, some more water; others might happen to have more earth, some more air. From such inequality, then, the particularities of individual bodies have been perfected. From the elements themselves come the particularities of plants, and from these too those of living beings, as I demonstrated in the treatise *On the Elements*. Some of them change immediately into each other, others through other intermediaries, such as earth into wheats, barleys and other such things. And then each of these into human flesh; for it is not possible for the earth itself to become flesh by leaping over the intermediary change. And indeed of those that change into each other, some alter readily and swiftly, while others alter with difficulty and over time. Those that are close in similarity have a swift alteration, those more distant a slower one. What was needed, I think, was an organ in living beings which naturally distinguishes the similarity and dissimilarity of things: this would distinguish natures and choose what is familiar and avoid what is strange. Now this is the tongue, which through an excess of sensation can distinguish not only types of cold, hot, dry or wet but also appropriate and inappropriate things.

...Furthermore, those that are bitter are hot, and those that are pungent hotter still. So all such things are nourishing *with* sweetness, but none of these things I mention is sufficient to nourish on its own. They are mixed in two ways: either they are not uniform in their substances and have various qualities in their parts; [11.671 K] or they are simple and uniform, and come to be so through changing greatly differing things into each other. For honey does not suddenly become bitter, but when either boiled considerably or aged, changes slowly to bitterness when subjected to such processes. Neither do those fruits that end up<sup>22</sup> sweet from earlier bitterness, such as some of the cucumbers<sup>23</sup> and melons, cast off<sup>24</sup> all at once their original quality. For only slowly do changes befall all things that are altered by<sup>25</sup> nature, and particularly in cases when the alteration and transformation result in very different or even opposing qualities.

#### 4.19, 11.684–5 K, Galen turns to bitterness:

when making distinctions about the capacity of bitter flavours and declaring them to be cutting, thinning and cleansing, and, clearly, hot to the extent that they do not yet burn, let us go back in the discussion to pungent flavours. First let us say, to be precise, that they are hot, and then that they corrode, burn, form scabs and melt down. All such items can be placed on the skin; and taken internally, those that are most opposed in their **whole substance** to

<sup>22</sup> ἐκ πικρῶν Pal.M: om. K.

<sup>23</sup> Or possibly 'gourds' if this is a feminine noun. Cucumbers and melons are considered together however at *On the Capacities of Foods*, 2.5–6.

<sup>24</sup> μεταβάλλουσι Pal.

<sup>25</sup> ὑπὸ Pal.M, om. K.

certain living beings cause sepsis<sup>26</sup> and destruction of those living beings. Those that are so only because of the imbalance of heat – if they are thick in composition and earthy – cause ulceration of the internal parts; those fine in composition are diuretic and induce sweat: to put it simply they cut and disperse. Some of them are helpful in expectoration from the thorax and the passing of monthly periods.

### 5.6, 11.722–4 K, Galen discusses pus-moving medicines, which

disperse excessive moisture by heating in a similar way to hot water, when it is contained in empty spaces, as was set out in the work *on Anomalous Bad Mixture*<sup>27</sup>. But they add<sup>28</sup> no moisture to uniform bodies that are in a natural state, just as they do not remove anything clear or perceptible. Care must be taken that they be equal<sup>29</sup> in their mixtures with their substance, so that they alter them in no respect. In pus-removal at least the moisture is altered, and likewise if the flesh is bruised; but all the other parts which are in a natural state preserve their substance. Of the three alterations that occur in the bodies of animals, one is precisely natural, when food is digested in the stomach: the juice<sup>30</sup> generated there [is] either in the organs and vessels, or<sup>31</sup>, again, each limb may be nourished from it. Alteration<sup>32</sup> that is precisely contrary to nature occurs in all cases of putrefaction. So these two are somehow opposite to each other. The third is a mixture of these two and in the middle, having something of the natural aspect of the first, and something of the unnatural aspect of its opponent. Now two features belong to the natural one: the alteration arises from material appropriate to the organism; and it is mastered precisely by innate heat. For the unnatural one, meanwhile, change is brought about by heat from outside and is good for nothing. The middle stage between these two, following on in pus-removal<sup>33</sup>, arises from innate heat, but that heat is not fully in control: it is not completed from precisely good materials just as it is not from completely alien material either.

### 5.14 11.752–3 K, Galen moves to a class of drugs which tend to close up the channels of the body:

the substance of those that are the opposite of aperients is thick in composition, and cold, of all astringents without pungency in the mix. I gave adequate examples of their matter in Book Four, where I discussed the substance of such drugs as being earthy and cold. So there is nothing amazing in this substance alone naturally drawing together and closing the apertures of vessels closed contrary to nature. In this substance alone is everything<sup>34</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Galen understands *sepsis* as negative heating of the body: beneficial heating turns food into blood, while sepsis turns waste products into excrement and can cause serious damage when it gets out of control.

<sup>27</sup> *de inaequali intemperie*, 7.733–52 K.

<sup>28</sup> προσδίδωσι Pal.

<sup>29</sup> ὅμοια M.

<sup>30</sup> χυμὸς M.

<sup>31</sup> ἢ Pal.M: ἴνα K. K could be right and seems to be supported by 'unde' in Gaudanus.

<sup>32</sup> εἶ M.

<sup>33</sup> ποιήσεις M.

<sup>34</sup> μόνης γὰρ αὐτῆς πᾶν M. ὅσων Pal.

needed to draw together on account of its thick composition when applied externally and its inability to travel through fine channels<sup>35</sup>, as too to its coldness when it contracts and draws together to itself what comes into contact with it. That it dries was shown in everything that is astringent being such, and it feeds on liquid and tones the part of the body. But if all these things come together, the aperture will be closed as if from fingers from outside the parts, as the astringent substance<sup>36</sup> draws it together. Those drugs which are cold, whether similarly<sup>37</sup> or more so, are watery in their substances. Such drugs draw together and squeeze with slight strength on account of their softness. What is needed is a strong and hard opposing substance to compress everything it is about to encounter, and draw in strongly whatever it might be: this the more watery drugs do not have in their substances and they draw together and condense the fine channels in each body but are unable to squeeze the whole organ from all sides. Consequently these quite reasonably are condensing but not compressing.

### 5.17, 11.760–1 K, Galen notes

a second kind of attracting drugs which draw in through similarity of quality, which is nothing other than a similarity of their **whole substance**, just as what is being nourished draws in appropriate nourishment. Among such drugs are all purging drugs and some protective drugs. All such are hot. Of those that are similar in substance, the hotter attracts more, and as it were takes up the heat like an ally in similarity. Such an attracting drug with two causes will have more resources than draws together with one alone. It makes no difference whether we speak of drawing, attracting or of an extracting capacity.

5.18, 11.761–3 K, Galen addresses the concept of whole substance in poisons, the other end of the spectrum, as we have said, from nutrition. He had alluded to the action of poisons earlier, at 3.18, 11.596–8 K, but the main discussion comes late in book five:

let us proceed to the so-called protective and antidote capacities. The nature of these too is two-fold, the first altering and the second emptying out from the suffering part either the corrupting poison or the poisonous drug. The first alter through either one or a pair of qualities, or through their **whole substance**; and the second empty out through the similarity of their **whole substance** and their heat that is fine in composition. So four differences in all will arise in their usefulness, two of them altering and two emptying. One of them is abundantly clear in how it helps from the opposition of its quality: if the poisonous drug were to be cold, or the poison from an animal, then the help will be with the heating drugs; if hot, then from the cooling drugs; if dry, from the moistening drugs; if wet, from the drying drugs. So if it is both cold and wet, then from the drying and heating, and so on for the remaining pairs. The alteration made through the capacity<sup>38</sup> in its **whole substance** is not unclear either to those who recall what was previously demonstrated in *On the Natural Faculties* and also in *On Mixtures*<sup>39</sup>. The capacities that alter poisonous drugs are intermediate in nature

<sup>35</sup> ἐξωθεν add. M.

<sup>36</sup> Note the substance is here astringent, rather than the capacity or quality term we might expect. Contrast *LSJ* II 7, where Stoics oppose ousia with dunamis and energeia.

<sup>37</sup> To the part treated.

<sup>38</sup> δυνάμεως M, facultatem Gaudanus: δυνάμεων Pal.K.

<sup>39</sup> 101–2 Helmreich.



between the bodies that are affected and the drugs that harm them, so that there is a correspondence: as the body is to the protecting capacity, so is that capacity to the poison; and as the poison corresponds to the protective drug, so does the protective drug to the body. For this reason almost all drugs opposed to poisons when taken in quantity do great harm to the body of an animal. Now all such capacities must be given in such an equilibrium of quantity that they neither damage the body in large amounts nor by being too little are overcome by the poisons. But this belongs already to the *Therapeutic Method*. Let us now take up what follows. Every destructive poison is emptied by the application of external drugs which create an attraction either with heat or with the similarity of the **whole substance**. It is at this point necessary for the protective drug to be as far as possible particularly midway<sup>40</sup> in its nature between the body it is curing and the poison which is doing harm.

The following chapter, 5.19, 11.766–7 K, turns to specific poisons:

some are hostile to us in their **whole substance** and so even if taken in minimal amounts are utterly harmful, such as black oak fern, *pituokampe*, deadly carrot, thorn apple<sup>41</sup>, and mercury, some of the fungi, and the saliva and bile of poisonous animals. All such drugs are poisonous in kind, not by quantity. Consequently none of them are added to protective antidotes like poppy juice, myrrh<sup>42</sup>, storax<sup>43</sup> and saffron. If these are taken in quantity some cause madness<sup>44</sup> and some death. When mixed with others in a certain equilibrium they are helpful. Those that damage the mind mostly bring headaches, filling the head with a mass of noxious vapours. Some too attach to the mouth of the stomach, causing it to suffer with the head.

The production of bodily substances comes next, 5.21, 11.770–3 K:

the capacities which make milk and semen are partly found among the drugs alone and partly among the nutriments. Among the drugs when we change phlegmatic bodily fluids into blood with heat; and among nutriments in the similarity of the **whole substance**. And when they are of good fluid and moderately moist and of a warm heat as<sup>45</sup> indeed is milk. For the blood partakes in heat in equilibrium with the animal, while yellow bile in heat that is more than mid-way, just as phlegm partakes in more cold. Milk, as far as heat is concerned, is in between phlegm and blood, but is not equally distant from each: it is further from phlegm and closer to blood... Those drugs that are heating... partake in no evident dryness and are rightly said to have capacities that generate milk. These are few in number and do not easily come to the aforementioned<sup>46</sup> equilibrium in mixture. Unlimited<sup>47</sup> however, one might say, and intractable<sup>48</sup> are those which harm the milk. There are those that heat

<sup>40</sup> μέσον om. M.

<sup>41</sup> *Datura stramonium* L, Dioscor. 4.73, Beck Andre.

<sup>42</sup> *Commiphora myrrha* Eng, Dioscor. 1.64, Beck Andre.

<sup>43</sup> *Styrax officinalis* L, Dioscor. 1.66, Beck Andre.

<sup>44</sup> ἐκμένει Pal.

<sup>45</sup> οἷας Pal.K, οἶον M.

<sup>46</sup> τοῖς προειρημένοις Pal.

<sup>47</sup> ἀπείραντα M.

<sup>48</sup> τὸ πλῆθος add. M.

more than is necessary, those which dry and which cool, some bringing damage with the quality of the blood, some reducing the **whole substance**: they prevent milk production<sup>49</sup>.

As for semen, 5.23, 11.775 K,

people are accustomed to name some drugs generative and those opposed suppressant, others promoting and their opposite retentive. Generative are those which generate what did not exist before, while suppressants destroy that. Promoting are those that bring to light what has been gathered together deep down, and opposed to these are the retentive drugs. Generative drugs are foods for sperm which are nourishing, windy and appropriate in their **whole substance**: drugs that are *pneuma*-like and hot.

\* \* \*

What to conclude from this review? Galen employs the concept of whole substance to cover the processing of foods and poisons in the body: the body's heat acts on the food and is acted upon in the sense of augmented by it. With food, the body replaces energy lost in heat and muscle action (3.4 and 4.10). As for poisons, the body acts upon the poison with body heat, thereby activating it, and is acted upon as a result, possibly fatally (5.18–19). Singer (2020) identified other special uses of whole substance, but those apart, the concept acts at two ends of a spectrum of substances taken into the body, with all other drugs acting with 'one or two qualities' at intermediary stages on the spectrum. We have seen too, as Vinkesteyjn (2020) observed, that substance (οὐσία) in Galen may be composed of matter (ὕλη) combined with form (εἶδος) in a standard Aristotelian formation (cf. 3.4), but additionally it is composed of the four qualities, hot, dry, wet and cold (nearly every passage). Exactly how these concepts come together is not completely clear. Elemental considerations (3.10, 4.15) come to bear – a substance may be earthy, airy, watery or fiery – as does fine or thick composition (in many passages). Galen uses some or all of these considerations as needed to explain what in modern science would be a question of chemistry and identifying active ingredients of what to Galen was a 'simple', albeit a complex one. How successful Galen's attempt in this field turned out to be is best judged in comparison with alternative theories of the time, for example those of the Stoics, the Monists or the Pneumatists, many of which he takes on and tries to refute in the first five books of *Simples*, employing those key scientific methods of experiment and deduction.

<sup>49</sup> γένεσθαι Pal.K, τὴν γένεσιν M.

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## THE *DE HAERESIBUS ET SYNODIS* OF GERMANOS I OF CONSTANTINOPLE AS A SOURCE ON EARLY BYZANTINE HERESIES? PROSPECTS OF A CRITICAL EDITION\*

**Abstract.** A new, critical edition of the 8<sup>th</sup>-century treatise *De haeresibus et synodis* (CPG 8020) by Patriarch Germanus I of Constantinople is in progress; it will provide new insights, especially into the large extent of sources that were copied or paraphrased. The article takes a close look at three chapters that could be considered as sources for different Christian heresies (Manichaeism, Montanism and Christological dissenters) in 8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium and some of the first new text- and source-critical findings. The accounts on Manichaeism and Montanism are based on older, lost sources and can therefore not be consulted as historical sources on these heresies in the Early Byzantine age. The account of the Ecumenical Councils involved in the Christological controversies attributes faith formulas to Councils that did not actually issue them and thus must be dismissed as a historical source on the course of these controversies as well. Nevertheless all three chapters, like the rest of the treatise, testify to the views of an Early Byzantine theologian on heresies and Church Councils and to how he reached his views. This scope for further study is deduced from the character of the text itself and thus especially appropriate.

**Keywords:** *De haeresibus et synodis*, Patriarch Germanus I of Constantinople, critical edition, Christian heresies, Church Councils, Byzantium

One of the major obstacles to writing the history of Byzantium and Byzantine Christianity in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries is the scarcity of sources. This is even more the case when one is interested in the large field of Christian “heresies”<sup>1</sup>. It is nevertheless essential to study such a source with the right approach, an approach that is best deduced from the character of the source itself.

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\* This article is an extended version of my paper presented at the *Colloquia Ceranea* III in April of 2021. It could be improved thanks to some helpful comments by its reviewers.

<sup>1</sup> In this article, I will be using the term “heresy” and its cognates (without quotation marks hereafter) for just the same religious groups as in the sources consulted, only in order to simplify. No dogmatic judgement is intended hereby.

The mid-size treatise *De haeresibus et synodis* (CPG 8020) attributed to Patriarch Germanus I of Constantinople (in office 715–730)<sup>2</sup> is considered as one of the main sources on Christian heresies in 7<sup>th</sup>- and 8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium, e.g. in two overview articles on this topic by J. Gouillard<sup>3</sup> and I. Rochow<sup>4</sup>. However, any approach to this work remains problematic, as the only edition available to us is non-critical and heavily outdated. It was edited by cardinal A. Mai and published in 1842<sup>5</sup>, based on only one manuscript (cod. Vat. gr. 2198). This edition was reprinted without changes by J.-P. Migne in his *Patrologia graeca*<sup>6</sup>. With the aim of facilitating research on Germanus' treatise and Early Byzantine Christianity in general, the first part of my doctoral thesis consists of the critical edition of the *De haeresibus et synodis*, based on all accessible manuscripts<sup>7</sup>. An important feature of this new edition, next to the critical apparatus, will be an apparatus of

<sup>2</sup> There are quite a few reasons to challenge this attribution (cf. the summary by L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680–850). The Sources. An Annotated Survey. With a Section on The Architecture of Iconoclasm: the Buildings* by R. OUSTERHOUT, Aldershot 2001 [= BBOM, 7], p. 247–248, leading them to conclude that the whole treatise is inauthentic), but this is not the place to discuss this matter at length. In my forthcoming thesis, I will plead for the authenticity of *De haeresibus et synodis* except for cap. 40–43. For this article, the assumption that Germanus is the author of the chapters in question shall suffice.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie dans l'empire byzantin des origines au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, TM 1, 1965 (= *La vie religieuse à Byzance*, ed. IDEM, London 1981, no I), p. 304–306.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. I. ROCHOW, *Zu einigen oppositionellen religiösen Strömungen*, [in:] *Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert. Untersuchungen zur Herausbildung des Feudalismus*, ed. F. WINKELMANN et al., Berlin 1978 [= BBA, 48], p. 265.

<sup>5</sup> *Spicilegium Romanum*, vol. VII, S. Germani I. Patriarchae Constantinopolitani *De haeresibus et synodis. Photii item Patr. Syntagma canonum*, ed. A. MAI, Roma 1842, p. 3–73. The Latin translation printed below the Greek text was produced by A. Mai as well (it is not an ancient translation).

<sup>6</sup> GERMANUS, *De haeresibus et synodis* (CPG 8020), [in:] PG, vol. XCVIII, col. 39–88 (cetera: GERMANUS, *De haeresibus et synodis*). As the *Patrologia* is more easily accessible than A. Mai's *Spicilegium Romanum*, all references will be made to this reprint. Another reprint with slight changes to the text is to be found in *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων τῶν τε ἁγίων καὶ πανευφημῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν οἰκουμενικῶν καὶ τοπικῶν συνόδων, καὶ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἁγίων πατέρων, ἐκδοθέν, σὺν πλείσταις ἄλλαις τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν κατάστασιν διεπούσαις διατάξεσι, μετὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐξηγητῶν, Καὶ διαφόρων ἀναγνωσμάτων*, vol. I, Φωτίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νομοκανών, μετὰ τῶν σχολίων Θεοδώρου τοῦ Βαλσαμῶνος. Τούτοις προσετέθησαν καὶ τὰ περὶ τῶν ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων, ὑπὸ τε Γερμανοῦ καὶ Φωτίου, τῶν πατριάρχων Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ Νεῖλου, μητροπολίτου Ῥόδου, κτλ. Συνοπτικῶς ἱστορούμενα, ed. Γ.Α. ΡΑΛΛΗΣ, Μ. ΠΟΤΑΝΗΣ, Ἀθήνησιν 1852, p. 339–369. So far there is one modern translation, into Italian: *Timoteo e Germano di Costantinopoli. Gli scritti. Introduzione, traduzione e note*, trans. F. CARCIONE, Roma 1993 [= CTP, 107], p. 75–115.

<sup>7</sup> The database *Pinakes* offers a quick overview: [https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/2793/\[30 VII 2021\]](https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/2793/[30 VII 2021]). The edition will be complemented by a German translation and a historical contextual study.

textual sources, based on an extensive search for implicit quotations (copied text), paraphrases and allusions<sup>8</sup>.

In this article, I will present three passages from Germanus' *De haeresibus et synodis* that could be considered as sources on certain heretical groups in 7<sup>th</sup>–8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium<sup>9</sup> and some results of my text- and source-critical research<sup>10</sup>. On the basis of these results, I will then reassess whether considering them as historical sources on Early Byzantine heresies is appropriate – and if not, for what they *can* serve as sources. Thus I will deduce an approach for further study of the *De haeresibus et synodis* from the character of the text itself.

### Germanus on the Manichaeans

The heresy of Manichaeism is presented in cap. 4 of *De haeresibus et synodis*, with a short account of some of its teachings, Mani's activities and the Christian refutation by Cyril of Jerusalem. This chapter does not rank among the most interesting Western sources on Manichaeism<sup>11</sup>, due to its late date. There are nevertheless two reasons why it may be of interest to Byzantine studies: first, some major heresies of the Middle Byzantine period are, in one way or another, associated with Manichaeism, most prominently Paulicianism and Bogomilism<sup>12</sup>. Therefore any historical evidence for actual Manichaeans still living in the Byzantine world and for their beliefs would be very welcome<sup>13</sup>. A second reason is that Germanus actually gives a list of Mani's books that is not extant in any other source (more on that below).

The research linked to the critical edition of *De haeresibus et synodis* has shown that the wording of this chapter is very close to two other texts, the *Chronicle* of Georgius Monachus and the *Church History* of Socrates Scholasticus. Here a synopsis of the comparable passages:

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<sup>8</sup> This search was mostly done by means of – and made only possible thanks to – the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*. Very few references to possible sources were included by A. Mai in his edition, which are now updated and rendered more precisely.

<sup>9</sup> Some of the heresies that may raise interest will not be considered in this article: the Athinganoi and the Paulianists on the one hand (referenced in GERMANUS, *De haeresibus et synodis*, cap. 48, PG, vol. XCVIII, col. 84), because the short remarks referring to them actually obscure more than they convey (cf. J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie...*, p. 306–307); and Iconoclasm (dealt with in GERMANUS, *De haeresibus et synodis*, cap. 40–43, PG, vol. XCVIII, col. 77–81), because it deserves more attention than can be paid to it in the limited space of this paper.

<sup>10</sup> Naturally, not all questions raised by the concerning passages can be discussed in the following lines. The patient reader shall be referred to my thesis.

<sup>11</sup> It is e.g. not included in the compendium *Greek and Latin Sources on Manichaean Cosmogony and Ethics*, trans. G. FOX, J. SHELDON, praef. S.N.C. LIEU, Turnhout 2010 [= CFM. Series Subsidia, 6] (cetera: *Greek and Latin Sources*).

<sup>12</sup> Cf. e.g. J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie...*, p. 307–309.

<sup>13</sup> For an important legal mention of Manichaeism in 8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium see below, note 26.

	GERMANUS, <i>De haeresibus et synodis</i> , cap. 4 <sup>14</sup>	
5	Ἔτι δὲ Μανιχαῖοι, καὶ Μοντανοὶ, καὶ οἱ τούτοις προσόμοιοι ἀνέστησαν κατ' αὐτῆς οὐ τοὺς τυχόντας αὐτῇ παρέχοντες ἀγῶνας, τοῦ μὲν Μανιχαίου πολλὴν ματαιοσύνην καὶ πλάνην καὶ ῥυπαρίαν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ δόγμασιν ἀναμιξάντος,	
		GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 11–15 <sup>15</sup>
10	καὶ τέλος τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ παλαιὰν νομοθεσίαν καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν κτίσιν κακοῦ τινος καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι λέγοντος ἐπίταγμα, ἀγαθοῦ δὲ μᾶλλον τὴν νέαν ἢ τὴν μέλλουσαν,  καὶ βίαν τινὰ ὑπομένειν ἐκείνην ἐκ τούτου,	Ὁ τοίνυν ἐμβρόντητος οὗτος Μάνης ἀποβαλλόμενος τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην καὶ τὴν κτίσιν πᾶσαν [...] οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ τινος θεοῦ γεγονέναι βλασφημῶν [...], τὴν νέαν ὡς ἀγαθοῦ δήθεν προσίεται θεοῦ,
		SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, I, 22, 3, p. 66, 21–22 <sup>16</sup>
15	ὡς καὶ δύο φύσεις νομοθετεῖν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, τουτέστιν ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ πονηράν,	δύο φύσεις εἰπών, ἀγαθὴν τε καὶ πονηράν
		GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 12–14
20	καὶ μὴ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν ἔργον, μήτε τὴν ἄλλην, ὡς εἴρηται, κτίσιν ὑπὸ φθορὰν καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν οὐσαν·  καὶ πλήρεις ἀσεβείας τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ λόγους ἐμπλήσαντος,	καὶ τὴν κτίσιν πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ τινος θεοῦ γεγονέναι βλασφημῶν ὑπὸ φθορὰν καὶ ἀλλοίωσιν οὐσαν,

<sup>14</sup> The text is issued from my yet unpublished edition; the older edition is to be found in *PG*, vol. XC VIII, col. 41, B21–44, B2. Line numbers refer to the text of *De haeresibus et synodis*. An English translation of the three chapters this article deals with is attached to this article; the references to the sources are not repeated there.

<sup>15</sup> *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, VIII, 44, vol. II, *Textum genuinum inde a Vespasiani imperio continens*, ed. C. DE BOOR, *Editionem anni MCMIV correctiorem curavit P. WIRTH*, Stuttgartiae 1978 [= BSGR] (cetera: GEORGIUS MONACHUS), p. 469, 11–15.

<sup>16</sup> *SOKRATES, Kirchengeschichte*, I, 22, 3, ed. G.C. HANSEN, M. ŠIRINJAN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 1; CPG, 6028] (cetera: SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS), p. 66, 21–22.



		GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 17–18
	καταδύσεις τινὰς ἐναγεῖς καὶ νυκτερινὰς τελετὰς καὶ ἀποβλήτους μίξεις ἐπιτηδεύσαντος,	καταδύσεις τινὰς ἐναγεῖς καὶ νυκτερινὰς τελετὰς καὶ παρανόμους ἐπιτηδεύσας μίξεις
		GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 20–21
25	τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων μάταια δόγματα κυρώσαντος,	τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πονηρὰ καὶ μάταια δόγματα κρατύνειν ἐσπούδακεν
		SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, I, 22, 8, p. 67, 19
	καὶ εἰμαρμένην εἰσάγοντος, καὶ μετενσωματώσεις νομοθετήσαντος,	καὶ εἰμαρμένην εἰσάγων τὸ ἐφ’ ἡμῖν ἀναίρει, καὶ μετενσωμάτων ἰσομοιᾶν δογματίζει
		GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 18–19
		καὶ εἰμαρμένην καὶ μετενσωματώσεις καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα φλυαρήσας καὶ δράσας καὶ διδάξας
		SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, I, 22, 8, p. 67, 21
30	καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ γεγονέναι μὴ βουληθέντος.	καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ἐν σαρκὶ γεγονέναι οὐ βούλεται
		GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 8–9
	Κάντευθεν τέλος ἐπάξιον τῆς τοιαύτης αὐτοῦ νομοθεσίας ἀπενεγκαμένου	ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου μισθὸν ἐπάξιον εἰκότως κομίζεται
		GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 3–4
35	ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἐθνικῶν βασιλέων, ζῶντος ἔτι τὴν δорὰν ἀποσπασθῆναι,	ὄν ὁ βασιλεὺς Περσῶν ἐξέδειρε ζῶντα
40	ᾧς φασιν, καὶ οὕτως τῷ θανάτῳ παραδοθῆναι· μάλιστα δὲ Κύριλλος ὁ Ἱεροσολύμων τὴν τούτου κατεγράψατο καὶ ἐστηλίτευσεν ἀσεβῆ διάνοιαν, αὐτὰ τὰ πράγματα τὰ τῆς μιαρᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀσέμνου διατάξας κατὰ λεπτὸν προτάξας, καὶ εἶθ’ οὕτως τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐπαγαγὼν τοῖς ἀθέοις αὐτοῦ καὶ παρανόμοις διδάγμασιν·	

45	ὁ γὰρ ἀσεβῆς οὗτος ἐτόλμησε καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἀπόστολον ὀνομάσαι	SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, I, 22, 8, p. 67, 24
		Ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς καὶ ἀπόστολον ὀνομάζειν ἐτόλμησεν ἑαυτόν.
	καὶ τέσσαρα συντάξει βιβλία, ἃ καὶ ἐπεκάλεσε· « Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον », « Τῶν θησαυρῶν βιβλίον », « Τῶν μυστηρίων », ἕτερον « Τῶν τελετῶν. »	SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, I, 22, 5, p. 67, 4–6
		Εἶτα συγγράφει βιβλία τέσσαρα, ἐν μὲν ἐπονομάσας τῶν Μυστηρίων, ἕτερον δὲ τὸ Εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸν Θησαυρὸν τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον τὸ τῶν Κεφαλαίων. Τελετὰς δὲ τινὰς ποιεῖν σχηματιζόμενος [...]

The similarities between the texts of Germanus and Socrates (l. 14–15, 29–30, 43–48) are easily explained: Germanus used Socrates' *Church History* (directly or indirectly) and paraphrased parts of its account of Manichaeism. The use of this source also explains how Germanus' unique list of Mani's books ('*The Gospel*', '*Book of the Treasures*', '[sc. Book] of the *Mysteries*' and the last one '[sc. Book] of the *Rituals*') came to be: by a misreading (possibly due to physical damage of a manuscript) of Socrates' τέταρτον τὸ τῶν Κεφαλαίων. Τελετὰς δὲ τινὰς ποιεῖν σχηματιζόμενος (*the fourth one: [sc. Book] of the Principles. He pretended to perform certain rituals...*)<sup>17</sup>.

Almost all the rest of this chapter has great similarities with the account in Georgius' *Chronicle*. With respect to the chronology of the two works, there can be two explanations: either Georgius copied from Germanus – or both of them copied from a common source. Germanus' wording is sometimes mistakable (e.g. in l. 7–9: τέλος τὴν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ παλαιὰν νομοθεσίαν [...] κακοῦ τινος καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι λέγοντος<sup>18</sup>) and even repetitive (l. 8–9: αὐτὴν τὴν κτίσιν κακοῦ τινος καὶ οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι λέγοντος ἐπίταγμα, and l. 16–17: καὶ μὴ ἀγαθοῦ εἶναι τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν ἔργον, μήτε τὴν ἄλλην). Georgius' *Chronicle* in contrast phrases very clearly and without repetitions (ἀποβαλλόμενος τὴν παλαιὰν διαθήκην [...] οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ τινος θεοῦ, and καὶ τὴν κτίσιν πᾶσαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατασκευὴν οὐκ ἀγαθοῦ τινος θεοῦ γεγονέναι). Also, the respective paragraph in Georgius' *Chronicle* contains more information<sup>19</sup> which is unlikely to come from another source, because Georgius usually does not mix two or more

<sup>17</sup> For more on that book list, see below, note 57.

<sup>18</sup> Here, especially the ἑαυτοῦ is irritating. As this phrase can only mean the Old Testament, the reflexive pronoun cannot be understood as such, but must be seen as referring to κακοῦ τινος ("of some evil [sc. god]"). Three independent manuscripts of Germanus just omit it, but this must be dismissed as a *lectio facilior*. See as well below, note 54.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 11–21.

different sources, but uses one after the other (as can be seen in the *apparatus fontium* of C. de Boor's edition). Thus the second possibility is much more plausible: both authors relied on the same source, a somehow anti-Manichaean text.

Furthermore, both texts share one sentence that was literally copied from Socrates (l. 27–28) and another sentence (l. 25–26) that summarises a passage where Socrates lists the Greek philosophers Mani allegedly followed with his teachings<sup>20</sup>. Both Germanus and Georgius could not have come to copy the very same sentence and rephrase another passage with the exact same words independently from one another. This implies that the common source to them was at least partly based on Socrates' account<sup>21</sup>.

In conclusion, I postulate a lost and so far unknown anti-Manichaean text, that is attested by Germanus' *De haeresibus et synodis* and Georgius' *Chronicle* and partly based on Socrates' *Church History*<sup>22</sup>. This work must have been compiled between the 5<sup>th</sup> (with Socrates' *Church History* as *terminus post quem*) and early 8<sup>th</sup> centuries (predating Germanus' treatise). It is possible that Germanus also copied the remaining Socratic sentences (including the book list) from this text rather than directly from Socrates' *Church History*, but this cannot be determined.

Interestingly, the one text explicitly mentioned in this chapter (l. 36–42), Cyril of Jerusalem's sixth *Catechesis*<sup>23</sup>, can be ruled out as a source. Cyril's account

<sup>20</sup> [...] φανερώς Εμπεδοκλέους και Πυθαγόρου και Αιγυπτίων ταῖς δόξαις ἀκολουθήσας (SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, I, 22, 8, p. 67, 20sq).

<sup>21</sup> Georgius actually used another Socratic passage for his account on Mani up until the list of Mani's books and their alleged backstory (cf. GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 468, 2 – 469, 3), but in the summarised form of the *Epitome* of Theodorus Lectors *Historia tripartita* (cf. THEODORUS LECTOR, *Epitome Historiae tripartitae*, 33, [in:] THEODOROS ANAGNOSTES, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G.C. HANSEN, <sup>3</sup>Berlin–New York 2009 (Berlin 1995) [= *GCS.NF*, 3] (cetera: THEODORUS LECTOR), p. 16, 17 – 17, 8), as Georgius' editor, C. de Boor, pointed out in the apparatus. Georgius further uses Socrates' text via the *Historia tripartita* (cf. GEORGIUS MONACHUS, VIII, 44, vol. II, p. 469, 3–10), so he could very well have copied the sentence on the supposed belief in fate directly from there (Socrates' whole chapter I, 22 is included there, cf. THEODORUS LECTOR, p. 16). But why would he have then torn apart the sentence on the belief in fate (SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, I, 22, 8, p. 67, 18–19), which comes soon after the book list in Socrates (SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS, I, 22, 5, p. 67, 4–6), from the latter? It seems much more plausible that Georgius used the same source, namely the one shared with Germanus, for this paragraph of his, including the part about Manichaean belief in fate.

<sup>22</sup> In turn, Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (*Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, vol. II, ed. U.P. BOISSEVAIN, C. DE BOOR, T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, pars I, rec. et praef. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, ed. cur. A.G. ROOS, Berolini 1906, p. 141, 1 – 142, 20, with our passage in question p. 142, 1–10) and the *Suda* (*Suidae Lexicon*, vol. III, K–O.Ω, 147, ed. A. ADLER, Stutgardiae 1967 (1933) [= *LG*, 1], p. 318, 14 – 319, 17, with our passage in question p. 319, 1–7) copied the passage about Mani from Georgius Monachus, so this summary on Manichaeism must have been read a lot throughout the following Byzantine centuries. The *Suda* article is included in the compendium *Greek and Latin Sources*, p. 128–130.

<sup>23</sup> CYRILLUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS, *Catechesis* 6, 21–34 (CPG 3585.6), [in:] S. *Patris nostri Cyrilli Hierosolymorum Archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. I, rec. W.C. REISCHL, Monaci 1848 (cetera: CYRILLUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS, *Catechesis* 6), p. 184–204.

of Manichaeism basically covers the same points, but Germanus' wording is nowhere close to the one of Cyril's *Catechesis*. Then, the best explanation of this reference to Cyril's text, next to its hagiographical character, is that it constitutes a kind of "further reading" advice for the reader<sup>24</sup>.

What does this imply for the source value of Germanus' chapter on Manichaeism? – It cannot be considered a historical source for real-life Manichaeism in 7<sup>th</sup>- or 8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium, because all the information on Manichaeism of this chapter was copied from one or more (when counting Socrates' *Church History*) earlier sources. Nevertheless the source value of cap. 4 of *De haeresibus et synodis* lies exactly in this point: it shows which texts an orthodox theologian of 8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium read on Manichaeism and how he formed his views on the "heresy" of Manichaeism.

### Germanus on the Montanists

Cap. 5 of Germanus' *De haeresibus et synodis* was included in a collection of sources on the history of Montanism by Pierre de Labriolle<sup>25</sup>. For several reasons, especially the intriguing mention of a forced baptism of "Montanists" under the rule of Emperor Leo III in 721/722 by Theophanes<sup>26</sup>, scholars wonder whether there were still actual Montanists in 8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium – or if this and other mentions only use the name "Montanists" for a group without historical links to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century heresy<sup>27</sup>. Looking at this chapter, the final part about a priest fighting the Montanist protagonists (l. 35–41) seems to be inspired by Eusebius' *Church History*, while no source could be identified for the rest of the text:

<sup>24</sup> The reference to Cyril's *Catechesis* in cap. 4 is only one of many such "further reading" advices throughout *De haeresibus et synodis*. For example, two more are contained in cap. 5 dealing with Montanism, see below. This feature of Germanus' treatise will be further discussed in my dissertation.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. P. DE LABRIOLLE, *Les sources de l'histoire du Montanisme. Textes grecs, latins, syriaques publiés avec une Introduction critique, une Traduction française (sic), des Notes et des «Indices»*, Fribourg–Paris 1913 [= CollF. NS, 15], p. 246–247.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Theophanis Chronographia*, AM 6214, vol. I, *Textum graecum continens*, rec. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 401, 22–27. A. SHARE, *The Jews, the Montanists, and the Emperor Leo III*, BZ 59, 1966, p. 37–46 (= *Jews and other Minorities in Byzantium*, ed. IDEM, Jerusalem 1995, p. 109–118), discusses this notice at length. Though one does not need to agree with his final explanation, he points out well that it cannot have meant actual Montanists. Another famous 8<sup>th</sup>-century mention of Montanists is the law that Manichaeans and Montanists are to be punished with death which is contained in the *Ecloga* of the emperors Leo III and Constantine V: *Ecloga. Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantinos' V.*, 17.52, ed. L. BURGMANN, Frankfurt am Main 1983 [= FBR, 10], p. 242. Interestingly, this law links Manichaeans and Montanists in way similar to how Germanus does it at the beginning of cap. 4. But both statements are so short, that any reflection on an influence of the *Ecloga* on Germanus' work or vice versa is speculative.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie...*, p. 307–309, and I. ROCHOW, *Zu einigen...*, p. 271–273 (with further references).

	GERMANUS, <i>De haeresibus et synodis</i> , cap. 5 <sup>28</sup>	
5	<p>Τῶν δὲ Μοντανῶν διάφορος εἶναι λέγεται δόξα καὶ οὐ μονομερῆς, ἀλλὰ πολύτροπος· τὸ δὲ τέλειον αὐτῶν δόγμα ἐν τούτοις ἐστίν, ὅτι τε αὐτὸν τὸν Μοντανὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸ πνεῦμα</p>	
10	<p>τὸ ἅγιον καὶ πάλιν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον καὶ πνεῦμα· ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὀκτῶ εἶναι οὐρανοῦς νομοθετοῦσι, κολαστήρια τε φοβερά ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι αἰῶνι ἐξηγοῦνται, δράκοντάς τινας καὶ λέοντας ἐκ τῶν μυκτῆρων πῦρ ἀποπέμπειν μέλλοντας καὶ</p>	
15	<p>κατακαίειν τοὺς ἀδίκους, καὶ ἑτέρους ἀποκρέμασθαι ἀπὸ τῶν σαρκῶν, καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ πλήρη ματαιοσύνης μυθολογοῦσιν· εἰς κρίσιν δὲ τοὺς ἐκ πορνείας ἢ μοιχείας γεννηθέντας ἄγεσθαι, καὶ κολάζεσθαι ὑπὸ κολαστήρια τὰ</p>	
20	<p>δεινότατα, ὅτι μόνον ἐκ τούτων γεγέννηνται, κἄν αὐτῶν ὁ βίος μὴ παράνομος πέφυκεν· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τοὺς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἔτι εἰς μετάνοιαν δέχονται ἢ τοὺς διγαμοῦντας συναχθῆναι μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς αὐτῶν ἀνέχονται,</p>	
25	<p>καὶ ἕτερα δὲ πάμπολλα παρόμοια τούτοις ἐπιτελεῖται αὐτοῖς· ταῦτα δὲ οἱ τῆς ἐξαιρέτου αὐτῶν τῷ δοκεῖν μοίρας ἐπιείγονται διαπράττεσθαι, τῶν λοιπῶν καὶ ἕτερα πλείω τούτων δεδρακότων ἔργα ἀσεβείας, καὶ τῷ βίῳ</p>	
30	<p>ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ κρημνῶν πλήρεις ἀτραποὺς ἐξηπλωκότων.</p> <p>Ἐλέγχεται δὲ καὶ τούτων ἡ σκοτώδης νομοθεσία καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πάλαι γεγενημένων διδασκάλων ἡμῶν·</p>	
		EUSEBIUS, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i> , V, 19, 3, vol. I, p. 480, 11–12 <sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> The text is issued from my yet unpublished edition. The older edition is to be found in *PG*, vol. XCVIII, col. 44, A5–C4.

<sup>29</sup> *Eusebius Werke*, vol. II.1, *Die Kirchengeschichte*, V, 19, 3, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, T. MOMMSEN, *Zweite, unveränderte Auflage von F. WINKELMANN*, Berlin 1999 [= *GCS.NF*, 6.1; *CPG*, 3495] (cetera: EUSEBIUS, *Historia ecclesiastica*), p. 480, 11–12. This is part of a subscription by the bishop Aelius Publius Iulius to the *Epistula ad Caricum et Pontium* by Serapion of Antioch (*CPG* 1333), only preserved in Eusebius' *Church History*.

35	<p>ἔτι δὲ καὶ Σωτᾶ τινος ἱερέως τῆς Θράκης αὐτοψεὶ παραγεγονότος ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πρὸς Μοντανόν,</p> <p>καὶ βίαν τινὰ ὑπομένειν ἐκείνην ἐκ τούτου,</p>	<p>ὅτι Σωτᾶς ὁ μακάριος ὁ ἐν Ἀγχιάλῳ ἠθέλησε τὸν δαίμονα τὸν Πρισκίλλης ἐκβαλεῖν</p>
		<p>EUSEBIUS, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>, V, 16, 7, vol. I, p. 462, 10<sup>30</sup></p>
40	<p>Γράτου τότε ἀνθυπατεύοντος,</p> <p>καὶ τὸν λαλοῦντα δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ</p>	<p>κατὰ Γράτον Ἀσίας ἀνθύπατον</p>
		<p>EUSEBIUS, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>, V, 16, 16, vol. I, p. 466, 14–15<sup>31</sup></p>
	<p>τῆς Μαξιμίλλης δαίμονα ἐλέγξαντος·</p>	<p>τοὺς τότε ἱερούς ἐπισκόπους πεπειρᾶσθαι μὲν τὸ ἐν τῇ Μαξιμίλλῃ πνεῦμα διελέγξει</p>
		<p>EUSEBIUS, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>, V, 18, 13, vol. I, p. 478, 10–13<sup>32</sup></p>
45	<p>λοιπὸν δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ Βασιλείου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ Ἐπιφανίου τοῦ Κυπρίου μάλιστα κατὰ πασῶν τῶν αἰρέσεων πραγματείαν ἔγγραφον ἐκθεμένου.</p>	<p>ὡς ἄρα Ζωτικός, οὗ καὶ ὁ πρότερος συγγραφεὺς ἐμνημόνευσεν, ἐν Πεπούζοις προφητεύειν δὴ προσποιομένης τῆς Μαξιμίλλης ἐπιστάς διελέγξει τὸ ἐνεργοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ πνεῦμα πεπεῖραται</p>

In his edition, A. Mai noted vaguely that the latter part is inspired by Eusebius' accounts<sup>33</sup>. With my new critical edition, this textual relationship can be affirmed with more evidence as the old edition read σώμα<sup>34</sup> instead of the priest's name Σωτᾶ in l. 35. It is apparent that Germanus' sentence is quite a patchwork of different passages of Eusebius' work, which leads me to assume the existence of an intermediate source that contained the compiled and shortened account of Sotas fighting the Montanists. It is otherwise lost.

<sup>30</sup> This is part of a lengthy quotation of an anonymous letter against the Montanists (CPG 1327), only preserved in Eusebius' *Church History*.

<sup>31</sup> This is part of the same anonymous letter (CPG 1327).

<sup>32</sup> This is part of a summary of the anti-Montanist letter of a certain Apollonius (CPG 1328), only preserved in Eusebius' *Church History*.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *PG*, vol. XCVIII, col. 43/44, note 5.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. *PG*, vol. XCVIII, col. 44, B14.

The chapter ends (l. 42–45) with a mention of the refutations of Montanism written by Basil of Caesarea, in one of his important letters<sup>35</sup>, and Epiphanius of Salamis, in his *Panarion*<sup>36</sup>. Again, as with the reference to Cyril of Jerusalem's *Catechesis* in cap. 4, both of these texts are not sources of Germanus' account, but serve as a "further reading" advice.

The rest of Germanus' cap. 5 is quite similar in structure and character to cap. 4. Given the close connection of Manichaeans and Montanists (cap. 4, l. 1), it is imaginable that both chapters are actually based on the same text, a lost anti-heretical treatise. But this hypothesis cannot be proven and the account on the Montanists may very well stem from one or more other sources. The existence of an anti-Montanist source for at least a part of this chapter though can be assumed with good reason. It is then unlikely that Germanus may have gotten his information from real-life Montanists<sup>37</sup>.

In conclusion, the passage of *De haeresibus et synodis* on Montanism cannot be regarded as a historical source on this heresy, but, just like the chapter on Manichaeism, as a source on a Byzantine orthodox theologian's view on it and on the material he used.

### Germanus on the Christological Controversies

At last, I want to move to the Christological controversies of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries, because this is the dogmatic battle where one is to expect the highest timeliness and accuracy from Germanus' treatise<sup>38</sup>, as he was just living at the end of them and was still somehow involved in the aftermath<sup>39</sup>. Germanus' portrayal of these controversies can be seen best in cap. 47, a short recapitulation of the Ecumenical Councils he discussed beforehand:

<sup>35</sup> BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Epistula* 188, 1, 31–46 (CPG 2900.188), [in:] SAINT BASILE, *Lettres*, vol. II, ed. et trans. Y. COURTONNE, Paris 1961 [= CUF.SG, 149] (cetera: BASILIUS, *Epistula* 188), p. 122. Possibly, Germanus did not read this letter, which is also known as Basil's first canonic letter, as part of a collection of Basil's letters, but as part of a collection of patristic canons; the text corresponds to BASILIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Canon* 1 (CPG 2901.1), [in:] *Fonti. Fascicolo IX. Discipline générale antique (IV<sup>e</sup>–IX<sup>e</sup> s.)*, vol. II, *Les canons des Pères Grecs*, ed. P.-P. JOANNOU, Roma 1963, p. 95, 20 – 96, 13. This is conceivable, because such patristic canon collections were most probably circulating since the 5<sup>th</sup> century (cf. P.-P. JOANNOU, *Fonti. Fascicolo IX...*, p. XV–XVII).

<sup>36</sup> EPIPHANIUS, vol. II, *Panarion haer. 34–64*, 48, ed. K. HOLL, 2., *bearbeitete Auflage*, ed. J. DUMMER, Berlin 1980 [= GCS. *Epiphanius*, 2; CPG, 3745] (cetera: EPIPHANIUS, *Panarion*), p. 219, 5 – 241, 17.

<sup>37</sup> Thus confirming the doubts of the ongoing presence of Montanists in 8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium articulated by J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie...*, p. 308–310, and I. ROCHOW, *Zu einigen...*, p. 272–274.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie...*, p. 306.

<sup>39</sup> According to THEOPHANES, AM 6204, p. 382, 10–21, Germanus, still being bishop of Cyzicus, supported Emperor Philippicus Bardanes in revoking the dogma of the Council of Constantinople III in 712. He evidently returned to orthodoxy after the end of Philippicus' reign.

	GERMANUS, <i>De haeresibus et synodis</i> , cap. 47 <sup>40</sup>	
	Ἄλυσις, ὡσπερ εἶπεῖν, καὶ σειρὰ ἀδιάσπαστος ἀλλήλων ἐχομένη καὶ ἐκκρεμαμένη·	
		<i>Symbolum Nicaenum</i> , p. 230–236 (a. 325) <sup>41</sup>
5	τῆς μὲν πρώτης ὀρισάσης ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ τὸν υἱόν, παρεργησάσης δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα πιστεῦειν τὸ ἅγιον·	ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ [...] καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα [...]
		<i>Symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum</i> , p. 248–250 (a. 381) <sup>42</sup>
	τῆς δὲ δευτέρας ὁμοούσιον καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ τρανῶς ὀριζούσης, ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ προσκυνούμενον·	καὶ εἰς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, τὸ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιόν, τὸ ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκπορευόμενον, τὸ σὺν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συμπροσκυνούμενον
		<i>Concilium Chalcedonense</i> , ACO, vol. II.1.2, p. 129, 24–25 (a. 451) <sup>43</sup>
10	τῆς τρίτης πάλιν αὐτὸν τὸν ἕνα κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τέλειον ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι ὀριζούσης,	ὁμολογεῖν υἱὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν συμφώνως ἅπαντες ἐκδιδάσκομεν, τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι
		CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, <i>Epistula ad Iohannem Antiochenum de pace</i> , ACO, vol. I.1.4, p. 17, 14–15 (a. 433) <sup>44</sup>
	ἕνα καὶ οὐ δύο υἱούς <sup>45</sup>	ἕνα Χριστὸν, ἕνα υἱόν, ἕνα κύριον ὁμολογοῦμεν

<sup>40</sup> The text is issued from my yet unpublished edition. The older edition is to be found in *PG*, vol. XCVIII, col. 84, C9–85, A10.

<sup>41</sup> *Symbolum Nicaenum* (CPG 8512), [in:] *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli. Edizione critica*, ed. G.L. DOSSETTI, Roma 1967 [= TRSR, 2], p. 230.236.

<sup>42</sup> *Symbolum Nicaeno-Constantinopolitanum* (CPG 8599), [in:] *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli. Edizione critica*, ed. G.L. DOSSETTI, Roma 1967 [= TRSR, 2], p. 248–250.

<sup>43</sup> *Concilium Chalcedonense, Actio V* (CPG 9005), [in:] *Concilium universale Chalcedonense*, vol. I.2, *Actio secunda. Epistularum collectio B. Actiones III–VII*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berolini–Lipsiae 1933 [= ACO, 2.1.2] (cetera: *Concilium Chalcedonense*), p. 129, 24–25.

<sup>44</sup> CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Epistula ad Iohannem Antiochenum de pace* (CPG 5339), [in:] *Concilium universale Ephesenum*, vol. I, *Acta graeca*, pars IV, *Collectio Vaticana 120–139*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berolini–Lipsiae 1928 [= ACO, I.1.4], p. 17, 14–15.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. GERMANUS, *De haeresibus et synodis*, cap. 25, *PG*, vol. XCVIII, col. 64, B2–4.



		CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, <i>Epistula altera ad Nestorium</i> , ACO, vol. I.1.1, p. 28, 10–11 (a. 430) <sup>46</sup>
		οὐ διαιρετέον τοιγαροῦν εἰς υἱοὺς δύο τὸν ἕνα κύριον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν
		<i>Concilium Chalcedonense</i> , ACO, vol. II.1.2, p. 129, 24–25 (a. 451)
15	τῆς δὲ τετάρτης τὰ προλεχθέντα κυρούσης, καὶ τὸ τέλειον ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι τρανῶς διαγορευούσης ἔχειν αὐτόν,	τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι
		<i>Concilium Chalcedonense</i> , ACO, vol. II.1.2, p. 129, 30–31 (a. 451)
20	καὶ δύο φύσεις ἐν αὐτῷ γνωρίζεσθαι ἀσυγχύτως, ἀχωρίστως, καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως δοξαζούσης.	ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως ἀτρέπτως ἀδιαιρέτως ἀχωρίστως γνωριζόμενον
		<i>Concilium Lateranense</i> , ACO ser. II, vol. I, p. 374, 14–17 (a. 649) <sup>47</sup>
25	Ἡ πέμπτη τὰ αὐτὰ, ὡς εἶπεῖν, ἐκφωνήσασα καὶ καθ' ἑκατέραν φύσιν θελητικὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνεργητικὸν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν τῆς ἡμῶν ἕνεκα σωτηρίας εἶναί τε καὶ γνωρίζεσθαι. <sup>48</sup>	τὸ καθ' ἑκατέραν αὐτοῦ φύσιν θελητικὸν κατὰ φύσιν τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας
		<i>Concilium Lateranense</i> , ACO ser. II, vol. I, p. 374, 23–25 (a. 649)
		τὸ καθ' ἑκατέραν αὐτοῦ φύσιν ἐνεργητικὸν τὸν αὐτὸν ὑπάρχειν τῆς ἡμῶν σωτηρίας
		<i>Concilium Constantinopolitanum III</i> , ACO ser. II, vol. II.2, p. 774, 7–8 (a. 680/681) <sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> CYRILLUS ALEXANDRINUS, *Epistula altera ad Nestorium* (CPG 5304), [in:] *Concilium universale Ephesenum*, vol. I, *Acta graeca*, pars I, *Collectio Vaticana 1–32*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berolini–Lipsiae 1927 [= ACO, I.1.1], p. 28, 10–11.

<sup>47</sup> *Concilium Lateranense*, *Canones* (CPG 9402.5), [in:] *Concilium Lateranense a. 649 celebratum*, ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berolini 1984 [= ACO ser. II, 1] (cetera: *Concilium Lateranense*), p. 374, 14–17.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. GERMANUS, *De haeresibus et synodis*, cap. 34, *PG*, vol. XCVIII, col. 72, B14–C2.

<sup>49</sup> *Concilium Constantinopolitanum III*, *Actio XVIII* (CPG 9437), [in:] *Concilium universale Constantinopolitanum tertium. Concilii actiones XII–XVIII. Epistulae. Indices*, ed. R. RIEDINGER, Berolini 1992 [= ACO ser. II, 2.2] (cetera: *Concilium Constantinopolitanum III*), p. 774, 7–8.

30	<p>ή δὲ ἕκτη, καθὼς ἔφαμεν, τὰ τῶν ὅλων συνόδων ἐπεξέρχεται, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀμφοτέρων κυροῖ, καὶ τὸν ὄρον οὕτως ἐκτίθεται, καὶ αὐτὴ τέλειον ἐν θεότητι καὶ ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι ὁμοίως ὀρίζει,</p>	<p>τέλειον ἐν θεότητι καὶ τέλειον τὸν αὐτὸν ἐν ἀνθρωπότητι</p>
		<p><i>Concilium Constantinopolitanum III</i>, ACO ser. II, vol. II.2, p. 774, 20–24 (a. 680/681)</p>
35	<p>καὶ δύο θελήσεις ἦτοι θελήματα καὶ δύο τὰς ἐνεργείας ἐν αὐτῷ διδάσκει· ἐπόμενον τε καὶ ὑπέικον τῷ θεϊκῷ θελήματι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον θέλημα ἐκφωνήσασα καὶ μὴ ἀντιπίπτον ἢ ἀντιτασσόμενον·</p>	<p>δύο φυσικὰς θελήσεις ἦτοι θελήματα ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας [...] Ὡσαύτως κηρύττομεν καὶ δύο μὲν φυσικὰ θελήματα οὐχ ὑπεναντία, μὴ γένοιτο, καθὼς οἱ ἀσεβεῖς ἔφησαν αἰρετικοί, ἀλλ' ἐπόμενον τὸ ἀνθρώπινον αὐτοῦ θέλημα καὶ μὴ ἀντιπίπτον ἢ ἀντιπαλαῖον, μᾶλλον μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενον τῷ θείῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ πανσθενεῖ θελήματι</p>
40	<p>ἐκουσίως γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν ἕνα κύριον ἡμῶν τὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀναδέξασθαι σαρκὶ θάνατον ὑποτίθεται καὶ θελήσει ἰδίᾳ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἡμῶν, ἀποστολικῶς εἰπεῖν, γεύσασθαι τοῦ θανάτου<sup>50</sup>.</p>	

In this Council summary, Germanus quotes a succinct dogmatic formula for each Council. The ones he quotes for the Councils of Nicaea (325), Constantinople I (381), Chalcedon (451), and Constantinople III (680/681) are adequate. But the formulas allegedly decided by the Councils of Ephesus (431) and Constantinople II (553) are theological anachronisms. H.J. Sieben noticed this issue and came up with the explanation that Germanus anticipates the dogmatic formula of the following Council, with the aim of showing the identity of the faith proclaimed by each Council<sup>51</sup>. This explanation is based on a superficial reading of Germanus' text in the old edition – better insights can now be gained from the new edition.

The formula quoted for the Council of Ephesus (l. 10–13) is not straightforwardly taken from the Council of Chalcedon, but is actually a mix of the Chalcedonian formula of 451 (l. 10–12), the Formula of Reunion of 433 (as contained in the correspondence between Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch; l. 13), and Cyril's accusation of Nestorius (as contained in his second letter to Nestorius

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Heb 2: 9.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. H.J. SIEBEN, *Die Konzilsidee der Alten Kirche*, Paderborn 1979 [= Kon. Reihe B: Untersuchungen], p. 370.

and canonised in Ephesus; l. 13). In the chapter that deals exclusively with Ephesus, cap. 25, Germanus quotes the very same formula as in cap. 47. This fact makes it clear he willingly presents it as Christological definition adopted by the Council of Ephesus in 451, and not just by mistake.

Regarding the Council of Constantinople II, the matter is somewhat simpler: the dogmatic definition Germanus quotes as the one that was coined by that Council is actually issued from the canons of the Lateran Council of 649. Again, it is quoted in the exact same way in cap. 34, the detailed account of the Council of Constantinople II. Just as with the alleged definition of Ephesus, this fact underlines that Germanus really treats this formula as the one of the Council of Constantinople II.

Of course it is true that Germanus wanted to express the inner link of the Ecumenical Councils with this chapter, as H.J. Sieben pointed out<sup>52</sup> – this is literally what the first sentence says. But Germanus did not show this by anticipating the dogmatic formulas of each Council, the matter is more complex. The Councils of Ephesus and Constantinople II are the only two Ecumenical Councils that did not decide on a positive theological statement but ‘just’ issued anathemas. So in Germanus’ (or another author’s, more on that below) eyes, they must have been ‘holes’ to be filled with somehow appropriate formulas. The respective sentences do somehow relate to the general Christological questions discussed at these Councils, but simply have not been adopted as ‘definitions’ by the respective Councils.

Germanus quotes very literally the same phrases in cap. 25 and 47 and cap. 34 and 47 respectively. Therefore, the attribution of these formulas to the Councils of Ephesus and Constantinople II was surely not done *ad hoc*, but must have been well prepared. It is even possible that Germanus did not fabricate it himself, but that he copied it from a lost source, a small Council synopsis that catered to the need to ‘fill’ these dogmatic ‘holes’, though this cannot be proven.

Finally, what does this tell about the value of *De haeresibus et synodis* as a source on the Christological controversies? With dogmatic formulas taken from other Councils and letters, the history of the Councils of Ephesus and Constantinople II is presented in a distorted way and thus Germanus’ treatise should not be used as a source on the history of the Christological controversies up to the Council of Constantinople III<sup>53</sup>. Nevertheless, the *De haeresibus et synodis* has its value in being a witness to the views on the Ecumenical Councils and to the general idea of Church Councils (“Konzilsidee”, as H.J. Sieben coined it) of an 8<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine theologian.

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<sup>52</sup> Cf. *ibidem*.

<sup>53</sup> Concerning the (ecclesial) events of the years 712–715 (alluded to above, see note 39) though, Germanus’ account (cap. 38–39: *PG*, vol. CXVIII, col. 76, A9–D6) can and should be consulted. I will argue for that in my forthcoming thesis.

## Conclusion

This article took a close look at three chapters of the *De haeresibus et synodis* of Patriarch Germanus I that deal with three topics relevant to the history of Early Byzantine Christianity. It thus showed how the new, critical edition I am preparing will shed new light on this text. An important feature of this new edition will be an extensive *apparatus fontium* that reveals a lot about the character of the text.

In the chapters on Manichaeism and Montanism, Germanus largely relies on earlier sources (that are partly lost) and thus cannot serve as a historical witness for the history of these two heresies. Nevertheless it can serve as a witness to the sources Byzantine theologians used and the views on these heresies they thus formed. One such source can partly be reconstructed, because it was also used by Georgius Monachus for his *Chronicle*.

Concerning the Christological controversies, I showed that up until the Council of Constantinople III (680/681), Germanus' treatise cannot be used as a historical source either. This is because his account is heavily influenced by a certain idea of Ecumenical Councils, to the extent that he attributes (willingly or unwillingly) dogmatic formulas to Councils that did not actually issue them.

It is quite trivial, but not less true, that a proper critical edition of an ancient text is the basis for any serious study of it and helps to assess its character. In the case of the *De haeresibus et synodis*, I was able to deduce a study scope that is appropriate to the character of the text from the text itself. In my further research, I will study this treatise, for the most part, not as a historical source on heresies and Church councils, but as an expression of orthodox Byzantine theology of the early 8<sup>th</sup> century.

## Appendix: Translations

**Cap. 4.** And then the Manichaeans arose, the Montanists, and the likes of them against it (i.e. the Church) and got it into unordinary struggles. For Mani mixed his doctrines with a lot of stupidity, aberrancy, and sordidness, and said that his (i.e. the evil God's)<sup>54</sup> old law and creation itself are an accomplishment of some evil (sc. God) and not ordinance of a good one, and that rather the new or coming (sc. creation) is (sc. ordinance) of a good one; further that one (i.e. the good creation) would have to endure some violence from him (i.e. the evil God), so that two natures would be ruling the world, namely the good one and the evil one; and that neither the nature of man is a work of the good one nor the remaining creation, which, as has been said (sc. by Mani), is subject to decay and alteration.

<sup>54</sup> This use of the reflexive pronoun ἑαυτοῦ is irritating. According to regular grammar, it should refer to the subject of the clause, Mani, then not making sense. The only meaningful, though tautological rendering is given above, with the pronoun referring to the "evil god" of Manichaeism, κακοῦ τινοῦ in Greek. See as well above, note 18.

Furthermore he filled his teachings with impiety, performed some cursed immersion baths, night-time rituals, and abominable intercourse<sup>55</sup>, confirmed the stupid doctrines of the pagans, introduced a “fate”, taught the transmigration of souls, and did not want (sc. to believe) that Christ had become incarnate.

Therefore he received an end worthy of such a teaching like his from one of the pagan kings: while he was still alive, his skin was removed and thus he was, as they say, handed over to death. Cyril of Jerusalem described and recorded his thinking extensively by listing the elements of his foul and ignoble system of thought one by one and then bringing forward the refutation of his ungodly and unlawful teachings<sup>56</sup>. For this unholy man dared to call himself ‘apostle’ and to compile four books that he named ‘The Gospel’, ‘Book of the Treasures’, [sc. Book] of the Mysteries’ and the last one [sc. Book] of the Rituals<sup>57</sup>.

**Cap. 5.** The doctrine of the Montanists is said to be different and not one-sided, but multifaceted. Their highest dogma among those is that they say that Montanus himself was the Holy Spirit and again the same Logos and Spirit. They further teach that there are eight heavens, tell of dreadful chastisements in the coming age, of some dragons and lions that will spew fire from their nostrils and burn the unrighteous, and that others will be left with hanging flesh. And they tell many more stupid things: that those born from unchastity or adultery will be condemned and chastised with the most terrible chastisements, only because they were begotten through these things, even though their own life had not been unlawful. And they do not admit those who have sinned (sc. themselves) to repentance, and they refuse that the remarried take part in their meetings; and many more such things are enforced by them. The members of their seemingly chosen group urge on these (sc. rules) being observed, whereas they did other ungodly works going beyond that and showed paths full of steep slopes to an (sc. already) unstable life.

Their obscure teaching was rebutted by our teachers living back then: a certain Sotas, a priest of Thrace, personally went to Montanus in Asia during Gratus’ proconsulate and rebutted the demon that was speaking through him and Maximilla. For the rest, he was also (sc. rebutted) by Basil the Great<sup>58</sup> and foremost by Epiphanius the Cyprian<sup>59</sup> who published a treatise against all heresies.

<sup>55</sup> In accordance with the ambiguity of the Greek word *μίξεις*, this should at least partly be understood as meaning sexual intercourse.

<sup>56</sup> This refers to CYRILLUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS, *Catechesis* 6, 21–34, p. 184–204.

<sup>57</sup> Most Christian sources have Mani write four books. This tradition traces back to the 4<sup>th</sup> century *Acta Archelai* (HEGEMONIUS, *Acta Archelai*, 52, 6, ed. C.H. BEESON, Leipzig 1906 [= *GCS. Hegemonius* (16); *CPG*, 3570], p. 91, 4–6). The difference is that the *Acta Archelai* (and, among others, Socrates’ *Church History*) have Terebinthus write the four books and Mani later claim their authorship. Surely in order to simplify it, this part of the story was abandoned in the course of time. Regarding the titles of the four books, see above (2. *Germanus on the Manichaeans*).

<sup>58</sup> This refers to BASILIUS, *Epistula* 188, p. 122; cf. as well above, note 35.

<sup>59</sup> This refers to EPIPHANIUS, *Panarion*, 48, p. 219, 5 – 241, 17.

**Cap. 47.** (Sc. The Councils) form a chain, so to say, and an inseparable line, clinging and attached to one another<sup>60</sup>: the First (sc. Council) defined the Son as “consubstantial with the Father”, yet also mandated to believe “in the Holy Spirit”; the Second then defined the Spirit rightly as consubstantial with the Father and the Son, as he “proceeds from the Father” and “is worshipped together with him and the Son”. The Third in turn defined “our Lord Jesus Christ as one and the same, perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood”, as one and not two sons; the Fourth then confirmed the aforesaid, declared rightly that he is “perfect in Godhead and perfect in manhood”, and held the opinion that two natures are acknowledged in him, “inconfusedly, inseparably, indivisibly”.

The Fifth proclaimed, so to say, the same things and that “our Lord Jesus Christ is in possession of a will and an energy in each of the two natures for the sake of our salvation” and is thus acknowledged. The Sixth went over, as we said, all the Councils, confirmed the (sc. decisions) of the other (sc. Councils), and issued a definition accordingly; also it defined him (i.e. Christ) as “perfect in Godhead and in manhood” and taught that there are “two wills or faculties of will and two energies in him”. It proclaimed that “the human will follows the divine will” and submits to it and that it (i.e. the human will) neither “resists” nor opposes it (i.e. the divine will). For it is assumed that our one Lord took death in the flesh upon himself in our place voluntarily and, to speak apostolically, “tasted death in the place of all of us”<sup>61</sup> out of his own will.

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BASILIIUS CAESARIENSIS, *Epistula 188* (CPG 2900.188), [in:] SAINT BASILE, *Lettres*, vol. II, ed. et trans. Y. COURTONNE, Paris 1961 [= Collection des Universités de France. Série grecque, 149], p. 120–131.

<sup>60</sup> In the Greek text, the syntax of this sentence is not wholly congruent and demands some supplementation. As there is no verb, it is best understood as a nominal clause, with Ἄλυσις [...] καὶ σειρά being the predicate nouns. There is no explicit subject, but the context makes it clear that this implicit subject can only be αἱ σύνοδοι. The main (nominal) clause is thus translated above, with the supplemented subject and verb. The following conjunct participle constitutes the second problem: the participles ἐχομένη καὶ ἐκκρεμαμένη are congruent in number with Ἄλυσις [...] καὶ σειρά, but the reciprocal pronoun ἀλλήλων, which is the object of the conjunct participle construction, cannot refer to these predicates. One reason for this is that the hendiadys Ἄλυσις [...] καὶ σειρά cannot be the antecedent of the plural pronoun ἀλλήλων; a second reason is of semantic nature: a chain cannot logically be “attached” to itself, only its links to one another. So, the only meaningful translation needs to treat the conjunct participle as referring to the implicit subject of the main clause, “the Councils” (αἱ σύνοδοι).

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Heb 2: 9.

- Concilium Chalcedonense, Actio V* (CPG 9005), [in:] *Concilium universale Chalcedonense*, vol. I.2, *Actio secunda. Epistularum collectio B. Actiones III–VII*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Berolini–Lipsiae 1933 [= *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 2.1.2], p. 121–130.
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# ARTICLES





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## CAPTIVES AND REFUGEES. THE FORCED MIGRATION OF THE INHABITANTS OF THE BYZANTINE EASTERN FRONTIER DURING THE 5<sup>TH</sup>–7<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES IN LIGHT OF BYZANTINE-SLAVIC HAGIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS\*

**Abstract.** This article is devoted to the image of a social situation in the eastern parts of the Byzantine Empire during the 5<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century, which is to be found in the East Christian hagiographical texts. They cannot be treated as a completely reliable source of information, due to exaggerations and simplifications typical for the genre. On the other hand, they testify a long-lasting and vital literary tradition – they were circulating in the Byzantine Commonwealth during the Middle Ages, were translated to several languages (*inter alia* to the Church Slavic). They formed the basis for stereotypes – specific for the Medieval European imagination – that the eastern frontier of the Empire was rather dangerous territory, its neighbors (Persians, Arabs) were unpredictable pagans and the Christian inhabitants of the region ought to be called their innocent victims.

**Keywords:** Church Slavic literature, Old Rus' literature, Byzantine hagiography, Arabs, Persians

**In** this article I would like to present an excerpt from our current research carried out as a part of the scholarly project, entitled *Muhammad and the Origin of Islam – Stereotypes, Knowledge and Notions in the Byzantine-Russian Culture*. In this project we are interested not so much in the historical process itself as in the mechanisms of shaping the stereotypical perception of the 'other', 'alien' in the Byzantine-Slavic culture over the centuries. Our research covers not only the image of Muhammad himself, but also the ethnos from which he descended, namely the Arabs. We analyze sources referring to Arabs from the pre-Muslim era, the period in which Islam was born, as well as from the time of the military expansion of its followers in the Mediterranean basin during the rule of the Umayyad

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and early Abbasid dynasties. My own research is not focused on the sources of the Eastern Roman (Byzantine) provenance, which are relatively well known, but on medieval Rus' material, that is texts translated from the Byzantine Greek or originally written in the Church Slavic language between the 10<sup>th</sup> and mid-16<sup>th</sup> centuries, in Bulgaria (and then disseminated in Rus') or in the Eastern Slavic region. Since their authors were already considerably distant in terms of time and space from the events they described (5<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> centuries) and based their work on earlier accounts, Old Rus' sources seem to be a very good material for research on the formation of a stereotypical image of the Arabs in cultural narratives. Moreover, unlike other East Christian texts (Byzantine, Syriac, Coptic or Armenian), they are surprisingly poorly explored, and much of them have not been published and are only available to researchers in their original, manuscript form.

Why are hagiographic texts such an important category within the analyzed source material? Their genre characteristics make them extremely susceptible to creating a stereotypical image of reality, based on a rigid division into the spheres of good and evil, which often translates into the opposition of 'ours/Christian/Byzantine' – 'foreign/pagan or Muslim/Arab'. What is more, in the case of Old Rus' literature, they constitute a significant part of the material that we have at our disposal in terms of quantity. It seems that for the inhabitants of medieval Rus' hagiographic works – apart from several Byzantine chronicles known in the Church Slavic translation (*inter alia*, John Malalas and George the Monk/Hamartolus)<sup>1</sup> – were the main source of information about the Arabs in the pre-Muslim period and their place in the Byzantine-Persian conflicts, as well as their impact on the situation of the eastern frontier of the Empire in the 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Undoubtedly, a source that is important from the point of view of this research is *Vitae monachorum Palestinensium* (*Lives of the Monks in Palestine*) by Cyril of Scythopolis, who lived in the 6<sup>th</sup> century in monasteries in the Judean desert. His legacy includes the lives of seven anchorites from that area, living in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries, which are abundant in historical details and, in the opinion of many researchers, quite reliable as far as facts are concerned<sup>2</sup>. Four of them were

<sup>1</sup> Z.A. BRZOWSKA, *Zapożyczona czy własna wizja dziejów powszechnych? Wpływ autorów bizantyńskich na świadomość historyczną Słowian Południowych i Wschodnich (na przykładzie opowieści o Mahomecie i Historii paulicjan Piotra z Sycylii)*, [in:] *Widmo Mahometa, cień Samuela. Cesarstwo Bizantyńskie w relacji z przedstawicielami innych religii i kultur (VII–XV w.)*, ed. Z.A. BRZOWSKA, M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, T. WOLIŃSKA, Łódź 2020 [= BL, 39], p. 13–44.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of the Greek text: KYRILLOS VON SKYTHOPOLIS, *Vitae monachorum Palestinensium*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, Lipsiae 1939. English translation: CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, *The Lives of the Monks in Palestine*, ed. R.M. PRICE, J. BINNS, Kalamazoo 1991. See also: C.J. STALLMAN-PACITTI, *Cyril of Scythopolis. A Study in Hagiography as Apology*, Brookline 1991; B. KETTERN, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, [in:] *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Kirchenlexikon*, vol. IV, Herzberg 1992, col. 897–899; D. KRUEGER, *Writing as Devotion: Hagiographical Composition and the Cult of the Saints in Theodoret of Cyrrhus and Cyril of Scythopolis*, ChH 66.4, 1997, p. 707–719; B. FLUSIN, *Un hagiographe saisi*

probably known in the Church Slavic tradition: Euthymius (BHG 648), Sabbas (BGH 1608), John the Hesychast (BHG 897) and Cyriacus (BHG 463)<sup>3</sup>. The first three texts are of particular importance for our research.

The *Life of St. Euthymius the Great* (ca. 377–473) was translated into the Church Slavic language probably as early as in the 10<sup>th</sup> century in Bulgaria, and then very quickly brought to Rus'. Its reminiscences can already be found in Old Rus' texts from the 11<sup>th</sup> century (e.g. *The Life of St. Theodosius, Abbot of the Crypt Monastery*)<sup>4</sup>. The oldest preserved Slavic manuscripts containing this text can be dated to the 14<sup>th</sup> century. These are mostly the so-called Menaion Reader (*Четьи-Минеи*), i.e. collections of the lives of saints and other texts intended for reading, arranged according to the order of the liturgical year of the Eastern Church and collected in twelve volumes. The work dedicated to St. Euthymius by Cyril of Scythopolis was included on 20 January<sup>5</sup>.

In the years 1488–1508, Nil Sorski (1433–1508), one of the most eminent Old Rus' writers and thinkers of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, included this text in his collection of saints' lives. His initiative, aimed at organizing the hagiographic material known in Rus' and gathering it in one collection, predated the undertaking of the Metropolitan Macarius (1542–1563), who developed the *Great Menaion Reader* (*Великие Четьи-Минеи*). This volume of Nil Sorski's compilation is currently stored at the Russian State Library in Moscow (РГБ, 113.630, fol. 144–186)<sup>6</sup>. In the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century, this text was also included in the *Great Menaion Reader* by Metropolitan Macarius: it was placed in the January volume, under the date 20.01<sup>7</sup>.

In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the *Life of St. Sabbas the Sanctified* (438–532), was most probably also translated in Bulgaria. It also became popular in the Old Rus' literature even before the Mongol invasion. The borrowings from it can be found

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*par l'histoire: Cyrille de Scythopolis et la mesure du temps*, [in:] *The Sabaite Heritage in the Orthodox Church from the 5<sup>th</sup> Century to the Present*, ed. J. PATRICH, Louvain 2001, p. 119–126; N.A. KALOGERAS, *The Role of the Audience in the Construction of a Narrative: a Note on Cyril of Scythopolis*, JÖB 52, 2002, p. 149–159; K. TRAMPEDACH, *Reichsmönchtum? Das politische Selbstverständnis der Mönche Palästinas im 6. Jahrhundert und die historische Methode des Kyrill von Skythopolis*, Mil 2, 2005, p. 271–296.

<sup>3</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca hagiographica balcano-slavica*, София 2008, p. 337, 447–448, 510; О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Переводные жития в русской книжности XI–XV вв. Каталог*, Москва–Санкт-Петербург 2008, p. 53, 61–62, 71–72, 103–104.

<sup>4</sup> А.Б. ВАНЬКОВА, А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, А.А. ЛУКАШЕВИЧ, Н.В. ГЕРАСИМЕНКО, *Евфимий Великий*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. XVII, Москва 2008, p. 445.

<sup>5</sup> I.a. Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.34, fol. 1–69 (the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.745, fol. 1'–59 (the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.684, fol. 403–451 (16<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 173.I.91, fol. 508'–581' (16<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>6</sup> Т.П. ЛЕНГРЕН, *Соборник Нила Сорского*, vol. III, Москва 2004, p. 237–306.

<sup>7</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 990, fol. 692с–714d; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 178, fol. 1022а–1050b.

in the aforementioned *Life of St. Theodosius, Abbot of the Crypt Monastery* from the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>8</sup>. The oldest, partially preserved copy of the text comes from the 12<sup>th</sup> century, and the complete copy from the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>9</sup>. In the later centuries, this work spread in Rus' within the Menaion Reader (under the date of 5 December)<sup>10</sup>, and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century it became part of Nil Sorski's compilation, currently stored at the Russian State Library in Moscow (РГБ, 304.I.684, fol. 199–272)<sup>11</sup> and of the *Great Menaion Reader*<sup>12</sup>.

*The Life of St. John the Hesychast/Silent* (454–558) by Cyril of Scythopolis can also be included in the group of hagiographic works, assimilated into the Church Slavic literature already at its earliest stage, i.e. in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>13</sup>. The text has survived to our days within one of the oldest existing Cyrillic manuscripts: the so-called *Codex Suprasliensis*, a parchment Old Bulgarian manuscript from the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, containing a selection of the lives of saints for the month of March and several writings by the Fathers of the Church<sup>14</sup>. This manuscript was separated in later centuries and is currently held in the collections of three libraries: in Warsaw, Ljubljana and St. Petersburg. *The Life of St. John Hesychast* is included in the part that is held in Warsaw<sup>15</sup>. It can also be found in several Rus' manuscripts from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>16</sup>, such as in Nil Sorski's compilation<sup>17</sup> and in the *Great Menaion Reader* of the Metropolitan Macarius (under the date of March 30)<sup>18</sup>.

An important group of sources from the point of view of our research are the lives of ascetes/stylites living in Syria and Palestine in the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centu-

<sup>8</sup> Е.В. ТКАЧЁВ, *Кирилл Скифопольский*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. XXXIV, Москва 2014, p. 616.

<sup>9</sup> Saint Petersburg, Russian National Library, РНБ, ОЛДП. Q.106.

<sup>10</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.749, fol. 169–270' (15<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 173.I.90, fol. 72'–138' (16<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>11</sup> Т.П. ЛЁННГРЕН, *Сборник Нила Сорского*, vol. II, Москва 2002, p. 359–483.

<sup>12</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 989, fol. 122a–150a; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 177, fol. 168a–202c. *Великия Минеи Четии. Декабрь. Дни 1–5*, Москва 1901, col. 444–551.

<sup>13</sup> C. Voss, *Zwei albulgarische Übersetzungen der Vita des Johannes Hesychastes. Zur Frage der Archaizität des martyrologischen Textbestands für den Monat März im Codex Suprasliensis und im Uspenskij Spisok der Großen Makarianischen Lesemenäen*, [in:] *Abhandlungen zu den Grossen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij*, Freiburg 2001 [= *MLSDV*, 44], p. 297–336.

<sup>14</sup> See: *Rediscovery. Bulgarian Codex Suprasliensis of 10<sup>th</sup> Century*, ed. A. MILTENOVA, Sofia 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Central Archives of Historical Records, Zamoyskis' Archive in Warsaw, BOZ 201, fol. 278–302. Edition: Ъ. ЗАИМОВ, М. КАПАЛДО, *Супрасълски или Ретков сборник*, vol. II, София 1983, p. 16–65.

<sup>16</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.595, fol. 206'–220' (the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century).

<sup>17</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 173.I.207, fol. 2–17 (16<sup>th</sup> century). Edition: Т.П. ЛЁННГРЕН, *Сборник...*, vol. II, p. 484–509.

<sup>18</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 992, fol. 824a–831d. Edition: E. WEINER, S.O. ŠMIDT, A.I. ŠKURKO, *Die Grossen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij. Uspenskij Spisok. 26.–31. März*, Freiburg 2001, p. 1647–1662.

ries. Unfortunately, since the authors from the *Slavia Orthodoxa* area were rather selective in their approach to the Eastern Christian literary tradition, not all of the potentially interesting texts were assimilated by them. For example, among the hagiographic texts dedicated to St. Simeon Stylites the Elder (ca. 390–459), only two versions of his life (BHG 1683c and BHG 1685m) were translated into the Church Slavic language<sup>19</sup>. *Historia religiosa* by Theodoret of Cyrus, on the other hand, which contains a lot of important historical information, most probably was not read at all in Rus'.

The oldest variant of the *Life of St. Daniel Stylites* (BHG 489)<sup>20</sup> was known in the *Slavia Orthodoxa* region. It can be found on the pages of several Slavic manuscripts from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>21</sup>, as well as in the *Great Menaion Reader*, under the date of 11 December<sup>22</sup>. Hagiographic texts dedicated to St. Symeon Stylites the Younger (ca. 520–592; also known as St. Symeon of the Admirable Mountain) also must have enjoyed considerable popularity in Rus'. On the pages of the *Menaion Reader* from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries we can find both the oldest life of this saint, written soon after his death (BHG 1689)<sup>23</sup>, as well as the version by Nicephorus Uranus (BHG 1690), created in the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>24</sup>. The latter, however, underwent significant editorial changes once it came to the Slavic territory, in the course of which, among other things, parts of the text containing an outline

<sup>19</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca...*, p. 178–182; О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Переводные жития...*, p. 106–107.

<sup>20</sup> Edition of the Greek text: H. DELEHAYE, *Les saints Stylites*, Bruxelles–Paris 1923, p. 1–94. English translation: *Three Byzantine Saints. Contemporary Biographies Translated from the Greek*, trans. E. DAWES, N.H. BAYNES, New York 1977, p. 7–71.

<sup>21</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.593, fol. 58–105' (late 15<sup>th</sup> century or the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century). See: К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca...*, p. 353–354; О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Переводные жития...*, p. 44; F.J. THOMSON, *The December Volume of the Hilandar Menologium*, [in:] *Text, Sprache, Grammatik. Slavisches Schrifttum der Vormoderne. Festschrift für Eckhard Weiher*, Freiburg 2009 [= WS, 39], p. 139–157.

<sup>22</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 989, fol. 227d–245d; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 177, fol. 317a–344c. *Великія Минеи Четіи. Декабрь. Дни 6–17*, Москва 1904, col. 810–875.

<sup>23</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.669, fol. 49–124 (1432–1443); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.597, fol. 336a–432d (1494); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.685, fol. 143–233' (16<sup>th</sup> century). See: H. DELEHAYE, *Les saints Stylites...*, p. LIX–LXXV; P. VAN DEN VEN, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, В 33.2, 1963, p. 487–492; Г.И. ВЗДОРНОВ, *Роль славянских монастырских мастерских письма Константинополя и Афона в развитии книгописания и художественного оформления русских рукописей на рубеже XIV–XV вв.*, ТОДЛ 23, 1968, p. 171–198; F. MILLAR, *The Image of a Christian Monk in Northern Syria: Symeon Stylites the Younger*, [in:] *Being Christian in Late Antiquity – A Festschrift for Gillian Clark*, ed. C. HARRISON, C. HUMFRESS, I. SANDWELL, Oxford 2014, p. 278–295; L. PARKER, *Symeon Stylites the Younger and his Cult in Context. Hagiography and Society in Sixth to Seventh-Century Byzantium*, Oxford 2017.

<sup>24</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.754, fol. 216–286' (15<sup>th</sup> century). See: К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca...*, p. 535–536.

of the political situation at the time were removed or abbreviated. The oldest variant of the life was also included in the compilation of Nil Sorski<sup>25</sup> and in the *Great Menaion Reader* (under the date of 24 May)<sup>26</sup>.

What other Eastern Christian hagiographic texts, including references to the Byzantine-Persian struggles and the role that the Arabs played in them, were adapted in the *Slavia Orthodoxa* area? It is most likely that such important works as the *Life of St. Theodore of Amasea* (d. 306) or the *Life of George of Choziba* (d. 625) were not known there at all<sup>27</sup>. On the other hand, it can be assumed that at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century the *Life of St. Alexander the Sleepless* (ca. 350–ca. 430), written in its original version shortly after the saint's death<sup>28</sup>, was translated into the Church Slavic language. We find it on the pages of several Rus' manuscripts from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century and within the *Great Menaion Reader* (under the date of 19 February)<sup>29</sup>. Manuscripts from the same period also include the *Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon* (ca. 550–ca. 613) by George of Sykeon (BHG 1748)<sup>30</sup>. It was also part of the *Great Menaion Reader* (under the date of 22 April)<sup>31</sup>. The *Life of St. Golinduch* (d. 591) is an interesting and at the same time very poorly known work, set against the historical background of Byzantine and Persian relations during the reign of Khosrow I, Hormisdas IV and Khosrow II Parviz. It appears on the pages of the Rus' Menaion Reader from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century and in the

<sup>25</sup> State Literary Museum in Moscow, ГЛМ РОФ 8354, № 14, fol. 4–95'. Edition: Т.П. ЛЕННГРЕН, *Соборник Нила Сорского*, vol. I, Москва 2000, p. 39–193. See also: Т.П. ЛЕННГРЕН, *Житие Симеона Столпника в автографе Нила Сорского*, ЛИИКЯ 1, 2000, p. 277–290.

<sup>26</sup> National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, РНБ, 728.1321, fol. 489a–526c; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 994, fol. 647b–726a; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 180, fol. 1029a–1125d. Edition: E. WEINER, S.O. ŠMIDT, A.I. ŠKURKO, *Die Grossen Lesemenäen des Metropoliten Makarij. Uspenskij Spisok. 24.–31. Mai*, Freiburg 2013, p. 1293–1451. See also: Z.A. BRZOWSKA, M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, *Muhammad and the Origin of Islam in the Byzantine-Slavic Literary Context. A Bibliographical History*, Łódź–Kraków 2020 [= BL, 41], p. 24–39.

<sup>27</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars*, p. 2, AD 363–630, London–New York 2002, p. 192, 207.

<sup>28</sup> Edition of the Greek text: *La vie d'Alexandre Acemete*, ed. E. DE STOOR, [in:] *PO*, vol. VI.5, Paris 1911, p. 658–701.

<sup>29</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.594, fol. 174–196 (Menaion Reader, late 15<sup>th</sup> century). The *Great Menaion Reader*: National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, РНБ, 728.1320, fol. 343b–350b; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 991, fol. 524c–534c; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 179, fol. 704a–714d. See: О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Переводные жития...*, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup> English translation of the Greek text: *Three Byzantine Saints...*, p. 88–185.

<sup>31</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.596, fol. 188–315' (Menaion Reader, late 15<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 173.I.93, fol. 269–326 (Menaion Reader, 16<sup>th</sup> century). The compilation of Nil Sorski: Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.630, fol. 232–263' – edition: Т.П. ЛЕННГРЕН, *Соборник...*, vol. III, p. 385–442. The *Great Menaion Reader*: Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 993, fol. 218a–272b – edition: *Великія Минеи Четіи. Апрель. Дни 22–30*, Москва 1915, col. 644–849. See: О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Переводные жития...*, p. 115–116.



*Great Menaion Reader* (under the date of 12 July)<sup>32</sup>. The material may also be supplemented by the *Martyrdom of St. Arethas*, referring to the events in Najran in 523, translated into Church Slavic language no later than in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, preserved in Rus' manuscripts from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 16<sup>th</sup> century and on the pages of the *Great Menaion Reader* (under the date of 24 October)<sup>33</sup>.

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What image of the Eastern Rome-Persian frontier and the fate of its inhabitants in the 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century emerges from the sources mentioned here? Probably the earliest chronological reference to this subject that can be found in the Old Rus' hagiographic material is a fragment from the *Life of St. Alexander the Sleepless* (par. 32–35), referring to the second decade of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>34</sup>. The Osrhoene area was said to enjoy a short time of peace. The saint, accompanied by his disciples and not disturbed by anyone, crossed the river Euphrates and went “to the Persian desert” (в перьскоюу поустыню идоша)<sup>35</sup>. Since our travelers did not take sufficient supplies with them, God sent them “Roman tribunes and soldiers” to

<sup>32</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.598, fol. 72–83' (Menaion Reader, late 15<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 173.I.95, fol. 179–191' (Menaion Reader, 16<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.678, fol. 217–231 (Menaion Reader, 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> century). The *Great Menaion Reader*: National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, РНБ, 728.1323, fol. 97a–99c; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 996, fol. 145c–155c; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 182, fol. 195a–206c. See: P. REETERS, *Sainte Golindouch, martyre perse*, АВ 62, 1944, p. 74–125; G. GARITTE, *La Passion géorgienne de Sainte Golindouch*, АВ 74, 1956, p. 405–440; О.Н. АФИНОГЕНОВА, *Голиндуха*, [in:] *Православная энциклопедия*, vol. XI, Москва 2006, p. 694; О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Переводные жития...*, p. 39; M. DAL SANTO, *Imperial Power and its Subversion in Eustratius of Constantinople's Life and Martyrdom of Golinduch (c. 602)*, В 81, 2011, p. 138–176.

<sup>33</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.591, fol. 258–272 (the Menaion Reader from the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.755, fol. 347'–357' (a *miscellanea* manuscript from the 15<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 170, fol. 299'–313' (the Menaion Reader from the 16<sup>th</sup> century); Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 173.I.89, fol. 467'–481' (the Menaion Reader from the third quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century). The *Great Menaion Reader*: National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, РНБ, 728.1318, fol. 406c–409d; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 987, fol. 785b–792d; Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 175, fol. 1396a–1403b – edition: *Великий Минеи Четии. Октябрь. Дни 19–31*, Санкт-Петербург 1880, col. 1839–1863. See: М. ДЕТОРАКИ, J. ВЕАУСАМР, *Le martyre de saint Aréthas et de ses compagnons (ВНГ 166)*, Paris 2007; К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca...*, p. 264–266; О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Переводные жития...*, p. 26; Д. АТАНАСОВА, *Българското царство в предсмъртната молитва на мъченик Арета. Наблюдения върху славянската версия на Martyrium S. Arethae et Sociorum*, Pbg 38.1, 2014, p. 32–44; А.М. ТОТОМАНОВА, Д. АТАНАСОВА, *Станиславов Чети-Минеи. Издание на текста*, vol. I, София 2018, p. 687–708; Z.A. BRZOZOWSKA, M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, *Muhammad...*, p. 71–82.

<sup>34</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 35–36.

<sup>35</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 991, fol. 530a.

help them (триоуны римляны и войны)<sup>36</sup>. The Romans asked them to visit several *castella* (пришедше къ колимагамъ) and bless them. Interestingly, the Slavic version of the work omitted the original information that there were many *castella* on the Roman-Persian border, erected in order to defend the area against barbarians (Arabs?)<sup>37</sup>. In the subsequent part of the narrative the hagiographer informs us about one such attack, mentioning the herds of cattle captured by enemy warriors and houses they plundered (и скоти ихъ плѣнени быша ратники и домове ихъ разграблени быша ратными)<sup>38</sup>. Fleeing from the aggressors, Alexander and a huge number of people came to Palmyra (в поустыни нарицаемѣи Палмиръ)<sup>39</sup>. However, its inhabitants closed the gates to refugees, fearing that they would not be able to feed such a large group.

Several years later, Cyril of Scythopolis mentions the events on the pages of the *Life of St. Euthymius* (par. 10). We read in it about the persecution of Christians that took place in Persia at the end of the reign of Yazdegerd I (420). Its consequence was said to be a mass flight of Christians from the territory of the Sasanid state to the Eastern Roman Empire<sup>40</sup>. The Persians, trying to stop the refugees, ordered – as the hagiographer writes – the Saracen tribe leaders under their command (началники колѣнъ срациньскихъ)<sup>41</sup> to obstruct all roads, so that not a single Christian could escape “to the Greeks”, i.e. to the Empire (ис Персиды ко Грекомъ побѣгнеть). One of them, Aspebetus (descended, according to Irfan Shahîd, from one of the Arab tribes subject to the Lakhmids)<sup>42</sup>, although he himself was a pagan (ѣлинь)<sup>43</sup>, did not stop Christians from escaping. When he was to be punished for this attitude by Yazdegerd, he fled to the empire, taking all his family and possessions with him. The strategos Anatolius (ѣнатонъ стратегъ)<sup>44</sup> took him in and entrusted him with the command of the Saracens from Arabia, who recognized the sovereignty of the empire (старѣишинство колѣнъ сущихъ Срацинь во Яравии подъ Греки)<sup>45</sup>. The Slavic translator of the *Life* offers a unique interpretation of the change in Aspebetus’ position, which is *de facto* a status of an ally (phylarch, *foederatus*)<sup>46</sup>. The Rus’ author states that at first *he paid tribute to the Persians, and later to the Greeks* (подъ Персы дань дая потомъ подъ Греки)<sup>47</sup>. Later, Aspebetus

<sup>36</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 991, fol. 530b.

<sup>37</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 36.

<sup>38</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 991, fol. 530d.

<sup>39</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 991, fol. 531a.

<sup>40</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 37.

<sup>41</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.34, fol. 12’.

<sup>42</sup> I. SHAHÎD, *Byzantium and the Arabs in the Fifth Century*, Washington 1989, p. 42–43.

<sup>43</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.34, fol. 12.

<sup>44</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.34, fol. 12’.

<sup>45</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.34, fol. 12’–13.

<sup>46</sup> I. SHAHÎD, *Byzantium...*, p. 40–42.

<sup>47</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.34, fol. 12.

and his relatives went to St. Euthymius, asking him to cure his son. The saint later baptized him.

An episode of the Eastern Roman and Persian relations that occurred several decades later is also reported by the author of the *Life of St. Daniel Stylites*. He notes the following event, which probably took place around 466<sup>48</sup>: an Isaurian named Zeno came to the emperor, bringing with him letters from Ardaburius, *magister militum per Orientem* (стратилатъ восточный именовъ Ардавоурїи)<sup>49</sup>, in which the dignitary called on the Persians to raise their arms against the “Greek” government, i.e. the Roman (позывая Персы на вѣстанїе греческоу оустроенїа) and promised them his help. The emperor immediately dismissed him from his post and called him to the empire. In this *passus*, however, we will not find any information about the situation of people from the frontier region.

Several interesting fragments on the situation of the inhabitants of the frontier between Eastern Rome and Persia at the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries can be found in the texts by the aforementioned Cyril of Scythopolis. In the *Life of St. Euthymius* (par. 46) he notes that during the reign of Emperor Anastasius (according to Irfan Shahid, c. 500) camps of Saracens baptized by the saint were ravaged by barbarians<sup>50</sup>. The barbarian pagans – as the Slavic translator adds (В лѣто же Анастаса цѣра села Грациньска съставленая великииъ Соуфимьемъ варвари погании опустѣша)<sup>51</sup>. Some of the Christian Arabs were killed, while others were taken captive. Most of them, escaping from attackers, scattered all over the area, causing considerable confusion there. According to expert on the subject, the barbarians mentioned by Cyril were also Arabs, most probably affiliated with the Lakhmids<sup>52</sup>. In the *Life of St. Sabbas* (par. 14), Cyril of Scythopolis describes a failed attempt of an attack by six barbarians “Saracen by nature” (in an old Rus’ version: “six Saracens of cruel nature” – ѿ. Грацинь нравомъ лютоствноть)<sup>53</sup>. The author assumes that the aim of the attackers was to take the monks into captivity.

In the *Life of St. John the Hesychast/Silent* (par. 13) by Cyril of Scythopolis we can find one of the earliest references to Al-Mundhir III (503/505–554), the ruler of the Lakhmids, allied with Persia, whose invasions would complicate the lives of the inhabitants of the eastern frontiers of the empire for several decades<sup>54</sup>. In this

<sup>48</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 46–47.

<sup>49</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 113.593, fol. 81.

<sup>50</sup> I. ШАХІД, *Byzantium...*, p. 203.

<sup>51</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.34, fol. 54.

<sup>52</sup> I. ШАХІД, *Byzantium...*, p. 203–204.

<sup>53</sup> National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg, РНБ, ОЛДЦП, Q. 106 – edition: И. Помяловский, *Житїе св. Савы Освященнаго составленное св. Кирилломъ Скифопольскимъ въ древне-рускомъ переводѣ*, Санкт-Петербург 1890, p. 63.

<sup>54</sup> N. LENSKI, *Captivity and Slavery among the Saracens in Late Antiquity (ca. 250–630)*, *Ata* 19, 2011, p. 245–246; T. WOLIŃSKA, *Difficult Neighbours. Enemies, Partners, Allies*, [in:] *Byzantium and*

fragment, most probably referring to the end of 503<sup>55</sup>, we read that Alamundar, *who had acquired the dignity of king over the Saracens subject to the Persians* (in the Slavic version: *After receiving the imperial status among those who gave tribute to the Persians – царьскии санъ възьмъ иже Персомъ дань даяхъ*)<sup>56</sup>, invaded Palestine and conquered Amida. He was extremely cruel to the Romans (in Slavic: Greeks), ravaged the frontier, and took enormous numbers of captives. The desert guardians (старѣишинамъ же и хранителемъ тоа поустыниа) – probably the Arab phylarchs allied with the Empire – informed the surrounding monasteries of the imminent danger and recommended their dwellers to prepare themselves for defense. The hermits were advised to move into the walls of the monastery, but not all of them complied with the request of their confreres<sup>57</sup>. Sometimes the inhabitants of the frontier were also failed by their Arab allies. One such case is mentioned by Cyril of Scythopolis in the *Life of St. Euthymius* (par. 51): two Saracen phylarchs and allies of Rome (in the Slavic version: “Leaders of Saracen tribes under the Greek rule”), i.e. Ghassānid Arethas<sup>58</sup> and a certain Asouades, who is difficult to identify, fought among themselves, forgetting their function and allowing the barbarians (i.e. the Lakhmids of Al-Mundhir III) to desolate the area with impunity<sup>59</sup>. The threat from the Lakhmid ruler had to be very serious indeed: Cyril of Scythopolis in the *Life of St. Sabbas* (par. 72) notes that the saint wrote to Emperor Justinian I circa 530 asking him to build a fortress in the desert in the area where the monasteries were located in order to protect monks from Saracens’ invasions<sup>60</sup>.

The subsequent Byzantine-Persian struggles and the role that Al-Mundhir III, the ruler of the Lakhmids, played in them, is also mentioned by the author of the oldest *Life of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger*, which, as we remember, was known in the Old Rus’ literature. Thus, in this work (par. 57) we find an extensive description of the conquest of Antioch by the troops of the “Persian Tsar” Khosrow I (Хозроя перьскаго цѣа)<sup>61</sup> in June 540<sup>62</sup>. The fate of the inhabitants of the city was unenviable: many were killed, others found themselves in captivity, others yet – saved

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*the Arabs. The Encounter of Civilizations from Sixth to Mid-Eighth Century*, ed. T. WOLIŃSKA, P. FILIPCZAK, Łódź 2015 [=BL, 22], p. 152.

<sup>55</sup> I. SHAHĪD, *Byzantium...*, p. 204; G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 71.

<sup>56</sup> Central Archives of Historical Records, Zamoyskis’ Archive in Warsaw, BOZ 201, fol. 12.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. A.A. EGER, *The Islamic-Byzantine Frontier. Interaction and Exchange among the Muslim and Christian Communities*, London–New York 2015, p. 94–95.

<sup>58</sup> P. MAYERSON, *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens. Papers on the Near East in Late Antiquity (1962–1993)*, Jerusalem 1994, p. 86.

<sup>59</sup> T. WOLIŃSKA, *Difficult Neighbours...*, p. 183.

<sup>60</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 79; T. WOLIŃSKA, *Difficult Neighbours...*, p. 153.

<sup>61</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.669, fol. 66.

<sup>62</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 104–105.

themselves by fleeing. There were also two monks among the refugees: one of them was murdered and the other was taken prisoner.

Al-Mundhir III reappears in the subsequent part of the narrative (par. 186–187). The Slavic hagiographer characterizes him as the leader of the Saracens subject to the Persian Empire (вѣ нѣкто старѣшина Срациномъ. подлежащѣмъ персѣскомоу црѣтвюу. именемъ Яламоундаростъ)<sup>63</sup>. He also stresses that he was a pagan (елинъ слоужбою) and calls him by a significant epithet “man of blood” (моужь крови). Al-Mundhir was said to be a fierce persecutor of Christians for many years: unstoppable by anyone, he captured many inhabitants of the Byzantine frontier, whom he then imprisoned and starved, inflicting horrific torture on them and even – shaming them by forcing them to participate in the cult of devil (слоужбамъ вѣсовьскимъ приобщатиса). The question arises as to the character of that participation: as we know from other sources (e.g. the account of Procopius of Caesarea or the continuation of Zacharias Rhetor’s chronicle) he used to sacrifice captured prisoners to the goddess Al-‘Uzzā<sup>64</sup>. From the *Life of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger* we learn that a Byzantine envoy came to the court of Khosrow (in the Slavic version: a Greek old man) to ask him for peace (вѣпросити яже в мирѣ). Most likely, it was a *de facto* resolution of the conflict between Al-Mundhir III and the ruler of the Ghassānids allied with Byzantium, Arethas (Al-Hārith) II<sup>65</sup>. The mission ended in failure, and Al-Mundhir III announced another attack on the empire, boasting that he would ravage all homes and kill their inhabitants. Soon (in June 554) he attacked the Byzantine frontier with enormous forces<sup>66</sup>. All those who lived in the east, as the hagiographer reports, were overcome with panic (вси иже на вѣстоцѣ живюущи сматюшася зѣло)<sup>67</sup>. Then the author of the life outlines the vision that St. Symeon was said to experience. In this vision he was on a hill, in the frontier area, between the land of Saracens, Persians and Greeks (влизь предѣлъ Срациньскыхъ Персѣ же и Грекѣ). And he saw two enemy armies marching against each other: Arabs allied with Byzantines under the command

<sup>63</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.669, fol. 103’.

<sup>64</sup> PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA, *History of Wars*, II, 28, vol. I, ed. H.B. DEWING, London–New York 1914 [= LCL, 48], p. 518; PSEUDO-ZACHARIAS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, VIII, 5, ed. G. GREATREX, trans. R.R. PHENIX, C.B. HORN, Liverpool 2011 [= TTH, 55], p. 298; T. FAHD, *Le Panthéon de l’Arabie Centrale a la veille de l’hégire*, Paris 1968 [= IFAB.BAH, 88], p. 93–94, 169; R.G. HOYLAND, *Arabia and the Arabs. From the Bronze Age to the Coming of Islam*, London–New York 2002 [= PAW], p. 252; T. HAINTHALER, *Christliche Araber vor dem Islam*, Leuven–Paris–Dudley 2007, p. 78, 89; G. FISHER, *Between Empires. Arabs, Romans and Sasanians in Late Antiquity*, Oxford–New York 2011 [= OCM], p. 68; Z.A. BRZOZOWSKA, *Female Deities of Pre-Islamic Arabia in the Byzantine and Old Russian Sources*, ARAM 30.2, 2018, p. 502.

<sup>65</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 129.

<sup>66</sup> I. SHAHĪD, *Byzantium...*, p. 33; G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 129–130; T. WOLIŃSKA, *Difficult Neighbours...*, p. 179.

<sup>67</sup> Moscow, Russian State Library, РГБ, 304.I.669, fol. 104.

of Arethas (воиномъ и Грациномъ. идеже Ярефа старѣшина) and hosts under the command of the “tormentor Alamundar” (съ Яланоундаромъ мѣтлемъ). In the confrontation the scales of victory were said to tip to the latter’s side, but then the Christians received assistance from the highest power: God’s angel appeared with a sword and chopped off Al-Mundhir’s head. This vision believed to anticipate real events, i.e. the defeat of the Lakhmids by the ruler of Ghassānids, Arethas II<sup>68</sup>.

Relations between Byzantium and Persia from the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century provide the historical background for the *Life of St. Golinduch*. According to the author of this work, during the reign of Khosrow I and Hormisdas IV Christians were subject to certain repressions in the territory of Persia, e.g. they were forced to leave larger urban centers and settle in remote, deserted places. Their fate was said to be radically improved during the reign of Khosrow II Parviz, who, having reclaimed the throne with the help of the Emperor Maurice, sought to maintain friendly relations with the empire and supported the spread of Christianity<sup>69</sup>. However, this source makes no mention the situation of people living in the Byzantine-Persian frontier.

Reminiscences of events from the first decades of the 7<sup>th</sup> century can be found in the text of the *Life of St. Theodore of Sykeon*, written by his disciple George. Thus, from this source we learn (par. 120) that one of the first deeds of Phocas after the murder of Maurice and the assumption of imperial power was to send troops against the Persians, invading and plundering “our”, i.e. Byzantine estates<sup>70</sup>. Interestingly, the Slavic translator of *Life* preserved this perspective (плѣнующимъ наша веси)<sup>71</sup>. The hagiographer also describes the Persians’ attacks on Cappadocia in 610–612 (par. 153–154)<sup>72</sup>. He recalls that the invaders approached the vicinity of Caesarea, terrifying the local population and the monks living in the area, who even contemplated abandoning their homes and moving to a safer place (в манастирихъ и въ весехъ ѿшихъ в боязни велицѣхъ същи, еда како доидѣтъ и насъ). In the subsequent part of the narrative, George of Sykeon also refers to the military action taken against the Persians by the new Emperor Heraclius in 613 (par. 166).

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<sup>68</sup> I. SHAHĪD, *Byzantium...*, p. 33; T. WOLIŃSKA, *Difficult Neighbours...*, p. 179; Z.A. BRZOWSKA, M.J. LESZKA, T. WOLIŃSKA, *Muhammad...*, p. 31–33.

<sup>69</sup> P. SINISCALCO, *Kościół Asyryjski lub Wschodniosyryjski*, [in:] P. SINISCALCO, M. VAN ESBROECK, R. LAVENANT, P. MARRASSINI, T. ORLANDI, *Starożytne Kościoły Wschodnie. Historia i literatura*, trans. K. PIEKARZ, Kraków 2013, p. 206.

<sup>70</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 184–185.

<sup>71</sup> Moscow, State Historical Museum, ГИМ, Син. 993, fol. 250d.

<sup>72</sup> G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 187–189.

To sum up, the hagiographic texts contain a number of information on the fate of the inhabitants of the Byzantine-Persian frontier in the 5<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century. The image of this region, captured in the sources analyzed here, is quite homogeneous: regardless of the specific historical moment, it was a dangerous area, and its population was exposed to constant invasions and armed actions. An interesting issue is the inclusion of this region in the imaginarium of a medieval Slav, inhabitant of Rus'. In many texts one can find signs that the author of the Slavic version identified himself with the Christian, Greek, i.e. the Byzantine side of the conflict.

The image of the Arabs is unexpectedly complex. Although all tribes mentioned in our sources are referred to by the same name (Saracens), the palette of its semantic shades is very broad indeed. It can be applied to the Ghassānids, allied with the Empire, Arabs converted to Christianity, desert nomads, supposedly attacking the frontier, as well as dangerous enemies of Byzantium and persecutors of Christian people, such as the Lakhmids. Our authors correctly identify the political orientation of individual tribes and their leaders, but often show it in a way more in line with the realities of medieval Rus' than the era described in the sources discussed here (e.g. the status of *foederati* was reinterpreted, as it was probably incomprehensible for Old Rus' readers). Alamundar – Al-Mundhir III, ruler of the Lakhmids, is an unambiguously negative figure. His character is demonized in the analyzed texts to such an extent that he becomes almost an archetype of a cruel barbarian and a pagan persecutor of Christians. Interestingly, his name was sometimes given in hagiographic texts to other characters who played such a role, for example the Persian ruler is called that in the passion of three saints from Chalcedon: Manuel, Sabel and Ishmael, who died during the reign of Julian the Apostate<sup>73</sup>. Quite consistently, our authors also demonstrate the difference in the status of the persons described: Arab rulers (both Ghassānids and Lakhmids) are called leaders or chiefs, while the rulers Sassanid Persia, similarly to the Roman emperors, are referred to as the emperor (tzar).

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<sup>73</sup> A.V. MURAVIEV, *Three Martyrs of Chalcedon and the Persian Campaign of the Emperor Julian*, [in:] SP 29, 1997, p. 94–100.

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## GENERAL OVERVIEW OF THE THREE-DIMENSIONAL ARCHITECTURAL MODELS AS ACROTERIA IN MEDIEVAL GEORGIA\*

**Abstract.** Medieval architecture of the South Caucasus developed a unique tradition of making acroteria shaped as three-dimensional models of churches. Since the church-shaped acroteria have never been thoroughly explored in Georgia, this paper focuses on examples surviving in the region. Special attention is paid to analyzing the architectural and sculptural aspects of the acroteria, as well as their function. This paper aims at discussing both the formal and functional aspects of the church-shaped acroteria from Georgia. It is intended to explore what kind of church models were usually created in Georgia, how they were designed, and to what extent they resemble or differ from the real architecture. Typically, the model erected on the top of the gables of a church was made of stone, though glazed ceramic acroterion can be found as well, such as that of the Alaverdi Cathedral in Georgia. As the research has shown, the models do not replicate real architecture; they represent abridged images of actual buildings, repeating only their general layout (cross-domed or, rarely, single-nave structure) and a selected number of elements that were evidently considered essential or were typical elements of the architectural repertoire of the period in which the acroterion were created.

**Keywords:** acroteria, architectural models, roofing technique, Medieval Georgia, South Caucasus

### Introduction

The tradition of making three-dimensional architectural models has a centuries-old history in Georgia. Like other countries of the Byzantine world, in Georgia, architectural models were created from various materials (stone, metal, wood, mixed media) for various purposes: acroteria, gravestones, spring structures, canopies, icon niche tops, censers, bases of processional crosses, and communion bread stamps shaped as church buildings<sup>1</sup>. Regrettably, a substantial

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<sup>1</sup> Selected bibliography on the representation of architecture through various media: P. CUNEO, *Les Modèles en Pierre de L'Architecture Arménienne*, REArm 6, 1969, p. 200–231; E. LYPSMEYER, *The Donor and his Church Model in Medieval Art from Early Christian Times to the Late Romanesque*

part of these items has been destroyed or lost, while many others are kept in different depositories and churches without context, which sometimes complicates the identification of their original function. Although the extant material is incomplete and, in some cases, is represented by a single example, it is still possible to provide a general picture vivid enough to comprehend what was the meaning and purpose of the church models, how their creators perceived architecture, and how real architecture was transformed into minor architectural forms.

Three-dimensional stone acroteria in the shape of churches were widely used in medieval Georgian architecture. Apart from Georgia, they were also known in Armenia. The extant material suggests that this is a unique South Caucasian phenomenon, which could have been facilitated by the centuries-old tradition of quarrying and producing building stone and the high culture of stone processing and carving.

Academic interest in church models employed as acroteria in the South Caucasus emerged in the late 1960s. A study carried out by Paolo Cuneo is regarded as a major work on this subject<sup>2</sup>. His oft-quoted work provides a comprehensive survey of Armenian examples, while Georgian ones are given only in a small number. The reason is that the author was unaware of the quantity and diversity of the Georgian material, and so referred to only the minor and architecturally and artistically insignificant examples available to him at the time (the acroteria mounted on the Svetitskhoveli, Samtavisi, Ikorta and Manglisi churches). Thus, many important acroteria from Georgia remained unknown to P. Cuneo and, accordingly, to international scholarship. P. Cuneo deals with church models in general, both two- and three-dimensional representations in medieval Armenia. Concerning acroteria, he makes the following conclusions: 1. The chronological range of the distribution of acroteria varies between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries; 2. In Armenia and Georgia, acroteria in the shape of churches are mainly found on monastic churches. However, it must be noted that in Georgia, church-shaped acroteria topped not only monastic churches, but also both parochial churches and cathedrals. After P. Cuneo, other scholars have also discussed the South Caucasian church models<sup>3</sup>,

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*Period*, New Jersey 1981 (unpublished PhD dissertation); E.S. KLINBERG, *Compressed Meaning. The Donor's Model in Medieval Art around 1300*, Turnhout 2009; *Architectural Models in Medieval Architecture (Byzantium, S.E. Europe, Anatolia)*, ed. Y.D. VARALIS, Thessaloniki 2009; S. ĆURČIĆ, E. HADJITRYPHONOS, K.E. McVEY, H.G. SARADI, *Architecture as Icon. Perception and Representation of Architecture in Byzantine Art, Exhibition Catalogue*, New Haven–London 2010; D. STACHOWIAK, *Church Models in the Byzantine Culture Circle and the Problem of their Function*, [in:] *Sacrum et profanum. Haec studia amici et collegae Andrei B. Biernacki septuaginto dicant*, Poznań 2018 [= N.SM, 6], p. 243–256; M. DIDEBULIDZE, *Representation of Architecture in Medieval Georgian Murals*, BGNAS 13.N3, 2019, p. 149–155.

<sup>2</sup> P. CUNEO, *Les Modèles...*, p. 200–231.

<sup>3</sup> G. IENI, *La Rappresentazione dell'oggetto Architettonico nell'arte Medievale con Riferimento Particolare ai Modelli di Architettura Caucasici*, [in:] *Atti del Primo Simposio Internazionale di Arte Armena (Bergamo, 28–30 Giugno 1975)*, ed. G. IENI, L.B. ZEKIYAN, Venezia 1978, p. 247–264; C. MARANCI,

but the main emphasis was always on the Armenian artefacts, while Georgian ones remained almost beyond attention.

In Georgia, a comprehensive study in this field has yet to be conducted. Only a few artefacts of a particular historical significance have received special study, among them the church models from Sapara and Akhaldaba<sup>4</sup>.

The earliest preserved examples of church-shaped acroteria in Georgia are those from the Kurtskhani Valley and the Trinity Church of Tirdznisi, which date from the 10<sup>th</sup> century. After that, they gradually became an inherent part of church architecture, and were employed particularly intensively from the 13<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. A larger share of surviving church models falls within that period<sup>5</sup>. They differ from each other in size, architectural form, and artistic quality. The number of models of high artistic value is comparatively small.

Judging by the preserved evidence, the area of the diffusion of acroteria in Medieval Georgia is largely limited to the Kartli and Samtskhe-Javakheti provinces. These are the regions where stone tiles were used rather than ceramic ones as roofing material, which led to the natural integration of stone acroteria into the whole covering. Several stone-covered buildings with acroteria can also be seen in other regions of Georgia, such as Alaverdi Cathedral and the Sagarejo Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Kakheti, the Katskhi Church of St. George in Imereti, and the Tbeti Cathedral in Shavsheti. The combination of stone acroteria with a ceramic tile roof was seldom practiced. One of the rare examples is the 16<sup>th</sup> century Jvaris Mama Church in Tbilisi. Its roofing underwent several renovations, but initially

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*Architectural Models in the Caucasus: Problems of Form, Function, and Meaning*, [in:] *Architectural Models in Medieval Architecture*, ed. Y.D. VARALIS, Thessaloniki 2008, p. 49–55; M.C. CARILE, *Buildings in their Patrons' Hands? The Multifunction of Small Size Models between Byzantium and Transcaucasia*, K.de 3, 2014, p. 1–14.

<sup>4</sup> ვ. ბერიძე [V. BERIDZE], *სამცხის ხუროთმოძღვრება [Architecture of Samtskhe]*, თბილისი 1955, p. 52, tab. 33; ვ. სილოგავა [V. SILOGAVA], *ეკლესიის მოდელი სავარადან ხუროთმოძღვრის გამოსახულებით და წარწერით [The Church Model from Sapara with the Representation of the Architect and the Inscription]*, [in:] *მესხეთი: ისტორია და თანამედროვეობა [Meskheta: History and Modernity]*, ed. მ. ბერიძე [V. BERIDZE], ახალციხე 2000, p. 29–35; IDEM, *ეკლესიის მოდელი ახალდაბიდან და მის კედლებზე ამოკვეთილი წარწერა [The Church Model from Akhaldaba and its Inscription]*, თსუაფშკ 2, 2000, p. 67–81; დ. თუმანიშვილი [D. TUMANISHVILI], ნ. ნაცვლიშვილი [N. NATSVLISHVILI], დ. ხოშტარია [D. KHOSHTARIA], *მშენებელი ოსტატები შუა საუკუნეების საქართველოში [Master Builders in Medieval Georgia]*, თბილისი 2012, p. 116–117, fig. 89; T. DADIANI, T. KHUNDADZE, E. KVACHATADZE, *Medieval Georgian Sculpture*, Tbilisi 2017, p. 275, fig. 606–607.

<sup>5</sup> In the course of the present research, church-shaped acroteria have been recorded in about 50 churches and monasteries, and their total number reaches 100. However, this number is incomplete. It does not include acroteria of churches located in the mountainous part of Kartli province inaccessible since 2008 because of the Russian occupation that led to a complete lockdown of the region. Some of these models are known owing to publications of previous years, such as acroteria from the churches of Vakhtana, Ikorta, Largvisi and Tiri. Acroteria from Tsromi and Sapara monastery have vanished, but were recorded by 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century archaeologists.

it was made of ceramic tiles and probably had a stone church-shaped acroteria from the beginning, which should be considered as the influence of stone-covered architecture.

### Arrangement and function

An acroterion standing on top of the gable is an integral part of the roof and therefore is associated with roofing method and material. In Medieval Georgia, ceramic tiles and stone slabs, and rarely shingles and bricks, were used to cover buildings<sup>6</sup>. Stone covering is known to have been used in the South Caucasus from at least the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and became extensively applied from the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>7</sup>. It consisted of several elements: flat rectangular slabs, locks, and a ridge. The latter connects two slopes of the roof and fills the gap at the junction of the slopes where the slopes join each other. Stones employed in the ridge are joggle-jointed to fill the empty spaces between them. The acroterion is positioned on the ridge stone laid at the edge of the gable. As previously mentioned, in the South Caucasus this usually included a three-dimensional model of a church.

Mounting a three-dimensional model on the ridge was not obligatory in either Georgia or Armenia. Often, the ridge terminates without it, or, as the Georgian samples show, instead of the church model there is a sculpture of an animal – a protome projecting from the gable. Originating from folk traditions, the protomes were often erected alongside church models on different gables of the same constructions.

Based on observation of the preserved examples in the South Caucasus, two methods of attaching acroteria to the roof ridge can be identified:

1. In some cases, a church model was carved from a single piece of stone together with a ridge stone, which was then placed on the edge of the arm, upon the gable, at the joining point of two slopes. As a rule, the stone formed a small projection on the lower part of the façade, directed inwards, over which the remaining ridge stones were arranged. The part of the ridge stone where the church model was sculpted could have had a flat base, or a concavity of a strictly triangular shape or likened to the shape of a gable, by which it was fitted in its due place. However, the base of the model decorating the western ridge of the Church of Virgin in the village Gandzani (Javakheti province, Georgia) is carved in a wavy fashion, which gives additional artistic effect to the stone.

<sup>6</sup> დ. თუმანიშვილი [D. TUMANISHVILI], ნ. ნაცვლიშვილი [N. NATSVLISHVILI], დ. ხოშტარია [D. KHOSHTARIA], *მშენებელი ოსტატები...*, p. 184–202.

<sup>7</sup> რ. გვერდსითელი [R. GVERDTSITELI], ლორფინის სახურავი [*Stone Tile Roofing*], თბილისი 1991, p. 1; დ. თუმანიშვილი [D. TUMANISHVILI], ნ. ნაცვლიშვილი [N. NATSVLISHVILI], დ. ხოშტარია [D. KHOSHTARIA], *მშენებელი ოსტატები...*, p. 184.

2. In other cases, a church model was sculpted out of a separate stone which was placed on a specially prepared platform and fixed to it with mortar.

The appearance of acroteria in the Georgian (and Armenian) churches coincided with the general tendency of architecture towards the increase in decorative-ness and love of details, a process that began in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. However, they cannot be considered as a mere part of the embellishment, as, without doubt, the representation of a church model on the top of the gable had a symbolic meaning. They could also have been used as votive offerings by private persons, including the stonemasons themselves.

Christina Maranci, at the end of her paper, brings up a topic for consideration: *what role these miniature monuments may have played in rites of foundation, which involved the arranging and anointing of stones at the four corners of the building site*<sup>8</sup>. Medieval Georgian texts describing the rite of the consecration of foundation or the consecration of the churches themselves do not suggest the existence of such small monuments on top of the churches. The Rules of Laying the Church Foundation, translated from Greek into Georgian in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, contain rubrics according to which, after choosing the place for a church, on the spot where a holy altar is supposed to be erected, first a big wooden cross should be placed on a base made of stone, iron or copper. On this cross, an inscription should be made giving the information about the bishop who ordered the cross, the name of the king, and the year. After the construction of the church and installation of a holy altar, the cross should be erected on top of the church. The rubrics say nothing of exactly where and how the cross was attached to the top of the church. I think they mean the cross which was placed on the drum of the church, since it was much bigger than those erected above acroteria, judging by their recesses. Earlier manuscripts dealing with the rite of the consecration of a church, or the preparation of the foundation, say nothing regarding this custom.

Close examination of the surviving church-shaped acroteria suggests that they served as bases for crosses<sup>9</sup>. Almost all of them have special cavities on top and are placed in the centre of a dome, if the acroterion imitates a domed church, or on a gable roof if it represents a single-nave structure. Wooden, metal or stone crosses were fitted into these mortises, most of which did not survive destruction in the Soviet period and especially the anti-religious campaign of the 1920s. Few extant examples, such as the metal cross crowning the acroterion in the Ikorta Church (Kartli province, Georgia), dated from 1172, belong to the later period and are not original.

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<sup>8</sup> C. MARANCI, *Architectural Models...*, p. 55.

<sup>9</sup> P. CUNEO, *Les Modèles...*, p. 218.

When discussing the architectural design of the church-shaped acroteria and their relation to real architecture, one should take into consideration their subsidiary function and their position at the top of the gables, high above the ground. Obviously, these small church models were supposed to be comprehensible and perceptible to the beholder, but there seems to have been no need to try too hard to imitate the structure and proportions of a real building, much less to show its details. In representing architecture, three-dimensional models topping churches are usually even more schematic and conventional than models depicted in donor reliefs, which were intended to show the result of the donor's dedication to Christ, and therefore bore more resemblance to real architecture.

### **Acroteria in the shape of domed churches**

In Georgia, acroteria may have the architectural form of a church with or without a dome. The majority of them represent cross-domed churches, both inscribed cross and free cross structures. Models of domeless single-nave buildings are relatively fewer in number. Acroteria shaped as single-nave churches are known only in Georgia, while Armenian ones always represent domed architecture. The quantitative inequality between the two types of model in Georgia can be explained by the above-mentioned fact, that it was never an end in itself to provide an exact replica of a real church. The cross-domed architectural form is much easier to identify and perceive as a church than a simple rectangle of single-nave structure when seen from distance. Therefore, acroteria shaped as cross-domed buildings were often erected even on the gables of domeless churches.

One of the earliest examples of acroterion in Georgia comes from the Kurtskhani Valley in Samtskhe province in south-west Georgia (Fig. 1). It represents a domed church with gabled crossarms inscribed in a rectangular plan. The larger part of the drum is broken off. A four-line miniscule (Nuskhuri) inscription carved on one of the facets of the model mentions Michael (presumably the donor of the church) and his sons. The paleographic features of the inscription may be assigned to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

Church-shaped acroteria are erected on the western and eastern ridges of the Trinity Church in Tirdznisi (Kartli province, East Georgia), a small single-nave structure dated from the late 10<sup>th</sup> century (Fig. 2). Their contemporaneity with the church is attested by their structural connection with its masonry. Stones of both models are inherently fitted into the stonework of the cornice and naturally continue its straight lines, which run diagonally towards the ridge and join the arched outline of the bottom of the acroterion. Further, both models are carved out of dark-red tufa, the stone applied in the church itself.

The models from Tirdznisi are similar to each other, differing only in proportion and detail. Both represent a church of the free-cross type, sculpted over a rectangular basis. The western façade of the model standing above the west gable features



a large cross and a small slot cut out below it, while the eastern façade of the model standing on the east ridge has only an aperture in the centre. The drum of the east side model is cylindrical<sup>10</sup> and its surface is articulated with grooves indicating windows. The cylindrical drum is found in a number of Georgian churches after the 9<sup>th</sup> century<sup>11</sup>, but is not usually typical for the architecture of Georgia which, as a rule, preferred a faceted shape. Both the facades and the round drum of the model from Tirdznisi are the result of the simplified transformation of real architecture into a small architectural form. This is a generic model intended to show a cross-domed building without details rather than to represent a specific church.

Some medieval acroteria imitate architectural and decorative details specific to a certain period, which makes their dating possible. The dome of the church model from Sakvirike (Tori province, southern Georgia) has a roof in the shape of a half-opened umbrella (Fig. 3). The zigzag line of a drum cornice duplicates the lower outline of the roof. This form appeared for the first time in the monastic architecture of Klarjeti, first in the Church of St. George at Khandzta, built by master mason Amona between 918 and 941 and then in the nearby Church of St. John the Baptist at Opiza, restored between 945 and 954<sup>12</sup>. It soon expanded to other regions of Georgia (Gogiuba, Katskhi, Bochorma, Manglisi)<sup>13</sup> and Armenia (Zarinja, Khtzkonk, Marmashen)<sup>14</sup>. Depiction of a dome roof in the shape of a half-opened umbrella is evidenced in the sculptural images of donors holding church models dating to the late 10<sup>th</sup> century, such as the reliefs of Akhaltsikhe and Petobani.

The architectural form of the Sakvirike model does not show any connection with the basilica of the church itself. Taking into consideration the close ties of the Tori monasteries with Klarjeti, one may assume that the design of the dome roof in the shape of a half-opened umbrella was inspired by one of the two above-mentioned monastic churches, Khandzta or Opiza. It may also be a replica of a lost model from Klarjeti. The shape of the roof suggests a time range from the mid-10<sup>th</sup> to the mid-11<sup>th</sup> century. Wide arched frames of holes representing windows in the drum allow the date to be narrowed down to the first decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

The acroterion preserved in the courtyard of the monastery of Chule (Samtskhe province, southern Georgia) has three circular bosses sculpted above the “windows” of the north and south facades (Fig. 4). This decorative detail was borrowed from the monumental architecture of 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The earliest preserved

<sup>10</sup> The dome of the west side model had been broken off and was restored a few years ago.

<sup>11</sup> See, for instance, the Church of St. Stephan in Vachdzori Monastery (9<sup>th</sup> century), Church of the Virgin at Tseroskhevi (late 10<sup>th</sup> century), the so-called Chikvanis' church in Martvili Monastery (10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> centuries), etc.

<sup>12</sup> W. DJOBADZE, *Early Medieval Georgian Monasteries in Historic Tao, Klardjeti and Šavšeti*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 11, 31, pl. 2, 30–31.

<sup>13</sup> ვ. ბერძენი [V. BERIDZE], *კაცხოს ტაძარი* [The Church of Katskhi], AG 3, 1950, p. 77–79.

<sup>14</sup> P. CUNEO, *Architettura Armena dal quarto al diciannovesimo secolo*, Roma 1988, p. 232, 260–262, 638–641.

example is Pitareti Church, built from 1213 to 1222 (Kvemo Kartli province, South-eastern Georgia), where three ornamental bosses are carved above the frames of the western and northern windows. The church in Chule, an early 14<sup>th</sup> century structure, may also have such adornment; however, most of its facade decoration was lost during an incompetent restoration carried out in the early Soviet period. Another model of a cross-domed church from the same region and same period is preserved in the courtyard of Zarzma Monastery (Fig. 5). It has a decorated drum and framed windows. The model is particularly interesting for the design of its roof, which shows the system typical of stone tile covering. The conical roof of the dome and slopes of the crossarms are divided with fillets that indicate the convex locks of stone tiles. It should be noted that the function of this model is not quite clear: it could be an acroterion as well as a tombstone.

Several church-shaped acroteria are adorned with inscriptions. One of them, the model from the Kurtskhani Valley, was discussed above. A supplicatory inscription is carved on the acroterion with a broken-off dome which tops the northern gable of St. Sabbas Church in Sapara Monastery (Samtskhe province, southern Georgia) (Fig. 6). The inscription in old Georgian letters (Asomtavruli), carved on a plain area around the northern portal of the model, implores the patron saint of the church, St. Sabbas, to have mercy on the anonymous builder. The model is contemporaneous with the church covering made in the 1280s at the expense of Okropir Gabetsasdze who, according to the church inscription, donated 120 *botinati*<sup>15</sup> for stone tile roofing<sup>16</sup>.

A cruciform church-shape acroterion from Akhaldaba (Tori province, southern Georgia), dated to the 1180s or 1190s, does not stand out in architectural terms, but is remarkable for a vast inscription covering its two sides<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 7). The inscription, which was not meant to be seen from below, is directed to Christ and is commemorative in nature: “Lord Jesus Christ, God, who has exalted the horn of holy churches, likewise lift upon the heaven Queen of Queens Vanen, with her son; let us pray for the former wife of the Duke of Dukes Gamrekel”. Interestingly, the words glorifying Christ at the beginning of the text are taken from the *irmologion*, a collection of liturgical chants (*No one is as holy as you are, Lord, our God, who has exalted the horn of Christians*). The Queen of Queens Vanen has been identified as the daughter of Duke of Dukes Ivane Abuserisdze, a powerful lord of south-west Georgia. Her brother was the scholar and writer Tbel Abuseridze,

<sup>15</sup> *Botinati* is the Georgian name for the coin minted during the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nikephoros III Botaneiates (1078–1081) and circulated in Georgia until the 14<sup>th</sup> century (D.M. LANG, *Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia. Based on the Collection of the American Numismatic Society*, New York 1955 [= NNM, 130], p. 22, 31–32).

<sup>16</sup> ვ. ბერიძე [V. BERIDZE], *სამცხის ხუროთმოძღვრება...*, p. 52–53.

<sup>17</sup> The acroterion was found outside context while tilling in the village of Akhaldaba. For dating and analysis of the inscription, see: ვ. სილოგავა [V. SILOGAVA], *ეკლესიის მოდელი ახალდაბიდან...*, p. 67–81.

and her husband was Gamrekel Toreli, a successful commander-in-chief of the reign of Queen Tamar<sup>18</sup>. Apparently, she and her son had already passed away by the time the inscription was made.

The tradition of making church-shape acroteria was continued in late Medieval Georgia. One of the most remarkable models of that period has been preserved in the Church of St. Thomas (Kviratskhoveli) in Tserakvi (Kvemo Kartli province, southeastern Georgia) (Fig. 8). Its design displays obvious resemblance to the 17<sup>th</sup> century Georgian architecture which is found in colonnettes running up the edges of crossarms, and “perspective portals” with frames consisting of three concentric arches. The acroterion of Alaverdi Cathedral (now kept in the Georgian National Museum) dates from even later times. It was likely made during the last significant restoration of the cathedral carried out after the strong earthquake of 1742. Being a ceramic blue glazed model of a cross-domed structure, it remains the only preserved church-shape acroterion in Georgia made of a material other than stone<sup>19</sup>. Apart from a general architectural form, none of the features of the model shows resemblance to the Cathedral (Fig. 9). The details of its drum, such as flat pilasters and the foliage decoration of the frieze, reveal an obvious Neo-classical influence, while the 18<sup>th</sup> century restorations of Alaverdi Cathedral itself have nothing to do with European architecture. It seems that in this transitional period of Georgian history from the late Middle Ages to the early Modernity, the tendency towards the adoption of European architectural elements penetrated the models earlier than monumental architecture.

### Acroteria in the shape of a single-nave church

As noted above, the acroteria of Georgian churches usually have the form of a domed church, prevailing even in domeless churches. However, some of these churches are crowned with acroteria, which in shape correspond to the church itself, i.e. they have no domes. These are the models of simple gable-roofed single-nave structures without any additional adornment.

Two acroteria from Sapara Monastery provide good examples for the discussion of single-nave church models (Fig. 10). One of them tops the late 10<sup>th</sup> century Church of St. Stephen, but would have been made together with its stone roof during the significant enlargement and reconstruction of the monastery in the 1280s. The acroterion is placed above the western gable of the single-nave church. Its south, north and east facades are plain, while the west façade, which faces the beholder, features apertures imitating the door and the window of the

<sup>18</sup> The identification was made by V. Silogava.

<sup>19</sup> დ. თუმანიშვილი [D. TUMANISHVILI], ნ. ნაცვლიშვილი [N. NATSVLISHVILI], დ. ხოშტარია [D. KHOSHCHARIA], *მშენებელი ოსტატები...*, p. 143, fig. 114. The date of the model was suggested by D. Tumanishvili.

church itself; however, unlike the church openings, the “door” and the “window” of the model are surrounded with frames in accordance with the aesthetics of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Here also, like the above-mentioned acroterion from Zarzma, one can observe the outline of stone tile roofing. The line running along the roof ridge suggests ridge stones, while fillets on the slopes imitate the convex locks of stone tiles. The proportions of the model substantially differ from the real architecture. Its length is almost equal to its width, owing to which the model looks like a cube covered with a pitched roof. Similar proportions can be seen in another single-nave church model of the same period from Sapara Monastery, which is now kept in the Samtskhe-Javakheti History Museum<sup>20</sup> (Fig. 11). The model is distinguished for its sculptural images, which will be discussed below.

The majority of acroteria shaped as single nave churches are very simple, not only in form but also in design, which makes it difficult to date them. One such Medieval model was reused in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in the Church of St. George near the now abandoned village of Muskhi (Fig. 12). Its elevated proportions are emphasized by a lofty roof with steep slopes. The only decorative detail is a relief cross carved on its western facade.

### Acroteria with figurative images

Medieval masters used the facades of acroteria not only for placing inscriptions, but also as surfaces for displaying the figural representations of saints, historical persons and master builders, as well as symbolic images.

Equestrian saints are depicted on the facades of the acroteria from the Kazbegi Ethnographical Museum (14<sup>th</sup> c.) (Fig. 13) and Tkemlovana church (15<sup>th</sup> c.) (Fig. 14). They are not accompanied by inscriptions, but it is likely that in both cases, the riders would represent St. George, the most popular equestrian saint in Medieval Georgia<sup>21</sup>, even though neither a dragon nor the Emperor Diocletian are depicted on them.

The most developed set of reliefs is represented on the above-mentioned single-nave acroterion from Sapara (Fig. 11). Here, figures of St. Saba, an unknown saint, and master builder Pareza are depicted on each of the three facades of the model. The builder is shown holding a hammer and a square. Apparently, this is not the only case of a master being depicted on acroterion in Georgia. The 14<sup>th</sup> century

<sup>20</sup> ვ. ბერიძე [V. BERIDZE], *სამცხის ხუროთმოძღვრება...*, p. 52, tab. 33; ვ. სილოგავა [V. SILOGAVA], *ეკლესიის მოდელი საფარიდან...*, p. 29–35; დ. თუმანიშვილი [D. TUMANISHVILI], ნ. ნაცვლიშვილი [N. NATSVLISHVILI], დ. ხოშტარია [D. KHOSHTARIA], *მშენებელი ოსტატები...*, p. 116–117, fig. 89; T. DADIANI, T. KHUNDADZE, E. KVACHATADZE, *Medieval Georgian...*, p. 275, fig. 606–607.

<sup>21</sup> E. GEDEVANISHVILI, *Cult and Image of St. George in Medieval Georgian Art*, [in:] *Cultural Interactions in Medieval Georgia*, ed. M. BACCI, T. KAFFENBERGER, M. STUDER-KARLEN, Wiesbaden 2018 [= SFr, 41], p. 143–168.

church model now located in the garden of the former Catholic church in Ude features the image of a man wearing a long robe with a belt around his waist and holding a tool that looks like a stonemason's pick (Fig. 15–16).

An unusual representation of clergymen can be seen on the 14<sup>th</sup> century acroterion found during archaeological works in the church of Buchuriani village (Kvemo Kartli province, southeastern Georgia)<sup>22</sup> (Fig. 17). A rectangular door is cut in the center of the main façade of the acroterion, which is shaped like a domed church. On the right side of the door is a depiction of a clergyman turned towards the door in a three-quarter view and holding a cross in his hands stretched out in supplication. His cowl with a cross at the top identifies him as a monk. There was likely a similar representation on the other side of the door as well, which has been broken off.

Some human images depicted on the models have neither inscriptions nor specific attributes that could make possible their identification. A schematized face of a bearded man carved on the outer corner of the central square bay of the 14<sup>th</sup> century model from Didi Gomareti (Kvemo Kartli province, southeastern Georgia) (now kept in the Georgian National Museum) may be a personification or represent a secular person, presumably a master builder. Two opposite facades of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century acroterion from Pirghebuli Monastery (Kvemo Kartli province, southeastern Georgia) are adorned with similar human heads, which should be understood as symbolic images, perhaps solar personifications (Fig. 18–19).

## Conclusion

The medieval architecture of the South Caucasus developed a unique tradition of making acroteria in the form of three-dimensional models of churches. The study of Medieval Georgian acroteria mounted on the ridges of churches shows that they always had the form of a church, but did not replicate real architecture. Apparently, the masons who made these models were not required to closely imitate real churches<sup>23</sup>. Therefore, instead of reproducing particular buildings, they freely used structural and decorative elements typical of their time. They changed

<sup>22</sup> The discovery was made in 1970 by the Kazreti Archaeological Expedition: მ. სინაურძე [M. SINOURDZE], *კაზრეთის ხეობის არქეოლოგიური ძეგლები* [Archaeological Monuments from Kazreti Gorge], თბილისი 1985, p. 41–42, pl. XXVIII.

<sup>23</sup> The acroterion from Harichavank Monastery (Armenia), with its unusually detailed facades, seems to be the only exception in the Caucasus. The model of the church repeats the architectural and decorative articulation of the real church, showing the donor composition on the east façade of the church. According to P. CUNEO (*Les Modèles...*, p. 220, fig. 28–29), the donors Ivane and Zakaria Mkhargrdzeli held a model of the church, although I think this tiny object between the donors is the icon of the Virgin as it was represented in the real church itself. See also: A. EASTMOND, *Tamta's World. The Life and Encounters of a Medieval Noblewoman from the Middle East to Mongolia*, Cambridge 2017, p. 54–59. The model disappeared following the recent restoration.

real proportions, accentuating domes in the models shaped as cross-domed churches, and shortening models in the form of single-nave churches almost to a cube. As a result, the models represented abridged architectural images intended to be easily recognizable and appreciable for the beholder through their general layout and a select number of elements that were evidently considered essential.

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## ILLUSTRATIONS



**Fig. 1.** Acroterion, Kurtskhani valley, 10<sup>th</sup> c.  
Drawing by N. Chakvetadze, 2019.



**Fig. 2.** Acroterion, Trinity church, Tirdznisi,  
10<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2014.



**Fig. 3.** Acroterion, Sakvirike church,  
11<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 4.** Acroterion, Chule monastery, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Photo  
by N. Chitishvili, 2013.





**Fig. 5.** Acroterion, Zarzma monastery, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2013.



**Fig. 7.** Acroterion, Akhaldaba, Georgian National Museum, 12<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 6.** Acroterion, Church of St. Sabba, Sapa monastery, 13<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 8.** Acroterion, Church of St. Thomas (Kviratskhoveli), Tserakvi, 17<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chakvetadze, 2015.



**Fig. 9.** Acroterion, Alaverdi Cathedral, Georgian National Museum, 18<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by D. Khoshtaria, 2011.



**Fig. 10.** Acroterion, Church of St. Stephan, Sapara Monastery, 10<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 11.** Acroterion, Sapara Monastery, Samtskhe-Javakheti History Museum. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 12.** Acroterion, Church of St. George, Old Muskhi. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 13.** Acroterion, Kazbegi Ethnographical Museum, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2007.



**Fig. 14.** Acroterion, Tkemlovana, Georgian National Museum, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 15.** Acroterion, former Catholic church in Ude, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 16.** Acroterion, Mason builder, former Catholic church in Ude, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.



**Fig. 17.** Acroterion, Church in Buchuriani, Georgian National Museum, 14<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2018.




**Fig. 18.** Acroterion, Pirgebuli monastery, 17<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2019.



**Fig. 19.** Acroterion, Pirgebuli monastery, 17<sup>th</sup> c. Photo by N. Chitishvili, 2019.



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## THE EULOGY OF SYMEONIC MISCELLANY: THE IMPERIAL PATRONAGE OF THE FIRST SLAVIC ANTHOLOGY

**Abstract.** The essay proposes an interpretation of the eulogy of *Symeon's Miscellany* considering not only the cultural context of the First Bulgarian Empire at the beginning of the tenth century, but also the historical situation and the literary production of the seventies and eighties of the previous century when the Greek original of the *Miscellany* known by the name of the *Soterios* was conceived in Constantinople. This eulogy helps us to better understand the reasons that led to the creation of the Slavic version of this anthology at the time of Symeon. In the Constantinopolitan environment, this anthology was conceived as an adequate tool of the kind required by monks and priests engaged in the education of the laity, with particular focus on the foundations of orthodox doctrine. In the new environment the initiative was taken by Tsar Symeon, who – on the strength of his theological training – assumed a decisive role while occupying the throne by taking responsibility for directly instructing the Bulgarian aristocracy, fully exploiting a tool in the Slavic language that would have been very useful.

**Keywords:** *Symeon's Miscellany*, *Soterios*, First Bulgarian Empire, Tsar Symeon

*In memory of Francis Thomson (1935–2021)*

### Introduction

To interpret the eulogy of Symeon's *Miscellany* we have not only to consider the cultural context of the First Bulgarian Empire at the beginning of the tenth century, but also to analyse the historical situation and the literary production of the seventies and eighties of the previous century when the Greek original of the *Miscellany* known by the name of the *Soterios* was conceived in Constantinople. Both periods, even decades later, appear to be profoundly linked to the biographical events of the first Bulgarian tsar Symeon I and mark the developments that followed the conversion of his father Khan Boris.

### Missionary activity at the time of Patriarch Photius<sup>1</sup>

Photius ascended the patriarchal throne in 858 with the support of the imperial curia and in particular of Bardas, uncle of the young Emperor Michael III, who wanted the deposition of the patriarch Ignatius. Photius then drew up a comprehensive missionary plan, in which the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity would counterbalance the Germanic peoples' adherence to Western Christianity, encompassing the area from the Adriatic Sea to Crimea, in close contact with the northern borders of the empire.

A leading role in this project was to be played by Photius's "close friend" (*fortissimus amicus*) Constantine-Cyril<sup>2</sup>. The establishment of the Macedonian theme and the administration of the so-called *sclaviniae* had already laid the foundations for this project and Constantine-Cyril's brother Methodius, who had at length held the office of archon in a *sclavinia*, was inevitably involved in the process of Christianizing the Slavs in the Byzantine Empire. The Moravian mission of the brothers from Thessaloniki represented a substantial leap in quality compared to the past<sup>3</sup>.

The attitude of the new patriarch towards the mission was very different from the dominant trends in the monastic world, which considered missionary practices with suspicion, so much so that preaching to barbaric peoples was not a priority of the Byzantine church and could even provoke criticism<sup>4</sup>. In his *Bibliotheca*, however, Photius strongly opposed the idea that in preaching to the Gentiles there

<sup>1</sup> On this section, cf. our previous study summarizing the question (*The Constantinopolitan Project of the Cyrillo-Methodian Mission according to the Slavonic Lives of the Thessalonican Brothers*, [in:] *Cyril and Methodius: Byzantium and the World of the Slavs. International Scientific Conference Thessaloniki 2015*, Thessaloniki 2015, p. 51–67), although a more analytical reflection with extensive references to the available bibliography will be published (M. GARZANITI, *Il progetto missionario di Fozio e la missione cirillo-metodiana. Inquadramento storico e prassi missionaria bizantina*, [in:] *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, vol. I.2, ed. G. CONTICELLO, in press).

<sup>2</sup> As defined by one of the most prominent members of the papal curia and a close friend of Constantine in Rome, Anastasius Bibliothecarius (*Anastasio Bibliothecarii epistolae sive praefationes*, rec. E. PERELS, G. LAEHR, [in:] *MGH.Ep.*, vol. VII (*Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, V), Hannover 1974, p. 407).

<sup>3</sup> Nearing the end of his career, F. Dvornik perceived the complexity of the project, starting from Photius's role in planning the Cyril-Methodian mission. As the Czech scholar writes: *A very likely missionary activity characterizes the first patriarchate of Photios. The conversion of the Slavs settled in the middle of the Byzantine Empire in Thrace and Macedonia was completed, and during his second patriarchate the Serbs also were entirely won over to Christianity. Photios even included Armenia in his plans for Byzantine religious expansion, as can be judged from his letters. The spread of Byzantine religious influence among the Slavs, which started under the first patriarchate of Photios, yielded as is known, permanent results...* (F. DVORNIK, *The Patriarch Photius in the Light of Recent Research*, [in:] *Berichte zum XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten-Kongress*, vol. III.2, München 1958, p. 53).

<sup>4</sup> Based on such considerations, historians are generally sceptical about any real missionary drive in Byzantium. As J. Shepard wrote: *In fact the evangelistic impulse from Constantinople was more a matter of rhetoric than of sustained missionary endeavors* (J. SHEPARD, *Orthodoxy and Northern Peoples: Gods, Gods and Guidelines*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. JAMES, Chichester 2010, p. 173).

was the danger of “casting pearls before swine”, just as the esteemed patristic exegete Methodius of Olympus seemed to suggest<sup>5</sup>. The Photian project was to have a universal character – ecumenical in the etymological sense of the word – and was to restore Constantinople, the Second Rome, to its historical role as evidenced by some of Photius’s homilies<sup>6</sup>.

In this first phase of his patriarchate (858–867), the project encompassed an area vaster than the Slavic world, from the shores of the Adriatic Sea to Moravia, pushing beyond the Danube, in competition with Rome and the Germanic Empire, extending to the east from Crimea to the Volga and Armenia. In the second phase (878–886), which coincides with the beginning of the Macedonian dynasty, the Photian project seemed to focus more on the surrounding areas, trying to increasingly attract the Bulgarian Khanate into the Byzantine orbit and establishing closer relations with the Danube and Dalmatic area.

This complex picture of Photius’s action appears – albeit in a downsized form, especially for political reasons – in the *Letter to the Eastern patriarchs* in which the Patriarch of Constantinople testifies to his commitment to defence of orthodox doctrine against any heresy, but always within a specific historical and geopolitical context that most commentators ignored, reducing it to a mere theological disquisition. Indeed, at the beginning the patriarch speaks of the traditional heresies condemned by the seven Councils, while also extolling the return of the Armenian Church to orthodoxy. The central part of the letter is devoted to the Bulgarian Empire. Here Photius expounds several key doctrinal issues, such as fasting on Saturday, the question of the procession of the Holy Spirit, and the marriage of the clergy. These issues were not proposed in an abstract manner, but in the context of a dangerous spread of heterodox doctrines from the West and taking into account the efforts, crowned with success, to bring the Bulgarian Empire into orthodoxy through a new catechesis. The confirmation of the providential divine plan is shown in the conversion of the barbarian “Ros” population, who accepted the Christian faith and welcomed a bishop sent from Constantinople. The letter ends with an invitation to the Eastern patriarchs to acknowledge the Seventh Council which had stigmatized iconoclasm<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. PHOTIUS, *Bibliothèque*, vol. V, ed. R. HENRY, Paris 1967, p. 107–108. S.A. Ivanov develops this interesting topic, referring to the testimony of Theophanes Continuatus (С.А. ИВАНОВ, *Византийское миссионерство. Можно ли сделать из “варвара” христианина?*, Москва 2003, p. 144–145).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. in this regard B. SCHULTZE’s essay on the worldview as testified by his homilies (B. SCHULTZE, *Das Weltbild des Patriarchen Photios nach seinen Homilien*, Kai 15, 1972, p. 101–115).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae et Amphilochia*, vol. I, rec. B. LAOURDAS, L.G. WESTERINK, Leipzig 1983 [= BSGR], p. 39–53 (Ep. 2). Our opinion differs from the interpretation offered recently by M. HURBANIĆ (*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 62, 2005, p. 103–116), which is entirely oriented towards a political interpretation of Byzantine missionary activities.

The wide spread of Byzantine Christianity promoted by Photius under the auspices of several emperors during both the first and second phases of his patriarchate called for a solid theological reflection, based on the Bible and patristic thought. The first exposition can be found in his *Letter to Khan Boris*. In general, this letter is examined solely to compare it with the long letter from Pope Nicholas to that same Boris, considering it within the tradition of so-called *specula principis*. In fact, as was observed, the patriarchal letter falls more clearly within the discourse of Christian education in the form of anthology<sup>8</sup>. Nobody, it seems, has connected this letter with the Byzantine missionary strategy at the time of famous patriarch<sup>9</sup>. After a brief introduction on the “salvation of the soul”, Photius presents the Niceno–Constantinopolitan Creed and the story of the seven Councils, with the condemnation of various heresies. In the second part, the *Letter to Khan Boris* contains several moral reflections and only finally recommendations on good governance.

A similar structure, but with a much more complex articulation, can be found in a miscellany that was probably written in Constantinople a few years later, the *Soterios*. In our opinion, it is one of the best proofs of the theological thought underpinning the Constantinopolitan missionary project<sup>10</sup>. Its first Slavic version is the so-called *Symeon’s Miscellany* (first quarter of 10<sup>th</sup> century), the oldest manuscript witness of which is the *Izbornik 1073*<sup>11</sup>.

### The contents of the *Miscellany*<sup>12</sup>

Regarding the contents of the work, it has been written:

In fact an analysis of the contents of the florilegium reveals it to be no chance collection of snippets of knowledge, but a well-planned and carefully compiled work built up around Anastasius Sinaita’s *Interrogationes et responsiones de diversis capitibus a diversis propositae*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. P. ODORICO, *La lettre de Photius à Boris de Bulgarie*, Bsl 54, 1993, p. 83–88.

<sup>9</sup> For a more detailed reflection cf. M. GARZANITI, *La missione cirillo-metodiana e la Lettera del patriarca Fozio al khan Boris. Per una ricostruzione della strategia missionaria bizantina*, Cyr 22, 2021 (in press).

<sup>10</sup> On the dating of the work see *infra*.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the recent edition, which contains the Greek text, edited by P. Janeva, as well as the corrected Slavic text compared to the previous edition (*Симеонов сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, vol. III, *Гръцки извори*, ed. П. ДИНЕКОВ, П. ЯНЕВА, София 2015). For an introduction to the manuscript tradition of *Soterios* by P. JANEVA, cf. *Симеонов сборник...*, p. 9–110. On the project for a new edition of the Greek miscellany, cf. M. DE GROOTE, *The Soterios Project Revisited: Status Quaestionis and the Future Edition*, BZ 108.1, 2015, p. 63–78.

<sup>12</sup> In this section we refer to our previous study summarizing our thesis (M. ГАРДЗАНИТИ, *Миссионерское наследие Кирилла и Мефодия и Симеонов сборник*, КМс 25, 2017, p. 305–316), but especially to the reflection presented at the round table on the “functionality of the Slavic manuscript tradition” held at the International Congress of Slavists (Belgrade 2018) until now unpublished.



The first section consists of ten prefaces to Anastasius' *Interrogationes* summarizing the Christian faith in a very logical order... Then follow Anastasius' *Interrogationes* in their commonest redaction in 88 questions. Once again, the selection and order of the questions follow a logical order... The final section of the florilegium consists of 24 appendices to Anastasius' *Interrogationes* once again no mere random selection...<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately no one has studied this logical order which, in my opinion, is justified in the light of the Byzantine missionary project.

The first part outlines the doctrine of the Trinity through patristic reflections, exploring the themes of the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, emphasizes the necessity of faith and presents the decisions of the first six ecumenical Councils. Its structure closely resembles the *Letter to Khan Boris*.

The central section consists of the collection of questions and answers of the Pseudo-Anastasius, out of which the first 23 and few others date back to Anastasius himself. It is a collection of 88 questions and answers that circulated in Greek, also as an autonomous text, which bring together four different collections of questions so that this work could be considered a collection of collections<sup>14</sup>. The first 22 questions concern ethical issues while those following attempt to resolve exegetical problems regarding the Old Testament (23–53) and the New Testament, first the Apostolic Letters (54–61) and then the Gospels (61–88). Compared to Anastasius's original text, the work of the Pseudo-Anastasius is characterized by a large number of biblical and patristic quotations following the answer<sup>15</sup>. We must remember that Photius, as a savant, was famed above all for his collections of texts and quotations, starting with his famous *Bibliotheca*. Nevertheless, it is much more interesting to compare the *Soterios* with another work by the Constantinopolitan patriarch, the *Amphilochia*. This text, which belongs to the same genre of erotapocritical literature, contains not only various issues related to the *Soterios* but even some of the same of Anastasius's questions and answers<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> F. THOMSON, *The Symeon Florilegium – Problems of its Origin, Contents, Textology and Edition, together with an English Translation of the Eulogy of Czar Symeon*, Pbg 17.1, 1993, p. 45–46.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. D.T. SIESWERDA, *The Σωτήριος, the Original of the Izbornik of 1073*, SE 40, 2001, p. 309. For a modern Bulgarian version of the Greek text cf. *Спасителна книга. Гръцкият оригинал на Симеоновия сборник. книга, произхождаща и съставена от различни речи и душеполезни разкази, наречена "Спасителна"*, ed. П. ЯНЕВА, С. ИВАНОВ, София 2008.

<sup>15</sup> D.T. SIESWERDA, F.J. THOMSON, *A Critical Greek Edition of Question 23 of the Pseudo-Anastasian 'ΕΡΩΤΑΠΟΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ together with the Editio princeps of its Old Bulgarian Translation Associated with Tsar Symeon*, [in:] *Philomathestatos. Studies in Greek and Byzantine Texts Presented to Jacques Noret for his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. B. JANSSENS, J. NORET, Leuven 2004 [= OLA, 137], p. 578. The publication of the original collection, dating back to Anastasius, is due to M. Richard, who first identified it, with the collaboration of J. Munitiz (*Anastasioi Sinaitae Quaestiones et responsiones*, ed. M. RICHARD, J. MUNITIZ, Turnhout 2006 [= CC.SG, 59]). No one has developed a systematic comparison between the work of Anastasius and the reworking of Pseudo-Anastasius (cf. CPG 7746).

<sup>16</sup> М.В. БИБИКОВ, *Византийский прототип древнейшей славянской книги. Изборник Святослава 1073 г.*, Москва 1996, p. 323–324. Cf. edition in *Photii Patriarchae Constantinopolitani Epistulae*

The final section contains several basic texts for the interpretation of the Bible, including lists of books of the Bible, also indicating their canonicity<sup>17</sup>. The meaning of this section can be understood by referring to some key texts. It begins with a small treatise by Theodore of Raithu on the fundamental concepts of the late-ancient Christological debate, crucial for understanding the Niceno–Constantinopolitan Creed (essence, nature, substance, etc.). The treatise by George Choïroboscus, rightly defined *a guide to the correct interpretation of the figurative language of Holy Scriptures*<sup>18</sup>; the *Chronotaxis of the Lord* with the exact indication of the time and day of the most important events of Jesus's earthly life and also the presentation of the different Roman, Greek, Egyptian and Jewish calendars in relation to these events; the question of the date of Christ's birth; the Decalogue; the index of canonical and forbidden books; the list of prophets and apostles; and, after the doxology, the colophon with the panegyric in honour of the commissioner, which we will now examine; finally, the list of the names of the emperors. It has been observed that the initial prologue and the final section show notable compositional variations in the Greek tradition, with evident editorial interventions that in some respects can alter the purpose of the work.

From the foregoing, it is easy to understand that this work is a well-designed collection of theological texts that go back to the classic tradition of patristic thought. Their arrangement gives rise not so much to a treatise on Christian scholarship in encyclopaedic form, as it is often presented, but rather – above all through the work of the Pseudo-Anastasius – as a collection of exegetical tools necessary for understanding the Holy Scriptures, in terms of both content and form. The *Soterios* was, therefore, intended for theologians who were to teach – or at least learn how to teach – the Christian message on the model of the Eastern Fathers, who placed the Trinitarian mystery and the decisions of ecumenical councils at the centre of their thinking.

In view of its subject and its erotapocritical form, the *Soterios* and its Slavic version constitute an extraordinarily useful text for the training of clergy and especially missionary clergy, whose work was aimed at educating lay people in the different situations of personal and social life through an adequate interpretation of the Holy Scriptures. The title of the work in the Slavic version makes the exegetical and pedagogical function of the miscellany explicit: “СЪВОРЪ ОТЪ МНОГЪ БЪЦЪ.

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*et Amphilochia*, vol. I–VI, rec. B. LAOURDAS, L.G. WESTERINK, Leipzig 1983–1988 [= BSGR] (*Amphilochia*, vol. III–VI, rec. L.G. WESTERINK).

<sup>17</sup> To this section we can link a short text that was found in the Slavic version of the commented Book of Job and that belonged to Photius. This is an excerpt from *Amphilochia* (152), which explains different reasons for obscure places in the biblical text. The Slavic translation, bearing witness to high workmanship, is dated at the time of Methodius or the circle of his disciples (A.A. АЛЕКСЕЕВ, *Грамматическая статья патриарха Фотия в славянском переводе*, ТОДЛ 55, 2004, p. 374–378).

<sup>18</sup> F. THOMSON, *A Comparison of the Contents of the Two Translations of the Symeonian Florilegium on the Basis of the Greek Original Texts*, KMc 17, 2007, p. 745.

ТѢЛѢКОВАНИЯ О НЕРАЗУМЬНЫХЪ СЛОВЕСЬХЪ ВЪ ЕВАНГЕЛИИ И ВЪ АПѢ И ВЪ ИНѢХЪ КНИГАХЪ ВЪ КРАТЦѢ СЪЛОЖЕНА. НА ПАМЯТЬ И НА ГОТОВЪ ОТЪВѢТЪ”<sup>19</sup>. For this reason the anthology did not contain the most current or complicated theological reflections, but rather traditional patristic thought, especially that of the early centuries, directed to the explanation of the Holy Scriptures in a form suitable for simplified transmission through a series of questions and answers.

It was not until the early nineties that the Greek manuscript tradition of the *Soterios* began to be studied<sup>20</sup>. Albeit with all due caution, there are several clues that help to date the *Soterios* to the 870s–880s, hence in the time of the patriarch Photius. The so-called *Short patriarchal chronicle* contained therein is very important for the dating of the *Soterios*. In a Greek codex of the *Soterios*, a manuscript from Mount Athos (Laura G 115) dating to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, this chronicle ends with a reference to the second ascent of Photius to the patriarchal throne (878)<sup>21</sup>. From this year up to around 886 the young Symeon was living in the Byzantine capital and may have come into contact with the *Miscellany* while he was being educated together with other young people at the Imperial Palace<sup>22</sup>. He himself may even have participated in some way in a phase of its realization, or rather its study.

Another Greek manuscript testimony offers us further interesting food for thought. The codex Paris. gr. 922, an 11<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript, presents a meaningful dedication to “augusta Eudokia” in the form of a square composed of letters that contain the acrostic: Εὐδοκίας ἡ Δέλτος Αὐγούστης πέλει (f. 4). This figure could be identified as the Empress Eudocia Makrembolitissa (c. 1021–1096), but also as the more ancient Empress Eudocia Ingerina (c. 840–883), an important figure of the Byzantine court in 9<sup>th</sup> century. In the same codex we find the image of the empress and emperor with their offspring, a miniature that could represent Eudocia Ingerina and her consort, later adapted to the new empress Eudocia Macrembolitissa (f. 6). Eudocia Ingerina and her sons Leo and Alexander are represented directly in another codex with the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus

<sup>19</sup> Симеонов сборник..., p. 121. J. Vrooland and W. Veder provide a reconstruction of the Slavic title of the work, which they interpret as a free paraphrase of the title it would have had in Greek. The question of the title, especially in comparison with the more varied Greek tradition, should be explored separately.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. F. THOMSON, *The Symeonic Florilegium...*, p. 47.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. М.В. БИБИКОВ, *Византийский прототип...*, p. 317. According to F. Thomson it is plausible to place the first phase of the composition of the work between 867 and 877, during the second patriarchate of Ignatius (F. THOMSON, *The Symeonic Florilegium: an Analysis of its Relation to the Greek Textological Tradition and its Association with Tsar Symeon, together with an Excursus on the Old Believers and the Codex of 1073*, KMc 18, 2009, p. 266sq).

<sup>22</sup> On Symeon’s stay in Constantinople cf. the monographs of Ch. Trendafilov and M.J. Leszka (X. ТРЕНДАФИЛОВ, *Младостта на цар Симеон*, София 2010; M.J. LESZKA, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum. Z dziejów stosunków bułgarsko-bizantyńskich w latach 893–927*, Łódź 2013 [= BL, 15], p. 25–41).

(Paris. gr. 510). The presence of acrostics in the form of a square in the Parisian codex of the *Soterios* also refers to a fashion of the time of Photius, in which word games and figurative poetry were especially popular<sup>23</sup>.

Eudocia Ingerina was the lover of Emperor Michael III, and later, as wife of Emperor Basil (811–886), was the mother of the future Emperors Leo VI and Alexander, and of the patriarch Stephen<sup>24</sup>. The Macedonian dynasty begins with her. She not only belonged to the noble family of Martinakioi, but also had Varangian origins (Ingerina is derived from Ingvar). We must, therefore, assume some relationship, not only with the Balkan Slavic world, but also with the Eastern Slavic world in which the Varangians had settled. We should not forget the threat that this population – in Greek called “Ros” – represented, and above all the triumphal announcement of their conversion which Patriarch Photius, as we have said, expressed in the *Letter to the Eastern Patriarchs*. This letter was written in the same year in which Ingerina became Empress (867)<sup>25</sup>.

Reconstructing these events appears fundamental to understanding the reasons that led to the creation of the Slavic version of the *Soterios* in the capital Preslav at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, and to better grasping the meaning of the eulogy dedicated to Tsar Symeon.

### The eulogy of the *Miscellany*

The Slavic manuscript tradition, which must be considered in its close relations with the Greek tradition, is testified by 25 manuscripts (11<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries)<sup>26</sup>. In *Izbornik 1073*, the first manuscript testimony of the Slavic version, the text of the eulogy is repeated at the beginning and at the end of the manuscript, and this probably reflects the division of the protograph into two volumes.

The version found at the beginning is in continuous form and closed inside a vignette (f. 2v), with the exclusion of lines 24–25, 27 (26 is missing) which are reproduced above a large miniature of Christ enthroned on the *recto* of the same sheet. The second eulogy is divided into 27 lines and shows some different readings (ff. 263v–264r)<sup>27</sup>. The initial position of the first is consistent with the

<sup>23</sup> М.В. БИБИКОВ, *Византийский прототип...*, p. 307–308.

<sup>24</sup> On this figure, cf. C. MANGO, *Eudocia Ingerina, the Normans, and the Macedonian Dynasty*, ЗРВИ 14–15, 1973, p. 17–27. This question was addressed later by M. V. БИБИКОВ (*Византийский прототип...*, p. 301–307) and D. T. SIESWERDA (*The Σωτήριος...*, p. 300).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. C. HANNICK, *Die byzantinischen Missionen*, [in:] *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte*, vol. II.1, ed. K. SCHÄFERDIEK, München 1978, p. 337–339.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. J. VROOLAND, W. VEDER, *О рукописной традиции Симеонова сборника*, ПК 35, 2006, p. 68–80.

<sup>27</sup> R. Nahtigal offered a reconstruction of the Old Church Slavonic text of the poetic composition which was composed in twelve-syllable lines, an adaptation of the iambic trimeter, featuring different caesuras. According to the scholar, the composition follows the tradition of Old Church Slavonic poetry testified by the *Alphabetical Prayer of Constantine of Preslav* and the *Prologue to the Gospel*

Byzantine tradition, as illustrated by the dedication to the emperor that opens the famous *Menologion of Basil II*, which also contains the same number of lines as our eulogy<sup>28</sup>.

The readings of the eulogy text in the later manuscript tradition must also be considered. More specifically, it should be emphasized that only the late manuscript from Cyril of Belozero's monastery (RNB Kir.-Bel. 1/1082, 5/1082, f. 6v) dating to the third quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century retains the original indication of the dedication to Tsar Symeon (1445)<sup>29</sup>. In *Izbornik 1073* the eulogy is addressed to the Prince of Kiev Svjatoslav Jaroslavič. Following the dynamics of possible adaptations, an interesting parallel can be established between the *Izbornik 1073*, dedicated to Prince Svjatoslav, and its prototype, dedicated to Tsar Symeon, with the Greek codex dedicated to the Empress Eudocia Macrembolitissa, which adapts a protograph created for Eudocia Ingerina<sup>30</sup>. For the interpretation of the imperial eulogy in the context of the Byzantine and Bulgarian tradition, especially in terms of juridical language, see the original contribution by I. Biliarsky<sup>31</sup>.

Examination of the eulogy's text is based on its latest edition<sup>32</sup>, while also considering the edition by F. Thomson, which presents the text in two columns: on the left the second eulogy of *Izbornik 1073*, and on the right the eulogy of the codex preserved in Cyril of Belozero's monastery<sup>33</sup>.

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and can be placed in the milieu of Tsar Symeon and John the Exarch (R. NAHTIGAL, *Rekonstrukcija treh starocerkvenoslovanskih izvornih pesnitev. III. Pohvala bolgarskemu carju Simeonu (893–927)*, [in:] *Razprave 1. Filozofsko-filološko-historični razred, Akademija Znanosti in Umetnosti v Ljubljani*, vol. I, Ljubljana 1943, p. 83–95). A more recent study by B.S. Angelov takes into account its division into lines (Б.С. АНГЕЛОВ, *Похвала царю Симеону*, [in:] *Изборник Святослава 1073 г. Сборник статей*, ed. Б.А. РЫБАКОВ, Москва 1977, p. 247–256). Subsequently, new detailed analyzes were published, accompanied by new editions and reconstructions, by A.S. Ёвov (А.С. ЛЬВОВ, *Исследование Похвалы великому князю Святославу и царю Симеону*, [in:] *История русского языка. Исследования и тексты*, Москва 1982, p. 162–197) and К. Кувев (К. КУЕВ, *Похвалата на цар Симеон – реконструкция и разбор*, Pbg 10.2, 1986, p. 3–23). For a general introduction to the eulogies dedicated to the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon and the most recent bibliography, cf. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, *Похвали за цар Симеон*, [in:] *Кирило-методиевска енциклопедия*, vol. III, ed. П. ДИНЕКОВ, Л. ГРАШЕВА, С. НИКОЛОВА, София 2003, p. 229–232. The most recent reconstruction was proposed by W. VEDER (*Преслушвайки една похвала*, [in:] *Пение мало Георгию. Сборник в чест на 65-годишнината на проф. д-рн Георги Попов*, ed. М. ЙОВЧЕВА et al., София 2010, p. 358–366).

<sup>28</sup> PG, vol. CXVII, col. 20–21. Cf. R. NAHTIGAL, *Rekonstrukcija treh...*, p. 83.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. photographic reproduction in К. КУЕВ, *Похвалата на цар...*, p. 12.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. М.В. БИБИКОВ, *Византийский прототип...*, p. 309–315; ИДЕМ, *К датировке греческого прототипа Изборника Святослава*, [in:] *О чем поведают архивы... Российско-болгарские отношения и связи*, Москва 2011, p. 164–165. The dynamics of recycling and their political significance has been underlined by W. VEDER, *Преслушвайки...*

<sup>31</sup> Cf. I. BILIARSKY, *Word and Power in Mediaeval Bulgaria*, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= ECEEMA, 14], p. 231–233, 242–246.

<sup>32</sup> *Симеонов сборник...*, p. 118, 119, 1205, 1213.

<sup>33</sup> The edition is accompanied by a useful English version based on the verse form of the second eulogy of *Izbornik 1073*, but it also considers the readings from the manuscript of Cyril of Belozero's

First, we need to reconstruct the structure of the eulogy which, in addition to the proem and the epilogue, has a central section divided into three parts:

- Proem, ll. 1–6
- Central part, ll. 7–23
- *Section I*, ll. 7–9
- *Section II*, ll. 10–16
- *Section III*, ll. 17–22
- Epilogue, ll. 23–27

The proem (ll. 1–6) is addressed directly to the sovereign, “great among the emperors (ВЕЛИКИЙ ВЪ ЦАРИХЪ, l. 1)” and “mighty lord (ДРЪЖАЛИВЫИ ВЛАДЫКА)”<sup>34</sup>, taking the Byzantine tradition as a model, and solemnly expresses the commissioner’s desire to spread the message present in the *Miscellany* by adopting an important biblical expression: “I desired with desire” (ЖЕЛЪВНИЕМЪ СЕ ВЪЖДЕЛѢХЪ, Lk. 22: 15)<sup>35</sup>. This reminiscence is characterized by alliteration (l. 2) and in the most ancient testimonies by the repetition of the verbal prefix in the noun. The object of desire is to reveal (ОБАВИТИ) the hidden meaning of “concepts”, or rather of the “hidden senses (ПОКРЪВЕННЫЯ РАЗУМЫ)”<sup>36</sup>. These are hidden deep within the books of the Holy Scriptures, which are the main subject of the anthology’s questions, books that are “complex to penetrate (МНОГОСТРЪПЪТЪНЫХЪ)”. In the illustration of the object of desire (ll. 3–4) we can recognize a biblical echo, in particular of the Pauline expression of the “hidden mystery” (ТАИНЫ СКРОВЕННЫЯ, Eph. 3:9)<sup>37</sup>, but

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monastery and of the first eulogy of *Izbornik 1073* (F. THOMSON, *The Symeonian Florilegium...*, p. 270–272, cf. also IDEM, *Byzantine Erotapocritic Literature in Slavonic Translation with Special Attention to the Important Role Played by Anastasius Sinaita’s Interrogationes et responsiones in the Conversion of the Slavs*, В 84, 2014, p. 413–414).

<sup>34</sup> K. Kuev places the date of composition of the eulogy and of the entire *Miscellany* around 915 based on the imperial dignity of the Bulgarian ruler and considering the *Lëtopisici vkratčë* (*Chronicon breve*), which follows the eulogy of the *Miscellany*, in which the Byzantine rulers Constantine and Zoe are mentioned last (K. КУЕВ, *Похвалата на...*, p. 13).

<sup>35</sup> R. Nahtigal instead refers to the use of the lemma in 2 Cor. 9: 14. For the text of the Gospels we refer to the traditional edition of the *Codex Marianus* by V. Jagić (*Codex Marianus. Quattuor evangeliorum versionis palaeoslovenicae Codex Marianus glagoliticus characteribus Cyrillicis transcriptus*, ed. V. JAGIĆ, Berlin–Petersburg 1883, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Graz 1960).

<sup>36</sup> Regarding the verb ОБАВИТИ, R. Nahtigal refers to its presence in John the Exarch’s *Hexameron*. Today, thanks to the *Cyrilometodiana portal*, we can see more precisely in the work of the medieval Bulgarian writer the syntagm ОБАВИТИ РАЗУМЫ in reference to Moses ([http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/trmdict/trm\\_show/t\\_00812](http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/trmdict/trm_show/t_00812), 21 XI 2020). After this verb L’vov, albeit with difficulty, reads an s which could indicate the reading СЪКРЪВЕННЫЯ (A.С. ЛЬВОВ, *Исследование...*, p. 166, 174–176). This reading recalls the form of the adjective used in the Holy Scriptures in relation to what is “hidden”, unlike the reading ПОКРЪВЕННЫЯ which would refer to what is “covered” (see below).

<sup>37</sup> We cite the Slavic version according to *Gennady’s Bible* (*Библия 1499 года и Библия в синодальном переводе с иллюстрациями*, vol. VIII, *Библия. Книги Священного писания Ветхого и Нового Завета*, Москва 1992, p. 276).

for the origin of the concept reference must be made to the parable of the hidden treasure (сѣкрѡвѣницѡу сѣкрѣвѣнѡу, Mt. 13:44), which in turn refers to the treasure of the scribe (Mt. 13:52), the subject of extensive reflection in the *Miscellany*<sup>38</sup>. In the Gospels, the term *разоумны* always recalls the search for the meaning of the Holy Scriptures (тѣгда отвѣрзе имъ оумъ да разоумѣютъ кѣнигы, Lk. 24:45).

In a manner pertinent to the overall content of the *Miscellany*, the question of deep interpretation – that is, of the spiritual sense – of the difficult passages of the biblical books comes to the fore, clearly recalling the Slavic title of the work. In l. 5 *многострѣпѣтѣныхъ*, in our opinion, does not correspond to “obscure”, but to “complicated” or “crooked”, as attested by its use in the Gospel of Luke (1 *вждѣтъ стрѣпѣтнаѣ въ праваѣ*, Lk. 3:5)<sup>39</sup>. The Slavic version of the Chronicle of Malala, preserved in the *Archivsky Chronograph*, speaks of the translation of the Old Testament books in relation to the New Testament – a translation commissioned by the Bulgarian Tsar Symeon – precisely in terms of the figurative interpretation that characterizes the exegesis of Fathers of the Church: *Книгы завѣта бж҃їа вѣтѣха(г) сказающе ѡбразы новаго завѣта истинноу соущоу. преложеныа ѿ гре(ч)ска(г) языка в словенскыи* (Арх. f. 199r)<sup>40</sup>.

The “wise Basil” (l. 6) does not refer to books, as is generally believed, but to the following phrase, “in interpretations” (*въ разоумѣхъ*). The Father of the Church is therefore introduced in relation to the “senses”, the “concepts”, with a precise connection to the previous l. 4. The correct translation would then be “in the interpretations of the wise Basil”, designating Basil the Great as the chief exegete of the Scriptures. The indication of Basil, one of the authors of the *Miscellany*, mentioned first in the anthology, should therefore be interpreted as a reference to one of the most authoritative writers understood metonymically as a reference to all the authors of the work. Thus, the recurrent criticism of the anonymous composer of the eulogy for ignoring the contents of the *Miscellany* loses its meaning<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Question 75 (65) offers an extensive apologia of the Holy Scriptures that sets the Old and New Testaments in close relationship and focuses on the concept of wisdom with quotations from the books of Proverbs, Sirach and Wisdom, through the mouth of Solomon, and of the Pauline doctrine starting with the First Letter to the Corinthians and continuing with the Letters to the Romans and the Colossians (M. GARZANITI, *Хошѣ пѣть словесъ... Parlare in lingue e insegnare nella tradizione esegetica bizantina ai tempi di Cirillo e Metodio*, КМс 26, 2018, p. 19–28).

<sup>39</sup> Cf. R. НАНТИГАЛ, *Rekonstrukcija treh...*, p. 90. In the Holy Scriptures the noun *стрѣпѣтъ* can even have a positive meaning referring to architectural complexity (cf. Ex. 35, 35, in И.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. III, Санкт-Петербург 1906, p. 562–563).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. К. КУЕВ, *Похвалата на...*, p. 6; Д. ПЕЕВ, *Заглавката на Григорий, презвитер мних на всички църковници на българските църкви, и Именникът на българските ханове*, LLi 5, 2007.

<sup>41</sup> F. THOMSON, *The Symeonian Florilegium...*, p. 283. In his most recent article on the *Miscellany* F. Thomson offers a different explanation, starting from the observation that at the beginning of the codex there is no separation between the title of the work and the following text by Basil the Great (F. THOMSON, *Byzantine Erotapocritic Literature...*, p. 417–418).

From this point of view, Basil the Great assumes the role of representative of patristic exegesis. His portrait, moreover, can be recognized in the first of the medallions of the authors of the *Soterios* that frame the image of the Empress Eudocia and her consort in the aforementioned Parisian manuscript (Paris. gr. 922, f. 6).

The central part of the eulogy (ll. 7–22) begins with the entrusting of the task to the translator who, however, admits his own inadequacy. This traditional *topos humilitatis*, expressed by the readings  $\text{H}\text{H}\text{E}\text{M}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{D}\text{P}\text{O}\text{Y}$  /  $\text{H}\text{E}\text{K}'\text{C}\text{H}\text{H}\text{E}$  (original reading creates an antonymy with the expression “wise Basil”). The operation of translating from Greek was also interpreted as a simple transcription from Glagolitic to Cyrillic<sup>42</sup>. However, the context seems to confirm that we are dealing with a translation since it speaks of the effort to maintain the “same identity of the senses ( $\text{TPO}\text{Ж}\text{Ь}\text{C}\text{T}\text{B}\text{O}$   $\text{P}\text{A}\text{3}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{M}\text{Ь}$ )” of the discourse in the new version. The emphasis is on the method of translation ( $\text{H}\text{H}\text{A}\text{K}\text{O}$ ), that is, the preservation of the exegete’s meaning. The pronoun  $\text{E}\text{I}\text{O}$  would therefore refer to Basil. This confirms once again the meaning assumed by the term  $\text{P}\text{A}\text{3}\text{O}\text{Y}\text{M}\text{Ь}$ , which is now linked to reflection on the practice of translation. This reflection is clearly expressed in the so-called *Macedonian Cyrillic Fragment*, which A. Vaillant in his commentary identified with the preface to the lectionary version of the Gospel<sup>43</sup>. A.S. Lvov rightly noted the translated meaning of the participle  $\text{H}\text{A}\text{B}\text{Ь}\text{D}\text{A}\text{Ш}\text{T}\text{E}$  (l. 9) in the sense of “observe”, “preserve”, but in this case the close relationship with the verb  $\text{B}\text{Ь}\text{D}\text{A}\text{E}\text{T}\text{H}\text{I}$  in the sense of “watch” illustrated in several evangelical parables should be emphasized.

The second section of the central part (ll. 10–16) opens with the image of the “industrious bee” ( $\text{B}\text{Ь}\text{Ч}\text{E}\text{L}\text{A}$   $\text{Л}\text{Ю}\text{B}\text{O}\text{Д}\text{Ь}\text{Л}\text{Ь}\text{H}\text{A}$ ), which we can find in Holy Scriptures (Prov. 6:8, but only in the version of the *Septuagint*) and to which Saint Basil had dedicated his reflections in the *Hexameron* (Homily VIII), later resumed in the fifth oration of John the Exarch’s *Hexameron*<sup>44</sup>. The metaphor, which confirms the centrality of Basil the Great’s thought, does not serve to explain the complex work of those who created the *Soterios*, but the process of instruction and catechesis promoted by Symeon himself. The idea was indeed to gather the best from the various writings cited in the work, to assimilate this within a “heart of magnanimous

<sup>42</sup> Cf. reflection on the concept of  $\text{P}\text{Ь}\text{Ч}\text{Ь}$  in F. THOMSON, *The Symeonic Florilegium...*, p. 274.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. A. VAILLANT, *La préface de l'Évangéliste vieux-slave*, RES 24, 1948, p. 5–20; A. МИНЧЕВА, *Македонски кирилски лист*, [in:] *Кирило-методиевска енциклопедия*, vol. II, ed. П. ДИНЕКОВ, Л. ГРАШЕВА, С. НИКОЛОВА, София 1995, p. 595–598, for the presentation of the different interpretative positions.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. BASILII, *Homelie IX in Hexameron VIII*, 4 in PG, vol. XXIX, col. 172–176; for John the Exarch’s *Hexameron* cf. *Das Hexameron des Exarchen Johannes*, vol. I, ed. R. AITZETMÜLLER, Graz 1958; K. КУЕВ, *Похвалата на...*, p. 21. I. Biliarsky rightly noted the use of the image in the *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses (mid-12<sup>th</sup> century), in relation to the Emperor Theophilus’s love of books (I. BILIARSKY, *Word and Power...*, p. 245).



thought (ВЕЛЪМЫСЛЬНОЮ СРЪДЪЦЕ)”, compared to the honeycomb, and then distribute it to the recipients, highlighting the goodness of the message. The reading СЪТЪ (honeycomb) of the second eulogy of *Izbornik* (in Kir.Bel. 1/1082 we read СТРЕДЪ) recalls the image of Psalm 18: 11 (СЛАЖДЪША ПАЧЕ МЕДА И СЪТА)<sup>45</sup>, as well as the reading of the majority text of the Gospel of Luke (24:42: ОТЪ ВЧЕЛЪ СЪТЪ) and is present in the text of the *Izbornik*<sup>46</sup>. This process is described by adapting the traditional metaphor of the bee, which thus becomes an image of Symeon who instructs the boyars through these teachings. It is important to underline that the image does not refer to the composition of the codex, but to its use by those who knew Greek and hence to the work of mediation, aimed not at monks and clerics but at lay dignitaries of the court (boyars, БОЛАРЫ) who, as recipients of this message, are invited to understand the profound meaning of their thoughts (ВЪРАЗУМЕНИЕ ТЪХЪ МЫСЛЕМЪ, l. 16), with an evident echo of the evangelical expression of the “key of knowledge” (КЛЮЧЪ РАЗУМЪНИЮ, Lk. 11:52)<sup>47</sup>. The description of the court of Symeon of Bulgaria referred to in the *Hexameron* of John Exarch (sixth oration) comes to mind<sup>48</sup>.

Through the same image the anonymous author therefore underlines that his translation had been preceded by oral transmission in the milieu of the imperial court, and at the same time clearly highlights that the anthology comprises extracts from different books and that it contains a plurality of interpretations (species and colours of flowers).

In the third section of the central part (ll. 17–22) the figure of Ptolemy is directly compared to Tsar Symeon. However, it should be noted that the comparison with the pagan sovereign is not related to faith, but to the desire (НЕ ВЪРОЖЪНЪ ЖЕЛАНИЕМЪ) to collect books (СЪБОРА ДЪЛА), an expression of an inner feeling that recalls the preface. These are of course the “divine books” (БОЖЕСТВЪННЫХЪ КЪНИГЪ), in a definition that refers not only to the Holy Scriptures, but inevitably also to the exegetical reflections of the ecclesiastical writers present in the *Miscellany*<sup>49</sup>. These books are “very venerable” (МНОГОЧЪСТЪВНЫХЪ, *lectio facilior* in *Izbornik*) or rather “in many portions” (М’НОГОЧАСТНЫХЪ, *lectio difficilior* in Kir.-Bel. 1/1082). The Bulgarian sovereign filled his residence with them, earning an “eternal memory (ВЪЧЪНОЮЖЪ ПАМАТЬ)” in posterity. The reference probably unites two exponents

<sup>45</sup> Cf. А.С. ЛЬВОВ, *Исследование...*, p. 182 (with reference to the Sinaitic Psalter). In the same line we find the expression “ВЪЖДЕЛАНА ПАЧЕ ЗЛАТА” which recalls the proem of the eulogy, but also the following lines with the image of Ptolemy (l. 18).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. К. КУЕВ, *Похвалата на...*, p. 10–11.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. А.С. ЛЬВОВ, *Исследование...*, p. 184.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Das Hexameron...*; К. КУЕВ, *Похвалата на...*, p. 21.

<sup>49</sup> On the relations between the Holy Scriptures and the complex of “sacred” or “divine” books, cf. М. ГАРДЗАНТИ, *Библейские цитаты в церковнославянской книжности*, Москва 2014, p. 119–122.

of the Ptolemy dynasty: Ptolemy I, founder of the Alexandrian Library, and above all Ptolemy II, promoter of the Greek version of the *Septuagint*, which again refers us to the context of the translation of biblical texts<sup>50</sup>.

In the Epilogue, ll. 23–27, the anonymous author hopes that the memory of posterity – essentially reminiscent of the pagan tradition – will become a reason for the future reward of the crown “of the blessed and the saints (БЛАЖЕНИХЪ И СЪБЪИХЪ ЛЖЖЪ)” in the world to come. In this eschatological vision, while on the one hand the value of the earthly crown is diminished, on the other an otherworldly perspective is offered. In the formulation of the first eulogy of *Izbornik*, even though the penultimate line is missing (l. 26), the expression of the appeal that characterizes the sermons is evident in the reading “of your soul (ДЪШИ ТВОЮИ)”.

This eulogy seems to us, therefore, to be entirely consistent with the purpose of the work. The *Soterios* was to be the result of a project conducted by several people<sup>51</sup> and, as we have reiterated, was aimed at theological education and was to be used by monks and priests to teach the laity. In the Slavic translation, as the eulogy attests, the orientation to the secular world is maintained, but it is interesting to note that the mediation is carried out by the commissioner himself, a layman, albeit in possession of a theological culture, who acts as a mediator of the message, i.e., collects the necessary ideas to then introduce them and explain them in his instructions to the boyars. Basically, this recalls the direction of the education in Constantinople of Symeon, who was destined for an ecclesiastical career.

While the image of the bee belongs to the sapiential and monastic tradition, the figure of Ptolemy instead recalls an imperial perspective, with the establishment of a library and the translation of the Holy Scriptures. This not only evokes the duplication in Bulgaria of the most ancient Alexandrian tradition, but indirectly recalls the Byzantine capital with the Library of the patriarchate near Hagia Sophia, where, moreover, Constantine-Cyril himself had worked (VC IV, 15). This library must have been well known to Symeon too, who must have visited it during the years of his education when he was at the Byzantine imperial court. In this perspective, Symeon’s role as commissioner is better explained, without the need to speak of the Bulgarian Tsar as the author of the collection of texts, as has been done in the past<sup>52</sup>. At the same time, this explanation also overcomes the difficulty represented by the reference to St Basil as the sole author quoted in the *Miscellany*,

<sup>50</sup> They are Ptolemy Soter, the progenitor of the famous dynasty and founder of the Library of Alexandria, and Ptolemy II Philadelphus, traditionally believed to have been the promoter of the Greek version of the Bible (F. THOMSON, *The Symeonian Florilegium...*, p. 275; I. BILIAISKY, *Word and Power...*, p. 242–243).

<sup>51</sup> Cf. D.T. SIESWERDA, *The Σωτήριος...*, p. 296.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. D.T. SIESWERDA, F.J. THOMSON, *A Critical Greek Edition...*, p. 570; F. THOMSON, *The Symeonian Florilegium...*, p. 283; П. ЯНЕВА, *Текстология и езикови особености на гръцките сборници – извори за Симеоновия сборник (по Светославовия препис от 1073 г.)*, [in:] *Симеонов сборник...*, vol. III, p. 80.

which would demonstrate lack of knowledge of the content of *Izbornik* 1073 by the anonymous composer of the eulogy.

At the time of Tsar Symeon, the patriarch Nicholas Mystic occupied the chair of Constantinople; he had been a disciple and companion of Photius and in 913 yielded to compromise with the Bulgarian ruler, recognizing him as “Emperor of the Bulgarians”<sup>53</sup>. Probably the reference to ancient Egypt rather than to the Byzantine tradition could also signify the yearning of imperial Bulgaria to overshadow Byzantine mediation in a universal perspective of the Eastern Mediterranean world in which the mythical Alexandria of Egypt emerged. In some respects, a similar orientation is encountered in the treatise *On the Letters* by the monk Chrabr, which exalts the Slavic alphabet even above the Greek since it was created by a saint, and also refers to the *Septuagint* produced in Alexandria (l. 11)<sup>54</sup>. After all, in the short treatise the invention of Cyril and his translations (l. 12) are dated precisely, pursuant to the Alexandrian calculation (863), while according to the Byzantine calculation the year 5508 corresponds to 855, a hardly plausible date.

## Conclusions

The eulogy we have examined therefore helps us to better understand the reasons that led to the creation of the Slavic version of this anthology at the time of Symeon. In the Constantinopolitan environment, when this anthology was conceived an adequate tool needed to be provided for monks and priests engaged in the education of the laity, with particular focus on the foundations of orthodox doctrine linked to traditional patristic thought. This was to be particularly useful for the evangelization of the aristocracy of the pagan peoples approaching Christianity. Thinking in particular of the Balkan and Danubian area, where Latin and Germanic missionaries were active, the concern for the possible influences of the Western tradition starting from the *Filioque* question was evident. This concern, as we know, was shared by Methodius himself in his action in Moravia and is linked to the return to Constantinople attested by the *Vita Methodii* (VM XV), which could be related precisely to the composition of Photius’s theological treatise, the *Mystagogy*, in which the *Filioque* issue plays a central role<sup>55</sup>.

Regardless of whether some passages or fragments of the *Soterios* were previously translated for use by the Moravian church, the Slavic version – produced in the First Bulgarian Empire by translators closely linked to the Methodian

<sup>53</sup> Cf. М.В. БИБИКОВ, *Византийский прототип...*, p. 318. On the complex issue, cf. А. НИКОЛОВ, *Царската титла на Симеон I като историографски и политически проблем*, [in:] *Кръгла маса „Златният век на цар Симеон. Политика, религия и култура“*, ed. В. СТАНЕВ, София 2014, p. 30–40.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. К.М. КУЕВ, *Черноризец Храбр*, София 1967.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. М. GARZANITI, *Methodius between Rome and Constantinople: the Return of the Moravian Archbishop to the Byzantine Capital (Vita Methodii, ch. XIII)*, *Slavia* 89.2, 2020, p. 121–131.

tradition – conveys the same concern expressed by the patriarch Photius in his *Letter to the Eastern patriarchs* on the need for a new catechization firmly built on the basis of orthodox doctrine and in an anti-Latin key<sup>56</sup>.

In the new Bulgarian environment, however, the initiative was taken by Tsar Symeon himself, who – on the strength of his theological training – assumed a decisive role while occupying the throne by taking responsibility for directly instructing the Bulgarian aristocracy, fully exploiting a tool in the Slavic language that would have been very useful. In this sense, one can observe the difference from the Constantinopolitan environment in which the work, although intended for lay people and even dedicated to an august empress, probably Eudocia Ingerina, did not envisage lay people as active subjects. Here we can see the greater protagonism of the ruling house in a context of starker autonomy compared to the local clergy who, at least until the establishment of the Bulgarian patriarchate, depended on the patriarch of Constantinople. In this sense, the figures of the Ptolemies and their desire for knowledge – concretely witnessed by the foundation of the famous Alexandrian library and the translation activity – are not only the generic expression of the oriental model of wisdom but also the confirmation of possible different cultural and religious traditions in the Eastern Mediterranean, of which Anastasius Sinaita was an expression and which flourished in a new form in Bulgaria.

The need for a deeper adherence to traditional orthodox doctrine, but also a broader horizon than the Constantinopolitan world, also allow us to see the fortune of the work in a new light, with the presence of the anthology in Kievan Rus' and the application of the eulogy to Prince Svyatoslav, even if in this case the education remained firmly in the hands of churchmen dependent on Byzantium. At the same time, these characteristics, albeit with specific adaptations, could explain the further diffusion – precisely in Southern Italy starting from the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries – of the work in the original Greek in which the memory of Middle Eastern Christianity was kept alive while the pressure of the Latin Church was increasing, and the process of Latinization begun.

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<sup>56</sup> Already several years ago H. Lunt had guessed this when, with regard to the *Miscellany*, he clearly refers to the controversy with the Latins on the Trinitarian doctrine, to the activity of Methodius's disciples in Bulgaria and to the work carried out by Methodius himself in Moravia (H. LUNT, *On the Izbornik of 1073*, HUS 7, 1983, p. 363–364, n. 15).

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## ROMAN CAMPAIGNS AND NEGOTIATIONS IN THE EAST, 542–545

**Abstract.** This article seeks to support the earlier dating of campaigns on the Roman eastern frontier in the 540s. It addresses points made in a recent contribution by Michael Whitby, who argued that the traditional chronology, which places a Roman invasion of Persarmenia in 543 and a Persian siege of Edessa in 544, should be retained. The article seeks to demonstrate that the grounds he offers are inadequate and concludes therefore that the earlier dating, according to which the Romans invaded Persarmenia in autumn 542 and the Persians besieged Edessa in 543, is to be preferred.

**Keywords:** Procopius, Justinian, Roman campaigns, eastern frontier, 5<sup>th</sup> century

In a recent article Michael Whitby has marshalled several arguments in favour of a return to the traditional chronology for events on the Roman eastern frontier in the early 540s, events for which we are almost completely dependent on Procopius' work<sup>1</sup>. Simply put, he prefers to suppose that there was a lull in hostilities in 542 following Belisarius' bluff that induced Khusro to withdraw in late spring that year (Procopius, *Wars*, II, 20–1). In the next year, 543, there was a botched Roman invasion of Persarmenia, which was heavily defeated at Anglon (II, 24–5), while the siege of Edessa reported in some detail at II, 26–7 took place in the following year, 544. The revised view, propounded by Ewald Kislinger and Dionysios Stathakopoulos in 1999, argues rather that the Roman attack on Persarmenia took place later in 542 and the siege of Edessa in 543; as M. Whitby notes, their reasoning stems largely from the inference that Khusro retreated from Belisarius because of the onset of the plague. The king headed north-east, they suppose, to escape the pandemic that was arriving from the south-west. The conventional dates, i.e. those supported by M. Whitby, are still to be found in most work on the subject, it should be noted, though I accepted the revised chronology

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<sup>1</sup> M. WHITBY, *Procopius' Missing Year*, B 91, 2021, p. 413–421. I am grateful to Dariusz Brodka and Rene Pfeilschifter for comments on this paper, as also to the anonymous reviewers.

both in my *Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, A.D. 363–630* and my more recent commentary on the *Persian Wars*<sup>2</sup>.

Michael Whitby advances four arguments for reverting to the orthodox chronology. One focuses on the plague, arguing that it was unlikely that in 542 Justinian would have replaced Belisarius with Martin as *magister militum per Orientem* in mid-campaign. Part of his argument relies on dubious numismatic evidence adduced to demonstrate that Justinian displayed signs of the plague, it should be noted<sup>3</sup>. The second concerns the difficulty of reaching Adarbiganon (Atropatene/Azerbaijan) by late summer 542, while the third relates to the speed with which the plague is likely to have reached this region, where Khusro is situated at *Wars II*, 24.1. Procopius states that the king then withdrew from the region to Assyria (II, 24.12) because of the spread of the plague, which, he says, was not yet endemic in Assyria. M. Whitby argues that the plague was unlikely to have penetrated to Azerbaijan already in 542, from which he infers that the king was there rather in 543 – at the same moment as the Roman invasion of Persarmenia. The fourth concerns the chronology of the negotiations that gave rise finally to a truce in spring 545.

It must be admitted at the outset, as M. Whitby himself acknowledges, that there is no way to resolve this issue definitively: either interpretation is possible, given the limits of the evidence. We can only discuss the balance of probabilities. In this short article I hope to shore up arguments in favour of the revised chronology of E. Kislinger and D. Stathakopoulos<sup>4</sup>. Underlying the whole puzzle is the matter of communication between Constantinople and the front, viz. how long it took for news and for envoys to reach the East from the capital and vice versa. Let us examine the arguments put forward by M. Whitby to see whether they do make the revised chronology implausible.

As the table at the end shows, there is little doubt but that the plague, also now referred to as the Early Medieval Pandemic, reached Constantinople in March

<sup>2</sup> E. KISLINGER, D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Pest und Perserkriege bei Prokop. Chronologische Überlegungen zum Geschehen, 540–545*, B 69, 1999, p. 76–98; G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, A.D. 363–630*, London 2002, p. 112, 116; PROCOPIUS, *Bella*, vol. I, ed. J. HAURY, rev. G. WIRTH, Leipzig 1964 (cetera: PROCOPIUS, *Bella*), trans.: PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA, *The Persian Wars*, trans. G. GREATREX, Cambridge 2022 [forthcoming]. More details on the passages discussed may be found in G. GREATREX, *Procopius' Persian Wars. A Historical Commentary*, Cambridge 2022 [forthcoming].

<sup>3</sup> B. POTTIER, *L'empereur Justinien survivant à la peste bubonique*, TM 16, 2010, p. 685–691, against which see M. MEIER, *The 'Justinianic Plague': the Economic Consequences of the Pandemic in the Eastern Roman Empire and its Cultural and Religious Effects*, EME 24, 2016, p. 286, n. 111 (not cited by M. Whitby), offering detailed arguments.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. G. GREATREX, *Recent Work on Procopius and the Composition of Wars VIII*, BMGS 27, 2003, p. 53–55.

or April 542<sup>5</sup>. In the meantime, Khusro had embarked on his spring invasion of Mesopotamia, where the timely arrival of Belisarius – and perhaps news of the new disease – induced him to beat a hasty retreat, albeit not without opportunistically sacking the city of Callinicum<sup>6</sup>. Perhaps around the same time a Persian force threatened Theodosiopolis (Resaina) and Dara but was beaten back by the *dux* John Troglita<sup>7</sup>. It was at this point, according to the revised chronology, that Belisarius was recalled to Constantinople; Martin, who had been serving already in the East since 540, took over from him<sup>8</sup>. There is no need to discuss the issue of the coins apparently depicting Justinian with buboes dating from the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> years of his reign: given the uncertainty that surrounds the representation of the emperor, they cannot help us pinpoint the moment at which he contracted the plague<sup>9</sup>.

Of greater importance is Procopius' report at *Anecdota* 4.1–12 concerning the Empress Theodora and the generals of the East. According to his account, when news of Justinian's illness reached the eastern command, Buzes and Belisarius when said to have expressed their unwillingness to tolerate the foisting of another emperor on them, should the emperor succumb to the pandemic<sup>10</sup>. More precisely, when the army later learnt that Justinian had recovered, two subordinate commanders, John the Glutton and Peter, hastened to make these allegations – perhaps in a bid to deflect accusations against themselves. Both had good reason to have little love for Belisarius at any rate: it was Peter's insubordination, together with that of another John, John Troglita, that had almost led to disaster outside Nisibis in 541, while John the Glutton had failed to communicate with Belisarius when accompanying an expeditionary force composed mainly of Jafnid allies during the same campaign, prompting a swifter Roman withdrawal than might otherwise have been the case<sup>11</sup>. Apprised of this and incensed,

<sup>5</sup> The bibliography on the plague is constantly expanding. See (e.g.) P. SARRIS, *Climate and Disease*, [in:] *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. HERMANS, Leeds 2020, p. 511–537.

<sup>6</sup> PROCOPIUS, *Bella*, II, 20–1, 21.30–3 on Callinicum, cf. p. 573 below.

<sup>7</sup> *Flavii Cresconii Corippi Iohannidos*, I, 68–98, ed. J. DIGGLE, F.R.D. GOODYEAR, Cambridge 1970, trans. in G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 111–112. If Khusro had detached a portion of his army for this offensive, then this would have allowed the rest of his army to move more swiftly: see n. 16 below.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. PLRE III (s.v. *Martinus* 2), with PROCOPIUS, *Bella*, II, 13.16, 14.9. M. Whitby's arguments therefore about the time needed to send him to the front are irrelevant.

<sup>9</sup> Noted by M. WHITBY, *Missing Year...*, p. 417, but see n. 3 above.

<sup>10</sup> I follow the commentary of R. PFEILSCHIFTER and J. THEISZ on the *Anecdota* (*A Commentary on Procopius' Anecdota*, Berlin 2022, forthcoming), who note that the phrasing is sometimes misleadingly translated as meaning that they would not endure 'another Justinian' rather than simply 'another emperor'.

<sup>11</sup> PROCOPIUS, *Bella*, II, 18.16–26 on Peter, II, 19.15–16, 26–30, on John the Glutton.

Theodora summoned both commanders as well as the two who had reported them. Belisarius was stripped of his command, while Buzes was imprisoned somewhere in the palace, he reports; at any rate, he enjoyed no further commands until after Theodora's death<sup>12</sup>. Now although this passage is rightly drawn into the debate by M. Whitby, he fails to exploit it fully: it is, in fact, probably the strongest argument for the traditional chronology, for we know that both John the Glutton and Peter were involved in the botched invasion of Persarmenia (*Wars*, II, 24.13–15).

It is therefore essential to establish a realistic chronology for movements between the eastern front and Constantinople in 542. In this context it is worth bearing in mind the sequence of events reported by Procopius in 532, leading up to the conclusion of the Eternal Peace in September that year. At the start of this year, probably in February, Rufinus and other Roman envoys were meeting with Khusro in the vicinity of the frontier (*Wars*, I, 22.1), but when the king insisted on the Romans surrendering their Lazic fortresses at Sarapanis and Scanda (I, 22.3–6), the ambassadors insisted that Justinian be consulted. Rufinus was therefore despatched; he was allotted seventy days to get to Constantinople and back (I, 22.7–8). When he was on his way back to the frontier, probably in April, rumours reached Khusro that Rufinus – whose family had long been involved in diplomacy with the Sasanians – had been executed by Justinian, no doubt connected to the Nika riot and its aftermath in January the same year (I, 22.9)<sup>13</sup>. Once he arrived, Rufinus was able to assuage Khusro's concerns, but then, after word came from Justinian that he had changed his mind since the envoy's visit to Constantinople and now refused to cede the Lazic fortresses, the ambassador had to secure the return of the large sum that he and his colleagues had already handed over in exchange for peace (I, 22.10–14). His fellow envoys, Alexander, Thomas and Hermogenes, thereupon denounced him to the emperor since they found his success in persuading the king to return the money suspicious (I, 22.15), yet Justinian approved his conduct and then sent him and Hermogenes to conclude the treaty without ceding the Lazic forts (I, 22.16–17).

I have gone over these events in some detail deliberately, partly because there are some similarities to those of 542 – slander among Roman officials – but mainly in order to show just how much toing and froing there could be between the front and the capital over less than a year. Not only does Rufinus travel to Constantinople and back quickly, but we must also allow time for Justinian's missive

<sup>12</sup> See *PLRE* III s.v. *Belisarius* 1 and s.v. *Buzes* with R. PFEILSCHIFTER and J. THEISZ (*A Commentary...*) ad Procopius' *Anecdota* 4, 6–12.

<sup>13</sup> On Rufinus and his family's relations with the Sasanians see *PLRE* III (s.v. *Rufinus* 13), with H. BÖRM, *Prokop und die Perser. Untersuchungen zu den römisch-sasanidischen Kontakten in der ausgehenden Spätantike*, Stuttgart 2007 [= *OO*, 16], p. 319. R. SCOTT, *Diplomacy in the Sixth Century: the Evidence of John Malalas*, [in:] *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. J. SHEPARD, S. FRANKLIN, Aldershot 1992, p. 159–165, applies the evidence of the chronicler to this series of negotiations.

indicating his change of heart about the Lazic fortresses to reach the East, then for the accusations of his colleagues to be relayed to the emperor, and then for Rufinus and Hermogenes to proceed to the Persian court to continue negotiations. Much of this took place in the first half of the year, although the treaty itself was only finalised probably in September. There is therefore nothing inherently implausible, particularly when matters are urgent – as issues of potential disloyalty and treachery undoubtedly are – in a compressed chronology<sup>14</sup>. In the case of the events of 542 it is highly likely that rumours of the emperor's illness swiftly reached the army, provoking loose talk among commanders and soldiers alike, perhaps already in late March or April. News of the emperor's recovery will have travelled equally quickly, so that the allegations formulated by John and Peter could have been despatched to Constantinople in May or June. The commanders are summoned to Constantinople; two are dismissed, while John and Peter return to the front, perhaps in August. There is, therefore, no reason why they could not have taken part in the ramshackle invasion of Persarmenia in late summer (*Wars*, II, 24.14–21)<sup>15</sup>.

The remaining arguments put forward by M. Whitby can be dealt with more concisely. Khusro withdrew from Roman territory along the Euphrates in 542, sacking Callinicum (II, 21.30–2); Procopius notes the presence of farmers in the city, who may well have been bringing their crops to market, which would place the event in May or early June<sup>16</sup>. Even allowing for the relatively slow speed of the royal court and army, there is no reason to suppose that the king could not have reached Adarbiganon by late summer, despite M. Whitby's arguments. Moreover, it was precisely in the hot summer months that Sasanian (and Achaemenid) kings were in the habit of moving to higher ground even without the menace of a plague<sup>17</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> There are useful discussions of the time needed to traverse the distance between the eastern frontier and the imperial capital in M. WHITBY, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian*, Oxford 1988, p. 256, n. 9, cf. A.M. RAMSAY, *The Speed of the Roman Imperial Post*, JRS 15, 1925, p. 60–74. M. Whitby notes that in emergencies it could take as little as ten days, though, *The Emperor Maurice...*, p. 266–267, he emphasises that diplomats often travelled relatively slowly, cf. G. GREATREX, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–532*, Leeds 1998, p. 214 and n. 3; E. NECHAEVA, *Embassies – Negotiations – Gifts. Systems of East Roman Diplomacy in Late Antiquity*, Stuttgart 2014, p. 150. On the conclusion of the Eternal Peace see G. GREATREX, *Rome and Persia at War...*, p. 214 with G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 96–97.

<sup>15</sup> I am grateful to Rene Pfeilschifter for discussion on these issues of chronology.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. PSEUDO-JOSHUA THE STYLITE, [in:] *Incerti Auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, vol. I, ed. J.B. CHABOT, Louvain 1927 [= CSCO.SS, 43], p. 235–316, trans.: *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*, trans. et comm. F.R. TROMBLEY, J.W. WATT, Liverpool 2000 [= TTH, 32], ch. 27 with J.B. SEGAL, *Edessa, "The Blessed City"*, Oxford 1970, p. 141. M. WHITBY, *Missing Year...*, p. 418, dates the sack to June or even July, on the other hand.

<sup>17</sup> See C. TUPLIN, *The Seasonal Migration of Achaemenid Kings: a Report on Old and New Evidence*, [in:] *Studies in Persian History. Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, ed. M. BROSIUS, A.T. KUHRT, Leiden 1998, p. 64–73, 89–90 (on the Achaemenids, whose kings often went to Ecbatana in the summer). I am grateful to Josef Wiesehöfer for this reference. Cf. *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, IV, 29, 7, ed. R. KEYDELL, Berolini 1967 [= CFHB.SBe, 2], trans.: AGATHIAS, *The Histories*,

Next there is the issue of the spread of the plague: M. Whitby finds it implausible that the pandemic would have struck Adarbiganon already in 542, arguing that it probably did not arrive until the following year, having penetrated here from the Roman empire by sea, probably, and then inland from Lazica. While this scenario for the spread is plausible, it could have happened just as well in the second half of 542 as in early 543. For as M. Whitby himself underlined long ago, communications in the Caucasus, i.e. in this case Armenia and Atropatene, are difficult until late in the spring. Under these circumstances, there is no reason not to suppose that already in summer 542 the plague was crossing the frontier into Persian territory in the Caucasus<sup>18</sup>. Probably towards the end of the summer, apparently not long after arriving in Adarbiganon, Khusro left for Assyria, where, Procopius states, the plague was not yet endemic – but had apparently penetrated to some degree (*Wars*, II, 14.12).

We come at last to the chronology of negotiations paving the way for the truce that was finally agreed in April/May 545. As we already recognised nearly twenty years ago, the revised chronology of E. Kislinger and D. Stathakopoulos opens up a rather lengthy apparent vacuum in our narrative following the siege of Edessa, now placed in spring 543 (rather than 544). Yet as is well attested elsewhere, e.g. at *Wars* II, 29.32, Justinian sometimes let things slip. Moreover, following Khusro's treacherous sack of Callinicum and then his own bungled attempt to exploit Persian weakness in Persarmenia later in 542, the emperor had little incentive to expedite negotiations, even if the situation in Italy was grim<sup>19</sup>. In his article, M. Whitby rehearses the various stages of the negotiations: the Roman envoys Sergius and Constantianus were slow in proceeding to the king (II, 24.3–5) as a result of illness. In his interpretation, however, it is not until 543 that they are even embarking on their journey, a year after Belisarius promised to send them. At the siege of Edessa, furthermore, the Persian generals mention the envoys that Belisarius had promised recently, ἔναρχος (II, 26.46), would come from Constantinople: already by spring 543 the ambassadors were a year overdue. By spring 544 it becomes hard to see how, even allowing for Procopius' often rather approximate dating formulae, Belisarius could be said to have 'recently' promised the despatch

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IV, 29, 7, trans. J.D. FRENDO, Berlin–New York 1975 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 2A], reporting Khusro's presence at Tham(a)non in Corduene in summer 578 in the mountains of Corduene, to the south-west of Adarbiganon (Azerbaijan), cf. G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 161 and G. GREATREX, *Recent Work...*, p. 54, n. 27. M. WHITBY, *Missing Year...*, p. 418–419, on the slowness of the court, but on occasion, e.g. during the invasions of Roman territory in 540 or 573, the Persians were capable of swift strikes, as M. WHITBY, *The Emperor Maurice...*, p. 257, n. 11, notes himself. In the face of the approaching plague, it is quite possible that Khusro could reach Adarbiganon by late summer.

<sup>18</sup> M. WHITBY, *The Emperor Maurice...*, p. 202, cf. G. GREATREX, *Rome and Persia at War...*, p. 22 and now T.B. MITFORD, *East of Asia Minor. Rome's Hidden Frontier*, Oxford 2018, p. 15–20. See E. KISLINGER, D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Pest und Perserkriege bei Prokop...*, p. 94–95 and n. 23 below.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. also PROCOPIUS, *Bella*, VII, 32.9, 35.11, for Justinian being distracted from the war in Italy.

of ambassadors. As we suggested some twenty years ago, stasis seems to have set in after the Persians' withdrawal from Edessa. The death of two important Roman generals, Justus and Peranius (*Wars*, II, 28.1), perhaps late in 543, and the need to replace them may have distracted the emperor; one of the replacements was Constantianus, who had been due to take part in the embassy to Khusro, of course (II, 28.2), but he was maintained in his role on the mission, which then at last proceeded (II, 28.3). The envoys found the Persian king in Seleucia-Ctesiphon (II, 28.4) and settled down to arrange the truce. It is quite possible that they did not reach the Persian capital until late in 544, depending on the speed of their advance<sup>20</sup>. There is no reason to suppose, contrary to what M. Whitby asserts, that *both parties appear to have been keen to secure an agreement*: Khusro had good reason to keep his options open, ready to strike at Mesopotamia again, should the occasion arise, or even at Lazica, while Justinian might hope to avenge the Persian incursions, including the most recent attempt on Edessa, and compensate for his army's lacklustre performance in Persarmenia<sup>21</sup>. Once at the Persian court, the Roman envoys could thrash out the details of the terms of the truce, including, for instance, the despatch of the doctor Tribunus to Khusro. The truce itself was concluded in April/May 545: E. Kislinger and D. Stathakopoulos were wrong to place it in the autumn<sup>22</sup>.

To conclude, as we stated at the outset, we can only weigh up the balance of probabilities. The assorted variables introduced by M. Whitby, be they the plague or the speed of diplomacy, do not swing the balance one way or the other. We have tried to show that the revised chronology put forward by E. Kislinger and D. Stathakopoulos remains the most plausible, even if it is not altogether clear whether it has now become orthodoxy<sup>23</sup>. It is worth remembering therefore the positive arguments in favour of their version, viz. the inference that Khusro retreated from Belisarius because of the approach of the plague and sought refuge in the less accessible highland region of Adarbiganon<sup>24</sup>. There is one further

<sup>20</sup> See G. GREATREX, *Recent Work...*, p. 53–54, for this, not taken into account by M. Whitby. On the frequent slowness of embassies, M. WHITBY, *The Emperor Maurice...*, p. 260–261 and n. 14 above.

<sup>21</sup> M. WHITBY, *Missing Year...*, p. 420, for the quotation. It is not clear that Rhecinarius' mission to Edessa (PROCOPIUS, *Bella*, II, 27.24–7) or the deal struck to ensure Khusro's departure from the city (27.46) indicates any urgency on either side for the conduct of negotiations.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. M. WHITBY, *Missing Year...*, p. 420; G. GREATREX, *Recent Work...*, p. 54, *contra* E. KISLINGER, D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Pest und Perserkriege bei Prokop...*, p. 97.

<sup>23</sup> M. WHITBY, *Missing Year...*, p. 415, suggests that it is gaining ground, pointing to G. GREATREX, S.N.C. LIEU, *The Roman Eastern Frontier...*, p. 116, but I note that D. Brodka's translation, PROKOPIUSZ Z CEZAREI, *Historia Wojen*, vol. I, trans. D. BRODKA, Kraków 2013, p. 167, n. 123, cf. p. 172, n. 137, while remaining fairly neutral, favours the traditional view.

<sup>24</sup> M. WHITBY does attempt to take on this argument, *Missing Year...*, p. 415–416, but his statement that the plague had not yet reached the Tigris valley (Assyria) is not quite correct: Procopius indicates rather that it was not yet endemic, οὐπω ἐνδεδημήκει (II, 24.12), cf.: p. 574 above.

argument in favour of their chronology, moreover, which is to be found at *Wars II*, 26.1, where Procopius begins his chapter on the assault on Edessa by stating *In the following year Khusro, the son of Kavadh, invaded Roman territory for the fourth time, leading his army against Mesopotamia*. Although it is not explicitly stated, the natural inference of this statement is that this is the fourth annual invasion, i.e. in succession. If 543 is reserved only for the Roman invasion of Persarmenia, the statement reads oddly, since, although the siege of Edessa would indeed form part of Khusro's fourth invasion of the Roman empire, it followed two whole years after his previous attack<sup>25</sup>. Our suggestion is therefore that the interpretation propounded in 1999 by E. Kislinger and D. Stathakopoulos be preferred, at least until more cogent arguments are found to refute it.

Date	M. Whitby/conventional chronology	Revised chronology
540	Khusro's first invasion	Khusro's first invasion
541	Khusro invades Lazica	Khusro invades Lazica
542 (March/April)	Plague arrives in Constantinople	Plague arrives in Constantinople Justinian contracts the plague
	Khusro invades Mesopotamia	Khusro invades Mesopotamia
(May–June)	Khusro takes Callinicum (Justinian catches the plague)	Khusro takes Callinicum News of Justinian's recovery reaches the army; accusations made by John and Peter; generals summoned to Constantinople, Martin succeeds Belisarius as <i>magister militum per Orientem</i>
(July–August)		Khusro moves to Adarbiganon John and Peter return to the East
542 (late summer–autumn)	(Justinian recovers) Belisarius recalled to CP	Justinian orders the invasion of Persarmenia
542/543 (winter)	Martin succeeds Belisarius as <i>magister militum per Orientem</i>	
543 (spring)	Khusro moves to Adarbiganon Roman invasion of Persarmenia	Siege of Edessa
544 (spring)	Siege of Edessa	Start of negotiations
544 (summer)	Start of negotiations	
545 (spring)	Start of five-year truce	Start of five-year truce

<sup>25</sup> So E. KISLINGER, D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Pest und Perserkriege bei Prokop...*, p. 95. The passage is cited by M. WHITBY, *Missing Year...*, p. 414, but not actually discussed.



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## BYZANTINE BATTLESHIPS AND MILITARY TRANSPORT VESSELS ALONG THE HOSTILE SHORES

**Abstract.** The establishment of the Bulgarian Khanate along the Lower Danube River and the Northern Black Sea coast changed the geo-political situation in the early medieval Southeastern Europe. It is beyond doubt that the Bulgarians did not develop navy or commercial fleets at that time. However, one cannot reveal substantial reserves about the statement that Khan Asparukh' descendants were not completely disadvantaged by their Black Sea coastline that they managed to keep under control due to political and military reasons. This becomes clear if the prolonged series of clashes between Byzantium and Bulgaria in 750s–770s are taken into consideration. Despite an obvious usefulness of the cooperation between land armies and navy squadrons in those endeavors, as well as the non-challenged Byzantine maritime supremacy along the Black Sea shores, the Imperial navy met substantial difficulties or did not completely accomplish its tasks on many occasions.

**Keywords:** Byzantine navy, western Black Sea, debarkment, dikes, ditches and ramparts, battle of Anchialos (763 AD)

### Introduction

**I**t is an undeniable truth, given the geographical location, that from the early Byzantine era to its end under the Ottoman Turks, Byzantium was a state whose rulers relied on both land and sea forces. In times of stability and military power, and in times of hardship, the vast coastline of the Empire's continental and island possessions, together with the seafaring traditions of their population and some geopolitical challenges, were the reason for the Byzantines to remain involved in the maritime activities<sup>1</sup>. Although some dangerous rivals for

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer. La marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VI<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Paris 1966; D. OBOLENSKY, *The Byzantine Commonwealth. Eastern Europe, 500–1453*, London–New York 1971, p. 9–18; M. WHITTOW, *The Making of Orthodox Byzantium, 600–1025*, Berkeley–Los Angeles 1996, p. 15–37; J.H. PRYOR, *Byzantium and the Sea: Byzantine*

the fleets of the emperors of Constantinople appeared in the 5<sup>th</sup> century in the Mediterranean, (with some exceptions concerning the Rus' endeavors) the domination of the Imperial fleet hardly had any alternatives in the Black Sea until the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. This, in turn, explains to a great extent the perception of the Black Sea and the surrounding shores as a secondary operational theater for the Imperial Navy<sup>2</sup>. Of course, the lack of a truly competitive maritime power on the Black Sea coast does not mean that the rulers of Constantinople ignored threats in the Caucasus, the Eastern European steppes or the Balkans, or that they were negligent and did not try to take advantage of their favorable geopolitical situation. On the contrary, even a cursory glance at the Byzantino-Bulgarian conflicts – from the victory of Khan Asparukh (c. 670s–700) in the Battle of Onglos in 680, to the Byzantine reconquest of the Lower Danube lands by Emperor Basil II (976–1025), is sufficient to convince one in the opposite<sup>3</sup>. Undoubtedly, concerning such particular topic as the history of maritime warfare against the Empire's Balkan rivals, it must be emphasized that the future underwater archeological research, excavations and shipwrecks' map in the western Black Sea can change significantly<sup>4</sup>. However, given the current situation, the information in the narratives from

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*Fleets and the History of the Empire in the Age of the Macedonian Emperors, c. 900–1025 CE*, [in:] *War at Sea in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. J.B. HATTENDORF, R.W. UNGER, Woodbridge 2003, p. 83–104; T.C. LOUNGHIS, *Byzantium in the Eastern Mediterranean. Safeguarding East Roman Identity (407–1204)*, Nicosia 2010, p. 24–76; A. GINALIS, *The Impact of Byzantium's Political and Economic History on Mediterranean Seafaring*, [in:] *Schiffe und ihr Kontext. Darstellungen, Modelle, Bestandteile – von der Bronzezeit bis zum Ende des Byzantinischen Reiches*, ed. H. FRIELINGHAUS, T. SCHMIDTS, V. TSAMAKDA, Mainz 2017, p. 199–208.

<sup>2</sup> S. COSENTINO, *Naval Warfare: Military, Institutional and Economic Aspects*, [in:] *A Companion to the Byzantine Culture of War, ca. 300–1204*, ed. Y. STOURAITIS, Leiden–Boston 2018 [= BCBW, 3], p. 310–311.

<sup>3</sup> With an emphasis on the goals and objectives (related to transport, debarking and descents, supplies, blockades and sieges, etc.), the Polish scholar Kiril Marinow proposed a solid argumentation of the classification of the Byzantine naval forces activity against the Early Medieval Bulgaria. Cf. K. MARINOW, *Zadania floty cesarskiej w wojnach bizantyńsko-bułgarskich (VII–XI w.)*, [in:] *Byzantina Europaea. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, ed. M. KOKOSZKO, M.J. LESZKA, Łódź 2007 [= BL, 11], p. 381–392.

<sup>4</sup> As early as 1976, Mikhail Lazarov drew attention to the special organization, training and equipment necessary for discovering traces of shipwrecks of the Byzantine military and military-transport vessels of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. He further emphasized that in view of their cargo, it would be naive to believe that there is an abundance of preserved relics. Cf. M. ЛАЗАРОВ, *Потъналата флотилия*, Варна 1976, p. 141–145. In recent years, the research of the team of Center for Underwater Archaeology (Sozopol) has been marked by significant consistency. The results are extremely encouraging. In 2017, a total of 23 shipwrecks were studied in the waters of the Burgas Bay and in the nearby waters in the interior of the Black Sea on an area of 142 km<sup>2</sup>; 9 of these 23 shipwrecks were completely unknown, hence, an additional study (including diving) was conducted until in 2016 a Byzantine vessel from the tenth century was discovered. Cf.: Л. ВАГАЛИНСКИ, Д. АДАМС, К. ДИМИТРОВ, К. БЪЧВАРОВ, Р. ПАЧЕКО-РУИЗ, В. ДРАГАНОВ, Д. ГЪРБОВ, *Морски археологически проект Черно море*:

that era still remains a crucial source. For that objective reason, the focus in the following pages is on some descriptions of the Byzantino-Bulgarian wars of the 750s–770s. There is a number of records concerning the participation of the navy. A quick glimpse clearly illustrates the fact that the success of the fleet is influenced by the overall course of the campaign, but at the same time, it is not necessarily linked to the ultimate victory or defeat in the conflict. It is worth paying attention not only to the outcomes, but also to the conditions and peculiarities in the naval endeavors during the wars of Emperor Constantine V (741–775) against the Bulgarian Khanate.

### *Hundred horse-carrying ships, loaded with a force of cavalry and sent to the Istros*

After the end of the great Arab siege of Constantinople in 717–718, the Byzantines, despite their inability to ensure peace on the coasts of Sicily, Sardinia and the Southern parts of the Italian peninsula, or to put an end to the pirate raids in the Aegean, kept their dominance in the waters of the Eastern Mediterranean stable for about a century ahead. The success near the Bosphorus almost immediately escalated into a counter-offensive by the Imperial Navy. Due to it, some of the previously lost positions were restored and raids were made on the shores of Egypt. The attacks were repeated in the 720s and the 730s. The Byzantine expedition in 747 was even more decisive and devastating, when the united Syrian and Egyptian Arab squadrons were severely defeated and the naval power of the Umayyad Caliphate collapsed. A circumstance that allowed the ambitious and undoubtedly capable Emperor Constantine V to concentrate significant forces at sea during his campaigns against the Bulgarian Khanate for two decades<sup>5</sup>.

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*Археологически изследвания по българския континентален шелф*, АОР 2018, р. 714–716. Some anticipated difficulties come from the fact that in many places the seabed in the waters of today's ports on the Bulgarian part of the Black Sea is clogged with layers of mud and sediments, as well as waste such as ropes, chains, nets, etc. Cf. for example: Д. ГЪРБОВ, З. ГЕОРГИЕВА, Х. АНГЕЛОВА, П. ПЕТРОВ, *Спасително археологическо проучване във връзка с предстоящо изпълнение на проект "Реконструкция и модернизация на рибарско пристанище Северна буна – Несебър" в прилежащата акватория (вътрешни морски води) на гр. Несебър*. Научен отчет, Созопол 2016; Н. ПРАХОВ, З. ГЕОРГИЕВА, К. ДИМИТРОВ, К. ВЕЛКОВСКИ, *Археологическо издирване в акваторията на пристанище "Несебър – Юг"*, АОР 2018, р. 723–725; Н. ПРАХОВ, К. ДИМИТРОВ, П. ГЕОРГИЕВ, *Комплексно археологическо проучване на акваторията на „Старинен град Несебър“*, АОР 2019, р. 738–740.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. А.В. БАННИКОВ, М.А. МОРОЗОВ, *История военного флота Рима и Византии (от Юлия Цезаря до завоевания крестоносцами Константинополя)*, Санкт-Петербург 2014, р. 398–399; В. СЕСОТА, *Arab Expansion on Byzantine Territory, 632–718 AD*, [in:] *Byzantium and the Arabs. The Encounter of Civilizations from Sixth to Mid-Eighth Century*, ed. T. WOLIŃSKA, P. FILIPczAK, Łódź 2015 [= BL, 23], р. 223–269 (р. 250–269 in particular). Cf. also the recently published article: R.J. OLSEN, *The Last Arab Siege of Constantinople (717–718): a Neglected Source*, GRBS 60.3, 2020, р. 425–443.

For their comments on the events of the military clashes between Byzantium and Bulgaria in the 750s–770s historians have to rely mainly on what was written in Theophanes the Confessor's *Chronography* and Patriarch Nikephoros' *Breviarium* [Short history]. Both works are "problematic", especially concerning the records for the Iconoclast period, insofar as it is difficult to say to what extent Iconophilic authors, such as Theophanes and Nikephoros, retold, abridged or changed the specifics of the information from the sources they employed for the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>. Thus, as pointed out by Jakov Ljubarskij, modern day scholars ...*who are concerned with the problem* Wie es eigentlich gewesen war *must be very cautious dealing with the texts of such sort*<sup>7</sup>. In fact, some of the chroniclers' sources were probably favourable towards the policy of the Iconoclastic Emperors, at least partially. Despite Theophanes' extremely negative attitude towards Emperor Constantine V the author ...*had difficulty with his characterization of Constantine's policy. For example, the "tyrant" was successful in his wars and ...becomes particularly eloquent when describing Constantine's victories in Bulgaria...* – as is rightly specified in a key study of Byzantine literature during the period of the 650s – c. 800<sup>8</sup>. With a narrower focus only on the specifics of the historical work of Patriarch Nikephoros a similar emphasis makes Dragoljub Marjanović referring that

...Emperors, who are capable of restoring peace in their state, either by waging successful warfare with the enemies, or by concluding peace treaties with them, are positively regarded in the *Short history*, including the Iconoclast Constantine V as well...<sup>9</sup>

The well-known and often discussed descriptions in *Chronography* and in *Breviarium* regarding the outbreak of the conflict between Bulgaria and Byzantium, which took place and lasted for the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, are quite similar.

<sup>6</sup> L. BRUBAKER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era (ca 680–850). The Sources. An Annotated Survey*, Aldershot 2001 [= BBOS, 7], p. 165–172; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, New York 2013, p. 26–31, 38–77.

<sup>7</sup> J.N. LJUBARSKIJ, *Concerning the Literary Technique of Theophanes the Confessor*, Bsl 56, 1995, p. 317–322. Cf. also: P.J. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople. Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire*, Oxford 1958, p. 157–162; H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, vol. I, München 1978 [= HA.BH, 5], p. 331–339, 344–347; C. MANGO, *Introduction*, [in:] NIKEPHOROS, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Short History*, ed. C. MANGO, Washington D.C. 1990 [= CFHB, 13], p. 5–16; C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, *Introduction*, [in:] *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History, AD 284–813*, trans. et ed. EIDEM, Oxford 1997, p. LII–LXIII, LXXIV–XCVII; J.N. LJUBARSKIJ, *Quellenforschung and/or Literary Criticism: Narrative Structures in Byzantine Historical Writings*, SO 73.1, 1998, p. 5–22.

<sup>8</sup> A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)*, contr. L.F. SHERRY, C. ANGELIDI, Athens 1999, p. 229.

<sup>9</sup> D. MARJANOVIĆ, *Modes of Narrativity in the Short History of Nikephoros of Constantinople*, ЗРБИ 52, 2015, p. 13.

As it is well known, they tell about the settlement of Syrians and Armenians in Thrace, the construction and restoration of fortresses in the area, the Bulgarian claims due to the changed *status quo* near the southern border of the Khanate. Also a coincidence is found in that the refusal of Emperor Constantine V to satisfy the demands of the Bulgarian ruling elite was followed by hostile actions. Beyond the similarities, there are noticeable differences. Regarding the actions of the Bulgarians Theophanes wrote: ...*they made military expedition and came as far as the Long Walls in an advance on the Imperial City. After causing much destruction and taking many prisoners, they returned home unharmed*<sup>10</sup>. Patriarch Nikephoros also mentioned that the enemy squadrons were reaching the approaches to Constantinople, but he focused on the Byzantine actions to repel the invasion. The text of *Breviarium* also reads:

...On meeting his refusal, they took up arms and overran the Thracian region nearly as far as the Long Wall. (The Emperor) marched out against them and, having joined battle with them, put them to flight. He pursued them mightily and killed many Bulgarians. A short time thereafter he made an expedition against them by sea and land. Those who were embarked on the ships (which numbered five hundred) set sail by the way of the Euxine and, upon reaching river Istros, burned the Bulgarian lands and made many captives; while (the Emperor) himself joined battle with them at so-called Markellai (this is a fort lying very near to the Bulgarians), put them to flight, and killed many of them. Being thus worsted, they petitioned for peace and delivered hostages among their children...<sup>11</sup>

The result of the transfer of Byzantine cavalry deep into the Bulgarian rear and the advantages they created were an additional incentive for Emperor Constantine V to include the navy in his subsequent campaigns against the Bulgarian Khanate. The benefits of bypassing the main defensive line in Haemus Mountain leave little doubt as to why such impressive persistence was shown in renewing naval initiatives on the western shores of the Black Sea and in the direction of the Danube Delta<sup>12</sup>. Theophanes the Confessor and Patriarch Nikephoros were remarkably unanimous in providing information about the number of the vessels used. This very specificity makes one particular terminological dissonance in their narratives even more noticeable. For example, when it comes to the clash of 763, the

<sup>10</sup> *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine...*, p. 593–594. All quotations in the text are according to the enclosed English edition.

<sup>11</sup> *Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium historicum*, ed. C. MANGO, Washington D.C. 1990 [= *CFHB*, 13] (cetera: ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ), p. 145.

<sup>12</sup> К. МАРИНОВ, *Zadania floty cesarskiej...*, p. 382–383, 384–386; IDEM, *В дебрите на Хемус (за някои страни в ролята на планината през периода VII–IX в.)*, Pbg 37.4, 2013, p. 60–73. Also: А. АВРАМЕА, *Land and Sea Communications, Fourth–Fifteenth Centuries*, [in:] *The Economic History of Byzantium. From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, vol. I, ed. A.E. LAIOU, Washington D.C. 2002 [= *DOS*, 39], p. 57–90; D.V. ДИМИТРОВ, *Морето в политиката на средновековните балкански държави*, SB 32, 2017, p. 165–183.

first of the mentioned chroniclers pointed out that the type of ships that made up the fleet was the chelandion (χελάνδιον). In the relevant passages in the work of the second one, the designation of horse transport ships (νῆες ἵππάγωγοι) is found. The description of the next expedition in 766 in *Chronography* the chelandions were mentioned again, in *Breviarium* σκάφη/σκάφος was used as a more general name for a vessel<sup>13</sup>. Patriarch Nikephoros did not mention the chelandions in none of the described events related to the actions of the fleet of the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century. On the contrary, the term was used repeatedly by Theophanes both in connection with the naval expeditions in question against Bulgaria in the 760s and later in the 770s, and in the description of completely different events as well. In some cases, the word is used alone in the text, while in others it is immediately surrounded by more names of ships of the era. In fact, the difference can be observed in the descriptions of events that have nothing to do with the Byzantine-Bulgarian conflicts of the 750s–770s. Among the most outstanding examples is the record about the expedition against Chersonesos in 711, Theophanes noted that the fleet consisted of various kinds of vessels – dromos, triers, transport ships, fishing boats and chelandions<sup>14</sup>.

Again, according to the reports in *Chronography*, in 774, 2,000 such chelandions set out for the Bulgarian shores led by the Emperor Constantine V. A year later, the ailing ruler passed away on a chelandion on his return to the capital<sup>15</sup>. Beyond the outlined differences, the question of whether and to what extent the chelandion underwent any evolution since the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century, and what type of vessel (with one or two rows of oarsmen) the authors from later 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries using this term meant<sup>16</sup>. Concerning the *Chronography*, the

<sup>13</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. I, ed. C. DE BOOR, Leipzig 1883 [= CSHB] (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 432–433; NIKEPHOROS, p. 148–150, 156. Cf. E.A. SOPHOCLES, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Period (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, New York 1900, p. 992; *Древногреческо-русский словарь*, vol. II, ed. И.Х. ДВОРЕЦКИЙ, Москва 1958, p. 1478; *LSJ*, p. 1605.

<sup>14</sup> Regarding the events of 711, Patriarch Nikephoros also mentioned the diversity of the ships, but did not specify what they were. When describing the repressions in Chersonesos, both chroniclers noted that twenty of the local leaders were drowned – in a deliberately sunken ἀκάτιον according to the text of *Breviarium*, and in χελάνδιον according to that of *Chronography*. Cf.: THEOPHANES, p. 377–378; NIKEPHOROS, p. 106–109. In addition, despite the different terms the chronicles show an outstanding coincidence. Both authors pointed out that on the way back to Constantinople, the ships were caught in a storm and about 73,000 people drowned. Cf. also S. FORREST, *Theophanes' Byzantine Source for the Late Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries c. AD 668–716*, *TM* 19, 2015, p. 417–444. For the requisition of various commercial vessels for military-transports in the fifth and sixth century: C. ZUCKERMAN, *On the Byzantine Dromon (with a Special Regard to De Cerim. II, 44–45)*, *REB* 73, 2015, p. 59–67.

<sup>15</sup> THEOPHANES, p. 448.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the comments, viewpoints, and the enclosed bibliography: G.J. BLACKBURN, *The Illustrated Encyclopedia of Ships, Boats, Vessels, and Other Water-borne Craft*, Woodstock 1978, p. 130, 309; R.W. UNGER, *The Ship in the Medieval Economy, 600–1600*, London 1980, p. 95–98; IDEM, *Warships and Cargo Ships in Medieval Europe*, *TC* 22.2, 1981, p. 236–240; V. CHRISTIDES, *Naval History and*



question in which of the records the chronicler used *chelandon* as a designation of a specific kind of vessel with oars – used for military and military-transport needs arises; and in which, in a more general sense, for a rowing ship<sup>17</sup>. In view of the participation of the Byzantine fleet in the conflicts with the Bulgarian Khanate, especially taking into consideration the specified scale and capabilities of the Byzantine shipbuilding, it must be pointed out that in the account of the events from the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, *chelandon* was probably used as a general designation of ships involved in the naval endeavors, not only in its narrow sense of a particular type of vessel. Nevertheless, it is much more essential that the discrepancies in the names of the vessels with those found in the text of *Breviarium* do not hide the fact that both chronicles refer to the transport of cavalry units (equestrians and horses as well as their equipment).

At the background of the relatively large clarifications made, it should be explicitly noted that the military and military-transport capabilities of the Imperial fleet during the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century were significant. This, however, was a precondition for their exaggeration by modern scholars. In this regard, for example, one can come across a statement of the Romanian scholar Alexandru Madgearu who states that

...during the wars of 760, 763 and 765, Durostorum [Drastar, present day Silistra (Bulgaria)] was occupied again for a while. Only in this way can be explained the discovery of some lead seals issued by Byzantine officers dated in the 8<sup>th</sup> century...<sup>18</sup>

However, he did not provide any further details about the way of sustaining the Byzantine troops occupation in the key center of the Early Medieval Bulgaria. After this statement, however, there are a number of unanswered questions. Except for the ambiguous “a while”, there is no comment on how long Constantine V’s troops stayed in Drastar. In addition, it is not considered necessary to ask what

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*Naval Technology in Medieval Times. The Need for Interdisciplinary Studies*, B 58.2, 1988, p. 309–332; W. TREADGOLD, *The Army in the Works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, RSBN N.S 29, 1992, p. 87, 100–102, 110–121, 123–125, 134–141; V. CHRISTIDES, *Byzantine Dromon and Arab Shīnī*, [in:] *Tropis III. 3<sup>rd</sup> International Symposium on Ship Construction in Antiquity*, ed. H. TZALAS, Athens 1995, p. 111–122; C. MAKRYPOULIAS, *The Navy in the Works of Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, GA 6, 1995, p. 152–171; J.H. PRYOR, E.M. JEFFREYS, *The Age of the Δρομων: the Byzantine Navy ca. 500–1204*, Leiden–Boston 2006 [= MMe, 62], p. 164–173; J. DELGADO, *Ships on Land*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Maritime Archaeology*, ed. A. CATSAMBIS, B. FORD, D.L. HAMILTON, Oxford–New York 2011, p. 187–191; C. ZUCKERMAN, *On the Byzantine Dromon...*, p. 57–98; I. ΔΗΜΗΤΡΟΥΚΑΣ, *Τα Βυζαντινά πολεμικά πλοία και τα πληρωμάτά τους (9<sup>ος</sup> και 10<sup>ος</sup> αί.)*, GA 12, 2017, p. 293–307; S. COSENTINO, *Naval Warfare...*, p. 333–334.

<sup>17</sup> H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer...*, p. 410–413; D. MOUTSOS, *Greek χελάνδιον and Latin chelundria*, B 62, 1992, p. 402–413; E. MACGEER, A. KAZHDAN, *Chelandon*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, ed. A. KAZHDAN, Oxford–New York 1991, p. 417–418.

<sup>18</sup> A. MADGEARU, *The Byzantine Expansion in the Black Sea Area*, RMH 2008, p. 23.

the Bulgarian countermeasures against them were. Suspiciously, the cited study did not specify how that Drastar's imaginary occupation ended – with defeat or retreat. If it was the second option, again there is no word about the way in which the supposed Byzantine detachment was withdrawn (by ships or by a forced march on the land). In this regard, it is important to mention a circumstance that should also be given due attention – rowing against the current of the river and avoiding the shallows seriously increases the time to overcome even seemingly short distances. There are reliable indications that in the Middle Ages those who navigated against the river current were completely aware of these peculiarities<sup>19</sup>.

For the sake of objectivity, it should be emphasized that there is much more than one way to explain the appearance of one seal of the Strategos Phokas and another one of the Turmarhos Aetolius in the Bulgarian lands (on both sides of the Lower Danube at that time), without avoiding essential details<sup>20</sup>. Especially those

<sup>19</sup> It must be admitted that this information does not refer to the 8<sup>th</sup>-century endeavors, but concerns the later Byzantine campaigns. However, one should not ignore its validity in the times. This peculiarity stands out in full force during the campaign of Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–976) against the Rus of Prince Svetoslav of Kiev in 971. According to reports, after the capture of Preslav and the surrounding settlements, the Imperial ground forces managed to outrun the fleet's appearance under the walls of Drastar, that was later included in the siege. Cf.: *The History of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, trans. et ed. A.-M. TALBOT, D.F. SULLIVAN, Washington D.C. 2005 [= DOS, 41] (cetera: LEO DIACONUS), p. 179–188. It should not be forgotten that the quick move due to the need of rapid involvement of the Imperial navy was not an easy task, too. For example, according to Genesisios during the progressive Arab invasion in Sicily in 877–878 the Imperial navy did almost nothing and remained blocked for fifty days at Peloponnesse by the bad weather, without chance to prevent the fall of Syracuse. Actually, Symeon the Logothete who blamed mainly Emperor Basil I reported the events in a rather different way. It is hardly a coincidence that in Book 5 (*Vita Basilii*) of Theophanes Continuatus' *Chronography* under supervision of Emperor Constantine VII (913–959) has been added additional information in order to present his grandfather in the best possible light, shifting the blame for the delay to the navy commander Adrian. Cf. GENESIOS, *On the Reigns of the Emperors*, trans. et ed. A. KALDELLIS, Canberra 1998 [= BAUS, 11], p. 103; *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, rec. S. WAHLGREN, Berlin–New York 2006 [= CFHB, 44.1] (cetera: SYMEON LOGOTHETE), p. 264.74–81. Cf. the recent English translation *The Chronicle of the Logothete*, trans. et ed. S. WAHLGREN, Liverpool 2019 [= TTB, 7], p. 198; *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur liber, quo vita Basilii imperatoris amplectitur*, ed. I. ŠEVČENKO, Berlin–Boston 2011 [= CFHB, 42], p. 236–243; Cf. also the comments of P. MAGDALINO, *Knowledge in Authority and Authorised History: the Imperial Intellectual Programme of Leo VII and Constantine VII*, [in:] *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. P. ARMSTRONG, Farnham 2013, p. 203–206. In another well-known case, the squadrons of the Norman field army moving from Dyrrachium toward Thessaloniki also outrun the Norman fleet in the siege and the conquest of the city in 1185. Cf.: EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKI, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, trans. et ed. J.R. MELVILLE-JONES, Canberra 1988 [= Baus, 8], p. 66. Cf. also: R. KOSTOVA, “Bypassing Anchialos”: the West Black Sea Coast in Naval Campaigns 11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> c. (I), [in:] *Тангра. Сборник в чест на 70-годишнината на акад. Васил Гюзелев*, ed. M. КАЙМАКОВА et al., София 2006, p. 585–586; ЕАДЕМ, *The Lower Danube in the Byzantine Naval Campaigns in the 12<sup>th</sup> C.*, CCDJ 24, 2008, p. 271–272.

<sup>20</sup> G. ATANASOV, *Durostorum – Dorostol(os) – Drastar/Dristra – Silistra. The Danubian Fortress from the Beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> to the Beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> c.*, [in:] *Thracian, Greek, Roman and Medieval*

concerning the vague and rather suspicious conditions of their finding and that the efforts should be linked to the events of the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century and to the dubious “capture of Drastar” by the Emperor Constantine V’s troops which cannot be supported in the reasons for the dating of the mentined seals outside the chronological framework of 750s–770s<sup>21</sup>.

It is an indubitable fact that on the shores of the Northern Black Sea coast the Imperial fleet was able to capture strategic areas and make a *place d’armes* for the transferred landing units. At the same time, it is far more difficult to accept that during the campaigns against the Bulgarian Khanate of the 760s, the Byzantines permanently conquered territories around the Danube Delta. Such a clarification does not detract from the success of the Byzantine fleet at that time at all. Emperor Constantine V managed to surprise Khan Vineh by transporting cavalry troops by sea who ravaged the Bulgarian lands around the Danube Delta and abducted many captives<sup>22</sup>.

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*Cities, Residences and Fortresses in Bulgaria*, vol. I, ed. R. IVANOV, Sofia 2015, p. 530. Cf. also: A. КУЗЕВ, *Дръстър*, [in:] *Български средновековни градове и крепости*, vol. I, *Градове и крепости по Дунав и Черно море*, ed. A. КУЗЕВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, Варна 1981, p. 177–195; Г. АТАНАСОВ, *Християнският Дуросторум–Дръстър. Доростолската епархия през Късната античност и Средновековието IV–XIV в.*, Варна 2007, p. 133–135.

<sup>21</sup> I. MITITELU, I. BARNEA, *Sigilii de plumb bizantine din regiunea Dunării de Jos*, SCIV 17.1, 1966, p. 43–45; I. JORDANOV, *Srednovekovnijat Drastar. Spored danni ot sfragistikata (VII–XII v.)*, АДСВ 40, 2011, p. 102–103. One can say that it is against the historical objectivity and accuracy if modern political borders have motivated the invention of tendentious justifications. Such as the over-use of the doubtful hypothesis about a Byzantine naval base at Lykostomion in the Early Middle Ages (H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer...*, p. 87–90. Cf. also: V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, *Quelques observations sur la domination byzantine aux bouches du Danube. – Le sort de Lykostomion et de quelques autres villes côtières*, SB 1, 1970, p. 79–86; I. BOZHILOV, V. GJUZELEV, I. Barnea, *Șt. Ștefănescu. Din Istoria Dobrogei. Vol. III. Bizantinim Români și Bulgari la Dunărea de Jus*, București, 1971, III 28.3, 1972, p. 115–125; A. MADGEARU, *The Lykostomion Theme on the Lower Danube (9<sup>th</sup> Century)*, [in:] *Studia Antiqua et Mediaevalia. Miscellanea in honorem annos LXXV peragentis Professoris Dan Gh. Teodor*, ed. D. APARASCHIVEI, Iași 2009, p. 297–304; A. MADGEARU, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube, 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, Leiden–Boston 2013 [= ECEEMA, 22], p. 7–57. *There is no strong reason to believe that any Byzantine fortress along the northern part of the western coast remained active between the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century and the late 10<sup>th</sup>.* – One can read in a still relatively recent publication. Cf.: R. KOSTOVA, *The Western Black Sea Coast in the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> Centuries: How and How Much Was It Defended?*, [in:] *Fortified Settlements in Early Medieval Europe. Defended Communities of the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, ed. H. HEROLD, N.J. CHRISTIE, Oxford 2016, p. 223. Cf. also: R. KOSTOVA, *Byzantine Fortifications and Defensive System in the Black Sea Area: the West Coast of the Black Sea*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Black Sea*, <http://blacksea.ehw.gr/Forms/fLemmaBodyExtended.aspx?lemmaID=10650> [27 III 2021]; A. GINALIS, D. HEHER, A. KÜLZER, J. PREISER-KAPPELLER, G. SIMEONOV, *Harbours and Landing Places on the Balkan Coasts of the Byzantine Empire (4<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> Centuries)*, ID 1–667, [in:] *European Harbour Data Repository*, vol. IV, ed. L. WERTHER, H. MÜLLER, M. FOUCHER, Jena 2019, p. 58 [ID 569]).

<sup>22</sup> НИКЕФОРΟΣ, p. 145.

The naval forces of the Empire were sent in this direction several more times in the 760s and 770s. The information provided by Patriarch Nikephoros and Theophanes the Confessor lacks abundance of details about the preparation and stages of the expeditions. However, it can be assumed that some of the ambiguities can be overcome due to the knowledge of seafaring in the early Middle Ages. Despite all the advantages it had compared to marching by land, sailing was not an easy endeavor at all. Even when it was not about transporting horses, the problems arising from the use of rowing boats for military operations at long and relatively long distances from the starting bases were diverse and often quite significant. These included the training of crews and the provision of paddles, masts and sails, materials for repairing holes and leaks, supplying the required quantities of provisions and water, weapons, etc. Difficulties were further multiplied if the final destination was too far away or there were no suitable intermediate bases for refilling with water and provisions, for rest, for replacement of sick and injured crew members<sup>23</sup>. Another debatable issue is the speed they had and the distance at which the Byzantine naval squadrons were able to move in one day, as well as the duration of their stay on the high seas without mooring. They depended on many conditions, among which it is necessary to mention the favorable opportunities to stretch the sails or taking advantage of the sea currents. As it has been specified, at least in theory (in cases of necessity and in favorable conditions), ships were able to move not only during the day but also at night. On the other hand, strong waves, headwinds and winds seriously affected the distances they travelled, and unfavorable climatic conditions often led even to the cessation of navigation and hold-ups until the situation changed<sup>24</sup>. It must be taken into consideration that for the large early medieval expeditions of rowing vessels the type of ships or the possibility of optimal water supplies were not always crucial. The final destination and the mooring place were often far more decisive. The numerous squadrons were particularly vulnerable while mooring or anchoring out of the suitable long beach or large sheltered harbours. In addition, as it has been pointed out, anchoring or mooring Byzantine dromons and chelandions in the mentioned circumstances was difficult, laborious and time-consuming. In fact, any delay without a safe landing on the enemy shore was a serious threat due to the negative effect of the summer heat, wind changes, sea currents, physical exhaustion of the rowers, etc.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> J.H. PRYOR, *Geography, Technology, and War. Studies in the Maritime History of the Mediterranean, 649–1571*, Cambridge 1992 [= P.P.P.], p. 87–101; J.E. DOTSON, *Economics and Logistics of Galley Warfare*, [in:] *The Age of the Galley. Mediterranean Oared Vessels since Pre-Classical Times*, ed. R. GARDINER, London 1995, p. 217–223; J.H. PRYOR, E.M. JEFFREYS, *The Age of the Δρομων...*, p. 264, 339–354.

<sup>24</sup> S. COSENTINO, *Naval Warfare...*, p. 340–346.

<sup>25</sup> J.H. PRYOR, E.M. JEFFREYS, *The Age of the Δρομων...*, p. 354–378.

In view of the above, it is of great importance that in the 8<sup>th</sup> century in all the cases of involvement of the Byzantine fleet against the Bulgarians the starting point was Constantinople and its nearby ports<sup>26</sup>. The direct distance across the Black Sea from the Bosphorus to the Istros River is relatively short (about 450 km). However, given to the typical cabotage sailing of the era – near to the coastal line without going too deep into the sea nearly doubled the distance from Constantinople to the Danube Delta (about 700–750 km along the sea shores). For fast vessels with a well-trained crew familiar with the currents and moorings on the western shores of the Black Sea such a distance was not a significant challenge. Additionally, it should be explicitly noted that this was not a specific “marathon” voyage in which a single ship and its crew were in optimal condition. On the contrary, it meant the movement of large squadrons whose ships were loaded with people, horses, equipment and supplies. The difference was significant because larger squadrons often consisted of heterogeneous vessels, whose sailors had different experience and skills<sup>27</sup>. Even with the season’s preconditions, the meteorological conditions, the use of winds and sea currents, etc., the speed of movement was usually in accordance with the slowest ships (to maintain contact with them), and the distance was beyond the capabilities of two- or three-day sailing. This, together with the fact that in the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century the Byzantines did not have operating ports on the shores of the Northwestern Black Sea coast to fully perform the function of naval bases, necessitated stopping in the Burgas Bay for rest, regrouping, water and food resupply, etc.<sup>28</sup>

Although not being able to compete with Byzantium at sea, the Early Medieval Bulgarian ruling elite made the necessary efforts to repel the threats coming from the Imperial navy. To a large extent they were related to preventing the possibilities for Byzantine landings on the Dobrudzha coast and in the delta of the Danube. Just skim-reading the text of Theophanes’ *Chronography* one can see in the description

<sup>26</sup> N. GÜNSENIN, *Harbours and Shipbuilding in Byzantine Constantinople*, [in:] *The Sea in History. The Medieval World / La Mer dans l’Histoire. Le Moyen Âge*, ed. M. BALARD, Woodbridge 2017, p. 412–424.

<sup>27</sup> G. МАКРИС, *Ships*, [in:] *The Economic History of Byzantium...*, p. 93.

<sup>28</sup> Р. РАШЕВ, *Първото българско царство и морето*, [in:] *Средновековна България и Черноморието (сборник с доклади от научната конференция, Варна – 1980)*, ed. А. КУЗЕВ et al., Варна 1982, p. 47–56; Л. БОБЧЕВА, *Ранносредновековни български селища и некрополи по южнодобруджанския черноморски бряг*, [in:] *Средновековна България и Черноморието...*, p. 99–109; Р. РАШЕВ, *Северозападният черноморски бряг през ранното средновековие*, [in:] *Българите в Северното Причерноморие. Изследвания и материали*, vol. VI, ed. П. ГОДОРОВ et al., Велико Търново 1997, p. 33–44; И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *История на Добруджа*, vol. II, Велико Търново 2004, p. 29–40; G. SIMEONOV, *Harbours on the Western Black Sea Coast and the Byzantine Campaigns against the Avars and Bulgarians from the 6<sup>th</sup> until the 8<sup>th</sup> Century*, [in:] *Medieval Ports in North Aegean and the Black Sea. Links to the Maritime Routes of the East, International Symposium Thessalonike 4–6 December. Proceedings*, ed. F. KARAGIANNI, Thessalonike 2013, p. 49–56; R. KOSTOVA, *Byzantine Fortifications and Defensive System...*

of campaign of Emperor Constantine V in 763 a notice of a large Byzantine fleet that was sent to the Black Sea. However, it was not clearly specified where it was going to. In *Breviarium*, Patriarch Nikephoros testified that the intention was to transfer the cavalry on the ships across the Black Sea to the Danube River. Searching for discrepancies is unnecessary and counterproductive, moreover, both chroniclers provided no additional information about the actions of the naval forces of the Empire in the anti-Bulgarian campaign in question. In this case, the lack of additional details probably is due mainly to the failures of the fleet<sup>29</sup>. Theophanes the Confessor wrote that in response to the combined campaign of Emperor Constantine V on land and sea in the summer of 763, just before directing his main forces south of the Haemus, Khan Telets ...recruited 20 000 men among the neighboring nations to fight on his side and, after stationing them at the fortifications, made himself secure<sup>30</sup>. The mentioned auxiliary force was described as a *great multitude of Slavonian allies* by Patriarch Nikephoros in his *Breviarium*<sup>31</sup>. As it has been specified, the interest in this question was generally overshadowed by the focus on other notices in this part of the chronicler's text<sup>32</sup>. It is reasonably assumed that the mentioned fortifications were embankments, ditches and palisades, located in the easternmost parts of the Haemus massif. Without doubting the rationality of such a localization, it must be emphasized that when it comes to repelling combined Byzantine strikes on land and sea, one must not forget the anti-landing shafts, which also played a key role in the defense strategy of the Bulgarian Khanate. From today's perspective, coastal dikes are not an overwhelming obstacle. However, given the peculiarities of rowing seafare, in the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century any detention of the large Byzantine naval squadrons in front of them for more than a day or two was of great importance. Perhaps in the summer of 763 not only the gathered reinforcements and the protection of the gorges, but also the successful security against the Imperial fleet by blocking the possibility of the transported cavalry detachments to set foot on the Bulgarian coast led Khan Telets to the decision to give a general battle<sup>33</sup>.

Regarding the subsequent initiatives of Emperor Constantine V against Bulgaria in 764–765, Theophanes the Confessor stated:

<sup>29</sup> THEOPHANES, p. 432–433; NIKEPHOROS, p. 149.

<sup>30</sup> *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine...*, p. 599.

<sup>31</sup> NIKEPHOROS, p. 148.

<sup>32</sup> К. МАРИНОВ, *В дѣбрите на Хемус...*, p. 60–73.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. P. РАШЕВ, *Старобългарски укрепления на Долния Дунав (VII–XI в.)*, Варна 1982, p. 32–50; A. GINALIS, D. НЕНЕР, A. KÜLZER, J. PREISER-KAPPELLER, G. SIMEONOV, *Harbours and Landing Places...* Cf. also: P. SQUATRITI, *Digging Ditches in Early Medieval Europe*, PP 176, 2002, p. 11–65; IDEM, *Moving Earth and Making Difference: Dikes and Frontiers in Early Medieval Bulgaria*, [in:] *Borders, Barriers and Ethnogenesis. Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. F. CURTA, Turnhout 2005, p. 59–90; R. KOSTOVA, *The Western Black Sea Coast...*, p. 221–234.

In the same year Paganos, the lord of Bulgaria, sent an emissary to the Emperor requesting a personal meeting. Having received a pledge, he came down with his boyars. The Emperor, having taken his seat and having Sabinos seated next to him, received them and reproved them for their disorderly conduct and their hatred for Sabinos. And so they made a semblance of peace. The Emperor, however, sent a secret mission to Bulgaria and apprehended Sklavounos, chief of the Severi, who had caused much damage in Thrace. Also Christianos was arrested, a renegade from the Christian faith and leader of the Skamaroi... All of a sudden, the Emperor left the City and, finding the passes unguarded because of the nominal peace, invaded Bulgaria as far as the Τζικαα. He set fire to the fortified camps that he came across and returned in fear without having accomplished any brave deed...<sup>34</sup>

A look at the text of Patriarch Nikephoros makes it easy to see that the Bulgarian attempts to achieve peace after the flight of Khan Sabinos to Byzantium were taken into consideration only after Emperor Constantine V undertaking a campaign found fortified passages in Haemus<sup>35</sup>. The *Breviarium* also shows that the Byzantines did not remain faithful to the agreements. The ongoing internal crisis and the political instability were the reason for a new campaign against the Bulgarian Khanate. Patriarch Nikephoros wrote:

In the 3<sup>rd</sup> indiction Constantine entered Bulgaria in order to remove from office their leader who had been appointed by Sabinos, a man called Oumaros, and proclaim in his stead the Bulgarian Toktos, brother of Baianos. The Bulgarians fled to the forests of the river Istros and many of them were slain, including Toktos together with his brother as well as others. Another one of their commanders, whom they call Kampaganos, was killed by his own slaves while he was attempting to escape to Varna and join (the Emperor). At that time a great many Bulgarian villages were burned and destroyed by the Romans...<sup>36</sup>

The last testimony from the text of *Breviarium* can be considered a description of the success of the Byzantine fleet, but with the explicit stipulation that the Imperial troops did reach the Danube. The conditionality in this case is significant, as in the respective sections in *Chronography*, a feeling of fast movement is created quite unambiguously, but only on land.

When describing the unsuccessful participation of the Byzantine naval forces in the campaign in 766, it is stated that the impressive (probably exaggerated) number of 2,600 vessels went to the Burgas Bay.

But as the fleet was anchored by the coast of the sea that is there (for that place is lacking in harbors and difficult for sailors), – one can read in Nikephoros' text – a violent and harsh blast blew against it (it was a north wind), overturned and broke the ships against the shore, and sank in the surf a great number of crews. The Emperor was greatly distressed by this and

<sup>34</sup> *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine...*, p. 603.

<sup>35</sup> NIKEPHOROS, p. 151.

<sup>36</sup> NIKEPHOROS, p. 151–153.

commanded the officers to cast nets in the sea in order to collect the drowned bodies and bury them; and thus he returned to the palace...<sup>37</sup>

Theophanes the Confessor also noted the reason for the termination of the campaign and the fact that the bodies of the victims were pulled out with nets and buried<sup>38</sup>. The Byzantine Navy was involved in the war against Bulgaria again a decade later in the mid-770s. In May 774, Emperor Constantine V personally led a large fleet with the intention of entering the Danube, while the task of his cavalry troops were to overcome the defenses in the gorges of Haemus and to penetrate north of the mountain while the main Bulgarian forces were busy to oppose the planned landing. The idea failed without even reaching the Danube Delta.

...Constantine dispatched a fleet of 2,000 **chelandia** against Bulgaria. He himself embarked in the red **chelandon** and set out with the intention of entering the river Danube, leaving the **strategoï** of the cavalry **themata** outside the mountain passes in the hope that they might penetrate into Bulgaria while the Bulgarians were occupied with him. – one can read in *Chronography* – When, however, he had gone as far as Varna, he took fright and was considering a retreat. The Bulgarians, too, were frightened when they saw these things and sent a boyar and a Tzigos to ask for peace. They swore to one another that neither would the Bulgarians go forth against the Roman country, nor would the Emperor contrive to penetrate into Bulgaria, and they mutually drew up written instruments to that effect...<sup>39</sup>

A little later, in the autumn of the same year, the Byzantine Navy was again involved in a campaign against the Bulgarian Khanate. The reports reveal that 12,000 cavalymen on board were unable to take part in hostilities on the North-western shores of the Black Sea, as the ships were caught in a storm near Mesembria. In connection with this campaign, Theophanes the Confessor spoke again about the fears of Constantine V, who preferred to stay with the army ground forces<sup>40</sup>. The worries of the experienced ruler were completely understandable (and in view of the events – they were justified) given the unsuitable season for sailing. However, such motives were not valid in the previous expedition in late spring and early summer of 774. It is reasonably accepted that then the fear came from the inability to overcome the anti-landing dikes, ditches and embankments, which made the prolonged stay in the sea unnecessary and even dangerous.

It is significant that in the presentation of the Byzantine campaigns against Bulgaria in the 760s and 770s in *Breviarium* and in *Chronography* there is no mention of permanent control of a bridgehead on the Bulgarian coast in the North-western Black Sea coast, or of really deep penetration of the Danube Delta and

<sup>37</sup> NIKEPHOROS, p. 157.

<sup>38</sup> *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine...*, p. 605.

<sup>39</sup> *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine...*, p. 616–617.

<sup>40</sup> THEOPHANES, p. 447–448.



movement against the river current. In fact, concerning the statement of Drastar's occupation by the Byzantines in the early 760s it should be emphasized that it is particularly surprising why such a major Byzantine success remains undescribed in the narratives of the era.

**...The bones of those killed at Achelos...<sup>41</sup>: A little more about the echo of a momentous event**

The strategic decision to take a combined strike at sea and land in the presence of an Imperial enemy in the Northeastern part of the Balkans was not an innovation of Emperor Constantine V in the 750s–770s. However, given the geo-political situation in which the core of the Bulgarian Khanate is in the lands of present-day Dobrudzha (former Roman province of Scythia Minor), the parallel movement of the fleet and land forces along the Western shore of the Black Sea brought significant positives. It is worth taking into account the proximity and connection between the Imperial outposts in the Burgas Bay (serving as intermediate bases for rest, supply and reorganization) and the so-called Anchialos' field in their immediate hinterland, where the routes leading to the lowest and convenient to overcome passes in the eastern parts of Hemus are found. In view of this, it is not surprising that the area in question near Messembria, Anchialos and Debeltos often became a place of clash between the armies of the Bulgarian rulers and the Byzantine armies, not only in the period from the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>42</sup>.

Given the mentioned above, it is worth reminding that while in *Breviarium* Patriarch Nikephoros shared the same idea with Theophanes the Confessor about the outcome of the difficult battle of Anchialos in 763 and the massacre of the captives, in his *Antirrheticus* III the author offered a different viewpoint. Here Paul J. Alexander's statement that the last part of *Antirrheticus* III (chs. 62–84) is perhaps, of all of Nikephoros's texts, the most interesting for the scholars whose attention is attracted by Byzantine history and historiography should not be omitted<sup>43</sup>. In ch. 72 of the mentioned work there is a special emphasis that the Byzantine success in 763 (as far as it can be accepted as such) was at high price. The text reads:

...Because he [Constantine V] was preparing to take revenge on the Scythian people who lived to the west of us, he gathered his whole army and entered into battle with the enemies.

<sup>41</sup> СΥΜΕΟΝ ΛΟΓΟΤΗΤΕ, p. 192.138–139.

<sup>42</sup> В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Край града, наречен Анхиало. (Бележки върху историята му през IV–X в.)*, ИИМВ 28/43, 1992, p. 144–157.

<sup>43</sup> For the *Antirrheticus* III's cf. *Nicephori archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani Antirrhetici tres adversus Constantinum Copronymum*, ed. A. ΜΑΙ, [in:] *PG*, vol. C, col. 375–534 (cetera: *Antirrheticus* III); P.J. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople...*, p. 170–171; A. BRYER, J. HALDON, *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era...*, p. 256–257.

The results show how successful the outcome of the war was for him. Because to this day they are exposed by the ravines and the plain near the city called Anchialos, that housed the bones of the massacred. Since almost the entire army of the Romans fell victim to the Scythian sword...<sup>44</sup>

It is unquestionable that the quoted fragment definitely was paid attention to by researchers. In regard to some of the terrible effects of the wars between the Empire and its hostile neighbors, John Haldon remarks that *Patriarch Nikephoros referred in one of his polemical writings to the bones of the soldiers slain at the battle of Anchialos in 763 which could still be seen there at the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century*<sup>45</sup>. Vasil Gyuzelev assumes that...*the contradictory testimonies show that this battle was absolute bloodshed and with great number of lost human lives for both sides. However, they were more significant for the limited resources and capabilities of the Bulgarian Khanate...*<sup>46</sup>.

Of particular note are the key efforts of the German Byzantinist Paul Speck, and also of the French scholar Marie-Jose Monzain-Baudinet, who translated the text and added the commentaries and notes on Nicephorus' *Antirrethici*<sup>47</sup>. In view of the achievements in terms of style, narration, some interpolations and traceable primary sources, and taking into account the characteristic archaic tendencies of the Byzantine authors and the sum of their geographical, historical and political ideas, the use of the ethnonym "Scythians" referring to the Bulgarians in chapter 72 of *Antirrethicus* III is no surprise. On the other hand, the clearly recognizable and very symbolic weapon μάχαира in the ancient texts is much more closely associated with the Thracians, which was certainly known by an erudite author such as Patriarch Nikephoros<sup>48</sup>. Given the interest in the Bulgarian-Byzantine conflict

<sup>44</sup> *Antirrethicus* III, PG, vol. C, col. 508B.

<sup>45</sup> J. HALDON, *Warfare, State and Society in the Byzantine World, 565–1204*, London 1999, p. 241.

<sup>46</sup> В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, *Вътрешнополитическата криза в Българското ханство и опитите за нейното преодоляване през втората половина на VIII век*, [in:] *История на България в 3 тома*, vol. I, *История на ранносредновековна България VII–XIV век*, ed. И. БОЖИЛОВ, В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, София 1999, p. 116.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. NICEPHORE, *Discours contre les iconoclasts. Discussion et réfutation des bavardages ignares, athées et tout à fait creux de l'irreligieux Mamon contre l'incarnation de Dieu le verbe notre sauveur*, ed. et trans. M.-J. MONZAIN-BAUDINET, Paris 1989 (cetera: NICEPHORE, *Discours*); P. SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen. Die Legenden vom Einfluss des Teufels, des Juden und des Moslem auf den Ikonoklasmus*, Bonn 1990 [= PB, 10], p. 263–275, 535–556.

<sup>48</sup> Interestingly, the mention of unburied victims of hostilities further strengthens the connection with Thrace (in a geographical sense), while Procopius' *History of Wars* when describing the Slavic attacks on the Balkans mentions that...*the whole land inhabited by the Illyrians and Thracians came to be everywhere filled with unburied corpses...* Cf. PROCOPIUS, *The History of Wars*, vol. V, trans. et ed. H.B. DEWING, London–Cambridge, Mass. 1962, p. 26. In fact, W. Treadgold points out that number of additional allusions to ancient and early Byzantine texts exist in other chapters of the final part of Nicephorus' *Antirrethicus* III. Cf. W. TREADGOLD, *Opposition to Iconoclasm as Grounds for Civil War*, [in:] *Byzantine War Ideology between Roman Imperial Concept and Christian Religion*.

of the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, the most important question seems to be related to whether there can be sufficient trust in the information in the fragment under consideration of the polemical work of the high clergyman. The answer cannot be unequivocal, as M.-J. Monzain-Baudinet emphasized more than three decades ago. In fact, Patriarch Nikephorus did not lie when he wrote about many victims. Although there can be no question of undoubted direct compliance, one should not underestimate the perceptible resemblance with some verses of *Jeremiah* 8: 1–2 as well as *Ezekiel* 6: 3–5, 37: 1–3. At the same time, without fabricating an incorrect version of the final victory of Emperor Constantine at the Battle of Anchialos in 763, he managed to belittle it by masterfully misleading the readers with the facts he knew about the campaigns of the mid-760s and the Byzantine failure of 766, which had a disastrous end. In *Antirrethicus* III Patriarch Nikephorus was suspiciously silent for the key moments of Emperor Constantine V's active involvement in the internal crisis in Bulgaria. The outline of the struggles for the khan's throne is quite vague. Indeed, the flight of Khan Sabinos to Byzantium is given a cursory glance, but respectful Byzantine successes in 764–765 remain without mention. The passages that refer to the Eastern policy of Emperor Constantine V are also marked by underestimation or omission of the successes. The neglect of the chronological sequence of events concerning the resettlement of Syrians and Armenians in Thrace seems to have further contributed to the overall confusing effect<sup>49</sup>.

The reflection of the events in the mid-760s and the stories of the battles between Bulgarians and Byzantines in the fields near Anchialos found a place in the works of later Byzantine chroniclers of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> centuries. Along with the outstanding influence of the work of Theophanes the Confessor, it is worth mentioning that as for the description of the actions of the Byzantine Navy in the conflicts with Bulgaria in the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, their texts also reveal a connection with what was written in the polemical *Antirrheticus* III of Patriarch Nikephorus. In this regard, a look at George the Monk's *Concise Chronicle* is

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*Akten des Internationalen Symposiums (Wien, 19–21 Mai 2011)*, ed. J. KODER, I. STOURAITIS, Vienna 2012, p. 36; IDEM, *The Middle Byzantine Historians...*, p. 19, 21.

<sup>49</sup> NICEPHORE, *Discours*, p. 280–281 (cf.: *Antirrheticus* III, PG, vol. C, col. 508C–509A). It must be acknowledged that the final part of *Antirrheticus* III draws the attention not only with the battle bloodsheds or with Emperor Constantine V's active involvement in foreign policy but also with the various information about the plague of 747, earthquakes, economy, famine, construction projects, etc. Nevertheless, the chapters from 62 to 84 of the text also have tendentious allusions and presenting the Emperor in a negative way. Cf. P.J. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople...*, p. 159–161, 170–172, 188; V. BEŠEVILIEV, *Die Berichte des Theophanes und Nikephoros über die Thronwirren in Bulgarien 763–765*, JÖB 20, 1971, p. 81–82; P. SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen...*, p. 535–556; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians...*, p. 18–21. Cf. also: L. BRUBAKER, *Inventing Byzantine Iconoclasm*, London 2012, p. 32–55; D. AFINGENOV, *Style, Structure, and Authorship of the Hypothetical Source of Theophanes for the Reigns of Leo III and Constantine V*, TM 19, 2015, p. 467–472.

inevitable. Relatively little is known about the author. He is believed to have been born around 830 and joined a monastery in Constantinople or near the capital shortly after the collapse of Iconoclasm and the restoration of Iconodulia in 843. His work points to the fact that he had only basic education. Despite this, George the Monk obviously had extensive knowledge of scriptural, patristic and hagiographical texts. The method of extracting passages from the works of various earlier authors and assembling them into a single text was typical of his *Concise Chronicle*<sup>50</sup>. Something more:

George the Monk compiled his own history, which is, to a considerable extent, a collection of excerpts mainly taken from patristic texts and put together to form a homogeneous text. The reworking of the excerpts before their insertion into the chronicle is not consistent throughout the whole. The chronicle was intended to provide knowledge for Orthodox readers. This purpose outweighs the chronological goals of George the Monk's historical narrative. His extracting method is the same as the one applied by *florilegia*, *catenae*, question-and-answer works, and collections of speeches. Thus, in George's chronicle nothing was written by George himself

– one can read in a very recent publication<sup>51</sup>.

The highly illustrative part of George the Monk's *Concise Chronicle* concerning the reign of Emperor Constantine V, reads:

Moreover, since many of the commanders and soldiers were accused of worshipping icons, this three times miserable and an enemy of the truth sentenced them to various tortures and violent torment, then he went on a campaign against the Bulgarians. Having armed two thousand and six hundred chelandions, he sent them to Achelos. Heading for the shore, because a strong north wind was blowing, almost all [vessels] were destroyed and countless troops drowned...<sup>52</sup>

In fact, the discrepancy between Anchialos and Achelos (Achelus) can be seen in Nikephoros and Theophanes (or in their original source). While the Patriarch

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Д. АФИНОГЕНОВ, *Композиция хроники Георгия Амартола*, ВВ 52, 1991, p. 102–112; ИДЕМ, *Some Observations on Genres of Byzantine Historiography*, В 62, 1992, p. 13–33; J. LJUBARSKIJ, *George the Monk as a Short-Story Writer*, ЈЉВ 44, 1994, p. 255–264; Д. АФИНОГЕНОВ, *Константинопольский патриархат и иконоборческий кризис в Византии (784–847)*, Москва 1997, p. 132–148; ИДЕМ, *The Date of Georgios Monachos Reconsidered*, ВЗ 92.2, 1999, p. 437–447; А. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*, ed. C. ANGELIDI, Athens 2006, p. 43–52; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians...*, p. 114–120; L. NEVILLE, *Guide to Byzantine Historical Writing*, contr. D. HARRISVILLE, I. TAMARKINA, C. WHATLEY, Cambridge 2018, p. 87–92; M. DETORAKI, *Chronicon animae utile. La Chronique de Georges le Moine et les récits édifiants*, [in:] *Myriobiblos. Essays on Byzantine Literature and Culture*, ed. T. ANTONOPOULOU, S. KOTZABASSI, M. LOUKAKI, Boston–Berlin–Munich 2015 [= BArchiv, 29], p. 103–130.

<sup>51</sup> P. MANAFIS, *(Re)writing History in Byzantium. A Critical Study of Collections of Historical Excerpts*, London–New York 2020, p. 18.

<sup>52</sup> *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, vol. II, ed. C. DE BOOR, corr. P. WIRTH, Stuttgart 1978 [= BSGR], p. 758.

points to Anchialos (and Mesembria), Theophanes the Confessor notes Achelos. Depending on whose text they follow, the discrepancy also appears in the works of later authors. Yet, such a peculiarity is probably not only due to the proximity of the names, but also because the river Achelos flows into the Black Sea nearby the city of Anchialos<sup>53</sup>.

It is worth noting that, according to the above, the end of the campaign in 766 was not due solely to the catastrophe that befell the Byzantine fleet. ... *The Bulgarians, hearing of this* – the author pointed out – *started a battle with him, his troops were killed fiercely and he returned with great shame and defeat...*<sup>54</sup>. The heavy losses suffered by the troops of Emperor Constantine V during his campaigns against the Early Medieval Bulgaria are mentioned once again. The original source of the information is indisputable. *About him and the divine [Patriarch] of Constantinople Nikephoros said the following...* – George the Monk's *Concise Chronicle* reads, several lines below a passage very identical to the above-mentioned fragment of ch. 72 from the patriarch's polemical work follows:

...Of those victories invented by his insane and raging like-minded people, let us recall one of the most notable, [because] all are such. After preparing to take revenge on the Scythian people living in the west, he gathered all his subordinate army, entered into hand-to-hand combat with the enemies and what end of the war he achieved – the obvious things testify. This is clearly shown by the valleys and plains around the city called Achelos, which housed the bones of the slain. Because almost the entire Roman army fell victim to the Scythian sword...<sup>55</sup>

The combined Byzantine campaigns by land and sea against Bulgaria in the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century were given a place in the so-called “anti-Macedonian chronography”<sup>56</sup>. While George the Monk's text emphasizes on the casualties among the army, Symeon the Logothete mentions the successes of Emperor Constantine V in 763 and his triumphant entry into Constantinople with the tied captives of the army of Khan Telets<sup>57</sup>. The story of the next expedition in 766 with the participation of the naval forces of the Empire repeats the well-known information about the strong north wind that smashed the ships, after which the Bulgarians held victory over the Byzantine land army. In this particular case, the additional touches regarding the outcome of the battle and especially what remains as evidence are of greater importance.

<sup>53</sup> NIKEPHOROS, p. 156; THEOPHANES, p. 437. Cf. A. KAZHDAN, *Achelous*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium...*, p. 13; A. GINALIS, D. HEHER, A. KÜLZER, J. PREISER-KAPPELLER, G. SIMEONOV, *Harbours and Landing Places...*, p. 51 [ID 56].

<sup>54</sup> *Georgii Monachi Chronicon*, p. 758.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 760–761, 762–763.

<sup>56</sup> А. КАЖДАН, *История византийской литературы (850–1000 гг.). Эпоха византийского энциклопедизма*, Санкт-Петербург 2012, p. 177–188; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians...*, p. 203–217.

<sup>57</sup> SYMEON LOGOTHETE, p. 191.113–115.

... The Emperor went to war against the Bulgarians with the navy as well as the army, and he sent forces to Achelos. However, a violent wind started to blow, and the ships were destroyed, – one can read in the chronicle of Symeon the Logothete. – On learning this, the Bulgarians joined battle with them, and the Emperor was terribly defeated and returned humiliated. For even until today the bones of those killed at Achelos bear evident witness to the defeat...<sup>58</sup>

When the topic is a battle with many casualties and the scattered remains of slaughtered Imperial fighters, which can be seen even decades later, it is traditionally associated with the clash near Achelos River on August 20, 917 between the victorious Bulgarians led by Tsar Symeon (893–927) and the routed Byzantine troops commanded by Magistros Leo Phokas. Speaking about this pivotal moment in the conflict between the Bulgarian ruler and the Regency led by Empress Zoe Carbonopsina – the mother of underage Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, after describing the course of the battle itself, Leo the Deacon added: ... *Today one can still see heaps of bones next to Anchialos, where the retreating Roman troops were ingloriously cut down at that time...*<sup>59</sup>. Without belittling the real possibility of similarity in events distant in the time, such a creative approach is reminiscent of the Byzantine historians and chroniclers' tendency to use *topoi* and re-use expressions and motifs that authors from later periods without modification or with minor additions borrowed from earlier works and included in their own texts. As it is highlighted, the peculiarity in question in the construction of the text should not be considered a shortcoming, nor is it a definite proof of the unreliability of the descriptions. Moreover, the borrowings were not usually accidental, but due to a variety of reasons. Demonstrating education, fitting into the tradition, searching for a specific focus, compliance with the established or the formation and strengthening of specific attitudes of the audience were only a few of them<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> *The Chronicle of the Logothete...*, p. 145–146. Cf. SYMEON LOGOTHETE, p. 192.134–139.

<sup>59</sup> LEO DIACONUS, p. 171–172.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. I. NILSSON, *To Narrate the Events of the Past: on Byzantine Historians, and Historians on Byzantium*, [in:] *Byzantine Narrative. Papers in Honour of Roger Scott*, ed. J. BURKE et al., Melbourne 2006 [= BAus, 16], p. 47–58; EADEM, *The Same Story, but Another. A Reappraisal of Literary Imitation in Byzantium*, [in:] *Imitatio – Aemulatio – Variatio. Akten des internationalen wissenschaftlichen Symposionszur byzantinischen Sprache und Literatur (Wien, 22.–25. Oktober 2008)*, ed. A. RHOBY, E. SCHIFFER, Vienna 2010, p. 195–208; K.J. SINCLAIR, *War Writing in Middle Byzantine Historiography. Sources, Influences and Trends*, Birmingham 2012 (unpublished PhD dissertation), p. 12–23; P. MAGDALINO, *Byzantine Historical Writing, 900–1400*, [in:] *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, vol. II, 400–1400, ed. S. FOOT, C.F. ROBINSON, Oxford 2012, p. 218–237; R.-J. LILIE, *Reality and Invention. Reflections on Byzantine Historiography*, DOP 68, 2014, p. 157–210; J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *Historical Writing in Byzantium*, Heidelberg 2014, p. 11–62; R. MACRIDES, *How the Byzantines Wrote History*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Congress of Byzantine Studies. Belgrade 22–27 August 2016. Plenary Papers*, ed. S. MARJANOVIĆ-DUŠANIĆ, Belgrade 2016, p. 257–263; W. TREADGOLD, *The Unwritten Rules for Writing Byzantine History*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Congress...*, p. 277–292.

On the other hand, one cannot be omitted that Leo the Deacon was not the only author who talked about the Bulgarian success. Shortly after the battle, Patriarch Nicholas I Mystikos (901–907, 912–925), in his correspondence with Tsar Symeon, spoke of the great losses among the Imperial troops. The defeat, emphasizing its unprecedented scale, was also widely dealt with in the works of the 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries. For a contemporary of the events, as the aforementioned Patriarch of Constantinople was, it is clear why he did not write about the bones of unburied victims that could be seen for a long period of time on the surface. In Book 6 of Theophanes Continuatus, in the texts related to the work of Symeon the Logothete, and especially for the later chronicles of John Scylitzes and John Zonaras, such an aspect would seem perfectly understandable. However, such an aspect is not found<sup>61</sup>. This peculiarity of the description of the hostilities in 917 presented by Leo the Deacon is an exception. Nearly a century ago, Nicola Blagoev attributed it to the fact that

...he lived a short time after the event and had the opportunity to check it with eyewitnesses and accomplices, some of whom must have been still alive in his time. The continuator of Theophanes, for various personal reasons and considerations, would not have fully conveyed the historical truth<sup>62</sup>.

Fifteen years prior to N. Blagoev's published opinion, Mikhail Sjuzumov drew the attention to another aspect, which may also be among the reasons for the existence of the passage for the scattered human remains as evidence of the Byzantine defeat in the text of Leo the Deacon. The Russian scholar, when considering the sources and creative techniques of the chronicler, emphasized his tendency to imitate with very small corrections and to borrow ready-made passages from earlier authors and to incorporate them to his own story<sup>63</sup>. Without belittling Sjuzumov's opinion, it should be pointed out that up to present-day some important additional touches have been added to Leo the Deacon's sources and narrative models as well as details concerning creative techniques and peculiarities of narration in his *History*<sup>64</sup>. This does not mean that Leo the Deacon used

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Nicolai I Constantinopolitani patriarchae Epistolae*, ed. R.J.H. JENKINS, L.G. WESTERINK, Washington D.C. 1973 [= *CFHB*, 6], p. 54.1–68.278, 70.20–28, 84.55–88.137; *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister [Pseudo-Symeon], Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonn 1838 [= *CSHB*, 33], p. 388.13–390.21; SYMEON LOGOTHETE, p. 304.129–306.179; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis historiarum*, rec. H. THURN, Berlin–New York 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5] (cetera: SKYLITZES), p. 202.71–205.67; *Ioannis Zonarae Epitome historiarum libri XVIII*, vol. III, rec. T. BÜTTNER-WOBST, Bonn 1897 [= *CSHB*], p. 463.3–464.9.

<sup>62</sup> Н.П. БЛАГОЕВ, *Критичен поглед върху известията на Лъв Дякон за българите*, МП 6.1, 1930, p. 48.

<sup>63</sup> М. СЮЗУМОВ, *Об источниках Льва Диакона и Скилицы*, ВОБ 2, 1916, p. 106–166.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. LEO DIACONUS, p. 9–52; A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850–1000)*..., p. 273–294; K.J. SINCLAIR, *War Writing in...*, p. 47–60; W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine*

randomly such a recognizable (at least for his well-read audience) motif. On the contrary. The author mentioned unburied remains of killed soldiers, which could be seen decades later, in another place in his work. The example has nothing to do with the Byzantino-Bulgarian wars and is related to the clashes between the Empire and the Arabs in East Asia Minor<sup>65</sup>. Apart from Leo the Deacon's *History*, a later use of the motif is found in John Scylitzes's *Synopsis historiarum* – this time as a testimony to the Bulgarian victims in the battle along the Spercheios River in 997, and also in Anna Comnina's *Alexiad* – to the Crusaders slaughtered by the Seljuk Turks in the late 11<sup>th</sup> – early 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>66</sup>.

Along with the clarification that the events of the first quarter of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (or even later) are beyond the scope of this article, dedicated to the participation of the Byzantine fleet in the wars of Emperor Constantine V against Bulgaria, it must be clearly stated that there is no doubt about the dimensions of Tsar Symeon's victory in the summer of 917. The brief notes presented are due to that the fact that phrase about the piles of bones of the Byzantine warriors slaughtered near the Achelos appeared in a polemical work with an extremely negative pathos towards Emperor Constantine V and then "migrates" further into the later texts<sup>67</sup>. One should not ignore the general attitudes in Byzantium at the beginning of the Second Iconoclast period when the *Antirrhetici* were written by Patriarch Nikephorus. In several places in the text, it stands out that the Patriarch addressed it to his contemporaries and argued or struggled with popular moods among his audience at the specific historical moment of composing the text. In this regard, *Antirrethicus* III is interesting mainly for what it reveals about Nikephoros use of history

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*Historians...*, p. 236–246; L. NEVILLE, *Guide to Byzantine Historical...*, p. 124–127. Cf. also: A. КАЖДАН, *Источники Льва Диакона и Скилицы для истории третьей четверти X столетия*, ВВ 20, 1961, p. 106–128; A. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *From Narrative Historiography to Historical Biography. New Trends in Byzantine Historical Writing in the 10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, BZ 102.2, 2009, p. 697–715; M. HINTERBERGER, *Envy and Nemesis in the Vita Basilii and Leo the Deacon: Literary Mimesis or Something More?*, [in:] *History as Literature in Byzantium. Papers from the Fortieth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, April 2007*, ed. R. MACRIDES, Farnham 2010 [= SPBSP, 15], p. 187–203; A. KALDELLIS, *The Manufacture of History in the Later Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Rhetorical Templates and Narrative Ontologies*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 23<sup>rd</sup> International Congress...*, p. 293–306; J. SIGNES CODOÑER, *Dates or Narrative? Looking for Structures in Middle Byzantine Historiography (9<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> Century)*, [in:] *Byzanz und das Abendland IV. Studia Byzantina-Occidentalia*, ed. E. JUHÁSZ, Budapest 2016 [= ABR.BB, 4], p. 227–255.

<sup>65</sup> LEO DIACONUS, p. 75.

<sup>66</sup> SKYLITZES, p. 364; *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, vol. I, rec. D.R. REINSCH, A. KAMBYLIS, Berlin 2001 [= CFHB, 40.1], p. 300–301.

<sup>67</sup> In fact, in addition to the idea that George the Monk obtained the information from Patriarch Nikephoros, it is believed that both he and Theophanes the Confessor used the same earlier source (as the senior Byzantine clergyman did), and all mentioned authors disseminated its information with the corresponding corrections. Cf. D. AFINOGENOV, *Style, Structure, and Authorship...*, p. 467–472.



for ideological and polemical purpose. Of course, we must remain doubtful that he seriously strived for re-writing completely the entire narrative about Emperor Constantine V's rule. However, he did enough in this direction by using very recognizable moments of the Byzantine past, particularly arranged in order to undermine the "malicious topical" pro-iconoclastic claims in the early 9<sup>th</sup> century Byzantium. Also, it should be borne in mind that after the series of Imperial failures in the conflicts with Bulgaria during the ruling of Khan Kardam (777 – c. 800) and Khan Krum (c. 800–814) – especially the defeat of the Byzantines in the Battle of Markellai (792), the defeats in the valley of the river Strimon (808), the fall of Serdica (809), the fatal end of Emperor Nikephoros I Genikos (802–811) and his army in the gorges of Haemus (June 26, 811) and the subsequent Bulgarian counteroffensive in 812–813, the population of Constantinople remembered the time of the triumphant Iconoclast Emperor Constantine V with grief<sup>68</sup>. As for what happened in the mid-760s in particular, it is essential that despite Patriarch Nicephorus's biased attempt to create confusion about Emperor Constantine V's actions in the "fields near Anchialos", the later authors apparently not only oriented in the sequence of events, but also had no doubts about the Byzantine successes and failures.

## Conclusion

Finally, with the stipulation that future underwater research in the Bulgarian and Romanian parts of the Western coast of the Black Sea may give a different direction of the commentaries, still, it can be noted that in the wars against the Bulgarian Khanate, the fleets sent by Constantinople in the third quarter of the 8<sup>th</sup> century were impressively numerous. Even with some reasonable doubts concerning the numbers mentioned by the chroniclers in the well-known passages from *Breviarium* and *Chronography*, it is easy to notice that this tendency not only did not facilitate the landing effort, but in cases of failure it made the Byzantine fiasco even greater and the number of the casualties even significantly bigger. To some extent, this was due to the technical characteristics of the Imperial rowing warships and military transport vessels from the Middle Byzantine era that did not allow a stay outside the port for long periods. The need for replenishing water supplies narrowed the span to a few days, limited their range and the ships had to make refueling stops even if they did not carry additional horses and soldiers. The dromons and chelandions did not sustain during storms, strong winds and

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<sup>68</sup> It is by no means by accident that Theophanes the Confessor wrote that some of the inhabitants of the capital during a procession in the Church of "The Holy Apostles" rushed to the tomb of Emperor Constantine V on the eve of the Battle of Versinikia (June 22, 813). Cf.: THEOPHANES, p. 501. Cf. also P. SOPHOULIS, *Byzantium and Bulgaria, 775–831*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= ECEEMA, 16], p. 184–254.

high waves, especially outside the shipping season. Among the factors that also influenced the inclusion of the Byzantine naval squadrons in military campaigns at sea against Early Medieval Bulgaria was the fact that most of the crews in the fleet had experience mostly in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean. Such a feature is not to be underestimated. Although closed, the Black Sea has its own specifics in terms of air and sea currents, navigation conditions and berths.

Bearing in mind the cases in which meteorological conditions were the main reason for the failures of the Imperial fleet, the role of the built-in shafts along the Northwestern coast of the Black Sea must be recognized. Undoubtedly, their embankment, as well as the maintenance and protection of the shafts in question, blocking the areas accessible from the sea, caused tension in the resources of the Early Medieval Bulgarian state. Moreover, it is a fact that it coincided with the height of the internal political crisis and the intensity of dynastic conflicts. At the same time, however, the great benefit of them was evidenced by the fact that despite the involvement of significant forces in the 760s and 770s, Emperor Constantine V never managed to repeat the scenario of his first campaign by sea and land against Bulgaria.

In other words, along with the general technical limitations of all rowing ships of the era, the mentioned combination of natural-geographical, climatic and military-engineering factors sufficiently influenced the participation of the Byzantine fleet in the wars against pagan Bulgaria during the reign of Emperor Constantine V. It can be claimed that during the outlined chronological frames the naval forces of Byzantium encountered serious difficulties or did not fully fulfill their assignments on the Western and Northwestern shores of the Pontus.

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## THE EARLY CHRISTIANS IN THE FACE OF EPIDEMICS

**Abstract.** The purpose of the article is to present the reaction of the early Christians to the emergence and the spread of the great epidemics. During the early Christian ages (2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries) different plagues devastated people of the Roman Empire. Christianity has already prepared some modes of activity to deal with epidemics. These were both ideological and practical means. The main conclusion is that the pestilences during which Christians might show their moral principles, the special manner of life, and activity were one of the reasons to explain conversion to Christianity.

**Keywords:** epidemics, pestilence, Christianity, early Church, charity, consolation

The Church took an active position in social life from the beginning of Christianity, although she was small and persecuted. The activity of the Christians was especially demonstrated in those circumstances that required the Christians to sacrifice themselves for the sake of their neighbour: wars, calamities, social injustice and epidemics. The article aims to present the reaction of the early Christians to the spread of the greatest epidemics and encourage further research or debate in this area.

### 1. The pestilences during the early Christian ages

During the early Christian ages (2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> centuries) different plagues devastated people of the Roman Empire. The first pestilence of which we have reliable accounts is ‘The Plague of Antoninus’ that is also called ‘The Plague of Galen.’ This disease took origins in the army of Verus (161–169) which was sojourning in the East in 165 A.D. The disease was spread by the army throughout provinces, after Verus’ soldiers had returned<sup>1</sup>. It is usually identified as smallpox<sup>2</sup>. The plague swept

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Augusta*, V, 8, 1–4, [in:] *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, vol. I, ed. H. HOHL, C. SAMBERGER, W. SEYFARTH, Stuttgart–Lipsiae 1965 [= BSGR] (cetera: *Historia Augusta*), p. 80. Cf. D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Plagues of the Roman Empire*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Pestilence, Pandemics, and Plagues*, vol. II, N–Z, ed. J.P. BYRNE, Westport, Conn.–London 2008, p. 537; J.F. GILLIAM, *The Plague under Marcus Aurelius*, *AJP* 82, 1961, p. 225–251; R.J. LITTMAN, M.L. LITTMAN, *Galen and the Antonine Plague*, *AJP* 94, 1973, p. 243–255.

<sup>2</sup> W. SCHEIDEL, *Death on the Nile. Disease and the Demography of Roman Egypt*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2001 [= Mn.S., 228].

over most of Rome's provinces. Such a great pestilence caused irreparable damage throughout the Empire including the city of Rome. The enfeebling disease devastated not only the Roman army stationed in its winter quarters along the extensive frontiers of the Empire, but also thousands of people in cities and provinces<sup>3</sup>. It is supposed that even emperor Marcus Aurelius (161–180) caught the disease himself<sup>4</sup>. The pestilence in Europe lasted at least fourteen years<sup>5</sup>. The plague broke out again under Commodus (176–192) in 189. It was greater than before, about two thousand people often died in Rome in a single day<sup>6</sup>. There is an assumption that the Antonine Plague was probably the most devastating pestilence in late antiquity<sup>7</sup>.

Great pestilences did not affect the Roman world from the 180s A.D. until the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. There was a burst of a pandemic which is often called 'The Epidemic of Cyprian' because it was described, among others, by Saint Cyprian (ca. 200–258) in his treatise *De mortalitate*<sup>8</sup>. The plague stretched over the Roman Empire between 250 and 270. Orosius (ca. 375–420) claimed that during the reign of Gallienus (253–268) the human race slowly recovered from the severe plague which was worse and more long-lasting than was normally the case<sup>9</sup>. It is confirmed by Porphyry (ca. 234–305), a philosopher, that the disease was spread

<sup>3</sup> OROSIUS, *Historiarum adversus paganos libri VII*, VII, 15, 5; VII, 27, 7, rec. et comm. C. ZANGE-  
MEISTERL, Vindobonae 1882 [= CSEL, 5] (cetera: OROSIUS), p. 471; 497; *Historia Augusta*, IV, 13,  
3–6; IV, 28, 1–4, p. 59; 72; EUTROPIUS, *Breviarium ab Urbe Condita*, VIII, 12, trans., praef. et comm.  
H.W. BIRD, Liverpool 1993 [= TTH, 14], p. 52. Cf. H. ZINSSER, *Rats, Lice and History*, New Brun-  
swick–London 2008, p. 135. Orosius perceives the persecution of the Christians as immediately  
bringing down divine vengeance. The plague immediately follows Marcus Aurelius's persecution.  
Cf. A.T. FEAR, *Introduction*, [in:] OROSIUS, *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, Liverpool 2010  
[= TTH, 54], p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> On Marcus Aurelius' disease cf. A.R. BIRLEY, *Marcus Aurelius. A Biography*, New York 2001 [= RIB],  
p. 209–210.

<sup>5</sup> H. ZINSSER, *Rats...*, p. 136.

<sup>6</sup> CASSIUS DIO, *Epitomia*, LXXIII, 14, 3, [in:] *Dio's Roman History IX*, trans. E. CARY, London–Cam-  
bridge, Mass. 1955 [= LCL, 177], p. 100; HERODIANUS, *Historia I*, 12, 1–2, [in:] *Herodiani ab excessu  
divi Marci libri octo*, ed. L. MENDELSSOHN, Lipsiae 1883, p. 24–25. Cf. H. ZINSSER, *Rats...*, p. 136.

<sup>7</sup> D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests, and Demons. Sacred Narratives and the Rise of Christianity in the Old  
World and the New*, Cambridge 2005, p. 46–47. On the plague cf. also L.K. LITTLE, *Life and After-  
life of the First Plague Pandemic*, [in:] *Plague and the End of Antiquity. The Pandemic of 541–750*,  
ed. IDEM, New York 2007, p. 4.

<sup>8</sup> CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*, [in:] IDEM, *Opera omnia*, rec. et comm. G. HARTEL, Vindobonae 1868  
[= CSEL, 3.1] (cetera: CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*), p. 297–314. *De mortalitate* is the most valuable  
source of information on a plague which spread over the Roman Empire. Probably it was composed  
in 252. Cf. *Introduction to 'Mortality'*, [in:] SAINT CYPRIAN, *Treatises*, ed. et trans. R.J. DEFERRARI,  
Washington 2007 [= FC.NT, 36], p. 195–198; D. STATHAKOPOULOS, *Plagues of the Roman Empire...*,  
p. 537–538.

<sup>9</sup> OROSIUS, VII, 22, 1, p. 480.

in the city of Rome in approximately 270<sup>10</sup>. Claudius Gothicus (268–270) died of it<sup>11</sup>. This disease lasted no less than fifteen years<sup>12</sup>. Its contagiousness was extreme and it swept over the same regions repeatedly, after intervals of several years<sup>13</sup>. This was a plague of inconceivable ills. There was hardly a province of the Roman Empire, a city, or a home – from east to west – that was not touched and devastated by this pestilence<sup>14</sup>. The pestilence was one of the elements that caused the great crisis through which the Roman world passed. Historians noticed that humanity had not seen before such a great destruction of human life<sup>15</sup>.

## 2. The response of the Christians towards epidemics

Christianity during the first centuries of its existence has already prepared some modes of activities to deal with epidemics<sup>16</sup>. These were both ideological and practical means. In fact, Christianity established itself firstly in the minds of people<sup>17</sup> and then it was manifested in their acts. Aristides of Athens (2<sup>nd</sup> century) accentuated both the commandment of the law of the Christians and their manner of life from which it is possible to learn that they alone came near to a knowledge of the truth<sup>18</sup>. During epidemics Christianity demonstrated its teaching in consolation and its manner of life in charity.

### 2.1. Christian consolation

In the face of death brought by epidemics, the pagan teaching could not provide consolation that flowed from the belief in life after death<sup>19</sup>. The pagan society plagued by suffering from illness and fear of death could not find answers concerning the benefits of plagues and suffering in either teaching of philosophers

<sup>10</sup> THEODORETUS, *De curatione*, 12, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXIII, col. 1152A–B. Cf. J. CURRAN, *Pagan City and Christian Capital. Rome in the Fourth Century*, Oxford 2000 [= OCM], p. 40.

<sup>11</sup> L.K. LITTLE, *Life and Afterlife...*, p. 4; D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 49.

<sup>12</sup> IOANNES ZONARAS, *Epitome Historiarum*, 12, 21, vol. III, ed. L. DINDORFIUS, Lipsiae 1870 [= BSGR] (cetera: IOANNES ZONARAS), p. 137.

<sup>13</sup> H. ZINSSER, *Rats...*, p. 138.

<sup>14</sup> OROSIUS, VII, 21, 5; VII, 27, 10, p. 480; 498; CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*, 14, p. 306–306. Cf. R. DUNCAN-JONES, *Structure and Scale in the Roman Economy*, Cambridge 2002, p. 172.

<sup>15</sup> ZOSIMUS, *Historia nova*, 1, 26, ed. L. MENDELSSOHN, Lipsiae 1887, p. 19; IOANNES ZONARAS, 12, 21, p. 137.

<sup>16</sup> D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 38.

<sup>17</sup> A. CAMERON, *Christianity and the Rhetoric of Empire. The Development of Christian Discourse*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1994, p. 27.

<sup>18</sup> ARISTIDES, *Apologia*, XVI, ed. et trans. B. POUDERON, M.-J. PIERRE, B. OUTTIER, M. GUIORGADZÉ, Paris 2003 [= SC, 470] (cetera: ARISTIDES), p. 242–247, 290–291; ARISTIDES, XV, 7–9, p. 240–243, 290–291.

<sup>19</sup> D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 72.

or religious leaders<sup>20</sup>. This problem has existed among the pagans for a long time. Thucydides (ca. 460–400 BC) in his *Historia belli Peloponnesiaci*, describing the great epidemic that killed the inhabitants of Athens in 430–426 BC, writes about the futility of pagan science and religion. Doctors did not know how to treat. Oracles did not know what to foretell. People were so immersed in suffering that they no longer paid attention to it<sup>21</sup>.

In contradistinction to the heathens, Christian belief in the resurrection of the dead was a great source of consolation. The meditation on resurrection was coincident with suffering and death<sup>22</sup>. The promise of life after death was noticeable in the early 3<sup>rd</sup>-century *Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis*<sup>23</sup>. Death for the early Christians was viewed as the moment of birth into eternity, a time of joy<sup>24</sup>. One of the earliest contributions to the Christian literature of consolation during the plague is Cyprian's (ca. 248–258) treatise *De mortalitate*. It was written as a sermon for the Christians of his city<sup>25</sup>. Cyprian perceives death as a means by which a Christian is freed from the world. Consequently, the plague is a danger only to the unfaithful. To the Christians it is a salutary departure because they are called to refreshment<sup>26</sup>. Therefore, in *De mortalitate* Cyprian summons not to fear death but to wish to depart from the world<sup>27</sup>. The world is not worthy of love because of its hatred to the Christians<sup>28</sup>. By departure the Christians are being freed from its ruin and threatening disasters<sup>29</sup>. As to the Christians who have already departed, they should not be mourned, because they are not lost but sent before<sup>30</sup>.

Dionysius of Alexandria (248–264) who reports the standpoint of both Christian and pagan communities of Alexandria towards a severe assault of plague in 262<sup>31</sup>, in a similar tone remarks that for the Christians this pestilence was not so dreadful as for pagans and the Christians treated it as exercise and probation.

<sup>20</sup> R. STARK, *The Rise of Christianity. How the Obscure, Marginal Jesus Movement Became the Dominant Religious Force in the Western World in a Few Centuries*, Princeton 1996, p. 79–80.

<sup>21</sup> THUCYDIDES, *Historia belli Peloponnesiaci*, 2.47–55, trans. F. HAASII, Paris 1855 (cetera: THUCYDIDES), p. 75–78. Cf. R. STARK, *The Rise of Christianity...*, p. 84–85; R. SALLARES, *Plague of Athens*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Pestilence, Pandemics, and Plagues*, vol. II..., p. 531–532. On the plague of Athens cf. also IDEM, *The Ecology of the Ancient Greek World*, New York, 1991, p. 97–98, 207–208, 244–262, 264–265, 463–466.

<sup>22</sup> D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 38, 71.

<sup>23</sup> *The Martyrdom of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas*, [in:] *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs*, ed. et trans. H. MUSURILLO, Oxford–New York 2000 [= OECT], p. 106–131. Cf. *Introduction*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. XXV–XXVII; M. SZRAM, *Ciało zmartwychwstałe w myśli patrystycznej przełomu II i III wieku*, Lublin 2010, p. 94–161.

<sup>24</sup> J. CURRAN, *Pagan City...*, p. 196, 201–216.

<sup>25</sup> *Introduction to 'Mortality'...*, p. 195.

<sup>26</sup> CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*, 15, p. 306–307.

<sup>27</sup> CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*, 19, p. 308–309.

<sup>28</sup> CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*, 24, p. 312.

<sup>29</sup> CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*, 25, p. 312–313.

<sup>30</sup> CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*, 20–22, p. 309–311.

<sup>31</sup> A.D. LEE, *Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity. A Sourcebook*, London–New York 2006, p. 38.

And for pagans the plague was more dreadful than any dread, and more intolerable than any other calamity because it prevailed over all hopes<sup>32</sup>. The most of the Christians died with the sick most joyfully, taking the affliction of others, and drawing the sickness from their neighbours to themselves and willingly receiving their pains. And many who cared for the sick and gave strength to others died themselves having transferred to themselves their death<sup>33</sup>. The best of the Christians departed from life in this manner, including some presbyters and deacons and those of the people who had the highest reputation. This form of death was a kind of martyrdom, because it exhibited great piety and strong faith<sup>34</sup>.

Accordingly, death for the Christians in times of plagues was perceived as the way to compensatory life in heaven. Their belief into resurrection was a source of a great hope and joy even during pestilence.

## 2.2. Charity

The members of a Christian community were bound together not only by common faith and rites but also by common manner of life and activity. Christian groups included people from different social groups<sup>35</sup>. They were united by Christ's commandment of love and self-sacrifice which were presented to late antique Christians as the goals towards which they should have jointly striven<sup>36</sup>. The Christians practiced love of one's neighbor much more effectively than any other group<sup>37</sup>.

Christian community became a kind of an alternative society and even new families centered around Christ<sup>38</sup>. Christianity came to appeal to men who felt deserted<sup>39</sup>. They took the strangers to their homes, cared for the burial of the poor and supplied the food to the indigent<sup>40</sup>. The wealthy among them helped needy<sup>41</sup>. Christianity also cared for widows and orphans, the elderly, and the disabled; it provided a nursing service as well<sup>42</sup>. Peter Brown claims, that to be a Christian

<sup>32</sup> EUSEBIUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica (libri V–VII)*, VII, 22, 6, trans. G. BARDY, Paris 1955 [= SC, 41] (cetera: EUSEBIUS), p. 198.

<sup>33</sup> EUSEBIUS, VII, 22, 7, p. 198–199.

<sup>34</sup> EUSEBIUS, VII, 22, 8, p. 199.

<sup>35</sup> A. CAMERON, *Christianity and the Rhetoric...*, p. 37.

<sup>36</sup> L.K. BAILEY, *Christianity's Quiet Success. The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection and the Power of the Church in Late Antique Gaul*, Notre Dame, IN 2010, p. 40–41.

<sup>37</sup> P. BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity. From Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad*, London 1976, p. 67. The early Church established some forms of organized assistance. Cf. G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care in Early Christianity*, Baltimore 2009, p. 114–115.

<sup>38</sup> D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 72, 77.

<sup>39</sup> P. BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity...*, p. 67.

<sup>40</sup> ARISTIDES, XV, 7–9, p. 240–243, 290–291.

<sup>41</sup> JUSTINUS, *Apologiae*, I, 67, 6, ed. et trans. C. MUNIER, Paris 2006 [= SC, 507], p. 310–311.

<sup>42</sup> E.R. DODDS, *Pagan and Christian in an Age of Anxiety. Some Aspects of Religious Experience from Marcus Aurelius to Constantine*, Cambridge 2000, p. 136–137; D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 74.

in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century entailed more protection than to be a *civis romanus*<sup>43</sup>. For people who felt deserted being a member of a Christian community might be the only way to renew their sense of dignity<sup>44</sup>.

We have some knowledge of an attitude of the Christians towards pandemic of the middle 3<sup>rd</sup> century in Carthage and Alexandria. At this period conditions in the cities stricken by the plague were horrifying; many people did not want to care for the sick, relatives even exposed members of their family lest themselves suffer from contagion, bodies laid in the streets<sup>45</sup>. Bishop Dionysius, describing the situation in Alexandria wrote that everyone was mourning and wailings resounded daily through the city because of the multitude of the dead and dying<sup>46</sup>.

At this time Cyprian of Carthage (c. 200–258) showed himself as a jealous pastor of his people. Pontius' *Vita Cypriani* described Cyprian's application of the principles of Christian charity. The bishop insisted that the mercy and help should be applied not only to the faithful but also to the heathens according to one's wealth and position. Those who were not able to give money should have given their services<sup>47</sup>. Cyprian's *De mortalitate* is penetrated with the feeling of obligation of responsible charity. Cyprian insisted that the plague was a mark of a Christian love. It tested people's hearts and their love towards relatives and neighbors,

whether the well care of a sick, whether relatives dutifully love their kinsmen as they should, whether masters show compassion to their ailing slaves, whether physicians do not desert the afflicted begging their help, whether the violent repress their violence, whether the greedy even through the fear of death, quench the ever insatiable fire of their raging avarice, whether the proud bend their necks, whether the shameless soften their affrontry, whether the rich, even when their dear ones are perishing and they are about to die without heirs bestow and give something! We are learning not to fear death. These are trying exercises for us.<sup>48</sup>

In a similar spirit, Dionysius of Alexandria testified of the exceeding love and charity which most of the Christians demonstrated. He claimed that they held fast to each other, visited the sick fearlessly, and ministered to them continually<sup>49</sup>. They were present near the dying people and were jealous in the burial of the dead<sup>50</sup>. The service of the burial of the dead entered into ecclesial life

<sup>43</sup> P. BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity*..., p. 67.

<sup>44</sup> E.R. DODDS, *Pagan and Christian*..., p. 137.

<sup>45</sup> *Introduction to 'Mortality'*..., p. 196.

<sup>46</sup> EUSEBIUS, VII, 22, 2, p. 197.

<sup>47</sup> PONTIUS, *Vita Cypriani*, 9–10, [in:] *Vita di Cipriano. Vita di Ambrogio. Vita di Agostino*, ed. A.A.R. BASTIAENSEN, trans. L. CANALI, C. CARENZA, Verona 1975 (cetera: PONTIUS), p. 22–26. Cf. *Introduction to 'Mortality'*..., p. 196.

<sup>48</sup> CYPRIANUS, *De mortalitate*, 16, p. 307; trans.: SAINT CYPRIAN, *Mortality*, [in:] IDEM, *Treatises*..., p. 212.

<sup>49</sup> EUSEBIUS, VII, 22, 7, p. 198–199.

<sup>50</sup> EUSEBIUS, VII, 22, 9, p. 199. Cf. A.D. LEE, *Pagans and Christians*..., p. 38.



so that the Christian Churches had become identified with the burial of the dead by the fourth century<sup>51</sup>.

The conduct of the pagans was very contrasted to that of the Christians in the face of pestilence. The individuals felt little social responsibility for the others. Care for health was regarded as a private responsibility<sup>52</sup>. The pagans deserted those who began to be sick, and left even their dearest friends. They cast out the sick into the streets when they were half dead<sup>53</sup>. The most unscrupulous of them took advantage of the situation to rob the sick<sup>54</sup>. The pagans refused to bury their dead for fear of contagion. They avoided any contact with death but, regardless all their precautions, it was not easy for them to escape<sup>55</sup>.

The non-Christian classical world had no religious impulse for charity<sup>56</sup>. For example, it is supposed that the famous doctor Galen (129 – ca. 200/216) during the plague fled from Rome to Asia Minor. He himself wrote late in life that he had left Rome in 166 to avoid the pestilence<sup>57</sup>. The indifference of pagans towards their neighbors and their self-centeredness have been known since ancient times. Thucydides wrote that people were dying because there was no one to take care of them. There were piles of dead bodies, and in the streets many half-dead, staggering or flocking around the fountains in their desire for water. People, not knowing what would happen to them, were indifferent to all the rules of religion and laws. There were very few who cared for the sick<sup>58</sup>.

### 3. The benefits of the Christian responses to the epidemics

The outburst of epidemics showed demoralization and religious confusion of classical pagan society. It was a Christian belief that introduced in the classical world the sense of consolation and social responsibility in treating epidemic disease<sup>59</sup>. Christianity has arisen at a time when caring for health was entering into the consciousness of people because of different factors that increased susceptibility to diseases<sup>60</sup>. This was an opportunity for the Christians to show their deep

<sup>51</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 119; É. REBILLARD, *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity*, trans. E.T. RAWLINGS, J. ROUTIER-PUCCI, Ithaca–London 2009, p. 93–95.

<sup>52</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 116–117.

<sup>53</sup> EUSEBIUS, VII, 22, 10, p. 199; G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 118.

<sup>54</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 118. Cf. PONTIUS, 9, p. 64; CYPRIANUS, *Ad Demetrianum*, 10–11, [in:] IDEM, *Opera omnia...*, p. 357–359.

<sup>55</sup> EUSEBIUS, VII, 22, 10, p. 199.

<sup>56</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 114, 121.

<sup>57</sup> E.D. NELSON, *Galen*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Pestilence, Pandemics, and Plagues*, vol. I, A–M, ed. J.P. BYRNE, Westport, Conn.–London 2008, p. 221–222; L.N. MAGNER, *A History of Medicine*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Boca Raton 2005, p. 122; R.J. LITTMAN, M.L. LITTMAN, *Galen and...*, p. 243–255.

<sup>58</sup> THUCYDIDES, 51–53, p. 76–77; R. STARK, *The Rise of Christianity...*, p. 85.

<sup>59</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 117–118.

<sup>60</sup> H. AVALOS, *Health Care and the Rise of Christianity*, Peabody 1999, p. 5.

faith, morality and set an example to follow<sup>61</sup>. Christians' caring for the sick and dying was impressive, despite the risk of infection.

Christian teaching and interpretation as well as moral activity were an active force in Christianization. During the early Christian period every disaster entailed the pagan conversions. The Christians presented their active faith to all intellectual and social groups. The calamities and other disasters where Christians might show their moral principles and the special code of life was the reason to explain conversion to Christianity<sup>62</sup>. Christian charity was very fruitful. The number of the Christians increased during the plagues as a result of the destruction of traditional social bonds and the creation of new bonds between surviving pagans and Christians. It resulted in large numbers of conversions<sup>63</sup>. After the Antonine Plague and during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century Christianity began to win significant numbers of converts<sup>64</sup>. That is the case why epidemics are reckoned to contribute to both destruction of classical civilizations and the growth of the Church<sup>65</sup>.

The outspread of Christianity in the cities of the Roman Empire led to the parochial organization of charitable work. Plagues provided the Church with opportunity for the broad extension of medical charity. Christians cared for the sick on the large scale. During the Plague of Cyprian Christian Churches organized in several cities the systematic care of the sick<sup>66</sup>. The experience flowing from the dealing with the sick contributed to the emergence of the Christian hospitals in the fourth century<sup>67</sup>. The hospital became, in origin and conception, a distinctively Christian institution, rooted in Christian concept of charity<sup>68</sup>.

The hospitals arose from the combination of Christian charity with the classical and Christian learning urged by the Greek Fathers<sup>69</sup>. According to the earliest Christian belief, the disease is caused by sin or by demons and is healed supernaturally<sup>70</sup>. By the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 4<sup>th</sup> centuries the Christians had accepted the medical knowledge of the Greco-Roman world<sup>71</sup>. The natural causality of disease was admitted<sup>72</sup>. Plagues were treated as both biological problem and divinely inflicted sufferings<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>61</sup> R. STARK, *The Rise of Christianity...*, p. 74.

<sup>62</sup> A. CAMERON, *Christianity and the Rhetoric...*, p. 8, 22–23.

<sup>63</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 121.

<sup>64</sup> D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 65–66.

<sup>65</sup> H. ZINSSER, *Rats...*, p. 139; D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 43, 75.

<sup>66</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 113, 118, 121.

<sup>67</sup> J.N. HAYS, *The Burdens of Disease. Epidemics and Human Response in Western History*, New Brunswick 2009, p. 17; G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 113.

<sup>68</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 124.

<sup>69</sup> J.N. HAYS, *The Burdens of Disease...*, p. 17.

<sup>70</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 42–43; D.T. REFF, *Plagues, Priests...*, p. 67.

<sup>71</sup> J.N. HAYS, *The Burdens of Disease...*, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> G.B. FERNGREN, *Medicine and Health Care...*, p. 45–48, 51–53, 57–61.

<sup>73</sup> M. LANE, *Ancient Ideas of Politics: Mediating between Ecology and Theology*, [in:] *Ecology and Theology in the Ancient World. Cross-disciplinary Perspectives*, ed. A. HUNT, H. MARLOW, London 2019, p. 20.

The plagues contributed also to the rise of the orphanages. In the early middle ages famines and plagues deepened the difficult situation of the poor and increased their numbers. The Christian monasteries accepted children of the lower classes<sup>74</sup>.

The Emperor Julian (361–363) acknowledged the fruitfulness of Christian charity. According to him through charity the ‘Galilaeans’ had won many adherents. He showed his appreciation of their benevolence to strangers, their care for the graves of the dead<sup>75</sup>, their deeds of piety, their purity in words, acts<sup>76</sup> and their philanthropy concerning the poor<sup>77</sup>.

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<sup>74</sup> J. BOSWELL, *The Kindness of Strangers. The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance*, New York 1998, p. 256.

<sup>75</sup> JULIANUS IMPERATOR, *Epistola 22 (to Arsacius, High-priest of Galatia)*, 429D, [in:] *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. III, trans. W.C. WRIGHT, London–New York 1923 [= LCL, 157], p. 68.

<sup>76</sup> JULIANUS IMPERATOR, *Fragmentum epistolae ad sacerdotum*, 300c; 301b–d, [in:] *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. II, trans. W.C. WRIGHT, London–New York 1913 [= LCL, 29], p. 324; 326–328.

<sup>77</sup> JULIANUS IMPERATOR, *Fragmentum epistolae*, 305c, [in:] *The Works of the Emperor Julian*, vol. II..., p. 336. Cf. H.A. DRAKE, *A Century of Miracles. Christians, Pagans, Jews, and the Supernatural*, 312–410, New York 2017, p. 166–168.

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## LILINGIS, THE BASTARD HALF-BROTHER OF ILLUS\*

**Abstract.** The paper is devoted to Lilingis – one of the leaders in the Isaurian uprising against emperor Anastasius I. He was Illus' half-brother. Illus was an Isaurian who, aside from Zeno, played the most important role in the life of the Byzantine state in the 470s and 480s. It is possible that from 484, Lilingis held the position of the Isaurian *comes* and was so successful at it that he probably retained it until the end of Zeno's reign and gained authority among his tribesmen, which resulted in his participation as one of the leaders in the Isaurian uprising. Lilingis was co-commander in the first rebel clash with the emperor's forces at Kotyaeum (492). He met his death in the battle.

**Keywords:** Lilingis, Illus, emperor Zeno, emperor Anastasius I, Isaurians

The reign of Emperor Zeno<sup>1</sup>, who originated from Isauria, was a time when the Isaurians achieved considerable influence, both in the army and in the administration of the Byzantine Empire. Such a statement may give the impression that the sources provide plentiful information about a number of figures originating from Isauria. This is not the case. On the pages of the works of Byzantine historians, we can find only a dozen or so figures of Isaurian origin, active during the reign of Zeno and soon afterward<sup>2</sup>. Generally, there is rudimentary information about them, and we have a more complete, though not necessarily a full dossier, only about a few of them. Lilingis is one of these dozen or so Isaurian figures that we do find in the sources. He certainly cannot be counted among the Isaurians about whom we have considerable knowledge<sup>3</sup>. The source references concerning

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<sup>1</sup> The fullest image of Emperor Zeno – R. KOSIŃSKI, *The Emperor Zeno. Religion and Politics*, Cracow 2010 [= BSC, 6]; P. CRAWFORD, *Roman Emperor Zeno. The Perils of Power Politics in Fifth-Century Constantinople*, Yorkshire–Philadelphia 2019.

<sup>2</sup> W.D. BURGESS, *Isaurian Factions in the Reign of Zeno the Isaurian*, L 51, 1992, p. 874–880.

<sup>3</sup> The basic information about this figure – W. ENSSLIN, *Ninilingis*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XVII.1, Stuttgart 1936, col. 632; *PLRE* II, p. 683–684 (s.v. *Lilingis*); C. BEGASS, *Die Senatsaristokratie des oströmischen*

him oscillate practically around several episodes in his life, namely, his origin, his role in suppressing the usurpation of Illus and Leontius (484), and his participation in the revolt of the Isaurians against Emperor Anastasius, which broke out in 492. The purpose of this text is to analyze the source references concerning Lilingis and attempt to define his role among the Isaurian elite of Zeno's time and the beginning of Anastasius' reign.

The name of the protagonist of this article appears in the sources in different variants<sup>4</sup>, namely: Lilingis<sup>5</sup>, Longinines<sup>6</sup>, Linginines<sup>7</sup>, Lingines<sup>8</sup>, Ninilingis<sup>9</sup>, Lingis<sup>10</sup>, Linges<sup>11</sup>, Illoulingis<sup>12</sup>, and finally, Ninigius<sup>13</sup>. It appears that a preference should be given to the version given by Marcellinus Comes, the author who wrote closest to the time of the figure we are interested in here.

We know neither when nor where Lilingis was born (except that it happened somewhere in Isauria). However, we do have interesting references in two sources that speak about his parents, although not directly. John of Antioch and the Book of Suda inform us that Lilingis was Illus' half-brother, born out of wedlock<sup>14</sup>. Illus was an Isaurian who, aside from Zeno, played the most important role in the life of the Byzantine state in the 470s and 480s. In the course of his career spanning more than a dozen years, which can be traced in the sources, he served as *magister officiorum*, *magister militum per Orientem*, was the consul of the year 478, and a patrician. He was involved in filling the imperial throne, although he did not pursue it himself. For a time, he was the most important, albeit difficult, ally

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*Reiches*, ca. 457–518. *Prosopographische und sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, München 2018, p. 179–180. Perhaps he was mistaken for Indes. On this subject, see F.K. HAARER, *Anastasius I. Politics and Empire in the Late Roman World*, Cambridge 2006, p. 24, note 68.

<sup>4</sup> On the subject of the name Lilingis – W. BURGESS, *The Isaurians in the Fifth Century A.D.*, Wisconsin 1985, p. 162 [an unpublished doctoral thesis].

<sup>5</sup> JORDANES, *Romana*, 355, ed. T. MOMMSEN, [in:] *MGH.AA*, vol. V.1, Berolini 1882 (cetera: JORDANES, *Romana*); *The Chronicle of Marcellinus*, a. 492, trans. et comm. B. CROKE, Sydney 1995 [= BAus, 7] (cetera: MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon*).

<sup>6</sup> *Ioannis Malalae Chronographia*, XVI, 3, rec. J. THURN, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2000 [= *CFHB.SBe*, 35] (cetera: IOANNES MALALAS, *Chronographia*).

<sup>7</sup> *Ioannis Antiocheni Fragmenta quae Supersunt Omnia*, 239.5, rec. S. MARIEV, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 2008 [= *CFHB*, 47] (cetera: IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*).

<sup>8</sup> *Constantini Porphyrogeniti Excerpta historica*, vol. III, *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. DE BOOR, Berlin 1905, p. 137.

<sup>9</sup> THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, AM 5985, rec. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 138.

<sup>10</sup> *Lexicographi graeci*, vol. I, *Suidae lexicon*, ed. A. ADLER, Lipsiae 1928, p. 471, B 279 (cetera: *Suidae lexicon*).

<sup>11</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 214.2.

<sup>12</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 237.2.

<sup>13</sup> *Chronique de Michel le Syrien: Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1198)*, IX, 8, vol. II (livre VIII–XI), ed., trans. J.B. CHABOT, Paris 1901.

<sup>14</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 237.2; *Suidae lexicon*, p. 471, B 279.



of Emperor Zeno, and the grey eminence of the Byzantine court. He ended his career, as well as his life, as a mortal enemy of his Isaurian kin<sup>15</sup>. From the accounts of John of Antioch and the Book of Suda, it appears that Lilingis and Illus had one father, about whom, however, we know nothing. Lilingis' mother was a concubine or mistress of Illus' father, not even mentioned by name. We do not know whether Illus was an older or younger brother of Lilingis. It should be noted that Lilingis' half-brothers were also Appalius<sup>16</sup> and Trocundes<sup>17</sup>, who were Illus' brothers. We do not have any information regarding Lilingis' relationship with his half-brothers.

As for the date of Lilingis' birth, there are no clues. He appears in the sources in the year 484 as a leader entrusted by Emperor Zeno with the responsible task of suppressing the revolt of Illus. Hence, he must have been an experienced man, having held other positions before. If so, he was born at least in about 450; in 484, therefore, he would have been a man over thirty years old. By comparison, Illus, his half-brother, appears in the sources ten years earlier, in 474, when Zeno put him in command of a division of troops tasked with stopping Theodoric Strabo's Goths operating against the empire in Thrace<sup>18</sup>. He also does not appear to have been a man without experience at the time. It is presumed that Illus had spent some time in Constantinople and he had had some experience in the service of the state. An inscription from Cilicia dating to 458 or 473 referring to an Illus who was μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμης and πατήρ πόλεος Elaoussa-Sebaste<sup>19</sup> may provide some clue in this regard. The title μεγαλοπρεπέστατος κόμης was typical of late 5<sup>th</sup>-century provincial administrators. With a high degree of probability, the Illus from the inscription can be identified with the later *magister officiorum*. The name *Illus* is rare, and the inscription comes from a period when he may have already been an adult (this is important when dating the inscription to 458) and from an area that was associated with Isauria. It is worth noting that until 474, Illus' career developed without Zeno's support<sup>20</sup>. It is possible that he owed its first stage to his father's influence, although there is no source evidence for this. His father's influence could also explain that Lilingis, too, began to perform some function, probably in the army. It cannot be ruled out that his father looked out for his illegitimate offspring.

<sup>15</sup> Basic information about Illus' career – A. NAGL, *Illus*, [in:] *RE*, vol. XVIII, Stuttgart 1916, col. 1089–1090; *PLRE* II, p. 586–590 (s.v. *Illus* 1); cf. H. ELTON, *Illus and the Imperial Aristocracy under Zeno*, *B* 70, 2000, p. 393–407; C. BEGASS, *Die Senatsaristokratie...*, p. 154–158.

<sup>16</sup> On this subject, see C. BEGASS, *Die Senatsaristokratie...*, p. 81.

<sup>17</sup> On him *PLRE* II, p. 1127–1128 (s.v. *Fl. Appalius Illus Trocundes*); M.J. LESZKA, *The Career of Flavius Appalius Illus Trocundes*, *Bsl* 71, 2013, p. 47–58; C. BEGASS, *Die Senatsaristokratie...*, p. 250–251.

<sup>18</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 233.

<sup>19</sup> H. ELTON, *Illus...*, p. 406; K. FELD, *Barbarische Bürger. Die Isaurier und das Römische Reich*, Berlin 2005 [= *Mil.S.*, 8], p. 99; cf. H. TAEUBER, *Der kilische Comes Illus*, *JÖB* 42, 1992, p. 247–248. On the subject of Elaoussa-Sebaste – F. HILD, H. HELLENKEMPER, *Kilikien und Isaurien*, vol. I, Wien 1990 [= *TIB*, 5], p. 400–401.

<sup>20</sup> M.J. LESZKA, *Illus Izauryjczyk wobec uzurpacji Bazyliskosa*, *AUL.FH* 80, 2005, p. 47.

In 483<sup>21</sup> or 484<sup>22</sup>, Emperor Zeno stripped Illus of his position of *magister militum per Orientem*, after the latter refused to surrender his brother Longinus to the emperor. The emperor then expelled people from Constantinople who were associated with Illus, and gave their property to the Isaurian cities. Trocundes, Illus' brother, may have been among those removed from the City. Illus decided to openly rebel against the emperor<sup>23</sup> and led to the proclamation of Leontius as emperor on July 19, 484, who shortly before his ascension, had held the position of *magister militum per Thracias*<sup>24</sup>. Zeno opted for an armed showdown with his opponent even before the latter led to the imperial proclamation of Leontius. Then, at the very beginning of the action, Emperor Zeno made Lilingis one of the leaders (besides Conon, son of Fuscianus), commanding the troops sent to suppress Illus' revolt. It is not clear what position he was then given. John of Antioch, indeed the only source that mentions it, describes him as a strategist<sup>25</sup>, which may have meant *magister militum*. This is how S. Markov understands it<sup>26</sup>. Other authors consider it doubtful and indicate that at that time, he held the office of *comes et praeses Isauriae / comes Isauriae*<sup>27</sup>. It is known that in the hands of this dignitary there was both civil and military power<sup>28</sup>. Thus, Lilingis, while holding this office, was able to conduct military operations against Illus. It should be noted that the last *comes*

<sup>21</sup> E.g. H. ELTON, *Illus...*, p. 399; R. KOSIŃSKI, *The Emperor Zeno...*, p. 147.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. M. SALAMON, *Pamprepiusz z Panopolis – pisarz, profesor, polityk, obrońca pogaństwa w cesarstwie wschodnim*, [in:] *Studia Classica et Byzantina. Alexandro Krawczuk oblata*, Kraków 1996, p. 182; K. FELD, *Barbarische...*, p. 269.

<sup>23</sup> On the subject of the conflict between Zeno and Illus, see M.J. LESZKA, *Kilka uwag na temat losów Illusa Izauryjczyka w latach 479–484*, M 42, 2007, p. 103–105.

<sup>24</sup> Leontius came from Dalisandos in Isauria, but it is not certain that he was of Isaurian descent. Sources mention his Syrian ancestry. His career was of a military nature. On the subject of Leontius, see, e.g. *PLRE II*, p. 670–671 (s.v. *Leontius 17*); A. KIEL-FREYTAG, *Betrachtungen zur Usurpation des Illus und des Leontius (484–488 n. Chr.)*, ZPE 174, 2010, p. 291–301; M.J. LESZKA, *O Leoncjuszu i jego zmaganiach o cesarski tron w latach 484–488. Raz jeszcze*, PNH 20.1, 2021, p. 47–72.

<sup>25</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 237.2: στρατηγόν.

<sup>26</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, p. 435. It cannot be excluded that the emperor entrusted him with the post of *magister militum in vacans*. Certainly, it was not the position of *magister militum per Orientem*, because John the Scythian held it at the time. It is not out of the question that John of Antioch used the term στρατηγός to describe a leader without knowing what position he actually held. It should be noted, however, that for the period of the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, John uses the term to refer to persons who were *magister militum* (e.g. Jordanes – 231; Cottomenes – 237.6; Patricius – 242.3; Cyril – 242.18), sometimes giving the full name of the position (233: Οτι ἐπι Ζήνωνος τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδώριχος ὁ Τριαρίου τὴν στρατηγίδα τῶν Θρακίων).

<sup>27</sup> *PLRE II*, p. 683 (? *comes et praeses Isauriae*; C. BEGASS, *Die Senatsaristokratie...*, p. 180 (*comes Isauriae*). Cf. K. FELD, *Barbarische...*, p. 98–99; 356 (*comes et praeses Isauriae*)).

<sup>28</sup> W. BURGESS, *The Isaurians...*, p. 34–36; N. LENSKE, *Assimilation and Revolt in the Territory of Isauria, from the 1<sup>st</sup> Century to the 6<sup>th</sup> Century AD*, JESHO 42.2, 1999, p. 443–444 and K. FELD, *Barbarische...*, p. 89; R. KOSIŃSKI, *Izauria w orbicie wpływów rzymskich do połowy V wieku*, BTH 8, 2010, p. 22.

of Isauria recorded in the sources before 484 was Aetius (in 479)<sup>29</sup>. The question of whether Lilingis commanded an army by virtue of his position as *comes* or *magister militum* cannot be resolved unequivocally given the existing state of the sources. The only thing that remains beyond discussion is the fact that in 484, he must have had prerogatives that entitled him to command an army. It is worth noting that Zeno, entrusting him with the task of fighting Illus, must have had confidence in him. This may mean that, despite family ties, Lilingis was on precarious terms with his half-brother. The emperor must have been aware of the nature of Illus' relationship with Lilingis and may have known him personally from before his great career began<sup>30</sup>.

We know nothing about Lilingis' participation in the battles against the rebels. The main role in suppressing the usurpation was played, as we know, by John the Scythian<sup>31</sup>. One thing that seems certain about Lilingis' role in suppressing the usurpation is that he did not fail the emperor's trust since, at the end of the latter's reign, he held the office of administrator of Isauria<sup>32</sup>.

Lilingis next appears in the sources only in connection with the Isaurian uprising<sup>33</sup>. Emperor Anastasius, the successor to Emperor Zeno, continued to take action against the Isaurians in 491, after he had consolidated himself on the throne, which ultimately led to the outbreak of discontent and an open armed revolt. Lilingis joined the uprising, if he was not one of its initiators. He was among its leaders, along with Longinus of Cardala, Conon – son of Fuscian, two Athenodors, and Longinus of Selinus<sup>34</sup>. At the very beginning of their anti-imperial activities, the rebelling Isaurians managed to assemble a sizable force, consisting of both Isaurians and Romans. John of Antioch estimates them at 100,000, while Theophanes at 150,000. Both numbers are certainly greatly exaggerated<sup>35</sup>. Rebel troops

<sup>29</sup> *PLRE* II, p. 20 (s.v. *Aetius* 4). It should be noted that there is no complete certainty that he held this office.

<sup>30</sup> Zeno appeared in Emperor Leo's court in around 465. Lilingis might have been at the time at least 15 years old. On the early career of Zeno – R. KOSIŃSKI, *Początki kariery Tarasikodissy-Zeno-na*, [in:] *Byzantina Europaea. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, ed. M. KOKOSZKO, M.J. LESZKA, Łódź 2007 [= *BL*, 11], p. 289–304.

<sup>31</sup> On the role of John the Scythian in surprising the usurpation – M.J. LESZKA, *John the Scythian – a Slayer of Usurpers and the Isaurians*, *SCer* 10, 2020, p. 384–389.

<sup>32</sup> THEOPHANES, *AM* 5985, p. 138. Theophanes mentions Lilingis as administrator of Isauria at the will of Emperor Zeno when describing the outbreak of the Isaurian uprising at the beginning of Anastasius' reign. It does not make it possible to determine from when he held this office, nor whether he held it at the outbreak of the uprising or was deprived of it shortly before that event.

<sup>33</sup> On the Isaurian uprising, see, e.g. C. CAPIZZI, *L'Imperatore Anastasio I (491–518). Studio sulla sua vita, la sua opera e la sua personalita*, Roma 1969 [= *OCA*, 184], p. 53; 94–99; K. FELD, *Barbarische...*, p. 332–338; F. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 11–28; M. MEIER, *Anastasios I. Die Entstehung des Byzantinischen Reiches*, Stuttgart 2009, p. 75–83.

<sup>34</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 239.5; THEOPHANES, *AM* 5985, p. 137–138.

<sup>35</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 239.5; THEOPHANES, *AM* 5985, p. 137 (this author states that the uprising forces were comprised of barbarians); cf. MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon*, a. 492;

plundered a number of cities in the provinces bordering Isauria. In response to these events, Anastasius sent troops to Isauria at the head of which he put John the Scythian and John Kyrτος<sup>36</sup>. The first clash between the rebels and the imperial forces occurred in Phrygia at Kotyaeum (today Kütahya)<sup>37</sup>. Despite having greater numbers<sup>38</sup>, the Isaurians were defeated, suffering significant losses. Among the casualties was Lilingis<sup>39</sup>. The Isaurian troops retreated to their own territory after losing the battle, without resistance from the imperial troops, which may mean that despite the setback, the Isaurian forces were still considerable and that they retained combat value. Theophanes writes that the imperial forces could have finished off the defeated enemy had they not been busy collecting spoils<sup>40</sup>. John of Antioch, unlike Theophanes, mentions that the imperial army pursued the Isaurians as far as Taurus, but as we can presume, without major success, because he only notes the fact that at the foot of Taurus, they stopped for the winter layover.

Broadly speaking, that was how this stage of the insurrection (in which Lilingis took part) transpired. As I have mentioned earlier, he became one of its leaders and, what is important, co-commander of the insurgents' forces<sup>41</sup>. This shows that he was respected among his peers and had military experience, which is consistent with what we know about him in the context of the events of 484. This is unequivocally pointed out by Jordanes, who states that Lilingis distinguished himself among the Isaurians both in war and in council<sup>42</sup>.

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*The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius with scholia*, III, 35, ed. J. BIDEZ, L. PARMENTIER, London 1898; IOANNES MALALAS, *Chronographia*, XVI, 3; JORDANES, *Romana*, 355; THEODOROS ANAGNOSTES, *Kirchengeschichte, Epitome* 449, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 3].

<sup>36</sup> The sources (THEOPHANES, AM 5985–5986, p. 138; IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, XVI, 3) mention as one of the leaders also *comes scholarum* Diogenian (known as Diogenes), a relative of Empress Ariadne. On the participation of John the Scythian in suppressing the uprising – M.J. LESZKA, *John the Scythian...*, p. 389–393; on the role of John Kyrτος in the fighting against the Isaurians – IDEM, *Jan Kyrτος – pogromca Izauryjczyków*, [in:] *W kręgu antycznych politei. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Janowi Ilukowi*, ed. W. GAJEWSKI, I. MILEWSKI, Gdańsk 2017, p. 207–212.

<sup>37</sup> On Kotyaeum, see K. BIELKE, N. MERSICH, *Phrygien und Pisidien*, Wien 1990 [= TIB, 7], p. 154.

<sup>38</sup> According to John of Antioch, the imperial forces numbered about 2,000 soldiers. Among them were reportedly Huns, Goths, and Beses (IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 239.5; IOANNES MALALAS, *Chronographia*, XVI, 3). F.K. HAARER aptly points out (*Anastasius I...*, p. 24, note 69) that emphasizing such a great disproportion of forces is intended to highlight the uniqueness of the Roman victory. The question of dating the battle – E.W. BROOKS, *The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians*, EHR 8, 1893, p. 234; F. HAARER, *Anastasius I...*, p. 25, note 73.

<sup>39</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 239.5; THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 138.

<sup>40</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 138.

<sup>41</sup> Lilingis' role as commander of the rebel troops is explicitly mentioned by Theophanes (THEOPHANES, AM 5895, p. 138), who mentions that he was assisted in this task by Athenodorus and Conon. Cf. IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 239.5.

<sup>42</sup> JORDANES, *Romana*, 355.

Lilingis participated as co-commander in the first rebel clash with the emperor's forces at Kotyaeum. As mentioned earlier, the Isaurians, despite outnumbering the imperial forces<sup>43</sup>, were defeated, suffering major losses. Lilingis met his death in the battle<sup>44</sup>. It surely must have affected the morale of the Isaurians, especially since he was reportedly the first to die in it<sup>45</sup>, which contributed to the victory of the Byzantine forces. Contrary to Jordanes' opinion, the defeat at Kotyaeum – in fact, the only battle of his career that we know of in which he commanded – does not speak well of his leadership talents, but it is probably a testimony to his personal valor and accords well with the opinion about him found in *The Chronicle* of Theophanes the Confessor; the Byzantine chronicler describes him as a bold, daring man<sup>46</sup>. On the other hand, Marcellinus Comes characterizes Lilingis as *slow on foot but the keenest horseman in war*<sup>47</sup>. The slowness must have been the result of a disability. This is explicitly stated by John Malalas when he refers to him as *χωλός* (crippled, lame)<sup>48</sup>.

Our knowledge of Lilingis – an illegitimate child, a man who, despite his physical infirmities, seems to have played a significant role in the Isauria of the 480s and early 490s – is not considerable. It is possible that from 484, he held the position of the Isaurian *comes* and was so successful at it that he probably retained it until the end of Zeno's reign and gained authority among his tribesmen, which resulted in his participation as one of the leaders in the Isaurian uprising.

*Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi*

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<sup>43</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 239.5; IOANNES MALALAS, *Chronographia*, XVI, 3.

<sup>44</sup> IOANNES ANTIOCHENUS, *Fragmenta*, 239.5; THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 138; JORDANES, *Romana*, 355; MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon*, a. 492; IOANNES MALALAS, *Chronographia*, XVI, 3.

<sup>45</sup> MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon*, a. 492; cf. IOANNES MALALAS, *Chronographia*, XVI, 3.

<sup>46</sup> THEOPHANES, AM 5985, p. 138: ἀνὴρ θρασύτατος. This character trait of Lilingis could have been paired with impulsiveness (βίαιος) attributed to him in the Book of Suda (*Suidae lexicon*, p. 471, B 279).

<sup>47</sup> Translation B. CROKE – MARCELLINUS COMES, *Chronicon*, a. 492, p. 30. Cf. JORDANES, *Romana*, 355: *somewhat slow on foot because of the weakness of his body, but on horseback a daunting warrior* (trans. JORDANES, *Romana and Getica*, trans. P. VAN NUFFELEN, L. VAN HOOF, Liverpool 2020 [= TTH, 75], p. 206).

<sup>48</sup> IOANNES MALALAS, *Chronographia*, XVI, 3.

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## THE NOTION OF *COMMUNIS SCHOLA* IN THE THOUGHT OF JEAN GERSON (1363–1429)

**Abstract.** The article aims to analyze the meaning and the role of the notion of *communis schola* in the theological and ecclesiological thought of Jean Gerson (1363–1429), Chancellor of the University of Paris, schoolman influent in every intellectual debate of his time, and renowned spiritual advisor. Driven by a constant concern for the unity of the Church, Gerson is aware of the need to realize this unity first of all within the University environment, in order to avoid the circulation and the spread of heterodox or even heretical doctrines; his references to the concept of “common school”, in different textual contexts and with various shades of meaning, invest not only the doctrinal contents, but also the methodology, the moral attitudes, and the right theological models of the ideal master and of the ideal student of theology. The article also touches the way in which the Parisian chancellor deals with mysticism and mystical writers, using the concept of “common school” to define the borders and the terms in which it is possible to access the difficult and obscure field of the mystical theology.

**Keywords:** Gerson, Scholasticism, doctrine, theology, common school, unity, Latin, error, heresy, University, mysticism

The works and thought of Jean Gerson<sup>1</sup> have been the object of attention by the scholarly community since the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. An abundant scientific literature flourished on basically all the aspects of his multifarious production, with a special attention to the theological and ecclesiological aspects of Gerson’s intellectual activity<sup>2</sup>: as

<sup>1</sup> On Gerson’s life cf. B.P. MCGUIRE, *In Search of Jean Gerson: Chronology of his Life and Works*, [in:] *A Companion to Jean Gerson*, ed. IDEM, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= BCCT, 3], p. 1–40; also cf. P. GLORIEUX, *La vie et les oeuvres de Gerson. Essai chronologique*, AHDLMA 25–26, 1950–1951, p. 149–191.

<sup>2</sup> Scholars like Marc Vial and Yelena Matusevich focused on Gerson’s mystical works, which represent an important part of the whole production of the Parisian chancellor: cf. M. VIAL, *Jean Gerson théoricien de la théologie mystique*, Paris 2005; IDEM, *Théologie mystique et syndérèse chez Jean Gerson*, [in:] *Vers la contemplation. Études sur la syndérèse et les modalités de la contemplation de l’antiquité à la Renaissance*, ed. C. TROTTMANN, Paris 2007, p. 215–232; IDEM, *Théologie mystique et expérience chez Jean Gerson*, RThPh 142, 2010, p. 229–243; Y. MATUSEVICH, *Le siècle d’or de la mystique*

a pastor<sup>3</sup>, a university chancellor, and a spiritual advisor<sup>4</sup>, the intense intellectual speculation of this late medieval master can be brought back to the constant need to preserve unity in the Church<sup>5</sup> from the doctrinal and the ecclesiological points of view. His stances in almost every academic and doctrinal debate of his time<sup>6</sup>, his strong conciliarism<sup>7</sup>, and his active criticism against books perceived as dangerous and suspect of heresy<sup>8</sup> show Gerson's concern about possible divisions, separations,

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*française: un autre regard. Étude de la littérature spirituelle de Jean Gerson (1363–1429) à Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1507–1537)*, Paris 2004; IDEM, *Gerson's Legacy*, [in:] *A Companion...*, p. 357–400. A huge part of the scholarly attention has been devoted to Gerson's magisterial works: in the first part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the most solid foundations on this area of Gerson's production have been poured by André Combes and Palémon Glorieux: cf. A. COMBES, *Essai sur la critique de Ruysbroeck par Jean Gerson*, vol. I, Paris 1945; IDEM, *La théologie mystique de Gerson: profil de son évolution*, EPh 19.3, 1964, p. 444–545; P. GLORIEUX, *L'enseignement universitaire de Gerson*, RTAM 23, 1956, p. 88–113. P. Glorieux also realized what is now the standard critical edition of Gerson's complete Latin and French works: cf. JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. P. GLORIEUX, Paris 1960–1973. More recently, the works of Sven Grosse focused on the relationship between the research of a particular style and the definition of a theological program in Gerson's magisterial works, providing one of the most thorough assessments on the conceptual prodromes of Gerson's magisterial endeavor. Cf. S. GROSSE, *Johannes Gerson und Bonaventura: Kontinuität und Diskontinuität zwischen Hoch- und Spätmittelalter*, [in:] *Herbst des Mittelalters? Fragen zur Bewertung des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. J.A. AERTSEN, M. PICKAVÉ, Berlin–New York 2004 [= MMed, 31], p. 340–348; IDEM, *Heilungswißheit und Scrupulositas im späten Mittelalter. Studien zu Johannes Gerson und Gattungen der Frömmigkeitstheologie seiner Zeit*, Tübingen 1994. During the first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the studies of D. Hobbins provided one of the best appraisals of Gerson as one of the first “modern” intellectuals, especially with reference to his attention in strongly controlling the publication of his works and their early circulation: cf. D. HOBBS, *The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract*, AHR 108, 2003, p. 1308–1337; IDEM, *Authorship and Publicity before Print. Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning*, Philadelphia 2009, p. 152–182.

<sup>3</sup> An assessment on this dimension of Gerson's activity has been provided by N. McLOUGHLIN, *Gerson as a Preacher between Mendicants and Secular Priests*, [in:] *A Companion...*, p. 249–253.

<sup>4</sup> On Gerson as spiritual advisor of monks and nuns, cf. I. IRIBARREN, *Jean Gerson, Spiritual Adviser to the Celestines*, [in:] *Autorität und Wahrheit. Kirchliche Vorstellungen, Normen und Verfahren (13.–15. Jahrhundert)*, ed. G. POTESTÀ, E. MÜLLER-LUCKNER, München 2011, p. 159–178.

<sup>5</sup> On Gerson's concern for unity, cf. B.P. MCGUIRE, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, University Park 2005, p. 89; also cf. L.B. PASCOE, *Jean Gerson: Principles of Church Reform*, Leiden 1973 [= SMRT, 7].

<sup>6</sup> On this topic cf. Z. KALUZA, *La doctrine selon Jean Gerson*, [in:] *Vera Doctrina. Zur Begriffsgeschichte der Lehre von Augustinus bis Descartes – L'idée de doctrine d'Augustin à Descartes*, ed. P. BÜTTGEN, R. IMBACH, U.J. SCHNEIDER, H.J. SELDERHUIS, Wiesbaden 2009, p. 115–140; Z. KALUZA, *Les querelles doctrinales à Paris. Nominalistes et réalistes aux confins du XIV et du XV siècles*, vol. II, Bergamo 1988.

<sup>7</sup> On this aspect cf. F. OAKLEY, *Gerson as Conciliarist*, [in:] *A Companion...*, p. 179–204; G.H.M. POSTHUMUS MEYJES, *Jean Gerson. Apostle of Unity: his Church Politics and Ecclesiology*, Leiden–New York 1999; B. SÈRE, *Les débats d'opinion à l'heure du Grand Schisme. Ecclésiologie et politique*, Turnhout 2016.

<sup>8</sup> The key elements of Gerson's attitude towards books perceived as dangerous (for any reasons) can be found in his criticism to the *Roman de la Rose*, the allegorical poem started by Guillaume de Lorris and finished by Jean de Meung: cf. R. BLUMENFELD-KOSICKI, *Jean Gerson and the Debate on the*

and creations of doctrinal streams within not only Christianity as a whole, but also specifically within the university; as a theology professor and a chancellor of the University of Paris, Gerson clearly perceives the role of this institution in determining the spread or the stoppage of texts and ideas<sup>9</sup>. Moreover, he is aware of the philosophical and theological consequences of allowing or limiting their circulation<sup>10</sup>.

If organizing knowledge can be seen as one of the main aspects of Scholasticism<sup>11</sup>, a part of this effort of organization consists of filtering works, doctrines, philosophical categories, and modalities of expressing concepts in order to accept only those which can be useful<sup>12</sup>. This is the meaning of the monumental *summae* of the golden age of Scholastic philosophy, but also of the shorter treatises that characterize the works of late medieval masters, like Gerson. Scholastic masters filter the philosophical and theological past, select ancient texts perceived as useful in order to support their argumentations, and prepare collections of *auctoritates* that basically create a new corpus of authoritative sources and condemn to the

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*Roman de la Rose*, [in:] *A Companion...*, p. 317–356. From this point of view, it is also interesting to consider the case of the censure against Ruusbroec's masterpiece *Die geestelike Brulocht*, cf. A. COMBES, *Essai...*, vol. I, p. 664. A similar case is Gerson's criticism of the Franciscan Ubertino da Casale's *Arbor vitae crucifixae Iesu*; cf. D. HOBBS, *Gerson on Lay Devotion*, [in:] *A Companion...*, p. 62–63.  
<sup>9</sup> Cf. B.P. MCGUIRE, *Jean Gerson...*, p. 240–283.

<sup>10</sup> This specific concern touches the University of Paris at all levels and involves the hierarchies. The most famous case is probably that of bishop Tempier's condemnation of 219 philosophical propositions circulating at the Faculty of Arts in 1277. Gerson often refers to this condemnation and to the censored articles, warning the students and the masters about avoiding to follow those philosophical doctrines: cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *Nova positio*, p. 150, l. 20, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VI, ed. P. GLORIEUX, Paris 1965. On Tempier's condemnation in the frame of the process of control of texts and doctrines circulating at the University of Paris during the Late Middle Ages, cf. M.M.H. THIJSSSEN, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris, 1200–1400*, Philadelphia 1998, p. 40–56; IDEM, *What Really Happened on 7 March 1277? Bishop Tempier's Condemnation and Its Institutional Context*, [in:] *Texts and Contexts in Ancient and Medieval Science. Studies on the Occasion of John E. Murdoch's Seventieth Birthday*, ed. E. SYLLA, M. McVAUGH, Leiden 1997 [= BSIH, 78], p. 84–114; S. PIRON, *Le plan de l'évêque: pour une critique interne de la condamnation de 1277*, RTPM 78.2, 2011, p. 383–415; L. BIANCHI, *1277: A Turning Point in Medieval Philosophy?*, [in:] *Was ist Philosophie im Mittelalter?*, ed. J.A. AERTSEN, A. SPEER, Berlin–New York 1998 [= MMed, 26], p. 90–110; A. DE LIBERA, *Philosophie et censure*, [in:] *Was ist Philosophie...*, p. 71–89. For a general look at the historiographical debate on the condemnation of 1277, cf. C. KÖNIG-PRALONG, *Avènement de l'Aristotélisme en terre chrétienne. L'essence et la matière: entre Thomas d'Aquin et Guillaume d'Ockham*, Paris 2005, p. 15–24; L. BIANCHI, *Censure et liberté intellectuelle à l'Université de Paris (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles)*, Paris 1999.

<sup>11</sup> On the typical features of Scholasticism, cf. R. SCHÖNBERGER, *Was ist Scholastik?*, Hildesheim 1991, p. 52–102; IDEM, *Scholastik*, [in:] *LMA*, vol. VII, ed. R.H. BAUTIER, R. AUTY, München 1995, p. 1521–1526. Such an effort of organization of knowledge proceeds through the dialectic confrontation of the arguments, as we will see later.

<sup>12</sup> On the notion of *utilitas* and with a specific reference to Gerson's works, cf. C. BURGER, *Aedificatio, Fructus, Utilitas. Johannes Gerson als Professor der Theologie und Kanzler der Universität Paris*, Tübingen 1986, p. 110–125.

oblivion many other ancient texts<sup>13</sup>. This immense intellectual effort is the core of a process of systematization of knowledge that can be finally understood as an attempt to preserve unity in theology. Independently of the presence of various schools of thought characterizing the medieval debate, every school and every master has the ambition to provide works which can represent a synthesis of what the past left, with the aim to reduce everything to the unity of a solid theological system<sup>14</sup>.

Looking at Gerson's works from this perspective, his frequent references to unity in theology not only from the doctrinal, but also from the methodological point of view acquire an importance that seems decisive in order to understand the intellectual project of this master, i.e. defending the *sana doctrina* within the university practice; the chancellor warns both the masters and the students of his university about the dangers of curiosity, vanity, *peregrinitas*, because they lead to the abandon, meant methodologically and doctrinally, of the safe path traced by the Fathers of the Church and by the previous Scholastic masters<sup>15</sup>.

In the frame of this search for unity, a relevant place assumes, in our opinion, the notion of *communis schola*, and the aim of this contribution is to analyze its importance and role in Gerson's theological thought. This expression appears in a number of gersonian textual passages from different kinds of works (magisterial, spiritual, ecclesiological works, letters, etc.) and is always referred, even if with specific *nuances*, to the university environment; the understanding of this concept seems of a primary importance when it comes to analyze how Gerson conceives teaching, writing in the field of theology, and the relationship between magisterial authority and defense of the true doctrine from what is perceived (or often simply constructed<sup>16</sup>) as the falsehood of heterodoxy and heresy.

<sup>13</sup> The most important example of such a ponderous collections of *auctoritates* is maybe represented by the *Auctoritates Aristotelis*; on the story and on the philological reconstruction of this text, cf. J. HAMESSE, *Les Auctoritates Aristotelis. Un florilège médiéval. Étude historique et édition critique*, Louvain 1974, p. 7–16.

<sup>14</sup> On the medieval schools of thought and their dynamics, cf. M.J.F.M. HOENEN, *Categories of Medieval Doxography. Reflections on the Use of 'Doctrina' and 'Via' in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> Century Philosophical and Theological Sources*, [in:] *Vera Doctrina...*, p. 69–70; M.J.F.M. HOENEN, *Late Medieval Schools of Thought in the Mirror of University Textbooks. The 'promptuarium argumentorum' (Cologne 1482)*, [in:] *Philosophy and Learning. Universities in the Middle Ages*, ed. M.J.F.M. HOENEN, H.H.J. SCHNEIDER, J. WIELAND, Leiden–New York–Boston 1995 [= *ESMER*, 6], p. 329–369.

<sup>15</sup> For a general look at the concept of curiosity in the medieval thought, cf. I. IRIBARREN, *Curiositas*, [in:] *Mots médiévaux*, ed. I. ATUCHA, D. CALMA, C. KÖNIG PRALONG, I. ZAVATTERO, Turnhout 2011, p. 199–209; in particular p. 199: *Quel qu'en soit l'usage précis, en contextes médiévaux le terme curiositas est toujours marqueur d'une frontière... La curiosité est en ce sens une forme d'empiètement et sa dénonciation une forme de censure, une tentative de redresser l'ordre*. Cf. G. BÖS, *Curiositas. Die Rezeption eines antiken Begriffes durch christliche Autoren bis Thomas von Aquin*, Schöning 1995.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Aux marges de l'hérésie. Invention, formes et usages polémiques de l'accusation d'hérésie au Moyen Âge*, ed. F. MERCIER, I. ROSE, Rennes 2017.

In the treatise *Contra curiositatem studentium*, the Parisian chancellor exposes his thoughts about curiosity, vanity, pride, and other intellectual attitudes seen as wrong and dangerous in the study of theology; the reflection on these topics is certainly not new, and Gerson has illustrious models from which he takes inspiration in discussing this sort of matter: Augustine of Hippo warned his readers about the dangers represented by the excess of curiosity, through which the human being is brought to continuously wander in search of intellectual pleasures and finally forgets to follow the path towards God<sup>17</sup>; in such a misuse of the intellectual abilities, the things to be used (*uti*) are confused with those that need to be enjoyed (*frui*)<sup>18</sup>. Coming to medieval Scholasticism, Thomas Aquinas wrote two *quaestiones* devoted to the discussion of the concepts of *studiositas*<sup>19</sup> and *curiositas*<sup>20</sup>, respectively seen as the good and the bad moral attitudes leading the human being to exalt his natural inclination to know, driving it to a useful and fruitful knowledge or, to the contrary, to spoil it. By their characteristics, they are seen by Thomas as totally opposite<sup>21</sup>. Also Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, one of Gerson's great models<sup>22</sup>, linked in several passages *curiositas* and *studiositas*<sup>23</sup>.

Against the background of this authoritative tradition, Gerson warns his students about the dangers of following unapproved paths, driven by a curious approach to the study of the texts: in a passage of *Contra curiositatem studentium* such a wrong intellectual attitude is linked to the bad tendency to choose uncommon terms in the field of theology, and in Gerson's criticism the notion of *communis schola* has a remarkable place:

<sup>17</sup> For a detailed study about the concept of curiosity in Augustine's works, cf. J. TORCHIA, *Restless Mind. Curiositas and the Scope of Inquiry in Augustine's Psychology*, Milwaukee 2013.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. AUGUSTINUS, *De doctrina christiana*, I, 4, ed. I. MARTIN, Turnholti 1962 [= CC.SL, 32], p. 8. Cf. AUGUSTINUS, *De vera religione*, 29, 52, 2–12, ed. I. MARTIN, Turnholti 1962 [= CC.SL, 32], p. 22: *videamus quatenus ratio possit progredi a visibilibus ad invisibilia et a temporalibus ad aeterna conscendens... In quorum consideratione [the things of the world], non vana et peritura curiositas exercenda est, sed gradus ad immortalia et semper manentia faciendus*. On the concept of *vana curiositas* in Augustine and through the Middle Ages, cf. H. OBERMAN, *Contra vanam curiositatem. Ein Kapitel der Theologie zwischen Seelenwinkel und Weltall*, Zürich 1974; J. TORCHIA, *Restless Mind...*, p. 239; J. HAMBURGER, *Speculations on Speculation*, [in:] *Deutsche Mystik im abendländischen Zusammenhang*, ed. W. HAUG, W. SCHNEIDER-LASTIN, Tübingen 2000, p. 369.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Summa theologiae*, q. 166, Romae 1894 (cetera: THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Summa theologiae*).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Summa theologiae*, q. 167, art. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Summa theologiae*, q. 167, art. 1: *studiositas curiositati opponitur*.

<sup>22</sup> On Bonaventure as a theological model for Gerson, cf. M. SCHLOSSER, *Bonaventure: Life and Works*, [in:] *A Companion to Bonaventure*, ed. J.M. HAMMOND, J.A.W. HELLMANN, J. GOFF, Leiden–Boston 2014 [= BCCT, 48], p. 9–59, 57. Cf. D. HOBBS, *Authorship...*, p. 18; S. GROSSE, *Johannes Gerson...*, p. 340–348.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. BONAVENTURA, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, 62, 1, 39; 97, 2, 34, [in:] IDEM, *Opera Omnia*, vol. VI, Romae 1893; cf. BONAVENTURA, *Commentarius in Evangelium Sancti Lucae*, 315, 1, 33; 437, 2, 2, [in:] IDEM, *Opera Omnia*, vol. VII, Romae 1893.

Quamobrem dum terminos quosdam apud aliquem ex doctoribus approbatis invenimus non usitatos in schola communi illos introducere non debemus, nisi pia et reverenti resolutione praevia ut dicendo: terminus iste a tali sic accipiebatur; qui scilicet usus vel quia usus communis aliter accipit cavenda est audientium offensio in divinis<sup>24</sup>.

The idea of “unusual”<sup>25</sup> here is not at all vague; Gerson doesn’t simply refer to a general and not specified “usual” way of expression or to a not specified “usual” set of terms belonging to an ambiguous tradition; on the contrary, the chancellor refers to a “common school” perceived as concrete and present. This “common school” is innervated by the authority of the masters who went through an approved educational path in order to be able to teach. The message that Gerson sends through this textual passage implies that the theological language must be handled and ruled by those who possess an academic training, i.e. the masters in theology.

Inspired again by Augustine and quoting his famous statement *nobis ad certam regulam loqui fas est*<sup>26</sup>, the author often warns theologians and students about the necessity to use terms belonging to the Scholastic use, and this idea also touches the question about whether it’s possible to use vernacular languages in theology<sup>27</sup>. In his harsh criticism of the third book of Ruusbroec’s *Die geestelike Brulocht*<sup>28</sup>, Gerson affirms that in the theological field only Latin can be allowed, in order to avoid a dangerous Babel<sup>29</sup>. If in the biblical Babel the human beings couldn’t

<sup>24</sup> IOHANNES GERSON, *Contra curiositatem studentium*, p. 244, ll. 15–18, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. III, ed. P. GLORIEUX, Paris 1962.

<sup>25</sup> The term *inusitatus* applied to theology with a negative connotation can be also found in IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier I*, p. 98, l. 7, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. II, ed. P. GLORIEUX, Paris 1960 (cetera: IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier I*): *Modus loquendi doctorum si reperiatur improprius et parabolicus et inusitatus, aut figurativus, extendi vel in usum trahi non debet... Alioquin frustra essent Doctores in Theologia constituti principaliter ad officium elucidandi Sacram Scripturam, quam magis atque magis aliter agendo confunderent.*

<sup>26</sup> Cf. AUGUSTINUS, *De civitate Dei*, 10, 23, 21, ed. B. DOMBART, A. KALB, Turnholti 1955 [= CC.SL, 47–48]: *nobis autem ad certam regulam loqui fas est, ne uerborum licentia etiam de rebus, quae his significantur, impiam gignat opinionem.*

<sup>27</sup> Cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *De examinatione doctrinarum*, p. 466, l. 28, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. IX, ed. P. GLORIEUX, Paris 1973; IOHANNES GERSON, *De modis significandi*, 630, 14, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. IX... (cetera: IOHANNES GERSON, *De modis significandi*); *De sensu litterali sacrae scripturae*, 336, 22–25, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. IX...; IOHANNES GERSON, *Pro licentiandis in decretis*, 228, 7–8, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. V, ed. P. GLORIEUX, Paris 1963. On this aspect, cf. I. IRIBARREN, *Le Paradis retrouvé: l’utopie linguistique de Jean Gerson*, RHR 231, 2014 (= *Langue et autorité théologique à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. IDEM), p. 223–251.

<sup>28</sup> Gerson’s criticism of Ruusbroec’s work is studied in detail by A. COMBES, *Essai...*

<sup>29</sup> Cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier II*, p. 97, ll. 19–23, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. II... (cetera: IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier II*): *Prima consideratio: Nobis ad certam regulam loqui fas est. Posita est illic sententiosissima haec verissima que Augustini sententia quae tollit barbaram confusionem linguarum a sacra doctrina. Nam qualis altera esset efficacior via*

understand each other, now the chancellor highlights the risk hidden behind the possible use of the vernacular languages in theology: this risk consists of losing the perfect correspondance between concepts and words, a correspondance that was consolidated by a very long tradition and that was concretely embodied by what Gerson perceives as an unitarian Scholastic method and by the standardized Scholastic Latin used at the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris. In Gerson's words, the *communis schola* preserves the unity of the language, of the terminology, and of the method; preserving these aspects of the intellectual activity inside the university is seen by our author as a way to defend, *tout court*, the unity of the *sana doctrina*, because the linguistic and terminological confusion can lead to errors, and from the errors heresy can arise<sup>30</sup>. Heresy – Gerson perfectly knows it – is often described in the canonical sources<sup>31</sup> as something which multiplies errors and doctrines, and such a multiplication is depicted through concrete images, like that of a series of tails, all different but connected<sup>32</sup>. For this reason, heresy is seen as the opposite of the doctrinal unity. Preserving unity (in language, terminology, method, and – finally – doctrine) seems to be the only way conceived by Gerson to avoid errors and heresy.

In another magisterial work, *De modis significandi*, the *doctor christianissimus* discusses again the relationship between curiosity and theology and, again, he refers to the “common school” in describing how to properly express the doctrinal concepts in a proper way:

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*prohibendi aedificationem turris davidicae in bonum quam si fieret nominum vel terminorum pro libitu cujuslibet variatio? Non enim tunc intelligeret unus alterum sed in quamdam Babylonis confusionem laberemur.* On this association of the use of vernacular and Babel's linguistic confusion, cf. P. VON MOOS, *Zwischen Babel und Pfingsten. Sprachdifferenzen und Geschprächverständnis in der Vormoderne (8–16 Jh.)*, Zürich–Berlin 2008.

<sup>30</sup> On the notion of *sana doctrina* and on the necessity to avoid the scandal of the error and of the heretical division of the unity, cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *Errores circa praeceptum: non occides*, p. 505, l. 12, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VIII, ed. P. GLORIEUX, Paris 1971. On the style and on the terminological uniformity in theology, cf. I. IRIBARREN, *Question de style. Langage et méthode comme enjeux rhétoriques dans l'œuvre de Jean Gerson*, [in:] *Langage et méthode. Réflexions historiques et historiographiques sur la pensée médiévale*, ed. U. ZAHND, Freiburg im Breisgau 2017, p. 183–221.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. LUCIUS III, *Ad abolendam*, [in:] *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. I, ed. A. RICHTER, Romae 1955, col. 751–753; cf. INNOCENTIUS III, *Vergentis in senium*, [in:] *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. I... (cetera: INNOCENTIUS III, *Vergentis in senium*), col. 753–754; CLEMENS V, *Ad nostrum*, ed. A. RICHTER, [in:] *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. I..., col. 1183–1184. On the medieval ecumenical councils of the Church and on their dealing with heresies, cf. P. VALLIÈRE, *Conciliarism. A History of Decision-Making in the Church*, Cambridge 2012; K.A. FINK, *Die konziliare Idee im späten Mittelalter*, [in:] *Die Entwicklung des Konziliarismus. Werden und nachwirken der Konziliaren Idee*, ed. R. BAEUMER, Darmstadt 1976, p. 275–294; J. MIETHKE, *Einheit als Aufgabe: Momente der Integration in der politischen Theorie der Scholastik*, *VuF* 63, 2005, p. 241–272.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. INNOCENTIUS III, coll. 753–754: *Vergentis in senium: Ut capiamus vulpeculas quae demoliuntur vineam Domini Sabbaoth. Spiritus quidem habent diversos, sed caudas invicem colligatas, quia de vanitate conveniunt in idipsum.*

Theologus in inquisitione speculabilium curiositatem evitet non plus quam expedit, moralia dimittendo. Sequatur insuper modos significandi quibus utitur communis schola doctorum etiam si quandoque posset invenire suo iudicio magis idoneos<sup>33</sup>.

Here Gerson specifically refers to the theologian who deals with speculative, doctrinal theology, leaving apart the affective one; in fact, the objects of knowledge described in these lines are the *speculabilia*, investigated through the application of the intellect abstracting informations from the sensitive data: this is the positive, scientific knowledge<sup>34</sup>. Through the analysis and research (*inquisitio*) on the visible things that can be investigated through the intellect, the theologian can know a number of things about God and about His relationship to the created world<sup>35</sup>, not being able anyway to reach the essence of the Creator (which is something impossible *in via*); in the frame of this earthly form of intellectual knowledge and with the need to express the results of this *inquisitio*, the master in theology needs not only a set of terms and a common language, but also a clear way to put the concepts together and to express them in a way in which they can be absorbed by those who will then receive them (no matter if they are other masters or students)<sup>36</sup>. The *modi significandi* to be used are those of the “common school of the doctors”: this is a clear reference to the scholastic ways and forms adopted in order to systematize and communicate the theological knowledge, avoiding styles and forms that are not adopted in the university practice.

This passage can be better understood if compared to an extract from Gerson's second letter to Barthélemy Clantier<sup>37</sup>, where the *doctor christianissimus* affirms that it is necessary to follow the examples of Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure and other masters *who, left apart every terminological embellishment, transmitted theology through questions, in order to have, under certain rules and a precise form, both a very safe speculative and practical theology, reducing all the previous doctors to only one and sure way of expression*<sup>38</sup>. This textual passage and its terminological choices

<sup>33</sup> IOHANNES GERSON, *De modis significandi*, p. 630, l. 5.

<sup>34</sup> The most systematic reflection of Gerson on the topic of the sensorial perception and on the intellectual abstraction from the the sensorial data is contained in the treatise IOHANNES GERSON, *De oculo*, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VIII... In this work Gerson discusses the various forms of vision, from the sensorial to the intellectual and the mystical one.

<sup>35</sup> This is a key-concept in medieval theology. Cf. BONAVENTURA, *Commentarius in Evangelium Sancti Iohannis*, 243, 7; 318, 4, [in:] IDEM, *Opera omnia*, vol. VI, Romae 1893); cf. THOMAS DE AQUINO, *Summa theologiae*, q. 43, art. 7; cf. HUGO DE SANCTO VICTORE, *De archa Noe*, 4, 6, ed. P. SICARD, Turnholti 2001 [= CC.CM, 176].

<sup>36</sup> On the figure of the medieval master in theology and its role within the University, cf. R. GRAYSON, *The Authority of the Teacher in the Ancient and Medieval Church*, JES 19.2, 1982, p. 176–187; A.L. GABRIEL, *The Ideal Master of the Medieval University*, CHR 60.1, 1974, p. 1–40.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier II*, p. 97–102.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier II*, ll. 18–20, p. 98: *Hac consideratione permotos existimo doctores novissimos Thomam, Bonaventuram et similes, dum omisso omni verborum ornatu tradiderunt theologiam per quaestiones, ut sub certis regulis et sub praecisa verborum forma tutissimam*



is absolutely illuminating in the way in which it perfectly summarizes Gerson's account of academic theology: the idea of "very safe" (*tutissimam*) theology goes together with that of "one and sure" (*unam securamque*) way of expression; the author stresses here the connection between the unity in the modality of expression and the doctrinal safety. It is only in being *one* that the mode of expression can be *sure*, i.e. not exposed to the risk of misinterpretations. The "one and sure way of expression" is that of the *communis schola doctorum* mentioned in *De modis significandi*, but the extract from the letter to Barthélemy Clantier specifies the nature of this community and its role: the common school of the doctors "transmits theology through questions", and this is a clear reference to the typical genres of the Scholasticism<sup>39</sup>. Through its typical genres and its typical methodologies<sup>40</sup>, this community of scholars "leaves apart every terminological embellishment" and just focuses on the essence of the theological activity, i.e. systematizing and transmitting knowledge. This is, again, a clear reference to the idea of utility and fruitfulness of the theological inquiry, in the frame of the search for doctrinal unity.

The connection between scholastic models and doctrine can be retraced in another textual passage from a magisterial work of Jean Gerson, *De vita spirituali animae*, in which the notion of *communis schola* has the connotation of magisterial consensus compared to other minority positions concerning the concept of venial sin; if Henry of Ghent in his *Quodlibet III* and Bernard of Clairvaux in *De precepto divino* classify venial sins as acts against the divine law, Gerson affirms that, according to the position of other masters, venial sin is an act outside of the divine law, and not against it. In particular, the *doctor christianissimus* writes:

Aliorum opinio contraria, ut Thomae et communis scholae, dicentium veniale non esse contra sed praeter praeceptum<sup>41</sup>.

This passage is significant because it highlights how Gerson conceives the "common school" in an authoritative frame that sees in Thomas Aquinas a reference and cohesive element: not only the school represented by the authority of the masters is "common", but Gerson is very well aware also of Thomas' position

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*haberemus theologiam tam practicam quam speculativam, reducendo doctores omnes priores ad unam securamque locutionis proprietatem.*

<sup>39</sup> Gerson expresses the same concept in a passage from *De directione cordis*, p. 107, l. 23–26, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. VIII...: *Attendatur denique pro praemissis et aliis similibus dubiis resolute definiendis, quod doctores sancti priores, utentes rhetoricis persuasionibus, in aggravationem vitorum et laudem virtutum, non ita tradiderunt resolutionem moralium matieriarum, immo nec speculabilium, sicut doctores recentiores qui per quaestiones et per argumenta processerunt ad utramque partem et per decisiones processerunt.*

<sup>40</sup> On this aspects of the university practice, cf. W. KLUXEN, *Institution und Ideengeschichte zur geschichtlichen Bedeutung der mittelalterlichen Universität*, [in:] *Philosophy and Learning...*, p. 1–16.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *De vita spirituali animae*, p. 182, l. 4, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. III...

of common master and common example to follow<sup>42</sup>. If the philosophical and theological debate about sin allows different positions, as it is normal in the academic environment, Gerson finds anyway a majority position on the theme and defines it as the one “of Thomas and of the common school”. On one side, Thomas is seen as a seal of quality and approval of a theory: putting his name automatically certifies the validity of a statement; on the other side, Gerson seems to indicate Thomas Aquinas as a sort of *caput* and cohesive element of the academic tradition of the university of Paris. In the expression *ut Thomae et communis scholae*, we can retrace both a time and space perspective: Thomas is seen as the historical model to follow in the present of the academic speculation, but also as the figure around which the concept itself of “common school” is built up. Therefore, unity is, again, what drives Gerson through his speculation: the “common doctor” seals and authenticates the leading position of the academic community of Paris, a community sharing precise methods and models that became the reference point for the philosophical and theological speculation in medieval Europe<sup>43</sup>.

This concept is confirmed by a passage from a letter to a Franciscan friar, where Gerson explicitly links the academic environment of Paris at the times of Bonaventure with the notion of *communis doctrina*. About the *doctor seraphicus* Gerson writes:

Secutus est doctor iste (Bonaventura), se testante, doctrinam communem et solidam quae Parisius vigeat maxime tempore suo<sup>44</sup>.

If the “common school” is the structure connecting and holding together, in a unity, philosophy and theology in the academic community in Paris, the result of this unity of models, methods, and ways of expression is a “common doctrine” that preserves the unity in faith and avoids the birth and the spread of

<sup>42</sup> Thomas is often cited by the late scholastic master as the *doctor communis*. Cf. IOHANNES WYCLIFF, *Sermones* 50, p. 436, l. 27, ed. J. LOSERTH, London 1887–1890; cf. DIONYSIUS CARTUSIANUS, *Enarratio in librum Deuteronomii*, art. 1, p. 524, l. 27, [in:] *Dionysii Cartusiani Opera omnia*, vol. II, [s.l.] 1897). On the posterity and reception of Thomas’ works and legacy, cf. P. PORRO, *Tommaso d’Aquino. Un profilo storico-filosofico*, Roma 2012, p. 464–480; A. WALZ, *Thomas von Aquin. Lebensgang und Lebenswerk des Fürsten der Scholastik*, Basel 1953, p. 126–141.

<sup>43</sup> On this aspect, cf. Y. CONGAR, *Theologians and the Magisterium in the West: from the Gregorian Reform to the Council of Trent*, ChS 17, 1978, p. 210–224; S. MÉNACHE, *La naissance d’une nouvelle source d’autorité: l’Université de Paris*, RH 1982, p. 305–328. By the way, the acceptance of Thomas Aquinas’ teaching and doctrines by Gerson and other contemporary masters should not be seen as unequivocal; cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *Contre Jean de Monzon*, p. 12, l. 27, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. X, ed. P. GLORIEUX, Paris 1973. The same criticism can be found in Pierre d’Ailly’s works: cf. D. TABER JR., *Pierre d’Ailly and the Teaching Authority of the Theologian*, ChH 59.2, 1990, p. 163–174.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *À un frère mineur*, p. 277, l. 18, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. II..., Paris 1960.

heterodox or heretical positions inside the university<sup>45</sup>. Through the example of Bonaventure, Gerson highlights the necessity to teach and write in a common way and to share common and solid positions deriving from the adoption of certain patterns of argumentation.

Alongside the reflection on how the *communis schola* preserves unity in the field of the speculative theology, we also find in the gersonian works some passages in which this concept applies to mysticism and spiritual theology<sup>46</sup>; in particular, we find references to the role played by the academic environment in handling, judging, and controlling mystical theories and doctrines coming from outside the university. We mentioned above<sup>47</sup> Gerson's criticism to the third book of Jan van Ruusbroec's *Die geestelike Brulocht*, which was read by Gerson in the Latin translation of Surius<sup>48</sup> with the title *De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum*. This criticism, intensively studied by André Combes in four ponderous volumes<sup>49</sup>, is carried out by Gerson with regard to both the content and the style of the work of the Flemish author<sup>50</sup> and is contained in two letters addressed to the Carthusian monk Barthélemy Clantier<sup>51</sup>, who asked the Parisian chancellor to read the *Brulocht* and to provide his opinion about the work. Shortly summarizing, Gerson criticizes some expressions used by the Flemish mystical writer because of their obscurity and of the risk of misinterpretations by the simple reader, especially in some passages that seem to allow the possibility of the essential union between the human being and God already during this life<sup>52</sup>; then, he affirms that theology is a matter for

<sup>45</sup> The notion of *communis doctrina* in the late medieval thought has been deeply studied by A. ROBIGLIO, *Aspetti della nozione di «communis doctrina» all'inizio del XIV secolo*, [in:] *Aspetti della nozione di «communis doctrina» all'inizio del XIV secolo / Durandus and Durandellus. The Dispute behind the Promotion of Thomist Authority*, ed. A. ROBIGLIO, I. IRIBARREN, Bern 2004, p. 5–6.

<sup>46</sup> For some references on Gerson's account of mystical theology, cf. *supra*, n. 2.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> This translation has been studied by M.J.F.M. HOENEN, *Translating Mystical Texts from Vernacular into Latin. Intentions and Strategies behind Laurentius Surius' Translation of Ruusbroec's Complete Works (Cologne 1552)*, [in:] *Per perscrutationem philosophicam. Neue Perspektiven der mittelalterlichen Forschung. Loris Sturlese zum 60. Geburtstag gewidmet*, ed. A. BECCARISI, Hamburg 2008, p. 348–374. Also cf. K. SCHEPERS, *Introduction*, [in:] *Willem Jordaens – Jan van Ruusbroec, Ioannis Rusbrochii. De ornatu spiritualium nuptiarum. Wilhelmo Iordani interprete*, ed. K. SCHEPERS, Turnhout 2004 [= CC.CM, 207], p. 101.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. A. COMBES, *Essai...*

<sup>50</sup> For a general look at the life and works of this late medieval mystical author, cf. G. WARNAR, *Ruusbroec. Literature and Mysticism in the Fourteenth Century*, Leiden 2007 [= BSIH, 150]; J. WISEMAN, *Introduction*, [in:] JOHN RUUSBROEC, *The Spiritual Espousal and Other Works*, praef. et trans. J. WISEMAN, Mahwah 1985, p. 1–37; P. VERDEYEN, *Ruusbroec l'admirable*, Paris 2004, p. 1–107; W. TRITSCH, *Einführung in die Mystik. In Quellen und Zeugnissen*, Augsburg 1990, p. 175–176.

<sup>51</sup> IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier I*, p. 54–62; cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier II*, p. 97–103.

<sup>52</sup> IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier I*, p. 57.

academically trained people who possess all the notions, skills, and lexical background in order to properly speak about God<sup>53</sup>.

It's exactly writing about this aspect –the necessity of a proper theological training– that the *Doctor Christianissimus* refers to the notion of *communis schola* in a meaningful passage that is worthy of being integrally quoted:

Inter tales scripturas numerantur aliquae narrationes aut regulae vel doctrinae particulares aliquorum patrum veterum, quae magis admirandae dicuntur quam imitandae, quemadmodum Johannes qui Climacus dicitur ponit virtutes esse impassibilitates, et quaedam valde austera super poenitentia et peccatis; et Cassianus de libero arbitrio notatus est, et alia alii parum examinata aut nimis rigida tradunt, quae communis schola theologicae veritatis merito non admittit aut rejicit<sup>54</sup>.

After having criticized, in the previous lines, the Flemish writer and his attempt to investigate the obscurities of mysticism without possessing the necessary background, with the risk to mislead simple writers, in the quoted passage Gerson assimilates some doctrines contained in Ruusbroec's *Brulocht* to the example of some *narrations, rules, or particular doctrines of some old Fathers of the Church*, such as John Climacus and John Cassian, *that the common school of the theological truth doesn't admit or rejects*. If the faith and the zeal of Ruusbroec, Climacus and Cassian are never called into question by Gerson, their doctrines are seen as not acceptable by the university; the reason is expressed by the terminology itself that is used by Gerson: the "doctrines" of these authors are "particular" (*particulares*), i.e. they introduce unusual elements from the point of view of the content, of the words, or both, and for this reason they must be avoided.

Therefore, also in the field of the mystical theology a conflict between "common" and "particular" may arise: on one hand, the matter of mysticism is magmatic, fluid, and intrinsically difficult to express because of the obscurity and depth of the experience; on the other hand, preserving unity is seen by Gerson as a need and a duty of the *communis schola theologicae veritatis*, and this unity goes also through the control of the spirituality of religious people outside the university or even of laypeople. Under the light of this concept we can, for instance, understand why the Parisian chancellor and other late scholastic masters censure the *Begardi*<sup>55</sup>,

<sup>53</sup> IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier I*, p. 62, l. 30; cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier II*, p. 98, l. 26.

<sup>54</sup> IOHANNES GERSON, *À Barthélemy Clantier I*, p. 62, l. 17–21.

<sup>55</sup> On the community of the Beghards, cf. J. GREVEN, *Die Anfänge der Beginen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Volksfrömmigkeit und des Ordenswesens im Hochmittelalter*, Münster 1912; IDEM, *Der Ursprung des Beginenwesens*, HJb 35, 1914, p. 26–58; E.W. McDONNELL, *The Beguines and the Beghards in Medieval Culture. With Special Emphasis on the Belgian Scene*, New York 1969, p. 81–100; H. GRUNDMANN, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketzerei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und*

who are considered by Gerson as an element of disorder<sup>56</sup>, and whose behaviors and doctrines are seen as not acceptable and are the object of some ecclesiastical condemnations in the Middle Ages<sup>57</sup>.

## Conclusions

The textual passages analyzed in this contribution illustrate the meaning and the relevance of the notion of *communis schola*, in its various aspects, within the theological and ecclesiological thought of Jean Gerson. Driven by a constant concern for the unity of the Church at all levels, the *doctor christianissimus* insists on the decisive role played by the theological community of the academic masters in handling and holding the doctrine, preserving it, and protecting it from possible abuses and misleading interpretations both in the speculative and in the mystical sphere. Such a community is strongly perceived by Gerson in the time and in the space, in its deposit of models, and in a set of strongly defined methods, models, linguistic features, and ways to express the concepts. All these elements contribute to select doctrines produced inside and outside the university and, at the same time, they regulate the way in which the academic speculation itself is put into the concrete forms of teaching and writing. Moreover, the notion of *communis schola* finds its roots in its intrinsic opposition to everything that, in theology, is “particular” and may represent an element of destabilization, since Gerson seems to automatically assimilate particularism to division or, at least, to fragmentation of the unity. For these reasons and for their important theological and ecclesiological implications, the concept of *communis schola* represents an important key to understand Gerson as a writer, as a teacher, as a university chancellor, and as a spiritual advisor.

13. *Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik*, Darmstadt 1961, p. 371–438; IDEM, *Ketzergeschichte des Mittelalters*, Göttingen 1978, p. 47–67.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *De mystica theologia*, p. 256, l. 3, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. III...; cf. IOHANNES GERSON, *De distinctione verarum revelationum a falsis*, p. 51, l. 13; p. 51, l. 35, [in:] JEAN GERSON, *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. III...

<sup>57</sup> The most important one is contained in the dogmatic constitution *Ad nostrum* (Council of Vienne, 1312). The text is edited by A. RICHTER, [in:] *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, vol. I, Romae 1955, col. 1183–1184.

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## MONEY IN *HISTORIA MONACHORUM IN AEGYPTO*\*

**Abstract.** The text discusses the accounts of money in *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*. There are not many of them and, in addition, they are quite succinct. The first illustrates the face of early Byzantine fiscalism, the difficulty of paying taxes, and the resulting sanctions for the insolvent debtor and his family members. The next, equally laconic, shows the nature of the business of a merchant trading his goods from Thebaid to Alexandria. The remaining analyzed information is comprised of isolated and very brief references to the issue of money in other spheres of everyday life. *Historia monachorum*, an important text for studying the early history of Egyptian monasticism, unfortunately, does not constitute a valuable source of information about money and the history of the economy of early Byzantium.

**Keywords:** early Byzantine hagiography and monasticism, early Byzantine economy, money in hagiographic texts, digits and numbers in early Byzantine hagiographic texts

### Introductory remarks

*H*istoria monachorum in Aegypto is the story of Christian monks who set out from Jerusalem to Egypt in the last years of the 4<sup>th</sup> century (allegedly between 394 and 395), traveling on the trail of monastic centers in the land on the Nile<sup>1</sup>. In addition to the best-known Greek and Latin versions, the text is also known in Coptic, Syriac (four different late antique translations), Slavonic, Arabic, Georgian and Armenian<sup>2</sup>. This fact proves that the work enjoyed considerable

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<sup>1</sup> C.P. BAMMEL, *Problems of the Historia Monachorum*, JTS 47, 1996, p. 92–104; A. DE VOGÜÉ, *Histoire littéraire du mouvement monastique dans l'antiquité*, vol. III.1, *Le monachisme latin: Jérôme, Augustin et Rufin au tournant du siècle (391–405)*, Paris 1996, p. 317–320; A. CAIN, *The Style of the Greek Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, REAP 58, 2012, p. 57–96.

<sup>2</sup> P. DEVOS, *Fragments coptes de l'«Historia Monachorum» (Vie de S. Jean de Lycopolis BHO. 515)*, AB 87, 1969, p. 417–440; P. ΤÓΤΗ, *The Syriac Versions of the Historia Monachorum in Aegypto. A Preliminary Investigation on the Basis of the First Chapter*, OCh 94, 2010, p. 58–104; A. CAIN, *The Greek «Historia Monachorum in Aegypto». Monastic Hagiography in the Late Fourth Century*, Oxford 2016 [= OECS], p. 26.

readership in the following decades and even centuries. The relationship between the two main versions, Greek and Latin, and the question of mutual dependence, has been the subject of scholarly dispute for decades. Some scholars, such as E. Preuschen<sup>3</sup> and R. Reitzenstein<sup>4</sup>, have taken the position that the original text of *Historia monachorum* was written in Latin by Rufinus of Aquileia<sup>5</sup>. C. Butler<sup>6</sup> and, above all, A.-J. Festugiere<sup>7</sup>, the author of the most recent critical edition of *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, were of a completely different opinion. They claimed that the Greek text was the original text. In support of their thesis, they offer considerable evidence from comparative analyses but also the information found in Sozomen. He attributes the authorship of *Historia monachorum* to Timothy of Alexandria. Sozomen, most likely, mistakenly identified him with a bishop of the same name<sup>8</sup>. In fact, according to C. Butler<sup>9</sup> and A.-J. Festugiere, he was the presbyter Timothy, one of the clergy of the Church of Alexandria in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. It seems reasonable to assume that a decision was made to translate the Greek text into Latin out of a desire to disseminate among the newcomers from the West a new pattern of life – a kind of “perfect life” whose fulfilment was the life of monks<sup>10</sup>.

From the point of view of the considerations in the following text, the question of the language of the original version of *Historia monachorum* is irrelevant. The description of events begins in Upper Egypt, in the Thebaid. Having visited a number of monks there, including those from the area of Oxyrynchos, the protagonists of the story head north towards Lower Egypt. On their journey, they visit other monastic communities and learn their stories. An important element of these stories are the so-called edifying tales and exemplary patterns of behaviour. The text also includes anecdotes from the lives of monks, descriptions of their alleged mantic abilities, and various miracles, including miraculous healings, which are the essence of every hagiographic work. Of course, in these stories, we often have a mixture of the miraculous and the real, which makes it all the more difficult to use this material in research on the society and economy of the time. In the margins of the aforementioned accounts, we find only several bits of information concerning monetary issues. Their detailed analysis will be discussed below.

<sup>3</sup> E. PREUSCHEN, *Palladius und Rufinus. Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des ältesten Mönchtums. Texte und Untersuchungen*, Giessen 1897, p. 1–131.

<sup>4</sup> R. REITZENSTEIN, *Historia monachorum und Historia Lausiaca. Eine Studie zur Geschichte des Mönchtums und der frühchristlichen Begriffe Gnostiker und Pneumatiker*, Göttingen 1916.

<sup>5</sup> TYRANNIUS RUFINUS, *Historia monachorum sive De vita sanctorum patrum*, ed. E. SCHULZ-FLÜGEL, Berlin 1990 [= PTS, 34].

<sup>6</sup> C. BUTLER, *The Lausiatic History of Palladius*, vol. I, Cambridge 1898, p. 10–15, 257–264.

<sup>7</sup> A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *Le problème littéraire de l'Historia monachorum*, H 83, 1955, p. 257–284.

<sup>8</sup> SOZOMENUS, *Kirchengeschichte*, 6, 29, ed. J. BIDEZ, G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1995 [= GCS.NF, 4].

<sup>9</sup> C. BUTLER, *The Lausiatic History...*, p. 276–277.

<sup>10</sup> Extensive discussion of the above problems (the language of original text, its authorship, and the time of its writing), cf. A. CAIN, *The Greek...*, p. 9–49.

### The plight of the tax debtor

Among the issues that interest us here, the problem of tax debt is the most extensively reported. It is discussed in the story of Paphnutius<sup>11</sup>. However, the account is rather questionable. The story's protagonist enters into a conversation with an anonymous "flute player" who used to be a robber. Once, he had met a woman along one of the trails who had been driven out of town to the desert by an official's armed entourage because of her husband's tax arrears (...κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον φυγαδευθεῖσαν ὑπο τῶν ταξεωτῶν τοῦ ἄρχοντος καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν διὰ χρέος δημόσιον ἀνδρικόν...). Failing to pay tax for two years resulted in a debt that totalled 300 gold pieces (...ὑπὲρ χρέους δημοσίου χρυσίνων τριακοσίων)<sup>12</sup>. Allegedly, throughout that time, the insolvent debtor was locked in jail and subjected to corporal punishment, their three children were sold at auction, and the debtor's wife – who, for whatever reason, had been spared this fate – was banished from the town. The account further indicates that the woman was repeatedly found in the vicinity of the town by the associates of the collectors; flogged and then left to her own devices, she would wander around the surrounding wilderness. Moved by the woman's story, the robber offered her 300 gold pieces (...δοὺς αὐτῇ τοὺς τριακοσίους χρυσίνους...), obviously, accumulated from robbery. For this sum, she bought her husband and their three children out of captivity<sup>13</sup>.

The above-mentioned account is not only very laconic, but also its cognitive value is questionable. First of all, it is difficult to say what tax liability is referred in this case. Is it a specific tax or financial obligations due to, for example, acting as a city official? How is it to be understood that this obligation is defined as χρέος δημόσιον (public debt)? In the above account, however, most doubts are raised by the nature of the sanctions that were imposed on the entire family of the tax debtor. Let us try to compare it with the information on penalties for delaying payment of taxes found in the imperial legislation of that time. None of the regulations known to me considers an analogous case. It cannot be ruled out that various sanctions, including corporal punishment, were applied locally to tax debtors. First of all, it is not clear from the above-cited account which tax obligation was neglected. Due to the fact that members of the town council participated in the penalties (if the account is considered reliable on this point as well), it could be concluded that it concerns city taxes. However, we cannot say for sure.

How did the issue of sanctions or penalties towards the tax debtor come under the legislation of those times? Obviously, the state's approach to this issue should be considered chronologically. The earliest is the regulation of Constantine the Great,

<sup>11</sup> *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, 14, ed. A.-J. FESTUGIERE, Bruxelles 1971 [= SHa, 53] (cetera: *Historia monachorum*).

<sup>12</sup> *Historia monachorum*, 14, 5–7.

<sup>13</sup> More, in the literary context, on the analyzed account cf. also D. ROMERO GONZÁLES, *La imagen de la mujer en "Historia monachorum in Aegypto"*, ARSCSH 20, 2008, p. 12–13.

which allowed the tax collector to seize certain goods of the debtor for a loan for a period of two months. These were forfeited and monetized at auction, in the case of the debtor's insolvency<sup>14</sup>. Another decree, also promulgated in Constantine's time, even provided for the confiscation of all the debtor's property<sup>15</sup>. Enforcement of outstanding debts often gave rise to various abuses. One of the decrees of Emperor Constantius II promulgated in 353 warns against them<sup>16</sup>. Probably in view of the frequent insolvency of debtors, almost thirty years later, during the reign of Theodosius the Great, a decree was issued providing for a graded penalty<sup>17</sup>. The conclusion is that the practice of everyday life forced a flexible approach to specific cases. The debtor was summoned three times to pay the tax<sup>18</sup>. If they failed to pay, the tax execution was handed over to a "military collector"<sup>19</sup>. This probably opened a door to a great deal of abuse. It is possible that this situation is illustrated in the above-quoted account from *Historia monachorum*.

Regulations concerning specific financial penalties for the tax debtor do not appear until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century. They mention a fine equal to twice the amount owed by the debtor<sup>20</sup>. It is also worth looking at a decree issued in 400 regarding obligations towards the imperial *res privata*. It suggests that in such a case, the legislator provided for the assessment of the debtor's financial situation when determining the amount of penalties. In the case of a "non-affluent debtor" (whatever that meant), the penalty amounted to 50 percent of the sum owed; in the case of a "wealthy debtor," it was as much as 400 percent of the overdue sum<sup>21</sup>. I suspect that in practice, such a broadly worded provision created enormous room for abuse. It is worth mentioning here that, although in the Theodosian Code *quadrumplum* as a penalty for the tax debtor does not appear until the decree of the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius (400), we know that it was already in use earlier, at least in the 370s. This is confirmed by one of the letters of Basil the Great<sup>22</sup>. This fact may indicate that not all the regulations on the tax system used in the 4<sup>th</sup> century were found in the Theodosian Code.

Let us note that in the late antique legislation preserved to this time, which regulates the procedure towards the tax debtor, there is quite a large chronological gap. Even if we tried to juxtapose these regulations chronologically with the case described in *Historia monachorum* (assuming it is credible, which is not at all obvious), we note periods when the above-mentioned regulations were not in force.

<sup>14</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 11, 9, 1 (323), ed. T. MOMMSEN, Berolini 1905 (cetera: *Codex Theodosianus*).

<sup>15</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 11, 7, 4 (327).

<sup>16</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 11, 7, 7 (353).

<sup>17</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 11, 1, 18 (381).

<sup>18</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 1, 5, 11 (398).

<sup>19</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 11, 1, 34 (429).

<sup>20</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 1, 5, 11 (398).

<sup>21</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 11, 1, 27 (400).

<sup>22</sup> BASILIUS MAGNUS, *Epistula* 21, [in:] PG, vol. XXXII.



In other words: either other regulations that were not included in the Theodosian Code were applicable at the time, or the question of the nature of the sanction for the tax debtor was not sufficiently clarified, which in practice would create enormous room for abuse, and their echoes can be found in the analyzed account. Considering the above-mentioned doubts, it does not seem reasonable that the described sanction was actually applied: expulsion of the debtor's wife from the town, with simultaneous imprisonment of her husband, and auctioning their children into slavery. It cannot be ruled out that in the case of the above-discussed woman, we are dealing with desertion in order to avoid being sold for debts. However, in the case of the analyzed account, a more banal explanation is conceivable. The convention of a hagiographic work required creating a situation – without caring about the accuracy of facts – in which a character in the story could appear in the desert, providing an opportunity for the protagonist, in this case a repentant robber, to show mercy. After all, he offered the woman the money he had collected from robbery and stealing from travelers.

Judging the cognitive value of the above-analyzed account – leaving aside the circumstances and nature of the sanctions described – another issue should be pointed out, namely, the unreliable amount which the taxpayer allegedly owed. All sums using the digit three or one and their multiples appear most frequently in Greek texts. These are topical numbers, completely unreliable cognitively, and thus, they cannot constitute comparative material in the study of the nature of the early Byzantine tax system<sup>23</sup>.

The above-discussed case confirms not only the fact that the tax system of the time was negatively assessed by contemporaries but also that there were real difficulties in meeting this obligation. Although probably somewhat exaggerated, it is mentioned in the writings of numerous Christian authors of the time that the voice of the tax collector was the one most often heard in the marketplace<sup>24</sup>. Gregory of Nazianzus in one breath places side by side the thief, the tax collector, and the latter's collaborator – the criminal prefect<sup>25</sup>. John Chrysostom repeatedly emphasizes the ruthlessness of tax collectors and the brutality of their methods in collecting taxes, mentioning also that many of them appropriated part of the gold collected from taxes, even though they were threatened with severe repercussions, including corporal punishment<sup>26</sup>. Cases of tax collectors appropriating part of tax dues,

<sup>23</sup> P. DEVOS, *Les nombres dans L'Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, AB 92, 1974, p. 97–108. Cf. also R. MEHRLEIN, *Drei*, [in:] RAC, vol. IV, ed. T. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1959, col. 269–310; I. MILEWSKI, *Money in the Apophthegmata Patrum*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 603–614; IDEM, *Textile Prices in Early Byzantine Hagiographic Texts. Three Case Studies*, SCer 10, 2020, p. 399–413.

<sup>24</sup> BASILIUS MAGNUS, *Epistula*, 74.3, [in:] PG, vol. XXXII; GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS, *De rebus suis (Carmina 2, 1, 1)*, 147–151, [in:] PG, vol. XXXVII.

<sup>25</sup> GREGORIUS NAZIANZENUS, *De exterioris hominis vilitate (Carmina 2, 15)*, 63–65, [in:] PG, vol. XXXVII.

<sup>26</sup> The collector “collects taxes by shouting and rape”, cf. JOANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Matthaëum*, hom. 66 (67), 4, [in:] PG, vol. LVII. Cf. also analogous statements in IDEM, *In Epistolam ad*

in agreement with local authorities, probably occurred quite often. It should be remembered, however, that the Emperor Constantius' decree of 349 allowed the tax collector to keep one percent of the collected amount<sup>27</sup>, which probably further motivated the taxman to collect taxes. Identical complaints about the oppressiveness of the tax system, and above all, the brutality of the collectors, are also found in texts from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>28</sup>. In other words, the account of the plight of the tax debtor and the ruthlessness of the collectors found in *Historia monachorum*, although rather unreliable in terms of the amount owed, corresponds with other accounts from the early Byzantine period.

### The Alexandrian merchant and his trading activities in Thebaid

In the same chapter of *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, we find an account of an anonymous merchant who led a fleet of "100 ships" (...μετὰ ἑκατὸν πλοίων...) on the Nile from Thebaid to Alexandria, with a cargo worth 20,000 gold pieces (...δύο μυριάδας χρυσίνων)<sup>29</sup>. In the Latin version of *Historia monachorum*, this merchant carried his goods worth the same amount in just three ships<sup>30</sup>. Later in the account we learn that the merchant traded in vegetables. He gave some of them – ten sacks of vegetables – to the protagonist of the story, the monk Paphnutius<sup>31</sup>. Although the account is short and very succinct, one can be tempted to discuss two issues. First, the figures; as in the case of the above-discussed account of the tax debt, the number of ships on which the goods worth 20,000 gold pieces were supposedly transported is topical. Let us remember that the Greek text mentions 100 ships, while the Latin version mentions three<sup>32</sup>. Both numbers are topical and typical of the "Greek" way of expressing numerical data. If the author of the original *Historia* was Rufinus of Aquileia and it was written in Latin (that is, for a Western audience), it would mean that the author had spent a long time in the East and had adopted the Greek way of expressing this type of data. A similar pattern is also found in the writings of other Latin authors from the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> century,

Colossenes, hom. 2, 6, [in:] PG, vol. LXII; IDEM, *Comparatio regis et monachii*, 3–4, [in:] PG, vol. XLVII; IDEM, *De Lazaro*, 2, 4, [in:] PG, vol. XLVIII.

<sup>27</sup> *Codex Theodosianus*, 12, 6, 3 (349).

<sup>28</sup> THEODORETUS CYRENSIS, *Epistulae*, 36, [in:] PG, vol. LXXXIII. Cf. also I. HAHN, *Theodoretus von Cyrus und die frühbyzantinische Besteuerung*, AA.ASH 10, 1962, p. 124–131.

<sup>29</sup> *Historia monachorum*, 14, 19. It is worth mentioning, that there is a mistake in the Polish translation of the Greek version of *Historia monachorum*. It shows that the merchant sailed down the Nile from Alexandria to Thebaid. Meanwhile, the exact opposite follows from the Greek text: ...ἐκ τῆς [...] Θηβαΐδος. We also read the same in the Latin version (16, 3, 2): ...*ex Thebaide*.

<sup>30</sup> *Historia monachorum*, (lat.) 16, 3, 2.

<sup>31</sup> *Historia monachorum*, 14, 18–20. Cf. also A. CAIN, *Jerome and the Monastic Clergy. A Commentary on Letter 52 to Nepotian, with Introduction, Text, and Translation*, Leiden 2013 [= VC.S, 119], p. 265.

<sup>32</sup> *Historia monachorum*, (lat.) 16, 3, 2: ...(*Paphnutius*) *occurit cuidam negotiatori Alexandrino viginti millibus solidorum mercimonia tribus navibus deferenti ex Thebaide*.

such as Jerome<sup>33</sup> and John Cassian<sup>34</sup>. The different number of alleged ships carrying the cargo may also indicate another fact, namely that already at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century there were at least two Greek versions of *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*. Otherwise, how would the “three ships” instead of the “hundred ships” referred to in the Greek version of *Historia monachorum* as we know it appear in the Latin translation?

Another issue is the nature of the Alexandrian merchant’s trading activities and the destination of his trading expedition on the Nile, to Alexandria. The trade of foodstuffs was directed towards the great centers, led by Alexandria, which was the proverbial window to the world for all production generated in Egypt at that time. Indeed, during the early Byzantine period, foodstuffs (grain, vegetables, and fruit) as well as crafts (olive lamps, pottery, textiles) were traded in large numbers in the Thebaid area<sup>35</sup>. Due to the very general nature of the above-mentioned account, it is difficult to say anything rational about the information it contains. It is possible that the merchant brought craft products from Lower Egypt, buying food products in Upper Egypt, with which he returned to Alexandria. The laconic character of the account allows at most to formulate such a general conclusion.

### Money in other areas of everyday life

Apart from the above-described references, we find only a few minor mentions about money in *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*. There is the story of an anonymous tribune who accidentally meets two monks: Macarius the Alexandrian and Macarius the Egyptians while crossing the Nile on a ferry. After a conversation with him and learning what the “true value of life” is, he decides to took off his “official” robe, gave away all his wealth by generously distributing alms, and then joins one of the monastic groups (...καὶ μονάζειν ἤρῆσατο ποιήσας πολλὰς ἐλεημοσύνας)<sup>36</sup>. Other times, *Historia monachorum* mentions monk who allegedly possessing gold attract the interest of thieves<sup>37</sup>. This is a fairly common motif in hagiographical literature, but it probably maps with reality. Monks had certain cash reserves obtained from the sale of goods they made (woven mats, baskets, clay pots, etc.)<sup>38</sup>, the received alms, and larger monetary donations from visiting pilgrims. Monks with even small sums of money were easy targets for thieving gangs<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> HIERONYMUS, *Vita Hilarionis*, 3, 5; 5, 11; 8, 14; 20, 30; 21, 31; 22, 32; 27, 38; 28, 38; 29, 40; 30, 42 and above all 17, 26–27 (the story of the hermit’s vineyard and its crops), [in:] *PL*, vol. XXIII.

<sup>34</sup> JOANNES CASSIANUS, *Institutis coenobiorum et octo principalium remediis libri XII*, IV, 14, [in:] *PL*, vol. XLIX.

<sup>35</sup> R. ALSTON, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, London–New York 2002, p. 337–344.

<sup>36</sup> *Historia monachorum*, 23, 4. On the “historicity” of this account from *Historia monachorum in Aegypto*, cf. D. WOODS, *An Imperial Embassy in the “Historia monachorum”*, *JTS* 48, 1997, p. 133–136.

<sup>37</sup> *Historia monachorum*, 6, 2.

<sup>38</sup> I. MILEWSKI, *Money in the Apophthegmata patrum...*, p. 605–607.

<sup>39</sup> K.-H. STEINMETZ, *Latro und Eremit. Ein spiritualitätsgeschichtlicher Beitrag zur Anachorese, Transliminalität und Theologie der Freiheit bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, Berlin 2014, p. 119sqq.

## Concluding remarks

*Historia monachorum in Aegypto* is undoubtedly a valuable source of knowledge about the emerging Egyptian monasticism. It is surprising, however, that in the analyzed text we find little information concerning economic issues, including money. These details usually appear more abundantly on the margins of the accounts discussing the monks' contacts with their "secular" surroundings. This sparse information, however, corresponds in its nature with analogous accounts from other early Byzantine source accounts. The above-analyze figures, such as the amount of tax arrears (300 gold pieces) and the number of ships used by the merchant from Alexandria to transport his goods (100 in the Greek version or three in the Latin one), are either unverifiable (such as the value of the cargo estimated at 20,000 gold pieces) or unreliable. The latter case is more interesting critically because it confirms the repetition in the Latin version of *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* of figures typical for Greek texts (1, 10, 100, 1,000, 10,000 and 3, 30, 33, 300, 3,000, 30,000), although with one remark. If we assume that the Latin text of *Historia monachorum* is indeed a translation of the Greek text, this could mean that there were at least two slightly different versions (if only in terms of numerical data) of the text written in Greek.

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## IMAGES OF THE EMPERORS JOHN II AND MANUEL I IN THE ACCOUNTS OF WILLIAM, ARCHBISHOP OF TYRE

**Abstract.** This article deals with the reception of the image of the Emperors John II and Manuel I of the Komnenos dynasty based on the chronicler's account by William of Tyre (1130–1186). It shows a positive evolution in the portrayal of John II and his successor Manuel I, whom William met twice – in 1168 and when he stayed in Constantinople for seven months in 1179/1180. The image of Manuel I is positive, emphasizing the emperor's positive qualities, such as generosity, wisdom, and justice.

**Keywords:** William of Tyre, John II Komnenos, Manuel I Komnenos, Byzantine Empire, Principality of Antioch, Kingdom of Jerusalem

The Archbishop of Tyre, William (1130–1186) – not without reason – is considered the most outstanding historian of the Kingdom of Jerusalem<sup>1</sup>. Although the Byzantine Empire was not the most prominent theme in his *Historia*

<sup>1</sup> Analytical publications on the life and work of William – named “William of Tyre”, although he was in fact a native of Jerusalem and archbishop of Tyre – have become the basis of a vast literature, both biographical and source studies. Of the somewhat older reflections on William, several publications are still of some value: H. PRUTZ, *Studien über Wilhelm von Tyrus*, NAGÄDG 8, 1882, p. 93–132 (detailed biography); R. RÖHRICHT, *Syria sacra*, ZDPV 10, 1887, p. 1–48; F. CHALANDON, *Jean II Comnène, 1118–1143, et Manuel I Comnène, 1143–1180*, New York 1912, p. XXXVI–XXXVIII; A.C. KREY, *William of Tyre. The Making of an Historian in the Middle Ages*, S 16, 1941, p. 149–166; R.H. DAVIES, *William of Tyre*, [in:] *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. BAKER, Edinburgh 1973, p. 64–76; D.W.T.C. VESSEY, *William of Tyre and the Art of Historiography*, MS 35, 1973, p. 433–455; R. HIESTAND, *Zum Leben und zur Laufbahn Williams von Tyrus*, DAEM 34, 1978, p. 345–380 (dating William's death); P.W. EDBURY, J.G. ROWE, *William of Tyre. Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge 1988; B. EBELS-HOVING, *Byzantium in Latin Eyes before 1204. Some Remarks on the Thesis of Growing Animosity*, [in:] *The Latin Empire. Some Contributions*, ed. K.N. CIGGAAR, V.D. VAN AALST, Hernen 1990, p. 21–32; L. RALPH-JOHANNES, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096–1204*, trans. J.C. MORRIS, J.E. RIDINGS, Oxford 1993, p. 96–141; E. LANGILLE, *La Constantinople de Guillaume de Tyr*, B 63, 1993, p. 173–197; K.N. CIGGAAR, *Western Travellers to Constantinople. The West and Byzantium 962–1204. Cultural and Political Relations*, Leyden 1996 [= MMe, 10], p. 93–101; B. HAMILTON, *William of Tyre and the Byzantium Empire*, [in:] *Porphyrogenita. Essays on the History and Literature of Byzantium and the Latin East in Honour of Julian Chrysostomides*, ed. C. DENDRINOS, J. HARRIS, E. HARVALIA-CROOK, J. HERRIN, Aldershot 2003, p. 219–233.

*rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, he did not shy away from the Greek element<sup>2</sup>. I would like to focus my attention on William's perception of two dynasts of the Komnenian era – John II (1118–1143) and his son Manuel I (1143–1180) – especially since the chronicler met the latter personally.

Of course, in writing about the First Crusade and Byzantium's involvement in it, William built his account on chronicles about the First Crusade by such authors as Fulcher of Chartres<sup>3</sup>, the *Gesta Francorum*<sup>4</sup>, Albert of Aachen<sup>5</sup>, and Raymond of Aguilers<sup>6</sup>. Although I will not discuss the First Crusade here, it should be noted in general that William, in this context, reproduced – quite uncritically – the unfavorable image of Alexius I, which was the product of the historians of this expedition. This unfavorable and unflattering image of Alexius I was reflected after the emperor's death in 1118, when William wrote about his hostile attitude towards the Latinists: *Per idem tempus* [15 August 1118 – ZP] *Constantinopolitanus imperator Alexius, Latinorum maximus persecutor* [emphasis – ZP], *rebus humanis exemptus est*<sup>7</sup>. William did not hesitate to use the term *persequutor*, meaning 'persecutor,' 'a revenge seeker,' or 'tormenting' others with his actions. Did Alexis I really deserve such a bad reputation? According to William, yes. I deliberately referenced the historian's perception of Alexis I because, unfortunately, it indirectly influenced his subsequent perception of Byzantium.

William showed the successor to the Byzantine throne – Emperor John II (1118–1143) – more kindness and even admiration, but with some caution. John II was much better regarded by William than his father: *Cui successit filius eius, patre multo humanior et meritis exigentibus* [emphasis – ZP] *populo nostro patre longe acceptior, qui etiam non omnino sincerus erga Latinos Orientales extitit, sicut docebunt sequentia*<sup>8</sup>. It seems that the chronicler knew nothing – or omitted – the circumstances surrounding John II's assumption of the throne. The same silence or ignorance applied to the subsequent years of John II's reign. It was not until the spring of 1137 that William noted increased activity of the *basileus*: *Iohannes imperator Constantinopolitanus, versus Antiochiam properans, Ciliciam occupat universam*, as he entitled the 24<sup>th</sup> chapter of the 14<sup>th</sup> book of his history.

<sup>2</sup> The applicable critical edition is: WILLEMI TYRENSIS ARCHIEPISCOPI *Chronicon*, ed. R.B.C. HUYGENS, identification des sources historiques et détermination des dates par H.E. MAYER, G. RÖSCH, Trvrnholti 1986 (cetera: WILLELMUS TYRENSIS). It contains autobiographical threads not found in older editions. Their discovery (1961) was made by Robert B.C. Huygens at the Vatican Library MS. Lat. 2002.

<sup>3</sup> FULCHERII CARNOTENSIS, *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. HAGENMEYER, Heidelberg 1913.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. HILL, Oxford 1967 [= OMT].

<sup>5</sup> *Alberti Aquensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, [in:] RHC.HO, vol. IV, Paris 1879, p. 265–585.

<sup>6</sup> *Raimundi de Aguilers Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, [in:] RHC.HO, vol. III, Paris 1866, p. 235–309.

<sup>7</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 12. 5, 1–2.

<sup>8</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 12. 5, 3–4.



The rumors of the emperor's great expedition, William regarded as *nec erat sermo fide vacuus*<sup>9</sup>. The emperor's plan involved, among other things, taking away from the crusaders the strategic fortress in Antioch, but also supporting the crusaders' interests in Syria. Here William suspected that since the promises made by Alexius I during the First Crusade had not been kept, John II's intentions were also a continuation of that:

Certum est autem predictos principes cum domino imperatore pacta inisse ipsumque versa vice conditionibus quibusdam se principibus obligasse, a quibus ipsum prius certum est defecisse: unde ei tanquam pactorum violatori se non teneri constanter asserebant qui predictis conditionibus interfuerent, eosque qui iam vita decesserant nichilominus reddebant excusatos, dicentes eum prius tanquam varium et inconstantem hominem et cum eis fraudulenter. Unde et merito lege pactorum se dicebant absolutos: iniquum est enim ei fidem servari, qui contra pacta nititur versari.<sup>10</sup>

Initially, John II joined the siege of Antioch (August 29, 1137)<sup>11</sup>. As reported by the chronicler, shortly thereafter, Raymond of Poitiers (c. 1099–1149), Duke of Antioch (since 1136), reached the besieged city<sup>12</sup> and began to direct the city's defenses. In response, John II ordered the construction of shelling machines for the stronghold, and the shelling began. This undoubtedly undermined the defenders' hopes and forced Raymond to enter into talks with the emperor, until the terms of surrender were finally agreed upon<sup>13</sup>. John II demanded tribute, but he also announced that if he captured Aleppo, Raymond would hand over Antioch to him, which the latter would be forced to abandon and be content with authority in Aleppo, Shaizar (شيزر), Hama, and Homs<sup>14</sup>. *Nolens volens* Raymond agreed to the announced terms and took an oath of allegiance before the emperor<sup>15</sup>. Raymond and another local notable, Joscelin II of Courtenay, count of Edessa (1131–1159), could neither appreciate nor take advantage of the Byzantines' involvement in Middle Eastern affairs. They treated John II's intervention as a display of his ambition and they regarded him as a shatterer of the existing order. For them, the loss of Antioch could be a harbinger of further misfortune and further loss of prestige. William discussed at length the events surrounding the beginning of *basileus'* offensive in Syria, but he did not then refrain from some biting remarks against John II<sup>16</sup>. The emperor's next step was an attempt on April 28, 1138, to

<sup>9</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 14. 24, 6.

<sup>10</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 14. 24, 24–34.

<sup>11</sup> The date was convincingly established by F. CHALANDON, *Jean II Comnène, 1118–1143...*, p. 129, footnote 1.

<sup>12</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 14. 30, 4–6.

<sup>13</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 14. 30, 10–21.

<sup>14</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 14. 30, 26–44.

<sup>15</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 14. 30, 30–36.

<sup>16</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 14. 24, 1–55; for an analysis of the campaign after Raymond's tribute, see F. CHALANDON, *Jean II Comnène, 1118–1143...*, p. 135–139.

capture Shaizar and wrest it from Muslim hands. However, the siege dragged on. And this is when Williams' narrative shifted; he spared no words of admiration for the valor, the skill of the commander, and the sacrifice of John II:

Urgebat dominus imperator, sicut vir erat magnanimus, studio fervente propositum et propositis braviis adolescentium glorie cupidos ad certamina et congressus Martios accendebat animois, lorica quoque indutus et accinctus gladio, casside caput tectus aurea, mediis inmixtus agminibus nunc hos, nunc illos sermonibus hortatur congruis, nunc exemplo tanquam unus e popularibus provocat et instat viriliter, ut alios ad instandum reddat animosiores. Sic igitur vir egregia animositate insignis sine intermissione discurrens, estus belli a prima diei hora usque ad novissimam sustinens nichil sibi quietis ut vel cibum sumeret indulgebat, sed aut hos qui machinis deserviebant ut frequentius aut directus iacularentur ammonebat, aut his qui in conflictibus desudabant addebat animos, per vicarias successiones vires reparans et pro deficientibus recentes subrogans et integris conatibus validos.<sup>17</sup>

The chronicler depicts John II in statuesque terms indeed, as a tenacious and courageous warrior who fights in the front line of attack with a sword in his hand and a golden helmet on his head. William admired the emperor for engaging in battle, setting an example by his actions, bustling amidst the siege machinery, offering encouragement, and even, for not caring about his own meals. In contrast, the Palestinian feudals – Prince Raymond and Count Joscelin – who had just become vassals to the emperor: *Principes autem et comes, ut dicitur, adolescentes ambo et illius etatis levioribus nimium tracti studiis...*<sup>18</sup>, and were absorbed in their tents playing dice and remaining completely indifferent to the events around them. John II was 51 years old at the time of the battle of Shaizar, so William rightly considered Raymond (33 years old) and Joscelin (about 25 years old) to be young men compared to the emperor. The attitudes of the Frankish magnates were severely criticized by William, and later by the *basileus*, when he accused them of disloyalty<sup>19</sup>. The image of John II was further bolstered by another paean to his honor, for his discretion in admonishing and not ridiculing the languid knights when he himself was in battle:

Quod audiens imperator et facto eorum pernicioso nimis motus interius, eos semel et secundo familiari et secreta commonitione recovare studuit, exemplum sui proponens, qui cum regum terre et principum omnium esset potentissimus nec labori proprii parcebat corporis nec inmensis sumptimus<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>17</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 1, 31–45. Here, as an aside, it may be added that the Arab point of view on these events was presented by USAMA IBN MUNKIDH, *Księga pouczających przykładów*, trans. J. BIELAWSKI, Wrocław 1975, p. 33–35.

<sup>18</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 1, 45–47.

<sup>19</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 2, 9–17.

<sup>20</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 1, 50–55.

This lethargy and reluctance to support John II stemmed from Prince Raymond's fear that after the capture of Shaizar and any further military successes of the emperor, he would have to leave Antioch. Count Joscelin II, on the other hand, was also reluctant to help the Byzantine ruler during the siege of Shaizar as this could have potentially meant that the disliked Prince Raymond would rule in Shaizar, which he did not want<sup>21</sup>. After the Byzantines captured the lower town of Shaizar, ceasefire negotiations began on May 20, 1138. The local emir and defender of the city, 'Izz ad-Dīn abu-l-'Asākir Sulṭān (died 1154) of the Munkidh family<sup>22</sup>, paid tribute before John II. The emperor was showered with gifts and money by the Muslims to placate him. John II, realizing that he was unable to occupy the citadel, abandoned further siege of the city<sup>23</sup>. John II's entry into Antioch was pompous and probably motivated by his will. It was meant to clearly show the superiority of the *basileus* over the humiliated Raymond and Joscelin, who were leading by the bridle the imperial steed ridden by the triumphant. There were cheers, music, and hymns in his honor. After these theatrical gestures, necessary for the prestige of the ruler, John II demanded that Raymond surrender the citadel and allow Byzantine troops into the city<sup>24</sup>. In this situation, Raymond asked for some time before making a decision. Meanwhile, the cunning Joscelin began to spread untrue news that the Greeks intended to remove the Franks from Antioch<sup>25</sup>. This caused riots in the city, and even the murdering of Greeks. The ringleader of the tumult, Joscelin, tried to deflect the wrath of the emperor, who saw through his intentions. To bring the situation under control, John II demanded the confirmation of the tribute from Raymond and Joscelin and communicated that important matters forced him to return to Constantinople<sup>26</sup>. The events in Antioch provided an opportunity for William to express another opinion about the emperor: *Scientes igitur hii, quibus mens erat sanior, dominum imperatorem, licet more prudentis dissimulaverit, rancorem adversus principem et nobilium primores mente concepise...*<sup>27</sup> William's further narrative suggests that the emperor was apparently persuaded by the rationale of the repentant Raymond and Joscelin, and forgave them<sup>28</sup>. William portrayed John II during the 1138 campaign as a courageous, prudent, and just ruler, restraining his anger for the sake of his own causes and gains, but also somewhat naïve. William returned to the theme of this emperor when writing about

<sup>21</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 2, 25–31.

<sup>22</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 2, 5: described him as a *Machedolus*.

<sup>23</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 2, 5–9.

<sup>24</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 3, 1–65; William portrayed the emperor as a persistent politician eager to consummate military successes.

<sup>25</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 4, 1–4.

<sup>26</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 4, 5–65 and 15. 5, 43–45.

<sup>27</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 5, 1–3.

<sup>28</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 5, 38–40.

the events of 1142. At that time, the emperor, in the spring of that year, set out for Syria with the aim of ultimately occupying Antioch and removing Prince Raymond out of the equation. As it turned out, the expedition was not advantageous for the future of Byzantium. Even William lamented the unexpected deaths of the imperial sons: first Alexios (1107–1142) and then Andronicus (c. 1108–1142). The cause of their deaths was said to be...*langore correpti gravissimo extremum morientes clausurunt diem...*<sup>29</sup> This certainly affected the psyche of the emperor who had lost his two sons. However, the *basileus* proved steadfast and did not abandon the campaign. It is worth noting William's estimation of the enormity of the emperor's army, the size of which was noticed by Count Joscelin II: ...*videns eius incomparabiles copias et quas nemo regum terre sustinere posse videretur...*<sup>30</sup> Next, he paid another tribute before John II, and as proof of his intentions, handed over to the emperor a hostage – his own daughter Isabella<sup>31</sup>. It was John II's Christian intention, but also his political duty, to reach the Holy Land. However, the King of Jerusalem, Fulk of Anjou (1131–1143), through the mouth of his deputies, dissuaded him from this intention. The monarch from Jerusalem claimed that Palestine would not be able to cope with such a noble pilgrim, because it would fail to feed the Byzantine army. The king, on the other hand, was willing to accommodate the emperor with only a small detachment, for he was: ...*maximo principi orbis terrarum obedirent*<sup>32</sup>. Consequently: *Quod audiens imperator et contra imperialem gloriam reputans cum tam modica manu proficisci, qui tot milibus semper stipatus incedere consueverat, verbo supersedit remissisque nuntiis multa liberalitate...*<sup>33</sup> Willam, therefore, suggested that the emperor's lack of proper assistance was beneath his dignity. The historian emphasized that despite Fulk's refusal, John II was generous to the deputies. In any case, the emperor abandoned further march and wintered near Tarsus, in Cilicia<sup>34</sup>. In the early spring of 1143, preparations began for the resumption of Byzantine operations. William admitted that John II was a hunting enthusiast (*venandi... amator*)<sup>35</sup>, and this contributed to his death. The emperor himself was said to have wounded his hand with a poisoned arrow while hunting a boar. William admired John II's heroic, courageous attitude during the last days of his life. Faced with the symptoms of approaching death and aware of the inevitability of his fate, the emperor refused to allow surgeons to cut off his wounded hand, and to the strong recommendations of the medics he would reply: *indignum esse Romanorum imperium ut una manu regatur*<sup>36</sup>. This prompted

<sup>29</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 19, 13–14.

<sup>30</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 19, 29–30.

<sup>31</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 19, 32: ...*ex filibus suis Isabellam...*

<sup>32</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 21, 20–21.

<sup>33</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 21, 21–24.

<sup>34</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 21, 25–26.

<sup>35</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 22, 2–3.

<sup>36</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 22, 25–26.

William's genuine admiration, who saw in John II a wise and prudent man, but who was hesitant about whom to entrust the reins of government in Byzantium after his death (April 8, 1143). John II's choice was a conscious one. He chose his youngest surviving son, Manuel, instead of his elder son, Isaac<sup>37</sup>. This was because Manuel accompanied him on his campaigns and enjoyed the approval of the army. Isaac, on the other hand, was in Constantinople and was not as favored by his father<sup>38</sup>. Finally, William concluded, writing about John: ...*inclite recordationis, vir inclitus, liberalis, pius, clemens et miserocoris, in fata concessit...*<sup>39</sup> William also outlined the features of the emperor's physiognomy: *Fuit autem statura mediocris, carne et capillo Niger – unde et cognomento dicitur etiam hodire Maurus – facie despicabili sed moribus conspicuus et actibus insignis militaribus*<sup>40</sup>.

The image of John II in William's opinions clearly evolved. In his accounts, this emperor was the opposite of his father. It is not difficult to see elements of admiration and awe developed by the historian. William meticulously recorded the end of John II's life with genuine sympathy for him. The emperor's allegedly poor physiognomy was overshadowed by the greatness of his character and military merits. And ultimately, these were the most desirable features of a knight and a ruler.

\* \* \*

The son of the languishing John II, Manuel I, was named heir to the throne. The new emperor was young, less than 25 years old. According to William, he was already a man then: *porro Manuel, iunior filius, qui ibidem cum patre presens errat, universi exercitus et maxime Latinorum favore et preconii extollebatur...*<sup>41</sup> This important change in the new emperor's perception of Latinists was persistently

<sup>37</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 23, 1–5; this is also the assessment of K. Βαρζός, *Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. I, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, p. 391.

<sup>38</sup> P. MAGDALINO, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge 2002, p. 195.

<sup>39</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 23, 35–36.

<sup>40</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 23, 36–39 and 42–43. Not only here did the chronicler have trouble with chronology; he recorded that he died in the year ...*millesimo centesimo tricesimo septimo* [emphasis – ZP], *mense April, imperii vero vicesimo septimo* [emphasis – ZP], *vite vero \*\*\**, and there is an empty space where he intended to write down the age of John II. It is not true that John II died in the 27<sup>th</sup> year of his reign, but less than the 25<sup>th</sup> year of his reign. The obvious question is: where did William get this information? Surely not from autopsy, so perhaps from his contacts made in the 1160s and 70s with Manuel I and his courtiers.

<sup>41</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 15. 23, 23–25. The chronicler clearly writes (WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 16. 1, 1–6) at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> book that the history he had so far described was based – as in the isnada technique of Arab historians – on the memory of others: *Que de presenti hactenus contextuimus Historia aliorum tantum, quibus prisci temporis plenior adhuc famulabatur memoria, collegimus relatione, unde cum maiore difficultate, quasi aliena mendicantes suffragia, et rei veritatem et gestorum seriem et annorum numerum sumus assequuti, licet fideli, quantum potuimus, hec eadem recitatione scripto mandavimus*. But this too is not entirely accurate, for William returned from Europe to Jerusalem in 1165. He began writing the Chronicle around 1170 at the request of King Amalric I (1163–1174), as the Prologue suggests – WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, Prolog, 80–81, p. 99.

continued by William in his work. William did not return to the themes associated with Manuel I until the events of the Second Crusade, when King Conrad II Hohenstauf arrived in Constantinople in September 1147<sup>42</sup>. In the following year, the first opinion of Manuel I's generosity towards the German monarch appears: *Interea dominus imperator [that is, Conrad III – ZP], transcura hieme apud urbem regiam, ubi a domino Constantinopolitano humanitatis legibus diligenter, prout tantum decebat principem, tractatus et donis in discessu, largissimis cumulatus...*<sup>43</sup> In April 1150, the aforementioned Count Joscelin II first fell into the hands of bandits and then ended up with Nūr ad-Dīn (1146–1174), the Zankid ruler of Syria. This event became of interest to Manuel I, who purchased Edessa from Joscelin's wife, Beatrice, offering her a year's salary<sup>44</sup>. The emperor proved generous but also pragmatic, carrying out his father's plan and incorporating the county of Edessa into the Empire<sup>45</sup>. In 1155, William also noted the emperor's military activity in the affairs of Apulia<sup>46</sup>. Finally, the chronicler mentions the family relationship between King Baldwin III (1143–1163) and the Komnenos. The marriage to a Byzantine princess was sought by the king of Jerusalem, who in the summer of 1157 sent envoys to Manuel's court<sup>47</sup>. The negotiations between the emperor and the envoys were summed up by William, who giving vent to his thoughts about the Byzantines: *...tandem post innumeras dilationes et verborum enigmata, qualia Greci, queliabet cavillantes, perplexis ambagibus respondere solent...*<sup>48</sup> Finally, the emperor presented the hand of the daughter of his brother Isaac (died 1154)<sup>49</sup> – Theodora (c. 1145–1185), who was about 13 years old at that time<sup>50</sup>. The emperor added to this offer her dowry of 100,000 hyperpyra; 40,000 was her wealth in jewels and robes, and 10,000 was intended for the wedding and reception expenses<sup>51</sup>. William estimated that the imperial generosity was significant. In September 1158, the bride-to-be arrived in Tyrus and Baldwin's wedding to Theodora soon took place in Jerusalem<sup>52</sup>.

William followed up on Manuel I in the autumn of 1158 during his expedition to Cilicia<sup>53</sup>, during which he noted, among other things: *Eodem anno dominus imperator convocatis pro imperiali magnificentia...*<sup>54</sup> In December 1158, the emperor arrived in Cilicia, which caused an understandable stir among Jerusalem

<sup>42</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 16. 19, 20–26 and 16. 20, 29. William refers to Conrad as the emperor.

<sup>43</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 16. 28, 1–4. The theme of imperial generosity appears several more times.

<sup>44</sup> The chronicler did not know her names, hence – *comitisse*, WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 17. 16, 1–4.

<sup>45</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 17. 16, 1–49.

<sup>46</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 7–18. 8.

<sup>47</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 22, 1–22.

<sup>48</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 22, 11–14.

<sup>49</sup> K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η Γενεαλογία...*, p. 391–398.

<sup>50</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 22, 19–20; K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η Γενεαλογία...*, p. 327–346, especially, p. 330.

<sup>51</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 22, 22–28.

<sup>52</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 22, 33–34.

<sup>53</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 23, 1–57.

<sup>54</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 23, 1–2.

notables<sup>55</sup>. This became an opportunity for William to reaffirm Manuel I's skill in waging war and taming his opponents<sup>56</sup>. William depicted a meeting between the emperor and Baldwin III, where the former manifested his feudal superiority over the Jerusalem monarch, but reportedly, there was also no lack of cordiality and gifts from Manuel<sup>57</sup>. The chronicler noted the tact, generosity, and courtesies extended by the *basileus* to the dignitaries of Jerusalem during the ten-day meeting. The emperor spent Easter, which fell on April 12, 1159, in Cilicia, after which he resumed his march to Antioch, which opened its gates to him and received him imperially. During Manuel I's stay in Antioch, William noted that he enjoyed hunting (along with Baldwin III), bathing, bestowing gifts on his subjects, and proved to be a caring guardian. The occasion for this became the unpleasant episode involving Baldwin III, who broke his arm while hunting and was battered after falling from his mount<sup>58</sup>. The emperor personally made sure that the king was properly attended to.

At the end of August 1159, Manuel I's first wife Bertha of Sulzbach, who was eight years older than him and known in Byzantium as Irene, died<sup>59</sup>. According to William's account, the emperor sent notice of his loss and revealed a certain desire in a letter to Baldwin III. William had access to the archives in Jerusalem, so it can be trusted that he was quoting an imperial letter. Manuel I presented himself as a distressed widower, concerned about the fate of his dominion<sup>60</sup>. The emperor, having no male heir, asked Baldwin III to suggest a possible candidate for a wife from among his female relatives. The final choice was Mary of Antioch (1145–1182), daughter of the aforementioned Prince Raymond of Poitiers, with whom his father, John, had competed<sup>61</sup>. William only mentioned that she had gone to see her future spouse<sup>62</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 23, 8.

<sup>56</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 23, 8–13 and 49–57.

<sup>57</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 24, 1–65. I am not analyzing here the political significance of the meeting between Manuel I and Baldwin III.

<sup>58</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 25, 18–30. ...*Quod ut domino imperatori innotuit, ei multa humanitate compatiens, chirurgicorum implens officium...* (18. 25, 24–25).

<sup>59</sup> *Ioannis Cinnami Epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. MEINEKE, Bonn 1836 [= *CSHB*] (cetera: IOANNES CINNAMUS), p. 208. In Byzantium, the name Ειρήνη was reserved for ladies of foreign origin who became the wives of emperors.

<sup>60</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 30, 30–44.

<sup>61</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 31, 54–59. William also described the first candidate for the future empress. She was Melisanda (Melisenda) of Tripoli, daughter of Raymond II of Tripoli and sister of Raymond III. The chronicler raised the indecision of Manuel I and his advisors. In fact, it was about the actions of imperial intelligence officers who advised him against this union and encouraged him to enter into talks to marry Maria. William once again returned to the dashed hopes, the bitterness of Melisande and her brother – WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 32, 1–19 – as well as Melisande's death and the attempted revenge against Manuel 18. 33, 1–30. See also M.B. LESZKA, M.J. LESZKA, *Bazyliśa. Świat bizantyńskich cesarzowych (IV–XV wiek)*, Łódź 2017, p. 357–358.

<sup>62</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 18. 31, 63–67; IOANNES CINNAMUS, p. 210–211 – the dating of Manuel and Maria's wedding, December 24, 1161; K. ΒΑΡΖΟΣ, *Η Γενεαλογία...*, p. 459–460.

The following chronicle passages concerning Manuel I deal with the high qualifications of his entourage<sup>63</sup> and show the effectiveness of his intelligence in Egypt<sup>64</sup>. In 1168, the new King of Jerusalem, Amalric, sent William to Constantinople to agree on terms for joint battles for Egypt. However, the emperor was not in the Queen City as he was busy with military operations in Serbia<sup>65</sup>, so William went to the Byzantine camp at Monastir (Μοναστήρι), which is called Butella in his chronicle<sup>66</sup>. There, the chronicler had his first encounter with Manuel I, who invited him to join his cortege on his return to Constantinople – *ubi a domino imperatore honorifice suscepti, benigne et imperiali clementia tractati, legationis et vie causam formamque pactorum diligenter exposuimus*<sup>67</sup>. William returned to the completion of the then signed treaty when he described the action of the Byzantine fleet against Egypt in the second half of 1169, expressing another praise of Manuel for the fulfillment of the agreement<sup>68</sup>. However, after the failed invasion of Egypt, repentant Amalric left by sea for Constantinople in March 1170. William did not accompany him<sup>69</sup>. Despite this, he wished to reassure the reader of the character traits of Manuel I: *Audiens ergo dominus imperator, vir magnificentissimus, providus et discretus et per omnia commendabilis...*<sup>70</sup> William also shared his observations from his earlier peregrinations and experiences gained during his stay in Constantinople, describing the places he, the king, and his entourage had seen. William was delighted with the generosity and power that the emperor represented, as well as the versatility of the ruler, who did not shy away from entertainment in the form of games accompanied by music and sing-along, previously unknown to the chronicler<sup>71</sup>. It is likely that William received the information about the reception of the guests in Constantinople from them upon his return to Jerusalem. William did not return to the thread about the emperor until after the defeat of Manuel I at Myriokephalon (September 17, 1176), which he described as the clash at Iconium and which resulted in:

<sup>63</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 1, 14–21: *viros illustres et magnificos, imperialis eminentie familiares dominum Palliologum et Manuelem sevaston...*

<sup>64</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 4, 7–11.

<sup>65</sup> It was about Manuel I's conflict with Stefan Nemanja, because his brother, Tihomir, fled to Constantinople and asked the emperor for help – К. ЖИРЕЧЕК, *Историја срба*, trans. J. РАДОНИЋ, Београд 1952, p. 146.

<sup>66</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 5, 49, it is modern-day Bitola, Macedonia.

<sup>67</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 5, 51–55. Here it is worth adding that William wrote a few words about Emperor Justinian on the occasion of his meeting with Manuel I: *...domini felicissimi et invictissimi prudentis...* see WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 5, 49–50. Perhaps William believed that Manuel I was as powerful a ruler as Justinian the Great.

<sup>68</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 13, 4–6.

<sup>69</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 22, 43–47.

<sup>70</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 22, 52–54.

<sup>71</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 20. 23, 1–75 and 20. 24, 1–39.



...Ab ea die huius tam sinistri casus predictus dominus imperator adeo menti perhennem dicitur impressisse memoriam, ut de cetero nec solita mentis hilaritate, qua singulariter preminebat, letiorem, se suis admodum postulantibus exhiberet nec corporis sospitate, qua plurimum pollebat, usque in supremum vite diem frueretur: ita sane continua facti refricatione urebatur, ut animo quies nec menti consueta tranquillitas indulgeretur<sup>72</sup>.

The loss of Byzantium against the Seljuk Turks was also troubling in terms of Manuel I's continued successful cooperation with the Kingdom of Jerusalem. William expressed genuine sympathy to the emperor, who, although not injured in the battle, was certainly horrified by its aftermath. Interestingly, the chronicler blamed the failure of the battle not on the emperor, but on the commanders of the Greek troops, who led the soldiers through risky roads and ravines<sup>73</sup>. After this event, the chronicler's interest in Byzantium slightly waned, but he returned to it reporting on his absence from the Holy Land, which was said to have lasted one year and ten months. It was partly connected with a second meeting with the emperor. First, in August or September 1178, William sailed for Rome. The reason for his trip to Europe was the Third Vatican Council announced by Pope Alexander III (1159–1181). William was accompanied by other representatives of the church hierarchy from the Holy Land<sup>74</sup>. Having arrived in the Eternal City, William participated in the deliberations that lasted from March 5 to 19, 1179. It is unknown how much longer he stayed in Rome. We can assume that he was there until the late summer or early fall of 1179, after which he went to the court of Manuel I. We do not know at whose initiative William found himself in Constantinople. William's text indicates that after a seven-month stay in Constantinople, he was allowed to return to the Holy Land<sup>75</sup>. What do we know about this stay? What image of the emperor did the chronicler develop? The *basileus* received William in the fall of 1179. In Constantinople, William discovered that the emperor had sensed his death was approaching and, therefore, he married off his children. On March 2, 1180, the eleven-year-old heir to the throne, Alexis, married Agnes-Anne (1171–1220 or 1240), daughter of King Louis VII of France<sup>76</sup>. His

<sup>72</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 21. 11 (12), 26–32.

<sup>73</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 21. 11 (12), 1–25.

<sup>74</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 21. 25 (26), 1–9. They were: Heraclius, Archbishop of Caesarea (died 1191), Joscius (*Ioscius*), Bishop of Akka (died 1202), Radulf, Bishop of Sebaste, Albert, Bishop of Bethlehem, Roman, Bishop of Tripoli, Peter, Prior of the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre, and Raynald, Abbot of Mount Zion. Confirmation in: J.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, vol. XXII, Venetiis 1778, col. 210D–211A; ERNOUL, *Chronique d'Ernoult et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. DE MAS LATRIE, Paris 1871, p. 82 – writes about Heraclius and provides his characterization.

<sup>75</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 1–5: ...*cum per menses VII continuos cum illustris memorie domino Manuele, Constantinopoleos imperatore magnifico...*

<sup>76</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 20–27. William was present at these nuptials, which took place in Constantine's palace; M. DĄBROWSKA, *Agnieszka z Francji w Konstantynopolu*, [in:] *Niebem*

elder daughter, Maria (1152–1182), whom he had from his first marriage, he married off to Rainer (Renier) of Monteferrat (1162–1183)<sup>77</sup>. The wedding took place at the Blacherne Palace in February 1180<sup>78</sup>. From William's description we learn of the lavish celebrations of this second union, including a spectacle at the hippodrome. The chronicler went on enumerating the wealth and imperial generosity. What is worrying is the lack of any details about his meetings with Manuel I, except for the fact that the emperor asked him to participate in a diplomatic mission<sup>79</sup>. Immediately after Easter (April 20) 1180, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of that month, William set out for Antioch<sup>80</sup>. This expedition was carefully prepared by Manuel I. In addition to the archbishop of Tyre, the Greek delegation included high imperial officials not named by him, who occupied as many as four galleys<sup>81</sup>. Next, William focused on a detailed description of the sailing route across the Mediterranean Sea. Finally, the ships moored in the port of Antioch (now Samandağ) on May 12, 1180<sup>82</sup>. At this point in the text of the chronicle, William lapsed into a diplomatic silence about his mission. Instead, he delved into his memories of so many months spent in Constantinople. Finally, he briefly concluded that he had completed the emperor's commission and returned to Tyre on July 6, 1180<sup>83</sup>. It is presumed that the goal was to establish some sort of alliance between Constantinople and Jerusalem. Perhaps the emperor's aim was to win for himself a protectorate over Antioch and to restore the Greek patriarch there. In the absence of progress in these talks, it can be assumed that the negotiators, and perhaps Manuel himself, abandoned further plans<sup>84</sup>. The historian's peculiar silence about the visit at the instigation

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*i sercem okryta. Studia historyczne dedykowane dr Jolancie Malinowskiej*, ed. M. MALINOWSKI, Toruń 2002, p. 41–63 (reprint – EADEM, *Drugie oko Europy. Bizancjum w średniowieczu*, Wrocław 2015, p. 77–113). William was misinformed about the age of Alexius II, writing that he was thirteen (*tredecim*).

<sup>77</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 27–30 and 34. Here also a chronological clue that Rainer arrived in Constantinople fifteen days before William.

<sup>78</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 42. A clue about the time of creating this record: *...solum Alexium, hodie imperat...*, that is, William noted this after the death of Manuel I, on September 24, 1180, and while Alexius II (September 1180 – September 1183) was still in power.

<sup>79</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 43–54. Perhaps these reminiscences of wealth reached the ears of the participants of the Fourth Crusade. While in Constantinople for several months, William certainly had the opportunity to meet Manuel I's secretary, John Kinnamos (c. 1143–1195), who left behind the aforementioned *Epitome*. It is perhaps from him that he learned numerous details regarding Byzantine history.

<sup>80</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 1–5.

<sup>81</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 5–7, once again, we read about the *basileus'* generosity.

<sup>82</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 8–13.

<sup>83</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 4, 60; R. GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades et du Royaume Franc de Jérusalem*, vol. II, *Monarchie franque et monarchie musulmane l'équilibre*, Paris 1935, p. 682, footnote 1 – an erroneous date of the return to Tyre, June 6, 1180.

<sup>84</sup> R. GROUSSET, *Histoire...*, vol. II, p. 682–683, surmised that the talks were about the Crusaders' alliance with Byzantium, and that its purpose was supposedly an expedition to Egypt; P.W. EDBURY, J.G. ROWE, *William of Tyre...*, p. 54–55 and 146–147.

of the emperor who was, after all, praised, may suggest that the talks failed, despite the fact that they lasted from mid-May to, at least, late June 1180.

Shortly thereafter, Manuel I died on 24 September 1180, and William described him: *inclite recordationis imperatore felicissimo*<sup>85</sup>. Here is the chronicler's interesting conclusion about the Byzantine world:

Dum hec itaque in nostro sic geruntur Oriente, apud Constantinopolim grandis circa imperium facta est permutatio et casus accidit universe Latinitati lugubris et inauditam irrogans cum enormi dampno contumeliam: dolorem enim, quem pridem fallax et perfida Grecia conceperat, edidit et peperit iniquitatem<sup>86</sup>.

William also estimated that the passing of Manuel I was the beginning of the misery of the Latinists under Greek rule. He was not wrong. The chaos in Byzantium that followed the death of Manuel I was observed by William with disbelief and unconcealed horror<sup>87</sup>.

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As I have mentioned earlier, the images of the emperors from the Komnenos dynasty, presented by William, underwent a positive evolution, which is brilliantly illustrated in the case of John II. The chronicler's direct contacts with Manuel I undoubtedly contributed to softening the emperor's image and making bold comparisons of his achievements to those of Justinian the Great. The emperor was portrayed somewhat idyllically as generous, tactful, versatile, surrounded by a carefully selected court, a valiant leader, a just and happily ruling monarch, concerned about the future of the empire, also looking after dynastic interests and supporting Christians in the Holy Land.

*Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi*

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<sup>85</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 11 (10), 6: *Defuncto enim domino Manuele*.

<sup>86</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 11 (10), 1–5.

<sup>87</sup> WILLELMUS TYRENSIS, 22. 12 (11) – 22. 14 (13).

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## ***THEORIA AND OPTASIA IN THE OLD CHURCH SLAVONIC TRANSLATIONS OF THE LIFE OF ST ANTHONY THE GREAT\****

**Abstract.** The focus of the present paper is the terms *θεωρία* and *ὀπτασία* presented in the Greek text of *Life of St Anthony the Great* by St Athanasius of Alexandria and their translation representation in the Old Church Slavonic versions of the text. The terms are approached diachronically, i.e. in through history of Classical and post-classical Greek literature, thus providing the necessary cultural background for their usage and context. Each term, then, is commented in its exact attestation in the *Life*, providing also the corresponding translations and their wider context. The translation renderings are further analyzed in perspective of the lexical material in the classical Old Church Slavonic corpus as well as with material from texts and sources, thus aiming at contextualizing them in wider lexicological perspective.

**Keywords:** Anthony the Great, hagiography, Old Church Slavonic translations, patristics, Greek-Slavonic lexical correspondences

The *Life of St Anthony the Great* or *Vita Antonii* (BHG, 140; PG, vol. XXVI, col. 835–978; SC, 400<sup>1</sup>; VA onwards) by Athanasius Alexandrinus is regarded as one of the foundational texts for Christian monasticism as a cultural phenomenon and movement. It is beyond any doubt that Anthony (?251–356)<sup>2</sup> was not the first monk – according to the numerous written accounts by the early authors,

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<sup>1</sup> ATHANASE D'ALEXANDRIE, *Vie d'Antoine*, ed. et trans. G.J.M. BARTELINK, Paris 1994 [= SC, 400] (cetera: ATHANASIOS).

<sup>2</sup> *Православная Энциклопедия*, <http://www.pravenc.ru/> [29 V 2020]. Cf. also G. BARDY, *Antoine (Sainte)*, [in:] DSAM, vol. I, Paris 1937, col. 702–708; K. HEUSSI, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Tübingen 1936, p. 70–78; B. LOHSE, *Askese und Mönchtum in der Antike und in der alten Kirche*, München–Wien 1969, p. 190–197; M. DUNN, *The Emergence of Monasticism. From the Desert Fathers to the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford 2003, p. 1–15; W. HARMLESS, *Desert Christians. An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism*, Oxford 2004, p. 57–84.

as well as confirmed by the very text of the *Vita* (ch. 3)<sup>3</sup>. Life of Anthony, though, quickly exceeds the limits of the literary genre and becomes the example of an ascetic *vita* – introducing not only the practices, but also the aesthetics of the genre that later was developed in the monastic milieu. VA is sure to have been written soon after the death of the ‘first *athletes*’ (around the mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), it is quickly translated in Coptic, Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Ethiopian, Georgian and Latin. The *Vita* is later considered not only as a hagiographic narrative *par excellence*, but also as a basis for the flourishing monastic culture, ideology and their proliferous literature from the later centuries.

As such an early source, it could be expected that VA presents a foundational set of spiritual terminology, which monasticism uses to verbalize, think and transmit the realities and ideas it reaches to. This terminology, in the first place, can reveal interesting connections with the world of the Late Antiquity which is the philosophical and cultural background on which early Church literature develops. On the other hand, Christianity itself creates a self-sufficient ideology which is to flourish and be elaborated in the coming centuries, reaching practically both new experience and a new philosophical perception of the spiritual life. The monastic and spiritual terminology *of* and *in* the *Vita* is absorbed in the specific language that Christianity employs, especially in the later authors. This is particularly true about the Greek text of the *Vita* and its Latin translations<sup>4</sup> and probably about the Old Slavonic ones, too.

This **research aims** at looking deeper into the translational techniques and the lexical parallels of the known Old Church Slavonic translations of the *Vita Antonii Magni* based on its Greek text. The semantic group that will be in focus in the present paper is the monastic and spiritual terminology which constitutes an important part not only of the later Slavonic literary tradition but also of the cultural and religious life of *Slavia Orthodoxa*. The precise scope of the present paper is limited to the terms denoting spiritual visions.

For this purpose, the researched field is approached both by means of classical philological tools such as *contextual analysis*, *linguistic analysis of the style* [*of the author, translator, etc.*] but also with the lens of the anthropology that this type of literature constructs, the cultural shift that it provokes, creating a new paradigm of identity.

### The Old Church Slavonic translations of VA

VA is translated in Old Church Slavonic quite early; the earliest translation is known to have been accomplished in the time of Presbyter John and it is often

<sup>3</sup> For the historical relevance of the *Vita*, cf. H. DÖRRIES, *Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle*, Göttingen 1949, p. 359–410.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. specifically L.T.A. LORÉ, *Spiritual Terminology in the Latin Translations of the Vita Antonii. With Reference to Fourth and Fifth Century Monastic Literature*, Nijmegen 1955.



attributed to him<sup>5</sup>. There are two other separate translations confirmed in the literature on the subject, considered to have emerged in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The text of the *Vita* itself is attested in 52 Bulgarian, Serbian, Vlachomoldovian and Russian manuscripts, which are divided into five different versions by P. Petkov<sup>6</sup>. In this paper, though, I am going to follow the standard classification in three translation as accepted by the scholarship so far. Those translations could be presented briefly as follows:

- a. **First translation** is considered to have originated in Preslav during the first Bulgarian Kingdom, its earliest copy could be found in the Zographou Monastery collection, N. 19 (dated to the 80s of the 14<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>7</sup>. This copy is characterized by the use of two *jers* (with a tendency to reduce the usage to only one), two nasal vowels with a moderate tendency of mixing them, no vocalisation of the *jers*, almost regular omission of the *l-epentheticum* and writing of Ѣ on the etymological place of ѣ<sup>8</sup>. The text from this copy, kindly provided to me by P. Petkov, is the one used in the present paper. Another copy of this translation is in the manuscript N. 195 from the Khludov collection, edited and published by K. Kostova<sup>9</sup>. Special attention to the language of this manuscript was dedicated by A. Dimitrova<sup>10</sup>, who found numerous old traces and lexical matches with what is considered to be the Preslav lexical core. One of the major characteristics of this group is the omission of chapters 51–60 of the *Vita*. This translation is considered to be the earliest one<sup>11</sup> and previous to the Metaphrastic redaction which the *Vita* has undergone in Greek environment<sup>12</sup>.
- b. **Second translation** of the *Vita* is attested mainly among the Southern and Eastern Slavic people. The full text of this translation follows the copy attested in manuscript N. 4/8 from the Rila Monastery collection (Panegyricus Vladislavi from 1479), ff. 323r – 396. The text of this copy, kindly provided

<sup>5</sup> Cf. more about the colophon containing the information, which this opinion is based upon, and some of the scholar discussion on the subject in: A. SANTOS OTERO, *Die altslavische Überlieferung der Vita Antonii des Athanasius*, ZK 90, 1979, p. 98; З. ВИТИЋ, *Житие светог Антонија Великог према српским средњовековним рукописима*, Београд 2015, p. 9–15.

<sup>6</sup> П. ПЕТКОВ, *Славянските преводи на Житие на св. Антоний Велики от св. Атанасий Александрийски*, [in:] *Трети международен конгрес по българистика 23–26 май, 2013 г., София. Кръгла маса „Кирилметодиевистика“*, София 2014, p. 126–140. I express my gratitude to the author for having provided me with the texts of each of the version which I use in my research.

<sup>7</sup> I express my gratitude to the brotherhood of the monastery for providing me with digitalized copies of the *Vita*.

<sup>8</sup> П. ПЕТКОВ, *Славянските преводи...*, p. 128.

<sup>9</sup> К. КОСТОВА, *Правопис и фонетика на преславските текстове*, Велико Търново–София 2000.

<sup>10</sup> А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Синтактична структура на преводната агиография*, София 2012.

<sup>11</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*, София 2008, p. 443–443.

<sup>12</sup> T. HELLAND, *The Greek Archetypes of the Old and Middle Bulgarian Translations of the Life of Saint Anthony the Great*, Pbg 28.4, 2004, p. 17.

by P. Petkov, is used in the present paper<sup>13</sup>. Its linguistic characteristics refer to what is usually found in the 14<sup>th</sup> century texts, Petkov's hypothesis of an Athonite origin, though, needs further elaboration and research. T. Helland finds this translation to have originated from a premetaphrastic Greek original or from a text belonging to the so-called by him mixed metaphrastic group<sup>14</sup>.

- c. **Third translation** – represented by only one manuscript – N. 43 from the Serbian Orthodox Church Museum collection in Belgrade, p. 1–47. It was firstly identified by K. Ivanova<sup>15</sup>, later confirmed by T. Helland<sup>16</sup> and published by A. Dimitrova in an online data-base of Old and Middle Bulgarian texts<sup>17</sup>. Dimitrova dedicates a special attention to its language in a separate paper<sup>18</sup>. This translation represents the text in the most homogenous and smooth manner, it's considered to have been accomplished not earlier than the 14<sup>th</sup> c. According to T. Helland, the text was translated from an original, belonging to the so called “metaphrastic vulgata”<sup>19</sup> of the *Vita* among its Greek tradition.

The exact lexicological relations between the three translations have still not been an object of a thorough scholarship. The Second and the Third translations show some clear traces of the 14<sup>th</sup> century literary production that still need to be investigated in the context of the style and translation techniques. The present paper is hoped to contribute at least partially to understanding better the place of these texts among the Medieval Church Slavonic literacy.

**The focus of the present paper** is some of the terms denoting spiritual visions attested in the *Vita*. Here I am going to present the variants attested in the three Old Church Slavonic translations of VA and to analyze them in the wider context of the medieval Slavonic translations of Greek texts.

The translation solutions are first analyzed in the context of the classical corpus of Old Church Slavonic monuments (10<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> cc.) and then in view of the corpus of texts attested in later manuscripts. Thus, the paper aims not only at better understanding the origin of the terms in focus, but also at systemizing their reception in the Old Church Slavonic literary environment.

<sup>13</sup> I could also examine the digital copy of the *Vita* in this manuscript thanks to the project Digital Archive ‘Bulgarian Manuscript Book’ of the Faculty of Slavic Studies in Sofia University.

<sup>14</sup> T. HELLAND, *The Greek Archetypes...*

<sup>15</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Археографски бележки от книгохранилища на Югославия*, ЕЛ 27.4, 1972, p. 51–57; ЕАДЕМ, *Житие на Антоний Велики*, [in:] *Старобългарска литература. Енциклопедичен речник*, ed. Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, София 2003, p. 174–175.

<sup>16</sup> T. HELLAND, *The Greek Archetypes...*, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> [http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc\\_55](http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_55) [12 IV 2021].

<sup>18</sup> А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Третият превод на житието на св. Антоний Велики*, [in:] *Светци и свети места на Балканите*, vol. I, София 2013 [= СЛ, 47], p. 92–107.

<sup>19</sup> Those are the manuscripts W and Z according to Bartelink's classification (cf. ATHANASIOS: p. 81, 92–93).

## Terms for spiritual visions in VA

Spiritual visions are rather often manifestations of the spiritual growth in the ascetic life. Even though that later the monastic and generally Christian literature refers to them with certain skepticism, early ascetic texts contain abundant examples of such stances and experiences. Visions differ from contemplation as practice but still remain closely connected with it as much as both testify for certain dynamics in the inner life of the ascetic and its spiritual growth. In the *Vita*, particularly, they are denoted with the Greek terms θεωρία, ὄπτασία and φαντασία that are often rendered with similar lexemes in Slavonic. In this paper, I will focus on the first two terms as the similarity between their Slavonic correspondences is the closest. The third one and its place in the *Vita* is going to be examined on another occasion, due to its specific philosophical background in the classical Greek literature and its interesting outcomes in the Old Church Slavonic translations.

### 1. Θεωρία

In Classical Greek this term used to denote the sending of state-ambassadors to oracles or games (θεωροί). The other meaning it is attested with is 'being a spectator at a theater or games' (e.g. in Sophocles' *Oedipus rex*, Plato's *Crito*, Aristophanes' *Eirene*) as well as 'spectacle' (Aeschilus, Aristophanes, Plato's *Leges*), 'viewing, beholding' (Herodotes, Isocrates, Aristophanes). Probably it is from the latter that more specific and abstract notions of 'contemplations, consideration' (Plato, Epicurus, Aristotle's *Metaphysics*) and 'theory, speculation' (Polibius et al.) have been developed<sup>20</sup>. Here it's interesting to mention Lorie's observation that *[t]hough Plato is deeply engaged in discussing his eternal ideas he does not use the word θεωρία to express this purely intellectual speculation. To him θεωρία chiefly means scene, spectacle, show, going to a show, entering on a specific enquiry*<sup>21</sup>. René Arnou dedicates an extensive overview of Platonic contemplation, starting from its pre-origin. Outlining the influence of Socrates, for example, he summarizes that contemplation is a vision, but this vision comes from the inner life, depending on the exercises of the purificatory virtues. This intimate desire of the souls, that leads to this purificatory labor through which the νοῦς come to contemplating the ideas, corresponds to the desire in them that provokes the search in the realm above<sup>22</sup>. Later, Aristotle's opinion was that there was nothing more pleasant than the contemplation and that happiness was hidden in the 'pure thought' (EN, K, 7sq, 1177sq)<sup>23</sup>. For Aristotle, continues Lorie, θεωρία or the contemplation is

<sup>20</sup> Following LSJ, <http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsj/> [12 IV 2021].

<sup>21</sup> L.T.A. LORIE, *Spiritual Terminology...*, p. 144.

<sup>22</sup> R. ARNOU, *Contemplation chez les anciens philosophes du monde Gréco-Romain*, [in:] DSAM, vol. II.2, Paris 1953, col. 1719.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibidem*, col. 1725.

an active property to God; man cannot contemplate the divine, but can only apply himself to contemplation as much as he himself has something divine in him (the νοῦς, his mind)<sup>24</sup>.

Contemplation as knowing God was introduced by Philo of Alexandria who believed contemplating God was possible because God was manifesting Himself, and also because of the “divine seed” (σπέρμα τὸ νοητὸν) received by a purified human mind (νοῦς καθαρώτατος)<sup>25</sup>. As for the meaning ‘contemplations of divine things’, the term was used freely firstly by Plotinus, although the lexeme he preferred mostly in order to render this idea was θεά<sup>26</sup>.

Later in Patristic language<sup>27</sup>, the word extended its semantic field in the following directions. Firstly, it preserved the notion of more general and subjective perceptions such as ‘seeing, beholding’, ‘vision’, ‘spectator’. The second semantic group encompasses more metaphoric meanings, connected with intellectual perception such as ‘reason, inquiry’, ‘intellectual learning’, ‘theory, speculation, science’ and also ‘(Platonic) speculation’. A separate third group is constituted by more spiritual connotations – it is here that the meaning of ‘spiritual contemplation’ is extant (not always distinguished from the Platonic one), as well as its connections with prayer, actions, and the communion. Meanings connected with the Christian exegesis could be differentiated in a separate group – there θεωρία refers only to the ‘vision of prophets and apostles, comprehensible and interpretable only by minds that are separated from the earthly cares’<sup>28</sup>. Here are also some more *technical* notions related with the spiritual meaning of the Scriptures (especially in the Antiochian school); some of the Alexandrian and Cappadocian Fathers regard it alongside with the allegorical interpretation of the Word (ἀλληγορία)<sup>29</sup>. Among the Greek Fathers the first that used frequently θεωρία were Clement of Alexandria and Origen. Sometimes the term is comprehended as identical by meaning to γνῶσις although the latter used to cover the whole sphere of religious knowledge whereas the former denoted ‘the same knowledge at its highest perfection’<sup>30</sup>. Lorie notes that Clement and Origen, similarly to Plotinus, are one of the first authors that postulated the oppositions θεωρία – πράξις, τὸ θεωρητικόν – τὸ πρακτικόν,

<sup>24</sup> It's worth underlining, though, that our contemporary perception of ‘mind’ mostly as the rational human thinking is not exactly what νοῦς was referring to.

<sup>25</sup> PHILON, *De praemiis et poenis*, 6; *Quis rerum div. heres*, n. 13. R. ARNOU, *Contemplation...*, col. 1726.

<sup>26</sup> L.T.A. LORIE, *Spiritual Terminology...*, p. 145.

<sup>27</sup> G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Lexicon*, Oxford 1961.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. e.g. ἡ τοῦ προφήτου ληφθεῖσα διάνοια πρὸς τὴν θεωρίαν (Thdr. Mops. Nah. I: I (M.66.404D)), also: πού γε τὰς οὕτω φοβερὰς τε καὶ ἀπορρήτους θεωρίας δυνατόν ἦν αὐτοῖς ὑποδέχασθαι μὴ τῷ λογισμῷ πρότερον κατὰ τὸν τῆς θεωρίας καιρὸν ἐξισταμένοις τῶν παρόντων (*ibidem*, 401D).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. more in A. SOLIGNAC, *Theôria*, [in:] *DSAM*, vol. XV, Paris 1991, col. 547–548.

<sup>30</sup> L.T.A. LORIE, *Spiritual Terminology...*, p. 145.

βίος θεωρητικός – βίος πρακτικός. Later, these dichotomies are further elaborated (rather following Origen) by Evagrius Ponticus in his ascetic theory.

In the Classical Old Church Slavonic corpus<sup>31</sup>, the Greek term θεωρία is translated with видѣ, видѣннѣ, позорѣ and свѣтостѣ. Among them, in Codex Supra-sliensis θεωρία is attested as:

- видѣ as ‘ability to see, perception’

277.14 νοεραῖς ἀναβιβαζόμενος βαθμίσι νομοθεσίαν καὶ θεωρίαν ραζογ-  
мѣнѣннѣннѣ вѣзводѣннѣ стѣпенѣннѣ законѣннѣ. н видѣ

344.14 ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ πνεύματος θεωρίας въспѣтъ вѣѣкѣ же сѧ пакты доуховѣ-  
нѣннѣ видѣннѣ

345.13 ἡ θεωρία ἡ κατὰ τὴν συκῆν вѣдѧ смѣковѣннѣннѣ

In the first two examples, it could be argued that видѣ renders the idea of perception, rather than the ‘ability to see’. In the last case, on the other hand, θεωρία expresses the divine meaning toward which the fig tree directs. This type of interpretation is attested in the early exegesis. In all these occasions, though, the Old Church Slavonic translation does not seem to be quite accurate in rendering the Greek contextual meaning of the passages.

- видѣннѣ ‘spectacle’

445.28 διὸ καὶ ἔγαγεν αὐτὰς εἰς θεωρίαν тѣмѣже н вѣдѣ н на видѣннѣ

- свѣтостѣ ‘holiness’

338.14 καὶ τῶν τῆς θεολογίας καθ’ ὧν ἐξυβρίζει νόμων ὅλως ἐκπεσεῖται καὶ τῆς περιεργαζομένης ἀπελαθήσεται θεωρίας н богѣсловѣннѣннѣ охѣлантѣ законѧ н вѣннѣннѣ нго охѣлантѣ. н пытаннѣннѣннѣ гонѣннѣннѣннѣ свѣтостѣ

In John’s the Exarch translation of *De Fide Orthodoxa* θεωρία is also translated as видѣ and видѣннѣ<sup>32</sup>. In *Bogoslovie* it is rendered as видѣ meaning ‘contemplation’: ажѣже во доубѣ вѣ нхѣодѣѣхѣ водѣннѣннѣннѣ вѣсѣждѣннѣ, тако н дѣша ѣж(с)тѣвннѣннѣннѣ понѣма писаннѣннѣ напонтѣ сѧ н плодѣ зѣрѣлѣ дастѣ, вѣроу правѣославнѣноу, н прѣснозѣленнѣннѣ лнстѣннѣ бѣсѣдѣннѣннѣннѣ дѣлѣ. на дѣло во

<sup>31</sup> Via I. CHRISTOV, *Greek-Old Church Slavonic index* (2015) in <https://e-medievalia.uni-sofia.bg/moodle/mod/data/view.php?id=1869> [12 IV 2021], and the searching machine for Greek equivalents in *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského. Lexicon linguae palaeoslovenicae*, vol. I–IV, ed. J. KURZ, Z. HAURTOVÁ, Praha 1966–1977 and *Старославянский словарь (по рукописям X–XI веков)*, ed. P.M. ЦЕЙТЛИН, С. ГЕРОДЕС, Э. БЛАГОВА, Москва 1999 via the online portal [gorazd.org](http://gorazd.org) [12 IV 2021]. All given English translations of the Old Church Slavonic lexical units are given according to *Slovník jazyka...* and *Старославянский словарь...*

<sup>32</sup> Т. ИЛИЕВА, *Терминологичната лексика в Йоан-Екзархovia превод на “De Fide Orthodoxa”*, София 2013, p. 381.

БЛ҃ГОИЗВОЛЬНО И ВНАДЪ НЕВЪЗМОУТЬНЪ ѿ С҃Т҃ЫНХЪ ПИСАНИИ ВЪУНТАЕМЪ СІА 306b 9 – 307a 7; it's also translated as *видѣнне* rendering “intellectual perception”: *сладостни овѣ соутъ дшѣнѣга, а дрозгѣга плѣтънѣга. да дшѣнѣга соутъ елнкоже едннота соутъ дша*<sup>33</sup>.

In Symeon's *Miscellanea* from 1073, *θεωρία* is translated with *видѣнне* in two occasions – in both cases the meaning rendered is connected with a spiritual experience and contemplation:

58c9–10 *πνευματικὴν θεωρίαν* дхѣноѣ *видѣнне*

57b19–20 οἱ δὲ βίον ἔχουσι τὸ τῆ τοιαύτῃ θεωρίᾳ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐστιᾶν *ови же житиѣ имѣтъ еже тацѣмъ видѣннѣмъ очи кѣрмиѣти*.

On the other hand, it is also encountered as *разоумѣнне* ‘understanding’, *разоумѣ* and *мѣисль* (134c6–7):

63a12 ὁ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξαφανίσας τὴν λήθην καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν φυσικὴν διήνυσεν ἐκπρεπῶς *θεωρίαν* а *еже отъ доуша погоуби забѣтъ и невѣдѣнне то юстѣствѣноѣ съврши разоумѣнне лѣпотѣ*

226a22 *κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀκριβῆ θεωρίαν* по зѣлоопѣтътноуמוу *разоумоу*

Although *θεωρία* is not attested in the *Miscellanea* from 1076, it's related verb *θεωρέω* is encountered, it is translated with *видѣти* and *разоумѣвати*<sup>34</sup>. In the translation of book of Prophet *Jezekiel* it is rendered with *видѣнне*, *явлѣнне*, (*божини*) *разоумѣ*, *видѣнне* и *разоумѣ*, *дальнии разоумѣ*<sup>35</sup>.

It is interesting to mention that the lexemes *видѣ*, *позорѣ* are not encountered in the dictionary of St Kliment Ohridsky's original orations<sup>36</sup>.

Data from the hymnography for now could be taken from A. Bonchev's dictionary where *θεωρία* as ‘night dream’ and ‘contemplation, spiritual knowledge; theory’ is attested as *видѣнне* in the *Lenten Triodion*. In the *menaia* it is attested as *воговидѣнне* (lit. ‘vision of God’, ‘contemplation in prayer’, Men. for March), *вогозѣрѣнне* (‘vision of God’, ‘focus in prayer’, Men. for January), *видѣ* (‘seeing’, ‘looking’, Horologion, evening service of the Compline), *дѣнне* (i.e. *дѣнне*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Saturday of the *Lenten Triodion*), *зѣрѣнне*<sup>37</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> *Терминологичен речник на Йоан Екзарх*, ed. И. Христов, А. Тотоманова et al., София 2019, [http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/trmdict/trm\\_search/](http://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/trmdict/trm_search/) [12 IV 2021].

<sup>34</sup> М.С. Мушинская, Е.А. Мишина, В.С. Голышенко, *Изборник 1076 года. Второе издание, переработанное и дополненное*, vol. II, Москва 2009, p. 355.

<sup>35</sup> Т. Илиева, *Старобългарският превод на Стария завет*, vol. III, *Старобългарско-гръцки словоуказател към книгата на пророк Иезекиил*, София 2013, p. 564.

<sup>36</sup> И. Христова, *Речник на словата на Климент Охридски*, София 1994.

<sup>37</sup> И. Христов, *Гръцко-църковнославянски речник*, София 2019, p. 399.

The last lexeme is used to render the Greek θεωρία in the Medieval Slavonic translation of the *Life of St Pachomius the Great* (according to its copies in the National Library of Bulgaria, N. 307, 105v–163v, Rila Monastery Collection, N. 4/8 (Panegiricum Vladislavi), 456r–483v, and Zographou collection N. 90, 140r–197r). In the corpus of translated works in Old Church Slavonic and later texts the same translation solution is encountered also in the Synodicon of Orthodoxy (Syn. Borili)<sup>38</sup>, Gregory of Nyssa's *De hominis opificio*<sup>39</sup>, John the Exarch's translation of *Dialectica*<sup>40</sup> and the 14<sup>th</sup> century translation of the *Dogmatica*<sup>41</sup>, in the Areopagite corpus<sup>42</sup> and the Middle Bulgarian translations of abbas Dorotheus's works<sup>43</sup>.

In the *Life of St Anthony* Old Church Slavonic translations, θεωρία is attested in the following contexts:

### 1.1. οἱ δὲ συνόντες ἤσθάνοντό τινα θεωρίαν αὐτὸν βλέπειν (82)

*Translation 1:* си же разоумѣвше чюдѣхъ нѣкоѣ видѣниѣ. на горѣ сѣ вѣдѣше. 140r

*Translation 2:* соумѣи же съ нѣмь, ѿшоумѣахоу нѣкоѣ видѣнїѣ зрѣти ѣмѣ. 343r

*Translation 3:* ѡнї же раззѣаахъ(!), съматрѣжше видѣнїѣ нѣкоѣ видѣти. 41r

In this passage all the three translations are in a huge extent identical. Here θεωρία is connected with the visions, that the saint receives as part of his ascetic life, i.e. it is related with his contemplative life. On the other hand, it is not explicitly marked whether the vision relates to God, his angels, or saints, or to an attack of the demons.

<sup>38</sup> А. ТОГОМАНОВА, И. ХРИСТОВ, *Речник-индекс на словоформите в Борилевия синодик и придружаващите го текстове в ръкопис НБКМ 289*, София 2015, p. 187.

<sup>39</sup> GREGORY OF NYSSA, *De hominis opificio. О образъ чловѣка. The Fourteenth-Century Slavonic Translation*, ed. L. SELS, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2009 [= BSPK.E, 21] (cetera: GREGORIUS NYSSENUS), p. 107.

<sup>40</sup> E. WEINER, *Die Dialektik des Johannes von Damaskus in kirchenslavischer Übersetzung*, Wiesbaden 1969 [= MLSDV, 8], p. 304.

<sup>41</sup> ИДЕМ, *Die Dogmatik des Johannes von Damaskus in der kirchenslavischen Übersetzung des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg 1987 [= MLSDV, 25], p. 787.

<sup>42</sup> *Das Corpus des Dionysios Areiopagites in der slavischen Übersetzung von Starec Isaija (14. Jahrhundert)*, vol. IV.1–3, ed. S. FAHL, J. HARNEY, D. FAHL, Freiburg 2012, p. 1726.

<sup>43</sup> К. ДИМИТРОВ, *Ава Доротея. Слова. Среднобългарски превод. Гръцко-български словоуказател*, Велико Търново 2013, p. 497.

1.2. Ποτὲ γοῦν καθεζόμενος καὶ ἐργαζόμενος, ὡσπερ ἐν ἔκστασει γέγονε, καὶ πολὺς ἦν ἐν τῇ θεωρίᾳ στενάζων (82)

*Translation 1:* БѢ БО О҆҃БѢ НѢКОЛИ СѢДА Ѣ ДѢЛАА. ІАКЫ БѢШЕ ВЪ ЗАМЫШЛЕНИ СТЕНА. 140г

*Translation 2:* НѢКОГДА О҆҃БѢ СѢДЕ Ѣ ДѢЛАЕ, ІАКО ВЪ ІСТОУПЛІЕНІ БЫТЬ. Ѣ МНОГѢ БѢ ВЪ ВІДѢНИ СТЕНА. 348г

*Translation 3:* ИНОГДА БО СѢДА, ІАКО ВЪ О҆҃ЖАСѢ БЫСТЪ. Ѣ МНОГО БѢ ВЪ ВИДѢНІИ ВЪЗДЫШЖ. 40г

In this passage the Greek text is rendered much more freely in Translation 1, combining somehow the translations of ἔκστασις and θεωρία. The translator seemingly is aware about the connection between the spiritual vision of the saint and the state he is while receiving it. The Old Church Slavonic term *замышление* rendered these two Greek terms, though it is hard to determine which exactly. It is more probable that *замышление* stands as a translation of θεωρία as far as ἔκστασις is almost definitely rendered as *о҃҃жасъ* in the eldest monuments of Old Church Slavonic literacy<sup>44</sup>.

The term *замышление* itself is not attested in the vocabulary of the Classical corpus. It could be found, though, in Sreznevsky<sup>45</sup> and in A. Bonchev (in Menaion Praxos for October of 1096).

1.3. Ὡ τέκνα, βέλτιον, ἔλεγεν, ἀποθανεῖν, πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι τὰ τῆς θεωρίας (82)

*Translation 1:* О҃҃ЧЕ ДА О҆҃҃НЕ ЁСТЬ ДМРѢТИ РЕКЫ. ПРѢЖДЕ ДАЖЕ НЕ БЖДЕТЬ ОАЗОУМНОЕ. 140г

*Translation 2:* О. ЧЕДА. ОУЧЕ БѢШЕ О҆҃МРѢТИ ПРѢЖДЕ ДАЖЕ БЫТИ ВІДѢНІЮ. 343г

*Translation 3:* О. ЧАДА, О҆҃҃НЕ ЁСТЬ О҆҃МРѢТИ РЕЧЕ, ПРѢЖДЕ ДАЖЕ НЕ БЫТИ ВИДѢНІЮ СЕЛІ. 41v

An interesting translation decision in this passage could be observed concerning the phrase τὰ τῆς θεωρίας (the things of/related to the vision) – rendered by

<sup>44</sup> И.П. ПЕТРОВ, *Чудеса и изстѣпления: Предварителни наблюдения върху старобългарските преводи на гр. Екстаσις и Εξιστημι/Εξιστανω*, [in:] *Българистични четения – Сегед 2017. Международна научна конференция Сегед, Унгария, 8–9 юни 2017 г.*, ed. G.L. BALÁSZ, M.B. FARKAS, H. MAJOROS, Сегед 2017, p. 61–68; ИДЕМ, *L'horreur de la vie et l'extase de la vie: първоначални бележки върху екстатичната терминология в житието на св. Антоний Велики и славянските му преводи*, [in:] *Sapere aude. Сборник в чест на проф. дфн Искра Христова-Шомова*, ed. V. SAVOVA, I. TRIFONOVA, I. PETROV, P. PETKOV, София 2019, p. 115–128.

<sup>45</sup> И.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКИЙ, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка по письменным памятникам*, vol. I, Санкт-Петербург 1893, p. 930.



разоумноѣ in Translation 1. A possible explanation for this solution, could be found in the renderings of the verb θεωρέω which often carries the meaning ‘understand’ and is thus translated with разоумѣти – e.g. in the translation of the Book of the Twelve Prophets, Habbacc. 2:1 такоже разоумѣти пророцьскама очима. Τοῖς προφητικοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς θεωρήσω<sup>46</sup>. The same translation solution is found also in John Exarch’s translation of *De Fide Orthodoxa*. As it was presented above, it is also extant in Symeon’s Miscellanea from 1073 and with some degree of uncertainty might relate to a certain translation technique of the Preslav circle. In the case in the *Vita*, though, the translation seems to be rather mechanical and incoherent to the surrounding context<sup>47</sup>.

Similar occasions of θεωρία translated as “understanding, perception” are found in the *Izbornik* of 1073 (Symeon’s/Svetoslav’s Miscellanea) as in: 63a12 ὁ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐξαφανίσας τὴν λήθην καὶ τὴν ἄγνοιαν τὴν φυσικὴν διήνυσεν ἐκπρεπῶς θεωρίαν – а юже отъ доуша погубен забѣти ѡ невѣдѣнне то юстьствьною съвѣрши разоумѣнне лѣпоты; 226a22 по зѣлоопытѣтпоумоу разоумоу – κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀκριβῆ θεωρίαν. It is plausible, therefore, that this translation choice might be mainly typical for the monuments of the Preslav circle<sup>48</sup>.

#### 1.4. Ἀντωνίου δὲ μόνον ἡ εὐχὴ καὶ ἡ ἄσκησις, ἧς ἔνεκεν ἐν τῷ ὄρει καθήμενος, ἔχαιρε μὲν τῇ τῶν θείων θεωρίᾳ (84)

*Translation 1:* ЯНТѠНИИѢВА ЖЕ ТЪЧИА МОЛИТВА БЪШЕ. И ВЪЗДРЪЖКАНИЕ ѢЖЕ ДЪЛѢ ВЪ ГОРѢ СЪДА МОЛѢШЕ СЛ. И РАДОВАШЕ СЛ ШЕВ разоумомъ Ѡ бжествныхъ. 141r

*Translation 2:* ЯНТѠНИИШ ЖЕ БЪШЕ ТЪКМО МЛТВА И ПОСТЪ, ИХЖЕ РАДИ НА ГОРѢ СЪДЕ, РАДОВАШЕ СЕ ОУБѠ ВЪ БЖТЪВНЫИ ВІДѢНИИИ, 343v

*Translation 3:* ЯНТѠНИИОУ ЖЕ ТЪЧИЖ МЛТВА, И ПѠСТЪ БЪШЕ. ИМИЖЕ РАДИ НА ГОРѢ СЪДА, РАДОВАШЕ СД ОУБѠ БЖТЪВНЫИ||МИ ВИДѢНИИ. 42r–42v

In this passage, again, it is the First Translation that renders a different solution for translating θεωρία in the phrase τῇ τῶν θείων θεωρίᾳ. As in 1.3., θεωρία here is rather connected with the verb θεωρέω as ‘comprehend, understand’. Here, though, its translation with разоумѣ is particularly specific, because this Old

<sup>46</sup> Р. ЗЛАТАНОВА, *Книга на Дванадесетте пророци с тълкования. Старобългарският превод на Стария Завет*, vol. I, София 1998.

<sup>47</sup> It should be also noted that in the Classical corpus, though, θεωρέω is always translated with *verba videndi*.

<sup>48</sup> Given the expected synonymity between θεωρία and γνώσις (cf. supra, L.T.A. LORIE, *Spiritual Terminology...*, p. 145) an interesting confirmation is found again in the *Izbornik* of 1073, where γνώσις is translated as разоумѣ in numerous occasions: 8r21, 226r12–13, 37r18, 38v10, 4066, 118a2, 133a18–19, 133a29, 154v26, 159r4, 164r13, 168v25–26, 168r26, 199a7–8, 20066, 201v14, 201v18, 204v11, 20969–10, 210a2, 210a8–9.

Church Slavonic lexeme is used in translating other important terms not only of the monastic culture but in theology as well (especially that of St Athanasius of Alexandria) – mostly σύνησις and νοῦς<sup>49</sup>.

## 2. όπτασία

Although not attested in the Classical Greek literature, the word appears in *Anthologia Graeca* (as ‘vision’), in Septuagint (Dan. 9:23) and in Luke (1:22, as ‘apparition’). It is related with the late Greek όπτάζομαι ‘being seen’, derived from one of the suppletive stems of βλέπω (Perf. Act. όπωπα, Aor. Pass. όφθην) (*LSJ*). In Patristic Greek όπτασία is attested with meaning ‘vision, appearing (of God, Christ, saint, demon)’<sup>50</sup>.

In the classical corpus of Old Church Slavonic monuments όπτασία is translated with ВИДЪ, ВИДЪКНИИ, ПАВЛЕНИЕ, обавление, where only ВИДЪКНИИ is attested in the vocabulary of St Kliment Ohridsky’s orations.

Codex Suprasliensis contains most of the extant translation variants of όπτασία:

- ВИДЪКНИИ (and ВИДЪ only once in a passage where both mean “night vision”)
 

294.21 τότε τοίνυν Αιθέριος άναστάς άπό του ύπνου και την όπτασίαν διακρίνας... και την όπτασίαν τοίς πατράσιν άπαγγείλας ТЪГДА ОУВО ΕΦΕΡΗΗ ВЪСТАВЪ ОТЪ СЪНА. И ВИДЪКНИИ РАСЖДНВЪ... И ВИДЪ ОТЪЦЕМЪ ПОВЪДАВЪ

299. 21 δέχεται έναργώς την όπτασίαν φαίνεται γάρ αυτή καθ’ ύπνουc λέγων ПРНД АВЪ ВИДЪКНИИ ПАВИ БО СД ИИ ВЪ СЪНЪ ГЛАГОЛА
- ПАВЛЕНИЕ
 

529. 22 ό τοίνυν άγιώτατος έπίσκοπος сὺν παντί τῷ κλήρῳ έκέλευσεν συβασθῆναι έπὶ τὸ την όπτασίαν ταύτην διηγῆσασθαι сѢТѢИ ЕПѢ ВЪСЕМΟΥ КЛѢРОУ СВОЕМΟΥ ПОВЕЛЪ СЪВЪРАТН СД НА СЪПОВЪДАННИ ПAVЪКНИИ ТОГО
- ОБАВЛЕНИЕ
 

299.13 και τούτου ύπό άγγελικῆς όπτασίας φанερωθέντος αυτῷ δηλοῖ αυτή η λέγων И ТОМОУ ОТЪ АГГЕЛЬСКА ОБАВЛЕННИА ОБАНУЕНОУ БЪВЪШОУ. ВЪЗВЪСТН ИИ

In Symeon’s *Miscellanea* of 1073 it is translated with ВИДЪ: ВИДЪКТИ ВИДА АГГЕЛЪ ВОЖИИ όπτασίαν άγγέλων θεοῦ 256d19. In the *Book of the Twelve Prophets*, it is attested once translated as ВИДЪКНИИ: Ма 3:2 (337a20) and КТО ПОСТОИТ ВИДЪКНИИ ЕГО. It is encountered twice in the St Athanasius’ *Third Oration* against the Arians translated as ВИДЪКНИИ<sup>51</sup>:

<sup>49</sup> И.П. ПЕТРОВ, *Помислите (λογισμοί) в житието на св. Антоний Велики и славянските му преводи*, ФФ 13.1, 2021, p. 19–36.

<sup>50</sup> G.W.H. LAMPE, *A Patristic...*, p. 967.

<sup>51</sup> П. Пенкова, *Свети Атанасий Александрийски (Велики). Трето слово против арианите. Изследване и издание на текста*, София 2016.

1466:14 (Migne 349): ὁ βλέπων τῶν ἀγγέλων ὀπτασίαν οἶδεν, ὅτι τὸν ἄγγελον εἶδε, καὶ οὐ τὸν Θεόν.

И ВИДА ѿ ВИДѢНІЕ АНГЕЛЬСКО, ВѢСТЪ ТАКО АНГЕЛА ВИДѢЛЪ ҃Е А НЕ БѢ

1716:11 (Migne 421): οἶδεν ὁ Ἀπόστολος ὃ πέποθεν ἐν τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ

ВѢСТЪ ЛИ АПОСТОЛЪ ЕЖЕ ПОИСТЪ ВЪ ВИДѢНІИ

The same correspondence ВИДѢНІЕ is extant in the translation of the Areopagite corpus<sup>52</sup>, Gregory of Nissa's *De hominis opificio*<sup>53</sup>,

In A. Bonchev's dictionary two more translation solutions are attested: ѿκροβε-  
нне (Men. for November 12<sup>th</sup> canon, song 6) and вoззрѣнне (Sir 43:17)<sup>54</sup>.

In the *Life of St Anthony*, the term is extant three times with a general meaning of 'vision, apparition (of a saint or an angel)'.<sup>55</sup>

2.1. καὶ γὰρ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν φαύλων παρουσίαν εὐχερὲς καὶ δυνατόν ἐστι διαγνῶναι, τοῦ Θεοῦ διδόντος οὕτως. Ἡ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀγίων ὀπτασία οὐκ ἔστι τεταραγμένη (35)

*Translation 1:* ПРИХОДАТЬ БО СКВРѢННЫХЪ И ДОБРЫХЪ. О҃ДОВѢ МОЩНО ҃ЕСТЪ РАЗОУ-  
МѢТИ. БО҃У ДАДѢШО҃У СѢХЪ ВИДѢНІА СИЦЕ, НѢСТЪ МОЩЕНЪ. 127v

*Translation 2:* ИВѢ ЗЛЫХЪ ЖЕ И БЛ҃ГХЪ ПРИШѢСТВІЕ О҃ДОВѢ И ВЪЗМОЖНО И҃Е ПОЗНАТИ БО҃У  
ПОДАЮЩЕ. СИЦЕ СѢТЯХЪ ЗВѢ ВИДѢНІЕ НѢСТЪ СЪМО҃ЩЕНО. 332v

*Translation 3:* ДОБРЫМИ БО И ЗЛЫМИЪ ПРИШЕСТВІЕМЪ, О҃ДОВЕНО И МОЩНО ҃ЕСТЪ РАЗ-  
ОУМѢТИ. БО҃У ПОДАЮЩО҃У ТАКОВОУ, СѢТМЪ ВИДѢНІЕМЪ. НѢ СЪМѢЩЕНО 19r

In this passage all the three translations render the Greek term similarly. In the first translation τεταραγμένη is probably mistakenly given as *мощентъ* instead of *съмѣщенъ* which is the exact correspondence of the Greek perfect participle, and which is the variant in the other two translations. One could assume, as well, that certain choice in the Slavonic translation might be due to a scribal error or a misreading in the Greek tradition. Although, as per the critical edition of G.J.M. Bartelink<sup>55</sup>, no data can be taken as proving the later assumption, for now.

<sup>52</sup> *Das Corpus des Dionysios Areiopagites...*, p. 1753.

<sup>53</sup> GREGORIUS NYSSENUS, p. 117.

<sup>54</sup> И. Христов, *Гръцко-църковнославянски...*, p. 597.

<sup>55</sup> ATHANASIUS, p. 230.

## 2.2. Τοιαύτη μὲν οὖν ἡ τῶν ἀγίων ὀπτασία (35)

*Translation 1:* тако зѣвѣ ѿтыхѣ ꙗвлениѣ. 128r

*Translation 2:* тако вѣ оубѣ ꙗѣ ѿтыхѣ видѣнїѣ 332v

*Translation 3:* таково зѣво ѿтынимъ видѣнїемъ. 19r

In this passage only the first translation shows a more contextually elaborated solution rendering ὀπτασία with ꙗвлениѣ. This is explained by the fact that the only *varia lectio* in this place that G.J.M. Bartelink provides (in the pre-metaphrastic codex Vat. gr. 866 from the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c.)<sup>56</sup> reads παρουσία instead of ὀπτασία, a term which would exactly correspond to ꙗвлениѣ. This excerpt, together with the previous one constitutes a part of St Anthony's sermon before the gathered monks. In his speech, Anthony instructs the brethren on how to recognize and distinguish between the apparition the good and those of the bad forces. In both of the passages, it could be observed that ὀπτασία was used to denote the good spiritual beings. My work with the text of the *Vita* so far has showed that another word was used to refer to evil forces, false visions etc., namely φαντασία – a term that I will analyze elsewhere.

## 2.3. οἱ δὲ συνόντες ἠσθάνοντό τινα θεωρίαν αὐτὸν βλέπειν. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ γινόμενα πολλάκις, ἐν τῷ ὄρει τυγχάνων ἔβλεπε καὶ διηγήσατο Σαραπίωνι τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, ἔνδον ὄντι καὶ βλέποντι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀσχοληθέντα τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ (82)

*Translation 1:* си же разозмѣвше чюахъ нѣкоѣ видѣнїѣ. на горѣ сѣ вїдѣше. ꙗ повѣдааше Γεραπίωνοу ἐπίκποу, вѣнаторъ сжцоу. ꙗ видѣцоу ꙗ шпразнившоу сѣ видѣнїемъ. 140r

*Translation 2:* соꙗꙗи же сѣ нимъ, ѡцоꙗмахоу нѣкоѣ видѣнїѣ зрѣти емѣ. ꙗвѣ ꙗ ꙗже вѣ Егꙗптѣ вѣваемаѣ мнѡжнїцею вѣ горѣ сѣи зрѣше. ꙗ повѣдовааше Γεραꙗꙗиѡноу ἐπίкпоу, вѣноꙗтръ соꙗꙗоу ꙗ зрѣцоу ꙗнтѡнїѣ оꙗꙗражнїѡща сѣ вѣ видѣнїи 343r

*Translation 3:* онї же раззѣаахъ(!), сѣматорѣжше видѣнїѣ нѣкоѣ видѣти. ꙗво вѣ Егꙗптѣ вѣваѣщаѣ, мнѡгажѣ на горѣ сѣи вїжѣ, повѣдааше Γεραꙗꙗиѡноу ἐπίкпоу. вѣнаторъ вѣваѣцоу, ꙗ видѣцоу ꙗнтѡнїѣви, оꙗꙗражнївшоу сѣ видѣнїемъ. 41r

In this passage, it could be noticed that neither of the Slavonic three translations render the difference between θεωρία and ὀπτασία. Special attention should be paid to the verb in the construction ἀσχοληθέντα τῇ ὀπτασίᾳ (participium

<sup>56</sup> ATHANASIUS, p. 232.

coniunctum after the Dative participle βλέποντι, governed by διηγέομαι – the formal verbum regens). The verb ἀσχολέω is rendered by *празднѣновати* ‘to idle, to laze, to be free’ in the classical corpus in its active form, while the medio-passive meaning is rendered with *тѣшати сѧ* ‘to hurry, to rush; to strive, to try, to make efforts’. In the passage above, all the translations approach these solutions somewhat differently. Translation 1 & 3 use *спразништи сѧ* ‘to release, to free; to stop; to destroy; to find time’, from the same root as *празднѣновати*. The verb used in Translation 2 *дѣспразништи сѧ* (non attested in the classical corpus) is imperfective and thus is more grammatically incorrect regarding the Greek text where the active aorist participle expresses a momentary or accomplished action. On the other hand, the first and the third translation use a past participle of a perfective verb, thus keep a formal closeness to the Greek original. This could be stated for the relation to the Greek text of all of the three translations, which somehow do not render clearly enough the meaning in this particular case.

### Concluding remarks

From the passages regarded in this paper, it could be observed that only the First Translation renders *θεωρία* with *разоумѣ/разоумѣное*, and not only with *видѣние*. Similar translation solutions, as shown in the beginning, were characteristic for the Miscellanea of 1076. This solution is often encountered in early translations and texts from the Preslav circle, which only could confirm that the First translation pertains to the early translated texts of this circle. Such unestablished rendering of a term as important in the Christian spiritual terminology as *θεωρία*, could probably be explained with still undeveloped terminological system through which the contemplative communion with God could be expressed. Because of this lack of a strictly established terminology, the translation is more literal and does not render contextual hues while striving to reflect more strictly the Greek word (in this case the verb *θεωρέω* which could mean both ‘see, look, contemplate’ and ‘understand’). In the Symeon’s Miscellanea of 1073 and in Codex Suprasliensis, a larger set of translational equivalents is found; this could lead to the conclusion that at this time the terminological environment was still not unified, still developing it was rather focused on rendering the contextual nuances rather than establish a clear singular lexical equivalent of the Greek terms. It is noteworthy, though, that this term was in a way perceived and rendered with words denoting ‘understanding’ and ‘perception’, sometimes adequately to the surrounding context, but sometimes in a seemingly more mechanical manner. The Greek term *theoria* itself had still a long way in its conceptualization and lexical reception in the realm of Old Church Slavonic literacy. ‘Contemplation’ as a spiritual practice was a more abstract term than ‘vision’ which is more easily comprehensible and thus clearer as expression through language. On the other

hand, it could be summarized that in these Old Slavonic translations θεωρία was perceived and rendered with two semantic circles of terms, that more or less transmit the connection between 'seeing, vision' and 'understanding', without creating a new one-word Slavonic correspondence.

Here it's worthy to mention that in both Latin translation of the *Vita* this notion of θεωρία as contemplation lack equivalent, while the more concrete meaning of 'vision, the thing seen' is rendered with *visio*, *visus*, *apparentia* in the Anonymous translation and with *visio* and *revelatio* in the translation of Evagrius of Antiochia<sup>57</sup>. Probably this was the reason behind translating those two terms the same way. On the other hand, the data from A. Bonchev's dictionary (mostly from Menaion texts) reveal much more elaborated picture of translation solutions, which have caught considerably wider sphere of nuances. Whether genre specifics of a text dictated (and if so, in what extent) the translation accuracy and variability, is a question that needs a deeper research of its own.

Considering ὀπτασία, it is only the First translation that stays close to Codex Suprasliensis (in rendering the Greek term with ꙗвлѣнїе). In all other occasions, this Greek word is not perceived differently than θεωρία and thus not rendered with another lexical device than видѣнїе. Again, A. Bonchev's dictionary reveals a wider semantic circle of solutions that correspond to more contextually specific equivalents of the Greek term.

It is notable, also, that none of the attested translations use the lexeme видѣ – probably reserved for more philosophically nuances texts.

Consequent research on the spiritual terminology of the *Vita* and its lexical relation with other Old Church Slavonic texts will probably clarify the equivalency of the Old Church Slavonic words and the Greek terms of the originals. Also, the question about the dependency between the text genres, the translational circles and the strategies of rendering the Christian terminology remains open. Approaching these issues will contribute to our understanding the cultural dialogue between Bulgarian kingdom and Byzantium, but also the way Christianity, and especially monasticism, was perceived and accepted in Slavonic environment through its specific language.

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<sup>57</sup> L.T.A. LORIE, *Spiritual Terminology...*, p. 152. The later Western writers, such as Jerome, Augustine, and especially Cassian, prefer using *contemplatio* for this more abstract notion, when not employing (now and then) *theoria* (*ibidem*, p. 160).

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## FROM ENEMIES TO ALLIES: THE MYSTERY OF PRINCE OLEG'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST CONSTANTINOPLE\*

**Abstract.** This article proposes a rethinking of the main patterns of Rus-Byzantine relations at the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> centuries. The Christianization of some groups of Rus' elite after 860 seems to be plausible, but short-lived. The crisis in relations with Khazaria prompted a search for new trade privileges in Byzantium. The so-called Oleg's campaign on Constantinople was nothing other than his joining the military service. During the constant struggle with Arabs, the Empire needed to receive new military forces from Rus'. Possibly the recruitments were accompanied by a provocative demonstration of strength. This action was rethought in Rus'ian chronicle writing as the great victory of "Oleg the Prophet". The joining of Rus' troops to the Byzantine navy occurred no later than 906, when logothetes Himerios was able to defeat the Muslims. The Rus-Byzantine treaty of 911 strengthened the partnership and fostered the baptism of some Rus mercenaries.

**Keywords:** Prince Oleg, Byzantium, Khazaria, Russian Primary Chronicle, Byzantine-Arab wars, Rus-Byzantine treaties

In 1951, the famous scholar Alexander Vasiliev published a paper, dedicated to the "second Russian attack" on Constantinople<sup>1</sup>. Since that time many refinements and new hypotheses have taken place, but the mystery in general has remained unsolved. Frequent attempts to find a mention about this campaign in Byzantine texts have failed, and the sources' grounds are overall the same as some seventy years ago. It is therefore worth posing new questions to old testimonies.

The only source of information about this campaign is the Russian Primary Chronicle, but the issue is that the methods, which were used to build a narrative, do not inspire any confidence. While describing the previous and the subsequent military expeditions (in 860 and 941 AD), the chronicler relied on Byzantine

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<sup>1</sup> A.A. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople*, DOP 6, 1951, p. 163–225.

materials mainly, such as one of the versions of the work of Symeon the Logothete and the Life of St. Basil the Younger<sup>2</sup>. These texts are silent about any actions of Oleg “the Prophet”, who seemed to be a significant political figure. Where could the monk of the Kievan Caves Monastery borrow the information? Some researchers suggest that the description of Oleg’s enterprise mainly uses the Scandinavian epic tradition<sup>3</sup>. Skeptics believe that this narrative is based on other similar evidence, just like the so-called “preliminary treaty” of 907 appeared in the Chronicle as a result of compilation<sup>4</sup>. Nevertheless, if the legendary “shield on the gates of Constantinople” is nothing more than fiction, how to explain the privileges granted to the Rus’ians, the protection of their property rights and personal security in an authentic 911 treatise?<sup>5</sup> The 911 agreement begins with a notice of “love and peace” between the Byzantines and the Rus’, which also indicates a certain previous conflict<sup>6</sup>. Gennadij Litavrin believed that the norms favorable to Rus’ regarding duty-free trade, which was mentioned in the Russian Primary Chronicle under 907, could appear only due to pressure by reason of force on Byzantium<sup>7</sup>. It is noteworthy that the treaty of 944, much less advantageous for the northern barbarians, was concluded after the impressive, albeit unsuccessful, campaign of Prince Igor in 941 and a new demonstration of force three years later. The agreement of Svjatoslav with Emperor John Tzimiskes in 971 also marked the outcome of a long war in the Balkans<sup>8</sup>.

In contrast to hypercritical opponents, the “optimists” pointed out that the campaign did take place<sup>9</sup>, and the silence of the “flattering Greeks” was affected either by the “mediocrity of the event”, or by their tendentiousness and unwillingness

<sup>2</sup> П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Топография походов Руси на Константинополь в IX–XI вв.*, ВВ 74, 2015, p. 84–86.

<sup>3</sup> A. STENDER-PETERSEN, *Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik*, Aarhus 1934 [= А]у, 6], p. 99; Е.А. МЕЛЬНИКОВА, *Устная традиция в Повести временных лет: к вопросу о типах устных преданий*, [in:] *Восточная Европа в исторической ретроспективе. К 80-летию В.Т. Папуто*, Москва 1999, p. 161; Л.В. ВОЙТОВИЧ, *Олег Віций: історіографічні легенди та реалії*, НПКПНУ 23, 2013, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> S. RUNCIMAN, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign*, Cambridge 1929, p. 110; H. GREGOIRE, *La légende d’Oleg et l’expédition d’Igor*, BCLSMР 23, 1937, p. 80–94; IDEM, *L’histoire et la légende d’Oleg prince de Kiev*, NCL 4, 1952, p. 280–287; G. DA COSTA-LOUILLET, *Y eut-il des invasions Russes dans l’Empire Byzantin avant 860?*, В 15, 1941, p. 235; R. DOLLEY, *Oleg’s Mythical Campaign against Constantinople*, BCLSMР 35, 1949, p. 106–130; О.М. ФИЛИПЧУК, *Studia Byzantino-Rossica. Експансія, війна та соціальні зміни*, Чернівці 2013, p. 233; А.П. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки начальной руси*, Киев–Санкт-Петербург 2015, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись*, ed. Е.Ф. КАРСКИЙ, Ленинград 1926 [= ПСРЛ, 1], col. 32–38.

<sup>6</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 33; G. OSTROGORSKY, *L’expédition du prince Oleg contre Constantinople en 907*, SK 11, 1940, p. 53–55.

<sup>7</sup> Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Византия, Болгария, Древняя Русь*, Санкт-Петербург 2000, p. 63–65.

<sup>8</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 44–46, 72.

<sup>9</sup> Б.Д. ГРЕКОВ, *Киевская Русь*, Москва 1953, p. 454–455; М.В. ЛЕВЧЕНКО, *Очерки по истории русско-византийских отношений*, Москва 1956, p. 98–121; В.Т. ПАПУТО, *Внешняя политика*

to recall this unfortunate fact<sup>10</sup>. Boris Rybakov, a well-known leader of Soviet archaeology, even assumed that two campaigns had occurred: one in 907 and the second on the eve of the conclusion of the “big” Rus'-Byzantine treaty in 911<sup>11</sup>. The search for even an indirect reflection of this conflict in Byzantine texts led to the attraction to information about the “Rhos-Dromitai” in Pseudo-Symeon the Logothete, but the persuasiveness of such an interpretation nevertheless leaves much to be desired<sup>12</sup>. It was necessary to admit that the military operation near the walls of Constantinople in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century was significantly inferior in scale to the events of 860, 941 and 1043, being only a raid or local conflict<sup>13</sup>. Experts also dispute the date of 907, justifiably doubting the chronological reliability of the Primary Chronicle for this period<sup>14</sup>. Before joining the discussion, let's look at the main challenges facing Byzantium and Rus' in the second half of the 9<sup>th</sup> – the early 10<sup>th</sup> century.

Rus'ians, as well as other northerners, are rarely mentioned among the Byzantine authors of this period. The campaign of 860, which left a deep mark in historical memory of Eastern Europe, can be considered as the beginning of their close acquaintance. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture Constantinople, some Rus'ians expressed a desire to be baptized. It is noteworthy that Patriarch Photius testifies to this success with enthusiasm and exaggeration, considering recent enemies among the subjects and hospitable peoples<sup>15</sup>. The struggle of various versions of imperial propaganda was reflected in Theophanes Continuatus: the fourth book

*Древней Руси*, Москва 1968, p. 60; А.Н. САХАРОВ, *Поход Руси на Константинополь в 907 г.*, ИСССР 6, 1977, p. 72–103; А.Н. САХАРОВ, *Дипломатия Древней Руси*, Москва 1980, p. 98–130; П.П. ТОЛОЧКО, *Древняя Русь. Очерки социально-политической истории*, Киев 1987, p. 26; И.Я. ФРОЯНОВ, *Князь Олег у стен Царьграда*, [in:] *Историческое познание. традиции и новации*, p. 1, ed. В.В. ИВАНОВА, В.В. ПУЗАНОВА, Ижевск 1996, p. 250–255.

<sup>10</sup> Н. УСТРЯЛОВ, *Русская история*, vol. I, Санкт-Петербург 1855, p. 42; А.Н. САХАРОВ, *Дипломатия...*, p. 128. Cf.: А.А. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack...*, p. 195–218; П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Русь Олега у Константинополя в 904 г.*, ПСВ 8, 2011, p. 8–11.

<sup>11</sup> Б.А. РЫБАКОВ, *Киевская Русь и русские княжества XII–XIII вв.*, Москва 1982, p. 311.

<sup>12</sup> R.J.H. JENKINS, *The Supposed Russian Attack on Constantinople in 907: Evidence of the Pseudo-Symeon*, S 24, 1949, p. 403–406. Cf. counterarguments: С. MANGO, *A Note on the Ros-Dromitai*, *Hel 4*, 1953, p. 456–462; В.Д. НИКОЛАЕВ, *Свидетельство хроники Псевдо-Симеона о руси-дромитах и поход Олега на Константинополь в 907 г.*, ВВ 42, 1981, p. 147–153; А. КАРПОЗИЛОС, *Рос-дромиты и проблема похода Олега против Константинополя*, ВВ 49, 1988, p. 112–118.

<sup>13</sup> А.А. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack...*, p. 172, 224–225.

<sup>14</sup> В.И. ЛАМАНСКИЙ, *Славянское житие Св. Кирилла как религиозно-эпическое произведение и как исторический источник*, ЖМНП 351, 1904, p. 145–146; Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Византия, Болгария...*, p. 65; М.С. ГРУШЕВСКИЙ, *Исторія України-Руси*, vol. I, Львів 1904, p. 386; М.Н. ТИХОМИРОВ, *Исторические связи русского народа с южными славянами с древнейших времен до половины XVII в.*, [in:] *Славянский сборник*, Москва 1947, p. 142–143; П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Русь Олега...*, p. 25.

<sup>15</sup> П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Поход 860 г. на Константинополь и первое крещение Руси в средневековых письменных источниках*, [in:] *Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы 2000 г.: Проблемы источниковедения*, ed. Л.В. СТОЛЯРОВ, Москва 2003, p. 73.

of the source dates the baptism of Rus' to the reign of Michael III, while the fifth (the Vita of Emperor Basil) endows such merits to the founder of the Macedonian dynasty and Patriarch Ignatius, additionally announcing the mission of a certain archbishop to the north<sup>16</sup>. Most likely, this episode was only an outward acceptance of Christian paraphernalia in order to establish stronger and more profitable trade and diplomatic ties with Byzantium<sup>17</sup>. In this context, the testimony of Ibn Khordadbeh is extremely symptomatic. He reported about the tricks of Rus' merchants who pretended to be Christians in Baghdad to pay "jizya", lighter than "ushr" per capita taxation<sup>18</sup>. In addition, the long absence of church organization is inherent in the phenomenon of "Varangian Christianity" in Northern and Eastern Europe<sup>19</sup>.

At this time large-scale political changes begin in the middle Dnieper region. Two groups of Scandinavian warriors clashed in the struggle for power. At the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> – beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries, having settled affairs in the north, the squad of "Varangians", possibly led by representatives of the famous Skjöldungar dynasty, paid attention to a strategically important point in the middle reaches of the Dnieper – Kiev, where they had to overcome the resistance of their rivals<sup>20</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> *Chronographiae quae Theophanis Continuati nomine fertur*, rec. M. FEATHERSTONE, J. SIGNES CODOÑER, Berlin–Boston 2015 [= CFHB, 53], p. 278; *Theophanis Continuati liber V. Vita Basilii imperatoris*, rec. I. ŠEVČENKO, Berlin–Boston 2011 [= CFHB, 42], p. 312–316.

<sup>17</sup> О.Б. Головки, *Входження Русі до Pax Christiana Orthodoxa і формування християнської церковної організації у слов'ян Східної Європи (VIII–XI ст.)*, [in:] *Actes testantibus. Ювілейний збірник на пошану Леонтія Войтовича*, Львів 2011, p. 239; С.А. Иванов, *Концепція К. Цукермана и византийские источники о христианизации Руси в IX в.*, *Слав 2*, 2003, p. 20–21.

<sup>18</sup> ИБН ХОРДАДБЕХ, *Книга путей и стран*, ed. Н. ВЕЛИХАНОВОЙ, Баку 1986, p. 38–42, 124.

<sup>19</sup> J. LIND, *Varangians in Europe's Eastern and Northern Periphery. The Christianization of North and Eastern Europe c. 950–1050*, <http://www.ennenjanynt.net/4-04/lind.html> [3 VII 2020]; I. GARIPZANOV, О. ТОЛОСНКО, *Introduction: Early Christianity on the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks*, [in:] *Early Christianity on the Way from the Varangians to the Greeks*, ed. I. GARIPZANOV, О. ТОЛОСНКО, Kyiv 2011, p. 13–14.

<sup>20</sup> The legendary chronicle's date of 882, of course, has no rationale and reflects only the ideas of the compiler. Simon Franklin and Jonathan Shepard place the arrival of Rus' in the middle of the Dnieper region between the 890s and 910s, while Constantine Zuckerman pushes it some ten years later. According to Aleksei Shchavalev, the capture of Kiev by Oleg and Igor go to the time of about 900; it is noteworthy that the first buildings of Podol appear only from the last quarter of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (the oldest dendrodate is 887). Cf.: S. FRANKLIN, J. SHEPARD, *The Emergence of Rus, 750–1200*, London–New York, p. 91–100; C. ZUCKERMAN, *Deux étapes de la formation de l'ancien État russe*, [in:] *Les centres proto-urbains russes entre Scandinavie, Byzance et Orient*, ed. M. KAZANSKI, A. NERCESSIAN, C. ZUCKERMAN, Paris 2000, p. 117; А.С. ШЧАВЕЛЕВ, *К датировке захвата Киева князьями Олегом и Игорем Рюриковичем (летописная дата, византийские источники и археология)*, [in:] *Вспомогательные исторические дисциплины в современном научном знании. Материалы XXVIII Международной научной конференции*, ed. Ю. ШУСТОВА, Москва 2016, p. 533–536. All these versions remains albeit controversial. Finds of Arab dirhams, the earliest of which date back to the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (ca 905), can serve as an important indicator of the time of the emergence of Rus': T.S. NOONAN, *The Monetary History of Kiev in the Pre-Mongol Period*, HUS 11, 1987, p. 396.

These were the founders of a new state, Oleg (Helgi) and Igor (Ingharir)<sup>21</sup>. The discussion about the status of the first Princes of Rus' is far from over. The Novgorod First Chronicle of younger recension (NFC) represents Igor as the full successor of the legendary Rurik, and Oleg as only his military subordinate, while the author of the Russian Primary Chronicle (RPC) ranked the latter as a "member of the princely family" without indicating the exact degree of the relationship<sup>22</sup>. Both versions represent the later interpretations of the intellectuals that arose in the scriptorium and it is difficult to see in them the features of reality.

Historiographical speculations about Askold, who possessed Kiev this time as a "khagan" or "tsar" of Rus' have no sufficient grounds<sup>23</sup>; this ruler, like his companion Dir, most likely, was the same Varangian konungr as his opponents. It was not the only center of power. The alternative ones existed in Gnezdovo, Shestovitsa and other fortified settlements on the Baltic-Black Sea and Baltic-Volga trade routes<sup>24</sup>. The Varangians from Ladoga had to establish acceptable rules for the "game", to fight or negotiate with local leaders. The Scandinavians, who settled in Kij's "town", preferred confrontation and were defeated, but in Smolensk (most likely in Gnezdovo) and Liubech, the parties, as one might assume, managed to come to a compromise. The RPC very plausibly explains Oleg's military trick, who called himself a trading "guest" and hid the warriors in their ships<sup>25</sup>.

After defeating the contenders, Oleg and Igor were engaged in the internal arrangement and further territorial expansion of their holdings. The claims on the Dnieper region and attempts to subdue the tribes of Radimichs and Severians inevitably led to a conflict with the Khazaria, who also tried to get a tribute and

<sup>21</sup> On the name and origin of Ольгъ cf.: Е.А. МЕЛЬНИКОВА, *Ольгъ/Олег Веций. К истории имени и прозвища первого русского князя*, [in:] *Ad fontem. У источника. Сб. ст. в честь С.М. Капитанова*, Москва 2005, p. 138–146. Going back to the Scandinavian original form Ingharir, the form of the name Inger is attested by Liutprand of Cremona; in Byzantine sources, the Rus'ian prince is called Ἰγγωρος, in the genitive case Ἰγγωρος; *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona*, ed. J. BECKER, Hannover–Leipzig 1915 [= *MGH.SRG*, 41], p. 138; КОНСТАНТИН БАГРЯНОРОДНЫЙ, *Об управлении империей*, ed. Г.Г. ЛИТАВИНА, А.П. НОВОСЕЛЬЦЕВА, Москва 1989, p. 44, 312, п. 9; *Leonis Diaconi Caloensis Historiae libri decem*, ed. С.-В. НАСИУС, Bonnae 1828 [= *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, 30] (cetera: ЛЕО), p. 106.5, 144.6. Constantine Zuckerman identifies Oleg of the Russian Primary Chronicle and certain Helgo of the Genizah Letter: С. ZUCKERMAN, *On the Date of the Khazars' Conversion to Judaism and the Chronology of the Kings of the Rus Oleg and Igor. A Study of the Anonymous Khazar Letter from the Genizah of Cairo*, *REB* 53, 1995, p. 259–270.

<sup>22</sup> *Новгородская первая летопись старшего и младшего изводов*, ed. А.Н. НАСОНОВА, Москва–Ленинград 1950, p. 108; *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 22–23; *Ипатьевская летопись*, ed. А.А. ШАХМАТОВ, Санкт-Петербург 1908 [= *ПСРЛ*, 2], col. 16.

<sup>23</sup> М.Ю. БРАЙЧЕВСКИЙ, *Хозарія і Русь*, [in:] ИДЕМ, *Вибране*, vol. II, Київ 2009, p. 222–230; ИДЕМ, *Аскольд – цар кийвський*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 419–464.

<sup>24</sup> Cf.: F. ANDROŠČUK, *Černigov et Šestovica, Birka et Hovgarden: le modèle urbain scandinave vu de l'Est*, [in:] *Les centres proto-urbains...*, p. 257–266; V. PETRUKHIN, *Les villes (gardar) sur la "Voie de Varègues aux Grecs"*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 357–364; V. KOVALENKO, *La période ancienne de l'histoire de Černigov*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 253.

<sup>25</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 23–24.

the resources of the Slavs<sup>26</sup>. It can be assumed that in response the Khazar Khagan stopped the Rus' trade along the strategically important Volga-Caspian route. It is noteworthy that in the last third of the 9<sup>th</sup> century the flow of Arab dirhams to Eastern Europe significantly declined<sup>27</sup>. The reasons for this cannot be seen in just one action: a complex of various economic and geostrategic factors acted, one of which, it is possible, was the complication of relations between the Rus' and Khazaria. The general political instability in the region was also facilitated by the appearance of the Pechenegs, who at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century struck the Hungarians (they had been provoked by the Khazars), forcing the latter to push into the northwestern Black Sea region — Atelkouzou, and then into the Pannonian plain<sup>28</sup>. It should be noted the strengthening of the Volga Bulgaria state, nominally dependent on the Khazar Khagan, whose ruler Almush, converting to Islam, was oriented toward an alliance with the Samanids (inheriting their coinage) and the Abbasids (a request for help in building a mosque and a fortress against the Khazars was called by the embassy of Ahmad Ibn Fadlan in 922)<sup>29</sup>. On the other hand, finds of Arab silver in Kiev come across only from the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, reliably marking the time when the Rus' appeared on the new trade route<sup>30</sup>. The introduced “sanctions” in the conditions of hostile relations with the Khazars and the steppe nomads did not leave the Rus' squad any other choice, turning them towards the rich and capacious Byzantine market. But getting into it and gaining privileges was a very difficult mission.

At the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, Byzantium undoubtedly needed military force, reflecting the constant attacks of the Arabs, and the new allies arrived right on time. It is noteworthy that, after a long absence, the first mention of the Rhos people in “Naumachika” (a chapter of *Taktika*) of Leo VI is devoted precisely to

<sup>26</sup> В.Я. ПЕТРУХИН, *Начало этнокультурной истории Руси IX–XI вв.*, Смоленск–Москва 1995, p. 89–93; S. FRANKLIN, J. SHEPARD, *The Emergence...*, p. 91–110; А.А. ТОРТИКА, *Северо-Западная Хазария в контексте истории Восточной Европы (вторая половина VII – третья четверть X в.)*, Харьков 2006, p. 182–183.

<sup>27</sup> T.S. NOONAN, *Khazaria as an Intermediary between Islam and Eastern Europe in the Second Half of the Ninth Century: the Numismatic Perspective*, АЕМА 5, 1985 (1987), p. 183; А.П. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, p. 308–309.

<sup>28</sup> The migration of the Hungarians to the Carpathian basin is usually dated to 896. Cf.: F. CURTA, *Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages (500–1300)*, Leiden–Boston 2019 [= BCEH, 19], p. 256, n. 26. Cf. also: C. ZUCKERMAN, *Les Hongrois au pays de Lebedia: Une nouvelle puissance aux confins de Byzance et de la Khazarie ca 836–889*, [in:] *Byzantium at War (9<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> c.) / Το εμπόλεμο Βυζάντιο (9<sup>ος</sup>–12<sup>ος</sup> αι.)*, ed. K. Τσιγκάκης, Athens 1997, p. 51–74; I. ZIMONYI, *Préhistoire hongroise: méthode de recherche et vue d'ensemble*, [in:] *Les Hongrois et l'Europe. Conquête et intégration*, ed. S. CSERNUS, K. KOROMPAY, Paris–Szeged 1999, p. 40–42.

<sup>29</sup> А.П. СМИРНОВ, *Волжские Булгары*, Москва 1951, p. 39–40; Р.Г. ФАХРУТДИНОВ, *Очерки по истории Волжской Булгарии*, Москва 1984, p. 81–82; А.П. НОВОСЕЛЬЦЕВ, *Хазарское государство и его роль в истории Восточной Европы и Кавказа*, Москва 1990, p. 197–198; S. FRANKLIN, J. SHEPARD, *The Emergence...*, p. 64.

<sup>30</sup> T.S. NOONAN, *The Monetary History...*, p. 392–396.

their seaworthiness. The crowned author, who composed his work around 905–906, compares the fleet of “Saracens” and “so-called northern Scythians”: the Arab “koumbaria” are slow and large, while the “akatia” of Rhos are small, light and fast. Leo VI adds that the “Scythians” cannot have large ships when they go to the Euxinus Pontus<sup>31</sup>. This note shows that the Emperor was well aware of the conditions for navigation along the Dnieper and other rivers of the region. The treatise of Constantine Porphyrogenitus *De administrando imperio* describes the misfortunes of the “Scythians” in more detail. Possibly, this information was partially collected already during the reign of Leo VI<sup>32</sup>.

The adjacency of information about the fleet of Rus’ and Arabs in “Naumachika” is not accidental: in the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Empire had to deal with both barbarians. The expeditions of the Muslim fleet posed a direct threat to the main centers of Byzantium, which suffered a number of sensitive defeats. In 888, the eunuch Yazaman, ruler of Tarsus, captured four Byzantine ships; in 891, he attacked the town of Salandu in western Cilicia<sup>33</sup>. Between 891–893, the Arabs besieged Samos and forced it to surrender along with the *strategos*, Paspalas; in 898, another Muslim eunuch commander, Raghīb, captured three thousand Byzantine

<sup>31</sup> Οὐ γὰρ ὁ αὐτός ἐστὶν στόλος τῶν πλοίων τῶν τε Σαρακηνῶν καὶ τῶν λεγομένων Ῥῶς βορείων Σκυθῶν. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Σαρακηνοὶ κουμβαρῖοις χρῶνται μείζουσι καὶ ἀργότεροις, οἱ δὲ οἶον ἀκαταίας μικροῖς καὶ ἐλαφροτέροις καὶ γοργοῖς, οἱ Σκύθαι δὲ διὰ ποταμῶν γὰρ εἰς τὸν Εὐξῖνον ἐπιπλέοντες πόντον, οὐ δύνανται μείζονα ἔχειν πλοῖα (*For the fleet of ships of the Saracens is not the same as that of the so-called Russians, northern Scythians. The Saracens use larger and slower koumbaria, while the Scythians use akatia, which are small, lighter and fast, as they cannot have larger ships when raiding down rivers to the Black Sea*): J.H. PRYOR, E. JEFFREYS, *The Age of the ΔΡΟΜΩΝ. The Byzantine Navy ca 500–1204*, Leiden–Boston 2006 [= MMe, 62], p. 512–515. However, this edition follows the version of Codex Ambrosianus B 119 sup. (139), which contains some different readings when compared with other manuscripts (such as, the specifying ethnonym Ῥῶς). There is no doubt that “northern Scythians” are precisely the same Rhos. Cf.: *The Taktika of Leo VI*, ed. et trans. G. DENNIS, Washington 2010 [= CFHB, 49], p. 532; J. HALDON, *A Critical Commentary on the Taktika of Leo VI*, Washington, 2014 [= DOS, 44], p. 417. Cf. also: О.М. Филиппчук, *Studia Byzantino-Rossica...*, p. 69; А.С. ЩАВЕЛЕВ, *Известие о “северных скифах” (“росак”) в трактате “Тактика” византийского императора Льва VI Мудрого*, ИГ 3, 2016, p. 236–250.

<sup>32</sup> J. HOWARD-JOHNSTON, *The De administrando Imperio: a Re-examination of the Text and a Re-evaluation of its Evidence about the Rus*, [in:] *Les centres proto-urbains...*, p. 327–332; О.М. Филиппчук, *Studia Byzantino-Rossica...*, p. 112. On the contrary, Aleksei Shchavalev considers that the information about “Northern peoples”, including Rus’, was compiled by Emperor Constantine VII personally. The author dates the text of DAI between 952 and 959 and attributes it to the cooperation of the Emperor and his co-author, the “Anonymous Collaborator”: А. ШЧАВЕЛЕВ, *Treatise “De Administrando Imperio” by Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus: Date of the Paris. gr. 2009 Copy, Years of Compiling of the Original Codex, and a Hypothesis about the Number of Authors*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 698, 701sqq.

<sup>33</sup> *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXXVII, trans. P.M. FIELDS, New York 1987, p. 157, 175; А.А. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, *Византия и арабы. Политические отношения Византии и арабов за время Македонской династии*, Санкт-Петербург 1902, p. 108–109; S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI. Politics and People*, Leiden–New York–Köln 1997 [= MMe, 15], p. 185.

sailors and burned their ships, having devastated a number of fortresses<sup>34</sup>. In 900, the renegade Damianos, on the orders of the Caliph, destroyed the fleet of Tarsus, which, it would seem, was supposed to bring consolation to Byzantium, but the effect of the intra-Muslim strife was short-lived<sup>35</sup>. The war continued with varying success: in 901, the same Damianos disrupted Demetrias, and in 902–903 the island of Lemnos was captured; in 902, Taormina fell, the last stronghold of the Byzantines in Sicily<sup>36</sup>. In the summer of 904, the Arab squadron, led by another Byzantine traitor, Leo the Tripolite, approached Constantinople itself, capturing Abydos and the harbor of Parion at the entrance to the Sea of Marmara. Established by the Emperor at the head of the fleet, *drungarios* Eustathios could not oppose Leo the Tripolite in anything, like his successor, *protoasikritos* Himerios. Pseudo-Symeon considered that the Hagarenes left the straits, fearing their narrowness (al-Masudi also hints at the reason for the changing course being the shallow water); but on the whole, *ghulam* Zurafa focused on the sea much better than the Byzantines, having captured on the way back the second most important city of the Empire, Thessalonica (July 31, 904)<sup>37</sup>. Emperor Leo VI could not take any effective countermeasures against this disaster<sup>38</sup>; in turn, Patriarch Nicholas Mysticus dedicated one of the sermons to the capture of Thessalonica, in which he addressed St. Demetrius, surprised that the city under his protection suffered so many troubles<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> *Symeonis Magistri et Logothetae Chronicon*, rec. S. WAHLGREN, Berolini 2006 [= *CFHB*, 44] (cetera: SYMEON), p. 274; A.A. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, *Византия и арабы...*, p. 134–135, n. 6; *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXXVIII, trans. F. ROSENTHAL, New York 1985, p. 73; S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI...*, p. 185.

<sup>35</sup> *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXXVIII..., p. 91.

<sup>36</sup> SYMEON, p. 282–283; A.A. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, *Византия и арабы...*, p. 125–126, 135–136; S. TOUGHER, *The Reign of Leo VI...*, p. 185–186; on chronology cf.: R.J.H. JENKINS, *The Chronological Accuracy of the "Logothete" for the Years A.D. 867–913*, *DOP* 19, 1965, p. 106–107.

<sup>37</sup> THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, [in:] *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus*, ed. I. BEKKER, Bonnæ 1838 [= *CShB*, 45], p. 366–367; SYMEON MAGISTER, [in:] *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata...*, p. 707; ΜΑÇΟΥΔΙ, *Les prairies d'or*, vol. II, trans. C. BARBIER DE MEYNARD, A. PAVET DE COURTEILLE, Paris 1863 (cetera: ΜΑÇΟΥΔΙ), p. 318–319. Cf.: П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Русь Олега...*, p. 16–21; *Ioannis Caminiatae De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, rec. G. BÖHLIG, Berolini–Novi Eboraci 1973 [= *CFHB*, 4]; *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXXVIII..., p. 148; H. GREGOIRE, *Le communiqué arabe sur la prise de Thessalonique (904)*, *B* 22, 1952, p. 373–375; W. FARAG, *Some Remarks on Leo of Tripoli's Attack on Thessaloniki in 904 A.D.*, *BZ* 82, 1989, p. 133–139.

<sup>38</sup> A.A. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, *Византия и арабы...*, p. 141.

<sup>39</sup> NICOLAS I, PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. et trans. L.G. WESTERINK, Washington 1981 [= *CFHB*, 20], p. 11–13: Ποῦ μοι, Δημήτρηε μάρτυς, ἡ ἀήττητος συμμαχία; Πῶς τὴν σὴν πόλιν ὑπερείδες πορθομένην; Πῶς ὑπὸ σοὶ πολιοῦχῳ ἢ ἐχθροῖς ἄβατος, ἀφ' οὗ χρόνου ταύτην ἦλιος ἐθεάσατο, τοσοῦτων κακῶν εἰς πείραν ἐγένετο; Πῶς τῆς τῶν δυσσεβούντων ὀφρῶς ἡνέσχου κατορχομένων τῆς ἱερᾶς προστασίας; Πῶς ὑπέμεινες ταῦτα καὶ διεκαρτέρισας; Ἡ πάντως ἄν εἶπες ἡμῖν, εἴπερ ἄξιοι [ἦμεν τῆς σῆς φωνῆς ἀκούμεν, δὲ ὅμως ἐκ τοῦ οικείου συνείδοτος λαμβάνοντες τὴν ἀπόκρισιν.



Noteworthy that St. Demetrius was a beloved saint of Emperor Leo VI, who devoted three homilies to him<sup>40</sup>.

The fight against the Arabs at sea remains the main military task of Byzantium in subsequent years. In 906, on the day of St. Phocas, the appointed *logothetes tou dromou* Himerios finally defeated the enemy fleet in the Aegean. This victory was overshadowed by the fact that, shortly after it, Andronicus Ducas, who was obliged to contribute to the Roman naval commander, rebelled and sided with the Arabs. The situation was aggravated by the intrigues of the *parakoimomenos* Samonas, who clearly sympathized with the soldiers of Islam<sup>41</sup>. Byzantine diplomacy often succeeded where the armed forces failed: for example, in 907 the famous Leo the Choirospaktes achieved the conclusion of a peace treaty favorable to the Empire in Baghdad and the exchange of prisoners<sup>42</sup>. Three years later, *logothetes* Himerios undertakes the largest military expedition to Syria. Rus'ian mercenaries are also widely used in this theater of operations: in 910, 700 of their soldiers were part of the Byzantine fleet<sup>43</sup>. Since that time, information about the military service of the "Tauroscythians" in Byzantium has been appearing more often; it is provided by an agreement concluded with Rus' on September 2, 911<sup>44</sup>. The still unsolved enigma is the prehistory of the appearance of the Rus' in the naval expedition of Himerios.

Possibly, it is in the context of the mention of the Arabs' marine activity that we encounter the evidence on the Rus' in Byzantine sources again. Scholars repeatedly analyzed the note about the "Rhos-Dromitai" and saw in it a reflection of Oleg's campaign<sup>45</sup>, the raid of a certain "Slavic-Varangian squad" on the Byzantine capital, which happened simultaneously with the attack of Leo the Tripolite<sup>46</sup>, or even the reflection of the sending of "Rus-Varangian" troops by the Prince Vladimir the Great at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>47</sup>. Some academics even compared this text with the narration of Thietmar of Merseburg about the "swift Danes" in Kiev at the

<sup>40</sup> *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Homiliae*, ed. T. ANTONOPOULOU, Turnhout 2008 [= CC.SG, 63], p. 243–266.

<sup>41</sup> *Theophanes Continuati Chronographia*, p. 371–372; СΥΜΕΟΝ, p. 289–290; cf.: А.А. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, *Византия и арабы...*, p. 160.

<sup>42</sup> *The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXXVIII..., p. 181; А.А. ВАСИЛЬЕВ, *Византия и арабы...*, p. 162–163.

<sup>43</sup> CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENNETOS, *The Book of Ceremonies*, vol. I–II, trans. A. MOFFATT, M. TALL, Canberra 2012 [= BAus, 18], p. 651; cf.: H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer*, Paris 1966, p. 113, n. 4; J. HALDON, *Theory and Practice in Tenth-Century Military Administration. Chapters II, 44 and 45 of the Book of Ceremonies*, TM 13, 2000, p. 203; C. ZUCKERMAN, *On the Byzantine Dromon (with a Special Regard to De Cerim. II, 44–45)*, REB 73, 2015, p. 73–91.

<sup>44</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 36.

<sup>45</sup> R.J.H. JENKINS, *The Supposed Russian Attack...*, p. 403–406; А.А. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack...*, p. 188.

<sup>46</sup> В.Д. НИКОЛАЕВ, *Свидетельство хроники Псевдо-Симеона...*, p. 151–152.

<sup>47</sup> А. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Encore les Rhos-Dromitai et le Pseudo-Symeon*, JÖB 23, 1974, p. 97–99.

beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>48</sup>. The potential of Pseudo-Symeon's message has not yet been exhausted: the mysterious "Dromitai" could also be associated with the Thracian Memnos, the Argonauts, Augustus' victory over Anthony and Cleopatra, Heracles or the Pharos lighthouse, since references to them are also contained in the scholia under consideration, which are a repository of etymological and toponymic records<sup>49</sup>. The compiler of the scholia became interested in the origin of the ethnonym "Rhos" and the term "Dromitai"; recording certain information about them:

Ῥῶς δὲ, οἱ καὶ Δρομίται φεράωνυμοι, ἀπὸ ῥῶς τινὸς σφοδροῦ διαδραμόντες ἀπηχήματα τῶν χρησαμένων ἐξ ὑποθήκης ἢ θεοκλυτίας τινὸς, καὶ ὑπερσχόντων αὐτοῦς, ἐπικέκληνται. Δρομίται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀξέως τρέχειν αὐτοῖς προσεγένετο, ἐκ γένους δὲ τῶν Φράγγων καθίστανται<sup>50</sup>.

Researchers who interpreted the source considered this record in the chronological context of events related either to Leo the Tripolite's campaign in one way or another<sup>51</sup>, or as an insert lacking a strong connection with previous information<sup>52</sup>. The options for its translation are radically different<sup>53</sup>. Cyril Mango translated the passage into English as follow:

The Russians, who are also called Dromitai, have been so named after certain mighty (or crafty) Ros, after they had escaped the consequences (lit. echoes, repercussions) of the oracles made about them through some admonition (perhaps magical doctrine) or revelation from above, and which had overpowered them. The name Dromitai accrued to them because they run fast<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> P. KARLIN-HAYTER, "Swift Danes", В 35, 1965, p. 359; O.M. ЛУГОВИЙ, "Дани" на Русі та у Візантії на початку XI ст., ДХИАЕ 13, 2015, p. 69–76.

<sup>49</sup> On the methods of the narrative's construction used by Pseudo-Symeon, cf. W. TREADGOLD, *The Middle Byzantine Historians*, Basingstoke 2013, p. 217–224; C. ZUCKERMAN, *Emperor Theophilos and Theophobos in Three Tenth-Century Chronicles: Discovering the Common Source*, REB 75, 2017, p. 101–150, esp. 149–150.

<sup>50</sup> *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata...*, p. 707; cf.: A. ΜΑΡΚΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ, *Encore les Rôs-Dromitai...*, p. 91–93; A. ΚΑΡΠΟΖΙΛΟΣ, *Ρος-δρομίται...*, p. 113–116; П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Русь Олега...*, p. 16–21.

<sup>51</sup> A.A. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack...*, p. 188; П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Русь Олега...*, p. 24.

<sup>52</sup> Ф.И. УСПЕНСКИЙ, *Патриарх Иоанн VII Грамматик и Русь-дромиты у Симеона Магистра*, ЖМНП 267, 1890, p. 1; A. ΚΑΡΠΟΖΙΛΟΣ, *Ρος-δρομίται...*, p. 116–117; A.A. ГОРСКИЙ, *Русь "от рода франков"*, ДРВМ 2, 2008, p. 55–56.

<sup>53</sup> Cf.: A.A. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack...*, p. 187–195; В.Д. НИКОЛАЕВ, *Свидетельство хроники Псевдо-Симеона...*, p. 148; A. ΚΑΡΠΟΖΙΛΟΣ, *Ρος-δρομίται...*, p. 117; П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Русь Олега...*, p. 21.

<sup>54</sup> C. MANGO, *A Note on...*, p. 459.

We will nevertheless propose another version of the translation:

The Rhos, who are also called Dromitai, have originated from a certain mighty Rhos; [they] are called in a divinatory response from a certain admonition or divine prediction that had overcome them. [The Name] Dromitai is given from their [ability] to run fast; they originate from the clan of Franks.

The text in question, it seems, can be considered an allusion to the message of the book of Ezekiel, mistakenly translated in the Septuagint, and the “mighty Rhos” is none other than Gog, “the archon of Rosh, Meshech and Tubal” (Ez. 38: 3–6)<sup>55</sup>. This assumption also makes it possible to understand why the “divine prediction” is associated with the Rus’ people: the biblical prophet predicted the death of Gog and the devastation of the land of Magog, the final victory of Israel over its northern enemies. The closing part of the scholia, which is about the etymology of the word “Dromitai”, and their origin from the Franks, most likely, was invented by the author of this note<sup>56</sup>. Alexander Vasiliev believed that the name Δρομίται originally indicated the toponym Ἀχίλλειος δρόμος at the mouth of the Dnieper, and such a meaning of the word cannot be excluded<sup>57</sup>. As witnessed by Leo the Deacon, the Byzantines associated Achilles with “Scythia” and the “Tauroscythians”<sup>58</sup>. Obviously, the compiler of the note about the “Dromitai” did not know anything specific about them, except for their ability to move fast. It is noteworthy that in version A of the Pseudo-Symeon etymological list, this evidence is placed in the context of information about the successors of Alexander the Great; the same legend about the swift “Dromitai” is also found in the description of the well-known and credible attack of the Rus’ on Constantinople in 941, probably precisely this passage was the original<sup>59</sup>. Thus, the insertion of information about the “Rhos” in the text of the narration about Leo the Tripolite’s attack

<sup>55</sup> Ἰωγ... ἄρχοντα Ρῶς, Μοσὸχ καὶ Θοβὲλ. Cf.: *Septuaginta*, ed. A. RAHLFS, Stuttgart 2006, p. 1462. The comparison of the Rus’ with the biblical Gog and Magog is repeatedly used in Byzantine literature of the 10<sup>th</sup> c., such as, in the Life of St. Basil the Younger and in the *History* of Leo the Deacon: *Житие Василия Нового в древнейшем славянском переводе*, vol. I, ed. Т.В. ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, Л.И. ЩЕГОЛЕВА, С.А. ИВАНОВ, Москва 2018, p. 412; ЛЕО, p. 150.

<sup>56</sup> Anton A. Gorskiy supposed that Princess Olga invented the genealogy “from the Franks” with the aim of success in the planned matrimonial union of her son, Svjatoslav, with one of the daughters of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, but it is too unreasonable a hypothesis. Cf.: А.А. ГОРСКИЙ, *Русь “от рода франков”*..., p. 59. Perhaps we are faced with the error of a scribe who wrote Φράγγων instead of the original Φαράγγων or Φαργάνων? Such distortions of the word Βαράγγοι are found in Byzantine literature, including in the 10<sup>th</sup> century: *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata*..., p. 815.

<sup>57</sup> А.А. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack*..., p. 193.

<sup>58</sup> ЛЕО, p. 150.

<sup>59</sup> *Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata*..., p. 746; А. КАРПОЗИЛОС, *Рос-дромиты*..., p. 115–117; А.А. ГОРСКИЙ, *Русь “от рода франков”*..., p. 55–56.

does not indicate any real actions taken by the Rus' against the Byzantine capital; it concerns mythology, but not history<sup>60</sup>. This confusing fragment provides only an additional argument in favor of the fact that information about Rus' became relevant in the times of Pseudo-Symeon's work on the chronicle.

Let us go back to the problem of Oleg's campaign. Scholars have drawn attention to the contradiction in the story of the Russian Primary Chronicle: on the one hand, Prince Oleg acts as an adversary of the "Greeks", who achieved victory, a profitable peace and a rich tribute, after which he was named "the Prophet". At the same time, the Byzantines unexpectedly compare the leader of the barbarians with St. Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica; he hangs his "shield on the gates", which in the medieval sense symbolized protection over the city rather than victory<sup>61</sup>. The symbol of victory was most often the offensive weapon: for example, in 813 the Bulgarian Khan Krum intended to thrust a spear into the Golden Gate of Constantinople<sup>62</sup>. The Wielkopolska Chronicle tells us that the coronation sword of the Polish kings, "Szczerbiec", got a notch after hitting the Golden Gate of Kiev in 1018, which, of course, is an anachronism, but corresponds to the ideas of the era<sup>63</sup>. Gallus Anonymous confirms the fact that the Polish prince Boleslaw the Brave struck with the sword at the gates of the captured city, in commemoration of the impending disgrace of the sister of Kievan Prince Yaroslav<sup>64</sup>.

At the same time, a colorful description of the cruelty of pagan Rus' in the RPC, obviously, dates back to the Byzantine source, possibly, the Continuation of Hamartolos. The later editor transferred a part of the information about Igor's campaign in 941 to Oleg's earlier, created by him; so, the phrase "ѢЛИКОЖЕ РАТНИИ ТВОРАТЬ" (as warriors do) appeared in both Novgorod First and Russian Primary Chronicles because of an incorrect translation<sup>65</sup>. In addition to the Continuation

<sup>60</sup> On the geographical glosses in Pseudo-Symeon, cf.: J. SIGNES CODOÑER, *A Note on the Dossier of Geographical Glosses Used by the Compilers of the So-called Version B of the Logothete Chronicle under the Macedonian Emperors*, JÖB 69, 2019, p. 303–321. The author correctly claims that Pseudo-Symeon was not attentive to the content and did not realize that most names of the list belonged to other passages, *ibidem*, p. 316.

<sup>61</sup> И.Н. Данилевский, *Повесть временных лет. Герменевтические основы источниковедения летописных текстов*, Москва 2004, p. 157; А. Чернов, *Хроники изнаночного времени*, Санкт-Петербург 2006, p. 60–61; А.М. Домановский, *Князь Олег и принятие христианства: причинки до питання і спостереження у візантійському контексті*, СК 1, 2011, p. 211.

<sup>62</sup> *Theophanis Chronographia*, vol. I, rec. C. DE BOOR, Lipsiae 1883, p. 503.

<sup>63</sup> *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, rec. B. KÜRBIS, Warszawa 1970 [= MPH.NS, 8], p. 18.

<sup>64</sup> *Galli Anonymi Chronicae et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum*, ed. C. MAŁEZYŃSKI, Cracoviae 1952 [= MPH.SN, 2], p. 22–23.

<sup>65</sup> In the Greek text of the Continuation of George Hamartolos, there is a phrase ἕσως δὲ τοῦ ἱερατικοῦ κλήρου συνελάμβανον; the Slavic scribe understood the word ἱερατικός by consonance as "ратный" (warrior). Then, this mistake was borrowed in the Primary Chronicle. Cf.: В.М. Истрин, *Книги временных и образных Георгия Мниха. Хроника Георгия Амартола в древнем славяно-русском переводе*, vol. II, Петроград 1922, p. 61.23; П.В. Кузенков, *Русь Олега...*, p. 29–30.

of George Hamartolos, the chronicler also used the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, as well as the Life of Basil the Younger<sup>66</sup>. The texts of the Kievan and Novgorod chronicles represent different versions of the reconstruction of an event about which (at the time of the creation of the narrative), very little reliable information has been preserved<sup>67</sup>.

In general, the compiler of the RPC constructed a narrative more successfully: unlike the Novgorod colleague, he knew the reliable date of Igor's campaign in 941 and examined the texts of the Rus'-Byzantine treaties. Therefore, he led to the conclusion that a similar action by Oleg took place before 911 (the treaty referred to peace after the previous conflict). He borrowed some information about the cruelties of the Rus' from the available evidence on the campaign of 941, adding to them the legendary motifs of Oleg's tricks, the folklore-epic nature of which is obvious (moving ships on wheels; the miraculous detection of the Greek's deception)<sup>68</sup>. Further, in RPC we find the text of the so-called "preliminary agreement" of 907, the insertion character of which was shown by Alexei Shakhmatov<sup>69</sup>. The author of the NFC placed Igor's campaign at first, which is well known from Byzantine sources (The Life of Basil the Younger and the Continuator of Hamartolos)<sup>70</sup>, mistakenly attributing it two decades earlier, and then described Oleg's expedition three years

<sup>66</sup> И.Н. Данилевский, *Повесть временных лет...*, р. 158.

<sup>67</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 29–32; *Новгородская первая летопись...*, р. 107–109. Overall, there are two main schemes of the early history of the chronicle writing in Rus'. Having compared the Russian Primary Chronicle with the Novgorod one, Alexei Shakhmatov considered that the earlier version of the text is partly preserved in the First Novgorod Chronicle of the Younger Recension. He referred to this hypothetical narrative as the "Initial Compilation". According to the other point of view, the differences in the Novgorod Chronicle are only the results of later alterations. Anyway, most researchers agree that the Russian Primary Chronicle was constructed on the basis of some earliest narration or, at least, annalistic notes. Cf.: А.А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания о древнейших русских летописных сводах*, Санкт-Петербург 1908, р. 1–13; К. ЦУКЕРМАН, *Наблюдения над сложением древнейших источников летописи*, [in:] *Collectanea Borisoglebica / Борисоглебский сборник*, ed. IDEM, Paris 2009, р. 183–306; А.А. ГИППИУС, *До и после Начального свода. ранняя летописная история Руси как объект текстологической реконструкции*, [in:] *Русь в IX–X вв. Археологическая панорама*, ed. Н.А. МАКАРОВ, Москва 2012, р. 50–51; А.А. GIPPIUS, *Reconstructing the Original of the Povest' vremennykh let: a Contribution to the Debate*, RLin 38, 2014, р. 341–366; А.В. НАЗАРЕНКО, *Достоверные годовые даты в раннем летописании и их значение для изучения древнерусской историографии*, [in:] *Древнейшие государства Восточной Европы. 2013 год: Зарождение историописания в обществах Древности и Средневековья*, ed. Д.Д. БЕЛЯЕВ, Т.В. ГИМОН, Москва 2016, р. 593–654. The survey of counterarguments: D. OSTROWSKI, *The Načalnuj Svod Theory and the Povest' vremennykh let*, RLin 31, 2007, р. 269–308; А.П. ТОЛОЧКО, *Очерки...*, р. 20–34.

<sup>68</sup> Д.В. АНИКИН, *Исследование языковой личности составителя «Повести временных лет»*, Барнаул 2004 (PhD dissertation), р. 115.

<sup>69</sup> А.А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Несколько замечаний о договорах с греками Олега и Игоря*, ЗНО 8, 1915, р. 385–400.

<sup>70</sup> В.М. ИСТРИН, *Книги временья...*, vol. I, р. 567; vol. II, р. 60–61; *Житие Василия Нового в древнейшем славянском переводе...*, р. 412–418.

later. The mechanism for constructing information in this part of the Initial Compilation raises doubts not only in chronology (which, of course, was constructed artificially), but also in most details of the events under consideration<sup>71</sup>. According to RPC, Oleg's campaign on Constantinople was carried out both by pedestrians and horsemen; NFC of the Younger recension is silent about the land component of the route<sup>72</sup>. Attention to this information prompted the belief that the war with Byzantium happened no later than the conclusion of peace with the Bulgarian tsar Symeon the Great in 904, after which the movement of nomad equestrians to the capital of the Empire would have been impossible<sup>73</sup>. However, it cannot be ruled out that the chronicler borrowed the information about the horse campaign from the description of Igor's military preparations in 944, who was assisted by the Pechenegs in a similar situation<sup>74</sup>. The list of the participating ethnic groups subordinate to Oleg also cannot be considered authentic. These ethnonyms are found already in the ethnographic introduction of the RPC, which the chronicler often operated on later<sup>75</sup>. The use of military cunning (moving ships overland on wheels) and blocking the Golden Horn (or the Bosphorus) by Byzantines with a chain seems likely due to the existing parallels<sup>76</sup>, but one cannot be completely sure that the chronicler did not transfer them arbitrarily from his available sources to the constructed narrative about the campaign. Summing up these observations, we can conclude that at the time of the compilation of the annals, the chronicler only reliably knew that during the reign of Oleg and Igor, there were two military travels to Constantinople. However, he has conflicting information on the time and circumstances of these events.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny completely the reflection of realities in the ideas of the second campaign of Rus' on Constantinople. The text of the treaty of 911 convinces that shortly before the conclusion of the agreement a certain conflict between Byzantium and Rus' occurred and a new peace conclusion was needed<sup>77</sup>. The clauses of 911's treaty on Rus'ian and Byzantine captives are noticeable: the

<sup>71</sup> М. КАЗАНСКИЙ, К. ЦУКЕРМАН, *Уличи*, Psl 25, 2017, p. 19–24.

<sup>72</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 29; *Новгородская первая летопись...*, p. 108.

<sup>73</sup> П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Русь Олега...*, p. 13.

<sup>74</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 45.

<sup>75</sup> It is noteworthy that the chronicler use choronym “Великая Скуфь” (Μεγάλη Σκυθία), borrowed from the late antiquity. Cf.: А.С. Щавелев, *От позднеантичного хоронима Μεγάλη Σκυθία к древнерусскому этнохорониму «Великая Скуфь»: обзор текстов*, [in:] *Скифия: образ и историко-культурное наследие. Материалы конференции 26–28 октября 2015 г.*, ed. Т.Н. ДЖАКСОН, И.Г. КОНОВАЛОВА, А.В. ПОДОСИНОВ, Москва 2015, p. 117–125; М. КАЗАНСКИЙ, К. ЦУКЕРМАН, *Уличи...*, p. 24–26.

<sup>76</sup> Е.А. РЫДЗЕВСКАЯ, *К летописному сказанию о походе Руси на Царьград в 907 году*, ИАН СССР. ООИ 6, 1932, p. 478–479; П.В. КУЗЕНКОВ, *Русь Олега...*, p. 26–30.

<sup>77</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 33–34.

very presence of such conditions indicates the recent hostility of the parties<sup>78</sup>. It seems that the contradictions can be resolved if we assume that Oleg's journey to the Royal City was not originally intended to damage him: presumably, the Rus'ians were sent to Byzantium to be hired for military service in order to strengthen the Empire's position in the war against the Arabs. The search for new allies in the early 10<sup>th</sup> century was obviously one of the main tasks of Byzantine diplomacy. This does not exclude that there were some dissensions during the negotiations between the parties, because of which the Byzantines blocked the sea approaches to the City for safety, and the "Scythians" launched a demonstration of force, which made it possible to achieve more favorable terms of employment, as well as later preferences. Not by chance, John Skilitzes noted a similar situation that happened in the last years of the reign of Basil II, when a certain "relative" of Prince Vladimir, Chrysocheiros with a detachment of 800 people made an unsuccessful attempt to apply for military service, which ended with his death<sup>79</sup>. Usage of foreign "military specialists" in the service was common for the Empire and naturally did not attract the attention of the Byzantine chroniclers: the incident with Chrysocheiros was recorded only because he was related to the son-in-law of the born in the purple Byzantine Emperors. Oleg and his squad could not boast of the existence of such blood ties. Subsequently, the fact of hiring and concluding a profitable contract together with the possible use of force in a skirmish before was rethought in Rus' as a grand victory for Oleg and forcing the "Greeks" to pay tribute. Despite this, the chronicle's text also retained several signs that Oleg's action was not initially hostile: this is evidenced by the complimentary comparison of the leader of the barbarians with St. Demetrius and the placing of the shield on Constantinople's Gates as a sign of protection over the city<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>78</sup> *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 36; Е.А. РЫДЗЕВСКАЯ, *О военных отношениях скандинавов и Руси к Византии по греко-русским договорам и по сагам*, [in:] ЕАДЕМ, *Древняя Русь и Скандинавия в IX–XIV вв.*, Москва 1978, p. 153.

<sup>79</sup> *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. THURN, Berlin 1973 [= *CFHB*, 5], p. 367; Н. АНРВЕЙЛЕР, *Vuzance...*, p. 128; Г.Г. ЛИТАВРИН, *Византия, Болгария...*, p. 223–227; А.М. ФИЛИПЧУК, *Русь и Византия в последние годы правления Василия II: Хризохир и его воины*, *СРу* 5, 2015, p. 55–70. It is noteworthy that the number of Chrysocheiros' warriors, 800, was approximately the same as the one that princes of Kiev had at their disposal. For example, in 1093 prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavich has 700 or 800 "fellows" in his "druzhina": *Лаврентьевская летопись...*, col. 218; *Ипатьевская летопись...*, col. 209. This is also consistent with the number of Rus' mercenaries, 700, in the marine expedition of Himerios: J. HALDON, *Theory and Practice...*, p. 203.

<sup>80</sup> Scholars often found in this plot the influence of some lost Bulgarian or Byzantine source. Cf.: А.А. ШАХМАТОВ, *Разыскания о древнейших...*, p. 466; G. OSTROGORSKY, *L'expédition du prince Oleg...*, p. 57–58; А.А. VASILIEV, *The Second Russian Attack...*, p. 174.

The context of Byzantine-Arab relations (the increased threat from the Arab fleet after the raid of Leo the Tripolites to Constantinople and the capture of Thessalonica), as well as Oleg's comparison with St. Demetrius, indicate that the summer of 904 can be considered as the *terminus post quem* of the campaign. In our opinion, only the aggravation of military danger and defeat forced the Byzantines to make a deal with Rus'. From the point of view of contemporaries, the arrival of Oleg's army and an agreement with him came together as the evidence of returning God's grace after a sudden catastrophe that occurred with the second city of the Empire. It is no coincidence that there is a similarity between the words of Nicholas Mysticus, addressed to the spiritual patron of Thessalonica, and the annalistic comparison of the Prince of Rus' to the Christian Saint. The *terminus ante quem* is 910, the undoubted participation of Rus'ians in the Syrian campaign of the logothetes Himerios. It is noteworthy that the turning point in the war at sea and the transition of the initiative to the Byzantines took place after the battle of October 6, 906, in which, according to Pavel Kuzenkov, new allies were also used<sup>81</sup>. If so, the summer of 906 or sometime later seems to be the most likely time of the campaign and agreement. Oleg's detachment replenishes the strength of the Byzantine fleet and successfully manifests itself in the war, because of which it achieves favorable conditions for trade and increases the legal status of its colleagues. In 911, the parties concluded a "big treaty" that secured the partnership.

The connection between Oleg's Byzantine campaign and the Caspian raid of some Rus'ians in 300 (912/913), information about which is reported by Masudi, is disputable. According to Alexander Kazhdan, the baptism of certain Rus'ians after the conclusion of the treaty with Byzantium in 911 and joining the service of the Byzantines are very likely<sup>82</sup>; this idea seems sound. The establishment of allied relations between Rus' and Byzantium changed the balance of forces in the region. It is possible that the Khazar Khagan let the boats of the Rus' to the Caspian Sea in agreement with the Byzantine Emperors<sup>83</sup>. The strike on the territories of the Southern Caspian region, which were dependent on the Samanids, as well as the Transcaucasia, was beneficial to the Byzantines, weakening their Muslim antagonists, and to the Khazars, with whom the Rus'ians agreed in advance on the division of the spoils. Further events showed the duplicity of the Khazar leader. On the way back, the Rus'ian fleet was ambushed by the Khazars at the mouth of the Volga. Al-Masudi, obviously, exaggerates the number of Rus'ians killed (30 thousand), reporting that some of them found a way through to the Burtases

<sup>81</sup> П.В. Кузенков, *Русь Олега...*, p. 35.

<sup>82</sup> Cf.: А.П. Каждан, *К характеристике русско-византийских отношений в современной буржуазной историографии*, [in:] *Международные связи России до XVII в.*, ed. А.А. Зимин, В.Т. Пашуто, Москва 1961, p. 14.

<sup>83</sup> А.П. Новосельцев, *Хазарское государство...*, p. 193.



and Volga Bulgars, where they were murdered later<sup>84</sup>. However, there is no certainty that Oleg himself headed the Caspian raid: the surviving legends make him die due to his own horse after victorious celebrations in Kiev or Ladoga<sup>85</sup>.

So, the scheme of the main events can be represented as follows: at the turn of the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> c. Rus' were established in the Middle Dnieper region, and the Oleg and Igor group murdered the rival Varangians Askold and Dir. After 904, Byzantium again drew attention to the “northern Scythians”, in dire need of their military services. In 906, on the day of St. Phocas, the imperial fleet defeated the Hagarenes. Around this time, Oleg's detachment had already arrived in Constantinople to serve the Emperors and replenished the forces of the *logothetes tou dromou* Himerios. In 910, Rus'ians again supported the Byzantines during the operation in Syria, and on September 2, 911, the parties entered into a full-scale cooperation treaty, because of which some of the barbarians converted to Christianity. The defeat of the Rus' detachment by the Khazars after the Caspian campaign in 912/913 briefly halted their expansion, but did not change the main trends in international politics in Eastern Europe, in which the “Rurikids state” began to play an increasing role.

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<sup>84</sup> МАҶОУДИ, р. 22–24; В.Ф. МИНОРСКИЙ, *История Ширвана и Дербенда X–XI вв.*, Москва 1963, р. 198–201.

<sup>85</sup> Е.А. МЕЛЬНИКОВА, *Сюжет смерти «от коня» в древнерусской и древнескандинавской традиции*, [in:] *От Древней Руси к новой России. Юбилейный сборник, посвященный чл.-корр. РАН Я.Н. Щанову*, ed. А.Н. САХАРОВ, Москва 2005, р. 95–108.

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## ON THE PREHISTORY OF BOGOMILISM – THE HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTINUUM OF THE DUALISTIC GROUPS IN EARLY MEDIEVAL BULGARIA (8<sup>TH</sup>–10<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY)

**Abstract.** The aim of the present article is to shed light on the prehistory of Bogomilism, in particular on the existence of an initial Proto-Bogomilian group from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, which subsequently gave rise to Bogomilism. For this purpose I will try to regard problems referring to the time and exact place of its emergence, the cultural and ethnical affiliation of its first adherents, its connection with previous dualistic teachings from the Near East and Anatolia. The final conclusions are:

- The roots of Bogomilism must be sought among the Syriac migrants who settled in Thrace in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century.
- Groups which shared a different kind of dualistic ideas and notions existed among them. The group that can be identified as “Proto-Bogomilian” most likely inhabited the region of Philippopolis/Plovdiv and followed some branch of Paulicianism different from this of Paulicians who in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century built the “Paulician state” in Tephrike.
- The dualism of the Proto-Bogomilian group stemmed from Marcion’s doctrine with some Manichean admixtures. It had experienced the influence of Masallianism long before the migration of this group towards the Balkans. This can explain the differences with Marcionists and Paulicians. The radical asceticism of the later Bogomils most probably must be attributed to the influence of Masallianism on the initial Proto-Bogomilian group too.

**Keywords:** Bogomilism, Poto-Bogomilian group, Bulgaria, Manicheism, Masallianism, Marcionists, Paulicians

One of the most discussed problems concerning the mediaeval history of Bulgarian lands is Bogomilism – a dualistic heretic teaching that spread in different parts of the Mediterranean region between the 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> century and influenced the religious and political situation on the Balkans, as well as in Anatolia, Northern Italy and Southern France. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century Bogomilism attracted the attention of different researchers from the Balkans, Russia/USSR and Western Europe. However, in many cases it was estimated in accordance with the 19<sup>th</sup> and

20<sup>th</sup> century ideological doctrines. Hypotheses of its original Bulgarian/Macedonian or anti-feudal nature became popular in historiography and continue to exert influence on historical studies even today. The hypotheses in question can shed light on different aspects of modern Balkan nationalisms – from their esoteric to their proletarian trends, but with respect to the medieval dualistic communities, they introduced a lot of anachronistic notions.

The aim of the present article is to shed light on the prehistory of Bogomilism, in particular on the existence of an initial Proto-Bogomil group from the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century to the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century, which subsequently gave rise to Bogomilism. For this purpose I will try to regard problems referring to the time and exact place of its emergence, the cultural and ethnical affiliation of its first adherents, its connection with previous dualistic teachings from the Near East and Anatolia. In order to present and defend my theses I will use two kinds of analysis: historical – based on interpretation of the available sources concerning the early history of Bulgarian Bogomils and on the results of the archeological excavations and textological – concerning the only one certain Bogomil text.

### Sources of investigations

The sources used in the article are divided into six groups:

- These of Byzantine origin – the most important of them is the second letter of the Constantinople Patriarch Theophylact to the Bulgarian St. Tsar Peter I dated back to the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century.
- Works of medieval Bulgarian origin – in the first place this is the well-known polemic work *The Sermon Against Heretics*, written by Presbyter Kozma in the first years after the emergence of Bogomilism in Bulgarian lands around the 940s–960s<sup>1</sup>. Other important source is the Bulgarian Synodic of Tsar Boril composed between 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. In spite of the relatively late time of its codification, it contains important data about the early history of Bogomilism, taken from unknown early medieval Bulgarian sources.
- Western sources – the most important of them is the work of Rainer Sacconi, *Summa fratris Raynerii de ordine fratrum praedicatorum, de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*.
- The Latin variant of the so called *Secret Book of Bogomils (Interrogatio Iohannis)* or *Faux Evangile*. It is known in two Latin variants, but its Bulgarian original

<sup>1</sup> Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, *Старобългарска литература IX–XVIII век*, София 1992, р. 276–279.

is not preserved. At the end of the Carcassonne copy it is explicitly emphasized that the book was brought from Bulgaria: *Hoc est secretum hæreticorum de Concôrezio, portatum de Bulgaria Nazario suo episcopo, plenam erroribus*<sup>2</sup>.

### Prebogomilian dualism in Bulgarian lands

The Byzantine author Theophanes Confessor notices that in the middle of the 8<sup>th</sup> century the Byzantine emperor Konstantinos V brought Syrians (Syriac speaking) and Armenians from Melitena and Theodosiopolis and settled them in Thrace. Judging from the immediate reactions of Bulgarians, this migration must have affected the border zone between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire in Northern Thrace. Subsequently, again according to the chronicle of Theophanes Confessor, this population started to spread Paulicianism<sup>3</sup>. Second wave of Syrian “heretics” settled in Thrace in 776–777ies<sup>4</sup>.

The territories of Northern Thrace were gradually incorporated into Bulgaria in the second, the third and the fourth decade of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. One of the important monuments of the Bulgarian conquest is the stone inscription of the Bulgarian ruler Malamir (831–836), where the population of Philippopolis/Plovdiv is categorically distinguished from Greeks, from Bulgarians, and respectively from Slavs<sup>5</sup>. The most probable reason for this distinction is the Syrian and/or Armenian origin of the local population.

Besides the two “exoduses” recorded by Theophanes Confessor, there are some indirect evidences about other, non-recorded migrations of Syriac speaking groups (probably artisans and craftsmen) to the Balkans, or to be more exact, to the medieval Bulgarian state. For instance, as early as the 1970s, Stancho Vaklinov, in his investigation on the development of palace architecture in the First Bulgarian state, explicitly underlines the strong “Syrio-Arabic” influence on the earliest palace in Pliska, built in the 8<sup>th</sup> century; in fact, he expressed the opinion that this palace follows entirely the patterns of the palace architecture in Syrian lands in the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>6</sup>. Another example is the famous polychrome art ceramic from Preslav (the 9<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century). According to archaeologists, its origin is rooted in *the Near East – Samara, Damascus and Baghdad*<sup>7</sup>. However, the many Christian motifs weaved into the decoration of this ceramic obviously show that its masters

<sup>2</sup> In Й. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, София 1970, p. 87.

<sup>3</sup> THEOPHANES CONFESSOR, *Chronographia*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. III, ed. I. DUJČEV et al., Sofia 1960 (cetera: THEOPHANES CONFESSOR), p. 269–270.

<sup>4</sup> *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, trans. C. MANGO, R. SCOTT, ass. G. GREATREX, Oxford 1997, p. 623.

<sup>5</sup> В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски надписи*, София 1992, p. 136–137.

<sup>6</sup> С. ВАКЛИНОВ, *Формиране на старобългарската култура VI–XI век*, София 1977, p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> Д. ОВЧАРОВ, *Художествената керамика в българските земи*, София 2010, p. 70.

were Christians. This circumstance indicates that the mediators between Preslav and “Samara, Damascus and Baghdad” in the sphere of polychrome art ceramic were representatives of the Christian Syriac speaking groups that inhabited the regions of modern Southern Turkey, Northern Syria and Iraq. Most probably the way of these groups of craftsmen to Bulgaria was different from those of the Syrian and Armenian heretics who spread the dualistic teachings in the Bulgarian lands.

In a series of publications Basil Lourié maintains the hypothesis that some Old Slavonic apocrypha and narratives that have no analogies or exact parallels in Greek are actually translations from Syriac made in Bulgaria in a relatively early period. Lourié lists six works among the supposed translations: *Ahiqar*, *The Twelve Dreams of Shahaisha*, *The Cycle of Solomon*, *The Thessalonica Legend*, and *Eleutherius Recension of the Twelve Fridays*<sup>8</sup>. Indeed, the Syriac protographs of two of these works – *Eleutherius Recension of the Twelve Fridays* and *The Cycle of Solomon* are a matter of debate. The original (Bulgarian) character of *The Thessalonica Legend* is undoubted, despite the fact that the obvious parallels to Syriac which Lourié emphasized cannot be disregarded. It is possible for the author of the legend to have been influenced by apocryphal texts of Semitic/Syriac origin or even to have taken some motifs and even language constructions from similar texts. However, Lourié’s arguments in respect to *Ahiqar* and *The Twelve Dreams of Shahaisha* – two works which have their Syriac variants, are completely reasonable and, in my opinion, irrefutable.

However the most significant evidences indicating the existence of Old Slavonic – Syriac bilingualism in the anchoritic milieu of the early medieval Bulgarian state comes from the inscriptions of the rock monastery in Krepcha (modern North Eastern Bulgaria) dating back to the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. Two of the inscriptions are in Cyrillic Old Slavonic (including the oldest Old Slavonic inscription with date) but according to the researcher of the Cyrillic inscriptions the others are in script resembling the Old Hebrew alphabet<sup>9</sup>. Actually the letters are mix between Hebrew Aramaic and West Syriac Aramaic (Sertā) alphabet.

On the basis of the linguistic analysis of the medieval Bulgarian anthroponyms of Syriac origin and the Syriac loanwords found in the language of the Protobulgarian epigraphy (the 9<sup>th</sup> century), old and middle Bulgarian manuscripts, it can be concluded that in the Early Middle Ages the Protobulgarian and Slavic population of the Bulgarian state interacted with a Syriac speaking groups belonged to different branches of Christianity, and only one part of them were followers of dualistic

<sup>8</sup> B. LOURIÉ, *Direct Translations into Slavonic from Syriac: a Preliminary List*, [in:] ΠΟΛΥΙΣΤΩΡ. *Scripta Slavica*. Mario Capaldo Dicata, ed. C. DIDDI, Moscow–Rome 2015, p. 162–168.

<sup>9</sup> К. ПОПКОНСТАНТИНОВ, *Рунически надписи от средновековна България*, [in:] *Studia protobulgaria et mediaevalia europensia*. В чест на професор Веселин Бешевлиев, ed. В. ГЮЗЕЛЕВ, К. ПОПКОНСТАНТИНОВ, Велико Търново 1993, p. 158.

religious systems. Theophanes Confessor calls their dualism “Paulicianism” but mentions nothing about the essence of this “Paulicianism”<sup>10</sup>. Having in mind the evidences of John Exarch and the character of the Bogomils’ teachings, it could be concluded that the religious ideas propagated by the new settlers were a very early form of Paulicianism, different from those of Tephrike, or most likely separate dualistic notions labeled as “Paulicianism”.

I will try to summarize the dualistic ideas condemned by John Exarch in his work *Shestodnev*, composed before 912<sup>11</sup>, in accordance with their places in the text of *Shestodnev*:

- Some heretics, whose names are not mentioned, asserted that night is created by evil creator<sup>12</sup> or identified the darkness and deep from the Biblical verse *darkness was over the surface of the deep* (Gn 1: 2) with the Devil and demons. They identified the Son of God with the light from the next verse – *And God said, “Let there be light,” and there was light* (Gn 1: 3). On this basis they assumed that the Devil is older than the Son<sup>13</sup>. According to others, the darkness from Genesis 1: 2 was “big evil” having given birth to itself and resisting to God<sup>14</sup>.
- John Exarch criticizes the notion of the primordial nature of evil, the identification of darkness with evil and the assertion that evil is older than good<sup>15</sup>.
- The waters in the sky have good nature, unlike depths, which are hostile powers<sup>16</sup>.
- According to Manicheists the sun is “autonomous/self-governing”<sup>17</sup>.
- In his dispute with astrology John Exarch mentions in a negative context that among astrologies there is an opinion, according to which the sun, the moon and the stars were created by other creator<sup>18</sup>.
- John Exarch asserts that Manicheists believe that the earth has a soul, and this belief originated from their interpretation of the verse *Let the land produce...* Genesis 1: 11<sup>19</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> THEOPHANES CONFESSOR, p. 270.

<sup>11</sup> He constantly calls Simeon *кѣнѣзь* instead of *цесарь*, a title that he gained in 912.

<sup>12</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, *Шестоднев*, trans. Н. Кочев, София 1981 (сетера: Йоан Екзарх), p. 63.

<sup>13</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, p. 52.

<sup>14</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, p. 65.

<sup>15</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, p. 88.

<sup>17</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, p. 142, 151.

<sup>18</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, p. 153.

<sup>19</sup> ЙОАН ЕКЗАРХ, p. 207.

As we can see from the above evidences, a big part of the dualistic and “Manichean” notions are based on the first book of the Old Testament that is generally rejected by many dualistic and Gnostic groups, including Paulicians and Bogomils. The notions of the “autonomous sun”, “depths” and “the evil creator” might have some connections with Manicheism and Paulicianism; however, the belief in “the autonomous sun” stays far from the later Bogomil cosmogony. “The depths” appear in the cosmological part of the *Secret Book* but in context which is very different from the descriptions in *Shestodnev*.

Generally it could be concluded that different dualistic notions at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century circulated in the first tsardom but did not enjoy great popularity. That is proved by the fact that the authors from the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (including John Exarch) did not pay much attention to this problem.

### The Proto-Bogomil group and the early Bogomil period

- Place and time of emergence

Contrary to some widely spread and established in historiography opinions that the territory of the region referred to as “Macedonia” in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century was the homeland of Bogomilism, the Serbian document of medieval origin explicitly notices that it appeared in *Bulgarian Macedonia, in Philippopolis and its neighborhoods*<sup>20</sup>. It is well known that in the Byzantine administrative terminology the region of Northern Thrace was referred to as “Macedonia” for a very long period<sup>21</sup>. This is the same region that was populated by Syrian and Armenian migrants in the 8<sup>th</sup> century and was gradually annexed by the Bulgarian state between 811 and 834. In spite of that, the opinion that 19<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia became the initial cradle of Bogomilism is quite spread both in historiography and at popular level. I will try to provide additional evidence in favor of the hypothesis that this cradle was Northern Thrace.

At the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century the area referred to as “Macedonia” in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, without Thessaloniki and the districts of Seres and Drama, along with a big part of modern Albania and Kosovo, was part of the medieval Bulgarian state known in the modern historiography as the First Bulgarian tsardom. This region, along with present day North Eastern Bulgaria, became a center of Old Slavonic literary activity headed by the two disciples of Saint Cyril and Saint Methodius – Saint Clement and Saint Naum. In their works as well as in the works of their disciples<sup>22</sup> there is no criticism against dualistic ideas. This

<sup>20</sup> A. SOLOVIEV, *Autour des Bogomilies*, B 22, 1952, p. 82.

<sup>21</sup> К. ГАГОВА, *Тракия през българското средновековие*, София 2002, p. 79–84.

<sup>22</sup> At present only one work written by Saint Naum is known, but the number of works whose author is Saint Clement is about fifty. There are also a big number of works which by its language character-

is as an indication that dualistic beliefs were not strong at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and spread in the region long time after their deaths in 916 and 910. In fact, the Archbishop of Ohrid, Theophylact (1084–1107), in the short conclusion of the Greek biography of Saint Clement, explicitly calls on the saint to destroy “a disastrous heresy”, usually identified with Bogomilism, that appeared in his diocese after his death<sup>23</sup>. Unfortunately, Theophylact does not specify how long after 916 this heresy appeared.

There are strong reasons to think that the short passage containing the evidence in question was added by Theophylact and did not exist in the original Slavic proto-text<sup>24</sup>. For example, in this passage there is an obvious reference to the *Iliad*, and ethnonyms (Scythian) untypical of Bulgarian literature of the 10<sup>th</sup> century are used<sup>25</sup>. Besides, the author of the oldest Slavic biography of Saint Naum, who also wrote the lost Slavic biography of Saint Clement, says nothing about the appearance of a new heresy. However, he mentions that he was encouraged to write both biographies by Marko, the fourth bishop of “the Slavic people” or “in the Slavic language” in Devol<sup>26</sup>. The first bishop of Devol must have assumed the bishopric in the years after 893. This indicates that Marko headed the bishopric of Devol around 930–940. Therefore, it can be concluded that in the southwestern parts of the first tsardom, at least up to the beginning of 940s, the dualistic doctrines were not perceived as a significant threat to Orthodoxy.

Chronologically the writing of both biographies coincides with the activity of Saint John of Rila (in modern Western Bulgaria) – the most prominent Bulgarian anchorite. He wrote in 941 a Legacy in which he appealed to the monks from his monastery to avoid *foreign and different teachings*<sup>27</sup>. Eventually, they could be identified partly or entirely with the dualistic teachings of Paulicianism and Bogomilism but similar assumption needs more detailed evidences.

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istics and structure strongly resemble the works of Saint Clement and probably were created by its disciples before and after 916 – К. СТАНЧЕВ, *Творчеството на Св. Климент Охридски в научните изследвания и издания през последните 30 години (1986–2016)*, [in:] *Св. Климент Охридски в културата на Европа*, ed. С. КУЮМДЖИЕВА, София 2018, p. 31–44.

<sup>23</sup> THEOPHYLACTUS ACHRIDENSIS, ARCHIEPISCOPUS BULGARIAE, *Βίος και πολιτεία, ομολογία τε και μερικη θαυματων διηγησις του εν αγιοις πατροσ ημων Κλημεντος επισκοπου Βουλγαρων, συγγραφεισα παρα του αγιωτατου και αιδιμου αρχιεπισκοπου της πρωτης Ιουστινιανης και πασης Βουλγαριας, κυρου Θεοφυλακτου, χρηματισαντος εν Κωνσταντινουπολει μαιστορος των ρητορων*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. IX.2, ed., trans. I. ILIEV, Sofia 1994 (cetera: THEOPHYLACTUS ACHRIDENSIS), p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> The first Greek biography of Saint Clement was based on an initial Old Slavonic biography that was translated into Greek and supplemented with additional comments by Theophylact – А. МИЛЕВ, *Гръцките жития на Климент Охридски*, София 1966, p. 68. The Old Slavonic original was lost, but the text of the Slavic biography of Saint Naum is preserved. It becomes clear from the text of Saint Naum’s biography that its author had written the biography of Saint Clement earlier – Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, *Старобългарска...*, p. 166–167.

<sup>25</sup> А. МИЛЕВ, *Гръцките жития...*, p. 45–46, 163.

<sup>26</sup> Й. ИВАНОВ, *Български старини из Македония*, София 1970, p. 307.

<sup>27</sup> П. И. ДУЙЧЕВ, *Рилският светец и неговата обител*, София 1990, p. 140.

Much more interesting is the information of one of the services dedicated to Saint John of Rila. Its copy is preserved in a manuscript dated back to the 15<sup>th</sup> century. One of its verses calls on *let the heretical teachings of these who do not believe in resurrection disgrace*<sup>28</sup>. It is well known that Bogomils and Paulicians rejected the resurrection of bodies and this verse obviously refers to them. The services was discovered by Jordan Ivanov and published in 1931. On the basis of some chronological references in the text Jordan Ivanov regarded it as the earliest service appeared in the Rila monastery immediately after 946<sup>29</sup>. In this case that is the earliest evidence of spread of dualistic teaching (most probably Bogomilism) in the central lands of the first tsardom but the mountain of Rila lies close to Northern Thrace and it is not part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia.

Nerveless Stefan Kozhuharov – one of the most prominent modern researchers of the medieval Bulgarian hymnography, rejected the early origin of the service discovered by Ivanov and did not include it in his reconstruction of the earliest Rila service. On the other hand Kozhuharov did not exclude possibility the 15<sup>th</sup> century copy to contain passages of some early text<sup>30</sup>. Another researcher of the medieval hymnography – Veselin Panayotov, in publication from 2006, again defended the hypothesis of the early (Rila) origin of the verses with anti-Bogomilian and anti-heretical contents<sup>31</sup>. As whole the view that in the 940ies Bogomilism had strong positions in the central lands of the first tsardom remains possible but uncertain hypothesis.

On the other hand, evidences extracted from the most important source about the early stages of Bogomilism, the work of Presbyter Kozma, *A Sermon against Bogomils*, gives arguments in favor of the hypothesis that at the same time the situation in the eastern and north eastern parts of the first Bulgarian state was different. Kozma calls on the bishops and priests to follow the example of John who was *one-time pastor and exarch in the Bulgarian lands* (obviously John Exarch) and adds that *many of you knew him*<sup>32</sup>. John Exarch was Saint Clement's and Saint Naum's contemporary but lived and acted in the capital city of Preslav. This indicates that Kozma wrote his works in the same region two or three decades after the death of John Exarch.

There are three other arguments supporting the early date of Kozma's work: he calls the Bulgarian Tsar Peter I an Orthodox<sup>33</sup> but not a saint. He was canonized soon after his death in 969 and subsequently became one of the most popular

<sup>28</sup> In Й. ИВАНОВ, *Български старини...*, p. 358.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 345–346.

<sup>30</sup> С. КОЖУХАРОВ, *Проблеми на старобългарската поезия*, София 2004, p. 61–62.

<sup>31</sup> В. ПАНАЙОТОВ, *За един ранен пласт в службата на свети Йоан Рилски по преписа от 1451 година*, [in:] *Глџбини књижности*, vol. IV, ed. ИДЕМ, Шумен 2006, p. 222–225.

<sup>32</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, *Беседа против богомилитъ*, trans. В. КИСЕЛКОВ, София 1939 (cetera: ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА), p. 81.

<sup>33</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, p. 4.



Bulgarian saints. Kozma notices nothing about the existence of a “Bogomil church” or hierarchy; actually, he explicitly mentions that Bogomilians did not have their priests<sup>34</sup>, a circumstance indicating that his Sermon appeared in the early period of the Bogomil movement, when it was spread by means of the activity of separate charismatic preachers and hermits but still had not reached the stage of a separate organization. Besides, it seems that the Constantinople Patriarch Theophylact and Saint Tsar Peter also knew nothing about the existence of a Bogomil “church” because it was not mentioned in the Patriarch’s second letter, where different aspects of the heresy are discussed in response to a detailed description made by Saint Tsar Peter in the previous letter.

Milan Loos notices that *Cosma himself did not use the name Bogomils, which appeared in the Byzantine sources in the eleventh century*<sup>35</sup>. The same designation is known in the Bulgarian anti-heretical literature from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century, but it seems that in the 10<sup>th</sup> century it was not used.

All of these support the assumption that Kozma wrote his work somewhere between 940–950, which roughly coincides with the correspondence between Saint Tsar Peter I and the Constantinople Patriarch Theophylact, whose pontificate covered the period between 933–956.

Besides the so called anti Bogomil (more correctly anti heretical) inscription of the monk Ananii which is dated back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century also originates from Moesia<sup>36</sup>.

Ayten Mustafova discovers the traces of dualistic and Massalian influence in the original (non-translated from Greek) supplements in the text of Codex Suprasliensis composed in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century somewhere in the Eastern Bulgarian lands<sup>37</sup>. In my opinion the supplements in question testify to the strong influence of ascetic and anchoretic ideas on the compiler of the codex. That probably reflects the sentiments of wider milieu – the earliest evidences about the initial history of Bogomilism indicate that it has spread among adherents of ascetic manner of life.

On this basis it might be suggested that territories of Moesia<sup>38</sup> were affected by the Bogomilian teachings earlier than the territories of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia.

<sup>34</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 33.

<sup>35</sup> M. LOOS, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*, Prague 1974, р. 60.

<sup>36</sup> В. КОНСТАНТИНОВА, *Някои бележки за противобогомилския надпис от Ескус*, Арх 3–4, 1982, р. 50–51.

<sup>37</sup> А. МУСТАФОВА, *Реликти на дуализма в Супрасълския сборник. Автореферат на дисертация*, Шумен 2015, р. 17–36.

<sup>38</sup> That is the territory of modern Northern Bulgaria – the former Roman province Moesia Inferior, where the main political and cultural centers of the First Bulgarian Tsardom were founded from the end of the 7<sup>th</sup> century to 971. I will use this antique designation because, unlike the horonyms Macedonia and Thrace, it continued to be in use during the Middle Ages without significant geographical and historical changes in its meaning. Even sometimes the horonym Moesia was used as a synonym

The reason must be sought in the fact that “Philippopolis and its neighborhoods” lie close to Moesia and are relatively far from the 19<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia. Besides not only Codex Suprasliensis but the remains of rock monasteries dated back to the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century and the epigraphic materials found in these monasteries show that several decades before the appearance of Bogomilism, Moesia had become a cradle of Bulgarian Christian (Orthodox) anchoritism.

- Northern Thrace in the 8<sup>th</sup> – the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> centuries: the political, cultural and ethnical situation

The information from the Byzantine authors, the Protobulgarian inscriptions and the data obtained from the archeological excavations show that in the 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> centuries Northern Thrace was sparsely populated, regularly devastated during the numerous military conflicts and clashes between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire, and finally transformed into a border zone between these states. Archeological excavations show that some of the late antique cities and settlements completely disappeared in the 6<sup>th</sup> century as a result of Avar invasions, especially in the eastern part of the region; others, such as Beroe (modern Stara Zagora), Philippopolis, Diocletianopolis, in the central and western part, survived, but life continued in them on a very reduced scale<sup>39</sup>. In the mid-8<sup>th</sup> century the attempts of Byzantine authorities at restoring and reviving some of these strongholds by means of reconstruction of their walls and deportations of Syrians and Armenians from the Eastern provinces did not improve the situation. Many of the new inhabitants were resettled in Moesia and even north of Danube during the military campaigns of the Bulgarian ruler Krum in 811–813.

Archeologists register three types of settlements related to the period 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> centuries: non-fortified villages, situated in the hinterland of Philippopolis/Plovdiv, Beroe and Adrianopolis (modern Edirne, Turkey) and having no connection with the previous epoch<sup>40</sup>, settlements built on the ruins of the late antique fortresses – mainly Konstantinia, Izvorovo and Karasura<sup>41</sup>, and settlements located within the boundaries of the former cities of Philippopolis, Beroe, Diocletianopolis. They were built as separated quarters, scattered around the walls (inside and outside the walls) and covered only part of the territory of the former antique cities<sup>42</sup>.

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of Bulgaria. The first example in this respect is the Service of Saint Methodius, written by his disciple Constantine of Preslav at the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century – Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, *Старобългарска...*, p. 191.

<sup>39</sup> Г. ГРОЗДАНОВА, *Населението на Южна България VI–IX в. (По археологически данни)*, София 2018, p. 15–16, 18, 21.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 72–73.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 76–77.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 77–79.

This is the period of relatively slow penetration of Slavic population into the region. Traces of this new population are found in the three groups of settlements, but obviously they prevail in the non-fortified villages. These traces are usually identified with one-room huts, dug into the terrain, with handmade pottery and crude pottery made with primitive manual pottery wheels – the huts and handmade pottery have the closest analogs in the archeological cultures spread in Central Europe<sup>43</sup>. On the territory of Philippopolis and Diocletianopolis, unlike Beroe huts and other traces of Slavic presence have not been found yet, but Slavic type of dwellings are excavated in their immediate vicinity<sup>44</sup>. The non-Slavic culture is presented by over-ground one- or two-room stone dwellings with mud mortar and also relatively crude pottery<sup>45</sup>.

There are examples of primitive handmade “Slavic” earthenware following the forms of antique pottery. This is a phenomenon known also from Dalmatia and Southern Greece. It is interpreted as evidence of interaction between Slavs and local “autochthonic groups”<sup>46</sup>.

The spread of the so called “grey polished pottery” in Northern and Eastern Thrace gives reasons to think that some Protobulgarian groups penetrated into the area at the beginning of the 8<sup>th</sup> or in the 9<sup>th</sup> century. It is concentrated in the region between the Black Sea and Nova Zagora, but fragments of such pottery are found also in Philippopolis. However, nowhere it is dominant, and in practice the hypothesis of lasting presence of a similar population only on the basis of this kind of pottery was rejected<sup>47</sup>. Most probably the pottery in question belonged to and was left by military units – wartime troops or border guards along Erkesiya (see below).

The region was slightly affected by the ambitious building policy of the Bulgarian rulers in the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century. The most significant construction from this epoch was the imposing rampart and trench known at present with its later Turkish name (Yerkesi)/Erkesiya. It lies from Black Sea to river Sazlijka (142 km) and marked a part of the Bulgarian-Byzantine border after 814. The early medieval reconstructions of some of the late antique fortresses located north of Erkesiya, as well as the construction of a new small stronghold near modern Haskovo, are also ascribed to Bulgarians<sup>48</sup>. The most significant reconstructions were undertaken in the fortress of Sliven. That circumstance makes historians and archeologists to think that Sliven became the administrative and military center of the Bulgarian

<sup>43</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 81, 89–91, 99–100.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 78–79.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 81–82, 100.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 101.

<sup>47</sup> Б. БОРИСОВ, *Археологические свидетельства праболгарского присутствия на территории Южной Болгарии*, ПАрх 2, 2012, p. 56–62.

<sup>48</sup> Д. РАБОВЯНОВ, *Извънстоличните каменни крепости на Първото българско царство*, София 2011, p. 48–50.

part of Thrace<sup>49</sup>. Several stone bas-reliefs and other artifacts from Beroe (Stara Zagora) and Nova Zagora indicate connections with the pagan and Christian art of the political centers of the First Bulgarian Tsardom<sup>50</sup>. However, these artifacts cannot change the general impression of cultural isolation of the population inhabiting Northern Thrace in the 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century. This is confirmed by the fact that the first Cyrillic inscription in the region is dated back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>51</sup>. The contrast with the numerous Glagolitic and Cyrillic epigraphic monuments originating from Moesia and the territories of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia and dated back to the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century obviously shows that Northern Trace remained out of the scope of influence of the big monasteries built in Moesia and Macedonia, which became the main centers of Cyrillic and Glagolitic epigraphy. Epigraphy not only in Old Slavonic, but also in any other language, that can be attributed to the cultural activity of the local population before the 11<sup>th</sup> century are not found. Of course, this does not mean that in this period the population of the region was completely illiterate. For example, up to this moment no traces of Bogomil epigraphy have been found, but it is well known that Bogomils had their literature.

The earliest Old Slavonic epigraphic materials from the Eastern parts of the Rhodope mountains, a region located south of Northern Thrace and geographically much more isolated, chronologically precede those from Northern Thrace with one century. It is also interesting that these materials are amulets containing texts of apocryphal prayers whose contents have parallels to similar amulets from Moesia<sup>52</sup>. The amulets indicate that apocryphal prayers of eastern origin<sup>53</sup> were circulating in the eastern regions of the first tsardom in the 9<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.

From the view of its political status, usually the population in the region is described as subject to the Byzantine Empire or to the First Bulgarian tsardom. Up to the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century the district was divided between Bulgaria and Byzantium. The part belonging to the Byzantine Empire was included in a separate theme named “Macedonia”. The Bulgarian part named “Zagore” most probably formed one of the ten comitats mentioned in the sources.

Some authors maintain the view that a secondary influx of Slavic population occurred at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century in the Bulgarian part of Thrace. However, this time the new Slavic migration included Western Slavs of Moravian

<sup>49</sup> К. СТАНЕВ, *Сливен – административен център на областта Загора през IX–X век*, [in:] *България в световното културно наследство*, Шумен 2014, p. 544–546.

<sup>50</sup> И. ИВАНОВ, М. МИНКОВА, *Още веднъж за средновековните каменни релефи от Стара Загора*, ИСИМ 3, 2008, p. 177–183.

<sup>51</sup> Actually the inscription is bilingual – in Old Slavonic (Bulgarian) and Greek. It is found in Parvomay – about 35 kilometers east of Plovdiv – Й. ЗАИМОВ, *Нов старобългарски паметник. Първомайски надпис от XI–XII в.*, БЕ 4, 1983, p. 292–294.

<sup>52</sup> К. ПОПКОНСТАНТИНОВ, *Заклинателни молитви върху оловни амулети от средновековна България и паралелите им в Требници от средновековна Сърбия*, ЗРВИ 46, 2009, p. 344–346.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 349.

origin and was caused by the Hungarian penetration in Pannonia and the Carpathian mountains. This hypothesis is based on two main arguments – the spread of archeological material (predominantly pottery) indicating direct connections with Central European archeological complexes and the explicit evidence in the first Slavic biography of St. Naum and of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus that after the collapse of Moravia, many Moravians fled from Hungarians and sought asylum in Bulgaria<sup>54</sup>.

The exact status of Philippopolis and its lands after the Bulgarian advance in 833–834 is unclear. Actually the Shumen inscription of Malamir (831–836) dating back to 833–834 is the last source giving some piece of information about the events in the town during a very long period up to 970. However this information is unclear – according to inscription after military campaign in Eastern Thrace (modern Turkey) the Bulgarian army headed by Malamir and his regent Isbul reached Philippopolis. The Byzantine garrison (called Greeks) had fled and the Bulgarian ruler and the regent made meeting with the citizens<sup>55</sup>. The results of this meeting remain unknown. Theophylact notices that Bulgarians captured Philippopolis<sup>56</sup> and it seems that is confirmed by the fact that Philippopolis is not mentioned in the Byzantine rang lists from 899 and 921–941<sup>57</sup>. On the other hand, in 880 the name of Philippopolis' metropolitan Nikolay subjugated to the Patriarchy in Constantinople appears in the sources<sup>58</sup>. That might be regarded as an uncertain indication that Byzantine recaptured the town in 864/866 and kept control over it up to the end of the first Simeon's war against Byzantine that ended in 896. Probably that can explain the appearance of Philippopolis' eparchy in the lists (*notitias*) of Constantinople patriarchy in the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century but according to some opinions the lists (*notitias*) in question reflects older situation.

After 912, during the wars of tsar Simeon against the Byzantine Empire, all Thrace up to the vicinity of Constantinople was occupied several times by Bulgaria. After the peace treaty from 927, the Bulgarian-Byzantine border was removed south of Erkesiya and roughly coincided with the modern Bulgarian-Turkish border zone but its exact line is unknown<sup>59</sup>.

Simultaneously there are evidences that many of the communities in Thrace and the neighboring region of the Rhodope mountains led an independent or semi-independent manner of life. For instance in the peace treaty that Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire signed in 814 there is a special chapter concerning unknown from other sources independent Slavs inhabiting the coastal region of the Black Sea south of the Hemus mountain; according to treaty they had to be returned to

<sup>54</sup> К. СТАНЕВ, *Тракия през ранното средновековие*, Велико Търново 2012, р. 166.

<sup>55</sup> В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски...*, р. 136–137.

<sup>56</sup> THEOPHYLACTUS ACHRIDENSIS, р. 63.

<sup>57</sup> А. ДАНЧЕВА-ВАСИЛЕВА, *Пловдив през средновековието (IV–XIV век)*, София 2011, р. 38.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibidem*, р. 326.

<sup>59</sup> К. ГАГОВА, *Тракия през...*, р. 47.

their initial settlements<sup>60</sup>. The above mentioned inscription of Malamir shows that the inhabitants of Philippopolis acted independently from any political center. In the Philippi inscription of Malamir's inheritor, Persian (836–855), Smolyans, a Slavic tribe inhabiting the southern part of the Rhodope mountains, are mentioned as a separate political unit<sup>61</sup>.

- Northern Thrace in the 8<sup>th</sup> – the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century: the religious situation

The archeological excavations of necropolises can shed light on the question about the religious affiliation of the population inhabiting Northern Thrace and the Rhodope mountains during this period. According to their results, in many regions of the Rhodopes there are visible elements of continuity with the funeral traditions of the late antiquity. The graves in which pagan ritualism is registered are relatively small and scattered among graves indicating connections with Christian funeral practices inherited from the previous epoch. That raises the hypothesis that the Slavs in the Rhodopes have actively interacted with the native population and prisoners of wars or have been objects of Christianization undertaken by unknown missionaries<sup>62</sup>. Several pagan graves were found in some settlements in the eastern parts of Northern Thrace – in the vicinity of Nova Zagora and Burgas. However, these graves are attributed to Protobulgarians and are explained with the early annexation of these lands by the medieval Bulgarian state in 705–706<sup>63</sup>.

The data from Beroe and Philippopolis are not as detailed as those from the Rhodopes, but the partial excavations show that their inhabitants continued to use the late antique necropolises without any change in the funeral practices<sup>64</sup>. Three recently found pagan graves in Plovdiv (Philippopolis) are ascribed to Protobulgarians and are used as a proof that between 834–866 Protobulgarian colonialists settled there<sup>65</sup>. If this interpretation is correct, the “Protobulgarian colonialists” must have belonged to population engaged in the military, which constituted a small pagan layer in the town.

Therefore it can be concluded that the population of Northern Thrace in the dark centuries (8<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup>) was composed by remnants of the Greek or Romanic speaking late antique population<sup>66</sup>, a relatively big number of Syriac and Armenian

<sup>60</sup> В. БЕШЕВЛИЕВ, *Първобългарски...*, p. 166.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 142–144.

<sup>62</sup> Г. ГРОЗДАНОВА, *Населението...*, p. 154.

<sup>63</sup> Б. БОРИСОВ, *Археологические...*, p. 52–56.

<sup>64</sup> Г. ГРОЗДАНОВА, *Населението...*, p. 134–135.

<sup>65</sup> I. TOPALOV, K. STANEV, *Two Bulgar Pagan Burials from Plovdiv*, [in:] *Avars, Bulgars and Magyars on the Middle and Lower Danube*, ed. L. DONCHEVA-PETKOVA, C. BALOGH, A. TÜRK, Sofia–Budapest 2014, p. 85–87.

<sup>66</sup> Many late antique toponyms, hydronyms and oikonyms from Thrace are preserved in Old Slavonic, Middle Bulgarian and Modern Bulgarian with labial b or with old nasals, which excludes

migrants – concentrated mainly in the former cities that were in the process of ruralisation, Slavs who inhabited small newly formed villages and had started to adopt Christian rituals at least in their burial practices, and a tiny layer of Proto-Bulgarians who continued to keep their pagan burial traditions.

The Slavic population from the presumed second migrant wave from Great Moravia (the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> century) must have been Christians or in the process of Christianization.

One of the paradoxes of this situation are the very slight traces of new Christian temples in the regions of Philippopolis and the Rhodopes during the “dark age” (the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century). There are evidences that some of the churches built in the previous centuries partly continued to function in this period or at least the collective memory of their locations was kept alive because some of the late antique necropolises were used in the whole medieval period<sup>67</sup>. However that was not a general phenomenon. It is strange that in spite of its closeness to Moesia, the region was not affected by the large scale construction of churches and imposing monastery complexes during the reign of St. Boris I, Simeon and St. Peter (855–969) in Moesia and in the lands of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Macedonia<sup>68</sup>. It seems that the construction of churches and monasteries in the region of Philippopolis was renewed after the Byzantine Reconquista in 970–971 and more exactly in the middle of the 11<sup>th</sup> century.

One of the possible explanations of this strange paradox – Christian burials and lack of new church buildings, directs to dualistic teachings. It is well known that they rejected temples and liturgy. On the other hand, graves or necropolises that can be identified as Bogomil/Paulician have not been found yet on the territory of Bulgaria. This indicates that the burial practices of these groups did not differ from these of Orthodox Christians, at least with respect to the position of the body and the lack of funeral gifts. On this basis, as well as on the basis of the evidences of Theophanes Confessor and the above mentioned Serbian document, it could be suggested that in the 8<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup> and the first decades of the 10<sup>th</sup> century dualistic sects spread their teachings among the population of Northern Thracian and partly in the Rhodope mountains. In fact, Philippopolis/Plovdiv, according to the testimony of Anna Komnene, up to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century continued

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Greek among the possible donors of these toponyms. Most likely the donors were the local variants of Vulgar Latin or some of the old Balkan languages as Moesian or Thracian. In my opinion, the phonetic structure of the toponyms in question indicates Vulgar Latin mediation.

<sup>67</sup> Г. Грозданова, *Населението...*, p. 136–137.

<sup>68</sup> According to some interpretations, at least one part of the above-mentioned artifacts from Beroe (Stara Zagora), Nova Zagora and Sliven were part of the decoration of the churches. Some researchers even suppose that the churches belonged to monastery complexes or bishop residences similar to these excavated in Pliska, Preslav, Ravna, Varna and other parts of Eastern Moesia. However, ruins of similar buildings have not been excavated yet. Of course, they may be found in future excavations, but even then they will not change the general situation essentially.

to be a center of dualistic movements (including Bogomils), and the number of Orthodox Christians there was insignificant<sup>69</sup>.

- Connections of early Bogomilism with Messalianism and dualistic teachings

These connections can be reconstructed on the basis of a number of similarities existing between Bogomils' teaching and practices presented in the work of presbyter Kozma and the teaching and practices of the earlier heresies. Actually, Bogomilism from a doctrinal point of view cannot be attributed entirely to any of the earlier heretical groups and movements known from the sources. However, the connections with the dualistic doctrine of Marcion and respectively Paulicianism are obvious. In a previous publication I propounded the view that in the 7<sup>th</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century in Anatolia and on the Balkans different dualistic communities identifying themselves or labeled as “Paulicians” existed. We have relatively detailed information about the group which in the middle of the 9<sup>th</sup> century seized Tephrike and founded a Paulician quasi state. In the religious beliefs and practices of this group several layers can be distinguished – conscious Marcionism introduced by Constantine Silvan, “subconscious” Manicheism, sunny cult that might have connections with Manicheism, Mazdeism or some pagan remnants, rejecting of cross, icons, church, sacraments, liturgy – the latter could be due to the influence exerted by different factors – the Byzantine iconoclasm, Islam, dualism based on the Old Testament etc. However in my opinion that was a consequence of process of radicalization of the dualistic teachings themselves. Finally a tendency of religious authoritarianism – cult of religious leaders, took place among the Paulicians of Tephrike.

The main similarities of Bogomilism to Marcionism and Paulicianism can be summarized in the following range:

- Rejection of the Old Testament and the missions of the Old Testament prophets<sup>70</sup>.
- Rejection of the visible world. According to Marcionites and Paulicians, who were obviously influenced by Marcionites, the world was created by the God of law<sup>71</sup>, respectively by the God of evil (Paulicians)<sup>72</sup>. Bogomils recognized Satan as its creator<sup>73</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> ANNA COMNENA, *Alexias*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VIII, ed. M. VOJNOV et al., Sofia 1972, p. 136–137.

<sup>70</sup> Презвитеръ Козма, p. 19–20, 23–24.

<sup>71</sup> П. СТЕФАНОВ, *Ялдаваот. История и учение на гностическата религия*, София 2008, p. 170.

<sup>72</sup> *Petri Siculi Historia Manichaeorum seu Paulicianorum*, Gottingae 1846 (cetera: PETRUS SICULUS), p. 11–12.

<sup>73</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, p. 29.



- The God of law (Marcionism) – respectively Satan (Bogomilism) is the creator of the human body and soul, so both were infected by sin<sup>74</sup>. Presbyter Kozma notices that one part of the heretics considered devil not as a fallen angel but as a “non-righteous ruler”<sup>75</sup>. This view most likely has stemmed from Marcion’s concept by means of Paulician mediation. The strange Bogomil view of Satan as the younger son of God and brother of Jesus<sup>76</sup> probably also reflects some initial notion of the existence of two gods. That also confirms the hypothesis that the dualistic ideas were spread in Bulgarian lands by heterogeneous groups.
- Rejection of Saint John the Baptist – according to Bogomils he was forerunner of Antichrist<sup>77</sup>. It seems that this dualistic tradition is rooted in Marcion’s redaction of the Gospel of Luke – there the passages referring to the connections between Jesus and John the Baptist are missing<sup>78</sup>. One of the possible explanations of this strange missing is the negative attitude of Marcion and his followers towards Saint John the Baptist. Many historians of the early Christianity share opinion that Marcion abbreviated the beginning of Gospel of Luke in order to avoid the narrative of John the Baptist and its connections with Jesus<sup>79</sup>. As we see below the *Secret Book of Bogomils* indicates another source of this rejection but that does not disapproved the significance of Marcion’s redaction of the New Testament:
- The notion of ostensible birth and death of Jesus<sup>80</sup>.
- The exclusive respect to Saint Paul the Apostle was typical of Paulicians and that was inherited from Marcion’s doctrine too. According to Marcion St. Paul the Apostle received exclusive by its nature revelation that revealed him the essence of Jesus’ sacrifice<sup>81</sup>. Loos in his investigation on Bogomilism, on the basis of the evidences from Kozma’s work, asserts that Bogomils *did not follow the Paulicians’ emphasis on the teachings of St. Paul*<sup>82</sup>. In my opinion there are indirect indications that Bogomils also paid exclusive respect to Saint Paul. For instance Presbyter Kozma quotes passages from Saint Paul’s letters used by

<sup>74</sup> П. СТЕФАНОВ, *Ялдаваот...*, р. 174; ПРЕЗВИТЕРЬ КОЗМА, р. 26.

<sup>75</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЬ КОЗМА, р. 26.

<sup>76</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЬ КОЗМА, р. 29.

<sup>77</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЬ КОЗМА, р. 20.

<sup>78</sup> J. TYSON, *Marcion and Luke-Acts. A Defining Struggle*, Columbia 2006, р. 43–44.

<sup>79</sup> В. БОЛОТОВ, *Лекции по истории Древней Церкви*, vol. II, *История церкви в период до Константина Великого*, Москва 1994, р. 230.

<sup>80</sup> В. БОЛОТОВ, *Лекции по истории...*, р. 229; PETRUS SICULUS, р. 12; М. ПОПРУЖЕНКО, *Синодик царя Борила*, София 1928 (сетера: ПОПРУЖЕНКО), р. 42.

<sup>81</sup> В. БОЛОТОВ, *Лекции по истории...*, р. 230.

<sup>82</sup> M. LOOS, *Dualist Heresy...*, р. 59.

Bogomils against Orthodoxies<sup>83</sup>. Besides, Presbyter Kozma in order to disprove Bogomil doctrine, many times based his argumentation on Saint Paul's letters.

- Rejection of the Holy Cross, icons, the Orthodox Church and saints, liturgy and Orthodox church's sacraments – a common feature of both Paulicianism and Bogomilism<sup>84</sup>. Presbyter Kozma in his work sheds certain light on the reasons of this Bogomil rejection. He writes that the early Bogomils did not accept the cross because the Son of God was crucified on it<sup>85</sup>. In respect to icons they advanced arguments from Acts of the Apostles 17: 29 – i.e. they accepted icons as a kind of idolatry<sup>86</sup>, liturgy was rejected as innovation missing in the New Testament<sup>87</sup>. However it seems that all of these arguments were used in their disputes with Orthodoxies but the real reason was rooted in the process of radicalization of dualistic teachings that had taken place in the Near East and Anatolia before the migrations of the dualistic groups towards Balkans. For instance Presbyter Kozma in another place notices that Bogomils rejected everything animate and inanimate in the visible world<sup>88</sup> – therefore they accepted all material things as created by evil/Satan.
- There are similarities between Paulicians' and Bogomils' views about the substitution of sacraments with Gospels: Paulicians on the basis of Jesus' word about the living water, perceived listening to the Gospel as Baptism<sup>89</sup>. Bogomils asserted that the four Gospels and Acts of the Apostles were the real communion<sup>90</sup>.
- One of the common features of Marcionism and Bogomilism is the lack of the classical Gnostic notions of aeons and their emanations in their dualistic doctrine. Official Paulicianism – this introduced with reform of Constantine Silvan, on this topic most probably also maintained views similar to Marcion's and Bogomil dualism.
- The information of Presbyter Kozma that Bogomils did not celebrate Sunday and kept the fast on Sunday also attracts attention<sup>91</sup>. The first peculiarity was due to the rejection of resurrection of bodies – one common feature for the dualistic and gnostic teachings. The second probably indicates traces of

<sup>83</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 16–17, 22.

<sup>84</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, р. 15; ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 9, 11, 14, 14–15, 22, 29.

<sup>85</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 9.

<sup>86</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 22.

<sup>87</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 14.

<sup>88</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 29.

<sup>89</sup> PETRUS SICULUS, р. 37.

<sup>90</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 13–14.

<sup>91</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 36.

Manichean influence<sup>92</sup>. However the Sunday fast might have stemmed from another gnostic traditions<sup>93</sup>.

On the other hand there are some significant differences between Bogomilism and Paulicianism:

- The nature of God's opponent: while Marcionites perceived him as a separate god (the god of law), opposed to the Heavenly Father<sup>94</sup>, most of Bogomils identified him with Satan – the rebellious angel created by God and rising against Him<sup>95</sup>. Probably Marcion's God became the prototype of the Paulician God of evil, but the prototype of the Bogomil inspirer of the evil is the Satan from the New Testament.
- Bogomils did not abridge the New Testament according to the model of Marcion and Paulicians. There is no explicit information that Bogomils removed books of the New Testament or abridged their texts, but they denied the passages telling about the miracles of Jesus<sup>96</sup>. Besides, it becomes clear from the so called *Secret Book of Bogomils* that they used additional entirely non-canonic texts that replaced to a certain degree the New Testament.
- Elements of sunny cult cannot be found in the practices or beliefs of Bogomilism.
- The Manichean elements in Bogomil doctrine are slight and uncertain.
- Unlike Paulicians, Bogomils have not developed practices of religious cult of their leaders.
- The total destructivism of Bogomilism – it was a natural consequence of the above mentioned radicalization of dualistic doctrine – a process that in my opinion was common for Protobogomils and Paulicians. However the Bogomil doctrine developed forms of destructivism that were unknown in Paulicianism. For example the rejection of Jesus' miracles and especially the miraculous healings and resurrections of bodies was provoked by the radical Bogomil view that bodies were created by Satan and therefore cannot be healed – they as the other parts of material world are condemned of destruction. Presbyter Kozma

<sup>92</sup> М. ТАРДИО, *Манихейството*, trans. М. ЙОНЧЕВ, София 2001, р. 86 (translation from French: М. ТАРДИЕУ, *Le manichéisme*, Paris 1997).

<sup>93</sup> At first glance the Sunday fast can be considered as an indication for existence of some sunny cult. It is known that Manicheans regarded sun and moon as divine spirits. However all sources – including the *Secret Book*, confirm that Bogomils categorically rejected all heavenly bodies as part of material world created by Satan. That makes me think that the source of the Sunday fast was not Manichean.

<sup>94</sup> П. СТЕФАНОВ, *Ялдаваот...*, р. 170.

<sup>95</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 26.

<sup>96</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 8, 36.

notices that Bogomils attributed all miraculous to Satan and asserted that the authors of Gospels have misunderstood their real meaning<sup>97</sup>.

- Another example is Bogomils' attitude toward children. According to Kozma, they abhorred them, turned to the other side and hid their faces when they saw children and called them little devils, Mammons<sup>98</sup>.

There are certain parallels between Masallianism and Bogomilism. The origin of Masallians is not completely clear, but the existing evidences indicate that it emerged around the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century in the bosom of some radical trends of Syriac anchoritism and continued to exist up to and including the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>99</sup>. The similarities with Bogomilism can be found in the following beliefs and practices of Masallians:

- The human soul from birth is under the control of Satan and his demons, and man cannot free himself from them by means of church baptism and communion. The only way of liberation is prayer.
- Ascetics are not under obligation to participate in church rites.
- Negative attitude toward matrimony and secular manner of life.
- Rejection of manual labor<sup>100</sup>.
- Presbyter Kozma notices that Bogomils prayed four times in day and four times in night saying the Lord's Prayer<sup>101</sup>. Most probably this model copied some Masallian practice.

However, there are some significant differences between Bogomils and Masallians. For instance, Masallians did not preach against the cross and even expected during their prayers to see the Holy Cross in light<sup>102</sup>. There are no evidences that Masallians followed or adopted dualistic doctrines.

- Cultural and ethnical characteristics of early Bogomilism

The most important source about the cultural and social environment of early Bogomilism is the second letter of the Constantinople Patriarch Theophylact

<sup>97</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 8, 36.

<sup>98</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 33–34.

<sup>99</sup> А. МУРАВЬЕВ, *Мар Исхак Ниневийский. Книга о восхождении инока. Первое собрание (трактаты I–VI)*, Москва 2016, р. 454–455; J. WOLSKI, *Autoproscopae, Bogomils and Messalians in the 14<sup>th</sup> Century Bulgaria*, SCer 4, 2014, р. 233.

<sup>100</sup> А. МУРАВЬЕВ, *Мар Исхак Ниневийский...*, р. 455–456, 478; ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 29–30, 37.

<sup>101</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, р. 35.

<sup>102</sup> А. МУРАВЬЕВ, *Мар Исхак Ниневийский...*, р. 456.

to the Bulgarian Tsar St. Peter. In this letter the patriarch gives specific advice on the measures and punishments that should be undertaken against the spread of Bogomilism and its propagators. Theophylact repeats information given by the tsar himself in a previous non-preserved letter. According to this information, the conscious bearers and propagators of the heresy were priests and anchorites. For example, Theophylact, obviously relying on information obtained from St. Tsar Peter, mentions people who had followed anchorites but had not known that these anchorites were adherents of the heresy. The Patriarch also speaks explicitly about priests who have become *teachers of the alien to the church teaching* and priests who, together with ordinary people, because of *naivety and stupidity* had become adherents of the first group<sup>103</sup>.

This is supported by the fact that Bogomil, described in the sources as the first propagator and even founder of the heresy, was a priest<sup>104</sup>. Presbyter Kozma also mentions that among the followers of Bogomilism were priests who abandoned church and Orthodoxy<sup>105</sup> and that the propagators of the heresy led an ascetic manner of life, and because of that many people turned to them, thinking that they were pious Christians<sup>106</sup>.

The linguistic analysis of the names of the group headed by Bogomil, recorded in the Synodic of Tsar Boril, can shed additional light on the cultural characteristics of the first Bogomils. In my opinion, the wide spread of the heresy in the mid-10<sup>th</sup> century, as well as the data from Theophylact's letter, indicates that it was propagated by many groups of priests/anchorites and their followers. Most likely Bogomil and his group were the most active propagators of these ideas among Bulgarians, and that was a reason for his name to become synonymous with the heresy.

According to the 111 paragraph of the Synodic of Tsar Boril, the group led by Bogomil included the following people: Michael, Theodor, Dobri, Stephan, Vasiliy, Peter<sup>107</sup>.

- The name Bogomil (beloved by God): contrary to some views that it was created especially for the heresy, the name in its female form, Bogomila, is testified in the sources long before the emergence of Bogomilism. Bogomila was the name of one of the daughters of the Bulgarian nobleman and diplomat Sonodke, who visited Rome in 866 as a member of the official Bulgarian delegation<sup>108</sup>.

<sup>103</sup> *Theophylacti Constantinopolis patriarchae epistola Petro Bulgarorum regi*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. V, ed. V. ТАРКОВА-ЗАЙМОВА, Sofia 1964, p. 185–186.

<sup>104</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, p. 4.

<sup>105</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, p. 33.

<sup>106</sup> ПРЕЗВИТЕРЪ КОЗМА, p. 5.

<sup>107</sup> ПОПРУЖЕНКО, p. 82.

<sup>108</sup> L.C. ВЕТМАНН, *Die Evangelienhandschrift zu Cividale*, Hannover 1877 [= NAGÄDG, 2], p. 120.

Besides the Bulgarian researcher of the Old Bulgarian hymnography – Veselin Panayotov decodes the name “Priest Bogomil” in acrostic of hymnography work dating back to the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>109</sup>. Of course if the decoding is correct the author of this work cannot be identified with the founder of Bogomilism but this coincidence indicates that Bogomil was relatively popular name.

As for the origin of the name, there are two possibilities. According to the first one, Bogomil is an artificial loan translation of the Greek and Evangelic name θεόφιλος/Theophilus. Similar loan translations are a widely spread method used by Preslav bookmen in the process of creation of the theological and liturgical lexical layer of Old Slavonic. However, from a chronological point of view, the registration of the name in the sources precedes the activity of Preslav bookmen.

The second hypothesis directs to Slavic pagan anthroponymy. The Polish Bogumił and the Czech Bohumil are Western Slavic correspondences to the Bulgarian anthroponym. Besides, the medieval Czech name Ludmila shows a similar model of formation of composite names which are relatively popular in the 10<sup>th</sup> century Bulgarian anthroponymy<sup>110</sup>. In this case, as a result of Christianization, the name must have experienced religious transformation, acquiring a new Christian sense, identical with this of the anthroponym θεόφιλος.

- The names Michael, Peter and Stephen are typical Christian names taken from the books of the New Testament. The name of St. Archangel Michael is mentioned in some of the books of the Old Testament.
- The names Theodor and Vasiliy also belong to the traditional Christian anthroponymy but do not stem from the Bible. Theodor and Vasiliy are names of great Orthodox saints. It seems that similar names were spread among the Bogomils, regardless of the fact that they rejected the worship of saints. There are even more paradoxical cases – for example, Bogomil bearing the names Moses is mentioned in the 77<sup>th</sup> paragraph of the Synodic of Tsar Boril<sup>111</sup>. The name is in obvious contradiction with the Bogomil doctrine regarding the prophets from the Old Testament as “messengers of Satan”. In my view, there is only one possible explanation of this paradox – Bogomilism arose from dualistic groups who most probably inhabited Northern Thrace but from the very beginning attracted representatives of the Orthodox population<sup>112</sup>.
- The name Dobri is a typical Bulgarian name, a derivative of the adjective ДѢВРЪ (dobr – good). Names which were derivatives of this adjective enjoyed big popularity in Bulgarian medieval anthroponymy and still are in wide use

<sup>109</sup> V. ПАНAYOTOV, *An Acrostic with the Name of Priest Bogomil*, SHB 3, 2014, p. 146.

<sup>110</sup> Б. ЯНЕВ, *Система на личните имена в българския и немския език*, Пловдив 2009, p. 74.

<sup>111</sup> ПОПРУЖЕНКО, p. 68.

<sup>112</sup> Anthroponyms taken from the Old Testament were popular in Bulgaria in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> century. That gives reasons to think that Moses lived in this period.

among Bulgarians. Similar names are not registered in the other Slavic languages. That gives reasons to think that the name was invented in the process of Christianization and also belongs to the Christian layer of names.

It is remarkable that names of Slavic pagan origin (probably excluding Bogomil) are not found not only among the group of Bogomil but among all Bulgarian Bogomils whose names are preserved in the sources. That indirectly confirms the testimonies of Presbyter Kozma and Patriarch Theophylact that adherents of heresy were interested in an ascetic manner of life, i.e. Bogomilism gained popularity among circles which long time before its emergence had been connected with the Christian tradition, and indicates that the theories regarding it as an “anti-feudal” or “rural” movement are 20<sup>th</sup> century anachronisms. For the same reason some hypotheses about the role of the “Slavic pagan heritage” must be abandoned.

Besides, the names Bogomil and Dobri categorically point that some of the early Bogomilians were Bulgarian (Slavic) speaking. However, evidence from the Synodic of Tsar Boril gives arguments in favor of the hypothesis that people of Semitic, most probably Syriac origin, existed among the first Bogomils. Anathemas pronounced against a Bogomil leader called ΜΑΝΔΕΛΕΪ (Mandelej) of Radobol is recorded in the 78<sup>th</sup> paragraph of the Synodic of Tsar Boril<sup>113</sup>. Radobol can be identified with the modern village Golem Radibol in the vicinity of Prilep, modern Macedonia. The name is unknown in the anthroponymy of the Balkan peoples. Most probably it has originated from some Aramaic root like manda (knowledge) or like the Idish Mendel/Mendeley, appears to be a latter Aramaic adoption of some earlier Semitic anthroponym.

Peter, the leader of the Bogomil community in Sredets (modern Sofia) is called “Cappadocian” (from Cappadocia) the Synodic of Tsar Boril – a clear indication of his Anatolian origin<sup>114</sup>.

An interesting indication of the Near Eastern roots of Bogomilism is the term babun, preserved in Serbian sources from the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century, where Bogomilians are often called Babuns and their sermons “Babun’s speech”<sup>115</sup>. Up to present day the etymology of the word remains unclear. The attempts at Slavic, Greek and even Paleo Balkan etymologizations are not convincing either from a historical or from a linguistic point of view. In my opinion, the word must be some popular designation of Bogomilians, stemming from the diminutive form of the Neo Syriac word – bb? (baba) – father – babon/babona<sup>116</sup>. The word baba is spread in many Turkic languages, Persian, Hindi and has obscure origin<sup>117</sup>. In Syriac

<sup>113</sup> ПОПРУЖЕНКО, р. 68.

<sup>114</sup> ПОПРУЖЕНКО, р. 68.

<sup>115</sup> Д. ДРАГОЙЛОВИЋ, *Богомилство на Балкану и у Малој Азији*, Београд 1974, р. 81–83.

<sup>116</sup> R. PAYNE SMITH, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxonii 1879, р. 443.

<sup>117</sup> S. NIŞANYAN, *Sözlük. Çağdaş Türkçenin Etimolojisi*, <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=baba-&lnk=1> [21 III 2021]. Most probably it has appeared in the vocabulary of different peoples from the so called child (baby) languages.

it was registered for the first time in the Syriac translation of Khalila and Dimna<sup>118</sup>, made around 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century<sup>119</sup>. This makes quite possible its penetration into colloquial Syriac two or three centuries earlier. In this case Babun semantically stays very close to the Old Slavonic and Middle Bulgarian word дѣдѣць (dedets) – a term used only in the Synodic of Tsar Boril as a designation of the leader of the Bogomil community in Sredets<sup>120</sup>. The word stems from the Slavic word for grandfather – дѣдъ and the diminutive suffix -ѣць. The words babun and dedets indicate that Bogomils developed their own “church” terminology based on colloquial forms of their adherents’ languages. The Cathar-Provençal term ancia, which was used in the Medieval Cathar communities to designate a person saying “Pater Noster” and performing the ritual of the “spiritual baptism”, gives reasons for a similar hypothesis too. Etymologically the word comes from the Latin “antianus”, meaning “old”<sup>121</sup>.

### **The Secret Book of Bogomils (*Interrogatio Iohannis*)**

In my opinion, the so called *Secret Book of Bogomils (Interrogatio Iohannis)* or *Faux Evangile* can offer the most significant arguments in favor of the hypothesis of the Near Eastern origin of Bogomilism. Despite the fact that its Old Slavonic (Bulgarian) original is not preserved, there are a lot of proofs of its Bulgarian origin. First and foremost, this is the testimony of the Carcassonne copy, according to which the book has been brought to the dualists of Concôrezio from Bulgaria by one of their bishops named Nazarius<sup>122</sup>. A Cathar bishop with the same name is mentioned by Rainer Sacconi in his work describing Cathars’ beliefs. Rainer explicitly mentions that around 1190 Nazarius was in close contact with the spiritual leaders of the “church Bulgaria” and accepted their doctrines<sup>123</sup>. Therefore, the *Secret Book* originates from one of the two main dualistic churches in the Bulgarian lands. It was called “Bulgaria” and kept the initial “moderate dualism” of the first Bogomils, unlike the church “Dugunthia” that accepted the so called “extreme dualism”<sup>124</sup>, probably under Paulician influence.

<sup>118</sup> C. BROCKELMANN, *Lexicon Syriacum*, Halle 1928, p. 57.

<sup>119</sup> I.G.N. KEITH-FALCONER, *Kalilah and Dimnah or the Fables of Bidpai*, Cambridge 1885, p. XIV.

<sup>120</sup> ПОПРУЖЕНКО, p. 68.

<sup>121</sup> М. ЦИБРАНСКА-КОСТОВА, *Катарският требник и богомилската книжнина*, Pbg 26, 2004, p. 54.

<sup>122</sup> In Й. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 87.

<sup>123</sup> RAINER SACCONI, *Summa fratris Raynerii de ordine fratrum praedicatorum, de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, [in:] *FLHB*, vol. IV, ed. M. VOJNOV et al., Sofia 1981 (cetera: RAINER SACCONI), p. 177.

<sup>124</sup> Some researchers distinguish two types of dualism – “moderate”, according to which evil has secondary origin and is a consequence of Satan’s revolt, and “extreme”. According to the latter doctrine,



Jordan Ivanov, the first Bulgarian publisher of the text of *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) marked many language and thematic similarities between separate passages in the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) and apocrypha translated or compiled in Bulgaria during the 10<sup>th</sup> century<sup>125</sup>. That also gives reasons to think that the book was compiled in Bulgaria around the end of 10<sup>th</sup> or in the first decades of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. At the same time, the lack of any traces and mentions of the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) in the medieval indexes of the forbidden books, in the anti-Bogomil polemic of the Bulgarian and Byzantine authors, in other Bulgarian apocrypha or in Bulgarian folklore, which was highly influenced by the medieval apocryphal literature, indicates that this Bogomil document was used in a very narrow environment. For instance, Rainer Sacconi notices that the total number of the members of the two “churches” – Bulgaria and Dughuntia, in the first decades of the 13<sup>th</sup> century was around 500 people<sup>126</sup>. Most likely he had in mind the number of these who entirely embraced the dualistic ideas and obviously the circulation of the *Secret Book* never went beyond the boundaries of these groups. The assumption that the book was a document accessible only to these who were entirely initiated into the secrets of the Bogomil faith also seems to be a possible explanation of the above phenomenon. In this case the book can be regarded as a document of secret Bogomil gnosis.

Simultaneously since the 1950s some European researchers of Catharism have introduced the hypothesis of the Greek origin of the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) in spite of the unequivocal testimony that the book was brought from “Bulgaria”. Their arguments are based not on language analysis of the text but on the many resemblances which they find between the *Secret Book* and the Bogomilian myths presented by Euthymius Zigabenus in the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>127</sup>. However, this hypothesis ignores many essential differences existing between the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) and the narrative of Euthymius Zigabenus. Below I will try to present some of them:

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there were two principles from the very beginning – the god of good and the god of evil. Bogomilians and the community “Bulgaria” were adherents of the “moderate dualism” – Д. АНГЕЛОВ, *Богомилството*, София 1993, p. 141.

<sup>125</sup> Й. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 68–72.

<sup>126</sup> RAINER SACCONI, p. 170.

<sup>127</sup> All of these similarities are resumed by E. BOZÓKY in her book: *Le livre secret des cathares: Interrogatio Iohannis. Apocryphe d'origine bogomile*, Paris 1980, p. 200–202.

The Secret Book ( <i>Interrogatio Iohannis</i> )	Euthymius Zigabenus <sup>128</sup>
The description of divine earth	Without analogies
Satan is imitator of God and appears to be a master of heavenly virtues	Satan is the second after God and even second God
Immediately after Satan's revolt he and his angels lost their divine nature	Satan and his angels have preserved their divine nature for long time after the revolt
Spiritualization of corps: fallen angels closed in clay corps/heavenly virtues closed in dead bodies	God animates the corps after deal with Satan (there is not any mention of deal in the <i>Secret Book</i> )
Satan seduced Eve and Adam	Satan seduced only Eve and after this act lost his divine nature
Without analogies in the text of the Secret Book	The story of Cain and Abel
The story of primordial paradise	Without analogies
The story of Enoch	Without analogies

Both texts offer completely different Christology:

The Secret Book ( <i>Interrogatio Iohannis</i> )	Euthymius Zigabenus <sup>129</sup>
Jesus existed before the revolt of Satan and became an witness of his fall	Jesus emerged from Father 5500 years after the revolt of Satan
Without analogy	Jesus is identical with archangel Michael
Without analogy	Satan is the bigger brother of Jesus
Without analogy	Jesus is Father's word and the Holy Spirit is Jesus' word
Without analogy	Jesus and the Holy Spirit return to Father and become again one god (i.e. the Holy Trinity disappears)

<sup>128</sup> EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, *De haeresi Bogomilorum narratio*, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. X, ed. G. CANKOVA-PETROVA, P. KOLEDAROV, Sofia 1972 (cetera: EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS), p. 53–60.

<sup>129</sup> EUTHYMIUS ZIGABENUS, p. 57–60.

There are differences in many details in the narratives referring to the revolt of Satan, his creative activity, the creation of humankind, etc. All of these discrepancies indicate that the dualistic myths and teachings shared by the 12<sup>th</sup> century Bogomils in Constantinople stemmed from some dualistic tradition that is close to the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* but not identical with it.

Some adherents to the Greek hypothesis try to explain these differences in various ways which sometimes contradict one other. For example, Theofanis Drakopoulos asserts that the part referring to angelology is not found in Zigabenus' work because it was added later to the *Secret Book* by a monk who was under the influence of Neo-Platonism and Origen<sup>130</sup>. Indeed, the story of fallen angels and heavenly virtues resembles to a certain degree Origen's doctrine of souls, but Origen had never presented the bodies and the visible world as resulting from the act of evil creator or Satan. The same is valid for the Neo-Platonic doctrine too.

Besides, the hypothesis of the Greek origin of the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* leads to the conclusion that the book was received in "Bulgaria" from Constantinople – i.e. it emphasizes the leading role of the Bogomil community in Constantinople. However, it is in obvious contradiction with the testimony of Rainer Sacconi, who explicitly notices that all dualist communities, including the church of Greeks in Constantinople, have originated from "Bulgaria" and "Dughuntia"<sup>131</sup>, and with the fact that western dualists were in contact with and under the influence of these two communities.

The other arguments that Greek was the classical language of gnostic literature and that many Slavic apocryphal works have their lost Greek originals<sup>132</sup> can be regarded as "indirect proofs" at best.

Finally, it is strange that many of the adherents to this hypothesis ignore the evidence of Presbyter Kozma, who had described many elements of the Bogomil doctrine two centuries before Euthymius Zigabenus and the similarities between the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* and Kozma's data. The adherents to the hypothesis of the Greek origin of the book have never commented in an adequate way the resemblances between the evidences coming from Kozma's work and from the correspondence between Patriarch Theophylact and Tsar Peter on the one hand and from Zigabenus' book on the other. All of these resemblances are related to different aspects of the social behavior and religious beliefs of Bogomils and give serious reasons to think that the social and religious "prototype" of the 12<sup>th</sup> century Constantinople Bogomils were the 10<sup>th</sup> century Bulgarian Bogomils. Of course it does not disprove the hypothesis that the western dualists accepted the *Secret Book* in a Greek variant and translation. For instance, in the 11<sup>th</sup> century Old Slavonic

<sup>130</sup> T. DRAKOPOULOS, *L'unité du bogomilo-catharisme. D'après quatre textes latins analysés à la lumière des sources byzantines*, Genève 2010 (dissertation), p. 251.

<sup>131</sup> RAINER SACCONI, p. 167.

<sup>132</sup> E. BOZÓKY, *Le livre secret...*, p. 184.

works, such as the biographies of the 10<sup>th</sup> century Bulgarian saints, were translated to Greek or included in the works of Byzantine authors.

- Structure of the book and its connection with other apocrypha

The text is in the form of pseudo conversation – during the last supper an apocryphal John the Apostle asks eleven questions, and an apocryphal Jesus answers. Some of the popular in Byzantine and Bulgarian literature apocrypha also share a similar structure, but there the number of questions is big and answers given by popular Orthodox saints are relatively short. The *Secret Book* to a certain degree resembles the apocryphal *Apocalypse of St. John the Theologian*, translated from Greek to Bulgarian in the 10<sup>th</sup> or 11<sup>th</sup> century, where an apocryphal John the Theologian again asks questions and receives answers from God. No one of the Gnostic gospels and acts of Apostles composed after the 1<sup>st</sup> century shares a similar subject – a conversation during the last supper, although examples of conversations between apocryphal apostles and apocryphal Jesus in the forms of questions/answers are spread in Gnostic literature<sup>133</sup>.

The *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) is an obvious compilation and can be divided into several parts: cosmogonic, anthropogenic, the history of earth (the kingdom of Satan) and the mission of the apocryphal Jesus, the essence of baptism and the end of the world<sup>134</sup>. Every one of these parts is probably taken from different sources which are not harmonized with one another. For example, in the cosmogonic and anthropogenic parts two different stories about the origin of humankind and about the seduction of the first man and woman are presented. At the end of the narrative of the Satan's revolt it is said that God has deprived the rebellious angels of their clothes and crowns, but after several sentences it is said that Satan creates the sun, the moon and the stars, using the crown of the Angel of water. Similarly, the part describing the end of the world tells about the prophets killed by Jesus' enemies. The passage is obviously influenced by the texts of the canonic gospels where Jesus addresses Jerusalem (Lc 13: 34 and Mt 23: 37). It seems that the compiler(s) forgot that Bogomilism had rejected the prophetic traditions and that in the previous passages three of the most honored prophets of the Old Testament and John the Baptist were depicted as servants of Satan.

At first glance, the most significant similarity between the *Secret Book* and Gnostic works is the emphasis on cosmogony, creation and the primordial state of a human being, as well as on the end of the world. However, the cosmogony of the *Secret Book* is quite different from those in classical Gnostic literature – for example, the long and sophisticated history of aeons is completely missing.

<sup>133</sup> E. Bozóky, *Le livre secret...*, p. 211.

<sup>134</sup> Edina Bozóky distinguishes four parts: cosmological, anthropological, soteriological, eschatological – E. Bozóky, *Le livre secret...*, p. 213.

Edina Bozoky pays attention to some similarities between the creative activity of Satan after his revolt against God and the fall and the activity of the Gnostic Demiurge(s) but highlights the significant differences existing in details referring to the creation of the visible world and human beings<sup>135</sup>.

In spite of this, a more detailed reading of the text of the “Secret book” (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) can give some unexpected references to the Gnostic and Platonic views. For instance, the following sentence of the anthropogenic part directs to traces of Gnosticism:

Et dixit mihi Dominus: audi Joannes, dilecte Patris mei, *insipientes homines* [cursive is mine] ita dicunt in praevaricatione Patrem meum corpora lutea fabricare, sed Spiritu sancti propter praevaricationem inventi sunt habentes corpora lutea mortalia, et ideo morti traditi sunt (Carcassonne copy).

Et Dominus dixit mihi: audi, Johannes carissime, *insipientes homines* [cursive is mine] sic dicunt quod in praevaricatione Pater meus lutea corpora fecit, sed de Spiritu saneto *omnes virtutes caelorum* [cursive is mine] fecit, ipsi autem propter causam eorum inventi sunt habentes lutea corpora et morti traditi sunt (Vienna copy)<sup>136</sup>.

Here a typical Gnostic dichotomy – knowledge/ignorance, replacing the Christian concept of belief/unbelief, is introduced.

Edina Bozoky includes the seduction of Eve among the gnostic elements in the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)*<sup>137</sup>. Actually, the seduction of Adam (Satan kindles sexual desire in Adam two times in the book) also has very close parallels in *The Secret Book of John*, which is one of the classical gnostic writings<sup>138</sup>.

Surprisingly, several moments in the history of Satan and “heavenly virtues” stay very close to Plato’s key ideas. For example, according to the narrative of the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* the “demiurgic activity” of Satan had started long before his revolt, when he inhabited the kingdom of heaven. In this period he obviously acted as a “good demiurge” – a mythological character invented by Plato in *Timaeus* but unknown in the gnostic works. Moreover, similarly to Plato’s demiurge, who created the world on the model of the divine world and his own divinity, Satan in the primordial kingdom tried to imitate God in everything.

The term “heavenly virtues” also attracts attention. One of the mentions of “the heavenly virtues” – *sed de Spiritu saneto omnes virtutes caelorum fecit, ipsi autem propter causam eorum inventi sunt habentes lutea corpora et morti traditi*

<sup>135</sup> E. BOZÓKY, *Le livre secret...*, p. 189–190.

<sup>136</sup> In Ё. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 79–80.

<sup>137</sup> E. BOZÓKY, *Le livre secret...*, p. 201.

<sup>138</sup> М. ОРЕНБУРГ, *Гностический миф. Реконструкция и интерпретация*, Москва 2013, p. 51.

*sunstrongly* (Vienna copy)<sup>139</sup> partly resembles Plato's ideas about the origin and nature of human souls – immortal essence closed in the prison of the mortal body (*Phaedo*).

The next answer of Jesus, following immediately after the text concerning “the heavenly virtues” – *de caducis angelis de caelo ingrediuntur in corporibus mulierum et accipiunt carnem de concupiscentia carnis* (Carcassonne copy) / *de lapsis spiritibus caelorum ingrediuntur in corpora feminea lutosa et carnem accipiunt de concupiscentia carnis* (Vienna copy)<sup>140</sup>, indicates a connection with Philo's doctrine of angels, which was strongly influenced by Plato's teachings. According to his angelology, the angels from the five books of Moses are identical with the Greek “heroes”, and they can enter into mortal bodies. Philo distinguishes two types of angels entering into bodies – worthy and unworthy<sup>141</sup>. However, in this case the existence of connection with the teachings of Messalians, who preached that the human soul was possessed by demons, cannot be excluded.

On this basis, and having in mind the gnostic elements in the other parts of the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*), concerning anthropogenesis, the seduction of Eve, rejection of law, Moses, John the Baptist, water baptism, the appearance of Christ<sup>142</sup>, it might be supposed that the cosmogonic and anthropogenic parts have partly stemmed from revised texts containing some Gnostic and Platonic ideas. The logical discrepancies in these parts indicate that the supposed texts have been at least two or more than two.

In my view the assumption is supported also by the first question and answer, which resemble Mark 14: 18–19, Mathew 26: 22–23 and John 13: 21–27 but have no exact parallels in no one of the canonic and non-canonic gospels. This gives arguments in favor of the hypothesis that the first three parts of the *Secret Book* might have stemmed from unknown Gnostic gospel(s), acts, letters or revelations.

Et dixit mihi: in tali gloria erat, quod ordinabat virtutes caelorum; ego autem sedebam apud Patrem meum (Carcassonne copy).

Et dixit: in virtutibus caelorum et in trono Patris invisibilis, et ordinator erat omnium; et sedebam ego apud Patrem meum (Vienna copy)<sup>143</sup>.

<sup>139</sup> In Ё. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 80.

<sup>140</sup> In *ibidem*.

<sup>141</sup> A. EVANS, *The Development of Jewish Ideas of Angels. Egyptian and Hellenistic Connections ca. 600 BCE to ca. 200 CE*, Stellenbosch 2007 (unpublished PhD dissertation), <https://scholar.sun.ac.za/handle/10019.1/1398> [29 VI 2021], p. 175–188.

<sup>142</sup> E. BOZÓKY, *Le livre secret...*, p. 200–202.

<sup>143</sup> In Ё. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 74.

Bozóky tends to see traces of Manichean influence on the myth of imprisonment of the angel souls in material bodies<sup>144</sup>. In my opinion, the appearance of deeps in the narrative of Satan's revolt that started from the deeps partly reflects Manichean ideas too.

The connections with the other apocrypha, especially with these spread in Bulgaria, has been a matter of discussion since the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century. I could add several corrections to this discussion.

In the first place, the connections with the Old Slavonic version of Enoch and with the work of the priest Jeremiah<sup>145</sup> are entirely negative. The Bulgarian compiler or compilers of the *Secret Book* added passages from both apocrypha to the part describing the kingdom of Satan and the mission of Jesus. However, contrary to the Old Slavonic Enoch and the work of Jeremiah, which proceed from and support the Biblical and Orthodox views that Enoch is a prophet of God and the cross is a tree of salvation, the *Secret Book* radically changes the meaning of the loaned passages in a negative context – Enoch becomes “a prophet of Satan”; the cross becomes an instrument of torture, offered to Moses by Satan<sup>146</sup>.

The similarities in the cosmogony of the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) and the Old Slavonic version of Enoch, suggested in 1910 by Matvey Sokolov and resumed by Jordanov<sup>147</sup> and some modern researchers<sup>148</sup> do not seem convincing. Excluding the notion of the seven heavens, which is extremely popular and might have come from different sources, the other presumed similarities between the cosmogonic notions of both works are the result of over interpretation of the texts.

There are some parallels in the description of Satan's revolt between the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) and the Old Slavonic and Greek “Palea”<sup>149</sup> – the desire of Satan to put his throne on the clouds, to become equal with God and the loss of his previous dignity and clothes. The parallels in question reflect identical notions about the universal dimensions and consequences of this event and describe it with identical or similar linguistic means. In this case the eventual adoptions in the *Secret Book* from “Palea” can be estimated as neutral, i.e. there is no change of the meaning of the loaned passages. However the supposed adoptions concern too small part of the text and cannot explain in a satisfactory way the origin of the first cosmological part of the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*).

<sup>144</sup> E. BOZÓKY, *Le livre secret...*, p. 187.

<sup>145</sup> Jeremiah was a Bulgarian priest who lived at the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. On the basis of older apocrypha he wrote an apocryphal history of the Holy Cross, known at the present as *Novel of the Cross Tree*, Д. ПЕТКАНОВА, *Старобългарска...*, p. 261–264.

<sup>146</sup> In Ъ. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 80–82.

<sup>147</sup> In *ibidem*, p. 72.

<sup>148</sup> E. BOZÓKY, *Le livre secret...*, p. 216.

<sup>149</sup> Ъ. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 69.

Another example of neutral adoption is the loaned passage from the apocryphal *Revelation of John the Theologian*. That is the self-presentation of the author, the ostensible John the Theologian, made at the very beginning of the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)*<sup>150</sup>. According to some new text investigations, the same apocryphal Apocalypse has influenced (again in a neutral manner) the description of the apocalypse in the last part of the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)*<sup>151</sup>.

The adoptions from the Biblical and Gospel text (mainly in respect to the mission of John the Baptist and from the book of Genesis – the creation of the visible word and man, primordial paradise and original sin) are entirely in a negative context.

- The Proto-Bogomil texts

In my opinion, several parts of the *Secret Book* could be considered texts which initially belonged to and were used by the “Proto-Bogomilian” community, which must have been one of the Syrian groups which migrated to Thrace in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. These texts were used by later Bogomilians to compile the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)*, adding some passages from Bulgarian apocrypha or translated to Old Slavonic (Bulgarian) Greek apocrypha, mainly by means of negative interpretation of the loaned passages.

The first “Proto-Bogomil” text might have been the above mentioned initial passage of the book:

Ego Joannes, frater vester, particeps in tribulatione, et in regno coelorum ut essem particeps, cum recubuisssem supra pectus Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et dixi: Domine, qui est qui tradet te? Et respondens, dixit: qui intingit manum mecum in catino. Tunc introiuit in eum Sathanas, et quærebat ut traderet me (Carcassonne copy).

Ego Johannes, particeps in tribulatione et regno Dei ut essem particeps, qui et recumbens in cœna supra pectus Ihesu Christi Domini nostri, dixi: Domine, quis tradet te? Et Dominus dixit mihi: qui intinxerit manum in catino, et introibit in eum Sathanas, ille tradet me (Vienna copy)<sup>152</sup>.

As I noticed above, the question and the answer do not have exact parallels in the other canonic and non-canonic scriptures. This indicates that these passages could have originated from some unknown writing.

– The cosmogonic and cosmological part of the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)*

<sup>150</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 68.

<sup>151</sup> Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Апокрифният апокалипсис на Йоан Богослов – анализ на междутекстовите отношения*, Рбг 27, 2004, p. 85–102.

<sup>152</sup> In Й. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 73.



This part contains the II, III, IV and V sections according to the numeration introduced by Jordan Ivanov<sup>153</sup>. It presents two different universes – the first one which is primordial and refers to the time before Satan's revolt. It consists of more than five (most likely seven)<sup>154</sup> firmaments, water covering earth, a pair of fish, which are like a team of oxen put to the yoke, hold the earth from the west to the east, clouds which are the base of the sea and the underworld. It seems that separate angels have been responsible for each firmament. This model of the universe (excluding fish) stays close to the universe depicted in the 21<sup>st</sup> chapter of the apocryphal *Apocalypse of Abraham*<sup>155</sup>. This work, written in Hebrew or Aramaic, is preserved only in Old Slavonic translation<sup>156</sup> but reflects Near Eastern notions of the universe.

Besides, the initial universe of the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* strongly resembles the cosmological notions of Near Eastern Muslims from the early and the later medieval periods and can even be considered their variant. The Muslim interpretations on this topic include the seven firmaments<sup>157</sup>, a bull, gigantic fish and sometimes an angel sent by God to hold the universe, sand hill, a rock, hyacinth<sup>158</sup>. Probably there is a connection between the gigantic fish and the bull from Arabic stories and the pair of fish which are represented like a team of oxen from the *Secret Book*. In my opinion, all of these stories are rooted in the folklore and mythology of Semitic peoples from the Near East<sup>159</sup> and give serious reasons to think that the cosmologic part of the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* originated from some of the Syrian groups that settled in Northern Thrace in the 8<sup>th</sup> century<sup>160</sup>.

The part telling the story of Satan's creative activity can be regarded as negative interpretation of the first part of the Book of Genesis. However in many details and especially in respect to the sequence of creations it differs from Genesis and shares certain similarities with the Phoenician myth of creation narrated by Philo

<sup>153</sup> In *ibidem*, p. 73–79.

<sup>154</sup> The 7<sup>th</sup> firmament is mentioned in the part referring to the mission of the apocryphal Jesus.

<sup>155</sup> G. BOX, J. LANDSMAN, *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, London–New York 1919, p. 42–43.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 10.

<sup>157</sup> Actually the notion of the seven “skies” appears many times in Quran.

<sup>158</sup> K. CHALYAN-DAFNER, *Natural Disasters in Mamlūk Egypt (1250–1517). Perceptions, Interpretations and Human Responses*, Heidelberg 2013 (unpublished PhD dissertation), <http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/volltextserver/17711/1/Chalyan-Daffner.pdf> [18 XII 2019], p. 214–217.

<sup>159</sup> Some of the deities of the Semitic peoples from Syrian territories had zoomorphic forms of fish and bull. Probably this cosmogony is rooted in ancient Semitic mythologies.

<sup>160</sup> The lands of Melitena and Theodosiopolis, where the Syriac population came from in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, were conquered by Arabs in the 7<sup>th</sup> century, and up to the first decades of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, when they were reconquered by Byzantine (for about 50 years), were under the domination of the caliphate.

of Byblos in his *Phoenician History*<sup>161</sup>. Philo wrote his work at the end of the first or at the beginning of the second century AD – an indication that the myth in question circulated in the region of the Near East in the first centuries AD. Later, in the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century Philo's data were used by Eusebius of Caesarea in his critics against paganism<sup>162</sup>:

The sequence of creations	The Book of Genesis	The Secret Book ( <i>Interrogatio Iohannis</i> )	The Phoenician myth
1.	God creates the light, the day, and the night	Following Satan's orders, the angels of air and water bring the earth/land out of the primordial ocean	Air was the initial element in the primordial and dark chaos. The watery matter (called Mot), containing the nucleus of the future universe, emanates from air as a result of air's desire
2.	God creates the sky	Satan creates the light of the moon, the stars and the heavenly hosts	Mot, the sun, the moon, the great luminaries (constellations) <sup>163</sup> begin to shine
3.	God creates the land, the seas and the plants	Satan creates thunder, rain, hail and snow	Wind, clouds and <i>very great downpours and floods of the waters of heaven</i> <sup>164</sup> appear. After them thunder comes into being too
4.	God creates both luminaries (the big one and the small)	Satan orders land to produce "winged creatures", reptiles, trees and grass. Simultaneously he orders the sea to produce fishes and births	Thunder wakes animals in the land and in the sea up
5.	God creates the birds and the sea creatures	Satan creates the first man and woman	The first man appear as a son of one of the winds and the night
6.	God creates the wild animals, cattle and man		

<sup>161</sup> I used two parallel translation of the Old Greek text – in English: PHILO OF BYBLOS, *The Phoenician History*, trans. et praef. H. ATTRIDGE, R. ODEN, Washington 1981 [= CBQ.MS, 9] and in Russian. The Russian translation is partial but entirely contains the myth of genesis of our universe. It is included in monographic study on Phoenician mythology: Б. ТУРАЕВ, И. ШИФМАН, *Финикийская мифология*, Санкт Петербург 1999, p. 71–81.

<sup>162</sup> Ю. ЦИРКИН, *Мифы Финикии и Угарита*, Москва 2003, p. 6.

<sup>163</sup> The Russian translator uses the word "светило" – luminary (Б. ТУРАЕВ, И. ШИФМАН, *Финикийская мифология...*, p. 71) but the English translator gives the word "constellation" (H. ATTRIDGE and R. ODEN – PHILO OF BYBLOS, *The Phoenician...*, p. 37).

<sup>164</sup> H. ATTRIDGE, R. ODEN – PHILO OF BYBLOS, *The Phoenician...*, p. 39.

Other Near Eastern elements in the cosmogony and anthropogeny of the *Secret Book* can be found in the following resemblances with the Phoenician and North Mesopotamian mythologies:

- According to the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*), water covered the surface of the primordial earth. This notion is well-known from many Near Eastern myths. In the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century it was registered among different Slavic peoples, including North Slavs. Most likely its spread among Slavs was due to the influence of apocryphal texts, dualist myths and folk interpretations of Genesis 1:2. However, in the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) the primordial waters covered not only the surface of the earth but also the underworld and are carried by overhanging clouds. This resembles the Phoenician and the Ugaritic cosmological notion of the ocean which is found under the earth<sup>165</sup>.
- Satan created man in order to use him as a servant<sup>166</sup>. The myth according to which gods created men to serve them has been well known in the mythologies of the peoples from Mesopotamia since ancient times<sup>167</sup>.
- Satan creates the stars and the heavenly hosts from the gemstones of the crown taken from the angel of waters. The connection between stars/constellations and gemstones is a widely discussed subject in many astrological works, especially the ones stemming from the Hermeneutic branch of astrology. However, the same view appears in works that had been completed long before the emergence of the Hermeneutic tradition. For example, in the first century AD Josephus Flavius asserts that the gemstones attached to the clothes of the high priest symbolize the sun, the moon and the zodiac<sup>168</sup>.
- The revolt of Satan started from the primordial abyss. This myth strongly resembles Mazdaic and Manichean myths of the initial war between the worlds of good and evil. Both religions exerted strong influence on the religious and mythological notions of the population in the Near East in the Late Antique and Early Medieval epoch.

A careful analysis of the cosmogonic, cosmological and anthropogenic parts of the *Secret Book* (*Interrogatio Iohannis*) shows that they are an amalgam of myths and notions of different origin. The assertion that angels paid their tributes to God

<sup>165</sup> Ю. Циркин, *Мифы Финикии...*, p. 147, 400.

<sup>166</sup> In Й. ИВАНОВ, *Богомилски книги...*, p. 78.

<sup>167</sup> М. ЕЛИАДЕ, *История на религиозните вярвания и идеи*, vol. I, *От каменния век до Елевсинските мистерии*, trans. Т. МИНЕВА, София 1997, p. 80 (translation from French: M. ELIADE, *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses*, vol. I, *De Page de la pierre aux mystères d'Eleusis*, Paris 1976).

<sup>168</sup> JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, *Complete Works. Antiques of the Jews*, vol. I, trans. S. HAVERCAMP, New York 1900, p. 187.

with wheat and olive oil gives a reason to think that at least some of these myths were spread in and originated from rural communities. The explicit mentioning of olive oil preserved in jars – a technology in use for centuries in Near East and Anatolia, indicates connections of the text with these regions too. Simultaneously, such as in the case of the apocryphal writings concerning the Old Testament prophets, the anthropogenic and cosmogonic myths are interpreted entirely from a negative perspective, as part of Satan's activity. Eventually, this could be a sequence from Marcionist by its nature interpretation of the old pagan myths which might have circulated among the members of the initial "Proto-Bogomil" group.

Another interesting assertion is that separate angels rule over the elements – air and water. This notion has very close analogies in the Slavic version of Enoch and in Apocalypse of Abraham. However, it most likely appeared in the supposed "Proto-Bogomil" text independently of these apocrypha. In my view, the notion of the angels-rulers has come into being in Aramaic speaking milieu. Only in this language the words (emphatic states of the words) for angel – ml'k' (mal'aḳ, mal'aḳā)<sup>169</sup> and for king, provincial ruler, chief – mlk, mlk' (mleḳ, malkā)<sup>170</sup> phonetically stay very close and could give rise to the idea of angels-rulers. The emphatic states in the period of the late antiquity entirely replaced the absolute and started to be used as the only one available form<sup>171</sup>.

The second universe is the one created by Satan, and it contains the visible cosmos and the Biblical paradise. In the version of the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* there is a strange change. Reed appears in the place of the tree of life, whose fruit become the occasion for the original sin. In fact, reed is presented in many myths, including those originating from Mesopotamia<sup>172</sup>. However, in my opinion, in this case reed appeared again as a consequence of language misunderstanding due to the phonetical closeness in Aramaic between the emphatic states of the word for fruit – 'ebbā<sup>173</sup> and the word for reed – 'abbūbā<sup>174</sup>. Most probably the dualistic "Proto-Bogomilian" group became acquainted with the Biblical version of the initial paradise not by means of the original texts of Genesis, rejected as a book inspired by Satan, but by means of oral tales that essentially had changed the subject of the initial story<sup>175</sup>.

<sup>169</sup> J. PAYNE SMITH, *A Compendious Syriac Dictionary*, Oxford 1903, p. 275.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 277.

<sup>171</sup> T. MURAOKA, *Classical Syriac. A Basic Grammar with a Chrestomathy*, Wiesbaden 2005, p. 22.

<sup>172</sup> K. KLECZKOWSKA, *Comparative Analysis of the Motif of the Reed in the Mesopotamian Myth of the Flood and the Greek Myth of King Midas*, *ExN* 8, 2012, p. 93–94.

<sup>173</sup> J. PAYNE SMITH, *A Compendious...*, p. 2.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>175</sup> Indeed in the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* it is mentioned that *Et intrabat et loquebatur ad eos, dicens: de omni fructu, qui est in paradiso, comedite, de fructu vero scientiae boni et mali nolite comedere* (Carcassonne copy), *Et introibat ad eos, dicens: de omni fructu comedite, qui est in paradiso,*

– The polemic against St. John the Baptist and his disciples

In my opinion, this passage from the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)* reflects some disputes of the Proto-Bogomil group with Mandaeans. This can explain the negative emphasis on the disciples of St. John the Baptist, the passage disproving the significance of the water baptism for salvation of people and the strange assertion that the disciple of St. John the Baptist get married and visit weddings. Of course these disputes occurred not on the Balkans but in the native lands of the group.

## Conclusion

Several conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the above analysis of the historical, archeological and text data:

- The roots of Bogomilism must be sought among the Syrian migrants who settled in Thrace in the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century. Groups which shared a different kind of dualistic ideas and notions existed among them. The group that can be identified as “Proto-Bogomil” most likely inhabited the region of Philippopolis/Plovdiv. It is difficult to say whether they identified themselves as Paulicians or not. The analysis of the beliefs and practices of the early Bogomilians show a number of similarities between them and Paulicians who in the mid-9<sup>th</sup> century built the “Paulician state” in Tephrike. However all of them concerns the Marcionist layer in dualism and the radical attitude toward church, the Holy Cross, icons and sacraments. That makes me think that the Proto-Bogomil community shared certain common features with the group of Constantine Silvan that initiated the Marcionist reform among the “Paulicians of Tephrike” but the religious doctrines of both groups were not identical.
- Its dualism stemmed from Marcion’s doctrine with some gnostic and vague Platonic admixtures of unknown origin. It had experienced the influence of Masallianism long before its migration towards the Balkans. This can explain the appearance of Satan in the place of the God of law/evil, as well as the other differences with Marcionism and Paulicianism. The radical asceticism of the later Bogomils most probably must be attributed to the influence of Masallianism on the initial Proto-Bogomil group too.
- Most likely this group used some scriptures of Gnostic origin, but in accordance with Marcionite teachings, their texts were purged from many classical Gnostic notions of aeons and their emanations. However, some elements of these

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*de fruetu iniquitatis ne comedatis* (Vienna copy). However, it seems that this sentence is a later interpolation made by Bogomils because the fruit of the tree of life and death does not play any role in this version of the original sin and breaks the logic of the entire narrative.

notions were preserved in the texts and subsequently appeared in the *Secret Book (Interrogatio Iohannis)*.

- One of the widely used methods in these scriptures is the negative interpretation of the Old Testament, the old cosmogonic myths, and even of some passages from the Gospels. The same method subsequently was inherited and used by Bulgarian Bogomils with respect to the apocryphal books of non-dualistic origin.
- These scriptures reflected cosmogonic, anthropogenic and cosmological notions spread in the Near Eastern mythologies, and most likely the members of the Proto-Bogomil group were the bearers of these notions.
- The archeological excavations give a reason to think that the supposed Proto-Bogomil group had disseminated its teachings among the Slavic population in Northern Thrace and probably in some regions of the Rhodope mountains before the formal Christianization of Bulgaria in 864. Therefore, one of the features of the Proto-Bogomil community was bilingualism, and some traces of this bilingualism can be found in the available sources concerning Bulgarian and Balkan Bogomils. It seems that this teaching started to penetrate into the other parts of medieval Bulgarian lands after the appearance of strong anchoritic trends among Bulgarian monks at the beginning of the 10<sup>th</sup> century.
- Obviously the radical asceticism and the total rejection of all religious, social and natural aspects of the visible world became the most attractive part of this teaching. However, asceticism, and especially the radical repudiation of matrimony and childhood, transformed Bogomils, and before them it must have transformed their predecessors – Proto-Bogomils, into a group reproduced entirely in an ideological and doctrinal way. This can explain the fast disappearance of the initial Syriac speaking elements, as well as the disappearance of Bogomilism itself, which unlike Paulicianism, did not survive till the end of the Middle Ages.

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## THE NON-ORTHODOX IN THE MARTYRDOM OF JOHN THE NEW BY GREGORY CAMBLAK PATTERNS OF DEHUMANIZATION\*

**Abstract.** The image of the non-Orthodox in Camblak's work is unequivocally negative. Behind the abusive rhetoric lie patterns well known to social psychology. One can easily recognize the author's dehumanizing attitude, which reveals the meaning of many elements of Camblak's narrative in *The Martyrdom of John the New*. The concept of dehumanization is useful for the study of the attitude of medieval literate elites towards minorities. Although at its core it concerns cognitive phenomena it immediately makes us think about their behavioral implications.

**Keywords:** religious minorities, dehumanization, medieval hagiography, Gregory Camblak, John the New, heretics, infidels, heresiology

**In** 1359/1360 Tǎrnovo was the scene of violent and brutal events. This picturesque city had served as the seat of state and religious authority of the Bulgarian empire since its restoration at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Bishops, monks, and other clergy representatives were convened to Tǎrnovo for synods<sup>1</sup>.

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I sincerely thank the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful reading of the text. Their comments forced me to rethink the entire argument. The text has been reorganized and supplemented in several places. I hope that I have managed to at least partially answer the doubts raised by them.

<sup>1</sup> For more on the role of the capital in the spiritual culture of Bulgaria at that time and the synods there cf. Д.И. Поливянни, *Средновековният български град през XIII–XIV век. Очерци*, trans. И. Илиева, София 1989, p. 141–163; Й. Алексиев, *За мястото и датата на църковните събори в Търново*, [in:] *Бог и цар в българската история*, ed. К. Вачкова, Пловдив 1996, p. 140–144; П. Стефанов, *Danse macabre: нов поглед към църковните събори в Търново през XIV в.*, [in:] *Теодосиеви четения. 640 години от успението на преп. Теодосий Търновски*, ed. Д. Кенанов, Велико Търново 2005, p. 75–88; К. Маринов, *Търново като свещен град през късното средновековие*, [in:] *Търновска Книжовна Школа*, vol. X, *Търновската държава на духа. Десети юбилеен международен симпозиум Велико Търново, 17–18 октомври 2013 г.*, ed. Д. Кенанов, Велико Търново 2015, p. 697–722.

Several events of this kind have been recorded in history: two assemblies judging the Bogomils, one in February 1211 and another probably in 1355, as well as the convention of 1359/1360, which will be elaborated on.

The synod was directed against the Jews. Three members of the community were tried. They were accused of blasphemy and the tsar sentenced them to death. It is not entirely clear what exactly their offenses were. The course of the synod and the circumstances of its convening are known only from the description of the Patriarch of Constantinople Callistus in the *Life of Theodosius of Tarnovo*<sup>2</sup>. He records that the Jews *set their sights on the venerable icons of Christ and the Mother of God, showed contempt for God's temples and the sacrifices offered there, insulted priests, scorned monks, and committed other vile acts*<sup>3</sup>. Callistus probably based his tale on an account he heard about three years after the events from Theodosius (the protagonist of the *Life*), who was actively participating in the synod. The tsar took pity on the three convicts and commuted the death penalty to cutting off their tongues and ears. One of the Jews – out of fear – embraced Christianity. When the news that the other two did not want to *come into the true light, but preferred to remain in the darkness of their godlessness spread, the anger of the people turned against them. The people came together with a clamor and beat one so that he gave up his foul spirit; and the other was taken away from there and subjected to punishment*<sup>4</sup>.

The reasons for such a violent reaction of the inhabitants of Tarnovo are probably hidden in the circumstances of the case, which are not directly indicated by the hagiographer. The outrage of the people at the “ingratitude” of the judged, who did not take advantage of the “proposal” backed by the threat of torture to change their religion, was considerable. We can guess that this was not the first case that divided the neighboring communities of Christians and Jews, and the mutual hostility and distrust had already reached considerable proportions. Let us allow ourselves a little more speculation. The synod took place (according to Callistus) in the palace, the seat of the ruler<sup>5</sup>. And it was near the center of power and the place symbolizing its permanence that the people, in an act of collective

<sup>2</sup> В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *Житие и жизнь преподобнаго отца нашего Теодосия*, СЛУНК 20.2, 1904 (cetera: CALLISTUS), p. 1–41. Cf. also later editions, translations, and commentaries: В. КИСЕЛКОВ, *Житието на Теодосий Търновски като исторически паметник*, София 1926; К. РЕТКОВ, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria. Seventh-Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Vanished Culture*, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= ЕСЕЕМА, 5], p. 287–314; ПАТРИАРХ КАЛИСТ, *Житие на препод. Теодосий Търновски. По единствения известен препис от Рилския панегирик на Владислав Граматик, 1479 г., л. 282а–294б*, ed. Д. КЕНАНОВ [in:] ИДЕМ, *Крилатият въздухоходец Теодосий Търновски*, Велико Търново 2010, p. 49–72; *Żywot św. Teodozjusza Tyrnowskiego (fragmenty)*, trans. J.M. WOLSKI, [in:] *Średniowieczne herezje dualistyczne na Bałkanach. Źródła słowiańskie*, ed. G. MINCZEW, M. SKOWRONEK, J.M. WOLSKI, Łódź 2015 [= SeCer, 1], p. 173–191.

<sup>3</sup> CALLISTUS, XVIII, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> CALLISTUS, XX, p. 26–27.

<sup>5</sup> CALLISTUS, XIX, p. 25.

aggression, challenged the tsar's decision to grant clemency to the condemned. What gave the crowd the courage to act against the verdict? Were they not afraid of punishment? Why did the tsar not give effective protection to his prisoners? We can go a little further in our musings – perhaps the people knew that their elites, along with the tsar, shared angry feelings toward the “hardened infidels”? At this point, let us abandon speculation and return to telling a verifiable story. What was the attitude of the elite toward the non-Orthodox and heretics? To provide an answer to this question, I suggest looking at one of Gregory Camblak's texts.

Camblak's works are of particular interest to us for several reasons. He was one of the most prolific authors of the Bulgarian Middle Ages and was eager to address themes related to the non-Orthodox<sup>6</sup>. As a result, he provides considerable materials for analysis. Moreover, he is the author of a text unique to the Slavic Middle Ages as far as the history of interreligious relations is concerned. In 1418 he delivered a speech to the Council Fathers gathered in Constance, in which he called for reconciliation between the divided Christian Churches – the Roman and the Eastern Patriarchates<sup>7</sup>. The fact that the medieval hagiographers of *Slavia Orthodoxa* were fundamentally hostile to heretics is obvious to anyone with even a passing

<sup>6</sup> The topic of the image of heretics in Camblak's work has already been addressed, cf. Н. ДОНЧЕВА-ПАНАЙОТОВА, *Григорий Цамблак за Варлаам и неговата ерес*, Вbg 6, 1980, p. 95–114; Г. ДАНЧЕВ, *Григорий Цамблак и ересите според литературните му произведения*, [in:] *Търновска Книжовна Школа*, vol. III, *Григорий Цамблак. Живот и творчество. Трети международен симпозиум, Велико Търново, 12–15 ноември 1980*, ed. П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, В. ТЪПКОВА-ЗАИМОВА, Г. ДАНЧЕВ, София 1984, p. 102–111; Б. НИКОЛОВА, *Варлаамитство в България според сведенията на Григорий Цамблак*, [in:] *Търновска Книжовна Школа*, vol. III..., p. 112–118; I. PETKOVA, *Grégoire Camblak: l'idée de l'unité orthodoxe*, EB 32.3–4, 1996, p. 104–122; А. НАУМОВ, *Wiarą i historią. Z dziejów literatury cerkiewnosłowiańskiej na ziemiach polskich*, Kraków 1996, p. 66–71; J. STRADOMSKI, *Ortodoksja i herezja/innowierstwo w twórczości literackiej Grzegorza Camblaka (relacje prawosławia z chrześcijaństwem łacińskim)*, [in:] *Religijna mozaika Bałkanów*, ed. M. WALCZAK-MIKOŁAJCZAKOWA, Gniezno 2008, p. 175–184. On the author himself and his work, cf., e.g. F.J. THOMSON, *Gregory Camblak: the Man and the Myths*, SGan 25.2, 1998, p. 5–149; Н. ДОНЧЕВА-ПАНАЙОТОВА, *Григорий Цамблак и българските литературни традиции в Източна Европа XV–XVII вв.*, Велико Търново 2004; Ю.К. БЕГУНОВ, *Творческое наследие Григория Цамблака*, Велико Търново 2005; А.А. ТУРИЛОВ, *Григорий Цамблак*, [in:] *Православная Энциклопедия*, vol. XII, Москва 2006, p. 583–592; J. STRADOMSKI, *Literacka, polityczna i cerkiewna działalność prawosławnego metropolity kijowskiego Grzegorza Camblaka w świetle współczesnych mu źródeł*, SRel 41, 2008, p. 167–182.

<sup>7</sup> Т.М. ТРАЈДОС, *Metropolici kijowscy Cyprian i Grzegorz Camblak (bułgarscy duchowni prawosławni) a problemy Cerkwi prawosławnej w państwie polsko-litewskim i schyłku XIV i w pierwszej ćwierci XV w.*, BP 2, 1985, p. 225–231; А. НАУМОВ, *Metropolita kijowski Grzegorz (Camblak) na soborze w Konstancji (1418)*, LAS 5, 2014, p. 41–56; М. СПАСОВА, *Източници за речта на Григорий Цамблак пред църковния събор в Констанц*, [in:] *Сребърният век: нови открития. Посвещава се на 780 години от възстановяването на Българската патриаршия (1235 г.), 640 години от интронизацията на Патриарх Евтимий (1375 г.), 600 години от интронизацията за Киевски митрополит на Григорий Цамблак (1415 г.)*. Сборникът е съставен от доклади на международната конференция, състояла се на 10 и 11 май 2015 г. в БАН с благословението на българския Патриарх Неофит, ed. А. МИЛТЕНОВА, София 2016, p. 91–103.

familiarity with their work. Was the image of the non-Orthodox in Gregory's work somehow tempered by his "ecumenism"? *The Martyrdom of John the New* is an attractive subject for such a study, because one of the dissenter characters in it is a Catholic. How is he presented? To analyze the content of the work, we will use the concept of dehumanization – well-known from social psychology – transparently linking the perception of "the other" with the behavior towards them. The goal is not to examine the literary form of the text, but to discern what attitude is reflected in Camblak's work toward Catholics and other the non-Orthodox.

When the Târnovian events of 1359/1360 occurred, Gregory Camblak was most likely not born yet. A direct connection of the events discussed with the work of this author is probably not convincing<sup>8</sup>. This article is a fragment of a broader project aimed at revealing the place of heretics and non-Orthodox in late medieval Balkan societies. The starting point for this research is observed prejudice and interreligious violence. The synod against the Jews is an example of the tense relations between the various faiths in the region at that time, with perhaps the most documented sources, which is why I referred to it in this introduction.

*The Martyrdom of John the New* takes a unique place in Gregory Camblak's work in terms of the style, and language. There have even been doubts regarding the attribution of the text<sup>9</sup>. The arguments voiced in the discussion have their weight, but do they settle the matter? The majority of scholars have supported Camblak's authorship, and I also lean in that direction<sup>10</sup>. In the context of the

<sup>8</sup> Alternatively: В. КИСЕЛКОВ, *Патриарх Евтимий*, София 1938, p. 31; Г. ДАНЧЕВ, *Григорий Цамблук...*, p. 103–104: Gregory supposedly heard about these bloody events (as well as other anti-heretical undertakings of the Bulgarian Church of that era) from eyewitnesses, which influenced his own uncompromising attitude toward heresy.

<sup>9</sup> Cf., e.g. В.С. КИСЕЛКОВ, *Проуки и очерти по старобългарска литература*, София 1956, p. 255–258; Ф. ТОМСОН, *Мъчението на Иоан Нови погрешно ли е приписано на Григорий Цамблук?*, СЛ 32, 2001, p. 63–74.

<sup>10</sup> The manuscript tradition speaks unequivocally for the later metropolitan of Kiev (M. CAZACU, *Saint Jean le Nouveau, son martyre, ses reliques et leur translation à Suceava (1415)*, [in:] *L'empereur hagiographe. Culte des saints et monarchie byzantine et post-byzantine*, ed. P. GURAN, B. FLUSIN, Bucarest 2001, p. 140–141). Francis J. THOMSON (*Мъчението на Иоан Нови...*) was the last to critically discuss the linguistic peculiarities of the *Martyrdom* against Camblak's works, concluding that the language used does not allow to question Gregory Camblak's authorship. He wrote of the work's style that it is very simple, lacking any trace of Camblak's erudition. This observation is shared by other scholars, including Anatolij A. TURILOV (*Иоанн Новый, Сочавский*, [in:] *Православная Энциклопедия*, vol. XXIV, Москва 2010, p. 460), however, they come to different conclusions. While Thomson believes this to be sufficient reason to consider the text to be the work of another person, Turilov sees here a conscious stylization by Camblak, who addressed a specific audience: poorly educated, and not using the Slavic language on a daily basis: *Внешне убедительным выглядит аргумент о простоте стиля Жития, несвойственной Цамблаку, однако подобная особенность может объясняться ориентацией автора на неподготовленных читателей и слушателей, для которых славянский язык был неродным* (А.А. Турилов, *Иоанн Новый...*, p. 460). If we accept his argument, we should expect that the sermons preached in Suceava Cathedral will be all the more sub-

authorship dispute, the issue of the work's subject matter is not raised, but it also lends the *Martyrdom* its uniqueness. John is a “new martyr”, which traditionally includes all those who lost their lives for the faith in the period after iconoclasm<sup>11</sup>. John meets this formal criterion and, moreover, gave his testimony of faith at a time close to the author. The hagiography dedicated to him was later contrasted by literary scholars with the later lives of George of Sofia and Nicholas of Sofia<sup>12</sup>. The *Martyrdom*, however, is in some way inscribed in Gregory's writing program, as he devoted a large part of his works to the ancient martyrs<sup>13</sup>, while at various stages of his international career he tried to take up local themes. As the hegumen of the Dečani Monastery, he wrote the *Life of Stefan of Dečani*, and when applying for a position in the Rus' Church he created the *Funeral Oration for Metropolitan Cyprian*.

Gregory wrote the *Martyrdom* and *Office of Martyr John the New*, most likely while he was ministering at Suceava Cathedral, a period that began in 1401 and lasted at least several months<sup>14</sup>. His full monastic formation and his service to the Patriarch of Constantinople had already been completed. Having earned an education, he was gathering his first writing experiences. During his stay in Suceava he preached a series of sermons collected in the *Book of Gregory Camblak*<sup>15</sup>. What was

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jected to a similar stylization. These, however, were created in accordance with the Byzantine-Slavic homiletic canon (cf., e.g. A. ANGUSHEVA-TIHANOVA, *The Mount Reflecting Heaven. The Sermon on the Transfiguration by Gregory Camblak in the Context of Byzantine and Medieval Slavic Literature*, Bsl 62, 2004, p. 217–238; M. КУЧИНЬСКА, *Гомилетика Йоанна Златоуста в творчестве Григория Цамблака. Тематические и формальные влияния на примере Слова о божественных тайнах*, ЕОР 36, 2017, p. 167–179; M. СПАСОВА, *Книгата Григорий Цамблук*, София 2019, p. 17–19). They are filled with extensive excerpts from John Chrysostom, an author whose reflections addressed to a fourth-century Constantinopolitan reader familiar with Greek rhetoric were probably less likely to reach the “неподготовленные читатели и слушатели”.

<sup>11</sup> Г. ПЕТКОВ, *Цамблаковото Мъчение на Йоан Нови Сучавски – нов агиографски ракурс за мъченичество*, [in:] *Цамблакови четения. 600 години от избирането на Григорий Цамблук за митрополит киевски и руски*, ed. Д. КЕНАНОВ, Велико Търново 2019, p. 69–72. On the development of the literary image of neo-martyrs in late medieval literature, cf., e.g. M. BALIVET, *Chrétien secrets et martyrs christiques en islam turc: quelques cas à travers les textes (XIII<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle)*, Isl 16, 1990, p. 91–114; S. VRYONIS, *The Byzantine Patriarchate and Turkish Islam*, Bsl 57.1, 1996, p. 103–108; T. KRSTIĆ, *Contested Conversions to Islam. Narratives of Religious Change in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire*, Stanford 2011, p. 121–164.

<sup>12</sup> E.g. П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблук в Румъния и в старата румънска литература*, София 1966, p. 68.

<sup>13</sup> I. ПЕТКОВА, *Grégoire Camblak...*, p. 118; J. STRADOMSKI, *Ortodoksja i herezja...*, p. 179.

<sup>14</sup> Scholars often extend this period to several years, but there is not sufficient source basis for this. F.J. THOMSON, *Gregory Camblak...*, p. 39. A significantly different date of the work's creation was assumed, for example, by Matei CAZACU: the year 1415 (*Saint Jean le Nouveau...*, p. 142–146).

<sup>15</sup> Н. ДОНЧЕВА-ПАНАЙОТОВА, *Сборниците „Книга Григория Цамблака” – възникване, съдържание, разпространение*, [in:] ЕАДЕМ, *Григорий Цамблук и българските литературни традиции в източна Европа XV–XVII в.*, Велико Търново 2004, p. 246–281; M. СПАСОВА, *Книгата Григорий Цамблук...*, p. 9–32.

yet ahead of him were his sojourn in Serbia, becoming Metropolitan of Kiev, and his advocacy for the union of the Eastern and Western Churches at the Council of Constance, to name the most interesting episodes of his career.

Who was Saint John the New? He was an Orthodox merchant who gained the nimbus of sanctity through his martyrdom at the hands of the Tatar governor of Beligrad a few years before 1330<sup>16</sup>. All we know of him comes from the *Martyrdom*<sup>17</sup>. The narrative of Camblak's work begins while he is traveling on a ship carrying goods from Trebizond. This is where the plot thickens. John, a rich merchant, shows extraordinary piety, prays constantly, fasts, and helps others. Satan, who abhors such virtues, incites the ship's captain, a Latin (later also: a Frank), against John. He starts plotting against the saint. When they arrive in Beligrad, the captain tells the city's pagan governor (also: Persian, eparch, judge) that John wants to become a pagan<sup>18</sup>. Events then proceed quickly, following a predictable pattern. The city's ruler greets John with joy, praising his supposed intention. The man denies it, insults the eparch, laughs at his pagan beliefs, and encourages his interlocutor to convert to Orthodoxy. The eparch becomes enraged and orders the merchant to be severely beaten, trying unsuccessfully to make him change his position<sup>19</sup>. The eparch's brutal acts of cruelty are interspersed with discussions and persuasions (mutual) to change the other person's faith. Eventually, John is killed when, dragged behind a horse, he rides through a Jewish quarter and is decapitated by one of the locals. The tortured body is not buried; the first miracles take place at its side. The captain of the ship wants to take the relics with him, but due to the intervention of the saint he does not succeed, and John's body is laid to rest in the local church<sup>20</sup>.

In Camblak's story there are three non-Orthodox characters: the Roman Catholic captain of the ship, the pagan (?) ruler of the town, and (a collective protagonist) the Jews of Beligrad. In the background remain the townspeople gathered in the square where John is martyred. This is a crowd of unspecified confession; it plays an important role in the narrative only once and serves to build a contrast with the attitude of the eparch<sup>21</sup>. Gregory portrays him as a sun and fire-worshipper;

<sup>16</sup> John's death is dated in relation to the time when the *Martyrdom* was written (around 1401 or 1415, see note 14). As the author declared, the hero of the work died seventy-some years before his relics were transferred to Suceava, and the *Martyrdom* was written for that occasion.

<sup>17</sup> ГРИГОРИЙ ЦАМБЛАК, *Мъчение на Иоан Нови*, [in:] П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 90–108 (cetera: САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*).

<sup>18</sup> САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 2.1 – 4.3, p. 90–92.

<sup>19</sup> САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 5.1 – 19.1, p. 92–100.

<sup>20</sup> САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 25.1 – 30.8, p. 103–106.

<sup>21</sup> We can find suggestions that the gathered residents were at least partially Orthodox. When John was subjected to cruel torture, people began to shout in protest. They could have protested regardless of their religion, but, as the narrator comments, the tortured John was "a sad sight for the pious" (САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 25.1–2, p. 102).



he evidently regarded him as a Manichaean<sup>22</sup>. We cannot exclude the possibility that he was right. However, some studies claim that he was a follower of the shamanism that dominated in the Golden Horde until the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>23</sup>.

The image of the non-Orthodox in Camblak's work is unequivocally negative. The ship's captain is implicated in the course of events by Satan, who cannot stand John's virtuous way of life. Satan uses the Latin to deliver John into the hands of his persecutors. The captain proves to be a perfect tool of Evil: he is very stern and inhumane (*многo cоуpоpъ и безчлoвѣчнъ*)<sup>24</sup>. The hostility he feels toward John while still on the journey is not provided with a backstory. It is only after arriving in Beligrad that the captain reveals his face and his attitude towards John. He employs lies to put the merchant's faith to the test. This episode highlights how devoted the captain is to Satan. The figure of the Latin appears towards the end of the work when he tries to steal the martyr's remains and take them to Trebizond<sup>25</sup>. Did he realize his mistake and acknowledge John's sanctity, or did he perversely want to gain further from the plot he had concocted by kidnapping the precious treasure, which the relics were in those times? The interpretation of the event is left to the reader's own guess; the narrator does not comment on the captain's attitude in any way. Only in the epilogue does he vaguely allude to this event, claiming that John's body became a burden for the captain<sup>26</sup>. Could it be that by trying to take it away he wants to cover up the traces of his "betrayal"?

<sup>22</sup> САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 10.2, p. 96. The Manichaean identification of the city governor is also supported by the Persian origin attributed to him (САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 3.5, p. 92). We can find at least one other Manichaean in Gregory's work: Atticus King of Babylon, a fire worshipper, "of the Persian lineage". He martyred three brothers known from the Book of Daniel – Ananias, Azariah, and Mishael. Camblak borrowed this story almost verbatim from the apocryphal tale of the three young men attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem (*On Daniel and Three Youths, Великія миней четіи свбранныя всервссійскимъ митрополитомъ Макаріемъ. Декабрь, дни s-зі*, vol. XI, Москва 1904, col. 1179–1180). The Slavic version of Pseudo-Cyril's text can be found in the same volume of the Menaion, col. 1104–1106. The similarity of the two texts suggests that Camblak used a ready-made Slavic translation in his homily. On the Pseudo-Cyril text, cf., e.g. О.В. ТВОРОГОВ, *Апокрифы и сказания о Данииле*, [in:] *Словарь книжников и книжности Древней Руси (XI – первая половина XIV в.)*, ed. Д.С. ЛИХАЧЕВ, Ленинград 1987, p. 44–47.

<sup>23</sup> П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 64–65. The location of the execution site remains uncertain, "вѣлыи градъ сице нарицаемый ниже къ Евспору" (САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 3.5, p. 92), which appears in the source, is usually located in today's Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy (formerly Italian Maurocastro, Turkish Akkerman, Romanian Cetatea Albă) lying at the mouth of the Dniester or near Kerch, located on the strait dividing the Sea of Azov from the Black Sea. P.Ş. NĂSTUREL, *Une prétendue oeuvre de Grégoire Tsamblak Saint Jean le Nouveau: le Martyre de Saint Jean le Nouveau*, [in:] *Actes du premier Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes: Sofia, 26 août – 1 septembre 1966*, vol. VII, *Littérature, ethnographie, folklore*, Sofia 1971, p. 345–351; M. CAZACU, *Saint Jean le Nouveau...*, p. 138–139.

<sup>24</sup> САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 3.4, p. 92.

<sup>25</sup> САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 30.1–8, p. 105–106.

<sup>26</sup> САМБЛАК, *Martyrdom*, 35.3, p. 108. See below, note 56.

We do not know this. In the discussed episode, the figure of the Latin plays a secondary role. What becomes more important here is God's intention for the relics to remain in the city, in the hands of the local Orthodox Christians. Gregory refers to the captain's confession as a Latin heresy<sup>27</sup>.

The image of the city governor is much more elaborate, but also unambiguously negative. His first statement is praise of John's alleged decision to change his faith and an apologia for his own confession. In response, the future martyr accuses him of lying, because he has no intention of abandoning Christianity. Referring to a passage from John's Gospel (*When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it*, John 8: 44), he calls Satan – the enemy of truth – the father of the eparch<sup>28</sup>. John continues that Evil has entered into him and speaks through him<sup>29</sup>. Again the device is well chosen; the narrator regards the governor as unrighteous and perfidious<sup>30</sup>. The catalog of epithets is rich: the "Persian" is an impure soul<sup>31</sup>, the fulfillment of all abominations<sup>32</sup>, a sinner (Д'КЛАТ'ЕЛЬ НЕПРАВ-ДЫ)<sup>33</sup>, a savage/beast (ЗВ'КРОВИДНЫЙ)<sup>34</sup>, and a mindless oppressor<sup>35</sup>. Gregory makes a strong statement about the eparch's faith: obscurity of delusion, mindless idolatry, and fog of godlessness<sup>36</sup>. The attitude of the godless executioner is contrasted with that of John: John speaks calmly, in a clear voice, and with a joyful expression on his face<sup>37</sup>; the eparch, listening to him, gets carried away by his emotions, his face twists into grimaces, he is shaken by anger, and he shouts<sup>38</sup>. John mocks the eparch and urges him: *put me to death, so that I no longer have to see your disgusting face and listen to your foul words*<sup>39</sup>. He is unimpressed by the eparch's threats, which the latter intertwines with promises of wealth and status. John has the truth behind him, which encourages him (as Gregory presents it); his interlocutor has only deceit (tempting John with wealth and status) and cruelty at his disposal. John is poised, stays reasonable, and speaks openly; the eparch hides from the world his bestial character (dog-like and inhuman, as John describes it), which is revealed through outbursts of anger and acts of cruelty<sup>40</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 3.4, p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 8.4, p. 94.

<sup>29</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 8.5, p. 94–96.

<sup>30</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 7.1, p. 94.

<sup>31</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 5.1, p. 92; 35.1, p. 108.

<sup>32</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 14.1, p. 98.

<sup>33</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 14.7, p. 98.

<sup>34</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 20.1, p. 100.

<sup>35</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 24.1, p. 102.

<sup>36</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 8.8; 11.2, p. 96.

<sup>37</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 20.2, p. 100.

<sup>38</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 24.1, p. 102.

<sup>39</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 14.9, p. 98; cf. 23.5, p. 102.

<sup>40</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 14.7, p. 98; 24.1, p. 102.

Another dissenting character in the *Martyrdom* are the local Jews. They appear in the narrative at the end of the eparch's trial with John. When the martyred merchant is being dragged behind a horse and finds himself near a district inhabited by the Jews, the Jews contort their faces, laugh at the saint, and throw whatever they can at him<sup>41</sup>. One of the Jews cuts off the martyr's head. Then they (the torturers? the Jews?) untie John's dead body from the horse, after which they abandon it, leaving it unburied, and none of the "pious" dare to approach it<sup>42</sup>. When angels come to perform rituals over it at night (СВЯЩЕНОСЛОВСТВОВАТИ И КАЖДЕЊІА ТВОРИТИ), a Jew living nearby ("a degenerate descendant of the viper") decides to shoot at them with a bow. He is miraculously stopped – he is frozen with his bow stretched out in his hand and stays like that until the morning, bearing witness to what he saw<sup>43</sup>.

The concept of dehumanization will allow us to organize the collected information. This notion from the field of social psychology describes cognitive patterns that make us perceive members of outgroups as less human than the people belonging to our ingroup<sup>44</sup>. In popular perception, dehumanization is not the process of denying humanity per se, but its effect, the best-known example of which is the designation of disabled people, Jews, Gypsies, Russians, Poles, and other Slavs as subhuman. This was the foundation of the racist ideology that led to the crime of genocide. The purposeful, extremely negative portrayal of "the other" to further political goals will not be our point of reference. The process we are interested in, dehumanization, observed by social psychologists, is a common, everyday phenomenon that occurs not when we want to describe or evaluate "the other" but beforehand, because it conditions our perceptions<sup>45</sup>. Assigning people to the categories of "us" or "them" is done reflexively, intuitively, but it is of great importance because it determines our attitude towards the categorized people.

A number of patterns are described that cause us to perceive others as having poorer inner lives: as less intelligent, less reflective, less moral, lacking in secondary emotions, agency, desires, and beliefs. Others seem less friendly and less open. It is more difficult for us to empathize and forgive "them". We associate negative behaviors with permanent traits of others and not with an accidental disposition (which we readily use to justify ingroups)<sup>46</sup>. Dehumanizing processes intensify

<sup>41</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 26.1–2, p. 102–104.

<sup>42</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 26.4–5, p. 104.

<sup>43</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 27.1, p. 104.

<sup>44</sup> N. HASLAM, *Dehumanization. An Integrative Review*, PSPP 10, 2006, p. 252.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 260–262; L.T. HARRIS, S.T. FISKE, *Social Neuroscience Evidence for Dehumanised Perception*, ERSP 20, 2009, p. 192–231.

<sup>46</sup> J.-P. LEYENS, P.M. PALADINO, R. RODRIGUEZ-TORRES, J. VAES, S. DEMOULIN, A. RODRIGUEZ-PEREZ, R. GAUNT, *The Emotional Side of Prejudice: the Attribution of Secondary Emotions to Ingroups and Outgroups*, PSPP 4, 2000, p. 186–197; J.-P. LEYENS, A. RODRIGUEZ-PEREZ, R. RODRIGUEZ-TORRES,

under conditions of a sense of threat and influence the behavior of groups, promoting the escalation of emerging conflicts<sup>47</sup>. Moral norms are suspended in relation to the dehumanized, and they are more likely to face inhumane treatment. This phenomenon is invoked to show the causes of brutal violence in situations such as war. Groups that are of interest to social psychology include nations, social classes, adherents of one religion, but also less permanent groups, such as students of a single university, or even the so-called minimal group – formed for the purpose of a study on the basis of random determinants. Already in such completely incidental communities there appears the phenomenon of favoring one's own group and the homogenization of the other group, heralding the appearance of typical antagonisms (these processes should not be identified with dehumanization, which requires the appearance of additional stimuli)<sup>48</sup>. Dehumanizing processes are also observed outside the group context, in the relations between self and others (including ingroups). Everyone believes that the most fully human representative of the *homo sapiens* species is them<sup>49</sup>.

This is certainly a superficial description of the achievements of one strand of social psychology, but it should suffice for the purposes of this article. Within the framework of research on perceiving the others as less human, many detailed concepts have been formulated, proposing to distinguish mechanistic dehumanization from animalistic dehumanization, sometimes called infrahumanization (when a person is perceived more like a machine or an animal), or, within the framework of different theoretical approaches, the phenomena of dementalization or instrumentalization are put into focus. Dehumanization appears to be a common cognitive tendency of the human mind and as such, can be used to give context to past events and texts.

Let us trace selected aspects of dehumanization by juxtaposing them with excerpts from Camblak's text:

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R. GAUNT, P.M. PALADINO, J. VAES, S. DEMOULIN, *Psychological Essentialism and the Differential Attribution of Uniquely Human Emotions to Ingroups and Outgroups*, EJPSP 31, 2001, p. 395–411; N. HASLAM, P. BAIN, S. LOUGHAN, Y. KASHIMA, *Attributing and Denying Humanness to Others*, ERSP 19, 2008, p. 55–85; S. LOUGHAN, N. HASLAM, T. MURNAME, J. VAES, C. REYNOLDS, C. SUITNER, *Objectification Leads to Depersonalization. The Denial of Mind and Moral Concern to Objectified Others*, EJPSP 40, 2010, p. 709–717; M. TARNOWSKA, P. SŁAWUTA, M. KOFTA, *Procesy dehumanizowania „obcych”: mechanizmy i funkcje*, [in:] *Poza stereotypy. Dehumanizacja i esencjalizm w postrzeganiu grup społecznych*, ed. M. DROGOSZ, M. BILEWICZ, M. KOFTA, Warszawa 2012, p. 131–165; J.P. LEYENS, M.P. PALADINO, J. VAES, *Esencja i umysł: w kierunku integracji unikalnie i typowo ludzkich aspektów człowieczeństwa*, [in:] *Poza stereotypy...*, p. 95–130.

<sup>47</sup> H. TAJFEL, *Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ARP 33, 1982, p. 1–39.

<sup>48</sup> T.M. OSTROM, C. SEDIKIDES, *Out-group Homogeneity Effects in Natural and Minimal Groups*, PBU 112.3, 1992, p. 536–552; M. TARNOWSKA, P. SŁAWUTA, M. KOFTA, *Procesy dehumanizowania...*, p. 142–143.

<sup>49</sup> N. HASLAM, P. BAIN, L. DOUGE, M. LEE, B. BASTIAN, *More Human than You: Attributing Humanness to Self and Others*, JPSP 98, 2005, p. 937–950.

*Agency.* The Latin and the eparch are devoid of it. Camblak presents them as tools in the hands of Satan, who is the real initiator of John's passion. This aspect is omitted in the case of the Jews<sup>50</sup>.

*Morality.* The characters of the non-Orthodox are immoral, and their behavior is incompatible with the prevailing norms. Extraordinary cruelty of the eparch arouses the opposition of the townspeople; it is motivated not by the letter of the law or some values, but by outbursts of rage. The Latin, on the other hand, does not hesitate to lie about John's intention to change his faith. The Jews match the eparch's cruelty, dealing John more blows as he is dying, and then trying to prevent the martyr's body from being buried. The immorality is emphasized by the epithets: the fulfillment of all abominations, unrighteous, and perfidious (all referring to the eparch)<sup>51</sup>.

*Intelligence, capacity for reflection, one's own convictions.* In Gregory Camblak's work, the non-Orthodox are repeatedly portrayed as stubborn fools. Here this theme appears but is not developed. The eparch's religion is presented in a very unfavorable light. John's question "can a creature be God?", showing the futility of the Manichean worship of the Sun remains unanswered, but the eparch does not change his position. In another context, the narrator calls him mindless<sup>52</sup>. The dissenter characters appear to be deprived of their own thoughts and beliefs by the very fact of their complete submission to Satan.

*Feelings.* In social psychology research, it is the attribution of secondary feelings to people that is most often used to mark the degree of humanization. This criterion cannot be applied here. The eparch is attributed with anger (multiple times) and fear (once), which are basic feelings. Considering its spontaneous and uncontrolled expression (shouting, shuddering, grimacing), the eparch's anger should be considered rather as rage or wrath<sup>53</sup>. There is no mention of the feelings of the other

<sup>50</sup> For this and the subsequent modes of presentation of heretics/non-Orthodox listed here, numerous parallels can be cited from works of the time. I will just point to a few examples from Camblak's texts. The idea that heresies are in fact the work of Satan can be found in *Sermon about the Dead* (М. СПАСОВА, *Книгата Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 75) and *Sermon to the Reverend Fathers on Cheese-fare Saturday* (*ibidem*, p. 121).

<sup>51</sup> In his other works Gregory attributed unrighteousness and perversity to pagans (*Sermon for St. George (III)*), П. ПЕТКОВ, К. ПОПОВСКИ, *Третото слово за св. Георги от Григорий Цамблак*, Pbg 40.3, 2016, p. 126) and Jews (*Sermon for Good Friday*, М. СПАСОВА, *Книгата Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 163).

<sup>52</sup> Stupidity is a typical trait of heretics and the non-Orthodox according to the way Camblak presents them: cf., e.g. *Sermon for Good Friday* (about Jews – mindless; М. СПАСОВА, *Книгата Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 163; about heretics – despite the obviousness of the truth, they remain blind, *ibidem*, p. 167–168), and *Sermon for St. George (II)* (the stupidity of the pagans and the Greeks, А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Изъ историю славянской проповеди в Молдавию. Неизвѣстные произведения Григорія Цамблага, подраженія ему и переводы монаха Гавриила*, С.-Петербургъ 1906, p. 22, 28).

<sup>53</sup> The unbridled anger attributed to pagan persecutors of Christians can be found in *Sermon for St. George (II)* (А.И. ЯЦИМИРСКИЙ, *Изъ историю...*, p. 25). We find the same sentiment in Jews turning against Jesus, cf. *Sermon for Palm Sunday (II)* (М. СПАСОВА, *Книгата Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 150).

non-Orthodox. Camblak did not describe the secondary emotions of “the others”. However, secondary emotions do not appear in the *Martyrdom* at all, including in the case of the Orthodox, therefore their omission cannot serve as evidence of a dehumanizing view of the others.

*Friendliness.* From the course of events, we can deduce that the characters of other faith are alien to empathy (an ability we expect in humans) – this is evidenced by their unrelenting cruelty. Camblak wrote explicitly about the Roman Catholic captain that he was “very stern”, and about the eparch that he was “merciless and savage”<sup>54</sup>. They are completely devoid of good will – just like the Jews.

While the above-described dehumanizing schemes work indirectly, in several places Camblak denies the humanity of his characters or compares them to animals *expressis verbis*. Let us recall the phrases he uses. He describes the ship’s captain as inhuman (3.4); he writes that the governor has a dog-like and inhuman character (14.7), his words are the venom of a viper (14.9), he is beast-like (20.1), and screams like a wild animal (24.1); and one of the Jews is characterized as a degenerate descendant of the viper (28.3)<sup>55</sup>. The catalog is not very rich; I leave its analysis to scholars of medieval poetics. For us, it has only a supplementary meaning, dotting the i’s in recognizing Camblak’s attitude to the others as expressed in the *Martyrdom*.

Dehumanization reveals the logic behind Camblak’s abusive rhetoric, and shows how it resonates with the unfavorable presentation of the role of the non-Orthodox in the events discussed. Gregory is remarkably consistent: every appearance of a dissenter in the narrative is accompanied by a negative, degrading, or animal-like characterization. The course of events, in turn, depicts them without exception as mindless, demonic, cruel, lacking in good will, etc.<sup>56</sup> It is the task and reflex of the historian to look for what is unique, individual, and “real” in schematic and tendentious texts (the medievalist rarely has others at his or her disposal). To be fair, we cannot exclude the possibility that events happened more or less as Gregory described them: John was an angel in human flesh, the captain had a difficult character and a tendency to plot intrigues, the city governor had a short temper, and put John to death in a cruel manner. Historians make their reconstructions of events

<sup>54</sup> CAMBLAK, *Martyrdom*, 25.1, p. 102.

<sup>55</sup> This epithet was discussed by ПЕТЪР АНГЕЛОВ, *Анималистични представи за гърци, юдеи и западноевропейци в старобългарска книжнина от XIII–XIV в.*, *BMd* 4–5, 2013–2014, p. 143. He suggests it was a reference not to an ordinary viper, but a mythical beast, half man, half crocodile. The obvious point of reference for Camblak and his readers was certainly Jesus’ words to the Jews: Mt 12: 34, Lk 3: 7.

<sup>56</sup> The authors of later hagiographies dedicated to John of Suceava allowed the Latin ship’s captain to display shreds of humanity. Part of the change of the image is related to a different presentation of the episode at the end of his life, when the Frank tried to steal John’s relics. While Camblak does not provide a justification for this act, subsequent authors recognize that the Latin realized his mistake and acknowledged the martyr’s sanctity. Cf. A. NAUMOW, *Wiara i historia...*, p. 68.

plausible by attributing personal interests to the characters. This can also be done in this case: the captain, after getting rid of John, could intercept some of his merchandise, while the eparch wanted to strengthen his rule in the city by showing himself to be a strong leader... The fact that the characters played roles well-known in literature since early Christianity<sup>57</sup>, and that their presentation fits into some cognitive patterns, does not immediately mean that we are dealing with fiction. The purpose of this article and the partial deconstruction of the text has been not to show that it has no historiographical value<sup>58</sup>. The ubiquity of dehumanizing patterns should alert us to something else. Let us imagine that John's death was described by a "Persian" person who followed the same religion as the eparch. We might expect that in this hypothetical text, it would be John who would play the role of a savage, stubborn, and mindless provocateur with suspicious motives for his actions, while the city governor would probably be admired for his composure and restraint in the service of public order. And further: the propagation of this text would serve to strengthen the collective identity of the "Persians", as well as increase tensions between the Pagans (Manichaeans? Shamanists?) and Christians. The observation that the non-Orthodox are excluded from the group of fully-featured human beings is not new in medieval studies<sup>59</sup>, but the achievements of social psychology allow us to learn more about the impact of dehumanization on the perception and representation of others.

In my introduction, I posed the question of whether Camblak's "ecumenical" orientation contributed to the softening of the image of the non-Orthodox (especially Catholics) in his work. The literature on the subject provides an affirmative answer to this question. Angel Davidov and Penjo Rusev believed that Camblak showed no hostility to Catholics and, in reporting on the Catholic captain's participation in John's martyrdom, took the delicate position of an impartial reporter<sup>60</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> H. DELEHAYE, *Les Passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires*, Bruxelles 1921, p. 236–315; W. MAYER, *Heirs of Roman Persecution: Common Threads in the Discursive Strategies across Late Antiquity*, [in:] *Heirs of Roman Persecution. Studies on a Christian and Para-Christian Discourse in Late Antiquity*, ed. É. FOURNIER, W. MAYER, London 2020, p. 317–339.

<sup>58</sup> E.g. П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 60, 73 believed in the credibility of the martyrdom. What is lacking in their work is critical reflection on this issue.

<sup>59</sup> *Религиозная концепция средневекового пространства выражалась также в делении мира на мир христиан и мир неверных, нехристиан. Хотя христианство мощно раздвинуло прежние представления о человеке, ограниченные горизонтом одного племени (у варваров), избранного народа (у иудеев) или единственного политического образования (Рим), провозгласив, что нет ни эллина, ни иудея, тем не менее средневековая антропология исключала из числа полноценных человеческих существ всех нехристиан, а также и часть христиан-еретиков, схизматиков.* А.Я. ГУРЕВИЧ, *Категории средневековой культуры*, Москва 1984, p. 80 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1972); cf. also N. СОНН, *Europe's Inner Demons. An Enquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt*, London 1975.

<sup>60</sup> П. РУСЕВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, *Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 72. Camblak's restrained attitude toward the "Latin heresy" in the *Martyrdom* was similarly viewed in Г. ДАНЧЕВ, *Григорий Цамблак...*; А. NAUMOW, *Wiara i historia...*, p. 67; J. STRADOMSKI, *Ortodoksja i herezja...*, p. 179.

His attitude was supposedly conditioned by the political circumstances then prevailing in Orthodox Moldavia. Threatened by the Turks, it could have counted on the help of Catholic states, which Gregory supported, as modern scholars speculate. Both my intuitive impression after the initial reading of the text and my reflection after the analysis of the captain's image make me disagree with the Bulgarian scholars' statement. The dehumanizing way of presenting the "Frank" and the role he played as a traitor show the narrator's aversion to this character. Indeed, the catalog of epithets hurled at the Latin is less ample than the one formulated against the pagan ruler of the city. I would attribute this only to the smaller size of the fragments devoted to the person of the captain determined by the logic of events, and not to the difference in the author's attitude<sup>61</sup>. In his work on the image of heretics in selected works of Camblak, Georgi Danchev noted that the latter, when presenting heresies and heretics, subordinates his message to one purpose: to arouse "hatred, hostility, and revulsion" in the reader<sup>62</sup>. This is also the case in *The Martyrdom of John*, and it applies to all three dissenter characters. The Latin was not favored in any way. The views linking the meaning of this text to Camblak's later political and religious program, in which he postulated the union of Churches, should be revised. It would be surprising if Gregory, as a Suceava preacher, instead of being strongly concerned about the purity of the faith of the congregation gave room in his speeches from the pulpit to uncertain projects. It is unclear whether the appealing but utopian ecclesiology, which we know from his later *Sermon to the Reverend Fathers*, had matured in him at that time (the two texts were written a dozen years apart). Even if this was the case, we should not expect to hear any echo of it in the Suceava Cathedral. That text called on both "Greeks" and "Latins" to come to their senses, abandon acrimony, and engage in fraternal dialogue. Camblak would probably have feared that by preaching such truths he would cause confusion in the minds of the faithful accustomed to a different presentation of the dispute between the churches of East and West. In one sermon, he advised the faithful not to delve too deeply into intricate dogma, but to adhere to the definitions preached to them, even if they were difficult to comprehend<sup>63</sup>. We know from his subsequent statements that he fulfilled his role as pastor in an exemplary manner: he ripped apart the nets of heresy with his words, in accordance with how he presented the ideal of a pastor in *Panegyric of Euthymius*<sup>64</sup>. In doing so, he did not

<sup>61</sup> This argument will probably not be convincing to everyone. Ultimately, the text allowed for the development of anti-Latin themes, which was taken advantage of by later Greek translators of the *Martyrdom*. They described in greater detail the dispute between the ship's captain and John, putting on their lips a polemic focused on religious issues (Д. ГОНИС, *Новогръцки преводи – варианти на „Мъчение на Йоан Нови Бялградски“ от Григорий Цамблак*, [in:] *Търновска книжовна школа*, vol. III..., p. 139–140, 142).

<sup>62</sup> Г. ДАНЧЕВ, *Григорий Цамблак...*, p. 111.

<sup>63</sup> GREGORY TSAMBLAK, *Sermon about the Dead*, М. СПАСОВА, *Книгата Григорий Цамблак*, p. 73–75.

<sup>64</sup> GEGORY TSAMBLAK, *Panegyric of Euthymius*, [in:] П. РУСЕВ, И. ГЪЛБЪОВ, А. ДАВИДОВ, Г. ДАНЧЕВ, *Похвално слово за Евтимий от Григорий Цамблак*, София 1971, p. 174.



spare the Latins<sup>65</sup>. He unequivocally warned against them (as well as the other Azimites) in his *Sermon for Holy Thursday*. He compared heretics to Judas, harlots, pestilence, and wolves; he called them mindless, and urged for vigilance against their errors<sup>66</sup>. To look for nuanced political declarations (the Latins were evil, but not as bad as pagans and Jews) in a work intended for the broad masses of the faithful is, in my opinion, misguided. Especially since these nuances are poorly delineated (I cannot see them). Demetrios Gonis seems to be closer to the message of the *Martyrdom*; he saw in the text another political-religious declaration: the unity of Orthodoxy in the face of its three “eternal” enemies: Catholics, Jews, and pagans (whom the Greek scholar substitutes with Muslims according to the political circumstances of the Balkans at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>67</sup>.

Research on the image of heretics and persons of other religions in late medieval Bulgaria and neighboring countries should continue, taking into account different genres of writing. A broad comparative study of the cognitive, affective, and behavioral aspects of attitudes toward “the other” would probably be more useful than successive analyses of specific works or the entire output of a given author. Their literary image is only a part of the puzzle, which also includes violence and social ostracism (postulated by church canons), among other factors. The Tărnovo incidents mentioned at the beginning of the text, which culminated in the brutal lynching of the dissenter, should be considered in the context of the majority’s attitude toward minorities. This one has been presented here on the example of one work by Gregory Camblak. This author was an influential member of the elite of many countries in the Orthodox Southeast at the time and a prolific writer. He must have easily found common ground with members of his own stratum, since despite frequent relocations he always managed to occupy a prominent position. Similarly, according to the propagators of the faith of those times, his works must have resonated with the people, since they were copied eagerly. We can consider his position to be representative, and a comparison of his texts with other works of his time would lead to a similar conclusion.

<sup>65</sup> The work *On the Faith of the Germans*, consisting of excerpts from popular anti-Latin writings, is associated with Gregory Camblak’s name, G. PODSKALSKY, *Theologische Literatur des Mittelalters in Bulgarien und Serbien, 865–1459*, München 2000, p. 257–258.

<sup>66</sup> GREGORY TSAMBLAK, *Sermon for Holy Thursday*, М. СПАСОВА, *Книгата Григорий Цамблак*, p. 151–158.

<sup>67</sup> Д. ГОНИС, *Новогръцки преводи...*, p. 136–137, cf. I. РЕТКОВА, *Grégoire Camblak...*, p. 116–118.

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# **BOOK REVIEWS**







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***Historie Kościoła Jana Diakrinomenosa i Teodora Lektora*, trans. RAFAŁ KOSIŃSKI, ADRIAN SZOPA, KAMILLA TWARDOWSKA, Towarzystwo Wydawnicze „Historia Iagellonica”, Kraków 2019, pp. 579.**

***The Church Histories of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos*, ed. RAFAŁ KOSIŃSKI, KAMILLA TWARDOWSKA, trans. ANETA ZABROCKA, ADRIAN SZOPA, Peter Lang, Berlin–New York–Wien 2021 [= *Studies in Classical Literature and Culture*], pp. 692<sup>1</sup>.**

This book discusses two Church histories – extremely important for developing knowledge about the fate of the Church and the Byzantine state at the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> centuries. Their authors – John Diakrinomenos<sup>2</sup> and Theodore Lector<sup>3</sup> – wrote their works in the first decades of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Both Diakrinomenos’ and Lector’s histories have survived only in fragments. The aim of the team (consisting of scholars who are recognized within and outside the Polish scholarly circles<sup>4</sup>) who prepared this book was *oddanie w ręce Czytelników kompleksowego wydania Historii Kościoła Jana Diakrinomenosa i Teodora Lektora, zawierającego teksty*

*oryginalne – greckie, łacińskie i starosłowiańskie – wraz z tłumaczeniem na język polski i komentarzem* (Polish ed., p. 9) / *to provide the reader with a comprehensive edition of the Church Histories by John Diakrinomenos and Theodore Lector, which contains the original Greek, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic texts along with translations into English and a commentary* (English ed., p. 7). And it should be clearly emphasized that the authors have fully succeeded in achieving this goal.

The present book is a completely new edition, which differs significantly from the critical edition of Günther Ch. Hansen<sup>5</sup> that has been in use since the 1970s. Its preparation was a very difficult task because both histories have been preserved in fragments, and their layout and content can be reconstructed, for instance, on the basis of passages contained in the texts of other authors. Over time, the information used by the latter in both *Church Histories* became “live” material which was subject to numerous changes or distortions; hence the need to separate the fragments of both works

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<sup>2</sup> A. CAMPLANI, *John Diakrinomenos*, [in:] *Encyclopedia of Ancient Christianity*, vol. II, ed. A. BERARDINO, trans. J.T. PAPA, E.A. KOENKE, E.E. HEWETT, Illinois 2014, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. PERRONE, *Theodore the Lector*, [in:] *Encyclopedia...*, vol. III, p. 749.

<sup>4</sup> Adrian Szopa was responsible for the translation from the classical languages (in the English edition, in cooperation with Aneta Zabrocka); Kamilla Twardowska provided commentaries; Rafał Kosiński developed the concept of the whole publication and was responsible for the selection of texts and editing of individual introductions.

<sup>5</sup> THEODOROS ANAGNOSTES, *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G.C. HANSEN, Berlin 1971 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 1995). The authors make no claim to calling their edition critical. This is confirmed by the fact that they have dispensed with an extensive critical apparatus, limiting themselves to referring readers to the most recent critical editions or providing information on questionable passages.

undoubtedly authored by Theodore and John from those found in later texts and “contaminated” by their authors.

The book has a logical structure. The first, and undoubtedly, crucial part is *Wprowadzenie* (Polish ed., p. 13–45; *Introduction* English ed., p. 13–53). First of all, it presents the context of the Christological controversies, which centered around the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and had a considerable influence on the views of the authors, and thus, on the content of the reconstructed *Church History*. It will familiarize the reader not only with the parties to the controversies, i.e. the church hierarchs and the Monastics, but also with the role played in it by individual Byzantine rulers. We will learn what events accompanied the contestation of the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon after 451, especially during the reigns of Emperors Zeno and Anastasius I. This information provides a broader view of the era, in which the accounts of Theodore Lector and John Diakrinomenos were written.

The second part is devoted to John Diakrinomenos and the preserved fragments of his *Church History* (Polish ed., p. 47–83; English ed., p. 55–105). It opens with an extensive introduction, which presents the current state of knowledge about the author, the time when it was written, and the state of preservation of his work. It also refers to hypotheses concerning the alleged use of the source in question by Theodore Lector. The introduction is followed by excerpts from the work of John Diakrinomenos along with translation and commentary.

The third part of the book is a reconstruction of Theodore Lector’s *Church History* (Polish ed., p. 85–131; English ed., p. 107–163), for which fragments quoted *in extenso* by other authors were used. The text of the source is preceded by two introductions. The first presents the latest findings on what we know about the author himself and his work on the discussed text. In addition, it indicates the sources from which this historian might have derived his information. It also characterizes his geographical horizon and considers his goals, his attitude towards events in the ecclesiastical arena, and the subsequent reception of his work. Those

passages in which the historian referred directly to the political history of the Byzantine Empire are also listed. The second introduction provides a critical analysis of earlier findings and Hansen’s attributions for the particular passages he considered to be the authentic work of Theodore. Referring to selected manuscripts and critical editions, the editors have rejected some of the scholar’s claims, explaining which passages they believe to come from the original work of Lector.

The fourth part of the book contains excerpts from Theodore’s work, which can be found in the *Chronicon* by Victor of Tunnuna written in Latin (Polish ed., p. 133–181; English ed., p. 165–227). The fifth part features an abridgment (*Epitome*) of Theodore Lector’s *Church History* written in Greek at the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century by an anonymous author (Polish ed., p. 183–319; English ed., p. 229–357). Apart from the texts and translations, both the fourth and the fifth part contain appropriate introductions, in which the authors of the works, the preserved manuscripts, the current state of research, and the conclusions from their analysis are presented, and compared them with Hansen’s edition.

The sixth part contains what the editors have called “a continuation of the Theodorean tradition”. It discusses those works in which information derived directly from Theodore’s *History* or the Greek *Epitome* was used to some extent, but which contain changes or distortions. These include *Laudatio Barnabae* by the Cypriot monk Alexander (Polish ed., p. 323–345; English ed., p. 361–391); *The Spiritual Meadow* written by John Moschos (Polish ed., p. 347–357; English ed., p. 393–405); *The Chronicle* by Theophanes the Confessor (Polish ed., p. 359–385; English ed., p. 407–449); *Chronicle* edited by George the Monk (Polish ed., p. 387–397; English ed., p. 451–463); *Synodicon Vetus* by an anonymous author from the 9<sup>th</sup> c. (Polish ed., p. 399–441; English ed., p. 465–517); scholia preserved in selected manuscripts of *The Ecclesiastical History* of Evagrius Scholasticus (Polish ed., p. 443–445; English ed., p. 519–521); fragments from the *Suda* lexicon (Polish ed., p. 447–457; English ed., p. 523–535); the treatise *On Schisms* by an

anonymous author (Polish ed., p. 459–465; English ed., p. 537–543); *Hypothesis* – an account of the Council of Chalcedon by an unknown editor (Polish ed., p. 467–499; English ed., p. 545–583); and *Letter of the Monk Callistus to Manuel, Bishop of Thessalonica* (Polish ed., p. 501–505; English ed., p. 585–593). All of the above-mentioned works are preceded by introductions, from which we learn to what extent Theodore's *Church History* was implemented in their content. The separation of the aforementioned passages from Theodore's original text was a very good measure, which will help researchers avoid traps of interpretation.

The substantive content is supplemented by an extensive bibliography, in which we find references to the critical editions of sources used in the edition and a number of studies (Polish ed., p. 515–551; English ed., p. 595–647). Additional help is provided by the concordance of texts used (Polish ed., p. 553–557; English ed., p. 649–659), as well as a personal index (Polish ed., p. 559–572; English ed., p. 661–681), and a geographical index (Polish ed., p. 573–579; English ed., p. 683–692), found at the end of the book.

This publication is a very important academic and editorial achievement. The community of Byzantinists and Church historians has received a helpful tool in the form of a clear and – from a substantive point of view – extremely well-prepared edition of *The Church Histories* by John Diakrinomenos and Theodore Lector. The authors of the present work have demonstrated not only their wide-ranging expertise and knowledge, but have also proven that they have an innovative approach to the study and publication of sources, and are not afraid to question established views and put forward their own hypotheses.

It should be clearly emphasized that the translations of the works of the titular authors into Polish and English constitute the first translations of their texts into modern languages, which is a significant achievement in itself.

Thanks to their translation and publication in English, the present edition has a chance to reach a remarkably wide audience. It may include academics researching the legacy of the Byzantine state, all those interested in the history of the Church in the East, but also doctoral students, students of various fields of study, and all enthusiasts of the late Antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

I am convinced that the publication of such an edition of *The Church Histories* of John Diakrinomenos and Theodore Lector may spark interesting discussions in the scholarly community and provide impetus to further research.

Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi

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**MARCIN CYRULSKI, *Teodora Prodromosa Przygody Radante i Dosyklesa* [The Adventures of Rhodanthe and Dosikles by Theodore Prodromos], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2020 [= Bibliotheca Byzantina], pp. 199.**

Byzantine romance was born in the 12<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1</sup>, among the literati functioning thanks to the patronage of the Komnenian family<sup>2</sup>, and was modeled on ancient Greek romance. Four works were written at that time, probably between the mid-1130s and the mid-1150s. Three have survived in their entirety, one in extensive fragments. They are *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* by Theodore Prodromos, *Drosilla and Charikles* by Niketas Eugenianos<sup>3</sup>, *The Story of Hysmine and Hysminias* by Eustathios Makrembolites, and the partially

preserved *Aristandros and Kallithea* by Constantine Manasses. All of them were written in verse, in elaborate Greek, according to a specific plot scheme: *two young people fall in love at first sight, then are separated, and after many dangers, amorous sufferings, attempts at fidelity and escapes, a happy reunion of the lovers takes place*<sup>4</sup>. It should be noted that Byzantine romance of the 12<sup>th</sup> century was a short-lived literary phenomenon, born and ended for reasons that are not entirely clear.

The book presented here is a Polish translation of the first of the aforementioned romances, *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, probably written in the second half of the 1130s. Its author was Theodore Prodromos. He was born around 1100 and died after 1156 but before 1170. For years, he was under the patronage of the Komnenian family: Irene Doukaina, Anna Komnena, Nicephorus Bryennius, and finally, Emperors John and Manuel Komnenos. He was a versatile artist. Apart from the romance of *Rhodanthe and Dosikles*, his output includes a number of occasional texts, dialogues, satirical, didactic, and philosophical texts<sup>5</sup>.

Marcin Cyrulski<sup>6</sup>, a classical philologist and historian from Łódź, undertook an undoubtedly difficult task which was to make the

<sup>1</sup> On the subject of the Byzantine romance of the Komnenian era, see, e.g. H. HUNGER, *Antiker und byzantinischer Roman [separatum]*, Heidelberg 1980; S. MACALISTER, *Aristotle on the Dream: a Twelfth-Century Romance Revival*, B 60, 1990, p. 195–212; IDEM, *Byzantine Twelfth-Century Romances: a Relative Chronology*, BMGS 15, 1991, p. 175–210; R. BEATON, *The Medieval Greek Romance*, Oxford 1989 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London 1996); J.B. BURTON, *Reviving the Pagan Greek Novel in a Christian World*, GRBS 39, 1998, p. 179–216; F. CONCA, *Il romanzo bizantino del XII secolo*, Torino 1994.

<sup>2</sup> On the literary circle in Constantinople in the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the patronage of the Komnenian family, see, e.g. H. HUNGER, *Die byzantinische Literatur der Komnenenzeit. Versuch einer Neubewertung*, AAW 105, 1968, p. 59–76; E. JEFFREYS, *The Sebastokratorissa Irene as Patron*, WJK 60.1, 2012, p. 177–194; EADEM, *The Komnenian Background to the Romans d'Antiquité*, B 48, 1980, p. 455–486; G.T. DENNIS, *Court Intellectuals and Rhetoric*, [in:] *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. H. MAGUIRE, Washington 1997, p. 131–140.

<sup>3</sup> The work of Niketas has also been translated into Polish: NIKETAS EUGENIANOS, *Drosilla i Charikles*, ed., trans. K. GARA, Kraków 2013.

<sup>4</sup> K. GARA, *Wprowadzenie*, [in:] NIKETAS EUGENIANOS, *Drosilla...*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> On the life and work of Theodore Prodromos, the primary work remains W. HÖRANDER, *Theodoros Prodromos. Historische Gedichte*, Wien 1974 [= WBS, 1].

<sup>6</sup> Marcin Cyrulski is also the author of the translation *Kronika trapezuncka – MICHAŁ PANARETOS, Kronika trapezuncka*, trans., comm. M. CYRULSKI, Łódź 2020 [= SeCer, 6].

romance of Theodore Prodromos available to the contemporary Polish reader. The translation is preceded by a short but strong and multifaceted introduction, which prepares readers, even those unfamiliar with Byzantine literature, for the reception of the text. It includes information on the preserved manuscripts of Rhodanthe and Dosikles, editions and translations into modern languages (p. 7–10), and the author of the work and his oeuvre (p. 19–20). We also find there reflections on how to determine the literary genre the text represents (p. 11–12), information about ancient romance (p. 13–14) and its readership in Byzantium (p. 15–18), as well as the chronology of the creation of the four romances of the Komnenian era (p. 21–24). The introduction further outlines the Byzantine realities in the ancient staffage of romances (p. 27–28), and finally, the principles applied in translation and the difficulties the translator had to face (p. 29–31). In preparing the introduction and commentaries, which facilitate the understanding of the text, M. Cyrulski has made use of representative literature on the subject (bibliography, p. 195–199). It may have been worthwhile to reach out to a few more works, e.g., A.Д. АЛЕКСИДЗЕ, *Византийский роман XII века*, Тбилиси 1965; С.В. ПОЛЯКОВА, *Из истории византийского романа*, Москва 1979; F. CONCA, *Osservazioni al testo del romanzo di Teodoro Prodromo*, [in:] *Storia, poesie, pensiero nel mondo antico. Studi in onore di Marcello Gigante*, Napoli 1994, p. 137–147; E. JEFFREYS, *Literatura w dwunastowiecznym Konstantynopolu – zmiana kierunków?*, PNH 8.2, 2009, p. 5–22; A. КОТЛОВА, *Місце порту в фавле XII-вічного романа бізантійського*, [in:] *Місто на скrzyżowaniu мoрз і континентoв. Вczesно- і середньобизантійські Константинопoл jako місто портoве*, ed. M.J. LESZKA, K. MARINOW, Łódź 2016 [= BL, 23], p. 103–112.

The translation itself (p. 33–194) is a good testimony to the translation skills of Marcin Cyrulski, who seems to have managed to render not only the sense, but also the literary values of the Byzantine work. It was not an easy task, bearing in mind that the author of *The Adventures of Rhodanthe and Dosikles* had ambitions to demonstrate his erudition and writing skills.

The translation of *The Adventures of Rhodanthe and Dosikles* by Theodore Prodromos, done by Marcin Cyrulski and published by Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, will undoubtedly enrich the limited list of Byzantine belles-lettres translated into Polish, offering Polish readers a chance to learn about an interesting testimony of Byzantine literary achievements in the 12<sup>th</sup> century.

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**A Companion to Byzantine Italy, ed. SALVATORE COSENTINO, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2021 [= Brill’s Companions to the Byzantine World, 8], 33 maps, 25 figures, abbreviations, notes on contributors, index, pp. XVIII, 829.**

This vast volume offers a collection of essays on Byzantine Italy from the 6<sup>th</sup> up to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. It was prepared by authors from many recognized scientific centres from France, Malta, United Kingdom, USA, and above all, in the greatest number (which should not be surprising due to the topic taken up) from Italy. The volume’s editor is Salvatore Cosentino, a Professor of Byzantine Civilisation at the University of Bologna, whose main research domain is the social and economic history of Late Antiquity and Early Byzantine Italy<sup>1</sup>. The volume consists of twenty-seven chapters arranged into three Parts which indicate the trajectory of the undertaken research: (1) *Society and Institutions*; (2) *Communications, Economy and Landscape*, divided into two sections: (i) *General Frameworks*; (ii) *Settlements and Landscape: Regional Morphologies*; (3) *Culture and Education*.

The volume is opened with the introduction written by Salvatore Cosentino and Enrico Zanini, entitled: *Mapping the Memory of Byzantine Italy*, which was divided into two parts: (1) *Written Memory*; (2) *Material Sources* (p. 1–25). This is not a classic introduction to this specific topic, but actually a separate and excellent essay supported by a rich bibliography. Firstly, S. Cosentino points to the status

of written documentation regarding Byzantine Italy as rich, but not homogeneous, presenting the typologies of written memory on the examples of Sicily, Peninsular Southern Italy (continental *Mezzogiorno*), Sardinia, Central (region of Rome) and Northern Italy (Ravenna and Venice), displaying sharp differences amongst them. Secondly, E. Zanini shows that Byzantine archaeology is a young discipline and as such there are many research areas in the field of Byzantine Italy, especially taking into account the diversity of its individual parts, that need to be investigated, identifying areas such as infrastructure (ports, roads, bridges, aqueducts, canals, urban water systems, etc.), circulation of money, characteristics of private buildings, patronage over public and religious buildings, the consumption of goods or the functioning of the aristocracy related to the Byzantine domination in Italy, etc.

Part 1 has the total of seven chapters, the first two of which are written by S. Cosentino. In the first chapter, the author considers the issues of policy and society related to Byzantine Italy (p. 29–67). He presents seven main topics: (1) Italy in the prism of the Justinian I’s policy of restoration and the Gothic War as the unexpected way for the Byzantine Empire to conquer the Apennine Peninsula; (2) the social, political, economic and mental changes of the Italian aristocracy in the 6<sup>th</sup> c.; (3) the role of Italy and Africa in the Byzantine imperial policy in the 7<sup>th</sup> c.; (4) a deep socio-political transformation of the Byzantine West in the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> c., through the increased militarization of the region; (5) the political situation on the Apennine Peninsula in the 8<sup>th</sup> c., i.e. the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. cf. S. COSENTINO, *Politica e fiscalità nell’Italia bizantina (secc. VI–VIII)*, [in:] *Le città italiane tra la tarda Antichità e l’alto Medioevo*, ed. A. AUGENTI, Florence 2006, p. 37–53; IDEM, *Storia dell’Italia bizantina (VI–XI secolo). Da Giustiniano ai Normanni*, Bologna 2008; IDEM, *Economia e fiscalità nei ‘secoli oscuri’: in margine alla questione dei kommerkiarioi*, [in:] *Bisanzio e le periferie dell’impero*, ed. R. GENTILE MESSINA, Rome 2011, p. 59–72.

relations between the Byzantine Empire and the Papacy, the Lombard invasion, the establishment of a cooperation between the Popes and the Franks as well as the Frankish interventions in Italy; (6) fighting against the expansion of Islam in the Western Mediterranean in the 9<sup>th</sup> c.; Southern Italy in the Byzantine Empire's policy in the 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> c.; and (7) the fall of Byzantine Italy in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. In the second chapter, S. Cosentino illustrates the functioning of the Church as an institution in Byzantine Italy from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. (p. 68–105). Therefore, the author shows the relationships between Rome and Constantinople, an overview of the doctrinal problems and ecclesiastic debates which the local episcopate faced, and the institutional, economical and organisational framework of the Church in the territories of Byzantine Italy. In the third chapter, Enrico Morini analyzes the monastic life in Byzantine Italy and its institutional basis (p. 106–139). He looks at such phenomena as urban and suburban monasticism based on the examples of Ravenna, Rome, Constantinople, etc., the influence of Hellenophone monasticism of Asian origins on Byzantine Italy, and the interweaving of cultural currents and the patterns of monastic life between the East and the West. All the chapters discussed above, given all the issues accounted for by the contributors, create a picture of features characteristic of the Italo-Byzantine ecclesiastical history. Then, the topic is changed and Vivien Prigent's chapter describes strongly militarized Byzantine administration in Italy (p. 140–168). Starting from the viewpoint that imperial rule over Italy changed throughout the centuries, she distinguishes three main areas of Byzantine control: (1) Northern and Central Italy with a narrow stretch of land running from Gaeta to Amalfi and Sardinia; (2) Sicily and Calabria; (3) Apulia. In the outlined geographic perspective, she considers the issues of the institutional and territorial changes in the Byzantine military organization (*thema*, *doukaton*, *katepanaton*, etc.), the role of military officials (*praetor*, *strategos*, *doux*, etc.), and their relations with the civil administration, or the use of mercenaries in the army. Federico Marazzi, in the next chapter, takes matters related to the relationship between

Byzantium and the Lombards (p. 169–199). The author argues that the history of their relations is more than just a conflict of more than two centuries (from 568 to 774) marked by mutual hostility, which led to the factual end of the political and administrative unity of the Apennine Peninsula. She argues that it is also a period of coexistence, trade exchange, and finally the adaptation of Byzantine cultural patterns by the Lombard elite or political cooperation in Southern Italy from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. Annlie Nef's chapter presents the confrontation of the Byzantine Empire with the Islamic expansion in the central Mediterranean since the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. (p. 200–224). The author shows the importance of the strategic and commercial roles played by Southern Italy, a zone of direct intercultural contact between the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic world, paying attention to, i.a. the issues of modification of material culture, Islamic piracy or fighting for sea domination in the Mediterranean. The last chapter of Part 1 is written by Annick Peters-Custot, who shows the functioning of Greek-speaking communities after the Norman conquest in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. (p. 225–251). Until the 13<sup>th</sup> c., the Greek population constituted a group identity of people who shared the same law, language, rite and liturgy, etc. The author brilliantly argues that in the perspective of "longue durée", starting from the 16<sup>th</sup> c., this population gradually entered the "Mezzogiorno" culture, and as a result of this process, the Greek-Byzantine heritage was finally embraced by that of Southern Italy.

Part 2 consists of twelve chapters divided into two sections. The first section has four chapters and it is devoted to the individual analytical problems related to the widely understood subject of economy and infrastructure. It is opened by Denis Sami's chapter about the network of interregional land and naval communication inherited by the Byzantine Empire from the Roman period (p. 255–278). The author presents the importance of an extensive infrastructure system, i.e. closely connected ports and land roads, which not only had economic and military significance, but also played an equally important role in the socio-cultural sphere, influencing the way people lived in that



space and the transmission of religious ideas or projections of power. Then, Jean-Marie Martin examines the rural sector of economy in Byzantine Italy from the 6<sup>th</sup> to the 11<sup>th</sup> c. (p. 279–299). The author highlights several issues, among which the most important was the diversification of agricultural production due to the geographical diversity of the region, the variability of agrarian structures and land ownership over time, where particular importance should be attached to the state or the Church as landowners who constituted the basis of public power. In the next chapter, Enrico Zanini analyzes non-agricultural sector of Italian economy (p. 300–327). The author shows the local production and use of everyday objects (ceramics, ornaments, etc.), the circulation of goods and their import; moreover, he locates the centres of consumption and redistribution of goods, paying attention to the huge role of the central authority in stimulating and determining the economic framework of Byzantine Italy. Vivien Prigent's chapter is devoted to the coin production and circulation (p. 328–359). She presents the minting system, the evolution of coinage, the scale of circulation and monetary production in the Apennine Peninsula from the time of Justinian I to the 11<sup>th</sup> c., showing the enormous forty-fold difference in the decline of coins' value that separates the Late Antiquity and the middle Byzantine monetary economy.

The second section of Part 2 has eight chapters, and the considerations contained therein are ranked according to geographical criteria. It is opened by Sauro Gelichi's chapter on the subject of Byzantine control over Northern Italy; it first occurred directly, through the Exarchate of Ravenna and Pentapolis at the beginning, and later indirectly through other political structures such as the Duchy of Venice (p. 360–386). The author discusses the political changes that took place in the indicated region (being an area of rivalry between the Byzantines, the Lombards and the Franks), and shows their consequences in the form of the variability of rural settlements and landscapes, and the increase in the power of Venice, which from the 9<sup>th</sup> c. began to become the only maritime power in the Adriatic Sea. Then, Alessandra Molinari examines the

case of Rome and Latium in the transformation of settlements and landscape from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages (p. 387–404)<sup>2</sup>. She claims, on the base of the stratigraphic sequences excavated in urban areas, that a demographic decline in the late 7<sup>th</sup> and late 8<sup>th</sup> c. in that region is possible. Moreover, she points out that the public role in Rome and Latium was eventually taken over by the popes, and external political factors led to the reorganization of the countryside and the Church property to the model of the *domus-cultae*. Federico Marazzi's chapter is devoted to the cases of Naples and Gaeta (p. 405–433). The author shows the rise of the political and economic (especially in the sphere of international trade) importance of these urban centres during the Middle Ages, their gradual emancipation from the Byzantine power, and their final incorporation into the Lombard principalities and the Norman Kingdom. Ghislaine Noyé analyzes an issue of Byzantine Calabria (p. 434–452). The author shows the economic and social evolution of this region, claiming that Calabria is a peculiar case in comparison to the rest of the Apennine Peninsula because of the scarcity of written sources and the uninterrupted rule of the Byzantine Empire up to the 11<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>3</sup> In the next chapter, Paul Arthur considers the changes within Byzantine Apulia (p. 453–471). The author notes that the indicated region in the Byzantine period went from the Roman model of the domination of urban culture to an agrarian society based on rural settlement, with several cities (e.g. Bari or Otranto, and, in Norman times, Lecce or Brindisi), governing local elites as well as craftsmen and merchants. The next three chapters are devoted to the Italian islands. Lucia Arcifa takes into account the case of Sicily (p. 472–495). She considers such

<sup>2</sup> Cf. C. WICKHAM, *Medieval Rome. Stability and Crisis of a City, 900–1150*, Oxford 2015 [= OSMEH].

<sup>3</sup> Further research on the circulation of slaves or captives between Byzantine Calabria and Islamic Sicily and North Africa, cf. A. CURNES, "Slavery" *outside the Slave Trade. The Movement and Status of Captives between Byzantine Calabria and the Islamic World*, [in:] *Transmitting and Circulating the Late Antique and Byzantine Worlds*, ed. M. IVANOVA, H. JEFFERY, Leiden–Boston 2020 [= MME, 118], p. 102–122.

issues as the decadence of the urban centres accompanied by the collapse of trade and the expansion of the villages in the period of the 6<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> c. She also discusses the military significance of Sicily in the Byzantine policy, the socio-political changes of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. such as the repopulation of the island and the Arab invasion and examines the presence of the Italic-Greek monasticism even after the fall of the Byzantine presence in Sicily. Pier Giorgio Spanu analyzes the case of Sardinia (p. 496–521). The author presents the religious and agricultural landscape of the island, characterized by a small number of urban centres in which the majority of bishopric seats were located, and the numerous presence of small rural settlements coexisting with rural villas, connected by several main routes leading to the coast. The chapter of Brunella Bruno and Nathaniel Cutajar is devoted to Byzantine Malta and Gozo (p. 522–538). The authors show that the Maltese islands, in the time of imperial domination from 533 to 879, played a role of a Byzantine frontier outpost, being a supporting base for trade and maritime activity in the Mediterranean region and served as a commercial gateway into the North African markets.

Part 3, consists of eight chapters and begins with Vera von Falkenhausen's considerations on the use of Latin and Greek in Italy from the 6<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> c. (p. 541–581). The author notes that only in the areas of Southern Italy (ancient *Magna Graecia*), the Byzantine political, religious and socio-cultural patterns had any lasting influence on the local language, which did survive the conquests of both Lombards and Normans. Then, Deborah M. Deliyannis attempts to challenge the traditional notion of the role of bishops as leaders in the historical memory of urban communities (p. 582–608). The author notes that not in each of the analyzed cases the local communities referred to saint-bishops, or saintly popes in Rome. This is exemplified by the regions of Calabria or Apulia, where relatively few saint-bishops appear and after the 9<sup>th</sup> c. most of the new saints are ascetics, possibly due to the influence of Byzantine hagiographic traditions<sup>4</sup>. Mario Re's chapter discusses the

Italo-Greek hagiography created in Byzantine Italy (p. 609–640). The author traces the changes taking place in the hagiographic literature, both in Greek and Latin, which reflect the problems of the era in which they arose: hence, scenarios and characters changed, new biographies were created, and texts from previous periods were even rewritten. Francesco D'Aiuto inspects the issues of devotional practices of worship and prayer (p. 641–668). He argues that there existed Italo-Greek forms of devotion and prayer, i.e. a ritual sacrifice of animals in front of or around a church, sleeping inside the sanctuary in San Luca the night before the annual celebration or the tradition of decorating the porches of churches and the entrances of homes with laurels on special occasions. Massimo Bernabò analyzes five artistic episodes in medieval Byzantine or Byzantine-inspired art in Italy, i.e. (1) Ravenna and the Exarchate; (2) North Italy; (3) Rome; (4) Castelseprio; (5) Southern Italy (p. 669–694). He shows that Italy should be considered a territory fragmented into minor regions, cities or even Church property with unsteady boundaries also in the sphere of art, which was influenced, to a certain extent, by Byzantine models in mosaics, frescoes, monuments, etc., depending on the political importance or cultural impact of the Empire. Then, Isabella Baldini presents a variety of the forms of Byzantine Italy's monumental architecture (p. 695–732). She highlights the enormous Byzantine influence on the architecture of Italy using the example of public administrative buildings, fortifications, palaces and residences, churches, etc., at the same time showing their role in organizing social space. Paola Degni's chapter discusses two issues: the history of literacy and book production in Byzantine Italy (p. 733–759). Through an exhaustive analysis of the individual regions of Italy, she notes, i.e., that the culture of Italo-Greek Byzantine society, in comparison to Constantinople, is characterised by giving little consideration to classical and profane literature. In the context of book production, she highlights that one of the potential outcomes of the intercultural relations between Italy and Arabic lands could have been the use of paper, which was most likely of Nilean origin. The final chapter of the volume is written

<sup>4</sup> E.g. cf. N. FERRANTE, *Santi Italogreci in Calabria*, Reggio Calabria 1981; E. FOLLIERI, *I Santi dell'Italia Greca*, RBSN 34, 1997, p. 3–36.

by Cristina Rognoni (p. 760–796). It is an analysis of the application of imperial law (e.g. *Codex Theodosianus*, *Institutiones*, *Ecloga*, *Basilici*, *Novellae* of Leo VI, etc.) in Italy; due to the political dominance and cultural impact of Constantinople, it concludes that the influence of Byzantine legal texts and juridical practices on the Apennine Peninsula is indisputable.

The presented volume introduces a critical overview of wide and multifaceted spectrum of current research to historiography and provides new insights concerning political, institutional, economic, social, cultural and environmental aspects of Byzantine Italy. As a whole, the volume is of high scientific quality. Furthermore, it should be emphasized that the applied methodological approach is interdisciplinary: it connects history, legal history, architecture with archaeology and art history, and the main axis that binds the volume together is the territorial and chronological framework. The great advantage of the volume is also the fact that it can be read both by specialists, as each part could be a good comparative material, and by students, as a starting point for further studies. Worth noting is that despite the detailed studies described herein, many authors postulate that further in-depth research should be carried out; this idea should be met with favourable response, hinting the authors towards the fruitful future results of their work.

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***Transmitting and Circulating the Late Antique and Byzantine Worlds*,  
ed. MIRELA IVANOVA, HUGH JEFFERY, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2020  
[= *The Medieval Mediterranean*, 118], 35 maps and illustrations,  
list of contributors, index, pp. XII, 302.**

This book offers a collection of eleven articles on the transmission and circulation of goods, ideas and peoples in Late Antiquity and Byzantine times, highlighting the enduring social, cultural and economic networks linking the various spheres of the Eastern Mediterranean. The presented volume is based on selected papers firstly presented at the *Transmitting and Circulating the Late Antique and Byzantine Worlds* conference organized in February 2017 by the Oxford Centre for Byzantine Research, the Oxford Centre for Late Antiquity, and the History Faculty at Oxford. The book, edited by Mirela Ivanova (University of Oxford) and Hugh Jeffery (University of Edinburgh), is divided into three Parts: (1) *Movement of People*; (2) *Transmitting Traditions*; (3) *Contact*, and it is preceded by the authors' *Introduction* (p. 1–8).

As a starting point for all considerations in the volume, M. Ivanova and H. Jeffery present the research on Byzantium from a global perspective, focusing on the search for spheres of international exchange and long-distance contacts, but bearing in mind that it is hard to say that in the Middle Ages, the Mediterranean connectivity was fully globalised (p. 7). Moreover, they show criticism in the presented research approach, expressed by posing questions of whether such scope of research could, in turn, lead to marginalization of what is local and stabilization of regionality; and whether it would not limit research to the history of elite actors? Thus, the authors propose to reflect on the studies of Catherine Holmes and Naomi

Stände<sup>1</sup>, in which they: *sought to start from the local and look out, rather than start from a global narrative and look in* (p. 3). The two main methodological concepts used in the work are the fairly fluid categories of “transmission” and “circulation”, which, according to the authors, have the main advantage of allowing cooperation between historians and archaeologists, acting as a *platform for interdisciplinary communication* (p. 3).

Without depreciating the role of interdisciplinary research at the interface between history and archaeology, it is worth referring to the words of the authors who state that: *We share the belief that a category difference between text and material is impossible to maintain, and that theoretical insights should be shared and applied between fields* (p. 3). In this perspective, the question should be posed: how may historians eliminate the difference of categories between text and material in the case of transmission of the content of manuscripts, circulation of literary *topoi* and intertextual borrowings, etc.? Many historians in their studies of Late Antiquity and early Middle Ages frequently refer to archaeological sources that they confront with the details of historiographic narratives. However, the narrative studies necessarily belong to a different discourse than the study of artifacts obtained through excavations. Therefore, the archaeological sources, by themselves, usually do not allow, i.a., to learn the specifics of group

<sup>1</sup> *The Global Middle Ages*, ed. C. HOLMES, N. STANDEN, Oxford 2018 [= PPS, 13].

ties, the circulation of content in literary sources and do not correspond to literary statements. In consequence, the authors' approach also has its limitations and raises many doubts, especially at the interface between history and literary studies, and such a rigorous statement as in the *Introduction* is impossible to maintain<sup>2</sup>. As can be observed in the book, not all contributors share the belief of M. Ivanova and H. Jeffery, especially in Part 2, where all the articles do not even touch upon the issue of combining the archaeological artefacts with the historical narratives.

Part 1, consisting of four articles, is opened by Grace Stafford's study on the female pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Menas at Abu Mina in Late Antiquity (p. 11–43). She argues that the female pilgrimage was a broad socio-cultural phenomenon and was not limited only to the participation of the elite group of women; women of the middle- and lower-classes also made pilgrimages to this sanctuary, as evidenced by numerous archaeological finds and literary sources. The article by Julia Burdajewicz analyses the role of traveling painters' workshops using the example of late antique Porphyreon in modern Lebanon (p. 44–77). She points out that wall paintings and works of monumental art can only be made and viewed on the spot, and therefore constitute an excellent object of research on the transmission and circulation of people and ideas. She emphasises the contribution of migrating artists to the process of sharing the iconographic schemes, the techniques of execution of wall paintings and material culture. Katinka Sewing's article concerns the phenomenon of pilgrimage to Ephesus in Late Antiquity as an example of transmission of religious ideas (p. 78–101). She introduces the newly investigated church in Pamucak

from the 5<sup>th</sup> c. as a pilgrimage complex, which shows the infrastructural and organisational religious development of Asia Minor in that time. Adele Curness takes into account the captives' status in Byzantine Calabria and their constant circulation between South Italy, Sicily and North Africa (p. 102–122). She points out that the analyzed case falls outside of the traditional definitions of "slavery" or "slave trade", and should be rather considered a ransom, which was of considerable economic importance for Islamic Sicily and Ifriqiya.

Part 2 contains four articles and begins with Alex MacFarlane's study on fantastic creatures (such as, e.g. "shocking lobster") in the Armenian *Alexander Romance* tradition (p. 125–148). The author shows that the translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes' work from Greek into Armenian in ca. 5<sup>th</sup> c. was only the beginning of the process of the transmission of literary tradition; moreover, it was also its transformation and adaptation to the local discourses. Then, Jovana Anđelković's article examines the influence of heritage of ancient rhetoric on the shape of John Mauropous' letter to the patriarch (letter 64), written in the 11<sup>th</sup> c. (p. 149–169). In this detailed study, the author shows the effective deployment of assumptions of ancient rhetoric on the field of structural background, stylistic solutions, use of subtle allusions, etc. by Mauropous, presenting him as a true Menander's student of rhetoric. In the next article, Mathew Barber considers the Arabic accounts for the Byzantine-Fatimid conflict of 1054–1055 (p. 170–198). He illustrates that the information about the Fatimid-Byzantine relations, as well as about important Byzantine political figures or events, such as change of dynasties, had its place in the Egyptian historiography, which may be an important factor in the study of this period of Byzantine history<sup>3</sup>. Peter Bara analyses the

<sup>2</sup> E.g. cf. G.M. SPIEGEL, *Introduction*, [in:] EADEM, *The Past as Text. The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*, Baltimore-London 1997, p. XI–XXII; EADEM, *Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles*, [in:] *The Medieval Chronicle. Proceedings of the 1<sup>st</sup> International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 13–16 July 1996*, ed. E. KOOPER, Amsterdam–Atlanta 1999 [= MChr, 1], p. 1–12.

<sup>3</sup> Surprisingly, J. Mackechnie (Queen's University, Kingston), in the review of the presented volume, confused the content of the articles by M. Barber and J. Anđelković, writing that *Matthew Barber explores how literary traditions from the ancient world, such as the use of ancient rules of composition, shaped the work of the 11<sup>th</sup> c. writer Ioannes Mauropous*, while *Jovana*

narration about the Byzantine defeat at the Battle of Dristra/Dorostolon (1087), which appears in the Anna Komnene's *Alexiad* (p. 199–223). The author argues that Anna explained the military disaster by mundane, not divine circumstances, and the fact that she re-used a lost family account of the Doukai proves Anna's creativity in transmitting Byzantine literary and political inheritance<sup>4</sup>.

Part 3 contains three articles and it is opened by Matteo G. Randazzo's case study of the circulation of Sgraffito Ware, i.e. a specific category of 12<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantine tableware mainly crafted in Peloponnesian and Euboean "professional" workshops between Norman Sicily and Komnenian Greece (p. 227–250). The author, by showing the spread of Byzantine ceramics, even in the face of hostile relations with the Kingdom of Sicily, shows the lasting economic and socio-cultural ties in the Mediterranean basin, but also notes the need for further studies on the issue. Then, Carl Dixon examines the case of Paulicians' identity as an example of the transmission of religious and socio-cultural ideas in the Byzantine world (p. 251–273). The author argues that it is doubtful that the Paulicians were ever a unified community, and their presentation as heretics in the Byzantine sources should be viewed in terms of a historical phenomenon strongly rooted in the context of socio-political events and imperial religious policy in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. In the last article of the volume, Anna Kelley takes the issue of the cotton economy in the Mediterranean world during the early medieval period (p. 274–297). She

challenges the view that the cotton crops were largely unknown throughout the ancient world prior to the Islam's expansion in the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> c. The author argues that cotton as a cultivated plant was known in the Mediterranean basin and, on the other hand, she points to the commercial circulation of cotton from India in the Mediterranean world long before the spread of Islam. However, she also notes that the centralization of the economy of Islamic lands under the rule of the Abbasids, and the growth of crops in Iran, undoubtedly contributed to the spread of trade in this commodity.

The volume introduces several multidimensional aspects of transmission and circulation of ideas, peoples and goods in the Mediterranean world, providing a robust chronological perspective, giving a certain overview of the issue raised, and thus constitutes a valuable insight into the matter. The high level of innovation of the topics covered should be emphasized, which may constitute a starting point for further considerations. It is important because it should be stated that the presented work as a whole does not exhaust the topic and that further, in-depth studies are still needed. Perhaps the book would benefit if it contained a greater number of papers presented at the conference. Knowing the conference programme, it is still surprising that only eleven articles were chosen; obviously this is not meant to question the editors' right to make the selection of articles included in the volume. However, it is surprising that the extremely broad conference programme actually did not have an effect on the book's content; out of a total of forty-nine researchers and as many as twenty-three from the centres outside United Kingdom (Belgium, France, Germany, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, Serbia and Turkey) are mostly unrepresented in the volume. Consequently, the transmission and circulation in Late Antiquity and Byzantine times could be examined even more thoroughly and in more detail.

*Andelkovic explains how the Byzantine-Fatimid conflict of 1054–55 can be re-appraised using Arabic accounts* (sic!), cf. J. MACKECHNIE, [rec.:] *Transmitting and Circulating the Late Antique and Byzantine Worlds (Medieval Mediterranean)*... – *AIM* 32, 2020, p. 372–374.

<sup>4</sup> P. Bara offers an alternative interpretation than P. Buckley, who claims that Anna Komnene presented the defeat at the Battle of Dristra/Dorostolon, and the apparition of Leo, Bishop of Chalcedon, in the middle of the battle, as a sign of a divine punishment of Alexios I, cf. P. BUCKLEY, *The Alexiad of Anna Komnene. Artistic Strategy in the Making of a Myth*, Cambridge 2014, p. 154–156.

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**TSVETOMIRA DANOVA, *John of Damascus' Marian Homilies in Mediaeval South Slavonic Literatures*, ed. LORA TASEVA, Peter Lang, Berlin 2020 [ = *Studies on Language and Culture in Central and Eastern Europe*, 36], pp. 542.**

Tsvetomira Danova's monograph is important and interesting reading for several reasons. The publication originated as a revised and expanded variant of her doctoral dissertation, defended in 2014 at the Cyrillo-Methodian Research Centre at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in Sofia. Since then, Danova has published several studies on Byzantine-Slavonic textology and Slavonic translations of literature, mainly Byzantine homiletics (by John of Damascus and Andrew of Crete)<sup>1</sup>; their themes and nature are related to the present study. In preparing both the dissertation and the monograph, the author benefited from the support of outstanding scholars of Slavonic literary and cultural heritage<sup>2</sup>, to whom we owe

a number of valuable works on the South Slavonic literary tradition, including a catalog of copies of Slavonic translations of Byzantine hagiographic works<sup>3</sup> or editions of literary relics fundamental for this circle<sup>4</sup>. Inevitably, the effects of such cooperation influenced the final shape of the text.

Tsvetomira Danova's object of study is a selection from the rich homiletic legacy of John of Damascus. The work is devoted to the reception of four Slavonic translations of three works: two Homilies on the Dormition of the Mother of God and one assigned to the Nativity of the Mother of God; the source material (copies of the texts) comes from nearly forty South Slavonic manuscript codices on hagiographic and homiletic themes. In fact, the very choice of subject matter – Marian homiletics – is linked to the canon of works devoted to images of the Mother of God, such as the study of Byzantine hymnography characteristic for the Church's greatest female cult<sup>5</sup>. *John*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. e.g.: Ц. ДАНОВА, *Южнославянските преводи на словата за Богородица от Йоан Дамаскин по преписи от ръкописните сбирки в Румъния (текстологични наблюдения)*, Pbg 39.2, 2015, p. 3–20; ЕАДЕМ, *Византийският източник на една анонимна старобългарска хомилия*, Pbg 39.4, 2015, p. 17–26; ЕАДЕМ, *Словото за Изсъхналата смоковница и притчата за лозето от Йоан Дамаскин в средновековната славянска книжнина (предварителни наблюдения)*, PSS 14, 2018, p. 65–78; ЕАДЕМ, *Слово на день Воздвижения Креста Андрея Критского в Милешевском панегирике*, SeS 20, 2020, p. 119–136; М. СПАСОВА, Ц. ДАНОВА, *Езикови особености на превода на Исихиевите тълкувания по преписа им в Иван-Александровия Песнивец: към въпроса за времето и мястото на възникване на превода. Част първа [pars 1]*, Pbg 42.2, 2018, p. 38–60; *Част втора [pars 2]*, Pbg 42.3, 2018, p. 33–70.

<sup>2</sup> Together with Klimentina Ivanova, Tsvetomira Danova has prepared a paper announcing the edition of the *Bibliotheca Homiletica Balcano-Slavonica* cata-

log, which collects data on manuscript copies of homiletic works preserved in the South Slavonic tradition, in panegyric-type codices, according to the calendar of movable feasts, cf. К. ИВАНОВА, Ц. ДАНОВА, *Опит за систематизиране на риторичната традиция в южнославянските календарни сборници (според съдържанието на балканските триодни панегирици)*, Pbg 43.2, 2019, p. 23–46.

<sup>3</sup> К. ИВАНОВА, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavica*, София 2008.

<sup>4</sup> *Berlinski Sbornik. Vollständige Studienausgabe im Originalformat (mit Bibliographie)*, ed. H. MIKLAS, L. TASEVA, M. JOVČEVA, Graz 1988.

<sup>5</sup> J.H. OLKINUORA, *Byzantine Hymnography for the Feast of the Entrance of the Theotokos. An Intermedial Approach*, Helsinki 2015 [= SPF, 4].



of *Damascus' Marian Homilies* combines methodologies inherent in textological and, mainly, linguistic studies. Danova's focus is on questions of textual tradition and the peculiarities of translation strategies of the First and Second Bulgarian Kingdom eras, which for years have been one of the most important topics of Byzantine-Slavonic comparative studies<sup>6</sup>. Although the title of the dissertation promises to look at the Slavonic cultural tradition, the Greek prototypes of the translated texts are an equal part of the study as a constant reference point – both in the critical commentary and in the editing of the source texts.

Tsvetomira Danova's monograph is eminently source-based: the author uses nearly forty copies of four translations of the three homilies, collected from manuscript codices held in Bulgarian collections (the SS Cyril and Methodius National Library, Church-Historical and Archival Institute in Sofia, Rila Monastery, Metropolitanate of Vratsa), Serbian collections (National Library of Serbia, Svetozar Marković University Library in Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Library of the Serbian Patriarchate), Russian (National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg), Romanian (Romanian Academy Library in Bucharest, Dragomirna Monastery), Croatian (Archives of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Croatian History Museum in Zagreb), Montenegrin (Cetinje Monastery, Monastery of the Holy Trinity in Pljevlja), and from monasteries on Holy Mount Athos (Hilandar Monastery, Zographou Monastery). Apart from codicologic information (the type of the codex and its content, the time of its creation and the version of the Old Church Slavonic language, sometimes the state of preservation), she also reveals the way in which she worked with

it: using the collections *in situ* (*de visu* analysis), the electronic collections of particular libraries made available on the web, and microfilms or printouts from electronic copies, which allows the reader to get acquainted with the possibilities (or limitations) of this kind of research. It is worth emphasizing the scope of Danova's research on the source material as well as her inquisitiveness.

Tsvetomira Danova's monograph is clearly divided into two parts of a different nature. The first is an extensive description and commentary on the textological and linguistic facts relevant to the discussed texts, captured in the Introduction, two chapters and the Summary and Conclusion. The second part consists of auxiliary and source material: Appendices (Index of Manuscripts as Listed in the BHBS [Bibliotheca Hagiographica Balcano-Slavonica] and Index of Biblical Quotations), list of works cited, editions of Greek and Slavonic texts, and vocabularies – lists of lexemes (Slavonic-Greek and Greek-Slavonic List of Content Words).

The Introduction of the *Marian Homilies...* is divided into three sections: *The Life and Works of John of Damascus*; *The Reception of John of Damascus' Works in Medieval South Slavonic Literatures*; and *The Homilies on the Mother of God in Mediaeval South Slavonic Literatures: Prefatory Remarks*. The life story and literary works of John of Damascus are presented in the context of the turbulent era of the dispute with the iconoclasts and the growing domination of the Umayyads. The author outlines the historical and cultural background of the creation of the analyzed works and the circumstances of their functioning in Byzantine and post-Byzantine cultural circles. An extensive selection from the works of this Father of the Church was known to the Slavs already in the era of Tsar Simeon (893–927) through the translations of John the Exarch, and in the 14<sup>th</sup> century a set of works on orthodoxy and other treatises (including the already complete *An Exact Composition of the Orthodox Faith*<sup>7</sup> and

<sup>6</sup> Here I will point to only two of the titles, most closely related to the monograph by T. DANOVA: *Преводите през XIV столетие на Балканите. Доклади от международната конференция София 26–28 юни 2003*, ed. Л. ТАСЕВА, М. ЙОВЧЕВА, К. ФОС, Т. ПЕНТКОВСКАЯ, София 2004; *Translations of Patristic Literature in South-Eastern Europe. Proceedings of the Session Held at the 12<sup>th</sup> International Congress of South-East European Studies (Bucharest, 2–6 September 2019)*, ed. L. TASEVA, R. MARTI, Braïla 2020.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the bilingual edition: Св. ЙОАН ДАМАСКИН, *Извор на знанието*, trans. А. АТАНАСОВ, vol. I, София 2014; vol. II, София 2019.

*Dialectica*) were available. The Slavonic translation of the *Third Homily on the Dormition* comes from the former period, while the translation of the *First Homily on the Dormition* and the *Homily on the Nativity of the Mother of God* comes from the latter. Noteworthy is the detailed bibliographical information regarding John's individual works (records in the catalogs CPG and BHG, and editions) as well as the list of translations of his works into classical and modern languages.

The first chapter of the monograph is devoted to the *Third* and *First Homilies on the Dormition*, and the second chapter to the *Homily on the Nativity of the Mother of God* in two translations. Each of them, in turn, is divided into two parts, each of which is devoted to one work, resulting in four subchapters of the same structure. Each subchapter consists of the following units: Sources; Textological Analysis (Comparison of the Slavonic Text with the Greek Tradition; Textual History of the Slavonic Translation); Linguistic Peculiarities and Translation Technique; Lexical Characteristics; Biblical Quotations, and Summary. The internal arrangement of the subsections shows Tsvetomira Danova's research priorities and reflects the way she works on the texts. The symmetry of construction is evidence of a consistent methodology for the study of the works analyzed and makes the monograph exceptionally coherent.

In Chapter One, entitled *John of Damascus' First and Third Homilies on the Dormition of the Mother of God in the South Slavonic Tradition*, Tsvetomira Danova presents the conclusions of her research on John of Damascus' first and third homilies on the feast of the Dormition of the Mother of God<sup>8</sup>, starting from the history of the first Marian feasts, celebrated in Palestine on August 15, December 26, and January 16, and having a close connection with the Epiphany or Nativity.

<sup>8</sup> Because of the work's stylistic difference, requiring a different methodology, T. Danova omits the second homily for this feast, which forms a triad, thematically encompassing the entire life of the Mother of God: ...the fragmentary/compilatory character of the text requires research approaches that are somewhat different from those applied to the complete translations (p. 26).

The *Third Homily* is represented by 54 Greek copies (in two main groups) and two Slavonic copies – from the turn of 14<sup>th</sup> century, and from the 16<sup>th</sup> century – which suggests that the work was poorly disseminated. Nevertheless, all textological variants are presented here, relating the Slavonic text to the Greek, and providing detailed commentary on the differences. In each section, Tsvetomira Danova closely examines the deviations of the translation from the original, pointing to their possible and probable sources: either errors in transcription or mistakes arising from the similarity of lexemes, or the intended effects of the translator's efforts to avoid redundancy, clarify issues or terms that were (in his opinion) more difficult. It is precisely these remarks on translation strategies, supported by a careful lexical, grammatical, and textological analysis, that are in each case extremely interesting and – proving the author's expertise – provide an intriguing picture of the emergence or formation of the South Slavonic literary tradition of successive places and times. In this case, the Slavonic translator – aware of the ambiguity of the Greek words – was expected to display a “personal interpretation” of the selected passages (p. 52). Nevertheless, the search for the original form of the Slavonic text was based on the analysis of the occurrence and forms of individual lexemes against the Greek background, the *hapax legomenon* forms, the vocabularies proper to the Cyril-Methodian translations, and the Preslav or Târnovo literary schools.

The morpho-syntactic analysis is similarly detailed. The examined categories include: the way of constructing the passive voice, grammatical forms of the aorist, imperative, participles, various categories of pronouns (possessive, indicative, relative), *genetivus possessivus* and *dativus possessivus* constructions, preservation of *dualis* forms, the presence of lexemes with prefixes, compounds and paraphrases of selected phrases.

The juxtaposition of the vocabulary of the *Third Homily on the Dormition* with the lexis of the 10<sup>th</sup>- and 11<sup>th</sup>-century Glagolitic and Cyrillic relics (*Old Bulgarian corpus*) as well as the reference to the statistics presenting the

frequency of occurrence of particular lexemes specific to the Preslav literary school lead to the conclusion that the translation of the work probably appeared in the Eastern Bulgarian linguistic conditions; it also shows affinity with the lexis of *The Codex Suprasliensis* (p. 56, 58). In general, the juxtaposition of fragments/lexemes of the Slavonic texts of the homilies with the Greek ones – as well as of lexical Cyril-Methodian, Preslav, and Tǎrnovo equivalents – are an important part of Danova's lecture on the translations of John of Damascus.

The *First Homily*, discussed in the second part of chapter one, is preserved in 77 Greek and 13 South Slavonic copies, from collections of panegyrics and menologia dating from the late 14<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. A comparison of linguistic variants points to the high variability of the homily's title in the Slavonic relics as well as the translator's creativity at all levels of work with the text (additions and abridgments, transpositions, attempts to avoid a calque of the Greek word order, and avoidance of 'common' lexis, p. 75). The textological research, on the other hand, points to the origin of all the Slavonic copies of the homilies from a common source, although at a later stage one of these copies became the protograph for another group. In this way a revised version can be discerned, probably done without the involvement of the Greek source text, exclusively as a result of stylistic work on the Slavonic material. While the original translation preserves the equivalence to the original Greek and keeps the theological terminology in the spirit of the Mount Athos tradition, the revised version demonstrates the influence of the Tǎrnovo school. In the *First Homily on the Dormition*, 24 biblical quotations are used. Danova argues that, while the translator must have recognized them, he translated them after John of Damascus rather than draw on the already existing translations of the Scripture (although he *took the existing Slavonic tradition into consideration*, p. 104). There are more similar remarks on the translator's work and style in the monograph; they are supported by comparative material: Danova cites a dozen relics of the OCS language, both from the canon and later copies of selected books of the Old and New Testaments.

Chapter Two of the monograph (*The Slavonic Translations of John of Damascus' Homily on the Nativity of the Mother of God in the South Slavonic Manuscript Tradition*) deals entirely with two translations of a single work, the homily on the Nativity of the Mother of God. It opens with remarks on the history of the Nativity of the Mother of God, which also spread from Palestine to Constantinople and then throughout the Empire. The list of names of prominent Byzantine authors who dedicated their works to this day can attest to its importance. These include, among others: Andrew of Crete, Germanos of Constantinople, Patriarch Photios, Gregory Palamas, and Niketas Paphlagon. The *Homily on the Nativity* is one of those works by John of Damascus whose authorship raises questions because of its distinct stylistic features. Nevertheless, several Latin, Georgian and Arabic translations, as well as contemporary translations, testify to its popularity. Suffice it to say that medieval Slavs adopted it twice, which provided Tsvetomira Danova with interesting material for her research.

The first translation is evidenced by 19 Slavonic copies, dating from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, from all of the Southern Slavic area, corresponding to different copies and groups of the Greek text. Danova notes the variability of the title in the Slavonic copies, but also the 'relatively correct' form of this translation (p. 118). Although here, too, one can see the influence of the terminology characteristic of the communities on Mount Athos – mainly in the area of biblical quotations (p. 140) – it is difficult to attribute this translation to any particular center of writing and culture in the 14<sup>th</sup> century because of the great variety of lexis.

The second Slavonic translation of the *Homily on the Nativity of the Mother of God* is less evidenced or rather preserved – it is represented by 9 copies dated from the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Here, in turn, the headings are rather close to the Greek original, while the content is quite different from it: *the identified differences... consist not only in smaller or larger omissions and additions but also in significant deviations in the content and meaning of the text* (p. 145). The translator evidently chose to make the

passages that he believed to be unclear more readable: *Whereas John of Damascus 'seems to take for granted a theologically literate audience' who could understand his synthesis of poetic language and philosophical-theological thought, the Slavonic translator probably has doubts about the theological literacy of his audience* (p. 155). This reveals an awareness that it is necessary to work on the text, but also on the knowledge and experience of the reader. It further suggests that this way of working on the translation cannot be related to the practice typical for the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and that the Slavonic *Homily on Nativity* remains rather *a marginal translation in comparison with those linked to Mount Athos and Tŕrnovo* (p. 178).

Tsvetomira Danova's monograph – a textological study of related homiletical works – is essentially a fragment of research on the history and practice of Byzantine-Slavonic translation. The following sections – analyses of four texts – show a diverse picture of translations relating to the 14<sup>th</sup> century, but in fact initiated in different periods and centers of the Southern Slavic area. The author states: *The new evidence on specific problems in the fields of textology, linguistics, and literary history, revealed by this study, complements the overall scientific picture of the more general processes and tendencies in the Byzantine-Slavonic literary and linguistic exchange in the Balkans during the Middle Ages* (p. 183). The work fits naturally into the circle of publications resulting from linguistic and textological work on Slavonic translations of the Byzantine heritage, such as those devoted to the Zlatostruy compilation<sup>9</sup> – regardless of the fact that the Marian homilies of John of Damascus functioned as separate works and not as a thematically unified collection.

What is interesting is the choice of criteria Danova applies in characterizing the source

<sup>9</sup> Two important works of the Bulgarian researchers from the last decade: Я. МИЛТЕНОВ, *Златоструй. Старобългарски хомилетичен свод, създаден по инициатива на българския цар Симеон. Текстологическо и извороведско изследване*, София 2013; А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Златоструят в преводаческата дейност на старобългарските книжовници*, София 2016.

material. She takes into account the type of codex as well as the results of textological, morpho-syntactic and, above all, lexical analysis. The latter analyses in particular make it possible to determine the place of origin of some translations. Here I deliberately omit detailed conclusions, not wishing to spoil the pleasure of following the deduction and discovering subsequent gems that make up the mosaic as a whole. The value of the monograph lies in its interdisciplinary approach: linguistic, historical and literary, textological, and especially, in the archaeological and editorial work put into it.

About a quarter of the volume of the monograph consists of editions of the analyzed texts, in the order corresponding to the deduction of the commentary. Thus, the *Third Homily on the Dormition of the Mother of God*, the *First Homily* on the same feast, two translations of the *Homily on the Nativity of the Mother of God*: Translation A and Translation B – the Slavonic texts are presented in relation to the parallel Greek variants, which gives the impression of equivalence between the Slavonic and Greek material. Using available editions of Byzantine sources, Tsvetomira Danova introduces hitherto secondary variants into scholarly circulation: what previously comprised lessons (after B. Kotter) have become the basis for the *editio maior*. The four Slavonic texts are based on copies from various codices: the *First Homily on the Dormition* comes from the collection of the Rila Monastery (ms 4/11(83), 14<sup>th</sup> century), the *Third* – from a 16<sup>th</sup>-century codex from the Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church (ms 140, 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries), Translation A of the homily on the Nativity – from the Zograf Monastery (ms 107, 14<sup>th</sup> century), while Translation B of the same work – from the SS Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia (ms 307, 14<sup>th</sup> century). The author has chosen to present the copies in a diplomatic edition (page for page and line for line), which – in the absence of illustrations in the monograph – offers some idea of the layout of the folios of the codices.

The vocabularies for the homilies (Slavonic-Greek and Greek-Slavonic List of Content Words) are the next material part of the monograph after the text editions, taking about

a quarter of the total volume. The record structure includes the basic Slavonic form, the corresponding form in the Greek text, an indication where the lexeme can be found and on which folio of the manuscript constituting the basis for the edition. The indices also include lexemes that have no Greek equivalents, as well as clear errors and recorded reconstructions. The Greek and Slavonic sections are parallel in structure. The construction of the vocabularies shows a continuation of the best traditions of historical linguistics, organizing vocabularies of particular works or authors of great importance, such as the vocabularies of John the Exarch<sup>10</sup>, Cosmas the Presbyter<sup>11</sup>, Patriarch Euthymius<sup>12</sup>, the *Synodikon of Tsar Boril*<sup>13</sup> – to mention the Bulgarian authors and relics – and from the bilingual editions and vocabularies of Patriarch Philotheus<sup>14</sup>. The vocabulary of Marian homilies of ‘Slavonic’ John of Damascus fully belongs there. The literature cited in the monograph includes over 360 items – editions of texts, vocabularies, studies and critical commentaries.

In the Introduction the author outlines the purpose of her work: *to lay the beginning of systematic research into the reception of John of Damascus’ homiletic works in the Slavonic Middle Ages* (p. 25). The book as a whole proves that she has succeeded in achieving it through a factual, detailed, and in-depth reading of the source texts against the background of numerous

literary relics of the Middle Ages from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 14<sup>th</sup> centuries. Let us conclude our discussion of Tsvetomira Danova’s book by recalling the fact that in 2020 she was honored by the Scientific Council of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences with an award for a monograph of exceptional importance.

*Translated by Katarzyna Szuster-Tardi*

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<sup>10</sup> *Терминологичен речник на Йоан Екзарх*, ed. А. ТОТОМАНОВА, И. ХРИСТОВ, София 2019.

<sup>11</sup> А. ДАВИДОВ, *Речник-индекс на презвитер Козма*, София 1976.

<sup>12</sup> Т. СЛАВОВА, Р. СТАНКОВ, А. ДИМИТРОВА, *Речник на езика на патриарх Евтимий. I. А–Н*, София 2019. [https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/evtdict/evt\\_intro](https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/evtdict/evt_intro); Т. СЛАВОВА, А.-М. ТОТОМАНОВА, А. ДИМИТРОВА, Г. ГАНЕВА, В. ШАЛАГИН, М. ТОТОМАНОВА-ПАНЕВА, М. ДИМИТРОВА, *Речник на езика на патриарх Евтимий. II. О–А*, София 2020.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

A.KSP	Aporemata. Kritische Studien zur Philologiegeschichte
AA.ASH	Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AAW	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
AAWG.PHK	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
ABF	Acta Byzantina Fennica
ABR.BB	Antiquitas, Byzantium, Renascentia. Bibliotheca Byzantina
ABS	Acta Baltico-Slavica
ABSA	Annual of the British School at Athens, The
ABu	Archaeologia Bulgarica
AC	L'antiquité classique
AClas	Acta Classica: Proceedings of the Classical Association of South Africa
ACO	<i>Acta conciliorum oecumenicorum</i> , ed. E. SCHWARTZ and J. STRAUB, Berlin 1914–
ADRAPR	Adverse Drug Reactions and Acute Poisoning Reviews
Ae	Aevum. Rassegna di scienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche
AEMA	Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi
AEPHE V	Annuaire de l'École pratique des hautes études, V' section, Sciences religieuses
AEru	Acta Eruditorum
AFP	Archivum fratrum praedicatorum
AG	Ars Georgica
AHDLMA	Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen-âge
AHR	American Historical Review
AI.OTS	Analecta Isisiana: Ottoman and Turkish Studies
AIHS	Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences
AJP	American Journal of Philology

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AJu	Acta Jutlandica
AKi	Arbeiten zur Kirchengeschichte
Akro	Akroterion: Quarterly for the Classics in South Africa
AlM	Al-Masāq
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
AMi	Annales du Midi
AMM	Acta Militaria Mediaevalia
AMo	Anatolia Moderna
ANF	The Ante-Nicene Fathers
AOE.L	Annali Online di Ferrara – Lettere
AOtt	Archivum Ottomanicum
APARA.R	Atti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia, Rendiconti
ARAM	ARAM. Society for Syro-Mesopotamian Studies
ARAM.P	ARAM Periodical
Arc	Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica
Archeo	Archaeology
ArH	Art History
ARP	Annual Review of Psychology
ARSCSH	Ámbitos. Revista de estudios de ciencias sociales y humanidades
ASMJ	South Africa Medical Journal
AStu	Aramaic Studies
ATa	Antiquité tardive
ATox	Archives of Toxicology
AUAAS	The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.
AUL.FH	Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica
AUW.CW	Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis. Classica Wratislaviensia
AWo	Ancient World
B	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines
B.AR	Byzantina. Annual review of the Centre for Byzantine Research, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki
B.SBHC	Byzantios. Studies in Byzantine History and Civilization



BAB	BABESCH. Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, earlier Bulletin Antieke Beschaving
BArchiv	Byzantinisches Archiv
BAus	Byzantina Australiensia
BBA	Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten
BBg	Byzantinobulgarica
BBGG	Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata
BBOM	Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Monographs
BBOS	Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies
BCAW	Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World
BCBW	Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World
BCCT	Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition
BCEH	Brill's Companions to European History
BCLSMF	Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques, Académie royale de Belgique
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik
BGM	Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi
BGNAS	Bulletin of the Georgian National Academy of Sciences
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BHM	Bulletin of the History of Medicine
BJMES	British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BKP	Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie
BL	Byzantina Lodziensia
BMbyz	Byzantina-Metabyzantina
BMd	Bulgaria Mediaevalis
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BN	Beiträge zur Namenforschung
BOO	Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident
BOR	Biserica Ortodoxă Română
BP	Balkanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia
BS	Balkan Studies

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BSC	Byzantina et Slavica Cracoviensia
BSGR	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
BSIH	Brill's Studies in Intellectual History
Bsl	Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines
BSL	Balkan Studies Library
BSPK.E	Bausteine zur slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte, Neue Folge. Reihe B: Editionen
BSS	Black Sea Studies
BTH	Białostockie Teki Historyczne
BTT	Byzantine Texts in Translation
BV	Byzantina Vindobonensia
BYU	BYU Studies Quarterly
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
C	Crusades
C.YTCS	Cosmos: The Yearbook of the Traditional Cosmology Society
CA	Classical Antiquity
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i>
CB	<i>Collection byzantine</i> , publiée sous le patronage de l'Association Guillaume Budé, Paris 1926–
CBQ.MS	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly. Monograph Series
CC.CM	<i>Corpus christianorum, Continuatio mediaevalis</i>
CC.SG	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series graeca</i>
CC.SL	<i>Corpus christianorum, Series latina</i>
CCDJ	Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos
CCM	Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe–XIIe siècles
CEMN	Collection d'études médiévales de Nice
CFHB	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CFHB.SBe	<i>Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae. Series Berlinensis</i>
CFM	Corpus Fontium Manichaeorum
ChH	Church History
CHor	Chronica Horticulturae
CHR	Catholic Historical Review
Chr	Chronica

ChS	Chicago Studies
ČHS	Časopis za hrvatske studije
Cl.R	Classica. Revista Brasileira de Estudos Clássicos
CM	Classica et Mediaevalia. Revue danoise d'histoire et de philologie
CMG	Corpus Medicorum Graecorum
CMI	Codices Manuscripti et Impressi
CMLat	Corpus Medicorum Latinorum
CMR	Cahiers du Monde russe
CMT	Cambridge Medieval Textbooks
CollF	Collectanea Friburgensia
CPG	<i>Clavis patrum graecorum</i> , ed. M. GEERARD, F. GLORIE, Turnhout 1974–1987 et subs.
CQ	Classical Quarterly
CRAIBL	Comptes rendus des séances de l'année de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CRu	Colloquia Russica
CS	Cristianesimo nella Storia. Ricerche storiche, esegetiche, teologiche
CSCH	Conservation Science in Cultural Heritage
CSCO.SS	<i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Scriptores Syri</i>
CSEL	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum</i>
CSHB	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae</i>
CSMLT	Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought
CTP	Collana di testi patristici
CUF	Collection des Universités de France
CUF.SG	Collection des Universités de France. Série grecque
CUF.SL	Collection des Universités de France. Série latine
Cyr	Cyrrillomethodianum
D.RLAR	Divinations: Rereading Late Ancient Religion
DAEM	Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters
DHA	Dialogues d'histoire ancienne
DI	Der Islam. Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East
Do	Dominguezia

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DOML	Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
DOS	Dumbarton Oaks Studies
DOT	Dumbarton Oaks Texts
DSAM	<i>Dictionnaire de spiritualité ascétique et mystique</i>
EAF	Empire and After
EB	Études balkaniques. Revue trimestrielle publiée par l'Institut d'études balkaniques près l'Académie bulgare des sciences
ECEEMA	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450
ECR	Eastern Churches Review
ECS	Eastern Christian Studies
EHi	Études Historiques
EHR	English Historical Review
EJSP	European Journal of Social Psychology
El	Elpis
E-L	Erga-Logoi. Rivista di storia, letteratura, diritto e culture dell'antichità
ELE	Expansion of Latin Europe, 1000–1500
EME	Early Medieval Europe
EMS	Essays in Medieval Studies
EOr	Europa Orientalis
EPh	Études philosophiques
ERAW	Edinburgh Readings on the Ancient World
ERSP	European Review of Social Psychology
ESM	Early Science and Medicine
ESMER	Education and Society in the Middle Ages and Renaissance
ESyr	Études syriaques
ET.SP	Études et travaux. Studia i prace. Travaux e Centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Académie des Sciences Polonaise
ExN	Ex Nihilo
FAH	Fasciculi Archeologiae Historicae
FBR	Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte
FC.NT	The Fathers of the Church. A New Translation

FGHB	<i>Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae / Гръцки извори за българската история</i>
FHR	Fontes historiae religionum ex auctoribus graecis et latinis collectos
FLHB	<i>Fontes latini historiae bulgaricae / Латински извори за българската история</i>
GA	Graeco-Arabica
GCS	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte</i>
GCS.NF	<i>Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte. Neue Folge</i>
Gla	Gladius
GLB	Graeco-Latina Brunensia
GOTR	Greek Orthodox Theological Review
GR	Greece & Rome
GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
H	Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
H.JHA	History. The Journal of the Historical Association
HA.BH	Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft. Byzantinisches Handbuch
Hel	Hellenica
Here	Heresis
HHJ	The Histories & Humanities Journal
Hi	Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte
HIMA	Heresy and Inquisition in the Middle Ages
His	History [London]
HiS	Historia i Świat
HJb	Historisches Jahrbuch
HM.RJ	History of Medicine. The Russian Journal
Hor	Hormos. Ricerche di Storia Antica
HOS.NME	Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1, The Near and Middle East
Huma	Humanitas
HUS	Harvard Ukrainian Studies
I.JIS	Ikon. Journal of Iconographic Studies

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IC	Ius Commune
ICS	Illinois Classical Studies
IFAB.BAH	Institut Français d'Archéologie de Beyrouth. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique
IGr	In Gremium. Studia and historia, kulturą i polityką
IHC	Islamic History and Civilization
IJHS	The International Journal of the History of Sport
IPTS.TS	Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies
IQ	Illinois Quarterly
Isl	Islamochristiana
JBS	Journal of Baltic Studies
JDAI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JECH	Journal of Early Christian History
JEE	Journal of Ethnobiology and Ethnomedicine
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JES	Journal of Ecumenical Studies
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JHB	Journal of the History of Biology
JHHB	Johns Hopkins Hospital Bulletin
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JMH	Journal of Medieval History
JMMH	Journal of Medieval Military History
JMR	Journal of Mosaic Research
JNAA	Journal of the Numismatic Association of Australia
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JPSP	Journal of Personality and Social Psychology
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRH	Journal of Religious History
JRMES	Journal of Roman Military Equipment Studies
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	The Journal of Theological Studies
JTuS	Journal of Turkish Studies

JWCI	Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes
K.de	Kunsttexte.de
Kai	Kairos. Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie
KL	Konštantínove listy
KMW	Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie
Kok	Kokalos
Kon	Konziliengeschichte
KPh	Klassische Philologie
L	Latomus
LAL	Library of Arabic Literature
LAS	Latopisy Akademii Supraskiej
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LFHCC	A Library of Fathers of the Holy Catholic Church. Anterior to the Division of the East and West
LG	Lexicographi graeci
LLi	Littera et lingua. Electronic Journal of Humanities
LMA	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , München–Zürich 1977–1995
LR	Limba Română
LSJ	H.G. LIDDELL, R. SCOTT, H.S. JONES et al., <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> , Oxford 1996
Lum	Lumina
M	Meander. Rocznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego (1946–1996 Meander. Miesięcznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego; 1997–2004 Meander. Dwumiesięcznik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego; 2005–2012 Meander. Kwartalnik poświęcony kulturze świata starożytnego)
MA	Le Moyen Âge. Revue trimestrelle d'histoire et de philologie
MBM	Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia
MChr	Medieval Chronicle
MCL	Martin Classical Lectures
MCOO	Mistica cristiana tra Oriente e Occidente
MCS	Medieval Church Studies
MDAI.RA	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung

MedGG	Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte. Jahrbuch des Instituts für Geschichte der Medizin der Robert Bosch Stiftung
Medi	Mediaevalia
MEFR.A	Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité
Més	Mésogéios: Méditerranée. Histoire, peuples, langues, cultures
MGH.AA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores antiquissimi</i>
MGH.Ep	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolarum</i>
MGH.SRG	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi</i>
MGH.SS	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Scriptores</i>
MHR	Mediterranean Historical Review. Aranne School of History, Tel Aviv University
Mil	Millennium. Jahrbuch zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. / Yearbook on the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.
Mil.S	Millennium-Studien. Studien zu Kultur und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends n. Chr. / Studies in the Culture and History of the First Millennium C.E.
MJou	Medizinhistorisches Journal
MLSDV	<i>Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris</i>
MMe	The Medieval Mediterranean
MMed	Miscellanea Mediaevalia
MN	Il Mar Nero
Mn.S	Mnemosyne. Bibliotheca Classica Batava. Supplementum
MolI	Molecular Interventions
MPH	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica</i>
MPH.SN	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Series Nova</i>
MS	Mediaeval Studies, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
MSM	Michigan Slavic Materials
N.SAB	Notos. Scripta Antiqua et Byzantina
N.SM	Novae. Studies and Materials
NABHC	New Approaches to Byzantine History and Culture
NAC.QT	Numismatica e Antichità Classiche. Quaderni ticinesi



NAGÄDG	Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde
NC	The Numismatic Chronicle. The Journal of the Royal Society
NCl	La Nouvelle Clío
NCMH	<i>The New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , Cambridge–New York 1995–2005
NDBS	New Directions in Byzantine Studies
NewS	New Scientist
NMA	The New Middle Ages
NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs
NPa	<i>Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike. Das klassische Altertum und seine Rezeptionsgeschichte</i> , ed. H. CANKIK, H. SCHNEIDER, Stuttgart 1996–
NPFC	Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of Christian Church
NueR	Nueva Roma
NW	Northern World
OArA	Osmanlı Araştırmaları. The Journal of Ottoman Studies
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OCh	Oriens Christianus. Hefte für die Kunde des christlichen Orients
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
OCP	Orientalia Christiana Periodica
ODB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium</i> , ed. A. KAZHDAN et al., vol. I–III, New York–Oxford 1991
OECS	Oxford Early Christian Studies
OECT	Oxford Early Christian Texts
OEH	Ottoman Empire and its Heritage
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OMi	Ordines Militares. Colloquia Torunensia Historica. Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders
OMT	<i>Oxford Medieval Texts</i>
OO	Oriens et Occidens
OSB	Oxford Studies in Byzantium
OSMEH	Oxford Studies in Medieval European History
P.RSC	Prometheus. Rivista di studi classici

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Pa	Parergon
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
Pare	Parekbolai. An Electronic Journal for Byzantine Literature
Parer	Parergon
PAW	Peoples of the Ancient World
PB	Poikila Byzantina
Pbg	Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика
PBU	Psychological Bulletin
PByz	Le patriarcat byzantin
PCHS	Publications of the Centre for Hellenic Studies. King's College London
PCPS	Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society
PETT	Patristic and Ecclesiastical Texts and Translations
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1857–1866
PH	Przegląd Historyczny
Phil	Philologus. Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption
PIOL	Publications de l'Institut Orientaliste de Louvain
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina</i> , ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1844–1880
PLRE	<i>The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire</i> , vol. I, ed. A.H.M. JONES, J.R. MARTINDALE, J. MORRIS, Cambridge 1971; vol. II, ed. J.R. MARTINDALE, Cambridge 1980; vol. III, ed. J.R. MARTINDALE, Cambridge 1992
PNH	Przegląd Nauk Historycznych
PO	<i>Patrologia orientalis</i>
Porph	Porphyra. La prima rivista online su Bisanzio
PP	Past and Present: A Journal of Historical Studies
PP.P	Past and Present Publications
PPS	Past and Present Supplement
Psl	Palaeoslavica
PSPR	Personality and Social Psychology Review
PSS	Poznańskie Studia Sławistyczne
PSt	Patristic Studies

PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RA	Revue archéologique
RAALBAN	Rendiconti dell'Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> , ed. T. KLAUSER, Stuttgart 1950–
RAM	Revue d'ascétique et de mystique
RAnt	Rossica Antiqua
RBPH	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
RByz	Réalités Byzantines
RE	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , ed. G. WISSOWA, W. KROLL, Stuttgart 1894–1978
REAP	Revue des études augustiniennes et patristiques
REArm	Revue des études arméniennes
REB	Revue des études byzantines
REG	Revue des études grecques
ReHi	Religions et histoire
REI	Revue des études islamiques
RES	Revue des études slaves
RESEE	Revue des études sud-est européennes
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
RH	Revue historique
Rh	Rhodopica. Научно периодично списание на Дружеството на археолозите и историците в Смолян
RHC.HO	<i>Recueils des historiens des Croisades, Historiens occidentaux</i> , Paris 1844–1895
RHE	Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique
RHis	Russian History
RHR	Revue de l'histoire des religions
RIM	Roman Imperial Biographies
RIPS	Rocznik Instytutu Polsko-Skandynawskiego
RL.SFN	Rendiconti Lincei. Scienze Fisiche e Naturali
RLin	Russian Linguistics
RMH	Review of Military History
RMNW	Roczniki Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie

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Rs	Religions
RSBN	Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici
RSCI	Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia
RStI	Radovi staroslavenskog instituta
RTAM	Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale
RThPh	Revue de théologie et de philosophie
RTPM	Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales
Ru	Ruthenica. Journal of East European Medieval History and Archaeology
S	Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies
S.OIN	Spomenik. Odeljenje Istorijskih Nauka
S.SKPG	Spudasmata. Studien zur Klassischen Philologie und ihren Grenzgebieten
SA	Slavia Antiqua
SAM	Studies in Ancient Medicine
SAr	Sudhoffs Archiv. Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte (1929–1933 Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin; 1934–1965 Sudhoffs Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin und der Naturwissenschaften)
SB	Studia Balcanica
SB.LA	Schriften der Balkankommission. Linguistische Abteilung
SBe	Slavistische Beiträge
SBG	Studies in Biblical Greek
SC	Sources chrétiennes
SCBO	Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis / Oxford Classical Texts
SCer	Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-Eastern Europe
SCIV	Studii și Cercetări de Istorie Veche
SCI	Scripta Classica
SCO	Studi classici e orientali
Scri	Scrinium
SE	Sacris Erudiri. Jaarboek voor Godsdienstwetenschappen

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SECA	Studies on Early Christian Apocrypha
SeCer	Series Ceranea
SEER	The Slavonic and East European Review
SeS	Scripta & e-Scripta
SFr	Scrinium Friburgense
SGa	Slavica Gandensia
SGr	Subseciva Groningana
SHa	Subsidia hagiographica
SHB	Studia Hungaro-Bulgarica
SHCT	Studies in the History of Christian Traditions
SK	Seminarium Kondakovianum
Sla	Slavia
SLOc	Slavica Occitania
Slov	Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies
SLUIC	Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis
SMed	Scripta Mediaevalia
SMRT	Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions
SMS	Studia Mythologica Slavica
SO	Symbolae Osloenses. Auspiciis Societatis Graeco-Latine
SOr	Slavia orientalis
SP	<i>Studia patristica</i>
SPBSP	Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies Publications
SPF	Studia Patristica Fennica
SRel	Studia Religiologica
SRev	Slavic Review
SRM	Schweizerische Rundschau für Medizin
SSBP	Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana
SSLo	Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense. Études et documents
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
SSO	Studiorum Slavicorum Orbis
SST	Schriften über Sprachen und Texte
STB	Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik

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STMAC	Science, Technology, and Medicine in Ancient Cultures
SUC	Studia Universitatis Cibiniensis
SupByz	Supplementa Byzantina
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TC	Technology and Culture
TCH	Transformation of the Classical Heritage
TIB	<i>Tabula Imperii Byzantini</i> , ed. H. HUNGER, Wien 1976–
TM	Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines
TRSR	Testi e ricerche di scienze religiose
TSCPP	Transactions & Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia
TSHR	Texts and Sources in the History of Religions
TTB	Translated Texts for Byzantinists
TTH	Translated Texts for Historians
Tur	Turcica
Tyr	Tyragetia
UAJ	Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher
VaV	Varangian Voice
VC	Vigiliae christianae: A Review of Early Christian Life and Language
VC.S	Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae
VCSS	Variorum Collected Studies Series
VP	Vox Patrum. Antyk Chrześcijański
VTUR	VTU Review: Studies in the Humanities and Social Sciences
VuF	Vorträge und Forschungen
WBS	Wiener byzantinistische Studien
WF	Wege der Forschung
WGRW	Writings from the Greco-Roman World
WJK	Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte
WS	Die Welt der Slaven
ZAC	Zeitschrift für antikes Christentum
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ZfO	Zeitschrift für Ostforschung
ZG	Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft
ZGEB	Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin
ZK	Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte
ZKg	Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte
ZM	Zalai Múzeum
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik
ZSP	Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie
ŽNE	Źródła Humanistyki Europejskiej

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АДСВ	Античная древность и средние века
Аор	Археологически открития и разкопки
АПри	Археографски прилози
Арх	Археология. Науковий журнал (Київ) Археографски прилози
БЕ	Български език
БЕт	Българска етнология
ВВ	Византийский временник
ВДИ	Вестник древней истории
ВИ	Вопросы истории
ВОб	Византийское обозрение
ВС	Военноисторически сборник
ВСПУ.И	Вестник Санкт-Петербургского Университета. История
ВЯ	Вопросы языкознания
ГИФВУКМ	Годишник на Историческия факултет на Великотърновския Университет 'Св. св. Кирил и Методий'
ДИВЕ	Древнейшие источники по истории Восточной Европы
ДРВМ	Древняя Русь. Вопросы медиевистики
ДХиае	Древности. Харьковский историко-археологический ежегодник
ЕЛ	Език и литература
Епо	Епохи

ЖМНП	Журнал Министерства Народного Просвещения
ЗІФВУАН	Записки Історично-Філологічного Відділу Української Академії Наук
Злу	Зборник за ликовне уметности
ЗМслу	Зборник Матице српске за ликовне уметности / Zbornik Matice Srpske za Likovne Umetnosti
ЗНо	Записки Неофилологического общества
ЗРВИ	Зборник Радова Византолошког Института
ИАНСССР.ООН	Известия Академии наук СССР, Отделение общественных наук
Ив	Исторический вестник
Иг	Историческая география
ИНб	Известия на Народната библиотека „Св. Св. Кирил и Методий”
ИНИМ	Известия на Национални Исторически Музей
ИОРЯС	Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности [Императорской/Российской Академии Наук]
ИП	Исторически преглед
ИРИМВТ	Известия на Регионален исторически музей – Велико Търново
ИСИМ	Известия на Старозагорския исторически музей
ИСССР	История СССР
Ист	История
КМс	Кирило-Методиевски студии
ЛИИКЯ	Лингвистическое источниковедение и история русского языка
МАИАСК	Материалы по археологии и истории античного и средневекового Крыма
Мп	Македонски преглед
НВ	Ниш и Византија
НЗТНПУСИ	Наукові записки ТНПУ ім. В. Гнатюка. Серія Історія
НпКПну	Наукові праці Кам'янець-Подільського національного університету імені Івана Огієнка
ПАрх	Поволжская археология
ПДП	Памятники древней письменности
ПИ	Проблеми на изкуството



ПИФК	Проблемы истории, филологии, культуры
ПiВiМ	Проблеми історії війн і військового мистецтва
ПК	Polata Knigopisnaja / Polata Knigopisnaja. A Journal Devoted to the Study of Early Slavic Books, Texts and Literature
<i>ПКШ</i>	<i>Преславска книжовна школа</i>
ППСб	Православный Палестинский сборник
Псв	Причерноморье в средние века
ПСРЛ	Полное собрание русских летописей
Р	Русин
РИ	Российская история
СББАНИ	Сборник на Българската академия на науките и изкуствата
СК	Софія Київська: Візантія. Русь. Україна
СЛ	Старобългарска литература
Слав	Славяноведение
СНУНК	Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина
ТИрИ	Труды Института российской истории РАН
ТКШ	Търновска книжовна школа
ТОДЛ	Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы Академии наук СССР
УЗЛ	Ученые записки Ленинградского государственного университета
ФФ	Филологически форум
Ха	Хазарский альманах
Эп	Эпиграфика
ЯМ	Язык и мышление

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Αθ	Αθήνα. Σύγγραμμα Περιοδικόν τῆς ἐν Αθήναις Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἑταιρείας
ΒΣυμ	Βυζαντινά Σύμμεικτα / Byzantina Symmeikta
Βυζ	Βυζαντινά. Ἐπιστημονικό Ὅργανο Κέντρου Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν Ἀριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου

ΕΕΘΣΤΘΚΘ	Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Θεολογικής Σχολής Τμήμα Ποιμαντικής και Κοινωνικής Θεολογίας Α.Π.Θ.
ΕΕΣΝΟΕΑΠΘ	Επιστημονική Έπετηρίς Σχολής Νομικών και Οικονομικών Έπιστημών Άριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης
ΜΒι	Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη

\* \* \*

ԳԱՏ ՀԳ	Հայկական ՄՍՌ Գիտոյթոյիների Ակադեմիայի Տեղեկագիր (Հասարակական գիտոյթոյները)
ՊԲՀ	Պատմա-բանասիրական հանդես
ՊՄՀՀ	Պատմություն եւ Մշակույթ Հայագիտական Հանդես
ՊՊԹ	Պետական պատմական թանգարան ՀՄՍՌ ԳԱ

\* \* \*

თსუაფშკ	თსუ ახალციხის ფილიალის შრომების კრებული
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*Theophanis Chronographia*, AM 5946, rec. C. DE BOOR, vol. I, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: THEOPHANES), p. 108, 5–7.

THEOPHANES, AM 5948, p. 109, 22–24.

EUNAPIUS, *Testimonia*, I, 1, 19–20, [in:] *The Fragmentary Classicising Historians of the Later Roman Empire. Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, vol. II, ed. et trans. R.C. BLOCKLEY, Liverpool 1983 (cetera: EUNAPIUS), p. 13–14.

Book numbers should be given in Roman numerals. Sources with singular structure are cited only in Arabic numerals. Pages are to be cited only when verses are counted on every page separately.

**If the same source is cited for a second (or further) time, an abbreviated version of the title (signalized in the first use with the word ‘cetera:’), and not ‘*ibidem*’, should be used, e.g.:**

<sup>25</sup> ZONARAS, XV, 13, 11.

<sup>26</sup> ZONARAS, XV, 13, 19–22.

### 2. Books by modern authors should be referenced as follows:

<sup>21</sup> M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, Oxford 1975, p. 126.

<sup>22</sup> И. ИЛИЕВ, *Св. Климент Охридски. Живот и дело*, Пловдив 2010, p. 142.

**If the same work is cited for a second (or further) time, an abbreviated version of the title (consisting of the first word(s) of the title followed by an ellipsis) should be used, e.g.:**

<sup>23</sup> G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

<sup>24</sup> A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 123.

<sup>25</sup> G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.

<sup>26</sup> A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches...*, p. 44.

### 3. Articles and papers should be mentioned in the notes as:

L.W. BARNARD, *The Emperor Cult and the Origins of the Iconoclastic Controversy*, B 43, 1973, p. 11–29.

P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon du sebasto Grégoire Pakourianos*, REB 42, 1984, p. 5–145.

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Г. ТОДОРОВ, *Св. Княз Борис и митът за мнимото: избиване на 52 болярски рода*, [in:] *Християнската култура в средновековна България. Материали от национална научна конференция, Шумен 2–4 май 2007 година по случай 1100 години от смъртта на св. Княз Борис-Михаил (ок. 835–907 г.)*, ed. П. ГЕОРГИЕВ, Велико Търново 2008, p. 23.

### 5. Examples of notes referring to webpages or sources available online:

*Ghewond’s History*, 10, trans. R. BEDROSIAN, p. 30–31, [www.rbedrosian.com/ghew3.htm](http://www.rbedrosian.com/ghew3.htm) [20 VII 2011].

[www.ancientrome.org/history.html](http://www.ancientrome.org/history.html) [20 VII 2011].

### 6. Reviews:

P. СПЕСК, [rec.:] *Nikephoros, Patriarch of Constantinople: Short History / Nicephori patriarchae Constantinopolitani Breviarium Historicum...* – BZ 83, 1990, p. 471.

**Footnote numbers should be placed before punctuation marks.**

cetera:	<i>ibidem</i> (note: only used for secondary literature)	rec. [here: <i>recensuit</i> / <i>recognovit</i> ]
cf.	IDEM/EADEM	[rec.:] [here: <i>recensio</i> ]
col. [here: <i>columna</i> ]	IDEM/IDEM/EADEM	s.a. [here: <i>sine anno</i> ]
coll. [here: <i>collegit</i> ]	[in:]	s.l. [here: <i>sine loco</i> ]
e.g.	<i>l. cit.</i>	sel. [here: <i>selegit</i> ]
ed.	p. [here: <i>pagina</i> ]	sq, sqq
et al.	<i>passim</i>	trans.
etc.		vol.

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**These are:**

**References to the Bible are also indicated using the standard Latin abbreviations:**

Gn Ex Lv Nm Dt Ios Idc Rt 1Sam 2Sam 1Reg 2Reg 1Par 2Par Esd Ne Tb Idt Est Job Ps Prv Eccle Ct Sap Eccli Is Ier Lam Bar Ez Dn Os Il Am Abd Ion Mich Nah Hab Soph Ag Zach Mal 1Mac 2Mac

Mt Mc Lc Io Act Rom 1Cor 2Cor Gal Eph Phil Col 1Thess 2Thess 1Tim 2Tim Tit Philm Heb Iac 1Pe 2Pe 1Io 2Io 3Io Ids Apc

**Greek and Latin terms are either given in the original Greek or Latin version, in the nominative, without italics (a1), or transliterated (a2) – italicized, with accentuation (Greek only):**

(a.1.) φρούριον, ιατροσοφιστής

(a.2.) *ius intercedendi, hálme, asfáragos, proskýnesis*

**Classical names and surnames should preferably be Anglicised or at least Latinised. Likewise, names of medieval European monarchs, as well as geographical names, should preferably be rendered in their conventional English versions.**

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The text should be followed by keywords and a final bibliography divided into primary sources and secondary literature. The final bibliography should be fully Romanised and alphabetised accordingly. The ‘scientific’ Romanisation of Cyrillic should be strictly adhered to in the final bibliography; the transliteration table is provided below:

(O)CS: (Old) Church Slavic, **Rus.:** Russian, **Blr.:** Belarusian, **Ukr.:** Ukrainian, **Bulg.:** Bulgarian, **Mac.:** Macedonian. Note: for Serbian, the official Serbian Latin script should be used.

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
a	a	a	a	a	a	a
б	b	b	b	b	b	b
В	v	v	v	v	v	v
г	g	g	h	h	g	g

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
ґ			(g)	g		
д	d	d	d	d	d	d
ѓ						ѓ
е		e	e	e	e	e
ӗ		ӗ	ӗ			
є	e			je		
ж	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž	ž
з	z	z	z	z	z	z
ѕ	dz					dz
и	i	i		y	i	i
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