STUDIA CERANEA

Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre

for

the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area
and South-East Europe

15, 2025



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Gone Like Smoke or Mist – the Beauty and Wonders of Constantinople in Vernacular Laments on its Fall in 1453

Abstract. In this paper, I will focus on the images of Constantinople's past glory in literary texts written between the fifteenth and seventeenth century in vernacular Greek to express the sorrow after the fall of the City in 1453. To depict the images of Constantinople in the collective memory of the Greeks, I am going to discuss the following anonymous vernacular laments: *Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολης*, *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, *Θρήνος και κλαυθμός περί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* and *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. The four texts deserve attention not only for linguistic and literary reasons, but also for providing a number of interesting insights into the relationship between the East and West and the way the Greeks perceived the past glory of Byzantium. For further exemplification, I will also use some monodies written in a rhetorical style in classicizing Greek. The comparative analysis will reveal common patterns of perception of Constantinople's past glory in the Greek world after the fall of the City, as well as common ways in which Constantinople was conceptualised in the post-Byzantine period, in various, sometimes distant regions of the Greek world, where the City had already been largely perceived in mythical terms.

Keywords: Laments, Threnodies, the Fall of Constantinople, 1453, Greek vernacular literature, post-Byzantine Greek literature

Vernacular Greek texts, written after the fall of Constantinople and referring to its capture by the Turks in 1453 are relatively rarely studied[1]. Still, they

[1] The most important studies conducted in recent years include: A. Papayianni, *He Polis healo: The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 in Post-Byzantine Popular Literature*, Al-Mas 22.1, 2010, p. 27–44; A.J. Goldwyn, *I come from a cursed land and from the depths of darkness: Life After Death in Greek*

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deserve attention not only for literary or linguistic reasons, as they are rare examples of the use of spoken Greek in the post-Byzantine period, but for historical reasons as well. They may serve as an important source of the relations between East and West in the era following the fall of "the City" (Πόλις – as Constantinople was referred to by the Greeks), as well as for understanding the attitude of the Greeks of different parts of the Greek-speaking world of the event considered as the turning point in the history of Hellenism. Significantly, most of the texts are personal in tone, revealing the attitude of usually anonymous authors towards events distant in time for the narrators. Thus, they seem, as is sometimes emphasised, as more authentic than monodies or poetic lamentations created in classicizing Greek, in accordance with the established rhetorical tradition[2].

The research on vernacular laments has usually focused on genre-based issues or on their dating and origins. Attention has also been paid to mutual relationship between individual works and scholarly and demotic traditions, as well as the sociocultural context and complex mechanisms of the collective cultural trauma caused by the fall of Constantinople[3]. In sporadic cases, the focus was on the City itself and the images of its destruction or descriptions of the suffering inhabitants, enslaved by the Turks[4]. The question of the relation between the vernacular laments and the writings of late Byzantine historians describing the capture

Laments About the Fall of Constantinople, [in:] *Wanted: Byzantium. The Desire for a Lost Empire*, ed. I. Nilsson, Uppsala 2014, p. 93–108; A. Karanika, *Messengers, Angels, and Laments for the Fall of Constantinople*, [in:] *The Fall of Cities in the Mediterranean. Commemoration in Literature, Folk-Song, and Liturgy*, ed. M.R. Bachvarova, D. Dutsch, A. Suter, Cambridge 2016, p. 226–249; E. Kefala, *The Conquered. Byzantium and America on the Cusp of Modernity*, Washington 2020, p. 27–70.

[2] See A.J. Goldwyn, *I come from a cursed land*…, p. 94: *But the poems are much more than simple amalgamations of conventional forms and themes. Rather, it is through the sophisticated manipulation of these generic constraints in their laments that the authors express their own personal anguish and offer an individualized interpretation of the events themselves and their ramifications in the lives of the first generations of post-Byzantine Greeks*. Goldwyn in his narratological analysis of Kaminiates' letters convincingly described how seemingly conventional texts written in formal language may convey emotion. See idem, *Prison literature and slave narratives in Byzantium: John Kaminiates' Capture of Thessaloniki*, [in:] idem, *Witness Literature in Byzantium. Narrating Slaves, Prisoners, and Refugees*, Cham 2021, p. 71–140.

[3] See A. Papayianni, *He Polis healo*…, p. 27–44; Γ. Κεχαγιογλου, *Λίγα ακόμη γύρω από το Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*, [in:] Ε. Κριαρας, *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης. Επιμέλεια* Ε. Κριαρας; *Επίμετρο* Γ. Κεχαγιογλου, Θεσσαλονίκη 2012 (cetera: *Λίγα ακόμη γύρω από το Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*), p. 35–100; A. Karanika, *Messengers, Angels*…, p. 226–230; E. Kefala, *The Conquered*…, p. 27–70. The conquest of a city as a topos that fits into cultural trauma is, of course, well known from Byzantine literature. An interesting example is John Kaminiates' *Capture of Thessaloniki*, thoroughly analysed by Goldwyn, in which he examines the *topos* of the trauma of the conquered city's inhabitants. See A.J. Goldwyn, *Prison Literature*…, p. 133–136.

[4] See A.J. Goldwyn, *I come from a cursed land*…, p. 93–108; E. Kefala, *The Conquered*…, p. 56–60.

of the City, and the monodies in classicizing Greek, have usually remained on the margin of research[5].

To collect the sources for this article, I have examined the most important items of the rich corpus of vernacular texts, referred to as "laments" or "threnodies" on the decline of Constantinople[6]. It should be noted, that the term may not always correspond to the content of individual works, as some of them are longer compositions, with the lamentation as a part of the whole work.

It is not my intention to discuss the lament as a literary genre, as it has already been done by numerous authors, such as Margaret Alexiou in her influential monograph[7]. Nor am I going to address the question whether the lament on the fall of Constantinople is part of an earlier tradition or it constitutes of an entirely new genre, by referring to the already established one[8].

In my article I am going to focus on an issue which, to my best knowledge, has not yet been the subject of separate papers or studies, namely on the images of Constantinople's past glory in some selected vernacular texts, written between the fifteenth and the seventeenth century. In order to show the image of Constantinople in the collective memory of the inhabitants of different parts of the Greek-speaking world, I am going to present four anonymous vernacular laments: *Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινόπολης*, *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, *Θρήνος και κλαυθμός περί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* and *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*. The selection of the texts is quite arbitrary, but it can be briefly explained as follows: all of them include extensive passages, depicting the image of Constantinople's lost glory. The works have not been selected due to their popularity: the first two of them are well-known, frequently quoted and referred to, while the remaining two are rarely discussed, particularly in the context of lamentations.

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[5] The most important source texts on the fall of Constantinople have been collected and translated into Italian by A. Pertusi in three separate volumes: A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. I, *Le testimonianze dei contemporanei*, Milano 2006; idem, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. II, *L'eco nel mondo*, Milano 2003; idem, *Testi Inediti e Poco Noti sulla Caduta di Costantinopoli*, ed. A. Carile, Bologna 1983. See also A. Karanika, *Messengers*, *Angels*…, p. 228–230; A. Papayianni, *He Polis healo*…, p. 27–34.

[6] The most important laments and monodies on the fall of the City are enumerated by Lambros. See Σ. Λαμπρος, *Μονῳδίαι καὶ θρῆνοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, NE 5, 1908, p. 193–200. Karanika says there are more than a hundred similar works. See A. Karanika, *Messengers*, *Angels*…, p. 229.

[7] See M. Alexiou, *Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition*, rev. D. Yatromanolakis, P. Roilos, Cambridge 2002. About the historical overview and sources of the laments for Constantinople, see also A. Karanika, *Messengers*, *Angels*…, p. 228–230.

[8] Certainly, the question of the interrelationship between later folk songs on the fall of cities and the aforementioned laments remains unexplored. This is evidenced by the fact that no one has so far made a holistic attempt to collect the preserved items belonging to this theme and to study them as a whole. For more on laments in the context of post-Byzantine vernacular literature, see B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque: la période jusqu'en 1821*, Stockholm 1962, p. 158–168; H.G. Beck, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής δημώδους λογοτεχνίας*, μετ. N. Eideneier, Αθήνα 2009, p. 256–264.

As the relationship between the laments written in demotic and the works in classicizing Greek is not always clear, and it is also unclear whether the anonymous authors were familiar to the rhetorical tradition or just the opposite: the educated authors took from folk tradition which has not been preserved – therefore the analysis, at least to some extent, must take both traditions into account. So for comparison, I will need to make use of some monodies written in prose in either classicizing or koine Greek in a rhetorical style (e.g., Doukas, Andronikos Kallistos)[9].

The passages taken from the above texts refer to either the material or spiritual heritage of Constantinople. The fragments with coherent content have been cited in full, while from the others I have quoted only the most characteristic expressions and phrases referring to the lost heritage. The compilation has been made in order to attempt to answer the question of how consistent the vision of lost Constantinople in vernacular texts written after 1453 in the Greek-speaking areas actually was.

Τὸ Ἀνακάλημα τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως – The Lament on Constantinople (15th century)

This lament is probably the most frequently quoted of all vernacular works relating to the of decline the City[10]. The contemporary edition of Kriaras with commentaries by Kechagioglou is the primary point of reference[11]. The lament was composed in 118 iambic verses of fifteen syllables ("political verse", πολιτικός στίχος) and was written most probably in Cyprus or its author was Cypriot[12].

Without going into the detailed analysis, it should be emphasized that the work has a complex narrative structure. Verses 1–56 are a news of the fall of the City,

[9] In the article, I usually omit references to Greek historiography, which deals with the fall of the City in 1453 (Doukas, Sphrantzes, Kritovoulos, Chalkokondyles). An exception is the lament on the capture of Constantinople by Doukas, which is included in his work *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, to which I refer in several instances.

[10] Preserved in only one codex (Codex Parisinus Graecus no. 2873, ff. 187r–191r) it was first published by E. Legrand. See E. Legrand, *Les Oracles de Léon le Sage*, *la Bataille de Varna*, *la prise de Constantinople*, Paris–Athénes 1875, p. 85–100. The most comprehensive analysis of the entire work in the context of cultural trauma mechanisms is provided by Kefala. See E. Kefala, *The Conquered*…, p. 27–70.

[11] *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*, [in:] Ε. Κριαρας, *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*…, p. 21–27.

[12] The title noun ανακάλημα (*anakalima*) in the sense of 'lament' is found only in Cyprus. More words and expressions of Cypriot origin are enumerated by Kriaras, see E. Κριαρας, *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*…, p. 12–13. Kechagioglou emphasises that the text of the lament was found in the manuscripts belonging to Jean-Baptiste Colbert, a minister of Louis XIV. However, the codex from which the lament comes has not been sufficiently studied, and contains more texts written in vernacular Greek. See Γ. Κεχαγιογλου, *Λίγα ακόμη γύρω από το Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*, p. 77–78.

as a dialogue between a ship and a galley[13]. The role of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaiologos (Dragases)[14] is highlighted. As Kefala emphasises, the work is dominated by powerful visual and aesthetic images, appealing to the senses[15]. The subsequent verses (v. 57–88), are a proper lament on the destruction of Constantinople and the suffering of its inhabitants, resembling a conventional threnos[16]. The final part (v. 89–118) refers to the recollections of the former beauty of the City, to which Constantine the Great and Justinian contributed.

All in all, the composition is in a gloomy tone, with no hope for a change in the future. There are some allusions to Western Europe and warnings to Catholics, characteristic of other similar works. The anonymous author emphasises the images of destruction and enslavement of the Greeks, from which one can imply that the loss must have been painful to the author as well. The story begins with the voice of an external narrator who, as one may conclude, expresses the collective consciousness and the sense of collective loss for the Greeks[17]:

> Θρῆνος, κλαυμὸς καὶ ὀδυρμὸς καὶ στεναγμὸς καὶ λύπη,
> θλῖψις ἀπαραμύθητος ἔπεσεν τοῖς Ρωμαίοις.
> **Ἐχάσασιν τὸ σπίτιν τους, τὴν Πόλην τὴν ἁγία,**
> **τὸ θάρρος καὶ τὸ καύχημα καὶ τὴν ἀπαντοχήν τους**. (v. 1–4)[18]

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[13] Although Goldwyn's suggestion that we deal with a veiled dialogue between the dead and the living may seem attractive, in my opinion it lacks a sufficient basis. See A.J. Goldwyn, *I come from a cursed land…*, p. 96–97. I find no parallels in the literature that I know of to the eschatological context that Goldwyn points to. Moreover, later folk songs extremely rarely contain allusions to death and the afterlife in a maritime context. There are many attempts to interpret this passage. For example, Pertusi looks for an analogy in the accounts of contemporaries, including N. Barbaro, about the ships that may have sailed from Constantinople at that time. See A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. II, p. 484. Karanika, in turn, refers to the motif of the messenger, drawing attention to the symbolism of light and darkness. See A. Karanika, *Messengers, Angels…*, p. 233. Pertusi cites an interesting note preserved in manuscripts about the arrival of three ships from Constantinople to Crete on June 29, 1453, and spreading the news of the capture of the City. See A. Pertusi, *Testi Inediti e Poco Noti…*, p. 213–215. See also E. Kefala, *The Conquered…*, p. 41–47.

[14] There are many legends in Greek folk tradition associated with the figure of the last Byzantine emperor, Constantine XI Palaeologos. The best-known says he did not fall in battle defending Constantinople, but was transformed into marble and is waiting for the right moment to go into battle again. See D.M. Nicol, *The Immortal Emperor: The Life and Legend of Constantine Palaiologos*, *Last Emperor of the Romans*, Cambridge 1992, p. 95–120. Another, referred to by the anonymous author of this lament, tells of the emperor's request that the Cretans should cut off his head and take it to Crete (v. 37–56). A legend of unclear provenance, echoed by Doukas (39.13), about the emperor's head being taken to Crete, has contributed to the hypothesis of the Cretan origin of the lament. See also A. Papayianni, *He Polis healo…*, p. 41–43.

[15] See E. Kefala, *The Conquered…*, p. 47–48.

[16] See *ibidem*, p. 56.

[17] See A. Karanika, *Messengers, Angels…*, p. 232.

[18] *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*, p. 21.

Mourning, weeping, and lamentation, and groaning and grief,
Inconsolable sorrow has fallen upon the Romaioi.
They have lost their home, the holy City
their courage and pride, and all their hope.[19]

It is not until a few dozen verses later that we learn something which in fact constitutes the most significant part of Constantinople's heritage for the narrator. An invocation to the sun, begging not to illuminate[20] the crimes committed by the Turks, reveals the most precious artefacts of the City:

νὰ ποίσου στάβλους ἐκκλησιές, νὰ καίουν **τὰς εἰκόνας,**
νὰ σχίζουν, νὰ καταπατοῦν **τὰ 'λόχρουσα βαγγέλια,**
νὰ καθυβρίζουν **τοὺς σταυρούς**, νὰ τοὺς κατατσακίζουν,
νὰ παίρνουσιν **τ' ἀσήμια τους** καὶ **τὰ μαργαριτάρια**
καὶ τῶν ἁγίων **τὰ λείψανα** τὰ μοσχομυρισμένα
νὰ καίουν, ν' ἀφανίζουσιν, στὴν θάλασσα νὰ ρίπτουν,
νὰ παίρνουν | **τὰ λιθάρια των** καὶ τὴν εὐκόσμησίν των
καὶ **στ' ἅγια δισκοπότηρα** κοῦπες κρασὶ νὰ πίνουν. (v. 63–70)[21]

and turn churches into stables and burn **the icons**,
and tear and trample on **the golden gospels**,
and dishonour **the holy crosses** and break them into pieces,

[19] The English version of *Anakalima* is cited from Eleni Kefala's translation. See E. KEFALA, *The Conquered*…, p. 30–37. The other Greek texts have been translated by the author of this article.

[20] Kriaras sees a parallel here with the verses of *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (*The capture of Constantinople*), which will be discussed later in the article: Πλανῆνται, μὴ ἀνατείλετε τὸν κόσμον νὰ φωτήτε· / εἰς Πόλης τὰ περίγυρα μὴ λάμψετε, μὴ σταθῆτε, / μὴ ματωθοῦν οἱ ἀκτῖνες σας, 'ς τὸ αἷμα τῶν Ρωμαίων (v. 406–408). See E. ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*…, p. 24. According to Kriaras, analogies can also be seen with Christonymos' monody: Καὶ ἦν ἰδέσθαι θέαμα ἐλεεινὸν καὶ δακρύων ἄξιον καὶ τοῖς ἰδοῦσι μόνον πιστὸν, μᾶλλον δὲ κἀκείνοις οὐ πιστευόμενον […]. *Ibidem*. For the entire monody of Christonymos, see M. CHRISTONYMOS, *Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, [in:] A. PERTUSI, *Testi Inediti e Poco Noti*…, p. 322–325.

[21] *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*, p. 25. In the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans* edited by Zoras and written in demotic Greek in the sixteenth century, we find a similar image, but devoid of the element of horror mentioned in the lament: Τότε ἐδράμανε εἰς τὴν 'Αγίαν Σοφίαν τὴν περιβόητην καὶ τὴν ἐκουρσέψανε καὶ ἐπήρανε τὶς ἁγίες εἰκόνες καὶ τὶς ἐτζακίζανε καὶ τὶς ἐτζαλοπατούσανε. Καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους τοὺς ζωγραφισμένους τοὺς ἐβγάλλανε τὰ ὀμμάτια τους. 'Ομοίως ἐδιάβησαν καὶ εἰς ἄλλες ἐκκλησίες καὶ εἰς τὰ μοναστήρια καὶ τὰ κουρσεύανε καὶ ἐπαίρνασι τὰ σκεύη, χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ δισκοπότηρα, καὶ ἀναλλαὴν τῶν ἱερέων. [Then they stormed the famous Hagia Sophia, ransacked it, took away the holy icons, and threw them on the ground and trampled on them. And they gouged out the eyes of the painted saints. They did the same in other churches and monasteries, ransacking them and taking the vessels, golden and silver chalices, and the vestments of the priests]. See Γ. ΖΩΡΑΣ, *Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν Τούρκων σουλτάνων (κατὰ τὸν Βαρβερινὸν ἑλληνικὸν κώδικα 111)*, Athina 1958, p. 92. It is worth mentioning that the author, who writes in demotic Greek and does not use any learned forms of Greek at all, knows well the topography of Constantinople, yet in the description of plundering the City, apart from Hagia Sophia, does not give any specific topography of significant places that were destroyed.

and take their **silver** and their **pearls**,
and the fragrant relics of holy men,
to burn and destroy, and throw them into the sea,
and take their **precious stones** and their **decorations**,
and drink wine from **the holy chalices**.

One may get the impression that we are to do with a register of sacred objects and artefacts, invaluable to the Byzantine civilisation: churches, icons, holy books, crucifixes, liturgical vessels, and relics – disgraced, stripped of their costly ornaments and destroyed[22]. Notably, there is no specific topography here, no names of churches or clear locations. It is a general picture of destruction – it could have happened to any other Christian city conquered by the Turks. The images are dynamic, which is attained by the accumulation of verb forms and a peculiar rhythm, more reminiscent of verses from the Greek folk poetry, known from 19th-century collections than the literarily polished learned compositions. The language is entirely demotic, with none of the trappings of the scholarly register. This does not indicate, of course, that the author was an uneducated person, but is more indicative of the target audience – the Greeks, not confronted with the Attic dialect of scholarly Byzantine texts.

Despite the generality of the images of destruction, the author recalls a few historical facts and mentions a place, we would say "exemplary" for Byzantine heritage. Although there is a mention of two historical figures, the founder and the builder of Hagia Sophia, we do not learn any further details nor are any other significant buildings mentioned:

Αὐτὸς λοιπὸν **ἐκόσμησε ὁ Μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος**
τὴν Πόλην τὴν ἐξάκουστην, ἣν βλέπεις καὶ ἀκούεις,
καθὼς τὴν κλῆσιν ἔλαβεν καὶ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν·
Ὁμοίως **Οὐστινιανὸς | ἐκόσμησεν μεγάλως,**
ἔκτισεν **τὴν Ἁγιὰν Σοφιά, τὸ θέαμαν τὸ μέγα·**
παραπλησίον **γέγονε Σιὼν τῆς παναγίας.**
Ἐκεῖνοι ἦσαν ἥλιος κ' ἡ Πόλη 'ν' ἡ σελήνη. (v. 95–101)[23]

It was **Constantine the Great who made beautiful**
the famous City that you see and hear about,
which took its name and was called after him;
similarly, **Justinian adorned it greatly,**

[22] Kefala, analysing this passage in the context of the text from Kritoboulos (*Historiae*, 72–73, 61.1.26–62.2.8), which is strikingly similar, emphasises that this similarity may be purely coincidental and may result from the universality of the topos. According to her, it is impossible to say with certainty whether the author of *Anakalima* knew Kritoboulos' text, and that most likely both authors drew on some common source that has not been preserved. See E. Kefala, *The Conquered…*, p. 57–62.

[23] *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης*, p. 26–27.

he built **Hagia Sophia, the great sight**,
which was comparable to the all-holy Zion.
Those [emperors] were the sun and the City is the moon.

The whole passage does not add any significant details, as far as the individual image of Constantinople is concerned. The iconic image of the Church of the Holy Wisdom, the hallmark of the City, in the following centuries became, on the one hand, a kind of cliché and one of the few Byzantine monuments mentioned by almost all travellers to the Ottoman Empire on the other. However, the symbolic dimension of Hagia Sophia, as pointed out by the anonymous author, should not be forgotten.

At the end of the lament, there is a reference, albeit veiled, to the well-known legend of an angel, supposed to oversee the building of the temple[24]. In some versions it was the son of the foreman himself. When the angel appeared, the man left[25]. The allusion to the "forerunner of Antichrist" (πρόδρομος Ἀντιχρίστου, v. 117), a reference to Mehmet II, leaves no doubt about the apocalyptic and eschatological dimension of the lament[26].

[24] See A. KARANIKA, *Messengers, Angels*…, p. 238–239.

[25] *Ibidem*. Karanika mentions the account of Pero Tafur, who noted, most likely soon after 1453, that "the angel has returned" and the child left, which corresponds to the version in *Anakalima*. As Pero Tafur writes: *Lord, the Greeks say as follows: when Constantine built his church, many men were employed on the work, and one day, as all were going to dinner, the chief master-builder ordered a child to stay and guard the tools. The child did so, and a very beautiful man on horseback appeared and asked: 'Why do you not go to eat with the others?' and the child replied: 'Lord, they ordered me to remain here to guard the tools.' But the horseman replied: 'Go and eat', and the child replied that he dare not. Whereupon the horseman said: 'Go without fear. I promise you that I will guard the church and the city until you return.' And the child went, but afterwards he did not return, being afraid of punishment, so that the horseman remained in fulfilment of his promise, and they say that it was an angel. But it might be said now that the child has returned, and the angel has ceased his guard, for the city is now captured and occupied. But for that time the Turk has departed*. See P. TAFUR, *Travels and Adventures 1435–1439*, trans., ed. with an Introduction by M. LETTS, Piscataway, NJ 2007, p. 144–145.

[26] After the fall of Constantinople, prophecies about the end of the world and the coming of the Antichrist were revived. An interesting text of the prophecy from the 15th century, which is a reworking of some earlier texts, is cited by Pertusi. The figure of the Antichrist recurs in it many times, for example: […] Πληρουμένου δὲ τούτου φανήσεται ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας, ἤτοι ὁ Ἀντίχριστος. See A. PERTUSI, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo: significato e ruolo storico delle profezie sulla caduta di Costantinopoli in Oriente e in Occidente*, ed. E. MORINI, Roma 1988, p. 189. See also DOUKAS, *Historia Turco-Byzantina*, [in:] D. MONIOU, *Μνήμες Αλώσεως Κωνσταντινούπολη 1453, μέσα από τις διηγήσεις των ιστορικών της εποχής*, Αθήνα 2007, p. 112: Ὁ δὲ υἱὸς τῆς ἀνομίας, ὁ πρόδρομος τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης, ἐποίησε τὴν προσευχήν (40, I). Kefala notes that the author of *Anakalima* may be referring to Cardinal Isidore's letter, in which Mehmet is mentioned as the Antichrist for the first time. See E. KEFALA, *The Conquered*…, p. 67.

Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως – The Capture of Constantinople (16th century)

One of the most extensive laments, comprising 1045 verses, was written probably at the end of the 15th or the beginning of the 16th century and has been preserved in only one manuscript (Codex Parisinus Graecus, no. 2909)[27]. There are speculations that it was the first work written by Emmanouil Limenitis, a native of the island of Rhodes, just a few years after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453[28].

It is difficult to summarize a voluminous piece like that in a satisfactory manner, but in general, the author's aim seems clear. He aims at stirring the conscience of the Catholics of the West so that they organize a new crusade and expel the Turks from Europe and, at the same time, safeguard against the further extension of the Ottoman Empire to the west[29].

The sense of loss is revealed in rhetorical questions, always beginning with the question adverb "where" (ποῦ), which is equally characteristic of monodies written in prose in classicizing or koine Greek[30]. Although this lament is one of the longest compositions of this genre, we find some traces of the specific topography of the City and the references to particular buildings or artefacts. There is a catalogue,

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[27] It was previously attributed to Pseudo-Georgillas and now it is to Emmanouil Limenitis. See H.G. Beck, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής…*, p. 260. It was first published by Elissen (1857) and later in the well-known edition by Zoras (1956), which is used in the present paper: *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, [in:] Γ. Ζωρας, *Βυζαντινή ποίησις*, Αθήνα 1956 (cetera: *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*), p. 177–197. To date, the composition has not received a critical edition. Kechagioglou provides only fragments of it and accompanies them with a philological commentary. See G. Kechagioglou, *Συνοδευτικά έμμετρα κείμενα. Επιλογή G. Kechagioglou*, [in:] Ε. Κριαρας, *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης…*, p. 103–113. See B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque…*, p. 165–166.

[28] Henrich believes that Limenitis, who was probably born between 1430 and 1435, wrote this work about the age of twenty. See G.S. Henrich, *Εισαγωγή*, [in:] *Εμμανουήλ/Μανόλης Λιμενίτης. Επιμέλεια* G.S. Henrich, Thessaloniki 2015, p. 35.

[29] A comprehensive summary has been provided by, among others, Knös. See B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque…*, p. 165. See also A. Papayianni, *He Polis healo…*, p. 39. See also Γ.Θ. Ζωρας, *Περί την Άλωσιν της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, Ἀθῆναι 1959, p. 271. Zoras believes the piece must have been written before 1456, when Pope Callixtus III organized a crusade to retake Constantinople from the Turks. *Ibidem*. In the early 16th century, Greek emigrants sent poems written in Greek and Latin to European monarchs, petitioning them for support and assistance in organising a new crusade. See D. Stathakopoulos, *A Short History of the Byzantine Empire*, London–New York 2014, p. 203. See also E. Kefala, *The Conquered…*, p. 121.

[30] See A. Kallistos, *Μονῳδία ἐπὶ τῇ δυστυχεῖ Κωνσταντινουπόλει*, [in:] A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. II, p. 356: Ποῦ δ' ἄν ἴδοις νεὼς τοσούτους κάλλει τε καὶ μεγέθει […]; Ποῦ δὲ λιμένα τοσοῦτον ἐξεύροις περικαλλῆ τε καὶ μέγαν […]; Ποῦ δὲ νοσκομεῖα καὶ γηροκομεῖα καὶ πτωχοτροφεῖα […]; It is worth noting, however, that there is an important difference between the vernacular lament, where the meaning is "where did they go?" and Kallistos' monody, where the question is more about "where else (than in Constantinople) could one see/find etc. all these things?". See also Doukas, *Lamentatio de clade Constantinopolitana*, [in:] A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. II, p. 344: Ποῦ τὰ τῶν ὁσίων λείψανα, ποῦ τα τῶν μαρτύρων; Ποῦ τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βασιλέων πτώματα;

an enumeration of the most characteristic features – not only of Constantinople, but of Byzantium as a whole – which have been lost. These are faded impressions, the echoes of a bygone glory – most understandably centred around the religious sphere, liturgy etc. It is more of a reminder of what the unparalleled greatness of the Empire was based on and what made it famous in the world. As the work is very long, I have selected the verses referring to the past glory of Constantinople:

Ὦ Ρωμαῖοι εὐγενικοί…	O gentle Romans…
(v. 73–77)[31]	(v. 73–77)
Ποῦ εἶναι…;	Where are…?
ἡ παρρησιά σας	your pride
τὸ κράτος	the state
ἡ αὐθεντιά σας	your authority
ἡ κοσμοκρατορία σας	your world domination
ἡ μεγάλη δόξα	your great glory
ἡ γνῶσις ἡ ἄμετρος	your immeasurable knowledge
φρόνησις ἡ μεγάλη	great wisdom
ἡ ὑπερέχουσα παντὸς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων;	you, surpassing all things and other men?

The artefacts named in the poem are characteristic: relics of saints, icons and monasteries. Other things relate to Orthodoxy as well: its liturgy and customs. Ecclesiastic offices, philosophers and rhetoricians[32]. Still, except Hagia Sophia and Hodeghetria being named, there is no other clear indication that the poem is about Constantinople – the listed things may well refer to any other lost and plundered city.

(v. 136–137)[33]	(v. 136–137)
τὰ λείψανα	the relics
αἱ ἁγίαι εἰκόνες	the holy icons
ἡ ὁδηγήτρια ἡ κυρά, ἡ δέσποινα τοῦ κόσμου	the Lady Guide, the Lady of the World

[31] *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*…, p. 178–179.

[32] As Papayianni notes, almost all vernacular texts contain allusions to the destruction of churches and artefacts therein, but also of academic institutions and libraries in the City. See A. PAPAYIANNI, *He Polis healo*…, p. 35.

[33] *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*…, p. 180.

(v. 144–151)[34]	(v. 144–151)
τὰ μοναστήρια	the monasteries
η ὀρθοδοξία	orthodoxy
οἱ ὕμνοι	the hymns
αἱ ψαλμῳδίαι	the psalms
οἱ δομέστικοι	the domestiques
ἡ μελῳδία ἀγγέλων	the melody of angels
ὁ ὕμνος τῆς ἁγιᾶς Σοφιᾶς	the hymn of Saint Sophia
οἱ μυρωδίες	the scents
θυσίες	sacrifices
ἡ ψαλτική	the chant
οἱ καλὲς προσῳδίες	the beautiful prosodies
οἱ φιλόσοφοι	the philosophers
ρητορικοὶ Ρωμαῖοι	Roman orators
οἱ νηστειὲς…	the fasting days…

We learn more details when the narrator addresses the city of Venice, emphasising the loss of gains from Constantinople:

(v. 303–306)[35]	(v. 303–306)
Τί ἐγίνετον ὁ μπάϊλος;	What has become of the bailo[36]?
ποῦ οἱ πραγματευτάδες	Where are the merchants?
τὸ λογάρι τὸ ἄμετρον	the immeasurable account
οἱ πραγματεῖες	The merchandise
λιθομαργαριτάρια	precious stones and pearls
ἀσήμιν καὶ χρυσάφιν	silver and gold
στολισιὲς και φορεσιές	ornaments and gowns

These are all general images, referring to the lost wealth of the City. However, given that the reader might be a Western Catholic and the whole work is supposed to be a warning against the Turkish power[37], such a general register seems easy to understand. Constantinople, from the Western perspective, appeared not only distant but also somewhat forgotten at that time. Its former power outlined by the author can therefore be seen as a kind of mirror. In other words, by reminding the West of the essential qualities of the Byzantine civilisation, which came to an

[34] *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*…, p. 180.

[35] *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*…, p. 183.

[36] Bailo – a Venetian term for a resident ambassador or governor, most famously the Venetian representative to the Byzantine and Ottoman courts in Constantinople.

[37] A. Papayianni, *He Polis healo*…, p. 39.

end in 1453, the author simultaneously keeps hinting that all those assets can be lost if the West does not unite against the Turks[38]. Regarding that, it is not surprising that there is a complete lack of details when it comes to the most important monuments of Constantinople – specific topographical locations are not necessary in the context of the author's intention and would be incomprehensible to the audience in the West.

It should also be taken into account that in addition to the warning, *Alosis…* is also critical of the West. While in the other laments anonymous authors blame the Byzantines and Constantine XI himself, here it is the West to be blamed. From the perspective of the narrator, the City fell (v. 231–235) because the aid which had been supposed to come from the West never came up. Moreover, as he bitterly adds, it was Constantinople, like no other city in the world, that was "a home to both Catholics and Orthodox" (διατ' ἦτον σπίτιν ὁλωνῶν, Ρωμαίων καὶ Λατίνων, v. 236)[39]. That is why, according to the author, its loss was painful for the West, too and should move the consciences of the people there.

Θρήνος και κλαυθμός περί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως – Mourning and Lamentation for Constantinople (17th century)

First published by Émile Legrand in 1881, the lament is one of the less frequently quoted and even more rarely commented on. Written by Matthaios, the Metropolitan of Myron before 1618, it is a fragment of a larger composition[40]. A part of it (v. 2359–2720) was imitated in a work attributed to Papa Synadinos (born c. 1600), a clergyman from the Macedonian town of Serres, who chronicled the events from his town a few years after 1640 (*Χρονικὸ τῶν Σερρῶν*)[41].

In *Mourning and Lamentation…* we have the relics of saints, which seem particularly relevant to most of laments. It seems that the image of the earthly remains

[38] See G.S. Henrich, *Εισαγωγή…*, p. 41–42. In his opinion, Limenitis, who was then in the service of the Ioannites, could not reveal his authorship for the fear of the Turks, so he hid his name in the last verses.

[39] *Ἅλωσις Κωνσταντινουπόλεως…*, p. 182.

[40] B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque…*, p. 418. In this article, I quote this lament from: *Θρήνος και κλαυθμός περί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, [in:] Γ. Ζωρας, *Βυζαντινή ποίησις…* (cetera: *Θρήνος και κλαυθμός περί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*), p. 207–216. See *Περὶ ἁρπαγὴς καὶ ἀδικίας. Καὶ θρῆνος καὶ κλαυθμὸς περὶ τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, [in:] E. Legrand, *Bibliotheque grecque vulgaire*, t. II, Paris 1881, p. 313–328. See Γ.Θ. Ζωρας, *Περί την Άλωσιν…*, p. 277.

[41] For the whole text, see Papa Synadinos, *Περὶ τὸ γένος τῶν 'Ρωμαίων*, [in:] Σ. Λαμπρος, *Μονῳδίαι καὶ θρῆνοι ἐπὶ τῇ ἁλώσει τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, NE 5, 1908, p. 250–256. For a critical edition of Papa Synadinos, see P. Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires de Synadinos, prêtre de Serrès en Macédoine (XVII^e siècle)*, Paris 1996. *The Lamentation for Constantinople* in Synadinos' work see *ibidem*, p. 56–66. See B. Knös, *L'histoire de la littérature néo-grecque…*, p. 418. See also Γ.Θ. Ζωρας, *Περί την Άλωσιν…*, p. 279–280. See also P. Odorico, *Conseils et mémoires…*, p. 35, 327–328.

of saints common and universal to Christianity might appeal to the imagination of Christians in the West[42] more than the edifices, mostly forgotten by that time:

> Ποῦ καὶ **τὰ θεῖα λείψανα** πολλῶν σοφῶν ἁγίων,
> ὁποὺ ἐζοῦσαν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγγελικὸν τὸν βίον; (v. 2403–2404)[43]
>
> Where are **the holy relics** of the many wise saints,
> who lived angelic lives on earth?

However, unlike the other lamentations cited above, the author of this work gives us several specific locations in the topography of Constantinople. It is difficult to say to what extent they evoked any associations for the author and to what extent they still could have been associated by the 17th-century Greeks. Both buildings mentioned in the lament had different histories during the Ottoman period: the church in Blachernae (τῆς Βλαχέρνας ὁ ναός) was burned down before the fall of Constantinople and eventually forgotten, while the Monastery of Christ Pantokrator (the biggest former Byzantine church building after Hagia Sophia, preserved in Istanbul) was converted into a mosque. The author of the lament thus provides rather "encyclopaedic" information about Constantinople, most recognizable landmarks of its topography, known to the Greeks for centuries but then slightly forgotten.

> Ποῦ **τῆς Βλαχέρνας ὁ ναός**, ἡ βρύσις τῶν θαυμάτων,
> ἐξ οὗ ἀπολαμβάνομεν πηγὴν τῶν ἰαμάτων;
> **Ναὸν τοῦ Παντοκράτορος** τὸν περιφουμισμένον
> Τώρα τὸν βλέπω ἔρημον καὶ καταφρονεμένον. (v. 2425–2428)[44]
>
> Where is **the temple of Blachernae**, the fountain of miracles,
> whence we enjoy the source of the healing waters?
> **The temple of Pantocrator**, the famous
> Now I see it desolate and despised.

The subsequent poetic images in the lamentation refer to Constantinople as a unique place of education and wisdom, the motif repeated so frequently that it seems to be another cliché[45]. In the author's view, it was one of the most painful losses. The questions that follow emphasise an almost biblical dimension of the

[42] According to Zoras, the goal of the Metropolitan of Myron is to snap Greeks out of their numbness and belief in idle predictions and foreign help (especially from the West) and force them to act. See Γ.Θ. Ζωρας, *Περί την Άλωσιν*…, p. 277.

[43] *Θρήνος και κλαυθμός περί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 209.

[44] *Θρήνος και κλαυθμός περί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 209.

[45] See A. Karanika, *Messengers*, *Angels*…, p. 237.

disaster. By the comparison to Babylon, the author points to the Book of Jeremiah, to which vernacular laments sometimes also allude[46]:

Ποῦ εἶν᾽ **τὰ μοναστήρια** ποὺ ἤσανε κοντά σου,
τώρα τὰ βλέπω ἔρημα διὰ τὸ ὄνομά σου!
Ποῦ εἶν᾽ **τὰ σπουδαστήρια** κ᾽ ἡ γνῶσις τῶν γραμμάτων,
καὶ τῆς σοφίας ἡ πηγή, βάθος τῶν νοημάτων; […]
Ποῦ εἶν᾽ **τὰ τόσα ἀγαθά, ποὺ ἤσουν στολισμένη**;
Ὡσὰν αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἤσουν ζωγραφισμένη.
Ὅλα τὰ ἐστερήθηκες, ὡσὰν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα,
τὸν στέφανόν σου ἔχασες καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν κορώνα·
ἐκείνην τὴν βασίλειον δραχμὴν ἀπώλεσές την
ἄρα νὰ τὴν εὑρῇς ποτὲ ἢ μόνον ἔχασές την; (v. 2429–2442)[47]

Where are **the monasteries** that were close to you,
now I see them desolate for your name's sake.
Where are **the schools** and the knowledge of letters,
and the fountain of wisdom, the depth of understanding? […]
Where are **the many goods you were adorned with,**
like a painted sky?
You have lost them all, like Babylon;
your crown is gone, your golden diadem.
That royal drachma is lost—
shall you ever find it again, or is it lost forever?

There is no doubt that what we see is the vision of an apocalypse, albeit roughly outlined and written with a rhetorical exaggeration. The allusions to prophetic literature associated with the fall of the City can also be seen in the evocation of Babylon. In the texts written between the 10th and 15th century, known as "Visiones Danielis", the future fate of the City is often precisely associated with the fall of Babylon and referred to as a "Babylon of the seven hills" (*Babilonia dei sette colli*)[48].

Significantly, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 is perceived as a much greater disaster than that biblical catastrophe[49]. More than a lament, its composition resembles a reflection of a fulfilled prophecy. The author, who was certainly aware

[46] See *ibidem*, p. 228.

[47] *Θρήνος και κλαυθμός περί της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 209–210.

[48] A. PERTUSI, *Fine di Bisanzio e fine del mondo*…, p. 52, 86, 95, 97. See A.J. GOLDWYN, *I come from a cursed land*…, p. 104.

[49] See […] *Urbs Constantinopolitana, quae quondam felix et imperatrix omnium fuit urbium, nunc autem misera et infelicissima, capta est, die 29 Maii. Cuius captivitas omnes ab initio saeculi captivitates superat et excedit: Jherosolimorum sub Nabugodonosor rege pauca equidem et parva fuit respectu tantae et tam magnae.* […] *Similiter et comparatio nulla in aliam civitatem potest fieri quae huic potest adaequari*. See ISIDORE OF KIEV, *Lettera a Nicolò V*, [in:] A. PERTUSI, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. I, p. 98. See also A.J. GOLDWYN, *I come from a cursed land*…, p. 104.

of the *topoi* of prophetic literature and, at the same time, familiar with the scholarly tradition from which the monodies for the fall of the City originated, made a kind of synthesis of various motifs and themes. Although the composition was written in demotic Greek, it shows familiarity with the rhetorical tradition through its characteristic metaphors: ἡ βρύσις τῶν θαυμάτων (the fountain of miracles); πηγὴν τῶν ἰαμάτων (the source of healing); τῆς σοφίας ἡ πηγή (the source of wisdom).

The metaphor of the "royal drachma" seems interesting and significant, as it appears to refer in a rather original way to the common belief that Byzantium was both the heir and custodian of the heritage of ancient Greeks. The anachronistic use of "drachma" in conjunction with the imperial power of Byzantium has an interesting effect, directing the reader's attention not only to Constantinople, but also broadening the perspective to the entire Greek heritage that fell with the conquest of the City.

Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως – The *Lament over Constantinople* (17th century)

This composition has been preserved in two versions, one of 128 lines and the other of 140 ones[50]. It was written in the form of a dialogue between the city of Venice and that of Constantinople. The form is not entirely atypical, as it occurs in other laments, such as in the well-known *Θρήνος των τεσσάρων Πατριαρχείων: Κωνσταντινούπολης, Αλεξανδρείας, Αντιοχείας και Ιερουσαλήμ*[51]. Significantly, in the *Lament over Constantinople*, it is Venice that laments upon the fall of the City, sympathises with its loss and has a sense of guilt. This lament can be read as an indictment of Constantinople by the West. In this context, we can read Constantinople's words to Venice as a kind of defence: it is not the city that is to blame, but Hodegetria, who, instead of guarding it, returned to heaven (v. 64–69)[52]. Similarly as the case of the *Alosis…* cited above, we deal once again with the West European perspective of an anonymous author.

The lament is unique when it comes to remembering the past beauty of Constantinople. Yet, it is not just about the obvious religious aspects of the Byzantine heritage observed before: the relics of saints, monasteries or particular churches.

[50] The version of 128 erses comes from Cod. Hieros. Patr. 160 (*Χρησμολόγιον Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*) and cod. 279 of the Archaeological Museum of Bucharest, while that of 140 verses is in a single manuscript: Codex Atheniensis (no. 3113). See A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. II, p. 364; Α. Παλαδοκουλος-Κεραμευς, *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, BZ 12.1, 1903, p. 268–269. The lament was first published by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus: *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, [in:] Α. Παλαδοκουλος-Κεραμευς, *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, BZ 12.1, 1903, p. 269–272.

[51] *Θρῆνος τῶν τεσσάρων Πατριαρχείων: Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, Ἀλεξανδρείας, Ἀντιοχείας καὶ Ἱερουσαλήμ*, [in:] Γ. Ζωρας, *Βυζαντινή ποίησις…*, p. 204–207.

[52] H.G. Beck, *Ιστορία της Βυζαντινής…*, p. 261–262. See Γ.Θ. Ζωρας, *Περί την Άλωσιν…*, p. 274.

In addition to the unique architecture of the temples, we are offered the images of secular architecture, gardens, running waters and springs. The passage below gives the impression of an almost *locus amoenus*, in the context of Constantinople, the image known rather from the monodies[53]. This praise is further reinforced when we consider that the words have been uttered by Venice, who has "been all over the world" (Πόλη μου, ἐτρυγύρισα γῆς τὸν τροχὸν καὶ τόπον / δεν ηὗρα εὐμορφίτερον νὰ σὲ παρομοιάσω, v. 51–52)[54]. Here is how Venice laments over Constantinople:

ὁπού 'χες χίλιες ἐκκλησιὲς καὶ χίλια μοναστήρια,
ὅλα τετραπεντάτρουλλα μὲ θόλους ἐκτισμένα,
καὶ σπίτια δίπατα μ' αὐλὲς χρυσομαρμαρωμένες.
Εἶχες νερὰ τρεχάμενα, εἶχες πανώριες βρύσες,
καὶ περιβόλια εὔμορφα μὲ τὰ καρπίσια δένδρα. (v. 39–43)[55]

where there were thousands of churches and thousands of monasteries,
all four- and five-domed, dome-shaped,
with two-storey houses, with golden and marble courtyards.
You had running waters, you had beautiful springs
and beautiful gardens with fruit-bearing trees.

There is no doubt that the anonymous author gives a general idea of Constantinople rather than refers to a particular historical reality. Although in subsequent verses we find references to some specific places, which, as I have mentioned, is relatively rare in vernacular laments[56], it is still a very general image. What we get are mostly allusions, distilled from the rich past, the charms and features that made it unique. The suggestive images, charged emotionally, bring to mind the echoes of a lost paradise, an ideally ordered world rather than a particular city. We may not forget that the verses can also be read as a warning to Venice, whose power began to fade in the 17th century.

[53] See A. Kallistos, *Μονῳδία*…, p. 358: […] καὶ ὁ τόπος παμφόρος τις καὶ εὔγεως ὡς οὐδείς ἄλλος. Πεδιὰς γὰρ ἅπαν ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον, ὄρεσί τε περιεχόμενον καὶ ποταμοῖς ἀρδευόμενον καὶ λίμναις πλείσταις πεποικιλμένον, ὥστε πανταχόθεν ἀφθονία παρῆν τῇ Πόλει. […] μία δὲ κοινὴ διήγησις πᾶσιν ἦν τὰ τῆς Πόλεως ἀγαθά.

[54] *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, [in:] A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. II, p. 380.

[55] *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 380.

[56] The author typically enumerates Hagia Sophia (v. 47), but adds some topographically interesting places: the Kosmidion (τὸ Κοσμίδη, v. 87), the Golden Gate (τὴν Χρυσέαν πύλην, v. 88), Galata (τοῦ Γαλατᾶ, v. 101), and Skutari, opposite St. Constantine (τὸ Σκούταρι, 'ς τὸν Ἅγιον Κωνσταντῖνον, v. 102).

The words that Venice utters may sound ambiguously within that context:

πλὴν ἡ τρυφὴ ἐδιάβηκεν, αὐτὴ ἡ παρρησία
παρῆλθεν καὶ ἀπέρασεν, ὡσὰν καπνὸς καὶ πάχνη. (v. 57–58)[57]

yet all that delight, all your nobility, is gone;
Gone, vanished, like smoke or mist.

Kefala, in her influential monograph on the universal cultural mechanisms of trauma formation, in which she compares the fall of two completely unrelated capitals of civilisation – Constantinople and Tenochtitlan (today's Mexico City), argues that the authors of texts referring to traumatic events use similar devices. Her conclusion about *Anakalima*, that *the poet imaginatively reconstructed the fall of Constantinople as a massive disruption to the Greeks within and outside the borders of Byzantium*[58], could also apply to the other texts cited here. Regardless of their place of origin: Cyprus, Rhodes or mainland Greece, the authors use similar *topoi* to convey and emphasize the common loss.

The authors used mostly spoken, demotic language, which may confirm that they addressed a wider audience. Considering that the recipients could be both Orthodox Greek and western Christians, it is possible that the works (at least some of them) were a veiled warning against the expansion of Turkish power.

Some writers, as it can be seen from the above examples, were familiar with the rhetorical tradition, evident in monodies written in prose in classicizing Greek, as well as with prophetic literature, associated with the fall of the City. Still, despite apparent similarities in expression and phraseology, we get the impression of the works belonging to two separate currents, which do not necessarily flow together.

If we consider the monody by Andronikos Kallistos, written shortly after the fall of Constantinople, the picture of the City, which emerges from it, is full of rhetoric exaggerations. Certainly, Andronikos could not have remembered the grandeur of the City he was writing about. Still, as Pertusi notes, the author failed to remember that not only the walls of the City had been in ruin at the time of the Turkish invasion, but the majority of churches, the harbour, arsenals, porticoes, roads and other public places, he enumerated at a single outbreath had at that time been in ruin, too[59].

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[57] *Θρῆνος τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, p. 382.

[58] See E. Kefala, *The Conquered…*, p. 70.

[59] See A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, vol. II, p. 483–484. See, for instance, A. Kallistos, *Μονῳδία…*, p. 356: […] τείχη δ' οὕτως ἰσχυρὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἀνένδοτα […] λιμένα τοσοῦτον ἐξεύροις περικαλλῆ τε καὶ μέγαν […] νεώρια δὲ ποῦ λαμπρά […] Ποῦ δὲ στοῶν θέσιν καὶ ὁδῶν τάξιν […] νοσοκομεῖα καὶ γηροκομεῖα καὶ πτωχοτροφεῖα […] ἱππόδρομον. For more on Kallistos' monody, see A.J. Goldwyn, *I come from a cursed land…*, p. 98–102.

Also Doukas' monody was based on certain rhetorical patterns, well established in the Byzantine tradition, in that case on the well-known Lament of Choniates, inspired by the Fourth Crusade and the sack of Constantinople by western Christians in 1204[60]. Doukas' vision, therefore, was an image of Constantinople's distant past and alluded to the well-established stereotypes about the City. The exalted vision of it as an earthly paradise, spiritual centre and sanctuary of the relics, most sacred to Christianity is anachronic and not supported by real facts[61].

Still, despite the fact that the vernacular tradition intertwined with the learned one, as indicated by the similarity of motifs and phraseology, a certain regularity can be observed in the laments discussed in this article. The monodies in classicizing Greek, feature the detailed images of Constantinople, in which the authors see the City at its "most perfect" peak, in the times when it spread its majesty and grandeur onto the whole world. Meanwhile, the laments written in vernacular Greek maintain a certain level of generality in description, referring to certain common features of Constantinople, rather than to particular artefacts or buildings. In this sense, we can understand all the entities listed above and referring to the bygone glory of Constantinople, as useful devices of channelling memory, appealing to similar aesthetics and drawing on similar sources[62]. Within this context, the presented list of phrases, expressions and terms clearly shows that there exists a similar conceptualisation of Constantinople's past glory in the works written in the period of more than two centuries that followed its fall.

The four vernacular laments, the fragments of which have been presented above, are just a small part of the rich collection of post-Byzantine Greek texts. Usually studied in the context of monodic works, they certainly deserve a separate study, taking into account all the richness of their subject, including – among others – the attitude of the Greeks to the western world, the question of the union of the churches, the relationship with the Turks, prophecies and legends related to Constantinople, and the richness of linguistic, demotic expressions. It is obvious that the analysis of just one of the *topoi*, based on selected examples, does not exhaust this complex subject. One can only hope that it may contribute to a more comprehensive study of the complexity of post-Byzantine Greek tradition, which appears to be more of a hybrid of scholarly and demotic elements, with a blend of features drawn from West and East alike, rather than a simple, linear continuation of Byzantine patterns.

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[60] A. Pertusi, *La caduta*…, p. 482. See A. Karanika, *Messengers, Angels*…, p. 229.

[61] See Doukas, *Lamentatio*…, p. 344: […] ὦ πόλις, πόλις, Χριστιανῶν καύχημα καὶ βαρβάρων ἀφανισμός! ὦ πόλις, πόλις, ἄλλη παράδεισος φυτευθεῖσα πρὸς δυσμά;, ἔχουσα ἔνδον φυτὰ παντοῖα βριθόντα καρποὺς πνευματικούς! Ποῦ σου τὸ κάλλος, παράδεισε; […] Ποῦ τὰ τῶν ᾽Αποστόλων τοῦ Κυρίου μου σώματα, τὰ πρὸ πολλοῦ φυτευθέντα ἐν τῷ ἀειθαλεῖ παραδείσῳ […] Ποῦ τὰ ὁσίων λείψανα, ποῦ τὰ τῶν μαρτύρων; Πού τὰ τοῦ μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βασιλέων πτώματα.

[62] See E. Kefala, *The Conquered*…, p. 52.

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Magic, Demons, and Heretics: Three Puzzling Cases in *The Letter* of Euthymius of Akmonia

Abstract. This study explores the theme of magic and demons in the anti-heretical *Letter* written by Euthymius, an 11th-century monk from the Monastery of Theotokos Perivleptos in Constantinople. *The Letter* was aimed at his fellow countrymen from Acmonia and primarily targeted the Phundagiagites, also known as the Bogomils, along with the Armenians. Given the significant role of the demonic nature of heresies in his accusations, it is crucial to examine the Christian Church's perception of how heretics are believed to communicate with demons.

The paper argues that Euthymius used accusatory arguments about demons in two main ways: first, through a general characterisation of heresies, and second, by recounting several fictional stories involving levitation, lycanthropy, lecanomancy, and teleportation. It aims to provide an interpretation of three of these stories that have been previously misunderstood or overlooked in research: the desecration of a newly constructed church by a priest at Hieron, the lecanomancy involving teleportation performed by a magus for the heretic Lycopetros, and the unsuccessful attempt at teleportation by Terevinthos.

By analysing these cases, the author aims to deepen our understanding of the rhetorical strategy of heresiological texts, which incorporate narratives about sacrilege, magic, and demons to condemn heresies.

Keywords: Euthymius of Acmonia, Bogomils, Phundagiagites, magic, demons, possession, lecanomancy, teleportation

The subject of my paper – magic and demons in the anti-heretical *Letter* written by Euthymius, an 11th-century monk from the Monastery of Theotokos Perivleptos in Constantinople[1], emerged during my involvement in the research

[1] Among the secondary literature on *The Letter* as a source for Bogomilism, see the foundational study by D. Obolenski, *The Bogomils. A Study in Balkan Neo-Manichaeism*, Cambridge 1948 (reprint 1972), p. 174–183.

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team of the international project "Bogomilism in History and our Days" of Prof. Ivan Hristov from the Theological Faculty of the Sofia University, funded by the Scientific Research Fund in Bulgaria. One of the project's main aims is to correct, edit, and update the existing translations of primary sources on the Bogomils, specifically within the volumes of the *Greek Sources for Bulgarian History* series. They have been translated into six series volumes, published from 1964 to 1983. However, some original texts utilised in the existing translations have undergone new editions, necessitating a comparative analysis. In contrast, the translation of other sources requires corrections, additions, and editorial refinement according to the general opinion of the country's medievalists. Translation of new sources from Greek will be incorporated as well. *The Letter* of Euthymius, already translated, still warrants further scrutiny and refinement.

The desecration of a church by a priest

Euthymius tells the story of a heretical clergyman to demonstrate that the Phundagiagites do not view churches as sacred places. Instead, they consider them merely as dwellings – even those of demons – and therefore profane them. The incident was reported to him by an eyewitness who saw it with his own eyes. It occurred in Hieron on the Strait, where a priest (or monk) built a church and decorated it nicely inside and out, but behind the sacred table, he made a pit with a slab, leaving a small hole and using it for his bodily needs. In fact, Hieron (ἱερόν *sanctuary*) was an ancient sanctuary at the northern end of the Bosphorus on the Asiatic shore before entering the Euxine Pontus, where *Zeus Ourios*, the patron of favourable winds, was worshipped (today Anadolu Kavağı). The strategic position of the port and the settlement that emerged there made it an essential customs and military post during the Byzantine era[2]. An act of the Holy Synod in Constantinople in 1140, which condemned the writings of Constantine Chrysomalus, discovered by the monks of the monastery of kyr Nicholas located there, testifies to the existence of an actual convent in Hieron[3].

Before providing information about the pit behind the table, however, Euthymius clarifies another point using a phrase containing an anacoluthon, where the sentence starts with one grammatical structure but then shifts into a different one, creating a deliberate inconsistency in syntax, which is omitted or mistranslated in modern translations.

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[2] *TIB* 13, *s.v.*; R. JANIN, *Les églises et les monastères des grands centres byzantins. (Bithynie, Hellespont, Latros, Galesios, Trebizonde, Athenes, Thessalonique)*, Paris 1975, p. 10.

[3] G.D. MANSI, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, vol. XXI, Venetiis 1776, col. 553.

Euthymius' text:

> **συνέβη οὖν τὸν τοιοῦτον κακὸν ἀλιτήριον ψοφῆσαι καὶ εὑρὼν ἐν τῇ κτισθείσῃ παρ' αὐτοῦ τῇ εἰρημένῃ ἐκκλησιᾳ ὄπισθεν τῆς τραπέζης** – ἁγίαν γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὴν οὐ δυνάμεθα διὰ τὸ μιανθῆναι ταύτην παρὰ τοῦ ἀσεβοῦς, ὅτι ἐποίησεν λάκκον μέγαν καὶ ἔθηκεν ἐπάνω τοῦ λάκκου πλάκα, ἀφεὶς μικρὰν ὀπὴν ὡς ὀμφαλὴν δήθην, καὶ εποίει ἐν αὐτῳ τῷ λάκκῳ τῷ ὄπισθεν τῆς τραπέζης τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὴν σωματικὴν χρείαν ὁ κατάρατος[4].

English translation:

> Now, **it happened that this evil sinner was revealed. It was discovered in the church that he had built behind the altar…** because he had made a great pit and had put above the pit a bench, leaving a little hole in it; in that hole behind the table of the altar, the accursed man performed his bodily functions[5].

Bulgarian translation:

> **И така се случило, гласът на такъв пагубен злодей да прокънти там. И измислил в построената от него спомената църква зад олтара,** който ние не можем да наречем свят поради това, че е бил осквернен от нечестивеца, и издълбал голяма яма и поставил отгоре на ямата плоча поставил малка дупка, подобна на пъп, и нечестивецът извършвал естествените и нужди в самата яма зад олтара на църквата[6].

The two troublesome points in the Greek text here are the aorist infinitive ψοφῆσαι and the aorist participle εὑρών of εὑρίσκω (*find*)[7] which lacks a direct object due to the sentence placed between the dashes.

Initially, I believed the infinitive came from the verb ψοφέω (*to make an unarticulated noise*, opposite to φωνέω, which means *to produce an articulated sound*); therefore, I interpreted the passage as describing a situation where the unfortunate priest was possessed by a demon that forced him to make unarticulated sounds. However, a more appropriate interpretation would be that, behind the infinitive ψοφῆσαι, the verb ψοφάω, meaning 'to die'[8], is implied, and that the eyewitness

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[4] Euthymius, *The Letter*, [in:] *Die Phundagiagiten. Ein Beitrag zur Ketzergeschichte des byzantinischen Mittelalters*, ed. G. Ficker, Leipzig 1908 (cetera: Euthymius), p. 27.

[5] J. Hamilton, B. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies in the Byzantine World C. 650–C. 1450. Selected Sources*, trans. and annotated by J. Hamilton and B. Hamilton; assistance with the translation of Old Slavonic texts by Y. Stoyanov, Manchester 1998, p. 148–149.

[6] Translation by Г. Батаклиев, *Писмо на монаха Евтимий от манастира Перивлепта*, [in:] *Гръцки извори за българската история*, vol. X, София 1980, p. 17.

[7] According to Ficker's edition, there are different readings of ψοφῆσαι and εὑρών. Still, they only reflect the isochronism and psilosis in the Postclassical Greek and do not contribute to understanding the text: Cod. Vindob. theol. Graec. 193 gives ψωφῆσαι and Cod. Vindob. theol. Graec. 307 – εὗρον.

[8] Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής, Triantafyllidis Foundation, 1998, *s.v.*

himself carried out the action indicated by the participle. The verb ψοφάω, usually used for an animal, was employed by Euthymius in a derogatory sense towards a person[9].

Following these clarifications, the most appropriate translation appears to be as follows:

> **И се случило тоя безсрамен грешник да умре. И след като онзи го откри**, в съградената от него спомената църква зад трапезата – свещена не мога да я нарека, защото е осквернена от нечестивец – {понеже} направил голяма яма и поставил над ямата плоча, като оставил малка дупка колкото един пъп. И вършел телесните си нужди в самата яма зад трапезата в църквата, проклетникът!
>
> **And it happened that this shameless sinner died. And after he had found it, in the said church which he had built behind the table**, holy I cannot call it, for a wicked man profaned it, {*for*} he had made a large pit, and placed a slab over the pit, leaving a small hole as big as a navel. And he did his bodily needs in the very pit behind the table in the church, the accursed one!

The story about the monk in Hieron is significant in Euthymius' invective against the Phundagiagites, because it reflects their belief that the church is not a sacred place. Many Byzantine sources, starting with Zigabenus' *Dogmatic Panoply*, highlight the heretical disgrace associated with Christian temples, which they perceive as the dwellings of demons. Zigabenus states that the Bogomils dishonour the sacred secrets of the liturgy and the holy communion of the body and blood of the Lord, referring to it as the sacrifice to the demons that inhabit the temples according to their rank and power[10]. The sermon of Presbyter Cosmas supported Zigabenus' testimony, with the statement that the Bogomils considered the churches to be распутья and the abode of the Devil[11].

The lecanomancy

Another enigmatic narrative in Euthymius' *Letter* concerns Lycopetros, who allegedly achieved teleportation to Armenia with the aid of a magician[12]. The story is as

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[9] I am indebted to one of the anonymous reviewers for this idea, for which I thank him.

[10] ZIGABENUS, *Panoplia dogmatica ad Alexium Comnenum*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CXXX, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1865 (cetera: ZIGABENUS), col. 27.7: Ἀτιμάζουσι τὴν μυστικὴν καὶ φρικτὴν ἱερουργίαν, καὶ τὴν τοῦ Δεσποτικοῦ σώματος καὶ αἵματος ἁγίαν μετάληψιν, θυσίαν τῶν ἐνοικούντων τοῖς ναοῖς δαιμόνων ταύτην ἀποκαλοῦντες; ZIGABENUS, col. 27.8: Λέγουσιν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἱεροῖς ναοῖς κατοικεῖν τοὺς δαίμονας διαλαχόντας αὐτοὺς ἀναλόγως τῆς ἑκάστου τάξεως καὶ δυνάμεως.

[11] M.G. ПОПРУЖЕНКО, *Козма Пресвитеръ. Болгарскій писатель X вѣка*, София 1936, p. 34; D. OBOLENSKI, *The Bogomils*…, p. 130.

[12] The description of the magician and the scene is concise and sparse; it seems that Euthymius is recounting a heresiological source of his own. Conversely, the Lives of the Saints from that time offer

follows: after Emperor Marcian[13] ordered Lycopetros to be captured, he sought the help of a magician of his acquaintance. The magician, following a ritualistic procedure, invited Lycopetros and his companions to his residence after sunset, where he performed a ritual, filling a basin with water and reciting incantations accompanied by demonic invocations and gestures. Subsequently, the magician provided Lycopetros with a vessel containing a liquid, a written incantation, and instructions on its use in Armenia. The magician then instructed him and his attendants to perform an unusual task. Once they had completed this, the wretch and his servants were snatched away by demons and found themselves in Great Armenia early the next morning. The previously omitted or unclear text in the available translations reads as follows:

Euthymius' text:

> Ταῦτα καὶ τοιαῦτα πρὸς τὸν δείλαιον ὁ μάγος εἰπὼν καὶ διδάξας **ἐκέλευσεν εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἔφιππον μετὰ καὶ τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ὑπηρετῶν αὐτοῦ διελθεῖν πλησίον τῆς μεμαγευμένης λεκάνης**[14].

English translation:

> The wizard… **bade him and the servants go immediately to the jar which had been bewitched**[15].

Bulgarian translation:

> Магът каза тези и други подобни [думи] на окаяника, поучи го и **нареди той заедно със съпровождачите си да мине на кон покрай съда с магиите**[16].

The séance in the magician's home reminds me of a lecanomancy ritual intended to summon a demon, in this case, not for divination but to facilitate teleportation. However, it is somewhat unexpected for Lycopetros and his attendants to ride past the enchanted basin on horseback (ἔφιππον). This detail is particularly puzzling considering that the lecanomancy was performed indoors, which could imply that they were only imitating riding.

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a more detailed account of magical practices. See D. Abrahamse, *Magic and Sorcery in Byzantine Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period*, BF 8, 1982, p. 3–17, with bibliography.

[13] Emperor from 450 to 457, best known for strengthening the Byzantine Empire's theological foundations and administrative and military reforms. One of his most significant contributions was convening the Council of Chalcedon in 451, which declared that Christ has two natures in one person and hypostasis.

[14] Euthymius, p. 53.

[15] J. Hamilton, B. Hamilton, *Christian Dualist Heresies*…, p. 153–154.

[16] Translation by Г. Батаклиев, *Писмо*…, p. 35.

Two suggestions could help clarify the true intention behind this ritual.

The first is the concept of imitative magic, which James Frazer discusses in *The Golden Bough*. He defines imitative magic as a fundamental type of sympathetic magic based on the idea that "like produces like"[17]. In this context, horse riding may symbolise or imitate a journey to the distant land of Armenia.

The second consideration that can enhance the interpretation of the ritual in question is lexical. The adjective ἔφιππος (LSJ, *s.v. on horseback*; *riding*) used in the description of the act is strikingly similar to the name of one of the demons mentioned in the *Hygromancy of Solomon* and the *Testament of Solomon*: Ephippas. The manuscript tradition gives different name variants such as Ἔφιππας or Ἐφίππας, Ἐφιπάς or Ἐφιππᾶς[18].

In the *Hygromancy of Solomon*, a grimoire whose dating is debated, ranging from the first centuries AD to the 15th century AD, Solomon teaches his son, Rehoboam, a divination technique involving water. Although the method of divination is not explicitly explained, it is shown how this way of divination is linked with the exact knowledge of the planets, zodiac signs, and the hours when each of them gives its power. Ephippas is listed as the demon that can be summoned at the nineteenth hour on the fourth day of the week, Wednesday[19].

Τῆς τετάρτης ἄγγελοι καὶ δαίμονες.	Angels and demons of the fourth day.
ὥρᾳ ιθ᾽	At the nineteenth hour
ἄγγελος Περανιήλ	angel Peraniel
δαίμων Ἔφιππας.	demon Ephippas.

In the passage in question of Euthymius' *Letter*, this information aligns well with the sorcerer's explicit request to Lycopetros and his companions to visit his home after sunset in the passage in question.

In the second treaty on magic, the *Testament of Solomon*, written perhaps in the 5th century AD[20], Ephippas is mentioned several times but only in connection with moving and transporting, described most often as a πονηρὸν πνεῦμα, αὔρα or ἄνεμος, whose hot breath devastated the land of Adares, the King of Arabia. He was caught by one of Solomon's servants through Solomon's magic ring in a skin

[17] J. FRAZER, *The Golden Bough. A Study in Magic and Religion*, London 1925, p. 11.

[18] *Testamentum Salomonis*, 95, [in:] *The Testament of Solomon. Vita Salomonis (cod. 132 Monasterii sancti Dionysii in Monte Atho)*, ed. C.C. MCCOWN, Leipzig 1922 (cetera: *Testamentum Salomonis*); R.P.H. GREENFIELD, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology*, Amsterdam 1988, p. 343.

[19] *The Hygromancy of Solomon. A New Translation and Introduction*, ed. P.A. TORIJANO, [in:] *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures*, vol. I, ed. R. BAUCKHAM, J. DAVILA, Al. PANAYOTOV, Grand Rapids 2013, p. 288. Cf. also the Open Siddur Project: The Hygromancy of Solomon. Greek text by E. KESSELMAN (art & transcription), P.A. TORIJANO (trans.), https://opensiddur.org/readings-and-sourcetexts/mekorot/noncanonical/esoteric/incantation/the-hygromancy-of-solomon/ [18 V 2025].

[20] F.C. CONYBEARE, *The Testament of Solomon*, JQR 11.1, 1898, p. 1.

bag (ἀσκός) and brought into the Temple, where he was utilised to raise into its place the headstone of the corner, which the workmen had abandoned because of its weight (ἆραι τὸν λίθον τὸν ἀκρογωνιαῖον ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν ἄνθρωποί τε καὶ δαίμονες καὶ θεῖναι τοῦτον εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας). The same demon, after raising the headstone of the corner to its place, aided the demon of the Red Sea, Abezithibod, son of Beelzeboul, to bring up from that sea an enormous column and raise it aloft in the Temple (βαστάζειν τὸν κίονα καὶ κρέμασθαι εἰς τὸν ἀέρα μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἰῶνος)[21].

The onomastic similarity of the name and the alignment of the demon's abilities with the heretic's expected teleportation suggest that the coincidence of ἔφιππος and Ἔφιππας could not be a coincidence. It seems quite probable that the unusual and startling adjective ἔφιππος in the passage under consideration is a distant echo of specific magical practices and refers to the demon Ephippas, whom the magician summoned after sunset, the time when it was his power to move his protégé Lycopetros to Armenia.

Consequently, the translation should read as follows:

> След като магът казал и обяснил такива и подобни неща на нещастника, той веднага го накарал заедно със слугите, които го придружават, да премине край омагьосания леген сякаш на кон.

> After the magician said and explained such and similar things to the wretch, he immediately made him, with the servants who accompanied him, pass by the enchanted basin as if on horseback.

The evocation of aerial demons

The third and last passage, which requires attention and correction in the available Bulgarian translation of Euthymius' *Letter*, is as follows:

Euthymius' text:

> Ὁ δὲ τῆς κακίας μαθητὴς Τερέβινθος, κληρόνομος καταληφθεὶς τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ βιβλίων τῆς αἱρέσεως, παρεγένετο εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν κἀκεῖ διαγνωσθεὶς καὶ ἐκδιωχθεὶς ἔκρινεν εἰς τὴν Περσίδα μετελθεῖν. Ἵνα δὲ ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας μὴ ἐπιγνωσθῇ κἀκεῖ διωχθῇ, Βοδάνον ἑαυτὸν ὠνόμασεν. Ὅμως κἀκεῖ διαγνωσθεὶς ἐδιώχθη καὶ προσφεύγει γυναικί τινι χήρᾳ. **Εἶτα ἐπὶ δώματος ἀνελθὼν καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἀερίους δαίμονας θεόπληκτος γενόμενος καταβληθεὶς ἀπὸ τοῦ δώματος ἐξέψυξε**. Καὶ οὕτως ἔκοψεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ θηρίον τὸ δεύτερον[22].

The story has been overlooked and not translated by the Hamiltons.

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[21] *Testamentum Salomonis*, 95.

[22] Euthymius, p. 58–60.

Bulgarian translation:

> А ученикът на злината Теревинт, оставен за наследник на богатството и книгите на ереста, отишъл в Юдея, но там, разпознат и изгонен, намислил да се пресели в Персия. Но за да не го познаят по прякора му и да не го преследват там, той се преименувал Водан. Все пак и там бил разпознат и се приютява при някаква вдовица. **После се върнал у дома си, призовал небесните дяволи и станал богохулник, но прогонен от дома си, издъхнал**. И така бог погубил втория звяр[23].

In the Bulgarian translation, two notable errors can be identified. The first error occurs with the translation of δῶμα as δόμος, likely influenced by the *faux ami* дом, which means "house" in the translator's native language. The second mistake stems from oversimplifying and inaccurately translating τοὺς ἀερίους δαίμονας as "sky devils", which reflects a lack of understanding of demonology[24].

There are two ways to interpret the adjective ἀέριος here: the substance from which the demons are made or the location where they reside. The context supports the latter, as Terevinthos specifically seeks the space revealed by the roof of the widow's house to summon the demons[25].

Who are the aerial demons? According to the eleventh chapter of Michael Psellus' dialogue Περὶ ἐνεργείας δαιμόνων[26], the demonic army presents a hexad and is divided into six classes[27]. The first one is the fiery demon, Leliurion (τὸ διάπυρον), who dwells high above the Earth in the air but outside the moon's space. The second class comprises the aerial demons, who reside closer to us (δεύτερον δέ, τὸ περὶ τὸν προσεχέστατον ἡμῖν ἀέρα πλαζόμενον, ὃ καὶ καλεῖσθαι παρὰ πολλοῖς ἰδίως ἀέριον). They were distinct from the other types that exist: terrestrial, aquatic and maritime, subterranean, and those that detest light and lack sensibility

[23] Translation by Г. БАТАКЛИЕВ, *Писмо*…, p. 39.

[24] Recently, Г. ПЕТРИНСКИ's comprehensive study *Образът на демона във византийската житиепис (VI–X век)*, София 2018, provides an in-depth overview of research and sources concerning Byzantine demonology.

[25] Euthymius has selectively retold the story of Terevinthos, omitting two details from CYRILLUS HIEROSOLYMITANUS, *Catecheses ad illuminandos*, VI, 23, [in:] *Cyrilli Hierosolymorum archiepiscopi opera quae supersunt omnia*, vol. II, ed. W.C. REISCHL, J. RUPP, Munich 1860, which he was following here. The first is that even in Persia, he had opponents among the followers of the god Mithras, with whom he had disputes and was rebuked. The second has to do with the specification of the summoned demons, *whom the Manichaeans to this day summon in their sacred ritual with the dried fig*, adds Cyril of Jerusalem, and further specifies in § 33: *I dare not say in what they dip the dried fig and give it to the unfortunate ones*.

[26] MICHAEL PSELLUS, *De daemonum energia seu operatione*, [in:] *PG*, vol. CXXII, ed. J.-P. MIGNE, Paris 1889, col. 844B–845A.

[27] Psellus theorises that the number six is selected because it is the first triangle number that is also uneven (τῷ πρῶτον εἶναι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦτον τρίγωνον σκαληνόν). He notes that scalene triangles are associated with the demonic (τὸ δαιμόνιον), while equilateral triangles represent the divine, and isosceles triangles are linked to the human.

(referred to as τὸ μισοφαὲς καὶ δυσαίσθητος γένος). Together with the terrestrial ones, they show some skills and capacity of reflection (τοὺς δ' ἀερίους τε καὶ χθονίους τέχνῃ καὶ περινοίᾳ μετιέναι). It was these aerial demons whom Terevinthos summoned to escape from his chasers[28]. However, the omnipotent and omniscient God prevails over them and ultimately defeats Terevinthos.

Consequently, the translation of the passage should be:

> Обаче ученикът му в злото, Теревинт, понеже останал наследник на парите и еретическите му книги, пристигнал в Юдея. Но тъй като там бил разпознат и изгонен, решил да отиде в Персия. И за да не бъде разпознат по името си и да бъде изгонен и оттам, нарекъл се Водàн. Обаче и там бил разкрит и изгонен, та избягал да се скрие при една вдовица. После се качил на покрива ѝ и се помолил на демоните от въздушните селения, но Бог го поразил, той бил съборен долу и издъхнал. Така Бог посякъл и втория звяр.

> But his disciple in evil, Terebinth, being heir of the money and of his heretical books, came to Judea. But since he was recognised and expelled there, he decided to go to Persia. So that he might not be identified by his name and be expelled from there as well, he called himself Vodan. But he was also discovered and cast out there, so he fled to hide at a widow's. Then he went up to her roof and prayed to the aerial demons, but God smote him; he was cast down below, and he breathed his last. Thus, God smote the second beast as well.

It is worth highlighting a laconic remark made by Zigabenus regarding the Bogomils' demonic division[29]. They believe that "(fallen angelic powers or demons) now inhabit waters, streams, rivers, harbours, seas, and dwell underground as immaterial spirits"[30]. In this account, the absence of the first three classes of demons likely stems from the specific sources Zigabenus was referencing. From several other places in the same chapter of the *Panoply*, however[31], there remains no doubt that, for the Bogomils, demons inhabited the entire visible world, nature and society, from man to the church temple.

Conclusion

The textual analysis of the three previously misunderstood passages in Euthymius of Acmonia's 11th-century *Letter* highlights the importance of understanding contemporary magical practices and demonological classifications when translating Byzantine heresiological sources. The story of the priest at Hieron, Lycopetros' lecanomancy ritual involving the demon Ephippas, and Terevinthos' failed

[28] For more about the daemonic classification, see R.P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief…*, p. 15–16, 202–206, along with the bibliography. For a focus on aerial demons specifically, refer to Г. Петрински, *Образът на демона…*, p. 335–371.

[29] Zigabenus, 27, col. 1300.

[30] R.P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief…*, p. 204, note 620.

[31] Zigabenus, 27, col. 1309, 1312–1313, 1316, 1329.

summoning of aerial demons shows how heretics were portrayed as desecrating sacred spaces and engaging in magical practices. The vehement condemnation expressed by Euthymius reflects the stance of the ecclesiastical institution, which regards heretics as both servants and beneficiaries of demons. A thorough understanding of the narratives of these practices is essential for accurately translating existing heresiological sources and avoiding reductionist interpretation. The revised textual interpretation offers new insights into the complex relationship between magic, demonology, and heresy, highlighting how the accusations and their stigmatising served as a powerful rhetorical tool in Christian heresiological discourse.

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The 722 Slavic Manuscript from the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest and the Polish Chronicle*

Abstract. This article is devoted to a brief Cyrillic text, known as "Polish Chronicle". Presently kept in the library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest, it was included in a 16th century Tetraevangelium (BAR, Ms. sl. 722). Only a small part of the text has survived, as the rest of the folio was cut off. It is a local chronicle from Galicia (then in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) recording various events, most of which pertain to Polish-Tatar relations. From the surviving fragment, one may conclude that it is a kind of *sylva rerum* – a form of chronicle writing which was popular in that region and during this era. Although the text is brief and poorly preserved, I believe that researchers should be familiar with it.

Keywords: Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Tartars, *sylva rerum*, local/familial chronograph tradition, Galicia

To the memory of Prof. Ştefan Andreescu

Found in the collection of the Library of the Romanian Academy (BAR – Biblioteca Academiei române), the Ms. sl. 722 manuscript (the 16th century) contains a text entitled "A chronicle of what was done in the Polish land and in which

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year". Although it is short and incompletely preserved, the text can be considered to reflect the local memory in Galicia and generally in the south-eastern parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. It seems legitimate to designate it as a kind of *sylva rerum* in spite of the fact that the chronicle is not available in its entirety and its few surviving lines are part of the manuscript containing texts of Holy Scripture and are in many respects different from the texts usually included under the classic definition of the genre[1]. Such a designation gives us some idea of the source's importance for the history of the south and south-eastern parts of the Commonwealth – a meeting place of Christians (Catholics and Orthodox) and Muslims, something of an extension of the Balkan melting pot similar to the multicultural world of the south-eastern Europe and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The manuscript is specified in the third volume of the catalogue of Slavic manuscripts in the Library of the Romanian Academy[2]. It consists of 286 folia, to which two were added at its beginning and one at its end. These additional folia remain unnumbered. Both the opening and closing sections of the manuscript contain some gaps. The folio size is 305 x 195 mm, and there are some cut leaves. When Petre P. Panaitescu worked on the codex, it was bound in leather and wooden boards. It has now been restored, and its binding is replaced with a new one. Each page consists of 19–20 lines, and the text is in a beautiful uncial or semi-uncial script. Remaining in the possession of a distinguished historian, Nicolae Iorga, the manuscript was transferred in 1953 to the Institute of History to later become part of the collection of the Library of the Romanian Academy. It represents a Tetraevangelium with liturgical instructions from the second half of the 16th century.

The right side of the first unnumbered page contains a note, probably from the manuscript's scribe, which informs us of the prayer of the servant of God Jacob that begins and completes this book[3]. There are also several notes that are not contemporary with the manuscript's preparation. I shall focus on two of them, since the third (f. 139r) only specifies a series of people's names and the days on which they worked. One note, written continuously in the lower margin of ff. 1r–6v[4], is about the purchase of the book and its delivery to the church in Breb (there is such a village in Maramureş, Romania, but it impossible to connect it for sure with the one mentioned above) on August 5, 1684. The date follows the calendar of *Anno Domini*. The note on ff. 12v–16r[5] appears continuously in the upper margin of the pages. It informs us of the purchase and restoration of the manuscript

[1] S. Skwarczińska, *Kariera literacka form rodzajowych bloku silva*, [in:] *Wokół teatru i literatury. Studia i szkice*, Warszawa 1970, p. 182–202; S. Roszak, *Ego-documents – some Remarks about Polish and European Historiographical and Methodological Experience*, BPMH 8, 2013, p. 27–42.

[2] P.P. Panaitescu, Z. Mihail, *Catalogul manuscriselor slavo-române şi slave din Biblioteca Academiei române*, vol. III, partea I-a, Bucureşti 2018, #722, p. 158–160.

[3] *Ibidem*, vol. III, #722, p. 159 (f. Ir).

[4] *Ibidem*.

[5] *Ibidem*, p. 159–160.

by Presbyter Stephen, priest of Medyn, who placed it on the throne in the Church of the Ascension of the Lord in the village of Liedyn in the Galician diocese under Bishop Jeremiah Tisarowski (1607–1641), and as lords of the district are indicated Pan Lichowski, Pan Kalowski and Pan … (the text breaks off). According to P.P. Panaitescu, Bishop Jeremiah Tisarowski occupied the see of Lviv in the first half of the 17th century. He died in 1641. He participated in the ordination of Metropolitan Peter Mohyla.

The manuscript cannot be dated by the notes. There is a watermark of a shield with a cross featuring two intersecting horizontal lines and a crown above it. For this figure, see No. 1384–1386 from the Catalogue of Alexandru Mareş. This paper was produced in the workshop in Prądnik Czerwony, near Krakow[6]. At the same time, the annex table for these numbers indicates the years 1542–1543–1553, i.e. around the middle of the 16th century[7]. Toward the end of the manuscript (from f. 281 onward), there is also a watermark of a "boar". Typologically, it resembles watermarks presented in Nos. 338–386 in the catalogue of A. Mareş, but it is not a complete match with any of them. The paper was produced in the workshop in Schweidnitz (now Świdnica in Poland)[8] throughout the entire 16th century (except for the first two decades)[9]. From this perspective, the information found in the third volume of the manuscript's catalogue can be ignored, not because it is misleading but because it is irrelevant.

The description of the chronicle provided by P.P. Panaitescu and Z. Mihail in the same third volume of the catalogue of Slavic manuscripts gives us some idea of its content. One might certainly add some details to the description, but this problem will not be dealt with in the below.

The focus of what follows is on the so-called Polish chronicle. Only 14 lines of it have survived. Its end is missing, since the folio was cut off. A different text concludes on the *recto* page, on which the spine and the entire lower part were blank. It is on this spine (f. 11v) that our text is written. Its lower part was cut off. Only the upper part of the last line is visible, but there were certainly more. The text bears a title and is not part of another text of the manuscript. It was prepared in Ruthenia, which is explicitly mentioned, and its focus is on the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, of which Ruthenia was a part at that time.

The chronicle text sets itself apart from the manuscript's main Gospel text. It was written in dark ink and certainly came later than the latter, although in the same era. Its handwriting is different and hastier. Years and events (or disasters)

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[6] A. Mareș, *Filigranele hîrtiei întrebuințate în țările române în secolului al XVI-lea*, București 1987, p. XXXI.

[7] *Ibidem*, p. 411.

[8] Ch.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600*, Paris 1907, p. 674 (https://archive.org/details/BriquetLesFiligranes4/page/n61/mode/2up [9 VIII 2025]); A. Mareș, *Filigranele…*, p. XXIX.

[9] A. Mareș, *Filigranele…*, p. 391–392.

indicated on the left side of the page are probably additions to the chronicle's main text. The events are arranged by year, according to the calendar of the Nativity of Jesus Christ (*Anno Domini*). Some of the events bore relevance for the whole Commonwealth, but most were only of local importance.

The text is in poor condition. It deteriorated during the restoration of the manuscript's main text and some parts are practically illegible.

BAR, Ms. sl. 722, f. 11v

	Кр҃ни҃ка цр҃ѡ дѣ́ало в҃ зе́ли по҃ско҃ и҆ кото҃ро҃ рока
	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ ка҃, Тата́ре зво҆е́вали зе́лю по҃скою
	и҆ подо҃скою и҆ погда҃скою.
ро҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ мв҃,	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ м҃..[10] То҆́ки ро́гати выстѝнали́
сира́ча бы	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ ма҃[11] Бива́ сока́скаа̀ была̀ .
вѣкаа	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ мв҃ Сира́ча бы́ла́ вели́каа.
	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ оа҃ жито моро҃з҃ поморо҃зи.
	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ о҃г Татаре покроскїе бы́ли по҃ и҆во́во҃ вто
ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ о҃и	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ пв҃ при кро стефа҃в полаци коледа҃ а҃ ѿмѣни́ли
зе́лаа трава́ла	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ пд҃ ѡ҃ ст҃ѣ[12] были татаре. в҃ зе́ли рѣко
свѣ не́ вто	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ чд҃ мца́ и҆ю́нѧ к҃з҃ татаре и҆сто́ка҃и҃ гали́ спа
	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ ф҃ пи҃ на ц҃ѣ маи҃илюана пома̀ .
	ро҃ б҃ ѓа҃ х҃ в҃і Това́ вы҃дыха̀ на голо. и҆ сара́ча была
	великаа вто҃.. рокѣ ѕ҃ татаре тлю҆дровали по ко҃[13]

Translation[14]:

	A chronicle of what happened in the Polish land and in which year.
	Anno Domini 1524 the Tatars conquered the Polish land
	And Podolia, and Bogdania.
anno 1532	Anno Domini 15 .. ..[15] The Turks invaded the Rogatin
there were locusts	Anno Domini 1531 (1535?) the Battle of Sokal took place
lot of	Anno Domini 1532 there were a lot of locusts
	Anno Domini 1571 the wheat froze from (great) cold
	Anno Domini 1573 The Pokrov (?) Tatars reached Lviv .. ..[16]
Anno Domini 1578	Anno Domini 1582 Under King Stephen, the Poles changed the calendar

[10] Illisible.

[11] м҃е҃?

[12] Or с҃пс҃ѣ?

[13] The folio was cut and that last line is damaged: part of it is missing and the transcript is uncertain. The last word or part of the word could be ко҃т҃.

[14] The surviving part of the chronicle in question is in very poor condition. It contains large gaps and many unclear fragments. Therefore, its translation is uncertain and often inconsistent. My goal is to identify the events to which it refers in order to grasp its nature and message.

[15] Illegible numbers.

[16] Illegible, unclear.

The earth quaked.	Anno Domini 1584 .. .. .. ???[17] Tatars were in the Ruthenian land
Whole week VTOK???[18]	Anno Domini 1594, On June, 27, the Tatars destroyed Galich, ... (??)[19]
	Anno Domini 1588 we were taken by tsar (= emperor) Maximilian.
	Anno Domini 1612 a great trouble befell us, and there were locusts many that year; the Tatars plundered houses

One can obtain a better understanding of the text by tracing the events to which it refers.

1. The Tatar invasion in 1524

Here, the chronicle refers to one of the period's many military clashes between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Tatars. The year 1524 was filled with various significant events. The one in question most likely concerned the invasion of the south-eastern parts of the Polish-Lithuanian state by the Crimean army led by two brothers Islam and Özbek Giray[20]. The invasion was part of the Khanate's internal power struggle between the two brothers and Khan Saadet Giray. It was also linked to the Ottomans' efforts to force the Tatars to join the war against Hungary. It is worth noting that both Moldavia (referred to as "Bogdania", the name the Ottomans usually used) and Podolia are mentioned among the conquered territories. Undoubtedly, Moldavia came under attack and was subjected to plunder, but the attack was resisted by the local authorities and Prince Stephen the Young, who, assisted by the Poles, managed to defeat the Ottoman-Tatar army at Tărăsăuţi on the Prut River (11 June 1524)[21]. It is therefore unclear why the event is described as a Tatar conquest of the Polish lands, Podolia and Bogdania (Moldavia). Perhaps such a local chronicle simply reflected how the local population perceived various events and should not be expected to offer an accurate account of them.

2. (15..)

The phrase concerns an Ottoman invasion. Unfortunately, its year is not preserved in the text. The sequence of the narration seems to indicate that the event should be dated to the second half of the 1620s. However, since the chronicle misdates the Battle of Sokal, this dating can hardly be certain. Sigismund the Old, who ruled

[17] Illegible, unclear.
[18] Illegible, unclear.
[19] Illegible, unclear.
[20] D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania. International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Centuries). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by an Annotated Edition of Relevant Documents*, Leiden–Boston 2011 [= OEH, 47], p. 65–66.
[21] O. Cristea, *The Friend of My Friend and the Enemy of My Enemy: Romanian Participation in the Ottoman Campaigns*, [in:] *The European Tributary State of the Ottoman Empire in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. G. Kárman, L. Kunčević, Leiden–Boston 2013 [= OEH, 53], p. 260.

Poland in the years 1507–1548, maintained relatively good and peaceful relations with the Ottoman Empire[22]. Yet, there were several conflicts one should pay attention to in order to identify the event referred to in the chronicle. One of those conflicts pertained to Suleiman I's rise to power, his conquest of Belgrade (1521) and his intention to subjugate Hungary. As the house of the Jagiellons also ruled in Buda, Kraków naturally sent support, thus provoking a conflict. The Ottomans reached Lviv (Lemberg, Lwów), and the prospect of a Muscovite-Tatar-Ottoman alliance forced Sigismund to seek peace. As a result, the 1525 *ahdname* was edicted[23]. When the Ottomans placed Jan Zápolya on the throne of Hungary, his rule was challenged by Ferdinand von Habsburg. The ensuing situation, as well as the actions of the Moldavian Prince Petru Rareş, created a tension between Ottoman Empire and the Habsburgs, which in turn opened the way for the Polish-Ottoman cooperation[24].

Worth noting is the mention of "Rogatin" which the Ottomans also invaded. This may have been the Galician city of Rohatyn (now in Ukraine). It lay in the way of foreign attacks from the South. Its location is practically in the same historical area and the name used in the chronicle follows the phonetic particularities of the local speech. There is evidence that the Moldavian ruler Bogdan III conquered and plundered the city in 1509[25].

3. (1531/1535?) The battle of Sokal

This fragment presents the problem of dating. It concerns the Battle of Sokal between the Podolian-Galician aristocracy, led by the great hetman Konstantin Ostrogsky, and the Crimean Tatar troops commanded by Bogatyr Giray. The battle followed a period of alliance between the two countries. However, Crimea's union with Moscow complicated its relations with the Polish-Lithuanians Commonwealth[26]. The clash occurred on the banks of the Bug River, near the town of Sokal. Ostrogsky's troops were defeated by the much larger Tatar army. However, the new confrontation with the Muscovites brought about the Tatars' new rapprochement with the Poles, although the battle clearly left long-lasting emotional consequences.

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[22] D. Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th–18th Centuries). An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents*, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2000 [= OEH, 18], p. 113–119.

[23] *Ibidem*, p. 116–117.

[24] *Ibidem*, p. 116–119.

[25] *Cronicile slavo-române din sec. XV–XVI publicate de Ion Bogdan*, ed. P.P. Panaitescu, Bucureşti 1959, p. 182; M.-M. Szekely, *Un gest de putere al lui Bogdan al III-lea şi semnificaţia lui*, [in:] *Putna, ctitorii ei şi lumea lor*, Bucureşti 2011, p. 99–106.

[26] S. Herbst, *Bitwa pod Sokalem 2 VIII 1519*, [in:] idem, *Potrzeba historii*, vol. II, Warszawa 1978, p. 296; J. Tyszkiewicz, *Sojusze nieprzyjaciół i bitwa pod Sokalem 2 sierpnia 1519 r.*, [in:] *Afryka, Orient, Polska. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Dziubińskiemu w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. S. Kuczyński, A. Rachuba, M. Tymowski, Warszawa 2007, p. 145–153; D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*…, p. 54.

It took place on 2 August 1519. In the chronicle under discussion, it is recorded under 1531 or, depending on how the text is interpreted, under 1535. This is a significant discrepancy that can hardly be put down to a simple error, especially since the spelling of the Greco-Slavic numbers for 19 and 31/35 is completely different.

4. (1532) Locust invasion

I have not been able to identify this event. There were many locust invasions during the fourth and fifth decades of the 16th century. The real disaster occurred in 1539–1544[27], and it became the reason why the ruler of Moldavia obtained the nickname Ștefan Lăcustă (1538–1540), (Ștephen the Locust).

5. (1571)

Frost damage to crops. I have not been able to identify this specific event.

6. (1573) Tatars reached Lviv (Lemberg, Lwów)

The first royal election held in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth was the main event in Polish history that can be connected with this date. On 7 July 1572, King Sigismund II Augustus died childless, leaving no heir to succeed him and continue the dynasty. This situation opened the way for the *szlachta* (nobility) to elect the king. There were several candidates. Various sections of Polish society differed in their preferences for particular candidates, as did different European powers: the Habsburgs of Austria and Spain, the protestants and Muscovy as well as France and its Ottoman allies. The proceedings of the Convocation and Election Sejms (Diets) dragged on until finally the French prince, Henri de Valois, Duke d'Anjou was elected King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania. The following history is well known. The issue to address here concerns the intervention of foreign, especially Ottoman, powers in the election. The Sultan was certainly interested in the election's results[28]. In their efforts to affect it, the Ottomans used, among others, their Crimean allies and vassals[29]. The episode that the chronicle referred to may have been linked with the Ottoman pressure to secure the victory of the French

[27] See P. Cernovodeanu, P. Binder, *Cavalerii Apocalipsului. Calamitățile naturale din trecutul României (până la 1800)*, București 1993, p. 49–50.

[28] K. Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischer Archivalien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der osmanischen Machtspolitik*, München 1976.

[29] J. Rypka, *Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Ferīdūns Münšeāt*, [in:] *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Th. Menzel, Leipzig 1932, p. 241–269; K. Wawrzyniak, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relation in the Sixteenth Century*, Dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts in History, Bilkent University, Ankara 2003, p. 51–53; D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*…, p. 101–102.

candidate and prevent the election of the Habsburg. This is nothing but a hypothesis. However, the main question that arises here is why the local chronicle referred to this issue. Was it considered very important?

Another question is why the Tartars were called "Pokrov" (*Tatary Pokrovskie*). This may have been a local classification following some Christian landmark (monastery, agglomeration, etc.). The scribe may have meant a group of baptised Tartars allied with Moscow.

7. (1582) King Stephen Bathory adopted the Gregorian calendar

This change took place immediately after Pope Gregory XIII published the encyclical *Inter gravissima*. Consequently, in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 4 October 1582, was followed by 15 October 1582. The chronicler's compiler must have found it worthy of mention.

8. (1584) The invasion of the Tatars in Russian/Ruthenian land

This record is very brief and as such leaves little room for interpretation. It immediately follows the announcement of King Stephen Bathory's change of calendar. The year mentioned is 1584. The phrase can be linked to the complex political situation Central and Eastern Europe found itself in during that time. The election of Stephen Bathory as King of the Polish-Lithuanian Kingdom not only definitely ended the rule of the Jagiellonian dynasty but, because Stephen actually owed his power to the nobles' votes, it also caused concerns for the future stability of the political system. Reference to the invasion of Tatars into the Ruthenian land may pertain to the tension that arose in connection with the rise of two political blocs – one regarding the Ottoman Empire and the other the Habsburgs and Moscow[30]. It is thus possible to claim that the chronicler probably meant Ruthenian and not Russian lands, and in the context of the 16th century Ruthenian lands most likely referred to Eastern Galicia.

9. (1594, June 27) The Tatar attack on Galich/Halych

This Tatar invasion, along with its impact on south-eastern Europe, and especially on Walachia and Moldavia[31], has received much attention in Polish historiography[32]. It was part of a bigger confrontation between the Holy Roman Empire,

[30] K. Wawrzyniak, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relation*…, p. 55–63.

[31] D. Milewski, *Między patronatem i współpracą – relacje Jana Zamoyskiego i hospodara mołdawskiego Jeremiego Mohyły (1595–1605)*, WSiN tom specjalny, 2012, p. 11–31.

[32] A. Czołowski, *Tatarzy w Karpatach w 1594 r. Epizod z najazdów tatarskich na Polskę*, ZSz 1.4, 1938, p. 6–24. See also A. Türk, *The Crimean Khanate under the Reign of Gazi Giray II*, A Master's Thesis, Ankara, Bilkent University 2000, p. 33–34.

the Roman church and their allies on the one hand, and the Ottoman Empire and its allies on the other[33]. The struggle between Poland and the Tatars arose as a collateral effect of the confrontation. Throughout the 16th and the 17th centuries, Tatars often invaded and devastated Halych, an important fortress and the eponymous city of Galicia. Since the Ottoman-Polish wars of the previous époque, the city had been attacked several times. This particular assault was probably linked to the aforementioned war between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburgs (1593–1606). The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was not part of the conflict, but it suffered damage due to the Tatars' passage through its lands[34]. At the sultan's insistence, the Khanate established peaceful relations with Moscow and sent troops to Hungary and Transylvania. The Tatars' march through Polish territory left behind the usual trail of destruction. These events clearly fit into the chronicle's context. However, the chronicle's chronology is not fully consistent with the existing knowledge of this well-documented episode. The Tatars are known to have marched through Carpathians at the end of June and beginning of July 1594. Poland mobilised its forces and tried to prevent their passage across its territory. According to the chronicle, Halych came under attack on 27 June. However, the attack is known to have taken place from the 5th to the 7th of July[35]. This discrepancy may be important only in terms of determining the chronicle's reliability, which is not my goal here. The mistake probably lay with the local chronicler.

Another significant issue that arises in connection with these events concerns the status of the Principality of Moldavia. The Polish army, led by Jan Zamoyski, entered its territory and placed Jeremiah Mohyla on its throne[36]. At that time, Poland exercised much influence on Moldavia's affairs, continuing to support the dynasty of Mohyla (Movilă, Mogila, Mohyła)[37].

10. (1588) The war of the Polish succession

The chronicle also refers to Maximilian III von Habsburg, Archduke of Austria, and the events surrounding the election of Stephen Báthory's successor. Maximilian III is referred to as "Tsar = Emperor", an error that probably arose because he belonged to the dynasty that ruled the Holy Roman Empire or because his father Maximilian II who actually was the Holy Roman Emperor had sought the Polish

[33] A. Czołowski, *Tatarzy w Karpatach w 1594 r*…, p. 6–8.

[34] D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*…, p. 111–112.

[35] A. Czołowski, *Tatarzy w Karpatach w 1594 r*…, p. 16–18.

[36] D. Kołodziejczyk, *Polish-Ottoman Diplomatic Relations*…, p. 126–127.

[37] A. Pippidi, *Ieremia Movilă. Schiță de portret*, [in:] *Movileștii. Istorie și spiritualitate românească*, vol. II, Sucevița 2006, p. 79–92; C.A. Bobicescu, *Între integrare și păstrarea autonomiei. Modelul polonez și controlul domnilor în Moldova și Țara Românească la cumpăna secolelor XVI–XVII*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 227–247; C. Rezachevici, *Dimensiunea Polonă a activității lui Ieremia Movilă în lumina izvoarelor vremii*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 249–262; O. Cristea, *Puterea cuvintelor: știri și război în sec. XV–XVI*, Târgoviște 2014, p. 63–64.

throne against Stephen Báthory in 1576. After Báthory's death (1586), Archduke Maximilian von Habsburg joined the contest for the Polish throne. He claimed he had won, but some portion of Polish nobles refused to recognise him. Their refusal resulted in the outbreak of the War of the Polish Succession which Maximilian lost to Sigismund III Vasa. Maximilian von Habsburg renounced his claims as late as 1598. These events were part of the Habsburgs' struggle to establish their position in the countries of Central Europe. In this case, Maximilian's action certainly affected the entire Polish-Lithuanian state and as such found its reflection in the chronicle.

11. (1578, 1612) Locusts and other disasters

It is worth noting that the text lists several records of disasters, some of which include natural ones[38]. Among them, locust invasions stand out. They are mentioned twice under 1532 (probably a repetition of the same message) and then again under 1612. The chronicle also reports frost damage to wheat (1571) and an earthquake (1578). One might try to confirm that these events occurred, but it would add little substance to the main goal of our analysis, although such a confirmation would certainly speak in favour of the reliability of the chronicle. It should also be stressed that records, noted to the right of the main text, seem to be later additions. It is impossible to state categorically, but it is quite remarkable that they all pertain to natural disasters: the locusts in 1532 and the earthquake in 1578. References to natural disasters also appear in the main body of the text. Recorded under 1612, information about locust is accompanied by a reference to the Tatar invasion, although 1612 does not seem to be the specific year in which the invasion took place. The period 1610–1615 saw some tension in Central and Eastern Europe. The causes of it lay in the conquest of Moscow by the Polish army and in the strained relations between Poland and Crimea. These relations deteriorated as a result of Polish army's intervention in Moldavia in support of the Mohyla family[39]. It can be argued that these events are reflected in the chronicle under consideration.

* * *

This so-called "Polish Chronicle", written on the blank back of f. 11v, can be claimed as a later addition to the manuscript's Tetraevangelium. It has not survived in its entirety. The bottom page of the folio was cut off, probably because the Gospel text occupied only the upper part of the right side of the leaf. As the manuscript dates

[38] For these events, see P. Cernovodeanu, P. Binder, *Cavalerii Apocalipsului…*, *passim*.

[39] D. Skorupa, *Stosunki polsko-tatarskie 1595–1623*, Warszawa 2004, p. 172–187; D. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania…*, p. 124–126.

to the second half of the 16th century, while the added "chronicle" mentions events from 1612, we have reason to believe that it is later than the main text of the codex. The chronicle lines must have come from a different text, where events might have been recorded periodically.

The chronicle was created in Ruthenia, most likely in Galicia, as attested by both its language and its content. Also, it should be stressed that during this period those who used Cyrillic did not typically count years according to the *Anno Domini* calendar. The chronicle reports events regarding the Polish south as well as Poland's relations with Crimea and the Ottoman Empire. Such events as the adoption of the Gregorian calendar and Maximilian's attempts to take the Polish throne may seem exceptional in that they concerned the entire Commonwealth. However, the adoption of the new calendar must have been shocking to the Orthodox and the Habsburg's action clearly affected the South. The chronicle makes no reference to such significant issues as the Commonwealth's relations with Germanic states or the Teutonic Order, and Muscovy is mentioned only in the context of relations with the Tatars.

The text can be viewed as a fragment of a local book of historical events, both political and natural (mostly disastrous), that took place in the domain of a provincial landlord who found them worthy of commemoration. Known as *sylva rerum*, these books were created by representatives of local communities or by landlords' family members[40]. The text has not survived in its entirety, and nothing is known about its author. He certainly did not represent a high literary culture, nor can he be given credit for sound historical knowledge. The "chronicle" contains many mistakes, and the scribe most likely referred to events that had occurred long before he recorded them. This type of scripture is characteristic of family chronicles. There is no clear evidence to suggest that the text in question was a kind of "family record", but it seems closest to that genre. Given the brevity of the preserved fragment, it is difficult to make far-reaching generalisations. The existing knowledge of the "Polish chronicle" is devoid of any specific details. However, one can assume that the manuscript's main text drew from a variety of local records. I have not been able to identify any of them. Experts on Polish history need to investigate this issue further.

Despite all the reservations one can raise about the text in question, those regarding, for example, the mediocrity of its author or the fact that there survives only a small part of it, it is interesting in that it comes from the meeting place of the Orthodox, Catholics and Muslims and, especially, that it represents the local memory of various events.

[40] S. Skwarczyńska, *Kariera literacka form rodzajowych…*, p. 182–202; S. Roszak, *Ego-documents…*, p. 27–42.

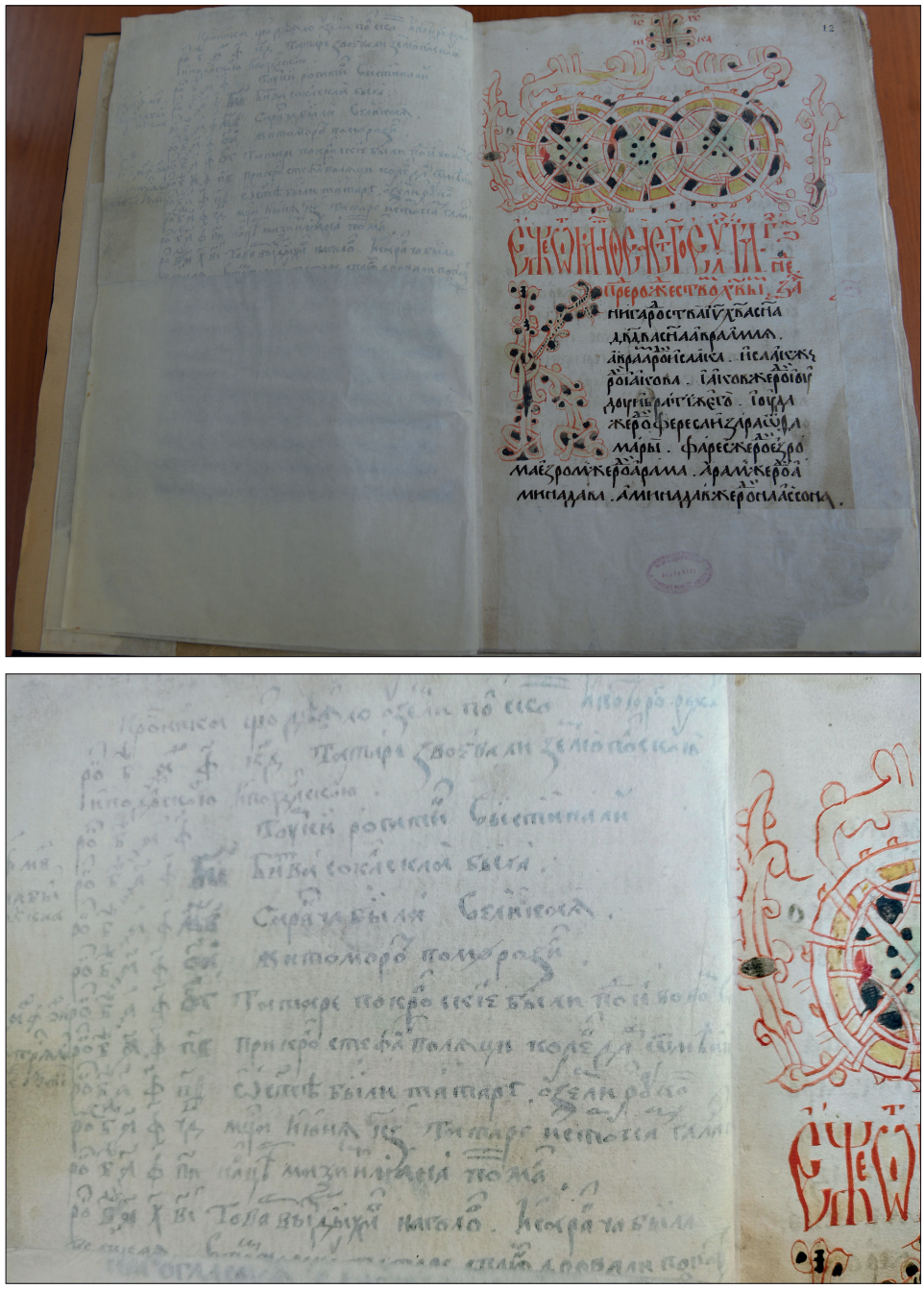


Fig. 1–2. The Polish chronicle in the Slavic manuscript No 722 of the Library of the Romanian Academy in Bucharest (BAR, Ms. sl. 722, f. 11v, 16th century)

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Beautiful and 'Fiery in Spirit'? The Complexity of the Image of Emperor Isaac II Angelos in the *History* by Niketas Choniates

Abstract. The depiction of Isaac II Angelos in the *History* of Niketas Choniates, rounded off with the full description of the emperor in the final paragraph of the account on his first reign (1185–1195), is by far the most complex of all imperial portrayals penned by the respectable historian. The outdated, typically negative image of Isaac II in modern historiography is based only on the surface level of Choniates' intricate historical narrative, which has been analyzed in greater depth only in the more recent studies. As this paper shall hopefully demonstrate, despite of all literary distortion of his personality, Isaac II remains the most realistically represented character in the *History*, and the most tangible one, embodying the author's philosophical-anthropological thought on human nature. The aforementioned description represents a set of authentic body features that meet the criteria of the Byzantine (male) beauty ideal, but it possibly connotes additional meaning, thus making the overall portrayal of Isaac II in the *History* uniquely complete.

Keywords: Isaac II Angelos, Niketas Choniates, Byzantine literature, imperial image, Byzantine beauty ideal

> Ἦρξε δὲ Ῥωμαίων Ἰσαάκιος ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐννέα σὺν μησὶν ἑπτά, φλογερὸς ὢν τὴν ὄψιν, τὴν τρίχα πυρσός, τὴν ἡλικήαν μέσος, τὴν ἰσχὺν εὔρωστος, οὔπω τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη γεγενημένος, ὀπηνίκα καθήρητο τῆς ἀρχῆς[1].

The ending lines of the third and the last book on the reign of Isaac II Angelos (1185–1195) represent the only complete and, in all likelihood, an authentic contemporary imperial portrait in the *History* of Niketas Choniates. Isaac reigned

[1] *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.-L. Van Dieten, Berlin–New York 1975 (cetera: Choniates), p. 452.

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for nine years and seven months, he had a ruddy complexion, red/blonde hair, was of average height, strongly built, healthy and vigorous, and not even forty years old when dethroned, Choniates writes. There are not many character descriptions in the *History* that could be compared to that of Isaac. Unlike Michael Psellos and Anna Komnene, his literary predecessors and, to an extent, role models within the historical genre, Niketas did not pay so much attention to his protagonists' physical appearance, concerned more with their personality than with their looks. He does not avoid describing people altogether, but even physiognomies of some emperors are left to our imagination.

In terms of its content and detail, the said portrait of Isaac II resembles Choniates' description of the young Manuel I Komnenos upon the latter's ascension to the throne, whereby the newly proclaimed emperor is represented as a youth of a pleasant countenance, of dark complexion, tall and slightly stooped[2]. However, this visualization of the twenty-four year old Manuel is secondary, since the historian was not even born at the time the event took place (1143). Viewed from the point of contemporaneity, the description of Isaac could be compared only to the impressive but not as comprehensive or definite image of his predecessor Andronikos I Komnenos, whose old age received quite an ambiguous, if not outward contradictory treatment from Choniates. Conversely, the description of Isaac is neat, straightforward and neutral in tone, regardless of the predominately reproachful attitude in the *History* when it comes to his character traits. Furthermore, the list of body features attributed to Isaac in the historical account matches the encomiums addressed to this emperor, including those authored by Niketas himself. Somewhat surprisingly, the description of Isaac II is not comparable to that of his own brother and usurper of his throne, Alexios Angelos, whose reign was next recounted in the *History*. Reaching the highest point of his career under Alexios III, Choniates was undoubtedly familiar with both the emperor's appearance and personality – for reasons not quite certain, Alexios had not been attributed a single physical characteristic.

In narrative sources, as well as in literature in general, physical descriptions aim to bring important characters to life, thus making the story more tangible and its lead actors closer to the reader. Bearing in mind the scarcity of physical descriptions in the *History*, we must assume that those provided were considered important by the author himself. Uninterested into presenting full body images of his protagonists, Choniates does not describe side characters into much detail either, as, for instance, Ana Komnene does; her descriptions of Robert Guiscard, the young Constantine Doukas, or Bohemond of Taranto are fine examples of such elaborate portraits[3]. However, isolated body parts and physical characteristics

[2] Choniates, p. 50–51.

[3] *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. D.R. Reinsch, A. Kamblys, Berlin–New York 2001 [= *CFHB*, 40] (cetera: Anna Comnena), p. 35, 88, 412.

of the minor figures in the *History* are often highlighted in relation to an imperial protagonist, in order better to evoke a certain situation and/or the emperor's personality, rather than to represent those characters alone. Thus, for example, the tall stature and beauty of *caesar* Alexios Komnenos, along with his noble nature, points to the injustice brought upon him by Andronikos I and Isaac II[4]. The conjoined eyebrows of Constantine Mesopotamites certainly deepen the notion of his clever and resourceful nature, but only in an inextricable connection with Isaac II, whose favorite he was[5]. In the account of the agitation in Hagia Sophia on 12th September 1185, which resulted in Isaac Angelos being proclaimed the Emperor of the Romans, the future sovereign embodies the antithesis of the 'crazy old man with a forked beard', Andronikos I, as well as of his bald (i.e. *aged*) uncle John, who offered himself in place of his hesitant nephew. Still relatively young at the time, Isaac was obviously seen as a suitable candidate for the throne, juxtaposed to two much older men, even though Choniates does not specifically emphasize his age or appearance in this episode, and is very reluctant to represent him as a true champion[6].

A cursory look into the given description does not reveal what kind of impression about Isaac II the historian wanted to convey to the reader. It appears informative and *positively* neutral, even though the entire narrative revolves around the emperor's flawed persona. The failure of emperors to live up to the imperial ideal emerges as one of the main themes of the pessimistic narrative of the *History*, with Isaac being only one in the line, albeit the most relentlessly criticized. Similar in form and narration style to accounts on Manuel I and Andronikos I, the imperial biography of Isaac II Angelos is by far the most personalized and at the same time the most distorted one in the *History*, as aptly put by Alicia Simpson[7]. The contemporary account of the *History* in true sense begins with the ascension of Isaac Angelos to the throne, whom Choniates then served occupying various important offices, steadily climbing up the ladder of the imperial administration. Therefore, the account on Isaac's reign is characterized by the strong authorial presence, adding to the uniquely vivid portrayal of the emperor, and it proves to be anything but objective. Compelling and seductive, *Choniates' truth* about Isaac is deceptive; it represents a tangled tissue of facts and speculations, latent and manifest functions of the content, the writer's personal impressions and the real traits of his master. His judgment cannot be accepted *de facto*, while at the same time the historian must be trusted – it is the transparency of his personal experience of the emperor that makes the narration on Isaac II so exceptional. Out of all

[4] Choniates, p. 425–427. This Alexios Komnenos was an illegitimate son of Emperor Manuel I, formerly a *sebastokrator*.

[5] Choniates, p. 440–441.

[6] Choniates, p. 345.

[7] A. Simpson, *Niketas Choniates. A Historiographical Study*, Oxford 2013 [= OSB], p. 143–144, 182.

emperors discussed in the *History*, Isaac II is by far the most vividly portrayed one; apart from the full body description, Niketas particularly graphically describes his emotionally charged physical reactions: blushing and a forced smile in a tense conversation with Conrad of Monferrat, a grim face because of an inappropriate joke told at the table, a frown because of the troubles on the battlefield[8]. Moreover, he is the livliest and the most tangible character in the whole narrative of the *History*.

In addition, the story of Isaac Angelos goes well beyond the three books covering his pivotal reign and its tone is overall ambiguous, with variations in intensity of the criticism towards him depending on the version of the text[9]. Isaac was introduced into the *History* as a tyrant-slayer and one of the six Angeloi brothers opposing the cruel reign of Andronikos I, "all young in heart and brave in deed"[10], but as the narrative unfolds and we get to know him into greater detail, he does not strike an impressive figure. By the end of his reign, Choniates would seek to deprive him of all his virtues, either by diminishing his good qualities through the exposure of the downsides that came along or by ascribing them to higher powers – God and human nature. However, it must be noted that the historian nevertheless saved some words of genuine praise for Isaac.

The answer to the question of *why* Choniates wrote about Isaac II the way he did, including the final passage, lies within the multiple (negative) motivations behind the narrative on this emperor. To understand this, we first ought to take a look into the complicated process of the composition of the *History*. The text was penned through five stages from which the two main versions emerged, one written before the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, and the other in years after the catastrophe; the variants were designated *b(revior)* and *a(uctior)* by van Dieten, respectively[11]. The original version was written only after Alexios III donned the purple, as convincingly argued by Simpson, following van Dieten's exhaustive study of the manuscript transmission[12]. Therefore, none of the versions could have been in favor of Isaac Angelos. The positive depiction of the deposed emperor would certainly not have benefited the propaganda of his successor, the 'fratricidal' Alexios III, whose sinful act against Isaac was at great pains justified in the original version[13]. Later redactions were influenced by the events of 1204, with the writer blaming both Angeloi brothers, as well as their predecessors, for the city's downfall. Second, unique authorial intrusions reveal genuine frustration

[8] Choniates, p. 384, 442, 431.

[9] For a general overview of Choniates' account on the reign of Isaac II see A. Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*…, p. 170–182.

[10] Choniates, p. 227, 245.

[11] A. Simpson, *Before and After 1204: The Versions of Niketas Choniates' "Historia"*, DOP 60, 2006, p. 194.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 196–205.

[13] Eadem, *Niketas Choniates*…, p. 96.

concerning some of the emperor's actions, mostly those that affected Niketas personally. For example, the historian does not refrain from showing his discontent towards contradictory instructions regarding the fortifications around Philippopolis at the time of the Third crusade, that is, the passage of Frederick Barbarossa's army over the imperial lands. Since the province was under authority of Choniates at that time, all the burden of carrying out the inconsistent imperial orders fell on him. In addition, he informs us about a private heated argument he had with the emperor about the troublesome policy towards Barbarossa and the bad treatment of German envoys in Constantinople. In the historian's own words, he omitted what was said between the emperor and himself, because it was "deserving more of condemnation than of praise", which also testifies to the level of freedom Choniates had before his sovereign[14]. On the note of his proximity to the emperor, not only that Niketas performed a series of important functions under Isaac II, but he also belonged to the generation of Angeloi brothers, if he was not even the same age as Isaac, which might have played a part in their relationship[15]. It is impossible to deduce how close they were beyond official roles, for Niketas' *Kaiserkritik* can be misleading to that matter. But if we were to delve into his feelings towards Isaac at the time he served him, we may look into the historian's derogatory literary treatment of his friend and colleague Constantine Mesopotamites. The ambitious Mesopotamites, with whom the historian otherwise kept an active correspondence, likely earned his bad reputation in the *History* by not helping out Choniates and his family during their hardships after the catastrophe of 1204[16]. By way of analogy, the complaints against Isaac do not necessarily mean that Niketas disliked him as much as he made us think. Nevertheless, his close experience of the emperor is evident in the *History* and it undoubtedly influenced his *Kaiserkritik*, apart from the 'formal' motivations.

The neutral tone of the description of Isaac II avoids proper evaluation of his body image, although the quality of one's physical appearance is almost always in close connection with the status of the character within the work of Byzantine literature, as also seen in the *History*. For example, Choniates is careful not to offend the memory of Manuel I by avoiding an open statement about his dark complexion, a feature considered undesirable at the time; he obviously wanted to represent him as a good-looking, favorable character, even though he would later criticize some of his actions. The historian does not hold back his admiration for the manly physique of Andronikos I, despite of occasional and deliberate emphasis

[14] Choniates, p. 402, 410.

[15] Niketas was born between 1150 and 1160, with a later date being more likely (see A. Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*…, p. 12–13). Based on the quoted paragraph from the *History*, Isaac Angelos was born in 1156 (see K. Варzос, *Η γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. II, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, p. 807).

[16] For an insight into Choniates' connection with Mesopotamites, see A. Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*…, p. 33–36.

on the latter's advanced age, meant to tarnish his overall imposing figure[17]. Choniates mentions nothing about the appearance of Alexios III, possibly due to a shift in the narrative focus in the books covering his reign, leading to the emperor no longer being the central figure[18]. Keeping in mind that the historian knew both Angeloi brothers very well, the somber tone of the narration on Alexios III, along with the depiction of the emperor as a man of feeble nature, give an impression of a personality that did not fascinate Choniates as much as Isaac did, for better or for worse. The omission of the physical description of Alexios III, especially when compared to the lively portrait of Isaac II, did not catch the attention of modern historians, even though it might be of great value for understanding individual depictions of the Angeloi brothers in the *History*, as well as the contemporary perception of their reigns. Preoccupation with events rather than with the title character was certainly induced by the magnitude of effects caused by the Fourth crusade, but the shift in focus could also be seen as one aspect of portraying Alexios III. The narration is passive, without distinct authorial presence, in contrast to the dynamic imperial biography of Isaac II, with whom Niketas is personally involved. The complete absence of his interaction with Alexios III, which certainly cannot be ruled out in reality, may speak of the weak impression that the emperor 'with the cotton bat' (Βαμβακοράβδης) has left on the historian[19]. Subtle variations in the narration style reflect the contrasting personalities of the Angeloi brothers, as well as their different status within the *History*, even though embittered historian identifies one with the other on several occasions, delivering them a joint guilty verdict for the calamities that befell the Empire with the arrival of the Venetian-crusader troops in 1203[20].

Choniates' motives aside, viewed from the perspective of the Byzantine ideal of (male) beauty, all of the listed body features in the description of Isaac Angelos meet its basic criteria. A light complexion prone to blushing, blond or red hair, a strong, healthy body, all these have been replicated throughout Byzantine literature as a set of the most appealing physical traits[21]. Narrative sources and eulogies from the Komnenoi and Angeloi era illustrate the importance of a desirable physical appearance very well. The *History* is not an exception, regardless of the scarcity of body images. Choniates is not indifferent to the beautiful people he

[17] Choniates, p. 273, 345, 351. For the specific literary treatment of Andronikos I in the *History*, see R. Saxey, *The Homeric Metamorphoses of Andronikos I Komnenos*, [in:] *Niketas Choniates. A Historian and a Writer*, ed. A. Simpson, S. Efthymiadis, Geneva 2009, p. 124–143.

[18] Cf. A. Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*…, p. 143–145.

[19] In several manuscripts of the *History*, the nickname was included in the titles of the chapters on Alexios III.

[20] The best examples of this identification are Choniates' reversal of the Dioscuri myth and a fictional speech delivered by the Bulgarian leader Asen. See Choniates, p. 452, 466–467.

[21] On the ideals of (male) beauty in Byzantium, with the focus on the Komnenoi era literature and related texts, see M. Hatzaki, *Beauty and Male Body in Byzantium. Perceptions and Representations in Art and Text*, New York 2009, p. 7–32, 60.

saw or knew of. The entourage of Andronikos I, made up of selected young men of tall stature and fair hair, the attractive, blonde Renier of Montferrat, the 'false Alexios' of Cilicia with his long, blond-red hair, all of them are perfect examples of Niketas' understanding of the dominant perception of masculine beauty[22]. The portrait of Isaac II fulfills all the requirements for a beautiful description; Myrto Hatzaki rightly singles him out as one of the examples of conventionally good-looking characters in the *History*[23]. For reasons known to him only, Choniates wrote it down precisely the way he did, and left it untarnished. He did not have any grounds to deprive Isaac of his appropriate looks, as he did with his personality, although there is room to assume he would have done so if there was anything 'wrong' with the emperor's physiognomy. Niketas may not have left us many detailed descriptions, but he readily points to physical flaws in other men, including emperors, as examples of falling short of the ideal form. To name a few more besides Manuel I and Andronikos I, Choniates praises the excellence of military commanders Andronikos Lapardas and Alexios Branas, but he does not fail to mention that they were short in stature[24]. Another good example is John Komnenos the Fat, the noble who rebelled against Alexios III, whose "body shaped like a barrel" earned him the unenviable nickname[25].

Orations to Isaac II unanimously praise the emperor's desirable physical traits, which is neither surprising nor necessarily indicative of authenticity. Nevertheless, the physical description of Isaac in the *History* closely aligns with the idealized representation of the emperor in the orations, despite the discrepancy between the rhetorical genre and historical account regarding his character. The metropolitan of Athens and brother of Niketas, Michael Choniates, glorifies the appearance of Isaac, comparing him to David, the future king of Israel, whom the Old Testament portrays as a handsome ruddy young man, that is, with reddish hair[26]. George Tornikes expresses his desire for the emperor to have a long life, painting the motif of the latter's flaming hair turning into white as a symbol of the welcome old age[27]. In his orations to Isaac, Niketas Choniates also likens him to David, referring specifically to the physical similarities between his emperor and the son

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[22] Choniates, p. 139, 171, 462.

[23] M. Hatzaki, *Beauty and Male Body in Byzantium*…, p. 141, note 21.

[24] Choniates, p. 263, 376.

[25] Choniates, p. 526.

[26] *Beatissimi Athenarum metropolitae, domini Michaelis Choniatae, panegyricus imperatori domino Isaacio Angelo dictus*, [in:] *Panegyricus Isaacio Angelo post Andronicum Comnenum regno pulsum*, ed. T.L.F. Tafel, Tübingen 1846 (cetera: Michael Choniates), p. 24; *ibidem*, note 43, emphasizes the change of terms in different manuscript versions of Choniates' description of Isaac, whereby πυρσός, used for the emperor's hair color, was replaced with ξανθός, another word designating reddish-blondish hair, pointing out the similarities between Choniates brothers' depiction of the same emperor.

[27] *Fontes rerum Byzantinarum. Rhetorum saeculi XII orationes politicae*, vol. I.1–2, ed. V.E. Regel, N.I. Novosadskij, Leipzig 1982, p. 280.

of Jesse[28]. Finally, in his long letter of praise, Michael Choniates draws the most logical conclusion – if the emperor looks like David, he then must be like David in every aspect[29].

The comparison between King David and Isaac II Angelos is not an innovative occurrence; orations to Isaac are largely an imitation of the panegyrics to Manuel I, whom his orators also ascribed 'Davidian' qualities[30]. Theodore Prodromos explains Manuel's right to the throne by pointing out that he was chosen by God for his virtue and not seniority, just like King David was[31]. Like David, Manuel was the youngest son and the 'chosen one' – his father, emperor John II Komnenos, designated Manuel as his heir, thus bypassing the rightful candidate for the throne, his older son Isaac. The encomiastic parallel between the biblical David and Isaac II Angelos may have been introduced on the same basis, since Isaac was likely the youngest of the six Angeloi brothers[32]. Either way, the distinguishing characteristic of the King David/Emperor Isaac parallel is the emphasis on their mutual physical resemblance. It must be noted that Choniates uses the same biblical formula of David's red hair and delightful visage in his orations to Alexios III[33]. However, in the *History* and related sources, there is not even a hint about the actual physical appearance of Alexios. Curiously enough, his portrait in *Mutinesis graecus 122* stands out from all the others in the manuscript and seems to be very different or even opposite from that of his brother Isaac, represented next to him. Unlike visibly red-haired Isaac, Alexios was portrayed with distinctively coal-black hair and beard[34]. Nevertheless, there is enough argument to assume that Isaac II Angelos was indeed characterized by the set of conventionally appealing physical features, even though (or precisely because?) Choniates lists them in a neutral tone. For comparison, the authenticity of Ana Komnene's splendid description of her father Alexios I is debatable. As argued in scholarship, it is probable that the princess modified the imperial portrait to fit the Byzantine beauty standard[35]. Evoking the appearance of Alexios on the battlefield, she adorns the scene with a fine detail of her father's πυρσὴν καὶ ἡλιῶσαν κόμην, "red and sun-like hair", falling into his

[28] *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae*, ed. J.-L. Van Dieten, Berlin–New York 1972 [= *CFHB*, 3] (cetera: *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae*), p. 32, 37, 98.

[29] Michael Choniates, p. 24; H. Maguire, *The Art of Comparing in Byzantium*, ArtB 70.1, 1988, p. 91.

[30] V. Stanković, *Komnini u Carigradu (1057–1185). Evolucija jedne vladarske porodice*, Belgrade 2006, p. 254.

[31] P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1181*, Cambridge 1993, p. 447.

[32] G. Ostrogorski suggests that Isaac was the fifth son of Andronikos Angelos, with Theodore Angelos being the youngest (see G. Ostrogorski, *Iz vizantijske istoriografije i prosopografije*, Belgrade 1970, p. 335, note 47). However, Constantine Varzos proposes a different order, with Isaac Angelos being the sixth son (see K. Βαρζος, *Η γενεαλογία…*, vol. II, p. 716, note 5; p. 803).

[33] *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae*, p. 58.

[34] *Cronaca di Zonara e altri brevi testi di storia bizantina*, XIV–XV sec., Fondo Estense, Estense Library, Modena, https://n2t.net/ark:/65666/v1/10903 [6 II 2025].

[35] M. Hatzaki, *Beauty and Male Body in Byzantium…*, p. 15–16.

eyes[36]. Her earlier and more elaborate depiction of Alexios says nothing about the emperor's hair color, but does put an emphasis on his dark eyebrows. In addition, known visual sources represent Alexios with very dark hair. But there could be more to Choniates' description of Isaac than the accuracy regarding his assumedly fitting body image. The quoted passage may contain additional information, as the following discussion shall hopefully demonstrate.

The changes of certain terms in different versions and manuscripts of the *History* make Choniates' description of Isaac II even more interesting, possibly betraying either a different connotation or the duality of its meaning. In *Vaticanus graecus 1623*, designated A by van Dieten and belonging to the *a* version manuscript group, the term ὄψιν was replaced with ψυχήν, thus alternating the meaning of the phrase φλογερὸς ὢν τὴν ὄψιν, which has typically been translated as 'of ruddy/red face', or literally, 'flaming face'[37]. The term φλογερός, in relation to one's face, is in itself perplexing. In the book of the joint reign of Isaac II and Alexios IV, Choniates uses the whole phrase once again and in a rather peculiar way, bringing to life an almost infernal vision of the two Angeloi, the father and the son, "those firebrands of the country", οἱ τὴν ὄψιν φλογεροί, indifferent to the sufferings of their compatriots, as Constantinople suffocates in the flames set by their saviours-enemies from the West, in the eve of the catastrophe of 1204[38]. The image of the *angelonymoi* father and son, "flaming in visage, thus personifying the incendiary angel of evil" is a masterful reversal of the 'angelic' propaganda of Isaac II, who from the ἀγγελοειδής emperor in Choniates' oration turns into no less than a fallen angel[39]. But that is not all. Faces 'brilliant like fire', along with golden hair and fair, rosy skin are associated with the imagery of angels in the Byzantine literature, thus evoking the familiar set of the Byzantine beauty ideal characteristics, as pointed out by Hatzaki in a reference to the angels/eunuchs literary parallel[40]. Given his excellent education, knowledge of written tradition and his own lavish style of narration, Choniates must have been well aware of the aforementioned angelic imagery. Unlike in his orations to Isaac II, the angelic image was reversed and used most ironically in this passage of the *History*. Concerning the term φλογεροί, it obviously does not denote Isaac's and Alexios' *color*, but their *role* in the unfortunate course of events. There is nothing unusual about that, for Byzantine color words, especially those used for describing people, often designate both the hue and the quality, and carry symbolic meanings. For example, the commonly used word for blond hair, ξανθός, has multiple connotations; it may signify light, color yellow, fire and good, and is associated with gold, thus symbolizing something of great value[41].

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[36] Anna Comnena, p. 135.

[37] See critical apparatus for Choniates, 452.17.

[38] Choniates, p. 556.

[39] *Nicetae Choniatae orationes et epistulae*, p. 28.

[40] Cf. M. Hatzaki, *Beauty and the Male Body in Byzantium*…, p. 94–95.

[41] *Ibidem*, p. 18.

The motif of a blazing, radiant face and/or eyes shining like fire is not exclusively associated with angels. It is a reoccurring phrasing in the Byzantine literature, typically reserved for favorable or awe-inspiring characters, described in terms of the Byzantine beauty standards – with white skin, blond/reddish hair, rosy cheeks, brilliant eyes. As a rule, ruddiness is associated with qualities of luminosity and healthy radiance. Throughout the Byzantine literature, there is a whole gallery of portraits characterized by the appealing, ruddy faces like Isaac in the *History*, in case that 'a ruddy complexion' was indeed the meaning of the phrase. Some of the excellent examples include good-looking individuals described by Michale Psellos, Michael Atteliates and Anna Komnene. However, none of these authors uses φλογερός to denote either a ruddy face, brilliant eyes or an overall radiant appearance. Furthermore, the term does not occur in the Byzantine color words glossary in Liz James' study on the perception of color in the Byzantine art. The lexicon is not exhaustive, as the author points out, but it introduces us to the most common sets of color words used in the description of people throughout the Byzantine literature[42]. On the one hand, the word choice of Choniates may reflect his desire for originality, while on the other it possibly betrays a specific connotation of the phrase. It is not unlikely that the distinguished historian chose the term precisely because of its multiple meanings. Indeed, φλογερός does designate the color red, that is, 'fiery-red', but it also points to the property of fire, a body that emits flames and illuminates the other object, thus painting it fiery-red, as in the above mentioned description of Isaac and his son. In *Monacensis graecus 450*, the earliest manuscript of the metaphrase of the *History*, designated B by Imanuel Bekker, φλογερός was replaced by πυροειδής, whereby the latter denotes rather the quality and not the color (of fire)[43]. In Classical Greek, φλογερός is also used as a metaphor of passion, designating the 'fiery' nature of love, similarly to the use of the term in modern Greek.

In the revised phrase, the emperor's 'ruddy face' becomes a character trait, since ψυχή by no means denotes a person's appearance, but one's spirit, soul, temperament. Francesco Cognasso may have been on the right track when he paraphrased Niketas' description of Isaac, despite of his outdated interpretation of the *History*. To the list of the emperor's characteristics already offered by Choniates, Cognasso added one more. He describes Isaac as "di mezza statura, robusto di corpo, acceso in viso, di capigliatura rossa, *era un temperamento sanguigno*"[44]. Whether he wanted to imply that the emperor was a specific temperament type or simply wanted to say that his demeanor was generally sanguine, is not of the greatest importance for the purposes of this paper. Either way, the personality of Isaac II Angelos, as represented in the *History*, conspiciously falls under the sanguine type, in keeping with

[42] L. James, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*, Oxford 1996, p. 72–74.

[43] See critical apparatus for *Niketas Choniates Historia*, 596.3, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn 1863.

[44] F. Cognasso, *Un imperatore bizantino della decadenza: Isaaco II Angelo*, Rome 1915, p. 11 (my emphasis).

the old four temperaments theory. The concept of four temperaments rests upon Hippocrates' medicinal application of humorism; the famous Greek physician suggested that the human body contains four vital bodily fluids (humors) and that the optimal health is being achieved through their balance; the theory was adopted by the Byzantines and very much in spirit of Niketas' time[45]. According to the four temperaments theory, sanguine people are characterized by the dominance of blood, resulting in a number of physical and psychological traits: they have light/reddish hair, gentle skin and fair complexion that is prone to blushing, they are cheerful in nature, their demeanor is typically free and open, but they also tend to be sensitive, easily irritated, impulsive, careless and frivolous, etc.[46] Isaac II has been ascribed *all* of these characteristics in the *History*; his *sanguine* traits make up a significant subject of the narrative, that is, of Choniates' *Kaiserkritik*. In fact, his whole personality and temperament are at the core of the account on his first reign.

The historian portrays Isaac with a wide range of predominately negative traits, which overshadow rare but precious positive remarks about this emperor. He is the most vigorously criticized title character in the *History*, including even Andronikos I, whose monstrosity is deliberately contrasted with his undeniable virtues, with no small amount of exaggeration of both[47]. In addition, Andronikos' presence is almost mythical, characterized, among other things, by the trickster archetype attributes, while Isaac Angelos ultimately remains just a flawed human figure; in fact, an embodiment of the imperfect human nature[48]. Moreover, Isaac is not a paradoxical character like his predecessor; there is no juxtaposition of his good and bad deeds, as in the case of Andronikos – if they were inappropriate, they are presented as a consequence of the emperor's imperfect persona; if decent and respectable, they are devalued by the same imperfections. Thus, for example, Isaac's love for his brother is shown as foolishness, his optimism as naivety, his piety as theatrical, his generosity as extravagance, etc. It must also be noted that unlike two other real contemporaries of Choniates, the aforementioned Andronikos and Alexios III, Isaac is not offered any redemption from the wrongdoings attributed to him in the narrative. Alexios was commended for his overall mild demeanor, while Andronikos earned the historian's respect for his heartfelt piety and dignity in his final hours. Conversely, most of previously admitted virtues of Isaac are rendered meaningless by the end of his reign.

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[45] Cf. R. Radić, *Drugo lice Vizantije*, Belgrade 2014, p. 74.

[46] *The Encyclopaedia Britannica. A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences and General Literature*, vol. XVII, ed. M. Napier, [7]Edinburgh 1842, p. 696.

[47] Cf. A. Kaldellis, *Paradox, Reversal and the Meaning of History*, [in:] *Niketas Choniates. A Historian…*, p. 95–96.

[48] For more on Choniates' portrayal of Andronikos Komnenos as a trickster figure, see T. Labuk, *Andronikos I Komnenos in Choniates' History: a Trickster Narrative?*, [in:] *Storytelling in Byzantium. Narratological Approaches to Byzantine Texts and Images*, ed. Ch. Messis, M. Mullett, I. Nilsson, Uppsala 2018, p. 263–285.

In the assessment of the emperor's behaviors and deeds in the final book of the imperial biography, Choniates represents Isaac as a man quick to anger, but of a sympathetic nature. Thanks to the latter, his impulsive temperament was easily soothed and he would act out of kindness. He was compassionate, sensitive to misfortunes of others, eager to ease their sufferings[49]. Although he acknowledges the emperor's virtue of empathy, the historian blames Isaac for his unfair judgment, haste in making decisions and generally acting on a whim. For example, Niketas criticizes him for forcefully tonsuring the unfortunate *caesar* Alexios Komnenos, wrongfully accused of plotting against the emperor. As the *History* tells us, Isaac soon regretted his rash decision, "proving once again that he acted out of caprice" and summoned Alexios back to the palace, although his act of repentance was shown with a great deal of irony and cynicism[50]. Another illustrative example is his treatment of the fugitive hostages whom he was supposed to send to Frederick Barbarossa, according to their renewed oaths from February 1190. The selected individuals were afraid of the Germans, so they hid from the emperor. Furious, Isaac confiscated their property, deprived them of their offices and named new hostages. However, he soon discerned that the fugitives' actions were not motivated by disobedience, but by justified fear, so he revoked all the sanctions[51]. In other words, it appears that he sympathized with these men, even if there were practical reasons for sparing them.

Choniates frequently complains about the frivolity of the emperor's character, paired with inconsistency in his actions. According to the *History* and contrary to the traditional image of Isaac II in modern historiography, the emperor did not lack statesmanship skills, but persistence in his endeavors. Choniates compares him to a competitor on the stadium who would succumb to fatigue too early in the race. As he easily grew tired of running the empire, his good intentions faded, and he eventually passed the reins of administration into the hands of his uncle Theodore Kastamonites and then to young Constantine Mesopotamites. At a certain point of his reign, Isaac went so far in his negligence of the role he was supposed to carry that he allowed his uncle to use purple horse trappings and military cloak, and sign documents with the ink of same color – all those being prerogatives of the Emperor of the Romans[52]. Niketas is openly displeased with the amount of influence Kastamonites and Mesopotamites exerted on Isaac, as well as with that of the latter's lifelong companion, the monk Dositheos, whom the stubborn emperor elevated to the patriarchal seat at all cost[53]. The defamation of these characters, especially Dositheos and prophecies of universal rule with which he flattered the emperor, serves to present Isaac as passive and pliable. However, despite of their

[49] Choniates, p. 446.
[50] Choniates, p. 425–427.
[51] Choniates, p. 411.
[52] Choniates, p. 437–439.
[53] Choniates, p. 407.

obvious influence, all three men are secondary figures to the protagonist Isaac, whose portrait is only deepened thanks to their characterization. The *active* status of Isaac II in the *History* comes to the fore when compared to that of Alexios III. Empress Euphrosyne Kamatera, who plays an outstanding role in Alexios' imperial biography, and the aforementioned Mesopotamites, whose engagement is far greater than in the narrative on Isaac II, seem equal with the title character; both are harshly criticized and represented as being too powerful. In other words, Isaac is the *real* protagonist, he owns his decisions and actions, including those concerning other characters, while Alexios appears to be one of the several prominent actors, helpless, docile and literarily distant.

The imperial biography of Isaac II leaves an impression of a reign that was characterized by spontaneous bursts of energy and zeal rather than by consistent effort. This dynamic is especially reflected in Choniates' view on his military activity. As inconsistent, inattentive and frivolous, the historian criticizes the emperor's initial approach to the war against Peter and Asen and later complains about his too short stay in the province, blamed on Isaac's impatience to return to the joys of the capital and delights of Propontis[54]. It should be noted, however, that the detailed account of the campaign of 1187, in which Niketas participated in the capacity of imperial undersecretary, is commendable of Isaac, especially when it comes to the latter's personal engagement with war tactics and leadership in combat[55]. The historian does not fail to mention that the reason for launching this particular expedition were previous failures in the war against the 'Second Bulgarian Empire', but he readily welcomes Isaac's decision to once again head the imperial troops and speaks rather approvingly of his actions. This acknowledgment carries special weight precisely because of Choniates' first-hand involvement, regardless of the dissatisfying outcome of the expedition. At this point in the *History*, even the much-criticized Isaac II, whose war prowess was celebrated by Niketas-the-orator, will briefly fit the dominant Komnenian warrior-emperor ideal[56]. In fact, this image of Isaac as a pleasure-loving but fighting sovereign is irresistibly reminiscent of Choniates' portrait of Manuel I, known both for his hedonistic lifestyle and martial bravery, although it is much less captivating[57]. In addition, the last campaign that Isaac led against the Bulgarians in 1195 was organized with great

[54] Choniates, p. 373, 399.

[55] Choniates, p. 394.

[56] On the Komnenian ideal of the emperor-warrior, see V. Stanković, *Komnini u Carigradu…*, p. 209–218.

[57] *Ibidem*, p. 254, indicates that the orations to Isaac II were modeled after the panegyrics dedicated to Manuel I. Therefore, Choniates' encomiastic portrayal of Isaac as a warrior-emperor can easily be explained by the influence of orations to Manuel. However, the similarity between the description of Isaac II and Manuel I in the *History* could be understood with a reverse logic, that is, as an influence of *Isaac's* portrait on that of Manuel, bearing in mind that Niketas had immediate experience exclusively of Isaac II.

care, dedication and zeal on the emperor's part, although Choniates stubbornly refuses openly to praise Isaac, depriving him of his innate virtues by presenting them as a Lord's gift to a man whose downfall is imminent[58].

Ever optimistic, Isaac took emperorship lightheartedly, convinced that his throne was safe, regardless of many attempts of usurpation; such a careless attitude towards running the state was one of his greatest 'sins' in the *History*. Choniates portrays him as a man susceptible to 'novel tales', especially those uttered by Dositheos, who even foretold his ascension to the throne and thus earned a secure place by the emperor's side. Even though certain level of credulity is likely, especially if we accept that the coup of 1185 was accidental, it is not at all inconceivable that the cunning Isaac consciously manipulated Dositheos' divine insights, such as the latter's ingenious conclusion about God granting him six out of the nine years originally intendent for Andronikos I, who was deservingly deprived of the throne after only three. Since the 'transferred' years bore the 'bad quality' of Andronikos, the new emperor had the perfect excuse for the hardships during the first six years of his reign. Unconvinced, Niketas points out that after the end of the 'haunted' period nothing changed at all; in other words, the cause of the troubled times was Isaac himself, *as he was*, while Dosithoes was nothing more than a sycophant[59]. However, such a disclosure contradicts the characterization of Isaac as foolish and gullible.

On the other hand, Niketas does not belittle Vasilaki, the odd man who was some sort of a local attraction in Thrace, believed to have prophetic abilities. Isaac visited him during the 1195 campaign only to witness an offensive performance in which Vasilaki predicted his fall from power. Isaac declared the man a fool, but Choniates does not interpret it as a sign of the emperor's common sense; he sees it as another of his bad judgments. Of course, the historian writes with the benefit of hindsight, but open recognition of Vasilaki's clairvoyance appears unusual, especially given Choniates' contempt for divination, magic, astrology, etc. Moreover, the *accurate* prediction of Isaac's rise to power is not mentioned for the sake of proving that Dositheos possessed divine abilities or that the emperor had the right to call upon it, but to highlight Dositheos' influence on Isaac[60]. Encouraged by his favorite, the emperor envisioned universal rule and his own messianic role as the liberator of Palestine, writes Choniates, deliberately concealing the origin of these ideas in the known textual tradition, so to portray Isaac as swayed by Dositheos' nonsensical deliberations[61]. In reality, the aforementioned themes were a part of the official imperial propaganda, exploited by Choniates himself in

[58] Choniates, p. 446–447.

[59] Choniates, p. 433; P. Magdalino, *Prophecy and Divination in the History*, [in:] *Niketas Choniates. A Historian*…, p. 67.

[60] Choniates, p. 405.

[61] P. Magdalino, *Prophecy and Divination in the History*…, p. 70.

his orations to Isaac. One must not forget that credulity is a common theme in the *History* and does not apply to Isaac II alone, but to other emperors as well. Moreover, preoccupation with prophecies as the cause and/or manifestation of Isaac's complete departure from reality occurs only in the gloomy narrative of his second reign (1203–1204). The sad and extremely degrading depiction of the weak, blind emperor, surrounded by self-serving, devious foretellers greatly differs from the image of the confident, albeit stubborn and capricious Isaac from the imperial biography, whose good qualities such as compassion, likeability and even courage survived Choniates' cynicism.

Unfortunately for Isaac, his inclination towards seeing the better side of things left him blindfolded to dangers in his immediate surroundings. Referring to the *History* as the primary source regarding the personality of this emperor, Constantine Varzos noted that Isaac II was more inclined towards acting on emotion, rather than reason, which perfectly corresponds with his φλογερός nature[62]. Nowhere is this more evident than in the case of his total disregard for warnings against his beloved brother Alexios – a tragic oversight that ultimately cost him his eyes, his crown, and his freedom[63]. However, Choniates treats Isaac's unconditional love for Alexios with a lot of ambivalence, if not irony alone, as interpreted by Anthony Kalldelis[64]. The emperor's *philadelphia* is not represented as a virtue, even though by all means it must be considered a noble trait. It is justified by a philosophical thought on human frailty; the Nature must have implanted within us the passion for our closest kin and friends, turning us blind to all their evils, writes Niketas[65]. The mistake of Isaac trusting his brother is somewhat mitigated by the sentimental approach to Alexios' betrayal, which the historian clearly disaproves. However, Choniates laments over the coup of 1195 because of the catastrophic consequences of the fratricidal habits of his compatriots, the weakening of the Empire and its reputation, rather than out of sympathy for the unfortunate Isaac. Ultimately, "the love that was indelibly branded into the depths of his [Isaac's] soul" is seen as a fault, another proof of the character's recklesness. But if we were to dig deeper into the layers of Choniates' sentiment, we might catch a trace of understanding and even compassion. "For what could be closer and more trustforthy than a brother, and he beloved?", asks the historian, whose στοργή towards his own older brother is well documented; Michael Choniates was not only the closest sibling of Niketas, but also a fatherly figure, his guardian, pedagogue and tutor, the one whom he certainly trusted with his own life[66].

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[62] K. Варzос, *Η γενεαλογία*…, vol. II, p. 837.
[63] Choniates, p. 448.
[64] A. Kaldellis, *Paradox, Reversal and the Meaning of History*…, p. 85.
[65] Choniates, p. 447–448.
[66] A. Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*…, p. 14.

When analyzing the portrayal of Isaac II in the *History*, one should always be careful not to overlook Choniates' intentional omission of the motives behind some of the emperor's actions, the exaggeration of his flaws, or deliberate diminishing of his virtues, because it can lead to the assumption that Isaac II was immoral, gullible and unreasonable to the point of absurdity. In pursue of historical accuracy, yet bound by circumstances in which he had been writing and rewriting his work, Niketas Choniates consciously included and avoided certain elements of the past, especially when it comes to character portrayals. He does not lie about any of them, but caricatures their traits for the purpose of proving his point – the decline of the Empire due to the decadence of its leaders, those who were supposed to represent *viri optimi* amongst the Romans. Contextual, *close reading* of the *History* shows that Isaac II was not just a vain, self-indulgent ruler, as he was perceived by the majority of modern historians, due to an insufficiently critical approach to Choniates' account[67].

It is of great importance to note what Choniates *does not* say about Isaac. For that matter, the historian is very articulate about Isaac's ostentatiousness and the sybaritic banquets he frequented, enjoying the 'low' company of entertainers and concubines, but apart from the latter's penchant for 'lewd songs', nowhere in the entire *History* is there even a hint the about the emperor's licentious behavior, which cannot be said of the lustful (and incestuous!) Manuel I and Andronikos I, for instance. Bearing in mind Choniates' persistence in tarnishing the image of Isaac II, it is inconceivable that he would have left out information of that sort, if he had any, just as he could not wreak any damage to his physical description. When it comes to concealing the emperor's meaningful intentions, the case point might be the account on the restoration of the *katholikon* in the monastery of Saint Michael the Archangel in Anaplous/Sosthenion[68]. Niketas represents it as just another of Isaac's 'mad passions', purposefully ignoring the motivation behind such an undertaking. Fully in keeping with the imperial tradition of his predecessors, the *angelonymos* Isaac sought a fitting religious object to turn into a personal shrine, a monument to his reign, and the place of eternal rest, as Kaliroi Linadro surmises[69]. Instead, Choniates portrays him as a prodigal, a vain megalomaniac, obsessed with an illusion of his own greatness.

[67] Hereby it implies a deeply interpretative approach to narrative sources, the understanding of the text that is not limited to its manifest layer. Close reading can be understood as analogous to the term of *thick description* used by the anthropologist Clifford Gertz for etnography, only in reverse order. For a basic insight into Gertz's approach see A. Bošković, *Kratak uvod u antropologiju*, Belgrade 2010, p. 101. Cf. A. Simpson, *Niketas Choniates*…, p. 182.

[68] Choniates, p. 442–443. In recent literature, it was suggested that the two locations of the monastery dedicated to Saint Michael the Archangel mentioned in Byzantine sources actually refer to the same place. See K. Linardou, *A Resting Place for the First of the Angels': The Michaelion at Sosthenion*, [in:] *Byzantium, 1180–1204. 'The Sad Quarter of a Century?'*, ed. A. Simpson, Athens 2015, p. 248.

[69] K. Linardou, *A Resting Place for the First of the Angels'*…, p. 259.

As a sovereign, Isaac II was apparently likeable and charismatic enough to remain "beloved by many even after his deposition from the throne" – an observation that the *History* states as a fact[70]. Prone to impulsive reactions and acting out of strong emotions, fueled by intermittent bursts of energy and inspiration, he surely was successful in using his assets to gather popular support and create a fairly attractive imperial image[71]. It must be noted that, at the very beginning of Isaac's imperial biography, Niketas writes about the popularity of the new emperor, while the episode of the rebellion in Nicaea against Andronikos I (1184) clearly suggests that he enjoyed a certain degree of prestige even before ascending the throne[72]. Furthermore, it appears that Isaac II was cherished by his subjects, especially in Constantinople, whose inhabitants remained faithful to him throughout his reign, unyielding before usurpers who challenged his imperial right[73]. If we silence Niketas' judgmental tone and embrace the complexity of the characterization of this emperor, we would be able to see a realistic portrait of a charismatic, yet temperamental figure, endowed with noble qualities besides innate human flaws, and a ruler who was well aware of his circumstances, consciously investing into the foundation of a compelling imperial image.

In conclusion, the ending passage of the account on the first reign of Isaac II Angelos with which we opened our discussion contains more details than it first appears. Seemingly an unbiased, plain physical description, a set of body features characteristic of one particular individual, it is both a summary and a completion of the entire portrayal of the emperor as represented in the *History*, in all its ambiguity. Apart from the standard information on the duration of Isaac's reign, Choniates lists the most distinctive outer and inner characteristics of his protagonist – the latter's appearance and (almost precise) age, of which we know nothing certain until the very end of the imperial biography, and his temperament, which permeates the greater part of the narrative and is, in fact, at the core of the portrayal. It appears that both the emperor's disposition and complexion were φλογεροί; Isaac was, after all, πυρσός/ξανθός, while Choniates surely put a lot of effort into illustrating his passionate nature.

The listed physical traits place Isaac amongst conventionally attractive characters in the Byzantine literature, although the *History* does not portray him as a man of exceptional beauty. Furthermore, if observed in isolation from the rest of the text, it does not betray the status of the character within the narrative. Given its neutral tone, the description is almost certainly authentic. Choniates neither had reason to embellish Isaac's image in order to make him more favorable nor

[70] Choniates, p. 446.

[71] Cf. A. Simpson, *Perceptions and Interpretations of the Late Twelfth Century in Modern Historiography*, [in:] *Byzantium, 1180–1204…*, p. 29–30.

[72] Choniates, p. 356, 284. Cf. C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204*, Cambridge MA 1968, p. 79.

[73] Cf. A. Simpson, *Perceptions and Interpretations…*, p. 29–30.

did he hid the latter's actual (desirable) features, aiming for historical accuracy and representation of his most developed character into even more tangible details. As mentioned, the description of Isaac in the *History* matches the encomiastic tradition, proving there is some truthfulness behind the rhetorical glorification of the emperor's appearance.

Isaac II Angelos is the most realistic of all emperors in the *History*, the closest to the reader and the most relatable one, despite of all literary distortion; he is the embodiment of Choniates' philosophical-anthropological thought on human nature. His character possesses sophisticated complexity not so easily discernible at the surface of the text, which projects an oversimplified, caricatured image of an arrogant, (self)deluded sovereign. The outdated, typically negative image of Isaac II in modern historiography is built on the manifest level of Choniates' multi-layered historical narrative, defined by a complicated composition process, which in itself is the key to understanding the historian's approach and writing motivation. More recent studies focused on the last quarter of the Byzantine twelfth century initiated much needed process of revising the traditional view of the so-called *imperatore della decadenza*, as Isaac was labeled by Cognasso more than a century ago. What we wanted to draw attention to is the importance of looking at the image of Isaac II in the *History* in its entirety, taking into account somewhat neglected aspects of the portrayal, such as his uniquely delivered physical description, the positive comments about the emperor, comparison to related title characters (with an emphasis on Alexios III), and especially the historian's firsthand impression of his personality.

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The Image of Caliph ʻAli in the *Chronography* of Theophanes

Abstract. The article is an attempt to analyse the references used in Theophanes' *Chronography* regarding the last rightly guided caliph, ʻAli. Despite the importance that this ruler ultimately acquired in the historiography of Islam, the *Chronography* references do not confirm this at all. Theophanes did not even recognize him as a legitimate ruler. He presented ʻAli as a usurper who had lost the war with Muʻawiya. Moreover, he appears in these fragments as a man supported either by the "desert people" or by the Persians, elements alien to the core of the new Muslim state, which for Theophanes seems to be Syria and Egypt. The differences in the presentation of Muʻawiya's victor by the Byzantine historian and the Abbasid historiography, as well as the contradictions between Theophanes' version and those presented by Syriac sources, suggest that Theophanes may have presented the Umayyad version of events in certain fragments of his work regarding intra-Islamic conflicts.

Keywords: Theophanes, *Chronography*, ʻAli ibn Abi Talib, Byzantine historiography, history of early Islam

ʻAli was not much noticed by Theophanes the Confessor[1]. In the *Chronography* we find only three mentions of ʻAli. It is worth quoting them in their entirety in the introduction, in the most popular English translation. They appear in fragments assigned to the following years: AM 6147 (*Now discord prevailed among the Arabs: for those who dwelt in the desert wanted Ali, the nephew of Ali, Mouamed's*

[1] The author is aware of the debate regarding Theophanes' identity: C. Zuckerman, *Theophanes the Confessor and Theophanes the Chronicler, or A Story of Square Brackets*, [in:] *Studies in Theophanes*, ed. M. Jankowiak, F. Montinaro, Paris 2015 (= TM 19), p. 31–52. However, I use the nickname Theophanes, which has become permanently etched in the historiographic tradition.

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son-in-law, *whereas those who were in Syria and Egypt wanted Mauias*)[2], AM 6148 (*In this year Mauias took up arms against Ali. The two of them met in the area of Barbalissos at Kaisarion near the Euphrates; and the men of Mauias*, *gaining the upper hand*, *captured the water* [supply], *while Ali's men were reduced to thirst and were deserting. Mauias did not wish to give battle and obtained victory without any toil*)[3], AM 6151 (*While the Arabs were at Sapphin*, *Ali (the one from Persia) was assassinated and Mauias became sole ruler*)[4].

In practical terms, the chronographer mentions the fourth rightly-guided caliph only as an opponent of Muʿawiya. His account also suggests that both rulers basically ruled independently of each other, on equal terms, immediately after the death of ʿUthman. Interestingly, this is confirmed by Muslim traditions, where Muʿawiya, even in narratives hostile to him and the entire Umayyad dynasty, was presented as a full-fledged candidate for the caliphate, who claimed it immediately after the death of ʿUthman, no longer acting as a mere governor of Syria, but as a pretender to the highest dignity of the community. According to Syriac chronology, the years of his reign are measured from at least 656, from the time of the Battle of the Camel[5]. Theophanes' vision is also consistent with the chronology of the formation of the belief that ʿAli should be recognized as caliph, which we date only to the end of the 8th century, in distant regions (according to the Byzantine context) of southern Iraq, in the Kufa milieus, which were under the understandable influence of proto-Shiite groups[6]. In any case, this version seems to favour the Umayyads, not the Abbasids. The main aim of this short text, apart from discussing Theophanes' mentions of ʿAli, is also to indicate an interpretative proposition according to which such a way of presenting this figure may confirm that in Theophanes' *Chronography* one can find historiographic elements originating from Umayyad propaganda.

ʿAli's origin according to Theophanes' *Chronography*

Theophanes introduced ʿAli in an account in which he described the murder of ʿUthman and tried to outline the situation in the caliphate after ʿUthman's death. Abu Talib's son was described by the Confessor as Muhammad's son-in-law (γαμβρὸν ὄντα τοῦ Μουάμεδ)[7], which is of course true. ʿAli was the son of Abu

[2] *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History A.D. 284–813*, trans., and ed. C. Mango, R. Scott with the assistance of G. Greatrex, Oxford 1997, p. 483.

[3] *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*…, p. 483.

[4] *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor*…, p. 485.

[5] Cf. Kh. Keshk, *When did Muʿāwiya become Caliph?*, JNES 69.1, 2010, p. 31–42.

[6] I-Wen Su, *The Early Shiʿi Kufan Traditionists' Perspective on the Rightly Guided Caliphs*, JAOS 141.1, 2021, p. 27–47. Regarding the hard-to-understand mix of Kharijite and Shiite ideas that grew in Kufa, as well as the city's large number of different tribes see: M. Hinds, *Kūfan Political Alignments and their Background in the Mid-Seventh Century A*.D., IJMES 2.4, 1971, p. 346–367.

[7] *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. C.G. de Boor, Lipsiae 1883 (cetera: Theophanes), AM 6147, p. 346.22–23 Abu Talib's son was described as a cousin (ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Ἀλή) too. ʿAli is identified here

Talib, the Prophet's uncle and his adoptive father, the head of the Hashemites. It is likely that after the Battle of Badr (624) Muhammad gave his daughter, Fatima, to ʿAli in marriage. However, Theophanes' account does not mention Muhammad's adoption of ʿAli, which is emphasized in Shi'ite traditions, nor does it mention his appointment as successor in the Ghadir Khumm, following the final "farewell" pilgrimage to Mecca. However, in the account from AM 6151, in which the Confessor mentioned the death of Ali, he presented him again, in this passage without indicating any familial connections with the Prophet, as actually alien to the Arabs, emphasizing, contrary to historical truth, but perhaps referring to the origin of some of his followers, that he was connected with Persia (Ἀλή, ὁ τῆς Περσίδος)[8]. I am aware that ʿAli spent many years of his life in Iraq, and that his life also ended there; however, in my opinion, such a contrast between two pretenders to rule the caliphate – ʿAli as the representative of Persia and Muʿawiya as the representative of the Arabs – is fundamentally false and is intended by Theophanes to indicate the historical validity of his later theories about the opposition between the Persians and the Arabs in his contemporary times, referring, for example, to the rise of the Abbasids. In my opinion, Theophanes suggests here that ʿAli represented somewhat different interests than Muʿawiya, the Persian ones. This was not the case. According to the *Chronography*, ʿAli is just a candidate for the position of caliph, supported by the people of the desert[9], while Muʿawiya was elected ruler by the people of Syria and Egypt, lands certainly more respected by Theophanes[10].

Theophanes and the power struggle between ʿAli and Muʿawiya

In the fragment mentioned above, the Byzantine chronicler also stated that the Umayyad leader won the war and became caliph almost immediately after ʿUthman, which is supported by the chronology he provided, in which ʿAli's reign is absent. However, in the next account from AM 6148 regarding the battle of Siffin, Theophanes stated that Muʿawiya had taken up arms against ʿAli (τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐπεστράτευσε Μαυΐας κατὰ Ἀλή). Theophanes mentioned two locations here, Barbalissos and Kaisarion. The first is connected with Balis, and the second with Neocaesarea or Dibsi Faraj. The description in this fragment strongly suggests a battle on the plain of Siffin. At the same time, this location is explicitly mentioned by Theophanes only in the account of AM 6151, not referring, however, to the battle itself, but only to the death of ʿAli. In any case, in AM 6148, the Confessor

as the cousin of another ʿAli, unspecified. It is hard to comment on this reference, but it seems to present an intriguing interpretive problem: if this is not just Theophanes' error, then we should ask who this ʿAli was, possibly contemporaneous with Theophanes, that the Byzantine chronographer chose to mention him. It is, of course, unlikely that Theophanes could have had in mind ʿAli ibn Musa al-Riḍa.

[8] Theophanes AM 6151, p. 347.26–27.

[9] Theophanes AM 6147, p. 346.22: ὅσοι γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον ὑπῆρχον, τὸν Ἀλὴ ἤθελον.

[10] Theophanes AM 6147, p. 346.23–24: οἱ δὲ κατὰ Συρίαν καὶ Αἴγυπτον τὸν Μαυΐαν ἤθελον.

correctly identified the site of the battle, noting that it was near the Euphrates – in fact, Siffin was located several hundred metres from the river.

The description of the battle differs significantly from other texts (Michael the Syrian, or the Chronicle of 1234), whose authors were supposed to have used Theophilus of Edessa's work. Only in Theophanes' account can we notice an emphasis on the significance of the so-called battle for water[11]. This seems quite interesting, considering the important role of this episode in Muslim historiographic traditions, written in the Abbasid era[12]. Islamic historians present Mu'awiya's decision to deny 'Ali's troops access to the Euphrates as unworthy, contrasting it with the description of the fourth caliph's actions after his army had gained access to the river bank in battle – according to these accounts, Abu Talib's son allowed the Umayyads to use the water. This is certainly one of the fragments of the history of the clash and arbitration at Siffin that was particularly popular in creating propaganda against the dynasty founded by Mu'awiya[13]. The more interesting aspect is how the Chronographer presented this event – the Byzantine assumes that cutting off 'Ali's men from the water was a ploy that allowed the Umayyads to gain an advantage in the clash. The soldiers of the fourth caliph began to desert[14]. According to Theophanes, this is how Mu'awiya achieved victory without fighting a battle[15]. It is difficult to say unequivocally whether the Byzantine chronicler viewed the Umayyad leader's actions positively, appreciating the significance of the trick of cutting off access to water, or rather emphasized that the first Umayyad had won not in an armed clash, but thanks to trickery. Theophanes made no mention of the fact that this part of the clash on the plain was most likely lost by Mu'awiya's troops, and 'Ali's troops gained access to the river. What is more, he wrote about the escape from 'Ali's camp – this happened, but the reason for such behaviour

[11] Cf. R. Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle and the Circulation of Historical Knowledge in Late Antiquity and Early Islam*, Liverpool 2011, p. 147.

[12] The various traditions regarding the water battle are discussed by Aaron M. Hagler, *The Echoes of Fitna. Developing Historiographical Interpretations of the Battle of Siffin*, University of Pennsylvania 2011 (PhD Thesis), p. 24–25, 51–58, 123–129, 179–184, 250–255, 280–283. Muslim version of events: Ali Muhammad as-Sallabi, *'Ali ibn Abi Tālib*, vol. II, trans. N. al-Khattab, Riyadh 2011, p. 19–250, as well as a work published in one of the most important centres of Shiite theology in the world, in Qom, Iran: J. Hussain, *Biography of Imam Ali Ibn Abi Talib*, trans. P.T. Bilgrami, Qom 2007, p. 449–499.

[13] As Aaron M. Hagler rightly emphasized, there is something fascinating in how an essentially tactical decision became the foundation for the process of demonizing Mu'awiya in narratives written during the Abbasid period: *The decision to bar 'Alī and his companions from the waters of the Euphrates River, while certainly cynical and wicked, was ultimately nothing more than a military tactic and, from a literary standpoint, is presented a way to demonize Mu'āwiya and the Syrians early in the Ṣiffīn narrative*. – A.M. Hagler, *Repurposed Narratives: The Battle of Ṣiffīn and the Historical Memory of the Umayyad Dynasty*, IMEMS 3.1, 2013, p. 19.

[14] Theophanes AM 6151, p. 347.2–3.

[15] Theophanes AM 6151, p. 347.3–4: Μαυΐας δὲ οὐκ ἤθελε πολεμῆσαι· ἀλλ' ἀπονητὶ τὴν νίκην ἤρατο.

of some troops was the terms of arbitration[16], for which some of those who were particularly fanatically devoted to the letter of the Quran (Kharijites[17]) did not want to agree[18]. However, from Theophanes' account it appears that ʿAli's supporters left him out of thirst, presumably – they were not too attached to their leader, since desertion was decided by something so "trivial". These facts – the differences between Theophanes' account and the Syriac traditions, as well as a slightly different take on the events surrounding Muʿawiya's actions at Siffin than what was shown in Abbasid propaganda – make it clear that Theophanes' story may be part of a very early or different trend in the history writing tradition that was made, say, for the needs of the Umayyads and made its way into Byzantium through a different route than Theophilus' traditions.

ʿAli's death – Theophanes' version

Theophanes the Confessor also ignored the circumstances of ʿAli's death, only mentioning that he was murdered[19], while the Arabs were on the plains of Siffin[20]. This detail is not consistent with the chronology of events. However, combining the ultimately unsuccessful battle for the Alids with ʿAli's death allowed us to

[16] Analysis of various accounts and variants of the agreement between ʿAli and Muʿawiya at Siffin, cf. M. Hinds, *The Siffin Arbitration Agreeement*, JSS 17, 1972, p. 93–129.

[17] On the Kharijite movement in the early Islamic period, especially in the context of the fundamental principles of the movement regarding the election of a caliph, regardless of origin, as the one who showed the greatest courage and dedication in spreading Islam: Ch. Décobert, *Le mendiant et le combattant. L'institution de l'islam*, Paris 1991, p. 107–121. However, according to Hannah-Lena Hagemann, who presented research on the image of the sect in sources of the 9th and 10th centuries, some available narratives reveal certain fixed structural patterns, full of established topos (such as the "belligerence" of the Kharijites). The Kharijites themselves, with their monotonously repeated, same arguments, serve as a so-called "an example of bad" – *History and Memory. Khārijism in Early Islamic Historiography*, The University of Edinburgh 2014 (PhD Thesis), p. 256–262. On the subject of divisions within the sect, cf. W. Montgomery Watt, *The Formative Period of Islamic Thought*, Edinburgh 1973, p. 26–28; idem, *Kharijite Thought in the Umayyad Period*, I 36.3, 1961, p. 215–231.

[18] On the importance of the Holy Book on the Muslim battlefield cf. G.H.A. Juynboll, *The Qur'an Reciter of the Battlefield and Concomitant Issues*, ZDMG 125, 1975, p. 11–27. On the movement referring to the meaning of the Quran and its role in the history of the first decades of the Muslim state: idem, *The Qurrā' in Early Islamic History*, JESHO 16, 1973, p. 113–129. On the division between those who recognized primarily the authority of writing and those who supported oral traditions in early Islam cf. G.R. Hawting, *The Significance of the Slogan La Hukm Illa Lillah and the References to the Ḥudūd in the Traditions about the Fitna and the Murder of 'Uthmān*, BSOAS 41, 1978, p. 453–463.

[19] Theophanes AM 6151, p. 347.26–27: ἐδολοφονήθη Ἀλή, ὁ τῆς Περσίδος.

[20] Theophanes AM 6151, p. 347.26: τῶν δὲ Ἀράβων ὄντων εἰς τὸ Σαπφίν. Although Islamic sources do not agree on the exact date of Ali's death, and modern scholars note that the fact that it was to take place during Ramadan can be treated symbolically (cf. A. Marsham, *The Umayyad Empire*, Edinburgh 2024, p. 92), it would be challenging to accept Theophanes' version as a credible and to regard it as a serious alternative.

explain Mu'awiya's victory without referring to the issue of arbitration or the lack of conclusions in the clash on the plain, which is quite clearly mentioned in Syriac accounts, both by Michael the Syrian and by the Chronicle of 1234[21]. This constitutes a significant difference between the accounts in Syriac sources and the version of Theophanes. It is worth emphasizing that although Theophanes does not note the circumstances of 'Ali's death, he mentions in the next paragraph of his chronicle the rise of the Kharijite sect[22]. However, he does not connect them with the fourth rightly-guided caliph, indicating that they were a problem for Mu'awiya[23]. Although a large group of early Kharijites were almost annihilated by 'Ali's supporters in 658 at Nahrawan[24], Theophanes's identification of Mu'awiya as the one who had a problem with this group is not entirely without sense[25]. If the silences about death of 'Ali are deliberate and not the result of lack of knowledge, then they seem highly symptomatic. One connection between the new Umayyad problems and 'Ali would be the emphasis on the Persian origin of the Kharijites[26], and the subsequent passage in which the Confessor stated that the new Umayyad leader had exalted the Syrian Arabs over those living in Iraq[27], which can be interpreted as a result of winning the civil war. However, we will not find any direct reference to 'Ali in the above-mentioned fragments. It can only be noted that Theophanes' remarks here, which concern social rather than personal issues, are consistent with contemporary interpretations of the Kharijite movement, in which some scholars see a specific reaction of dissatisfaction with the policy of Abu Talib's son, who did not restore their privileges, obtained under 'Umar and lost during the reign of Ibn Affan[28].

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[21] Cf. R. Hoyland, *Theophilus of Edessa's Chronicle*…, p. 147.

[22] Theophanes AM 6152, p. 347.30–31: τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἀνεφάνη αἵρεσις Ἀράβων, οἱ λεγόμενοι Χαρουργῖται.

[23] Theophanes AM 6152, p. 347.31–32: Μαυΐας δὲ τούτους χειρωσάμενος τοὺς ἐν Περσίδι ἐταπείνωσεν, τοὺς δὲ ἐν Συρίᾳ ὕψωσεν.

[24] M. Morony, *Al-Nahrawān*, [in:] *EI*, vol. VII, *Mif–Naz*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, Ch. Pellat, [2]Leiden 1993, p. 912–913.

[25] According to Martin Hinds, the Kharijites' opposition in the early Umayyad period was primarily due to the need to resist the unfavourable decisions of the local Iraqi tribal leaders on whom the new dynasty based its power in the region. In this sense, the Kharijites simply wanted to return to the policy of balance that had been previously implemented by 'Umar: *Kūfan Political Alignments and their Background*…, p. 346–367.

[26] In this sense, the term would not refer to a specific religious group, but to rebels in general, which would be interestingly consistent with the way in which rebellions are sometimes called Kharijite in traditional Islamic historiography, cf. H.L. Hagemann, P. Verkinderen, *Kharijism in the Umayyad Period*, [in:] *The Umayyad World*, ed. A. Marsham, London 2021, p. 489–517.

[27] Theophanes AM 6152, p. 347.32 – 348.1–2.

[28] Cf. M.A. Shaban, *Islamic History. A New Interpretation*, vol. I, *A.D. 600–750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971, p. 71–72.

What Theophanes did not mention (for example)

The chronographer did not mention any of the Alid traditions that distinguished ʿAli from other caliphs, especially in comparison to Muʿawiya, but also to the Abbasids[29]. Perhaps the Byzantine chronicler simply presented the Umayyad version of events in these fragments[30], emphasizing the use of the stratagem on the plain of Siffin, pointing out his quick victory and recognizing Abu Sufyan's son as the rightful ruler. Islamic historiography has presented the process of taking power from the Alids to the Banu Umayya as much more complex[31]. For example, the operation to retake Egypt by the forces of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿAs – according to Muslim sources, this undertaking took place only in 659/660[32]. At the same time, Abu Sufyan's son was also supposed to send an expedition of ʿAbdullah ibn ʿAmr ibn al-Hadram to retake the Iraqi lands[33]. The following year saw Iraqi expeditions to ʿAyn al-Tamar, led by al-Nuʿman ibn Bashur, and to al-Anbar and al-Madaʿin, led by Sufyan ibn ʿAwfa, and to the south, to Taymah, led by ʿAbdullah ibn Masʿadah al-Fazari. All of these were aimed at collecting zakat, and those who refused to pay it when the new caliph called, Muʿawiya ordered to be killed. The same thing happened in Medina and Mecca[34]. In some places, the Alids held sway longer. In Yemen, ʿUbayd Allah ibn Al-ʿAbbas ibn ʿAbd al-Muttalib ruled on behalf of ʿAli's family until 662[35].

Interestingly, despite the tendency to emphasize the significance of the above-mentioned events, noticeable in the High Middle Ages, such a dismissal of ʿAli is also characteristic of Sunni theologians and historians, certainly in the period

[29] It is worth mentioning here the narrative that seeks parallels between the information about the relationship between Muhammad and ʿAli and between Moses and Aaron: G. Miskinzoda, *The Significance of the ḥadīth of the Position of Aaron for the Formulation of the Shīʿī Doctrine of Authority*, BSOAS 78.1, 2015, p. 67–82.

[30] Pro-Umayyad traditions survived the Abbasid Revolution, cf. E.L. Petersen, *ʿAlī and Muʿāwiya in Early Arabic Tradition: Studies on the Genesis and Growth of Islamic Historical Writing until the End of the Ninth Century*, Copenhagen 1964, p. 109–115.

[31] However, there is no doubt that from Siffin begins the slow decline of the power of ʿAli and his allies, cf. A. Marsham, *The Umayyad Empire*…, p. 90–91.

[32] Cf. Ibn al-Jawzi, *Al-Muntazam fī tārīkh al-mulūk waʾl-umam*, vol. V, ed. M. Abd al-Qadir Ata, M. Abd al-Qadir Ata, Bayrūt 1995 (cetera: Ibn al-Jawzi), p. 151–152.

[33] According to Syrian traditions: Muhammad ibn Ahmad Zahabi, *Tārīkh al-Islām wa-wafayāt al-mashāhīr wa-al-aʿlām*, vol. III, ed. B. ʿA. Maʿrūf; Sh. Arnaʾūt; S. Mahdī ʿAbbās, Bayrūt 1990 (cetera: Muhammad ibn Ahmad Zahabi), p. 552.

[34] Ibn al-Jawzi, p. 157–158; Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar IbnKathīr, *Al-Bidāyah wa-al-nihāyah*, vol. VII, Dawlah Qaṭar 2015 (cetera: Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr), p. 534–535.

[35] *Tārịkh Khalifah bin Khiyāṭ*, Ar-Riyāḍ 1985, p. 200; Muhammad ibn Ahmad Zahabi, p. 552; Ibn al-Jawzi, p. 162; Ismāʿīl ibn ʿUmar Ibn Kathīr, p. 538.

from the 9th to the 10th century, who, trying to adapt the figure of the fourth caliph to the "official" version of the history of the development of early Islam, tried to reject pro-Alid tendencies[36], as well as those who are definitely against ʿAli[37].

Conclusions

In conclusion, contrary to the importance that ʿAli has acquired in the Islamic tradition[38] (even in folklore[39], not only as a religious or political leader[40]), Theophanes did not even recognize him as a legitimate ruler. He presented ʿAli as a usurper who had lost the war with Muʿawiya. Moreover, he appears in these fragments as a man supported either by the "desert people" or by the Persians, alien elements to the core of the new Muslim state, which for Theophanes seems to be Syria and Egypt. The only exception to this narrative is the passage in AM 6151, in which the Confessor, referring to the murder of ʿAli, wrote that Muʿawiya became an independent, single ruler (μονοκρατορεῖ Μαυΐας)[41]. The differences in the presentation of Muʿawiya's victory by the Byzantine historian and the Abbasid historiography,

[36] In some traditional Shia narratives, there are suggestions that ʿAli was recognized as caliph even during the reign of ʿUthman: M. Tayebi, *Shiism in the Caliphate of Uthman ibn Affan*, PazNT 6 (23), 2015, p. 1–29.

[37] *By the third/ninth century, an emerging Sunnī orthodoxy sought to minimize early partisan divisions within the community by actively criticizing pro-ʿAlid and anti-ʿAlid tendencies among scholars and rejecting their literary contributions. Furthermore, influential Sunnī scholars attempted to develop an image of ʿAlī that suited orthodoxy in their ḥadīth collections and commentaries* – N.A. Husayn, *The Memory of ʿAli b. Abi Talib in Early Sunni Thought*, Princeton University 2016 (PhD Thesis), p. III.

[38] Hassan Abbas described it well, noting that Abu Talib's son is still not a strictly historical figure, as discussions about him also concern contemporary issues related to the balance of power in the Middle East: *Ali's life is inextricably linked with the history and politics of Islam. It is as relevant to Islam's rise and growth as it is to the contemporary trials and tribulations faced by its adherents – The Prophet's Heir. The Life of Ali Ibn Abi Talib*, New Haven 2021, p. 1. On the importance of ʿAli in collecting materials for the fundamental book of Islam, the Quran: P. Kara, *The Suppression of ʿAlī ibn Abī Tālib's Codex: Study of the Traditions on the Earliest Copy of the Qurʾān*, JNES 75.2, 2016, p. 267–289; idem, *In Search of Ali Ibn Abi Talib's Codex History and Traditions of the Earliest Copy of the Qurʾān. History and Traditions of the Earliest Copy of the Qurʾan*, Berlin 2018, p. 133–152.

[39] Cf. J.L. Lee, *The New Year's Festivals and the Shrine of ʿAli ibn Abi Talib at Mazar-i Sharif, Afghanistan*, The University of Leeds 1998 (PhD Thesis), p. 256–264.

[40] Cf. A.A. Rostami-Nasab, O. Tajedini, A. Sadatmoosavi, *Examination of the "Theory of Guidance" in the View of ʿAli ibn Abi Talib (a): An Exploration into the Nahj Al-Balaghah*, JRCE 25.2, 2016, p. 203–220. ʿAli's legacy is analysed even more in works of political science and social relations, and according to their authors, ʿAli's thought can be an inspiration for introducing reforms in these areas even today: P.Gh. Ferizhandi, *La gouvernance dans la pensée du calife Ali ibn Abî Tâlib (600–661 EC) dans sa Lettre 53 au gouverneur Mâlik al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʾî (m. 658 EC) et sa réception jusqu'à nos jours*, Université de Montréal 2007 (MA Thesis), p. 102–136; R. Shah-Kazemi, *A Sacred Conception of Justice. Imam ʿAli's Letter to Malik al-Ashtar*, [in:] *The Sacred Foundations of Justice in Islam: The Teachings of ʿAlī Ibn Abī Ṭālib*, ed. M. Ali Lakhani, Bloomington 2006, p. 61–106.

[41] Theophanes AM 6151, p. 347.27.

as well as the contradictions between Theophanes' version and those presented by Syriac sources, suggest that Theophanes may have presented the Umayyad version of events in certain fragments of his work regarding intra-Islamic conflicts[42].

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[42] Similarly, in the context of the Abbasid revolution, although Theophanes is not a supporter of Marwan, he is negative about how the Abbasids seized power – considering their legitimacy questionable, presenting them as the people who led the robberies and murders by the lower class. In Theophanes' narrative, we also find positive remarks about the Umayyad rulers, which are difficult to find in his text in the context of the Abbasid rulers. Cf. B. Cecota, *The Portrayal of Abbasid Rulers in Chronography of Theophanes the Confessor*, SCer 12, 2022, p. 339–350; idem, *Could a Caliph Be Virtuous? Selected Aspects of the Image of Muslim Rulers in the "Chronography" of Theophanes the Confessor*, VP 84, 2022, p. 79–92.

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The Octopus as a Literary Figure in Imperial-Era Literature

Abstract. An examination of didactic and scholarly texts composed between the 1st and 3rd centuries CE reveals that the passages concerning the octopus exhibit recurring thematic and structural features. These commonalities suggest the existence of a literary model for representing the octopus during this period. Moreover, they exemplify the use of fictional narratives as a vehicle for artistic and entertainment purposes. In them, the figure of the octopus appears as a thief who, equipped with the qualities attributed to him by literary traditions (including the ability to walk, climb a tree, unusual culinary tastes, cunning character, and thieving inclinations) commits a sneaky theft, not infrequently linked to an assault, a fight and a sad end to the negative character. The tales about the octopus are thus part of the trend of sophistically created adventure plots based on playing with literary heritage.

Keywords: octopus, thief, pirates, Imperial period, literary tradition

During the Imperial period of Greco-Roman antiquity, the development of the Second Sophistic emerged as a dominant force shaping literary production[1]. This sophistic flourishing was driven not only by rhetorical education embedded in curricular exercises – most notably the imitation of Homeric adventures of Odysseus – but also by the active role of sophists in the formation of fictional

[1] G. Anderson, *The Second Sophistic. A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman Empire*, London–New York 1993, p. 17. According to K. Eshleman's estimates, approximately 150 sophists and orators of the Second Sophistic – identifiable through coins, inscriptions, and careful inference from the writings of second-century intellectuals – although often remaining obscure figures, likely represent only a fraction of those active between the late first and early third centuries CE (K. Eshleman, *Defining the Circle of Sophists: Philostratus and the Construction of the Second Sophistic*, CP 103.4, 2008, p. 397, 408).

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literature[2]. At the core of the Second Sophistic, and as a defining feature of Imperial literature more broadly, lies *miscellanism*, understood not as a haphazard compilation but as a deliberate aesthetic model[3]. Its aim was to produce works that were both intellectually accessible and artistically engaging for the reader. Some scholars identify the principle of variety (ποικιλία) as the primary mechanism through which this aesthetic was realized[4]. In texts of an animalistic nature, one manifestation of this principle was the attribution of human traits to animal behavior[5]. This is exemplified by narratives centered on the octopus. In addition to conveying – often following Aristotle – information about the octopus's physical characteristics, such as appearance, scent, diet, reproduction, natural enemies, and hunting methods, authors also assigned behavioral traits to the creature, constructing stories that cast it as a morally ambiguous, if not outright villainous, figure. The analysis presented in this article of Latin and Greek didactic-scientific texts from the 1st to the 3rd century CE demonstrates that descriptions of the octopus exhibit recurring features that coalesce into a recognizable literary model. The octopus is portrayed as a wanderer, a thief, and a deceiver, and the narratives devoted to it exemplify the use of fictional storytelling based on imagined events for artistic and entertainment purposes.

Polypus peregrinus[6] ("Wandering octopus")

Athenaeus (170–223 CE) derives the name octopus from the Greek word for foot – *pous* and gives the form in the Attic dialect – *poulypous*, *poulypodos*, following Homer, in whom the word first appears. Athenaeus also mentions the Aeolic form

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[2] G. ANDERSON, *The Second Sophistic*…, p. 75, 155–157, 168, 235, 240.

[3] S.J. DIGIULIO, *"ποικίλα ποικίλως": Situating Aelian's Miscellanistic Programs between Greek and Roman Models of Variety in the Second Sophistic*, TAPA 153.1, 2023, p. 214.

[4] *Ibidem*, p. 218. J. Hindermann places Elian's work in the literary tradition of works whose composition was subordinated to the principle of ποικιλία. This is because thanks to it, the content diversity of the work was highlighted, and animals were presented in a multidimensional way, both in positive and negative connotations (J. HINDERMANN, *Aelian und die ποικιλία. Ordnung und Unordnung in "De natura animalium"*, RMP 159, 2016, p. 81–82 and 92).

[5] The aim of this article is to draw attention to the formal and stylistic aspects of narratives involving octopuses. It should be noted, however, that animal stories attributing human characteristics to non-human creatures can also be examined within the context of the intense philosophical debates of the time. Pliny employed such narratives to articulate a complex vision of nature, while Aelian used them to challenge Stoic assumptions (P. LI CAUSI, *I leoni provavano gratitudine? La mirabolante storia di Androclo (e di altri) e il dibattito antico sugli animali*, Habis 52, 2021, p. 90; IDEM, *Les animaux qui souffrent sont-ils les animaux qui pensent? Pour une relecture du livre VIII de la "Naturalis historia" de Pline l'Ancien*, [in:] *Ani-Maux Souffrances animales, remèdes humains. Antiquité, Moyen Âge, Époque moderne*, ed. F. COLLARD, É. SAMAMA, Paris 2024, p. 31–32).

[6] Term taken from Iacob Masen (I. MASEN, *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae*, LXXIV, XXXII, 7, Coloniae Ubiorum: sumptibus viduae et haeredum Ioannis Antonii Kinchii, 1681; cetera: I. MASEN, *Speculum imaginum*).

– *polypon*[7]. This name reflects a characteristic feature of the octopus' appearance, namely "many legs"[8], which influenced the view that the octopus uses his legs like a human uses his legs and hands, and therefore his long tentacles must be used for walking[9]. This belief implied the possibility of indicating where octopuses could go and the reason for why they would do so. According to the authors of the Imperial period, the destination of the octopuses' excursions was dry land[10]. Their causes were the culinary preferences of these cephalopods, which were to supplement their basic diet (consisting mainly of snails and fish hunted in the sea) with fruits and seasoned fish. According to Oppian (149–180 CE), octopuses, for example, adore the fruit of the olive tree to such an extent that at the mere sight of it they feel excitement; as soon as they smell olives, they crawl to the tree, embrace its trunk and then climb up to embrace the branches as if to kiss them[11]. Also according to Athenaeus, octopuses were found on land embracing the trunk of the olive tree with their tentacles, because their weakness for olives led them to it. Athenaeus also cites the opinion of the predilection of octopuses for another fruit, figs[12]. Pliny

[7] Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*, VII, 316a–b, vol. III, *Books VI–VII*, English trans. Ch.B. Glick, London 1957 (cetera: Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*). This etymology of the name was repeated after him in the 17th century by the Dutch scholar and humanist G.I. Vossius (G.I. Vossius, *Etymologicon linguae Latinae*, Amstelodami: P. et I. Blaev, 1695, p. 462).

[8] The earliest surviving images of the octopus from around the Mediterranean appear on pottery from the Minoan culture period and on coins from various areas. On them one can see an animal with eight long legs and a large head, sometimes ending in a kind of tip or sack. The significance of this element above the head was already explained by Aristotle, and repeated by Pliny the Elder after him. Indeed, discussing bloodless animals, Aristotle stated that in them the head fits between the legs and the abdomen, Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, IV, 523b, vol. II, *Books IV–VI*, English trans. A.L. Peck, London 1970 (cetera: Aristotle, *Historia animalium*); Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 83, vol. III, *Books VIII–XI*, English trans. H. Rackham, London 1956 (cetera: Pliny, *Natural History*); after Aristotle repeated in the 16th century by G. Rondelet, G. Rondeletius, *Libri de piscibus marinis, in quibus verae piscium effigies expressae sunt*, XVII, VI, Lugduni: Matthia Bonhomme, 1554 (cetera: Rondeletius, *Libri de piscibus*), p. 511; cf. [C. Gesner], *Conradi Gesneri medici Tigurini Historiae animalium liber IV*, Francofurti: Andrea Cambieri, 1604 (cetera: Gesner, *Historiae animalium*), p. 737. This visual element inspired the imagination of modern scholars, who saw phallic symbolism in it (J. Schnier, *Morphology of a Symbol: The Octopus*, AIm 13.1, 1956, p. 29–30).

[9] Aristotle, noting the proportions of the body parts of cephalopods, stated that the octopus has a small pouch with internal organs, and long legs, in contrast to squids, which have a large pouch, and their legs are so short that they cannot walk on them (Aristotle, *Historia animalium*, IV, 524a).

[10] Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 71; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, VII, 317b–c. Oppian refers to the octopus as a "crawler", but states that octopuses crawl near the shore (Oppian, *Halieutica, or Fishing*, II, 260–265; I, 305–311; I, 609, [in:] *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphodorus*, English trans. A.W. Mair, London 1958 [cetera: Oppian, *Halieutica*], p. 200–534). The mobility of the polyps, which may therefore be capable of rapid escape, was already pointed out by Plautus (Plautus, *Rudens, or The Rope*, 1143–1144, [in:] *Plautus in Five Volumes*, vol. IV, English trans. P. Nixon, London 1959, p. 287–435).

[11] Oppian, *Halieutica*, IV, 264–307.

[12] Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, VII, 317c–d. In the sixteenth century, this belief is cited after Athenaeus by G. Rondelet (Rondeletius, *Libri de piscibus*, p. 515; Gesner, *Historiae animalium*,

the Elder (23–79 CE) and later Aelian (175–235 CE), in turn, describe the octopuses' expeditions to the mainland for salted fish. The way in which they depict the efforts of these cephalopods to obtain food processed by the hand of man is a testimony to the changes that took place over time in the way of presenting content of a fantastic nature, designed to interest the reader and provide him with more intellectual entertainment than to educate him and provide him with reliable information about these sea creatures[13].

Polypus furax ("Thief octopus")

In the *Natural History*, Pliny often draws attention to all sorts of curiosities and strange things (*mirabilia*)[14]. However, he introduces them skillfully into his work, giving them a specific form[15]. In recounting an event whose main character was supposed to be an octopus, in order to turn a fictionalized event into a credible story, following the example of Hellenistic historiography, he cites the account of an eyewitness, a certain Trebius Niger[16]. He relays:

> In the fishponds at Carteia a polyp was in the habit of getting into their uncovered tanks from the open sea and there foraging for salted fish[17] – […] – and so it brought on itself the wrath of the keepers, which owing to the persistence of the theft was beyond all bounds. Fences

p. 740). In the seventeenth century, I. Masen also echoed this opinion, claiming that octopuses come ashore in summer to seek fruit on trees (I. Masen, *Speculum imaginum*, LXXIV, XXXII, 6).

[13] According to Th. Fögen, Aelian's apparent narrative strategy suggests that he was more interested in adding variety to the themes he addressed, rather than in a logical presentation of the subject, in order to avoid tedious monotony (Th. Fögen, *The Implications of Animal Nomenclature in Aelian's "De natura animalium"*, RMP 152, 2009, p. 50 and 60).

[14] P. Li Causi, *Gli animali nel mondo antico*, Bologna 2018, p. 229–230.

[15] Stories about strange things were characteristic of his era. However, it should be emphasized that Pliny was rather skeptical of them and marked his distance (M. Beagon, *Roman Nature. The Thought of Pliny the Elder*, Oxford 1992, p. 9–11).

[16] Researchers, analyzing the structure of the work *Natural History* of Pliny pay attention to the historiographical approach and a kind of pattern, although not always applied, of starting with examples from earlier eras to end with the author's contemporary times in order to highlight the moral content of the story (Ch. Smith, *Pliny the Elder and Archaic Rome*, [in:] "*Vita Vigilia Est*". *Essays in Honour of Barbara Levick*, ed. E. Bispham, G. Rowe, London 2007 (= BICS 50), p. 160). The tale of the octopus partly reflects this kind of arrangement, because Pliny starts with a story from the Republic period and closes the plot with a remark about the times known to him, but the inspiration of historiography is found in the stylistic means characteristic of this genre rather than in the structure of the story itself.

[17] Carteia, today's Rocadillo on the bay of Algeciras on the southern coast of *Hispania Ulterior*, was founded by the Romans in 171 BC. Carteia was a port of great importance. It was also famous for the production of *garum* from mackerel (C.A. Ingemark, *The Octopus in the Sewers: An Ancient Legend Analogue*, JFR 45.2, 2008, p. 155). Numerous Roman remains have been found there, including the remains of salt pools for the production of *garum* mentioned by Pliny (*The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*, ed. R. Stillwell, Princeton, NJ 1976, p. 437).

> were erected in its way, but it used to scale these by making use of a tree, and it was only possible to catch it by means of the keen scent of hounds. These surrounded it when it was going back at night, and aroused the guards, who were astounded by its strangeness: in the first place its size was unheard of and so was its colour as well, and it was smeared with brine and had a terrible smell[18];

Pliny further expands the account with a fictional episode, recounting a battle that ensued when an octopus tried to return to the sea after being stolen. In this battle, the octopus grows into a monster that is difficult to defeat:

> who would have expected to find a polyp there, or who would recognize it in such circumstances? They felt they were pitted against something uncanny, for by its awful breath it also tormented the dogs, which it now scourged with the ends of its tentacles and now struck with its longer arms, which it used as clubs; and with difficulty they succeeded in dispatching it with a number of three-pronged harpoons[19].

Following the example of the tragedian writers, Pliny then arouses strong emotions in the reader and captures his attention by emphasizing the unnatural size of the cephalopod[20]:

> They showed its head to Lucullus – it was as big as a cask and held 90 gallons, – and (to use the words of Trebius itself) 'its beards which one could hardly clasp round with both one's arms, knotted like clubs, 30 ft. long, with suckers or cups like basins holding three gallons, and teeth corresponding to its size.' Its remains, kept as a curiosity, were found to weigh 700 lbs. Trebius also states that cuttle-fish of both species of the same size have been driven ashore on that coast[21].

The fact that Pliny distinguished between literary playfulness and historical-scientific truth, but deliberately did not follow its requirements in order to make a strong impression on the reader, can be evidenced by the following remark

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[18] Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 92. The power of the poetic comparison of an odor to the unusual stench of an octopus was already used by Horace (Horace, *Epodon*, XII, 5, [in:] *The Odes and Epodes*, English trans. C.E. Bennett, London 1960).

[19] Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 92–93.

[20] Pliny builds an atmosphere of fear around octopuses by stating that there is no crueler animal in his quest to defeat humans in the water, for when he assaults castaways or divers, he entwines his tentacles around his opponent, sticks his suckers into him and sucks him in for a long time with his many legs. He also adds that *The rest of the facts reported by the same authority may possibly be thought to approximate to the miraculous* (Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 91–92). The literary potential of the description of the tentacles of an octopus entwining his prey was recognized earlier by Ovid (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV, 366–367, vol. I, *Books I–VIII*, English trans. F.J. Miller, London 1960). In the Middle Ages, fear of octopuses was only compounded by stories of their alleged attacks on sailors. Albertus Magnus, citing Pliny's information about octopus attacks on shipwrecked sailors and divers conveys that octopuses snatch people from boats (A. Magnus, *De animalibus libri XXVI*, *Buch XIII–XXVI*, XXIV, 100, ed. H. Stadler, Münster 1910 [cetera: A. Magnus, *De animalibus*]).

[21] Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 93.

of Pliny immediately after the passage quoted above: *In our own seas one kind is taken that measures 7½ ft. in length and the other kind 3 ft.*[22] The depiction of the octopus as an unnaturally sized monster, on the one hand, fit the paradigm of miracles at the ends of the known Earth[23] popular in ancient Greek and Roman thought, and, on the other hand, stemmed from his identification with a source of great fear[24], so it was well suited to personify the danger threatening humans from the sea[25].

Oppian's didactic epic *Halieutica* deals with the fishing of sea creatures by humans, emphasizing the humanly appealing element of risk present in the fishing profession and the agonistic aspect of grappling with the element[26]. Oppian's work is part of the Greco-Roman tradition of didactic poetry, whose goals from the Hellenistic era onward always went beyond the purely cognitive. Indeed, they conveyed moral teachings, but were also an occasion for the creator's artistic display. *Halieutica* from the beginning aroused great admiration and interest due to the

[22] Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 93. M. Beagon draws attention to Pliny's personal experience, who, as an official, like other equites of the time, combined intellectual work with provincial duties. He therefore possessed not only "first-hand" information, but also had the experience to verify the stories passed on by others (M. Beagon, *Roman Nature*…, p. 5–7). Some researchers, on the other hand, emphasize that *Natural History* is not the result of direct scientific observation, but the work of "an armchair intellectual" who merely processes the material gathered by others, without being interested in the intention of the original author. Therefore, they assume that Pliny's text reveals more about Roman ideology than empirical knowledge of the early empire, because its purpose was to show the extent of the ruling emperor's influence (and by extension, Rome's) and so it should be considered a literary text, not a scientific one (E. Libonati, *An Aspect of the Object Habit: Pliny the Elder*, *Audience and Politics*, MusHJ 10, 2017, p. 129). According to Th. Fögen, Pliny ascribes moral qualities to animals, describing them almost as if they were humans representing an alien world with which Roman citizens struggled (Th. Fögen, *Pliny the Elder's Animals. Some Remarks on the Narrative Structure of "Nat. Hist." 8–11*, H 135.2, 2007, p. 186).

[23] C.A. Ingemark, *The Octopus in the Sewers*…, p. 152.

[24] Because the octopus was imagined as a creature of enormous size, the image of his moving legs inspired fear, and on a symbolic level it was linked to the Greek hydra, Medusa, vampire, dragon or spider (J. Schnier, *Morphology of a Symbol*…, p. 11–26). In a sixteenth-century Latin treatise, Joachim Camerarius, citing Pliny and Aelian, depicts the octopus as a symbol of danger lurking everywhere (I. Camerarius, *Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae quatuor: rariores proprietates historias ac sententias memorabiles non paucas breviter exponit*, IV, XLIII, Moguntiae: Ludovicus Bourgeat, 1668). A similar meaning can be found in a handbook of symbolic art of the 16th and 17th centuries (A. Henkel, A. Schöne, *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1967, p. 699).

[25] Pliny's accounts stand out from traditional Greco-Roman stories about sea dwellers because he selectively reports folklore concerning the sea and its mythical inhabitants. According to R. Denson, Pliny perceives the sea as a place that is not directly hostile to humanity, which is due to the Stoic tendency to absolve nature of direct blame. Pliny, therefore, does not attribute importance to prayers to Poseidon, but points to the responsibility of man during contact with the sea (R. Denson, *Divine Nature and the Natural Divine: The Marine Folklore of Pliny the Elder*, GLe 25.2, 2021, p. 147–148).

[26] Oppian, *Halieutica. Poemat o rybach i rybakach*, trans. K. Bartol, Poznań 2020, p. 10.

high artistic value of the work, full of wonderful descriptions. Oppian, characterizing the behavior of an octopus after a victorious battle with a crawfish resorts to a remarkable comparison:

> Then when the Crayfish falls prone, the Poulpe sits by him on the sands and feasts, […]. Even as a day-sleeping man, with predatory craft devising dark counsels, never honouring the majesty of justice, skulks at evening in the narrow streets and lies in wait for one passing by after a banquet; the banqueter, heavy with wine, goes forward, singing drunkenly, bawling no very sober melody; and the other darts forth stealthily behind and seizes his neck with murderous hands and overpowers and lays him low in a cruel sleep not far from death and despoils him of all his raiment and goes his way with his booty, ill-gotten and unlawful: even such are the devices of the cunning Poulpes[27].

Oppian compares the behavior of the octopus to the actions of a robber, whom he defines with the word λῃΐστωρ (equivalent to the Ionian form λῃϊστήρ and the Attic λῃστήρ). Thus, he ascribes human conduct and motivations to the octopus. Thanks to this procedure, the reader of the work *Halieutica* imagines the octopus as a thief who disobeys the law and deceitfully assaults his victims, robs them and then escapes.

Aelian in his work *On the characteristics of animals* also introduces the theme of the octopus, placing more emphasis on the artistic rather than didactic side of the story[28]. Aelian tells the story of a certain octopus in the Dicaearchia of Italy[29], which grew to monstrous size and began to despise sea food. As a result, he went ashore to seek prey there. He entered the city through an underground sewer, from which waste usually dripped into the sea. He then broke into a house where Iberian merchants kept goods imported from their country, namely salted fish, stored in huge clay barrels. The octopus smashed those huge barrels with his tentacles and gorged himself on the captured food[30]. When the next day the merchants saw the shattered shells and the absence of most of the goods, they decided to find out who had robbed them. So they put a well-armed, most courageous servant on the lookout. During the night, the octopus again crawled out of the sewer and went to that house in search of more loot. Aelian, like Oppian, compares the octopus to a thief[31] and spins his tale in these words:

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[27] Oppian, *Halieutica*, II, 402–418.

[28] Cf. M. Beagon, *Roman Nature*…, p. 138.

[29] Today's Pozzuoli, a town and municipality in Italy, in the Campania region. Dicaearchia was founded around 530 BC by Greek refugees from the island of Samos, and later renamed Puteoli by the Romans.

[30] We're talking about *garum*, the Romans' favorite marinated fish or fish sauce, which was obtained by fermenting fish or discarded fish parts. *Garum* provided the Roman diet with salt in the form of a dark, flavorful and rather smelly liquid. Iberian *garum* was considered one of the best at the time (C.A. Ingemark, *The Octopus in the Sewers*…, p. 151).

[31] According to C.A. Ingemark and D. Ingemark, Aelian likens the octopus to an athlete competing in *pankration*, a combat sport in which one of the techniques involved the use of choking holds

> the robber – if I may so call the Octopus – crushed the earthenware with the greatest ease. It was full moon, and the house was full of light, and everything was quite visible. But the servant was not for attacking the brute single-handed as he was afraid, moreover his adversary was too big for one man, but in the morning he informed the merchants what had happened. […] Later, in the evening the marauder paid his visit and made for his usual feast. Thereupon some of them closed off the conduit; other took arms against the enemy and with choppers and razors well sharpened cut the tentacles, just as vine-dressers and woodmen loop the tips of the branches of an oak. And having cut away its strength, at long last they overcame it not without considerable labour. And what was so strange was that merchants captured the fish on dry land. Mischief and craft are plainly seen to be characteristics of this creature[32].

It should be noted that Aelian uses the word λῃστὴς to describe the octopus, with which Homer referred to pirates and land robbers[33]. In addition, Aelian likens the behavior of the octopus to the conduct of pirates known from sophistic tales, who go ashore undetected to steal and often get into various brawls along the way[34]. This, both in terms of motif and narrative technique, allows him to introduce elements of the genre typical of the ancient novel[35] (which was at the height of its development in the late 2nd / early 3rd century AD) into a work of a scientific and exploratory nature. The threat of aliens, especially pirates, played an important role in the structure of this type of story. The octopus, like the novel's pirates, becomes the initiator of a dangerous situation into which the other characters are drawn. And what is worth emphasizing, while for the other characters the story ends *with a happy ending*, the negative protagonist, in this case the octopus,

against the opponent. Aelian's characterization of the octopus as a thief served to legitimize its brutal treatment by merchants, as the law permitted the killing of a thief at night, and the punishment of theft by death was socially acceptable. C.A. INGEMARK, D. INGEMARK, *Representation of Fear. Verbalising Emotion in Ancient Roman Folk Narrative*, Helsinki 2020, p. 221–222.

[32] AELIAN, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, XIII, 6, vol. III, *Books XII–XVII*, English trans. A.F. SCHOLFIELD, London 1959 [= LCL, 446].

[33] It is worth noting that Homer pointed out another property of this cephalopod. Comparing Odysseus' behavior in the sea to that of an octopus, he points out that when the cephalopod breaks away from a rock, remnants of the surface of the stone from which it broke away remain on his tentacles (HOMER, *The Odyssey*, V, 432, vol. I, *Books I–XII*, English trans. A.T. MURRAY, London 1960). This affliction of the octopus also did not escape the attention of the comedy writer Plautus, who used him in depicting the inclinations of wealthy people to steal. In a comedy titled *Aulularia* an old man, an Athenian citizen named Megador, justifying his choice of poor Euclion's daughter as his future spouse, states that he does not trust rich people, because, like octopuses, they get sticky with everything they touch, *I know all about those octopuses that touch a thing and then – stick* (PLAUTUS, *Aulularia*, 198, [in:] *Plautus in Five Volumes*, vol. I, English trans. P. NIXON, London 1961, p. 231–323).

[34] Cf. LONGUS, *Daphnis and Chloe*, I, 28: *some Tyrian pirates, in a Carian vessel lest perchance they should seem to be barbarians, sailed up to the fields, and coming ashore armed with swords and half-corslets, fell to rifle, plunder, and carry away all that came to hand*. LONGUS, *Daphnis and Chloe*, English trans. G. THORNLEY, London 1955.

[35] By "ancient novel" I mean, following Holzberg, "sýntagma dramatikón", i.e., a fictional narrative from the field of the viewer's experience (N. HOLZBERG, *Der antike Roman. Eine Einführung*, Düsseldorf 2001, p. 24).

dies. The narrative is conducted as a simple linear story without looping action or flashbacks. The place of action, as required by the novel, is outside the main *polis*. In this case, it is in the city of Puteoli on the Bay of Naples, which was known for its extraordinary ethnic and social diversity, for after being promoted as the financial and political center of Campania as a reward for its loyalty in the conflict with Hannibal, it became a place frequented by many travelers. Puteoli exuded the charm of its exotic atmosphere and high standard of living. Its strong association with trade undoubtedly contributed to its attractiveness as the setting of Aelian's story, as the presence of foreign merchants there seemed entirely natural[36].

Polypus fraudulentus ("Fraudulent octopus")

The attribution of the role of the octopus as a villain in the story was largely related to the perception of the octopus as a vicious creature. After all, since antiquity, when the octopus was observed to have the ability to change color and the ability to resemble the rock to which it clung[37], it acquired the character of an animal from the borderline of worlds (simultaneously fish and non-fish[38]) in popular beliefs and became the flagship symbol of deceivers who pretend to be someone other than they really are in order to obtain tangible benefits[39]. Inquiries into the cause and value of this trait have undergone changes over the centuries. Ancient authors, such as Theognis (c. 570–485 BC), Pindar (6th/5th century BC) and Klearchos (4th century BC), did not consider the cunning attributed to the octopus as a disadvantage and advised imitating it[40]. In the accounts of Pliny the Elder and later Athenaeus, the octopus' color change was attributed to his nature and driven

[36] The port of Puteoli, thanks to its ability to accommodate ships of all sizes, was the main port of the Roman Republic for almost two hundred years (J. Urbanus, *Rome's Imperial Port*, Archaeo 68.2, 2015, p. 29). Cf. C.A. Ingemark, *The Octopus in the Sewers*…, p. 154.

[37] Ancient authors who regarded the octopus's ability to adapt to external conditions as a sign of its wisdom referred to it using the Greek noun *mètis*. This term denoted a particular kind of intelligence that enabled practical effectiveness in action. It encompassed various forms of knowledge useful in life, including the art of cunning, which typically manifested in confrontational situations requiring either force or subtlety (M. Detienne, J.-P. Vernant, *Les ruses de l'intelligence. La mètis des Grecs*, Flammarion 2018, p. 21–22). In the Middle Ages, however, this phenomenon was interpreted differently by Albertus Magnus, who suggested that the rock to which the octopus clung cast a kind of shadow over it, providing shelter and facilitating hunting. Consequently, the discourse surrounding the octopus's cunning – its intentional adaptation to external conditions – ceased to exist (A. Magnus, *De animalibus*, XXIV, 100).

[38] G.E.R. Lloyd, *Science, Folklore and Ideology. Studies in the Life Sciences in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge–New York 1983, p. 45.

[39] J.-F. Lhermitte has demonstrated that Aelian's primary objective was to challenge Stoic views on animals, which regarded them as *aloga* – irrational beings – and therefore devoid of higher cognitive faculties. A salient example of this is Aelian's attribution of cunning to the octopus. J.-F. Lhermitte, *L'animal vertueux dans la philosophie antique à l'époque impériale*, Paris 2015.

[40] Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 87; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophists*, VII, 317a–b.

mainly by fear[41]. Oppian regarded the octopus' mimicry as an effective way to defend himself against attacks by stronger creatures, but also to hunt smaller fish[42]. Plutarch (50–125 CE), on the other hand, was convinced that this color change was not a nature-derived affliction, but a deliberate act of the octopus to hide or hunt effectively[43]. Recognizing the disadvantages of this type of attitude, he concluded that it should not always be imitated, as it should even be avoided in close relationships:

> What man is there, […] that he can assimilate and accommodate himself to many persons, without deriding the advice of Theognis when he says: 'Copy this trait of the cuttle-fish, which changes its colour / So as to seem to the eye like to the rock where it clings?' However, the changes in the cuttle-fish have no depth, but are wholly on the surface, which, owing to its closeness or looseness of texture, takes up the emanations from objects which come near to it; whereas friendship seek to effect a thorough-going likeness in characters, feelings, language, pursuits, and dispositions[44].

Plutarch compares to the behavior of an octopus the action of a flatterer who, like a mirror, reflects the moods of other people without revealing what he really thinks and what he is aiming at, in order to achieve his hidden goals all the more easily[45].

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[41] PLINY, *Natural History*, IX, 87; ATHENAEUS, *Deipnosophists*, VII, 316f.

[42] OPPIAN, *Halieutica*, II, 232–240.

[43] PLUTARCH, *Whether Land or Sea Animals Are Cleverer*, 27, [in:] *Moralia*, vol. V, English trans. F.C. BABBITT, London 1957 [= LCL, 406]; PLUTARCH, *Causes of Natural Phenomena*, 19, [in:] *Moralia*, vol. XI, English trans. L. PEARSON, F.H. SANDBACH, London 1965 [= LCL, 426]. Cf. RONDELETIUS, *Libri de piscibus*, p. 514; GESNER, *Historiae animalium*, p. 738; U. ALDROVANDI, *De piscibus libri V*, *et de cetis liber unus*, Bononiae: Bellagamba, 1613, p. 473.

[44] PLUTARCH, *On Having Many Friends*, 9, [in:] *Moralia*, vol. II, English trans. F.C. BABBITT, London 1956.

[45] PLUTARCH, *How to tell a Flatterer from a Friend*, 8, [in:] *Moralia*, vol. I, English trans. F.C. BABBITT, London 1960. Plutarch's opinion was echoed by Pierio Valeriano in the 16th century, stating that an octopus attached to rocks and constantly changing color, taking on the color of the stones he touches symbolizes a man who insincerely adapts to the moods and desires of other people. Valeriano concluded that in addition to the fact that the octopus does this naturally, because his transparent body enables him to do so, he does it on purpose and this is an expression of his cleverness. In support of his thesis, he cited an opinion about the octopus widespread among the Church Fathers: that of St. Ambrose, who attributed the octopus' actions to malevolent intentions, claiming that the octopus does it in bad faith in order to attract unwary fish to himself and eat them, and Basil the Great, who in his work *De gentilium lectione* described the octopus as a flatterer, because he changes his color depending on the ground, like a flatterer changes his words to the delight of his listeners. Valeriano, however, recalled the archaic positive valuation of this affliction, noting that Odysseus, changing his behavior according to circumstances, gained his reputation as a wise man mainly for this reason (P. VALERIANUS, *Hieroglyphica seu De sacris Aegyptiorum aliarumque gentium literis commentarii*, XXI, Lugduni: Paulus Frellon, 1610 [cetera: VALERIANUS, *Hieroglyphica*]). Nicolas Caussin, on the other hand, reiterated the opinion of authors from the Imperial period by claiming that octopuses are by nature prone to deception and trickery. Caussin also claimed that the octopus was a symbol

Conclusions

In summary, it may be observed that, in the writings of authors from the 1st to the 3rd century CE, episodes dedicated to the octopus and the associated anecdotes strongly reflect the literary currents of the Imperial period, rather than constituting isolated instances of individual authorial craftsmanship[46]. The manner in which this cephalopod is portrayed gradually assumes a distinct form and character, serving as evidence of an existing yet still evolving literary tradition[47]. In Pliny's account, the octopus is a sea monster that comes out of the sea to steal salted fish from salt pools. He pictures him as a thief who, according to literary tradition, climbs a tree, and when he is caught in his foul deed engages in a fierce and ultimately losing battle. Oppian portrays the octopus as a thief who lurks in back alleys at night to attack unwary passersby by surprise, rob them and then flee. Aelian, in turn, appears to synthesize narrative elements found in his predecessors, while introducing a novel dimension by casting the octopus in the role of a pirate – a figure emblematic of sophistic storytelling. His octopus is a thief who makes his way into the city at night to rob the inhabitants. In Aelian's case, the octopus, for which the natural environment was the marine element (which is an archetypal symbol of otherness and foreignness) becomes an obvious representative of the threats from it, described in the sophistic spirit. For the delightful narrative

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of superfluity and envy, as he considered him the most covetous of fish. He drew this conclusion from the belief that lust leads octopuses to death, as after the act the male is so exhausted that the helpless one is eaten by predators, and the female dies soon after giving birth (N. Caussin, *Polihystor symbolicus: electorum symbolorum*, *et parabolarum historicarum stromata*, *XII libris complectens*, VIII, LXVIII, Coloniae Agrippinae: Ioannis Kinckius, 1623 [cetera: Caussin, *Polihystor*]). In the seventeenth century, I. Masen, followed by F. Picinelli, citing the example of the octopus, which changes color due to his location, advised that a court servant should do the same, that is, cheat by adapting to the circumstances. It was considered that since such action allows octopuses to deceive their opponents and hunt them down, it is effective and worthy of imitation (I. Masen, *Speculum imaginum*, LXVII, XVII, 11; LXXIV, XXXII; F. Picinelli, *Mundus simbolicus*, *in emblematum universitate formatus*, *explicatus*, *et tam sacris*, *quam profanes eruditionibus ac sententiis ilustratus: subministrans oratoribus*, *praedicatoribus*, *academicis*, *poetis et innumera conceptuum argumenta*, VI, XXXVI, 193, Coloniae Agrippinae: Hermannus Demen, 1687 [cetera: F. Picinelli, *Mundus simbolicus*]). In a handbook of symbolic art of the 16th and 17th centuries, the octopus figures as a symbol of a flatterer (A. Henkel, A. Schöne, *Emblemata*…, p. 703).

[46] S.J. Digiulio argues that the motif of the octopus should be programmatically interpreted as a discourse on miscellanist reading and compositional practices, identifying in it a metaphor for the literary principles of Aelian. According to Digiulio, the octopus's ability to change color symbolizes the writer's craft, whereby skillful camouflage of content allows the author to subtly capture the reader's attention. Thus, the capacity for transformation becomes the essence of the literary artistry characteristic of the miscellanist author (S.J. Digiulio, *"ποικίλα ποικίλως": Situating Aelian's Miscellanistic Programs*…, p. 239–245).

[47] In this context, it is noteworthy that in the treatise on dream interpretation by Artemidorus of Daldis, who lived around the second century CE, the octopus is emblematic of criminals (C.A. Ingemark, D. Ingemark, *Representation of Fear*…, p. 226).

of the octopus not only reflects a genuine awareness of linguistic forms and literary heritage, as evidenced by calling the octopus by the Homeric term "robber" and attributing to the octopus the characteristics perpetuated by literary tradition, but it also turns out to be an example of the use of fantasy in literary prose, which characterizes the sophistic practice of the Imperial period, when a kind of play with historical and literary heritage, thanks to rhetorical techniques, led to the creation of imaginative romantic-adventure plots created to the delight of the reader[48].

A wandering thief, deceiver, and bandit – the octopus in literary works produced during the Roman Imperial era did not enjoy a favorable reputation. It came to personify a literary figure to whom negative moral attributes were ascribed and who was endowed with a specific symbolic significance. Moreover, this "bad fame" then accompanied him for centuries. It is significant that in the *Physiologos*, written down in Greek, the figure of the octopus does not appear[49]; Greek is assumed to have been a popular early Christian theological writing, created for didactic purposes, in order to put down the most important principles of the Christian faith and, by the example of exemplary individuals, instruct on the proper way of life. Moreover, the absence of the octopus is noticeable in medieval bestiaries by Epiphanius or Hugo of Folieto[50]. It is not until the 16th century that the octopus becomes a regular visitor to symbolic compendia and emblems. In most of the Latin treatises of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries devoted to the symbolic interpretation of nature, the octopus, however, lost the thief-like and piratical attributes ascribed to it by ancient authors, in favor of an emphasis on its greed and voracity[51].

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[48] According to Th. Fögen, Aelian's attribution of moral qualities to certain animals, as well as Pliny's, was intended to make reading more enjoyable for readers (Th. Fögen, *The Implications of Animal Nomenclature*…, p. 50).

[49] Some scholars date the text to the 2nd century CE (*Fizjolog*, trans. K. Jażdżewska, Warszawa 2003, p. 10).

[50] *Fizjologi i Aviarium. Średniowieczne traktaty o symbolice zwierząt*, trans. S. Kobielus, Kraków 2005, p. 5–9.

[51] Pierio Valeriano, citing Pliny the Elder and Aelian, argues that an octopus is called a man who without thinking collects and gathers everything that falls into his hands (Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica*, XXVII, 16). On the voraciousness of the octopus, one can read at Horapollo (Horapollon, *Hieroglyphica*, II, 105, Augustae Vindelicorum: David Hoeschelius, 1595, p. 124). What's more, Valeriano quotes the thesis, debunked in antiquity by Pliny the Elder (Pliny, *Natural History*, IX, 87; cf. Plutarch, *Whether Land or Sea Animals Are Cleverer*, 27), and propounded again in the Middle Ages, that octopuses are so greedy that they eat themselves (Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica*, XXVII, 19; cf. A. Magnus, *De animalibus* XXIV, 100; Caussin, *Polihystor*, VIII, LXIX). This opinion, although criticized by Guillaume Rondelet (Rondeletius, *Libri de piscibus*, p. 514; cf. Gesner, *Historiae animalium*, p. 739), was also repeated by Iacob Masen and Filippo Picinelli (I. Masen, *Speculum imaginum*, LVIII, XL, 102; LXXIV, XXXII; LVIII, XLI, 108; F. Picinelli, *Mundus simbolicus*, VI, XXXVI, 184–185).

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Some Alternative Translations of the Chronicle of Al-Anṭākī*

Abstract. The paper proposes numerous possible changes to the French translation of the chronicle of Al-Anṭākī. The proposed corrections are based on Arabic editions (including neglected variant readings of the manuscripts) and the author's Polish translation of the said chronicle.

Keywords: Al-Anṭākī, translation, Byzantium, Bulgaria, Tao, Al-Ḫālidiyyāt, Arabs, Fatimids, Druzes

The chronicle of Yaḥyà ăl-Anṭākī[1], the continuation of the chronicle of Eutychios (Saʿīd Ibn Biṭrīq), valued for its precision and objectivity, is crucial for understanding the history of Muslim Middle East (ʿAbbāsids, Fāṭimids, Ḥamdānids and Buwayhids) and Byzantium in the 937/938–1034 period (Fāṭimids since 873/874). The original text of the chronicle was longer, but the part covering years 1034–1066 has been lost. The sources of Al-Anṭākī (Ṯābit Ibn Sinān, Ibn Zūlāq, Al-Šimšāṭī, Al-Musabbiḥī, Symeon the Logothete, *Vita Christophori*, and others not known by name) were established by J.H. Forsyth[2]. The manuscripts of the chronicle included:

* I would like to dedicate this article to my dear friend George and Y. Lev, Sh. Jiwa and B. Vest as a sign of gratitude for their kindness and their works I admire.

1 In this article, I use ISO (International Standards Organisation) transcription, in which À indicates alif maqṣūrà, and a concaved sign over a vowel (Ă) shows its elision. I wish to thank D. Hendrix for his proofreading, and to J. Dybała, PhD and Prof. T. Wolińska for being so generous and understanding concerning the length of the article.

2 J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle (938–1034) of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Michigan, 1977, p. 34–200. Concerning Symeon the Logothete, Forsyth does claim that

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A. P (15th c.?), originally from Sinai, now in a public library in Petersburg. It contains a large number of distorted words.

B. B (18th c.?), now in the National Library in Paris (Arabic ms no 291[2]). Often it is used as the basis of the edition, even if other options are better.

C. L (19th c., copied from a copy that burned shortly afterwards), now in the Oriental Library in Beirut (Arabic ms no 2). It is often similar to S.

D. S (19th c.), now in the Asiatic Museum in Petersburg.

E. C (17th c., based on one from 13th c.), which belonged to Ḥ. Zayyāt from Alexandria, but vanished after his death and its content is only known through the first edition of this chronicle. It is the only manuscript covering the period of 1027–1034, and it often differs from the other manuscripts, providing interesting alternatives. In this article, I will mention some variants from this manuscript that were omitted in translations.

F. A recent copy of a manuscript from late 13th c. It belonged to the convent of St Anne in Jerusalem, and was copied from the same late 13th-c. manuscript as C, but disappeared (Arabic ms no 63)[3].

There are several editions and translations of the chronicle. There is a partial edition (concerning the reign of Basil II) and Russian translation of baron V.R. Rozen (von Rosen)[4]; a complete edition, based only on some of the now available manuscripts, by L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux & Zayyāt (cetera: Cheikho)[5]; a full edition by I. Kratchkovsky & A. Vasiliev (cetera: K&V), as well as their French translation, finished (part 3) by F. Micheau and G. Troupeau (cetera: M&T)[6]; a full edition by ʿU. Tadmurī (a compilation of the earlier editions); as well as an Italian translation by B. Pirone[7],

Al-Anṭākī used his chronicle as a source (p. 187), but does not mention that in fact he mentioned him directly, although as a famous hagiographer: Yahya-ibn-Saʿïd d'Antioche, *Histoire de Yahya-Ibn-Saʿïd d'Antioche continuateur de Saʿïd-Ibn-bitriq*, ed. et trans. I. Kratchkovsky, A. Vasiliev, Turnhout 1932 [= *PO*, 24] (cetera: K&V2), p. 402.

[3] Yahya Ibn Saʿïd d'Antioche, *Histoire de Yaḥyā Ibn Saʿïd d'Antioche*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, trans. F. Micheau, G. Troupeau, Turnhout 1997 [= *PO*, 47, fasc. 4, no 212] (cetera: K&V3), p. 376–377. I provide manuscripts' call numbers if they were assigned.

[4] В.Р. Розен, *Императоръ Василий Болгаробойца*, Санкт-Петербург 1883.

[5] Antiochensis Yahia ibn Saīd / Al-Anṭākī Yaḥyà Ïbn Saʿīd, *Annales*, [in:] Eutychius Patriarcha Alexandrinus, *Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, B. Carra de Vaux, H. Zayyat, Beryti–Parisiis–Lipsiae 1906 (Louvain 1962) [= *CSCO.SAr*, 7] (cetera: Cheikho).

[6] Yahya-Ibn-Saʿïd d'Antioche, *Histoire de Yahya-Ibn-Saʿïd d'Antioche continuateur de Saʿïd-Ibn-bitriq*, ed. et trans. I. Kratchkovsky, A. Vasiliev, Turnhout 1924 [= *PO*, 18] (cetera: K&V1); K&V2; K&V3. I would like to use this opportunity to thank Prof. Micheau for her splendid lectures in Paris.

[7] Yaḥyā al-Anṭakī, *Cronache dell'Egitto fatimide e dell'impero bizantino (937–1033)*, trans. B. Pirone, Bologna 2018 (first edition 1997; cetera: Pirone). Apart from other issues mentioned in the text, I would like to indicate Pirone accidentally omitted information between XV 23 and 24, concerning an attack on the holy Black Stone in Mecca and the nomination of vizier Al-Ǧarǧarā'ī.

and my own Polish one[8], which is soon to be published. My own English translation of Al-Anṭākī is in progress. A full English translation is long overdue, as the chronicle is a prime source for both the central and the Eastern politics of Byzantium, vastly superior in the second aspect to Skylitzes, Leo the Deacon, Armenian, or other Arab sources, not to mention Psellos. This absence has resulted in some publications on Byzantine history in ignoring Al-Anṭākī[9], and sometimes even great Byzantinists who use it have misinterpreted its content[10].

This article aims to present some possible minor corrections to the French translation of the chronicle, which is a great translation overall, but it can be improved at times, especially since it often omits the variants of ms C. One major mistake is how it places the alternative text of some of the manuscripts concerning the civil war in Syria[11] at the end of the chronicle, instead of incorporating it in the main text or placing it in a footnote, likely leading readers to overlook it. Apart from this, maps, translation of titles and *nisbas* (indicating the origin of the people in question) would be a valuable addition[12]. Since I do not know Russian or Italian, I am unable to judge the quality of the translations in these languages, but[13] I referred to the Italian translation in the footnotes.

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[8] M. Czyż, *Bliski Wschód w kronice Yaḥyi al-Anṭākīego*, PhD thesis presented at the Oriental Studies Faculty of Warsaw University 2015, under the supervision of Prof. P. Lewicka.

[9] E.g. J. Romane, *Byzantium Triumphant. The Military History of the Byzantines 959–1025*, Barnsley 2015 (note that Al-Anṭākī is the single most important source for Byzantine wars in the East in this period); J.L. Norwich, *Byzantium: the Apogee*, London 1992.

[10] C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976–1025)*, New York 2005, p. 332, n. 67 claims that Bourtzes was disappointed with his reward for conquering Antioch, which was smaller than expected because of the fire that destroyed it. However this is misleading, because it does not mention that Nikephoros II learned about the burning of Antioch only after having Bourtzes rewarded, and it is only then that the grudge between them occurred (K&V1, p. 825). Also her (p. 382, n. 186) description of why Eli[jah], the patriarch of Alexandria, opposed the nomination of Agapios as the patriarch of Antioch is plainly wrong, as it was not because he was *far too junior*. Au contraire, it is because he was a bishop already, and not a simple priest or monk (K&V2, p. 378–389). About this issue, see M. Czyż, *The Correspondence between the Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, Agapius and Elijah*, [in:] *The Artistic Traditions of Non-European Cultures*, vol. XI–XII, ed. H. Rubinkowska-Anioł, M. Widy-Behiesse, Warszawa–Toruń 2024, p. 13–30. Also, the Mirdasids were a dynasty, not a tribe (p. 478, n. 88). E. McGeer, *Sowing the Dragons' Teeth*, Washington 1995, p. 357–358 misrepresents the account of Al-Anṭākī about the battle of Tubbal (A'zāz/'Azāz), cherry-picking from it to conform to the account of Skylitzes. About this issue, see M. Czyż, *The Syrian Campaign of Romanos III Argyros*, SAMAI 6, 2021, esp. p. 254, n. 153.

[11] K&V3, p. 472, 538.

[12] It is sometimes important, as it indicates, e.g., which Ismā'īli figures came from the East, thus showing the extent of Fāṭimid influence, or the influence of the origin on theological positions. An example of taking this into account can be found in: M.G.S. Hodgson, *Al-Darazī and Ḥamza in the Origin of the Druze Religion*, JAOS 21.1, 1962, p. 17. It is not always visible without translating the *nisbas*.

[13] With the help of my mother (who has been an Italian teacher).

Geography

Many of the corrections I present concern proper names, especially place names. For example, in the West, before he arrived in Tripoli, future caliph Al-Mahdī visited a place called Al-Ṭāḥūna (الطاحونة; *the mill*)[14]. B. Pirone places it near Constantina, but it is geographically impossible for Al-Mahdī to travel to Tripoli (in Libya) through it, as it is a city in Algeria. Moreover, Pirone misreads Yāqūt, who mentions Al-Ṭāḥūna as a place in Constantinople, and not as a place close to Constantina[15]. Al-Ṭāḥūna could be a distorted name Ṭalamūya (طلموية; probably Ptolemais, today Ṭulmayṭa (طلميثة)). Yāqūt mentioned Ṭalamūya as a town between Alexandria and Barca (Barqa, today Al-Marǧ), as well as one of the two *coasts* of the region of Barca (Cyrenaica)[16]. It seems to fit the description, as it is on the way from Egypt to Tripoli, in Cyrenaica, which is one of the few inhabited places on the way, and the presence of mountains along the road, as well as rivulets west of the city, makes it a fine place for an ambush. On the other hand, other sources mention this place as Al-Ṭāḥūna as well[17], and it is mentioned as the 17th out of 21 stages of travel between Barca and Alexandria by Al-Muqaddasī. The one before it is Kanāis al-Ḥarīr/al-Ḥadīd (*The Churches of Silk/Iron*), probably Ra's al-Kanā'is (*The Cape of the Churches*) today, and the ones after it are Ḏāt al-Ḥumām (today distorted into Al-Ḥammām) and Būmīna (Abū Mīnā)[18]. Thus Al-Ṭāḥūna was located somewhere around modern Egyptian villages of Al-Ḍa'ba, Tilāl al-'Alamayn, and Sīdī 'Abd al-Raḥmān, and this is a more probable interpretation, as it would also mean Al-Mahdī was attacked just after leaving the Delta and entering the Sahara, as well as its proximity to the hills is more pronounced than elsewhere before Cyrenaica.

Apart from this, Al-Anṭākī mentions that Sayf al-Dawla, after being defeate ed by Leon Phokas, spent the night in *al-ḥawānīt* (الحوانيت; *taverns*)[19]. K&V do not translate this word and treat it as a place name[20]. Such a city did exist, but far away in Lower Iraq[21]. Cheikho corrects it to *al-ḫawāniq* (الخوانق)[22], that is the

[14] K&V1, p. 752.

[15] PIRONE, V, 14, n. 21. But YĀQŪT, *Mu'ǧām al-Buldān*, vol. IV, Beirut 1397/1977 (cetera: YĀQŪT), p. 4.

[16] YĀQŪT, vol. IV, p. 39 and vol. I, p. 389.

[17] AL-QĀḌĪ ĂL-NU'MĀN, *Iftitāḥ al-Da'wa*, ed. F. AL-DAŠRĀWĪ, Tunis–Algier 1986 (cetera: AL-NU'MĀN), p. 161; IBN AL-'ADĪM, *Zubdat al-Ḥalab min Tārīḫ Ḥalab*, ed. Ḫ. AL-MANṢŪR, Beirut 1996 (cetera: IBN AL-'ADĪM Z); IBN AL-AṮĪR, *Al-Kāmil fī ăl-Tārīḫ*, vol. V, Beirut 1414/1994 (cetera: IBN AL-AṮĪR), p. 18.

[18] AL-MUQADDASĪ, *The Best Divisions for Knowledge of the Regions. Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat al-Aqālīm*, trans. B. COLLINS, Reading 2001 (cetera: AL-MUQADDASĪ), p. 202–203.

[19] K&V1, p. 782.

[20] As does M. CANARD, *Sayf al Daula. Recueil des textes relatifs à l'émir Sayf al Daula le Ḥamdanide avec annotations, cartes et plans*, Alger 1934, p. 381, n. 3.

[21] G. LE STRANGE, *Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdād, Written about the Year 900 A.D. by Ibn Serapion*, JRASGBI 1895, p. 46, n. 11.

[22] CHEIKHO, p. 117.

gorges (of the Ceyhan River). It makes sense, as gorges were a natural shelter for defeated armies[23].

Pirone makes a number of vocalisation errors, such as Tayzīn instead of Tīzīn[24], Ṣihyāwn instead of Ṣahyūn (Zion)[25], Ibn al-Dīrānī instead of Ibn al-Dayrānī (from Armenian *Deranik'*)[26].

One of the most interesting changes that can be introduced concerns John Tzimiskes' expedition to Syria in 975. John Tzimiskes raided Syria and (29 May 975) captured Ba'labakk (in Lebanese Al-Biqā'/Bekaa Valley). The Damascenes ransomed themselves with a yearly tribute of 60,000 dinars. Tzimiskes summoned Alftakīn, the ruler of Damascus, so he visited him with four *ḡulāms*. This is followed in mss PC by a short sentence. In three editions of Al-Anṭākī, this sentence is interpreted differently. Cheikho only mentions it in a footnote and does not seem to see any use for it. The possible translation of Cheikho's rendering of this text (لقبه بكامد, *laqqabahu bi-k-ām-d?*) is *so he gave him the title of K-ĀM-D*, but *kāmid* does not appear to have any suitable meaning (*sad*, *swarthy*, *dull in colour*). K&V do not annotate the first letter of the second word with any dot, which results in a lack of full translation: *he met him…* (لقيه بكامد, *laqiyahu ?-k-ā-m-d*). Tadmurī, on the other hand, takes Cheikho's text, but corrects one letter (لقبه بكامل, *laqqabahu bi-kāmil*), obtaining the meaning *he gave him the title of Perfect*, but the lack of *al-* (*the*) definite article makes it unlikely[27]. The reading I propose is a mixture of Cheikho and K&V (لقيه بكامد, *laqiyahu bi-Kāmid*), and it can be translated as *he met him in Kāmid*, a city further into the Bekaa Valley, which fits the context[28]. This gives more precise information concerning the issue P.E. Walker discussed in his splendid article, and shows that the relation of Ibn al-Qalānisī saying that Tzimiskes camped on the outskirts of Damascus and visited it himself, is not true[29].

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[23] E.g. Skleros also sheltered in gorges after defeat: Jean Skylitzès, *Empereurs de Constantinople*, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 9, trans. B. Flusin, Paris 2003 (cetera: Skylitzes), p. 273. As for Pirone, VII, 38 & n. 73 treats both as city names. Skylitzes, Leo, Ibn al-Aṯīr, Ibn al-'Adīm, Miskawayh, Yāqūt, and Al-Hamaḏānī do not provide a solution.

[24] E.g. K&V1, p. 806; Pirone, VII, 101; Yāqūt, vol. II, p. 66.

[25] E.g. K&V2, p. 369 make it Ṣihyūn (Sihyoun); Pirone, IX, 24. There is no Ā there, and it is grammatically unlikely before a sukūn. Pirone refers Yāqūt, but the edition I have does not mention this place (Yaḥyà Ǐbn Sa'īd Ibn Yaḥyà ăl-Anṭākī, *Tārīḫ Al-Anṭākī ăl-ma'rūf bi-ṣilat tārīḫ Awtīḫā*, ed. 'U.'A. Tadmurī, Tripoli (Lebanon) 1990 (cetera: Tadmurī), p. 162, n. 9 also refers to Yāqūt, but does not distort this name). This name is interesting in the context of the Byzantines wrongly calling this part of Syria Palestine (Leo the Deacon, *History*, IV, 10, trans. A.-M. Talbot, D.F. Sullivan, Washington 2005, cetera: Leo) and (albeit almost certainly fabricated later) letter of John Tzimiskes falsely claiming he reached Palestine (Matthew of Edessa, *Armenia and the Crusades. Tenth to Twelfth centuries. The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, I, 18, trans. A.E. Dostourian, Lanham–New York–London 1993).

[26] E.g. K&V3, p. 462 (the vocalisation of M&T is correct); Pirone, XV, 28.

[27] Cheikho, p. 146; K&V2, p. 368; Tadmurī, p. 162.

[28] Cheikho, p. 146; K&V2, p. 368; Tadmurī, p. 162.

[29] P.E. Walker, *The "Crusade" of John Tzimisces in the Light of New Arabic Evidence*, B 50, 1980, p. 317, n. 49; Ibn al-Qalānisī, *Ḏayl Tārīḫ Dimašq*, ed. H.F. Amedroz, Beirut–Leyden 1908, p. 13.

The suburb of Al-Karḫ is located (south-)*east*, and not *west*, of Baghdad[30]. An independent city of Al-Karḫ is indeed located (north-)*west* of Baghdad, but the suburban status and strong Shiism of the eastern Al-Karḫ leave no doubt that Al-Anṭākī made a mistake, just like in calling king David III of Tao the paternal uncle of Bagrat III of Georgia (in reality, the grandfather of David III was the grand-grand-grandfather of Bagrat III)[31]. Such mistakes should be indicated in the footnotes, and the translators ignore them.

There are two mentions of *Abāriya*/*Bāriya*[32] in the text[33]. While secondary sources assume it is Veria (Beroea)[34], if one compares the text with Skylitzes[35], it is clear it is Triaditza/Sofia, as the story is essentially the same, save for the place name: Basil II besieged the city, then returned to the defile before it and was defeated by the Bulgarians, and the revolt of two Bardases occurred shortly after it. Later the city was destroyed by Basil (likely in revenge for the aforementioned debacle), which is also mentioned by Skylitzes as referring to Triaditza[36]. The identification of *Abāriya* with Veria makes the story of Al-Anṭākī seem strange, as it is not located behind a defile, it was in Byzantine hands before (although it was temporarily captured by the Bulgarians[37]), and the destruction of an old Byzantine city would make no sense. Yet a change of identification makes Al-Anṭākī's story perfectly sound. The mistake of Al-Anṭākī is likely due to the fact that the next personal expedition of the emperor, which started the conquest of Bulgaria, peacefully captured Veria[38]. Strangely, this identification was overlooked by N. Adontz in his detailed description of the rule of Samuel[39].

Other mentions of Al-Anṭākī concerning the Bulgaria are slightly distorted as well: while some of the information about Silistra (Ẓaysīrā/Ṭaysīrā/Ṭilsīrā / ظايسيرا/طلسيرا/طايسيرا → Ṭilistrā طلسترا → Ḍilistrā ضلسترا or Ṣilistrā صلسترا, similar to Dristra

[30] K&V2, p. 360; PIRONE, VIII, 71 ignore this issue.

[31] K&V3, p. 460, 462, https://www.royalhouseofgeorgia.ge/genealogy/ [8 IX 2025].

[32] LS *Arābiyya*.

[33] K&V2, p. 419 & 431.

[34] B.P. РОЗЕН, *Император*…, p. 228–231, n. 183.8; G. SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Epopée Byzantine*, vol. II, Paris 1900, p. 54, n. 1.9; St. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, London 1930, p. 228, n. 1; PIRONE, X, 129, n. 141.

[35] SKYLITZES, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 12, p. 276–277. Also LEO, X, 8, p. 213–214; the place of the fight is confirmed also by J. ZAIMOV, T.A. LYAAGHT, *The Bitolya Inscription of the Bulgarian Autocrat Ivan Vladislav (1015–1018)*, NZSJ 6, 1970, p. 7–8.

[36] SKYLITZES, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 25, p. 287.

[37] LEO, X, 10, p. 217.

[38] SKYLITZES, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 27, p. 287. The peaceful capture of it and the shortness of the Bulgarian rule make its destruction even more unlikely.

[39] N. ADONTZ, *Samuel l'Arménien, roi des Bulgares*, [in:] *Etudes Armeno-Byzantines*, ed. IDEM, Lisbonne 1965, p. 360.

& Silistra, rightly identified by K&V[40]) indeed concern this city[41], some of them refer to Preslav, the capital of Bulgaria (it is called the capital and the place where the tzars were captured by the Ruthenians[42], as well as the place where the Byzantines captured them from the Ruthenians, while the capital was Preslav and Skylitzes claimed it is there that the tzar was captured by Byzantium[43]). This mistake probably arose due to the fact that Silistra was the seat of the Bulgarian patriarch at that time[44], and due to their geographical proximity: before capturing Preslav, the Ruthenians captured the cities along the Danube[45], and when Tzimiskes captured Preslav, he went from there to Silistra[46]. Thus it appears that Al-Anṭākī merged the two cities into one.

Similarly, Al-Anṭākī likely was unaware that Komitopoulos was not just Samuel, but the entire family, so he did not notice the succession of Gabriel Radomir. He was partly aware that Komitopoulos (Gabriel) was the son (*ḡulām* meaning a boy or a son) of Samuel, but he did not distinguish them, thus he transferred the name of Samuel to the previous ruler Peter, while making Samuel his *ḡulām* (meaning a slave soldier or servant, as he imagined Bulgaria as being similar to the Middle East). On the other hand, John Vladislav is called by the name of his father: Aaron. Al-Anṭākī says that he was of royal origin, which may be understood as that he thought he descended from the previous dynasty, but is not wrong, as his father Aaron was a Komitopoulos and thus belonged to the ruling family (he was murdered by his brother Samuel[47]). It is also noteworthy that in the case of John Vladislav, Komitopoulos (القمطوفلس) is distorted into Al-Qumṭūriyās (القمطورياس), as if the copyist was aware it is a different person. Al-Anṭākī, however, is wrong concerning the death of John Vladislav.

This is all important for asserting the credibility of Al-Anṭākī concerning the events in Bulgaria and overall. C. Holmes wrote that the information Al-Anṭākī gained on the warfare in Bulgaria is *extremely limited*[48], and usually does not try to

[40] And by Pirone, VII, 118, n. 174.

[41] The siege of Ruthenians inside it, mentioned K&V2, p. 348, corresponding to Skylitzes, "Jean Tzimiskès", XV, 5, p. 242–243; Leo, VII–IX, 1–12, p. 128–200; Nestor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, trans. S.H. Cross, O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, Cambridge–Georgetown 1953 (cetera: Nestor), p. 87–90.

[42] K&V1, p. 813.

[43] K&V2, p. 348; Skylitzes, "Jean Tzimiskès", XV, 9, p. 249.

[44] R. Browning, *Dorostolon*, [in:] *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, ed. A.P. Kazhdan, Oxford–New York 1991, p. 653.

[45] Nestor, p. 84–87.

[46] Skylitzes, "Jean Tzimiskès", XV, 10, p. 250.

[47] Skylitzes, "Jean Tzimiskès", XVI, 11, p. 275.

[48] C. Holmes, *Basil II*…, p. 38, another critical assessment p. 48, but accepting his importance in some aspects (p. 48–49, 426). Her accusation of repetitiveness, because of a mention of two four-year periods of war with the Bulgarians, is negated by (mentioned by her, p. 48, n. 70) M. Whittow,

make sense or use of it. The Bulgarian relation of Al-Anṭākī is perhaps not *excellent*, containing *true revelations*, as Adontz claimed[49], but it is not a fairy tale, as G. Ostrogorsky described it[50]; his narration is valuable, but has to be confronted with other sources, as he confused the names, probably because he relied on oral accounts, and the names were exotic for him, just like the names of Fāṭimid rulers for Skylitzes, who mistook Al-Ḥākim for his father Al-ʿAzīz (*Azizios*)[51]. Such mistakes occur elsewhere in the text, for example Zoe (Zu'ī زئي) is called Irene (إيريني), but, in this case, this is probably a mistake of the copyists, because ms P[1] retains a middle form: Rīnī (ريني)[52], and it is unlikely Al-Anṭākī did not know the name of a Byzantine ruler. The issue of Abāriya was first discovered by M.A. Lipowsky, who was actually criticised, without deliberation, by G. Schlumberger for *confusing Veria with Sofia*[53].

Rulers of Bulgaria			
Arabic	**Transcription**	**Direct translation**	**Interpretation**
شموئل	Šamū'il	Samuel	Peter I[54], one time Samuel[55]

The Making of Orthodox Byzantium (600–1025), Houndmills–London 1996, p. 389, who indicates the number is not far from truth. N. ADONTZ, *Samuel*…, p. 371, n. 51 sees it as an error, echoing the duration of the previous expedition (and is probably right); but it is not a simple repetition of the same information.

[49] N. ADONTZ, *Samuel*…, p. 347.

[50] G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. HUSSEY, Oxford 1968, p. 301, n. 2.

[51] SKYLITZES, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 33, p. 290.

[52] K&V3, p. 486, n. 15.

[53] G. SCHLUMBERGER, *L'Epopée*…, vol. II, p. 54, n. 1. M.A. LIPOWSKY, *De l'histoire de la lutte gréco aux X^e^ et XI^e^ siècles*, JMIPR 11, 1891, p. 136. Most of these information and more I presented (sadly in Polish) in M. CZYŻ, *Bułgaria w kronice Yahyi ăl-Antākīego*, [in:] *Poznać Bałkany. Historia – polityka – kultura – języki*, ed. K. TACZYŃSKA, A. TWARDOWSKA, Toruń 2016, p. 13–30.

[54] K&V1, p. 813 (to be compared to "Jean Tzimiskès", XVI, 5, p. 242 and earlier); K&V2, p. 349 (corresponding to SKYLITZES, XVI, 9, p. 249); K&V2, p. 348 (corresponding to SKYLITZES, XVI, 10, p. 249, but partly, as Al-Anṭākī merges Silistra with Preslav and thus claims the tzars were captured only after Silistra, while Skylitzes claims Boris was taken in Preslav); K&V2, p. 418 (corresponding to SKYLITZES, "Basile et Constantin", XVII, 11, p. 275). The identification of Samuel with Peter was first discovered by N. ADONTZ, *Samuel*…, p. 387. However Adontz's claim that *Samuel* means Roman as well, out of confusion between Simeon and Samuel, is a complete mistake, as Roman is never called by Al-Anṭākī by any name. Note that K&V simply translate the names, and PIRONE, VII, 118, n. 174 limits himself to doubts if the Samuel in question is Samuel Komitopoulos, and later on to simply translating or transcribing the names (XIII, 45).

[55] K&V3, p. 406 describing Komitopoulos (Gabriel) as the son of Samuel, but the context is confused. When referring to the third party of Al-Anṭākī, I give the number of the page with the Arabic text, and the translation is found on the next page, unless indicated otherwise.

Rulers of Bulgaria			
Arabic	**Transcription**	**Direct translation**	**Interpretation**
Sons of Peter I (called Samuel)			Boris II
			Roman[56]
القمطوفلس	Al-Qumiṭūfulus	Komitopoulos	Samuel (Komitopoulos)[57]
القمطورياس (القمطوبلس/ القمطوبولس؟)	Al-Qumṭūriyās (Al-Qumiṭūbulus/ Al-Qumiṭūbūlus)	Komitopoulos	Gabriel Radomir, son of Samuel[58]
هرون	Hārūn	Aaron	John Vladislav, son of Aaron[59]

The reading of (الأمينافوين *Al-Amīnāfwīn*?, PR الأمنياقوين *Al-Aminyāqwīn?* without the dots of Q and Ī) in the edition of K&V, more so الأرمينياقوين *Al-Armīnāqwīn?* in the edition of Tadmurī) as Armeniakon is very unsure[60], both because R letter is missing, and because it is mentioned as land given to Skleros after the revolt, alongside Raʿbān (a Syrian city, today Araban in SE Turkey), and one would thus expect a place of similar importance and geographical location as Raʿbān, and that is not the case. Moreover, it would be very unwise to give a former rebel an entire major theme. Psellos mentions lands that were assigned to him, but without any details[61]; Ibn al-Aṯīr says he was assigned the lands he (already) had in his hands, but without naming any[62]; and Skylitzes, Al-Rūḏrāwarī give few details[63].

[56] See earlier references, as Peter (*Samuel*) is mentioned just as the father of (unnamed) Boris and Roman, and they are described only as his sons.

[57] E.g. K&V2, p. 446–447 about Ouranos fighting Samuel in Bulgaria, mentioned also by Skylitzes, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 23, p. 285–286, although the placement of these battles suggests perhaps this information of Al-Anṭākī refers to the fights of Xiphias.

[58] K&V3, p. 406; Skylitzes, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 35, p. 292. Discovered before me by N. Adontz, *Samuel*…, p. 388.

[59] K&V3, p. 406; Skylitzes, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 35, p. 292. The identification is accepted by C. Holmes, *Basil II*…, p. 419. N. Adontz, *Samuel*…, p. 388 *de facto* accepts it as well.

[60] K&V2, p. 427; Tadmurī, p. 212. It is described as an unidentified locality by J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 442. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi*, Wien 1976, p. 56 confines himself to transcribing the name.

[61] Michał Psellos, *Kronika*, I, 26–29, trans. O. Jurewicz, Wrocław 1985 (cetera: Psellos), p. 11–13 (esp. I, 29, p. 13).

[62] Ibn al-Aṯīr, vol. V, p. 466.

[63] Skylitzes, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 19, p. 282–283; Abu Shujāʿ Rudhrawari, Hilal B. Muhassin, *Continuation of The Experiences of The Nations*, trans. D.S. Margoliouth, London 1921 (cetera: Rudhrawari), p. 117 (Eng. p. 119: they confirmed him in his *governorship*, not *lieutenancy*). Pirone, X, 162, n. 148 is also cautious in this matter.

Another geographical correction concerns a place that David, king of the Georgians, was the master of (التي, 'LTĪ)[64]. Cheikho corrects it to (النني), *Al-Nī*, pronounced *Annī*, similar to Ani, thus Tadmurī identifies it as this city[65]. In theory, this should not be possible linguistically. There is no reason why the first part of this proper name should be written as a definite article *al-*. Some may think that the *casus* of Alexandria is analogous, but that is not the case, because first of all, *al-* in Alexandria is not there because of its presence in Alexander name, but due to the same grammatical reason that makes Constantinople *Al-Qusṭanṭīniyya*, and not *Qusṭanṭīniyya*: to make an adjective a proper name, just like *-iyya* ending is not a rendering of *-ia* of Alexandr**ia**, but is there to create a *nisba* adjective. The dropping of *al-* from Alexander already occurred with the name Alexander (*Iskandar*), which is confirmed that Alexandretta (*Iskandarūna*) is usually written without *al-*, both by Al-Anṭākī[66] and by Yāqūt[67]. Thus Alexandria is not a simple Arabisation of this place name[68], but a grammatically Arab place name, albeit derived from a foreign given name. While such a case does not occur in other sources concerning analogous names, e.g. Athenes, there is a very analogous case in the chronicle, that is Anatolikon (Al-Nāṭulīq, pronounced *Annāṭulīq*)[69]. However this is not only a form not present in any of the manuscripts, but something impossible historically. David did not own Ani; it was a separate state, annexed by Byzantium on a separate occasion[70]. K&V read this word as Al-Tay (*Al-Taï*)[71], thinking it is Tao/Taik, the Georgian kingdom of David. *Al-* is present in some Arabic place names, but only to change a common name into a proper one, e.g. *baṣra* is a rugged ground or small stones; Al-Baṣra is a city in Iraq whose name is derived from this word. *Ribāṭ* is a kind of an inn or a border fortification, and Al-Ribāṭ is the capital of Morocco. Adding *al-* to non-Arabic proper names, which are defined already, is contrary to Arabic grammar, but it does not stop Al-Anṭākī from doing it sometimes[72]. But *Al-Tay* form does not suit either the Georgian (Tao; the last letter is different) or the Armenian (Taik; the last letter is missing) forms of the name of this kingdom,

[64] CHEIKHO, p. 170; K&V2, p. 429, n. 6 (ms C changes L into K: اكتي, but it is a clear typo); TADMURĪ, p. 214.

[65] PIRONE, X, 157, n. 143 claims that *al-Tayy* is an erroneous form of Ani as well.

[66] K&V1, p. 814.

[67] YĀQŪT, vol. I, p. 182.

[68] Also note that *al-i* is not pronounced the same as *ali*.

[69] E.g. K&V2, p. 373. PIRONE, X, 8 believes it is Anatolia, but XV, 31, n. 32 he considers it could be (YĀQŪT, vol. V, p. 252) Nāṭulīn, some obscure city/land close to (*in*) Constantinople, which is clearly unlikely.

[70] SKYLITZES, "Constantine Monomaque", XXI, 8, p. 361–362; J.H. FORSYTH, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 577–581; A. TER-GHEWONDYAN, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia*, trans. N.G. GARSOÏAN, Lisbon 1976, p. 122.

[71] The same interpretation in E. HONIGMANN, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinisches Reiches*, Bruxelles 1935, p. 155.

[72] E.g. K&V3, p. 492, *al-* is added to the name of Spondyles.

and, moreover, the Arabic rendering of foreign names usually makes the vowels long[73], albeit it is not always true in this chronicle. Moreover, mss BLS call this place a *city*, which does not fit Tao. It should be read as Ultī, that is Olti (Arabs do not distinguish between O and U), the name of the capital of Tao[74].

The name *Al-Ḫālidiyyāt*[75] is mentioned thrice by Al-Anṭākī. For the first time when it was given to Skleros alongside Anzitene[76], and for the second and third times when Basil II, after defeating Phokas at Chrysopolis, sent Taronites to Trabzon (Trebizond), who gathered men there and went towards the Euphrates (perhaps heading for Taron). Phokas asked the king of Tao for help. He sent men who were joined by two patricians, *sons of Bagrat*, who defeated Taronites. Both Tao and them sent 1000 men. But both them and the ruler of Tao denied Phokas further help when the news of Chrysopolis reached them[77]. Later on a Byzantine commander killed one of the *sons of Bagrat*, and exiled the second one. The first mention suggests a land close to Anzitene (which is located by the Euphrates), and the second mention a place somewhere south of Trabzon to the north, the Euphrates to the south, and Georgia to the east. The third mention suggests it was west of Tao. The first mention indicates it was a Byzantine province[78], but the second and third suggest a separate entity, since its rulers are named *lords* (*ṣāḥibs*), the same title as the king of Tao, and are shown as neutral in the war until Phokas'

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[73] Currently it is transcribed as Tāw(u): https://ar.wikipedia.org/wiki/مملكة_الأبيريين [29 VI 2025].

[74] Today it is called Oltu due to the Turkish vowel harmony, which changes I into U after O in the previous syllable.

[75] It is unlikely to be an Arabic name, despite its seemingly Arabic form and meaning (*the eternals*, *the Chaldian* or *the [lands] of Ḫālid* (such possibility was considered before me by B.P. Розен, *Император*…, n. 12, p. 80–81)), because of the geographical distance of the described events from the Arab-inhabited areas. The name itself is plural, which is rare, but Al-Anṭākī puts other geographical names in plural as well, e.g. Syria: K&V1, p. 735 (however, Al-Ḫālidiyyāt are plural in some other sources. The plurality may be an argument against them being a city). E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze*…, p. 53 thinks it is to distinguish it from Al-Ḫālidiyya village by Mosul; but it was not renowned, and many cities shared the same Arabic name without any problem. As for Ḫālid name, there were 9th-c. Arab Šaybānid governors of Armenia named Ḫālid and his son Muḥammad Ibn Ḫālid (A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates*…, p. 28), but this interpretation would be unlikely (why would it be used?) and would not explain the first occurrence of this name. Also note that Al-Ḫālidiyyāt bears resemblance to Ḫilāṭ (Ahlat), which is located close to Taron, but only vaguely, and it was in Muslim hands.

[76] W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi*…, p. 36 makes a mistake (which is also likely why he conflates Al-Ḫālidiyyāt with Kaloudia), claiming that Asolik refers to these territories as by the Ceyhan River and Malatya, because he mentions the areas that were the centres of Skleros' rule at the beginning of the revolt (he was declared emperor in Malatya, and his first victory was over Ceyhan: K&V2, p. 372–373), and not the areas he governed before: Stepʻanos Tarōnecʻi, *The Universal History*, XIII, 14 & n. 219, trans. T. Greenwood, Oxford 2017 (cetera: Stepʻanos).

[77] J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 436–437 convincingly argues that they rather withdrew due to a conflict with the other Georgian states, but he also (p. 438) indicates that the small number of troops they sent indicates they were cautious and not fully committed to Phokas.

[78] Ibn al-ʻAdīm Z, p. 75 also mentions it, in 956, as a province lead by a patrician B-R-KĪL.

direct appeal to Tao. It was close geographically and politically to Tao, as acting in unison with it[79], but also in a Byzantine sphere of influence (hence the titles), and the name of the rulers suggests an Armenian or Georgian origin. Thus either the two mentions refer to separate entities, some change occurred in their status, or (less likely) an inappropriate term for their rulers, or name, was used. K&V transliterated the name only, but it likely should be read as Chaldia, which was first suggested by Adontz[80], and repeated by Tadmurī[81]. The Chaldia theme is located relatively far north of Anzitene, but the wider ducate of it was much closer[82]. It lies in NE Byzantium, which fits the context of the war between Byzantium and Tao, but as Trabzon is located in this theme, this suggests (less likely) that either the rulers of Chaldia switched sides, or that the two brothers did not rule this theme, or rather not its entirety, as Taronites' landing and gathering forces there are shown as unopposed. Perhaps the name of Chaldia was extended to some neighbouring lands outside direct Byzantine rule. That would not be unusual; note the Byzantine theme of Iberia. And there is a possible reason for this. Asolik mentions that Basil II ceded the *kleisoura* [of] Khaḷtoyarich/Xałtoyařič[83], Čormayri, Karin/Erzurum,

[79] Y.A. RABAVILAS, *The Real Objectives of Byzantium's Foreign Policy towards Georgia during the Reign of Basil II (978–989 and 1021–1022)*, Βκα 38, 2023–2024, p. 90 surmises they were lieutenants of David for (probably) the same reasons that I pointed out. Some of his other claims are questionable, though. He claims (p. 94) that the expedition of Constantine VIII was a proof that Byzantium wanted to take entire Georgia, while mostly ignoring the explanation of Al-Anṭākī (K&V3, p. 484), that it was but a response to Georgian attack (also, he mistakes Niketas with Simon: Aristakes, *History*, V, trans. R. BEDROSIAN, https://www.attalus.org/armenian/a3.htm [22 VI 2025]). He claims Tao never received Karin; but it is more likely it received it, but was deprived of it after its support for B. Phokas, when a Byzantine army crushed the two sons of Bagrat. While it is not explicitly stated by Al-Anṭākī, it is unlikely Tao would be left unpunished (apart from being annexed by the Empire after the king's death), and, as Aristakes claims, the rule over Karin was not only not hereditary, but a reward for loyal obedience, a condition which was broken.

[80] N. ADONTZ, *Les Taronites en Arménie et à Byzance*, [in:] *Etudes*…, p. 233.

[81] TADMURĪ, p. 214. K&V2, p. 372, 424–425, 429. PIRONE, X, 7, n. 9 does not translate the name in the main text, but claims it is the theme of Chaldia in a footnote. He claims that Yāqūt mentions it in its singular form. Indeed, Al-Ḫālidiyya is mentioned by him, but as a village in Mosul province (YĀQŪT, vol. II, p. 338–339; confirmed by search at https://ar.lib.eshia.ir/40581/1/3 [10 VI 2025]). B.P. ROZEH, *Император*…, n. 12, p. 81 mentions this, that (not in the edition, but in the manuscripts) Al-Makīn mentions the same form as Al-Anṭākī. Rozen does not mention in which place, and the word is not present neither in the part up to the end of the Achaemenids (Al-Ḫālidiyya is mentioned, but the editors correct it to Al-Ǧalātya, Galatia: AL-MAKĪN, *Universal History*, trans. M. DIEZ, Leiden 2024, p. 262–263) nor in the Islamic part of his history (AL-MAKĪN, *Ta'rīḫ al-Muslimīn min Ṣāḥib Šarī'at al-Islām Abī ăl-Qāsim Muḥammad ḥattà ăl-Dawla ăl-Atābakiyya*, ed. 'A.B. ḤASAN, Cairo 2010), so I cannot compare it. I thank A. Streletsky for the translation of the text of Rozen.

[82] Also, C. HOLMES, *Basil II*…, p. 326 n. 56 claims that sigillographic evidence shows that *command over both the northern and central sections of the frontier could be vested in a single individual.*

[83] A. TER-GHEWONDYAN, *The Arab Emirates*…, p. 9 treats these two words as two separate place names. J.H. FORSYTH, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 490 describes it as *obscure*. As E. HONIGMANN, *Die Ostgrenze*…, p. 54 noticed before me, this name is a partial match for Chaldia, but

Basean, and Sewuk-Berdak, *which is Mardaʟi*, Harkʿ and Apahunikʿ, to the king of Tao during the revolt of Skleros, in exchange for their support against him[84]. Some of these lands at least bordered the Chaldia theme, and were part of the Chaldia ducate, as they included Iberia theme (Karin). This explains the presence of an entity tied to Tao, yet called Chaldia, and not containing Trabzon. Forsyth describes Al-Ḫālidiyyāt as a not yet identified locality in Armenia[85]. W. Seibt interestingly identified Al-Ḫālidiyyāt with Kaloudia[86], a (city and) a minor theme on the Western bank of the Euphrates, south of Melitene. Kaloudia fits the Arabic name less than Chaldia, but is close to Anzitene, with which Al-Ḫālidiyyāt is paired in the first mention of Al-Anṭākī, and lies by the Euphrates, in the context of which it appears the second time. Yet it has other names (Qalauḍiyya, Arqalūdiyya)[87], and it does not explain the fact that *the sons of Bagrat* are presented as separate rulers, apparently not dependent on Phokas, and acting in unison with Tao. It is important to note that it is a place too far to have been included in the areas transferred to Tao, as it lies west of Melitene. Al-Muqaddasī mentions Al-Ḫālidiyyāt[88], but vaguely. He describes the road from Silvan (Mayyāfāriqīn) to Constantinople through Muṣ (Mūš) and unidentified Qunb, Sinn Nuḥlas (probably Sinn Nuḥās, which is also how B. Collins reads it; *the Tooth of Copper*, as there are copper deposits in this region, and as it is a seemingly Arabic name, one should expect 3, not 4, letters of the root), saying that it is the *cross[ing]*[89] of the roads of Karin

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that seems coincidental. He identifies it with Kaghdarig (Kağdarıc), which he places (p. 151, n. 3 & map 3, which shows all the regions listed, also those unknown to Forsyth, S or W of Tao) close to Ašqalʿa (Aşkale), a place where a road towards Bayburt and Trabzon separates from the road between Erzurum and Erzincan. Such place is mentioned as Kağdarıc-ı Ulyâ (*the Upper Kağdarıc*), a place in the Ottoman sancak of Erzurum, by Ü. Kılıç, *Osmanlı hâkimiyetinde idari ve askeri yönleri ile Erzurum Sancağı (XVI.–XVII. yüzyıllar)*, [in:] *Prof. dr. Salim Cöhce Armağanı. "Türk Tarihine Adanmış Çileli Bir Ömür"*, ed. A. Ceylan, Ankara 2017, p. 863, but the local place names were probably changed in the Republican period. On the other hand, Kağdarıc-ı Süfla (*the Lower Kağdarıc-ı*) is mentioned by (inaccessible, but visible in Google search) site https://acikbilim.yok.gov.tr [10 VI 2025] as a village through which Kara Su flows, to become the Euphrates there by uniting other rivers. This means it is located somewhere NE of Melitene. The editor of Stepʿanos, III, 15, n. 233 places Xałtoyařič at the confluence of the Euphrates and Šartʿama rivers. Aristakes (https://www.attalus.org/armenian/a2.htm#3 [22 VI 2025]) mentions it at the border of Karin, and Stepʿanos, III, 43 claims that Basil returned from Tao via Karin and Xałtoyařič, so it was on straight road from it. Y.A. Rabavilas, *The Real Objectives…*, p. 88 believes it supports his claim that the king of Tao never received these lands. But not every possession (esp. comparable in size) of the king of Tao would immediately start being called Tao; it had a different legal status (lifetime possession), and it was likely lost by the king of Tao before, at the end of Phokas revolt, anyway.

[84] Stepʿanos, XIII, 15, and the hagiography of ss. John & Euthyme: J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle…*, p. 388.

[85] J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle…*, p. 375.

[86] W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi…*, p. 36.

[87] E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze…*, p. 245.

[88] https://ar.lib.eshia.ir/40523/1/150/الخالديات [10 VI 2025]; Al-Muqaddasī, p. 127.

[89] An unusual use of *cross* in the meaning of *crossing*.

(Qālīqalā/Erzurum), of Mantzikert (Malāzkird/Malazgirt), of Muṣ, and of Al-Ḫālidiyyāt, 2 stages, and then continues the description of the road: Samūqamūš, Colonea (Qulūniyya/Ṣebinkarahisar) and Neocaesarea (Nifšāriyya → Niqšāriyya; Niksar), etc. The text, as Rozen remarks, seems corrupted. The mentioned cities form a route, albeit an arched one, back to Silvan, so either, if we see them as a route (which is made less likely by repeating *the road of* each time), one would expect Al-Ḫālidiyyāt to be somewhere between Muṣ and Silvan, perhaps west to them[90], or, if we see them as a rectangle with roads meeting in Sinn Nuḥās, someм where much further NW. Rozen believes the crossing of the roads of the aforementioned cities must have been in Taron, so Al-Ḫālidiyyāt is in this province[91]. Yet it is Sinn Nuḥās that is this cross[ing], not Al-Ḫālidiyyāt, and it would have been too close to Muṣ (itself in Taron) to fit the description. Nevertheless it should be noted that Al-Ḫālidiyyāt is mentioned here in the context of cities, which may, but does not necessarily, suggest it is a city itself; this would make more sense for Kaloudia than for Chaldia, unless we accept the link between Xałtoyařič name and Al-Ḫālidiyyāt (which is an idea Adontz had before me[92]), or assume it is one of the cases, like Egypt or Syria, where the name of the region is applied to its capital. Ibn Ḫurdāḏbih mentions Al-Ḫālidiyya (in singular) as located, aside from Charsianon (unlike it, it is called *the province of*) opposite Muslim Malatya (Malaṭya/Melitene), and in the context of Melias and Paulicians, temptingly close to Kaloudia. But since he wrote it in the late 9th c., it cannot refer to Kaloudia, as it was outside Byzantine control at the time. He also says Karin was far north, facing Armeniakon, *some of the province of Al-Ḫālidiyya*, and it (less likely Karin) was close to Paphlagonia, *adjacent to the land* (he means *sea*, as seen later) of the Khazars[93], which is

[90] As there is not much space in between; but overall this makes this version less likely.

[91] V B.P. ROZEH, *Императар*…, n. 12, p. 80.

[92] N. ADONTZ, *Tornik le Moine*, [in:] *Etudes*…, p. 304–305 claims that the name of Chaldia was extended to it due to its vicinity, but a better explanation is that it previously belonged to the ducate of Chaldia. Note that Adontz makes a mistake speaking of *two sons of Bagrat, the lord of Chaldia* while quoting Al-Anṭākī. It is […] *the two lords of Chaldia*. C. HOLMES, *Basil II*…, p. 320 repeats his error, together with his conclusion; her description does not come directly from the sources, but rather requires several other assumptions (of Adontz, whom she mentions subsequently) she does not mention, perhaps due to a lack of space.

[93] The Sea of the Khazars usually signifies the Caspian Sea (e.g. AL-MUQADDASĪ, p. 306), but in this context it is the Black Sea. Which is enlightening for the otherwise confusing mention of Al-Anṭākī that Ruthenians raided Constantinople and reached Bāb Aqrūbulī (باب أقروبلي) in the Sea of Khazars (K&V1, p. 727 and the same in A.A. VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*, vol. II, trans. M. CANARD, H. GRÉGOIRE, Bruxelles 1950, p. 91). Bāb means *(the) gate (of)*, and that is how M&T translate it. But they leave Aqrūbulī just transcribed, while it can be easily read as Acropolis (of Constantinople), which fits the context. In this case, the Sea of Khazars would have been the Black Sea, and it would have been a story of the same raid (which is far more likely). There is a possibility that this sentence describes another raid, which reached Derbent (called then *The Gate of Gates* (Bāb al-Abwāb (باب الأبواب)), on the shores of the Caspian Sea. But the context of Constantinople and the lack of similarity between the names apart from the *bāb* element go against this option. As for PIRONE, II, 18

confused, but shows Al-Ḫālidiyya's adjacency to Karin. The description of the lands bordering Armeniakon clearly identifies it as Chaldia, placing it between Charsianon and the sea[94]. In another article, Adontz claimed that Al-Ḫālidiyyāt referred to Derxene/Derzene/Derǰan[95]. He relies on another mention of Asolik, where John Poṙtiz (whose issue will be discussed subsequently) fought Čordvanel (Čʿortuanēl/Tzordvaneli), nephew of Tornik the Monk, an outstanding ally of Phoa kas in revolt, who took over Taron[96] and Derxene. Assuming Poṙtiz is Al-Ǧākirūs, this means Al-Ḫālidiyyāt could be some part of Derxene and/or Taron. But this assumption is contrary to Al-Anṭākī, who calls them the rulers of Al-Ḫālidiyyāt before they aided Phokas. Also, while Derxene did belong to the ducate of Chaldia, Taron did not even border it. Moreover, while I do not doubt it is a description of the same events, it is at odds with Al-Anṭākī. Only one person, not two brothers, is mentioned (maybe because only one survived the war). He does not appear to be linked with Tao, but, most of all, he is an ally of Phokas from the start, while the two brothers aided him only when Tao did, and left him when it did, which signals that their claim to Al-Ḫālidiyyāt had not depended on the revolt, because, others wise, they would have had nothing to lose and would have supported him to the hilt. Much depends on who the brothers were; Schlumberger and Honigmann think they are the sons of Bagrat, son of Ashot, that is the nephews of Taronites whom they fought[97]. But would it make sense to call him just Taronites, if they belonged to the same family[98]? One should rather believe Asolik and Adontz. It should be noted that the brothers' kinship with Tornik the Monk explains both their link to Tao and why they received some of the former Chaldian territory. Tornik the Monk was a past Georgian general, to whom Basil II and his brother appealed during the revolt of Skleros, sending him to Tao to obtain, in exchange

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and n. 29, he believes it is a Caspian city, yet he translates it as Acropolis. And a Greek name in that region should be judged peculiar. He also considers "correcting" it to Ǧrūbulī, without any explanation given. The Gate of Acropolis could refer to the Gate of Eugene (Yalı Köşkü Kapısı), the Gate of St. Barbra (Topkapı. This is the most likely option), Değirmen Kapı and Demirkapı. Vide: R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris 1950, p. 484, map I (some typos in the Turkish names were corrected).

[94] Ibn Ḫurdāḏbih, *Al-Masālik wa-ăl-Mamālik*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1889, p. 254–255, 258. Ibn Ḥawqal seems of no use for this matter.

[95] N. Adontz, *Les Taronites en Arménie*…, p. 234, also J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 436.

[96] Which may have been the aftermath of the battle against Taronites.

[97] J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 436/460, n. 139.

[98] The name sons of Bagrat does not have to necessarily denote their father, but could be their family name, just like, e.g., Maleinos is son of Maleinos, Tzimiskes is son of Tzimiskes, etc. (K&V1, p. 771–772). It is more logical to name them by their family name than direct fatherhood as well, unless Bagrat was already mentioned – and he was not; J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 436/460, n. 139. B.P. Розен, *Император*…, n. 12, p. 80 had the same idea before me. Yet, in this specific case, it does indicate their father.

for the aforementioned territorial concessions, the reinforcements that were crucial for the defeat of the rebel[99]. It makes sense that some of these lands were given to his family[100]. The issue of Tornik's family was extensively analysed by Adontz, based on several memorials and John Lazaropoulos. While I have some doubts about some of his analysis that would go beyond the scope of this research, I accept his general conclusions: Tornik had a brother named Bagrat, and his sons were named Bagrat and Čordvanel[101]. One must conclude that this Bagrat (or his sons directly) received some part of Chaldia in exchange for the services of his brother, most likely as Georgian vassal(s); these lands could have been Xałtoyaŕič, but probably more as well, as it alone would not be able to provide 1000 men mentioned by Al-Anṭākī. His son Čordvanel and his brother captured more lands (more of Derxene[102] and Taron) during the revolt of Phokas, but had their original land they hoped to keep by abandoning the rebel. It is his brother Bagrat who was killed by the Byzantines, since Čordvanel later served the Byzantines and was taken prisoner by Muslims[103].

[99] Step'anos, III, 244. The issue also appears in *the Georgian Chronicle*: N. Adontz, *Tornik le Moine*…, p. 299–300.

[100] Apart from this, N. Adontz, *Tornik le Moine*…, p. 309 claims that the family of Tornik came from the region of Karin. I do not see it as certain. The Armenian cross inscription could refer to someone else of the same first of the two names and patronym, living in those times, and these lands could not belong to Tao before they were transferred to it during the revolt of Skleros, as they are too far west. Or the cross could have been raised after the land came into control of the family, after the revolt. If Tornik really came from there, he would not have been a Tao subject prior to the cession, and his Georgian link, attested and crucial for the story, would have been in question. Also (although it goes against my penultimate point as well), why would he, still being a Tao subject, not a Byzantine one, date his cross by Byzantine rulers? As for the hagiography of SS. John & Euthyme mentioning he became a monk in his motherland, it should not be read as that his origin was not in Tao, but to the contrary: that he became a monk there, before moving to Byzantine monasteries (the context in P. Peeters, *Un colophon géorgien de Thornik le Moine*, AB 50.1, 1932, p. 370, against the cautious idea of the author, supports my claim. Note that the author furnishes other proofs Tornik was of Armenian origin, but Asolik, himself Armenian, claimed he was from Iberia (Georgia)).

[101] N. Adontz, *Tornik le Moine*…, p. 310–316. Lazaropoulos mentions the names of the brothers (*commanders of Persarmenia*) and that, on the request of Phokas, they invaded Trabzon, passed Paipert (Bayburt) and camped at Steno ("Strait", which should be interpreted as mountain pass; today it is Maçka in the main road through the Pontus Mountains south of Trabzon: Γ. Χριστοπουλος *et al.*, *Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους*, vol. IX, Ἀθήναι 1979, p. 332. This confirms my conjecture that the brothers intercepted Taronites as he was passing the Pontos Mountains). Note that their rule over Xałtoyaŕič would make their expedition against Trabzon geographically natural: N.M. Panagiotakes, *Fragments of a Lost Eleventh-Century Byzantine Historical Work?*, [in:] *Φιλελλην*, *Studies in Honour of Robert Browning*, ed. C. Constantinides, N.M. Panagiotakes, E. Jeffreys, A.D. Angelou, Venice 1996, p. 348. I thank A. da Rocha for this book and K. Takirtakoglou for translating this fragment, identification of Steno, providing me with one article on this issue, etc.

[102] As Xałtoyaŕič is in Derxene, either all of it was in Tao's hands already (less likely), or the brothers captured the rest during the revolt.

[103] Step'anos, III, 37 (his supposed death III, 43 and n. 605).

The place where Buwayhid Ṣamṣām al-Dawla was imprisoned by his brother Šaraf al-Dawla could be corrected, as Tadmurī suggests, from Šīrāz (شيراز) to Sīrāf (سيراف), a coastal city in the same region of Fārs/Persis. He bases it on Al-Rūḏrāwarī, but this author does not mention Sīrāf itself, but rather a fortress in its province[104].

K&V mention the presence of Amalfitans in Egypt[105], as they read the word in question as *Al-Malāfiṭa* (الملافطة). But ms C and edition of Cheikho[106] read it as *al-qalāfiṭa* (القلافطة), that is *caulkers*[107]. It is thus crucial to compare the reading of the name Amalfi in other sources. Ibn Ḥawqal names the city Malfi[108], which does not fit the *Al-Malāfiṭa* form, yet it is attested in an anonymous letter to the caliph Al-Āmir from Cairo Geniza and in *A Letter to a Muslim Friend* by Paul, the bishop of Sidon, which makes no doubt that it refers to the Amalfitans[109]. I believe that the adjective form was not created directly from the name of the city, but rather from European adjectives, e.g. *amalphitanus*. As A. Roberts notices[110], this form is somewhat analogous to the noun *Amrīkān* derived directly from the adjective *American*, and not from the name America (*Amīrikā*, dialectally *Amrīkā*) itself. Yet note that ms C often makes the most sense of all[111], and its testimony can be

[104] K&V2, p. 432; Tadmurī, p. 216, n. 5; Rudhrawari, p. 149 (the association of this event with another person in the index on p. 127 is an obvious mistake). See also p. 134, where an unnamed fortress in Fārs/Persis is mentioned as the place of Ṣamṣām al-Dawla's banishment, p. 160, where he is imprisoned in an unnamed fortress which, as the context indicates, was located somewhere in the general region of Šīrāz (the capital of Fārs, which Sīrāf belonged to), and p. 161, where it is mentioned that (after he was released) Ṣamṣām al-Dawla came to be in (*ḥaṣala fī*) Šīrāz, which probably suggests he was previously imprisoned somewhere else. Pirone, X, 174, n. 161 indicates something which occurred to me as well: that the next sentence, mentioning Šaraf al-Dawla taking Šīrāz and Baghdad, suggests Tadmurī is right (because how could Šaraf al-Dawla exile his brother to a place he has not taken yet). But this relies on the intuitive, but false assumption of the chronological order, which is directly negated by the previous sentence, which mentions taking Baghdad, which clearly was not captured twice (as well as it is unlikely to hold Sīrāf without holding Šīrāz). Thus the next, ending sentence should not be seen as a subsequent action, but as a summary of the paragraph.

[105] K&V2, p. 448.

[106] Cheikho, p. 178, n. 15.

[107] Pirone, XI, 30, n. 38 speaks of the two possibilities.

[108] Ibn Ḥawqal, *Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. J.H. Kramers, Leiden 1938, p. 202.

[109] V. von Falkenhausen, *Il Commercio di Amalfi con Constantinopoli e il Levante nel secolo XII*, [in:] *Amalfi*, *Genova*, *Pisa e Venezia*. *Il commercio con Costantinopoli e il vicino Oriente nel secolo XII*, ed. O. Banti, Pisa 1995, p. 24, n. 28. I thank A. Roberts & L. McMahon for this article, and also M. Diez & D. Moroz for their comments.

[110] In private correspondence.

[111] E.g., other manuscripts give a fantastic number of 200,000 Georgian soldiers blinded by Basil II, but ms C speaks of 200 only (K&V3, p. 460, n. 6). M&T not only ignore that, but mistranslate *min aṣḥābihi*, *his comrades* (soldiers), as *his subjects*, as speaking of 200,000 blinded soldiers would be patently absurd. Ms C solves this problem. Pirone, XV, 27, n. 27 gives a detailed comment, but is too gentle, describing number 200 as merely *more plausible*, especially since he speaks of two hundred thousand *aristocrats*. Also, while other manuscripts mention the return of (all) the population

preferred. On the other hand, Byzantine ships could have gone up the Nile[112], but their (and the caulkers', who would not need to travel away from the ships) presence in Miṣr (the capital of Egypt) is less likely than in the coastal ports[113]. It is important for the history of trade between Italy and the East.

While Al-Anṭākī mentions that Al-Ḥākim summoned the Tamīm Arabs from the deserts of Syria to help him against the Sunni revolt of Abū Rakwa, the name of the tribe should be corrected to Ṭayy/Ṭayyi', because Tamīm lived in Iraq[114] and were thus not subject to Al-Ḥākim, while the one that answered this call was Al-Mufarriğ Ibn al-Ǧarrāḥ, the leader of Ṭayy, which indeed lived in Syria. This issue was ignored by translators[115].

Although this is unsure, I propose that *K-f-r-bā* (كفربا) in the West, where John, the Jacobite patriarch, was exiled[116], can be corrected to *Kafarnā* (كفرنا), that is Kavarna, a coastal city in Bulgaria. The synodal decree of Constantinopolitan patriarch Alexios mentions the monastery of Ganos (Gaziköy in Thrace) as the place of John's confinement[117], which is supported by Michael the Syrian, who

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of Mopsuestia from the Muslim lands after the economic situation improved following the Byzantine conquest, while ms C mentions, much more reasonably, only of *some* of the inhabitants returning (K&V1, p. 797, n. 8), which K&V and PIRONE, VII, 79 ignore.

[112] It is noteworthy that the warships that were to fight Byzantium were not launched on the seashore, but in a shipyard in the agglomeration of Miṣr: K&V1, p. 780.

[113] Especially since if their ship had accompanied them, they would have been sleeping in it, and not on land.

[114] M. LECKER, *Tamīm b. Murr*, [in:] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam. New Edition* (cetera: *EI2*), vol. X, ed. P.J. BEARMAN, Th. BIANQUIS, C.E. BOSWORTH, E. VAN DONZEL, W.P. HEINRICHS, Leiden 2000, p. 175.

[115] K&V2, p. 476, 478; PIRONE, XII, 75, 81 and n. 91.

[116] K&V3, p. 490.

[117] A.M. ROBERTS, *Heretics, Dissidents, and Society. Narrating the Trial of John bar 'Abdun*, DOP 72, 2022, p. 130. The author (p. 134–136) is also completely right in assuming that *the heretic refused* refers to John refusing to acknowledge the Seven Holy Councils, and not to the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch refusing to participate in John's trial, as M&T think. But he seems wrong in assuming (p. 135) that *fa-* indicates a change of subject here (Kazimirski does mention such usage, but in dialogues). Note that sudden changes of grammatical subject are frequent in this chronicle, so there is no reason to overthink this issue. *Fa-* can, however, mean *but*, apart from its usual meanings (see Kazimirski). His idea (p. 136) to correct *heretic* (الأرطوقي) to *Antiochene* (الأنطاكي) is too large and unnecessary. D. GYLLENHAAL, *Byzantine Melitene and the Social Milieu of the Syriac Renaissance*, DOP 75, 2021, *passim*, esp. p. 225, n. 109 believes Al-Anṭākī referred to the Chalcedonian patriarch, and brings up two important points. One, which also occurred to me, is that the next reference to John is with his full name and title, which may seem strange if the previous one also referred to him. But such situations do occur in Al-Anṭākī, e.g. K&V3, p. 444 Al-Ḥākim is mentioned a number of times by pronouns, and then he is mentioned by his full name; p. 436 he is the subject of one sentence, and yet his name is repeated in the next one; p. 492 *king Romanos* is the subject of a number of actions, and then he is unnecessarily repeated as *the king*, even though the subject does not change; p. 494 Aleppo is mentioned by pronouns, and then as *the city*. More importantly, Michael the Syrian (MICHEL LE SYRIEN, *Chronique*, XIII, 6, vol. III, trans. J.-B. CHABOT, Paris 1905 (cetera: MICHEL

calls it G'ws/Gaius/Gayos[118]. Bar Hebraeus (correctly: Bār 'Ibrāyo) adds to that *at the border of the Bulgarians* (Abbeloos/Lamy) or *in the region of the Bulgarians* (Assemani and prof. M. Abdalla, who claims it means *inside the borders of the Bulgarians*)[119]. The difference, as Prof. W. Witakowski[120] explains, springs from A&A's surmise of *səyamē* sign, reading it in plural: *ba-ṭḥūmē*, while A&L assume its lack, reading it in singular: *ba-ṭḥūmā*. But Gayos is mentioned as a mountain in Macedonia in another reference[121], which confirms it is Ganos. However John's place of exile could have changed, especially since Michael of Tinnīs mentions a monastery on one of the islands close to (one day away from) Constantinople instead[122]. Kavarna did exist at this time[123], although we do not know what it was called (some claim it was originally called Karvuna, but others ascribe this name to modern Balchik[124]) or if there was a monastery there (but Al-Anṭākī does not mention one).

M&T ignore a C addition[125], which mentions, apart from Tinnīs & Damietta, two more places in which attires were produced for Caliph Al-Ḥākim: Tūna[126] and *B-NĪL-H* (*Banīla/Bunayla/Banaylā*[127]), a place which does not seem to be mentioned by any other source. The only city in Egypt whose name is remotely reminiscent of this one seems to be Al-Balaynā/Al-Balayna. It is an old city, but too

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le Syrien), p. 139) describes the good relations between the two patriarchs, and that Michael refused to attend. However it is a hagiography, in which respect of people even of a different creed is supposed to emphasise the sainthood of John. Moreover, Michael lived after Al-Anṭākī, and he (or the hagiographer of John) could have misunderstood his account, and further embellished it. And if the Chalcedonian patriarch Nicholas refused to sign the decision (unlike his successor), it is perhaps due to what the author himself mentions (p. 225), the independence of the patriarch of Antioch from the one in Constantinople.

[118] Michel le Syrien, XIII, 6, vol. III, p. 144; A.M. Roberts, *Heretics*…, p. 134, n. 131. Because *kafar-* is a typical beginning of village names in Syria, albeit the place is described by Al-Anṭākī as *in the West*, the author mentions Kafarbayyā (in Cilicia), but concludes it does not match.

[119] Gregorius Barhebræus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, vol. I, ed. J.B. Abbeloos, Th.J. Lamy, Lovanium 1872, p. 429–430 & n. 3 of the Latin text. I thank M. Abdalla & M. Woźniak-Bobińska for their help, as well as M. Klimiuk, K. Moycho & B. Vest, *Geschichte der Stadt Melitene und der umliegenden Gebiete*, vol. II, Hamburg 2007, p. 1217, who supports the A&A version.

[120] In private conversation. I express my gratitude.

[121] B. Vest, *Geschichte*…, vol. II, p. 1217.

[122] Sawīrus Ibn al-Muḳaffa', *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, vol. II.2, ed., trans. A.S. Atiya, Y. 'Abd al-Masīḥ, Le Caire 1948, p. 218–219, 144–145 (ar.).

[123] St. Waklinow, *Kultura staro-bułgarska*, trans. K. Wierzbicka, Warszawa 1984, p. 167.

[124] https://www.olkas.net/lemmata/41_Kavarna [1 VI 2025]; https://www.olkas.net/lemmata/30_Karvuna(?) [1 VI 2025]. Pirone, XVI, 3, n. 3 names it Kafarbā and has unnecessary doubts if *Al-Magrib* is simply the *West*, despite the context of the usage of this term (K&V2, p. 430, n. 12, also in the context of the Balkans) and that Byzantium did not own any land in Maghreb at that time.

[125] K&V2, p. 503, n. 15. Pirone, XII, 152 ignores this addition as well.

[126] Al-Maqrīzī, *Al-Ḫiṭaṭ*, vol. I, ed. M. Zaynuhum, M. al-Šarqāwī (written: al-Šarqāwà), Cairo 1998 (cetera: Al-Maqrīzī Ḫ), p. 510 confirms producing caliphal attires there.

[127] Banīla is surrounded by city names, so interpreting it as *bi-Nīlihi*, *in/by its Nile/indigo*, would not fit the context, and the pronoun would have been in the wrong gender.

remote, as it is located in Upper Egypt. Interestingly, Al-Maqrīzī mentions the wars between the kings of Al-Balaynā and Al-Faramā (Pelusium) as responsible for the emergence of the Al-Manzila Lake that surrounds Tinnīs and Tūna[128].

Tall Ḥāṣid (تل حاصد) should be corrected to Tall Ḥāṣil (تل حاصل), as it is an actual village of a similar name, meaning (*The Hill of the Reaper* changed into *The Hill of the Obtainer*) and location. This change was considered by earlier editions and translations already[129].

Given names

Due to the mentions in Skylitzes[130], I believe that *Ibn al-Balanṭis* (ابن البلنطس), a K&V correction based on Ibn al-ʿAdīm[131], should be translated as (*son of*) Balantes. The manuscripts of Al-Anṭākī name him *Ibn al-Balaqṭis* (البلقطس; PBS), *Ibn al-Balaṭṭis* (البلطتس; L) and *Ibn al-Ṯalaqṭis* (الثلقطس; C). Cheikho corrects it to *Ibn al-Bāġaniṭis* (الباغنطس), and K&V consider reading it as *son of Arabanitis*[132], because of a person with a similar surname in *DAI*[133]; but he occurs in a different context, and this interpretation goes too far from the original spelling. Also, Dādān (دادان), the name of an ancestor of a major Fāṭimid *dāʿī*, could be corrected to Zādān (زادان) or Zadān (زدان)[134], as well as the name of Fāṭimid vizier Ibn Ẓāhir (ظاهر) al-Wazzān to Ibn Ṭāhir (طاهر) al-Wazzān[135].

Al-Anṭākī mentions an army sent by Basil II to Al-Ḫālidiyyāt. It was led by *Al-Ǧākirūs* (الجاكروس)[136], whom Forsyth described as a mysterious figure,

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[128] AL-MAQRĪZĪ Ḫ, vol. I, p. 498.

[129] K&V3, p. 396 (ms B *Tall Ḥāṣ*, mss PLS *Tall Ḫāṣ*(*ṣ*?)) and 397, n. 48; TADMURĪ, p. 320, n. 7; PIRONE, XIII, 25, n. 24.

[130] SKYLITZES, "Constantine, fils de Léon", IX, 13, p. 177 & "Jean Tzimiskès", XV, 2, p. 240.

[131] IBN AL-ʿADĪM Z, p. 74–75. On the second page, he mentions his name or title (الرست) Al-R-S-T, but I do not know how to interpret it. In the context of Ani hypothesis, one has to exclude the possibility of it being Orestes or Aristos, because such a name is written differently, for example by Al-Anṭākī: K&V1, p. 803.

[132] K&V1, p. 774. PIRONE, VII, 12, n. 33 does not provide any new information, and A.A. VASILIEV, *Byzance et les Arabes*…, p. 97 just calls him *son of Al-Balanṭas*.

[133] CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *De Administrando Imperio*, XLV, 133, ed. Gy. MORAVCSIK, ed., trans. R.J.H. JENKINS, Washington 1967: Arrhabonitis.

[134] K&V1, p. 748. K&V indicate (n. 4) that the name is written differently by various sources. The first alternative is taken from W. MADELUNG, *Manṣūr al-Yaman*, [in:] *EI2*, vol. VI, ed. C.E. BOWORTH, E. VAN DONZEL, B. LEWIS, Ch. PELLAT, W.P. HEINRICHS, Leiden 1991, p. 438–439. The second alternative is from the best informed source: AL-NUʿMĀN, p. 2. PIRONE, V, 3 (V.1.3.) does not mention alternatives.

[135] AL-MAQRĪZĪ, *Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafāʾ*, vol. II, ed. Ǧ. AL-ṬAYYĀL, Cairo 1416/1996 (cetera: Al-Maqrīzī I), p. 44. Al-Maqrīzī was better informed, as he used the semi-official and detailed chronicle of Al-Musabbiḥī.

[136] K&V2, p. 429. N. ADONTZ, *Les Taronites en Arménie*…, p. 233 and J.H. FORSYTH, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 464 leave it as an *Al-Ǧākrūs* and its equivalent. Note that there must be a vowel

not mentioned by any other source[137]. I surmise *al-* should be exempted from interpretation, and Ā interpreted as the similar L letter (الجلكروس)[138]. Then we can read it as *Al-Ǧalukirūs*: Galokyros. Note that usage of G instead of K does happen, e.g. Galipoli (Gelibolu) was sometimes called Kalipoli, and in this very chronicle, *al-ǧāṭulīq* is the alternative spelling of *katholikos*[139]. Kalokyros was a contemporary name. Skylitzes mentions Kalokyros (Delphinas), killed by Basil II for supporting Bardas Phokas (so he cannot be him), and another Kalokyros, who was a son of a *strategos* of Cherson, and was sent by Nikephoros II to the Ruthenians, to convince them to attack the Bulgarians, but later on tried to convince them to attack Byzantium and to make him the emperor. Subsequently, he escaped to Ruthenia[140]; he is unlikely to be Galokyros. But since Delphinas was killed in the aftermath of the Chrysopolis battle[141], and Al-Anṭākī's Galokyros appeared with his army in the aftermath of this clash, and that of Abydos, perhaps Al-Anṭākī mixed the names associated with this war. Tadmurī identifies *Al-Ǧākirūs* with *John Portez (Portiz)*[142], which is based on Adontz and Asolik[143]. My interpretation gives an explanation on why his name is different in this chronicle.

The name Bīǧās[144] should be read Pegasios. It was suggested already by Honigmann[145] and is supported by this, that Skylitzes mentions Skleros' associate of this name, who became the commander of Nicaea[146].

ابن سباع is *Ibn Sibāʿ*, not *Ibn Sabbāʿ*[147]. *Sabbāʿ* is a grammatical form of a profession, or often repeated action, making it someone who *makes seven*, or strikes from afar, or attacks like a ferocious beast, or steals. But if it was a name of a profession, it would have been defined by *al-*. On the other hand, *sibāʿ* means *ferocious beasts*, *lions*, and it does function as a proper name[148], making *al-* unnecessary.

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between K and R, because Arabic does not usually tolerate two consecutive letters with a *sukūn*, thus it should not be read as Al-Ǧākrūs, but, e.g. as Al-Ǧākirūs.

[137] J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 465.

[138] Conf. the aforementioned case of Ṭāysīrā/Ṭilsīrā corrected to Ṭilistrā.

[139] K&V3, p. 488. Note that it is also in the context of Georgia.

[140] Skylitzes, "Nicéphore Phocas", XIV, 20, p. 232–233; "Jean Tzimiskes", XV, 5, p. 242–243, XV, 9, p. 248; "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 17, p. 280–281.

[141] And there is no doubt about that, as a column commemorating his execution stood there in the 11th c.: C. Holmes, *Basil II*…, p. 267, n. 50, citing Symeon the New Theologian.

[142] Tadmurī, p. 214, n. 5. Repeated by Pirone, X, 168, n. 154.

[143] Step'anos, III, 28, p. 290, n. 488. The translator, on the basis of III, 34, identifies J. Poṙtiz with John Chaldos (or, as N. Adontz, *Tornik le Moine*…, p. 305 calls him, *of Chaldia*; the origin of Poṙtiz surname he describes as unclear), which ironically sounds similar to Al-Ḫālidiyyāt. May it be that yet another mistake was made, and the two brothers were linked to Chaldia in place of the man they defeated?

[144] K&V2, p. 466. Pirone, XII, 47, n. 57 only transcribes the name and enigmatically claims *the Arabic form is Bīǧās*.

[145] E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze*…, p. 108, n. 6. Also C. Holmes, *Basil II*…, p. 268.

[146] Skylitzes, "Basile et Constantin", XVI, 7, p. 271.

[147] K&V3, p. 386.

[148] E.g. https://islamic-content.com/t/8126 [1 VI 2025]. Pirone, XIII, 5 gives the correct form.

K&V call the Georgian minister *R-FĀḌ-S* (رفاذس), in PS: *R-FĀR-S* (رفارس), in ms B and Cheikho's edition: *R-FĀD-S* (رفادس)[149]. G. Narimanishvili from the Free University of Tbilisi[150] indicates one should correct it to *Zviad(us)* (زفادس)[151], a popular Georgian name.

Byzantine trivia

There is also a number of small corrections concerning Byzantine emperors. According to K&V, Romanos I died on Thursday, 10 July 1259/948[152]. But it reads *al-ḫāmis ʿašar* (*the fifteenth*), not *al-ḫamīs al-ʿāšir* (*Thursday*, *the tenth*), and it would not have been Thursday anyway. Thus the former emperor died five days later than K&V claim. Note that the Muslim calendar date, provided alongside the Seleukid one, claims he died on 14 July 948[153]. Additionally, Forsyth rightly corrects the date of Caliph Al-Muʿizz's death from 18 November to 18 December 975, based on the second mention of Al-Anṭākī and other sources[154]. There is a number of other small adjustments that can be made to dates provided by Al-Anṭākī, which I consider presenting in a separate study.

K&V translation says Nikephoros concluded a peace with the Ruthenians, *who became his allies*. But the Arab text says *and they were his supporters*, not that they *became* them. K&V thus distorted the meaning of the sentence to fit the context, but there is a simpler solution. One should believe ms R, which omits a dot, turning حزبا (*party*, that is *supporters*) into حربا (*war*, that is *enemies*). Nikephoros concluded peace with the Ruthenians *who* (until then) *were his enemies*[155].

Al-Anṭākī writes about the people Theophano gathered against Nikephoros Phokas: *yaṯiq bihim* (يثق بهم) *whom (Nikephoros) trusted*. But Cheikho corrects it to *taṯiq bihim* (تثق بهم) *whom she trusted*[156], and that is much more likely when it comes to the context of the sentence.

The description of Nikephoros Ouranos as (العسقلس) was not translated by K&V, and even the letters were not recognised (they are missing dots)[157]. On the basis of the shape of the word, and the mention of Al-Rūḏrāwarī[158], who describes

[149] K&V3, p. 466.
[150] In a private conversation. I also thank him for an answer concerning the Kura River.
[151] PIRONE, XV, 37 calls him Rafādas.
[152] K&V1, p. 741.
[153] PIRONE, III, 12 translates it right.
[154] J.H. FORSYTH, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 77.
[155] K&V1, p. 813 and n. 7. Note a partial analogy in context of Ruthenians: K&V2, p. 423.
[156] K&V1, p. 829; PIRONE, VIII, 29. SKYLITZES, "Nicéphore Phocas", XV, 22, p. 235 simply says *her men* in this context, which suggests people she trusted. But LEO, V, 6–7, p. 136–137 mentions that it was Tzimiskes who chose them, and they are described as *his fellow conspirators*, which does not support any of the versions.
[157] K&V2, p. 446; PIRONE, XI, 27 transcribes it as *Qyqls*.
[158] RUDHRAWARI, p. 28 (ar. 29).

Ouranos as *kanikleios* (*al-kāniklī* الكانكلي) I identify this word as *kanikleios* (*al-qaniqlis* القنقلس)[159].

M&T describe Basil II's attitude towards Abū ăl-Hayğā', the defeated pretender to the throne of Aleppo, as enigmatic *using concealment towards him*, due to the more obvious grammatical interpretation of *dārà* as the III form of DRY root. But it is also a peculiar III form of DR' root (see Kazimirski), which has more fitting meanings: either making someone go away, chasing him away, or treating someone sweetly, flattering him, but sometimes hiding hatred at the same time[160].

Al-Anṭākī mentions the freeing of the trade of Aleppo with *neighbouring* lands of the Romans, and so it is translated by M&T. But the wrong gender of the word *al-muğāwirūn*, which is masculine personal plural, while the lands are feminine singular, indicates it is accidental repetition of the same word used in the previous line, referring to correspondence with Byzantine governors. One should trust mss CPLS, omitting this word[161]. This indicates that the trade between Aleppo and Byzantium was not necessarily limited to a local one.

The son of Bardas Phokas, Nikephoros, is described by Al-Anṭākī as *al-mu'awwağ*[162], which may mean being bent/crooked in character (*sinful*[163]) or physically. K&V translate it both ways (*deceitful*, *crooked-necked*), but the author must have meant only one of them; Forsyth and Pirone chose the second[164]. Adontz and H. Gregoire devoted an entire article to this sobriquet, but, while they do mention a similar description of Nikephoros' neck in Byzantine chants and Armenian sources, they believe K&V were influenced in their translation by Schlumberger, and say Al-Anṭākī did not mention the neck. Yet in a further mention, Al-Anṭākī does call Nikephoros *al-mu'awwağ al-ruqba*, that is *crook-necked*[165], but the third part of Al-Anṭakī, where this mention occurs, was not yet published at that time. This led them to consider, albeit with doubt, the *extremely ingenious* claim of P. Peeters, that the mention of the neck is due to the Armenian translation of the Phokas family name. But the occurrence of this sobriquet in a contemporary Arabic text, which does not seem to have Armenian sources, makes Peeters' claim even more dubious, and the lack of the mention of the neck would not make Al-Anṭākī's description fit his claim anyway[166].

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[159] This word was ignored by E. McGeer, *Tradition and Reality in the "Taktika" of Nikephoros Ouranos*, DOP 45, 1991, p. 130, n. 8, who mentions a seal, ascribed to him by V. Laurent due to his name and by Forsyth, who, according to McGeer (p. 130, n. 7) gave the most detailed description of these events. But N. Adontz, *Samuel…*, p. 363, n. 38 made the same discovery before me.

[160] K&V3, p. 392. Pirone, XIII, 18 claims that Basil *denied having seen him*, perhaps *refused to see him*, which is merely a surmise.

[161] K&V3, p. 404, n. 8.

[162] K&V2, p. 424.

[163] It does not refer to him being crooked due to being a rebel, as there is no reason why Al-Anṭākī would be so supportive towards Basil, and single out Nikephoros out of many others.

[164] J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle…*, p.144–145435; Pirone, X, 157.

[165] K&V3, p. 462.

[166] N. Adontz, H. Gregoire, *Nicéphore au col roide*, B 8, 1933, p. 203–212, esp.144–145210.

After it was mentioned that Basil II used to moderate himself in food and drink, Al-Anṭākī writes (وترتّبه لازما الحمية)[167]. M&T, accepting Cheikho's correction of the first word into (وزيّه), translate it as *and (in) clothes, proving his great zeal*. But *lāziman* is not *proving* nor *displaying*, nor anything similar, but rather *persevering* in something. And it is more likely that the author meant *ḥimya*, that is *abstinence* (especially in eating), or a *diet*, and not *ḥamiyya*, *zeal* (it could also be *ḥammiya*, that is *thermal waters*). And if so, it would be more likely that the information between two mentions of a diet should refer to the diet as well, and not to clothes. The correction seems likely and partly corresponds to the description saying that Basil asked to be buried in modest clothes in the very same fragment, and, as M&T mention, to what Psellos wrote about Basil limiting himself in clothing as well[168]. But – unless it is a C variant that Cheikho did not ascribe to it – it seems too big an interference in the text, as it would require omitting one letter. One may better correct it to (وتزيّنه) *and (in) his self-adorning*. But it is unnecessary, and (وترتّبه) means that he was firm, did not move, or was set in order. This fits the context: *he kept limiting himself in his food and drink, and was firm in it, persisting in diet all his life*[169].

When Romanos III demanded that the two young emirs of Aleppo exchange the city for other lands, he was not just *sure of their quick reply*, as M&T claim, but of a *positive* one, because *reply* in Arabic implies agreement[170]. This is important because, together with other factors, it suggests Aleppo was not the main goal of Romanos, as is commonly assumed – because he would not need to gather a massive army if he was sure none would be necessary. And while the low quality of soldiers may seem to be an indication that he did not plan to use his army in the field, his message to the Ṭayy tribe indicates he planned to go at least as far as Palestine[171].

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[167] K&V3, p. 482, n. 18.

[168] PSELLOS, I, 4, p. 3–4 mentions that Basil was moderate in eating and drinking since the revolt of Skleros; I, 22, p. 10 he mentions that Basil used to restrict himself in clothing as well, did not use necklaces, diadems, shining chlamyses framed with purple, or excessive rings, or even multicoloured attire (this would fit the *adorning* correction). He also mentions he enjoyed the pleasures of baths, which would fit the possible mention of thermal waters (which nevertheless I find unlikely); I, 27, p. 12 he mentions his purple shoes; I, 31, p. 14 he mentions that he used purple dress, but not from shining purple, but a dark one, with few pearls; and that he did not use gems nor pearls (mentioned as the most valuable stones).

[169] PIRONE, XV, 70 accepts the correction of Cheikho, but translates the rest as that Basil kept *regime* (diet?) all his life.

[170] K&V3, p. 494. Cf. e.g. K&V3, p. 436.

[171] K&V3, p. 496; M. CZYŻ, *The Syrian Campaign…*, *passim*, esp. p. 246–247. PIRONE, XVI, 14 translates it as that Romanos *recommended* a quick reply. There is not enough of a linguistic basis for this translation. Albeit M&T and I assume *ta'akkada* is a verb, and equals *kāna muta'akkidan*, and it can also be a *maṣdar*: *ta'akkud*, and be a continuation of a list of *maṣdars* several lines prior, indicating what the letter of the emperor contained. Then it would mean that the letter included *making (oneself) sure* of a speedy reply/agreement. And only then Pirone's interpretation is remotely possible. But other *maṣdars* listed refer to Romanos as the subject, and not the two emirs.

Concerning the sending of troops to Aʿzāz by Romanos III, *wa-tabaʿa ḏālika ăl-ṭāʾifa ăl-mutaqaddara wa-ǧamāʿa(t …)* should be corrected to *wa-tabaʿa tilka ăl-ṭāʾifa ăl-mutaqaddara ǧamāʿa(t …)*, that is the gender of the pronoun should be corrected, and one *wa-* conjunction removed. Without this change, it is *and this was followed by a well-prepared detachment*, *people attached to the army*, *and its (mixed) swarm*, which M&T try to make sense by relating *this* to the previously mentioned detachment sent to Aʿzāz; but it would mean two detachments were sent there, one after another, and the stronger one would not be in front. And that makes less sense[172].

Islamic trivia

According to the translation of K&V, the caliphate of Al-Muṭīʿ started on Friday. But the Arabic text says it was Thursday[173].

The translation of K&V claims that Al-Manṣūriyya was founded and Al-Manṣūr moved there in 331 AH, but the Arabic text claims it was in 337 AH[174]. Nevertheless, the footnote of K&V translation gives the correct date of (11 July 948 – 30 June 949).

The edition of K&V rightly corrects *ṣūrahā* (صورها) to *quṣūrahā* (قصورها)[175], thus telling that Ziyādat Allāh (the depraved Aghlabid ruler) built palaces, and not *walls*, but the translation ignores this correction and claims he built city walls[176]. Note that *its walls* should be *sūrahā* (سورها), and (صورها) is *ṣuwarahā*, that is *its images*, but mistakes between Ṣ and S often occur in this chronicle, also concerning this specific word[177]. It is significant, as one translation suggests Ziyādat Allāh prepared for the war, and another that he amused himself (which fits the context).

According to the translation of K&V, the letters sent from Egypt asked to *beware the influence* of Al-Mahdī in the Maghreb[178]. But the text *al-mukātabāt […] bi-ăl-inḍār bi-nufūḏ Al-Mahdī ilà hunāka* must be translated as meaning that the letters were warning about the *arrival* (*penetration*) of Al-Mahdī in the Maghreb. The preposition *ilà* (*to*, not *in*) points to that[179].

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[172] K&V3, p. 496. Pirone, XVI, 19 is very far from the original, saying the attack Romanos planned was entrusted to a handful or squad of reinforcements, etc.

[173] K&V1, p. 744. Pirone, IV, 1 gives the right day.

[174] K&V1, p. 747. Pirone, IV, 10 gives the right day.

[175] K&V1, p. 751.

[176] The same occurs in Pirone, V, 12.

[177] K&V3, p. 476, n. 54 (mss P^2S). I thank the reviewer for reminding me of this issue, as well the articles on the patriarch John.

[178] K&V1, p. 752.

[179] Pirone, V, 15 has the same idea.

One should accept correction of Tadmurī (based on Ibn al-Aṯīr[180]) and add a preposition (الرجل الذي يدعو [إليه] أبو عبد الله منتسب إليه) *the man for whom Abū ʿAbd Allāh makes daʿwa descends from him*. The correction of K&V based on ms S (الرجل الذي يُدعى أبو عبد الله منتسب إليه) *the man who is called Abū ʿAbd Allāh descends from* [or: *is attributed to*] *him* is not convincing, and is not even used in K&V's translation, which does imply the same addition as in Tadmurī, but seems a guess: *the man for whom Abū ʿAbd Allāh makes daʿwa is the same* (as the man who is in Siğilmāsa)[181]. This correction is of great value, as it could indicate that an eschatological role was ascribed to the future caliph Al-Qā'im from the beginning or may support B. Lewis' idea that it was Al-Qā'im, and not Al-Mahdī, that was the actual Ismāʿīlī imam[182]. But it is worth noting that, in another fragment, Al-Anṭākī claims Abū ʿAbd Allāh was making *daʿwa* for Al-Mahdī[183].

The translation of K&V claims that the people abandoned the actual founder of the Fāṭimid state, Abū ʿAbd Allāh, because he neglected all the affairs[184]. It is a plain mistake, as the Arab text says they abandoned him, and (caliph Al-Mahdī) did not allow him to supervise[185] any matter (*wa-ǐnḥarafū ʿan Abī ʿAbd Allāh wa-lam yağʿal lahu naẓaran fī šay'*[186] *min al-ašyā'*; because he did it all himself)[187]. This is important for the assessment of Abū ʿAbd Allāh and the internal history of the early Fāṭimid state, as well as for the assessment of Al-Anṭākī's attitude towards the Fāṭimids[188].

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[180] IBN AL-AṮĪR, vol. V, p. 19.

[181] K&V1, p. 753 and (the same translation) PIRONE, V, 18; TADMURĪ, p. 63.

[182] F. DACHRAOUI, *Al-Ḳā'im (bi-amr Allāh)*, [in:] *EI2*, vol. IV, ed. E. VAN DONZEL, B. LEWIS, Ch. PELLAT, C.E. BOSWORTH, p. 458–459.

[183] K&V1, p. 755.

[184] K&V1, p. 756.

[185] Literally "make him supervise".

[186] In the text *šamà* (شمى; no meaning apart from *šammà* being a colloquial name for smelling), which I correct to *šayʿ* (شيء, often incorrectly spelled شيئ) the way CHEIKHO, p. 108 and TADMURĪ, p. 65 read it.

[187] PIRONE, V, 29 translates it similarly to K&V, saying that people turned away from Abū ʿAbd Allāh, as he did not think about their matters.

[188] J.H. FORSYTH, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 348–349 (also 195), despite being brilliant overall, repeats uncritically the error of K&V and lists it as one of the examples of Al-Anṭākī's pro-Fāṭimid bias, which leads him to certainty that Al-Anṭākī drew his information from an Ismāʿīlī source (aside from Ibn Zūlāq and Al-Musabbiḥī; p. 70, 140). Moreover, he claims that the mention that Al-Mahdī *exhibited* modesty and humility is an example of this alleged bias. But Al-Anṭākī did not claim Al-Mahdī *was* modest, but that he *exhibited* being so, for political gain. As for his source, the semi-official Fāṭimid description of these events praised Abū ʿAbd Allāh, did not mention any faults of his apart from following his brother in calcitrancy, and said that the same caliph who killed him prayed for him at his funeral and praised him, only condemning his brother: AL-NUʿMĀN, p. 316. And the descriptions of Al-Anṭākī seem independent from Al-Nuʿmān, for example he praises Caliph Al-Manṣūr a lot (K&V1, p. 746–747), while AL-NUʿMĀN, p. 33–335 gives him the most modest description in size of the caliphs he mentions.

Next, significantly, correction concerns the mention of *Kaʿlà Ǐbn Aḥmad Ibn al-Fatḥ*, the supposed ruler of Ifkān and caliph Al-Šākir bi-Ăllāh[189]. As one can see in Al-Fāsī and Ibn Ḫaldūn[190], this is in fact a distorted reference to two people: Yaʿlà Ǐbn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Yifrānī, the ruler of Ifkān (in Algeria), and Muḥammad Ibn al-Fatḥ, known as Wāšūl Ibn Maymūn Ibn Midrār al-Ṣufrī, the ruler of Siğilmāsa (in Morocco), who declared himself caliph. It appears that, while copying information from Al-Fāsī or their common source, Al-Anṭākī (or his early copyist) skipped a line or two[191]. Without this correction, the understanding of the dynamics in North Africa would be completely wrong.

K&V omitted a sentence in their translation[192]. It informs us that Al-ʿAzīz, before going to Syria to battle Alftakīn, left Ğabr Ibn al-Qāsim as his deputy in Miṣr[193]. This is a unique situation, because it is the only time that a Fāṭimid caliph led an expedition himself[194], giving rise to the need for a deputy in the capital. This significant detail is not present in the most important extant source for the Fāṭimid history, *Ittiʿāẓ*, even though Al-Maqrīzī confirms this person existed (he was the commander of the Lower Police)[195], as well as that the decision of Al-ʿAzīz was revolutionary: the entire population of the city went out to the caliph's Byzantine-silk tent, begging him not to go[196].

K&V say Banğūtakīn fought against Aleppo for *a year and 30 days* (سنة وثلاثين يوما), and returned to Damascus in Rağab (2 September – 1 October 992)[197]. According to mss BLS and Cheikho edition Banğūtakīn fought against Aleppo for *a year and a month* (سنة وشهر)[198]. One should correct it to *thirty six days* (ستة وثلاثين يوما). The author does not mention the year to which he refers. He says *of the year*, when the last mentioned year was 382 AH (and such a date I assumed). While over a year of fighting would indicate the next year, which would give the date of

[189] Cheikho, p. 113; K&V1, p. 770; Tadmurī, p. 82.

[190] Al-Fāsī, *Kitāb al-Ānīs al-Muṭarrib bi-Rawḍ al-Qirṭās fī Aḫbār Mulūk al-Maġrib wa-Tārīḫ Madīnat Fās*, ed. K.Y. Tūrnbirḡ (C.J. Tornberg), Ūbsāla (Uppsala) 1843, p. 55; Ibn Khaldoun (Ibn Ḫaldūn), *Histoire des Berbères et des dynasties musulmanes de l'Afrique Septentrionale (Berbères)*, vol. II, trans. M. le Baron de Slane, Alger 1854, p. 543.

[191] Tadmurī, p. 82, n. 2 and Pirone, VII, 2 & n. 1 correct the name to Yaʿlà Ǐbn Muḥammad, but are not aware of the reference to Ibn Midrār.

[192] K&V2, p. 391.

[193] Pirone, X, 55 mentions this event.

[194] He started an expedition against Byzantium as well, but died on his way: K&V2, p. 450.

[195] Al-Maqrīzī I, vol. I, p. 216. The Lower Police was the police stationed around the Lower Mosque (of ʿAmr Ibn al-Āṣ).

[196] Al-Maqrīzī I, vol. I, p. 242.

[197] K&V2, p. 439. Pirone, XI, 6 distorts it further into *a year and three days*. Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination Fatimide (359–468 / 969–1076)*, vol. I, Damas[cus] 1986, p. 197 *de facto* assumes this date.

[198] M. Canard, *L'Histoire des Hamdanides de Jazira et de Syrie*, Algiers 1953, p. 699, n. 249 had the same idea before me (سنة وثلاثين), and noted the problem was already mentioned by Rozen.

22 August – 20 September 993. The next date is 383 AH already. But if we assume that date, the return of Banǧūtakīn from Aleppo, as well as his expedition against Apamea, would take place in the same month (Rağab 383). Because he went from Aleppo in Rağab 383 (22 August – 20 September 993), but the capitulation of Apamea took place on 10 Rağab 383 (31 August 993) already, so Banǧūtakīn would have to leave Aleppo, go to Damascus, go north again, capture Apamea and Šayzar in an insufficiently short period of 22–31 August. There are several possibilities to explain this. First: that the information about a fight lasting for more than a year was wrong. And second that Banǧūtakīn took Apamea and Šayzar on another occasion[199]. Third is that Al-Anṭākī gave the wrong date. One can compare the text of Al-Anṭākī with the one of Ibn al-ʿAdīm's *Zubda*[200]. Ibn al-ʿAdīm claims that Banǧūtakīn remained besieging Aleppo until the end of 382 AH, that is until 25 February 993. Thus he rested there for six months, which makes me wonder if we should not read *six months* (ستة أشهر) instead of *a year and a month* (سنة وشهر). If we do, we achieve conformity between Al-Anṭākī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, but it would not fit with Rağab as the month in which Banǧūtakīn would return. The lack of conformity with Ibn al-ʿAdīm can be explained by this, that he did not give a precise date – perhaps he was unsure of it (or it was Al-Anṭākī that added the mention of Rağab after misreading the common information and calculating the time). Secondly, but thanks to the correction to *thirty six days* the issue of Rağab is solved. According to Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Banǧūtakīn came to Aleppo in *Ǧūmādà ăl-Ūlà and* (or?) *Ǧumādà ăl-Uḫrà*, that is between 5 July and

[199] J.H. FORSYTH, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 489–490 basing it on the mention of AL-MAQRĪZĪ I, vol. I, p. 275, claims that Šayzar was captured the previous year already, and its retrieving by Ḥamdānids is unlikely. But its capture that year is confirmed by IBN AL-ʿADĪM Z, p. 106, and it would have been strange for Al-Maqrīzī to be *the most reliable* in this case, taking into account his general ignorance of the matters of Aleppo (e.g. M. CZYŻ, *The Murder of Fātik and the Fatimid takeover of Aleppo*, [in:] *Bliski Wschód w świecie. Historia, polityka, kultura*, ed. M. WOŹNIAK-BOBIŃSKA, Łódź 2021, p. 29), and that Al-Anṭākī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm are more detailed, contemporary and lived in the very region in question. Indeed, there was the expedition that Forsyth and Al-Maqrīzī mention, but that does not mean there were no others before it. The mention of Al-Anṭākī about the expedition of Banǧūtakīn in 393 AH is confirmed by Ibn al-ʿAdīm. It is also not true, as Forsyth claims, that, according to Al-Anṭākī, Fāṭimid forces besieged Aleppo in the autumn of 383 AH, and that the pause in operations for the winter was ignored. There is no mention of the siege of Aleppo in 383 AH, but rather the battles in 383 AH are described, which is followed by the expression *and later* (which in fact suggests a significant amount of time passed), after which the attack on Aleppo is mentioned, and *the Battle of the Ford* that followed it, in 384 AH already. Thus his relation in this matter is exactly like Ibn al-ʿAdīm's. Why Ibn Ẓāfir mentions an attack on Aleppo in 383 AH, I cannot tell, since this volume is not available to me, but the expression used by it (quoted by Forsyth) is exactly as the one used by Ibn al-ʿAdīm concerning the attack on Aleppo the previous year, and I see in the index (IBN ẒĀFIR, *Aḫbār al-Duwal al-Munqaṭiʿa*, vol. II, ed. A.F. SAYYID, Madīnat Naṣr 1417/1996, p. 501) that there is only a single page concerning B(M)anǧūtakīn in the entire book, so it was not something he discussed thoroughly and it is probably a mistake.

[200] IBN AL-ʿADĪM Z, p. 105–106.

1 September 992. This can fit the information about Banǧūtakīn staying there for 36 days, for example 30 July – 2 September 992, that is until the first of Rağab (the earliest date) or 3 August – 7 September 992 (the latest date with the beginning in Ǧumādà ăl-Ūlà) or 27 August – 1 October 992, that is until the 30 Rağab (the latest date with Ǧumādà ăl-Uḫrà)[201]. He thus left Aleppo in Rağab of 382, and returned to Apamea one year later, in Rağab 383. This is the most likely version. The siege lasting for over a year was impossible, also because the people were already tired after the first siege, which lasted a month, and threatened the ruler that they would surrender the city if he did not find a solution[202]. So how could they last for a half a year or over a year?

K&V translate a fragment *wa-an yaḥlifa kull insān bi-mā arāda wa-aḥabba min al-īmān bi-ha'ulā'* as *and that everyone would swear as he wanted and desired, according to the beliefs of a group he belonged to*[203]. It conveys the written message, but it is not precise. The exact translation would be and *that everyone would swear using what he wanted and liked from the belief those* (people, that is the caliphs and comrades of the Prophet).

Which would be handed over[204] *to him* is omitted from the description of the army the emir of Aleppo Ibn Lu'lu' (who eventually became a Byzantine subject) requested from the Fāṭimids[205]. This is, contrary to what it may seem, significant. Ibn Lu'lu' wanted reinforcements from the Fāṭimids, but to remain in control, being afraid of being totally annexed by them. And indeed, he got rid of their forces later on, when their task was done[206].

M&T's translation of the quality of Ṣāliḥ ibn Mirdās (*ṭūl isā'atihi/lisānihi*) as *verve* is questionable. It either means long bad treatment, or long tongue (saying too much?)[207]. This explains why Ibn Lu'lu' detested him, which plays a role in the change of the dynasty in Aleppo.

When describing the man whom Caliph Al-Ḥākim ordered his black slave to rape, M&T follow a K&V correction of (المحرى) to (المخري)[208] and translate it accordingly, as I did originally, as a vulgar swearword relating to excrements. But such a participle does not exist, nor do verb forms of this root in general. Moreover, Al-Anṭākī never uses swearwords[209], and even in this description, he uses euphemisms, such as *urethra* for penis. However I am unsure of the actual

[201] J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 489 speaks about 1–14 Rağab.
[202] Ibn al-'Adīm Z, p. 105.
[203] K&V2, p. 490. Similarly Pirone, XII, 117.
[204] *Radda* is often used by the author in the meaning of handing over, not *returning*. e.g. p. 464, 470.
[205] K&V3, p. 392.
[206] K&V3, p. 394. Pirone, XIII, 17 translates it as *that would reach him*, which is imprecise.
[207] K&V3, p. 394. Pirone, XIII, 22 translates it as harm done for a long time.
[208] K&V3, p. 408, n. 41. Pirone, XIII, 48 ignores this word and mistranslates *that he claimed he feels* into *that everyone imagined he feels*.
[209] *Backward/retarded* in K&V3, p. 504 should be understood as an euphemism for *stupid*.

meaning. It could be (المحري; IV form), meaning *caused to diminish* (the I form being used about the diminishing of the Moon, thus it could be a pun as his posteriors were described as his *moon*, or could mean his humiliation). The IV form also means being suitable, fit for something, which could mean he was fit to be mistreated. Or it could also be corrected to V form (المتحري), which would mean that he was doing it (being raped) on purpose, which fits the description of him as dissolute and only *alleging* he was feeling pain. It could also mean he was resting in one place, or asking, but the way this word was used (*this*…) discourages from using these meanings. And Cheikho corrects the root to ǦRW/ǦRY, which, in the IV form, means having young ones or executing an order.

M&T omit yet another C addition[210], which indicates the year that the Fāṭimids appeared in the Maghreb and that their origin was in the Levant.

Concerning why the Damascenes revolted around 1020–1021, the text of the edition says *imtiʿāḍan li-* (…امتعاضا لـ) *out of anger with* their governor, who was also the heir apparent of the Fāṭimid caliphate, and that is how M&T translate it; mss PBSR say *imtiġāṣan li-* (…امتغاصا لـ)[211], but the VIII form of the MĠṢ root does not exist. The I form means piercing someone with a spear (Lane; Kazimirski adds to this having belly aches), and V means having aching stomach, or being hurt by a matter (Lane), or causing belly aches (Kazimirski). The VIII form should be reflexive to I, but its meaning in this case would be conjectural. One can surmise that the one who wrote this form believed it meant that they did it out of the (belly) pain they *made themselves feel for / on behalf of / because of* the heir apparent. I believe it should be understood as that they felt the pain for the sake of him, or it should be corrected to *imtiʿāṭan li-* (…امتعاطا لـ), that is they revolted *due to unsheathing weapons for the sake of* (their governor), or after *imtiʿāḍan li-* expression *mā ǧarà li-* should be added[212], making it "out of anger with what happened to" the heir presumptive. The reason for that is the context of the story. The heir apparent was loved by the people (as he allowed them to drink wine and listen to songs), and hated by the army (because he was stingy). When he allowed himself to be taken by the army to Al-Ḥākim, to be punished, a revolt against him would not make sense, while a revolt out of anger for his treatment would. The leader of the revolt was not his enemy, and joined forces with him subsequently when he was pardoned; he did disobey him, but only later on, as he did not want to stop fighting Fāṭimid forces[213]. Without this correction, the understanding of the revolt in Damascus is completely distorted.

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[210] K&V3, p. 414. PIRONE, XIV, 2 ignores it as well.

[211] K&V3, p. 430, n. 44. PIRONE, XIV, 32 translates it the same way as M&T, as *due to strong resentment towards the heir apparent*.

[212] Such an expression (*imtiʿāḍan li-mā ǧarà*) is used by Al-Anṭākī elsewhere: K&V3, p. 528.

[213] K&V3, p. 428–430.

Christian trivia

Al-Anṭākī mentions attacks on Christians on Friday, the day of holiday of St Lazaa rus[214]. But the holiday of Lazarus is always Saturday, so one should take into account mss BLS and the edition of Cheikho, which say it happened on *Friday*, *Saturday night*.

In the text of the guarantee of safety for the Christians of Jerusalem, the word *diyāra* should not be translated as *territories*, but as *monasteries*[215], as it was translated elsewhere by K&V[216], and even by M&T themselves[217]. This is important for the history of the monasteries of Jerusalem.

When it is mentioned which churches, monasteries and their possessions were not returned to Christians during the rule of Al-Ḥākim, one of the exceptions is *mā kāna minhā qad ḥaṣala li-man yatawaqqawna šarrahu min al-muslimīn*[218]. M&T think it means *that had been given to Muslims to protect them from poverty*, but while it seems plausible, and I temporarily accepted this interpretation[219], *šarr* is *evil*, not specifically *poverty*, and it can be both evil done to them (as M&T interpret it) and done by them. The object of the second part of it is *they*, which either should be treated as impersonal as M&T do, or as earlier mentioned Christians, as I claim. It should be interpreted as *what got into the hands of those Muslims whose evil [the Christians] wary of* (or: *feared*, or: *guarded themselves from*). This is very important for understanding the dynamics of the persecutions of Al-Ḥākim. Not everything depended on the ruler, and the order to return Christian property was not always respected; sometimes Christians did not press the issue, because they were afraid of Muslims' reaction[220]. Such a situation also occurred in the case of Jerusalem, where a special document was needed to convince Muslims to allow Christians to pray[221], and the general hostility towards Christians existed irrespective of Al-Ḥākim's orders, which were rather an outcome of it than the cause of it[222].

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[214] K&V1, p. 782. Pirone, VII, 40 ignores this problem too.

[215] K&V3, p. 436. Pirone, XIV, 46 agrees with me.

[216] K&V2, p. 488.

[217] K&V3, p. 438.

[218] K&V3, p. 438.

[219] I considered a similar possibility […] *to protect them from evil*, while thinking it could also mean *that were defending their evil*. But it would fit I form, not V. See M. Czyż, *Sytuacja chrześcijan za panowania Kalifa Al-Ḥākima bi-Amr Allāha*, MA thesis written under the supervision of P. Lewicka, Oriental Studies Faculty, University of Warsaw, 2007, p. 139.

[220] The interpretation of Pirone, XIV, 49 seems to fit my opinion at least partly.

[221] K&V3, p. 436.

[222] About the situation of Christians during and before the reign of Al-Ḥākim, see M. Czyż, *Al-Ḥākim's Persecutions of Christians*, POr 39, 2014, p. 1–16; idem, *Byzantine Reconquista (10th–11th Centuries) and the Attacks on Christians in the Lands of Islam (Egypt, Syria and Iraq)*, SCer 14, 2024, p. 369–388; S.A. Assaad, *The Reign of Al-Hakim Bi Amr Allah. A Political Study*, Beirut 1974, p. 93–107.

Concerning the persecution of Christians, when M&T translate the Biblical quote that God will never leave his people without *arkūn*[223], they translate it as *chief*. Such an interpretation *is* mentioned by Lane (probably derived from *archont*). But how could Al-Ḥākim, a Muslim, be the *chief* of Christians? One should rather see it as a distortion of *arkān*, which means *support*. The Biblical quotes Al-Anṭākī probably refers to a mention of God not *leaving his people*, not *leaving them a chief or support*, so they do not support any of the two possibilities[224].

Druze trivia[225]

A significant number of possible corrections could or perhaps should be made concerning the Druzes as well. The edition of K&V and M&T translation[226] omit a ms C addition, which replaces part of the text (since the story of people who were too scared to utter their plea before Al-Ḥākim): *He was brought a note, and [it was written] in it: "We accepted oppression and tyranny, and not impiety and drollery. If you were given secret knowledge, tell us who wrote this page"*. This is important for a number of reasons. It is the only case in the entire chronicle of Al-Anṭākī that any poem is quoted (while Muslim chronicles brim with poetry), but it is also important for the history of political and folk customs in Medieval Egypt, and the popular attitude towards the rise of the Druzes and Al-Ḥākim's tacit support for them.

M&T ignore ms C addition in their translation, which gives a precise number of early Druzes (16,000)[227], important information for studying the rise of this sect[228].

The translation (albeit the most intuitive) of Al-Ḥākim often consulting Al-Hādī[229] may be corrected, because Al-Hādī considered Al-Ḥākim to be divine, so how

[223] K&V3, p. 440.

[224] Dt 31.6 & 31.8, Heb 13.5–6, Is 41.8–16, including 41.10–11 & 13, Jo 14.18 (the last one is indicated by Pirone, XIV, 53, whose translation, in this case, is the same as M&T's).

[225] Al-Anṭākī, albeit hostile towards the Druze, remains one of the chief sources on their origin, as recognised e.g. by M.G.S. Hodgson, *Al-Darazī…*, *passim*. J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle…*, p. 262.

[226] K&V3, p. 416; Tadmurī, p. 337; Cheikho, p. 221. Pirone, XIV, 5 omits this fragment as well.

[227] K&V3, p. 422, n. 31. Pirone, XIV, 15 includes this mention in his translation.

[228] J.H. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle…*, p. 236 claims the number was inflated (I do not think it is necessarily the case, as the Al-Fusṭāṭ agglomeration was the largest in the Muslim world (Al-Muqaddasī, p. 166–168. He mentions (p. 168) that 10,000 people prayed in front of the Lower Mosque alone, and he only believed it when he saw it himself), and the number could include people from outside it as well) and was used by Al-Hādī to make Al-Ḥākim support his movement, which shows the potential importance of this mention, as well as supports the idea that Al-Ḥākim was concerned with the number of Al-Hādī's disciples.

[229] K&V3, p. 422 and (the same) Pirone, XIV, 15.

could he advise God. Perhaps *bi-ăl-kuṯra* should not be understood independently as *often*, but rather as *concerning the numerousness* (of Al-Hādī's followers; but the lack of *al-* or a pronoun makes it less likely), which corresponds to the previous sentence, in which Al-Ḥākim used to ask Al-Hādī precisely about that; note that Al-Anṭākī often repeats the same information twice. This is important for understanding the relation of Al-Ḥākim with the early Druze.

Another important information about the Al-Ḥākim and the Druze may be derived from a possible correction of the part where the Druze, as M&T translate it, created a book similar to the (*fī ma'nà*) Quran[230]. It can also be understood as *about the (secret) meaning of the Quran*, which is, however, made less likely by their clear acts of disrespect towards it (alleged pissing on it) mentioned at the same time. Additionally, Al-Hādī accused Al-Darazī of being *ta'wīlī*, that is too preoccupied with the allegoric meanings[231], which would perhaps not fit this claim, and Al-Hādī himself did not make use of the Quran or the older scriptures[232]. But note that this description is part of a long list of alleged faults of the Druzes, so it could have been one of the untrue accusations, and also, if the Druzes created a holy book, it would have been more known.

M&T claim that Al-Ḥākim, in a text ascribed to him by people, stated that he has already once admonished and threatened (*scared*) them that he would leave them[233]. While it is an opinion I once shared, especially since Al-Ḥākim did disappear eventually, and some believed he withdrew from people, I must conclude it is wrong, because there is no previous mention of him claiming he would leave them. Thus (*'alà*)[234] *mubāyana* should not be read as leaving, mentioned by Kazimirski, Lane, and Wehr, but according to a meaning only mentioned by Wehr, that is that he threatened people not to get into conflict with him, or not to contradict him, which fit other exhortations present in the text. This removes the suggestion that Al-Ḥākim planned his famous disappearance and is thus crucial for understanding the origin of the Druze[235].

Yet another important correction concerning the relations between Al-Ḥākim, the Druze, and their Muslim opponents, as well as Al-Anṭākī's opinion of them, occurs in the place where one should accept the corrections of Ch of (ويفاوض المسلمين وينبّههم *and he explains clearly / converses with the Muslims and points out to*

[230] K&V3, p. 422; Pirone, XIV, 16.
[231] M.G.S. Hodgson, *Al-Darazī…*, p. 7–8.
[232] *Ibidem*, p. 16.
[233] K&V3, p. 424.
[234] The use of '*alà* instead of *min* here is puzzling, as '*alà* indicates for whom we are afraid, and *min* of what. But the usage of prepositions in this chronicle is sometimes peculiar, one could be distorted into another (على, من), and this change does not favour either of the two translation possibilities, since both are something people were supposed to be afraid of, and not for.
[235] Pirone, XIV, 20 omits the entire expression.

/ informs / warns them); into (وتفاوض المسلمون بينهم *and the Muslims conferred between themselves*)[236]. M&T's translation as *addressing the Muslims*, *he emphasised*, while fine linguistically, does not fit the context, because it is preceded by a quite vague text ascribed to Al-Ḥākim, threatening people, and followed by *that his aim is to drive them to what Al-Darazī invited them to*, *and that his exasperation with them is but due to their aversion to it*. *And they talked about that a lot*, *and made poems accusing [someone] of disbelief*[237], *sending them to him*. The long, vague text would be pointless if the author wanted, at the end, to express his point so directly. Moreover, the content of the text has already ended with an invitation to read it to everyone, so adding an additional point to it would be out of place[238]. Furthermore, Al-Ḥākim did support the Druzes, but not openly, because it was opposed even by his entourage[239], so he would not state this goal so openly (although this text could have been a forgery). Moreover, it is grammatically a new sentence, and it is, at least in the edition, placed in a new paragraph. It is also important to note that this correction creates a typical for Al-Anṭākī repetition of information (*they conferred (…) and they talked much about that*). Moreover, the second verb (*they talked much*) is in plural already, which suggests[240] that *Muslims* are its subject, especially since no other subject is mentioned and M&T have to surmise it is the people of Miṣr.

The poems about Al-Ḥākim are described as *al-kufriyya*, *disbelieving/blasphemous*, which M&T translate as *abusive*[241], but that is imprecise. One should understand it as *al-takfīriyya* (II form), the way Cheikho understood it in its correction of it to *yukaffirūnahu* (II) *fīhā*[242], that is that these poems were accusing (Al-Ḥākim, but that is not openly said apart from in Cheikho's version) of disbelief due to his support of Al-Darazī, who claimed Al-Ḥākim was God. Note that Al-Anṭākī was in general surprisingly neutral concerning Al-Ḥākim, even praising him at times[243], but was critical towards the Druze[244], so he would not call the

[236] K&V3, p. 424, n. 69–71. One can also keep the present form (يفاوض) without much difference in the meaning. As for (المسلمين), it can be a colloquialism, and not necessarily an indication that it is accusative. The only major difference is the third word. PIRONE, XIV, 21 agrees with me.

[237] This passage is discussed in the next paragraph.

[238] Unless it is Al-Anṭākī's commentary to the main text of the alleged letter of Al-Ḥākim.

[239] K&V3, p. 418.

[240] Verbs in Arabic, if written correctly, are always in singular unless the subject is already mentioned before them. But this is not a definitive proof, since 3rd person plural can have impersonal meaning.

[241] K&V3, p. 424.

[242] K&V3, p. 424, n. 75.

[243] K&V2, p. 515–516.

[244] K&V3, p. 420–422 he calls Druze beliefs *disbelief* (*kufr*, but he quotes popular opinion and describes the reaction of the chief judge) twice. J.H. FORSYTH, *The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle*…, p. 344, 350–351 notes that, apart from the issue of the schism during the patriarchate of Eutychios (whom he believes to be his relative), his attitude towards the Druze is the most visible sign of his own prejudices in the chronicle. But note that the difference between the ascetism of Al-Ḥākim and the alleged

critique of Al-Ḥākim for their support *blasphemous*[245]. This change gives us information about the content of these poems, about the popular attitude towards the Druze, and dispels false information about Al-Anṭākī's attitude towards these poems.

Another fragments that show Al-Anṭākī's attitude towards the Druze are two ms C additions, ignored by M&T, but not by Pirone. The first of them calls Druze convictions *hideousness*[246]. The second one mentions that the Turkish murderer of Al-Darazī was killed *ʿalà ḏanab ḫuliqa lahu*. One can refer the verb to the killer, making it *for [the] offence/crime for the sake of which he was created*[247]. It would indicate Al-Anṭākī not only believed in fate, but also that the killing of Al-Darazī was divinely ordained, and thus, while remaining a crime, in a way rightful. It would give a rare glimpse into the religious views of the author, whose other works, devoted to religion, are seemingly lost. But the lack of definition of *offence* excludes this option. The second interpretation refers the verb to the *offence*, making it *for an offence that was forged for him*. Pirone translates it as *for the offence falsely attributed to him*. But his usage of *the* (*il*) and translating it as if this *offence* had a real existence may indicate that he thinks that the offence in question was the killing, and that it was wrongly attributed to the Turk. If so, that is not possible, as Al-Anṭākī himself states he killed him, and because the *offence* is not defined[248]. Instead one should understand it as that the Turk was killed on some other, undefined, made up charge, and that is because Al-Ḥākim did not want to risk dissent by officially killing him for his actual deed, which, in the light of disdain for Al-Darazī, must have been popular. That is the only interpretation that is

licentiousness of the Druze (p. 265, n. 134) can be explained by the fact that the Islamic law had to be brought to a conclusion before it was abolished. And Al-Nasafī did mention that a period of abolishment of the law and relying on monotheism alone (and *monotheists* are how the Druze call themselves) would occur (see K. Pachniak, *Doktryny ismāʿīlickie w dziełach Al-Kirmānīego*, Warszawa 2004, p. 38–39), and antinomian tendencies did occur in Ismāʿīlism before, e.g. the Qarmaṭians used to claim the Muslim law had ended (W. Madelung, *Al-Mahdī*, [in:] *EI2*, vol. V, ed. C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, B. Bewis, Ch. Pellat, Leiden–London 1971, p. 1236), and such tendencies were present also in the Fāṭimid branch of Ismāʿīlism (J. Danecki, *Podstawowe wiadomości o islamie*, vol. I, Warszawa 1998, p. 348). The law could have been the wall separating the happiness from torment (Quran 57:13; S.A. Assaad, *The Reign of Al-Hakim Bi Amr Allah*…, p. 163), but this means you can move beyond it. Additionally, the Druzes believed that Al-Ḥākim's inconsistency is a sign of his divinity (M.G.S. Hodgson, *Al-Darazī*…, p. 14–15), and that a schism concerning morals may have existed among the Druze (p. 6–7). Also, the desecrations described by Al-Anṭākī may have well been true (p. 12), and that Al-Hādī did not use the Quran in his doctrine (while the Islamic law is derived primarily from it), and devised a new moral code (p. 16–17).

[245] Pirone, XIV, 21 agrees with me.

[246] K&V3, p. 420, n. 9.

[247] K&V3, p. 420, n. 12.

[248] One could assume Al-Anṭākī did not consider it an actual fault and that is why he says it was *created/forged*. But it would require defined status of the *offence*, and is a perhaps too bold interpretation as well.

grammatically correct, and it gives important information on both the official and unofficial attitude of Al-Ḥākim towards the Druze.

M&T also omit in their translation a C addition mentioning (critical) songs being sung about Al-Ḥākim[249], which is important not only for the history of the Druzes, but also for the history of music and political customs in the Fāṭimid Egypt.

According to M&T, the Byzantines *pursued the Muslims in their provinces and captured them*, *and they fell into oblivion and disappeared*. But why would they do that right at the end of a campaign against the Druze made in defence of Muslims persecuted and raided by them? Clearly, this sentence refers to the Druze, and not to (other) Muslims. And while there are other explanations, the problem most likely lies in that M&T, as they themselves admit, do not see use of the *minhum* preposition and pronoun that follow *Muslims*, and which refer to the Druze[250]. It is literally *Muslims out of / among the Druze* (meaning *Muslims being the Druze*) who were persecuted. While it is a strange way of saying that, as logically it would make more sense to speak of the Druze among Muslims, it is not unique in this chronicle, and an analogous expression occurs on the very next page, where Al-Anṭākī speaks of the Ṭāyyites *from among* the Ǧarrāḥids, even though all Ǧarrāḥids belonged to the Ṭayy tribe, as its leading family[251]. Moreover, while Al-Anṭākī distinguishes the Druze from Muslims in this very fragment, they indeed were an offshoot of Islam, as well as Al-Anṭākī opposes individual Muslims with *the Muslims* in other parts of his chronicle[252]. This correction is absolutely crucial for the history of the Druze and Muslims under Byzantine rule[253].

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[249] K&V3, p. 428, n. 10; 427 in the translation. And earlier mention of political songs p. 424. PIRONE, XIV, 25 refers to the songs as *compositions*.

[250] K&V3, p. 520 and n. 34. PIRONE, XVI, 68 translates it the same as M&T.

[251] K&V3, p. 522.

[252] K&V2, p. 467; K&V3, p. 530.

[253] The Byzantine massacre of the Druze took place in the Hills of Sumac (Ǧabal al-Summāq). IBN AL-ʿADĪM, *Buġyat al-Ṭalab fī Tārīḫ Ḥalab*, vol. I, ed. S. ZAKKĀR, Beirut [1988], p. 422; K.P. TODT, B.A. VEST, *Syria (Syria Prōtē*, *Syria Deutera*, *Syria Euphratēsia)*, vol. II, Wien 2015, p. 1168–1170 identify them with Ǧabal al-Zāwiya (between Idlib and Ḥamāʿ, close to Maʿarrat al-Nuʿmān). And this name is known by the local population, as the father of my local friend Malāḏ al-Šayḫ ʿAlī attested. This area is indeed devoid of the Druze. But there is another area, Ǧabal al-Aʿlà (between Antioch and Idlib), that is inhabited by the Druze until now (https://gulf2000.columbia.edu/maps.shtml [4 IX 2025]; the blue spot in Ǧabal al-Zāwiya is the Zayzūn Reservoir, and not Druzes), which they call the Hills of Sumac (e.g. https://raseef22.net/article/1090357-دروز-جبل-السماق-في-إدلب-مكابرة-وصبر-وتنازلات-في-سبيل-البقا [4 IX 2025]). Both of these hills were on Byzantine-Muslim borderlands, but Al-Aʿlà were certainly more in Byzantine grip, right next to Antioch, and further from the centre of Fāṭimid power, Apamea, as well as closer to Aleppo, the province of which the Druze were supposed to raid. Thus how radical or effective the Byzantines were in the eradication of the Druze depends on this identification, but most likely the account of Al-Anṭākī is exaggerated and the Druze were brutally pacified, and not exterminated.

In conclusion, a closer look at the previous editions and translations of Al-Anṭākī enables a number of small corrections of the French translation, some of them more certain than others, among the most important of them interpretations of Balkan names in Al-Anṭākī, the correction of the date of death of Romanos Lekapenos, a better explanation of the relation of Al-Mahdī and Abū ʿAbd Allāh, distinguishing between Yaʿlà Ǐbn Muḥammad Ibn Ṣāliḥ al-Yifrānī, the ruler of Ifkān, and Muḥammad Ibn al-Fatḥ, the ruler of Siğilmāsa, who were lumped together by Al-Anṭākī into one person; recognition of Ibn al-Balanṭis as Balantes, establishing the place where John Tzimiskes met with the ruler of Damascus Alftakīn as Kāmid, correction of the title of lord of Tao as the lord of Olti, interpretation of Al-Ḫālidiyyāt and Al-Ǧākirūs names, correction of the length of the Fāṭimid siege of Aleppo, recognition of the title of Nikephoros Ouranos as *kanikleios*, and a number of corrections correcting the Druzes.

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Text-Critical Notes to Constantine of Preslav's Didactic Gospel*

Abstract. Constantine of Preslav's *Učitel'noe evangelie* was written at the end of the ninth century but came down to us in only four full, much later, copies from the twelfth (the single East Slavonic manuscript [S]) to the fourteenth century (the other three South Slavonic manuscripts [G, H, W]). Copies are both scarce and distant in time and place as well as different in script from their lost (Glagolitic) protograph, with the result that scribal errors are inevitable, yet not always noted. The article proposes three methodological approaches to reconstruct some of the lexemes distorted by the manuscript tradition, even in passages without an attested Greek source text. The first approach relies on variant readings in situations that lack a Greek parallel. In cases that lack variant readings,

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the second method is applied, which considers references and allusions to Biblical or patristic texts to elucidate the meaning behind sometimes incomprehensible phrases. The third approach counts on the very meaning of the respective portion of text (i.e., the direct context of a word) and the rhetorical techniques used in it.

Keywords: Old Bulgarian / Old Church Slavonic translations from Greek, catenae, homilies, Biblical quotations, diachronic lexicography

Preliminary notes

The prevailing practice[1] in Slavonic ecdotics is to mirror a single manuscript and to base the edition of a medieval monument on this representative copy, even when the edition reflects variant readings from other copies and – for translations – also from a corresponding Greek text[2]. In contrast, editors of Byzantine texts usually aim at establishing an Urtext, that is, at attempting to reconstruct the text in its initial form, which, inevitably, differs from its (extant) witnesses. The gap between the two approaches is explained by various historical factors: the existence of only much later Slavonic copies of a lost Slavonic protograph, the lack of a single Slavonic orthographic norm, the lack of a critical edition of the respective Greek original, and, sometimes, a complicated manuscript tradition of the translated texts that were continuously re-edited (and compared to their sources) by various scribes[3].

A useful starting point for a reconstruction of target texts (that is, translations) is a concentration on particular words (especially on unclear, incomprehensible ones), and a search for their initial appearance before distortions were introduced during copying. In this article I discuss a methodology for such lexical reconstructions, or, more precisely, three different approaches, which have been applied successfully to the creation of the Old Bulgarian-Greek and Greek-Old Bulgarian Word Indices to Constantine of Preslav's Didactic Gospel[4] (*Učitel'noe evangelie*[5], henceforth UE).

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[1] For a brief presentation of the three directions in Slavonic ecdotics with examples of each, and a proposal to use them all, see J. FUCHSBAUER, *The Edition of the Slavonic Dioptra: Challenges and Solutions*, [in:] *Editing Mediaeval Texts from a Different Angle. Slavonic and Multilingual Traditions*, ed. L. SELS, J. FUCHSBAUER, V. TOMELLERI, L. DE VOS, Leuven–Paris–Bristol 2018, p. 179–191.

[2] A useful systematization of the types of the Greek source-text critical apparatus to the editions of Slavonic translations is proposed by L. TASEVA, *Greek Critical Apparatus to Editions of Slavonic Translations: Necessity and (Im)Possibility*, [in:] *Editing Mediaeval Texts from a Different Angle*…, p. 401–427.

[3] F. THOMSON, *The Problems of Editing Slavonic Translations*, [in:] *Editing Mediaeval Texts from a Different Angle*…, p. 427–439.

[4] Л. ТАСЕВА, Д. КОТОВА, И. ПЕТРОВ, Е. ДИКОВА, П. СТАНКОВСКА, Г. МИТОВ, *Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски*, vol. I–II.

[5] *Evangelienhomiliar* is probably the most suitable identification for the monument (cf. IDEM, *Constantine of Preslav and the Old Bulgarian Translation of 'Historia ecclesiastica et mystica contemplatio'*

UE, a 9th-century cycle of Sunday sermons[6] commenting on Gospel readings for the entire Church year is a useful, representative case study for at least four reasons:

First, the edition[7] is based on the oldest extant copy (the East Slavonic[8] Synodal copy of the late 12th century, GIM 262, henceforth S), but it also reflects variant readings from the other three extant full witnesses (all Serbian: the Gilferding copy of the year 1286, RNB 32, henceforth G; the Hilandar copy of the year 1344, Hil 385, henceforth H; and the Viennese copy of the 14th century, ÖNB № 12, henceforth W). This allows for a traditional variant-based text-critical approach.

The edition of UE[9] gives, in the footer of each page, the parallel Greek text according to Cramer's[10] edition of the catenae to the Gospels[11]. Yet, during work on the bilingual word indices to UE, further Greek parallels were found[12] for some of the Old Bulgarian parts that had previously been thought to have been authored by Constantine. Available Greek parallels have always been not only reliable

Attributed to Patriarch Germanus I of Constantinople, Pbg 10.1, 1986, p. 41–48), although the designation *Uchitel'noe evangelie* has become widely accepted in the scholarship. The corresponding English term, as suggested by R. Cleminson, is Gospel Homiliary (personal communication 18 VIII 2025).

[6] The 51 sermons in it are intended to be delivered at the Sunday liturgies for the whole year – from Easter to Palm Sunday – providing instruction and guidance based on the Gospel reading for that week and on other peculiarities, such as the repetition of a sermon.

[7] M. Тихова, *Старобългарското Учително евангелие на Константин Преславски по най-стария препис (ГИМ, Син. 262)*, Freiburg i. Br. 2012 [= MLSDV, 58].

[8] One of my anonymous reviewers suggested that this copy should be referred to as either *Old East Slavonic* or *Old Russian*. In medievalist scholarship, however, there is a widely accepted practice of naming copies according to their local characteristics, since the historical timeframe is clear and the repetition of *Old* is considered redundant.

[9] M. Тихова, *Старобългарското Учително евангелие…*

[10] *Catenae graecorum patrum in Novum Testamentum*, ed. J. Cramer, vol. I, *Catena in evangelia S. Matthaei et S. Marci ad fidem Codd. Mss.*, Oxonii 1840; vol. II, *Catenae in evangelia S. Lucae et S. Joannis ad fidem Codd. Mss.*, Oxonii 1841 [repr. 1844]. On the inaccuracies of the editions of the catenae to the Gospels cited here, see, e.g., J. Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen nach den handschriftlichen Quellen untersucht*, Münster i. W. 1941, p. 46–47, 164–168. Other scholars, e.g. M. Schatkin, *Cramer's 'Catena on Galatians' and Origen*, T 26, 1970, p. 303, comment on inaccuracies of another Catena edition of Cramer.

[11] As has recently been shown, the Catenae edited by Cramer are related to, but not the same as, the Catenae that served as the source of UE, and the identification of the correct sources has made it possible to find both the accurate and the hitherto missing Greek parallels (Д. Котова, *Византийските източници на Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски*, СЛ 67–68, 2023, p. 13–46).

[12] D. Kotova found exact Greek parallels to many passages in UE, not only in the Greek New Testament catenae, but also in the homilies of St. John Chrysostom: Д. Котова, *Слово 19 от Учителното евангелие и неговите гръцки източници*, Pbg 46.1, 2022, p. 3–28; eadem, *Оригинално произведение на Константин Преславски ли е 42 слово на Учителното евангелие?*, СЛ 65–66, 2022, p. 99–126; eadem, *Византийските източници…* I.P. Petrov (*The Greek Sources of Učitel'noe Evangelie Revisited: Sermon 20*, Pbg 46.2, 2022, p. 3–28) added newly identified sources for Sermon 20.

evidence in general, but also an aid and corrective in understanding an Old Bulgarian translated text.

The second reason is related to the very nature of UE. It is a combination of authored and translated parts, both of which are the work of Constantine of Preslav. Constantine translated Greek Gospel commentaries but, in the introductions and conclusions of the orations, as well as in the Prologue to the whole book, he spoke in his own voice.

The third important point here is that UE comments on specific Gospel readings. The text abounds in Biblical quotations[13], not only from the New Testament excerpts that form the focus of the weekly homily, but also from other parts of the Holy Scripture. A Biblical quotation in a translated text always provides an opportunity to consult its counterpart in the source language, even though it may be only intertextually related to the rest of the studied work. The same observation applies to the role of other quotations, e.g., of works by the Church Fathers.

The fourth and last clarification to be made here is that in the bilingual dictionaries to UE the common linguistic practice is followed of annotating reconstructed lexemes with an asterisk (*) in order to distinguish them from attested forms, although the asterisk is recorded next to the address of a word in a manuscript, and not to the word itself, e.g.:

вρьхъ (2)
- κορυφός (1): 1/W168a25*
- Ø (1): 48/220a1

Respectively:

κορυφός (1)
- вρьхъ (1): 1/W168a25*

The majority of the lexical reconstructions in the bilingual indices to UE have resulted from the comparison of lexical forms in the Slavonic target text with their correlates in the respective Greek source text, and a number of such reconstructions have already been identified[14]. Here it is worth noting just a few further

[13] More than 1000 in total. Some of the New Testament ones are identified by Ж. Жикова, *Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски – текстологични и лексикални проблеми*, дисертация за присъждане на ОНС „доктор", София 2017, and others – during the creation of bilingual dictionaries to UE. See Л. Тасева, Д. Котова, И. Петров, Е. Дикова, П. Станковска, Г. Митов, *Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски*, vol. II…, p. 501–542.

[14] E. Bláhová, *Kompletní vydání Výkladu na evangelia Konstantina Přeslavského*, Sla 83.3, 2014, p. 335 mentions several inaccuracies in the word divisions in the edition of UE, but the resource most concerned with all sorts of corrections to this edition is В.Б. Крысько, *Учительное евангелие Константина Болгарского: editio princeps*, ИРАН.СЛЯ 76.5, 2017, p. 52–62. His reconstructions have all been taken into consideration in the bilingual indices to the monument and are listed

examples of reconstructions triggered by a Greek parallel in the absence of variant readings. For example, the phrase **ꙗгдаже wнь ѿ дх҃а изъѣстовань бывь** (in Sermon 2, W f. 169c35 with no counterpart in S) corresponds to Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀνέπνευσε πληροφορηθείς, which makes it clear that **ѿ дх҃а** 'from the Spirit' is a copyist's error originating from an initial form ***ѿдъıха**, to be lemmatized as **отъдъıхати** 'inhale, breathe'. Similarly, as **страньно житьıе** 'strange life' (Sermon 35, S f. 162b6) corresponds to ἐμπαθῆ ζωήν, the respective Slavonic adjective needs to be lemmatized as **страстьнъ** 'passionate'. A second type of such reconstructions, which is even more reliable, is when the Greek source accords with the variant target readings, as in the case of **вѣрѧ сѧ** (Sermon 48, S f. 217a2) against ἐκθηριοῦσθαι in the source and **ꙁоꙋвѣре сѧ** WG **ꙁьвѣре сѧ** H in the other target copies, which all point to an initial **звѣрити сѧ** 'make oneself a beast'. Similarly, **вражденıе** (Sermon 46, S f. 207c7), which is parallel to πολῖται and has a variant **граждане** WGH points to the lemma **гражданинъ** 'citizen'; while **кротъкыми** 'mild, tame' (S f. 59c8) for βραχέσι with variants **кратькими** W **краткыми** GH needs to be lemmatized as **кратъкъ** 'short'.

This approach, which starts from the parallel Greek source, has a long and broad tradition and has often proven to be successful. Here, however, I propose three other starting points – from the variants, from the quotations, and from the context – in an attempt to establish a methodology that also works in cases without an attested Greek source, i.e., in the parts of the collection that are not primarily translations. I demonstrate below that even in such cases reconstructions of certain lexemes are possible. The three methods are often used together, but they are described separately below for the sake of clarity.

Variant-based approach

Variant readings have traditionally been used primarily in connection with establishing a history of a text, and especially with respect to identifying its textological branches, but a variant-based approach can also often help to recover words distorted by the manuscript tradition. Probably the most impressive example of that use of variants in UE is in Sermon 39, where the adjective in the phrase **платоньскъıими словесъı** S (f. 182d19-20) is reconstructed as платоньскъ 'related to Plato', thanks to the variants **платон'скъ** (G), **платоньскъ** (H), **платоносьскъ** (W) and the overall message of the surrounding passage[15]. But other examples further illustrate how this approach helps in resolving equivocal or completely unclear places in a text.

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precisely in Л. Тасева, Д. Котова, И. Петров, Е. Дикова, П. Станковска, Г. Митов, *Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски*, vol. I…, p. 85–118.

[15] For details see Е. Дикова, *Платонски словеса в Учителното евангелие*, [in:] *Кирило-Методиевото дело в научната и културна памет*, ed. М. Иванова, Е. Зашев, Ц. Василев, С. Бърлиева 2025 [= KMc, 35], p. 345–363.

For example, a phrase from the concluding part of Sermon 37, S f. 169d18-170a6 with no Greek parallel seems meaningful out of context. It follows below as in edition[16], except that the available variants are here given in square brackets for an easier reference.

се слъıшашѧще(!) и видѣще· х҃мь б҃мь нашимъ бъıваемо· притъчамїи [прїи҃ц҃ѣмь W прїитьцѣмь G притьцѣмь H] къ сп҃соу нашемоу· могоущѣмоу исцѣлити д҃ша· и тѣлеса наша·

The form **притъчамї** ‘parables’ in S is a noun in the Instr. pl., while its variants in the three other extant full copies are verb forms: **прїи҃ц҃ѣмь** W, **прїитьцѣмь** G, **притьцѣмь** H, all 1st person, pl. imperative of the verb for ‘run towards’. Such a reading of the lexeme, as **притєци**, allows for a more relevant understanding, in which inconsistency about any possible parables addressing the Lord is eliminated:

[We,] having heard and seen this, which happened through Christ our God, let us run to our Savior who can cure our souls and bodies…

Another example illustrates a rather ambiguous phrase clarified only by means of variant readings. The following excerpt is taken from the introduction to Sermon 21 (S f. 106d17–107a01):

огнь бо ср҃дьнъıи понѣщаєть [погнѣщаєть W подьгнѣщаєть G подьгнѣщаєть H] ѵстьнѣ и ѹста приготоваєть г҃ѧти ѹюдеса господьнѧ·

Here, the form **понѣщаєть** is unclear and might be carelessly related to **понашати** ‘reproach’. Fortunately, its counterparts in the other three manuscripts point to an initial **погнѣщати** ‘kindle, inflame’[17]. The reading suggested by the variant texts allows the poetry of the passage to emerge:

…because the fire in [my] heart inflames my mouth and prepares [my] lips to talk about the miracles of the Lord…

[16] М. Тихова, *Старобългарското Учително евангелие*… All the excerpts from UE analyzed below are given with their address in S, by which they could be easily found both in the edition and in the manuscript used as its main source (S).

[17] One of my anonymous reviewers, referring to А.И. Соболёвский, *Лекции по истории русского языка*, Москва 1907, p. 29, https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/bc/Соболевский_А.И._Лекции_по_истории_русского_языка._%281907%29.pdf [15 VII 2024], confirmed that, indeed, the two forms should not be connected for morphological reasons and that **понѣщаєть** results from the loss of **г** before **н**, which is characteristic of early southern East Slavic dialects.

A variant-based approach to lexical reconstruction is the only possible tool to reconstruct both a lexeme and the meaning of the following passage in the conclusion of Sermon 26. This sermon describes mercy and corporeal purity as two spiritual candles, (S f. 128b21-c3):

тѣ бо юсте свѣщи дх҃овьнѣи· тѣ имѣꙗ ѹв҃ѣкъ· не потъкнеть сѧ въ нощї· хотѧ [ходе WGH]·

These two are spiritual candles; these two, if holding, a man will not stumble at night, when wanting [walking].

In this passage the variants of the participle **хотѧ** 'wanting' are unanimously ходе 'walking', which points to the participle **ходѧ**. In either case, the metaphor about a person walking at night – or who will walk at night – is restored and suggests an association with the New Testament parable about the wise virgins.

Quotation-based approach

It is well known that medieval texts are replete with intertextual references, mainly – although not exclusively – to Holy Scripture. Attention has been drawn also to the authoritative role of quotation in Christian exegesis[18] and it has been underlined that *as it is expected for this genre*, [it] *is a polyphonic text*, *in which different voices can be heard*[19]. Further, it has been proven that Biblical quotations have a crucial role in determining the place and time of origin of certain texts and their relation to other writings[20]. With respect to the earliest Medieval Slavonic translations,

[18] M. Juvan, *History and Poetics of Intertextuality*, trans. from the Slovenian T. Pogačа, West Lafayette, Indiana 2008, p. 24–25. For authoritative quotations in various literary systems for a period of more than two thousand years especially in introductory lines of texts see C. Diddi, *Le "chiavi tematiche bibliche" nel contesto della tradizione retorica e letteraria europea: un capitolo di poetica storica*, SCer 3, 2013, p. 11–28 and the literature quoted there.

[19] M. Dimitrova, *New Testament Quotations in a Medieval Slavonic Manuscript with Commentaries on the Song of Songs*, [in:] *Between Text and Text. The Hermeneutics of Intertextuality in Ancient Cultures and their Afterlife in Medieval and Modern Times*, ed. M. Bauks, W. Horowitz, A. Lange, Göttingen 2013, p. 204.

[20] In relation to the Slavonic ones, see e.g. А. Наумов, *Идея – образ – текст. Исследования по церковнославянской литературе*, Москва 2020, p. 142–162, and, in relation particularly to quotations from the Gospels e.g. М. Спасова, *Евангелските цитати в среднобългарското Учително евангелие и проблемът за редакциите на славянския превод на Евангелието*, [in:] *Slavia Orthodoxa. Език и култура. Сборник в чест на проф. дфн Румяна Павлова*, София 2003, p. 367–379; Ж. Жикова, *Учителното евангелие…*, p. 406–456, or the following articles in *Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски и южнославянските преводи на хомилетични текстове (IX–XIII в.). Филологически и интердисциплинарни ракурси. Доклади от Международната научна конференция в София, 25–27 април 2023 г.*, ed. Л. Тасева, А. Рабус, И.П. Петров, София 2024 [= SB, 37]; П. Георгиева, *Евангелските цитати в първата версия на Пространното*

it should be clearly understood that they are characterized by innovations in all respects, including intertextuality:

> The tenth century Old Bulgarian Translations were a kind of deactualization of Late Antique exegesis in a new Christian milieu and in a new liturgical and literary language. Therefore, the medieval Bulgarian translators were confronted with the difficulty how to render the interplay of quotations, allusions, idiomatics, *topoi*, and metaphors, referring to paradigmatic texts of the Jewish and Christian cultures. Later, in the fifteenth century, the Slavonic translators could rely on the earlier Slavonic tradition and could exploit the already established Christian idiomology in different variants[21].

As far as UE is concerned, intertextuality is inherent not only in the parts that were translated, but also in those that were authored by Constantine[22]. This situation is not unique insofar as *ecclesiastical authors continued throughout the Middle Ages*, *without making explicit distinctions*, *to weave quotations with their own paraphrase and commentaries*[23]. What is extremely impressive, however, is the opportunities for clarification and understanding that an identified quotation can provide to scholars. Alongside everything mentioned above, it has been recently proven, on material from UE, that a reference to Biblical or Patristic passages and notions can facilitate reconstructing the meaning of a corrupted phrase in portions of text with no attested Greek source and no Slavonic variant readings[24]. The reconstruction

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житие на св. Григорий Акрагантски Akragantski (BHG 707), [in:] *Учителното евангелие*…, p. 405–427; P. STANKOVSKA, *Evangelní citáty v autorských částech Poučného evangelia Konstantina Preslavského a jejich srovnání s citáty v Besědách Řehoře Velikého na evangelia*, [in:] *Учителното евангелие*…, p. 235–250; D. STERN, *The Relationship between the Adhortatio ad poenitentiam (Freising II) and Kliment of Ohrid's Homily on a martyr or apostle*, [in:] *Учителното евангелие*…, p. 321–339.

[21] M. DIMITROVA, *New Testament Quotations*…, p. 204–205.

[22] See E. Дикова, *Антропоними и интертекстуалност в Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски*, [in:] *Учителното евангелие*…, p. 133–149; Д. Котова, *Уводите и заключенията в Учителното евангелие: източници и вдъхновения*, [in:] *Учителното евангелие*…; G. MITOV, *Some Aspects of the Slavonic Reception of Isidore of Pelusium: An Isidorian Letter in Constantine of Preslav's Didactic Gospel*, [in:] *Учителното евангелие*…, p. 111–133; М. Спасова, *Трапезната метафора в Учителното евангелие на Константин Преславски и нейните византийски източници*, [in:] *Учителното евангелие*…, p. 79–109; P. STANKOVSKA, *Evangelní citáty*… In UE translated parts, many Gospel quotations have long been identified.

[23] M. JUVAN, *History*…, p. 24.

[24] T. MIKULKA, *Příspěvek k interpretaci Poučného evangelia Konstantina Preslavského. Interdisciplinární spolupráce jako klíč k řešení některých textologických problémů*, Sla 93.2, 2024, p. 194–198 proves that **оутрьнѣго и въшьнѣго ч҃лвка очистимъ сѧ** (Sermon 28, S f. 134a08-10) is to be understood as **жтрьнѣго и вънѣшьнѣго ч҃лвка очистимъ сѧ**, because it refers to the philosophical concept of the internal and external man and, more precisely to 2 Cor 4:16, even though the respective lexemes do not differ in the other three full copies of UE. Further, E. Дикова, *Платонски словеса*… reveals that **не хъытростию въшьнѣꙗ премоудростїи** (Sermon 39, S f. 182d14) is to be read as

of particular words is also possible on the basis of an identified quotation only, and this is particularly useful for certain non-translated passages in UE.

There are also cases in which the variant readings accord with the biblical quotations, which makes the respective reconstructions even more reliable, and an example of this type in the conclusion of Sermon 37 illustrates the difference a single letter can make in such a situation. In this text the phrase **и азъ въı покаю** 'and I will give you repentance' (S f. 37/170b10-11) might sound logical[25], but after determining that the whole passage quotes Mt 11:28, it turns out that it corresponds closely to κἀγὼ ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύσω, which means that the last word is to be read not as **покаю** 'give repentance' but as покою 'give rest'. In this case, the other three manuscripts give the same variant покою WGH, which confirms the reconstruction.

There are, however, significantly more challenging passages, including the following excerpt from the concluding part of Sermon 33 (S, f. 154a08–12):

ничьсо же бо велика просить бъ отъ насъ· не просить ницаго обогатити· не глеть болѧщаго исцѣлити· не вѣдить ис тьмьница изъбавити· нъ напитѣти отъ изъбытъка нашего· напоити аще инѣмь ничимь же WH ничиим же G] не можеши· понѣ водою стоуденою· нъ не полъмь сръдца·

God does not request from us anything great – He does not request to enrich the poor, He does not say to cure the ill, He does not insist to save from prison, but to feed from our excess, to give to drink, if you can nothing else, at least cold water, but not half-hearted.

The unusual form here is **ничижемъ**, and its variants offer little help in reconstructing the original word. It appears to be a corrupted Instr. sg. of **ничьтоже** 'nothing'. The adjacent **инѣмь**, Instr. sg. m. of **инъ** 'one; any, other'[26], clearly shows that the copyist understood the phrase as 'with nothing else'. At first, however, I was tempted to relate the phrase to Mt 10:42 and take **инѣмь ничижемъ** as

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не χъıтростию въıнѣшьнıаꙗ премоудростїи and the variant reading in G **не въ χъıтростию нн̄ѣшьнıаꙗ ꙗ премоудростїи** most probably leads to the same initial reading through the following steps **χъıтростию въ нн̄ѣшьнıаꙗ** > **χъıтростию въıнѣшьнıаꙗ** signifying the copyist's attempt to make sense from the otherwise obscure phrase.

[25] One of my anonymous reviewers, referring to *Словарь русского языка XI–XVII вв.*, vol. XVI, *(Поднавьсъ–Поманути)*, Москва 1990, p. 149, emphasized that the verb **покаıати** (+ acc.) 'to confess someone' is attested only in Middle Russian sources and explained the corrupted form **покаю** as resulting from a missing letter in the iterative present form **покаıаю** (**покаıаіѫ**) 'I put to rest, I give someone rest; I set free,' which shows a vowel alternation typical of the verb's iterative form. In the context of the Gospel quotation here, however, the meaning is in no way iterative – ἀναπαύσω denotes a single, completed action in a future moment and is translated accordingly in all languages, using a form that expresses a non-repetitive action.

[26] Л. Тасева, *Преводната парадигма на двукоренните думи с ин- 'единь'*, Pbg 46.4, 2022, p. 51–78 proves that the archaic root ин- had a wider semantic spectrum than ѥдин-.

a distorted parallel to ἕνα τῶν μικρῶν; however, such a hypothesis lacks sufficient grounds. Still, the anomalous form, the presence of variant readings, and the deviation of this phrase – through the interpolation of the second-person verb **не можеши** – from the otherwise uniform series of parallel infinitives governed by third-person singular verbs (**проситъ бъ отъ насъ** 'Gods asks/requests from us') suggest that this passage still harbors unresolved issues.

There are cases in which quotations give clues to the understanding but the corrupted lexeme nonetheless cannot be restored fully. In Sermon 21, for instance, there is a phrase with a somewhat unclear meaning (S. f. 109a2-8), and it does not have any attested parallel in the text of the Greek catena published by Cramer and printed in the edition of UE:

зьдатєлꙗ же оучитєлꙗ июдѣискъı южє иєзекилъ рєчє· зиждющєи стѣноу· и помазающє ю вєзоумиюмь·

What hinders the complete understanding of the clause is the Instr. sg. form of **вєзоумиюмь** 'foolishness; madness; anger'. Yet there is an indication of intertextuality – **иєзекилъ рєчє**. Indeed, Ez 13:10 presents the false prophets (mentioned in a previous verse, namely Ez 13:9) as people who make others err as if *one builds a wall*, *and they plaster it*, – *it shall fall*[27]. Thanks to the edition of the Old Bulgarian Book of Ezekiel, the respective place, Ez 13:10, is easily available[28]:

καὶ οὗτος οἰκοδομεῖ τοῖχον καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀλείφουσιν αὐτόν εἰ πεσεῖται.	**съ же съграждаєтъ стѣнѫ· а они помазажтъ ѧ· ащє сє паде**

The Biblical reference does not help much the understanding. Surely, it is mad to plaster a flimsy wall and be surprised when it falls, but still a wall cannot be plastered with madness, even metaphorically. Fortunately, it has been established that here Constantine of Preslav follows John Chrysostom's Homily 68 on Matthew to complement the catena[29]. The text from the catena comes first and then, the text from the homily follows. The latter is given below in curly braces:

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[27] This is Brenton's translation, which is fairly literal to the corresponding Greek text (καὶ οὗτος οἰκοδομεῖ τοῖχον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀλείφουσιν αὐτόν, εἰ πεσεῖται), whereas the King James Version reflects the Hebrew text "one built up a wall, and, lo, others daubed it with untempered [mortar]". See, for example, http://qbible.com/brenton-septuagint/ezekiel/13.html [15 VII 2024].

[28] *Старобългарският превод на Стария завет*, vol. II, *Книга на пророк Иезекиил с тълкования*, изданието е подготвено от Л. Тасева, М. Йовчева, подбор на гръцкия текст Т. Илиева, София 2003, p. 184–185. Cf. *Septuaginta. Vetus Testamentum graecum*, vol. XVI.1, *Ezechiel*, *herausgegeben von Joseph Ziegler*, Göttingen 1952.

[29] Cf. Iohannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, hom. LXVIII, [in:] *PG*, vol. LVIII, ed. J.P. Migne, Parisiis 1882, col. 642.5–7. D. Kotova finds out that in some of the sermons in UE, including the 21st, there is a compilation between the text of the catena and the text of the homily (Д. Котова, *Византийските източници*…, p. 24; eadem, *Уводите и заключенията*…, p. 24, 39).

οἰκοδόμουντας δὲ, τοὺς διδασκάλους τῶν Ἰουδαίων· ὃ καὶ Ἰεζεκιήλ φησιν· {οἱ οἰκοδομοῦντες τὸν τοῖχον, καὶ ἀλείφοντες ἀναρτύτως·}

What is even more helpful is that the problematic word has an exact parallel in the quotation from the homily – ἀναρτύτως. At the same time, it is only the prefixes of the two corresponding words that correlate, i.e., **бєзъ-** : ἀ(ν)-, both implying 'without', and there is no semantical similarity between the roots: the Old Bulgarian is related to *mind* and the Greek – to *spices* and *seasoning* (cf. ἀρτυτός) or *preparing* (cf. ἀρτύ(ν)ω[30]). The correlates are even different parts of speech, as the Old Bulgarian is a substantive and the Greek is an adverb. The only definition of ἀναρτύτως I could find was in the online version of the Spanish-Greek dictionary[31] integrated into the wiki-implemented *LSJ* web platform[32]. Under ἀνάρτυτος, the following is stated:

II adv. ἀναρτύτως = sin fraguar del mortero, Sm.Ez.13.10 en Chrys.M.58.642.

This makes it obvious that the meaning of the adverb in question was inferred from the context of the same place – in the same homily of Chrysostom – the one discussing Ez 13:10. Thus, the overall meaning of the passage is more or less clear, even if specialized: the builders are the Judean teachers and of them Ezekiel said: they, building the wall, are plastering it with untempered mortar. The form **бєзъѹмиѥмь** might well be a trace to something which meant "sin fraguar del mortero"[33], e.g. some combination of **бєзъ-** and a lexical root[34], yet, here, no exact reconstruction, for the time being, is possible. This all, however, is a clear example of how significant the context can be to obtaining a proper understanding of a word and to its eventual reconstruction.

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[30] One of my anonymous reviewers pointed also to the meaning 'mixing of metals in smelting' (https://lsj.gr/wiki/ἄρτυσις, 15 VII 2024) and added that ἀρτύω is closely related to ἀραρίσκω, quoting *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, ed. J. Diggle, Cambridge 2021. R. Cleminson further directed me to the references in logeion.uchicago.edu/ἀνάρτυτος [15 VII 2024].

[31] *Diccionario griego-español*, ed. F. Rodríguez Adrados *et al.*, Madrid 1989–. See https://lsj.gr/wiki/ἀνάρτυτος [15 VII 2024].

[32] *LSJ*, https://lsj.gr [15 VII 2024].

[33] Another reference, as pointed out by one of my anonymous reviewers, is found in G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 118, where the word is translated as "without tempering the mortar".

[34] One possible option would be to relate it to washing (the root in, say, **мъıти**), though no direct evidence supports this beyond the initial letter. L. Taseva thoughtfully proposed **-χоѹм-** (cf. Latin *humus*, Greek χυμός), which is attested in at least one Old Bulgarian source (И.И. Срезневскій, *Материалы для словаря древнерусского языка*, vol. III, *Т–Я*, Санкт-Петербург 1893, p. 1422, https://etymolog.ruslang.ru/doc/sreznevskijT-Ja.pdf, 15 VII 2024). L. Taseva further pointed out that the consonant x is unstable, at least in Bulgarian dialects, and thus suggested the possibility of an initial **бєзъ (χ)оѹмѡмъ**, which might have been misread or misunderstood by a copyist).

Context-based approach

The direct surroundings of a word may aid greatly the scholar where there is no Biblical or Patristic reference that could contribute a Greek passage to parallel the Slavonic one. It should be noted here, though, that corrupted places of the kind are difficult to find because hardly any of them are absolutely meaningless. The introduction of Sermon 6 announces that the miracle with the man blind from birth is going to be discussed (S, f. 32a09):

да разоумно изыщемъ· оуюда прѣславьнаго сего· юже юестьство [юесть WGH]· о слѣпци·

This is clear from the whole context and the intention of the Sermon, but the phrase in question is obscure. The variant readings signal that **юестьство** 'nature, essence' should instead be read as **юесть** 'is' or, more precisely, **юесть сътво[рилъ]**[35] 'he created/performed'. With the restored phrase **юесть сътво[рилъ]** < **юестьство** the passage has the following meaning:

…let us wisely contemplate this glorious miracle, which He performed, concerning the blind man…

The context in the very beginning of the introduction of Sermon 18 makes it possible to restore another corrupted place. The excerpt (S, f. 88a11-b3) mentions also the author whom Constantine of Preslav quotes in the main part of this sermon:

Хрьстолюбьци [+ ☧ WG] истовъıи [истиньıи W истиннъı GH] богъ нашь· доуховьноу трапезоу поставивъ· съзъıваѥть боголюбиѥ ваше· пиръника приставивъ· златорѣчиваго сего· ластовицоу благошьботьноу [om. WG]· гърълицоу добро· Горуьноу(!) [om. WG доброгл҃сьноу H]·

You, who love Christ, our true God, Who prepared a spiritual table and summons your love to Him by appointing as a feast master this man of golden speech – the sweet-singing swallow, the nice-throat turtledove…

The end of the phrase in S – **гърълицоу добро· Горуьноу**(!) – is obviously a corruption, but its meaning can be inferred from the context: the three adjacent clauses all poetically signify the smooth-tongued rhetor, that is, John Chrysostom[36]. All of them contain compound words: first, he is described as **златорѣчивъ**, which is an adjective from *golden speech*, then two metaphors follow: the one is **ластовица благошьботьна** – a swallow that makes nice (repeated) chirping sounds, and the

[35] For the latter I am grateful to one of my anonymous reviewers.

[36] Some other complex metaphors in UE, which are related to John Chrysostom and are with two--root adjectives, are enlisted by E. BLÁHOVÁ, *Kompletní vydání*…, p. 338.

other is related to **гърълича** – a turtledove that also produces sounds pleasant for the ear and, probably, also in an unceasing manner. In H the turtledove is called **доброгл҃сьна**, which is the adjective from the compound noun for nice voice and complements the metaphorical image of John Chrysostom that Constantine of Preslav creates here[37].

The next instance illustrates how the proposed context-based method may help in cases when there is a Greek counterpart of a certain lexeme, but the counterpart is polysemantic. The verb оугоτовити 'prepare' appears twice in UE as a counterpart for αἰδέομαι. The Greek verb is related to the feelings of religious awe, fear, respect as well shame, compassion and (asking for) forgiveness, but the Slavonic verb does not seem to have anything in common with it and, therefore, could easily be regarded as mistake. The context, however, offers a different picture. Below, the relevant passages follow the edition of UE, but, again, with the variant readings in square brackets. First comes the excerpt from Sermon 22, S f.114c1-7.

оуготовимъ [оугодимь WG] **влк҃колюбью призъвавъшаго· и никътоже насъ останї скврьньнъı ризъı имъı·**	αἰδεσθῶμεν τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν τοῦ καλέσαντος, καὶ μηδεὶς ἡμῶν μενέτω ῥυπαρὰ ἔχων ἱμάτια,

Here, the variant reading signals the corrupted form, but does not help its reconstruction, since **оугодити** 'please; serve' has also nothing (or only little) in common with the Greek verb. Both Slavonic variants, however, are contextually acceptable. The one in S and H, – **оуготовимъ влк҃колюбью призъвавъшаго** – urges us to prepare for the philanthropy of the One Who summoned us (and so accords with the overall topic of Sermon 22, discussing the parable of the wedding feast), while the other, in W and G, оугодимь urges us to please it.

The Greek verb αἰδέομαι, however, seems to imply here feelings of religious awe when encountering God's philanthropy. Both Slavonic variants are therefore not appropriate parallels for it. In other texts αἰδέομαι is translated with **говѣти** 'be in awe of God', **оубоꙗти сѧ** 'get frightened' or with verbs deriving from **срамъ**

[37] Yet **добро· Горьнна** does not look so similar to **доброгл҃сьна**. The first root in the two variants is indubitably the same, -**добр**-, but the second differs, even though has the same initial and final letters, i.e. **г**…**на**. One of my anonymous reviewers rightly pointed out that the passage is missing in the other two copies studied here and specified the reconstructed form which I had not ventured to suggest myself except in the translation of the passage above, since a similar proposal of mine was previously refuted in a different context. What follows is his/her suggestion, with which I fully agree: "The **-ьн-** is definitely a suffix, **-гор-** must relate to **гръло** 'throat' with the vocalized **ъ** according to East Slavic rules, and **ч** results from the first palatalization. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the letter **ч** is part of the suffix *-*īk*- > **-ьц-** (> **-ьч(ьн)**-), present in the diminutive ***гръльце** 'small throat' (cf. **кольце, зръньце** etc.). The archetype can therefore be established as ***доброгръльчьноу**". I can only add that this adjective, when attached to the noun for "turtledove," produces – if not a paregmenon, then at least a clear paronomastic effect.

and стыдъ, i.e., verbs for being ashamed[38]. Supposedly, the initial form of the word was оуговѣти, but it was probably not familiar to the copyists and was therefore transformed according to their understanding of the text.

There are no variants in the other excerpt containing the same lexeme – in Sermon 25. This sermon is dedicated to the love for God, but it also discusses the parable of the Canaanite woman and her faith. The following words (S f. 124a10-21) are actually hers, as taken from Homily 52 on Matthew[39]:

дръзновениꙗ же и крѣпости не имамъ· нъ и стꙑда пълна юсмь· обаче не исто бестоудьıю· за молитвѫ прѣдълагаю· оуготовитъ ми дръзновенїю·	παῤῥησίαν μὲν καὶ ἰσχὺν, φησὶν, οὐδαμῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰσχύνης γέμω· ἀλλ‘ ὅμως αὐτὴν τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν ἀντὶ ἱκετηρίας προβάλλομαι αἰδεσθήσεταί μου τὴν παῤῥησίαν.

The last clause in Old Bulgarian – **оуготовитъ ми дръзновенїю·** ‘he will prepare my confidence’[40] – reveals a certain meaning even though it does not coincide with the patristic quotation, αἰδεσθήσεταί μου τὴν παῤῥησίαν ‘he will respect my confidence’. But the direct context and the context of the whole story about the Canaanite woman confirms that the word is about the attitude of Jesus Christ to the boldness of the woman who dares not only to speak but to insist on her request. Here, an initial form **оуговѣти** is also plausible and contributes to a better understanding of the text.

If the last two reconstructions are right, the verb **оуговѣти** used to have a broader meaning, close in its polysemic spectrum to αἰδέομαι. Both source and target verbs were used to express feelings not only of humans toward God or toward one another, but also of God toward humans. The supposed parallel αἰδέομαι: **оуговѣти** was not exceptional for Constantine of Preslav, but had broader distribution[41].

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[38] Cf. for example http://gorazd.org/gulliver/?recordId=13431 [15 VII 2024].

[39] IOHANNES CHRYSOSTOMUS, *In Matthaeum*, hom. LII, [in:] *PG*, vol. LVIII, ed. J.P. MIGNE, Parisiis 1882, col. 520.28–31.

[40] One of my anonymous reviewers rightly observed that such a translation could not be correct, as “the form **дръзновенїю** is in the dative case, while **оуготовити** governs the accusative,” but we need it here as a starting point to lead us to the reconstructed form of the verb, which requires a Dative complement (cf. the examples given in И.И. СРЕЗНЕВСКІЙ, *Матеріалы…*, p. 1134).

[41] Cf. for instance **оуговѣти** in *ibidem*; F. MIKLOSICH, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum. Emendatum auctum*, Vienna 1865, p. 1036, especially the first reference, as well as говѣти as parallel of the same Greek verb in И. ХРИСТОВ, *Гръцко-църковнославянски речник, съставен въз основа на Речник на църковнославянския език от архимандрит д-р Атанасий Бончев*, Света Гора 2019, p. 43.

Conclusion

Lexical reconstruction is a small but important step towards the establishment of an Urtext. Any diachronic dictionary would benefit from it. Regardless of the exact purpose or degree of the lexical reconstruction, it broadens the scholarly understanding of a work and makes a medieval text more accessible to the modern reader. Lexical reconstruction allows for a clearer understanding and explanation of discrepancies between a source and its translation or between one manuscript copy and another.

The three-fold methodology described here results from a comprehensive analysis of UE according to its four full extant copies and the intertextual relations within it. Future studies may further test its effectiveness and refine its details. Its main advantage is that it opens possibilities for lexical reconstruction in texts with no attested sources. It demonstrates that the identification of exact quotations, and ideally of other references, can provide scholars with additional source material as a corrective, and that a closer look at variant readings and direct context is also worthy of attention. The most important point is that in any case scholars need to mark reconstructed lexical forms and remain attentive to their relationship to what is attested.

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The Relations between the Komitopules and the Peoples of the Steppes of Eastern Europe A Vain Hope for an Alliance*

Abstract. Medieval Bulgaria maintained relations with the Pontic nomadic communities. The times of the rule of the Komitopules were not exceptional in this respect. In the face of a difficult war with Byzantium, the Hungarians and Pechenegs could prove to be valuable allies. Relations with the former deteriorated during the construction of the feudal kingdom of the Arpads, associated with Latin Christianity. Only John Skylitzes writes about the would-be alliance of the Bulgarians with the Pecheneg tribes. It was supposed to take place in 1017, but the Pechenegs gave up supporting the Bulgarians. The reason could have been the actions of the Byzantines, who, by intervening in Black Sea Khazaria or exerting diplomatic pressure, could have persuaded the Pechenegs to withdraw. It cannot be ruled out that the Pechenegs were threatened by Rus' or actions taken by Bolesław I the Brave, who after the mission of St. Bruno entered into closer relations with the Pechenegs. After all, Bulgaria after 1017 could not count on the support of potential northern allies.

Keywords: Bulgaria and Byzantium in 10th–11th century, Komitopules (*Komitopouloi*) dynasty, Hungarians, Pechenegs, Khazaria, Rus', Bolesław I the Brave, Bruno of Querfurt

The history of medieval Bulgaria is strongly linked with the peoples of the Pontic-Caspian steppes. This concerned both subsequent Bulgarian states at that time. Already Asparukh (681–701) and his people had abandoned their steppe

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homeland due to the expansion of the Khazars. The immediate and distant successors of this khan not only closely observed the political changes in this part of Eastern Europe. By making alliances with selected countries and peoples of the western edge of the Great Steppe or acting against them, they achieved political profits. In this way, the eastern periphery of the fallen Avar Khaganate could become part of the Bulgarian state. The diplomatic activity of Simeon the Great (893–927) can also be appreciated. The first Bulgarian emperor not only had to defend himself against a surprise attack by the Hungarians, but he also managed to use another steppe people, the Pechenegs, to counter Constantinople's diplomatic attempts to undermine the integrity of his country's northern borderlands. Similar goals were faced by the rulers of the reborn Bulgaria after 1185. The Asenids used the Cumans to oppose the Byzantines and Latins. On the other hand, the power of the Chinggisids hung over the heirs of the Asenids like the sword of Damocles. The rulers of Tărnovo had to reckon with a direct threat from the Golden Horde, and even with the attempts of the mighty Nogay and his family to their throne[1].

Searching for allies among the steppe peoples

During the reign of the Komitopules (ca. 976–1018), Bulgaria's contacts with the peoples inhabiting the western part of the Great Steppe do not seem to be as spectacular as in the times of Simeon or after 1185. When the Byzantines conquered the eastern part of the Bulgarian state in 971, its western peripheries retained some forms of independence. The sons of *komes* Nicholas, who ruled them, cannot be accused of passivity in diplomacy. The deputies sent to Quedlinburg in 973, presumably on their own initiative, maintained Bulgaria's earlier contacts with the powers of Europe at that time[2]. Samuel and his brothers tried to take advantage of the new opportunities opened up by the growing interest of the rulers

[1] See the collection of articles entitled *Българи и Хазари през ранното средновековие (Bulgarians and Khazars in the Early Middle Ages)*, ed. Ц. Степанов, София 2003, *passim*; П.Л. Павлов, *Българо-хазарски взаимоотношения и паралели*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 114–141; Ts. Stepanov, *Bulgars and the Steppe Empire in the Early Middle Ages. The Problem of the "Others"*, Leiden–Boston 2010 [= ECEEMA, 8]; И. Божилов, *България и Печенезите (896–1018)*, ИП 29.2, 1973, p. 37–62. In a broader perspective: Хр. Димитров, *България и номадите до началото на XI век*, Пловдив 2011; M.J. Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum. Z dziejów stosunków bułgarsko-bizantyńskich w latach 893–927*, Łódź 2013 [= BL, 15], p. 90–92. The problem of relation to the second Bulgarian Empire was presented by i.a. I. Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars. Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365*, Cambridge 2005; F. Dall'aglio, *The Military Alliance between the Cumans and Bulgaria from the Establishment of the Second Bulgarian Kingdom to the Mongol Invasion*, AEMA 16, 2006, p. 29–54.

[2] This is confirmed by the testimony of Ibrahim ibn Jakub, who in the previous decade met the Bulgarian envoys at Otto's court in Magdeburg. See: *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jakub de itinere Slavico, que traditur apus Al-Bekri*, rec. Th. Kowalski, Cracoviae 1946 [= *MPH*, n.s., 1], p. 51.

of the Western Empire in the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, and the tradition of contacts with the steppe peoples inherited from their Preslav predecessors. It seems unlikely that the Bulgarians who came to Quedlinburg represented their former emperor Boris II. The context of the sources shows that the Bulgarians appeared before the emperor Otto I the Great (936–973) together with the Hungarians and representatives of other peoples of this part of Europe[3]. The German chroniclers did not explain the purposes of these legations and instead limited themselves only to a general statement about their peaceful finale, therefore it was rather out of the question to obtain the support of the emperor of the West in a possible war with Byzantium. This is understandable because of Otto's peaceful relations with John I Tzimiskes (969–976) after Theophano's arrival in the west. It is possible that the Bulgarians and Hungarians jointly wanted to establish bonds of friendship (*amicitia*) with the emperor, analogous to the relations of Otto I with the Polish Mieszko (ca. 960–992), the Bohemian Bolesław II the Pious (967–999), the Danish Harald "Bluetooth" (958–987) or even with the Yaropolk from Kiev (972–978). In these circumstances, the leaders of the Hungarians and Bulgarians emphasised their political autonomy between the territorially undefined spheres of influence of Byzantium and the Germany in Central and Eastern Europe. Such a demonstration was probably important for the Hungarians and Bulgarians, especially after the blows they suffered in the recent past (the defeat at the Lech River in 955 or the dethronement of Boris II in 971). It was difficult for the Byzantine envoys, who were also present at the congress in Quedlinburg, to oppose such contacts directly before Otto, especially since the centre of gravity of Constantinople's policy had clearly shifted to the eastern frontier[4].

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[3] *Lamperti Herselfeldensis Annales*, 973, [in:] *MGH.SRG*, rec. O. Holder-Egger, Hannoverae–Lipsiae 1894, p. 42: *Otto imperator senior cum iuniore venit Quidelinburg ibique celebravit sanctum pascha X. Kal. Aprilis. Illucque venerunt legati plurimarum gentium, id est Romanorum, Graecorum, Beneventorum, Italorum, Ungariorum, Danorum, Sclavorum, Bulgariorum atque Ruscorum, cum magnis muneribus*; *Thietmari Chronicon*, II, 31, [in:] *MGH.SRG*, Nova Series, rec. R. Holtzmann, Berlin 1935 (cetera: Thietmar), p. 76: *Dehinc ivit ad Quidilingeburg proximum pascha divinis laudibus humanisque peragens gaudiis. Huc confluebant inperatoris edictu Miseco atque Bolizlavo duces et legati Grecorum, Beneventorum, Ungariorum, Bulgariorum, Danorum et Sclaviorum cum omnibus regni totius primaries; consummatisque pacifice cunctis, didati muneribus magnis reversi sunt ad sua laetantes*.

[4] See Хр. Димитров, *Българо-унгарски отношения (927–1019)*, ИП 50–51.2, 1994–1995, p. 15–16; T.C. Longhis, *Les ambassades Byzantines en Occident. Depuis la foundation des États barbares jusqu' aux Croisades (407–1096)*, Athenes 1980, p. 181, 206–207, 209, 215; V. Gjuzelev, *Bułgaria a państwa i narody Europy Środkowej w X w*., trans. K. Marinow, [in:] *Byzantina Europaea. Księga Jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Waldemarowi Ceranowi*, ed. M. Kokoszko, M.J. Leszka, Łódź 2007 [= BL, 11], p. 133–139. The term "amicitia" in the political context of the time had a wide meaning, ranging from the supervision of the ruler of the Reich over neighbouring princes to relations signifying a kind of patronage of the emperor of the West with friendly monarchs. See L. Tyszkiewicz, „*Amicitia*" *jako stosunek wzajemny między państwami wczesnego średniowiecza*, [in:] *Niemcy–Polska w średniowieczu*, ed. J. Strzelczyk, Poznań 1986, p. 265–269; Th. Zotz, *Amicitia und Discordia*.

This relative stabilisation of the spheres of influence and interests of both empires would soon come to an end following the premature deaths of Otto II (983) and John Tzimiskes (976). The lands between Germany and the Balkans clash with recent hegemons. An uprising breaks out in the Slavic Polabian, Bohemia and Denmark contest the power of the empress regents: Adelaide and Theophano. The Bulgarians openly oppose the young Basil II, who begins his personal rule. His primary political goal is to complete the conquest of Bulgaria. Under these circumstances, the alliance with Hungary became increasingly important for the Komitopules, although its maintenance proved to be as difficult as during the reign of Peter I (927–969). This is documented by the changing fate of the marriage of Samuel's successor – Gabriel Radomir (1014–1015) with an anonymous Hungarian princess. The genesis and disintegration of this relationship at the turn of the 11th century have been given numerous interpretations. This is not facilitated by the fact that we learn about this event from the gloss of Michael of Devol to the chronicle of John Skylitzes, written at the beginning of the twelfth century[5]. It is most often assumed that Gabriel Radomir's wife was the daughter of Géza I (ca. 970–997), and the reason for her being sent back to her homeland was the collapse of the alliance and the philo-Byzantine policy of Stephen the Great (997–1038)[6]. There have also been suggestions by researchers (e.g. J. Leśny) that Gabriel Radomir's wife may have come from another ruling clan. Its marginalisation or liquidation put an end to the traditional political organisation of the Hungarians. Certainly, at the same time, the relations between Stephen I and the Bulgarians deteriorated. The liquidation of the Komitopuls state by Basil II in 1018 resulted not only in a common Hungarian-Byzantine border. It also meant the

Zu einer Neuerscheinung über das Verhältnis von Königtum und Adel in frühottonischer Zeit, FOG 16.1, 1989, p. 169–175; V. Von Epp, *Rituale frühmittelalterlicher "amicitia"*, [in:] *Formen und Funktionen öffentlicher Kommunikation im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart 2001, p. 11–24; L. Körntgern, *The Emperor and his Friend: the Ottonian realm in the year 1000*, [in:] *Europe around the year 1000*, ed. P. Urbańczyk, Warsaw 2001, p. 465–488; A. Pleszczyński, *"Amicitia" a sprawa polska. Uwagi o stosunku Piastów do Cesarstwa w X i na początku XI wieku*, [in:] *Ad fontes. O naturze źródła historycznego*, ed. S. Rosik, P. Wiszewski, Wrocław 2004, p. 49–58; M. Wołoszyn, *Zwei Episoden aus der Geschichte der polnisch-byzantinischen Kontakte des 10. bis 12. Jahrhunderts*, [in:] *Byzantine et Slavica Cracoviensia*, vol. V, *Byzantium, New Peoples, New Powers. The Byzantino-Slav Contact Zone, from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. M. Kaimakamova, M. Salamon, M. Smorąg-Różycka, Cracov 2007, p. 163–175.

[5] B. Prokić, *Die Zusätze in der Handschrift des Johannes Skylitzes codex Vindobonensis hist. graec. LXXIV. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sogennanten westbulgarischen Reiches*, München 1906, No. 24 (60), 62, 64, p. 31, 36; *Ioannis Scylitzae Synopsis Historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn, Berlin–New York 1973 [= *CFHB.SBe*] (cetera: IS), p. 350, 56–59, p. 409, 89, 95–96, p. 411.

[6] G. Gyòrffy, *Święty Stefan I. Król Węgier i jego dzieło*, trans. T. Kapturkiewicz (after the edition *of Istvan király és müve*, Budapest 1977), Warszawa 2003, p. 342–348; Хр. Димитров, *Българо-унгарски отношения…*, p. 17; С. Георгиева, *Брачният живот на Гаврил Радомир – любов или политика*, ИП 49.1–2, 2013, p. 3–19.

revival of ancient communication routes in the 11th century used by diplomats, pilgrims and merchants following the land route through Hungary to Constantinople[7]. The evolution of Bulgarian-Hungarian contacts was unlikely to result from the randomness of the political situation. It can be assumed that it was the result of cultural changes in the northern neighbour of the Bulgarian state. A number of factors (the Christianisation and sedentarisation of the Hungarian peoples, the initiation by Géza I's successor of the construction of a feudal monarchy modelled on the Frankish one) mean that the relations between the Komitopuls and the Arpads after 976 should be treated as a separate research problem beyond the scope of this study.

In the case of the other steppe peoples, Bulgaria could only have contact with the Pechenegs in the times of the Komitopul's. After the fall of the *Pax Khazarica* in the 960s, they certainly became the dominant steppe people north of the Black Sea. Other ethnic groups such as the Alans, Uzes or Cumans, due to the remote location of their then settlements or the lack of factors conducive to closer contacts with Bulgaria, were definitely out of the question.

The Pechenegs had great military potential, which allowed them to dominate the Pontic steppes long before the fall of the Khazar Khaganate. As Constantine Porphyrogenitus emphasised, for most of his neighbours – Rus', Hungarians or Byzantium – the Pechenegs remain or potentially can become a dangerous neighbour[8]. A hundred years ago, their importance for the history of early medieval Central and Eastern Europe was exposed by Carlile A. Macartney (1895–1978):

> Without the Pechenegs, the Magyars might never have invaded Hungary, the northern and southern branches of the Slavs would never have been divided; without them, the early Principality of Kiev might have grown so powerful that in the tenth century it would have sacked Byzantium and destroyed the main centre of European civilization; without them, Alexius Komnenos might have single-handedly repulsed the Seljuk Turks, and the crusades could have been postponed or even abandoned altogether[9].

Even if we admit that his words exaggerate the importance of this people, in the part referring to the relations between the Pechenegs and the Bulgarians, they correspond to reality. This was further confirmed by the events of the end of the 9th century, when the Pechenegs, persuaded by Simeon's envoys, successfully

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[7] J. Leśny, *Państwo Samuela a jego zachodni sąsiedzi*, BP 2, 1985, p. 88–96; G. Gyòrffy, *Święty Stefan I…*, p. 202–218.

[8] Constantine Porphyrogennitus, *De administrando imperio*, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins, Washington 1967 [= *CFHB.SW*] (cetera: *DAI*), p. 2–5, 16–28, 50–52. He quotes the Hungarian chiefs of the early tenth century, who refuse to fight with the Pechenegs because their country is large, and they are numerous. See 48, 148, 156, E. Malamut, *L'image byzantine des Petchénègues*, BZ 88.1, 1995, p. 107–115.

[9] E.A. Macartney, *The Pechenegs*, SEER 23, 1929, p. 342.

attacked the steppe dwellings of the Hungarians, then allied with Emperor Leo VI[10]. Their involvement changed the course of the war for the benefit of the Bulgarians.

Although we do not have a Bulgarian equivalent of *DAI*, it should be emphasised that in this work, unlike the Pechenegs' contacts with the Hungarians, Rus and Uzes, relations with the Bulgarians are presented separately. It was emphasised that due to the reasons for their close proximity, the nomads could be a dangerous opponent for the Bulgarians. For these reasons, the latter strived to always keep peace with the Pechenegs. Due to the silence of other later sources on this issue, it can be assumed that the successors of Simeon the Great probably maintained peaceful relations with the Pechenegs, and that the Komitopules followed this tradition[11]. The image of the Pechenegs as "infidels, godless" violating the rights of the invaders, ravaging the lands of Christian Bulgarians, could have been created in the second half of the 11th century at the earliest. This probably took place after their arrival in the lands located south of the lower Danube. The Bulgarians, as subjects of basileus, suffered in a series of Pecheneg wars[12].

Indeed, the Pechenegs were hardly likely to qualify as predictable allies. Various factors contributed to the fact that they abandoned their allies at a critical moment, sometimes going over to the enemy side. Such unreliability to some extent was the result of the lack of cohesion of their political structure. The internal diversity of the Pecheneg's federation and its complicated hierarchy of prestige forced the Byzantines to negotiate separately with the individual peoples of the "Patzinakia". The absence of a centralised authority, and the loose structure of the federation divided into tribal and ancestral segments, all these factors were definitely not conducive to the development of more lasting relations. An additional obstacle was the location of the core of the Komitopules state in the mountainous part of the western Balkans. Contact with the Pechenegs could have been difficult in circumstances when the Byzantines occupied fortresses on the lower Danube. Despite the above difficulties, the Komitopules had some possibility of winning over the Pechenegs against Basil II[13].

The Pecheneg allies of the Bulgarians (1016–1017)

In the chronicle of John Skylitzes, the theme of the alliance between the Bulgarians and the Pechenegs, initiated during the reign of John Vladislav (1015–1018), occurs only once. According to the chronicler's account:

[10] M.J. Leszka, *Symeon I Wielki a Bizancjum*…, p. 90–93.

[11] *DAI*, p. 52, 10–13. See И. Божилов, *България и Печенезите*…, p. 40–41, 45–46, 52–55, 59–61.

[12] В. Тбпкова-Заимова, А. Милтенова, *Историко-апокалптичната книжнина във Византия и в средновековна България*, София 1996, p. 198, 202; A. Paroń, *Pechenegs. Nomads in the Political and Cultural Landscape of Medieval Europe*, trans. Th. Anessi, Leiden–Boston 2019, p. 334–341.

[13] A. Paroń, *Pechenegs. Nomads in*…, p. 159–160.

> AM 6524, [Emperor Basil II, Spring-Summer 1016] in the fourteenth year from the indiction, the emperor left the capital and went to Triadica, where he encamped in front of the fortress of Pernikos and besieged it. […] He received a letter from the commander of Dorostolon, Tzotzikios, son of the patrician Theudatos of Iberia, in which he reported that Kracras had gathered a large army and joined forces with John. As soon as he enlisted the cooperation of the Patzinaks, he intended to storm Roman lands. Alarmed by this letter, the emperor returned in haste, capturing and burning the fortress of Vosograd on the way, as well as taking Berroia. Having ravaged and burned the village surrounding Ostrovos and Moliskos, he refrained from further expeditions, as it was reported to him that the attack on Roman territory, planned by Krakras and John, had been thwarted by the Patzinaks, who had not provided them with allies[14].

This alliance was so dangerous for the Byzantines that their ruler was ready to change his war plans against the Bulgarians. The direction and purpose of a potential Pecheneg invasion was not precisely defined by Skylitzes. However, it can be assumed that since the warning was given to the emperor by the *strategos* of Dristra, the invaders planned to move south to the Roman lands after crossing the Danube. On the Bulgarian side, Krakras was responsible for coordinating these military operations, and he negotiated an alliance with the Pechenegs. This excellent commander was not only the commander of the Pernik fortress, which he had so far successfully defended against the Byzantines. He was also subordinate to other leaders of a group of strongholds located on the eastern borders of the Komitopules state, which gave him the status of an autonomous grand governor[15]. Skylitzes did not specify what arguments the Bulgarians could use to persuade the Pechenegs to form an alliance. John Vladislav had considerable material resources

[14] IS, p. 355, 11–14: Ἑξακισχιλιοστῷ δὲ πεντακοσιοστῷ εἰκοστῷ τετάρτῳ ἐτει ἰνδκτιῶνος τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης, ἀπάρας τῆς βασιλίδος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπεισιν εἰς Τριάδιτζαν, καί τὸ φρούριον Πέρνικον περικαθίσας ἐπολιόρκει, […] p. 356, 27–36: ἐδέξατο γὰρ καὶ γράμμα τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἐν Δοροστοόλῳ Τζοτζικίου, τοῦ νίοῦ τοῦ πατρικίου Θευδάτου τοῦ Ἰβηρος, ὡς ὁ Κρακρᾶς λαὸν ὅτι πλεῖστον ἀθροίσας καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ ἐνωθείς, προσλαβόμενοι δὲ καὶ Πατζινάκας, μέλλουσιν εἴσβολὴν κατὰ Ῥωμανίας ποιήσασθαι. τούτῳ τῷ γράμματι θορυβηθεὶς ἐπανῄει διὰ ταχέων. ἐν τῷ παριέναι δὲ τό τε φρούριον εἶλε τὰ Βοσόγραδα καὶ ἐνέπρησε, καὶ τὴν Βέρροιαν ἐπικτύσας, δηώσας δὲ καὶ κατερειπώσας τὰ πέριξ Ὀστροβοῦ καὶ Μολισκοῦ, ἔστη τοῦ προωτέρω ἰέναι. ἀπηγγέλη γὰρ αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ μελετωμένη τῷ Κρακρᾷ καὶ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔφοδος ἐνεπδίσθη, τῶν Πατζινάκων μὴ δόντων συμμαχίαν αὐτοῖς; John Skylitzes, *A Synopsis of Byzantine History*, *811–1057*, ed. et trans. J. Wortley, Cambridge 2010, p. 336, 337.

[15] Pernik, by virtue of its location on the upper Struma River, near the sensitive mountain passes of Stara Planina, was an important staging point on the old Roman *Via Militaris* from Sardica (Traditza) to Adrianople. Its administrator presumably also monitored the defence of the eastern borderlands of the Komitopul state. See *PmbZ* no. 24188: *s.v.* „Κρακράς"; Г.Н. Николов, *Централизм и регионализъм в ранносредновековна България*, София 2005, p. 141–143, 163, 167–169; idem, *Кракра – защитникът на Перник и неговата роля българската история началото на XI век*, [in:] *Кракра*, vol. I, ed. В. Крумова, София–Перник 2020, p. 9–25; А. Николов, *Кракра – герой или колаборационист?*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 51–58. About the defensive qualities of the Pernik fortress during the Komitopul era. See О. Рачев, *Средновековнят Перник и Кракра*, [in:] *ibidem*, p. 59–67.

inherited from his predecessors, and the possibility of one of his numerous sons marrying the daughter of one of the leaders of the Pechenegs cannot be ruled out. In the history of Bulgarian diplomacy, there was a tradition of such projects, such marriages[16].

Constantine Porphyrogenitus[17]	**John Skylitzes**[18]
The whole of Patzinacia is divided into eight provinces (θέματα) with the same number of great princes […]. The eight provinces are divided into forty districts, and these have minor princelings over them. that is to say, lie beyond the Dnieper river towards the eastern and northern parts that face Uzia and Chazaria and Alania and Cherson and the rest of the Regions. The other four clans lie on this side of the Dnieper river, towards the western and northern parts, that is to say, that the province of Giazichopon is neighbour to Bulgaria,	The Patzinak people are Scythians belonging to the so-called "Royal Blackbirds". There are numerous and no other people of the Scyths is able to withstand them alone. They are divided into thirteen tribes (γενεαί), all of which share the same common name, but each tribe has its own name inherited from its own ancestor and chief. They graze on the plains that stretch beyond the Danube from the Borysthenon River to Pannonia, because they are nomads who always prefer to live in tents.

[16] John Skylitzes wrote about the treasury in Ohrid, seized by Basil II in 1018, which consisted of, among other things, precious metals and coins. Quoted: IS, p. 359, 14–16. According to Patriarch Nicholas I the Mystic (912–925), Simeon the Great was to make a proposal of family affinity to the Pechenegs' leaders. See *Nicolai I Constantinopolitani Patriarchae Epistoli*, no. 9, ed. I.G. WESTERINK, Washington 1981 [= *CFHB.SW*], p. 58, 111–112, p. 60, 1–3.

[17] *DAI*, p. 166, 15–19, p. 168, 39–49: ᾽Ιστέον ὅτι πᾶσα ἡ Πατζινακία εἰς θέματα ὀκτὼ διαιρεῖται, ἔχουσα καὶ μεγάλους ἄρχοντας τοσούτους. Τὰ δὲ ὀκτὼ θέματα διαιροῦνται εἰς τεσσαράκοντα μέχρη, καὶ ἔχουσι καὶ ἐλάττονας ἄρχοντας. p. 168, l. 39–49: Αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι τέσσαρες γενεαὶ κεῖνται ἔνθεν τοῦ Δανάπρεως ποταμοῦ πρὸς τὰ δυτικώτερα καὶ ἀρκτικώτερα μέρη, τουτέστιν τὸ θέμα Γιαζιχοπὸν πλησιάζει τῇ Βουλγαρίᾳ, τὸ δὲ θέμα τοῦ κάτω Γύλα πλησιάζει τῇ Τουρκίᾳ, τὸ δὲ θέμα τοῦ Χαραβόη πλησιάζει τῇ ῾Ρωσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ θέμα ᾽Ιαβδιερτὶμ πλησιάζει τοῖς ὑποφόροις χωρίοις τῆς ῾Ρωσίας, τοῖς τε Οὐλτίνοις καὶ Δερβλενίνοις καὶ Λενζενίνοις καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Σκλάβοις. ᾽Απώκισται δὲ ἡ Πατζινακία ἐκ μὲν Οὐζίας καὶ Χαζαρίας ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν πέντε, ἐκ δὲ ᾽Αλανίας ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν ἕξ, ἀπὸ δὲ Μορδίας ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν δέκα, ἀπὸ δὲ ῾Ρωσίας ὁδὸν ἡμερᾶς μιᾶς, ἀπὸ δὲ Τουρκίας ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν τεσσάρων, ἀπὸ δὲ Βουλγαριάς ὁδὸν ἡμέρας τὸ ἥμισυ, καὶ εἰς Χερσῶνα μέν ἐστιν ἔγγιστα, εἰς δὲ τὴν Βόσπορον πλησιέστερον.

[18] IS, p. 455, 32–39: Τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Πατζινάκων Σκυθικὸν ὑπάρχον, ἀπο τῶν λεγομένων βασιλείων Σκυθῶν, μέγα τέ ἐστι καὶ πολυάνθρωπον, πρὸς ὃ οὐδὲ ἕν αὐτὸ καθ᾽ αὑτὸ Σκυθικὸν γένος ἀντιστῆναι δύναται. διῄρηται δὲ εἰς τρικαὶδεκα γενεάς, αἵτινες καλοῦνται μὲν πᾶσαι τῷ κοινῷ ὀνόματι, ἔχουσι δ᾽ ἑκάστη καὶ ἴδιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυ τῆς προγόνου καὶ ἀρχηγοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν κληρωσαμένη. νέμονται δὲ τὰς πέραν ῞Ιστρου ἀπὸ τοῦ Βορυσθένους ποταμοῦ καὶ μέχρι Παννονίας ἡπλωμένας πεδιάδας, νομάδες τε ὄντες καὶ τὸν σκηνίτην διὰ παντὸς ἀσπαζόμενοι βίον; JOHN SKYLITZES, A *Synopsis*…, p. 426–427.

the province of Kato Gyla is neighbour to Turkey, the province of Charaboï is neighbour to Russia, and the province of Iabdiertim is neighbour to Russia, to the Oultines and Dervlenines and Lenzenines and the rest of the Slavs. Patzinacia is distant a five days journey from Uzia and Chazaria, a six days journey from Alania, a ten days journey from Mordia, one days journey of Russia, four days journey from Turkey, half a day's from Bulgaria; to Cherson its very near and to Bosporus closer still.	

Under these circumstances, the combined forces of the Bulgarians and Pechenegs, invading eastern Thrace, could cut off the army of Basil II, which was then fighting in the western Balkans, from Constantinople. The successful attack by the allies had a chance of success, which could have deprived the Byzantines of their military initiative, noticeable after the defeat of the Bulgarians at Belasitsa in July 1014. In the end, the implementation of the planned alliance did not come to fruition, the Pechenegs gave up the attack on the Byzantines. Skylitzes does not specify whether this was due to the actions of the *strategos* Tzotzikios or of unidentified Byzantine diplomats. Bishop Michael of Devol, an interpolator to his chronicle, recording the deeds and images of the Komitopules, also remains silent on this subject. Less than a year later, after the events described, when John Vladislav died at the walls of Dyrrachion in February 1018, the Bulgarians soon capitulated.

Potentially, the alliance with the Pechenegs could have changed the course of the war between the Bulgarians and Byzantium, so there is a need to look at the circumstances of this bold project. Due to the internal diversity of the Pecheneg confederation, it remains important to establish more detailed information about the identity of Bulgaria's allies.

This factor may have played a role in the collapse of the project of John Vladislav and Krakras. We have two accounts by Byzantine authors that describe the residences of the Pechenegs and their political structures in the 10th–11th centuries.

The first is a fragment of *DAI* written before 959. The description of the Pecheneg land contained in it probably refers to the second quarter of the 10th century. The author of the second was John Skylitzes, who completed his chronicle probably after 1070. His account refers to the location of the Pechenegs before 1040. There are significant differences between the two sources regarding the location of the Pechenegs' lands, the number of their tribes, and their political structures. They were probably due to new circumstances caused by the migration of the Uzes,

the expansion of Rus' or civil wars among the Pechenegs. It is debatable which of these descriptions was closest to the real organization of "Patzinakia" in the years 1016–1017.

Some researchers suggest that the structure of the Pechenegs described by Constantine Porphyrogenitus changed quite quickly, possibly even at the end of the 10th century. The reason was the collapse of the Khazar Khaganate after the expeditions of Sviatoslav Igorevich after 965[19]. However, there is no direct confirmation that the changes also affected their western group, especially the tribes bordering Bulgaria. We have only a brief description of the Pecheneg country written at the beginning of the eleventh century. It is a letter of the German missionary – Brun of Querfurt written shortly before his death in 1009 and addressed to king Henry II (1002–1024). Brun, after his stay at the courts of the rulers of Hungary, Poland and Rus', went on a mission to the Pechenegs at the beginning of 1008. He stayed among them for five months (February–August), trying to convince them to adopt Christianity. In his letter, he informs the king about missionary successes in the Pecheneg land. For the needs of the proselytes, he ordained a bishop, and he also received good news about new Christians in three of the four parts of their country: *Qinque menses in eo populo stetimus*, *tres partes circuiuimus*, *quortam non tetigimus*[20]. Brun does not mention any of the lands of the Pechenegs by name, but according to his account, in 1008 it consisted of four parts (*partes*). This is confirmed by the earlier account of Constantine Porphyrogenetus, according to which the western half of "Patzinakia" was divided into parts he called "provinces (θέματα)": "Giazichopon (Γιαζιχοπὸν)", "Kato Gylia (κάτω Γύλα)", "Charaboï (Χαραβόη)", "Iabtiertim (Ἰαβδιερτὶμ)". Brun managed to visit three of the "provinces/partes", certainly those that were adjacent to Rus' and Hungary, i.e. the first three from the list included in the *DAI*. He omitted the fourth "province", but did not explain the reasons, stating only that unspecified envoys of the leader (*de qua meliorum nuntii ad nos uenerunt*) had reached him from there[21]. It could have been in connection with missionary progress or a positive change in the circumstances of their implementation[22].

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[19] See A. PAROŃ, *Pechenegs. Nomads in…*, p. 281–292, who even states that their previous system was "shattered" and they underwent a significant displacement.

[20] *Brunonis Querfurtensis Epistola ad Henricum regem*, ed. J. KARWASIŃSKA, [in:] *MPH*, s.n., vol. III–IV, Warszawa 1974 (cetera: BRUNO), p. 100, l.

[21] BRUNO, p. 100, 7.

[22] J. DUDEK, *List Brunona z Kwerfurtu do Henryka II i „De admistrando imperio" (cap. 37) Konstantyna Porfirogenety. Próba rekonstrukcji trasy misyjnej Brunona do kraju Pieczyngów*, [in:] *Bruno z Kwerfurtu. Osoba – dzieło – epoka*, ed. M. DYGO, W. FAŁKOWSKI, Pułtusk 2010, p. 241–254; IDEM, *Bruno of Querfurt's Mission to "Patzinacia" (1008). New Information about the Bulgarian-Byzantine War?*, Bsl 3, 2010, p. 47–57. Cf. A. PAROŃ, *Brunona z Kwerfurtu wyprawa do Pieczyngów – aspekty misyjne i polityczne*, SA 54, 2013, p. 98, fn. no. 1, p. 114, fn. 72; S. KOLDITZ, *Petschenegen-Kiptschaken-Tataren. Beobachtungen zu grieschischen un polnischen Quellennachrichten für die Geschichte der Slavia Asiatica*, [in:] *Geschichte der Slavia Asiatica. Quellenkundliche Probleme*, ed. Ch. LÜBKE, I. MIFTAKHOVA, W. VON SCHELICHA, Leipzig 2013, p. 179.

According to the author of *DAI*, the "province" bordering Bulgaria was called "Giazichopon". What makes it difficult to interpret this account is determining what the border between the Bulgarians and the Pechenegs could have looked like in the 10th century. Constantine Porphyrogenitus is not very consistent. In one of his descriptions, it appears to have ran at an unspecified distance north of the Danube delta; in the other, it clearly states that the "province of Giazichopon" bordered with the Bulgarian Dristra, i.e. along the river[23]. Despite these differences, it can be assumed that at the beginning of the 11th century there was still the "province of Giazipochon" adjacent to the lower Danube. Its northern borders have not been specified, but it can be assumed that in the west it ended at the height of Dristra, while in the east it probably reached the region called "Onglos", and in the early modern era "Budjak/Budjak". Both terms referred to the land located north of the Danube delta, surrounded by the currents of the lower Prut and Dniester[24]. The term "Giazichopon", as researchers have been unanimously emphasising for almost a century, was of Turkish origin and presumably reflected the status of the group inhabiting it in the hierarchy of the Pecheneg community[25].

Undertaking a large-scale war against Byzantium was beyond the military capabilities of one of the eight Pecheneg groups. The Bulgarians themselves certainly sought to use the combined forces of the steppe coalition partners in the conflict with Basil II. If the whole of "Patzinakia" could not be involved, then the tribes of the western part of the country were involved. Brun's letter shows that the Pechenegs met at assemblies (*consilia*), in which, in addition to the nobles (*maiores terrae*), ordinary warriors (*maior populus*) also participated. They discussed relations with neighbours or matters related to various aspects of the life of their community[26]. The planned invasion across the Danube in 1017 could be presented to the participants of such a gathering of the four western tribes of "Patzinakia". It remains an open question whether support for the Bulgarians and the start of the war against Basil II was accepted by such a gathering, or whether the Pecheneg leaders abandoned this project as a result of new, unforeseen events.

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[23] *DAI*, p. 54, 5–7, p. 182, 20–21.

[24] A. Paroń, *Pechenegs. Nomads in…*, p. 250.

[25] K.H. Menges, *Etymological notes on some Päčänägs names*, B 17, 1944/1945, p. 266–267; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, vol. II, *Sprachreste der Türkvölker in den byzantinische Quellen*, Berlin 1983, p. 112–113 (truth. tur. forms – Yazïqapan, *jazy Kapan, Qapan); S.A. Romashov, *The Pechenegs in Europe in the 9th–10th Centuries*, ROr 52.1, 1999, p. 26–27; P.B. Golden, *An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples. Ethnogenesis and State Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East*, Wiesbaden 1992, p. 266.

[26] Bruno, p. 99, 16–19, p. 100, 1–5. At the end of the eleventh century, it was referred to as "commenton (κόμεντον)". See Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica…*, p. 163. According to O. Pritsak, *The Pečenegs. A Case of Social and Economic Transformation*, [in:] *Studies in Medieval Euroasian History (Variorum Reprints)*, London 1981, p. 13, 16–17, the place of such a gathering for the entire western "Patzynakia" was located in the area of the "province of Iabtiertim". Cf. M. Parczewski, *Problem Lędzian a kształtowanie się polsko-ruskiej rubieży etnicznej*, [in:] *Civitas Schiginesghe cum pertinentiis*, ed. W. Chudziak, Toruń 2003, p. 160–161, who located the place of such a gathering at the junction of the Podilia Upland and the Dnieper Upland. Cf. A. Paroń, *Pechenegs. Nomads in…*, p. 149–150.

Reasons for the dissolution of the alliance in 1017

Skylitzes does not explain why the Pechenegs abandoned the expedition to Byzantine lands, although he does emphasise that in the aftermath Basil had more freedom to continue the war with the Bulgarians. The chronicler's information about the would-be alliance did not arouse much interest among historians. Most of them, probably due to the quick end of the war and the triumph of Basil II, pass over this event as a matter of course, possibly attributing the credit for the pacification of the Pechenegs to Dristra's *strategos* – Tzotzikios[27]. However, this seems unlikely, given that Byzantine rule over the lower Danube was not yet as secure as it would become in later years, during the reigns of Basil II's successors. Even the fortification of the border and the stationing of military garrisons there did not prevent attacks by the Pechenegs after 1026[28]. Rather, the argument in the form of internal conflicts in the Pechenegs confederation should be ruled out. Certainly, their tribal union was not strongly consolidated; it could have been exposed to friction, but reliable information about disputes among them, even taking the form of a civil war, falls on a later period[29]. Some scholars believe that this was caused by a covert operation of Byzantine diplomacy[30]. Hristo Dimitrov links the resignation of the Pechenegs to the expedition of the Byzantine fleet to the northern shores of the Black Sea in January 1016, although he does not explain this thread in more detail. A brief description of this event was included in the Skylitzes chronicle:

> The Emperor returned to Constantinople in January AM 6524 and sent a fleet against Khazaria under the command of Mongos, son of Andronicus, prince of Lydos. In cooperation with Sphengos, Vladimir's brother and brother-in-law of the Emperor, he subdued the region and captured its archon, George Tzoule, in the first clash[31].

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[27] E.g. В. Златарски, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I.1, София 1971, p. 727; И. Божилов, В. Гюзелев, *История на средновековна България VII–XIV век*, vol. I, София 1999, p. 328–329; P. Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube*, Bucarest 1970, p. 39; В. Тпкова-Заимова, *Долни Дунав – граничната зона византийския Запад. Към историята на северните и североизточнте балгалгарски земи, края X–XII в.*, София 1976, p. 55–56, 71; С. Антољак, *Самоиловата држава*, [in:] idem, *Средновековна Македонија*, vol. I, Скопје, 1985, p. 569; С. Пириватриħ, *Самуилова држава. Обим и карактер*, Београд 1997, p. 127; P. Stephenson, *The Balkan Borderland of Byzantium. A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204*, Cambridge 2000, p. 81; Хр. Димитров, *Българо-унгарски отношения*…, p. 20–21; P.M. Strässle, *Krieg und Kriegführung in Byzantia. Die Kriege Kaiser Basileios II. gegen die Bulgaren (976–1019)*, Köln 2006, p. 82, 162–163, 465, who, if they comment on this event, limit themselves to mentioning the key role of the strategist Dristra, to whom they attribute the credit for the retreat of the Pechenegs.

[28] See P. Stephenson, *The Balkan Borderland*…, p. 82–89.

[29] A. Paroń, *Pechenegs. Nomads in*…, p. 322.

[30] P.M. Strässle, *Krieg und Kriegführung in Byzantia*…, p. 334: "etwa byzantinische Geheimdiplomatie?".

[31] IS, p. 354, 88–94: 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀπελθὼν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, κατὰ τὸν Ἰαννοάριον μῆνα τοῦ ἑξακισχιλιοστοῦ πεντακοσιοστοῦ εἰκοστοῦ τετάρτου ἔτους, στόλον εἰς Χαζαρίαν ἐκπέμπει, ἔξαρχον

A sudden winter expedition to the northern shores of the Black Sea in alliance with the ruler of the Rus' was dictated by the situation in the land described by the chronicler as "Khazaria". For older generations of Byzantine chroniclers, the term Khazaria was associated with the territory of the vast Khazar Khaganate in Eastern Europe[32]. In the 11th century, the geographical location of Khazaria was no longer so clear, partly due to the disintegration of the territory of the former khaganate into enclaves located in its former south-western borderlands. The coasts of southern Crimea were known as "Khazaria" or "Gazaria" until the Ottoman era[33]. This is not the only option, as we also have evidence in the form of a certain Byzantine lead bull, which can be dated to an unspecified period after 1083, the issuer of which was supposed to be the archon "…of Matracha, Zichia and Khazaria". The first two geographical names referred to cities and lands located on the current Taman Peninsula or in its vicinity. Of course, it cannot be ruled out that the term "Khazaria/Gazaria" was used in a broader sense, in reference to the coasts of both peninsulas and their adjoining areas[34]. However, regardless of these nuances, and the inconsistency with the chronology of the Old Russian chronicles, it is clear from the record of Skylitzes that Mongos' ally during the expedition to Khazaria was the brother of the ruler of the Rus', and moreover, as a result, the local archon George Tzoula was imprisoned and deported to Constantinople. In the light of the preserved sphragistic materials, it appears that the Tzuoles family was connected with the Byzantine Crimea and maintained its influence in this region also

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ἔχοντα τὸν Μογγόν, υἱὸν Ἀνδρονίκου δουκὸς τοῦ Λυδοῦ καὶ τῇ συεργίᾳ Σφέγγου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Βλαδιμηροῦ, τοῦ γαμβροῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὑπέταξε τὴν χώραν, τοῦ ἄρχονος αὐτῆς Γεωργίου τοῦ Τζούλη ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ προσβολῇ συλληφέντος; John Skylitzes, A *Synopsis*…, p. 336. See Хр. Димитров, *Българо-унгарски отношения*…, p. 242–243.

[32] J. Dudek, *Bizantyńskie odkrywanie Chazarii (VII–XI w.)*, [in:] *Totius mundi philohistor. Studia Georgio Strzelczyk octuagenario oblata*, ed. M. Delimata-Proch, A. Krawiec, J. Kujawiński, Poznań 2021, p. 159–174.

[33] The term "imperio Gazarie" was officially used to describe the Genoese possessions on the northern coast of the Black Sea. See А.В. Джанов, *Татаро-генуэские договоры 1380 и 1381 годов*, ЗО 8, 2020, p. 675–713; M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, vol. I, Genowa 1978, p. 369–370; R. Hryszko, *Z Genui nad Morze Czarne. Z kart genueńskiej obecności gospodarczej na północno-zachodnich wybrzeżach Morza Czarnego u schyłku średniowiecza*, Kraków 2004, p. 13, 105–107; *История Крыма*, vol. I, ed. А.В. Юрасов, Москва 2018, p. 341.

[34] V. Bulgakova, *Byzantinische Bleisiegel in Osteuropa. Die Funde auf dem Territorium Altrussland*, Wiesbaden 2004, p. 238–241: Κ[ύρ]ιε βοήθεί Μιχὴλ ἄρχοντ[ί] Ματράχ[ων], Ζιχίας καὶ πάσες Χαζαρί[ας]. It is worth bearing in mind, however, that in the Byzantine nomenclature the term "Kherson" was used to describe the southern part of Crimea, which remained under the administrative control of Constantinople from the 7th to the 13th century, and which was formally reflected in the founding of Kherson in the mid-9th century. In the case of the Taman Peninsula, a similar attempt was made (the planned creation of "Matracha" in the second half of the 10th century), which, however, did not bring lasting results. For more information, see: С.А. Ромашов, *Историческая география хазарского каганата (V–VIII вв.), ч. 5–7*, АЕМА 14, 2005, p. 142–150; В.П. Степаненко, *Еще раз о локализации Хазарии*, МАИАСТ 19, 2014, p. 368–378; В.Н. Чхаидзе, "*Хазария*" *XI века: к вопросу о локализации (по данным византийских молибдовулов)*, Москва 2016.

after the 11th century[35]. The situation is different on the Taman Peninsula, which has transformed into one of the domains of the Rurik family. An important city in the region – Tmutorakan (ant. Hermonassa) becomes the centre for the Rus' on the Black Sea. The Principality of Tmutorakan played an important role in the relations of the Rurik family with the world of the steppes and with Byzantium until the end of the 11th century[36]. This can be seen in the fate of the aforementioned archon "of Matracha, Zichia and Khazaria", who turned out to be Oleg Sviatoslavovich, prince of Tmutorakan (1083–1093) and Chernihiv (1093–1115). He may have played the role of a key intermediary between the Byzantine Empire and the Cumans before the Battle of Mount Lebunion (29 April, 1091), which resulted in the liberation of the Balkans from the Pechenegs' threat. The Byzantine victory would have been impossible without the military support of the Cumans, of which Togortak was one of the chiefs. According to some, he can be identified with Tugorkan, the chief of the Cumans, known in the old Russian tradition of chronicles[37].

The biography of prince Oleg only partially resembles the fate of Georg Tzoula. When he first tried to take possession of Tmutorakan, he was deported to Byzantium, where he spent more than two years in captivity on the island of Rhodes (1080–1083). However, he was able to secure the favor of emperor Alexius I Komnenos (1081–1118) and returned to Tmutorakan, which he ruled afterwards unhindered for a whole decade. The Byzantine-Cumans alliance might have been more difficult without Oleg's connections[38]. The case of Georg Tzoula seems to be similar, although the consequences were the opposite. Basil II not only secured the Byzantine possessions in the north of the Black Sea. The alliance with Rus' was

[35] В.Н. Чхаидзе, *"Хазария" XI века*…, p. 4–6.

[36] When the Mongos fleet sailed to "Khazaria" Vladimir the Great (†1015) had already been dead for almost half a year. Meanwhile, according to latopisarian tradition, Tmutorakan came under the rule of the Rurik family at an unspecified time before 991, after Basil II concluded an alliance with the Rus'. However, the first Rus' chieftains probably came to Tmutorakan as early as the 9th century. See *Повесть временных лет*, AM 6496, vol. I, ed., trans. Д.С. Лихачева, Б.А. Романова, В.П. Адриановой-Перетц, Москва–Ленинград 1950 (cetera: *PVL*), p. 83; А.Л. Монгайт, *О границах тмутороканского княжества в XI века*, [in:] *Проблемы общественно-политической истории Росси и славянских стран. Сборник статей к 70-летию академика М.Н. Тихомирова*, Москва 1963, p. 54–61; J. Shepard, *Closer Encounters with the Byzantine World. The Rus at the Straits of Kerch*, [in:] *Pre-Modern Russia and its World. Essays in Honor of Thomas S. Noonan*, ed. K.L. Reyerson, Th.G. Starvrou, J.D. Tracy, Wiesbaden 2006, p. 16–77.

[37] *Anna Komnena Alexias*, VIII, 4, ed. D.R. Reinsch, A. Kambylis, Berlin 2001 [= *CFHB.SBe*], p. 243, 38; *PVL*, AM 6602, 6604, p. 143, 145. Cf. Анна Комнина, *Алексиада*, trans., comm. Я.Н. Любарского, Москва 1965, p. 541, footnote no 835; Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*…, p. 181, 316; E. Malamut, *L'image byzantine des Petchénègues*…; M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204*, London–New York 1984, p. 110–111.

[38] See J. Dudek, *Prince Oleg-Michael Sviatoslavovich in the Byzantine Captivity, 1079–1083. A Few Remarks on the Pontic Policy of the Byzantine Empire in the Second Half of the Eleventh Century*, [in:] *Byzantine et Slavica Cracoviensia*, vol. V…, p. 201–209.

maintained and strengthened, which threatened the group of tribes of the western "Patzinakia" and forced their leaders to abandon their plans to provide military assistance to the Bulgarians. In these circumstances, the Komitopules were losing the support of their last serious ally.

Theoretically, the cases of Georg Tzoulas and Oleg-Michael can be treated as a model implementation of the counsels contained in the *DAI* on how to reduce the threat from Byzantium's dangerous neighbours. In 1017, the Bulgarians were in a position, and they were later replaced in this role by the Pechenegs. Limited military operations on the northern shores of the Black Sea were sufficient for the implementation of these projects, but intensified diplomacy was the best result. This may give rise to the belief in the omnipotent influence of Byzantine diplomacy on the barbarian peoples of Eastern Europe, which, however, is wishful thinking[39]. We have no evidence that Basil II or Alexius I Komnenos followed the instructions taken from *DAI*. Although there is evidence of a possible reception of the text by one of the eleventh-century emperors, the vast majority of Byzantine rulers limited themselves to ad hoc reactions to threats from this geographical direction[40]. It cannot be ruled out that the problem of the Pechenegs' participation in the war with Basil II was solved without the active participation of Byzantine diplomats.

Some researchers, trying to determine the reason for the abandonment of allies by the Pechenegs, drew attention to other potential external circumstances. Vladislav Ivanov, in his article on the role of nomads in the Balkans at that time, briefly referred to the potential reason for the Pechenegs' refusal to support the Bulgarians. It could have been involvement in the struggle for the throne of Kiev after the death of Vladimir the Great in 1015. The Pechenegs were allies of his eldest son Svatopolk, who was expelled from Kiev by Yaroslav the Wise, aided by Scandinavian mercenaries[41]. In addition to the steppes, his father-in-law, Polish ruler Bolesław the Brave (992–1025), was also involved in the civil war in Rus', who, m.in, with the support of the Pechenegs, reintroduced Svatopolk to Kiev in the summer of 1018. In connection with this expedition, Thietmar of Merseburg wrote about the extraordinary message that Bolesław was to send to Basil II at that time. He declared his goodwill towards him, but if the emperor did not wish to be his friend, then Bolesław would be his determined enemy:

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[39] A. Paroń, *Śmierć księcia Światosława Igorewicza a mit wszechmocnej dyplomacji bizantyńskiej*, [in:] *Historicae viae. Studia dedykowane Profesorowi Lechowi A. Tyszkiewiczowi z okazji 55-lecia pracy naukowej*, ed. M. Goliński, S. Rosik, Wrocław 2012, p. 151–165.

[40] One of the oldest of the few surviving manuscripts of the text (*codex Parissinus 2009*) was intended for the young emperor Michael VII Dukas (1071–1077). See *DAI*, Gy. Moravcsik, *Introduction*, p. 16.

[41] V. Ivanov, *Eurasian Nomads and the Balkans in the Early 1000s*., [in:] *1000-godišnjca svetog Jovana Vladimir. Zbornik radova sa naučne konferncije 21. Oktobar 2016. godine*, ed. Đ. Borozan, Podgorica 2017, p. 65–75, especially 73–74.

> Ad Greciam quoque sibi proximam nuncios misiit, qui eiusdem imperatori bona, si vellet fidelis amicus haberi, promitterent; sin autem, hostem firmissimum ac invincibilem fieri intimarent[42].

No Byzantine source confirms the arrival of Polish envoys to the Bosphorus. In the summer months of 1018, the emperor stayed in the western Balkans, taking over power over successive centres of capitulating Bulgaria. He returned to the capital only in 1019, while Bolesław the Brave quickly left Kiev. Thietmar († 1 December 1018) died before he had time to write about when the embassy returned to Poland and what the result of the mission was. However, due to the high credibility of the chronicler, his information cannot be ruled out as fictitious[43]. The message of the bishop of Merseburg inspired a discussion in the circles of Polish historians, but none of them suggested a more serious role of the Pechenegs in the implementation of the threat of the Polish ruler[44]. However, it cannot be ruled out that the Pechenegs were one of the elements of Bolesław's potential pressure on Constantinople. The missionary expedition of Bruno could have strengthened the contacts of the Polish ruler with the chiefs of the western "Patzinakia" or at least provided Bolesław with specific information about the military capabilities of the steppes. According to Thietmar, at least twice, in 1013 and 1018. Bolesław concluded an alliance with the Pechenegs, directed against the rulers of Kiev, who were hostile to him[45]. The civil war for the succession to Vladimir the Great absorbed the Pechenegs, either as a threat or as a prospect for easier conquests than the expedition against Basil II. Therefore, it could be a reason to give up the alliance with the Bulgarians.

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[42] Thietmar, VIII, 33, p. 531–532.

[43] G. Prinzing, *Polens Byzantinische Aspekte der mittelalterlichen Geschichte*, B 64.2, 1994, p. 463–465; idem, *Bizantyjskie aspekty średniowiecznej historii Polski*, Poznań 1994, p. 10–11.

[44] Most of them, such as O. Halecki, *Le Pologne et l'Empire Byzantine*, B 7, 1937, p. 41–67, especially 44–46; A.F. Grabski, *Bolesław Chrobry. Zarys dziejów politycznych i wojskowych*, Warszawa 1966, p. 266–271; K. Kollinger, *Polityka wschodnia Bolesława Chrobrego (992–1025)*, Wrocław 2014, p. 211–226 suggest that the legation was a manifestation of the prestige of the Polish ruler or emphasising his influence on the migration of Varangian mercenaries to Byzantium as a result of the invasion of Kiev. On the other hand, M. Salamon (*"Amicus" or "hostis". Bolesław the Valiant and Byzantium*, Bsl 54.1, 1993, p. 114–120) presented the hypothesis that it was an attempt by Bolesław to establish contacts with Byzantium as a result of the rapprochement of the spheres of influence of both countries in 1018.

[45] Thietmar, VI, 91; VIII, 32, p. 382, 32–35; p. 530, 6–9. See: S. Kolditz, *Petschenegen-Kiptschaken-Tataren*…, p. 179–180.

Conclusions

Bearing in mind these circumstances, it should be taken into account that the rulers of Bulgaria in the years 976–1018 had to take into account the military potential of the steppes from Eastern Europe in their political projects or current calculations. Therefore, it would be a difficult fact to explain that the Hungarians and Pechenegs should not be counted as potential allies in the deadly struggle against Byzantium.

The relatively short history of the Komitopules monarchy does not facilitate research on its contacts with the Pontic steppes. The main political goal of Samuel and his successors was to liberate themselves from Byzantine domination and oppose its oppression. Not only were the military resources of the reborn state used for this purpose, but also its diplomacy was directed towards the search for new allies. In contrast to the descriptions of the war struggles in the years 976–1018, we have only fragmentary knowledge about the search for external allies by the Komitopules. Byzantine authors, such as the chronicler John Skylitzes, although they did not spare descriptions of various details of emperor Basil II's numerous Balkan military campaigns, were reticent when it came to discussing the enemy's alliances.

They presented the context of the long and difficult war with the Bulgarians from their own perspective, and they wrote about the contacts of their enemies with other peoples or states when they were related to current events. Other Armenian, Hungarian, German or Old Russian authors did not pay much attention to the Komitopules either. With the exception of Dukla, Bulgaria was distant from their countries, and relations with its rulers at the time were episodic. Besides, even in the case of the chronicle of the archbishops of Bar, the memory of the lords of Prespa was preserved because of their connection with St. John Vladimir. However, the sparse surviving information allows us to conclude that the Komitopules, confronted with powerful Byzantium, were looking for contacts with neighbouring peoples that were to improve their difficult situation. They were not only brave commanders, but they also looked for allies with determination.

Translated by Piotr Dudek

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How to Justify a Murderer: Ancient Rhetorical Echoes in Alexandre Sylvain Van den Bussche's *Épitomes de cent histoires tragiques*

Abstract. In 1581, Alexandre Sylvain Van den Bussche published in Paris his most significant work, *Épitomes de cent histoires tragiques*, a collection formally indebted to Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae*. The thematic material is derived both from classical and contemporary sources, while also reflecting the inventive capacity of an erudite author who freely appropriates ancient *exempla* in order to illuminate the realities of the sixteenth century. Each epitome is structured in three parts: an initial exposition of the case, followed by two opposing orations articulating *pro et contra* positions. Of particular scholarly interest is the judicial discourse that subjects the act of homicide to moral evaluation. In this context, one observes – often with considerable astonishment – the paradoxical construction of the speaker's ethos (whether as prosecutor or advocate), the deployment of a rigorously organized network of arguments and rhetorical figures, and the calculated appeal to the affective disposition of the reader, who assumes the role of witness to a simulated trial. Through these strategies, the author foregrounds a striking form of axiological relativism. Such a procedure deliberately destabilizes the interpretive horizon of the audience, compelling them to interrogate values that might otherwise appear self-evident. It provokes a series of unsettling questions: must the individual who has killed with premeditation necessarily be judged guilty? Are we confronted with sophistic reasoning? Can the author be regarded as a neutral arbiter? Ultimately, it is the reader who bears the responsibility of exercising critical initiative in the search for answers.

Keywords: Alexandre Van den Bussche, epitomes of tragic stories, murderer, ethos, logos, pathos, rhetorical speech, persuasion, ancient rhetoric, 16th century

A Flemish author residing in France from around 1570, Alexandre Sylvain Van den Bussche, gratified by the considerable publishing success of his *Procès tragiques* (1575), expanded the work after several reissues by adding forty-five

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further narratives. In 1581 he brought out in Paris this enlarged edition under the title *Épitomes de cent histoires tragiques, partie extraittes des Actes des Romains et autres, De l'invention de l'Autheur, avecq' les demandes, accusations et deffences sur la matière d'icelles*[1]. As the title itself indicates, the author drew upon both classical and contemporary sources, while adopting Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae*[2] as a formal model. This collection of epitomes[3] – generally regarded as the most significant work in Van den Bussche's corpus – continued to attract attention into the seventeenth century, but subsequently lapsed into obscurity[4]. Even today, only a handful of scholars devote sustained attention to its distinctive character and to the wealth of material it still conceals.

It must be stressed that the present study does not aim to undertake a comparative analysis of those narratives that appear in both Seneca and Van den Bussche, since such an attempt has already been made[5]. Rather, within the tripartite division of rhetorical genres, our concern lies with those instances of judicial discourse absent from the Rhetor, or, more precisely, with those that prove most "controversial": namely, the discourses that subject the figure of the murderer – understood as one who either committed premeditated homicide personally or commissioned another to do so – to moral evaluation. Because Van den Bussche's epitomes assume

[1] The full title of the work, published in 1575 by Nicolas Bonfons in Paris, is *Le Premier livre des proces tragiques, contenant cinquante cinq histoires, avec les accusations, demandes, et deffences d'icelles*. The author stresses that this constitutes only the first volume, and that the appearance of the second depends upon the reception of the first by its readers. The book was subsequently reprinted under the same title by Guillaume le Niergue in Antwerp in 1579 and 1580. An expanded edition, issued with a revised title, was once again printed by Nicolas Bonfons in 1581 and reissued in 1588 (*Théâtre de la cruauté et récits sanglants en France (XVI^e–XVII^e siècle)*, ed. Ch. BIET, Paris 2006, p. 70, 72; A. CULLIÈRE, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle. Alexandre Van Den Bussche, Lecteur De Sénèque*, [in:] *La Nouvelle De Langue Française Aux Frontières Des Autres Genres, Du Moyen Âge à Nos Jours*, vol. I, Ottignies 1997, p. 44, 50–51; H. HELBIG, *Œuvres choisies d'Alexandre Sylvain de Flandre, poète à la cour de Charles IX et de Henri III*, Liège 1861, p. XIV, LIII).

[2] Sources of inspiration include, for instance, Thucydides, Gaius Hyginus, and Valerius Maximus, as well as Italian novellas, the so-called *discours bigarré*, and various miraculous and tragic narratives (*Théâtre de la cruauté…*, p. 72–73; H. HELBIG, *Œuvres choisies…*, p. LVI).

[3] The term "epitome" was employed in the sixteenth century with the meaning of "summary", "abridgment", or "compendium" (*breviarium, abbreviatio, vel compendium: à verbo Græco ἐπιτέμνω, quod est abbrevio*, A. CALEPINO, *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium, Quanta maxima fide ac diligentia fieri potuit accurate emendatum, multisque partibus cumulatum*, Paris 1578, p. 434). As will become evident, this semantic range aptly conveys the character of the narratives presented by Van den Bussche.

[4] *Théâtre de la cruauté…*, p. 72; A. CULLIÈRE, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle…*, p. 44, 51; H. HELBIG, *Œuvres choisies…*, p. XXXII–XXXIII, LV–LVI.

[5] Based on the *Procès tragiques*, Alain Cullière compared the first "process" (which corresponds to epitome 35 in the *Epitomes de cent histoires tragicques*) with the related "controversy" (A. CULLIÈRE, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle…*, p. 45–50).

the form of orations, they may be fruitfully examined through the lens of the Aristotelian rhetorical triangle, which presupposes the interplay of a credible speaker (ethos), a discourse that advances evidence in logical support of a thesis (logos), and an audience disposed to persuasion through affective appeal (pathos)[6]. Such a perspective makes it possible to discern how the structural organization, topical strategies, and rhetorical devices employed in the *Épitomes* may shape the evaluation of criminal acts to the point that the guilt of the accused is rendered problematic. We shall also inquire into the extent to which Van den Bussche was indebted to the ancient rhetorical tradition, and the extent to which he produced a work that functions as a testimony to the intellectual and cultural climate of his own epoch.

Ethos

Van den Bussche's work may be situated not only within the poetics of short narrative forms characteristic of the late sixteenth century, but also within a broader conception of literature as an instrument of persuasion, rather than as a vehicle for the author's self-expression or the articulation of subjective value judgments prioritized over the views of authorities (*auctoritas*)[7]. This does not imply, however, that the author neglects the cultivation of ethos; on the contrary, the deliberate construction of credibility and authority constitutes a fundamental prerequisite for effective rhetorical influence upon the audience. Such cultivation is achieved exclusively through verbal strategies, since in this case elements of *actio* are virtually absent.

The epitomes of tragic narratives provide a particularly illuminating case in this regard, insofar as they simulate the presence of three distinct voices: that of the narrator and those of the two opposing orators. It should be recalled that the structure of the *Controversiae* – at least in the extended versions transmitted to us – is markedly more polyphonic, with multiple rhetors intervening in the course of the proceedings. Van den Bussche, by contrast, appears to have adopted the *excerpta* as his model: concise compilations of anonymous quotations (*sententiæ*) that could be mobilized in the construction of arguments either for the prosecution or for the defense. These abridged forms also dispense with the division into *sententiae*, *divisiones*, and *colores*, which in Seneca's case permitted the presentation of an anthology of statements by individual speakers on a given theme, followed by a twofold elaboration of the issues at stake: on the one hand, through the

[6] Τῶν δὲ διὰ τοῦ λόγου πορι̃ζομένων πίστεων τρία εἴδη ἐστίν. αἱ μὲν γάρ εἶσιν ἐν τῷ ἤθει τοῦ λέγοντος, αἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ τὸν ἀκροατὴν διαθεῖναί πως, αἱ δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ λόγῳ διὰ τοῦ δεικνύναι ἢ φαίνεσθαι δεικνύναι (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1356 a, 1–4; this source is cited: Aristote, *Rhétorique*, vol. I, Paris 1960, p. 76).

[7] A landmark work in this field is Michel de Montaigne's *Essais*, first published in 1580.

interpretation of legal norms, and on the other, through a subjective evaluation of the circumstances surrounding the crime[8].

Thus, while retaining the tripartite compositional scheme characteristic of the *excerpta*, the Flemish author structures each of the one hundred cases according to the canonical components of rhetorical discourse: *narratio*, *probatio* and *refutatio*. If one were to seek an *exordium* within this framework, its function could be ascribed either to the title of each epitome or to the formulaic citation of the legal provision that inaugurates the trial ("the law is such that…", "the law commands that…")[9]. The latter, however, does not invariably appear, as is also the case in Seneca.

The omission of an introductory section and the immediate transition to the narrative itself may be interpreted as a deliberate strategy of ethos-construction. It should nevertheless be emphasized that the collection of one hundred epitomes, considered in its entirety, is prefaced by a paratextual introduction containing a *captatio benevolentiae*[10] and an explicit articulation of cognitive and didactic objectives that guided the author's compositional practice[11]. On the one hand, this prefatory discourse projects an authorial persona intent on persuading the reader of the utility of the work by underscoring its exemplary value for the formation of moral attitudes and civic conduct – an entirely conventional procedure in sixteenth-century literary production[12]. On the other hand, the absence of such extradiegetic framing devices within the epitomes themselves is calculated to produce the impression of a neutral narratorial voice, whose presence is dictated solely

[8] A. CULLIÈRE, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle*…, p. 40–41, 47; Ch. GUÉRIN, *Extraction, remémoration et discontinuité dans les Controverses de Sénèque le père: du déclamateur au texte*, [in:] S. MORLET, *Lire en extraits. Lecture et production des textes, de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Paris 2015, p. 2–3, 15.

[9] *la loy est telle que…* (f° 83 v°), *la loy ordonne que…* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires tragicques, partie extraittes des Actes des Romains et autres, De l'invention de l'Autheur, avecq'les demandes, accusations et deffences sur la matiere d'icelles*, Paris: Nicolas Bonfons, 1581, f° 185 v°).

[10] *Le restant* [de mes arguments], *sauf les histoires, est de mon labeur propre, lequel vous supplie, lecteur amiable, recevoir avecq'une benignité egale à ma bonne volonté* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° ã iiij r°).

[11] Engagement with the contents of the *Epitomes* is intended to serve a threefold purpose: first, to enable the reader to recognize the multitude of misfortunes from which he has been spared; second, to cultivate greater endurance in the face of those adversities he has in fact encountered; and third, to impart the capacity either to avoid dangers altogether or to extricate oneself from them through prudent self-defense. In this respect, the act of reading functions as a means of fostering prudence and of acquiring, within a relatively brief span, an experience otherwise attainable only over the course of a lifetime. The assumptions articulated in the introduction (together with the fundamental characteristics of the epitome) have been discussed in: J. GIERNATOWSKA, *Delectare, movere, docere – dualizm w krwawym fait divers szesnasto- i siedemnastowiecznej Francji*, [in:] *Dualizm w dawnych literaturach romańskich*, ed. A. CHMIEL, A. RABSZTYN, Katowice 2021, p. 118–120.

[12] W.K. PIETRZAK, *Le Tragique dans les nouvelles exemplaires en France au XVI^e siècle*, Łódź 2006, p. 381–382.

by the necessity of recounting the factual nucleus that initiates the judicial debate. Narratorial interventions are rare and generally confined to two functions: either to underscore that a given trial was transmitted by a trustworthy informant[13], or, anticipating possible objections to the chosen discursive method, to affirm its grounding in ancient rhetorical models[14]. The narrator's credibility, however, rests less on the factual veracity of the situations depicted – for in the introduction the author himself acknowledges that, in accordance with the principle of *varietas*, he does not hesitate to resort to creative invention[15] – than on the consistent maintenance of impartiality in the treatment of the anecdotal material. Epitome 94 may serve as a paradigmatic example in this respect:

> Un Comte de Flandres nommé Baudouin, et surnommé Apquin, estoit grand justicier, et tenoit grosse court, surquoy advint, que quelques Marchans Joyauliers le vindrent trouver, et vendirent quelques bagues, puis partant de là furent suivis et vollez par quatre gentils hommes favorits du Comte, lesquels estant accusez par ledits marchans et eux ne pouvant nyer le fait, le Comte s'en collera tellement qu'il jura de ne dormir jamais, qu'il ne les veid pendre par le col. Mais les biens renduz aux marchans, plusieurs seigneurs et dames vindrent interceder pour les gentils hommes prisonniers, ausquels le Comte après longues prieres donna bonne esperance, puis devant que se coucher, feit mener les prisonniers en la salle, et feit attacher quatre touailles de lin à une poutre, puis dit aux prisonniers : « Vous sçavez le serment, que j'ay fait : parquoy vous attacheray à ces touailles par le col : puis chacun de vous leve, ou hauce les jambes, les retirant tellement que je puisse dire vous avoir veu penduz, puis remettant voz pieds sur la table, pourrez desfaire les touailles, et dire que mon serment est accomply, mais un'autrefois soyez plus sages ». Les prisonniers feirent le commandement du Comte, lequel les voyant bien attachez jetta la table à terre, et les laissant penduz, ferma la salle où d'eux mesmes s'estranglerent, mais les parens des patiens, accuserent le Comte, devant le Roy de France, son souverain seigneur.[16]

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[13] The case in question concerns epitome 87, in which a Piedmontese man petitions for the restitution of his property after having been presumed dead for fourteen years: *Ce proces precedent est veritable et m'a esté compté par le sieur Jean Chasteillier, Chevalier, Conseiller du Roy, et intendant des finances de sa majesté, qui m'a asseuré d'avoir esté en Piedmont, durant le proces susdit* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 212 r°).

[14] This is the crowning remark of the final epitome and, indeed, of the entire work: *J'ay traduit ces deux harangues de T. Live, pour monstrer que la façon des miennes n'estoit inusitee entre les anticques* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 259 r°).

[15] *Or d'autant que la variation est à plusieurs delectable, j'ay prins partie de mes arguments, des historiens Romains, partie de Seneca, autres de mon invention, et le restant de choses advenues par plusieurs provinces* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° ã iij v°).

[16] A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 233 r°– v°). Cf. the much shorter descriptions – which likewise address interesting circumstances of the crime – in epitome 9: *Une femme lavant un petit enfant, void sa petite fille qui tombe dans le feu, parquoy estant trop hastive pour la secourir, laisse tomber son fils dans le cuveau, tellement qu'il se noye, le mary de la femme survient, qui la tue: les parens de la femme l'aprehendent et l'accusent à la Justice* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 36 v°– 37 r°), or in epitome 21: *Sadoc et Gamalyel entre autres estoient freres l'un excellent en lettres, et l'autre en armes. Sadoc predit par Astrologie à son frere que s'il se marie sans le consentement de tous ses freres qu'il en adviendra un grand malheur, et deshonneur à tout leur lignage.*

At first glance, one might expect that by invoking a narrative derived from the medieval Ghent legends[17] concerning the deeds of Baldwin VII Hapkin, ruler of Flanders in the twelfth century, the narrator would inevitably lapse into evaluative commentary – whether through the selective use of epithets or through moralizing embellishment couched in evocative description, in the spirit of sixteenth-century *emulatio*[18]. Yet, contrary to this expectation, the narrator confines himself to the presentation of ostensibly factual material[19] and minimizes the deployment of adjectives, adjectival past participles (*participes passés*), and adverbial modifiers, employing them only insofar as they are necessary to delineate the historical context, the social status of the protagonists, and the sequence of events. Even the brief passage which, by means of an expression of intensity (*expression d'intensité*), articulates the Count's emotional response to the theft ("le Comte s'en collera tellement que…") refrains from moral evaluation; rather, it functions as a causal explanation of the character's subsequent conduct. The narrative texture is dominated by dynamic verbal forms ("partir", "donner", "hausser", "retirer", "pendre", "jeter", "fermer", *etc*.), supplemented by auxiliary and semi-auxiliary constructions ("faire mener", "faire attacher", "venir trouver", "venir intercéder"), which collectively produce an effect of briskness, clarity, and objectivity. On the macro-structural plane, the passage may be interpreted as an instance of hypotyposis, which, through concise yet vivid delineation, enables the reader to visualize the tragic incident with immediacy. The insertion of Baldwin's direct speech does not undermine this effect; rather than introducing an affective surplus, it provides a rationalizing explanation of how four men, by their own volition and without protest, "hang themselves" at the Count's command.

Once the reader has received the essential information from an ostensibly impartial narrator, he is already positioned to formulate a preliminary judgment concerning the crime described. Yet the decisive moment is deferred until the delivery of the speeches of the accuser and the defender. It is important to recall that in Seneca these roles were assumed by magistrates or other public officials – figures whose institutional authority and social reputation conferred credibility even prior to the utterance of their first words[20]. In Van den Bussche, by contrast,

Gamalyel negligeant cest advis se marie en pays estrange, puis au bout d'un temps meine sa femme (qui estoit fort belle) en son pays, et obtenant de ses freres sa part du patrimoine vit paisiblement: estatnt un jour malade, Sadoc le visita si souvent qu'il devint amoureux de sa belle sœur, et trouva le moyen d'en jouyr quasi par force, laquelle declairant le faict à son mary il tue son frere Sadoc, et un autre qui venoit pour le deffendre, dequoy les autres freres, et parens irritez l'accusent à la Justice (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 75 v°– 76 r°).

[17] *Théâtre de la cruauté*…, p. 73; H. HELBIG, *Œuvres choisies*…, p. LVII.

[18] Moreover, adherence to this most accomplished form of imitation was a defining feature of the authors of the series of tragic narratives to which the title of Van den Bussche's work alludes.

[19] *Théâtre de la cruauté*…, p. 73.

[20] Yet, according to Aristotle's theory, such an effect ought to be produced by the discourse itself rather than by the reputation of the orator (ARISTOTLE, *Rhetoric*, 1356 a, 8–10).

it is not uncommon for the accused to plead his own case. Such is the situation with the Counts of Flanders (epitomes 2, 94), Gaius Servilius Ahala (10), Gamaliel (21), the judge (31), Romulus (74) and a surgeon (81). In other instances, the defense is undertaken by the accused's kin (9, 88), an anonymous friend (78), or a designated representative (Marcus Atilius Regulus in epitome 1). The accusatory role is frequently assumed by the victim's family (9, 21, 31, 78, 94), but it may also be voiced by institutional or collective entities: the tribune (10), the Roman Senate (74), the Attorney General (81) or the people themselves – the Capuans (1), the Flemings (2), the Romans (88). Thus, in the majority of cases, the speakers are individuals of recognized authority or elevated social standing. At the same time, these figures are rarely professional orators, and their direct involvement in the matter lends their interventions a markedly personal character[21], even though their arguments paradoxically often appeal to universal principles. In every case, the speaker reinforces his ethos by destabilizing the moral credibility of his opponent.

What emerges most strikingly, however, is the rhetorical construction of the ethos of the murderer, whether articulated by the accused himself or mediated through a representative (in which case two character images are simultaneously fashioned). In neither scenario does the accused resort to the first defensive strategy identified by Cicero[22] – namely, the outright denial of the charge – for such a move would compromise his credibility and integrity. The rhetorical task, rather, is to demonstrate moral worth despite the commission of a violent act: "He does not deny his fault"[23], declare the parents of the wife-killer (E. 9). The defense thus proceeds by interrogating the very concept of crime, seeking to demonstrate either that the act is not as heinous as it appears, or that – even if it is – circumstances exist that render it justifiable, or at least deserving of clemency[24]. It is precisely in the elaboration of these defense speeches that Van den Bussche displays his greatest rhetorical inventiveness.

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[21] A. Cullière, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle*…, p. 48.

[22] Cicero, *Oratoriæ partitiones*, XXIX, *Oratoriæ partitiones*, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0474.phi038.perseus-lat1:29.102 [26 IV 2025].

[23] *Il ne nye point sa faute* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 38 v°).

[24] *Et quoniam semper is qui defendit non solum resistat oportet aliquo certo statu aut infitiando aut definiendo aut aequitate opponenda, sed etiam rationem subiciat recusationis suae, primus ille status rationem habet iniqui criminis ipsam negationem infitiationemque facti; secundus, quod non sit in re quod ab adversario ponatur in verbo; tertius, quod id rectum esse defendat quod sine ulla nominis controversia factum esse fateatur* (Cicero, *Oratoriæ partitiones*, XXIX).

Logos

It is, of course, impossible within the scope of this discussion to enumerate exhaustively all the arguments and the intricate – at times even deliberately paradoxical – logical connections to which the opposing parties resort in the context of these staged trials. Nevertheless, even a selective indication of the motifs most frequently mobilized at the level of *inventio* suffices to demonstrate that the same argumentative topos may be strategically redeployed both within the *probatio* and the *refutatio*. Such polyvalent applicability underscores the distinctive axiological relativism that permeates the content of the epitome.

Among the most frequently recurring concepts is the appeal to the good of the state. Within this framework, the victim is consistently construed as an individual whose existence constitutes a grave threat to the fatherland and to civic order, so that his elimination is represented not merely as a permissible act but as a civic obligation (*officium*). Thus, when Sadoc's surviving brothers accuse Gamaliel[25] of having assumed the role of an executioner[26] rather than fulfilling his proper duty – since, in their view, his life *should be devoted solely to instruction*, *and to the defense of his country and his family*[27] – he dismisses the charge as a conventional calumny. He presents himself instead as *who did what they ought to have desired*, *namely*, *to remove from among them a superstitious soothsayer*, *not only harmful to his own but to the entire Republic*[28].

In order to accentuate the social danger embodied by his brother, Gamaliel enumerates his vices and reinforces the accusation through a rhetorical question: *Is it not more than evident that such people are so swollen with ambition that they would rather see the death of one million men than allow anyone to know*

[25] A curious detail lies in the fact that the names of the epitome's protagonists call to mind biblical figures, while their qualities seem to set them in opposition to those very figures. Sadoc (Zadoc), whose name signifies "*righteous*", was a priest renowned for his loyalty to King David. Yet, as the history of Gamaliel's brother reveals (see note 17), such virtues are by no means his own (*A Dictionary of the Bible Comprising its Antiquities*, *Biography*, *Geography*, *and Natural History*, vol. III, London 1863, p. 1811). Likewise, Gamaliel ("*God the avenger*") himself bears the name of a learned and widely revered Pharisee who once counseled the Sanhedrin with wisdom. In the epitome, however, he is charged with recklessness and with scorning sound advice (*Dr. William Smith's Dictionary of the Bible; Comprising its Antiquities*, *Biography*, *Geography*, *and Natural History*, vol. I, Boston 1890, p. 863).

[26] Comparisons with members of this profession are frequently employed in epitomes. Cf. *Il a esté pis que bourreau de sa pauvre femme* (E 9, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 37 r°); *Quelle vilité peut estre plus grande à un grand Seigneur, qu'uzurper, et faire luy-mesmes l'office de bourreau* (E 94, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 234 r°).

[27] *ne se devroit employer que seulement par la tuition, et deffence de sa patrie et de sa famille* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 77 r°).

[28] *qui a fait ce qu'ils devoient desirer, à sçavoir oster d'entr'eux un superstitieux devin, non seullement dommageable aux siens, mais à toute la Republique* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 78 v°).

that they have erred even in a single point in their predictions?[29]. By foregrounding the pettiness, unhealthy ambitions, and dubious morals of a relative who appears to legitimate violence as the outcome of a self-fulfilling prophecy, Gamaliel simultaneously fashions a counter-argument in the form of a compressed syllogism that both justifies the killing of his two brothers and highlights his own virtues: *And then you say that you have lost the best of your brothers; it seems to me that if that one was the best, then the other was worth nothing at all*[30]. This rhetorical exchange demonstrates that the criteria for defining both criminality and threats to the polity diverge fundamentally between the two parties. The brothers construe the danger not only in Gamaliel's conduct but also in the potential emergence of an external adversary against whom the homeland must be fortified. The defendant, by contrast, grounds his argument in the necessity of internal purification, insisting on the strengthening of the state through the expulsion of individuals marked by *wickedness*, *and* […] *lewdness*[31], epitomized by Sadoc.

This conceptual framework finds further expression in the recurrent analogy between the state, conceived as a political organism, and the human body – an organic metaphor already attested in Plato (*Republic*, V, 462c–d; 464b) and Aristotle (*Politics*, III, 11), and one that enjoyed particular currency in sixteenth-century thought[32]. It is precisely this line of reasoning that the Senate invokes against Romulus, who had slain his brother for allegedly transgressing the law[33]:

> Quel bon-heur ou felicité pouvons nous esperer de nostre republicque ou cité, puis qu'au commencement d'icelle non seulement l'un frere gemeau a osé tuer l'autre, mais le roy mesmes a tué le Roy, quel bien ou secours pourroit on esperer d'un corps humain, si l'une main couppoit l'autre? Si l'un pied foulloit l'autre, si l'un œil offusquoit l'autre, et que finallement tous les membres se voulussent entreprejudicier?[34]

This parallelism – equating a crime against consanguinity, both fraternal and royal, with a violation of corporeal integrity – constitutes a particularly sophisticated and rhetorically potent element of the accusatory discourse. Reinforced by

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[29] *N'est-il plus qu'evident que telles gens sont si enflez d'ambition qu'ils aimeroient mieux voir la mort d'un million d'hommes que permettre que d'aucuns fusse cogneu qu'ils ayent failly un seul poinct en leurs devinations?* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 78 v°).

[30] *et puis dittes qu'avez perdu les meilleurs de voz freres, il me semble que si cestuy-là estoit le meilleur, que l'autre ne valoit rien du tout* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 78 v°).

[31] *meschanceté, et* […] *stupre* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 79 r°).

[32] G. Vigarello, *Histoire des pratiques de santé. Le sain et le malsain depuis le Moyen Âge*, Paris 1999, p. 86–87.

[33] Pursuant to a law enacted by the Senate, any individual who crossed the walls of Rome without the authorization of the ruling authorities was liable to the penalty of beheading. In order to demonstrate to the builders that the fortifications remained insufficiently high, Remus leapt over the wall beyond the city limits, whereupon he was immediately executed by Romulus.

[34] A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 174 v°.

the reiterated use of the pronoun "l'autre", it accentuates the symmetrical importance and functional indispensability of both rulers for the maintenance of the polity conceived as an organic whole. The state, envisioned through the metaphor of the body politic, is acknowledged as hierarchically structured, yet its optimal operation presupposes the integrity of all its constituent parts. Romulus, however, demonstrates considerable rhetorical dexterity in appropriating this very argument to his own advantage:

> Aussi est-il souvent non seulement licite mais necessaire, que l'une main couppe l'autre pour conserver le restant du corps, ainsi a esté besoing oster du monde a mon grand regret: ce mien frere infracteur des loix, et perturbateur de la republique: car comme vous dittes, les Rois sont, ou doivent estre vrais miroirs du peuple, parquoy en tout et par tout leur doivent monstrer exemple, d'observer et non d'enfraindre les loix, car sans l'observation d'icelles, la republique seroit semblable à un corps corrompu de mauvaises humeurs, auquel le sang et toutes les intestines ne peuvent faire leurs operations requises, parquoy après quelque langueur ce corps prend fin par mort: ainsi la corruption des loix et des meurs en la republique engendre la ruine d'icelle.[35]

By invoking the same analogy, the fratricide underscores that the efficiency of the human organism – and, by extension, of the political body – is not necessarily contingent upon the inviolability of its integrity; on the contrary, those parts that prove deleterious must be excised[36], even at the cost of an acute and painful sense of loss. Alongside this motif, and the reference to the Hippocratic doctrine of the four humors (which, placed in the mouth of Romulus as a mythical figure, acquires unmistakably anachronistic overtones), the discourse introduces yet another element of topicality, one rooted not only in antiquity but also resonant with sixteenth-century political thought. For the destructive agency of Remus is accentuated through recourse to the Ciceronian topos of the mirror: situated at the apex of the social hierarchy, the ruler ought to function as a reflection and exemplar of virtues, thereby shaping the ethical disposition of the community[37]. This constitutes yet another instance of an argument appropriated from the accuser's discourse and countered through an inversion of values: Romulus demonstrates his ostensible agreement with the Senate on the necessity of cultivating exemplary

[35] A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 176 v°.

[36] Cf. the use of this concept by a surgeon (E. 81), who secretly performed an autopsy on a living man and formulated the question of the social utility of his act as follows: *ue seroit ce si toutes les fois qu'il faut coupper le bras ou la jambe d'un homme, ou le sein d'une femme pour sauver le restant du corps, s'il falloit demander conseil ou congé du Senat?* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 194 v°), and the metaphor of the spread of infection employed by Count Baldwin: [je] *suis ennemy des vicieux, et crains qu'ils nuisent aux bons, ou qui ne les contaminent* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 236 v°).

[37] Cf. Baldwin's argument: *Le seigneur d'un pays ne sçauroit mieux se monstrer miroir, que faisant justice, laquelle ai faite* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 237 r°).

models among his subordinates, while paradoxically suggesting that, under the given circumstances, the paradigmatic act may consist precisely in the commission of fratricide. These theses – at times further elaborated through physiological analogies that depict the ruler as the head (*chef*) of the body politic[38] – belong to the broader current of humanist reflection on the ideal of monarchy, on the nature of absolutism, and on the perils inherent in it, a current exemplified in France by the writings of Guillaume Budé (*Institution du Prince*, 1547), Pierre Boaistuau (*L'Histoire de Chelidonius Tigurinus sur l'institution des Princes Chrestiens, et origine des Royaumes*, 1556), or Jean Bodin (*La République*, 1576)[39].

Because the pernicious example emanating from those in positions of authority engenders a form of illegitimacy comparable to tragic humoral pathology[40], the Count of Flanders, Lyderic – who condemned his own son to death by hanging in the forest for having failed to remunerate a merchant for a basket of fruit – may paradoxically be construed as a "benefactor" of the commonwealth (E. 2). The woman, having long awaited payment, lost her way in the forest after nightfall and was unable to return home, an accident that contributed to the death of her infant, whom she could not feed in time. Confronted with public indignation, the Count articulates the rationale for his actions in the following terms:

> Vrayement rien ne peut estre plus odieux, ny plus aliené du naturel humain que la cruauté, comme aussi rien n'est plus necessaire pour la conversation humaine que la justice, conjoincte à la prudence : car sans icelle vrayement la justice semble estre cruauté, comme aussi la prudence sans justice semble plustost malice qu'autre chose, mais tenant ces deux vertus conjoinctes, l'homme peut faire mourir son enfant, sans estré taxé de cruauté, mais plustost avecques louange d'estre piteux et plein de zelle vers eux, ou vers la Republique : ainsi furent jugez tels les Numantins, tuants leurs enfans plustost que les laisser esclaves, ainsi fut estimé Virginius, tuant sa fille pour luy sauver la chasteté. […] Et qui voudra considerer, sans passion, mon fait, trouvera que toutes les quatre vertus principalles y sont observees.[41]

In this section of Lyderic's speech, one discerns further elements characteristic of the judicial discourse exemplified in the *Epitomes*. When deliberating on the notion of cruelty, the Count invokes a charge that recurs with notable frequency in accusatory oratory, where this disposition of human nature is subjected to

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[38] *Le plus souvent tout le peuple se conforme, et veut contrefaire les actions de ceux qui commandent: et plustost les mauvaises que les bonnes. D'où s'ensuit que le Chef d'une Republique ou Province ne peut pecher mediocrement* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 6 v°).

[39] A. Jouanna, P. Hamon, D. Biloghi, G. Le Thiec, *La France de la Renaissance. Histoire et dictionnaire*, Paris 2001, p. 255–257; R. Muchembled, *Une histoire du diable*, Paris 2000, p. 159.

[40] Cf. the words of the judge (E. 31), who refused to allow a wealthy family to purchase a murderer out of slavery, but instead paid the designated sum himself and ordered the condemned to be hanged: *Sans icelle* [Justice] *la republique est comme un corps corrompu de mauvaises humeurs, qui prend fin par langueur* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 102 r°).

[41] A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 8 r°– v°.

vehement censure[42]. The prominence accorded to this theme is hardly surprising for at least two reasons. First, cruelty had already been the object of sustained philosophical inquiry in antiquity: reflections on human brutality and callousness – always in the mode of condemnation – are found in Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics*, VII, 5), Plutarch (*Moralia*[43]), Cicero (*De officiis*, III, 6; 11)[44], and Seneca the Younger, who even attempted to delineate cruelty conceptually, contrasting it with clemency and identifying it with an unrestrained severity in the administration of punishment[45]. Second, the historical and literary horizon in which Van den Bussche composed his work – an epoch increasingly dominated by bloody conflicts of religious and ideological provenance, and progressively less receptive to the utopian projections of humanism – proved especially conducive to such considerations[46]. The extraordinary popularity of the so-called bloody *faits divers*, which in written form mirrored the quotidian spectacle of human wickedness and bestiality, provides eloquent testimony to this cultural climate.

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[42] Cf. *Maintenant ne se void qu'une cruauté vendicative, excogitee par une seul* (E. 1, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 2 r°); *Vrayement en tous hommes est mal seant la cruauté, mais plus qu'en tous autres est vituperable és Princes et és Juges* (E. 31, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 100 v°); *Infelice la Republique où les Roys sont vicieux et principalement si leur vice est cruauté* (E. 74, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 175 r°).

[43] *Des moyens de réprimer la colère*, 456f – 457b.

[44] In this work, moreover, Cicero asserts that tyrants ought to be removed from society just as one cuts away dead limbs from the body: *Etenim, ut membra quaedam amputantur, si et ipsa sanguine et tamquam spiritu carere coeperunt et nocent reliquis partibus corporis, sic ista in figura hominis feritas et immanitas beluae a communi tamquam humanitatis corpore segreganda est* (CICERO, *De officiis*, III, 6, https://remacle.org/bloodwolf/philosophes/Ciceron/officiis3a.htm [20 IV 2025]).

[45] The definition proves to be relatively narrow: *Quid ergo opponitur clementiae? Crudelitas, quae nihil aliud est quam atrocitas animi in exigendis poenis.* […] *Sed quia nec ultionem sequitur (non enim laesa est) nec peccato alicui irascitur (nullum enim antecessit crimen), extra finitionem nostram cadit; finitio enim continebat in poenis exigendis intemperantiam animi* (SENECA THE YOUNGER, *De Clementia*, II, 4, https://agoraclass.fltr.ucl.ac.be/concordances/sen_clementiaII/lecture/4.htm [14 IV 2025]).

[46] The discourse under consideration pertains to the intellectual framework of Renaissance humanism, conceived not solely as a revival and veneration of classical antiquity, but more fundamentally as an ambitious project of moral and intellectual regeneration of the human being. The conviction in humankind's inherent capacity for self-perfection, together with the optimistic vision of a cosmos predicated upon the harmonious interplay between the human microcosm and the divine order, proved unsustainable when confronted with the historical realities of the early sixteenth century. This dissonance is closely associated with the emergence of the Reformed ideology, which entailed a repudiation of the doctrine of free will and advanced a markedly pessimistic anthropology. The progressive intensification of confessional antagonisms between Catholics and Protestants culminated in a decisive rupture following the death of Henry II in 1559 and the subsequent restoration of the Guise family to power. Acting under their auspices, Catholic forces carried out the massacre of Protestants at Wassy in 1562, inaugurating a protracted cycle of eight religious wars, whose sanguinary course was brought to a conclusion only with the promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598 (*Théâtre de la cruauté…*, p. 72–73; H. HELBIG, *Œuvres choisies…*, p. XXII; A. JOUANNA, P. HAMON, D. BILOGHI, G. LE THIEC, *La France de la Renaissance…*, p. 869, 875–876, 1039–1040; R. MUCHEMBLED, *Une histoire du diable…*, p. 158–159).

The Count's speech, marked by a pronounced axiological orientation, begins from the premise – shared with Seneca[47] – that cruelty is a disposition contrary to human nature, and he proceeds to juxtapose it with the cardinal virtues (*iustitia*, *prudentia*, *temperantia*, *fortitudo*)[48]. The rhetorical effect is striking and constitutes yet another instance of the paradoxical strategy whereby defendants transform transgression into a resource[49]. Thus, the act of sentencing his son to death is not construed as an expression of brutality, impulsiveness, or injustice; rather, it is presented as evidence of exceptional virtue, befitting the dignity of his office. This, he insists, will be evident to anyone who subjects the case to rational analysis. To facilitate such reasoning, the speaker employs syntactic and lexical parallelism, underscoring the inseparability of justice and prudence. He further exploits the persuasive force of *exempla*, aligning himself with the Numantines, defeated by the Romans, and with the patrician Virginius, who sacrificed his own daughter in the name of higher values – freedom and honor. Such analogies create the illusion of historical legitimation for Lyderic's deed. At the same time, they introduce the germ of the principle of equality before the law, irrespective of blood ties or social status: "The laws must be observed equally by all, for as soon as any exception is made, corruption enters along with it"[50].

Among the numerous argumentative motifs mobilized by adversaries[51], one in particular merits closer attention: the representation of women, or more precisely, the cataloguing of their alleged vices. With rare exceptions – such as the family of the murdered wife in epitome 9, who attempt to construct a positive image of her as *chaste*, *honest*, *and virtuous*, […] *maintaining sacred friendship with the one who was her murderer*[52] – female figures are overwhelmingly depicted

[47] *Crudelitas minime humanum malum est indignumque tam miti animo; ferina ista rabies est sanguine gaudere ac uolneribus et abiecto homine in siluestre animal transire* (Seneca the Younger, *De Clementia*, I, 24).

[48] As the count proceeds to justify his actions, he presents himself as embodying the cardinal virtues. His sense of justice is manifested in the execution of the man responsible for the death of the innocent child and for the mistreatment of the impoverished woman. His prudence is evidenced by the manner in which the punishment was carried out – without inciting public disorder, yet with the clear didactic purpose of demonstrating that no perpetrator of evil could evade retribution. His moderation is revealed in the decision to grant his son a swift death, thereby sparing him the protracted humiliation of a public execution. Finally, his valor is displayed in the internal struggle he overcame, resisting the paternal impulse toward clemency in order to uphold the demands of justice.

[49] *Des vices ils font vertu* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 235 r°).

[50] *Les loix doivent estre observees à tous egallement*, *car dés que l'exception y vient*, *la corruption y entre quant et quant* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 9 r°). Cf. *Si aucune Loy est inique ou pernicieuse*, *c'est celle qui n'est egalle à tous* (E. 31, A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f°101 r°).

[51] It is pertinent to recall, for instance, the Platonic construct of the philosopher-king (E. 2), as well as the literary topos of the most degenerate age in which humankind has existed (E. 78).

[52] *chaste*, *honneste et vertueuse*, […] *portant une amitié sainte à celuy qui a esté son meurtrier* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 37 r°).

in negative terms. Predictably, the defense responds with sweeping generalizations about women's deficiencies: *Most women are quick and astute only at doing wrong, devoting so much of their intellect to it that they fall short in doing good:* […] *ultimately, no one can truly fathom their subtleties, mischief, obstinacy toward evil, and inconstancy in doing good except a married man*[53]. Other epitomes add that *women are rarely masters of their tongue*[54] (E. 88), that they pursue adultery and, when refused, later allege attempted coercion[55] (E. 21), or even that wild animals surpass them in humanity (E. 78)[56].

The impression conveyed is that speakers expend little effort in refuting such claims. Counter-arguments are typically reduced to the formula articulated by Count Lyderic: *the difference between the sexes, which renders every man superior to women*[57] (E. 2). In practice, this reasoning amounts to the assertion that if a woman has committed or contributed to a crime, ultimate responsibility lies with the man, whose duty it is to protect her as a weak being entirely subject to him[58]. Such a representation of the "weaker sex" corresponds to the socio-legal realities of sixteenth-century patriarchy, in which the status of the average woman remained precarious, particularly in juridical terms[59], and in which the debate on women (*Querelle des femmes*)[60] – and the associated topos of female imperfections, widespread since the thirteenth century with the dissemination of the second part of *The Romance of the Rose* – remained vibrantly alive.

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[53] *La plus part des femmes n'est promptes ou avisees qu'à mal faire, à quoy applicquent tant leur esprit, qu'il leur deffaut au bien:* […] *finallement nul ne peut bien cognoistre leurs subtilitez, malices, obstination au mal et inconstance au bien que celuy qui est marié* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 39 v°).

[54] *les femmes sont peu de fois maistresses de leur langue* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 214 r°).

[55] *puis se voyant refusees, se plaignent après que l'on les a voulu forcer* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 77 v°).

[56] This constitutes an indictment of a woman who, seized by a paroxysm of anger, put her daughter to death after the latter had, albeit inadvertently, contributed to the demise of her younger brother: *Quelle tigre, quelle louve? Ou autre animal, ou beste plus cruelle, n'a non seullement le soucy de ses petis faons, mais jusques à la mort les deffend de ceux qui les veullent nuire ou offencer, combien donc moins les voudroient ils tuer eux mesmes?* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 186 v°).

[57] *la difference du sexe, qui rend tout homme superieur à la femme* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 11 r°).

[58] *Je voudroy demander à ce meschant, en quoy are femme meritoit mourir de la main de celuy qui avoit juré de la garder, et deffendre de tout injure?* (E. 9, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 37 v°). Cf. *Celuy qui devroit la secourir, et pourchasser are delivrance, pourchasse are mort* (E. 78, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 187 r°).

[59] Th. PECH, *Conter le crime. Droit et littérature sous la Contre-Réforme: les histoires tragiques [1559–1644]*, Paris 2000, p. 341–343.

[60] A. JOUANNA, P. HAMON, D. BILOGHI, G. LE THIEC, *La France de la Renaissance*…, p. 812–814.

Pathos

Determining with precision the readership of the *Epitomes* proves difficult, for the history of literature furnishes us with but scant evidence on this matter[61]. The poet and member of the French Academy, Guillaume Colletet, does indeed designate a particular circle of readers who might derive special benefit from the work – namely, young jurists at the outset of their engagement with the intricacies of rhetoric. His observation, however, does not foreclose the prospect of a wider reception[62]. Irrespective of the book's original design, what remains most apparent is the author's deliberate appeal to the reader's emotions, thereby rendering him mentally predisposed to persuasion, since rational argumentation alone so often proves insufficient[63].

This phenomenon manifests itself on several levels. At the outset, it becomes evident that the very selection of the work's title was calculated to arouse interest through its association with the immensely popular series of *Tragic Histories* (*Histoires tragiques*), inaugurated in France in 1559 by Pierre Boaistuau. The adoption of the adjective "tragic" was, of course, anything but fortuitous[64]. It conferred a certain dignity upon the genre by invoking the Aristotelian poetics of tragedy, while simultaneously portending the presence of drastic subject matter[65]. The allusion

[61] Van den Bussche is known to have attained a measure of renown as a poet active at the court of the Valois, where his verses were read not only by prominent court dignitaries but also by fellow poets of his generation. Nevertheless, as Guillaume Colletet observed in the seventeenth century, he was by no means a poet of the first rank and appears to have enjoyed greater esteem as a prose writer. The favorable reception of his *Procès* and subsequently of his *Epitomes* – the latter dedicated to his patron, Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq – is attested both by the frequency of their re-editions and by the English translation published in 1596. The enduring appeal of the work is further evidenced by the fact that as late as 1643, 1649, and 1650, Tristan L'Hermite issued it under his own name, having altered the title and introduced only minor modifications, primarily of a stylistic nature (*Théâtre de la cruauté…*, p. 70–72; A. Cullière, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle…*, p. 44, 51; H. Helbig, *Œuvres choisies…*, p. VI, XV, XXXII, XLVI–LVI).

[62] H. Helbig, *Œuvres choisies…*, p. LIX, LXXVI.

[63] W.K. Pietrzak, *Le Tragique dans les nouvelles exemplaires…*, p. 205.

[64] A. Cullière also draws attention to the evocative power of the associations generated by the very use of this adjective (A. Cullière, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle…*, p. 49).

[65] Witold Konstanty Pietrzak advances a nuanced synthesis of theoretical perspectives concerning the application of the designation "tragic". On the one hand, authors appear to have employed the term in order to confer a heightened dignity upon the short narrative forms they cultivated, thereby distancing them from the commonplace. On the other, they engaged – albeit in a rather superficial manner – with Aristotelian conceptions of tragedy, invoking the logical structure of events that inexorably culminate in catastrophe, the elevated and serious tenor of the works, and the epistemic value inherent in mimesis. A further interpretative avenue may be discerned in a philosophical register, linked to meditations on the misery of the human condition (*miseria hominis*), or in a "quantitative" approach, whereby a narrative is deemed the more tragic the greater the accumulation of brutal or violent scenes it contains (W.K. Pietrzak, *Le Tragique dans les nouvelles exemplaires…*, p. 29, 31, 307–309).

to such a cycle was therefore intended to ensure the elicitation of powerful affective responses – curiosity, anxiety, disgust, anger, and, not least, *delectatio morosa* – responses reinforced by the frequent representation of scenes of violence. This, in turn, suggests that the intended audience of the *Epitomes* was likely conceived in broad terms.

An examination of Van den Bussche's representations of transgression reveals that he renders them with marked laconicism, refraining both from accentuating brutality and from assigning them any explicit evaluative weight. This restraint, however, does not entail that the reader remains unaffected by the murders depicted. On the contrary, while the narrator strives to preserve an appearance of strict neutrality, the *brevitas* that characterizes his discourse frequently proves more efficacious in securing the reader's attention – directing it toward what is essential – and in eliciting a spectrum of affective responses than would a prolix, ornate style replete with exhaustive detail. If, in this respect, the mode of narration stands in opposition to the poetics of the *histoires tragiques* to which the title of the work alludes, it is because the emphasis here lies not upon narrative exposition but upon the display of rhetorical virtuosity, whereby orators manipulate the emotions of the reader.

Indeed, in the section devoted to the speeches one encounters a wealth of material imbued with a pathetically charged tenor. It must be underscored that the orations of both accusers and defenders constitute such coherent unities that it is not always possible to demarcate clearly between ostensibly rational argumentation and the calculated manipulation of sentiment. More than one of the previously adduced examples of dialectical reasoning, after all, could move an audience. The task, rather, is to isolate those elements that most directly exemplify the emotional interplay with the addressee of the discourse, elements which, as Quintilian reminds us[66], belong to a strategy already meticulously conceived at the stage of composition. Nor should it be forgotten that, although on the diegetic level the speaker addresses a representative of the judiciary, the true addressee is the reader – cast as participant in the staged proceedings[67] – upon whose sensitivity the ultimate moral judgment of the situation is made to depend.

How, then, is one to capture the heart of the arbiter of justice – and, by extension, that of the reader? Although the *exordium* and *peroratio* of both accusatory and defensive speeches are often but residual, one nevertheless discerns within them the recurrent presence of a single rhetorical figure: the apostrophe. On the one hand, forms of address directed to representatives of social authority – such

[66] *Postremo intuendum*, *quemadmodum judex sit conciliandus; neque enim*, *nisi totis causae partibus diligenter inspectis*, *scire possumus*, *qualem nobis facere animum cognoscentis expediat*, *severum an mitem*, *concitatum an remissum*, *adversum gratiae an obnoxium* (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, III, 9, (http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1002.phi0013.perseus-lat1:9 [14 IV 2025]).

[67] *Théâtre de la cruauté*…, p. 73.

as "ô Peres conscrits"[68], "ô Senateurs incorruptibles"[69], "Sire"[70], "ô Patrices"[71], "ô juste Juge, et vous Senateurs equitables"[72] – function as conventional expressions of courtesy, an awareness of convention, and an adaptation to the gravity of the occasion (*bienséance*). On the other hand, by underscoring the power and independence of the addressees, such invocations reaffirm their sense of authority, influence, and decisiveness, thereby disposing them more favorably toward the orator. The likelihood of such an effect is heightened when the speaker interweaves elaborate praise of the sovereign with a self-presentation marked by humility and fidelity (*topos modestiæ*), thereby rendering himself all the more dependent upon the magnanimity, integrity, and sense of justice of the ruler: *Most magnanimous and just Prince, the renown of your equity has impelled us to become your most loyal, most affectionate, most humble, and most faithful subjects, and to choose you as our sovereign Prince and most redoubtable lord*[73] (E. 31); *Sire, if your justice and clemency were not equal to your greatness, we would have appealed to your Majesty in vain*[74] (E. 94). To inundate the addressee with laudatory epithets and to invoke his reputation is to encourage him to preserve this image, and thus to engage more attentively with the discourse of one who perceives him in such exalted terms.

Yet orators do not invariably seek to awaken positive emotions in their audience – though, as Cicero reminds us, this constitutes an essential element of judicial eloquence[75]. The father of Horatius, who slew his daughter after she reproached him for killing her husband in a duel (E. 88)[76], commences his defense with the following words: *Where do you have the heart and understanding, O Romans, to choose to persecute your Redeemer in such a manner? Do you not know that, among all vices, ingratitude is displeasing to the Gods? How then can you prosper?*[77]. From the very outset, the appeal to the emotional and moral sphere is manifest. It is reinforced by terms of strong negative valence ("persecuter", "ingratitude", "despaisante"), which

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[68] *Ibidem*.

[69] A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 3 v°.

[70] A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 6 r°, f° 8 r°, f°11 r°.

[71] A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 176 r°.

[72] A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 194 r°.

[73] *Tresmagnanime et juste Prince, le renom de vostre equité nous avoit incité à nous rendre voz tresloyaux, tresaffectionnez, treshumbles et tresfidelles sujets, et vous choisir pour nostre souverain Prince et tresredoutable seigneur* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 99 v° – 100 r°).

[74] *Sire, si vostre justice, et clemence, n'estoit egalle à vostre grandeur, en vain aurions nous recours à vostre Majesté* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 233 v°).

[75] Cicero, *Oratoriæ partitiones*, IV.

[76] The passage pertains to a narrative, most likely transmitted by Titus Livius, concerning one of the three Horatii, who secured Rome's triumph in the conflict with Alba Longa by vanquishing in combat the three brothers representing that city.

[77] *Où avez vous le cueur et l'entendement, ô Romains, de vouloir ainsi persecuter vostre redempteur? Ne sçavez vous point que sur tout autre vice l'ingratitude est despaisante aux Dieux? Comment pourrez vous donc prosperer?* (A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 213 r° – v°).

stand in antithesis to "redempteur" and "prosperer", words connoting the cessation of anguish and war, the advent of joy and prosperity. The Romans are thus compelled to recognize what they stand to forfeit should they condemn Horatius. This recognition is rendered all the more vivid if accompanied by fear. And since the father of the accused apparently deems his own authority insufficient to instill such fear, he invokes the highest and most formidable instance: the gods and their wrath[78].

Similarly, the assassins endeavor to persuade their audience that the charges leveled against them are but calumnies and monstrosities unworthy of a just ruler's credence: *Without responding to all your calumnies*, *trusting in the fairness of the Prince*, *I freely entrust my property*, *my honor*, *and my life to his most just judgment*[79] (E. 31). Here, too, one discerns elements of ethos-construction: the speaker presents himself as so honorable, and so steadfast in his conviction of unimpeachable morality, that he is willing to stake all upon it. Yet the emphasis falls less upon self-presentation than upon the manipulation of the judge's emotions: by extolling his virtues and surrendering himself unreservedly into the ruler's hands, the speaker implicitly demands that the latter prove himself equally righteous, incorruptible, and impartial. To condemn such a man would be to betray boundless trust and to act wickedly.

Other manifestations of pathos – such as the orator's overt expression of the intense emotions that accompany him – likewise intersect with the construction of his own image. This process frequently follows a recognizable pattern, as may be observed, for instance, in epitome 9.

> Seigneurs Juges, tant plus ce cas est estrange, tant plus nostre douleur est grande, qui nous fait doubter si noz plaintes sont ouyes, si estant ouyes, sont entendues, si estant entendues, sont senties, d'autant que difficilement se peuvent sentir, par ceux à qui elles ne touchent de pres, d'autant que le mal d'autruy, ne semble jamais si pesant qu'il est, parquoy vous asseurons bien, que nous pouvons mieux sentir le nostre, que l'exprimer, car quand l'ame, est occupee de passion, les esprits defaillans, retiennent les organes, et empeschent la langue:

[78] Meanwhile, the families of Baldwin's executed nobles went so far as to exert overt political pressure upon the monarch, amounting virtually to blackmail. In consequence, he was expected to acknowledge both the extremity of the petitioners' desperation and the deleterious consequences for the polity that would ensue were he to refrain from divesting the Count of his office: *Si ne pouvons obtenir du Roy le remede esperé*, *de la reparation deue*, *faisons vœu*, *nous*, *les nostres*, *parens*, *aliez*, *amis*, *et cyens*, *d'aller plustost habiter entre les Scites*, *ou toute autre nation plus cruelle*, *que demeurer plus souz la juridiction d'un homme tant infame* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 235 v°).

[79] *Sans respondre à toutes voz calomnies*, *me confiant en l'equité du Prince*, [je] *remets librement mes biens*, *mon honneur*, *et ma vie*, *à son tresjuste jugement* (f° 102 r°). Cf. *Comme vous dittes qu'est injustice pardonner un coulpable*, *ainsi est justice punir un meschant comme j'ay fait*, *parquoy n'ay offencé*, *sinon que justement stimulé ay fraudé l'authorité des Juges*, *ausquels demandant pardon de cette faute*, *me soubmets totallement leur priant aussi me deffendre de voz outrages* (E. 21, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires*…, f° 79 v°).

considerez vous mesmes, s'il est possible, ô Juges, nostre misere, et nostre silence soit suppliment de ce que ne pouvons dire, soyez, donc autant justement severes que ce malheureux est inique, et cruel.[80]

Paradoxically, although the accusers have already delivered a vehement and emotionally charged speech, they nevertheless resort to the rhetorical device of *praeteritio*, thereby intimating that the harm they have endured entails an ineffable – both literally and figuratively – pain that deprives them of the capacity to articulate their despair adequately. What emerges from this monologue is a Platonic conception of the supremacy of the soul over the body – here, however, a soul constrained by *passiones*, which contemporary medical discourse identified as the source of numerous infirmities and corporeal maladies[81]. One also discerns an allusion to Plato's thesis concerning the fallibility of the senses[82], a theme closely tied to the anxiety surrounding the arbiter's ability to render a correct judgment. The danger is all the greater inasmuch as human beings exhibit a natural propensity to privilege their own experiences – an inclination that Seneca the Younger condemns as inimical to the Stoic ideal of life[83] – while the experiences of others "do not concern" them to the same degree[84]. Such rhetorical strategies enhance the resonance of the final appeal to the judges: it is they who must assume responsibility in direct proportion to the wickedness of the perpetrator and the impotence of the victims, and only they can mitigate the latter's suffering through an appropriate sentence. On the one hand, the expression of emotion may lend credibility to the speaker's ethos, presenting him as a more "human" figure whose motives

[80] A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 38 r°. Cf. *Finallement je sens que la tristesse trop juste me transporte tellement, que mes propos ne s'entresuivent comme seroit requis, parlant devant ce noble Senat lequel se daignera m'excuser, considerant que jamais ne gardent bien l'ordre, ceux qui sont oppressez de douleur extreme* (E. 1, A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 3 r°– v°); *La juste douleur me garde de sçavoir plus parler* (E. 78, A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 186 v°) or *Noz justes larmes, joinctes au silence, demandent justice* (E. 2, A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 8 r°).

[81] M. Koźluk, *Πομφόλυξ ὁ Ἄνθρωπος (L'homme Est Une Bulle) – Les Passions de l'âme Selon Louis de Caseneuve*, [in:] *Corps et Âme Sous l'empire Des Passions Dans La Littérature Française Des Origines à Nos Jours*, ed. eadem, Ł. Szkopiński, Wiesbaden 2024, p. 90.

[82] Plato, *Phaedo*, 82e – 83e.

[83] *Curam nobis nostri natura mandavit, sed huic ubi nimium indulseris, vitium est* (Seneca the Younger, *Epistulæ Morales ad Lucilium*, CXVI, 3, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1017.phi015.perseus-lat1:116.3 [14 IV 2025]).

[84] This constitutes a recurring motif in the orations of both the accusers and the defendants. Cf. *Tousjours le mal d'autruy est leger à ceux qui ne le sentent, et chacun presche la patience, et temperance en l'affaire d'autruy* (E. 21, A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 78 r°) or *La coustume des meschans, voire de la plus part des humains est telle, d'escrire en sable les injures qu'ils font aux autres, et de graver en cuivre les griefs qu'ils reçoivent* (E. 1, A. Van den Bussche, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 4 r°).

are neither calculating nor vindictive. On the other hand, the very display of such affect functions as a calculated instrument of persuasion, designed to manipulate the audience through affective involvement.

The question thus arises whether the defense can effectively counter such a mode of persuasion. A striking strategy consists in the inversion of roles, whereby the accused is presented as the true victim, more grievously afflicted than the murdered individual and his family: *Ultimately, it shall please the Judges to pay greater heed to the misery of the poor accused rather than to the insolent loquacity of his malicious accusers: for who can be more deserving of pity than one for whom life is more bitter than death?*[85] (E. 9). The murderer is depicted as fully conscious of the gravity of his deed, compelled by an uncontrollable outburst of anger – since the mastery of sudden and violent passions lies beyond the capacity of ordinary men[86] – and as experiencing such profound remorse that death appears not merely the lightest of punishments but even a form of salvation[87]. This juxtaposition of *miseria hominis* with the arrogance of the accusers is intended to elicit sympathy from the audience and culminates in a paradoxical conclusion: the man who wronged his virtuous wife assumes the guise of a martyr, and the very act of bringing him to trial inflicts upon him an even greater injury. He, paradoxically, emerges as the one who is most deserving of justice[88].

A cursory examination of the foregoing examples may initially disorient the reader and provoke reflection on whether it is at all possible to determine which side ultimately prevails in the rhetorical contest. Yet a comprehensive reading of the *Epitomes* does not yield a definitive resolution. Indeed, a certain hermeneutic tension emerges when the interpretative frameworks proposed by scholars are applied to the cases under discussion. On the one hand, Van den Bussche appears as a moralist, a severe critic of human transgressions, who evokes them

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[85] *Finallement il plaira aux Juges, avoir plus esgard à la misere du pauvre accuzé, qu'à la loquacité insollente, de ses mal vueillans accuzateurs: car qui peut estre plus digne de pitié, que celuy à qui la vie est plus amere que la mort* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 39 v°). Cf. *Pourquoy pourchassez vous la mort d'une, qui ne demande qu'à mourir? Vous semble il que ceste pauvre femme, ne soit assez affligee? Sans encore luy agreger are douleur?* (E. 78, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 187 r°).

[86] This is another motif frequently attested in epitomes. Cf. *Ne sçavez vous pas que les premiers mouvemens d'une juste collere, ne sont en nostre puissance?* (E. 78, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 187 r°) or *Ne sçavez vous pas, ô Romains, que les premiers mouvemens ne sont en nostre puissance?* (E. 88, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 213 v°).

[87] *Aveuglé d'un courroux autant extreme que juste*, [il] *a fait ce qu'à l'heure mesme eusse voullu revocquer au pris de sa vie, laquelle il offre encore pour expier sa faute, de laquelle il a tel regret, qu'il s'estima heureux, finissant sa douleur par mort* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 38 v° – 39 r°).

[88] *Finallement, Sire, je proteste dvant vostre Majesté du tort que me font mes subjects, m'accusant et calomniant à tort, et consequemment en demade Justice* (E. 2, A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Epitomes de cent histoires…*, f° 11 r°).

solely in order to condemn[89]. In this perspective, speeches denouncing crime are composed with far greater attention to persuasive efficacy than those attempting to justify sacrilegious acts[90]. On the other hand, it is generally assumed that, from the standpoint of rhetorical theory, the second speech – namely, the *refutatio* – tends to be more effective, producing in the reader not only the impression of having been intellectually outmaneuvered but also the impulse to reassess previously held convictions[91]. At the same time, it is noteworthy that among the epitomes dealing with murder, only two (E. 81 and E. 88) depict the accusers as speaking second and thus engaging in refutation. This would imply that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, it is the speech of the perpetrator that proves more compelling.

This paradox may perhaps be most aptly captured in the formulation of Alain Cullière, who characterizes the Flemish author as a moralist with a profoundly pessimistic vision of reality, intent on constructing two discourses of equivalent weight in order to *render the reader completely*, *and even cruelly*, *indecisive*[92]. The distinctive appeal of the *Epitomes* thus lies less in didactic moralizing than in the deliberate destabilization of the reader, who is left alone with a spectrum of affective responses – surprise, irritation, admiration, disbelief, sympathy, amusement – while confronted with the radical relativity of human value systems. Having (most likely) presupposed that murder admits of only one legitimate moral evaluation – namely, a negative one – the reader becomes a "victim" of the drama staged through the agonistic dialogue of the opposing parties and comes to recognize that virtually any act may be justified, provided it is framed through the skillful deployment of arguments and the calculated manipulation of emotions.

One may legitimately pose the question of whether Van den Bussche's work does not, at least in part, constitute an attempt to evaluate the functioning of the judicial system of his time, thereby allowing the unsettling inference that such a system might, in practice, often rest upon sophistic reasoning. A definitive answer, however, proves elusive. Christian Biet has underscored that the majority of cases presented in the epitomes could scarcely have occurred in reality, and he demonstrates through selected examples[93] that not all of the laws and punishments depicted therein were in force under the Ancien Régime – and, where they did exist, they applied to transgressions other than those described[94]. This observation does not, of course, preclude the hypothesis that the author adopted a critical stance toward the legal order; yet the critical tradition clearly suggests that we should not regard the Flemish writer as a jurist. Rather, he appears to assume the

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[89] H. Helbig, *Œuvres choisies*…, p. LIX.

[90] *Théâtre de la cruauté*…, p. 73.

[91] *Iidem*, p. 74.

[92] *rendre le lecteur totalement et même cruellement indécis* (A. Cullière, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle*…, p. 49–50).

[93] They correspond to epitomes: 6, 27, 46, 60, 61, 66, 79, 81, 86, 95.

[94] *Théâtre de la cruauté*…, p. 73–81.

role of a "pedagogue-author", who, by means of the judicial disputes he recounts, seeks to stimulate in the reader a profound ethical reflection[95] – an invitation to deliberate on the nature of good and evil, virtue and crime. The decision to be reached is situated simultaneously on the intellectual plane (Which argument possesses genuine logical validity, and which is merely sophistic?) and on the affective plane (What does my heart dictate? Which moral values do I profess?). It must, moreover, be undertaken autonomously, even if these two dimensions should prove mutually irreconcilable. To conclude these reflections, let us recall the words of Van den Bussche himself, which close the first "trial" of the initial edition of the *Procès tragiques* – a trial that would later become the thirty-fifth epitome: *The final judgment is left to the reader's discretion*[96].

* * *

Within the corpus of Alexandre Sylvain Van den Bussche's Epitomes of Tragic Stories, a particularly noteworthy subset is constituted by those narratives which – drawing explicitly on the ancient tradition of judicial oratory – stage the figure of the murderer brought before the tribunal. Murder, after all, would appear to be the paradigmatic crime for which justification is, if not altogether impossible, then at least exceedingly arduous. Yet the author succeeds in unsettling the reader's expectations. At the level of *dispositio*, the work is modeled on Seneca the Elder's *Controversiae*: the narrator effaces himself, recounting the crime with concision and ostensible objectivity, before ceding the floor to accusers and defenders. In Van den Bussche's rendering, these speeches are strikingly individualized, a feature manifest in the selection of arguments and the internal logic of the discourse.

At the level of *inventio*, one encounters a dense array of topoi, comparisons, metaphors, and allusions, which attest to the author's erudition. Although many of these motifs derive from antiquity, the text also acquires a distinctly contemporary resonance, repeatedly echoing concerns central to sixteenth-century society – such as the ideal of rulership, the harmonious functioning of the political organism, and the contested status of women. The speeches of the opposing parties are further marked by a pronounced affective charge, recalling the poetics of Tragic

[95] *Ibidem*, p. 73–74; A. CULLIÈRE, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle*…, p. 49–50.

[96] *Le jugement demeure à la discretion du lecteur* (A. VAN DEN BUSSCHE, *Le Premier livre des proces tragiques, contenant cinquante cinq histoires, avec les accusations, demandes, et deffences d'icelles*, Paris: Nicolas Bonfons, 1575, f° 4 r°). This sentence is likewise adduced by Cullière (A. CULLIÈRE, *De La Controverse à La Nouvelle*…, p. 49). It is absent from the 1581 edition of the *Epitomes*, for it was evidently deemed unnecessary in the case of the narrative occupying the thirty-fifth position within the collection. The fact that it is likewise not found at the conclusion of the first epitome in that volume may plausibly be explained by an authorial presupposition: insofar as this constituted merely an augmented re-edition, the reader was presumed already to be acquainted with the "instructions for use".

Stories, already signaled in the title of the collection. The *dramatis personae* seek to elicit pity, guilt, sorrow, irritation, curiosity, and, above all, disorientation in the reader – an effect intensified by the deliberate juxtaposition of antithetical statements.

The cognitive and affective dimensions are heightened at the level of *elocutio*: the deployment of rhetorical figures (parallelism, antithesis, apostrophe, epithet, hypotyposis) provides the audience with aesthetic gratification (*placere*), a goal already pursued by ancient orators, while simultaneously striking the imagination and emotions with often brutal force, thereby serving as a crucial instrument of persuasion. These elements, interwoven across the three classical registers – the speaker (ethos), the discourse (logos), and the listener (pathos) – generate a relativism consonant with the values of Renaissance humanism. They reveal the extent to which the moral evaluation of an apparently outrageous and *prima facie* condemnable act such as murder may prove far from self-evident. The disoriented reader discovers that any value may be destabilized, that any "truth" is contingent, and that its validation depends less on intrinsic moral substance than on the rhetorical dexterity of the speaker. The reader must autonomously determine with which side he is prepared to align. And although such conclusions are hardly novel within the framework of the ancient rhetorical tradition, they remain as disquieting and as complex as the historical realities in which Van den Bussche's work was conceived.

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The Translation of Medieval Sources and Historical Reconstruction: a New Perspective on the Problem of the Birth Year of the Bulgarian Tsar John II Assen (1218–1241)*

Abstract. The article examines the important topic of the limits of interpretation when studying medieval sources through the prism of a particular example taken from the *History* of George Akropolites. Without sufficient information to establish the facts, scholars often resort to analyzing separate words and expressions from the source text, whose translation and interpretation may prove decisive in clarifying the information contained within it. As the present paper demonstrates, however, the possibilities of this approach are sometimes limited and do not always allow the study to be carried out to completion. In such cases, it is crucial to clearly distinguish between irrefutable conclusions, on the one hand, and assumptions, on the other. The superimposition of a number of hypotheses and a historical reconstruction based on them may lead to long-term negative consequences for researching a given scientific problem by giving inaccurate ideas about historical events, phenomena and processes, and may mislead the next generations of historians.

Keywords: translation, medieval sources, historical reconstruction, Bulgarian medieval studies, translating and publishing historical sources, John II Assen, George Akropolites, Vasil Zlatarski, Ivan Dujčev, children and adolescents in Byzantium, terminology on stages of childhood and juvenility

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Introduction: Translation studies and medieval sources

History and translation are related and the connection between them is of great importance for both disciplines. For historians, encounters with historical sources of foreign origin are almost inevitable, which is why translation is present in their work by default. Moreover, for the reconstruction of the picture of the past, the accuracy of translation almost always plays a decisive role. In research on Bulgarian medieval history, a number of examples can be cited that clearly demonstrate this. It is precisely such a case study that served as the main impetus for considering the important aspects of the relationship between translation studies and medieval studies. The present research, of course, does not attempt to provide definitive answers to all the questions raised, some of which are within the competence of scholars from other scientific fields. It aims rather to emphasize some problems related to the methodology of historical study and to argue for the need for new approaches and a strengthening of interdisciplinary connections. The main tasks facing it are: to provide a general idea of new research and approaches regarding the application of translation theory in the field of medieval studies; to outline the main stages in the development of the translation and publication of medieval sources in Bulgarian historical science; and to examine the problem of the birth year of the Bulgarian ruler John II Assen (1218–1241) in a broader context, in accordance with the current state of research relating to the topic.

Translation studies, a relatively new academic discipline that deals with the theory, description and application of translation, have in recent years more and more turned to new research fields, including those that border on history as a science[1]. In the contemporary scholarly literature relating to this area, considerations of the historical aspects of translation activity and, in particular, the problems of translation in a medieval context, tend to occupy an increasingly important place. For illustration, it suffices to mention recent publications such as: *Companion to Medieval Translation* (2019); *Translation in Europe during the Middle Ages* (2020) or *Medieval Translatio. Interdisciplinary Studies in the Translation and Transfer of Language, Culture, Literature* (2024)[2]. The activities of scholars in this

[1] Regarding contemporary trends in the advancement of translation studies, as well as its interconnectedness with the historical science see: W.P. ADAMS, *The Historian as Translator: An Introduction*, JAmH 85.4, 1999, p. 1283–1288; C. FOZ, *Translation, History and the Translation Scholar*, [in:] *Charting the Future of Translation History*, ed. G.L. BASTIN, P.F. BANDIA, Ottawa 2006, p. 131–144; L. LONG, *History and Translation*, [in:] *A Companion to Translation Studies*, ed. P. KUHIWCZAK, K. LITTAU, Clevedon 2007, p. 63–76; C. RUNDLE, V. RAFAEL, *History and Translation: The Event of Language*, [in:] *Border Crossings. Translation Studies and Other Disciplines*, ed. Y. GAMBIER, L. VAN DOORSLAER, Amsterdam–Philadelphia 2016, p. 23–47; *A History of Modern Translation Knowledge. Sources, Concepts, Effects*, ed. L. D'HULST, Y. GAMBIER, Amsterdam–Philadelphia 2018, p. 233–281; P. WILSON, *The Philosophy of History and Translation*, [in:] *The Routledge Handbook of Translation History*, ed. C. RUNDLE, London–New York 2022, p. 217–232.

[2] Along with those publications also see: R. COPELAND, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages. Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts*, Cambridge 1991; J. RUBIO TOVAR,

new direction cover a wide range of topics related to: the techniques of translation, adaptation and reworking of medieval texts; the cultural and historical role of translation in the Middle Ages; translated literature as a social and cultural phenomenon; translation as a result of the processes of intercultural mediation; the integration of translation into the literature and culture of those who receive it, as well as a number of other theoretical and practical aspects of translation activity in the Middle Ages.

At the same time, another area that also falls within the border zone between history and translation studies and delves into translating medieval literary works and historical documents into modern languages is still in its early developmental stage. Individual articles and several collections of essays, which contain both theoretical observations and examples of strategies when working with specific texts and genres, can be cited. They examine a number of basic problems that translators of medieval texts face today, such as: taking into account the role of the manuscript tradition of the works and the variant readings in the copies of the original text, the loss of valuable information for the translator due to distance in time; the difficulties for their understanding by the present-day reader that arise from the cultural characteristics of the societies in which the texts were created, etc.[3]

Among the other important topics that are the subject of special research and more closely concern historical sources are: the specifics of the translation of literary historical sources from the point of view of modern theories in translation

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Some Reflections on the History of Medieval Translation, [in:] *Europe et traduction*, ed. M. Ballard, Arras 1998, p. 37–44; *The Theory and Practice of Translation in the Middle Ages*, ed. R. Voaden *et al.*, Brepols 2003 [= MTr, 8]; *Lost in Translation?*, ed. D. Renevey, C. Whitehead, Brepols 2009 [= MTr, 12]; M. Yovcheva, L. Taseva, *Translated Literature in the Bulgarian Middle Ages as a Social and Cultural Phenomenon*, SeS 10–11, 2012, p. 271–323; *Rethinking Medieval Translation. Ethics, Politics, Theory*, ed. E. Campbell, R. Mills, Cambridge 2012; M. Font, *Between East and West. Translation as a Means of Cross-Cultural Communication. Examples from Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period*, SHN 20.2, 2016, p. 405–418; *A Companion to Medieval Translation*, ed. J. Beer, Amsterdam 2019; *Translation in Europe during the Middle Ages*, ed. E. Borsari, Frankfurt am Main 2020; *Le Moyen Âge au prisme de la traduction et de la réécriture contemporaines*, ed. I. Génin, J. Stephens, Paris 2022 [= Pali, 36]; *Medieval Translations and their Readers*, ed. P. Rychterová, J. Odstrcilik, Brepols 2023 [= MTr, 20]; *Medieval Translatio. Interdisciplinary Studies in the Translation and Transfer of Language, Culture, Literature*, ed. M. Bampi, S. Gropper, Berlin–Boston 2024; I. Djordjević, *The Middle Ages*, [in:] *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Translation Studies*, ed. A. Lange *et al.*, London–New York 2024, p. 51–68.

[3] For a review of previous research and an overview of current problems posed by the translation of medieval texts into modern languages see: M.G. Cammarota, *Translating Medieval Texts: Common Issues and Specific Challenges*, [in:] *Tradurre. Un viaggio nel tempo*, a cura di eadem, Venezia 2018 [= FMM, 17, Serie occidentale, 14], p. 37–53; J.C. Teixeira, *Dynamics of Translation: Navigating Medieval Texts and Beyond*, TransM 5.2, 2023, Special Issue: *Translation In and From the Middle Ages*, guest editor J.C. Teixeira, p. 1–7. Also see: S.M. Mahfouz, *Challenges of Translating Medieval Literary Texts From a Translator's Personal Experience: The Case of Ibn Dāniyāl Trilogy*, TransRev Published online, p. 1–16, https://doi.org/10.1080/07374836.2024.2431337 [20 XII 2024].

studies[4], problems and methods of historical translation[5], the challenges facing the editing and publishing of medieval sources[6].

The complex nature of the tasks that a translator of a medieval text must deal with in his or her work today is clearly outlined by Maria Grazia Cammarota in her article *Translating Medieval Texts: Common Issues and Specific Challenges* (2018):

> The analysis of medieval works is further complicated by a number of other factors, which derive mainly from the absence of direct and reliable sources of information. Of course, all translators have to cope with the so-called encyclopedia, or world knowledge. But in texts that are remote in time, allusions to events, habits, people and so forth may be irremediably lost. Also, determining the meaning of words, phrases, sayings and proverbs is often a problem. All translators are dependent on dictionaries, which are the result of a filtering process: they provide selected meanings, which cannot correspond to all the actual uses of a term in the many contexts it may appear. But if this is valid for modern language dictionaries, it is particularly true for historical dictionaries, which provide meanings that are inferred from the texts themselves and from critical editions: therefore, in many cases, meanings are but the hypotheses of scholars[7].

The theoretical and practical issues of translating medieval texts are of great importance for all sciences that study the various aspects of life in the Middle Ages, and especially for historical science. In fact, the translation of historical sources has always been of fundamental significance for historians, for whom it is a preliminary practical task, which precedes, for understandable reasons, the research process itself. Between the historian and the event there is always a source text and the language barrier associated with this is a primary problem that researchers inevitably encounter. Taking into account even the smallest details in the content of the documents or literary sources with which the historian works is not only important, but also a mandatory condition for carrying out a critical analysis of the text and for obtaining reliable data that can serve to synthesize the final historical narrative. These circumstances explain the close connection between the translation of sources and the work of the historian.

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[4] М. Славова, *За превода на литературни исторически извори (Опит за проблематизация)*, ПИФ 1.1, 2017, p. 38–47.

[5] Ю.Е. Комлева, *Проблемы и методы исторического перевода*, ImMun 5, 2008 (= Сер. Интеллектуальная история, 3), p. 202–212.

[6] E. Skibiński, *Problems with Editing and Translating Historical Sources. Some Polish Examples*, FAH 28, 2015, p. 11–15. About some general observations on the importance of translation for historical reconstruction and the interconnections between linguistics and historical science see: К. Георгиев, *Лингвистични аспекти на изворовата критика*, ПИД 5, 1991, p. 5–54.

[7] M.G. Cammarota, *Translating Medieval Texts*…, p. 41–42.

Translating and publishing historical sources in Bulgarian medieval studies: A brief overview

In the initial developmental stage of Bulgarian historical science as an academic discipline, the translation of sources was among the paramount tasks for historians themselves. At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, there was still a lack of editions in modern languages of a large proportion of the sources for Bulgarian history. For this reason, the publications of Bulgarian medievalists who were active during said period, such as Marin Drinov (1838–1906), Vasil Zlatarski (1866–1935), Petăr Mutafčiev (1883–1943), Petăr Nikov (1884–1938) etc., usually included translations of extensive excerpts from medieval texts, which were accompanied by in-depth analyses and comments. In addition, scientific periodicals began publishing some of the more important sources for Bulgarian history, including excerpts from Byzantine chronicles and historical works, selections from the diplomatic correspondence of Bulgarian rulers, inscriptions, lives of saints, etc. In the early years the greatest merit in this regard went to V. Zlatarski[8]. In 1905, on the initiative of Ivan Šišmanov (1862–1928), an Archeographic Commission was established at the Ministry of Public Education, whose main task was searching for and publishing domestic written records from the medieval era[9]. By the mid-20th century, some of the leading specialists in Slavonic and classical philology were actively involved in this activity, and the first editions of complete translations of medieval works significant for Bulgarian history appeared[10], as well as compendia of selected translated excerpts from texts[11].

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[8] Regarding the bibliographic references see: В. Гюзелев, *Апология на Средновековието*, София 2004, p. 148, n. 82.

[9] For more on this issue see: Д. Ангелов, *Нашето историографско наследство в областта на средновековната българска история*, [in:] *Първи конгрес на Българското историческо дружество, 27–30 януари 1970 година*, vol. II, София 1972, p. 555; В. Гюзелев, *Апология на Средновековието…*, p. 114–115; V. Gjuzelev, *Medieval and Byzantine Studies in Bulgaria in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: a Historiographical Introduction*, [in:] *State and Church. Studies in Medieval Bulgaria and Byzantium*, ed. V. Gjuzelev, K. Petkov, Sofia 2011, p. 12–13.

[10] Among them can be cited the following: *Посланието на цариградския патриарх Фотия до българския княз Бориса*, ed. et trans. Варненски и Преславски митрополит Симеон, София 1917 [= БСт, 5], p. 3–138; *Отговорите на папа Николай I по допитванията на българите [Responsa Nicolai papae I. ad consulta Bulgarorum anno 866]*, ed. et trans. Д. Дечев, София 1922; *Първобългарски надписи*, introd., text et notes В. Бешевлиев, ГСУ.ИФФ 31.1, 1935, p. 1–162; В. Бешевлиев, *Първобългарски надписи: добавки и оправки*, ГСУ.ИФФ 32.5, 1936, p. 1–48 + XXX; *Преписката на папа Инокентия III с българите*, introd., text et notes И. Дуйчев, ГСУ.ИФФ 38.3, 1942, p. 1–116. During this period the Old Bulgarian sources were in most cases published with detailed analysis and commentary, but untranslated. For further information on other editions of primary sources see: В. Гюзелев, *Апология на Средновековието…*, p. 114–117.

[11] Such are, for example, the editions made by: Й. Иванов, *Български старини из Македония*, [2]София 1931; И. Дуйчев, *Из старата българска книжнина*, vol. I, *Книжовни и исторически*

In the decades following the Second World War, despite the struggle declared by some scholars against so-called *philological formalism* in the spirit of attempting to restructure historical science on Marxist–Leninist foundations[12], in reality the discussions reflecting the great significance of the source translation for writing history did not cease, but even continued in the field of medieval studies with greater force. In Bulgarian historiography, the controversy over what the phrase ὑπὸ πάκτον ὄντας taken from Theophanes Confessor's *Chronicle* signifies is well known. Its interpretation touches on the important question of relations between Bulgars and Slavs during the formation of the Bulgarian state in the late 7th century. For this reason, many prominent Bulgarian medievalists took a position on the problem[13]. In 1954, the Institute of History at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences launched a large-scale project to publish a corpus of translations of foreign-language sources on Bulgarian history, which successfully developed in the following years[14]. In the 1970s and 1980s, the translation and publication of historical sources underwent a significant boom. This trend continued into the first decades of the new century[15]. Over the past 30 years, Vasil Gjuzelev's efforts to publish sources

паметници от Първото българско царство, [2]София 1943; И. Дуйчев, *Из старата българска книжнина*, vol. II, *Книжовни и исторически паметници от Второто българско царство*, София [1944].

[12] As regards how the term "philological formalism" was used see: *Съдът над историците. Българската историческа наука: документи и дискусии, 1944–1950*, vol. I, ed. В. Мутафчиева, В. Чичовска, София 1995, p. 208–209, 387–388; Ц. Венкова, *Идеологията в езика на езикознанието: "формален" като лоша дума*, [in:] *Обществените процеси и тяхното отражение в езика*, ed. Кр. Алексова *et al*., София 2018 [= Псоц, 13], p. 287–297.

[13] The discussion on the translation of this expression started in the early 20th century, but it gained special momentum in the 1950s and 1960s. *Vide*: Г. Баласчев, *Върху държавното и военно устройство на старобългарската държава*, Мин 1.2, 1909, p. 203–216; I. Dujčev, *Protobulgares et Slaves: sur le problème de la formation de l'Etat bulgare*, AIK 10, 1938, p. 145–154; Г. Цанкова-Петкова, *Бележки към началния период от историята на българската държава*, ИИБИ 5, 1954, p. 319–350; М. Войнов, *За първия допир на Аспаруховите българи със славяните и за датата на основаването на българската държава*, ИИБИ 6, 1956, p. 453–480; I. Dujčev, [rec.:] *M.I. Vojnov, Za părvija dopir na Asparuchovite bălgari săs slavjanite i za datata na osnovavaneto na bălgarskata dăržava (Über den ersten Kontakt der Protobulgaren Asparuchs mit den Slaven und über das Datum der Entstehung des protobulgarischen Staates)*, *Izvestija Inst. f. bulg. Gesch. 6 (1956) 453–480*, BZ 50, 1957, p. 527; М. Войнов, *Отново по въпроса за възникването на българската държава*, ИИИ 9, 1960, p. 269–276; idem, *Някои въпроси във връзка с образуването на българската държава и покръстването на българите*, ИИИ 10, 1962, p. 279–309.

[14] The first volume of the series *Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae* ("Sources on Bulgarian History") contains excerpts from Greek sources from the period 3rd–6th centuries, presented in the original and accompanied by a Bulgarian translation (FGHB, vol. I, ed. В. Бешевлиев, София 1954 [= FHB, 1]). A total of thirty-three volumes have been published over seventy years, with the last one coming into print in 2023 (FGHB, vol. XIII, trans. et notes И. Илиев, София 2023 [= FHB, 33]). On the development of the above mentiond series see: В. Тъпкова-Заимова, М. Войнов, Л. Йончев, *Проблеми на издаването на средновековните извори за българската история*, ПИД 4, 1986, p. 147–151.

[15] It is practically impossible to list even the main editions with translations of sources printed during this period in this current study. The series that stands out among the publications that include

for the medieval history of Bulgaria, stored in various European archives, have been particularly notable. His contribution in this direction remains unsurpassed to this day[16].

As a result of these collective and individual efforts to develop source studies in Bulgaria, the need for historians to translate the sources they work with themselves is gradually disappearing. The presence of such a solid base of translated texts, on the one hand, gives a significant impetus to the development of Bulgarian medieval studies, but on the other hand, leads to a decrease in the interest of researchers in working directly with the original texts and to an underestimation of the central importance of translation for historical reconstruction. However, the problems and challenges associated with the translation of sources remain particularly relevant in contemporary historical science, and their resolution today almost invariably falls within the field of interdisciplinary cooperation with philologists and specialists in translation studies. This fact was convincingly demonstrated recently in the article *Translating Literary Historical Sources (A Critical*

Old Bulgarian texts is: *Стара българска литература*, vol. I–V, ed. Б.Ст. Ангелов *et al.*, София 1981–1992. Important documents related to Bulgaria and the Bulgarians, which are kept in the monasteries of Mount Athos, were published in a series of volumes by Kiril Pavlikianov: C. Pavlikianov, *The Mediaeval Greek and Bulgarian Documents of the Athonite Monastery of Zographou (980–1600). Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts*, Sofia 2014 [= УБ, 512]; idem, *Medieval Slavic Acts from Mount Athos 1230–1734. Bulgarian and Serbian Acts from the Monasteries of Karakallou, Kastamonitou St. Paul, Vatopedi and Xenophontos. Moldavian and Wallachian Slavic Acts from the Monasteries of Docheiariou, Kastamonitou and Zographou. Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts*, Sofia 2018 [= УБ, 516]; idem, *Medieval Greek and Slavic Documents of the Athonite Monastery of "Hagiou Pavlou" (St. Paul) (1010–1580). Critical Edition and Commentary of the Texts*, Sofia 2023. Collections of Old Bulgarian sources in English were also printed: T. Butler, *Monumenta Bulgarica. A Bilingual Anthology of Bulgarian Texts from 9th to the 19th Centuries*, Ann Arbor, MI 1996; K. Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria, Seventh–Fifteenth Century. The Records of a Bygone Culture*, Leiden–Boston 2008 [= ECEEMA, 5]. The publishing of the newly discovered treatise of Petăr Bogdan can be defined as a remarkable phenomenon in recent years. Its translation and editing were carried out by Cvetan Vasilev: Петър Богдан, *За древността на бащината земя и за българските дела* / Petrus Deodatus, *De Antiquitate paterni soli et de rebus Bulgaricis*, vol. I, *Текст*; vol. II, *Трактатът "За древността на бащината земя и за българските дела": палеография, текстология, език*, ed. critica, trans. et comm. Ц. Василев, София 2020.

[16] Among the more important publications that he has compiled, edited and, in most cases, translated, we can mention: В. Гюзелев, *Извори за средновековната история на България (VII–XV в.) в австрийските ръкописни сбирки и архиви*, vol. I, *Български, други славянски и византийски извори*, София 1994; idem, *Извори за средновековната история на България (VII–XV в.) в австрийските ръкописни сбирки и архиви*, vol. II, *Италиански, латински и немски извори*, София 2000 [= АГ, 9]; *Венециански документи за историята на България и българите от XII–XV в.*, ed. idem, София 2001 [= АГ, 18]; idem, *България е огромна област и многоброен народ: земя на блажени. Средновековни географски съчинения за българските земи и българите (IV–XIV в.)*, София 2012; *Сметководна делова писменост от българското и европейското Средновековие*, introd., comp. et notes idem, Пловдив 2013; *"Бях в три страни, които и трите се казват България". Географско-пътеписни съчинения за България и българите от XV в.*, introd., comp. et notes idem, Пловдив 2014.

Approach) by Mirena Slavova[17]. Through examples from translations of the New Testament and the historical works of Xenophon and George Pachymeres, it vividly presents the application of the principles of formal equivalence established in the theory of translation studies when translating literary historical sources. The guidelines set out in this study, carried out by a classical philologist and in line with contemporary tendencies in the development of translation studies, can serve as an important starting point in the future work of both historians and translators of historical sources.

In the context of the above observations, the next part of the present study will put the problems related to the role and the significance of the translation of sources for historical research under scrutiny, again examining them through the prism of a specific example from Bulgarian medieval history, but without touching on general theoretical issues.

Translation and historical reconstruction in medieval studies: The case of the birth year of Tsar John II Assen

Along with the controversy already mentioned concerning how to translate and interpret the expression ὑπὸ πάκτον ὄντας, which took place in scholarly periodicals in the 1950s and 1960s, other important discussions in Bulgarian historiography on key issues concerning the translation of words or phrases from the sources and revealing its impact on the interpretation of historical events can be cited[18]. Such is the case with the attempt to determine the birth year of the Bulgarian ruler John II Assen. This year is not explicitly indicated in the surviving sources. There are also no tangential data that would allow it to be accurately calculated, such as information about his age when he ascended the throne or when he died, for example. For this reason, researchers have so far expressed various assumptions on the issue, based mainly on philological analysis of the text or on logical reasoning.

As is known, John II Assen (1218–1241), son of one of the brothers who re-established the Bulgarian state in 1185, often called *the old Tsar Assen* (1185–1196) in the Old Bulgarian sources[19], was left an orphan in 1196 after the murder of his

[17] М. Славова, *За превода на литературни исторически извори*…, p. 38–47.

[18] As an example, we can give the scientific disputes surrounding the translations of the inscriptions on the Madara rock relief or the word **насѣлници** from the Russian chronograph "По́весть времен-ны́х лет" (Tale of Bygone Years), which refers to the settlement of the Bulgars among the Danubian Slavs at the end of the 7th century. Regarding the research history and the opinions expressed on these issues see: В. Велков, *История на изучаванията на мадарските надписи*, [in:] *Мадарският конник: проучвания върху надписите и релефа*, ed. В. Бешевлиев, София 1956, p. 5–36; А. Николов, *"И населници словеном быша": замечания к интерпретации сведения "Повести временных лет" о поселении болгар среди дунайских славян*, [in:] *ΘΕΟΔΟΥΛΟΣ. Сборник статей памяти профессора Игоря Сергеевича Чичурова*, ed. П.В. Кузенкова *et al.*, Москва 2012, p. 261–269.

[19] Cf. K. Petkov, *The Voices of Medieval Bulgaria*…, p. 276, 340, 426.

father, and in 1207, following the death of his uncle Tsar Kalojan (1197–1207), was forced to leave the country due to the threat of persecution. Before he returned and took over the throne, information about his life is very scarce. For this earliest period of his life, only two mentions of him appear in the historical work of George Akropolites (1217–1282), the main source we have available – at the end of the XII chapter, where the future ruler is mentioned in the following words: *and Assen's son John was not yet of age* (καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀσὰν δὲ υἱὸς Ἰωάννης ἔτι ἀφήλικα ὑπῆρχεν)[20], and again, at the end of the following XIII chapter, where his removal to the Scyths (Cumans) is noted: *someone secretly abducted Assen's son John, who was not yet of age, and said that he had gone to the Scyths* (τὸν δὲ τοῦ Ἀσὰν παῖδα Ἰωάννην ἀφῆλιξ ἔτι ὄντα κρύφα τις λαβὼν ἐπειρήκει, ὡς περὶ τοὺς Σκύθας κεχώρηκε)[21]. It becomes clear that based on this scant information, a meaningful account of the life of John II Assen before his accession to the throne cannot be constructed. This is a common problem in studies devoted to the Middle Ages. Medieval sources rarely contain detailed information about the historical figures they mention. Even when it comes to rulers, they are often laconic and usually report the year of their death and the date of their enthronement, but not the year in which they were born. Therefore, a discussion has arisen in Bulgarian historiography around the attempt to indirectly calculate the approximate birth year of this, the most significant ruler in Bulgarian history in the 13th century.

In Bulgarian historical science, Vasil Zlatarski (1866–1935) was the first to take a position on this issue. He believes that John II Assen was 14–15 years old in 1207, when Tsar Boril (1207–1218) took power, since Akropolites used the word ἀφῆλιξ for him, which the editor of the critical edition, August Heisenberg (1869–1930), translated as *nondum maturus*, literally *not yet mature*[22]. Thus, the researcher

[20] *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, [in:] *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, rec. A. Heisenberg, ed. corr. curavit P. Wirth, vol. I, *Continens Historiam*, *Breviarium historiae*, *Theodori Scutariotae additamenta*, Stutgardiae 1978 (Editio stereotypa editionis anni MCMIII correctior) (cetera: Acropolites, ed. Heisenberg/Wirth), p. 21.4–5. A translation by R. Macrides in: George Akropolites, *The History*, introd., trans. et comm. R. Macrides, Oxford 2007 [= OSB] (cetera: Akropolites, ed. Macrides), p. 137.

[21] Acropolites, ed. Heisenberg/Wirth, p. 24.7–9. A translation by R. Macrides in: Akropolites, ed. Macrides, p. 140–141. Akropolites returns to these events again in chapter XX, where he presents the return of John II Assen from exile and his accession to the throne after the deposition of Boril. *Vide*: Acropolites, ed. Heisenberg/Wirth, p. 32–33.

[22] *Georgii Acropolitae Historia*, [in:] *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, rec. A. Heisenberg, vol. I, *Continens Historiam*, *Breviarium historiae*, *Theodori Scutariotae additamenta*, Lipsiae 1903, p. 316. Some of the more important dictionaries indicated the following meanings of the word: ἀφῆλιξ, ion. ἀπῆλιξ, ῐκος, ὁ, ἡ – *beyond youth*, *elderly* II. *minor*, *infant* (H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones *et al.*, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9Oxford 1996, *s.v.*); *not of full age*, *young* (G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, p. 274); *one who has passed adolescence*, *no longer a boy*, *adult* II. *still a boy*, *minor* (F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, Leiden–Boston 2015, p. 354); *past the prime of life*, *old* (J. Diggle *et al.*, *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, vol. I, *(A–I)*, Cambridge 2021, p. 254). In *Greek sources for Bulgarian history*, Mihail Vojnov, probably guided by the context and without

calculated that the son of John I Assen must have been born in 1191 or 1192[23]. Ivan Dujčev (1907–1986) also focused specifically on the problem and tried to define the meaning of this lexeme in the vocabulary of Akropolites more precisely. He pointed out three more places in the work of the Byzantine historian, referring respectively to the early years of the lives of the emperors Theodore II Laskaris (1254–1258), John IV Laskaris (1258–1261) and Baldwin II (1228–1261), in which the adjective ἀφῆλιξ serves to denote the ages of eight to eleven. These observations gave the scholar a reason to conclude that the more likely date of birth of the future Bulgarian ruler is 1195 or 1196, since as of 1207 he *would have been 11–12 years old at most*, and after his escape *he returned to Bulgaria around 1218*, *only when he came of age*[24].

In historiography over the following decades, most researchers adhered to one of these two opinions, with Dujčev's opinion being more widely held, as it was supported by more solid arguments taken from the text of Akropolites. Moreover, it began to serve as a basis for formulating new hypotheses. Jordan Andreev (1939–2008), for example, relying on Dujčev's conclusions, attempted to determine the birth year of Tsarina Elena, the mother of John II Assen[25]. They were later adopted by Ruth Makridis (1949–2019) in the comments to the English translation of the *History* of George Akropolites[26]. Among the scholars rejecting Dujčev's arguments, one might mention Ivan Božilov (1940–2016), who, after a brief review of the data on the issue, came to the conclusion that the sources leave us no other

additional explanations, translates ἀφῆλιξ in both places that refer to John II Assen, with the word: *deme* (*child*) (Георги Акрополит, *История*, trans. М. Войнов, [in:] *FGHB*, vol. VIII, comp. М. Войнов, ed. М. Войнов, В. Тъпкова-Заимова, Л. Йончев, София 1972 [= FHB, 15], p. 154, 156). Pëtr Žavoronkov in the Russian edition of the *History* by George Akropolites, referring to Ivan Božilov's notes (И. Божилов, *Фамилията на Асеневци (1186–1460). Генеалогия и просопография*, ²София 1994, p. 77), offers the following translations of the two excerpts: *был еще в детском возрасте* (he was still in childhood) and *был еще юн* (he was still young) (Георгий Акрополит, *История*, trans., introd. et comm. П.И. Жаворонков, Санкт-Петербург 2005, p. 56, 58). In the English edition by Ruth Macrides these passages were translated by *was not yet of age* (Akropolites, ed. Macrides, p. 137, 140). Jean Dayantis in the end of the XII chapter translated ἀφῆλιξ by *encore mineur* (still a minor), but he erroneously referred it to Tsar Kalojan; in the second passage the same phrase has not been translated at all. *Vide*: Georges Acropolitès, *Chronique du XIII^e siècle. L'Empire grec de Nicée*, introd., trans. et notes J. Dayantis, Paris 2012, p. 17, 19.

[23] В. Златарски, *История на българската държава през средните векове*, vol. III, *Второ българско царство. България при Асеневци (1187–1280)*, ²София 1994, p. 106, n. 1; p. 260, n. 2. According to Zlatarski, the adjective ἀφῆλιξ, translated by A. Heisenberg as *nondum maturus*, should mean *getting out of childhood*.

[24] И. Дуйчев, *Приноси към историята на Иван Асен II*, [in:] idem, *Българско средновековие. Проучвания върху политическата и културната история на средновековна България*, София 1972, p. 289–290.

[25] Й. Андреев, *Някои хронологични бележки за царуването на Иван Асен II*, ТВТУ 15.3, 1977–1978, p. 18, n. 28.

[26] Akropolites, ed. Macrides, p. 140, 144, n. 23.

option than: *to reason logically and assume that John Assen was born around 1190–1192 at the latest*[27]. However, he does not provide any new evidence to support this view.

From this brief introduction to the problem, it turns out that the dispute over the birth year of John II Assen can be reduced to determining the exact meaning of the adjective ἀφῆλιξ, which the Byzantine historian uses. The present text offers some additional observations in this direction, which are in line with new research in Byzantine studies and aim to bring more clarity to the discussion. These observations focus on two key questions: what is the meaning of this word in Byzantine official documents or narrative sources, and how precise is George Akropolites in the use of the words used to denote childhood and adolescence in Byzantium.

* * *

In recent years, research on children and adolescents in Byzantium has made significant progress. Several collections and monographs have already been published in this scientific field, as well as a number of articles, some of which specifically address issues of terminology[28]. This circumstance allows the problem considered here to be studied on a broader basis.

Byzantine texts contain diverse lexemes for the concept of *child*. In principle, the designations used since Hippocrates (c. 460–c. 375 BC) are preserved: παιδίον (small child), παῖς (child), μειράκιον (youth, a male adolescent), νεανίσκος (young man). In various, mainly hagiographic sources, but also in secular and

[27] *И.* Божилов, *Фамилията на Асеневци*…, p. 77.

[28] H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque byzantine (VI^e–XII^e siècles)*, [in:] *Annales de démographie historique. Enfant et Sociétés*, Paris–La Haye 1973, p. 77–84; E. Patlagean, *L'enfant et son avenir dans la famille byzantine (IV^e–XII^e siècles)*, [in:] *Annales de démographie historique. Enfant et Sociétés*, Paris–La Haye 1973, p. 85–93; A. Moffatt, *The Byzantine Child*, SRes 53.4, 1986, p. 705–723; *Becoming Byzantine. Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, ed. A. Papaconstantinou, A.-M. Talbot, Washington 2009; C. Hennessy, *Young People in Byzantium*, [in:] *A Companion to Byzantium*, ed. L. James, Chichester 2010, p. 81–92; D. Ariantzi, *Kindheit in Byzanz. Emotionale, geistige und materielle Entwicklung im familiären Umfeld vom 6. bis zum 11. Jahrhundert*, Berlin–Boston 2012 [= Mil.S, 36]; *Approaches to the Byzantine Family*, ed. L. Brubaker, S. Tougher, Farnham 2013 [= BBOS, 14]; J. Baun, *Coming of Age in Byzantium: Agency and Authority in Rites of Passage from Infancy to Adulthood*, [in:] *Authority in Byzantium*, ed. P. Armstrong, Farnham–London–Burlington 2013 [= PCHS, 14], p. 113–135; D. Ariantzi, *Terminologische und sozialhistorische Untersuchungen zur Adoleszenz in Byzanz (6.–11. Jahrhundert), Teil I, Theorien, Konzepte, narrative Quellen*, JÖB 63, 2013, p. 1–31; *Coming of Age in Byzantium. Adolescence and Society*, ed. D. Ariantzi, Berlin–Boston 2018; A.-M. Talbot, *Childhood in Middle and Late Byzantium: Ninth to Fifteenth Centuries*, [in:] *Childhood in History. Perceptions of Children in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds*, ed. R. Aasgaard, C. Horn, with O.M. Cojocaru, London–New York 2018, p. 240–256; O.M. Cojocaru, *Byzantine Childhood. Representations and Experiences of Children in Middle Byzantine Society*, New York 2022; I. Komatina, *The Ages of Man in Serbian Medieval Literary Tradition: A Case Study of Serbian Hagiographies*, AA.ASH 64.3–4, 2024, p. 415–428.

ecclesiastical legal documents, other terms are found. The word βρέφος means *a child still growing in the womb*, as well as *a newborn*, and also *a baby*. Sometimes *a newborn* is also called νεογνός, -ον or νήπιος, -ον. A child who is still being breastfed is designated ὑπομάζιος, -ον. For children in the first phase of childhood (up to 7 years) the following terms are used: νήπιος, -ον or παιδίον, παιδάριον, παῖς, ἴμφας (= ἴμφανς, lat. infans), in the second phase (up to 12 years for girls and 14 years for boys) – παῖς, also rarely – πρόσηβος παῖς. The child in puberty is called μεῖραξ, μειράκιον or μειρακίσκος[29].

Günter Prinzing is among the authors who have specifically studied the terms for children and adolescents in Byzantium. He draws attention to a model of the stages of human life set out by Patriarch Photios (858–867 and 877–886) in a poem written about the otherwise unknown Markellos[30], which can be considered a Byzantine version of the ancient paradigm. The first four ages presented there cover childhood and youth: these are βρέφος (up to the age of 4), παιδίον (between 4 and 10 years), βούπαις (from 10 to 18 years) and μειράκιον (covering ages 18–20). The next age, ἀκμή, extends from 20 to 35 years, so for Photios adolescence ends at the age of 20, just as it does in the Old Testament – a very likely source for his pattern. In Byzantium, according to the tradition of Roman law, formal adulthood occurred at the age of 25. Before that age, individuals were considered ἀφήλικες (or ἀφήλικοι)[31].

As a result of a detailed and precise analysis of the legal texts in the same publication, Prinzing distinguishes three categories of designation, each of which describes a relatively well-specified age or status group among children and juveniles[32]:

- For children aged approximately 3 to 7 years:
  ἄνηβος, νήπιος, -ον and ἴμφας.
- For children from 7 to 12–14 years old:
  ἄνηβος, ἀνήλικος/ἀνῆλιξ and ἐλάττων.
- For children or minors aged 13–15 to 25 years:
  ἔφηβος, ἀφῆλιξ/ἀφήλικος and νέος.

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[29] The use and significations of the said terms have been thoroughly examined by D. ARIANTZI, *Kindheit in Byzanz*…, p. 36–37; also see: A. ΚΙΟΥΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ, *Χρόνος καὶ ἡλικίες στὴ βυζαντινὴ κοινωνία. Ἡ κλίμακα τῶν ἡλικιῶν ἀπὸ τὰ ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα τῆς μέσης ἐποχῆς (7ος–11ος αἰ.)*, Αθήνα 1997 [= IAEN, 30], p. 46–58; G. PRINZING, *Observations on the Legal Status of Children and the Stages of Childhood in Byzantium*, [in:] *Becoming Byzantine*…, p. 18–19; D. ARIANTZI, *Terminologische und sozialhistorische Untersuchungen zur Adoleszenz in Byzanz*…, p. 1–31; O.M. COJOCARU, *Byzantine Childhood*…, p. 28–29.

[30] The text was published by N.B. ΤΩΜΑΔΑΚΗΣ, *Φωτίου, Ἡλικίαι τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, ΕΕΦΣΠΑ 23, 1972–1973, p. 13–14.

[31] G. PRINZING, *Observations on the Legal Status of Children*…, p. 17.

[32] *Ibidem*, p. 20.

However, the more common terms in the sources, such as βρέφος, παιδίον, παιδάριον and παῖς, νήπιος, -ον, etc., often served not to mark any specific phase of the children's development or a specific age group, but to mean *a child* more generally. Sometimes they were also used metaphorically[33]. In a number of cases, their usage also exhibits discrepancies or deviations from common practice. Despoina Ariantzi gives examples of such discordances, which are not uncommon in hagiographic literature[34]. The Life of Nicetas of Medikion mentions the phrase χρόνος τῶν μειρακίων[35], which should refer to young men between 18 and 20 years old, but the fact that it was about a father who took the boy to a tutor suggests that he was still in early childhood, when he was seven or eight years old. David of Mytilene was sent to school by his parents when he was nine and was called μειρακίσκος or νεανίσκος[36]. The first lexeme is generally used for a youth in puberty, and the second for a young man. The same discrepancy is present in the case of Symeon, the brother of David of Mytilene, who was called μεῖραξ when he was eight years old[37].

According to Ariantzi, in these cases the authors either did not know the exact meaning of the respective terms, or they followed some usage specific to their time. Therefore, in her words, one cannot accurately determine the age of a person solely on the basis of the designation used for an age benchmark if additional information is not available[38].

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All the data and conclusions mentioned so far put the discussion about the birth year of John II Assen in a completely different light. It can be seen that the example usages of the word ἀφῆλιξ, which I. Dujčev takes from the text of George Akropolites, do not correspond to the meaning which it is usually found to have, i.e. as a term for young people in the age group from 13–15 to 25 years. It becomes clear that in narrative sources the age designations are sometimes used quite freely or in a sense different from the established one in official documents. For this reason, it often turns out to be impossible to reveal the specific content that the author has instilled into the word. In this respect, the work of Akropolites is no exception. I. Božilov draws attention to the fact that the Byzantine historian actually called John II Assen ἀφῆλιξ twice – once in connection with the accession of Kalojan in 1197 and again after his death in 1207, i.e. 10 years later – and this circumstance

[33] *Ibidem*, p. 17.

[34] D. Ariantzi, *Kindheit in Byzanz…*, p. 39–40.

[35] *Vita S. Nicetae Confessoris*, *AASS* 10, April part 1, 1866, Appendix, p. XIX (5).

[36] *Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo*, ed. J. van den Gheyn, AB 18, 1899 (cetera: *Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae*), p. 214, 6–8, 13–14.

[37] *Acta Graeca SS. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae*, p. 217, 29–30.

[38] D. Ariantzi, *Kindheit in Byzanz…*, p. 39.

compromises the hypothesis put forward by Dujčev, since it excludes the possibility that in both cases the future ruler would have fallen within the age range of eight to eleven[39].

As confirmation of the fact that Akropolites is not always precise in his use of age terms (or in some cases uses them metaphorically), other examples can be cited. At the beginning of chapter XXXIX of his history, he tells of his meeting with the imperial family in the summer of 1239, at which John III Doukas Vatatzes (1221–1254) called him μειράκιον[40]. This designation corresponds to the usual usage of the word, since the historian was then 21 years old, but at the beginning of chapter XL, Akropolites uses the same lexeme to describe the Bulgarian Tsar Kaliman I Assen (1241–1246), when he was only eight or nine years old (καὶ μειράκιον ἦρχε τῆς τῶν Βουλγάρων)[41]. Bulgarian Tsar Michael II Assen (1246–1256), who inherited power in Tărnovo in 1246, is called a βρέφος[42] several times in the text, even though he was seven or eight years old, and this term is usually used to refer to newborns or very young children under the age of four[43]. Not only the choice of appropriate expressions, but also the actual judgment of Akropolites was sometimes not accurate regarding the age of the historical characters he was describing. For example, he claims that when he personally saw John of Brienne in 1231, he was *80 years old or even more*[44]. However, based on other evidence, it has been convincingly proven that the former king of Jerusalem was at that time about 20 years younger[45].

In this situation, it is not possible to resolve the issue on the basis of the lexemes for age used by Akropolites, and the analysis cannot be grounded only on this type of data. However, the sources give us a starting point for further observations. The fact that the son of John I Assen was taken away by someone secretly (κρύφα τις λαβὼν)[46] in 1207 shows that he was of an age at which he could not defend himself and needed protection and patronage to prevent any possible aggression towards him. The presence of a companion in this case is essential, and even more importantly, the information is confirmed and specified by Ephraim of Ainos, who adds that this companion was his educator (παιδαγωγός)[47].

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[39] И. Божилов, *Фамилията на Асеневци*…, p. 77.

[40] ACROPOLITES, ed. HEISENBERG/WIRTH, p. 63.21.

[41] ACROPOLITES, ed. HEISENBERG/WIRTH, p. 65.5–6.

[42] ACROPOLITES, ed. HEISENBERG/WIRTH, p. 74.4,10.

[43] Cf. G. PRINZING, *Observations on the Legal Status of Children*…, p. 17; D. ARIANTZI, *Kindheit in Byzanz*…, p. 36.

[44] ACROPOLITES, ed. HEISENBERG/WIRTH, p. 44.21–22.

[45] J.M. BUCKLEY, *The Problematical Octogenarianism of John of Brienne*, S 32.2, 1957, p. 315–322; G.J.M. PERRY, *John of Brienne. King of Jerusalem, Emperor of Constantinople, c. 1175–1237*, Cambridge 2013, p. 26.

[46] ACROPOLITES, ed. HEISENBERG/WIRTH, p. 24.8.

[47] *Ephraem Aenii Historia chronica*, ed. O. LAMPSIDES, Athens 1990 [= CFHB, 27], p. 278, v. 7850–7855. A translation by V. Gjuzelev see in: *Самият Търновград ще разтръби победите. Средновековни*

In both Greek and Roman societies and likewise in Byzantium, wealthier parents and those who belonged to the elite usually entrusted their children to personal mentors, often called *pedagogues*, who took care of them, accompanied them, carried their textbooks, and provided their education[48]. Their role in the development of children had always been valued as particularly important. Talking about the relationship between John Italos and Michael Psellos in the *Alexiad* Anna Komnene hints that only the wildly conceited try to study alone[49]. Theodore II Laskaris described his tutor in a satire, from which we learn more about his role in the royal court during this period. The future emperor states that he was in the twelfth year of his life (1233) when his parents decided to choose a tutor for him[50]. According to Dimităr G. Angelov, who has specifically researched the issue, the position of the *pedagogue* in this case can be described as that of a head teacher, responsible for the education and training of the adolescent prince[51].

поети за България, introd., comp. et notes В. Гюзелев, София 1981, p. 79. The corresponding verses are not included in the newest edition of the text, translated by Iris von Bredow. Cf.: В. Гюзелев, *Средновековна поезия от и за българите*, София 2015 [= Съч, 5], p. 364–365. The information in Ephraim's work is usually ignored by researchers due to the understanding that it follows the text of Akropolites as per its content and has no independent value. However, this and other important additions to the verse chronicle, which are not found in the work of the Byzantine historian, show that he enriched his story with new data, which, although not many in number, are specific and essential and are not related to the stylistic and rhetorical devices of the author. For other additions by Ephraim see: А.В. Майоров, *Малоизвестные источники по истории русско-византийских отношений начала XIII века: текст, перевод, комментарий*, УИЗ 12, 2009, p. 294–297.

[48] The role of the *pedagogue* in Roman society is thoroughly dealt with by J. McWilliam, *The Socialization of Roman Children*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, ed. J. Evans Grubbs, T. Parkin with the assistance of R. Bell, Oxford–New York 2013, p. 274–277. On the same topic see also: G. Buckler, *Byzantine Education*, [in:] *Byzantium. An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, ed. N.H. Baynes, H.St.L.B. Moss, Oxford 1969, p. 209–211; R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta 1996 [= ASPa, 36], p. 16–17; N. Kalogeras, *Byzantine Childhood Education and its Social Role from the Sixth Century until the End of Iconoclasm*, Ph.D. Dissertation: The University of Chicago, Chicago 2000, p. 198–200, 240–243; V. Vuolanto, *Elite Children, Socialization, and Agency in the Late Roman World*, [in:] *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood…*, p. 588–590; V. Vuolanto, *Family Relations and the Socialisation of Children in the Autobiographical Narratives of Late Antiquity*, [in:] *Approaches to the Byzantine Family…*, p. 51–52.

[49] *Annae Comnenae Alexias*, ed. D. Reinsch, A. Kambylis, vol. I, *Prolegomena et Textus*, Berlin–Boston 2001 [= *CFHB*, 40.1], p. 162–163; Anna Komnene, *The Alexiad*, trans. E.R.A. Sewter, rev. with introd. and notes P. Frankopan, London 2009, p. 147–148; G. Buckler, *Byzantine Education…*, p. 209.

[50] Theodorus II Ducas Lascaris, *Opuscula rhetorica*, ed. A. Tartaglia, Monachii–Lipsiae 2000 [= BSGR], p. 161.174–175.

[51] D. Angelov, *The Byzantine Hellene. The Life of Emperor Theodore Laskaris and Byzantium in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge 2019, p. 70–71. About the education and upbringing of rulers in Byzantium and medieval Bulgaria, see also: idem, *Emperors and Patriarchs as Ideal Children and Adolescents: Literary Conventions and Cultural Expectations*, [in:] *Becoming Byzantine…*, p. 105–111; В. Гюзелев, *Παιδεία на средновековните български владетели (VII–XIV в.)*,

Furthermore, it emerges in the sources that John II Assen did not join the struggle for power with Boril's other opponents, something he would have done if he had already reached manhood. Such participation would have implied reaching a certain age, not so much in terms of passing the formal age limit for adulthood, but in terms of attaining a certain physical maturity required for the ability to handle weapons, as well as the accumulation of experience and authority necessary to gain support in society. Although legal adulthood commenced at 25 in Byzantium, the real boundary between adolescence and adulthood was not precisely defined and in reality occurred around the ages of 16–18, when most individuals were able to enter life independently, assume certain responsibilities, and make their own decisions[52].

As for royalty who inherited power as children, political circumstances often practically required their involvement in the government at the earliest opportunity. This was the case with Michael II Assen, who, due to the political conditions that were ripe for an offensive against Nicaea in 1254–1255, assumed his royal duties, stood at the head of the army, and personally participated in hostilities at barely 16 or 17 years old[53]. During the ruler's lifetime too, the young heir, whether crowned co-ruler or not, could be given important tasks in the governance of the state while still in his adolescent years. At the age of 19, Theodore II Laskaris had already begun his political career in the empire, as evidenced by the treaty of John III Vatatzes with Baldwin II, concluded in June 1241[54]. Similarly, in the 1360s, again during a time of great hardship for the empire, the 16-year-old Manuel II Palaiologos (1391–1425) had to interrupt his education and become involved in state affairs. The future ruler describes this significant moment in his life in a letter to Alexius Iagoup as a period of transition, in which he had already emerged from childhood but had not yet reached the age of manhood (Τὴν δὲ τῶν παίδων παρελάσαντα ἡλικίαν, πρὶν εἰς ἄνδρας ἐλθεῖν)[55].

In summarizing the observations presented so far, it can be said that the current condition of the source base does not allow us to give a definitive answer to the question of which year John II Assen was born. Dujčev's approach of searching for and examining the places where the word ἀφῆλιξ occurs throughout the

[in:] IDEM, *Седмокнижие за средновековната история на България (IV–XV век)*, vol. I, *Тълкувания върху българското и европейското Средновековие*, София 2018, p. 393–404.

[52] H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Quelques notes sur l'enfant*…, p. 77–78; *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, vol. I, ed. Al.P. KAZHDAN, Oxford 1991, p. 421; B. CASEAU, *Too Young to Be Accountable: Is 15 Years Old a Threshold in Byzantium?*, [in:] *Coming of Age in Byzantium. Adolescence*…, p. 19–28; O.M. COJOCARU, *Byzantine Childhood*…, p. 30–32.

[53] ACROPOLITES, ed. HEISENBERG/WIRTH, p. 107.

[54] D. ANGELOV, *The Byzantine Hellene*…, p. 92.

[55] *Manuel's Letter-Discourse to Alexius Iagoup*, [in:] J.W. BARKER, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425). A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship*, New Brunswick–New Jersey 1969, (Appendix XXIII), p. 529.47–48; S. ÇELIK, *Manuel II Palaiologos (1350–1425). A Byzantine Emperor in a Time of Tumult*, Cambridge 2021, p. 53.

text of the *History* of George Akropolites is completely appropriate, but the new data presented here, which are based on a significantly larger number of Byzantine sources, do not confirm his conclusions. The fact that *the son of the old Tsar Assen* is mentioned for the first time in connection with the accession of Kalojan in 1197, when his father had already died, shows that his age in 1207 could not have been less than 11–12 years. At the same time, the circumstances that he did not join the power struggle at the accession of Boril and that he still had a tutor or mentor at that time indicate that he was probably no older than 16–17 years old. Therefore, the year of his birth cannot be determined with precision either and must be placed in the period between 1190 and 1196.

Conclusions: The significance of translation and the limits of interpretation

As has been made clear so far, the translation and analysis of the original source text are of utmost importance for historical reconstruction. They form the basis of the research that the historian carries out. Therefore, despite the availability of translations into modern languages of most medieval sources, historical research today must continue the old practice of working directly with the original texts, which should include attention to the details of the content, as well as the study of important keywords and expressions in a broader context, an activity that usually remains outside the focus of translators. Only in this way can the reliability of the conclusions drawn be largely guaranteed. In cases where the expertise of the historian is not sufficient to perform this careful study of the source text, collective work by historians, philologists and translation specialists is necessary. In a time of ever-deepening specialization in the sciences and the accumulation of an extraordinary amount of information in the separate branches of historical knowledge, interdisciplinary cooperation proves to have no alternative as a direction for the future of historical research.

Of course, this exchange between disciplines is not one-way. The philologist who translates a literary historical source or document is dependent on the knowledge generated by historical research. He or she inevitably faces a number of challenges related to the knowledge of the facts and realities in the texts he or she works with. In order to understand certain events or to make sense of certain cultural phenomena and features contained in these narrative testimonies, knowledge of the broader context is always necessary. It is precisely in the accumulation of this stock of information, which is required for any translation of a text from the past, that the contribution of historical science to this interdisciplinary collaboration lies.

Last but not least, high professionalism also includes the scientist's responsibility to avoid the construction in his work of scientific propositions and statements that are not well argued and are not based on reliable sources, accurate translation and in-depth analysis, because each study subsequently serves as the basis for further

studies, and building hypothesis upon hypothesis could ultimately compromise the historical reconstruction in its entirety.

Besides that, the specific example from the field of Bulgarian medieval studies, which has been scrutinized in this study, refers to a basic issue related to the methodology of scientific research – this is the problem of being aware of and complying with the limits that the text and the translation thereof place before historical interpretation, limits beyond which we sometimes cannot go in search of an answer to our scientific inquiries.

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Art of Tradition: The Armenian Gospel Books (Seventeenth Century) in the Gulbenkian Collection*

Abstract. This paper presents preliminary notes on three seventeenth-century Armenian Gospel Books preserved in the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon. For the first time, these manuscripts are examined through a comprehensive art-historical lens, with attention also given to their codicological and material features. These codices attest to an unbroken manuscript tradition flourishing within the Armenian diaspora communities of Constantinople, Isfahan/New Julfa, and Crimea during the seventeenth century. Their production history and the art of their illuminations reveal both the social demand for such works and the enduring artistic preferences rooted in the medieval legacy of Armenian manuscript culture.

Keywords: Gospel Books, illuminations, manuscript art, Armenian diaspora, Gulbenkian Museum

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Introduction

Among sacred scriptures, the Gospels are the most lavishly illustrated and represent a significant component of illuminated manuscript art in many cultures. Armenian Gospel illumination can be traced to the earliest surviving miniatures of the seventh century, preserved in the Ējmiatsin Gospels. By the eleventh century, a classical program of Armenian Gospel illustration was established: full-page scenes depicting the life of Christ – from the Annunciation to the Ascension – followed by Canon Tables and portraits of the four evangelists. Although relatively standardized, the narrative illustrations of the Christ cycle were not rigidly canonical and often included additional scenes. Textually, the Armenian version of the Gospels reflects sophisticated translations from early Syriac and Greek exemplars[1]. These characteristics make Armenian Gospel manuscripts both exceptional works of art and unique witnesses to a rich literary and material tradition. Many have complex histories worthy of detailed study.

Four Armenian manuscripts are displayed in the permanent exhibition of the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum in Lisbon. This small but significant group has been studied in detail for the first time as part of a doctoral project[2] examining these handwritten and illuminated codices through textual, visual, and material analysis.

The Armenian manuscripts in the Gulbenkian collection – a Bible (LA 152) and three Gospels (LA 193, LA 216, LA 253) – are outstanding examples from the seventeenth-century Armenian scriptoria of Constantinople, New Julfa (Isfahan), and Crimea. They illuminate the complex network of connections linking these communities at both local and global levels and reveal the cultural, social, and political realities of Armenians living far from their ancestral homeland.

The seventeenth century was a time of political fragmentation for the Armenian people, whose homeland came under Ottoman and Persian rule. Repressive conditions and shifting political boundaries prompted the establishment of thriving diaspora communities stretching from West to East. Among the principal centers of Armenian life abroad were Isfahan, Constantinople, and Crimea. Armenian merchants played a key role in the economic, social, and artistic vitality of these settlements[3].

Supported by strong systems of patronage, relocated artists and artisans successfully transplanted and revived Armenian art in new cultural settings. Traditional artistic forms from historic Armenian regions found continuity in the

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[1] V. Nersessian, *Armenian Illuminated Gospel Books*, London 1978, p. 5–10.

[2] *Between Tradition and Innovation: An Interdisciplinary Approach in the Study of Seventeenth-Century Armenian Manuscripts*, supported by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia [FCT], Ph.D grant: PD/BD/142866/2018), and Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian), doctoral grant for Armenian studies: No. 269685, 2022). The dissertation is available at: http://hdl.handle.net/10362/156948.

[3] R. Goshgarian, *Armenian Global Connections in the Early Modern Period*, [in:] *Armenia. Art, Religion and Trade in the Middle Ages*, ed. H.C. Evans, New York 2018, p. 171–177.

hands of seventeenth-century craftsmen who consciously maintained the practices of their predecessors. Manuscript art, in particular, flourished in these diasporic centers – geographically distant from the homeland, yet closely bound to it in spirit. The medieval manuscript traditions of Cilicia and Greater Armenia (Syunikʿ, Lake Van region) found renewed life in Isfahan, Constantinople, and Crimea[4].

These centers were not isolated outposts but dynamic hubs of exchange. Goods, ideas, and people circulated through extensive mercantile networks. Artists and craftsmen often worked across multiple workshops, fostering a lively dialogue of artistic inspirations. Many manuscripts were commissioned by merchants. The revival of Armenian scriptoria in such diverse locations demonstrates both the enduring bonds to the homeland and the determination to preserve and transmit local artistic traditions. At the same time, this tradition remained open to outside influences, producing the eclectic style that characterizes the art of this period[5].

The Gulbenkian Armenian codices first drew scholarly attention through an art-historical study of Bible LA 152[6]. That study opened new avenues for investigating the rich artistic features of these manuscripts within a broader comparative framework. This paper offers the first comprehensive examination of the art, history, and codicology of the three Armenian Gospels in the Gulbenkian collection.

The manuscripts' entry into Gulbenkian Collection

Calouste Sarkis Gulbenkian (1869–1955), an eminent entrepreneur in the oil industry, was of Armenian descent and born in Constantinople. Beyond his considerable commercial success, Gulbenkian was profoundly dedicated to philanthropy and the arts, to which he devoted a significant portion of his wealth. A passionate collector, he assembled an extensive and distinguished art collection over the course of his lifetime. In his final years, Gulbenkian settled in Lisbon, where – following his death – a museum and a foundation were established in his name. Today, the Calouste Gulbenkian Museum houses the remarkable body of artworks he acquired throughout his life[7].

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[4] C. Evans, S.L. Merian, *The Final Centuries – Armenian Manuscripts of the Diaspora*, [in:] *Treasures in Heaven – Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. T.F. Mathews, R.S. Wieck, Princeton 1994, p. 104–115.

[5] *Ibidem*.

[6] H. Grigoryan, M.J. Melo, M.A. Miranda, J. Rodrigues, *The Gulbenkian Bible (17th c.): An Interdisciplinary Study of a Precious Armenian Heritage*, [in:] *Art of the Armenian Diaspora. Proceedings of a Conference Held at the Ostrava University, Ostrava in June 2022*, ed. W. Deluga, Warsaw–Toruń 2020, p. 59–75.

[7] J.C.B. Pereira, *Calouste Gulbenkian: The Collector as Creator*, [in:] *Only the Best: Masterpieces of Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon*, ed. K. Baetjer, J.D. Draper, New York 1999, p. 3.

Among the treasures of Gulbenkian's collection are several Armenian works, notably four illuminated manuscripts comprising one Bible and three Gospels. As with many other pieces in his collection, Gulbenkian personally acquired the three Armenian Gospels (LA 193, LA 216, and LA 253) through various intermediaries[8]. Specifically, LA 193 was purchased in 1926 in London from Kehyaian & Co., a company reputedly engaged in the trade of antique oriental carpets and other luxury goods. LA 216 was acquired in 1935 in Paris from the antiquarian bookseller Giraud-Badin. The provenance and circumstances of acquisition for LA 253, however, remain unknown. Initially kept in Gulbenkian's residences in Paris and London, these manuscripts were later transferred to Lisbon and have since formed part of the permanent exhibition of the Gulbenkian Museum.

The three Gospels were first described by the distinguished art historian Sirarpie Der Nersessian during the early years of the newly established museum[9]. Although subsequently referenced in several scholarly studies[10], these manuscripts – unlike the Bible LA 152 – have attracted comparatively limited academic attention. A detailed codicological description of the three Gospels is provided in the Appendix.

Colophons and annotations

The trajectories of LA 193, LA 216, and LA 253 – from their places of origin to their eventual arrival in westernmost Europe – remain uncertain. In this respect, they share the common fate of numerous Armenian manuscripts that have been dispersed across collections worldwide. Nevertheless, careful study of the surviving colophons and annotations has enabled the reconstruction of the histories of LA 193 and LA 216, while the provenance of LA 253 remains obscure owing to the absence of a colophon. Complete transcriptions of the extant colophons in their original language have already been published[11].

LA 193 contains a brief colophon that identifies the manuscript's author as Nikoghayos, though it provides neither dates nor locations. Comparative iconographic

[8] Documents no. MCG 01 470 and no. MCG 02085, Gulbenkian Archives, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, consulted in October 2019.

[9] Document no. MCG 04428, the dossier of Sirarpie Der Nersessian, Gulbenkian Archives, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon, consulted in October 2019.

[10] A. Kouymjian, D. Kouymjian, *The Museum Calouste Built*, SAW 9/10, 1974, p. 7; S. Der Nersessian, *L'Art Arménien*, Paris 1977, p. 233–236; M. Arakʻelyan, *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Armenian Illuminated Manuscripts from Galicia, Podillia and Bukovyna*, [in:] *Armenian-Ukrainian Historical Contacts. Papers of the International Conference Held in Lviv*, ed. K. Bardakjian, F. Sysyn, A. Yasinovsyi, Lviv 2011, p. 103.

[11] Հ. Գրիգորեան [H. Grigorean], *Յուցակ Լիսաբոնի Կիւլպենկեան թանգարանի հայերէն ձեռագրերի* [Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts from the Gulbenkian Museum of Lisbon], ԲՄ 34, 2022, p. 350–376.

analysis across a broad corpus of Armenian manuscripts confirms that LA 193 is the work of the renowned scribe and artist Nikoghayos – also known as Nikoghos, Nikoghayos Melanavor, or Tsaghkarar[12]. His name is associated with the seventeenth-century Armenian scriptoria of Crimea, where he was active between 1647 and 1693, working primarily in the monastery of St Sargis in Kaffa[13]. This Gospel can therefore be securely attributed to the hand of Nikoghayos.

LA 216 contains a more extensive colophon, which provides richer information. The manuscript was copied in the Armenian scriptoria of New Julfa (Isfahan) by the scribe Gaspar and the artist Hayrapet. Gaspar – often styled Gaspar erets῾ – was among the most prolific scribes of New Julfa. Numerous Armenian manuscripts record his name in collaboration with leading artists of his time (Matenadaran MSS 191, 204[14], 7614), including Hayrapet (Matenadaran MSS 189, 2399)[15]. Hayrapet was one of the most celebrated artists of the New Julfan scriptoria. In various colophons his name appears as Hayrapet Jughayets῾i, varpet (Master) Hayrapet, or Herapet. He seems to have pursued a remarkably productive career spanning almost fifty-two years (1639–1691), contributing to a substantial number of manuscripts[16]. Notable examples of his work include the Gospels (Matenadaran MSS 2399, 7224) and the Bibles (Matenadaran MSS 201, 2587). Hayrapet frequently signed his name beneath the illustrations, as in LA 216. Alongside the names of the scribe and the artist, the colophon of LA 216 also records the name of Eghsabert῾, the woman who commissioned the Gospel, noting that her patronage was intended as a lasting memorial to herself and to her parents.

As previously noted, LA 253 lacks a preserved colophon. It contains only a later annotation, dated 1820, at the beginning of the codex, recording the names of Ōvanes and Nigar khat῾un, most likely later owners of the manuscript. The Gospel is probably incomplete: on the final folio the text and the bird-shaped drawings outlined in red ink remain unfinished; several pages are missing and some gatherings are loose within the binding. Nevertheless, on the basis of its pictorial style, LA 253 can be attributed to the seventeenth-century Armenian scriptoria of Constantinople[17].

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[12] Mentioned also in the notes of Sirarpie Der Nersessian: Document no. MCG 04428…

[13] Ա. Գէորգեան [A. Gēorgean], *Հայ մանրանկարիչներ, Մատենագիտութիւն, IX–XIX դդ.* [Armenian Miniature Painters, Bibliography, 9th–19th centuries], Գահիրէ [Cairo] 1998, p. 594.

[14] *Ցուցակ ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անվան Մատենադարանի* [Catalogue of Manuscripts of Mashtots' Matenadaran], ed. Լ. Խաչիկեան, Ա. Մնացականեան [L. Khach῾ikyan, A. Mnats῾ Akanyan], vol. I, Երևան [Yerevan] 1965, p. 269, 272.

[15] *Ibidem*, p. 268, 795.

[16] Ա. Գէորգեան, *Հայ մանրանկարիչներ…*, p. 328.

[17] Mentioned in the notes of Sirarpie Der Nersessian: Document no. MCG 04428…

The art of illuminations

Gospel LA 193

LA 193 is among the most striking manuscripts in the Gulbenkian collection. Its pictorial program is conveyed through an arrangement of illuminations characteristic of Armenian manuscript art. At the opening of the Gospel are ten fully illuminated folios of Canon Tables, including the Eusebian Letter. All the Canons are richly adorned with floral and animal motifs in vivid colors. Portraits of Eusebius and Carpianus appear in the upper arches of the first two Canons, while the remaining eight are embellished with a variety of trees, vegetal ornaments, birds, and animals such as peacocks, roosters, partridges, lions, and monkeys. Each of these motifs carries a specific meaning and function within the context of the Canon Tables, as explained in several medieval texts by Armenian church fathers and theologians[18].

Each Gospel begins with a portrait of its evangelist, followed by a fully illuminated Incipit page, the two facing one another across separate folios. Matthew, Mark, and Luke are depicted seated in a slightly inclined writing posture, whereas John is shown dictating his words to the young Prochoros. The Incipit pages display elaborately decorated headpieces, marginalia, and text written in ornate majuscule bird-letters, each initial incorporating the symbol of its respective evangelist. The Genealogy of Christ is presented in seventy-eight roundels (p. 292–295) within the Gospel of Luke. Other illuminations – including marginal ornaments and elaborated initial letters – are familiar features of Armenian manuscript art. Vegetal patterns and palmettes in the marginalia mark the beginnings of chapters, which typically commence with finely executed majuscule letters formed from interlaced ornaments and birds.

The manuscript's most original feature lies in its frieze-like narrative miniatures: tiny figures and forms integrated directly into the text on almost every folio, allowing the Gospel narrative to unfold visually before the reader. This distinctive device appears earlier in the so-called "Gospel of Eight Artists" (Matenadaran MS 7651, thirteenth–fourteenth centuries, Sis, Cilicia), produced in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia (1198–1375) (Fig. 1). MS 7651 itself was copied from a Byzantine exemplar (Laurenziana MS Plut.6.23, 1001–1100) (Fig. 2), whose miniature style was already regarded as innovative within medieval Armenian scriptoria[19]. LA 193 thus attests to Nikoghayos's admiration for the miniature art of Cilician Armenia. Moreover, it is not the only copy of MS 7651 executed by

[18] Վ. Ղազարյան [V. Ghazaryan], *Խորանների մեկնություններ* [Commentaries on Canon Tables], Yerevan 1995.

[19] S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting in the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia from the Twelfth to the Fourteenth Century*, vol. I, Washington 1993, p. 104.



Fig. 1. *The Massacre of the Innocents* (Matthew 2:16–18). Left: LA 193, p. 36 (Crimea, 17th century) © Gulbenkian Museum; Right: Matenadaran MS 7651 (Sis, Cilicia, 13th–14th centuries) © Matenadaran.

Nikoghayos. He produced three known copies[20]: a Gospel copied in Kaffa in 1667[21] or perhaps 1672[22] (Library of the Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan SSR)[23] and another in 1684 (Matenadaran MS 6341), which is nearly identical to the present manuscript, LA 193. Comparison of the illumination programs of LA 193 with the fourteenth-century prototype and the other two copies shows that LA 193 and MS 6341 adhere more closely to the original than does the Gospel of 1672. The latter contains over seventy marginal figurative miniatures, typically depicting Christ

[20] А. Геворкян, *Армянский миниатюрист XVII века Никогос Цахкарар*, ВОН 3 (322), 1970, p. 94; Э. Корхмазян, *Армянская миниатюра Крыма (XIV–XVII вв)*, Ереван 1978, p. 79; Ա. Գէորգեան, *Հայ մանրանկարիչներ…*, p. 594.

[21] According to the Armenian Great Year.

[22] According to the New Era and the coming of Christ.

[23] The black and white microfilm of this Gospel is in Matenadaran MS 51, see in А. Геворкян, *Армянский миниатюрист…*, p. 95. This manuscript's current state and location are unknown to us.

either alone or in interaction with other evangelical figures[24], which are absent from LA 193. Clearly, medieval Armenian manuscripts were highly valued and frequently reproduced in early modern Armenian scriptoria[25], demonstrating the enduring inheritance and continuity of artistic traditions in Armenian manuscript illumination well into the seventeenth century.



Fig. 2. Detail: *The Healing of the Demoniacs* (Matthew 8:16–17) and *Christ and the Disciple in the Boat* (Matthew 8:19). Top: LA 193, p. 61 (Crimea, 17th century) © Gulbenkain Museum; Bottom: Laurenziana Plut.6.23, f. 15v (Byzantium, 1001–1100) © Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana.

[24] E.g. "True teaching of Law" (p. 33), "Messengers from John the Baptist" (p. 64), "The parable of the Weeds" (p. 77), "Jesus is Lord of the Sabbath" (p. 176), "The arrest of Jesus" (p. 251), etc. In some cases other marginal figures are depicted, such as "Joseph holding two doves" (p. 277).

[25] There are even exact indications of that. For instance, the colophon of an Armenian Gospel from 1669–1670 (Freer MS 36.15) mentions that its Canon Tables are copied from an earlier example (Walters MS 539) that seems to be illustrated in 1262 by famous artist T'oros Roslin (see S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art*, Washington 1963, no. 6, p. 94; eadem, *Études Byzantines et Arméniennes*, vol. I, Louvain 1973, p. 523.

Gospel LA 216

LA 216 is another outstanding codex in the Gulbenkian collection. Its particular distinction lies in its small dimensions, which highlight the artist's exceptional ability to execute finely detailed miniatures on a remarkably minute scale. In addition, the codex is encased in a precious silver cover of refined craftsmanship. The artistic character of this manuscript reflects the style of seventeenth-century New Julfan scriptoria and bears witness to the continuity of the painting traditions established by the renowned master Hakob Jughayetsʿi. Hayrapet, the illuminator of LA 216, clearly perpetuates the workmanship of his predecessors while developing a personal and distinctive approach.

The arrangement of the Canon Tables and the evangelist portraits with their corresponding Incipit pages in LA 216 follows the pattern observed in LA 193. The ten Canon Tables, including the Eusebian Letter, present striking compositions of interlaced forms and vibrant colors. Hayrapet's inspiration and technical skill produce a synthesis of traditional Cilician and New Julfan elements. His hand is recognizable in the robust forms, while the heavily decorated headpieces and monumental columns of the Canons are filled with intertwined vegetal motifs, birds, and animals. The influence of Cilician models is particularly evident in the headpieces of the Canon Tables, which may be compared, for example, with Topkapi MS 122 (ff. 7v–8r, 1v–2r, 3v–4r), Matenadaran MS 7644 (f. 5v) (Fig. 3), Matenadaran MS 2629 (f. 3v), and Venice MS 1635 (f. 8r)[26].

The four evangelists in LA 216 are depicted in a writing posture, each accompanied by the symbol traditionally associated with his Gospel, as in other manuscripts illuminated by Hayrapet and his disciple Astvatsatur in New Julfa, Isfahan (Matenadaran MSS 2399, 6772). The portrait frames are elaborately ornamented in a manner recalling the style of Hakob Jughayetsʿi, and their backgrounds are lavishly gilded. Hayrapet's name ("Hayrapet tsaghkogh") is inscribed at the base of the portrait frames of Mark, Luke, and John with Procorus. Each Gospel opens with an Incipit page comprising an ornate headpiece, marginal palmettes, a text incipit written in majuscule bird-letters, and large initial letters formed from the symbols of the evangelists. The headpiece of Matthew's Incipit page includes a representation of the Deesis – Christ flanked by the Virgin and John the Baptist – arranged within three upper semi-arches. At the beginning of Matthew's Gospel, seven consecutive folios present the Genealogy of Christ in thirty-nine roundels, followed by a full-page miniature of the Tree of Jesse. This theme of Christ's genealogy appears in other Gospels illuminated by Hayrapet, who often collaborated with Astvatsatur (e.g. Matenadaran MSS 6765, 6772, 6774).

[26] See reproductions in S. Der Nersessian, *Manuscrits Arméniens Illustrés des XII^e, XIII^e, et XIV^e Siècles de la Bibliothèque des Pères Mekhitharistes de Venise*, Paris 1937, Album, Pl. XVIII for Venice MS 1635 (f. 8r); eadem, *Études Byzantines…*, vol. II, p. 87–88, 93, Figs. 318–323 for Topkapi MS 122, and Fig. 342 for Matenadaran MS 7644 (f. 5v); and in eadem, *Miniature Painting…*, vol. II, p. 57–59 for Matenadaran MS 2629 (f. 3v).



Fig. 3. Canon Tables. Left: LA 216, f. 5r (1686, New Julfa) © Gulbenkian Museum; Right: Matenadaran MS 7644, f. 5v (13th century, Cilicia) © Matenadaran.

Narrative scenes from the Gospels appear within the text itself as small rectangular miniatures corresponding to the relevant passages. This system of illumination distinguishes LA 216 from other manuscripts illuminated by Hayrapet, in which the evangelical scenes generally precede the text at the beginning of the codex (e.g. Matenadaran MSS 2399, 6774, 6782, 7237). Ornate initial letters introduce most chapters. A particularly charming feature introduced by Hayrapet is the decoration of the text with zoomorphic or anthropomorphic majuscule letters representing the symbols of the evangelists: in Matthew's Gospel the initials are formed entirely of angels, whereas the Gospels of Mark, Luke, and John contain letters shaped as lions, oxen, and birds respectively. The manuscript is further distinguished by its vivid marginal flower illuminations (Fig. 4). The colourful profusion of carnations, irises, tulips, and lilies creates a striking visual impression. Hayrapet employed similar floral marginalia in the Gospel he illuminated in 1691 in New Julfa (Matenadaran MS 247). The naturalistic character of these flowers sets them apart from the more conventional vegetal patterns of other Armenian Gospels.



Fig. 4. Details: Flowers in marginalia. LA 216 (New Julfa, 1686) © Gulbenkian Museum.

These stylistic features reveal a novel approach developed by Hayrapet over the course of his long artistic career. Yet a notable continuity in his style emerges when LA 216 is compared with Matenadaran MS 2399, an earlier manuscript produced in collaboration with the scribe Gaspar. Although three decades separate the two works – MS 2399 dating to 1656 and LA 216 to 1686 – Hayrapet's mastery remains consistent.

Gospel LA 253

Gospel LA 253 lacks a preserved colophon; thus its date, place of production, scribe, and patron remain unknown. Sirarpie Der Nersessian, in her earliest observations, attributed the manuscript to the Constantinopolitan scriptoria[27].

Unlike LA 193 and LA 216, LA 253 begins with the so-called Christ cycle, a characteristic feature of Armenian Gospel illumination[28]. This sequence of full-page miniatures narrates episodes from the life of Christ, typically from the Annunciation to the Resurrection, and precedes the Canon Tables. The number and subjects of the miniatures vary from Gospel to Gospel. The Christ cycle in LA 253 includes the Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation at the Temple, Baptism, Raising of Lazarus, Entry into Jerusalem, Washing of the Feet, Betrayal, Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross, Ascension, Pentecost, and Second Coming[29]. These are followed by nine illuminated folios of Canon Tables, including the Eusebian Letter. The first folio of the Eusebian Letter is missing; the series of Canons begins instead with the continuation, whose headpiece features the figure of Carpianus. The four Gospels then commence in the usual order, each introduced by a full-page evangelist portrait and an Incipit page. The text is further embellished with a few marginal figurative miniatures[30], a variety of ornamental motifs, and rubricated incipits adorned with bird-letters and other zoomorphic or decorative initials.

Both the full-page miniatures and the ornaments reveal the work of a highly accomplished artist and closely recall the style of medieval Armenian illumination, though LA 253 is clearly a seventeenth-century manuscript. In seeking to establish its precise date and historical context, extensive comparative studies were undertaken, focusing primarily on the miniatures of the Christ cycle and the evangelist portraits.

A particularly striking feature of the Gospel is the execution of the evangelist portraits in a highly classical style, strongly reminiscent of Byzantine models. At first glance, the skill of the anonymous artist might suggest a medieval origin. Our research, however, shows that comparable evangelist portraits occur in several Armenian manuscripts. The portraits in LA 253 are almost identical to

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[27] Document no. MCG 04428…

[28] Կ. Մաթևոսյան, Ա. Ավետիսյան [K. Matʻevosyan, A. Avetisyan], *Ավետարանական պատկերներ, Տերունական շարքի 12 գլխավոր պատկերները* [Gospel Illustrations: The 12 Main Illustrations of the Series of Lord], Երևան [Yerevan] 1993; D. Kouymjian, *Some Iconographical Questions About the Christ Cycle in Armenian Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, *Le Sacre Scritture e Loro Interpretazioni*, OAm 4, 2015, p. 121–143.

[29] Most probably, the scenes of the Transfiguration, Harrowing of Hell, Resurrection, and Last Judgment originally existed, but are now missing. This assumption is supported also by the evidence that the third gathering (ff. 18r–26v) that follows the Second Coming, consists of nine folios from which three are probably missing.

[30] Images of John the Baptist (f. 32v, Matthew 3:1), Joseph of Arimathea (f. 90v, Matthew 27:57; f. 138v, Mark 15:43; f. 214v, Luke 23:50; f. 272r, John 19:38), Mary Magdalene (f. 91v, Matthew 28:1), Blind Man of Jericho (f. 199r, Luke 18:35).

those of Matenadaran MS 2629 (1272–1278, Gospel, Sis/Cilicia) (Fig. 5). Further close parallels can be found in Armenian Gospels such as Jerusalem MS 2568 (13th c., Prince Vasak's Gospel, Cilicia), Beirut MS (1297, Cilicia), British Library MS Or. 5626 (1282, Cilicia), Matenadaran MS 6290 (1295, Cilicia), and Jerusalem MS 2563 (1272, Cilicia)[31]. All these examples originate from the thirteenth-century scriptoria of the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia and attest to the revival and enduring influence of medieval artistic traditions adopted by early modern Armenian miniaturists.



Fig. 5. Portrait of Evangelist Matthew. Left: LA 253, f. 28v (Constantinople, 17th century) © Gulbenkian Museum; Right: Matenadaran MS 2629, f. 13v (Cilicia, 13th century) © Matenadaran.

[31] Some reproductions and more details on the mentioned Gospels can be found in the literature. For Matenadaran MS 2629 see *Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի* [General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of Mashtots' Matenadaran], vol. VIII, ed. Գ. Տէր-Վարդանեան [G. Tēr-Vardanean], Երևան [Yerevan] 2013, p. 810–812; *Armenia. Art, Religion*…, p. 156; S. Der Nersessian, *Miniature Painting*…, vol. II, p. 157–159, illustration no. 418 (f. 13v – Matthew, f. 92v – Mark, f. 139v – Luke, f. 221v – John and Prochoros). See more reproductions in *ibidem*, vol. II, for Jerusalem MS 2568 illustration no. 413 (f. 94v – Mark); for Beirut MS illustrations no. 532 (f. 15v – Matthew), no. 533 (f. 104v – Mark), no. 534 (f. 163v – Luke), no. 535 (f. 257v – John and Prochoros); for British MS Or. 5626 illustration no. 518 (f. 101v – Mark); for Matenadaran MS 6290 illustration no. 525 (f. 14v – Matthew, f. 103v – Mark, f. 162v – Luke, f. 261v – John and Prochoros); and for Jerusalem MS 2563 illustration no. 398 (f. 115v – Mark).

Further evidence emerged from an examination of two seventeenth-century Armenian manuscripts that contain almost identical evangelist portraits: Matenadaran MS 204 (Bible, 1660, probably New Julfa)[32] and Matenadaran MS 248 (Gospel, 1656, New Julfa)[33]. The iconography of many scenes in the Christ cycle[34], as well as the decoration of the Incipit pages and numerous initials in LA 253[35], also closely resembles that of Matenadaran MS 248. Unfortunately, the colophon of MS 248, like that of LA 253, does not preserve the names of the scribe or illuminator. MS 204, a Bible copied by the scribe Gaspar – likely the same Gaspar associated with the Gulbenkian Gospel LA 216 – contains a cryptogram decipherable as "Stepʿanos," probably indicating the artist's name. The evangelist portraits in this Bible (ff. 468v, 484v, 495v, 512v) bear a strong resemblance to those in LA 253, while the carnations in the headpieces and marginalia recall the floral ornamentation found in LA 216, illuminated by Hayrapet in New Julfa.

Beyond the evangelist portraits, the full-page narrative illuminations of LA 253 find close iconographic parallels in other seventeenth-century Armenian manuscripts, including Paris MS Smith-Lesouëf 252 (1654, Gospel, Isfahan), Morgan MS M.621 (1650, Gospel, Constantinople), and Matenadaran MS 236 (1646, Gospel, Constantinople) (Fig. 6). In Morgan MS M.621 and Matenadaran MS 236, the evangelist portraits and Incipit pages differ in approach from those of LA 253, yet the iconography of the Christ cycle closely matches the style of LA 253.

These comparisons confirm that LA 253 belongs to the corpus of Armenian Gospels produced in the seventeenth century, most probably in Constantinople. The identities of its scribe and artist, however, remain unknown – likely lost with the missing folios of the codex. Further investigation and broader comparative research may eventually help to reconstruct the original history of this richly illuminated manuscript.

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[32] See more in *Մայր ցուցակ հայերէն ձեռագրաց Մաշտոցի անուան Մատենադարանի* [General Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts of Mashtots' Matenadaran], vol. I, ed. Ա. Սնաւցականցան, Օ. Եգանեան [A. Mnatsʿakanyan, O. Eganyan], Երևան [Yerevan] 1984, p. 899–906; Ա. Գէորգեան, *Հայ մանրանկարիչներ…*, p. 714.

[33] See more in *Մայր ցուցակ…*, vol. I, p. 1073–1076; Ա. Գէորգեան [A. Gēorgean], *Անանուն հայ մանրանկարիչներ, Մատենագիտութիւն, IX–XIX դդ.* [Anonymous Armenian Miniature Painters, Bibliography, 9th–19th centuries], Գահիրէ [Cairo] 2005, p. 464.

[34] The iconography differs in the scenes of Annunciation, Nativity, Presentation at the Temple, and Ascension.

[35] Such as bird-letters "Ե" (e.g. LA 253, ff. 42r, 69v with Matenadaran MS 248, ff. 52v, 72v) and "Յ" (e.g. LA 253, ff. 50r, 224r with Matenadaran MS 248, ff. 61v, 264r) with their not very often found forms.



Fig. 6. The Baptism. From left to right: LA 253, f. 8r (Constantinople, 17th century) © Gulbenkian Museum; Morgan MS M.621, f. 6r (Constantinople, 1650) © Morgan Library; Matenadaran MS 236, f. 7r (Constantinople, 1636) © Matenadaran.

Color in the illuminations

The color palette, a defining feature of these seventeenth-century Armenian manuscripts, provides valuable insight into the artistic practices and materials employed during this period (Fig. 7). The use of costly pigments reflects the refined tastes of the Armenian merchant communities and suggests the circulation of rare materials through the trade networks linking Constantinople, Isfahan/New Julfa, and Crimea. The palette further underscores the continuity of medieval traditions in early modern scriptorial practice, as many of the pigments correspond to those long established in medieval illumination. This observation accords with the pigment analyses conducted by Thomas Mathews and his team, which document the chromatic repertoire of Armenian manuscripts from the tenth through the sixteenth centuries produced in a range of Armenian scriptoria[36].

The principal pigments identified in the Gulbenkian manuscripts include lapis lazuli, vermilion, minium, orpiment, organic reds, and mixtures of blue with yellows and organic reds to produce greens and purples, as well as lead white, carbon black, and gold[37]. The greens appear to derive from either malachite or vergaut.

[36] C. Evans, S.L. Merian, *The Final Centuries…*, p. 104–115.

[37] H. Grigoryan, M. Vieira, P. Nabais, R. Araujo, M.J. Melo, M. Manso, M.A. Miranda, J. Rodrigues, *Exceptional Illuminated Manuscripts at the Gulbenkian Museum: A Bible and Three Gospels*

Vergaut – a mixture of orpiment and indigo – constitutes the dominant green in the Gospels LA 216 and LA 253, produced in Isfahan and Constantinople respectively, whereas malachite serves as the primary green in Gospel LA 193 from Crimea. A potentially significant discovery in LA 216 is the identification of a cobalt blue pigment: traces of this blue were detected in the calf symbol of the Evangelist Luke (f. 141v) and in the vestment of the Evangelist John (f. 213v), suggesting the use of smalt. This, however, remains a preliminary hypothesis that requires further analytical confirmation, highlighting both the ongoing nature of this research and the possibility of future revelations.



Fig. 7. The colors used in the Gospels LA 193 (first column), LA 216 (second column), and LA 253 (third column) through details of architecture and ornaments © Gulbenkian Museum.

Produced in the Armenian Diaspora, Heri 6.3, 2023, p. 3211–3231. XRF (Energy dispersive X-ray spectrometry), FORS (Fiber-Optics Reflectance Spectroscopy), and Raman spectroscopies allowed the identification of the pigments present in the paints.

Lapis lazuli, a precious and symbolically charged pigment, merits special attention. It constitutes the principal blue in all the Gulbenkian Gospels except LA 253, where azurite also plays an important role in the illuminations. Among other costly colors are lake pigments – responsible for the brilliant reds, pinks, and purples – derived from carminic acid obtained from scale insects. Gold is lavishly employed across all four manuscripts, enriching backgrounds, ornaments, and text alike.

Although the manuscripts share many of the same pigments, the methods of their application differ, reflecting each artist's distinctive approach to color and design[38]. In their unique and individual expressions of artistic creativity and innovation, these works stand as a vivid testament to the enduring splendor of medieval Armenian art.

Conclusions

The comparative analysis of the three Armenian Gospels (LA 193, LA 216, and LA 253) in the Gulbenkian collection demonstrates that each manuscript constitutes a distinctive testimony to seventeenth-century Armenian art, produced within the diaspora communities of Constantinople, New Julfa, and Crimea. The sustained production of handwritten and illuminated codices during this period attests to a continuing social demand and to the enduring cultural value of such works. Two of the Gospels, LA 193 and LA 216, can be securely attributed to renowned masters of their time: Nikoghayos Melanavor, the scribe and artist active in Crimea (LA 193), and Hayrapet, the illuminator, in collaboration with the scribe Gaspar, active in New Julfa (LA 216). Although the colophon of Gospel LA 253 is not fully preserved, it has nonetheless been possible to confirm its attribution to the Constantinopolitan school, while a possible link between this milieu and New Julfa cannot be ruled out. Further comparative research focusing on the iconographic, palaeographic, and codicological features of LA 253 may eventually permit the identification of its creators.

The artistic features of these three Gospels reflect the aesthetic preferences and scriptorial practices of their respective communities, revealing a pronounced seventeenth-century Armenian inclination toward medieval models. This continuity of local tradition in manuscript art coincides with the period in which new Western influences were emerging in many Armenian manuscripts, particularly Bibles. The steadfast adherence to indigenous, predominantly medieval traditions is confirmed not only through iconographic analysis but also through the material study of these Gulbenkian Gospels, which demonstrates the continued use of the

[38] *Ibidem*.

pigment palettes characteristic of medieval Armenian illumination. In this way, the seventeenth-century Armenian scriptoria embody a conscious revaluation of medieval artistic heritage, ensuring the revival and perpetuation of this legacy across the dispersed Armenian communities.

APPENDIX

Codicological description

A concise codicological overview of manuscripts LA 192, LA 216, and LA 253 (Figures 8–9) is provided below. In these manuscripts, the beginning and end of each gathering are marked by an Armenian letter with a specific alphanumerical value, which is reproduced accordingly. Arabic numerals accompanying each letter indicate the number of folios contained within the respective gathering. When the identifying letter for a gathering is absent, it is substituted with an Arabic numeral. A reference table listing the Armenian letters, their Latin transliterations, and corresponding alphanumerical values is included at the end of the description (Table 1).

Gospel LA 193

DATE: 17th century (1647–1693). PROVENANCE: Crimea. SCRIBE: Nikoghayos. ILLUMINATOR: Nikoghayos. PATRON: unknown.

SIZE: 176 x 133. FOLIOS: 277+2 (posterior pagination in pencil: 1–554, references in this description are to the posterior pagination, therefore, the recto and verso of each folio are not indicated), unwritten: 1–3, 6–7, 10–11, 14–15, 18–19, 22–27, 175, 548–549, 551, probably missing between 228–229. GATHERINGS: 1 x 13 + A-IG x 12 (T‘, IG x 7, ZhT‘ x 10). SCRIPTURE: *bolorgir* (round minuscule), one column, 23 lines. MATERIAL: parchment, inks and pigments, gold. BINDING: brown leather on wooden boards, silver plaques overlayed on the outer faces of the left and right boards, remnants of two fabric straps attached to the outer face of the right board, lining of protective parchment attached to the boards. END-LEAVES: 1 (left) + 1 (right), parchment, unwritten. CONDITION: good.

ILLUMINATIONS: ornated letters and marginalia, narrative miniatures in almost all the folios, Canon Tables (4–5, 8–9, 12–13, 16–17, 20–21), ornated Incipit pages (29, 177, 273, 429), evangelists: Matthew (28), Mark (176), Luke (272), John (428).

Gospel LA 216

DATE: 1686. PROVENANCE: New Julfa. SCRIBE: Gaspar. ILLUMINATOR: Hayrapet. PATRON: Eghsabertʿ.

SIZE: 108 x 079. FOLIOS: 266, unwritten: 2v–3r, 4v–5r, 6v–7r, 8v–9r, 10v–11r, 139r–141r, 213r, 264v–265r, 266r–266v. GATHERINGS: 1 x 10 + A-IA x 12 (Z x 14, ZhA x 8) + 1 x 6. SCRIPTURE: *bolorgir* (round minuscule), two columns, 25 lines.

MATERIAL: parchment, inks and pigments, gold. BINDING: brown leather on wooden boards, double silver cover, fore-edge flap with two silver straps on the right board, lining of stamped fabric. ENDLEAVES: probably missing. CONDITION: good.

ILLUMINATIONS: ornated letters and marginalia, narrative images in almost all the folios, Canon Tables: (1v–2r, 3v–4r, 5v–6r, 7v–8r, 9v–10r), ornated Incipit pages (12r, 92r, 142r, 214r), evangelists: Matthew (11v), Mark (91v), Luke (141v), John (213v), Genealogy of Christ in 39 roundels (12v–15v), Tree of Jesse (16v).

Gospel LA 253

DATE: 17th century. PROVENANCE: Constantinople. SCRIBE, ILLUMINATOR, PATRON: unknown.

SIZE: 154 x 114. FOLIOS: 280, unwritten: 1r–1v, 2v–5r, 6v–7r, 8v, 9v–10r, 11v–12r, 13v–14r, 15r, 16v–17r, 18v–19r, 20v–21r, 22v–23r, 24v–25r, 26v–28r, 94r, 143r, 278r–280v; probably missing between: 8v–9r, 14v–15r, 17v–18r, 36v–37r, 38v–39r, 82v–83r; protective paper leaves added later between 5v–6r (double leaves) and between 7v–8r, 8v–9r, 10v–11r, 12v–13r, 15v–16r, 25v–26r, 28v–29r, 94v–95r, 143v–144r, 219v–220r (single leaf). GATHERINGS: 3 (4+13+9) + A-IA x 12 (B x 8, Ē x 10) + IB (5+13). SCRIPTURE: *bolorgir* (round minuscule), two columns, 23 lines. MATERIAL: parchment, inks and pigments, gold. BINDING: brown stamped leather on wooden boards, fore-edge flap on the right board, striped fabric lining. ENDLEAVES: probably missing. CONDITION: good.

ILLUMINATIONS: ornated letters and marginalia, full-page narrative miniatures (5v–6r, 7v–8r, 9r, 10v–11r, 12v–13r, 14v, 15v–16r, 17v), Canon Tables (18r, 19v–20r, 21v–22r, 23v–24r, 25v–26r), ornated Incipit pages (29r, 95r, 144r, 220r), evangelists: Matthew (28v), Mark (94v), Luke (143v), John (219v), unfinished bird-shape outlines in red and unfinished text (277v), blank folios lined in red (278r–279r).



Fig. 8. Bindings of the three Gospels. From left to right: LA 193 (Crimea, 17th century); LA 253 (Constantinople, 17th century); LA 216 (New Julfa, 1686) © Gulbenkian Museum.

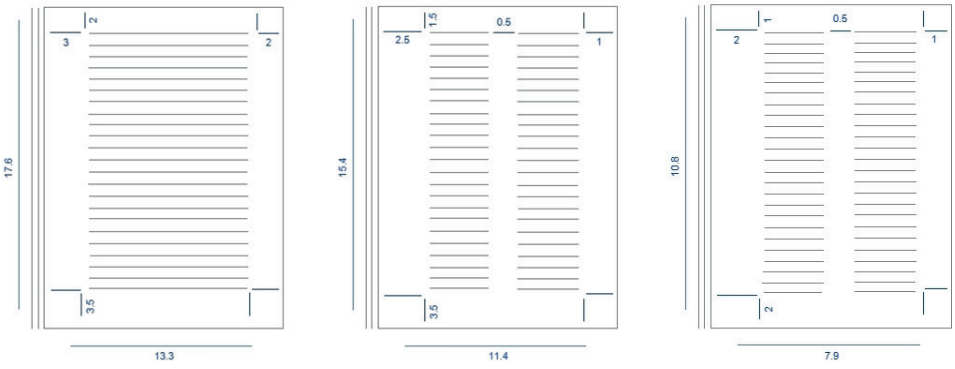


Fig. 9. Page layout for each manuscript (dimensions are given in cm). From left to right: LA 193 (Crimea, 17th century); LA 253 (Constantinople, 17th century); LA 216 (New Julfa, 1686).

Table 1. The capital letters of the Armenian alphabet with corresponding transliteration and alphanumerical value.

Armenian Letter	Ա	Բ	Գ	Դ	Ե	Զ	Է	Ը	Թ
Transliteration	A	B	G	D	E	Z	Ē	Ĕ	Tʻ
Alphanumerical Value	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Armenian Letter	Ժ	Ի	Լ	Խ	Ծ	Կ	Հ	Ձ	Ղ
Transliteration	Zh	I	L	Kh	Ts	K	H	Dz	Gh
Alphanumerical Value	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90
Armenian Letter	Ճ	Մ	Յ	Ն	Շ	Ո	Չ	Պ	Ջ
Transliteration	Ch	M	Y	N	Sh	O	Chʻ	P	J
Alphanumerical Value	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900
Armenian Letter	Ռ	Ս	Վ	Տ	Ր	Ց	Ւ	Փ	Ք
Transliteration	R	S	V	T	R	Tsʻ	W	Pʻ	Kʻ
Alphanumerical Value	1000	2000	3000	4000	5000	6000	7000	8000	9000

Acronyms for manuscript collections

Beirut	Arisdaghesian Collection (private), Beirut
British	The British Library, London
Freer	The Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.
Jerusalem	St. James of Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate Library, Jerusalem
Laurenziana	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence
Matenadaran	The Mesrop Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, Yerevan
Morgan	The Pierpont Morgan Library & Museum, New York
Paris	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris

Topkapi	The Topkapi Palace Museum, Istanbul
Venice	The Mekhitarist Library of San Lazzaro Congregation, Venice
Walters	The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, Maryland

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Premodern Armenian Medicine, Tsaghik and Potential New Evidence for the Early History of Smallpox*

Abstract. The paper presents new ethnomedical and philological evidence for a disease that is commonly identified as smallpox, predating the earliest known and convincing descriptions of the 10th century AD physician Rhazes. Our earliest source dates to the 7th century AD in Armenia. It refers to a disease called *Tsaghik*, which translates to flower, a name that is today in modern Armenian used to describe smallpox. We established a number of plant derived treatments for this disease. Moreover, we present preventative measures from Armenian folklore, some of which were still in use a few decades ago.

Keywords: smallpox, Anania Shirakatsi, Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, Hamaspyur

1. Introduction

Premodern Armenian medicine presents a missing piece in the puzzle of our understanding of European and Asian medicine. This gap largely stems from two factors: firstly, Armenian studies are a very small field in academia, which

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has sadly also been in decline in recent decades. This means that fewer people are working in the field, and even fewer still are or have been working on premodern Armenian medicine. Second, the largest Armenian manuscript collection in existence, which is located at the Mesrop Mashtots Research Institute of Ancient Manuscripts, commonly known as the Yerevan Matenadaran, was long only partially accessible due to to political circumstances.

This rendered research on this important topic even more difficult, and only very few publications exist. Interdisciplinary and international research was largely impossible. Presently, we have a unique opportunity to decipher these works, conducting systematic review and meta-analysis. The Yerevan Matenadaran, which also houses worldwide the strongest expertise on this topic, is now open to the West and Armenian researchers are openly looking for opportunities. This also provides an excellent chance to draw parallels between Armenian and other sources.

The topic of the present paper are early mentions of a disease that is commonly believed to be smallpox. As it is always the case, one has to be very careful with retrospective diagnosis. Yet, our evidence suggests that there was a certain continuity of such a disease existing in Armenia over the centuries.

But from the textual descriptions, we are not in a position to tell what disease precisely it may have been, whether it was indeed just one disease rather than an umbrella term for two or more diseases that share a common feature but may have had from a modern perspecive an entirely different aetiology, or whether what we call smallpox today may have even been amongst these. Strictly speaking, smallpox is from a modern perspective an umbrella term in itself as it could refer to *Variola minor* or *maior*. To add even more complexity, we do not have full and reliable data on the development of *Variola minor* or *minor* over time.

To avoid confusion in the following, we are going to refer to the disease mentioned in Armenian manuscripts as *Tsaghik*, which is a transliteration of the Armenian term. We are going to use the term *Variola*[1] to describe smallpox as defined in a modern biomedical context.

In the following, we shall present new evidence on early mentions of the term *Tsaghik* in Classical Armenian (CA) sources. While we are not in a position to tell whether or not *Tsaghik* may have always or ever been *Variola*, or indeed a potential precursor of *Variola*, our analysis will yield intriguing new philological, ethnomedical and historical data.

[1] We use the term *Variola* to describe the disease that is in modern biomedical terms called smallpox, as we can in the vast majority of cases only detect the pathogen from human remains for the time period under consideration. We usually only know that a person died from or with an infection of this virus and lack any information on the symptoms of this diseases. This is in particular the case when it comes to extinct clades of the pathogen.

2. The history of *Variola*

While it is not within the scope of this paper to work on *Variola* from a biomedical perspective, we would like to present a brief background against which our textual evidence on *Tsaghik* should be seen. *Variola* has been behind devastating epidemics that claimed millions of lives in the past several centuries. Recent genetic studies[2] found strong evidence of an ancestor of *Variola* in human remains dating to about the 7th to 10th centuries AD, both Northern Europe. Whether this previously unknown and now-extinct *Variola* ancestor caused smallpox is unknown. A number of samples from broadly the geographic area of Armenia tested negative. However, this could have been caused by multiple circumstantial factors and does not mean the ancestor of *Variola* was not present in Armenia historically[3].

3. The history of *Tsaghik*

3.1. Ancient and medieval sources and legends

Tsaghik, the CA word for flower, has been a widespread disease in Armenia in past centuries. The origins of this disease are deeply intertwined with Armenian mythology and religious worship, and as a result, beliefs and traditions associated with the disease *Tsaghik* have developed over the centuries, some of which were still in use decades ago. One such belief concerns the Wednesday preceding the feast of Ascension, which is celebrated in Spring, 40 days after Easter. Women usually fasted on this Wednesday so their children would not be infected with *Tsaghik*[4]. But this ceremony has much older roots, going back to the pagan period, where it related to ancient gods as well as the awakening of nature and rebirth.

During the Christian festival, young women and girls sang songs in praise of the *Tsakhkamer*, in this instance a cross-shaped wreath woven with flowers, and twirled it among the pilgrims, who sprinkled water on it. This ceremony known as flower praise was a way of honoring the flowers and plants, because they also had medicinal value and were the necessary components of the ancient Armenian pharmacy. In the end, the *Tsakhkamer* was donated to the church. This set of rituals included several pagan and folk customs, which highlighted the worship of the flower, which eventually turned into a belief that the *Tsakhkamer* could neutralize *Tsaghik*.

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[2] See also J.H. Bonczarowska, J. Susat, B. Mühlemann *et al.*, *Pathogen Genomics Study of an Early Medieval Community in Germany Reveals Extensive Co-infections*, GBio 23, 250, 2022, which attests finding ancestors of *Variola* in South West German cemeteries dating to the fifth to eighth century AD.

[3] B. Mühlemann *et al.*, *Diverse Variola Virus (Smallpox) Strains Were Widespread in Northern Europe in the Viking Age*, Scie 369, eaaw8977, 2020.

[4] See: E. Lalayan, *Non-Obligatory Fasting and Holidays*, EthJ 10, 1903, p. 225.

Studies have linked the *Tsakhkamer*, (a term that could also refer to a girl leading the procession and carrying a wreath woven with flowers)[5], with virgin Varvara[6], the patron saint of *Tsaghik*[7]. The Armenian legend has it that Varvara was a pious girl who was persecuted by her idolatrous father for converting to Christianity and hence sought refuge in a cave shrine at the foothills of Mount Ara, where she cured children with child-*Tsaghik* (Arm: տղայոց ծաղիկ [tghayoths tsaghik])[8]. She was eventually discovered with the help of the local shepherds and killed by her father. Before being martyred, Varvara prayed to God for those afflicted with *Tsaghik* and measles[9] to be healed in her name. The cave shrine at the foothills Mount Ara where Varvara was martyred later became a place of pilgrimage for Armenians. The site is believed to possess powerful healing properties that are directly associated with the appeal to protect and preserve children from *Tsaghik*.



Fig. 1. The Cave of the Virgin Varvara at the foot of Mountain Ara in Armenia.

[5] See: S. Mkrtchyan, *Armenian Festival and Ritual Culture*, Yerevan 2016, p. 105.

[6] V. Bdoyan, *The Agricultural Culture in Armenia*, Yerevan 1972, p. 455–456.

[7] Virgin St. Varvara (Barbara) was martyred during the reign of King Maximianus, in the town of Heliopolis, in Phoenicia, in about 305 AD. In the West, she is associated with explosives, mining, and artillery. In the Western church, her feast is celebrated on the 4th of December and it is at least in Germany and Poland customary to cut a small branch from a cherry tree on this day that would then flower on the 24th of December, Christmas Eve.

[8] *Ibidem*.

[9] A.B. Aleksanyan, *General and Special Epidemiology*, Yerevan 1960, p. 736.

The water that flows from the upper layers of the cave shrine is known as "holy virgin's tears". It is believed to possess healing properties and cure high temperature, fever, rheumatic disorders, various skin diseases, as well as vision-related issues. The locals refer to it as "holy water". Notably, it contains a substantial amount of zinc, which helps to treat various infectious diseases. Studies showed that zink is important for the immune system[10].

Numerous authors in Armenian medieval medical literature also provide testimonies on a disease that is explicitly or implicitly described as *Tsaghik*. Many of the Armenian manuscripts scribes often depict the spread of the "untimely deadly diseases"[11] like *Tsaghik* (Arm: ծաղկախտ [tsaghkakht]) and natural *Tsaghik* (Arm: բնական ծաղիկ [bnakan tsaghik]) and the great epidemic of "plague" (which claimed thousands lives, leaving "the entire country and every man" in mourning[12]) with horror. A number of medieval Armenian historians, including physicians, referring to *Tsaghik* in their works, not only outlined the symptoms of this disease in detail but also proposed certain methods for its prevention, control, and treatment[13].

While examining the history of Armenian social and medical works dating back to the 5th century, we observed that the Armenian Church and the state attempted an active involvement in tackling the spread of infectious diseases prevalent in ancient times. This included a compassionate and philanthropic approach

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[10] M. Maywald, L. Rink, *Zinc in Human Health and Infectious Diseases*, Bio 12.12, 2022.

[11] Even though not all the knowledge on the ancient period has been preserved, and neither the known nor unknown diseases have their clear names, by combining the discourse in the old Armenian manuscripts and especially the identical manifestations of some terms, it can be concluded that frequently encountered "untimely death" (Arm: մահտարաժամ [mahtarazham]), "unexpected death" (Arm: եղեւ մահտարաժամ [egev mahtarazham]), "early death" (Arm: ի տարաժամ մահուանէ [i tarazham mahuane]), "human disease" (Arm: մարդաճարակ [mardacharak]), "deadly disease" (Arm: մահաճարակ [mahacharak]) and other expressions are distinct terms and are used during great epidemics, especially severe outbreaks of *Tsaghik* and Plague.

[12] Let's take one of many examples: the Gospel memorial book written in 1623 in the rural town of Khizan, also known as Hizan in the western part of historical Armenia, the province of the same name in the province of Bitlis, in the territory of present-day Turkey. The scribe imitating the manuscript, priest Hovhannes gives notable details about a severe epidemic that broke out not only in the territory of Armenia but also in the surrounding countries and cities, as a result of which the number of deaths reached 100 per day in each city, 2 or 3 dead people from each house were buried at the same time. *And so, this year the severe epidemic, which occurred in Egypt and Constantinople 2 years ago, came to Aleppo, Urha, Amid, Baghesh, and Van, and among us, in Khizan and nearby provinces. The epidemic became so severe that 100 people died a day in every city, 2–3 from many families were taken to the grave at once, and a (church) ceremony was performed for 10 dead people. In the evening, the injured person (the one afflicted with the disease) did not come out into the light (did not live till morning), and the priests did not go home from the cemeteries until evening, and they did not have time to give communion to the sick*. See: V. Hakobyan, A. Hovhannisyan, *The Memorial Books of Armenian Manuscripts of the 17th Century, (1621–1640)*, part B, Yerevan 1978, p. 115.

[13] See K. Kostaniants, *Grigor Magistros's Letters*, Aleksandrapol 1910, p. 352.

towards the most vulnerable members of society, in particular those infected and in need of care. Moreover, the care included not just isolating patients, but also creating suitable treatment and care interventions, many of which are documented in the Armenian written sources dating back to the 5th century, including in writings of Pavstos Buzand[14] and Movses Khorenatsi[15]. These 5th-century authors evidenced that hospitals for lepers[16] and the diseased were founded all around Armenia[17].

The Armenian Catholicos Nerses the Great[18] acted as the initiator and driving force of these important interventions in medicine. Here is one of the decisions of the Ashtishat church assembly[19] convened by him in 365 AD: *To prevent the*

[14] Pavstos Buzand is one of the prominent figures of Armenian historiography of the 5th century. His *History* covers about half a century, from the reign of the Armenian king Khosrov Kotak (Khosrov III the Small, 330–338 AD) to the division of Armenia between Sasanian Persia and Byzantium in 387. This was a tough period in the history of Armenia, full of heavy and sharp political struggle and rich in dramatic events. The nickname Buzand has mainly been interpreted to mean a "Byzantine or a person educated in Byzantium". According to Stepan Malkhasyants, the word Buzand consists of the Indo-European roots *bu* and *zand* and means "interpreter of historical events". See: S. Malkhasyants, *History of Armenians (Pavstos Buzand)*, Tbilisi 1941 (June 7); P. Buzand, *History of Armenians*, trans. S. Malkhasyants, Yerevan 1968.

[15] Movses Khorenatsi (410–490 AD) was an intellectual and political figure of the Golden Age, historian, translator, teacher, hermit. Movses Khorenatsi's parchment manuscripts journal "History of Armenia" is a trustworthy verified document of national self-recognition for generations of all eras. Movses Khorenatsi was honored with the names of *Father of Armenian History* (Arm: պատմահայր, patmahayr), *Father of Poets* (Arm: քերթողահայր, kertoghahayr), *Movses the Great*, *Saint Movses Khorenatsi*. There is little biographical information about Khorenatsi, most of which was randomly reported by the author himself in his work *History of Armenia*. M. Khorenatsi, *History of Armenia*, introd. and trans. S. Malkhasyants, Yerevan 1997, p. 5–17 (428).

[16] P. Buzand, *History of…*

[17] M. Khorenatsi, *History of…*, p. 428.

[18] Nerses I the Great (≈335–373 AD) was the Catholicos of All Armenians in 353–373 AD, successor of Catholicos Paren I Ashtishattsi. He is one of the celebrated saints of the Armenian Apostolic Holy Church. He was also called Nerses Parthev. He comes from the lineage of Grigor Lusavorich (the Illuminator), the grandson of Husik I Partev. During his childhood and youth, he lived, was educated and brought up in Caesarea. Then he returned to Armenia, where King Arshak II appointed him chamberlain of court. He married Sahandukht, daughter of Vardan, son of Armenian commander Artavazd Mamikonyan. In 351 AD, by the order of King Arshak II, Nerses Parthev led the Armenian delegation to Constantinople and participated in the settlement of the tense Armenian-Roman relations. See: G. Hovnanyan, *Nerses the Great and his Influence on Armenia*, Vienna 1851. Nerses I the Great carried out great spiritual and educational activities and was considered the first great reformer of the Armenian Church. He started the work of spreading and strengthening Christianity in Armenia. He opened schools, orphanages, hospitals, alms houses, poorhouses, other care giving institutions, rebuilt a number of monasteries and churches. Nerses I the Great tried to increase the role of the church in the internal life of the country. M. Yerets, *History of Saint Nerses Partev, the Armenian Catholicos*, vol. VI, Venice 1853.

[19] Ashtishat church assemblies were held in the 4th–5th centuries in 354, 356, 435 AD in Ashtishat township of Taron province of Greater Armenia, for the purpose of discussing religious and church

spread of infectious diseases, establish "lepers'" homes, hospitals for the sick, shelters for the disabled and the blind[20].

Private hospitals have existed since at least late antiquity in Armenia. This is evidenced by the fact that in the 3rd century AD (c. 260 AD), the wife of the Armenian feudal prince Suren Salahuni[21], Aghvita[22], asked her husband to build a leprosarium using her own funds. She built this facility near the healing mineral springs called Arbenut[23]. It is worth mentioning that the first leprosaria in Europe were opened about three hundred years after that[24]. The earliest hospital in what could broadly be regarded as the Western world dates to around 350 AD[25].

We could therefore hypothesize that patients afflicted by *Tsaghik* were also placed in settings for "lepers", hospitals, and shelters. Thus, Armenian historians provided notable information about ancient Armenian medical science and, especially, herbal medicine and pharmacology. Armenian historian Tovma Artsruni[26] (9th century AD) documented that as early as in the 1st century BC, wonderful gardens were established in Armenia on the initiative of King Artashes[27], where herbs were grown with great care: *Around the castle of Artamet, he planted various groves of colorful and fragrant flowers, which were not only pleasing to the eye and*

canonical issues. As evidenced by Pavstos Buzand, Ashtishat was the main place for church meetings in the 4th century. M. Yerets, *History of…*

[20] King Arshak II Arshakuni also participated in the Ashtishat Council. According to the decrees of the assembly, it was forbidden to engage in drunkenness and polygamy, and many pagan customs were forbidden, including indecent weeping over the dead. The assembly also adopts a rule that the dukes, the king, and the wealthy should be lenient and merciful towards their subjects, servants, and common people. Artsruni Tovma and Anonymous, *History of the Dynasty of Artsruni*, trans. V. Vardanyan, Yerevan 1978, p. 75.

[21] Suren Salahuni (around 260 AD) was an Armenian prince.

[22] Princess Aghvita (260 AD) was Prince Suren Salahuni's wife.

[23] Arbenut is a territory in historical Armenia.

[24] See: Gh. Alishan, *Hayapatum. Historians and Histories of Armenia*, vol. II, Venice 1901, p. 85–87.

[25] For a chronology of hospitals in the West see P. Horden, *The Earliest Hospitals in Byzantium, Western Europe, and Islam*, JIH 35.3, 2005, p. 361–389.

[26] Tovma Artsruni is an Armenian historian of the 9th–10th centuries, who wrote the work *The History of the Artsruny Dynasty*. He presented the history of Armenia and Vaspurakan province through the lens of the history of the House of Artsruni. The work is a valuable source not only for the history of Armenia, but also for that of neighbouring countries. The author starts the narrative from ancient times, tracing it up to the end of the 9th century AD. After him, the work was continued by several anonymous authors, who extended the narrative to the 1370s. See: N. Byzantine, *Tovma Artsruni and Anonymous Artsruni Are Two Other Historians*, Baz 1905, p. 227–233, 264–271, 328–337, 398–407, 464–471. V.M. Vardanyan, *About Several Place Names Mentioned in "History of the Dynasty of Artsruni"*, HPhJ 1, 1973, p. 111–122.

[27] Artashes II (about 60 BC – 20 BC), Armenian king from 30 Artashesian Wealth, the son of Artavazd II. After the capture of his father and brothers, Artashes signed a military alliance with the Parthian King Hrahat IV and retreated from occupied Armenia to Parthevastan (nowadays Iran) with the king's regiment. See *Armenian Soviet Encyclopedia*, vol. II, ed. V. Hambardzumyan, K. Khudaverdyan, Yerevan 1974, p. 139–140.

nostrils but also suitable for ingenious physicians to prepare medicines according to the art of Askghepias[28]. According to the Armenian renowned historian Movses Khorenatsi, the Armenian king Vagharshak[29] (2nd century BC) established flower gardens in the marshy areas of Tayk[30] and Kogh[31].

And, as evidenced by chronicler Ghazar Parpetsi, a variety of medicinal plants growing wild were grown and bred in those gardens: *There, in the Ararat valley, there are many plant roots that crafty, skilled and knowledgeable doctors use to prepare fast-acting medicinal remedies, and drinks, with which they treat those suffering from illnesses for an extended period*[32].

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[28] Many Armenian mineral medicines had a great reputation: Armenian bole, Armenian stone, Armenian borax, as well as compounds of mercury, iron, zinc, and lead. Among them, Armenian bole (Bolus Armenus) deserves special attention, it contains Alumosilicates and Ferrum oxide, and it was used as an anti-inflammatory, anti-allergic, and anti-tumor drug, and it was also used in the case of bleeding and poisoning. It is a dark red or yellow bole that was used in the past as an anti-inflammatory, wound-drying, hemostatic, mucoactive and anti-venom agent. It was produced mainly in the area of the city of Ani that is why it is also referred to as Ani bole. A large amount was exported from Armenia to the countries of the West and especially of the East, and had a great reputation. In his *Canon* the Arab physician Ibn Sina speaks highly of Armenian or Ani bole in particular, noting: *Armenian or Ani bole has a surprising effect on wounds. It is particularly useful against pneumonia and plague. Many were saved during the great epidemic because they used to drink it with light wine*. See: S. Vardanyan, *The History of Armenian Medicine. From Antiquity to the Present Day*, Yerevan 2000, p. 32. Razi also talks about the healing properties of Armenian bole in his book, writing at least four prescriptions in which Armenian bole constitutes an important ingredient. See: *A Treatise on the Small-Pox and Measles by Abú Becr Mohammed Ibn Zacaríyá Ar-Rází (Commonly called Rhazes)*, trans. from the original Arabic W.A. Greenhill, London 1848, p. 54, https://archive.org/details/39002086344042.med.yale.edu [24 X 2024].

[29] Vagharshak I was an Armenian king (247–225 BC), the founder of the Arshakuni Dynasty in Armenia. Armenian historians consider Vagharshak to be the brother of Arshak the Great (248/247 BC – around 211 BC) or Mihrdat I the Great (171 BC – 198/137 BC) of the Parthian king Arshakuni brother. Having reigned in Armenia for 31 years with the help of the latter, Vagharshak I made Mtsbin its capital.

[30] Tayk is the 14th province of Greater Armenia. The name *Tayk* comes from ancient times and has an ethnic origin. Xenophon provided the earliest accounts of Tayk. Under the reign of Artashes I, Tayk became integrated into the Armenian kingdom of Greater Armenia. Remaining a part of Greater Armenia thereafter, Tayk endured until the era of Arab dominance. Throughout the IV to VIII centuries, Tayk was governed by the Mamikonians, during which it functioned as a distinct administrative and political entity, a feudal government. Tayk was administratively divided into 8 provinces: Kogh (center: Kriakunk), Berdats por (center: Banak), Partizats Bor (center: Partez), Tchakk (center: Ishkhank), Boghkha (center: Ughtik), Vokaghe (center: Tortum), Azordats por (center: Azord), Arsiats por (center: Arsis). T. Hakobyan, *Historical Geography of Armenia*, [5]Yerevan 2007, p. 234–235.

[31] Kogh was a province within the Tayk province of Greater Armenia. It was located in the mountain valley region of the estuary of the Kur River (Kriakunk). It bordered on Ardaha of Gugark in the North, Vanand of Ayrarat in the East, Berdats Por of Tayk in the South, and Tchakk provinces in the West. Presumably, it is identified with Kulkha mentioned in the Urartian inscriptions. The village of Kriakunk was located in Gavar. T. Hakobyan, *Historical*…, p. 234–235.

[32] G. Parpetsi, *History of Armenia. A Letter to Vahan Mamikonyan*, new Armenian trans. and notes B. Ulubabyan, Yerevan 1982, p. 540.

We also find such references and episodes in the works of foreign authors and travellers. Thus, in his *Annals* the Roman historian Tacitus[33] mentioned how Armenian shepherds treated wounds with traditional medicines[34]. Likewise, in his *Natural History* Pliny the Elder[35] (AD 23/24 – AD 79) noted that the Romans highly valued plants whose roots produce resinous gum growing in Armenia, among them a plant called *laserpitium*.

In the Armenian writings, there are various names derived from *Tsaghik*, therefore it can be assumed, that even in the early Middle Ages, the Armenian scientists not only recognized it, but also had a clear understanding of its varieties and prevalence. Thus, the terms *Tsaghik*, *Tsaghik* disease, child *Tsaghik*, man *Tsaghik*, animal *Tsaghik*, *Tsaghik* mark, *Tsaghik* marking and their variants all refer to *Tsaghik*[36].

Each of these terms has its own special meaning: while the terms man *Tsaghik*, child *Tsaghik*, *Tsaghik* disease and *Tsaghik* referred to humans, animal *Tsaghik* and animal death referred to domestic animals (mainly goat or sheep). We could therefore speculate that *Tsaghik* was also widespread among animals[37]. Also, child *Tsaghik* is etymologically attributed to the prevalence of this disease mainly among young children. It is known that the majority of people infected with *Tsaghik* in ancient times were young children and their high mortality rate caused it to be called child *Tsaghik* or infants' disease. The medical terms pus (Arm: ժահր [zhahr]), mould (Arm: բորբոս [borbos]) and gangrene (Arm: փտուԹյուն [ptutyun]) are also related to the classification of *mould diseases*.

It should be noted that the most prominent representative of medieval Armenian medicine, the founder of the Armenian classical medical school, Mkhitar Heratsi[38], demonstrated a unique approach to the classification of mould diseases.

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[33] Tacitus Publius Cornelius – Roman historian and politician of the first and second century AD. See: Tacitus Cornelius, *Foreign Sources about Armenians*, vol. III, *Latin Sources*, Yerevan 1941, p. 55–57; S. Vardanyan, *The History*…, p. 30–31.

[34] Tacitus Annals XII, 51 uses the words *agrestia medicamina*, Cornelius Tacitus, *Annales ab excessu divi Augusti*, ed. Ch.D. Fisher, Oxford 1906, https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3atext%3a1999.02.0077 [7 III 2024].

[35] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* XIX, 15, quoted from the Bostock translation as presented on Perseus https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137%3Abook%3D19%3Achapter%3D15 [7 III 2024]. See also A. Torosyan, *Armenia's Medicinal Plants*, Yerevan 1983, p. 4.

[36] The Haykazyan Dictionary (Dictionary of Armenian), which summarizes the entire vocabulary of Armenian manuscripts and ancient Armenian bibliography and is an irreplaceable guide in the field of research in various fields of Armenology, has placed the following semantic usages extracted from various bibliographic sources under the entry *Tsaghik*: "Children's disease that produces red blisters", "Animal Epidemic, and Child *Tsaghik*", "On *Tsaghik* and Epidemic", "Give Mercy to All in Danger of *Tsaghik*", "Heal Eveyone Suffering from *Tsaghik*". See: *A New Dictionary of the Haikazian Language*, ed. G. Avetikian, Kh. Surmelian, M. Augerian, Venice 1836, p. 1023–1024.

[37] A.B. Aleksanyan, *General and*…, p. 736.

[38] Mkhitar Heratsi was born in 1120 in the region of Khoy in present-day Iran (formerly known as Her, Persian Armenia).

He explained these diseases through the decay of four fluids or humors – blood, mucus, yellow and black bile[39]. In the section "Mould Fevers" of his work *Consolation of Fevers*, M. Heratsi described the fever, typhoid and hemorrhagic diseases, plague, natural smallpox, measles, and the infectious nature of mould fevers, especially typhus.

On the occasion of one of the mould fevers, M. Heratsi warned to stay away from those infected to be free from infection. He was convinced that animals could also spread infection, therefore, only the milk of healthy animals should be consumed. This was a new perspective in the medical field of the time. It is interesting to note, however, that the word *Tsaghik* which originally meant flower in CA was used to describe characteristics of this disease. The word *Tsaghik* is used amongst many related fields, which could be translated to, flowered (mouldy), blossom, flowery, flower stricken, bloomed face (a face covered in rash), pocked (pock-marked), but also wine flower (mould that grows on the surface of wine, vinegar, beer and other liquids), bloomed wall (mouldy from moisture) and copper flower (a green layer forming on the surface of copper).

Moreover, we observe that ritual fasting was thought to have had a preventative effect. Here, multiple traditions may have had a part in the development of this measure. Both in Roman Catholic and some Orthodox churches, ritual fasting on Wednesday and Friday was, and to some extent still is, practiced. A potential preventative effect on the spread of infectious disease could have underlined the importance of observing these religious rules. But what is more, is that there may have been a medical justification for this intermittent fasting.

Rhazes[40], in his groundbreaking treatise *On Smallpox and Measles* describes a sweet, indulgent diet as one of the main predisposing factors for smallpox: *The bodies most disposed to the Small-Pox are* […] *those that are very fond of sweet things*, *especially*, *dates*, *honey*, *figs*, *and grapes*, *3 and all those kinds of sweets in which there is a thick and dense substance*, *as thick gruel*, *3 and honey-cakes*, *4 or a great quantity of wine and milk*[41]. It is very likely that Rhazes observed this correctly, even if the reasoning behind his assumptions may have been false. In other words, while humoral imbalance as described in his work did not exist, it is safe to assume that the disease he named smallpox did in fact affect primarily people with

[39] M. Heratsi, *Consolation of Fevers*, Venice 1832, p. 150, https://armunicat.nla.am/cgi-bin/koha/opac-MARCdetail.pl?biblionumber=491 456 [24 X 2024].

[40] Abu Bakr Mohammad Zakariyā Rāzī (Persian: ابوبکر محمّد زکریای رازی Abūbakr Mohammad-e Zakariyā-ye Rāzī, also known as the Latinized Rhazes or Rasis), 866, Ray, Abbasid Caliphate – October 15, 925, a medieval Persian encyclopaedic scientist, physician, alchemist, philosopher, an important figure in the history of medicine. He also wrote works on logic, astronomy, linguistics. See: Rāzī, Abū Bakr Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā, Fuat Sezgin, Māzin 'Amāwī, C. Ehrig-Eggert, E. Neubauer, *Muḥammad ibn Zakarīyā' ar-Rāzī (d. 313/925). Texts and Studies*, Frankfurt am Main 1999. See also: https://archive.org/details/39002086344042.med.yale.edu [7 III 2024].

[41] *A Treatise on the Small-Pox and Measles*…, 2, 1.

an unhealthily sweet tooth. Working with Rhazes' treatise poses its own potential problems of retrospective diagnosis and translation. It is, however, important to stress that he lived in a geographic area that was adjacent to Armenia and in the 9th to 10th century AD.

Today, we are aware of a clear connection between hyperglycemia and an impaired immune response to viral infection. While it is best known in the general population in connection with Covid-19, it has also been observed in the recent mpox outbreak[42]. Intermittent fasting as described in our Armenian sources would likely lower blood glucose. It is very well possible that our Armenian sources and traditional remedies capture a similar mechanism, in which potential vectors of disease, the mothers, are subjected to intermittent fasting to lower the chances of developing *Tsaghik* and infecting their children, who are particularly vulnerable.

3.2. Detecting the earliest testimonies of *Tsaghik*

The earliest known reference to *Tsaghik* as a disease is attributed to Anania Shirakatsi, a renowned Armenian astronomer, mathematician, philosopher, and scientist who lived in the 7th century. Anania Shirakatsi, a 7th-century great Armenian thinker is considered the founder of Natural Sciences in Armenia. In order to deepen his knowledge to continue his studies, he studied and traveled for 11 years in advanced Byzantine scientific and educational centers, a significant part of which was with the famous Greek scientist Tychikos[43], where he mastered numerology and acquired knowledge of many sciences. He was engaged in philosophy, astronomy, geography, mathematics, chronology and alchemy. A great number of Shirakatsi's works dedicated to various fields of science have reached us.

In his renowned work, the *Qnnikon* (also called *Chronicle* or *Chronicon*), 667 AD, alongside his works on astrological, numerological, chronological and philosophical issues, Shirakatsi placed great importance on natural science works, among them also materials on medicine. There he mentions *Tsaghik*, referring to it as "animal death and child *Tsaghik*". It is evident that Shirakatsi was well aware of *Tsaghik*.

Unfortunately, Anania Shirakatsi's *Qnnikon* has not come down to us in its entirety, but information on Anania Shirakatsi's medical and pharmacological experience has been preserved within Armenian writings. Thus, a variety of *Tsaghik* disease is mentioned in the *New Dictionary of the Haykazian Language*, where the entry for *Tsaghik* as in the CA word for flower draws on Anania Shirakatsi's work, making reference to "animal death and child *Tsaghik*"[44]. Probably, the authors of the Haykazian dictionary had at their disposal Shirakatsi's *Qnnikon* or another

[42] J.A. Ruiz-Pacheco, L.A. Castillo-Díaz, R. Arreola-Torres, S. Fonseca-Coronado, B. Gómez-Navarro, *Diabetes mellitus. Lessons from COVID-19 for Monkeypox Infection*, PCD 17.2, 2023, p. 113–118.

[43] R.H. Hewsen, *Science in Seventh-Century Armenia. Ananias of Sirak*, Is 59.1, 1968, p. 32–45.

[44] See: *A New Dictionary of the Haikazian*…, p. 1001–1002 and 17.

work deriving from it, from which they took the data. We hope that in the future, a complete copy of Shirakatsi's *Qnnikon* will be found, and it will be possible to more fully recover Shirakatsi's work on medicine and the natural sciences. But, to our knowledge this is the first attested mention of *Tsaghik* as a disease. No disease resembling *Tsaghik* or indeed *Variola* is convincingly described in ancient Greek sources[45]. Insofar, the first convincing mention of what is perceived to be a precursor of *Variola* comes from Rhazes, the 10th century AD source mentioned above[46].

It is known that Anania Shirakatsi was also a practitioner of herbal medicine. According to oral traditions passed down to us, Anania Shirakatsi personally participated in the search for rare types of medicinal plants, including *hamaspyur* (Arm: Համասպյուռ) and *upan* (Arm: ուպան)[47].

Hamaspyur[48] is commonly identified as *Lichnis* L.[49] *Hamaspyur* was known in different regions of Armenia as a healing agent. In his work *Ayrarat* Father of the Mkhitaryan Congregation Ghevond Alishan mentioned that *Hamaspyur* grew in a village called Dzoghakert or Dzorakert[50], noting that there were mythical stories about the miraculous properties of this plant. According to tradition, Anania Shirakatsi discovered and used it for medicinal purposes. There are also testimonies that Shirakatsi personally participated in the search for rare types of medicinal plants, including *Hamaspyur*, which proves that Shirakatsi also practiced herbal medicine[51].

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[45] Early modern discussions to this respect also led to no tangible results. See T.P. Newfield, A.T. Duggan, H. Poinar, *Smallpox's Antiquity in Doubt*, JRA 35.2, 2022, p. 897–913.

[46] *Variola* has also been suggested to have been responsible for several major epidemics from antiquity onwards. See for instance G.F. Gilliam, *Galen and the Antonine Plague*, AJP 82.3, 1961, p. 225–251. However, alternative aetiologies have been suggested, too, and it remains puzzling that this epidemic did not lead to clearly defined medical descriptions and medical treatises as for instance Rhazes' work. It is very well possible that the Antonine Plague consisted in fact of a number of separate illnesses affecting a weakened population. In any case, there is no continuity in the form of a dedicated medical term for this illness from the period.

[47] Gh. Alishan, *Ayrarat. Nature of Armenia*, Venice 1890, p. 123.

[48] The word *Hamaspyur* (Lat: *Lichinis* L.) is used as an adjective in the sense of extensive, large-scale, widespread. See H. Gayayan, *Dictionary Treasury of the Armenian Language*, Cairo 1938, p. 265. In the noun sense, it is a flower (plant) that sends out twelve branches and each branch has a flower of a different color, gives light to blind eyes, gives strength to the smell, and has other properties, too. See *Armenian Explanatory Dictionary*, ed. S. Malkhaseants, Yerevan 1944, p. 1176.

[49] See Matenadaran, MM MS 549, fol. 78b.

[50] Dzoghakert was a small town in ancient and medieval Armenia. Speaking about the Battle of Vardanants and referring to the activities of the governor of Armenia Vasak Syuni, the Armenian historian of the 5th century Yeghishe states: *He departed from the Christian covenant and destroyed many places in the Armenian kingdom, especially the winter quarters of the king, which were the army stations, Garni and Draskhanakert, Mets Dastakert, townships Dzoghakert and Kuash, Arutch, Ashnak and all of Aragatsotn…* He belonged to the Kamsarakan noble dynasty. Yeghishe, *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, Yerevan 1994.

[51] Gh. Alishan, *Ayrarat*…, p. 123.



Fig. 2. The plant *hamaspram* (Arm: Համասպրամ). Gh. Alishan, *Hayapatum. Historians and Histories of Armenia*, vol. II, Venice 1901, p. 124.

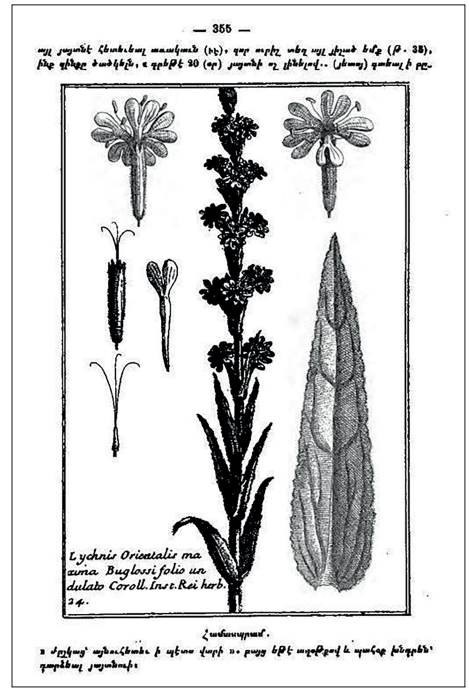


Fig. 3. Stamens, leaves, and flowers of *Hamaspram* with separate components. Gh. Alishan, *Haybusak or Armenian Botanical Terms*, Venice 1895, p. 355.

3.3. Examining the *Tsaghik* clinic and preventive measures in Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni's letters

Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni[52], a prominent Armenian scientist who lived in around 990–1058 AD, played a significant role in the advancement and dissemination of the medieval Armenian medical culture and medical science. He has left behind an impressive legacy of independent and translated works, comprising

[52] Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni, also known as Grigor Magistros Bjnetsi, was a scientist, philosopher, poet, political and military figure. He was the son of General-in-chief Vasak Pahlavuni. See L.G. Khacherian, *Grigor Pahlavuni Magistros. Life and Activity*, Los Angeles 1987. He received his primary education at Ani school then studied in Constantinople. Together with his uncle, General Vahram Pahlavuni, he fought against internal and external enemies and contributed to the strengthening of the Bagratuni Dynasty. In 1045 after the arrest of Gagik II by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos in Constantinople, he surrendered his territories to Byzantium, receiving estates in Southern Armenia and Mesopotamia instead. The Byzantine emperor awarded him the title of a *Magister*, and in 1048 appointed him governor of Southern Armenia and Mesopotamia.

a collection of more than eighty letters. Magistros' letters, primarily focused on religious, philosophical, family, and personal matters, also provide insights into the prevailing attitudes and values of the time, as well as medical prescriptions. His letters are particularly important because of their focus on general and herbal medicine. In his letters Magistros also acts as a well-informed doctor and scientist of Greek medicine.



Fig. 4. *Grigor Magistros and Manuche*: 18th-century miniature.

See V. Vardanian, *Grigor Magistros' Political Creed*, Baz 163, 2005, p. 364–378. Grigor Magistros Pahlavuni was one of the most educated people of the time, left a significant mark in the history of medieval Armenian culture, contributed to the development of science and literature. He founded a school-seminary, and taught rhetoric, philosophy, grammar, mathematics. St. Astvatsatsin, Monastery of Bjni, St. Grigor Lusavorich Church of Kecharis Monastery, St. All Savior Church of Havuts Tar Monastery and other monuments were built on his initiative. See H. Bartikyan, *On the Issue of Political Orientation of Grigor Magistros. Pages of the History and Philology of the Armenian People (Collection of Articles)*, Yerevan 1971, p. 63–72.

One of the letters, for example, is addressed to the Byzantine physician Kyurakos[53]. During a scientific debate with him lasting several years, Magistros[54], demonstrates his profound knowledge in medicine and his extensive knowledge of the works of Plato, Hippocratus, Galen, Asclepiades, Nemesios of Emesa[55]. Some of the Magistros' letters are dedicated to his complicated relationship with the Armenian King Gagik II; having referred to the King's health problems[56] in one of his letters. There are letters devoted almost entirely to medicine[57], providing a comprehensive lecture on the functions of the digestive system in another letter.

Magistros taught at the university he founded, where he had many students. Medical sciences held a prominent place among the other disciplines taught. Magistros was not only a medical theoretician but also a practicing physician, as evidenced by the letters where he provided advice on medical matters. In a letter written to Sargis Vardapet, priest of Saint Karapet Monastery[58], who was suffering from a fever, Magistros not only gave advice, but also explained to him the nature of the disease and the potential consequences it could entail. Here he described the degree of the danger of the disease in detail, identified it as a type of chronic devastating fever, and proposed a course of action, specifically "letting blood from the right arm", for recovery. Additionally, he recommended sour and warm products as medicinal food and as medicine, he suggested using the seeds of a plant

[53] This name could refer to the rather common Greek name Kyriakos.

[54] According to some researchers Grigor Magistros had a comprehensive understanding of ancient medicine, and not only as a theoretician but also as a practical physician. While some experts argue that Magistros may not have been a physician in the traditional sense, he possessed a diverse range of knowledge in the field. However, there is a dominating opinion that Magistros was not solely a philosopher-scientist preoccupied with theoretical issues but also a practicing physician. See K. Kostaniants, *Grigor Magistros*'…, p. 45.

[55] Nemesius of Emesa (around 350–420) was a philosopher and a bishop of the city of Homs, Syria. Scant information has been preserved regarding the life and activity of Nemesius of Emesa. It is speculated that he lived in the second half of the 4th and the beginning of the 5th centuries. Two facts are known about him: he served as a bishop of the city of Emesa and authored the book *On Human Nature*, which influenced the Armenian philosophical thought of the Middle Ages and the 17th–18th centuries, especially the views of Hovhan Vorotnetsi. See H. Mirzoyan, *Simeon Dzhugayetsi*, Yerevan 1971, p. 35–36, 64; G.H. Grigoryan, *The Philosophical Teaching of Hovhan Vorotnetsi*, Yerevan 1980, p. 35–36; S. Arevshatyan, S. Lalafaryan, *Works of Hovhan Vorotnetsi "About Beginnings"*, vol. III, Yerevan 1956, p. 344. Earliest information about Nemesius is known from the works of the 7th century thinkers Maxim the Confessor, Anastasius of Sinai and the 10th century Syrian thinker Moses Bar Cephas' work *On Paradise*. See: S. Zakaryan, *Nemesius of Emesa and Hovnan Vorotnetsi (Philosophical Relations)*, Yerevan 2017, p. 3–19.

[56] Mag. 61.

[57] Mag. 60, 61, 83.

[58] Saint Hovhannes Karapet Monastery is located in Ararat region, Republic of Armenia, 1 km North-East of Jnjrlu village. Urtsi mountain range spreads around the monastery, which lies on the Southern plateau of the mountain range. According to one of the inscriptions preserved on the walls of the monastery, the Orbelian princes founded the monastery at the beginning of the 14th century. It served as the cemetery of the Orbelian dynasty. Gh. Alishan, *Ayrarat*…, p. 445.

called *Laktuk* (Arm: լակտուկ [Laktuk; Lat: lactucarium, Eng: lettuce opium[59]]). *A thousand dishes are called maroulli in Greek, which means that it must be eaten from May to July, and not after that*[60].



Fig. 5. *Lactucarium* (Lat: *Lactuca virosa* [Lettuce opium]).

Moreover, Magistros also describes the medicinal significance of the plant. According to him, lettuce has the properties of purifying the blood, numbing, relaxing, as well as "flattening and swelling the bowels":

> If its bark is white, then it induces weakness, which is very conducive to sleep. It has often been used for patients with injuries that developed fever and was advised to cover the wounds with them. Furthermore, if the lettuce seeds were mixed with saffron (Arm: զաֆրան [zafran]) and the mixture was applied to the patient's forehead, it would prevent the inflammation of a wound.

[59] Lactucarium is the milky fluid secreted by several species of lettuce, especially Lactuca Virosa, usually from the base of the stems. It is known as lettuce opium because of its sedative and analgesic properties. It has also been reported to promote a mild sensation of euphoria. Because it is a latex, lactucarium physically resembles opium, in that it is excreted as a white fluid and can be reduced to a thick smokable solid. See A. Trojanowska, *Sałata Lacuta sp. jako roślina lecznicza w badaniach polskich XIX-wiecznych farmaceutów i lekarzy*, KHNT 50.3–4, 2005, p. 123–134; C. Adams, *Is Iceberg Lettuce a Drug?*, 2005, https://www.straightdope.com/21343701/is-iceberg-lettuce-a-drug [14 II 2024]; *The British Pharmaceutical Codex 1911. The Plants*, https://www.henriettes-herb.com/eclectic/bpc1911/lactuca.html [14 II 2024].

[60] K. Kostaniants, *Grigor Magistros'*…, p. 45. The Greek word μαιούλλια *maioullia* or μαρούλλια *maroullia* has been interpreted to refer either to lettuce or salad. The word is very common, and it is very well possible that its colloquial meaning differed across time and geographic region.



Fig. 6. The flowers, leaves, and stamens of the *Lactucarium*. The flowers are yellow.

Hence it was advised not only for patients suffering from fever but also to prevent further inflammation of the wound[61].

Some letters of Gregor Magistros are primarily didactic and aim to inform, explain, and teach about issues related to medical science. In this respect, the personal and intimate letters dedicated to the illness and death of his young son, 18 (11), 68 (30), 69 (25), 70 (6), where he expressed his deep parental grief are of significant importance as he wrote: *In lamentation and deprivation*[62], *mourning and tears*, *sorrow and grief… because having his memory in front of my eyes*, *it is not forgotten…*[63]

[61] *Ibidem*.
[62] A garment of coarse cloth made of goat's hair worn by hermits and mourners.
[63] *Ibidem*.



Fig. 7. *Physicians examining a patient*: Gagik Hetumyan Medical Book, Library of St. Hakobyans Monastery of Jerusalem, MS 370, 12th century.

Further to this Grigor Magistros's very personal and intimate letter addressed to Father Sargis of Saint Karapet Monastery and other priests presents the ultimate importance in the understanding and history of *Tsaghik* as he extensively described its manifestation and course using a detailed medical vocabulary. His son was also suffering from this disease.

He wrote:

> He was inflicted by a sickness of continuous fever, and immediately the vapor of the excessively agitated surge of the boiling blood ascended to the cerebellum (or brain), drove him mad (lit. away from his consciousness) and made us unknown [to him]. And this [news] reached [me] in a single of Agarak, and the Holy Spirit stopped (lit. held) me showing that I am aware of the supreme royal command, and I was embarrassed more than [because of] the threat of the command of the royal request. And the heat of the fever being inflamed annoyed him, while his mother was informed and came to him. And how can I consent to write to you about the pain of the burning of our parental misfortune? For the more you are burning with us, together with all the brothers bearing Christ in their soul[64].

[64] *Ibidem*, p. 34 (352).

Spending days at his son's bedside, he wrote with the pain of a caring father:

> Then the inflammation of fever burned and grew its *Tsaghik* sown by the progenitor [i.e. Adam] from his labor… And of what quantity! And of what quality! …like a heap of stones, stretched out close to each other, dense and uniform, not letting room on him, to the extent of discovering a place of needlepoint, and swollen like a waterskin filled with air by impetuous blowing, made him soon speechless and invisible for the eyes, so that everybody got hopeless concerning his life[65].

He mourned deeply over his young son's death due to the illness *Tsaghik* as evidenced by his correspondence with the abbot of Sevan[66].

Grigor Magistros's knowledge and personal experience with *Tsaghik* may have, in some way, been related to the parental pain of his son's loss. In his letters, especially those devoted to medicine, Magistros demonstrates professional abilities and skills in addressing medical issues. We see the image of an experienced and consulting doctor with professional abilities and skills, who was familiar with the care of bed-ridden patients, prevention, and treatment of diseases, as well as was with herbal medicine.

3.4. Translating medicinal plant names

The translation of premodern texts can be complex when it comes to the names of pharmaceutical ingredients or the names of diseases. However, we took all necessary care in our work. We used etymological[67], bilingual, and multilingual dictionaries[68]. We are confident that the translations of plant names are accurate as these are very common plants in which we can expect to see a continuity of use and nomenclature throughout the centuries[69]. We also sourced the image of the plant *Lichinis* L.[70] from Father Ghevond Alishan's book *Haybusak*, anticipating its potential significance to the international multidisciplinary scientific community.

Hamaspyur (Arm: Համասպյուռ; Lat: *Lichinis* L.) is mostly associated with Anania Shirakatsi. There are even legends regarding himself and the plant, for instance whether Shirakatsi was aware of its mountainous habitat and the specific

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[65] *Ibidem*.

[66] Lake in Armenia. See K. Kostaniants, *Grigor Magistros's…*, 18, 68–70.

[67] R.S. Ghazarian, *Armenian-Latin-Russian-English-French-German Dictionary of Plant Names*, Yerevan 1981, p. 181; H.T. Gayayan, *Dictionary Treasury of the Armenian Language*, Alexandria 1935, p. 32.

[68] Gh. Alishan, *Haybusak or Armenian Botanical Terms*, Venice 1895, p. 706.

[69] A.K. Bedevian, *Illustrated Polyglottic Dictionary of Plant Names in Latin*, *Arabic*, *Armenian*, *English*, *French*, *German*, *Italian and Turkish Languages Including Economic*, *Medical*, *Poisonous*, *and Ornamental Plants and Common Weeds*, Dip. H.A. Medbouly Library, Egypt 1994, 1711 Illustrations, p. 1146.

[70] Cheredjian G. Archbishop, Paramaz Kh. Tonikian, Artashes Der Khachaturian, *A New Dictionary of the Armenian Language*, Beirut 1992, p. 1130.

duration of its yearly growth. The legend also tells that the flower of plant *Hamaspyur* had 12 petals, and each petal was painted in a single color, it gives light to blind eyes, and its smell gives power. That is the reason why Shirakatsi called it *Hamaspyur*, which translates to spread or painted in different colors[71].

Khambek[72], a plant described in the dialect of Van[73], is also mentioned as the equivalent of *Hamaspyur*. In at least 9 manuscripts present in the Yerevan Matenadaran, a tale about the *Hamaspyur* has been preserved entitled "History of the flower *Hamaspyur*" or "About Flower"[74], (also known as *Hamaspran or Hamaspram* S). Avdalbegyan writes about this in his article of the same title[75].

A tale about the Hamaspyur says:

> If you take it close to your ear, you will hear a voice from above and a dialect, and will understand all the languages people speak and identify the sounds that animals, beasts and birds make, take it close to your nose and you will smell the fragrance of Heaven, take it close to your tongue and you will talk in all languages and dialects, you will attain wisdom, take it closer to your fingers and you will master all trades (or arts), and many other mighty miracles[76].

In another source cited by Avdalbegyan, additional new properties attributed to a potential euqivalent of *Lichinis* L. are listed: *Hamaspran is the best to choose, because it heals the sick and gives courage, gives the grace to walk on the sea and fills the ignorant with wisdom*[77].

According to Davit Saladzortsi[78], a 17th-century Armenian minstrel, *Hamaspyur* was revered as the jewel of the Drunk Mountains situated within the Armenian Highlands, specifically in Upper Basean (Western Armenia prior to the Armenian Genocide), near the Holy Mary Monastery. In his poem "Praise to Flowers", which celebrates the awakening of nature. In the praise of flowers, Davit Salnadzortsi also mentions *Hamaspyur*, which "blooms once in 12 years"[79].

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[71] *Armenian Explanatory Dictionary*…, vol. III, no. 3, List 1, p. 28.

[72] *A Dialect Dictionary of the Armenian Language*, vol. II, Yerevan 2002, p. 276.

[73] Sity in Vestern Armenia (Ottoman Empire).

[74] Matenadaran after Mesrop Mashtots, MM MS 6488, MS 5747, MS 5616, MS 7993, MS 7100, MS 549, MS 8737, MS 10020, MS 7085. See also: N. Mar, *Collection of Fables by Vardan*, vol. II, Saint-Petersburg 1894, p. 300.

[75] S. Avdalbekyan, *History of Lichinis L.*, HPhJ 3, 1976, p. 258–259.

[76] M. Gosh, *Fables. The Story of the Selection of the King of Plants*, Yerevan 1951, p. 61.

[77] *Ibidem*.

[78] David Saladzortsi (dates of birth and death are unknown) was born in the village of Saladzor, Karin province (Western Armenia), from which the name Saladzortsi originated. He was also called Vorbik. He was a clergyman.

[79] K. Hakobyan, S. Melik-Bakhshyan, K. Barseghyan, *Dictionary of Place Names of Armenia and Neighboring Regions*, vol. II, *(D–K)*, ed. L.G. Manukyan, Yerevan 1986, p. 152–199.

The serpent king[80], as white as snow,
is drawn to [*Hamaspyur*] and derives strength from its fragrance.

Hamaspram was also mentioned by Gh. Alishan in his book *Ancient Beliefs or Pagan Religion of Armenians*[81]. While we cannot conclude with certainty that all of these mentions refer to one and the same plant species from a modern botanical perspective, it is clear that there is a certain continuity within Armenian thought that a plant that may also be referred to with synonyms was a potent medicinal ingredient.

4. Conclusion

A comprehensive study of the material revealed that the origins of the *Tsaghik* disease in Armenia trace back to the pagan period, intricately interwoven with pagan beliefs and traditions through mythological and religious layers. While *Tsaghik* could have meant different things to different authors over the centuries and while it may well have been caused by different agents from a modern biomedical perspective[82], there is clear congruence in several descriptions of the diseases described in the Middle Ages. Moreover, they proposed certain methods for their prevention, control and treatment. Upon analyzing chronological data, we made a significant observation: the name of the disease *Tsaghik* was documented in medieval Armenian manuscripts as early as 667[83], which pre-dates Rhazes. Initial surveys suggest that many more testimonies and factual data on the development of this disease are extant in the manuscript holdings of the Yerevan Matenadaran.

Our study also yielded intriguing data on the early treatment of *Tsaghik*. Herbal treatments are very common in premodern medicine, for instance in the Islamic and Greek sphere. Calling an eruption on a surface efflorescence, which relates to

[80] The birth of the serpant snake is associated with a bird called *qajahav* (from the Armenian word քաջ, meaning brave, as if synonymous with the word *artavazgahav*, which originates from Artavazd's name: as if the king's bird chained by evil spirits). This bird (*iris*), which was worshiped by the Egyptians, is a serpant-chaser. Some believe that it is also a snake-eater, as if the serpant king is formed in its egg. See: M. Qajuni, *Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, Venice 1891.

[81] Gh. Alishan, *Ancient Beliefs or Pagan Religion of Armenians*, Venice 1910.

[82] Even in modern days there have been instances in which illnesses that were well known to the local doctors have been misdiagnosed. See for instance R. Randremanana *et al*., *Epidemiological Characteristics of an Urban Plague Epidemic in Madagascar, August–November, 2017: an Outbreak Report*, LID 19.5, 2019, p. 537–545.

[83] A potential earlier description of smallpox dating to the late sixth-century Europe has been described by T.P. Newfield, *'Verbalist Ingenuity' and the Evidential Basis for Virgin-Soil Smallpox Epidemics in the Sixth Century. From Iona to Ṣan ʿā'*, [in:] *'With Our Backs to the Ocean'. Essays in Memory of Alasdair Ross*, ed. R. Oram, Turnhout 2023, p. 25–82. This paper analyses instances of pustules and similar skin manifestations mentioned in a variety of sources.

flowers, also does not come across as unusual. However, in this case, we have an unusual combination of a disease called *Tsaghik*, which translates to flower, and a folklore prevention and treatment that is largely flower based. Here, the flowers are in close proximity to persons who are most likely to have a close contact with children, who were seen as at particularly high risk when infected with this disease. It is notable that the flowers were then taken to church, one of the main areas where people would congregate, which would put them at risk of contagion. We hypothesize that these flowers were meant to purify the air, and while they were part of folklore and religious ritual, this would place them at a similar level as a preventative pharmaceutical intervention.

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Two Unrecognized Hydronyms on the Island of Crete

Abstract. This paper discusses two possible hydronyms of Ancient Crete. The first question refers to a Cretan river flowing along the boundaries of the ancient city of Lato (*IC* I, XVI, 5, line 67). It is suggested that the epigraphical phrase καὶ κατὰ ποταμόν "and along a river" should be correctly rendered as καὶ κατὰ Ποταμόν "and along [the river] Potamós". The ancient river in question is commonly identified as the river called *Potamós* (or *tou Merabéllou to Potámi* or *Xiropótamos* or *Xeropótamos ton Potámon*), which flowed from the Dicte mountains to the Merabello Bay. It is suggested that the East Cretans preserved the ancient name Ποταμός (literally 'River') for more than two millennia. The second problem relates to the Hesychian gloss: †ἀλλάθαρον· ἁλμυρόν. Κρῆτες ("*allátharon*: something salty. Cretans"). This is a compound noun containing the Greek term ἅλς m. 'salt' in the former part and the Anatolian **u̯at^{h}aru* n. 'well, spring, source' (cf. Hittite *u̯attaru*) in the latter one. The Hesychian gloss may alternatively be interpreted as a proper name Ἀλλάθαρον, which originally denoted a Cretan saltwater source (and river) called Αλμυρός/Αρμυρός in modern times.

Keywords: ancient Crete, Cretan rivers, hydronyms, language contacts, onomastic heritage, salt sources

1. Did the ancient hydronym Ποταμός exist in Crete?

The onomastic continuation is a well-known phenomenon on the island of Crete. There are many place names attested to in the Mycenaean epoch (14th–12th BC), the Doric (7th–1st BC), the Roman (67 BC – 337 AD), the Early Byzantine (337–824 AD), as well as in the medieval, early modern and modern times, e.g. Myc. Gk. *tu-ri-so* /Tulissos/, Mod. Gk. Τύλισος, a Minoan-Mycenaean settlement, now a village west of Heraklion[1]; Gk. Dor. Βολόεις (gen. sg. Βολόεντος),

[1] A. Morpurgo, *Mycenaeae Graecitatis Lexicon*, Romae 1963, p. 463; J. Chadwick, M. Ventris, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, [2]Cambridge 1973, p. 588; A.L. Wilson, *The Place-Names in the*

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Att. Ὀλοῦς (gen. sg. Ὀλοῦντος), Mod. Gk. Ελούντα, a harbour and city-state in Eastern Crete, now a village near Hagios Nikolaos[2]. In the first part of my paper, I would like to discuss the problem of onomastic continuation connected with the East Cretan hydronym.

1.1. Ancient attestation

The river under consideration is *explicite* mentioned in a treaty between two Cretan cities: Lato and Olous (ca. 110 BC). The final part of this treaty describes the frontiers of Lato (Anc. Gk. Λατώ), the important city-state of the Dorians in Crete, mentioned earlier as *ra-to* /Latō/ in the Linear B tablets from Knossos[3]. The related text (preserved in two parallel copies A and B) runs as follows (*IC* I, XVI 5, line 67): καὶ κατὰ ποταμὸν ἐς Κορδωΐλαν "and along a river to [a place called] Kordoila"[4]. It is highly probable that the ancient proper name Κορδωΐλα should be identified as the mountain now called Σκορδούλα (1200 m above sea level). In fact, the modern name Σκορδούλα seems to represent a perfect continuation of the ancient form. The initial phoneme Σ- had to be introduced by a sandhi effect (ἐς Κορδωΐλαν > ἐς *Κορδούλαν > ἐς Σκορδούλαν, hence Σκορδούλα). The vocalic cluster -ωΐ- or -οΐ- regularly develops into Modern Greek -ού-, e.g. Anc. Gk. ζωΐδιον, later ζῴδιον n. 'small animal' > Mod. Gk. ζούδι n. 'creature, living thing', also 'animalcule', ζούδια pl. 'vermins'[5]; Anc. Gk. βοΐδιον n. 'little ox' > Mod. Gk. βούδι n. 'ox, bull, bullock' > West Cretan βούι (pl. βούγια) 'id.'[6].

Linear B Tablets from Knossos: *Some Preliminary Considerations*, Min 16, 1977, p. 77; J.K. McArthur, *The Place-Names of the Knossos Tablets*, Salamanca 1985, p. 102–103; C. Davaras, *Guide to Cretan Antiquities*, [2]Athens 1989, p. 329; Σ.Γ. Σπανακης, *Πόλεις και χωριά της Κρήτης το πέρασμα των αιώνων*, vol. II, Ηράκλειο 1993, p. 778–779; Α. Βασιλακης, *Τύλισος*, Ηράκλειο 1997, p. 16–37; Π.Σ. Χαραλαμπος, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό των νεοελληνικών οικωνυμίων*, vol. II, Λευκωσία 2010, p. 1392.

[2] R.A. Brown, *Evidence for Pre-Greek Speech on Crete from Greek Alphabetic Sources*, Amsterdam 1985, p. 195; C. Davaras, *Guide*…, p. 213; Σ.Γ. Σπανακης, *Πόλεις*…, vol. I, p. 265–266; A.T. Vasilakis, *The 147 Cities of Ancient Crete*, Heraklion 2000, p. 136–137; M.K. Μακρακης, *Ελούντα. Ιστορία της μέσα από την ιστορία της Κρήτης*, Ελούντα 2009, p. 24–49; Π.Σ. Χαραλαμπος, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό*…, vol. I, p. 518.

[3] L.R. Palmer, *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*, London 1963, p. 451; J. Chadwick, M. Ventris, *Documents*…, p. 578; J.K. McArthur, *The Place-Names*…, p. 82–84; C. Davaras, *Guide*…, p. 179.

[4] *Inscriptiones Creticae*, vol. I, ed. M. Guarducci, Roma 1935 (cetera: *IC* I), p. 119. See also P. Faure, *Aux frontières de l'État de Lato: 50 toponymes*, [in:] *Europa. Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der Frühen Aegaeis. Festschrift für Ernst Grumach*, ed. W.C. Brice, Berlin 1967, p. 95; idem, *Νέα ανάγνωσις της επιγραφής της στήλης υπ. αριθμ. 207 του Μουσείου Αγίου Νικολάου τα σύνορα της πόλεως Λατούς περί το 100 π. Χ.*, Αμ 3 (13), 1972, p. 236; idem, *Recherches de toponymie crétoise. Opera selecta*, Amsterdam 1989, p. 144, 176; A. Chaniotis, *Die Verträge zwischen kretischen Poleis in der hellenistischen Zeit*, Stuttgart 1996, p. 359 (No. 61, line 67).

[5] Ν.Π. Ανδριωτης, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής*, [3]Θεσσαλονίκη 2001, p. 117.

[6] Α.Β. Ξανθινακης, *Λεξικό ερμηνευτικό και ετυμολογικό του δυτικοκρητικού γλωσσικού ιδιώματος*, [4]Ηράκλειο 2009, p. 162.

It may be that the epigraphical word ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ does not represent the well-known Greek appellative ποταμός in the accusative singular, as it is usually suggested, but rather, it denotes the ancient proper name of the East Cretan river, which is known as Ποταμός in modern times, too. Naming a watercourse with a hydrographic term is a common phenomenon, often observed in the modern hydronymy of Crete[7]. If my suggestion is correct, the text of the treaty should be written as follows: καὶ κατὰ Ποταμὸν ἐς Κορδωΐλαν "and along [the river] Potamós to [the mountain] Kordōíla".

The same river is mentioned for the second time in the next line of the same inscription (*IC* I, XVI 5, line 68): ἐς Μεταλλάπυτον ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν [vel Ποταμὸν] κἄν τὸν ῥόον ἐπὶ τὸ Στιώτιον "to Metallaputon on the river [Potamos] and up a stream to [the hill] Stiotion". According to Paul Faure, Metallaputon refers to an ancient stone quarry located near the Merambellu Potami, whereas Stiotion denotes a small hill called today Limniotike Kephala (320 m above sea level)[8].

1.2. Identification

The description of borders of the city-state Lato clearly demonstrates that the Cretan river, mentioned in two alternative epigraphical texts, must be identified with the upper course of the river called commonly *tou Merabéllou to Potámi* (του Μεραμπέλλου το Ποτάμι) or *Xiropótamos* (Ξηροπόταμος) or *Xerapótamos ton Potámon* (Ξεροπόταμος των Ποτάμων)[9]. The upper course of the river is commonly named *Potamós* (Ποταμός) by the Cretans. The hydronym is registered in numerous modern sources as *Potamos* or Ποταμός[10]. It is worth emphasizing that the river in question was also mentioned in a Venetian mediaeval source (dated in 1343) as *lo flume* (= Mod. Gk. ο Ποταμός)[11].

The river called *Potamós*, flowing in a deep and impassable gorge, and the mountain called *Skordoúla* are the most expressive elements of the mountainous and bordering area, lying north-west of the modern village of Kritsa. Both proper names Ποταμός and Σκορδούλα seem to be perfectly related to the ancient (and mediaeval) nomenclature of the same area, i.e., to the main river called Ποταμός and the nearby mountain called Κορδωΐλα.

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[7] Cf. E. Kaczyńska, *Kreteńskie nazwy wodne pochodne od terminów hydrograficznych*, On 58, 2014, p. 193–209.

[8] P. Faure, *Νέα ανάγνωσις*…, p. 239; idem, *Recherches de toponymie*…, p. 179.

[9] See Ε.Σ. Λαμπρινακης, *Γεωγραφία της Κρήτης*, Ρέθυμνο 1890, p. 173, 205; Ν.Θ. Καλομενοπουλος, *Κρητικά: ήτοι τοπογραφία και οδοιπορικά της νήσου Κρήτης*, Ἀθῆναι 1894, p. 101; P. Faure, *Νέα ανάγνωσις*…, p. 239; idem, *Hydronymes crétois*, Κρη 10, 1984, p. 45; idem, *Recherches de toponymie*…, p. 179, 318.

[10] E.g. *Kreta. Wanderkarte* / *Crete. Hiding map*, scale 1:50.000, Wien 1999; *Crete* / *Κρήτη* / *Kreta. Road Map*, Berndtson & Berndtson Map, scale 1:200.000, [4]Fürstenfeldbruck 2001; *Kreta. A Guide of the Marco Polo Series*, first Polish edition, Stuttgart 2002; *Eastern Crete*, Road Editions, scale 1:100.000, Athens 2003.

[11] Σ.Γ. Σπανακης, *Συμμβολή στην ιστορία του Λασιθίου κατά τη βενετοκρατία*, [2]Ηράκλειο 1984, p. 13.

1.3. Etymology

The Cretan hydronym Ποταμός evidently derives from the Greek appellative ποταμός m. 'river, stream'[12]. Of course, it cannot be excluded that the modern hydronym Ποταμός is an accidental reproduction of the ancient river name, created secondarily on the basis of the Cretan dialectal vocabulary. In fact, the Cretans commonly used the dialectal word ποταμός to denote 'river, stream'. I believe, however, that the ancient hydronym Ποταμός is reflected in the same form in the modern nomenclature of the area of Eastern Crete. Also, the proper name of Κορδωΐλα, denoting a place lying near the ancient river, seems to be rendered as Σκορδούλα (the mountain near the river Potamós, 1200 m high). In my opinion, the suggested onomastic continuity in the discussed area of Eastern Crete can be documented by a pair of proper names.

2. Is a Cretan salt-water source attested to in Hesychius's lexicon?

In my earlier article[13], I discussed the Cretan gloss registered in the late ancient lexicon created by Hesychius of Alexandria in the last decades of the 5th century AD: †ἀλλάθαρον· ἁλμυρόν. Κρῆτες (α-3110) "†*allátharon* – something salty, Cretans"[14]. I rejected the so-called *crux philologorum* indicating that the lemma is not corrupt or doubtful[15], as it may be successfully explained as a Greek-Anatolian hybrid term for 'salt source'[16], cf. Gk. ἅλς (gen. sg. ἁλός) m. 'salt', f. 'sea'[17] and Hittite noun *u̯attaru* [wat^{h}aru] n. 'well, spring, source'[18]. In my opinion, the Cretan term

[12] H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1996, p. 1453; F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek*, Leiden–Boston 2018, p. 1730; *The Cambridge Greek Lexicon*, vol. I–II, ed. J. Diggle, Cambridge 2021, p. 1169; O. Jurewicz, *Słownik grecko-polski*, Truskaw 2021, p. 792.

[13] E. Kaczyńska, *Reflections on a Cretan Gloss Denoting a Salt Source*, GRBS 62.2, 2022, p. 148–160.

[14] *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. I.C. Cunningham, Berlin–Boston 2018, p. 146. See also *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. K. Latte, Hauniae 1953, p. 110.

[15] It should be noted that other editors or authors published the Cretan gloss in question without a crux, e.g. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. M. Schmidt, Ienae 1858, p. 126, *s.v.* α-3112; G.M. Kleemann, *De universa Creticae dialecti indole adiecta glossarum Creticarum collectione*, Halis Saxonum 1872, p. 22–23; R.A. Brown, *Evidence*…, p. 25; H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*…, p. 68; Α.Θ. Βασιλακης, *Το κρητικό λεξιλόγιο*, Ηράκλειο 1998, p. 35.

[16] E. Kaczyńska, *Reflections*…, p. 152–155.

[17] J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Bern–München 1959, p. 878–879; R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek*, vol. I, Leiden–Boston 2010, p. 74–75. See also R.-G. Curcă, *Terminology of Salt in Ancient Greek*, SAAr 21.2, 2015, p. 221–233.

[18] D.M. Weeks, *Hittite Vocabulary: An Anatolian Appendix to Buck's Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principal Indo-European Languages*, Los Angeles 1985, p. 13; A. Kloekhorst, *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon*, Leiden–Boston 2008, p. 989. The dental geminate *-tt-* in Hittite can represent both [t] and [t^{h}]. For the possible correspondence between Hittite *-tt-* and Greek θ, see the Lydian gloss βαθυρρηγάλη· ἰκτῖνος ὑπὸ Λυδῶν (β-65) attested in the Hesychian glossary, cf. *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. I.C. Cunningham, p. 414. It was earlier suggest-

ἀλλάθαρον is regularly derived from *ἁλλάθαρον [ʰalʼlatʰaron] as a result of a distant regressive dissimilation of two aspirated consonants (Grassmann's law)[19], cf. Gk. Hom. ἀδελφεός, Attic ἀδελφός m. 'brother' < Proto-Greek *ἄ-δελφειός < PIE. **sm̥-gʷelbʰei̯ós* adj. '(descending) from the same womb', cf. Vedic *ságarbhya-* adj. 'born from the same womb'[20]; Gk. Hom. ἄλοχος f. 'bedmate; wife; cohabitant; concubine' < Proto-Greek *ἄ-λοχος < PIE. **sm̥-logʰos* 'having the same bed; lying together in a bed; the action of lying together', cf. Old Church Slavic *sǫlogъ* m. 'bedmate, husband, lover'[21]; Gk. Hom. ἄσταχυς m. 'grain growing in the field; (mowed) cereal together with the stem and ear' < PGk. *ἄ-σταχυς 'having the same corn-ear' vs. Gk. στάχυς m. 'corn-ear' and further instances[22].

The Anatolian term for 'well, spring, source', attested to as *u̯attaru* in Hittite, seems to be validated in the Hesychian lexicon as the proper name of an unknown spring: Βαθάλη· κρήνη. Ἀμερίας (β-47) "*Bathálē* – (the name of) a spring/source. Amerias"[23]. Hesychius of Alexandria clearly indicates a source of his information. He adopted this gloss from a work of Amerias (3rd c. BC), the Macedonian-Greek grammarian and lexicographer[24]. Gustav E. Benseler was convinced that Βαθάλη represents an ancient proper name referring to a spring ("Bezeichnung einer Quelle")[25], and not a purely Greek noun. His position is accepted by Kurt Latte and Ian C. Cunningham, two modern editors of the Hesychian lexicon, who introduced the upper-case letter in the initial position. It is highly probable that the analyzed gloss α-3110 attests, in fact, to the proper name of a Cretan salt-water source, and not a Cretan appellative. If this is so, then the Hesychian gloss in question should be alternatively restored as Ἀλλάθαρον· ἁλμυρόν. Κρῆτες ("*Allátharon*: a salt-water source. Cretans").

Here I would like to review this fascinating possibility, bearing in mind the fact that on the island of Crete there are famous saltwater springs called Armirós or

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ed that the Lydian term for 'red kite, *Milvus milvus* L.', βαθυρρηγάλη, is etymologically related to the Hittite ornithonym *pattarpalḫiš* 'a kind of oracular bird', literary 'broad-winged; having broad wings', see K.T. Witczak, *On the Lydian Word for 'Kite'*, ŽA 61, 2011, p. 39–42.

[19] See especially E. Kaczyńska *Reflections*…, p. 150–151; eadem, K.T. Witczak, *Greek στάχυς and ἄσταχυς: Semantic and Morphological Discrepances*, E 111, 2024, p. 239–240.

[20] J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*…, p. 473; H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vol. I, Heidelberg 1960, p. 19; P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque. Histoire des mots*, vol. I, Paris 1968, p. 18–19; R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary*…, p. 20; E. Kaczyńska, *Reflections*…, p. 150; eadem, K.T. Witczak, *Greek στάχυς*…, p. 239.

[21] J. Pokorny, *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*…, p. 658–659; R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary*…, p. 74, 852; E. Kaczyńska, *Reflections*…, p. 150–151; eadem, K.T. Witczak, *Greek στάχυς*…, p. 239.

[22] E. Kaczyńska, *Reflections*…, p. 150–151; eadem, K.T. Witczak, *Greek στάχυς*…, p. 239–240.

[23] *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. K. Latte, p. 306; *Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*, vol. I, ed. I.C. Cunningham, p. 413.

[24] L. Berkowitz, K.A. Squitier, *Canon of Greek Authors and Works*, [3]New York–Oxford 1990, p. 17.

[25] G.E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, [3]Braunschweig 1911, p. 191.

Almirós in modern times (Mod. Gk. Αρμυρός, earlier Αλμυρός ← Gk. ἁλμυρός adj. 'salty')[26]. One of them is located south of the mouth of the Potamos River, also called *tou Merabéllou to Potámi* or *Xeropótamos ton Potámon* (Eastern Crete):

2.1. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αρμυρός, salt springs and marshes located ca. 2 km south of the town of Agios Nikolaos (Lasithi regional unit, Eastern Crete). The marshes called *Almirós* form one of the most important hydrobiotopes in Greece. The salt marshes are clearly registered as *Armiro* in several 17th-century maps[27], as well as in modern times, e.g. *Almyro or Armyro – a copious source of brackish water* (in 1865); Ἁρμυρός (in 1891); *Almyros* (in 1869); Ἁλμυρός (in 1890 etc.)[28]. The proper Cretan name derives from the adjective αλμυρός, also αρμυρός 'salt[y], briny, saline'[29]. The alternative (or folk) form αρμυρός documents a delateratization typical of some idioms of Modern Greek, including the Cretan dialect[30].

There are other saltwater springs or rivers on the island of Crete:

2.2. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αρμυρός, also Αλμυρίδα / Αρμυρίδα, an abundant source of salt water north-west of the village of Gazi (Heraklion regional unit, Central Crete), from which a small river called *Armirós* / *Almirós* flows (see 2.3). A small lake called *Kolíba Armiroú* is formed near the source. The first attestation of the salt spring was documented at the end of the 16th century, when Stamatis Fasidonis registered it as *Armirò* in 1590[31]. Modern evidence is abundant, e.g. Αλμυρός (Αρμυρός) – μεγάλη καρστική πηγή (in 1965); Αλμυρός – [πηγή] στο Ιάζι Τεμένους (in 1996)[32]. The single record *Armiris* (in a German military map printed during the Second World War) represents an alternative form taken

[26] O. Rackham, J. Moody, *The Making of the Cretan Landscape*, Manchester–New York 1996, p. 42; E. Kaczyńska, *Kreteńskie hydronimy utworzone od apelatywów określających cechy wody i jej koryta*, PJęz 20.2, 2018, p. 62; eadem, *Reflections*…, p. 155–159.

[27] *Regno di Candia*: *atlante corografico di F. Basilicata 1618*, ed. D. Calabi, Marsilio 1993 (map); M. Boschini, *Il Regno tutto di Candia*, Venezia 1651 (map); P.M. Coronelli, *Isola. Regno di Candia*, Venetiis 1681 (map).

[28] T.A.B. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, vol. I, London 1865, p. 145; V. Raulin, *Description physique de l'île de Crète*, Paris 1869, p. 379; N. Σταυρακης, *Στατιστική του πληθυσμού της Κρήτης*, Ἀθῆναι 1890, p. 51; Ε.Γ. Γενεραλις, *Επίτομος γεωγραφία της νήσου Κρήτης*, Ηράκλειο 1891, p. 11. See also P. Faure, *Hydronymes crétois*…, p. 45; idem, *Recherches*…, p. 318; N. Ανδριωτης, *Πληθυσμός και οικισμοί της ανατολικής Κρήτης (16ος–19ος αι.)*, Ηράκλειο 2006, p. 30.

[29] D.N. Stavropoulos, *Oxford Greek-English Learner's Dictionary*, Oxford 1992, p. 34; Ν.Π. Ανδριωτης, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό*…, p. 37.

[30] B. Newton, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect. A Study of Modern Greek Phonology*, Cambridge 1972, p. 112–113.

[31] Μ. Αρακαδακη, *Σταμάτη Φασιδώνη (Λιμενάρχη Χανίων) «Περιγραφή των ακτών της Κρήτης» (1590 ci.)*, [in:] *Τα κρητικά τοπωνύμια. Διήμερο επιστημονικό συνέδριο. Ρεθύμνο, 6–7 Νοεμβρίου 1998. Πρακτικά*, vol. I, ed. Χ. Χαραλαμπακης, Ρέθυμνο 2000, p. 128, 149.

[32] Ε.Κ. Πλατακης, *Ο Αλμυρός του Ηρακλείου. Ειδήσεις και πληροφορίαι*, ΚΧρ 19, 1965, p. 55; O. Rackham, J. Moody, *The Making*…, p. 42.

from katharevousa Αρμυρίς (= Mod. Gk. Αρμυρίδα)[33]. It derives from the Cretan dialectal word αρμυρίδα f. 'saltwater source' (< Gk. ἁλμυρίς, gen. sg. ἁλμυρίδος f. 'salty moisture; salty foam; saltiness; salty terrain'[34]).

2.3. Mod. Gk. Αρμυρός / Αλμυρός, a strong river in the Heraklion regional unit (Central Crete), that flows from an abundant saltwalter spring called *Almirós* / *Armirós* or *Almirída* / *Armirída* (see 2.2) to the Cretan Sea near the mouth of the river of Gazanós. The Cretan river is mentioned as *Armiro* or *Armirò* by Francesco Barozzi (ca. 1577/1578), Stamatis Fasidonis in 1590 and Francesco Basilicata in 1630[35]. It is frequently confirmed by historical maps, beginning from 16th c. AD, e.g. *Armiro flu*. (in 1584); *Armiro fl*. (in 1590)[36].

2.4. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αρμυρός, abundant saltwater springs and marshes located ca. 300 m west of the village of Georgioupolis (Mod. Gk. Γεωργιούπολη, Apokoronas municipalty, Chania regional unit, Western Crete). The region situated on the Almyros Bay was inhabited already in the Minoan epoch[37]. Historical-geographical sources (e.g. Str. *G*. X 475; Plin. *HN* IV 20) and archaeological data clearly document that Georgioupolis was the site of Amphimalla or Amphimallion, one of two main harbours of the Doric city-state Lappa, modern Argyroupolis, located on the northern coast of Crete[38]. In 1898, the city of Georgioupolis was renamed in honour of the Greek prince George. Earlier it was called *Castrum dell'Armirò* during the Venetian occupation of the island and *Almyrós*, *Armyrós*, *Almyroúpolis* or *Chánia tou Almyroú* in early modern times[39].

2.5. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αρμυρός or Ποταμός, earlier του Αλμυρού το ποτάμι, a river only one km long, flowing from the spring by the same name (see 2.4) to the Almyros Bay (called the *Amphimallēs Kolpos* in antiquity). The Cretan river is

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[33] *Karte der Insel Kreta*, hrsg. vom Generalstab der Luftwaffe, Maßstab 1:266.666, Berlin 1941. The alternative variant Αλμυρίδα appears in a modern map, cf. *Eastern Crete*, Road Editions, scale 1:100.000, Athens 2003.

[34] *Słownik grecko-polski*, vol. I, ed. Z. Abramowiczówna, Warszawa 1958, p. 95; F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary*…, p. 96; O. Jurewicz, *Słownik*…, p. 31.

[35] F. Barozzi, *Descrittione dell'isola di Creta (Περιγραφή της Κρήτης) (1577/8)*, ed. S. Kaklamanis, Heraklion 2004, p. 268–269; M. Αρακαδακη, *Σταμάτη Φασιδώνη*…, p. 128, 149; F. Basilicata, *Relazione 1630*, [in:] *Μνημεία της κρητικής ιστορίας*, vol. V, ed. Σ.Γ. Σπανακης, Heraklion 1969, p. 35.

[36] A. Ortelius, *Candia Insula*. *Archipelagi insularum aliquot descriptio*, Antwerp 1584 (map); G. Mercator, *Candia cum insulis aliquot circa Graeciam*, Duisburg 1590 (map).

[37] Ν. Πλατων, *Συμβολή εις το τοπωνυμικόν, την τοπογραφίαν και την ιστορίαν των πόλεων και φρουρίων της Κρήτης. Γ΄ Πόλεις της β. ακτής μεταξύ Δρεπάνου και Δίου Άκρου*, ΚΧρ 2, 1948, p. 354, 359, 365; O. Rackham, J. Moody, *The Making*…, p. 42; A.T. Vasilakis, *The 147 Cities*…, p. 67.

[38] R.A. Brown, *Evidence*…, p. 100; E. Kaczyńska, K.T. Witczak, *Strabon z Amasei*, *Opis Krety (Geographica X 4, 1–15)*, M 51.3–4, 1996, p. 224; Α.Θ. Βασιλακης, *Το κρητικό λεξιλόγιο*…, p. 37; idem, *The 147 Cities*…, p. 67.

[39] Σ.Γ. Σπανακης, *Πόλεις*…, vol. I, p. 15, *s.v*. Γεωργιούπολη; Π.Σ. Χαραλαμπος, *Ετυμολογικό λεξικό*…, vol. I, p. 408, *s.v*. Γεωργιούπολις.

mentioned for the first time as τοῦ Ἀλμυροῦ τὸ ποτάμι in the so-called *Chrysóboullo* (dated in 1182; the preserved text is considered as a thirteenth-century forgery of the original Byzantine document). Mediaeval and early modern sources or maps registered it by means of a Latin calque, e.g. Cristoforo Buondelmonti registers the river as *Salsum flumen* in 1415[40], Giuseppe de Rossi as *Salsa fluvius*[41]. The saltwater river frequently appears as *Armiro* (= Mod. Gk. Αρμυρός) in the Venetian and post-Venetian times, e.g. in Francesco Barozzi's account written ca. 1577–1578[42]. Stamatis Fasidonis wrote the river name as *Armirò* in 1590[43], whereas Francesco Basilicata registered *Armiro Fiume* in 1630[44]. The river is navigable all the way from the salt springs to the mouth. It is therefore no wonder that it appeared on many Italian and French maps from the 17th century: *Armiro* (Basilicata's map made in 1618); *Armiro F.* (Boschini's map); *Armiro fl.* (Sanson's map)[45].

2.6. Mod. Gk. Αλμυρός / Αλυμρός / Αλυμβρός, a periodic stream flowing through the gorge of the same name, located 1,5 km north-west of the town of Ierapetra (Lasithi regional unit). It crosses some suburbs of Ierapetra. The river name was only confirmed in the 20th century: Αλμυρό (στον) – ξεροπόταμος[46]; ὁ Ἅλυμ(β)ρός[47]; Αλμυρός (my own record in July 2003). Two alternative forms Ἅλυμρός and Ἅλυμβρός, registered by P. Faure, probably arose as a result of a local metathesis. The river name seems primitive in relation to the name of the gorge.

In my opinion, Hesychius of Alexandria, in fact, registered the ancient name of one of three Cretan abundant sources with the salt water. Unfortunately, the exact location of the Allatharon spring remains unclear. The Almirós springs and marshes located near Georgioupoli (ancient Amphimalla) seem to be the most probable solution, as this area was intensively inhabited not only in the Doric times, but also in the Minoan-Myceanean epoch. The navigable river Almirós, flowing from these springs to the Almyros Bay of the Cretan Sea, is today used by sailors and fishermen. There is no doubt that this river was a very convenient and safe harbour for ships in ancient times.

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[40] C. Buondelmonti, *Descriptio insule Crete et liber insularum*, cap. XI: *Creta*, ed. M.-A. van Spitael, Heraklion 1981, p. 100, 245.

[41] G. de Rossi, *Descriptio Crete*, *nunc Candia Moderna*, Venezia 1622 (map).

[42] F. Barozzi, *Descrittione*…, p. 269.

[43] M. Αρακαδακη, *Σταμάτη Φασιδώνη*…, p. 125, 146.

[44] F. Basilicata, *Relazione 1630*…

[45] Idem, *Regno di Candia*… (map); M. Boschini, *Il Regno*… (map); N. Sanson, *Isle et Royaume de Candie*, Paris 1658 (map).

[46] *Τοπωνυμικό λεξικό της Κρήτης*, Historical Museum of Crete, onomastic data collected in years 1953–1957.

[47] P. Faure, *Hydronymes crétois*…, p. 49; idem, *Recherches*…, p. 322.

3. Conclusions

The meticulous analysis of the epigraphical and lexicographical data leads us to the following conclusions:

3.1. The treaty between two Cretan states, Lato and Olous (ca. 110 BC) clearly indicates that the western boundary of the Doric city-state Lato ran "along a river to Kordoila": καὶ κατὰ ποταμὸν ἐς Κορδωΐλαν (*IC* I, XVI 5, line 67). It is suggested that the river was named *Potamós* in antiquity, as well as in modern times (Mod. Gk. Ποταμός), whereas the geographical name Kordoila refers to the impressive mountain (1200 m high) called Skordoula (Mod. Gk. Σκορδούλα), located near the river. It is suggested that the epigraphical source in question should be printed in the following shape: κατὰ Ποταμὸν ἐς Κορδωΐλαν "and along the Potamós river to [the mountain called] Kordoila".

3.2. The Potamós river, flowing in a deep and impassable gorge, and the Skordoula mountain (1200 m high) are the most representative landscape elements in this border area. Their names should be considered as two highly probable examples of the onomastic continuation from the Doric era to the present day: Anc. Gk. Ποταμός > Mod. Gk. Ποταμός, Anc. Gk. Κορδωΐλα > Mod. Gk. Σκορδούλα.

3.3. The Hesychian gloss α-3110 has been printed in two modern editions with the *crux philologorum* and the small initial letter: †ἀλλάθαρον· ἁλμυρόν. Κρῆτες seems to indicate the ancient name of a Cretan saltwater spring, and not a Cretan noun. It is suggested that the discussed lemma should begin with the upper-case letter (with no crux): Ἀλλάθαρον· ἁλμυρόν. Κρῆτες ("*Allátharon* – [the name of] a salt source. Cretans") by analogy to the other gloss attested in Hesychius' lexicon: Βαθάλη· κρήνη. Ἀμερίας ("*Bathálē* – [the name of] a source. Amerias").

3.4. The exact location of the Allatharon source on the island is uncertain. Theoretically, it can refer to three Cretan saltwater springs which formed marshes or rivers, called Almirós, or Armirós in modern times. The most suggestive solution seems to be a location near Georgioupolis, the resort village and a former municipality in the Chania regional unit (Western Crete). It is commonly accepted that the ancient town of Amphimalla, located on the Almyros Bay, was in an area close to the saltwater springs and marshes. Moreover, the navigable river, flowing from these springs to the Cretan Sea, was frequently used by ancient sailors and fishermen. The surrounding areas were inhabited by people as early as the Minoan times.

List of abbreviations

Anc. Gk. = Ancient Greek; Att. = Attic dialect of Ancient Greek; Dor. = Doric dialect of Ancient Greek; Gk. = Greek; Hom. = Homeric (epic) dialect of Ancient Greek; Mod. Gk. = Modern Greek; Myc. Gk. = Mycenaean Greek; PGk. = Proto-Greek.

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Representing the Ideal: The Portrait of the Sanguine in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*

Abstract. This article is the fourth and final in a series of works aimed at contributing to the documentation of the success of the medical theory of individual complexions, derived from the theory of the four humours, through the major work of the Italian humanist Cesare Ripa (1555–1622), the *Iconologia*. We study the allegory of the sanguine complexion, whose primacy over the other three is explicitly established in medical tradition. We analyze, through the allegorical attributes mentioned in the text (youth, joy, a crown of flowers, a ruddy face tinged with white, a lute, an open book of music, a ram grazing on a cluster of grapes), the way in which Ripa seeks to portray this ideal of health. We also demonstrate that the author slightly diverges from the medical canon. Firstly, his extensive synthesis of the doctrine leads him to introduce certain pathological dissonances, perceptible in the use of unexpected terms. Secondly, to account for a well-tempered character, he prefers to follow an ancient literary tradition which, nonetheless, maintains very close links with the Hippocratic corpus since its origins. Finally, it appears that the *Sanguigno per l'aria* contains no new symbolic invention, matching what we previously observed in the *Flemmatico* and the *Malenconico*.

Keywords: Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, humoral theory, humors, sanguine, iconographic attributes

This article concludes a series of studies aimed at contributing to the documentation of the fortune of the medical theory of individual complexions, derived from the theory of the four humors[1], in *Iconologia*, the major work of Cesare Ripa (1555–1622), and its expression of the arts in the modern era.

[1] M. Koźluk, *Représenter la flaua bilis: le portrait du colérique dans l'Iconologia de Cesare Ripa*, SCer 12, 2022, p. 633–650; eadem, *Representing the Phlegm: the Portrait of the Phlegmatic in Cesare Ripa's Iconology*, SCer 13, 2023, p. 1–29 and eadem, *Representing the atra bilis: the 'Said' and 'Unsaid' of the Melancholic in Cesare Ripa's Iconologia*, SCer 14, 2024, p. 443–461.

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Our first article provided a succinct exposition of the foundations of this quaternary theory as well as the indispensable bibliography related to it.

Throughout this study, we have endeavored to situate Ripa's text within the medical tradition, but the *Iconologia* pursues a much more ambitious horizon. While the literary sources do not pose particular difficulties, the numerous questions raised by the general organization of the work have led us to approach each of the complexions from various angles, with *uarietas* serving a methodology that responds to these questions, while sparing the reader, we hope, too many repetitions of a systematic analysis.

The inherent pitfalls of the encyclopedism of the *Iconologia*, its constraints, the nature of the author's choices, his traditionalism, his originality, or even the navigation within the work, have already been introduced and developed within this series of articles. For this reason, we invite the reader to consult them in the order of their publication. However, we should specify that this order is not that of Ripa. We have chosen to address the melancholic and sanguine temperaments at a later stage, due to the particular dignity they enjoy in European culture[2].

Let us therefore complete this work on the *Complessioni* of the *Iconologia* by focusing here on the *Sanguigno per l'aria* [Sanguine for the air], whose preeminence Avicenna soberly emphasizes: *quatuor continentur generibus; genere sanguis, qui omnibus illis melior existit*[3] [Four types are contained; the type of blood, which is better than all of them; trans. M.K.].

1. Sanguine: festive pleasures and springtime joy

1.1. Portrait

First, we shall describe the sanguine. Ripa presents it as:

> Un giovane allegro, ridente, con una ghirlanda di varii fiori in capo di corpo carnoso, oltre i capelli biondi haverà il color della faccia rubicondo misto con bianco e che sonando un liuto dia segno con rivolgere gl'occhi al Cielo, che glie piaccia il fuoco, e il canto, da une parte

[2] Among the many available editions, we will use that of Pietro Paolo Tozzi from 1625 (C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, part one and part two). Hereafter, we will use the abbreviation C. RIPA (It.) whenever we cite this edition. It is selected first, because it contains beautiful and richly detailed woodcuts accompanied by the author's full commentary. Second, because it corresponds most closely to the French translation by Jean Baudoin (C. RIPA, *Iconologie ou Explication nouvelle de plusieurs images, emblèmes, et autres figures hyerogliphiques*, Paris: chez Mathieu Guillemot, 1664, p. 52). Hereafter we use the abbreviation C. RIPA (Fr.) whenever we cite this edition. They are for example gathered in 1749 in the famous sonata "Sanguineus und Melancholicus" by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach.

[3] AVICENNA, *Liber Canonis*, lib. I, fen I, doc. IV, Venetis: apud Juntas, 1562, p. 7.

> d'essa figura vi sarà un montone, tenedo in bocca un grappo d'uva, e dall'altra banda vi sarà un libro di musica aperto[4].

The artist should depict him as a joyful young man (*giovane allegro*), laughing (*ridente*), with a garland of various flowers on his head (*con una ghirlanda di varii fiori in capo*). His body will be fleshy (*di corpo carnoso*) and his hair blond (*capelli biondi*). His facial complexion will be rubicund mixed with white (*il color della faccia rubicondo misto con bianco*). He will play the lute (*sonando un liuto*) and show by his gaze turned skyward (*segno con rivolgere gl'occhi al Cielo*) that he loves fire and song (*glie piaccia il fuoco e il canto*). He is accompanied by a ram eating a bunch of grapes (*un montone tenendo in bocca un grappo d'uva*) and an open music book (*un libro di musica aperto*). The engraving that precedes the text doesn't quite match it, but we shall postpone that consideration for now.



Fig. 1. C. Ripa, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, parte prima, p. 111.

[4] C. Ripa (It.), parte prima, p. 111.

1.2. Medical justification: First diagnosis

Ripa proceeds as usual, immediately following his description with medical justifications explicitly drawn from canonical authorities. His text, which we will detail below, faithfully reflects the then-current doctrine on the physiology of blood, its circulation and its effects. Let us begin with Laurence Moulinier-Brogi's enlightening synthesis of this doctrine, as found in Hippocrates' successor:

> Galien pour sa part avait reconnu la présence constante du sang dans les artères: aussi imagina-t-il que le sang entré dans le ventricule droit se partageait lui–même en deux. La plus grande partie se débarrassait de ses impuretés dans les poumons, par le canal de l'artère pulmonaire, puis refluait dans le système veineux général; une petite partie traversait la paroi séparant les deux ventricules et se mélangeait, dans le ventricule gauche, avec le *pneuma* venu de la trachée par la veine pulmonaire, pour donner le *pneuma* vital diffusé dans le corps par les artères. L'esprit vital résultait donc du mélange, dans le ventricule gauche, de l'air venu des poumons et d'un peu de sang qui serait passé du ventricule droit par des portes dans la cloison du cœur. Enfin, toujours selon Galien, le sang que les artères conduisaient au cerveau s'y transformait à travers le « réseau merveilleux », *rete mirabile*, en *pneuma* psychique, distribué ensuite par les nerfs. Issus d'une vapeur de sang, trois types d'esprits étaient ainsi élaborés en trois lieux divers – l'esprit naturel dans le sang veineux, l'esprit vital résultant du passage dans le cœur, et l'esprit psychique résultant du passage de l'esprit animal dans la base du cerveau, et transportés par trois instruments différents: artères, veines et nerfs. A sa sortie du cœur, l'esprit vital qui se trouve maintenant dans le sang purifié est véhiculé dans le corps par les artères, et de nouvelles « digestions » ont alors lieu dans certains organes: dans le cerveau, l'esprit se fait esprit animal, de l'âme; dans le foie, esprit nutritif, et dans les testicules, esprit générateur. Le sang joue donc un rôle fondamental dans le lien entre corps et âme[5].

It's clear to physicians, then as now, that blood performs eminent physiological functions, and we can affirm that its nature largely determines the harmony of body and soul. However, let's not forget that Hippocrates does indeed speak of *di sangue temperato*[6], a clarification to which we shall return later. The blood's complexion, rich in this exquisite temperament, thus already appears as an ideal of balance that manifests itself in the brain through a lively, subtle mind, in the liver through excellent digestion and in the testicles through abundant, fertile seed. Incidentally, the sanguine temperament will manifest itself respectively in pleasant joviality, a taste for good food and an inclination to the games of love. At this point, the author already has enough elements to propose an exemplary sanguine figure to inspire his contemporaries. It's precisely these three points that Ripa retained, justified and developed, and that we shall now examine in detail.

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[5] L. MOULINIER-BROGI, *Le sang au Moyen-Âge, entre savoir et questionnements, science et imaginaire*, 1453, *Rencontres européennes*, 2003, Castillon-la-Bataille, p. 55, France, https://shs.hal.science/halshs-00609366/document (HAL Id: halshs-00609366) [25 I 2025].

[6] C. RIPA (It.), parte prima, p. 111.

1.2.1. Animal spirit

Our Sanguine is therefore first and foremost young and laughing, for according to Hippocrates, says Ripa *il arrive d'ordinaire qu'en ceux qui abondent d'un sang parfaitement temperé, s'engendrent des esprits vitaux, subtils et purs, qui produisent la joye et les ris. D'où il s'ensuit que telles personnes sont ordinairement de belle humeur, et qu'elles ne demandent qu'à joüer et à se divertir*[7]. Ripa symbolizes the sanguine's *allegrezza* with a wreath of various flowers, a motif he does not develop, no doubt because it refers implicitly to his *Allegrezza* (Joy), figure, present since the 1593 princeps edition[8].



Fig. 2. C. Ripa, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, parte prima, p. 19.

[7] C. Ripa (Fr.), seconde partie, p. 54. Cf. C. Ripa (It.), parte prima, p. 111: *Giovane allegro, con la ghirlanda di fiori e ridente, si dipinge il sanguino, perche (secondo Hippocrate) in quelli che abbondano di sangue temperato, e perfetto, si generano spiriti vitali puri, e sottili, da quali nasce il riso, e l'allegrezza; onde questi sono piacevoli e faceti, e amano i suoni, e i canti.*

[8] C. Ripa (It.), parte prima, p. 19.

The entry is divided into eight propositions, which use the flower motif in various ways, whether in a wreath or not. The first is very explicit: *I fiori significano per se stessi allegrezza, et si suol dire, che i prati ridono, quando sono coperti di fiori; pero Virgilio gli dimandò piacevoli nella 4. Egloga dicendo: Ipsa tibi blando fundent: cunabula flores*[9].

Blood corresponded well to air (warm and humid), but also to air in the musical sense of the word. The Sanguine thus naturally plays the lute, aided by an open music book, and raises his eyes to heaven to signify his love of fire and song. Here again, there is no development; the association with fire calls for several hypotheses[10], but the pleasures of singing and dancing are present in *Allegrezza*. The associated attributes differ, but singing, and all things pleasing to the ear, are directly associated with the notion of joy and celebration. Sanguine's talent for music seems to be universally acknowledged. Indeed, in 1634, the great scholar Marin Mersenne (1588–1648) asked what the temperament of a perfect musician should be[11], another eloquent testimony to the fortunes of the theory of humours.

However, it is the entry *Diletto* (Pleasure, Enjoyment) that best develops the notions we have just mentioned. This allegory appears in the 1625 edition, i.e. after the *Complessioni*. Ripa seems to have wanted to give the notion of pleasure the philosophical development it deserved. The pleasures of the five senses are developed over more than four pages, in which the flowers of the crown become

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[9] *Ibidem* [Flowers themselves symbolize joy, and it is often said that meadows laugh when they are covered with flowers. Virgil, for example, finds them pleasant in the fourth Eglogue, saying: *Ipsa tibi blando fundent: cunabula flores*; trans. M.K.]. Cf. VIRGILE, *Bucoliques*, v. 23, ed. et trans. E. DE SAINT-DENIS, Paris 1963, p. 41: *ton berceau foisonnera d'une séduisante floraison* [your cradle will abound with attractive blooms; trans. M.K.]. The fifth proposition is also interesting: *Una giovinetta con ghirlanda di fiori in capo, perche li fanciulli stanno sempre allegri: e perche nelle feste publiche antiche tutti si coronauano, e loro, e le porte delle loro case, e tempii, et animali, come fa mentione Tertul. nel lib. de corona Militis*, C. RIPA (It.), parte prima, p. 20. The fragment on crowns does not exist in the text by Tertulian cited by Ripa, cf. TERTULIEN, *Corona Militis*, https://www.thelatinlibrary.com/tertullian/tertullian.corona.shtml [25 I 2025].

[10] Since Ripa does not explain to us what he means by "fire", we can put forward at least two possibilities here: either the word "fire" amplifies air, the element of the sanguine, or fire is associated with the impulse of love (the fires of love), a tendency of the sanguine which will be developed later in the text.

[11] M. MERSENNE, *Préludes de l'harmonie universelle ou questions curieuses utiles aux prédicateurs, aux théologiens, aux astrologues, aux médecins et aux philosophes*, Paris: chez Henry Guenon, 1634, p. 110: *quel doit estre le temperament d'un parfait Musicien?*; *ibidem*, p. 111: *Le sanguin est semblable à l'air, lequel ayant un corps fort, rare, et subtil, ne peut contribuer que bien peu de chose à la composition* […]; *ibidem*, p. 113–114: *les sanguins et les choleriques se portent plus facilement à l'exercice des chants, et à toutes sortes de recreations, que les phlegmatiques, ou les melancholiques, qui ont leur organes, et particulierement leurs voix beaucoup plus grossieres, et plus chargées d'impurtez, à raison de / l'humidité, et de la secheresse, qui empeschent le roulemet des voix harmonieuses. De là vient que le melancholique et le phlegmatique chantent rarement en comparaison des sanguins et des choleres, qui sont plus déchargez d'impurtez, à cause de l'humidité et de la chaleur qui predominent en eux, et qui par conséquent ont plus d'inclination à chanter pur se resjoüir dans les diverses rencontres.*

appropriately fragrant[12]. *Diletto* plays the lyre, nobler than the lute: *Hor essendo l'orecchia tanto nobile non e maraviglia che gli Antichi la figurassero con la lira come dice Pierio Valeriano al libro 60 de i Geroglifici, essendo anco la lira appresso gli Antichi in gran veneratione, onde l'opratiano a cantar dottisime Poésie solo alla mente d'huomini grandi*[13].



Fig. 3. C. Ripa, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, parte prima, p. 172.

The open music book, also found at the feet of the *Diletto*, is accompanied by the following commentary: *Il libro di Musica aperto non solo denota il canto per il sentimento del udito, mà il gusto, e Diletto grandissimo, che rende la Musica,*

[12] C. Ripa (It.), parte prima, p. 172–176.

[13] *Ibidem*, p. 175 [Now, given that the ear is so noble, it is not surprising that the Ancients represented it with the lyre, as Pierio Valeriano mentions in book 60 of the Hieroglyphics, the lyre also being held in great veneration among the Ancients, to the point that it was used to sing very learned poetry, exclusively intended for the minds of great men; trans. M.K.]. Cf. J.-P. Valérian, *Les Hiéroglypiques*, Lyon: Jean Frellon, 1615, p. 631.

Onde Socrate dimandando all'Oracolo di Apolline, chef are egli doveva per esser felice, Gli fu risposto che egli imparasse la Musica[14]. The open music book here seems to introduce a certain readiness to learn, a taste in the broadest sense of the word for things of the mind.

1.2.2. Nutritive spirit

Non solo denota il canto […] *mà il gusto*[15]. On the second point, Ripa himself relies on Galen and Avicenna to give a little flesh to his Sanguine: *selon Galien (lib. 2 de temp, c. 9)*[16] cette corpulence s'explique par *la vertu qu'on appelle assimulative, qui predomine aux Sanguins, naist l'habitude des corps charnus et replets*[17]. As this quality is characteristic of blood, the sanguine, in whom it abounds, will always be a little fleshy. According to Laurence Moulinier-Brogi, the relationship between blood and the very principle of growth was the subject of much debate, particularly in the Middle Ages. She points out that

> la question « Est-ce que seul le sang nourrit? » devint une question scolastique classique par laquelle on tenait d'aborder conjointement deux problèmes, à savoir la nature exacte du liquide s'écoulant dans les veines, et la manière dont s'effectuait la restauration des différentes parties anatomiques, c'est-à-dire la transformation de l'aliment en corps humain. Le sang nutritif était produit par le foie à partir du chyle (suc nourricier) élaboré par ce même foie lors de la digestion des aliments; dans la cavité du foie, ce chyle était « bouilli, cuit, digéré » et formait les 4 humeurs, dont le sang était la plus achevée car assez cuit (contrairement au flegme) et pas trop non plus (comme bile ou mélancolie), de là, le sang des veines nourrissait l'ensemble du corps. Les humeurs étaient censées se régénérer continuellement à partir d'une coction dans le sang : elles reconstituaient les parties solides du corps, tandis que leur surplus remplissait différentes fonctions[18].

In Ripa's case, the sanguine is well nourished by his blood and satiated with vital spirits to the point of stoutness. We shall come back to these two points in our conclusions.

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[14] C. RIPA (It.), parte prima, p. 175 [The open book of Music refers not only to singing through the sense of hearing, but also to the taste and great pleasure that Music brings. Thus Socrates, asking Apollo's Oracle what he should do to be happy, received the answer that he should learn Music; trans. M.K.].

[15] *Ibidem*.

[16] C. RIPA (Fr.), seconde partie, p. 54. Cf. GALIEN, *Methodi medendi*, III, (K, X, 174), [in:] *Claudii Galeni Opera omnia*, vol. I–XX, ed. C[arl] G[ottlob] KÜHN, Leipzig 1821–1833.

[17] C. RIPA (Fr.), seconde partie, p. 54. Cf. RIPA (It.), parte prima, p. 111: *L'esser di corpo carnoso, secondo Galeno nel 2 lib.del temperamento al cap. 9. e Avicenna nel lib 1. Significa, che dalla virtù assimulativa che ne i sanguigni è molto potente, nasce l'habito del corpo carnoso*.

[18] L. MOULINIER-BROGI, *Le sang au Moyen-Âge*…, p. 54.

1.2.3. Generating spirit

Finally, the sanguine cultivates a taste for sexual pleasures. The sanguine's inclination towards physical love is symbolized in Ripa's work by the presence of a ram eating a bunch of grapes[19], evoking the two divinities Venus and Bacchus:

> Il Montone con il grappo d'uva, significa il sanguigno esser dedito a Venere, e a Bacco; per Venere s'intende la natura del Montone, essendo questo animale assai inclinato alla lussuria, come narra Pierio Valeriano lib. 10 e per Bacco il grappo d'uva; onde Aristotele nel Problema 21 dice che ciò avviene nel sanguigno, perche in esso abbonda molto seme, il qua le è cagione de gli appetiti venerei[20].

The use of the word *lussuria* deserves a closer consideration. Indeed, this term itself benefits from an allegory for which Ripa took a very different route. The main proposition describes a largely naked young woman sitting on a crocodile and holding a partridge. Ripa tells us that the *Lussuria è un'ardente esfrenato appetito nel la concupiscenza carnale senza osservanza di legge, di natura, ne rispetto d'ordine, o di sesso. Si dispinge con li capelli ricciniti, e artifitiosamente acconci, e col drappo sudetto, perche la Lussuria incita, e è via dell'Inferno, e scuola di sceleratezze*[21].

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[19] Note also the relationship between Ripa's ram/sheep figure and its constellation: *La fable nous dit que Venus conduit les furies aux maisons de Mars qui sont selon les Astrologues le Mouton et le Scorpion, pour le Mouton, se doit entendre la commençement du Printemps durant lequel la concupiscence chatouille les appetits, tant des animaux que des hommes, à cause de la tiède douceur de la saison qui suit l'horreur de l'hiver*; J. Aubery, *L'Antidote d'amour*, Paris: Claude Chappelet, 1599, p. 28 r°–28 v°.

[20] C. Ripa (It.), parte prima, p. 111. Cf. *Quand au Mouton qui broute une grappe de raisin, cela signifie que le Sanguin est grandement adonné au plaisir de Venus et de Bacchus: pour ce que le Mouton, comme le remarque Pierius Valérian, est grandement enclin à la luxure, et qu'icy le raisin est pris pour Bacchus qui le produit. Où il faut remarquer avec Aristote, que ceux de complexion sanguine sont particulièrement enclins à l'amour, à cause qu'ils abondent en semance plus que les autres; comme il se peut voir par la description qu'en fait l'Escole de Salerne*, C. Ripa (Fr.), seconde partie, p. 54. The verses of the School of Salerno were removed in the French edition. *Il Montone con il grappo d'uva, significa il sanguigno esser dedito a Venere, e a Bacco; per Venere s'intende la natura del Montone, essendo questo animale assai inclinato alla lussuria, come narra Pierio Valeriano lib. 10 e per Bacco il grappo d'uva; onde Aristotele nel Problema 21 dice che ciò avviene nel sanguigno, perche in esso abbonda molto seme, il qua le è cagione de gli appetiti venerei.*

[21] C. Ripa (It.), parte seconda, p. 403 [Lust is an ardent and unbridled appetite for carnal concupiscence, without respect for laws, nature, orders, or sexes. It is represented with curled and artificially arranged hair, and with the cloth mentioned, because lust incites, and is the road to Hell, and the school of villainy; trans. M.K.].



Fig. 4. C. RIPA, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, parte seconda, p. 404.

However, another proposition, very short at just four lines, and whose placement is, to be honest, strange[22], indicates this: *Gli Antichi usavano dipingere Venere sopra un montone*, *per la Lussuria*, *mostrando la soggettione della ragione al senso*, *e alle concupiscenze illecite*[23]. These remarks on lust do not sit well with the idea of a perfectly balanced temperament. Ripa seems to euphemize the term somewhat in the case of the sanguine, and we actually have to look more towards the *Libidine* goat and vine to find a more medical and somewhat less depreciative tone[24]:

[22] It appears with another proposition preceding the main one, written in capital letters. Its content follows Valeriano's recommendations, but we only know this from the text of the *Sanguigno per l'aria*.

[23] *Ibidem* [The Ancients used to represent Venus on a ram, to symbolize Lust, thus showing the submission of reason to sense and illicit concupiscence; trans. M.K.].

[24] Note that in the French translation, Luxure is represented by a woman with a scorpion and thus corresponds to *Libidine* (C. RIPA (Fr.), seconde partie, p. 163): *Voicy l'Emblème de la Luxure sous la Figure d'une Femme lascivement habillée; qui toute prensive appuye la teste sur la main gauche*, *et tient de la droite un Scorpion*, *ayant à un costé un Bouc*, *et en sep de Vigne; Elle est assise et pensive*, *pour*



Fig. 5. C. Ripa, *Della novissima iconologia*, Padova: per Pietro Paolo Tozzi, 1625, parte seconda, p. 398.

[…] *con occhi grassi, lucenti e lascivi; mostrano questi segni abbondanza di sangue, il quale in buona temperatura è cagione di Libidine*[25]. Terence's words in the second

monstrer que l'Oisiveté, comme dit le Poëte, / Allume le Flambeau du fille de Cytherée / Pour ce qui est du Scorpion et de la Vigne, l'un, selon Pierius, est le Hyerogliphe de la Paillardise, l'autre pareillement puis qu'il est vray. / Que sans le bon Baccus, Venus est toujours froide. Cf. also criticism of women born under the sign of Scorpio, therefore lustful in G. Corrozet, *Hecatomgraphie*, Paris: Denis Janot, 1540, f° B 7 v°: *Vertu domine sur les Astres*. Cf. J. Aubery, *L'Antidote*…, p. 27r°–27v°: *les sanguins qui sont chaults et humides, sont plus disposez à recevoir le caractère de l'amour, ils ont un foye liberal à transmuer le chile en sang, comme stant la fontaine de la gratieuse et moite vapeur cause / materielle de l'amour. C'est pourquoy anciennement les Scytes à qui on ouvroit les veines du col estoient steriles, pour la quantité irreparable de sang, de chaleur, et d'esprits qui s'espuisoient: Ioint que les sanguins sont gaillards, faciles à croire, et qui esperent à la moindre apparence de plaisir qui leur est representé par les sens.*

[25] C. Ripa (It.), parte seconda, p. 397.

clause of the *Libidine* are more in keeping with the image of the Sanguine he wants to construct: *Sine Cerere, et Baccho friget Venus*[26] [Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus freezes].

2. The deified sanguine: from Bacchus to Komos

Salerno' verses, synthetic and complimentary, rejected as always at the end of the text, give the figure of the sanguine a delicate and affable character far removed from the faults of the other three complexions:

> Les sanguins de nature, ilz sont gras, joyeulx,
> De nouvelles ouyr aussi fort convoiteux,
> Ceulx delecte Venus, Baccus, festins, risée,
> Et en doulx parler ont la parolle prisée,
> Aux estudes sont tous habiles, bien néz.
> Et en bien peu de cause à courroux adonnéz,
> Ilz sont larges, plaisans, aimables, de ris plains,
> Chantans, charnus, hardis, et aussi fort humains[27].

Indeed, the revelations of the sexual excesses and bacchic celebrations that run through Ripa's text invite further comment[28].

2.1. Bacchus

Youth and laughter are the first words used to describe the sanguine man in the *Iconologia*. A lute player, without a beard or moustache, he loved to sing and did not refuse the wine served at the flowery banquets he was so familiar with. This is a perfectly acceptable representation of Bacchus, and one that Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), in whose work the god appears on two occasions, would not reject.

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[26] *Ibidem*, p. 398. Cf. TÉRENCE, *Eunuque*, v. 733, [in:] IDEM, *Adrienne/Eunuque*, ed. et trans. J. MAROUZEAU, Paris 1947, p. 279.

[27] *Retardement de la mort par bon regime ou conservation de santé, jadis envoyé par l'escolle de Salerne, au Roy d'Angleterre, traduit de Latin en rythme françoise par Geofroy le Tellier advocat, présenté et dedié au Duc de Savoye*, Paris: Martin le Jeune, 1561, F 1 r°. *Natura pingues isti sunt atque iocantes, / Rumoresque novos cupiunt audire fréquenter. / Hos Venus, et Bacchus delectat, fercula risus / Et facit hos hilares, et dulcia verba loquentes. / Omnibus hi studiis habiles sunt, et magis apti / Qualibet ex causa non hos leviter movet ira / Largus, amans, hilaris, ridens rubeique coloris / Cantans, carnosus, satis audax atque benignus* [These people are naturally plump and jovial, / They frequently desire to hear new rumors. / Venus and Bacchus delight them, dishes, laughter / And make them cheerful, speaking sweet words. / They are skilled in all pursuits, and more apt / For any reason, anger does not lightly move them. / Generous, loving, cheerful, laughing, and of ruddy color / Singing, fleshy, quite bold and kind; trans. M.K.].

[28] On the vine and Dionysian epiphanies in antiquity, see J. RYBOWSKA, *Dionizos, Agathos Dajmon*, Tyniec 2015.

Alciato depicts him in the emblem *In iuuentam*[29] (Fig. 6), as a young and beardless man, and in the one titled *In statuam Bacchi*[30] (Fig. 7) as a young flute and tambourine player. The god is then portrayed as particularly fleshy, for the Milanese humanist is, of course, well aware of the medical theory of individual temperaments.



Fig. 6. A. Alciato, *Les emblèmes*, Paris: Jean Richer, 1584, emblema XCIX *In iuuentam*, p. 137.

[29] A. Alciato, *Les emblèmes*, Paris: Jean Richer, 1584, emblema XCIX *In iuuentam*, p. 137.
[30] *Ibidem*, emblema XXV *In statuam Bacchi. Dialogismus*, p. 37.



Fig. 7. A. ALCIATO, *Les emblèmes*, Paris: Jean Richer, 1584, emblema XXV *In statuam Bacchi. Dialogismus*, p. 37.

2.2. The sanguine, a new Komos

Cesare Ripa only sketches the Dionysian nature of the Sanguine, but in 1626, the French physician Louis de Caseneuve made him literally a member of the divine procession in his emblem entitled *Sanguineus* [The Sanguine][31]. We find him standing halfway up a staircase, holding a flute and myrtle branch in his right hand, and a broken surveyor's rod in his left.

[31] L. DE CASENEUVE, *Hieroglyphicorum et medicorum emblematum dodekakrounos*, [in:] I.P. VALERIANUS, *Hieroglyphica*, Lugduni: apud Paulum Frellon, 1626 (cetera: CASENEUVE), p. 31–39. In this work, see also A. ADAMS, S. RAWELS, A. SAUNDERS, *A Bibliography of French Emblem Books*, vol. II, Genève 2002, p. 519–520.



Fig. 8. Sanguineus, in: L. de Caseneuve, *Hieroglyphicorum et medicorum emblematum dodekakrounos*, [in:] I.P. Valerianus, *Hieroglyphica*, Lugduni: apud Paulum Frellon, 1626, p. 39.

The Latin epigram provides more details:

> Comus hic hortorum, et speciosus flore iuventae,
> Tibia cui, myrtus, fractus et est radius.
> Effert se gradibus, quibus itur ad aurea tecta,
> Haec iuvenis sunto symbola sanuines[32].

Caseneuve's portrait is similar to Ripa's, but more complete in the comparison it assumes: the Sanguine is Komos, the genius of feasting and games[33]. Komos

[32] Caseneuve, p. 31 [Comus, the god of revelry, here in the gardens, and beautiful in the bloom of youth, / To whom the flute, myrtle, and broken ray belong. / He ascends the steps that lead to golden halls, / These symbols of the sanguine youth; trans. M.K.].

[33] See Philostrate, *Une galerie antique*, introd., trans. et comm. A. Bougot, Paris 1881, liv. I, 2: *Cômos*: the representation of the god standing before a door, surrounded by flowers and musical instruments, has been preserved in the later images of this god, cf. for exemple V. Cartari, *Le Imagini de gli dei de gli antichi del signor Vincenzo Cartari*, appresso Euangelista Deuchino et Gio. Battista Pulciani, 1609, p. 305.

is crowned with flowers, symbolizing spring, the warm, humid season of the sanguine. The expressions "beautiful in appearance, brilliant on the outside" that accompany Komos' name in the epigram refer to the delicate color of his skin (though Caseneuve does not mention any specific color). The expression *flore iuventae* is used figuratively in the verses to express "the flower of youth". The symbolic parallel in the medical context is obvious: the seventh galenic tetrad attributed a period of human life to each humoral type, with spring being the youngest season of the year. The sanguine's penchant for love is symbolized here by myrtle. Louis de Caseneuve underlines the divinity's most salient traits and attributes them to the sanguine: youth, hilarity, conviviality and sensuality. The association the doctor creates between Komos and the sanguine cleverly diverges from iconographic tradition, which saw the incarnation of joie de vivre and youthful folly in Bacchus or Apollo (youth, wine, music).

3. The *uenustas* of sanguine

In Hippocratic medicine, color is an indispensable element in the diagnosis of internal diseases[34]. Furthermore, Véronique Boudon reminds us that,

> Il n'est pas exagéré de dire que la vision et en particulier la perception des couleurs qui, dans l'esprit des Grecs, en est indissociable, est au cœur même du système cognitif galénique. En tant que la médecine galénique s'appuie en effet prioritairement sur les faits observés par l'intermédiaire des organes des sens, et en particulier celui de la vision[35].

Now, while the three previous temperaments were clearly characterized, in Ripa's work, by skin tones matching the color of their dominant humor – the choleric, for instance, by a yellowish complexion (*di color gialliccio*), the phlegmatic by a very pale complexion (*di color bianco*), and the melancholic by a dark or swarthy complexion (*di color fosco*), the face of our sanguine figure curiously becomes *rubicondo misto con bianco*[36], i.e. rubicund or vermeil mixed with white, an element we have so far overlooked. This mixture of red and white seems curious and demands our attention. Véronique Boudon points out that *Galien dans sa pratique médicale recourt le plus souvent et presque exclusivement à quatre couleurs fondamentales: le blanc, le noir, le rouge, et le jaune*[37]. She adds that *c'est précisément cette palette chromatique de base (blanc, noir, jaune et rouge) qui va servir au médecin pour identifier les différents tempéraments, au nombre de huit (si l'on excepte le tempérament bien équilibré), c'est à dire quatre tempéraments simples et quatre composés*,

[34] L. VILLARD, *Couleurs et maladies dans la collection hippocratique: les faits et les mots*, [in:] *Couleurs et visions dans l'Antiquité classique*, ed. EADEM, Rouen 2002, p. 46.

[35] V. BOUDON, *La théorie gallénique de la vision: couleurs du corps et couleurs des humeurs*, [in:] *Couleurs et visions*…, p. 65.

[36] C. RIPA (It.), parte prima, p. 111.

[37] V. BOUDON, *La théorie gallénique*…, p. 73.

auxquels se réduit l'ensemble des individus[38]. Ripa thus uses *la palette de base de Galien*[39] (yellow, white, black, red), but only faithfully follows this model in the cases of the Phlegmatic, the Choleric and the Melancholic. However, in the case of the Sanguine, he does indeed mention the doctrine[40] and, in order to explain himself[41], even relies on a passage by Avicenna who, however, does not mix red with white either[42].

So why does Ripa shade the complexion of his sanguine? The presence of white can be justified by the crystalline character of the *aria*, or by the effect of the *libidine*, described *di bianca faccia* by Ripa, despite the *abbondanza di sangue*. However, as the art historian Maurice Brock points out in his remarkable work[43], *le stylème poétique (ou littéraire) du rouge et du blanc est attesté sans solution de continuité depuis l'Antiquité*[44] [poetic (or literary) style of red and white has been attested without loss of continuity since Antiquity; trans. M.K.]. More precisely,

> dans la tradition littéraire occidentale, il est extrêmement fréquent qu'un rouge et un blanc soient évoqués à propos de la carnation d'un être – quel qu'il soit – qui est célébré pour sa jeunesse, pour sa bonne santé, pour sa beauté physique ou morale ou pour les sentiments amoureux qu'il inspire[45].

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[38] *Ibidem*.

[39] *Ibidem*.

[40] *E però dice Galeno nel 2 de gli Afforismi nel comment 2 che l'humore, che nel corpo predomina dà il colore alla carne*, C. Ripa (It.), parte prima, p. 111; cf. C. Ripa (Fr.), seconde partie, p. 54: *Ce qui fait dire à Galien, que l'humeur qui predomine au corps colore la chaire (Aphorisme 2. Comment 2.)*. This comment corresponds in every respect to medical tradition: *Or, devons nous conjecturer et juger l'humeur superabondant, la couleur: sinon que d'avanture aucun d'iceluy humeur se soit retiré dedans. Car la couleur s'apparoist et florist sur le corps semblable aux humeurs, sinon qu'ils soyent coulez dedans, Les aphorismes d'Hippocrate avec le commentaire de Galien sur le premier livre*, Lyon: Claude Rigaud et Claude Obertn, 1628, p. 14.

[41] *Dipingesi rubicondo misto con bianco, per che (secondo Avicenna nel 2 del 3) questo colore denota abbondanza di sangue*, C. Ripa (It.), parte prima, p. 111: *On luy attibuë le teint vermeil meslé de blanc, d'autant que selon Avicenne, cette couleur marque une abondance de sang*, C. Ripa (Fr.), seconde partie, p. 54.

[42] Cf. Avicenna, *Liber Canonis…*, p. 7: *Sanguis vero, natura calidus existit et humidus. Cuius sunt duae species, naturalis et non naturalis. Naturalis aut est, cuius color est rubeus, malo carens odore, et est valde dulcis. Non naturalis vero duae divisiones. Alius enim est, à qui à complexione bona fuit mutatus: non propterae et aliquid ei admistum fuerit; sed quia eius complexio in se vitiata fuit, verbi gratia, quia autfuit*. On the importance of Avicenna's Canon in premodern Europe, see N.G. Siraisi, *The Changing Fortunes of a Traditional Text: Goals and Strategies in Sixteenth-century Latin Editions of the Canon of Avicenna*, [in:] *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. A. Wear, R.K. French, I.M. Lonie, Cambridge 1985, p. 16–39; N.G. Siraisi, *Avicenna in Renaissance Italy. The Canon and Medical Teaching in Italian Universities after 1500*, Princeton 1987.

[43] See M. Brock's article, *La venustas d'Apelle: de Pline l'Ancien à Titien par l'Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, AIHS 61 (166–167), 2011, p. 335–366.

[44] *Ibidem*, p. 344.

[45] *Ibidem*, p. 343–344. The researcher specifies that this style often appears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and that it is with Petrarch and the Petrarchans of the 16th century that it gains in extension, *ibidem*, p. 344.

> In the Western literary tradition, it is extremely common for red and white to be evoked in connection with the complexion of someone – whoever he or she may be – who is celebrated for his or her youth, good health, physical or moral beauty, or for the amorous feelings he or she inspires [trans. M.K.].

The medical origin of the discourse becomes quite clear. The fascinating philological investigation conducted by Maurice Brock into the ancient and mysterious notion of *uenustas*[46], which he proposes to translate simply as "venusté" (pulchritude), has revealed a connection between *uenustas*, the stylistic motif of red and white, and the blood that rises beneath the skin. Pliny's testimony had already invited us to consider that the *uenustas* of the painter Apelles – so difficult to define – had, from its origins, a close link with the Hippocratic corpus, from which Galen's "palette" is derived:

> C'est avec quatre couleurs seules, le *mélinum* pour les blancs, le *sil attique* pour les jaunes, la *sinopis du Pont* pour les rouges, l'*atrament* pour les noirs, qu'Apelle, Échion, Mélanthius, Nicomaque, ont exécuté des œuvres immortelles, peintres si célèbres, dont un seul tableau s'achetait aux prix des trésors des villes[47].

> It is with only four colors – melinum for whites, Attic ochre for yellows, sinopis from Pontus for reds, and atrament for blacks – that Apelles, Echion, Melanthius, and Nicomachus executed immortal works, painters so famous that a single painting was bought at the price of the treasures of cities [trans. M.K.].

Ripa's text unquestionably embraces the literary tradition and discreetly marks out this triple connection, but at the cost of departing from the medical canon that paradoxically gave rise to it. To put it another way, he consolidates his sanguinity by means of a motif that had partly broken away from it. What's even more interesting is that, through the mere presence of white, the author shifts from a medical ideal of perfection to a poetic ideal of perfection, even though in his *Malenconico* he had taken a strictly opposite approach[48].

This is a fundamental question of representation, both pictorial and literary, which we find backed up by medical discourse on blood complexion. We should not forget how difficult it is for a painter, to whom Ripa also addressed himself, to depict a face where blood abounds[49]. He will have to skillfully employ the most

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[46] An absolute quality of the painter Apelles according to Pliny, *uenustas* is, to put it briefly, the artist's ability to render his Venus so graceful, so lifelike, and so pleasing to the eye, *ibidem*, p. 336.

[47] PLINE L'ANCIEN, *Histoire Naturelle*, liv. XXXV, XXXII (Livre traitant de la peinture et des couleurs), vol. II, trans. É. LITTRÉ, Paris 1850, p. 470.

[48] He abandons the literary and traditional pallor of the melancholic, caused by time spent in books, to respect Galen's text. See M. KOŹLUK, *Representing the atra bilis*…, p. 455–458.

[49] See Maurice Brock's interesting commentary on the comparative resources of imagination and painting, M. BROCK, *La uenustas d'Apelle*…, p. 347.

ingenious pictorial techniques to put an ideal of health before the eyes, rather than in the mind. In Titian's work, this difficulty found an admirable solution, giving a new lease of life to the vague notion of *uenustas*, which has long remained a topical concept:

> En peinture, mettre en valeur les infimes rosissements et blanchissements d'une carnation au moyen d'un entourage de tissus (ou d'objets) rouges et blancs est selon toute probabilité une invention de Titien – on n'en trouve pas d'exemples antérieurs, du moins à Venise[50].
>
> In painting, highlighting the subtle reddening and whitening of a complexion by means of surrounding fabrics (or objects) in red and white is, in all probability, an invention of Titian – no earlier examples are found, at least in Venice [trans. M.K.].

It seems that the addition of white in literature already responds to the need to nourish the mind of the reader eager to render through the imagination a delicately sanguine carnation[51], and this is undoubtedly how we should understand *la faccia rubicondo misto con bianco*. Ripa simply refrains from metaphorizing color as the poet might with roses and privet.

* * *

There is no doubt that Cesare Ripa's *Sanguigno per l'aria* is intended to reflect the primacy of the blood complexion, in keeping with Galenic tradition. The intention is to build an ideal of balance and harmony in a person whose blood is "perfectly tempered". It should be remembered, however, that each humoral type is divided into sub-categories. First and foremost, there are "tempered" (*eukrasis*), an ideal, balanced variant in which the main humor retains perfect proportions. But ancient medicine also defines "untempered" (*dyscrasis*) sanguine types, a pathological variant of the complexion. The term "untempered" here refers to a disproportion of the dominant humor (blood) in the body. Now, the physical appearance of the "untempered" sanguine type is characterized by *le sang chaud et humide qui abonde à foison*[52] [the hot and moist blood that abounds in excess; trans. M.K.]. We can recognize the "untempered" sanguine by, among other things, his massive physique, often accompanied by excess weight, a flushed face, heavy breathing or even

[50] *Ibidem*, p. 343.

[51] Without being mentioned, white can even, as in Cicero Maurice Brock, tells us, constitute *implicitement le fond sur lequel s'enlève la roseur provoquée par le sang* [Implicitly, the background against which the rosy hue caused by the blood stands out; trans. M.K.], *ibidem*, p. 351.

[52] N.A. de La Framboisière, *Le Gouvernement necessaire à chacun pour vivre longuement en santé*, Paris: Charles Chastellain, 1608.

his excessive attraction to pleasures and entertainment[53]. As always, everything is a matter of proportion. So, is Ripa's Sanguine ideally balanced? His cheerfulness is in no way pathological, and his *corpo grasso* appears lively and healthy compared to the *corpo grasso* of the Phlegmatic; his lute and open music book, as we have seen, harmonize pleasure and learning quite well. While the tempered sanguine does indeed possess abundant seed, the presence of the lustful ram is open to debate.

What can we say, in conclusion, about this young man with blond hair and a ruddy face tinged with white, who easily gives in to the pleasures of wine and flesh? Can the god of wine truly be considered a model of temperance, and is the inclination toward lust merely a harmless consequence of good blood circulation? Whatever the answer, these elements in this particular case are purged of all immorality. The text relies on medical and literary topoi that deliberately blur the lines between the two sanguine temperaments – or more precisely, disregard the distinction altogether.

Finally, it appears that the *Sanguigno per l'aria* contains no symbolic invention comparable to what we previously observed for the Phlegmatic and the Melancholic. So how can one represent the sanguine complexion, this *constitutio temperata*, synonymous with perfection? In the *Iconologia*, quite unexpectedly, with prosaic realism – by introducing a few imperfections, by humanizing the figure – which is paradoxically well conveyed by the engraving of the Sanguine, subdued or darkened by the inexplicable absence of the floral crown found everywhere else.

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[53] For example, N.A. DE LA FRAMBOISIÈRE, who, in his health regimen, states that "untempered" are *recogneus à la corpulence*, *parce qu'ils sont polisarcs*, *c'est à dire*, *fort charnus*, *à l'insigne rougeur du visage*, *à la grandeur des vaisseaux*, *à la repletion et tension apparante d'iceux*, *au battement des arteres*, *à la respiration difficile et frequente*, *a la pesanteur du corps*, *et lassitude sans travail precedent*, *à la sueur superflue* […]. As for their psychological traits, we learn from the same physician that they have *l'esprit simple et consequences et qui quitte volontiers les choses serieuses*, *pour s'adonner aux delices*, *ibidem*, p. 136. On the other hand, his image of the "tempered" sanguine touches on the ideal. We read that *Il a la couleur belle*, *vermeille*, *meslée de blanc et de rouge*, *le poil blond*, *crespé et ondoyant*, *et tous les membres organics si bien proportionnez en toute leur dimension*, *qu'il semble à voir qu'ils ayent esté compassez à la regle de Polyclet*, *pour la symmetrie exquise qu'on y apperçoit. Et comme les [sanguins] temperez ont le corps accomply de tous nombres*, *aussi ont-ils l'esprit gentil*, *le jugement bon*, *le mœurs douces*, *le naturel jovial*, *la façon gaye*, *le maintien modeste*, *la volonté franche*, *la condition liberale: de sorte qu'ils sont gaillards*, *discrets*, *advisez*, *accords*, *paisibles*, *honnestes*, *amateurs de sciences*, *courtois*, *gracieux*, *joyeux*, *ac/costables*, *amoureux des Dames*, *et se plaisent en compagnie*, *à dire le mot*, *à rire*, *à chanter*, *à faire bonne cher*, *et ne songent que choses plaisantes: au deumeurant sont prompts à faire plaisir à chacun*, *et ronds en affaires*, *et si moderez d'humeurs qu'on ne les sçauroit taxer d'estre ny temeraires*, *ny coüards; ny trop hastifs*, *ny tardifs*, *ny cauteleux*, *ny hebetez. Ils ne sont point maladifs*, *ains forts*, *robustes*, *pour resister aux injures provenantes tans de dehors*, *que du dedans du corps. A raison aussi que leurs parties instrumentales sont mignonnement façonnées avec bonne proportion*, *ils sont adroits à toutes choses*, *et propres à exercer dextrement toutes functions*, *ayans bonne grace en tout ce qu'ils font*, *ibidem*, p. 136–137.

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Celibacy, Priesthood, Marriage, Puberty and Popular Culture in the Works of 14th Century Tarnovo Authors

Abstract. This article explores several real examples of celibacy, marriage and puberty in the works of 14th century Tarnovo authors. It explores several key issues: celibacy in both its manifestations – the orthodox and the heretical, among medieval Bulgarians, the interpretation of different problems concerning marriage, puberty, priesthood and spiritual brotherhood in these works, including the conflicts between church and popular culture. Evidence about promiscuity and other deviations is also discussed. Conclusions have been drawn based on analysis of different writings: letters, treatises, biographies of saints, panegyrics, apocryphal works and medieval breviaries.

Keywords: celibacy, marriage, puberty, popular culture, heresies, priesthood, brotherhood

> If the priest is, and is called an angel of the Lord Omnipotent, according to the words of the great Dionysius, and [if] he is a part of the heavenly hierarchy when he prays over the divine gifts [the communion], he [the priest] is obliged to be an angel in his life, to have dignity and to be merciful[1].

This fragment from the second letter of St. Euthymius, the last patriarch of the medieval Tarnovo patriarchy, to his contemporary St. Nicodemus of Tismana, illustrates the idealistic views of the medieval Tarnovo writers and scribes regarding priesthood and monasticism. They were expressed in biographies,

[1] E. Kałużniacki, *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius*, Wien 1901, p. 221–222; Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*, София 1990, p. 227.

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panegyrics and litanies written in the 13th and 14th century and were addressed to the saints celebrated in Tarnovo. These works (via the cult of saints) often proclaimed the unity between the Heavenly Kingdom and the Earthly Kingdom, which includes the state, the church and the ordinary people. However, other works by the same authors indicate the existence of essential ideological and cultural differences among the leaders of the church, on the one hand, and the ordinary priests and people, on the other. These differences ran so deep that they reduced the proclaimed unity to a literary fiction.

Celibacy – the choice of saints, anchorites and heretics

In an age when marriage was an obligatory and inevitable event in the life of nearly the entire population, the works of the medieval Tarnovo authors glorified the saints who deliberately had chosen celibacy and the preservation of virginity. The exact number of people who embraced chastity remains unknown, but all of them seemed to have changed their social status to become monks[2]. For instance, according to the biography of St. Romilus (written in the second half of the 14th century), in order to avoid a forced marriage imposed on him by his parents, he escaped from his home in Bdin and took refuge in one of the Tarnovo monasteries where he started a new life as a monk[3]. St. Kozma of the Zograf mon-

[2] The case of David, the oldest brother among the Komitopulis, who in the 970s were the *de facto* rulers of Bulgaria, is particularly interesting. Historical sources mention nothing about a wife and children. The fact that he was buried together with his parents and that his name was included in their epitaph erected by his brother Samuel indicates that he was unmarried. Perhaps Tsar Peter IV (1185–1197), the older brother of Asen I and Kaloyan, was unmarried, too – the sources also do not give any information about a wife and children. It seems that only the holders of supreme power in medieval Bulgaria could avoid marriage and preserve their initial social status. However, David, centuries after his death, was proclaimed a tsar and a saint – his cult appeared among the Bulgarian monks on Mount Athos and in some monasteries in modern Northern Macedonia. Most likely, it was based on some currently lost writings of apocryphal origin. The Bulgarian monk Hristofor Zhefarovich included the image of David among the South Slavic Saints in his stematography issued in 1741. Three decades later the anonymous author of the Bulgarian Zograf history and Bulgarian Athonite monk Paissii in his History (1762) presented David as a Bulgarian tsar who abandoned his office and became a monk – Й. Иванов, *Зографска българска история*, София 1970, p. 9; *Исторія славѣноболгарская собрана и нареждена Паисіемъ Іеромонахомъ в лето 1762*, София 1914, p. 31, 63. In the next decades an icon of the Bulgarian tsar St. David depicted as a monk, appeared in many churches in what are now Western Bulgaria and Northern Macedonia, including the main churches of the Zograf, Troyan and Rila monasteries. His cult influenced the national and political revival of local Bulgarians to a certain extent. However, the information about his monkhood was incorrect – David never abandoned his office and never became a monk. Therefore, the status of David was changed *post mortem* in accordance with the concept of celibate-monkhood established in the Middle Ages.

[3] *Пространно житие на Роман Видински от Григорий Доборписец*, [in:] *Стара българска литература*, vol. IV, София 1986, p. 470.

astery was another Bulgarian anchorite from the same period who also avoided marriage leaving his family and becoming a monk on Mount Athos[4].

According to the biographies of the Tarnovo saints, avoidance of arranged and undesirable marriages was not the only reason for their choice of celibacy and anchoritism. The intolerant and even hostile attitude of their families and social milieu toward the manifestations of their pietism are often mentioned. St. Euthymius asserts that the most famous Bulgarian saint, St. John of Rila (9th–10th century), left his home village because his compatriots ignored and offended him and considered him incapable of social life[5]. Most likely this information was borrowed from the Byzantine biography of St. John of Rila written by John Skylitzes in the 12th century: he said that the people from the home village of St. John of Rila despised and ignored him[6]. It seems that both works do not exhibit the standard opposition between the spiritual and the physical, which is typical of many biographies of saints, since the unknown author of the 12th century apocryphal biography of St. John of Rila also described the attempts of his brother and compatriots to discourage him[7]. Another example in this respect is the biography of Saint Paraskeva written by St. Euthymuis. According to the author her parents scolded and beat her because she tried to follow the gospels giving her clothes to poor people[8]. The analysis of the text shows that this part of the biography has no parallels with the other biographies of St. Paraskeva and was inserted by St. Euthymius[9]. Probably, this part reflects similar occurrences in medieval society. Kalist I, the patriarch of Constantinople, who was the supposed author of a biography of the most well-known 14th century Bulgarian anchorite St. Theodosii of Tarnovo, claimed that St. Theodosii avoided his relatives and that he preferred to sadden his parents than to retreat from God[10].

The rejection of the "natural duties" of a woman is one of the main points in the biography of St. Philotea. According to St. Euthymius, she was married against her will at the age of 14, but she convinced her fiancé to preserve their virginity, referring to arguments ascribed to the Egyptian anchorite Amun[11]. St. Philotea was one of the female saints of Byzantine (Anatolian) origin whose relics were carried

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[4] I. Dujčev, *La vie de Kozma de Zographou*, ХЗ 2, 1971, p. 62.

[5] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 42–43.

[6] Георги Скилица, *Житие на светия и преподобен наш отец Йоан, рилския пустинослужител*, [in:] Й. Иванов, *Жития на свето Ивана Рилски*, София 1936, p. 41.

[7] *Житие и живот на преподобния наш отец Йоан рилския пустинослужител и за пренасянето на мощите му (Народно житие)*, [in:] Й. Ивановъ, *Жития на свети Ивана Рилски*, София 1936, p. 28, 30.

[8] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 84–85.

[9] К. Иванова, *Житието на Петка Търновска от Патриарх Евтимий (Източници и текстологични бележки)*, СЛ 8, 1980, p. 31–32.

[10] В. Златарски, *Житїе и жизнь преподобнаго отца нашего Θеѡдосїа Ѣже в Тръновъ постнѢчьствовашго*, СНУНК 20, 1904, p. 10.

[11] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 99–100.

to Tarnovo, the Bulgarian capital, during the military campaigns of the Bulgarian Tsar Kaloyan in the early 13th century. Byzantine documents about her life have not been preserved[12], and it is unclear if this part of her biography followed an original Greek text or was introduced by Bulgarian biographer(s). It is remarkable that the arguments against marriage considered the difficulties and pain accompanying pregnancy, giving birth and bringing up children. In fact, these "natural duties" of a woman are presented as real death in contrast to virginity and celibacy leading to eternal life[13]. Yoasaf of Bdin, who wrote an apology in honor of the same female saint in 1394–1395, also glorified the decision of spouses to keep their virginity[14]. In this way, in the late works of the Tarnovo authors, a new model of family life was introduced, but there is no information about couples who in the 14th century actually followed this model.

Besides, the Tarnovo writers in respect of St. Paraskeva and St. Philotea, as early as the 13th century widely used the motif of heavenly marriage[15] – i.e. "marriage of a virgin devotee to Christ". The subsequent development of this motif in 14th century works was closely related to the cult of these female saints.

One of the interesting moments in the biographies of saints translated from Greek was a phenomenon which could be labeled with the term "restoration of celibacy". That is the case when the future anchorite and saint left his wife and went to the "desert". For instance, John, one of the characters in the biography of St. Simon the Holy Fool[16], translated into Bulgarian in the 10th century and preserved in several Middle Bulgarian manuscripts[17], abandoned his young wife and became an anchorite in the Syrian desert together with his friend. His wife knew nothing about the decision of her husband but subsequently she also became a nun. Presbyter Kozma, a 10th century Bulgarian author, explicitly noticed that there were men who left their families and went to monasteries because they could not bear the burdens of family life[18]. Most likely texts such as the biography of St. Simon the Holy Fool ensured the social legitimacy of this phenomenon. However, the consequences were tragic; Presbyter Kozma spoke about abandoned children who were dying of starvation and cursing their parents. Kozma sharply criticized these men/monks and called them "worse than pagans"[19]. The Tarnovo

[12] С. Кожухаров, *Проблеми на старобългарската поезия*, София 2004, p. 97.

[13] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 99–100.

[14] Йоасаф Бдински, *Похвално слово за Филотея*, [in:] *Стара българска литература*, vol. II, *Ораторска проза*, София 1982, p. 187–200.

[15] С. Кожухаров, *Проблеми*…, p. 99.

[16] The original Greek title of biography is *Ὁ βίος τοῦ ἁγίου Συμεών τοῦ διὰ Χριστὸν Σαλού*.

[17] С. Иванов, *Неизвестный древнеболгарский термин «ВЛОГЪЖУПАН»*, [in:] *Восток и запад в балканской картине мира. Памяти Владимира Николаевича Топорова*, Москва 2007, p. 180.

[18] *Беседа противъ новопоявилата се богомислка ересъ отъ недостойния презвитеръ Козма*, [in:] В. Киселков, *Презвитеръ Козма и неговитъ творения*, София 1943, p. 63.

[19] *Ibidem*.

authors did not include "the restoration of celibacy" in their works and obviously did not support the abandonment of one's family in the name of the "desert", but probably the translations from Greek continued to exert an influence on many people; the large number of copies of the abovementioned biography and other similar texts support this assumption.

Judging from the writings of Presbyter Kozma (from the mid-10th century) and from the inscriptions from the rock monasteries in Krepcha and Murfatlar dating back to the first decades of the 10th century[20], it can be concluded that celibacy gained some popularity among people as early as the first half of the 10th century. Besides, many of the saints and anchorites of the medieval Bulgarian church originated from the ordinary urban and rural populations. The works of popular scribes show that the glorification of celibacy was a widely spread phenomenon in medieval Bulgarian literature, irrespective of the social origin and education of the authors. For example, the compilers of the 12th century *Bulgarian Apocryphal Chronicle*, a typical work of popular Christian literature, explicitly focused on the celibacy of two Bulgarian rulers canonized by the church, Boris I (830s – 907) and Peter I (the beginning of the 10th century – 969): they "had not sinned with a woman"[21].

The *Edict of our Lord Jesus Christ*, another representative narrative from 13th or 14th century Bulgarian apocryphal literature, divided the world nations into three groups: the righteous (the Orthodox peoples – Bulgarians, Greeks, Syrians, Georgians and Rus'), the semi-righteous (12 nations, belonging to Catholicism and Non-Chalcedon churches) and the unbelievers. According to this apocrypha, the righteous nations originated from the sons and daughters of Shem who intentionally avoided sexual intercourse[22], so God permitted them to reproduce in a non-sexual way[23]. On the one hand, it could be suggested that this unusual idea was

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[20] К. Попконстантинов, *Два старобългарски надписа от скалния манастир при с. Крепча, Търговишки окръг*, Архе 3, 1977, p. 19–27.

[21] *Български апокрифен летопис*, [in:] Й. Иванов, *Богомилски книги и легенди*, София 1970, p. 283–284. Both rulers were not unmarried but at the end of their lives they became monks.

[22] It is interesting that the unknown author chose Shem to be the forefather of "the righteous peoples" instead of Japheth, who usually was considered the progenitor of non-Jewish peoples in Europe. For instance, the author of a biography of Constantine Cyril, one of the earliest works of Old Slavonic and Bulgarian literature, described a dispute with Jewish scholars. One of the disputed problems was the blessing of Noah over Shem (the forefather of the Jewish people) and the lack of a similar blessing over Japheth, the forefather of Christians. *Житие и деяния на блажения наш учител Константин Философ*, [in:] *Пространни жития на светите братя Кирил и Методий*, София 1971, p. 27. The unusual appearance of Shem could be a result of Jewish influence. It is well-known that a large Jewish community inhabited Tarnovo, and according to the biography of St. Theodosii of Tarnovo in the mid-14th century they actively propagated their religious doctrines among Bulgarians – В. Златарски, *Житïе и жизнь*…, p. 24–25.

[23] *Слово на Господа нас Исус Христос*, [in:] *Стара българска литература*, vol. I, *Апокрифи*, София 1982, p. 341.

influenced by Messalian or Bogomil doctrines, but another explanation also seems possible. Bulgarian folk culture has always condemned any kind of incest especially that between brother and sister. According to popular beliefs, it could cause the destruction of the social and cosmological order. Most likely the anonymous scribe rewriting the Biblical story of Noah, and his sons tried to erase any trace of incest in the genealogy of Bulgarians and other "righteous" peoples.

Outside the Orthodox Church, celibacy became an essential part of the doctrines of different heretical teachings, such as Bogomilism. Some of them practiced very radical forms of celibacy, for example, in 1350s two monks, Lazar and Cyril Bosota, influenced by Messalianism and Bogomilism appeared in Tarnovo. Cyril Bosota preached against the family and insisted on dissolving legal marriages and even on mutilation of the reproductive organs. It is interesting that he gained popularity among the population and was followed by one of the Tarnovo priests named Stefan. These circumstances forced the church and secular authorities to call a council against them, but even then, Cyril and Stefan did not abandon their teaching[24].

In her investigation into medieval Orthodox Slavic societies, Eve Levin asserts that they did not accept sexuality as an "innate" phenomenon.

> The medieval Orthodox Slavs […] believed that the desire for sex came from outside the human being and was not part of God's original creation. They saw sexuality as an evil inclination originating with Satan, dangerous to the individual and to society, best kept within strict bounds if it could not be eliminated altogether[25].

This assertion corresponds much more to the doctrine of Bogomilism, which rejected any kind of sexual contact and marriage and considered children "little devils"[26] regarding them entirely as a result of sexual intercourse. According to their teaching, male lust was the most universal way of propagating original sin and the evil of Satan[27]. This radical rejection of sexuality was typical of the Messalians, too, a Syrian monkish sect, which also preached against the family and childcare[28]. Since the 11th century many Byzantine authors tended to see a connection between both heresies – Bogomilism and Messalianism. Euthymius Zigabenus asserted that the Bogomils borrowed from the Messalians part of their demonology, and more exactly the notion that devils live inside every man[29]. The Byzantine monk, Euthymius of Akmonia, and the patriarch of Nicea, Germanos II

[24] В. Златарски, *Житїе и жизнь*…, p. 20–21.
[25] E. Levin, *Sex and Society in the World of the Orthodox Slavs, 900–1700*, Ithaca–London 1989, p. 13.
[26] *Беседа противъ*…, p. 47.
[27] *Тайната книга (Liber Sancti Iohanis)*, [in:] Й. Иванов, *Богомилски*…, p. 78–79.
[28] S. Ioannis Damasceni, *За ересите накратко. Fons scintiae*, Sofia 2014, p. 274–275.
[29] Euthymius Zigabenus, *De haeresi Bogomilorum narratio*, [in:] *FGHB*, Sofia 1980, p. 65.

(1175–1240), in practice completely equated both heresies[30]. Other Byzantine authors also shared similar views[31]. Therefore, it was not surprising that patriarch Kalist I, the author of the biography of St. Theodosii[32], called Cyril Bosota "Messalian"[33]. According to the testimony of St. John of Damascus, Messalians allowed self-castration[34]. Obviously self-castration was practiced in both groups and was part of their radical sectarian negativism toward sexuality.

Since the appearance of Bogomilism in the first half of the 10th century, church writers constantly defended marriage and family. During the council against Lazar, Cyril Bosota and Stefan, St. Theodosii of Tarnovo explicitly emphasized "the purity of marriage and the nuptial bed"[35] – a church euphemism for sexual relations within family and marriage. The defense of these relations against the attacks of Bogomilism has a long history which started with the work of Presbyter Kozma in the mid-10th century. His arguments in favor of marriage were used in an 11th century polemical compilation against Theodor, a monk who preached against physical intimacy between spouses. This monk said, "do not sleep with (your) wife". Yuri Begunov tended to identify him with one of the followers of the priest Bogomil, Theodore, whose name is mentioned in the Synodicon of Tsar Boril[36]. However, in the compilation, Theodore was called only a monk, not a heretic, and he did not share any dualistic views. Having in mind that many works of the Tarnovo writers called for preservation of virginity it could be also supposed that Theodore was representative of some radical monastic groups which tried to impose their ethics on society at large.

Similarly to the Bogomils, 14th century Orthodox Bulgarian authors excluded sexuality from the nature of the future heavenly man. They glorified saints as people who realized this heavenly ideal on Earth, and celibacy as a way leading to heaven, but there is no proof that they considered sexuality as an abnormal phenomenon coming from Satan. For instance, in one of his letters St. Euthymius wrote that desire and wrath were given to the human soul by God so that it could use wrath as a weapon against the attempts of Satan to trick and subjugate it again. Desire was gifted to the soul so that it could aspire to the divine world, not for

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[30] Euthymius Monahos coenobii Peribleptae, *Epistula invectiva contra phundagiagitas sive bogomilos haereticos*, [in:] *FGHB*, Sofia 1980, p. 10; Geramnos patriarchae Constantinopolitani, *Epistola ad Constantinopolitanos contra Bogomilos*, [in:] *FGHB*, Sofia 1980, p. 78.

[31] Д. Бирюков, *Книга еретиков: антология*, РХГА, 2011, p. 307.

[32] This biography is preserved only in a Middle Bulgarian variant. Its supposed Greek original remains unknown. Because of this and some other reasons some researchers in the past have questioned the authorship of Kalist I and considered this biography an original Bulgarian work. Contemporary researchers accept the authorship of Kalist I.

[33] В. Златарски, *Житїе и жизнь…*, p. 19.

[34] S. Ioannis Damasceni, *За ересите…*, p. 276–277.

[35] *Ibidem*, p. 21.

[36] Ю. Бегунов, *Козма Презвитер в славянских литературах*, София 1973, p. 33, 122.

sensual things. However, when the soul realizes its aspiration, desire shall disappear[37]. Indeed, by comparison with 10th century Bulgarian authors such Presbyter Kozma, who argued that man could save or lose his soul in both cases, i.e. in celibacy and matrimony, the 14th century authors promoted celibacy as the preferred way of salvation. The latter is usually attributed to Hesychasm, a monastic doctrine which emerged on Mount Athos and since the 1350s exerted an essential influence on the development of the Byzantine and Bulgarian churches. Another factor effecting this change was the spread of some chiliastic ideas. In the 12th century, Joachim of Fiore, an Italian monk, as a result of a mystical experience proclaimed the advent of a new epoch, that of the Holy Spirit in which "spiritual men" / monks dominated[38]. In the next decades his ideas gained popularity in Europe. The abovementioned anonymous 13th century Bulgarian work presented the Bulgarian state as the tsardom of the Holy Spirit[39]. Besides, the Synodicon of Tsar Boril shows that during the reign of John Alexander (1331–1371) monks occupied high positions in the state and royal court[40].

The evidence from the biography of St. Theodosii of Tarnovo, the most famous Bulgarian anchorite in the mid-14th century, provides some rough estimation about the number of people who chose celibacy. His biographer noticed that around 50 men settled in his monastery located near Tarnovo and followed his ascetic way of life[41]. Almost a century earlier, in 1272, there were 21 monks[42], who inhabited the Bulgarian Zograf monastery on Mount Athos, actively supported by the Bulgarian rulers. Indeed, during this period the number of monasteries was high, but most people became monks after the death of their spouses, or after divorce. According to the evidence of Rayner Sakkoni, in the mid-13th century the leading Bogomil communities in Europe, *Bulgaria* and *Dragovitia*, both located within Bulgarian territory, included approximately 500 people[43].

On this basis, it could be concluded that the average number of people who chose celibacy at that time was minimal. Therefore, in spite of the church and popular piety, the glorification of celibacy in the official and popular literature and its spread in different social strata, and in spite of the Bogomil and Messalian rejection of sexuality and marriage, there is no doubt that they continued to dominate the social and personal life of 14th century Bulgarians. Some aspects

[37] E. KAŁUŻNIACKI, *Werke*…, p. 215; ПАТРИАРХ ЕВТИМИЙ, *Съчинения*…, p. 213.

[38] B. WHALLEN, *Joachim of Fiore*, *Apocalyptic Conversion*, *and the 'Persecuting Society'*, HCom 8/7, 2010, p. 354; M. ELIADE, *Histoire des croyances et des idées religieuses*, vol. III, *De Mahomet a l'age des reformes*, Paris 1983, p. 119.

[39] *Слово на Господа нас Исус Христос*…, p. 341.

[40] М. ПОПРУЖЕНКО, *Синодикъ царя Борила*, София 1928, p. 90.

[41] В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *Житїе и жизнь*…, p. 18.

[42] *Мъчение на Зографските монаси*, [in:] *Стара българска литература*, vol. IV.…, p. 284.

[43] RAYNER SAKKONI, *Summa fratris Raynerii de ordine fratrum praedicatorum*, *de Catharis et Pauperibus de Lugduno*, [in:] *FLHB*, София 1981, p. 170.

of marriage and puberty and their relation to priesthood were discussed in the letters of the last Tarnovo patriarch, St. Euthymius, revealing a very different reality from celibacy and lifelong virginity.

The letter of St. Euthymius to the Ugro-Wallachian metropolitan Antimos

This letter (Tarnovo recension) dates from the 1380s and was written in Old Slavonic (Bulgarian). The name of the author is given as Euthymius[44], Patriarch of Trûnov[45]. The same name and title appear in the copies of the other letters of St. Euthymius and apparently this correctly renders his original signature. The name and title of the addressee is "the holiest metropolitan of Ugro-Wallachia, mister Antim"[46]. This letter is preserved in a manuscript from 1479[47]. There, St. Euthymius defends the decision of the Tarnovo patriarchy to exclude the rite of *venchanie* (coronation of the newly married) from the church ceremony when one of the newlyweds or both of the newlyweds were marrying for a second or third time. According to the evidence of the patriarch, many people complained about this situation, in which their second or third marriages were considered invalid and accused the church of legitimising fornication[48]. Based on the seventh rule of the Council of Neo-Caesarea, the writings of the church fathers St. Gregory of Nissa and St. Gregory the Theologian, and the Gospel story of the wedding at Cana, St. Euthymius asserted that only the first marriage could be considered holy, and only then, the newlyweds (being virgins) could receive wreaths (crowns)[49] and communion. He described any subsequent marriages, especially when one of the betrothed couple entered into marriage for the first time, as a victory of lust over virginity and, therefore, the newlyweds subjugated by desire could not demand wreaths. Referring to the

[44] The name of the patriarch in Bulgarian sources is recorded as **Ѥѵ҃ѳнмїѣ**. This variant is the medieval Bulgarian adoption of the Greek name Ευθύμιος. In the article I have used the English transcription of the Greek name.

[45] The exact title of the patriarchs of Tarnovo in medieval Bulgarian sources is given in different ways. For example, the author(s) of the Synodicon of Tsar Boril used two variants: "patriarch of the royal city of Trûnov, saved by God" and "the holy patriarch of Trûnov" – М. Попруженко, *Синодикъ*…, p. 91. Patriarch Theodisii II in 1348 calls himself "Theodosius, by the grace of God, patriarch of the royal city of Trûnov and all Bulgarians" in the books given by him to the Bulgarian Zograf monastery on Mount Athos – Й. Иванов, *Български старини в Македония*, София 1970, p. 235. Tarnovo scribes called his predecessor, Simeon, "the holy patriarch of the royal city of Trûnov, saved by God, and of all Bulgaria" – К. Куев, *Съдбата на старобългарската ръкописна книга през вековете*, София 1986, p. 246.

[46] E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 240.

[47] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 298.

[48] *Ibidem*, p. 220; E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 241.

[49] Eve Levin notices that the Orthodox authors shared different opinions about the role of crowns: according to St. John Chrysostom, *the nuptial crowns symbolized victory over the flesh. According to another text, the crown symbolized martyrdom: marriage was portrayed as a voluntary sacrifice of the self for the greater glory of God* – E. Levin, *Sex and Society*…, p. 94.

writings of another early Christian theologian, St. Vasilius the Great, the patriarch also insisted on one or two years of prohibition (penance) before receiving communion[50]. He firmly rejected any attempts at reaching a compromise solution to the problem suggesting the wreaths to be not put on the heads but on the shoulders[51].

The content of the letter indicates that the cases where one of the newlyweds got married for the first time and the other for the second, were relatively widespread phenomena at this time. Besides, it was not always men who were getting married for a second time; widows also created new families with virgin men. Even in these cases, the patriarch, following the church doctrine of marriage (according to which both spouses formed a new union), forbade priests to give communion to the virginal spouses in these couples. According to him, virgins had to marry virgins. Priests who gave communion to the virgins in such a marriage deprived themselves of their priestly dignity.

In his letter, St. Euthymius repeated several times the seventh rule of the church council in Neo-Caesarea prohibiting priests from taking part in the wedding banquet of people who were married for a second or third time. According to him, they had to leave the wedding immediately after the end of the church ceremony. It remains unknown whether all the priests of the Tarnovo patriarchy obeyed this prohibition, but two other mentions concerning the priests shed an unexpected light on the family relations in this diocese. St. Euthymius noticed that some people "had lived together in fornication" before their first marriage. Some of them had not been "catechized in time" and in this case the patriarch allowed the rite of *venchanie* to be performed even though these people "did not deserve it"[52]. It remains unclear who these people were. The only information about them is that they were not catechized and baptized "in time" – a circumstance that could be interpreted in different ways, but most likely they lived out of reach of church institutions. They could be identified with the different pastoral and rural communities inhabiting the high mountains of the Balkan Peninsula or with the descendants of the steppe population (Cumans and Alans) who settled in Bulgaria in the second part of the 13th and at the beginning of the 14th century and were partially Christianized.

Apparently, the other group of people who lived "together in fornication" were catechized and baptized Christians, who, contrary to the rules, created families without the sanction of the church. In another passage, the patriarch unequivocally blamed some priests for performing the rite of *venchanie* not only on people married for the second and third time, but also on "fornicators" – Christians who

[50] The Tarnovo patriarchy strictly obeyed this rule; for example, at the end of the 13th century patriarch Joachim III deprived the Bulgarian Tsar Georgi Terter from receiving communion for several years because of his divorce and second marriage.

[51] ПАТРИАРХ ЕВТИМИЙ, *Съчинения*…, p. 225–226; E. KAŁUŻNIACKI, *Werke*…, p. 249–250.

[52] ПАТРИАРХ ЕВТИМИЙ, *Съчинения*…, p. 223; E. KAŁUŻNIACKI, *Werke*…, p. 245–246.

had lost their virginity before their first marriage. He categorically condemned this practice as a "big violation of the rules and the Gospel"[53].

Some evidence in the works of other Tarnovo authors from this period can shed further light on the social profile of these Christians. Grigorii Tsamblak, in his panegyric written in honor of St. Euthymius around 1405–1406, wrote about a monastery named after the Virgin Mary located near Tarnovo. Every year in the summer the whole population of the town, "together with children and women" gathered around the monastery and for eight days celebrated a holiday:

> They gathered because of the holiday and supposedly prayed, but the place (the monastery) and its wilderness encouraged the lust of fornicators, and they (the population) indulged in sin and in every kind of vices and attracted God's resentment.

The patriarch canceled the holiday and forbade the gatherings and *thus*, *he saved many souls from death*[54].

In the Christian calendar, there are no summer holidays lasting for 8 days. In another work, Tsamblak noticed that the young girls in Tarnovo usually did not leave their homes; however, in exceptional instances they "forgot the shame" and walked outside[55]. In this case, Tsamblak referred to a religious event, but the abovementioned holiday must have been one of these exceptional circumstances. Tsamblak described an orgiastic tradition of popular origin. The duration of the holiday, its mass character, and the season of celebration indicate a connection with the festivals of archaic agricultural societies. The holiday could be identified with the celebrations of the summer solstice. One of the articles in the Synodicon of Tsar Boril explicitly proclaimed anathema on everyone who participated in the pagan rituals performed on the day of St. John the Baptist (24 June). Indeed, the article was translated from the letter of the patriarch of Constantinople Kozma II to the bishop of Larissa, but the holiday was widespread throughout the Balkans[56]. During similar festivals, the social order turned into social disorder, and promiscuity was one of the manifestations of this disorder. This story obviously shows that the influence of the church doctrine of marriage and virginity on the population of the capital city was limited.

The case of Theodosii, described in the biography of St. Theodosii of Tarnovo (30 years before the patriarchate of St. Euthymius) also confirms the popularity of orgiastic practices among the population of the central part of the Second Bulgarian Tsardom. According to the dates of the biography, he was a monk who

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[53] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 225; E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 249.

[54] Григорий Цамблак, *Похвално слово за Евтимий*, ed. П. Русев, И. Гълъбов, А. Давидов, Г. Данчев, София 1971, p. 190–191.

[55] Idem, *Похвално слово за Киприан*, [in:] *Стара българска литература*, vol. II…, p. 211.

[56] А.-М. Тотоманова, И. Божилов, *Държава и църква през XIII век*, София 1999, p. 124.

preached in "villages and towns" for "women to leave their husbands and men to leave their wives". Theodosii practiced a ritual nudity; he and his followers stripped off their clothes and walked completely naked around "bleak landscapes and caves" and spent the nights together in common accommodation[57]. The group of Theodosii included many women and teenage boys and several men[58]. Most likely, Theodosii wanted to create a new monastic community based on Gnostic ideas[59], but undoubtedly many of his followers, especially the teenage boys, must have been inspired by their natural instincts[60]. However, the fact that many of the members of this community were married women who left their families can explain this phenomenon as a female and teenage revolt against forced and arranged marriages and the traditional dress restrictions imposed on women. Constantine of Kostenets, another Tarnovo author from this period, asserted that women "completely deprived of virginity" covered their heads with veils and wreaths, and only the little girls who were "not subjugated to debauchery and fornication" did not veil their heads[61].

In the mid-10th century presbyter Kozma noticed that many women refused sexual contacts with their husbands and because of that these men sought similar contacts out of their families and became fornicators. Kozma called these women "evil and moronic" and asserted that their sexual abstinence became the reason for the fall of their husbands[62]. Most likely this behavior of women also resulted from the forced and arranged marriages which dominated traditional societies and could also be regarded as a spontaneous female revolt against them.

The 13th century collection of copies and extracts of divorce documents relating to the diocese of the neighboring Bulgarian Archbishopric of Ohrid also confirmed the existence of divorces initiated by men and women, divided families and non-married couples among the ordinary population[63]. This evidence refers to the reigns of Theodor Komnin and John Assen II from the first half of the 13th century, indicating that the phenomenon did not start in the 14th century.

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[57] The existence of similar groups has been a well-known phenomenon since Late Antiquity. St. Augustine of Hippo was the first Christian author who mentioned their presence in North Africa in the 4th and 5th century AD – AUGUSTINE, *Arianism and Other Heresies*, New York 1995, p. 39. In the 12th and 13th century their appearance is registered in Flanders – N. COHN, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists in the Middle Ages*, New York 1970, p. 180.

[58] В. ЗЛАТАРСКИ, *Житїе и жизнь*…, p. 23–24.

[59] I explored the similarities between the doctrine and rituals of the group described in the biography of St. Theodosii and one of the Gnostic Gospels in a separate article published in Bulgarian in 2020.

[60] According to the researchers of similar phenomena in Western Europe, sexual relations existed between the members of these groups – N. COHN, *The Pursuit*…, p. 180.

[61] КОНСТАНТИН КОСТЕНЕЧКИ, *Сказание за буквите*, [in:] IDEM, *Съчинения*, ed. А.-М. ТОТОМАНОВА, София 1993, p. 56.

[62] *Беседа противъ*…, p. 72–73.

[63] Y. HRISTOV, *Marriage and Divorce Law in the Vardar Valley of the Thirteenth Century*, SI-H 2, 2013, p. 94–98.

In this context, the information in the letter of St. Euthymius about couples who lived in fornication before a first marriage does not seem so surprising. Perhaps, some of them thus tried to avoid forced and arranged marriages and their alternatives, celibacy and monkhood, or followed some popular wedding traditions in which the church ceremony was the last and perhaps non-obligatory stage of marriage. The letter also suggests that at least some of these couples subsequently returned to the church to undergo the rite of *venchanie*, and there were priests who allowed it and had a compromising attitude towards these couples.

The second letter of St. Euthymius to St. Nicodemus of Tismana

The letter is a part of a correspondence between the patriarch of Tarnovo and St. Nicodemus who introduced the hesychastic and monastic tradition in (Ugro)-Wallachia[64] and was the founder of a monastery in Tismana (modern Western Romania). The correspondence dates from the 1380s and was initiated by St. Nicodemus, who addressed different questions to St. Euthymius. The first letter concerned problems relating to demonology and angelology. The second letter is preserved fragmentarily, only one question and its answer, in two copies[65]. The language of the letters is Old Slavonic (Bulgarian) – Tarnovo recension. The original text was published by Emil Kałużniacki in 1901[66].

St. Nicodemus informed the patriarch that according to the rules of the Holy Fathers of the Church men were responsible for sexual sins after becoming 15. However, he found that many young boys under this age have committed different sexual acts – automanipulation or had sexual contacts with men (homosexuality) and even with animals (bestiality). St. Nicodemus questioned if it was possible for men who had committed similar acts before their 15th year to be inducted into the priesthood, i.e. become priests[67].

The occurrences described in the question of St. Nicodemus happened in regions (most likely the region of Tismana) that were outside the diocese of the Tarnovo patriarchy. The answer of St. Euthymius on one hand reflected the official attitude of the church authorities in Tarnovo during this period toward similar cases, and the practices of ordinary priests which differed from the views of the

[64] Ugro-Wallachia was the original term used in the Bulgarian written tradition in this and later periods. It designated the Wallachian principality created in the first half of the 14th century north of the Danube by the Wallachian groups who left the region of the Carpathian Mountains in the same period and migrated to the plains north of the Danube. The problem is that different regions of the Medieval Balkans were also called Wallachia, and even the Second Bulgarian Tsardom (1186–1396) in the 12th and 13th centuries in many sources is called Wallachia and its population Wallachians. However, these Wallachia(s) included population different from those of the 14th century Wallachian principality. To avoid any ambiguity, I used the term (Ugro)-Wallachia.

[65] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 299.

[66] E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 221–224.

[67] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 227; E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 221.

patriarch. Several points can be highlighted in the answer. In the introductory part St. Euthymius focused on the attitude of the ordinary priests:

> This problem requires a lot of attention and caution because some (priests) led by excessive compassion (can) fall into the Mallesian heresy. Others, because of excessive insistence, (can) accept Navat's illusion. Even in our times, there are priests, who led by compassion, treat their parishioners with mercy. However, the careful keeping of the divine rules denies this (attitude)[68].

St. Euthymius rejected two attitudes toward the problem, that were according to his opinion wrong and extreme. The first one was excessive indulgence, and the second was the ultimate condemnation of the sinners. He identified this kind of behavior with Mallesian heresy. This term is usually interpreted as *messalian*[69]. In his works, St. Euthymius, in reference to the Armenian church, or heresies such as iconoclasm and Paulicianism, usually relies on the *Panoplia Dogmatica* by Euthymius Zigabenos. In this case, a direct connection between the mention of Mellasian and the second chapter of *The Fountain of Knowledge*, "Concerning Heresy", cannot be excluded at all. Its author, St. John of Damascus noticed that Messalians accepted many sinners and soon after that declared them "pure" from any sin. "Using fraud", they convinced some bishops to ordain these sinful priests[70].

St. Euthymius identified the second erroneous attitude with the views of the 3rd century Roman theologian Novatius, who insisted on lifelong penance for those Christians who performed pagan rituals during the anti-Christian processions in the Roman Empire[71]. The letter indicated that the first attitude was spread among the priests at this time.

Surprisingly, St. Euthymius resorted to a typical psychological explanation of early sexual activity. He divided young boys into two groups: those who had a "hot nature" and those with a "cold nature":

> Therefore, the young boys must be protected not according to their age, but because of their lust. Some of them, due to their hot temperament, not in their fourteenth, neither in their fifteenth year but still in their thirteenth and twelfth year are urged by nature

[68] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 227; E. KAŁUŻNIACKI, *Werke*…, p. 221.

[69] М. Цибранска-Костова, *Вечните теми на православието: Патриарх Евтимий и Евтимий Зигавин за иконоборството (езикови аспекти)*, Slov 11.2, 2022, p. 70.

[70] S. IOANNIS DAMASCENI, *За ересите*…, p. 275.

[71] At first glance the phonetic form of the name in the text of the letter – Наватъ (Navat) shows a connection with the work of St. John of Damascus, *Concerning Heresy* (the 8th century). Here the name is given in the variant Ναβάτος in the rubric of Cathars: *They are allied to Navatos the Roman. They completely reject these who are getting married for a second time and do not accept repentance*, S. IOANNIS DAMASCENI, *За ересите*…, p. 254–255. However, the same name, in the same phonetic form appeared in an Old Bulgarian manuscript dating back to the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century, *Старобългарски речник*, София 1999, p. 900. Therefore, the connection with other Old Bulgarian and Byzantine sources seems quite possible.

> to ejaculation. I, personally, saw a boy who before turning his twelfth year had debauched a virgin girl[72]. Do not be skeptical because there are many witnesses who live among us yet. Those whose nature is cold, not after their fifteenth, neither after their sixteenth year and some of them even after their eighteenth year have not (sexual) desire because the stirring that generates lust does not exist (in them)[73].

St. Euthymius insisted that only the young boys who had "a cold nature" must be accepted for priests. According to him, those who committed automanipulation could become priests but after "many efforts, tests and spiritual reflections" because the excessive mercy shown to similar people could become the reason for their doom. The patriarch completely excluded the option of men who in adolescence had committed sin with other men and animals to be inducted into the priesthood. To justify his denial, he expressed his views on priesthood: it was a part of the heavenly hierarchy and even the angels and death were subjugated to priests, therefore, they must live like angels and keep their bodies pure. The sexual act was specified as a pollution of body: *How can a body which poured out its dirt onto another body during the immoral intercourse be called pure?*[74] He determined the behavior of men during similar intercourse as "ferocity"[75] and concluded that *everyone who wants to be a priest must have a pure life, and an undefiled body so that he can attain angelic dignity*[76].

In the second part of the answer, St. Euthymius used a long quote from the canonical rules of St. Ioannes the Faster, the patriarch of Constantinopol (582–595), who forbade priesthood only for those men who committed anal intercourse because it destroyed the virginity of a passive man but allowed it for men who committed other kinds of homosexual acts after enduring church punishment (ἐπιτιμία)[77]. This quote to some extent disagrees with the strong statement of St. Euthymius, who, in the first part of his answer, rejected any possibility for priesthood irrespective of the nature of a homosexual act. Homosexuality and bestiality[78] as matters for discussion appeared for the first time in original Bulgarian works. Bulgarian medieval authors avoided these topics and the careful reading of the letter shows a certain confusion about this problem in the diocese of the Tarnovo patriarchy; St. Euthymius spoke about the different approaches of priests in similar cases. The quote in question indicates certain hesitations, too. It is also significant

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[72] It is interesting that in this case the responsibility is entirely ascribed to the hot nature of the teenage boy.

[73] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 227–228; E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 221–222.

[74] Often the sin of the active participant in a homosexual act was considered more grievous than this of the passive – S. Bojanin, *Homoseksualnost u Srednjovekovnoj Srbiji*, [in:] *Među nama*, ed. J. Blagojević, O. Dimitrijević, Beograd 2014, p. 30. E. Levin, *Sex and Society*…, p. 201.

[75] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 228; E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 222.

[76] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 229; E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 222.

[77] Патриарх Евтимий, *Съчинения*…, p. 229; E. Kałużniacki, *Werke*…, p. 222.

[78] In fact, the patriarch did not discuss bestiality as a separate topic.

that St. Euthymius, in his argumentation, relied on an example of an early teenage heterosexual act. Perhaps he had no information about early homosexual acts in his diocese, or because for some unknown reason consciously avoided commenting on them. However, it is obvious that the personal opinion of the patriarch in respect of the possibility of men who had experienced any kind of homosexual contact of becoming priests was categorically negative.

Early Christian authors since the time of Saint Paul the Apostle considered homosexuality and other sexual deviations as an entirely negative phenomenon completely inconsistent with the divine order and Christian belief. They regarded different manifestations of homosexual behavior as mortal sins and as extreme forms of sexual debauchery, but at the same time, they ascribed them to pagan mythologies and societies which did not know the true God (Rom. 1: 21–28)[79]. However, in this case, the references to pagan mythologies and customs did not seem convincing, because the church authorities faced the same phenomena in a Christian milieu. Therefore, St. Euthymius resorted to an explanation reassembling Galen's theory of human temperaments and including all cases of sexual activity not sanctioned by the church. The latter differentiates the "psychological explanation"[80] of St. Euthymius from the usual medieval categorization of the sexual sins into two groups: those which are in accordance with nature (heterosexual sins) and those which are against it (homosexuality and bestiality)[81]. Eve Levin notes that Bulgaria, Serbia and Russia, in different periods, had their autocephalous churches, but *although they agreed on all major tenets of faith and practice*, *they differed in minor ways*[82]. Perhaps, this was one of these differences[83].

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[79] For example: JUSTIN MARTYR, *The First Apology*, London 1889, p. 20–21, 36–37; CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, *The Exhortation to the Greeks*, London–New York 1919 [= LCL, 92], p. 47–49, 69; ARNOBIUS OF SICCA, *The Case Against the Pagans*, New York 1949, p. 415–420 etc.

[80] In fact, this "psychological explanation" was popular in Bulgaria as far back as the early Middle Ages. The 10th century Bulgarian author Petar Chernorizets was the first who noted it, however, he denied its validity: *Many use shameful excuses*, *saying: "Some people are made of matter*, *they are hot and cannot overcome lust*, *unlike others who are made of slime*, *have cold bodies and can restrain themselves*". Petar Chernorizets refuted these arguments – *Поучение на Петър Черноризец за душевното спасение*, [in:] Р. Павлова, *Петър Черноризец. Старобългарски писател от X век*, София 1994 [= KMc, 9], p. 413.

[81] S. BOJANIN, *Homoseksualnost*…, p. 30. E. LEVIN, *Sex and Society*…, p. 198. At first glance, it is strange that St. Nicodemus did not include the disallowed heterosexual connections in his question. However, the letter is preserved fragmentarily. Perhaps, the problems of illicit heterosexual contacts were included in another question in accordance with the abovementioned categorization.

[82] E. LEVIN, *Sex and Society*…, p. 18.

[83] Actually, the differences were not minimal. For example, in the mid-14th century the Bulgarian (Tarnovo) patriarch did not mention the names of Constantinople, and the other Eastern patriarchs during the liturgy, the Bulgarian church performed the rite of baptism in a different way from those in the Byzantine church and took chrism from a different source.

The explicit mention in the question of St. Nicodemus that young boys and men were involved in homosexual intercourse refers to the rites of initiation in male communities. They are rooted in prehistory and are widespread phenomena in the cultures of different ethnical, social and religious communities. This prompts me to think that the type of homosexual connections discussed in the letter from the perspective of the traditional communities inhabiting the region of Tismana[84] was not a deviation, but an integral part of their folk culture. Since the very beginning, the Christian church was confronted with this kind of homosexuality[85], but medieval authors saw in it only lust[86] and ignored the tradition, unlike the early Christian authors, who paid significant attention to traditions and to the social environment where similar contacts were realized: mythology, festivals, the mysteries of the pagan deities, the forms of education of youth in Roman and Greek societies, etc. This discontinuity between ancient and medieval authors resulted from the formal abolition of pagan religions and customs after the formal Christianization and from the artificial "symphony" imposed in the relationships between state, church and society. It shifted the focus entirely onto lust and this change became the other source of the psychological explanation suggested by St. Euthymius.

Constantine of Kostenets and the practices of "same-sex unions"

The book of the late American historian, John Boswell, *Same-sex Unions in Premodern Europe*, introduced to scholastic debates a highly disputed hypothesis about the nature of ceremonies of creating "spiritual brotherhood" which took place in the practices of the medieval church(es) via a separate church ritual. The rite established a spiritual connection (fraternity) between two men. Boswell suggests that the ceremonies in question resembled the marriage ceremonies and in practice they legalized and socialized homosexual connections[87].

The earliest Old Slavonic record of such a ritual is registered in the 11th century Glagolitic *Euchologium Sinaiticum*[88]. A variant of the same ritual, very similar to those in the *Euchologium Sinaiticum* is found in the Middle Bulgarian Zaykovski

[84] The ethnic composition of the region of Tismana at this period is unclear. It could be suggested that it was inhabited by Hungarian and South Slavic people, Serbs and Bulgarians, and of course, by (Ugro)-Wallachians who probably formed the majority of the population.

[85] These kinds of contacts were explicitly prohibited in one of the earliest Christian documents – the Didache (1st century AD): *thou shall not kill; thou shall not commit adultery; thou shall not corrupt the youth; thou shall not commit fornication – The Didache or the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, ed. Ch. Hoole, London 1894, p. 76.

[86] S. Bojanin, *Homoseksualnost*…, p. 25, 28–32.

[87] J. Boswell, *Same-Sex Unions in Premodern Europe*, New York 1994, p. 162–198.

[88] *Euchologium: glagolski spomenik manastira Sinai brda*, Zagreb 1882, p. 16–21.

typicom dating from the 14th century[89]. However, the analysis of its linguistic characteristics indicates that it was created in areas which in the 14th century were outside the diocese of the Tarnovo patriarchy[90]. The only medieval Bulgarian author who mentioned the rite was Constantine of Kostenets. He was one of the last followers of St. Euthymius and faced the practices of same-sex unions in the Serbian principality of Stefan Lazarevich. Here he sought asylum at the beginning of the 15th century after he left Plovdiv and the Bachkovo monastery, which were destroyed during the war between Bayazid's sons. Like other Bulgarian writers from the same period, he had great respect for the personality of St. Euthymius and the literary language of Tarnovo. He expressed this respect several times in his first work *A Treatise on the Letters*[91] written between 1424–1426[92]. In the same work he presented himself as "a foreigner from the area of Tarnovo"[93] and glorified the former capital of the Second Tsardom as a place where "every bad thing is first corrected"[94]. He spoke about "the men of Tarnovo", who enlightened the surrounding and distant lands and who were a symbol of Christian erudition[95]. From the position of a "man of Tarnovo" he confronted local priests and people. Urged by Stefan Lazarevich, he wrote *A Treatise on the Letters*, where he presented his views on all controversial issue: orthography, the education of children, social morals, etc. In several chapters (26–29) he listed and criticized the heresies widespread among the priests and accepted even by some high clergymen in the principality of Stefan Lazarevich. Actually, part of them were deeply embedded in popular culture and were widespread among the entire population – eating of (human?) blood[96], paying of great respect to a clairvoyant woman, her visions (the Virgin Mary prayed to Satan not to kill children), and following her instructions[97], exploring animal voices, etc.[98] The other "heresies" related to the corruption of the church rites and

[89] М. Цибранска-Костова, Е. Мирчева, *Зайковски требник от XIV век. Изследване и текст*, София 2012, p. 145.
[90] *Ibidem*, p. 165–168.
[91] Константин Костенечки, *Сказание*…, p. 16–17, 124.
[92] П. Лукин, *Письмена и Православие. Историко-филологическое исследование «Сказания о письменах» Константина Философа Костенецкого*, Москва 2001, p. 29–30.
[93] Константин Костенечки, *Сказание*…, p. 13.
[94] *Ibidem*, p. 88.
[95] *Ibidem*, p. 13, 16–17, 53.
[96] According to the testimony of Constantine, eating human blood became the main field of confrontation with the local priests and people. Many people who disagreed with the sermons of Constantine against the eating of blood told him to leave their land and to go to Constantinople and to preach there – *ibidem*, p. 91. It seems that it was a widespread tradition among the priests and laymen – *ibidem*, p. 89. Constantine spoke about people who fasted and consumed blood. It was given also to children; *ibidem*, p. 97. The church authorities tried to eradicate this tradition but failed – *ibidem*, p. 89.
[97] *Ibidem*, p. 89, 99.
[98] *Ibidem*, p. 99.

customs: many priests could not cross themselves correctly[99], participated in "the destruction of the churches" during the Easter holidays[100] and used the church dishes in their everyday life[101].

Constantine saw "spiritual brotherhood" as a heresy[102], but his arguments were not completely comprehensible. He pointed out that all Christians were brothers and sisters, and, therefore, the ritual of spiritual brotherhood violated one of the key social concepts in Christianity:

> Do you know that we are brothers by the blood of God? […] Does he who follows the practice of brotherhood not hear the words found everywhere in the apostolic book, stating that we are brothers and sisters through holy Baptism? And are not our mothers truly sisters in the cross?[103].

However, he asserted that the ritual "reduplicated" God:

> The fifth heresy is that of those who preach of two Gods, [two Johns preachers of penitence], two Messiahs, two baptisms, that is to say, the heresy of brotherhood […] is the Christian who turns to disbelief and then returns to the faith not baptized again?[104].

Nothing in the text of the different variants of the ritual known from Slavic and Byzantine manuscripts, leads to a similar conclusion. Some researchers of the works of Constantine on the basis of this evidence proposed the hypothesis that during this period the ritual in the principality of Stefan Lazarevich was accompanied by a second baptism[105].

An apocryphal work whose authorship is ascribed to the 11th century Bulgarian priest Jeremiah, can shed light on the problem. One of the stories included in the work concerns Prov who became a spiritual brother with Jesus while bathing in a river near Jericho. At the end of the story the author called on the people to become brothers following the example of Prov and Jesus[106]. The work enjoyed popularity in Bulgaria and Serbia in the 13th and 14th century[107] and probably

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[99] *Ibdem*, p. 101.

[100] *Ibidem*, p. 100, 104. According to Kuyo Kuev and Georgi Petkov, Constantine had in mind some popular rites or banquets having taken place in the churches at Easter – К. Куев, Г. Петков, *Събрани съчинения на Константин Костенечки. Изследване и текст*, София 1988, p. 64.

[101] Константин Костенечки, *Сказание*…, p. 102.

[102] Константин Костенечки, *Сказание*…, p. 101.

[103] H. Goldblatt, *Orthography and Orthodoxy: Constantine Kostenecki's Treatise on the Letters (Skazanie iž'yavleno o pis'menekh)*, Florence 1987, p. 169.

[104] *Ibidem*, p. 169. The fragment 'two Johns preachers of penitence' from the original text (К. Куев, Г. Петков, *Събрани съчинения*…, p. 188) is absent from the English translation by Harvey Goldblatt.

[105] К. Куев, Г. Петков, *Събрани съчинения*…, p. 66.

[106] *Повест за кръстното дърво от поп Йеремия*, [in:] *Стара българска литература*, vol. I…, p. 283.

[107] Д. Петканова, *Старобългарската литература IX–XVIII век*, София 1992, p. 263.

influenced the rituals for the "creation of brothers". Perhaps, Constantine interpreted as a "second baptism", a water rite added to the ritual under the influence of apocryphal literature. However, it is obvious that Constantine condemned the ritual entirely in the context of *adelphopoiesis*, and in spite of his negative attitude towards it he mentioned nothing about its supposed homosexual connotations.

To sum up, several conclusions can be drawn. The first one relates to celibacy. It was practiced by a small group of people of different social origins. It was a typical Christian phenomenon and was introduced to Bulgarian land in its Eastern Christian (Byzantine and Near Eastern/heretical) manifestations – anchoritism, monasticism[108], messalianism, dualism and the preservation of virginity within marriage and family. The reality of the latter is a controversial problem; probably it was only a literary fiction. Celibacy was not a typical example of the confrontation between high and popular culture because it was widely mentioned in many works of popular literature. It also formed an essential part of the identity of some heretical groups such as the Bogomils. A pietism that was a source of celibacy was unacceptable to a traditional society, dividing families and communities belonging to different social strata – villagers (St. John of Rila), inhabitants of provincial towns (St. Romil of Bdin), the high aristocracy (St. Theodosii of Tarnovo), etc. The Tarnovo authors and scribes following the Gospel, the fathers of church and the examples of Byzantine monastic tradition and literature defended this pietism in its conflict with traditional society. However, they were in a paradoxical situation because, on the other hand, they should defend the traditional family and its main aim, reproduction, against the pietism of the Bogomils and the Messalians.

Some of the other conflicts between the church and popular culture described in the works of 14th century Tarnovo authors related to marriage and different aspects of sexuality. The church authorities tried to regulate, manage or cancel its different manifestations, but in many cases their arguments could not influence the population and their control over the emotions often failed. Constantine's work A *Treatise on the Letters* indicates that the situation in other spheres did not essentially differ. The most common explanation of these phenomena suggested by the medieval authors was the ignorance of the people and the ordinary priests.

[108] Anchoritism was spread in the region of present-day Bulgaria during Late Antiquity. For instance, a Latin inscription relating to anchorite practices (building of rock churches) and dating from the 5th–6th century was found during archeological excavations in Northern Bulgaria – И. Дуйчев, *Латински надпис от ранновизантийската крепост при Килифаревския манастир*, Архе 1, 1978, p. 35–37. Rock monasteries from Late Antiquity were also investigated. However, the connection between late antique Balkan and medieval Bulgarian anchoritism remains a unclear and underresearched problem. Another unsolved problem relating to early medieval Bulgarian anchoritism concerns the inscriptions from the 10th century rock monastery of Murfatlar, in present day Southeastern Romania. Written in an unknown alphabet and probably in a language different from Old Slavonic, their decipherment could shed additional light on early manifestations of this phenomenon in medieval Bulgaria.

This motif can be traced back to the works of 10th century authors like Presbyter Kozma, St. John of Rila, John Exarch, etc. Constantine explicitly emphasized this factor as the main reason for the heresies which he described and criticized[109]. Unlike the other Tarnovo authors who followed the traditional understanding of heresy of the church, formulated in the apostles' letters, the works of St. John of Damascus, Euthymius Zigabenus and other authors, Constantine called *heresy* every manifestation of popular culture in Serbia. Most likely it was due to his sharp conflicts with Serbian priests who obviously did not support his purism and even participated in rituals and practices condemned by Constantine. He tried to solve these problems pointing to the importance of the literacy and education of children. However, in spite of his efforts, in the next centuries popular culture continued to be the most significant challenge for all church officials[110]. It is interesting that this confrontation led some authors to the idea of common depravity and peccancy that changed their attitude to the others: *We ascribe more than 60 heresies to the Roman Catholics, but firstly we must erase our own heresies and then we will see them (the Roman Catholics) saved on the Gospel Road*[111]. This statement of Constantine appears to be part of the entire revision of the inherited models of relationships with others, which took place among Balkan intellectuals in the 15th century. Undoubtedly, the most important factor affecting this revision was the Ottoman conquest of the peninsula, but the contradictions with popular culture prompted these processes, too.

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[109] Константин Костенечки, *Сказание…*, p. 97.

[110] For instance, in the 17th century not the remains of the dualistic doctrines and beliefs of Paulicians, but their traditional culture became the main challenge for Catholic missionaries – S. Notarfonso, *Religious Imagery, Conflict and Coexistence in the Seventeenth-Century Balkans*, [in:] *Eloquent Images, Evangelization, Conversion and Propaganda in the Global World of the Early Modern Period*, ed. G. Capriotti, P.-A. Fabre, S. Pavone, Leuven 2022, p. 249–250. In the 18th century another Bulgarian monk, Yosif Bradati, wrote or translated Greek polemics against magical rituals, superstitions and alcoholism. According to his testimony these mortal sins were widespread among the Bulgarians.

[111] Константин Костенечки, *Сказание…*, p. 100.

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The Evolution of Ottoman Night Operations: From Emirate to Empire

Abstract. This study examines the transformation of Ottoman attitudes toward night warfare from the late thirteenth to the late fifteenth century. By analyzing the evolving organization and composition of the Ottoman military, it demonstrates that, beginning with the reign of Murad I, Ottoman leadership gradually abandoned night-time offensive engagements. Instead, nocturnal activity was increasingly confined to intimidation and psychological pressure rather than direct combat. The paper attributes this shift to several interconnected developments. Most notably, the growing differentiation of military functions reassigned rapid raiding operations to frontier forces, reducing the central army's reliance on such tactics. At the same time, the expanding prominence of infantry units, together with the establishment of specialized logistical formations, diminished the army's overall mobility and made coordinated night assaults less feasible. Finally, the integration of gunpowder weaponry, including handheld firearms and artillery, further discouraged nocturnal operations, as the transport and use of such equipment compromised both stealth and tactical surprise.

Keywords: Early Ottomans, Late Byzantium, night combat, gunpowder, military tactics

This paper focuses on the evolution of night combat in the early Ottoman Emirate from the 1280s to the 1470s, primarily by analyzing Greek and Ottoman Turkish primary source material originating from the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern era. Although there are a number of studies on the early Ottomans' approach to contemporary warfare in general, the issue of night combat has been seriously overlooked by researchers. The reasons are unclear; however, one may argue that the lack of Ottoman military treatises from this period and relatively infrequent reports about night operations in contemporary primary sources could be essential factors behind this lack of academic interest. Previously, several researchers concentrated on the conduct and organization of night battles during the Roman and Byzantine periods. This study seeks to contribute to these

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previous undertakings, expanding upon them and introducing the ways in which the Ottomans performed military operations after sunset.

Previously, Georgios Chatzelis questioned the perception of night combat by the Byzantine military treatise writers in the 10th century, concluding that such narratives do not describe night operations negatively[1]. On the contrary, he asserts that since night attacks were "a suitable way to acquire victory with minimal losses," the military manual writers often described how they needed to be conducted[2]. Chatzelis also reinforces his argument by occasionally citing Byzantine historical works such as Skylitzes, who gives several instances in which the Byzantines usefully conducted night operations[3]. Aside from Chatzelis' work, Łukasz Różycki dealt with "night combat in late antiquity in the light of Roman military treatises". Relying on the late antique military treatises and late Roman and Byzantine historiography, Różycki investigated the theory and practice of night combat in the 6th century[4]. Departing from the "classical" analysis method, he gave substantial attention to the psychology of night combat in this period. In this respect, he concludes that fighting at night was essential to Roman warfare, as evidenced in the military treatises, which did not regard it as dishonorable. In contrast, the Romans endeavored to maximize the advantages offered by darkness[5].

As previously stated, no current study directly ponders the question of night combat and its evolution over the centuries in the early Ottoman Empire. Several studies indeed examine the military history of the Ottomans in the late Middle Ages. However, they are not directly related to nor focus on a specific analysis of night operations. Instead, these studies mostly concentrate on the evolution of Ottoman armed forces from a cavalry-based military system into an infantry-oriented one[6]. Scholars' lack of interest in studying this area of scholarship notwithstanding, the Ottoman and Byzantine primary sources from the late Middle Ages and early modern period provide satisfactory details to fathom the mechanisms, organization, and evolution of Ottoman night combat. Suggesting that although the lack of Ottoman or extensive Byzantine military treatises in this period might appear an obstacle to such an undertaking, the existing sources still allow for conducting research.

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1 G. CHATZELIS, *Byzantine Military Manuals as Literary Works and Practical Handbooks*, London 2007, p. 117–119.

2 *Ibidem*.

3 *Ibidem*.

4 Ł. RÓŻYCKI, *Night Combat in Late Antiquity in the Light of Roman Military Treatises*, SC 13, 2023, p. 57.

5 *Ibidem*.

6 F. EMECEN, *Osmanlı Klasik Çağında Savaş*, İstanbul 2011. R.P. LINDNER, *Bapheus and Pelekanon*, IJTuS 13.1–2, 2007, p. 26. M. UYAR, E. ERICKSON, *A Military History of the Ottomans. From Osman to Atatürk*, Santa Barbara 2009, p. 17.

The Ottoman sources utilized in this article comprise a number of chronicles, histories, and *gazavatnames*, which could be defined as sources that relate the military exploits of the Muslims (the Ottomans, in this case) against the Christians. A particular source, albeit seriously overlooked, is the eyewitness account of an Ottoman poet and historian, Kaşifi, who provides many vital details about Ottoman warfare under Murad II[7]. Byzantine sources are equally significant in understanding the topic since they often delineate Ottoman strategies and armed tactics during various military encounters. In their works, the late Byzantine historians Laonikos Chalkokondyles, Nikephoros Gregoras, and Emperor Ioannis Kantakouzenos elaborately describe several night battles the Ottomans fought in the 14th and early 15th centuries[8]. The latter two authors' writings, when used comparatively with early Ottoman sources, present invaluable information about the situation on the ground, indicating how the Ottomans conducted their raiding operations at night. However, a historiographical problem regarding the reliability of the existing source material needs to be addressed. It is accurate that the early Ottoman chronicles provide extensive information about the conduct of night battles in the 1300s. However, one should note that although these chronicles were penned relatively late towards the end of the 15th century, their writers, including Aşıkpaşazade, claimed to have relied on an earlier source, the historical work of the son of Orhan Gazi's imam called Yahşi Fakih[9]. Thus, it still makes them valuable sources for research.

A similar issue can be found when using the works of Byzantine writers. Although it is well known that Byzantine writers such as George Pachymeres, in this period, tried to imitate famous ancient authors and historians, this does not decrease the importance of their works as historical sources. These works are still invaluable, providing eyewitness accounts of many historical developments, events, and phenomena. Since Ottoman historians tend to change or omit several "unpleasant events" in their historical works, Byzantine sources allow us to approach the issue comparatively, enabling us to draw a broader perspective.

The aim of this article is not to evaluate the entire Ottoman military machine, tactics, and strategies associated with it. It will instead ask the question: Why do the sources not mention any Ottoman ruler or high-ranking military commander,

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[7] Kaşifi, *Gazaname-i Rum*, ed. E.M. Esmail, Master's Thesis, Mimar Sinan Güzel Sanatlar Üniversitesi, 2005 (cetera: Kaşifi).

[8] L. Neville, *John VI Kantakouzenos*, [in:] *Byzantine Historical Texts*, Cambridge 2018, p. 266; *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris historiarum libri IV*. *Graece et Latine*, vol. III, ed. L. Schopeni, Bonn 1831 [= *CSHB*, 1–3] (cetera: Iohannes Cantacuzenus), p. 82; *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina historia*, vol. I–III, ed. L. Schopen, I. Bekker, Bonn 1829 [= *CSHB*, 30–31] (cetera: Nicephorus Gregoras); Laonikos Chalkokondyles, *The Histories*, III, ed. A. Kaldellis, Cambridge 2014 (cetera: Laonikos Chalkokondyles), p. 68.

[9] A. Özcan, *Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, [in:] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XL, İstanbul 2012, p. 580.

personally organizing a night attack on the enemy, in the post-1371 period after the Battle of Maritsa[10]? As stated before, this study seeks to contribute to early Ottoman history, bringing attention to the issue of changing patterns regarding the Ottoman center's approach to night combat. Therefore, this article's priority is not to detail the techniques and tactics the Ottomans relied on in every single military encounter. Instead, relying on the above-mentioned primary source material, I will argue that the Ottoman rulers favored night combat, actively participating in it during the early to mid-14th century. However, after the "separation of the military roles and responsibilities" between the frontier units and the central Ottoman military structure after the late 14th century, they began to avoid this kind of warfare, partaking in it only for defensive operations.

First, it is necessary to briefly talk about the rise of Ottomans in the northwest of Anatolia, to assess the importance of night operations in this period. The early Ottomans appeared in the Byzantine borders in Bithynia (Northwest Anatolia) in the 13th century. Although there is no consensus among historians as to the exact period regarding the advent of the Ottomans in Bithynia, it appears that they began to augment their regional power in the area towards the end of the 13th century, defeating the local Byzantine lords and occasionally incorporating them into their military structures. The increasing Ottoman menace in the region resulted in the fall of the strategic Byzantine cities, including Bursa (1326) and Nicaea (1331). This paved the way for the Ottomans to firmly establish themselves as a political factor in western Anatolian politics.

The early Ottoman rulers supported and actively participated in night operations against their adversaries, a situation that was subject to change in the following periods. Under Osman I's early rule, the Ottoman army did not seem to have a unified and homogenous military structure. Osman I could be likened to a "chief raider" who was able to gather militias around him for raiding, pillaging, and occasionally expansionist campaigns[11]. Other lords who acted under his loose authority, however, were able to plan and organize their independent military actions[12]. During a campaign, the Ottoman ruler acted as "first among equals," and night combat provided the perfect moments for successful military operations[13]. Dur-

[10] H. İNALCIK, *Murad I*, [in:] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXXI, İstanbul 2006, p. 158. There is a lot of confusion regarding the Battle of Maritsa and Battle of Sırp Sındığı in the early Ottoman studies. The current academic stance tends to regard them as the same battle.

[11] BAYBURTLU OSMAN, *Tevârîh-i Cedîd-i Mir'ât-i Cihân*, İstanbul 1961, p. 49.

[12] D.D. LEZZE, *Historia Turchescha*, Bucuresti 1910, p. 4. Lezze reinforces this stating that Osman Gazi had many "friends" around him.

[13] GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS, *Relations Historiques*, X, ch. 25, ed. A. FAILLER, Paris 1984–2000 (cetera: GEORGES PACHYMÉRÈS), p. 365. Pachymeres notes that when Osman Gazi announced his military campaign against the Byzantines before the battle of Bapheus in 1302, a significant number of militias from the Aegean Beyliks and an important political figure by the name of Ali Bey from the Chobanid Turcoman Emirate had joined his forces. However, after the successful outcome of this

ing this period, there was an attempt to establish a small household-like infantry army known as *yaya*. However, the overwhelming composition of the Ottoman military still consisted of mobile raider troops, as night combat was essential to their military operations[14].

Countless reports about Ottoman night-time operations in the late 1200s and early 1300s exist in Byzantine and Ottoman histories and chronicles. Aşıkpaşazade, for instance, emphasizes Ottoman military exploits at night, reporting that Osman Gazi frequently benefited from the cover of darkness in directing operations against local Byzantine castles and fortifications. For example, he states that, regarding one of his earliest military operations, Osman I led his men against the "infidels of the castle of Kulaca" at night, successfully raiding the castle. The local Byzantine lords only became aware of this Ottoman operation the next day[15]. In another passage, Osman I dispatched Gazi Rahman, one of his subordinates, to besiege the castle of Aydos (Aetos in Greek) in Bithynia[16]. According to the chronicle narrative, Gazi Rahman managed to seduce the daughter of the castle commander, who took the Ottoman soldiers into the castle at night. Subsequently, the Ottomans captured the castle of Aydos[17]. It is true, as Wittek and Hickman stated before, that such stories entered the chronicle of Aşıkpaşazade from earlier Islamic *ghazi* traditions, which aimed to embolden the soldiers of Islam against their non-Muslim enemies[18]. However, as we shall see below in other parts of his work, Aşıkpaşazade gives significant importance to the night operations the Ottomans organized. The emphasis on this level of frequency demonstrates that it was a common military tactic the Ottomans employed at this time.

Aside from the castle sieges, the Ottoman rulers and their subordinates in this period preferred to conduct raiding and ambush operations at night on many occasions. Regarding the Battle of Bapheus, fought between the Ottomans and

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military action, Ali Bey did not stay with Osman; instead, he returned to his territory, carrying the booty that he had gained from Bapheus.

[14] Aşıkpaşazade, *Osmanoğulları'nın Tarihi*, ch. 31, ed. K. Yavuz, Y. Saraç, İstanbul 2003 (cetera: Aşıkpaşazade), p. 365. F. Emecen, *Yaya ve Müsellem*, [in:] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XLIII, İstanbul 2013, p. 354.

[15] Aşıkpaşazade, ch. 26, p. 357.

[16] *Siege of Philadelphia by Umur of Aydın = Le siège de Philadelphie par Umur Pascha d'après le manuscrit de la Bibl. patriarcale d'Istanbul, Paneghias 58*, ed. et trans. M. Couroupou, ed. H. Ahrweiler, Paris 1981 [= ByzSor, 3], p. 67–77 (edition in pages 71–73): Archival documents from the Patriarchate of Constantinople also provide information about other Turcoman beyliks' night operations in this period. According to Patriarchal reports, shortly before his death in 1348, Umur of Aydin organized an unsuccessful attack against the Byzantine city of Philadelphia.

[17] Aşıkpaşazade, ch. 26, p. 357.

[18] W. Hickman, *The Taking of Aydos Castle: Further Considerations on a Chapter from Aşikpaşazade*, JAOS 99.3, 1979, p. 400. P. Wittek, *The Taking of Aydos Castle: A Ghazi Legend and its Transformation*, [in:] *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, p. 665.

the Byzantine central army sent from Constantinople in 1302, for instance, Neşri provides invaluable insights. According to him, when the Byzantine expeditionary force under the command of Mouzalon reached the shores of Yalova (Pylai) from Constantinople, Osman Gazi was waiting for them, setting an ambush nearby[19]. It appears it was already night when the Byzantines disembarked; thus, Osman gave the signal of attack against the disorganized Byzantines, catching them off guard. Neşri adds that the Byzantines could not withstand the Ottoman attack, which resulted in some of them losing their lives while others took their boats back to Constantinople[20]. A few years later, at the Battle of Katoikia, the Ottomans under the command of Orhan Gazi also resorted to night ambush tactics, and as such were able to defeat a local Byzantine garrison force[21]. Other near-contemporary Byzantine sources, such as the historical work of Gregoras, also provide similar information regarding the Ottoman conduct of night combat. After Osman I died in 1326, his successor, Orhan, also pursued an aggressive stance against the Byzantines, sending an amphibious raiding party to the area of Rhegium (modern Küçükçekmece) near Constantinople. Gregoras states that Emperor Andronikos III managed to learn about the potential objectives of this expedition; thus, he dispatched a small military force under the command of John Kantakouzenos[22]. Under the cover of darkness at 3 am, 24 Ottoman ships appeared near the shores of Rhegium. Once disembarked, the Ottomans divided their force into smaller groups, beginning to raid the area; however, as the dawn started showing its light, Kantakouzenos arrived with a force of 700 cavalry, catching the Ottomans in a disorganized state. The Ottomans, however, could not retreat to their ships, since a small Byzantine navy commanded by Andronikos was able to strike the raiders' navy in cooperation with the land army, managing to sink 14 of their boats[23].

Although this night operation resulted in an Ottoman failure, the Ottoman rulers continued to rely on it in the coming decades, especially after they crossed Hellespont. The Ottoman sources provide significant information regarding Ottoman night operations in the 1350s. Aşıkpaşazade, for instance, reports that the troops under the command of Süleyman Gazi, the Ottoman heir apparent, were able to capture the castle of Çimpe by entering the castle through a hole used to discharge horse manure at night[24]. According to Aşıkpaşazade, it was the time of harvest, so the people of Çimpe were working in their farmlands in the countryside; thus, the Ottomans captured the castle with relative ease. Referring to the Byzantine

[19] Mehmed Neşri, *Kitab-ı Cihan-Nüma*, ed. F.R. Unat, M. Koymen, Ankara 1957 (cetera: Mehmed Neşri), p. 177.
[20] Mehmed Neşri.
[21] Georges Pachymérès, XI, p. 21.
[22] Nicephorus Gregoras, 11, ch. 4, p. 539.
[23] Nicephorus Gregoras, 11, ch. 4, p. 539.
[24] Aşıkpaşazade, ch. 38, p. 375.

sources, however, we can discern that the story of Aşıkpaşazade is fiction. The Ottomans did not "conquer" the castle of Çimpe; in contrast, John Kantakouzenos allocated the Çimpe area to his Turkish soldiers, who acted as landholders over the local populations[25]. This situation is also hinted at in the Ottoman sources, which mentioned that the *infidels of Çimpe willingly joined the ghazis*, *i.e.*, *the holy warriors*[26]. Regardless of this, however, it is still interesting that Aşıkpaşazade attributed the alleged capture of the castle to a night operation. In addition, he and other Ottoman historians stress that Süleyman Gazi continued to conduct night operations to capture other Byzantine fortifications in Thrace in this period[27]. The author of the Oxford Anonymous Chronicle reports that Süleyman Gazi attacked a Byzantine camp at night soon after landing on the Gallipoli Peninsula[28]. Aşıkpaşazade states that the Ottoman troops captured a castle named "Alasolonya", located near Çimpe, as a result of a night operation[29]. He also reports that the Turks, under the command of the leading frontier lord at the time, Haci Ilbey, preferred to undertake their raiding operations at night rather than during the day, considering that the enemy would be more vulnerable at night[30]. These instances indicate that, although being the representative of the Ottoman dynasty in the Balkans, Süleyman was almost acting as a leader of the Ottoman raider militias in Thrace. In other words, drawing a precise line to divide him from other raider leaders was difficult. The troops under his command were not different from those of other raider leaders in the area, and just like the others, night operations were essential for his military strategies.

Despite that, however, the approach to night combat began to differ considerably in the coming periods, first appearing during the night battle of Maritsa in 1371 against the Serbians. Süleyman Gazi, who spearheaded the Turkish political

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[25] Iohannes Cantacuzenus, III, p. 277.

[26] Aşıkpaşazade, ch. 38, p. 375: *El-hasıl-ı kelam bu Çimbini Hisarı kafirleri bu gazilerilen müttefik aldılar*, *yörüdiler*.

[27] Süleyman Gazi was leading the Ottoman troops in this front, albeit in a loose fashion, after the capture of Çimpe. He was acting as a great lord (ulu bey) over various semi-independent or independent warlords in Thrace at the time.

[28] *An Early Ottoman History. The Oxford Anonymous Chronicle*, ed. D. Kastridsis, Liverpool 2017 [= TTB, 5], p. 385.

[29] Aşıkpaşazade, ch. 38, p. 375.

[30] According to Irene Beldiceanu-Steinherr (Anonymous, *La vita de Seyyid Ali Sultan et la conquete de la Thrace par les Turcs*, ed. I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, [in:] *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Orientalists. Ann Arbor, Michigan, 13th–19th August, 1967*, ed. D. Sinor, Wiesbaden 1971, p. 275), the long-lasting memory of Hacı İlbey in the region led to the compilation of a hagiographic work called, *Seyyid Ali Sultan Velayetnamesi* which depicts a spiritual figure, Kızıl Deli, as the real conqueror of the Balkans. She thinks that Kızıl Deli and Hacı İlbey were identical figures. Aşıkpaşazade, ch. 47, 383. The chroniclers report that Byzantines also occasionally resorted to night raids against the Ottomans hitting the coastal cities in the southern shores of the Marmara sea: *Nagah bir gice kafider girü Biga'yı ogurladılar. Kafider hayli bedbahtlıklar itdiler ve Biga'yı yıkup bozdılar. Geldiler, şimdiki Biga'yı anun yirine kurdılar*.

gains in Thrace, died in 1357–1358 due to an alleged hunting accident[31]. Immediately after this, Orhan Gazi sent his other son, Murad, to Thrace as a representative of the central state authority; however, Orhan's death in 1362 prompted Murad to return to Anatolia to claim the throne. Before leaving Thrace, Murad appointed a bureaucrat named Lala Şahin Paşa as the region's deputy. The Battle of Maritsa was a reaction against the Ottoman advances in Thrace, which threatened the small Serbian rump states on the west bank of the Maritsa River. Vukašin Mrnjavčević, the ruler of a fragmented Serbian Empire, aligned himself with his brother Uglješa, the co-ruler of the empire, and moved against the Ottomans to expel them from Europe.

When the Serbs were advancing towards Adrianople (Edirne), the Ottoman ranks were not fully ready for an all-out war. The Ottoman forces were primarily led by two leaders who were not on good terms with each other. Lala Şahin was the head of the central troops[32]. Considering the sheer size of the Serbian army, he was planning to adopt something like a scorch-earth tactic, aiming to drag the Serbian forces into Eastern Thrace. He hoped to receive reinforcements from Anatolia before seriously challenging the invading enemy forces. However, Hacı İlbey did not share Lala Şahin's opinion and planned to organize a sneak attack on the enemy at night[33]. While the Serbs were advancing towards Edirne, he was active in the countryside with his fellow raider troops, watching the movements of the enemy units. Although, as the highest Ottoman official in the area, Lala Şahin ordered him not to engage the enemy, he acted otherwise. At the time when the Serbians camped near the banks of the Maritza River during the night, Hacı İlbey gathered his troops and led a surprise attack against them. The Serbians probably supposed that the main Ottoman army had arrived from Anatolia; thus, they began fleeing westwards in a piecemeal fashion, many of them losing their lives drowning in the river[34]. This remarkable military success, however, was not regarded as commendable by Murad I, who was worried about the popularity of Hacı İlbey on the western front. Therefore, in the aftermath of the Battle of Maritza, Lala Şahin arrested Hacı İlbey due to his so-called irregular actions during the Serbian advance, putting him in prison and then executing him at the orders of Murad.

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[31] AŞIKPAŞAZADE, ch. 41, p. 378. DUCAS, *Historia Byzantina*, Bonn 1834, p. 39.

[32] *Anonim Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, ed. N. AZAMAT, İstanbul 1992 (cetera: *Anonim Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*), p. 25.

[33] *Anonim Tevarih-i Al-i Osman*, p. 25: *Andan Hacı İlbeği eydür: 'Yoldaşlar, nice idelüm?' dedi. Yoldaşları eydür: 'Tedbir sizündür.' Siz nice dirsenüz eyle idelüm' didiler. Andan Hacı İlbeği her bir yoldaşını bir depo üzerine kodı. Andan bunlara ısmarladı. Eyitdi: 'Her kaçan ben tavulbaz uram haykıram, siz her birinüz dahi eyle idün' didi.* AŞIKPAŞAZADE, ch. 26. Although some of the Ottoman sources depicts Lala Şahin as the commander of the attacking forces, this was not the case. *Lala Şahin Allah'un inayetine sığınup peygamberin mu'cizatı berekatında gazilerle bir gice tablbaz kakup dün baskınını eyledi.*

[34] *Chronica Byzantina Breviora*, ed. P. SCHREINER, Wien 1975, p. 451: ὅταν ἐνίκησαν οἱ Τοῦρκοι τὸν Οὔγκλεζη, τὸν δεσπότη, ἔτους ,ϛωοθ′.

The Battle of Maritza was a watershed phenomenon for the future of Ottoman night combat, manifesting the tactical and strategic differences between the Ottoman center and the frontier. As a result of the foundation of the *kapıkulu* household army and the establishment of the semi-independent frontier principalities in the Balkans, this strategic divergence would grow in the following decades. Although the sources do not mention the Janissary soldiers in 1371, they appear to be an essential fighting force under the command of Murad I at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. This crucial development meant that, instead of primarily relying on the raider troops, the Ottoman ruler began having his personal "slave army" under his command. Furthermore, through implementing the timar system in the decades to come, besides the nomadic light cavalry forces, the Ottoman rulers would also begin recruiting land-holding *sipahi* soldiers. Unlike the raider militias, whose main aim was to wreak havoc in enemy territory and gain booty and slaves through raiding campaigns under the frontier lords, the *kapıkulu and sipahi* were soldiers immediately available to the central Ottoman state mechanism, whenever a military necessity occurred[35].

In his memoirs, a former janissary who reconverted to Christianity, Konstantin Mihailović, expresses this difference in detail. In his first-person account, he sharply distinguishes between the central Ottoman military structure and the raider troops, which he calls "akıncı"[36]. He said the frontier lords led the raiders' troops in various boundary areas, including Smederevo, Nikopolis, Kruševac, Vidin, Upper Bosnia, and Sitnica[37]. The raiders could organize their raiding operations independently from the central army. Night combat was an essential element in their military tactics and strategies. Another former janissary, Georgius de Hungaria, provides much information on how the raiders fought at night. He states that they operated under experienced commanders "always at night," which allowed them to organize surprise attacks on the enemy[38]. The raiders could cover great distances at night thanks to their rapid maneuvering capabilities, aiming

[35] Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi MAD. 525, p. 50. Occasional tensions can be detected between the state-appointed timar holders and the regional timar holders. In one instance, a newly appointed timar holder did not seek permission from a regional *subaşı* before participating in a raiding campaign and he was reported to the authorities, which decreed the termination of his status as a timar holder: *Şimdiki halde bu mezkur destursuz akına gittiğü sebebden bu tımar Kapanderi ve kardaşı Koşar'a ve Komnen'e müştereken virildi, hissenin yarusın Kapandirir yiyüp, her sene eşer ve yarusına mezkurlar muşterek mutasarrıf olub nevbetçe eşerler. Fi evail-i Şevval sene 858 der Sofya.*

[36] K. Mihailović, *Memoirs of a Janissary*, trans. B. Stolz, Ann Arbor 1975, p. 177: *The Turkish raiders are called in their language akandiye which means 'those who flow' and they are like torrential rains that fall from the clouds. From these storms come great floods until the streams, leave their banks and overflow, and everything this water strikes, it takes, carries away, and moreover, destroys, so that in some places they cannot quickly make repairs.*

[37] K. Mihailović, *Memoirs…*, p. 177.

[38] Georgius de Hungaria, *Traktat über die Sitten, die Lebensverhältnisse und die Arglist der Türken*, trans. R. Klockow, Köln 1993 (cetera: Georgius de Hungaria), p. 186–200.

to collect as much booty and slaves as possible from enemy lands[39]. Idrisi Bitlisi also reinforces this statement, putting a particular emphasis on the raiders' night operations. He likens the raiding operations to a "dawn wind," which struck the infidels always "at night"[40]. In addition, several other primary source reports point out specific Ottoman night raid operations. For example, in 1395, Evrenos Gazi is reported to have conducted a night operation against Theodore Palaiologos, the Byzantine ruler of the Peloponnese, as a response to his siege of Corinth, which the Latin vassals of the Ottomans controlled[41]. During the Hungarian-Ottoman War of 1437–1442, the Ottoman commander Mezid Paşa led a large raider contingent to wreak havoc in Transylvania to facilitate the region's subjugation[42]. He set his camp in Sibiu, allowing the raiders to raid the surrounding territories for the night, which appeared to be a grave tactical mistake since the Hungarian commander Janos Hunyadi was closely observing his strategic position[43]. Benefiting from the darkness and the absence of the main body of the raider troops, Hunyadi organized a sneak attack against the main Ottoman camp and was able to defeat the Ottoman army and eliminate Mezid[44].

Conversely, in contrast to the previous Ottoman rulers, those in power in the post-1371 period generally refrained from organizing night attacks against enemy military formations. In other words, although the early Ottoman rulers and dynastic figures, including Osman Gazi, Orhan Gazi, and Süleyman Paşa, personally conducted night operations or dispatched armies for combat at night, the Ottoman sources do not mention Murad I – especially in his later years –, and then his successors organizing night combats. It is true that the Ottoman central army fought several night battles during the 15th century; however, these were primarily defensive encounters. During the Battle of Varna (1444), there are some reliable reports that several minor skirmishes occurred between the Ottomans and the Crusaders in darkness[45]. Also, we know that both sides fired cannons to intimidate

[39] GEORGIUS DE HUNGARIA, p. 186–200.

[40] İDRIS-I BITLISÎ, *Heşt Behişt. VII. Ketîbe*, Ankara 2019, p. 51.

[41] *Kleinchroniken = Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. SCHREINER, Wien 1975 [= *CFHB*, 12.1], p. 33.16–17.

[42] H. ŞIMŞIR, *The Effects of the Gunpowder Technology in the Demise of the Frontier Lords in the Ottoman Balkans*, RCEM 21, 2022, p. 11.

[43] ORUÇ BEY, *Oruç Bey Tarihi*, [in:] *Üç Osmanlı Tarihi*, ed. N. ATSIZ, İstanbul 2011, p. 72: *Sonra, Sultan Murad Han, Edime'de oturup Uç Begi Mezid Beg'e Üngürüs'e akın verdi. Mezid Beg kendine fazla güveniyordu. Eflak Eli'nden geçip Üngürüs'e aldırmadan Akıncılar'ına izin Verdi.*

[44] *Ibidem*, p. 72: *Yanko mel'unu, Mezid Beg'i yalnız bulup ansızın üzerine geldi. Mezid Beg de yanında bulunan adamlarıyla ceng edip sonunda merhum Mezid Beg orada sehid oldu. Tovacı'lardan dahi hayli adam sehid olup o akın basarısızlıkla bitip ordumuz bozuldu hicretin 845'inde.*

[45] KAŞIFI, p. 38: *Gece gelip hilal ve kamer göründü. Güneş tekrar batıda kayboldu. Cihân, en iyi renklere bürünüp 'adeta kaplanın sırtına benzer bir renge boyandı. Hemen ardından da güneş gibi, hilalde kaybolup dünya baştan başa yüzü karalar gibi oldu. O anda Engürüs Şehinşâhı köslerin sesini feleğe*

each other at night before the opposing armies confronted each other the following day[46]. However, actual all-out fighting did not occur. Despite that, four years later, at the Battle of Kosovo (1448), the Hungarians carried out a night attack on the Ottoman center, where the janissaries and gunpowder units were stationed. During this battle, the Hungarians aimed to catch the Ottomans off guard, knowing they could not use their gunpowder units efficiently at night[47]. However, this design failed due to the preparedness of the Ottoman ranks[48]. In 1453, Skanderbeg also organized a night operation against an Ottoman army under the command of a certain İbrahim Paşa[49]. During this campaign, the Ottoman commander aimed to drag the Albanians into a pitched battle; however, Skanderbeg had other plans. While Skanderbeg tried to entice the Ottomans into the Mokra Valley (Makedonski Brod, North Macedonia), the advancing Ottoman army did not follow the Albanians, bivouacking in the field of Polog, near Tetovo[50]. This prompted Skanderbeg to launch a cavalry raid against the Ottoman camp, which caused disorder and chaos in the Ottoman ranks[51]. At a critical moment, Skanderbeg's forces managed to kill the commander of the Ottoman expeditionary forces, İbrahim Paşa, a development which resulted in the total disintegration and subsequent flight of the Ottoman army[52]. Moreover, seven years after this battle, the Ottoman central army encountered the enemy at night during Mehmed II's campaign in Wallachia in 1462. This campaign aimed to subdue the rebellious Wallachian prince Vlad III, who had discontinued paying tribute to the Ottomans. The Ottoman army crossed the Danube from Vidin, whence they continued their advance in Wallachia despite the corrosive Wallachian scorch-earth and hit-and-run tactics[53]. However, the Ottomans managed to advance towards the Wallachian capital, Târgovişte, setting their camp south of the city[54]. On the 17th of June,

yükseltti. Yiğitlerine hazır ol emri verip etrafta meş'aleler yaktırdı. Sanki, cihanı gazab ateşiyle yaktılar. Kâfirler, gürültü tüfekleriyle sağdan ve soldan sayısız mü'min öldürdüler.

[46] Kaşıfı, p. 38.

[47] M. Uyar, E. Erickson, *A Military History…*, p. 29.

[48] *Ibidem*.

[49] *To Χρονικον Των Ιωαννινων*, ed. Λ.Ι. Βρανουση, Αθηνων 1965, p. 18–20. Indeed, the Albanians long relied on surprise night attacks against their opponents, using the advantages of the rugged Albanian landscape. The author of the Chronicle of Ioannina provides plentiful details about the surprise attacks organized by the regional Albanian lords and Carlo Tocco in the region in the 14th century.

[50] M. Barleti, *George Castriot, Surnamed Scanderbeg, King of Albania*, trans. C. Moore, New York 1850, p. 268. *Generall of the Turkes was encamped in fieldes of Pologue, tarrying for the breaking of the day*.

[51] *Ibidem*, p. 269. *The darknesse of the night did much augment their terrour, and the audacitie of the Christians whom they sawe to be aduaunced so farre without their confines and from their owne dwellings*.

[52] *Ibidem*, p. 270–271.

[53] I. Ceauşescu, *Istoria Militară a Poporului Român*, Bucharest 1984–1988, p. 78.

[54] C.D. Străini, *Ţările Române*, vol. I, Bucureşti 1968, p. 176.

Vlad III launched a night attack against the Ottoman camp, hoping to eliminate Mehmed II, and forcing the Ottomans to withdraw. Despite that, as Aşıkpaşazade implies, the Ottomans were aware of the Wallachian plans beforehand; thus, they accordingly organized their ranks[55]. This statement is also supported by the writer of the Anonymous Italian chronicle of Verona, believed to have been written by a specific merchant called Cristoforo Schiappa, who was well-versed in the political developments of the Ottoman Empire. According to Schiappa, Mehmed II did not allow his soldiers to exit their tents in case of a night raid to prevent potential confusion in the army. The chronicle further details that the Wallachians lit torches and attacked the Ottoman camp, making noise from their bugles to demoralize the enemy. They organized continuous attacks from different directions, lasting *three hours after sunset until four the next morning*[56]. The sources differ concerning the Ottoman and Wallachian casualties. The Ottoman source claims that the Wallachians were defeated, while a Wallachian source reports that the Ottoman army was defeated and demoralized, preventing them from continuing the campaign[57]. However, the Ottoman army kept moving toward the north, briefly capturing the contemporary Wallachian capital Târgoviște. Finding the city evacuated, they subsequently returned to Edirne[58].

I argue that this changing attitude towards night combat first stemmed from the organizational evolution of the Ottoman military and administrative structure at the time. Osman Gazi, Orhan Gazi, Süleyman Paşa, and Murad I – earlier in his reign – were something like raider lords commanding a military force mainly composed of mobile cavalry units[59]. These units were fully capable of rapid offensives, using surprise tactics. However, with the increase of infantry units in the Ottoman military, especially towards the closing decades of the 14th century, the Ottoman central army began to lose this advantage on the battlefield. Although there is no practical information about the percentage of infantry units in the Ottoman army in this period, with the formation of household infantry units, *yaya* troops, and an irregular infantry force called *azabs*, the Ottoman army lost its previous advantage of agility[60]. In this period, the Ottoman army became a military juggernaut comprised of various cavalry, infantry, gunpowder, logistic, and other auxiliary units. Konstantin Mihailovic, for instance, underscores the infantry-based

[55] AŞIKPAŞAZADE, ch. 137, p. 513: *Nagah bir gice bir tarafdan bir gulu belürdi. Heman padişahun gazi kulları hazırlar-ıdı; gördiler, bu gelen gulu bu mel'un Kazuklu'nun leşkeri-miş.*

[56] A. PIPPIDI, *Noi izvoare italiene despre Vlad Tepes, si Stefan cel Mare*, SMIM 20, 2002, p. 15–21.

[57] T.R. MCNALLY, *Dracula*, Boston 1989, p. 145.

[58] F. BABINGER, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, Princeton 1978, p. 207.

[59] PHILIPPE DE MÉZIÈRES, *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas*, ed. J. SMET O. Carm, Rome 1954, p. 205.86: *Tandem strenuitate militum Hospitalis necnon et aliorum paucorum, et strenuitate et benedictione ipsius domini legati, Turcis devictis et restoractis, Deo operante galeas ascenderunt.*

[60] K. MIHAILOVIĆ, *Memoirs…*, p. 35–36. Mihailović gives the number of *azab* soldiers around 20.000. He also gives special attention to the *yaya* soldiers, mistakenly saying that Alaaddin, the grandson of Osman, had pioneered establishing these troops.

structure of the Ottoman army. According to him, the household army comprised 6000 troops, and only a tiny percentage of this being cavalry. He argues that, as was observed in previous encounters such as Varna, the "Christian cavalry" was always superior to the Ottoman cavalry, mainly made up of the provincial *sipahi* units, besides the nomadic light cavalry units. According to Mihailovic, the real strength of the Ottoman army lies in its infantry forces. While he admits that defeating the Ottoman janissaries is not easy, he proposes an interesting tactic. Mihailovic advises his readers to attack the Ottoman army's rear guards and baggage trains to weaken its cohesion and unity[61]. He says the Ottomans stationed their pack animals, especially camels, next to the janissaries holding the center of the Ottoman army during a military encounter. He advises shooting flaming arrows into the camels, which would be frightened, and trample the janissary contingents, causing panic, which would be followed by a general frontal attack by the Christian army. Mihailovic claims that he tried it with one camel, and even this was sufficient to cause turmoil in the Ottoman ranks during Mehmed II's Wallachian campaign in 1462–1463[62]. Uyar and Erickson reinforce this idea, detailing the structure of Ottoman battle formation in the mid-15th century. In this period, along with the firearms units, the janissaries were permanently stationed in the center, flanked by the provincial cavalry troops. *The Azabs* were usually deployed in front of the main army, aiming to soften and disorganize the first wave of the enemy charges. The artillery and other firearms units were also used to disrupt the enemy formations further. After wearing down the enemy in this way, the Ottomans organized a general counterattack, seeking to surround the enemy from all sides with the help of the cavalry troops on the flanks. *The success of this battle formation depended upon the constant practice of combined arms and strict discipline. Any disharmony or failure would certainly result in a disaster*[63]. In this way, although the Ottomans continued to use the nomadic light cavalry units in this period to a certain extent, the overall loss of agility and rapid maneuvering capabilities must have forced them to gradually jettison night operations. Additionally, attempting an offensive night battle must have also been deemed too precarious by the Ottomans, considering the risk of friendly fire, lack of coordination, disorganization, and the possibility of being exposed to enemy counterattacks.

Furthermore, the tactical and strategic evolution that the Ottoman army underwent is another factor in the changing approach towards night combat. As Wilksman pointed out previously, in western Anatolia, the early Ottomans adopted a strategy of raiding and despoiling Byzantine territory as far as possible to break their capacity to resist[64]. When the enemy lost its ability to defend its possessions due to the constant raider attacks, the Ottomans pushed to annex its lands.

[61] K. Mihailović, *Memoirs*…, p. 169.

[62] *Ibidem*.

[63] M. Uyar, E. Erickson, *A Military History*…, p. 51.

[64] J. Wilskman, *Comparing Military Cultures*, Doctoral Thesis, University of Helsinki, 2021, p. 371.

Although this tactic continued in the Balkans in the following decades, these initial raiding forays and later campaigns began to be operated by different agents. In this period, the Ottoman rulers assigned this initial raiding strategy to the frontier militias. The central troops, on the other hand, organized the final operations to annex the target territories. In contrast to the raiders, they aimed not to defeat or demoralize the enemy with swift surprise attacks day or night. They sought to face the enemy in an open battle and capture its lands through conquest. Kiprovska and Schmitt also ponder this issue indirectly, naming the initial raider operations the "akıncı phase," during which the raiders aimed to reduce the defensive capabilities of the enemy territory, preparing it for future annexation[65]. According to this interpretation, the "akıncı phase" was characterized by continuous raiding, slave hunting, and destruction of the enemy's economic infrastructure, which was followed by the intervention of the central Ottoman military and bureaucracy and the integration of the target region into the Ottoman administrative structure. However, this strategy had its disadvantages too, especially against those who adopted irregular warfare, as happened many times in Albania between 1444 and 1478. Here, the raiding parties were not always successful in subduing the rebellious Albanians, due to reasons ranging from the mountainous characteristics of the region to the united nature of the rebellious movement, which resulted in them being frequently ambushed in the deep valleys and ravines in the Albanian countryside[66]. Besides dispatching occasional separate army groups just like the one under the above-mentioned İbrahim Paşa, this prompted Murad II and later Mehmed II to personally campaign in Albania, which failed mainly due to the rebels' irregular style of warfare, which primarily relied on surprise attacks and ambushes.

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[65] O.J. SCHMITT, M. KIPROVSKA, *Ottoman Raiders (Akıncıs) as a Driving Force of Early Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans and the Slavery-Based Economy*, JESHO 65.4, 2022, p. 497.

[66] *Χρονογραφία της Ηπείρου. Των τε ομόρων ελληνικών και ιλλυρικών χωρών διατρέχουσα κατά σειράν τα εν αυταίς συμβάντα από του σωτηρίου έτους μέχρι του 1854*, ed. Π. ΑΡΑΒΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ, Αθήναις 1856, p. 175: Κατὰ τὸ ἔτος 1455 μετὰ στρατοῦ πολυπληθοῦς ὁ Τουραχάνης περίφημος στρατάρχης τοῦ Σουλτὰν Μεχμὲτ ἐπετέθη πρὸς κατάκτησιν τῆς διαφυγούσης μέχρι τούτου τὸν ὀθωμανιὸν ζυγὸν ἰλλυρικῆς ἐπικρατείας, καὶ ἐντὸς αὐτῆς προχωρήσας ἐπέφερε μεγίστην φθοράν, καὶ ἔμελλεν ἔκτοτε, ἵνα κατακτηθῇ ἡ ἐπικράτεια ἐκείνη, ἐὰν μὴ ἔτρεχε βοηθός της ὁ τῆς Οὐγγρίας βασιλεὺς ἰωάννης, οὗ τινος ὁ στρατὸς συμπλακεὶς γενναίως μετὰ τῶν Ὀθωμανῶν ἔλαβεν ἐντελῆ νίκην, καὶ ἤδη καταδιωχθεὶς ὁ Τουραχάνης μόλις διέφυγε τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῆς θλίψεώς του ἀσθενήσας ἀπέθανε καθ᾽ ὁδόν. My translation as follows: *In the year 1455, with a large army, Turachanis, the famous commander of Sultan Mehmet, attacked to conquer the Illyrian territory that had hitherto escaped the Ottoman yoke. Advancing, he inflicted great damage. That territory would have been conquered if King John of Hungary had not come to the aid, whose army, having fought bravely with the Ottomans, had obtained a complete victory. Turachanis, although being pursued, had barely escaped captivity, but he died on the road from his grief, having fallen ill.* It is interesting that the raiders under the command of Turahan Gazi managed to subdue the Albanian rebels, ending their preceding revolt in 1436. However, Turahan's military operations did not go as planned during Skanderbeg's rebellion, since he failed to defeat the rebellious Albanians, losing his life on the way back in 1455–1456.

Lastly, the increasing use of early gunpowder units in the Ottoman army could also make it burdensome to operate night campaigns. Although it is not entirely clear when the Ottomans began using gunpowder units first, there are reliable reports that they were already employing some arquebus units under the rule of Bayezid I[67]. We see that the use of cannon and other firearms also significantly increased in the decades to come. The establishment of the war wagon units and the improvements in cannon technology in the post-1444 period gave a significant thrust to the proliferation of firearms in the Ottoman army[68]. The adoption and development of firearms units in the Ottoman army were decisive factors in its success against the enemy, as proved in several critical battles later, such as Otlukbeli (1473) and Çaldıran (1514). During these battles, the Ottomans established mobile fortresses using their war wagons against the advancing cavalry formations, a strategy that proved highly effective[69]. Despite that, however, firearms also appeared as a barrier to structuring an effective night operation, at least in this early period. It was arduous work to carry and station the cannons and war wagons for a potential night attack. Uyar and Erickson even conclude that the Ottomans in this period "sacrificed tactical mobility" to "achieve strategic mobility"[70]. They add that, at times, the Ottomans used war wagons for offensive purposes; however, the slow speed of these offensives did not allow them to organize swift surprise attacks. Moreover, before the wheellock, the main firearms used by gunpowder armies were arquebuses and matchlocks (according to Ágoston, which were in use in the Ottoman army by 1444)[71]. These weapons made stealth and concealment impossible. Also, aside from being occasionally unreliable and faulty, they had a low rate of fire (one shot per two or three minutes), and the firearm accuracy was also inferior at night. On top of that, since they would lose the concealment advantage, the attacking infantry would be an open target for those who dared to make a sortie against the attacking enemy. This situation could also decrease the chances of a successful operation. In this way, adopting the early firearms units appears to be a factor that discouraged the attacking enemy from organizing night combat.

Despite that, however, although Ottoman rulers avoided organizing or planning night attacks in this period, they did not stop using the night time to gain a psychological advantage against the enemy. In 1373, a son of Murad I, Savcı,

[67] J. Schiltberger, *The Bondage, and Travels of Johann Schiltberger. A Native of Bavaria in Europe, Asia and Africa, 1396–1427*, ed. J. Buchan Telfer, London 1879, p. 9: […] *And as Weyasit saw that they continued to resist, he sent for more people and ordered arquebuses to be brought, and platforms to be constructed.*

[68] Zaifi, *Gazavat*, p. 334. Zaifi, notes that the Ottomans possessed around 2000 riflemen and numerous cannon at the Battle of Varna: *Kuruldı niçe yirde yine toplar, yaraklandı bin iki bin tüfekler.*

[69] Guglielmo Berchet, *La Repubblica di Venezia e la Persia*, Torino 1865, p. 135.

[70] M. Uyar, E. Erickson, *A Military History*…, p. 50.

[71] G. Ágoston, *Firearms and Military Adaptation: The Ottomans and the European Military Revolution, 1450–1800*, JWH 25.1, 2014, p. 89.

initiated a revolt to overthrow his father. Upon hearing this, Murad I crossed to Europe, hoping to suppress the rebellion before it spread further. The armies of Murad and Savcı met at a place near Constantinople called Pikridion. Before any military encounter took place, Murad I moved forward to the enemy camp at night, and *when he was very close to the enemy camp so that he could easily be heard*, *he called each man by name in a loud voice*, *praising the deeds of who had ever done anything noble or valiant*[72]. He further promised that no harm would be done to those who participated in Savcı's rebellion. This, in return, prompted those who sided with the rebellious prince to join Murad I's side, a development which effectively ended the rebellion[73]. A similar situation can also be observed before the Battle of Nicopolis (1396), fought between the Ottomans and the allied Crusader forces. Before the arrival of the main Ottoman army under Bayezid I, the Crusaders besieged the castle of Nicopolis on the 12th of September 1396; however, since they lacked siege equipment, they decided to force the castle commander, Doğan Bey, to surrender. The Ottoman commander, however, opted to resist the Crusaders, thinking that an Ottoman relief force would arrive soon. This caused a stalemate to last for about two weeks until the 25th of September, when the Ottoman army appeared a few kilometers south of Nicopolis[74]. Ottoman chroniclers report that before engaging directly with the enemy forces, Bayezid I managed to come close at night to the besieged castle of Nicopolis without being detected by the Crusaders[75]. Subsequently, he called out to the castle commander Doğan Bey and his wavering soldiers, informing them about his arrival and encouraging them to resist until the morning[76]. Therefore, he prevented the potential surrender of the castle[77]. Lastly, in 1422, Murad II also employed psychological warfare against his opponent, Mustafa Çelebi (also called Mustafa the Impostor – Düzmece Mustafa or Düzme Mustafa), who, after the death of the previous ruler, his brother Mehmed I, had managed to garner support from the leading frontier families, especially

[72] LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, I, p. 71.

[73] LAONIKOS CHALKOKONDYLES, I, p. 72.

[74] H. KAÇAR, J. DUMOLYN, *The Battle of Nicopolis (1396)*, *Burgundian Catastrophe and Ottoman Fait Divers*, RBPH 91.4, 2013, p. 905.

[75] MEHMED NEŞRI, p. 327.

[76] MEHMED NEŞRI, p. 327: *Ve rivayet iderler ki*, *giceyle Bayezid Han suret tebdil idüb*, *kâfir Niğbolı'yı muhasara iderken varub*, *bir yüksek yirden Niğboli'nun dizdarına çığırdı. Hünkar'un kalada Toğan nam bir kulı vardı. Ol Hunkâr'ı avazından bilüb*, *gelüb*, *söyleşüb "Esbabımız çokdur*, *Hunkâr'un devletünde kâfire zebun değilüz*, *didi. Hünkâr dahi eytdi. "Gayret idün*, *Göreyim sizi üşde fil-hal yıldırım gibi ben dahi yitişdim*, *didi.*

[77] F. EMECEN, *Niğbolu Savaşı*, [in:] *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. XXXIII, İstanbul 2007, p. 90. Emecen thinks that this correspondence between Bayezid and Doğan Bey would have actually taken place as the Ottoman *fetihnames* (Declaration of conquest) compiled subsequent to battle indicate that Doğan Bey indeed informed the main Ottoman army about the size of the enemy army.

the Evrenosoğulları in the Balkans. Being backed by the frontier lords, Mustafa Çelebi captured Edirne (Adrianopolis) and began advancing against Murad II in Bursa. In such a precarious political atmosphere, Murad II devised a plan to cause a division among the frontier troops. The leading frontier lord at the time, Mihaloğlu Mehmed Bey, was previously imprisoned by Mehmed I[78]. Hoping to use his towering influence over the other lords, Murad II took Mehmed Bey with him while advancing against Mustafa. Before the two armies faced each other that night, Murad II ordered Mehmed Bey to win over the frontier lords who had aligned themselves with the enemy army. Upon hearing Mehmed Bey's voice, the frontier lords abandoned Mustafa, who had to flee back to the Balkans without even participating in the battle[79]. These instances convey that the Ottoman rulers attached substantial importance to psychological warfare and that the cover of night was an excellent time to employ this. Indeed, we do not see any Ottoman ruler or high-ranking commander organizing a night operation in the post-1371 period. However, using darkness allowed a tactical advantage to achieve an objective that was more effective than brute force alone.

This paper focused on how the early Ottoman approach to night combat evolved. It has analyzed the structure and organization of Ottoman military tactics and strategies from the late 13th to the late 15th centuries. It argues that in contrast to the previous periods, Ottoman rulers, from Murad I onwards, began to increasingly turn away from organizing offensive night operations, only using night time for psychological warfare. This stemmed from three main reasons. First, a process of the "separation of military roles" took place in the Ottoman army, as a result of which the swift raiding operations were delegated to the frontier militias. Secondly, the increase in the infantry units vis-à-vis the cavalry troops made night operations more difficult. In addition, the formation of other military units for logistical purposes rendered a certain loss of agility for the Ottoman army. Third, the adoption of firearms units, including arquebusiers and cannoneers, seems to be another reason why we do not see any night operations during this period. Carrying heavy firearms units, including cannons, to the battlefield without detection by the enemy was particularly difficult. Also, the use of firearms would certainly mean the loss of any advantage of concealment.

[78] Aşıkpaşazade, ch. 84, p. 434.
[79] Aşıkpaşazade, ch. 84, p. 434.

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Assessing the Demographic and Economic Parameters that Determined the Residential History of Medieval Central Greece: The Case of Western Sterea Hellas*

Abstract. The principal objective of this study is to investigate the demographic and economic parameters that shaped the settlement dynamics of medieval Central Greece (Sterea Hellas) over a broad chronological span extending from the 12th to the 16th century. Given the fragmentary and often insufficient nature of surviving Byzantine-era sources, the most effective means of avoiding vague generalizations is to adopt a long-term analytical perspective, using the comparatively rich Ottoman data from the mid-15th to the 16th century as a basis for retrospective interpretation. Throughout this period, the spatial organization of the region – particularly the contrast between the mountainous and semi-mountainous zones of Aetoloakarnania and Evrytania and the lowland plains of Fthiotida – profoundly influenced patterns of agricultural production and pastoral activity. Documentation from the late Byzantine period regarding settlement structures remains limited, with narrative sources, primarily historiographical in nature, offering only sporadic and anecdotal references. By contrast, the Ottoman fiscal censuses (tahrir defters) provide a far more systematic dataset, recording local tax revenues and offering detailed information on the composition of the taxable population, thus enabling a more grounded reconstruction of settlement and economic patterns in the region.

The available evidence points to a relatively smooth transition following the establishment of Ottoman rule in the region. In this context, the consolidation of political authority contributed

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to the stabilization and even revitalization of the local urban network and the broader settlement landscape, suggesting that the process of Ottoman integration fostered a degree of continuity and structural reinforcement rather than abrupt disruption.

Keywords: residential history, cities, villages, Byzantine-era sources, Ottoman census inventories

1. Introduction – Methodology

The central objective of this study is to investigate the demographic and economic parameters that shaped the settlement history of medieval Central Greece (Sterea Hellas) over a broad chronological span, extending from the 12th to the 16th century. The analysis rests on a fundamental distinction common to all pre-industrial societies – namely, the organization of habitation into urban and rural settlements – while also accounting for the specific geographical features of the region, dominated by mountainous and semi-mountainous terrain in the areas corresponding to modern-day Aitoloakarnania, Evrytania, Phocis, and Fthiotida. This methodological framework is not without its challenges, primarily due to the nature, fragmentary condition, and limited scope of the available Byzantine sources, which rarely provide systematic information on aspects of social and economic history or the structure of the settlement network. Given these limitations, a long-term analytical perspective is adopted, with particular emphasis on the more robust and quantifiable data preserved in the Ottoman fiscal censuses (tahrir defters) of the 15th and 16th centuries. These sources offer a valuable basis for reconstructing earlier developments and mitigating the risk of vague generalizations. The utilization of data derived from early Ottoman sources, in conjunction with their correlation to testimonies from the preceding Byzantine period, is expected to illuminate crucial aspects of the demographic history of the era. Such an approach may provide answers to a broad spectrum of questions, including the spatial distribution of populations and the conditions that shaped it, the reconstruction of the region's settlement pattern – whether through the survival or abandonment of particular sites – demographic size and mobility, as well as the factors that influenced their development. The earliest available quantitative data derives from the Ottoman cadastral survey BBA/MM 10, conducted in 1454/1455, which offers a comprehensive depiction of the settlement network within the territories corresponding to the modern prefectures of Aitoloakarnania and Evrytania[1]. For the region corresponding to modern-day Phthiotida, the principal

[1] M. Delilbaşi, M. Arikan, *Hicrî 859 Tarihli sûret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Tirhala*, Ankara 2001. The register has survived only in fragmentary form. Originally, it encompassed data pertaining to the entire sanjak of Tirhala (Thessaly–Sterea Hellas), yet the extant portion preserves information primarily from the cities and districts of Larissa, Trikala, Phanari, Agrapha, and, beyond Thessaly

source of information is the summary register H 890, compiled in the year 890 of the Hijri calendar (1485), which provides essential insights into the settlement and fiscal structures of the area[2]. The composition of the population in the region in the immediate aftermath of the Ottoman conquest is examined in the study of M. Kiel, who presents and analyzes data drawn from the earliest Ottoman population surveys conducted in the Sanjak of Karleli – specifically the tahrir registers of 1489, 1521, and 1562[3]. Population and economic data from the early decades of the 16th century have been examined in the seminal work of T. Gökbilgin, who analyzed the summary fiscal registers for the years 1521 and 1528[4]. More recently, H. Kolovos and M. Sarigiannis have contributed to the field through their study of the summary tax register for the year 937 of the Hijri calendar (1530/1531), as well as four detailed inventories concerning the *cizye* (capital tax) imposed on the Christian population of the Vilayet of Agia Mavra, corresponding to the years of the Hijri calendar 1056 (1646/1647), 1058 (1648/1649), 1060 (1650), and 1061 (1650/1651)[5].

2. The case of Sterea Hellas

2.1. Historical overview

The historical trajectory of Sterea Hellas throughout the medieval centuries (12th–15th) was marked by continuous shifts in sovereignty, underscoring the region's strategic significance in terms of controlling both terrestrial and maritime routes, as well as its role within the broader political and ecclesiastical geography. By the

proper, Deskate, Metsovo, and several settlements in Pieria, Radovisdi in the Tzoumerka mountains, Karpenisi, and mountainous Naupaktia (Kravara). Missing are the sections concerning the cities of Elassona and Pharsala, the whole of Magnesia, and the larger part of the Pharsala district. The surviving material, however, also contains valuable references to villages in Aitoloakarnania, Evrytania, and parts of Fthiotida.

[2] In 2014, the register was edited and published by G. Salakidis and I. Theocharidis. The present study draws upon its data with regard to cities and villages omitted from the BBA/MM 10 register. It should be noted, however, that the source does not furnish information on the confessional distinction between Christian and Muslim households at the village level, but records such differentiation only for the urban centers. Γ. Σαλακιδης, Ι. Θεοχαριδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα τον 15ο αιώνα. Το ανέκδοτο Οθωμανικό κατάστιχο του 1485*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2014.

[3] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement of the Sandjak of Karli-ili-Aitolia/Akarnania – during the Turkokratia*, [in:] *Β΄ Διεθνές Ιστορικό και Αρχαιολογικό Συνέδριο Αιτωλοακαρνανίας, Αγρίνιο 29–31 Μαρτίου 2002, Πρακτικά*, vol. II, Αγρίνιο 2004, p. 705–727. At this point, I would like to express my gratitude to Professor M. Kiel for making this article available to me.

[4] T. Gokbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Suleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, BTTK 20, 1956, p. 260.

[5] *Οθωμανικές πηγές για τη νεώτερη ιστορία της Λευκάδας*, ed. H. Κολοβος, Μ. Σαρηγιαννης, Ηράκλειο 2013, p. 91–92, 245, 256, 261, 270.

9th century, Naupaktos had already emerged as the capital of the theme of Nicopolis, developing into a prominent administrative and ecclesiastical center[6]. Testimonies of 12th-century travelers such as al-Idrisi and Benjamin of Tudela depict a city engaged in vigorous commercial activity and hosting a flourishing Jewish community, indicative of its economic dynamism[7]. The aftermath of the Fourth Crusade (1204) inaugurated a new phase of political fragmentation: although Central Greece was formally allocated to Venice, in practice much of Sterea Hellas fell under the authority of Michael I Komnenos Doukas, the ruler of Epirus[8]. In the subsequent decades, through dynastic marriages, feudal endowments, and sustained military confrontation, key urban centers and fortresses – including Naupaktos, Vonitsa, Angelokastro, Anatoliko – Aitoliko, and Loidoriki – became focal points of contestation among the Angevins, the Venetians, and the Epirote rulers[9]. During the 14th century, the ascendancy of the Catalans, following their victory

[6] More on this, see P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*, Wien 1981 [= VKTIB, 3], p. 210–211; D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros 1267–1479. A Contribution to the History of Greece in the Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1984; A. Σαββιδης, *Η Ναύπακτος από τα πρωτοβυζαντινά χρόνια ως την οθωμανική κατάκτηση του 1499: ιστορικό διάγραμμα*, [in:] *Μελετήματα Βυζαντινής προσωπογραφίας και τοπικής ιστορίας* (reprinting of articles, 1981–1991), Αθήνα 1992, p. 425–456 (1st published in Ναυ 5, 1990–1991, p. 45–76); idem, *Ιστορικές σημειώσεις για την Υστερομεσαιωνική Ναύπακτο*, Ναυ 10, 2000, p. 469–474.

[7] Edrisi, *Géographie*, ed. P. Jaubert, Paris 1836 (cetera: Edrisi), p. 122; *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M.N. Adler, London 1907 (cetera: Benjamin of Tudela), p. 62–63.

[8] N. Bees, *Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropoliten von Naupaktos, in Aetolien*, BNJ 21, 1971–1974, p. 72, 116–117; T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden zur alteren Handels-und Staatgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderen Beziehungen auf Byzanz und die Levante*, Vienna 1856–1857 (reprint: Amsterdam 1964), vol. I, p. 471, 491, vol. II, p. 121. Also see J. Koder, F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*, Wien 1976 [= VKTIB, 1], p. 161; D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*…, p. 28–29; A. Σαββιδης, *Η Ναύπακτος*…, p. 54–55; K. Βαρζος, *Η Γενεαλογία των Κομνηνών*, vol. II, Θεσσαλονίκη 1984, p. 681–682.

[9] Π. Καλοναρος, *Το Χρονικόν του Μορέως*, Αθήνα 1940, & 1559, 3186, 7287 (Greek version); *Chronique de Morèe aux 13 et 14 siècles*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio, Geneva 1885, & 97, 102, 275, 877–879, 917 (Aragon version); K. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873, p. 424, 441 (Italian version); *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée. Chronique de Morée (1204–1305)*, ed. J.A. Longnon, Paris 1911, p. 107, 115, 221, 282 (French version); *Nicephori Gregorae Byzantina Historia*, vol. I, ed. L. Schopen, I. Bekker, Bonnae 1829–1930 [= *CSHB*, 30], p. 297; K. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*…, p. XXIX–XXX; *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum*, vol. III, ed. L. Schopen, Bonnae 1832, p. 529; V. Laurent, *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople. Les actes des patriarches. Les regestes de 1208 à 1309*, Paris 1971, no. 1316, 1317; Marino Sanudo Torsello, *Istoria del Regno di Romania*, [in:] K. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes*… (cetera: Marino Sanudo Torsello), p. 107; T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. I, p. 471, 491. Also see A. Kiesewetter, *Il trattato del 18 ottobre 1305 fra Filippo I di Taranto e Giovanni Orsini di Cefalonia per la conquista dell' Epiro*, ASP 47, 1994, p. 200–201, 203–204; W. Miller, *The Marquisate of Boudonitsa (1204–1414)*, JHS 28, 1908, p. 236; D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros*…, p. 77, 214–215; A. Σαββιδης, *Η Ναύπακτος*…, p. 54–76; idem, *Ιστορικές σημειώσεις*…, p. 469–474; R.L. Wolff, *The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261*, DOP 8, 1954, p. 225–303 (= Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople, Variorum Reprints, London 1976, VIII).

at the battle of Halmyros (1311), proved decisive, while concurrently local Albanian lordships arose and the Tocco dynasty gradually expanded its dominion from Cephalonia into Aitoloakarnania[10]. These developments reveal a fluid and unstable political landscape characterized by shifting allegiances, endemic raiding, and the reconfiguration of territorial control. From the late 14th century onwards, the inexorable Ottoman advance imposed a new political order: cities such as Zetouni – Lamia, Vodonitsa – Mendenista, and Loidoriki progressively fell under Ottoman dominion, while Naupaktos – long a Venetian stronghold – was definitively captured in 1499 and designated as the center of a distinct administrative unit, the sanjak of Inebahti (Aynabahti)[11]. In parallel, other parts of Aitoloakarnania and

[10] *Acta Albaniae Venèta Saeculorum XIV et XV*, vol. V, ed. J. Valentini, Palermo–Milano–Roma 1967–1976, p. 55–59; *Laonici Chalcocondylae Atheniensis Historiarum libri decem*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonnae 1843 [= *CSHB*, 48], p. 352–353; Π. Καλονάρος, *Το Χρονικόν…*, & 7287 (Greek version); *Chronica Toccorum Cephalleniensium*, ed. G. Schirò, Roma 1975 [= *CFHB.I*, 10.1], p. 31, 44–56, 228, 236, 248, 250, 254, 256, 278–281; I. Βρανουσης, *Το Χρονικόν των Ιωαννίνων*, EMA 12, 1962, p. 74, 79; A. Gerlini, *Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il Vecchio*, Bibl 42, 1940, p. 351; Gregoras, p. 297; K. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes…*, p. 132, 230; Δ. Μερτζιος, *Μια ανέκδοτη επιστολή του Καρόλου Α΄ του Τόκκου προς τον Δόγη της Βενετίας γραφείσα εξ Ιωαννίνων το 1425*, [in:] *Πεπραγμένα του Θ΄ Διεθνούς Βυζαντινολογικού Συνεδρίου, Θεσσαλονίκη, 12–19 Απριλίου 1953*, ed. Στ. Κυριακιδης, A. Ξυγγοπουλος, Π. Ζεπος, Αθήνα 1956, p. 556–559; idem, *Trois lettres inedits de Charles Tocco en 1427, 1428 et 1432*, [in:] *Akten de XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses*, Munich 1960, p. 352–354; *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, ed. J.A. Van Dieten, Berlin–New York 1975 [= *CFHB*, 11], p. 609; S. Petrides, *Jean Apokaukos, Lettres et autres documents inédits*, [in:] *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Russe à Constantinople*, vol. XIV, Sofia 1909, p. 21; Marino Sanudo Torsello, p. 136, 177; K.N. Σαθας, *Μνημεία Ελληνικής Ιστορίας*, *Documents inedits relatif à l'histoire la Grèce au Moyen Âge*, Paris 1880–1890, vol. I, p. 31, 35–36, 214, vol. II, p. 186–189, 220, vol. III, p. 75–76, 267, 333; T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden…*, vol. I, p. 496–497; P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. II, Wien 1977, p. 232, 291, 363, 369; F. Thiriet, *Régestes deliberations du Sénat de Venice concernant la Romanie. Documents et Recherches*, vol. II, Paris–La Haye 1959, no 1262, 1284, 1549; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum, sive Acta et Diplomata res Veneta, Graecas atque Levantis illustrantia a 1330–1454*, vol. I, ed. G.M. Thomas, R. Predelli, Venezia 1889, p. 120–121. Also see Σ. Ασωνιτης, *Το Νότιο Ιόνιο κατά τον Όψιμο Μεσαίωνα. Κομητεία Κεφαλληνίας, Δουκάτο Λευκάδος, Αιτωλοακαρνανία*, Αθήνα 2005, p. 78, 88–89, 94–95, 112, 134; idem, *Κατοχή. Μια κτήση του πριγκιπάτου της Αχαΐας στη δυτική Στερεά*, ΙΓ 3, 1992, p. 93–107; J.A.C. Buchon, *Nouvelles recherches historiques sur la principauté Française de Morée et ses hautes baronies à la suite de la 4me croisade*, vol. I, Paris 1843, p. 410–411; B. Hendrickx, *Amadeo Pofey*, [in:] *Encyclopedic Prosopographical Lexicon of Byzantine History and Civilization*, vol. I, ed. A. Savvides, B. Hendrickx, Turnhour 2007, p. 179; idem, *Boniface of Montferrat*, [in:] *Encyclopedic Prosopographical Lexicon…*, vol. II, p. 134–135; A. Luttrell, *Vonitza in Epirus and its Lords: 1306–1377*, RSBN 1, 1964, p. 133–134, 141; A. Moustoxides, *Delle Cose Corciresi*, Corfu 1848, p. 357–358; D. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros…*, p. 170–171; A. Rubio y Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient Català*, Barcelona 1947, p. 159–161, 298, 326, 356; A. Σαββιδης, *Ιστορικές σημειώσεις…*, p. 471.

[11] Chalcokondyles, p. 67, 174; *Χρονικό του Γαλαξειδιού Ευθυμίου Ιερομονάχου*, ed. H. Αναγνωστακης, Αθήνα 1985, p. 207, 209; Dukas, *Istoria turco-byzantina (1341–1462)*, ed. V. Grecu, Boucarest 1958, p. 239, 245; *Ekthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum*, ed. S. Lambros, London 1902, p. 43; *Historia Politica et Patriarchica Constantinopoleos. Epirotica*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonnae 1849

Phthiotis were incorporated into the sanjak of Karli-eli[12], while urban centers such as Zetouni – Lamia and Loidoriki were subsumed under the sanjak of Trikala[13]. By the 16th century, Sterea Hellas had been fully assimilated into the Ottoman administrative framework, with the structured network of sanjaks institutionalizing the transition from the fragmented political order of Byzantine, Latin, and regional lordships to the protracted era of Ottoman hegemony.

2.2. The cities of Sterea Hellas

An analysis of the available data from the 12th to the 16th century allows for the reconstruction of the structure and defining features of the settlement network in mainland Greece. A useful point of departure in this inquiry is the examination of the urban landscape of Sterea Hellas. Prior to the Ottoman conquest, historical sources record the existence of approximately twenty-six urban centers in the region: 19 in Aitoloakarnania (Naupaktos, Vonitsa, Angelokastro, Katoche, Kandela – Varnakas, Astakos – Dragamesto, Anatoliko – Aitoliko, Aetos, Amphilochia, Vlochos, Stratos – Gerovilia – Sorovigli, Ligovitsi – Skourtou, Platanos, Analepsis – Dervekista, Paravola, Trigardo, Empesos, Mastro, Ochthia), 6 in Phtiotis (Zetouni – Lamia, Vodonitsa – Mendenista, Ezeros, Echinos, Etera Gardikia, Marmaritzana), and 1 in Phocis (Loidoriki). However, by the mid-15th century, only nine cities continue to be attested in the historical record: 6 in Aitoloakarnania (Naupaktos, Vonitsa, Angelokastro, Anatoliko – Aitoliko, Aetos, Vlochos), 2 in Phtiotis (Zetouni – Lamia, Vodonitsa – Mendenista), and 1 in Phocis (Loidoriki). This notable decline in the number of recognized urban centers may be attributed, at least in part, to the Ottoman administrative framework, which did not inherit the Byzantine conception of cities as synonymous with episcopal sees. When the evidence is synthesized, it becomes possible to assess both the relative size of these settlements and their hierarchical position within the broader regional settlement system:

[= *CSHB*, 2], p. 56; *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. H. Beck, A. Cambylis, R. Keydell, Berlin 1983 [= *CFHB*, 22], p. 223, 309; K.N. Σαθας, *Μνημεία Ελληνικής…*, vol. III, p. 306; P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen…*, vol. II, p. 295, 465; Γ. Σαλακιδης, Ι. Θεοχαριδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα…*, p. 187, 201, 203, 247. Also see Φ. Περρα, *Η Ναύπακτος, η Μεθώνη και η Κορώνη μεταξύ των δύο πρώτων Βενετο-οθωμανικών πολέμων (1479–1499)*, ΒΔ 15, 2006, p. 223–230; M. Kiel, *Ναύπακτος (Inebahti)*, [in:] *Μνημεία και Πολιτισμός των Ελληνικών πόλεων κατά την Οθωμανική περίοδο μέσα από τα κείμενα του Machiel Kiel. Συμβολή στην Οθωμανική κληρονομιά στον ελλαδικό χώρο*, ed. Α.Σ. Μαρκου, trans. Π.Δ. Τουλουμακος, Αθήνα 2015, p. 262; Α. Σαββιδης, *Ιστορικές σημειώσεις…*, p. 472.

[12] Ö. Barkan, *894 (1488/1489) yili cizye Tahsilâtina ait Muhasebe Bilânçolari*, Bgr 1, 1964, p. 101; T. Gokbilgin, *Kanuni…*, p. 260; M. Kiel, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία (Karli-Ili)*, [in:] *Μνημεία και Πολιτισμός…*, p. 97, 105; idem, *Population and Settlement…*, p. 708, 709, 722, 726; *Οθωμανικές πηγές…*, p. 8, 13, 43, 83–84, 85–86, 89, 92; L. Ménage, *Karli-iĬi*, [in:] *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. IV, Leiden 1978, p. 656–657.

[13] Γ. Σαλακιδης, Ι. Θεοχαριδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα…*, p. 187, 201.

Table 1

The table further incorporates former Byzantine urban centers that were reclassified as villages following the Ottoman conquest. The dates of the corresponding Ottoman cadastral surveys (tahrir defterleri) are indicated in parentheses

Cities	Population (tax units)
Aetos[14]	230 (1521), 248 (1562), 80 (1646/1647)
Amphilochia[15]	–
Analepsis – Dervekista[16]	–
Anatoliko – Aitoliko[17]	331 (1521)
Angelokastro[18]	172 (1521)
Astakos – Dragamesto[19]	170 (1521), 137 (1646/1647)
Echinos[20]	–
Empesos[21]	–

[14] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 709, 722, 726; P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 102–103; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus. A Topography of Transformation. Settlements of the Seventh–Twelfth Centuries in Southern Epirus and Aetoloacarnania*, *Greece*, Leiden–Boston 2012 [= MMe, 95], p. 377–378.

[15] P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 104; *Οθωμανικές πηγές*…, p. 43.

[16] Α. Παλιουρας, *Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία: Συμβολή στη βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή μνημειακή τέχνη*, Αθήνα 2004, p. 250; P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 184; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 387–388, 432–433.

[17] Σ. Ασωνιτης, *Το Νότιο Ιόνιο*…, p. 212–213; M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 708–709, 722; idem, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία (Karli-Ili)*…, p. 107; J. Nesbitt, J. Wiita, *A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era*, BZ 68, 1975, p. 368, 378; Α. Παλιουρας, *Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία*…, p. 281; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 374–375.

[18] Ö. Barkan, *Cizye*…, p. 101; T. Gokbilgin, *Kanuni*…, p. 260; Β. Κατσαρος, *Το πρόγραμμα έρευνας της βυζαντινής τοπογραφίας στην κοιλάδα του Αχελώου, πρόταση για μια νέα θεώρηση του χώρου*, [in:] *Πρακτικά Α΄ Αρχαιολογικού και Ιστορικού Συνεδρίου Αιτωλοακαρνανίας (Αγρίνιο 21–23 Οκτ. 1988)*, ed. I. Μεννεγκα, Αγρίνιο 1991, p. 324–327; M. Kiel, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία*…, p. 97; *Οθωμανικές πηγές*…, p. 8, 13, 83–84, 85–86, 89; Α. Παλιουρας, *Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία*…, p. 202; P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 101.

[19] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 709, 722; *Οθωμανικές πηγές*…, p. 71, 241; P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 144; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 282–283, 416–417.

[20] Α. Αβραμεα, *Η Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία μέχρι του 1204. Συμβολή εις την Ιστορικήν Γεωγραφία*, Αθήνα 1974, p. 145; J. Koder, F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*…, p. 152; F. Stählin, *Η Αρχαία Θεσσαλία*, trans. Γ. Παπασωτηριου, Α. Θανοπουλου, Θεσσαλονίκη 2002, p. 357; Μ. Σταματελατος, Β.Φ. Σταματελατος, *Ελληνική Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, vol. I, Αθήνα 1996, p. 171, 343.

[21] P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 149; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 426.

Table 1 (cont.)

Cities	Population (tax units)
Etera Gardikia[22]	89 (1485)
Ezeros[23]	–
Kandela – Varnakas[24]	102 (1521)
Katoche[25]	118 (1521), 136 (1562), 27 (1650)
Ligovitsi – Skourtou[26]	13 (1646/1647)
Loidoriki[27]	103 (1485)
Marmaritzana[28]	–
Mastro[29]	–
Naupaktos[30]	617 (1521)
Ochthia[31]	–

[22] A. ΑΒΡΑΜΕΑ, *Θεσσαλία*…, p. 176; J. KODER, F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*…, p. 161; Γ. ΣΑΛΑΚΙΔΗΣ, Ι. ΘΕΟΧΑΡΙΔΗΣ, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα*…, p. 101, 231; F. STÄHLIN, *Η Αρχαία*…, p. 316; Μ. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΕΛΑΤΟΣ, Β.Φ. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΕΛΑΤΟΣ, *Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*…, vol. III, p. 150.

[23] A. ΑΒΡΑΜΕΑ, *Θεσσαλία*…, p. 174–175; J. KODER, F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*…, p. 158; F. STÄHLIN, *Η Αρχαία*…, p. 281–283; Μ. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΕΛΑΤΟΣ, Β.Φ. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΕΛΑΤΟΣ, *Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*…, vol. III, p. 84.

[24] M. KIEL, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία*…, p. 103; IDEM, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 722; *Οθωμανικές πηγές*…, p. 325, 335, 336; P. SOUSTAL, J. KODER, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 170–171; M. VEIKOU, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 433.

[25] Σ. ΑΣΩΝΙΤΗΣ, *Το Νότιο Ιόνιο*…, p. 51; M. KIEL, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 709, 722; *Οθωμανικές πηγές*…, p. 115, 118–119, 121–122, 142, 153–154, 155, 157, 163, 164–166; P. SOUSTAL, J. KODER, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 174; M. VEIKOU, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 56, 436–437.

[26] *Οθωμανικές πηγές*…, p. 244; P. SOUSTAL, J. KODER, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 200; M. VEIKOU, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 454.

[27] A. ΑΒΡΑΜΕΑ, *Θεσσαλία*…, p. 141; J. KODER, F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*…, p. 283; Γ. ΣΑΛΑΚΙΔΗΣ, Ι. ΘΕΟΧΑΡΙΔΗΣ, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα*…, p. 187; Μ. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΕΛΑΤΟΣ, Β.Φ. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΕΛΑΤΟΣ, *Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*…, vol. II, p. 254.

[28] A. ΑΒΡΑΜΕΑ, *Θεσσαλία*…, p. 178; J. KODER, F. HILD, *Hellas und Thessalia*…, p. 215; F. STÄHLIN, *Η Αρχαία*…, p. 365; Μ. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΕΛΑΤΟΣ, Β.Φ. ΣΤΑΜΑΤΕΛΑΤΟΣ, *Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*…, vol. I, p. 165.

[29] M. KIEL, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία*…, p. 99; P. SOUSTAL, J. KODER, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 202; M. VEIKOU, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 459.

[30] T. GOKBILGIN, *Kanuni*…, p. 247–294; M. KIEL, *Ναύπακτος*…, p. 263–264; Α. ΣΑΒΒΙΔΗΣ, *Η Ναύπακτος*…, p. 45–76; IDEM, *Ιστορικές σημειώσεις*…, p. 469–474; O.J. SCHMITT, *Geschichte Lepantos unter der Venezianerherrschaft (1407–1499)*, SF 56, 1997, p. 43–103; P. SOUSTAL, J. KODER, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 210–211.

[31] Α. ΠΑΛΙΟΥΡΑΣ, *Βυζαντινή Αιτωλοακαρνανία*…, p. 59; P. SOUSTAL, J. KODER, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 217; M. VEIKOU, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 485–486.

Table 1 (cont.)

Cities	Population (tax units)
Paravola[32]	–
Platanos[33]	13 (1454/1455)
Stratos – Gerovilia – Sorovigli[34]	101 (1521)
Trigardo[35]	–
Vlochos[36]	175 (1521)
Vodonitsa – Mendenista[37]	281 (1485)
Vonitsa[38]	132 (1530/1531)
Zetouni – Lamia[39]	597 (1485)

The extant demographic data, covering the period from the 10th to the 15th centuries, are fragmentary and cannot be regarded as an accurate reflection of the actual number of inhabitants at any given time. Likewise, the evidence concerning household size is problematic, owing to the paucity of references regarding the number of family members per household[40].

[32] P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 189; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 489–490.

[33] M. Delilbaşi, M. Arikan, *Hicrî 859*…, p. 162; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 491–492.

[34] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 708, 722; P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 157; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 501–502.

[35] P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 272–273; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 503.

[36] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 722; idem, *Aitwlía-Akarnanía*…, p. 97; P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 150; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 511–512.

[37] J. Koder, F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*…, p. 221–222; W. Miller, *The Marquisate*…, p. 234–249; Γ. Σαλακιδης, Ι. Θεοχαριδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα*…, p. 203, 247.

[38] T. Gokbilgin, *Kanuni*…, p. 260; P. Soustal, J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia*…, p. 128–129; *Οθωμανικές πηγές*…, p. 44–45, 91–92, 104, 347–348, 400; M. Veikou, *Byzantine Epirus*…, p. 513–519.

[39] A. Αβραμεα, *Θεσσαλία*…, p. 141; J. Kabrda, *O Τουρκικός κώδικας (kanunname) της Λαμίας (Συμβολή στη μελέτη των τουρκικών ιστορικών πηγών των σχετικών με την ιστορία της Ελλάδας)*, trans. Σ. Παπαδοπουλος, Ελλ 17, 1962, p. 202–218; J. Koder, F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia*…, p. 283; Γ. Σαλακιδης, Ι. Θεοχαριδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα*…, p. 201; F. Stählin, *Η Αρχαία*…, p. 321–322; Μ. Σταματελατος, Β.Φ. Σταματελατος, *Γεωγραφική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*…, vol. II, p. 218.

[40] Naupaktos had 1,417 individuals (7 in the 11th century, 8 in the 12th century, 64 in the 13th century, 22 in the 14th century, 1,316 in the 15th century, and an unspecified number of public officials – tax collectors, night watchmen, officers, and soldiers – and representatives of various professional groups, such as masons, carpenters, and builders). Vonitsa had 34 individuals (21 in the 13th century, 11 in the 14th century, 2 in the 15th century). Angelokastro had 10 individuals (3 in the 13th century, 3 in the 14th century, 4 in the 15th century). Kandela – Varnakas had 2 individuals (2 in the

Table 2

Household	Number of members
– Konstantinos Manasses, Metropolitan of Naupaktos – Ioannes Apokaukos, Metropolitan of Naupaktos, nephew of Konstantinos Manasses	2
– wife of a priest (not named) – mother of a priest's wife (not named)	2
– Alexios Pyrros – Anna, wife of Alexios Pyrros – Leon, brother of Alexios Pyrros – sister of Alexios Pyrros (not named) – Kastamonitēs, father-in-law of Alexios Pyrros	5
– Theodoros – Eudokia, wife of Theodoros – Georgios Patrinos father-in-law of Theodoros	3
– Demetrios – wife of Demetrios (not named) – Nikolaos, brother-in-law of Demetrios	3
– Stephanos Mauromanikos – Archonto, wife of Stephanos Mauromanikos – Vasileios Klostos, father-in-law of Stephanos Mauromanikos – Alethine, mother-in-law of Stephanos Mauromanikos	4
– Konstantinos Monomachos – wife of Konstantinos Monomachos (not named) – Theodoros Isaris, father-in-law of Konstantinos Monomachos	3

15th century). Dragamesto had 2 individuals (1 in the 13th century, 1 in the 15th century). Anatoliko – Aitoliko had 4 individuals (all in the 13th century). Aetos had 3 individuals (2 in the 13th century, 1 and an unspecified number of residents in the 15th century). Zetouni – Lamia had 5 individuals (3 in the 13th century, 1 in the 14th century, 1 in the 15th century). Vodonitsa – Mendenista had 16 individuals (5 in the 13th century, 7 in the 14th century, 4 and an unspecified number of peasants in the 15th century). Ezeros had 5 individuals (3 and an unspecified number of residents in the 10th century, 2 and an unspecified number of fishermen in the 13th century). Etera Gardikia had 9 individuals (an unspecified number of Greeks and Jews in the 12th century, 9 residents in the 13th century). Marmaritzana had 1 individual (in the 10th century), and Loidoriki had an unspecified number of soldiers in the 13th century.

Table 2 (cont.)

Household	Number of members
– Ioannes Stylianos – Kale, wife of Ioannes Stylianos – Konstantinos Mylonas, father-in-law of Ioannes Stylianos	3
– Konstantinos Papaioannopoulos – Anna, wife of Konstantinos Papaioannopoulos	2
– couple (not named)	2
– Signorinos (Syniorinus) – Kalodikes (Calodicus), brother of Signorinos (Syniorinus)	2
– Chomatianos (Comitianus) – nephew of Chomatianos (not named)	2
– Gregoriza – son of Gregoriza (not named)	2
– Symeon Sgouropoulos – Vlasia, daughter of Symeon Sgouropoulos – Nikolaos, husband of Vlasia and son-in-law of Symeon Sgouropoulos	3
– Gregorios from Armenia – Georgios, brother-in-law of Gregorios from Armenia – Theodoros, brother-in-law of Gregorios from Armenia – sisters of Gregorios from Armenia (not named)	4–(?)
– Taronites Xenos – wife of Taronites Xenos (not named) – daughter of Taronites Xenos (not named)	3
– Laviotissa – son of Laviotissa (not named)	2
– Archontitzes – wife of Archontitzes – mother-in-law of Archontitzes (not named)	3
– Guido Pallavicini – Ubertino, son of Guido – Isabella, daughter of Guido – husband of Isabella (not named) – Tomasso, nephew of Guido	5

Table 2 (cont.)

Household	Number of members
– Alberto Pallavicini, son of Tomasso – Maria de la Carceri, wife of Alberto – Gulielma, daughter of Alberto Pallavicini	3
– Gulielma, daughter of Alberto Pallavicini – Bartolomeo Zaccaria, first husband of Gulielma – Niccolo Giorgio, second husband of Gulielma – Marulla, daughter of Gulielma Pallavicini and Bartolomeo Zaccaria – Francesco, son of Gulielma Pallavicini and Niccolò Giorgio	5
– Giacomo Giorgio, son of Francesco – Niccolò III Giorgio, son of Francesco – wife of Niccolò III Giorgio (not named) – Niccolò II Giorgio, son of Giacomo	4
Average number of members	3.05

With the exception of Naupaktos, the majority of references date to the 12th and 13th centuries, followed by those of the 14th century. This phenomenon may be attributed primarily to the nature of the extant sources, particularly the information – occasionally quantitative in character, a rarity for the Byzantine period – supplied by Benjamin of Tudela and Ioannes Apokaukos. On the basis of the available evidence, it is possible to reconstruct in part the structure of households, thereby permitting certain hypotheses regarding the calculation of the household ratio, while bearing in mind the limitation that, in most instances, not all family members are recorded. In Naupaktos, during the 13th century, the following individuals are attested: Konstantinos Manasses together with his nephew Ioannes Apokaukos; the unnamed wife of a priest and her mother; Alexios Pyrros and his wife Anna, his brother Leon, his unnamed sister, and his father-in-law Kastamonites; Theodoros and his wife Eudokia, along with his father-in-law Georgios Patrinos; Demetrios and his unnamed wife, together with his brother-in-law Nikolaos; Stephanos Mavromanikos and his wife Archonto, his father-in-law Vasileios Klōstos and his mother-in-law Alethine; Konstantinos Monomachos and his unnamed wife, with his father-in-law Theodoros Isaris; Ioannes Stylianos and his wife Kale, together with his father-in-law Konstantinos Mylonas; Konstantinos Papaioannopoulos and his wife Anna; an anonymous couple. In the 14th century, the sources attest to Signorinos (Syniorinus) together with his brother Kalodikes (Calodicus), as well as Chomatianos (Comitianus) and an unnamed nephew; in the 15th century, Gregoriza appears, accompanied by an unnamed son. For Vonitsa in the 13th century, attested individuals include Symeon Sgouropoulos, his

daughter Vlasia and son-in-law Nikolaos, alongside Gregorios of Armenia with his brothers-in-law Georgios and Theodoros and unnamed sisters. In Angelokastro during the same century, Taronites Xenos is recorded with his wife and daughter; in Etera Gardikia, Laviotissa with an unnamed son; and in Anatoliko – Aitoliko, Archontitzes together with his unnamed wife and mother-in-law. In Bodonitsa – Mendenitsa, the data derive exclusively from the Pallavicini family and extend over a time span covering the period from the 13th to the early 15th century. In the 13th century, Guido is mentioned, together with his son Ubertino, his daughter Isabella and her unnamed husband, as well as his cousin Tomasso. In the 14th century, reference is made to Tomasso's son Alberto, Alberto's wife Maria de la Carceri, and their daughter Gulielma; to Gulielma's first husband, Bartolomeo Zaccaria, and her second husband, Niccolò Giorgio; as well as to her children from both marriages, Marulla from the first and Francesco from the second. In the 15th century, the sources attest to Francesco's sons, Giacomo and Niccolò III, Giacomo's son Niccolò II, and the unnamed wife of Niccolò III. The aggregate evidence suggests that the mean household size in the urban centers of Central Greece amounted to 3.05 persons.

Following the Ottoman conquest – an event that marked the beginning of systematically recorded quantitative data – certain urban centers emerged as the most prominent within the region. Among these were Naupaktos, Zetouni – Lamia, Anatoliko – Aitoliko, Vodonitsa – Mendenitsa, and Aetos. In addition to these recognized urban centers, several settlements that ceased to be classified as cities under the Ottoman administrative framework – such as Astakos (Dragamestos), Katochi, Kandela (Varnakas), and Stratos (including the associated sites of Gerovilia and Sorovigli) – nonetheless exhibited considerable demographic strength, with population figures in some cases comparable to those of the officially designated cities. Based on the earliest available tahrir records for each settlement – acknowledging that data are frequently drawn from multiple registers, as shown in the accompanying table – the total number of households documented amounts to 1,657 in Aetoloakarnania, 878 in Fthiotida, and 103 in Phocis[41]. Furthermore, the sources attest to a limited Muslim presence in the region, with 171 and 15 taxable units (hâne) recorded in Fthiotida and Phocis, respectively. These figures represent 19.47% and 14.85% of the total registered tax units in each area. Considering the relatively brief interval between the composition of the earliest Ottoman cadastral surveys and the initial consolidation of Ottoman control over the region, these data permit reasonably reliable inferences regarding the demographic and

[41] For this see Γ. Τερεζακης, *Ο χώρος της Στερεάς Ελλάδος, 12ος–15ος αιώνας: Οι κοινωνικοί και οικονομικοί μηχανισμοί της διαμόρφωσης και εξέλιξης του οικιστικού πλέγματος*, University of Peloponnese 2022 (unpublished post-doc research), p. 83–92, 114, 119–120, 125–130, 134, 143, 148–149, 153–154, 157, 159–160, 165, 167–168 (Aitoloakarnania), 182–187, 196, 208–209 (Fthiotida), 212 (Phocis).

settlement patterns of the immediately preceding period[42]. In this context, it may be inferred that there was no large-scale influx of Muslim populations into the region during the initial phase of Ottoman rule. Rather, the demographic continuity suggests the sustained presence of the pre-existing (i.e., Byzantine-era) Christian population.

Regarding the prevailing economic activities, urban centers functioned predominantly as hubs of commercial and artisanal production throughout the examined period. This phenomenon can largely be attributed to the concentration of surplus agricultural output from the surrounding rural hinterlands within these cities. Focusing on the timeframe spanning from the mid-12th century to the early 15th century, extant evidence drawn from both Byzantine and Western sources underscores the expansion and diversification of commercial and craft enterprises in the principal urban localities of the region, notably Naupaktos[43], Vonitsa[44], Anatoliko – Aetoliko, Zetouni – Lamia[45], Vodonitsa – Mendenitsa[46], Ezeros[47], Echinos[48], and Etera Gardikia[49]. Particular emphasis should be placed on the case

[42] For insights into the significance of early Ottoman-period sources for the study of the region, see A. Σαββιδης, *Ιστορικές σημειώσεις*…, p. 472.

[43] Benjamin of Tudela, p. 13; Edrisi, p. 122; N. Bees, *Unedierte*…, p. 84–85, 95–96; A. Παπαδοπουλος-Κεραμευς, *Ιωάννης Απόκαυκος και Νικήτας Χωνιάτης*, [in:] *Τεσσαρακονταετηρίς της καθηγεσίας Κ.Σ. Κοντου: Φιλολογικαί Διατριβαί υπό των μαθητών και θαυμαστών αυτού προσφερόμεναι*, Αθήνα 1909, p. 378; S. Petrides, *Lettres*…, p. 18; Γ.Σ. Πλουμιδης, *Έγγραφα για τη Βενετοκρατούμενη Ναύπακτο (1444–1510)*, ΕΕΒΣ 39, 1972–1973, p. 494, 495, 496, 497, 499–500; R. Predelli, *Il ciber communis (Liber Plegiorum)*, [in:] *Archivio Veneto III–VIII supplement*, Venice 1872–1874, p. 184–185; K.N. Σαθας, *Μνημεία Ελληνικής*…, vol. III, p. 136–137, 142–143, 156, 242, 413–414, 458; T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. III, p. 251–252; F. Thiriet, *Régestes deliberations*…, vol. III, no. 1612, no. 1630, no. 1650, no. 1687, no. 1867, no. 2274, no. 2505, no. 2938, no. 3095, no. 3113; V. Vasilievskiji, *Epirotica saeculi XIII*, BB 3, 1896, p. 296–299.

[44] Chronicle of the Tocco, p. 226, 498; E. Ziebarth, *Κυριακός ο εξ Αγκώνος εν Ηπείρω*, ΗΧ 1, 1926, p. 115; Edrisi, p. 121; B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au Moyen Âge*, Paris–Den Haag 1961, p. 237–238, 302, 309–310, 388, 409; T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. I, p. 52, 118, 184; V. Vasilievskiji, *Epirotica*…, p. 252.

[45] *Acta Albaniae*…, vol. IV, p. 55–59, vol. V, p. 55–59, 120–121, vol. X, p. 159, vol. XXII, p. 85; N. Bees, *Unedierte*…, p. 92–94; K.N. Σαθας, *Μνημεία Ελληνικής*…, vol. I, p. 31, 35–36, 214, vol. II, p. 186–189, 220, vol. III, p. 267; T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. I, p. 471, 491.

[46] T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. III, p. 201, 213, 218, 222; F. Thiriet, *Régestes deliberations*…, vol. I, p. 57–58; *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*…, p. 203; A. Tzavara, *Nicolò I^er Zorzi, marquis de Bondonitsa, et son héritage, 1335–1414*, Θη 44, 2014, p. 57–61, 68, 72–75.

[47] T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. I, p. 267, 279.

[48] Γ. Νικολαου, *Νομισματική κυκλοφορία στη Βυζαντινή Θεσσαλία*, [in:] *Το νόμισμα στο Θεσσαλικό χώρο: νομισματοκοπεία, κυκλοφορία, εικονογραφία, ιστορία. Αρχαίοι, Βυζαντινοί, νεότεροι χρόνοι. Πρακτικά συνεδρίου της Γ΄ Επιστημονικής Συνάντησης*, ed. Λ. Κυπραιου, Αθήνα 2004, p. 579, 585.

[49] *Acta Innocentii III. Romani Pontificis Regestorum sive Epistolarum libri XVI*, [in:] *PL*, vol. CCXVI, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1855, col. 297–298, 304, 591–594, 911; Benjamin of Tudela, p. 63; Γ. Νικολαου, *Νομισματική κυκλοφορία*…, p. 579–580; T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. III, p. 195, 205, 223; V. Vasilievskiji, *Epirotica*…, p. 279–280.

of Naupaktos, as the most important urban center of the region. In 1198, in the chrysobull of Alexios III Angelos in favor of the Venetians, it is mentioned among the cities in which the Venetians enjoyed commercial privileges[50]. This reference, combined with the accounts of mid-12th-century travelers such as Idrisi and Benjamin of Tudela, conveys the image of a thriving city with a wide range of economic activities[51]. This is also reflected in the treaty of 20 June 1210, by which Doge Pietro Ziani granted Naupaktos/Nepantum to Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epirus, establishing as a fundamental term of the agreement – as emphasized by A. Savvides – that Venice would retain nominal suzerainty as well as its privileged status in commercial transactions, while a provision was also made to guarantee freedom of navigation[52]. The scale of commercial transactions is also indirectly indicated by reports of lost merchandise due to piracy in the late 12th and early 13th centuries, on routes originating from or passing through the port of Naupaktos[53]. Even more revealing is the letter of Ioannes Apokaukos to Theodore I Komnenos Doukas. According to the letter, in 1218, Theodore I Komnenos Doukas imposed on the local metropolitan a special levy totaling 1,000 gold coins to cover the expenses of organizing a naval expedition, a measure that provoked a protest from Apokaukos[54]. According to the letter, the taxation of the *paroikoi* under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan amounted to 180 gold coins annually[55]. The issue of over-taxation is highlighted by the indication of the total value of the assets of the metropolitan and the *paroikoi*, which amounted to 1,000 trachea[56]. The letter further details the metropolitan's contributions in the recent past to Theodore I Komnenos Doukas, including unspecified amounts of gold, textiles, provisions, wine, horses, and other livestock[57]. It is noted that the value of the contributions amounted to 343 hyperpyra, reaching a total of 500 when the value of the horses that were offered is included[58]. In another letter from Apokaukos to the intermediary (mesazon) Nikephoros Gorianites, oxen and sheep are mentioned, as well as the provision of bread[59]. The evidence highlights both the substantial local agricultural and pastoral production and the prominent role of Naupaktos, as the surplus from the primary sector was funneled to the city[60]. In 1228, the privileges conferred

[50] T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. I, p. 258–272.
[51] Edrisi, *Géographie*…, p. 122; Benjamin of Tudela, p. 62–63.
[52] T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. II, p. 121. For this see A. Σαββιδης, *Η Ναύπακτος*…, p. 54.
[53] V. Vasilievskiji, *Epirotica*…, p. 296–299.
[54] S. Petrides, *Lettres*…, p. 11.
[55] *Ibidem*.
[56] *Ibidem*, p. 13.
[57] *Ibidem*, p. 12.
[58] *Ibidem*.
[59] *Ibidem*, p. 14.
[60] The discovery of the so-called "Treasure of Agrinio", comprising 53 gold coins dating to before 1204 and an additional 253 coins from the reign of John III Doukas Vatatzes (1222–1254), provides

by Theodore I Komnenos Doukas upon the local metropolitan included exemption from specific taxes[61]. The metropolitan's former obligations are distinguished into two categories: monetary, as evidenced by the tax demands in coin, and in-kind contributions[62]. A point of particular importance is the exemption from tax levies granted to the labor force subject to the metropolitan's authority[63]. The data largely reveal the nature of local economic activities, as they refer to the development of the primary sector (agricultural and pastoral activities), handicrafts in the textile industry, and other occupations, such as fishing, which engaged a significant portion of the population[64]. Comparable data are evident for the subsequent period under Venetian rule, demonstrating that the region was integrated into a wider commercial network, with documented trade routes to Methone and Corfu. Additionally, at least one source explicitly attests to the maritime connection between Naupaktos and Alexandria in 1479[65].

Early Ottoman fiscal registers offer valuable data regarding the taxation responsibilities imposed on urban inhabitants:

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evidence that the wider region of Aitoloakarnania during the period under study was inhabited by individuals possessing substantial quantities of gold. Furthermore, it underscores the impact of conditions of political and social unrest on monetary circulation, as reflected in the practice of coin hoarding. For the "Treasure of Agrinio", see D.M. Metcalf, *The Agrinion Hoard Gold Hyperpyra of John III Vatatzes*, NC 20, 1980, p. 113–131.

[61] V. Vasilievskiji, *Epirotica*…, p. 297: *The confirmation and authentication of the entitlements to various rights, whether ancient or later royal decrees, wills, donations, sealed official documents, customary written and unwritten records, and any other partial or general right, up to the point of being fully recognized by the metropolis.*

[62] A characteristic example is the *sitarcismós* tax of the castle, which consisted in supplying the castle with provisions. For a more detailed discussion, see N. Oikonomides, *The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy*, [in:] *The Economic History of Byzantium: From the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, ed. A. Laiou, Washington 2002, p. 1000.

[63] V. Vasilievskiji, *Epirotica*…, p. 298: […] *and it commands, by the royal authority granted to it by God, that neither the peasants in the surrounding area of Naupaktos nor any of its inhabitants shall be subjected to forced labor, exactions, or any kind of levies by my brother of the kingdom; nor shall the clergy, their draft animals, the tenants, or their livestock be burdened; nor shall the fishermen or others engaged in activities within its domain be drawn into maritime service; nor shall they be prevented from fishing in the sea. Likewise, the artisans under the metropolis – those who work in textiles, tanners, tailors, and unskilled tenants – shall not be conscripted, either in part or entirely, by my brother of the kingdom, nor shall they suffer any harm or exaction from him, as decreed by my kingdom.*

[64] V. Vasilievskiji, *Epirotica*…, p. 297: […] *exempting this church from all public taxes, levies, burdens, and liturgical obligations. And it commands that from now on and forevermore this most holy metropolis shall not be subjected to any maritime contribution, to the sitarcismós of any castle, to the provision of construction materials, to the tithe of pigs, or to the demand for coinage, imposed anywhere in the region by the authority of my kingdom, nor to any other tribute, exaction, forced labor, or public assessment, whatever name it might be called, whether existing now or to be devised in the future.*

[65] Γ.Σ. Πλουμιδης, *Έγγραφα*…, p. 494–495 (9–7–1464); F. Thiriet, *Régestes deliberations*…, vol. III, no. 2274; K.N. Σαθας, *Μνημεία Ελληνικής*…, vol. III, p. 413–414 (24–3–1432).

Table 3

Cities	Tax charge (in aspra)					
	1485	1521	1528	1530/1531	1562	Average tax burden
Angelokastro[66]	–	–	21.002	–	–	145.84 (1528)
Aetos[67]	–	121 and 60 aspra on the monasteries of Agios Nikolaos and Agia Varvara, respectively	–	–	121 and 60 aspra on the monasteries of Agios Nikolaos and Agia Varvara, respectively	–
Anatoliko – Aetoliko[68]	–	7.270 aspra from operating the local port and 142,000 coins from farming throughout the sanjak	–	–	260.124 aspra from fish farms in the Aspropotamos delta	–
Loidoriki[69]	8.984	–	–	–	–	87.22 (1485)
Naupaktos[70]	–	213.830	212.837	–	–	346.56 (1521)
Vlochos[71]	–	127 aspra on the monastery of "Panayoris"	–	–	–	–
Vodonitsa – Mendenitsa[72]	37.253	–	–	–	–	132.57 (1485)
Vonitsa[73]	–	–	18.484	18.484	–	140 (1530/1531)

[66] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 708–709, 722; idem, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία*…, p. 105, 107.
[67] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 709, 722; idem, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία*…, p. 107.
[68] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 708–709, 722; idem, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία*…, p. 107.
[69] Γ. Σαλακίδης, Ι. Θεοχαρίδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα*…, p. 187.
[70] T. Gokbilgin, *Kanuni*…, p. 258, 277.
[71] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 727.
[72] Γ. Σαλακίδης, Ι. Θεοχαρίδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα*…, p. 213.
[73] T. Gokbilgin, *Kanuni*…, p. 260; *Οθωμανικές πηγές*…, p. 91–92.

Table 3 (cont.)

Cities	Tax charge (in aspra)					
	1485	1521	1528	1530/1531	1562	Average tax burden
Zetouni – Lamia[74]	161.084	–	–	–	–	269.82 (1485)
The average tax burden per household is calculated exclusively for years in which both population data and total tax assessments are available, with the specific year indicated in parentheses						

The extant data underscore the significance of the urban centers of Naupaktos and Zetouni – Lamia, as evidenced by the elevated tax burden per taxable unit. However, the aggregated nature of the surviving fiscal records limits the granularity of tax burdens by economic activity. An exception is provided by Zetouni – Lamia, where 74.95% of the assessed taxes derive from the cultivation and commercial exploitation of indigo, while commercial enterprises constitute 27.95% of the total tax revenue[75]. The residual tax liabilities, which presumably represent a subordinate component, pertain to the production and processing of cereals, fruits and vegetables, rice cultivation, and fishing. This distribution corroborates the participation of urban inhabitants in primary sector activities. It is noteworthy that the professional affiliations of city residents are largely unrecorded, with the sole exception of four Christian individuals in Zetouni – Lamia documented as engaged in the trade of salt[76]. Furthermore, the presence of 84 Jewish households in Naupaktos provides clear evidence of the development of commercial and artisanal sectors, particularly when considered alongside the comparatively higher tax burden imposed on Naupaktos residents relative to other urban centers in the region[77].

2.3. The villages of Sterea Hellas

Regarding rural settlements, documentary evidence indicates that between the 11th and early 15th centuries, there were 68 settlements in Aetoloakarnania, 13 in Fthiotida, and 3 in Evrytania[78]. In Aetoloakarnania, the settlement network is distributed around the principal urban centers of the region, namely Naupaktos, Vonitsa, Anatoliko – Aetoliko, Angelokastro, and Amphilochia. In Phthiotis, a total of four settlements have been identified, all situated in the periphery of the region's

[74] Γ. Σαλακιδης, Ι. Θεοχαριδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα*…, p. 201.
[75] *Ibidem*.
[76] *Ibidem*.
[77] T. Gokbilgin, *Kanuni*…, p. 277; also see M. Kiel, *Ναύπακτος*…, p. 263–264.
[78] For this see Γ. Τερεζακης, *Ο χώρος της Στερεάς Ελλάδος*…, p. 221–244 (Aitoloakarnania), p. 254–265 (Eyrytania), p. 267–275 (Pthiotida).

primary city, Nea Patra. In Evrytania, only three settlements are documented, located to the north of Agrapha. By the mid-15th century, records document the existence of 55 Christian settlements in Evrytania, 49 in Aetoloakarnania, and in Fthiotida, 2 Christian settlements, 1 mixed (Christian-Muslim) settlement, and 1 Muslim settlement[79]. However, by 1485, documentation for Fthiotida indicates a reduction to 22 Christian settlements alongside a single Muslim settlement[80]. The majority of settlements documented in the mid-15th century are likely continuations of pre-existing communities, as evidenced by the temporal proximity of the BBA/MM 10 inventory to the preceding period. The limited presence of Muslims – recorded in only three settlements within Fthiotida – further indicates that the influx of Muslim populations into the region was minimal. Consequently, this demographic factor appears not to have substantially altered the population distribution or the residential network established in the earlier period[81]. Concerning the size of the villages, the available data presents the following overall distribution:

Table 4

Population (tax units)	Number of villages
100 >	14
50–99	14
20–49	31
20 <	67

The data indicate that the majority of settlements were relatively small, with most comprising fewer than 20 tax units. Nevertheless, notable exceptions exist, as 14 settlements are recorded with populations exceeding 100 tax units each[82]. Unfortunately, for the period between the 11th and 15th centuries, the available data do not allow for the reconstruction of household structures or the determination of the household ratio. The only documented case concerns a couple from the Malaina region (22 km southeast of Anatoliko – Aetoliko) – a young man

[79] *Ibidem*, p. 221–244, 254–265, 267–275.

[80] Γ. Σαλακιδης, Ι. Θεοχαριδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα…*, p. 73, 99, 103, 183, 197, 203, 205, 207, 227, 231, 232, 243, 246, 247, 248; also see Γ. Τερεζακης, *Ο χώρος της Στερεάς Ελλάδος…*, p. 268–275.

[81] M. Delilbaşi, M. Arikan, *Hicrî 859…*, p. 257, 262; Γ. Σαλακιδης, Ι. Θεοχαριδης, *Η κεντρική Ελλάδα…*, p. 99, 231.

[82] For the size of medieval Balkan villages, see A. Laiou-Thomadakis, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire. A Social and Demographic Study*, Princeton 1977, p. 38; А. Каждан, *Аграрные отношения в Византии XIII–XV вв.*, Москва 1952, p. 69–70.

and an older woman – who ultimately divorced[83]. By the mid-15th century, the demographic distribution reveals that Evrytania (2,521 households) and Aetoloakarnania (695 households) were inhabited exclusively by Christians. In contrast, Fthiotida, according to the 1485 census, exhibited a predominantly Christian population, consisting of 1,670 households, alongside a minor Muslim presence totaling 31 households. In 1454/1455, Evrytania registered the highest average population density per settlement with 46.38 households, followed by Fthiotida with 14.5 households and Aetoloakarnania with 14.18 households. By 1485, Fthiotida experienced a marked increase in average settlement size, with the average number of households per settlement rising to 73.95, relative to the earlier BBA/MM 10 register data. These figures suggest that the population experienced limited demographic shifts between the two periods, corroborated by the examination of available anthroponyms from the settlements of Agios Ioannes Prodromos and Kedra/Chorigovo in Evrytania (1454/1455), which further confirms the minimal Muslim demographic presence.

a) Agios Ioannes Prodromos (karye-i Ziliniç)[84]

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Yanis Turkos; Ginis Turkos; Yanis Turkos; Yorgis Yani Turkos; bive Rakovya; Nikolas Raykos; Dimas Raykos; Todoris Paskos; Likas Raykos; Yanis Raykos; Yorgis Raykos; bive Kirana Turina; Yanis Uzguros; Yorgis Uzguros; Petros Uzguros; Yorgis Raykos; Yanis Zoyos; Nikolas Turupos; Istathis Turupos; Mihalis Turupos; bive Istatira-i Kosta; Mihalis Vuhisis (?); Mihalis Petrikusis; Yanis Maravelisis; Yorgis Kondaratos; Mihalis Maravelisis; Dimitris Maravelisis; Gönis Kunduratos; Papas Yani Porotopapa; Yorgis Peçisis; Dimitris Peçis; Nikolas Viratopulos; Papas Istathis; Yorgis Paskos; Dimitris Paskos; Yorgis Turupos; Gönis Turupos; Mihalis Simonisis; Nikos (Yangos?) Simonisis; Istathis Papadopulos; Istefanos Harakopulos; Istefanos Çaykas; Manolis Çaykas; Dimitris Çaykas; Yanis Zagoriti; Andreyas Arvanid; bive Kali Bogrena; Pavlos Mihalopulos; Petros Andiriças; Mihalis Andiriças;

298a

Gönis Andiriças; Nikolas Andiriças; Istamadis Andiriças; Mihalis Andiriças; Yanis Metaksas; bive Disa (Visa)-i Turko; Yorgis veled-i Turpos; Yorgis Nikola Turpo; Mihalis Metaksas; Yorgis Mihali Turpo; Yorgis Andiriças; Nikolas Andiriças; Dimitris Andiriças; Pavlos Çaykas; Yorgis Çaykas; Kostas Metaksas; Dimitris Çaykas; Istefanos Çaykas; Aleksis Andiriças; Todoris Andiriças; Dimitris Porotopapa;

[83] N. Bees, *Unedierte*…, p. 109–110.

[84] The names of the Christian residents of the above settlements were transcribed from the original and made available to me by professor Konstantinos Moustakas, to whom I express my gratitude.

Yanis Andiriças; Todoris Mihalis; Todoris Çaykas; Petros Turkos; Mihalis Çaykas; Yanis Çaykas; Nikolas Martinos;
Hane: 74, bive: 4

b) Kedra/Chorigovo (karye-i Horikova)

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Yorgis Sakudas; Andreyas Sarkudas; Istathis Lanconatos; Yorgis Horihovidis; Nikolas Horihovidis;

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Nikolas Sosanisis; Todoris Palivotis; Murikis Horihovidis; Yanis Sosanisis; Yorgis Sosanisis; Andreyas Lanconatos; Manolis Horihovidis; Istathis Horihovidis; Yorgis Lanconatos; Yorgis Horihovidis; Nikolas Horihovidis; Dimitris Sosanisis; Todoris Lanconatos; Nikolas Lanconatos; Ginis Dimulas; Yanis Sayinas; Yorgis Sosanisis; Dimitris Vayenas; Yanis Sosanisis; Yorgis Sosanisis; Nikolas Sosanisis; Yorgis Kapuçis; Mihalis Sosanisis; Todoris Sosanisis; Dimitris Sosanis; Mihalis Uskuras; Kostas Sarkudas; Todoris Horihovidis; bive Maria-i Sayta; bive Ifrosini-i Pavlo; bive Istamata Arihotana; Yorgis Sosanisis; Todoris Sosanisis; Mihalis Horihovid; Papas Todoris; Yanis Arkudas; Nikolas Lanconatos; Yorgis veled-i Papa Todoris; Nikolas Horihovid; Yorgis Sosanisis; Raykos Sosanisis; Yanis Arkudas; Yorgis Lanconatos; Manolis Harkovidis; Kostas Baros; Todoris Barusis; Papas Nikolas; Manolis birader-i Papas; Todoris Halkas; Istathis Yorgis;
Hane: 47, Mücerred: 6, bive: 3

The anthroponyms recorded are predominantly of Greek origin, further supporting the limited influx of new settlers into the region. This is evidenced by the village of Agios Ioannes Prodromos, where only a single inhabitant is identified as Arvanitis, while six individuals bear the designation Tourkos ("Turk"). With respect to household structure and the assessment of the household ratio, the anthroponyms recorded in the village of Agios Ioannes Prodromos indicate the presence of families carrying the following surnames: Andiriças (12), Çaykas (8), Maravelisis (3), Paskos (2), Peçisis – Peçis (2), Raykos (6), Turkos (6), Simonisis (2), Turpo (3), Turupos (5). The resulting kinship ties are as follows: Yorgis (son) of ani Turkos, Papas Yani (son) of Porotopapa, Yorgis (son) of Turpos, Yorgis (son) of Nikola Turpo, Yorgis (son) of Mihali Turpo, Todoris (son) of Mihalis. The following families are found in the village of Kedra/Chorigovo: Sakudas – Sarkudas (3), Lanconatos (7), Horihovidis (10), Sosanisis (15). The resulting kinship ties are as follows: Maria widow of Sayta, Ifrosini widow of Pavlo, Istamata widow of Arihotana, Yorgis (son) of Papa Todoris, Manolis brother of Papas, Istathis (son) of Yorgis. A comparable pattern is observed in the analysis of the anthroponyms

documented in the katholikon of the Prousos Monastery, dated to 1518. Among the recorded names are: monk Martyrios; priest Konstantinos; Demetrios, son of priest Konstantinos; priest Nikolaos; wife of priest Nikolaos; son of priest Nikolaos; grammatikos Theodoros; priest Ioannes; Nikolaos the Serb; wife of Nikolaos the Serb; Ioannes Aravantinos; bishop Makarios; painter Georgios Papadopoulos; Demetrios, son of Georgios Papadopoulos[85]. The mean household size amounted to 2.06 persons.

The majority of the recorded individuals are residents of the wider Prousos region, primarily engaged in the administrative functions of the church and the local monastery. There is no indication of significant migratory movements into the area from earlier periods, with the exception of Nikolaos the Serb, whose surname denotes probable Serbian origin. Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that by the early 16th century, there was evidence of a localized influx of Muslim settlers, exemplified by the village of Pozikište. According to M. Kiel, Pozikište, situated in the lower Acheloos region, comprised 286 households whose inhabitants were engaged predominantly in rice cultivation[86]. Although M. Kiel does not explicitly specify the religious affiliation of the inhabitants, rice cultivation in the region is commonly associated with Muslim communities. Consequently, it can be inferred that the residents of Pozikište were most likely Muslims who had recently settled in the area and engaged in rice cultivation[87].

The examination of archival sources dating from the 11th to the 15th centuries elucidates the progressive development of both the primary and secondary economic sectors. Documentary evidence indicates that the local population engaged extensively in cereal cultivation[88], viticulture[89], oil extraction[90], and animal husbandry[91]. Such productive activities appear to have generated surpluses that, in turn, facilitated the expansion of trade networks and artisanal production[92]. Indicatively, we may refer to the testimony of Apokaukos, who mentions

[85] Π. Πουλιτσας, *Επιγραφαί, ενθυμήσεις και σιγίλλια εξ Ευρυτανίας*, ΕΕΒΣ 3, 1936, p. 264–265.

[86] M. Kiel, *Population and Settlement*…, p. 709; idem, *Αιτωλία-Ακαρνανία*…, p. 107, 108.

[87] For the introduction of rice cultivation, see Κ. Μουστακας, *Όψεις της μετάβασης στο οικονομικό και στο δημογραφικό πεδίο*, [in:] ed. Τ. Κιουσοπουλου, *Η Άλωση της Κωνσταντινούπολης και η μετάβαση από τους μεσαιωνικούς στους νεώτερους χρόνους*, Ηράκλειο 2005, p. 87–105.

[88] N. Bees, *Unedierte*…, p. 87, 239–241; S. Petrides, *Lettres*…, p. 7–8; F. Thiriet, *Régestes deliberations*…, vol. II, p. 219.

[89] N. Bees, *Unedierte*…, p. 62–64.

[90] Κ.Ν. Σαθας, *Χρονικόν Γαλαξειδίου ή Ιστορία Αμφίσσης, Ναυπάκτου, Γαλαξειδίου, Λοιδορικίου και των περιχώρων, από των αρχαιοτάτων μέχρι των καθ' ημάς χρόνων, μετά προλεγομένων και άλλων ιστορικών σημειώσεων*, Αθήνα 1865, p. 42–44; Β. Κατσαρος, *Ζητήματα ιστορίας ενός Βυζαντινού ναού κοντά στο Ευπάλιο Δωρίδος*, Βυζ 10, 1980, p. 35–36.

[91] Α. Παπαδοπουλος-Κεραμευς, *Συμβολή εις την Ιστορίαν της αρχιεπισκοπής Αχρίδος*, [in:] *Recueil de mémoires en l'honneur de l'académicien B.J. Lamanskij*, vol. I, S. Petersburg 1907, p. 245; F. Thiriet, *Régestes deliberations*…, vol. II, p. 219.

[92] Benjamin of Tudela, p. 63; Ά. Γιαλουρη, *Αγροικία – βιοτεχνική εγκατάσταση στη θέση «Άγιος Δημήτριος» Καινούργιου Ν. Φθιώτιδας*, ΑΕΘΣΕ 2, 2006, p. 1251–1252; T. Tafel, G. Thomas, *Urkunden*…, vol. I, p. 266, 279.

a *paroikia* near Naupaktos, which he ironically characterizes as the "kellathraia monastery"[93], and records in detail the local products. He speaks of the storage of goods such as wheat, barley, millet, legumes, straw, and firewood, thereby highlighting the importance of the primary sector in the local economy, particularly cereals, including those that could be used as animal fodder. In the same passage, Apokaukos also refers to animal husbandry and notes the presence of horses, cattle, sheep, geese, pigeons, and dogs[94]. The same source once again confirms the predominant importance of cereal production and animal husbandry in the immediate region of Naupaktos[95]. Additional evidence regarding the activities of the rural population in the Naupaktos area derives from a note found in a document of the Monastery of the Dormition of the Theotokos at Varnakova (14 km NE of Naupaktos), which essentially serves as a chronicle of its history[96]. Among other things, it records the ownership of 670 olive trees and one olive press[97]. This constitutes a rare testimony from a source of the period that provides quantitative data. In any case, the number of trees underscores the scale of the monastery's landed property and the volume of its production, a fact that rendered the existence of an olive press indispensable for the processing of the crop. A later document of the Venetian Senate, dated 13 January 1458, refers to the productive capacities of the area of Milissi, located near the settlement of Galatas, approximately 20 km southeast of Anatoliko – Aitoliko. This testimony is of major significance, given its chronological proximity to the Ottoman conquest of the region. Specifically, the document records that the area was highly productive, with an annual yield of 300 stara of wheat and 200 stara of barley and millet, while it also sustained the raising of 200 sheep and goats as well as 100 pigs[98]. Thus, it presents the picture of a landscape under intensive exploitation through the cultivation of cereals and the breeding of livestock. By the mid-15th century, the economic structure of the settlements was predominantly agrarian, with a particular emphasis on grain cultivation and viticulture, followed by significant engagement in livestock farming. Furthermore, archival and material evidence points to the existence of ancillary agricultural practices, including the cultivation of fruits and vegetables, as well as "industrial crops" such as cotton, flax, and hemp, which likely sustained local handicraft industries. Additional small-scale agricultural enterprises – comprising walnut, chestnut, lentil, and broad bean cultivation – also contributed to the economic diversity of the settlements[99].

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[93] N. Bees, *Unedierte…*, p. 87.

[94] A. Παπαδοπουλος-Κεραμευς, *Συμβολή…*, p. 245.

[95] N. Bees, *Unedierte…*, p. 239–241.

[96] For the reservations regarding the dating of the note to the 12th century, see B. Κατσαρος, *Ζητήματα ιστορίας…*, p. 35–36.

[97] K.N. Σαθας, *Χρονικόν Γαλαξειδίου…*, p. 42–44; B. Κατσαρος, *Ζητήματα ιστορίας…*, p. 35–36.

[98] F. Thiriet, *Régestes deliberations…*, vol. II, p. 219.

[99] For detailed information on local economic activities in the mid-15th century, see Γ. Τερεζακης, *Ο χώρος της Στερεάς Ελλάδος…*, p. 244–253, 265–266, 275–282.

An analysis of the total tax burden as documented in the BBA/MM 10 inventory reveals that the highest levies on cereals – the primary agricultural product – were imposed upon the inhabitants of Fthiotida, with a rate of 17.63 aspra per tax unit, followed by those in Aitoloakarnania at 13.1 aspra per tax unit, and Evrytania at 6.2 aspra per tax unit[100]. Of particular note is the substantially elevated tax rate applied to the Muslim residents of the settlement of Dervisades – Agios Seraphem, who were subject to taxation amounting to 84 aspra per tax unit[101]. This pronounced discrepancy indicates the likelihood of differentiated fiscal regimes governing the two demographic groups, which may be reflective of the comparatively more intensive production strategies employed by Muslim cultivators, presumably motivated by enhanced profit maximization objectives[102].

The population's engagement in livestock husbandry emerges as a salient aspect of the local economy, as evidenced by the disproportionately high representation of tax units associated with such activities within the fiscal records:

Table 5

Aitoloakarnania	
Total number of settlements	49
Total number of tax units	695
Settlements with a livestock-farming percentage up to 10% on total economic activities	20
Percentage of livestock-farming involved tax units	325 (46.76%)
Altitude	150–1060 m
Settlements with a livestock-farming percentage over 10% on total economic activities	22
Percentage of livestock-farming involved tax units	221 (31.79%)
Altitude	600–1060 m
Evrytania	
Total number of settlements	55
Total number of tax units	2521

[100] For this see *ibidem*, p. 280–282.

[101] M. Delilbaşı, M. Arikan, *Hicrî 859*…, p. 257.

[102] For this see Σ. Ασδραχας, *Φορολογία και εκχρηματισμός στην οικονομία των Βαλκανικών χωριών*, Μν 8, 1980–1982, p. 1–8.

Table 5 (cont.)

Settlements with a livestock-farming percentage up to 10% on total economic activities	14
Percentage of livestock-farming involved tax units	316 (12.53%)
Altitude	780–1120 m
Settlements with a livestock-farming percentage over 10% on total economic activities	22
Percentage of livestock-farming involved tax units	221 (8.76%)
Altitude	720–1220 m
Fthiotida	
Total number of settlements	4
Total number of tax units	58
Settlements with a livestock-farming percentage up to 10% on total economic activities	1
Percentage of livestock-farming involved tax units	36 (62%)
Altitude	780 m
Settlements with a livestock-farming percentage over 10% on total economic activities	1
Percentage of livestock-farming involved tax units	12 (20.68%)
Altitude	–

Animal husbandry constituted the second most significant economic activity among the inhabitants of the region, with a particular emphasis on the rearing of goats, sheep, and pigs. This pattern is largely attributable to the predominantly mountainous and semi-mountainous topography characteristic of the majority of settlements. The considerable productive capacity of Fthiotida is further substantiated by the highest average household tax assessment, recorded at 8.64 aspra, followed by Evrytania and Aitoloakarnania, with corresponding figures of 5.28 and 4.18 aspra, respectively[103]. As delineated in Table 5, small livestock units predominate across Sterea Hellas, a trend corroborated by the proportion of livestock-related taxation levied within each settlement.

[103] For this see Γ. Τερεζακης, *Ο χώρος της Στερεάς Ελλάδος*…, p. 280–282.

3. Conclusion

The systematic study of settlement patterns and the identification of their predominant characteristics provide a critical framework for understanding the economic landscape of Sterea Hellas during the transitional period between the late Byzantine and early Ottoman eras. The spatial organization of settlements, particularly the dichotomy between the mountainous and semi-mountainous regions of Aetoloakarnania and Evrytania and the lowland plains of Fthiotida, played a determinative role in shaping the economic activities of the local populations, specifically their engagement in agricultural production and animal husbandry.

The documentary record for settlement patterns during the late Byzantine period remains notably sparse and fragmented. The extant sources are primarily narrative and historiographical in nature, offering only partial and often incidental information on demographic distribution and economic life. Consequently, comprehensive analysis of the region's socioeconomic conditions prior to the Ottoman conquest is hindered by the paucity of systematic data. Nonetheless, the evidence elucidates the structure of local economic activity, indicating the prominence of the primary sector (agriculture and pastoralism), the production of textiles, and supplementary occupations such as fishing, which sustained a substantial proportion of the population.

The mid-15th century Ottoman cadastre BBA/MM 10 provides detailed fiscal records and a near-comprehensive register of tax-payers for the year 1454/1455. This cadastre is supplemented by subsequent Ottoman tax registers spanning from the late 15th century through the early 17th century, collectively furnishing invaluable quantitative data on local demography, topography, and economic structures. The meticulous enumeration of both Christian and Muslim households within these documents illuminates the ethno-religious composition of Sterea Hellas during the early Ottoman period.

Moreover, the detailed accounting of agricultural and pastoral products alongside the corresponding fiscal revenues serves as a proxy for assessing the productive capacity and economic vitality of the region. Importantly, due to their temporal proximity to the Ottoman arrival, these cadastral records also offer indirect insights into preceding Byzantine conditions, allowing for a diachronic analysis of economic and demographic continuity and change.

The extant data underscores a relatively smooth and gradual transition during the Ottoman annexation, marked by the consolidation and revitalization of the local urban network and the broader inhabited landscape. This process was facilitated by the political reunification of the region under Ottoman administration, which in turn fostered demographic stability and economic resilience. Consequently, the archival evidence challenges narratives of abrupt disruption, instead highlighting processes of adaptation and reorganization that underpinned the region's sustained socio-economic development in the early ottoman period.

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Once Again About the Short Slavic Redactions of Zonaras' Chronicle*

Abstract. Recent research into the history of the transmission of Zonaras' Chronicle in the Slavic Orthodox World has shown that three short redactions of it were compiled from the so-called full Slavic redaction, an abridged version of the Greek original. Only one of those redactions, known as *Paralipomenon*, has been published and studied. Dating back to the beginning of the 16th century, it survives in a Russian copy (Moscow, Russian State Library, depository 113, MS Volokolamskij 655, ff. 1–122v). The second short redaction has been preserved in two Serbian manuscripts (Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, MS 42, ff. 125r–221v, the second fourth of 15th century around 1430/1440) and Cavtat, Collection of Baltazar Bogišič, MS 52, 1st section ff. 1–83v, the third fourth of the 16th century. The third short redaction is preserved in a draft copy, kept in the library in Zograph monastery under № 105 and dated 1433. This redaction is in its structure and segmentation based on the text of the second short redaction. However, it contains a large number of interpolations taken mostly from the prophetologion. The article reveals links between these two redactions and attempts to prove that Constantine of Kostenets was involved in the compilation of both of them. The relevant evidence is provided by editorial remarks that follow the text of the Chronicle. The remarks were copied into both the Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52 manuscripts by mistake. The excerpted and analyzed linguistic material undoubtedly confirms Constantine's intervention in both redactions.

Keywords: Zonaras' *Chronicle*, codices, Slavonic manuscript tradition

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Recent research into the history of the transmission of Zonaras' *Chronicle* within the Slavic Orthodox World has shown that three short redactions of it were compiled from the so-called full Slavic redaction, an abridged version of the Greek original. Only one of those redactions, known as *Paralipomenon*, has been published and studied. Dating back to the 16th century, it survives in a Russian copy: Moscow, Russian State Library, depository 113, MS Volokolamskij 655, ff. 1–122v[1]. The second short redaction has been preserved in two Serbian manuscripts: Belgrade, Museum of the Serbian Orthodox Church, MS 42, ff. 125r–221v, the second quarter of the 15th century around 1430/1440 [hereinafter referred to as Belgrade 42]; and Cavtat, Collection of Baltazar Bogišič, MS 52, 1st section ff. 1–83v, the third fourth of the 16th century [hereinafter referred to as Cavtat 52]. The third short redaction is contained within a manuscript dated 1433 and recently ascribed to Constantine of Kostenets[2]. This can currently be found in the library of Zograph Monastery under № 105 ff. 1–156r [hereinafter referred to as Zogr. 105][3].

Alongside the *Chronicle*, which is the first text of the compilation, the manuscript includes *Donatio Costantini* (156v–161r), *Alexander the Monk's treatise about how Constantine and his mother, Helena, discovered the True Cross* (161r–174v), the beginning of the *Life of Stefan Lazarevič by Constantine of Kostenets* (175r–182v), in which two folia of the *Commentary on the Song of Songs by Theodoret of Cyrus* (179r–180v) are inserted, *fragments of the Cosmographic-Geographic Compilation*, usually ascribed to the same *Constantine* (183r–186v) without beginning and end, and a *Festal Menaion* (187r–293v without end).

The last three pages of the *Life of Stefan Lazarevič* (ff. 1r–2r), along with the Slavic text of the *Ohrid Chrysobull of 1273, issued by Michael VIII Paleologos* (ff. 2v–4v) were discovered in a fragment kept in RSL, Muzejnoe sobranie, MS 3070[4].

The paper I delivered to the EABS Annual Conference in Sofia last year demonstrated that even though this third redaction is in its structure and segmentation based on the text of the second short redaction, it contains an impressive number of interpolations. Its main chronological axis is organized according to the historical books (Octateuch, Kingdoms, and Chronicles). In certain places, however, the

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[1] О. Бодянский, *Паралипомен Зонарин*, ЧИОИДР, Год третий, № 1, Москва 1847, p. I–VIII, 1–119; О. Творогов, *Паралипомен Зонары: текст и коментарий*, [in:] *Летописи и хроники. Новые исследования. 2009–1010*, Москва–С. Петербург 2010, p. 3–101. The manuscript is available online: https://lib-fond.ru/lib-rgb/113/f-113-655/#image-80 [25 VI 2025].

[2] Н. Гагова, *„Из книги Константина Костенечкаго": Зограф 105*, [in:] *Шьствоуѣ нынѣ по слѣдоу оучителю. Сборник в чест на проф. д.ф.н. Анна-Мария Тотоманова*, София 2021, p. 202–235.

[3] A. Totomanova, *The Short Redaction of Joannes Zonaras' Ἐπιτομὴ Ἱστοριῶν in the Slavonic Manuscript Tradition*, SCer 14, 2024, p. 113–142.

[4] D. Birnbaum, *Textual and Accentual Problems of Muz. 3070 and Zogr. 151*, Cambridge 1988; idem, *The Life of Stefan Lazarević: A Contribution to the Study of Manuscript Tradition*, SeS 23, 2023, p. 139–172.

text of Zonaras' biblical paraphrase is replaced with excerpts from the respective biblical texts. In this chronological axis, excerpts from both the *Books of Wisdom* and the *Books of Prophets* are inserted and introduced properly. As a result of this editorial intervention, the Old Testament part of Zonaras's *Chronicle* in Zogr. 105 occupies 80% of the whole text, while its share is about 61% in Belgrade 42, and 63% in Cavtat 52. The Old Testament excerpts coincide with the prophetologion readings (παροιμίαι) for the fixed and movable feasts of the church calendar[5]. A total of 182 prophetologion readings have been identified – some of them included more excerpts and were read at different celebrations. The selection of the *paroimiai* corresponds to the composition of the oldest Slavic prophetologia – *Grigorovichev*, *Lobkovski*, and *Zacharinski* – with some minor deviations. Only 37 readings are left with no respective liturgical notes written in the margin. The notes indicate the day of the week, the date, the name of a feast or a saint, and the event for which the readings are intended. They may also contain other references. In most cases, the liturgical notes for the readings from *Proverbs*[6] and *Isaiah* include the beginning of the corresponding psalms or hymns for the same day. The order of the readings for the great feasts, such as Nativity of Christ, Theophany, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week, as well as the beginning of the indiction, is also often reported[7].

Apart from the 135 liturgical notes in the margins, most of the Slavic glosses in the manuscript (23 out of 29) are found in the text of the *Chronicle*. Twenty of them refer to prophetologion readings: nine to texts from *Genesis*, five to *Proverbs*, four to *Isaiah*, and there is one gloss each for *Judges* and *Joel*. A single gloss refers to a non-prophetologion reading according to 1 *Kings* 12.16. The last two glosses in the *Chronicle* refer to the texts that are not part of the Old Testament paraphrase in the Constantine of Kostenets' redaction. One regards the episode with the apple that Theodosius II donated to his wife, and the other pertains to the nickname of Emperor Anastasius – *Dikoros* (with different eyes). The remaining six Slavic glosses are distributed as follows: three are found in the text of *Donatio Costantini*, one – in the *Cosmographic-Geographic Compilation*, attributed to Constantine himself, and two – in the *Festal Menaion*[8].

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[5] The excerpt from *Ecclesiastes* 2.4–13, 4.9–10 on f. 66r2–26 цр҃ковн[и҃], included within the narrative of Salomon, which is not a prophetologion reading, is the only exception (see below).

[6] The Proverbs in Zogr. 105 have been recently published, see A. Bojadziev, *Proverbs of Solomon in the Slavic Manuscript No. 105 from the Zograf Monastery*, SeS 23, 2023, p. 183–230.

[7] The article appeared in the fourth trimester of 2025 and provides a table which identifies and lists a total of 182 prophetologion readings *(paroimiai*), see A. Totomanova, *An Adapted Short Redaction of Joannes Zonaras' Epitome Historiarum in Codex Zographensis № 105*, PB 49.4, 2025, Специално издание/Special Edition, p. 125–148.

[8] A study devoted to the analysis of the Slavic glosses in the text is expected to be published this year, see A. Тотоманова, *Славянските глоси в Книгата на Константин Костенечки (Зогр. 105)*, Łódź 2025 [= SeCer], in print.

This picture can be supplemented by the distribution of the Greek glosses, usually written in Cyrillic, which are again concentrated in *Zonaras*' *Chronicle*. Three out of 10 Greek glosses in this text refer to *paroimiai*: two to *Proverbs* and one to *Isaiah*, while the remaining six are distributed as follows: one gloss each in the paraphrases of *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Judges* and *II Samuel*, which are part of the Old Testament narrative in the *Chronicle*, and only one is found in the narrative of the reign of Basil I the Macedonian. The last Greek gloss is found in the *Life of Stefan Lazarevič*[9].

As outlined above, the distribution of the glosses in the manuscript's text convinces us yet again of Constantine of Kostenets's editorial interventions in the Chronicle, especially within the Old Testament part, where he inserted 182 prophetologion readings, enhanced with respective liturgical notes and 31 glosses. This is clearly a testament to the importance he attached to the adaptation of the *Chronicle*.

In addition, the text of the *Chronicle* contains many blank spaces left to be filled and edited. This also included many deletions and additions to the text's main body and its margins. Combined with the glosses, it means that Zogr. 105 has preserved a draft version of the *Chronicle*, created by one of the most prominent 15th century men of letters.

As is apparently clear, Constantine of Kostenets extensively edited the abridged text of Zonaras and, by doing so, his goal was to convert the chronographic text into a liturgical manual for future clerics. This intention would also explain why another liturgical manual – the Festal Menaion filled with relevant instructions – was added at the end of the manuscript. My plan is to devote a separate article to the liturgical calendar in both the *Chronicle* and Menaion.

At first glance, the editorial intervention of Constantine of Kostenets in *Alexander the Monk's treatise about how Constantine and his mother Helena discovered the True Cross* and the *Cosmographic-Geographic Compilation* (one gloss in each of them) as well as in the Festal *Menaion* (two glosses) seems quite modest and sporadic. However, it cannot be ruled out that the *Cosmographic-Geographic Fragments* and the *Menaion*, from which relatively large parts of the text are missing, contained more glosses. One might add that the same holds true for the partially

[9] To this single Greek gloss on f. 178v, Greek excerpts were added in the lefthand margin of the previous f. 177v, written in Cyrillic letters in thirty lines. According to Maria Totomanova-Paneva, the excerpts came from the Orpheus, Plutarch, Josephus, Virgilius and Sibylline Books (А. Тотоманова, М. Тотоманова-Панева, *Гръцките глоси в Книгата на Константин Костенечки (Зогр. 105)*, [in:] *Slavia Orthodoxa and Balkania Orthodoxa*, Thessaloniki 2024, p. 132–135). The text in the margin supplements and clarifies the previous exposition on ff. 177r–177v, where the author interweaves quotations from the ancient Hellenic sages who prophesied before the prophets (**прⷮ҃кѣ прр҃ѡ́кь прр҃ѡ́чьствоваа́хѫ**) and, by the will of God, came into contact with the Christian truth. In all probability, the author intended to include them later in the introduction to the *Life* of his patron.

preserved text of the *Life of Stefan Lazarevič*[10] and for the survived bifolio of the *Commentary on the Song of Songs* by Theodoret of Cyrus (see above p. 1).

However, the inclusion of *Alexander the Monk's Treatise* in the compilation is of key importance to understand the concept built into the manuscript now known as the *Constantine of Kostenets's Book*. The treatise is a historiographic text in which the story of finding the true cross is preceded by a comprehensive account of the world history from the Creation to Constantine the Great. It can be argued that the compiler included this text in his *Book* to fill in the gaps in the *Chronicle*'s narrative of the history of Rome and its rulers. The *Treatise*'s connection to the *Chronicle* becomes obvious when it is noted that the *Chronicle*'s short redaction drew on the so-called Serbian insertions, which were taken from the full redaction, to inscribe Serbia's history into the history of the world[11]. It is equally apparent that the *Treatise* was strongly tied to the *Life of Stefan Lazarevič* which derived the origin of the despot from Constantine the Great. What is more, the *Treatise* is linked to two juridical documents, the *Donatio Costantini*, and the *Chrysobull of 1273* from the Moscow part of the manuscript. The former precedes, and the latter follows, the *Life of Stefan Lazarevič* (see above). In a certain sense, the short text of Alexander the Monk appears to be the heart and the glue of the historiographic part of the *Book*, to which the *Commentary on the Song of Songs by Theodoret of Cyrus* undoubtedly belongs; the compiler marked it as part of the reign of Salomon, but he placed it at the end of the book due to its larger volume[12].

These interrelated texts were thus designed to show contemporaneous readers that the Serbs came from an ancient nation and that their ruling dynasty was descended from the sister of Constantine the Great. In addition, the right of the dynasty to rule was confirmed by relevant juridical documents. There is also a level at which the liturgical notes to the prophetologion readings link the *Chronicle* and the historiographic part of it to the *Festal Menaion*, which in turn contains hymnographic texts for the movable and immovable church feasts and offer references to the corresponding prophetologion readings. *The Cosmographic-Geographic* compilation not only explains the secrets of the Lord's creation, it also contains a calendar with the description of the days and hours by months and serves as a kind of bridge between the historiographic part of the *Book* and the *Festal Menaion*.

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[10] Zogr. 105 contains the first fifteen chapters of the *Life of Stefan Lazarevič* together with the beginning of Chapter 16.

[11] On the so-called Serbian insertions in the manuscripts of both the full and short redactions, see Н. Гагова, „*Из книги…*", p. 216.

[12] See the testimony of the compiler himself on f. 51r3–5: **сътво́ри же прии҃е вь словесе́ свои́ | и напи́са и҃ ѯ҃. и пе́сни пѣ́нїа ѯ҃. и оубо пе́сни пѣ́нїа вь ко҃ць кни́зѣ | сь протлькова́нїемь пи́сахмь** '[Solomon] *created the proverbs with his own words and wrote 3000 of them as well as Song of Songs 5000 but I wrote Song of Songs together with the commentary at the end of the book*'.

The *Chronicle* clearly appears to be the text, to which the compiler dedicated a lot more effort than to the other texts in the compilation. The comparison between the segmentation of the second short redaction of *Zonaras* and Constantine's adaptation in Zogr. 105 shows some deviations[13] that strikingly coincide with the editorial remarks on ff. 221a15–223a20 in Belgrade 42. It seems to be the case that this text was interpolated within the draft version of Belgrade 42, and the copyist who transcribed the text after its final redaction included them within the fair copy by mistake. From there, it was also transmitted into Cavtat 52 ff. 84a11–86a12. In both manuscripts, the editorial remarks are surrounded by two other short texts, **ѡ̀ скончáнїй | кр8гóвь** *'About the end of the cycles'* (known as **Скáзаніѐ въ кратц҃ѣ ѡ̀ скóнь|чанїй кроуговь ѝ пасхалїи** *'Short treatise about the end of the cycles and paschalia'*), which follows Zonaras' *Chronicle* and predicts the end of the world in the year 7000 from the Creation[14] (Belgrade 42, ff. 220v6–221r15 / Cavtat 52, ff. 83v4–84r11) and a short description of the ecumenical and local church councils[15] entitled **Сьбори** (Belgrade 42, ff. 223r20–224r28 / Cavtat 52, ff. 86r12–87r19). Constantine of Kostenets did not include these three texts in his compilation, which suggests that he treated them merely as a material supporting his efforts to prepare a new adapted redaction of the *Chronicle*. It is worth noting that the Belgrade manuscript, dating back to the 1430s, is contemporaneous to Zogr. 105, and since Stefan Lazarevič is referred to as **пр҃ѣноупомнимыи** (literally 'may his memory be eternal') in the preface to the Chronicle in Belgrade 42, it is very likely that Constantine of Kostenets also participated in the elaboration of this redaction[16]. We are thus led to presume that it was he who added all three texts that come after Zonaras' *Chronicle* in Belgrade 42, and there is no doubt that he was the author of the editorial remarks, since they outline the structure of his redaction and introduce titles and narratives that are missing from the second one.

The editorial remarks are entitled **начела̀ глави́зна̑. | д҃ ц҃рт҃вноу кни́зѣ. бы҃ ѝсхо̀ леу҃їтѝ:** ~ *'Chapter Titles of the Four Kingdoms Book. Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus'* and represent an addition to the synopsis of the Old Testament part of the

[13] On this issue see A. Totomanova, *The Short Redaction*…, p. 113–142 and especially Table 2. Segmentation of the short recension witnesses, p. 126–138.

[14] In Paralipomenon (Volokolamskij 655) **Скáзаніѐ** is included in the preface on ff. 12v15–14v4 and followed by the note of the compiler on f. 14v5–19 (A. Totomanova, *The Short Redaction*…, p. 123–124). According to N. Gagova, Constantine of Kostenets structured *The Life of Stefan Lazarević* according to the eschatological concept explained in this text (Н. Гагова, *„Из книги…"*, p. 219). More about the spread of the concept about the Last Times in the 15th c. see N. Gagova, *Biblical Writings and Rewritings in the South Slavic Repertoire from the 14th and 15th Centuries: Rethinking the Sacred History in Anticipation of the End of the World*, СЛ 69–70, 2024, p. 151–156.

[15] This rubric is quite similar to the text in Constantine's **СКАЗА́НІЄ ИЗЫ҆ВЛІЄ́ННО Ѡ ПИ́сменѣ҆** / *Treatise about the letters*, ch. 28, **'О съвбо́рѣ є҆ты҆ ѻ҆цъ** *'About the Councils of the holy Fathers'*, ff. 49–51, see https://histdict.uni-sofia.bg/textcorpus/show/doc_170 [25 VI 2025].

[16] On this hypothesis see A. Totomanova, *The Short Redaction*…, p. 120 and N. Gagova, *Biblical Writings*…, p. 161–163.

Chronicle[17]. The title resembles the end of the preface to the synopsis attested to in both Zogr. 105 and in the manuscripts of the second redaction as well as in the two manuscripts of the full redaction that have been accessible to me so far – Mt. Athos, Hilandar Monastery, MS 433, 1520–15306 [Hil. 433]; and Moscow, Russian State Library, depository 310, MS Undol'skij 1191, 17th c. [RGB Undol'skij 1191], cf. Zogr. 105 1r2–7 **Прⷭ҇вѣ҆е начина́етъ ѿ кни́гъ҆ мшѷ̈се҆йскы́й҆. нача́нь ѿ бытїа | ѻ҆ твори́нїи ми́ра. дрⷭ҇же с҆и́ по́ ре́дѣ. вь коу́пѣ сь і҆шси́помь |и҆ паралипоме́ны, да́же до і҆исоу́са сн҃а̀ навї́на. вь ни́|х҃же и҆ ѻ҆бр҃ѣта́ет се прьвии нача́л҃ни҆́ вь лю҆́хь. нев҆́ѡ́ • т҃а́ | і҆и҆соу́са навїина сь про́чїи́ми. да́ до кни́гы четвороцр҆́т|вны́ѥ. и҆ ѿсоу́дѹ полага́етъ нача́ло глави́знамь**[18]. The first part (ff. 221r15–222r14) outlines the content of the adaptation adhering to the order of the historical biblical books, starting with the *Pentateuch* and continuing with *Joshua*, *Judges* and *Ruth*, followed by *Kingdoms* (1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings) and *1–2 Chronicles*. Immediately after that, the *two books of Esdras*, the *book of Judith* and the *two books of Esther* are listed. All titles are usually followed by verses from the respective biblical book – more often the first ones.

In an effort to follow his own prescriptions, the compiler introduced in his adapted redaction new titles and rubrics that are absent from, or are only partially present in, the second short redaction. Eight interpolations of this kind have been identified:

- Zogr. 105 2r6 = Gen.1.1 **Вь нача́лѣ сътво́ри бⷭ҇ь нб҃о и҆ зⷱемлю҆, зⷱ҆́:** matches the editorial remark in Belgrade 42 221r16- / Cavtat 52 84r11, but is missing, along with the text that comes before rubric 6v11 **О нѡ́и и҆ ѻ҆ ковче́зѣ**, from the manuscript of the second redaction.

- The text in Zogr. 105 15v13–18 **паралипоме́нь прьвыи** *'Paralipomenon I'* is inserted in the narrative of Issac in the book of Genesis, and not after Kingdoms, as in the Bible and in the editorial remarks (Belgrade 42 221v27–222r2 / Cavtat 52 84v23–28). The excerpt starts with 1 Chron. 1.1 and outlines the book's chronological frame from the Patriarchs (Adam, Seth, Enos, Kaïnan) and their descendants to the end of King David's reign. The compiler of Zogr. 105 underlines the fact that this information does not come from Genesis: **бѣ непи́сан҃ны́ми вь бытє́йскы҆ кни́га҆** *'this is not written in the Genesis' books'*. In fact, he violates the chronology in order to insert the genealogy of Job as a descendant of Esau, and the whole passage serves to introduce the prophetologion readings from the book of Job[19]. The editorial remarks prescribe also rubric Belgrade 42 222r2–4 / Cavtat 52 84v28–30 **паралипоме́.**

[17] See *Appendix* at the end of this article.

[18] The synopsis with variant readings, according to the two manuscripts of the full redaction mentioned above, has been published in A. Totomanova, *The Short Redaction*…, p. 139–141.

[19] Eadem, *An Adapted Short Redaction*…, p. 128.

в҃ *'Paralipomenon II'*, which is omitted in Zogr. 105, since its beginning, citing Chron. 2.1 ¨**И** оу҆кр҃пи сѣ соломѡ̀нь | с҃нь дв҃ь на цр҃тви своемь, refers to the same event as Zogr. 105 50v8 **цр҃тво** соломѡ́но҃ г҃. ᾽**И** соломѡ̀нь сѣ́де на пр҃столѣ д҃да ѡ́ц҃а своего҆̀ (1 Kings 2.12).

- Zogr. 105 21r4–27v7 **Кни́га** и҆сх҃ѡ́ *'Book of Exodus'* is introduced by Ex. 2.1. Inserted by Constantine of Kostenets, the title and the respective prophetologion readings from Exodus are missing from Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52, and only rubrics 21v5–27r8 ᾽**О** мѡ҃сѣи *'about Moses'* = Belgrade 42 132r18 / Cavtat 52 7v2 and 27r8–27v7 and о҆ **цр҃кви** *'about the Temple'* coincide with the rubrics in the manuscripts of the second redaction, but the title of the second one, Belgrade 42 133r18 / Cavtat 52 9r23, is omitted. The beginning of Zogr. 105 21r5 **Сі҃а̀** и҆́мена с҃нѡ҃ и҃илво́мь вышѡ́́ вь е҆́гу҃пть matches completely the editorial note in Belgrade 42 221r16–17 / Cavtat 52 84r6–7.

- Zogr. 105 27v7–23 ѻ҃ леуі҃тика *'from Leviticus'* contains an excerpt from Lev. 1.1–2 that continues according to Lev. 21.7–10. The beginning of Zogr. 105 27v8–11᾽**И** г҃ла г҃ь кь мѡ҃сѣ̀, и҆ г҃ла е҆́моу҆̀ ѡ҃ сѣ́ни свѣ́тїа г҃лѣ. г҃лѝ с҃нѡ҃́ и҃илвѡ҃. |и҆ р҃е́ши кь ѻ҃́и. чл҃кь ѡ҃ в҃а́. а҆ще принесе́ да́рь г҃ви ѡ҃ скоу́ть и҆лѝ ѡ҃ | и҆мѣ́нїи сво́и· и҆ сі҃а̀ оу҆́во кни́га леуі҃тикь дрьжа́и, закононе҆́наа | о҆ ц҃ркви ѡ҃ дарь́ѡ́ ѡ҃ слвѣ́ахъ. и҆ кто леуі́те. е҆́ще҆́ и҆ ѡ҃ за́кона и҆ ѯѣ҆̀ coincides with editorial remarks in Belgrade 42 221r17–22 / Cavtat 52 84r12–18, but is absent (including its title) from the Belgrade 42 or Cavtat 52 versions of the *Chronicle*.

- Zogr. 105 27v23–30v20 [вт]о́раа числа̀, literally '*The Second Numbers/Sensus*': ᾽**И** г҃ла г҃ь кь мѡ҃сѣеви г҃лѣ. г҃лѝ кь с҃нѡ҃́ и҃илвѡ́, и҆ и҆зьчтѝ пле́ме |леуі̀иско и҆ про́чїи́ пле́мень вь е҆́ вьѯвиза́ти сѣ́нь свѣ́тїа • и҆ ѯѣ҆̀ | и҆зьвѣ́вѣсть ко́и пл҃ѣ́ по ко́е́ и҆ти. и҆ ка́ко о҆́к҃рть сѣ́ни ко́и вь пр҃ѣ, |и҆ ко́и съ за́ди. и҆ ко́и съ десны́е страны̀ и҆ шѣ́ее. и҆ ка́ко с҃ѣ́ да но́сит се. и҆ вь wбои́ числ́ѡ́ за́конь и҆ запове́ди:~ is an expanded version of the rubric in the editorial remarks cf. Belgrade 42 221r22–25 / Cavtat 52 84r16–18[20] вторa числа̀:· ѡ҃ к҃́ лѣ҃ · ѡ҃ вое́́, и҆ ко́и плькь пр҃ѣхо́дити, и ко́и по ко|е҆́ хо́дити вьѯвиженїи · и҆ ка́ко сѣ́нь да но́сеть · и҆ вь | wбои́ чи́сло́ за́конь и҆ запове́ди:· Zogr. 105 27v15–22 contains an excerpt that precedes the title and pertains to the first sensus. It coincides with Belgrade 42 133v15–23 / Cavtat 52 9v20–24. The compiler ends it with a statement Zogr. 105 27v22 зде́́ и҆ и҆зьчта́нїа ра҆̀и г҃лет се пръ́ваа числа̀ *'Here, because of the sensus, it is called First Numbers'*. The title and some parts of this text are missing from Belgrade 42 and Cavtat 52. The text Zogr. 105 30r9–30r24, which is divided into two rubrics 30r9 мади[неане] *'the Midianites'* and гад҃ ѧ[вї] и҆ п҃о́ [ма҃аси́а] *'Gad, Reuben and half (the tribe) Manasseh'* matches the text in the two other

[20] The title is omitted from Cavtat 52, see editorial remarks.

manuscripts, but there it bears a different title ѡ̀ сходѣ̀ землѝе *'about the division of the land'*, cf. Belgrade 42 133v26–135v25 / Cavtat 52 9r23–9v31.

- Zogr. 105 30v20–34r13 **Вто|розако́нїе** *'Deuteronomy'*. Zogr. 105 30v20–28 completely matches the editorial remarks in Belgrade 42 221r25–221v4 / Cavtat 52 84a19–29 quoting Deut. 1.8–16. The title and text are both absent from the second short redaction of the Chronicle. The next text Zogr. 105 34r1–13, bears no title. However, in Belgrade 42 135r4–14 / Cavtat 52 11r3–19 it is marked as ѡ̀ сме̑рти мѡ́сеѣ́вѣ *'about Moses' death'* according to Deut. 34.1–8.
- Zogr. 105 39v18–40r25 ѡ̀ и̑лі́и а̀рхи|ере́и. ка́ко сѣ̀ пре́выи дрьжа̀ лю́дѝ вь а̀рхиере́ѣ. сїа́ же | кни́га ру́ѳь гл҃нет се *'about Eli the priest how he was the first to keep people under the rule of the priests'* is a concise paraphrase of Book of Ruth. The text is missing from Belgrade 42. However, it is included in Cavtat 52 15r17–15v21, but without an explicit reference to the Book of Ruth.
- The story of Ahaziah according to 2 Kings 1.1–17 in Zogr. 105 72r1–19 is entitled in the margin 72r4–5 ѕ҃ѣ̀ д҃ ц҃р[ства] | нач҃е̑[кь] *'here the fourth Kingdom* (*=2 Kings*) *begins'* and is introduced with the same verse (2 Kings 1.1) as in the editorial remarks, cf. Belgrade 42 221v26–27 / Cavtat 52 84v22. The narrative is absent from the second short redaction of the Chronicle.

Only once was the insertion of a new title not followed by the inclusion of a new content, cf. Zogr.105 36r8 ѕ҃ѣ́ книга ѡ [соудїахъ] | [по]|чина҃е̑, which is missing from the manuscripts of the second short redactions. The editorial remarks in Belgrade 42 221v8–21 recommend the title сѫ́дѝе[21] and contain a list of the judges, but the paraphrase of the story ѡ̀ левї́тѣ и̑ женѣ̀ е́гѡ̀:· *'about the Levite and his wife'* (Belgrade 42 221v21 / Cavtat 52 84v16) according to Judges 19–21 is placed after the judges' list. In Zogr. 105 and the manuscripts of the second redaction, this story is located at the beginning of the book and introduced with a different title, cf. Zogr. 105 36r20 ѡ̀ кол҃ѣ̑ венїамѝнове̑ *'about Benjamin tribe'* = Belgrade 42 136v25 / Cavtat 52 12v21.

The first book of Esdras in Zogr. 105 112a22–24 and in Belgrade 42 177r25 / Cavtat 52 48v22 is referred to as [повелѣ]нїе кѷрово да съзы́жѫть ц҃рк҃вь і҃ерусалимьскѹю, *'King Cyrus' proclamation to rebuild Jerusalem Temple'*, although the editorial remarks (Belgrade 42 222r4–6 / Cavtat 42 85r1–4) say ѳ҃ѕ҃дра а҃. followed by a quote of 1 Ezdras 1.1. The paraphrase of Book of 1 Ezdras in all three manuscripts opens with the same verse, and its long title is taken from manuscripts of the so-called full redaction. Rubric Belgrade 42 222r6–9 / Cavtat 52 85r–4 ѳ҃ѕ҃дра. в҃′. was not included in the Chronicle. Such a rubric is also absent from Zonaras' text in the other two manuscripts. 1 Esther is well represented in Zogr. 105 117r13–20

[21] This title is omitted from Cavtat 52 84v5–16, see the Appendix.

and the other two manuscripts of the short redaction (Belgrade 42 181v27–183v13 / Cavtat 52 52r21–53v9). It opens with the book preface whose beginning is only marked in the editorial remarks, cf. Belgrade 42 222a11–12 / Cavtat 52 85r6–7 ѡ҃ Ѳсфїѳ҃рь. Лѣ́тоу вто́|мѹ (sic!) цр҃твоующоу҆ а҆ссѵ́рїю вели́комѹ. The rubric є҆сфїѳ҃р ѳ҃ книга. Лѣ́тоу вї҃-мѹ цр҃твоующѹ а҆рта҃ѯе́рѯѹ вели́|комѹ • по то́мѹжѣ ѿвра́ѵ ѯ҃ ѿ сьвръшє́нїа сѧ́нѹ, which repeats Belgrade 42 222a12–14 / Cavtat 52 85r7–8, was added in the lower margin of the same page.

The first organizing part is followed by four longer biblical excerpts in the editorial remarks. At first glance, their selection seems to have been random. The first one – Belgrade 42 222r14–222v9 / Cavtat 52 85r9–85v12, entitled ста́нове і҆лт҃ѣнѡ҃ *'Encampments of the Israelites'*, describes the wanderings of Jews and the compiler of Zogr. 105 included it in Numbers Zogr. 105 30r24–30v20, where the rubric is called **Ѣьзвиже́нїа** *'Departures'* and represents a more accurate quote of Num 33.3–49 than ста́нове і҆лт҃ѣнѡ҃. The second – Belgrade 42 222б9–19 / Cavtat 52 85б3–12 ѿ соломѡ̀на – quotes Prov. 4.23–29 and was not included in Zogr 105. The third – Belgrade 42 222б19–223a11 / Cavtat 52 85б12–86a2 ѿ црк҃вника – contains excerpts from Eccles. 2.4–13, 4.9–10, and the compiler inserted it in the account of the reign of Solomon, to whom this book was usually ascribed in the Middle Ages, cf. Zogr. 105 66r1–26 цр҃ковн[и҃]. The excerpt is missing from the second short redaction of the Chronicle. In Zogr. 105, it precedes the story of Solomon's deviation from the true faith (66r26–66v11). The story is preserved in Belgrade 42 151v21–152r7 but is absent from Cavtat 52 due to the loss of some folia. The last one (Belgrade 42 223a11–20 / Cavtat 52 86a3–12), introduced again as ѿ соломѡ̀на, cites Wisdom 7.1–6 and is absent from all three manuscripts.

We are led to believe that after this selection, Constantine of Kostenets began to think about interpolating more excerpts from non-historical books, such as the Proverbs, Wisdom and Ecclesiastes, all of which are absent from the second short redaction of Zonaras. The development of this idea resulted in the insertion of almost all Prophetologion readings as well as some excerpts from Ecclesiastes.

The comparison between the text of Zonaras' Chronicle in Zogr. 105 and in the manuscripts of the second short redaction provides sufficient evidence to conclude that Constantine of Kostenets was actively involved in the creation of the second and especially the third expanded version of the short redaction of the Chronicle. However, he was not alone in adapting the text of the second short redaction to the scheme outlined partially in the editorial remarks. The careful study of the manuscript during the preparation of its edition revealed that someone else had put missing initial letters, filled in blank spaces, and added omitted text in the margin. We can only speculate on the circumstances that led Constantine and his collaborator/s to leave their work unfinished. However, their failure to complete their editorial efforts allows us to peek into the creative laboratory of the 15th-century writers.

APPENDIX

Editorial remarks Belgrade 42 221a15–223a20 with variant readings according to Cavtat 52

221a

начела҆ глави҃зна҃.
Д҃ цр҃твнои кни҃зѣ. бы҃ и҆сх҆о҆ леүїти҃: ~
Вь наче́лѣ сътво́ри бъ҃ нб҃о и҆ землю҆, з҃е҃:~ Сїа҆ и҃мена
снwво́мъ і҆илв҃ш҃ вьш҆ѝшимь вь є҆гу҃ть:· Гл҃а г҃ъ къ
мшӱсѣ́, и҆ г҃ла є҃мꙋ ѡ҆ сѣ́ни свѣ́нїа г҃лѣ г҃ли сн҃ѡ́мь
і҆и҆лв҃шмь, и҆ ре҃ши кь нимь. ч҃лкь ѿ ва҃ а҆ще принесе́ть
да҆ г҃ви, ѿ скѡ́ть или҆ ѿ:· и сѣ҃ дрьжить о҆ цр҃кви о҆ да
ро҆ ѡ҆ сл҃ва҆. и҆ кто леүїте: и҆ ѡ҆ сꙋ́дѡ҆. втора числа҆:·
ѿ к҃ л҃ѣ҃ · ѡ҆ вое҆, и҆ ко́и плькь пр҃ѣхо́диты, и ко́и по ко-
є҃ хо́дити вьз҆движенїи · и҆ ка́ко сѣ́нь да но́сеть · и҆ вь
ѡ҆бо́й чи́сло҆ за́конь и҆ запове́ди:· второзаконїе: ~
Сїа҆ слове́са и҆хже г҃ла моӱсѝ всѣмꙋ і҆и҃лю, ѡ҆вь онь по҃
і҆wрда́на въ пꙋсты́ни: къ за́ходꙋ бли́зь чр҃ъмна҆го
мо́ра по ср҃ѣ фара́на фо́ла и҆ лово́на и҆ авло́на. и҆ бы҃
вь м҃-е л҃ѣто, вь а҃і҆ м҃ца пр҃ъвыи м҃ца, г҃ла мшӱ-
сѝ кь всемꙋ і҆и҃лю, по ꙋби́ти сїѡ́на а҆мwррeиска є҆сеүска҆

Variant readings: 16 бы҃] и҆ бытїе и҆ и҆сх҆о҆ леүїтико҆ **17** з҃е҃] om **18** вьш҆ѝшимь] въшт҆ѣшїимь **22** втора числа҆] om **24** вьз҆движенїи] въ въз҆движенїи **27** чр҃ъмна҆го] чр҃ъмнааго **30** а҆мwррeиска] а҆мwр҆рeи|скаа

221б

наче́ть мшӱсѝ повел҃ѣ́нїемь г҃нимь и҃зы҆а́снити за́конъ.
довла҆а҆ѣ́ть ва́мь по го́ра҆ шы́ствїа вьнид҃ѣ́те вь зе-
млю. пов҃ѣ́дꙋе до гд҃е и҆ до гд҃е. и҆ помни́те а҆же ре҃
г҃ь и҆ а҆же вы́ше, въспом҃ѣ́нꙋе си́мь: и҆ тоу҃ ѿ за́кона е҃.
И бы҃ по скончани́ мшӱсе́wвѣ́ ра́вꙋ г҃ню, ре҃ г҃ъ кь і҆ӱ҃ (sic!) сн҃ꙋ і҆исоу́с
нау҃и́ноу. и пꙋргꙋ мшӱсе́wвꙋ г҃лѣ. мшӱсѝ ꙋго́ни́къ
мо́и сконча́ се. нн҃а ꙋво въста́вь пр҃ѣиди҆ і҆wрда́нь:~
И бы҃ по скончáни і҆сѣ́ѣ. въпро́сише сн҃ѡ́ве і҆и҃лви г҃а г҃лще сꙋдѝе
кто взы́деть пр҃ѣ на́ми кь ханане́оу. ре҃ же г҃ь і҆ꙋди-
но пле́ме да възы́деть. и҆ сѝ призва́ше сӱмеѡ́на : оу҃-
ви́ше а҆донѝ везека и҆ пр҃їими́ше і҆ер҃лмь, и҆ пожего҃:~
По сѝ҆ въз҆ви́же и҆мь бъ҃ соудѝе: пр҃ъвыи соудѝа гоффонїѝ҆.
вто́рыи а҆ѡ҆, пора҆ є҆гло́ма. г҃-и семега́рь, є҆моу́же пр҃ѣ-

да́шѐ и҆нопле́менни́ци. по то҃ вара҃ и҆ дево́ра, сѷсарѵ҆
оубие́вшеи, и҆ і҆а҃и҆. по си҃ же вьзва́ше къ го҃у. и҆ гла а҃гглъ
къ ни́мь гл҃е. Си́це гл҃ѐ гъ, а҆зъ и҆зведѫ́ ви ѿ земли҆
е́гѵ҃пт҃скыѣ: пе́ты соудї́а гедеѡ҃́. и҆же р҃е кто пиеть ꙗ҆-
ко ѱ҃ъ, да и҆деть на́ брань. ѡ҆ сно́́ гедеѡ́новѣ҆. се́мы҃
соудїа ѡ҆шла҆. и҃́, і҆аи́рь галаа҆скыи. ѳ҃́. е҆ѵ҆о́ае на мѡ-
а́вы, галаа́дѣнинь, і҃́, е҆с҆сево́нь. а҃і҃́ а҆і҆лѡ҃. в҃і҃́. а́-
вдїѡ҃. г҃і҃́ самѱѡ҃́: ѻ҆ левї́тѣ и҆ женѣ̀ е҆го̀:· и҆ бы҃́ вьнеа҆̀ роѵ҃́
соуди́ти соудїамь. гла҆ бы҃́. цр҃твїи а҃́[22].́И ч҃лкь бѣше
ѿ а҆рмаѳе́ма.́И бы҃́ по ѵ҃мрьти саѵ҃левѣ, и҆ дв҃ь вьзвра- цр҃твїи. | в҃́
ша́е се побива́е а҆мали́ка. цр҃твїи г҃́.́И соломѡ҃́ сѣде
на пр҃ѣстолѣ дв҃двѣ ѡ҆ца҃ своего̀. и҆ дрьжи́ть до съмрь-
ти а҆хаа́ва:· цр҃твїи .д҃́.́И ѿвръ́же се мша́вь ѿ і҆и҃лта
по см҃рти а҆хаавовѣ:· паралипоме҃ .а҃́. і҆а́дамь сно́
е҆но́, каина҃. и҆ повѣ́ствоуеть съ ко́рене҃ коупно и҆ кро́-
мѣ ко́рента бы́вшїй и҆ ѡ҆ и҆смаи́левѣ сно́вь. и҆ по́би́т се
оу҆ста́вленїю дв҃двѵ҆ ѻ҆ пѣнїи҆ все́мѵ҆, ꙗкоже и҆ за́конѵ҆.

Variant readings: 5 скончáни] сконт҃чáнїи 8 скончáни] скѡнчанїи 10 си҆̀ призвáше] сїи съпризвáше 11 вездка] здвека 12 сй҃́] сїихъ 14 варá҃] вараакь 17 пéты] пéтыи 18 брань] браны 22–23 ѿ і҆и҃лта | по см҃рти а҆хаавовѣ] по см҃рти а҆хаавовѣ ѿ і҆и҃лта

222a

второза́конїе. и҆ дрьжи́ сѣ̀ паралипоме́нь до́ конца̀ цр҃тва
дв҃два:· паралипоме҃. в҃́.́И оукрѣпи сѣ̀ соломѡ̀нь
сн҃ь дв҃ь на цр҃тви своемь: такоже́ и сѣ̀ дрьжи҃ даже
до пр҃ѣселе́нїа.҆ Ѥзр҃а́. а҃́.́И вь лѣ́то пр҃вое цра́ ку́-
ра пе́рт҃ска, и҆спл҃нити се гл҃ъ гн҃ь. и҃́ оу҆сты е҆реміѣ
пр҃ка: и҆ сѣ̀ дрьжи́ть съ число́мь тако́же́ кѡлѣ́нѣ̀ :·҆ Ѥзр҃а́. в҃́.
́И и҆зве́ і҆ѡсїа па́схѵ҆ вь і҆ер҃лмѣ̀ бг҃ѹ своемѵ҆: Сѣ̀ і҆ѡсїа и҆же
раскопа̀ і҆еровоа҃во҃ ѯа́нїе и҆ гро́бы льжепр҃рькъ: и҆ дрьжи҃
донелиже ѵ҆ста́ви вса̀ за́конная е҆зр҃а вь і҆ер҃лмѣ:· і҆ѵ҆а҃і҃.
Лѣ́томь, в҃і҃́ навоухо́носора, и҆же цр҃твова а҆ссѵ́ры:
и҆ дрьжи҃́ до съмр҃ти і҆оудї́ѡ҆т҃.́Ѥсфїрь. Лѣ́тоу вто́-
мѵ҆ (sic!) цр҃твѵ҆ющоу҆ а҆ссѵ́рїю вели́комѵ҆:́Ѥсфїрь. в҃́. Лѣ́-
тѵ҆, в҃і҃́, мѵ҆ цр҃твоующоу҆ а҆рта҃ѳе́рѯ҃ѵ҆ вели́комоу: по то́-
мѵ҆же҃ ѻ҆бра́зѵ҆:~ ста́нове і҆илт҃нѡ҃. Повелѣ́нїе҃
гн҃имь напи́са вьзв҃ижѣ́нїа и҆ мшѵ҃сѝ:~
Ѳ҃ рамесѝ мц҃а пр҃ва́аго е҃і҃́ дн҃ь мц҃а пр҃ва́аго наѵ҃р҃і́а

[22] цр҃твїи а҃́ in Cavtat 52 is placed before и҆ бы҃́ вьнеа҆̀ | соуди́ти соудї́амь. гла҆ бы҃́.

па́схы, є҆гу҃пт҃ѣнѣ же погрибо́хѫ мр҃твыѣ, ѿ рамеси҇, вь сокъ хѡ́. та́ вь вѫ́ѳа, и҆же не́ че́сть поустыни҇. та́ на ѫ́стїѣ, и҆ро́ѳ, є҆же є҃ пр҃кма велъсепфо́ноу. та́ вь
20 магдо́ль ѡ҆б онь по́ль мо́ра вь пѫстыню. поу́ть ѿтѫде г҃ дни вь горъкыѣ. и҆ вьзвы́гше ѿ горъкыѣ, вь є҆ли́ на́ мѡре чрь́миноѥ. та́ вь пѫстыню си́нь. та́ вь рафакоу҆. та́ вь є҆лѫ́. та́ вь рафїди́нь, не бѣ҆ше тоу҆ во́ды.
та́ вь пѫстыню синаи҆. та́же вь гро́бѣ вьжелѣ́нїа.
25 та́же вь а҆сиро́. та́же вь рамаѳа҆. та́же вь рем҃мѡ҆ фаре́сь. та́же вь левона҆. та́же вь дрес҃са҆*. та́же вь харада́дь. та́же вь макидо́ѳ҃. та́же вь вь катаа́ѳ҃. та́же вь тара́. та́же вь матгека҆. ѿ та́же вь масѫро́. та́же вь манїка́нь. та́же вь гадїг҃а҆. та́же вь севрона҆.
30 та́же вь геасїѡ҆ гаве́рь. та́же вь е҆ри́моси́. та́ на

Variant readings: 3 цр҃тви] цр҃твїи 5 пе́р҃ска] пе́р҃скаа 11–12 вто́|мѫ] второ́мѫ 21 вьзвы́гше] вьзвы́гоше се 29 гадїг҃а] гады́га

In the lower margin: 26 *та́же вь макела́. та́же вь сафа́рь

222б

и҆сто́чникь ст҃де́ныи не҃ є҃ ка́дь. та́ вь ѿ́рь гѫ́рѫ бли҃ земли҇ е҆до́мъскыѣ. и҆ вьзы́де а҆а҃рѡ́нь повел҃кнїемь гн҃имь и҆ ѫмр҃кть тоу҆. вь м҃-е л҃кто и҆зьшьствїа. та́ вь сел҃монѫ. та́же вь фїно҆. та́же вь ново́ѳь. та́же
5 вь г҃еи, ѿб онь пр҃кль мѡа҆в҃скый. та́же вь девога҆
та́же вь гел҃мо́нь девлаѳе́мь. та́же вь пр҃клы а҆мари́мь пр҃кма вавь. та́же на заха҆ мѡа҆вь, на і҆ѡрда́нь пр҃кма е҆рихо́нѫ. та́же по сра҆ е́симо́ѳ҃, да́ до а҆мел҃сат҃тїмь ѿ захода мѡа́вь:· ѿ соломѡ҆на :~
10 Всакомоу хранѥнїоу блюдѝ своѐ сра҆це и҆во҆ из негѡ҆ и҆сходи живота, про҆о҆тр҃кви́тїѣ жестокы҆ ѫсть. и҆ непра́вы҆ены ѫстнѣ дале҆ ѿ себѣ ѿрини. ѻ҆чи твои́ пра́во да зре́ть. вѣ҆ки же твои да помизаю́ть пра́вы҆нѣ. пра́ва тече́нїа сьтво́риши нога́мь. и҆ пѫте своѐ
15 и҆справи҇. не ѫклони҇ се вь҆ десно, ниже вь л҃кво. ѿврати҇ же свою҆ но́гѫ ѿ пѫти зла҆. поу́ти во҆ десны҆ѣ вѣ҆ гъ. развращен҃ни сѫть и҆же ѿ шѫ́ихь. тьже пра́вы сьтво́рить тече́нїа твоа҆ шьствїа́ же твоѥ вь ми́рѣ провьвѣ́ть:· ѿ цр҃кковника :~
20 Вьзвели́чы҆ тво́ренїа моѥ. сьзы́дахъ си до́мы. на-

сади́хъ̀ си ви́нограды. Сътво́рихъ̀ си врътогра-
ды и ра҃е҃. и насади́ вь ѝи́ дрⷮвѣ̀ вса́кого пло́да. ~
Сътво́рихъ̀ си коупⷮ́ли во́дѣ̀, напаѭ́ти ѿ ѝи́ дⷭбра́-
вы прозеба́ющаа дрⷮвѣ̀. притежа́ра́бь и рабы́-
ние. и до́морон҃ïи бы́ше ми. и и҃, за҃нïе (sic!) чрⷮ́дь и ста҃
мно́го бы́ ми, па́че всⷮ́ бы́вшїй прⷮвⷮ́е мене вь їе-
рл҃мⷮ́. събра́вшⷭ ми и и҃ сребра̀ и злата, и, изо́би-
лⷯствïа цр҃е́и и стра҃. сътво́рихъ си поющи́ и пою-
ще́е. и вь вьзрасти сн҃ѡ́ чл҃ческый. ви́нолитѣ̀ и
ви́нолитице. и вьзвели́чи́ и прило́жи́ па҃ всⷮ́хъ,

Variant readings: **1** стⷭде́ныи] стⷭде́нныи **2** е҆домⷯскыѣ] е҆домⷯскы **7** прⷮ́ма] прⷮ́мо **9** а҆мелⷯсатⷯтïмь] а҆мелⷯсатⷯтïнь; ѿ соломѡ̀на] written in left margin **15** вь́ десно] на де́сно; вь лⷮ́во] на лⷮ́во **16** зла̀] злаа **19** провьвⷮ́ть] провъводе҃ **26** мно́го] мнѡ́гъ **28** стра҃] страни; поющи́] пою́щїихъ

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и бы́вшїй прⷮ́же мене вь їр҃лмⷮ́. и ⷭбо̀ прⷮ́мⷭдро҃
моа̀ изобиⷧ́ствова́ ми. и вса́ко иже про́сише ѻ҃чи мо́и.
и҆де҃ лю́бе, ѿ и҆хже. не вьзбра́ни ср҆ца мое́го ѿ вса́кого
ве҃лïа. а҆ко ср҆це моѐ вьзве҃ли се вь всⷮ́мь трⷭдⷮ́ мое҃.
и се҃ бы́ че́сть моа̀ ѿ всакого́ ми тро́уда • и вьзⷯзⷮ́
а҆зъ вь всⷮ́ твори́нïй мо́й, и҆хже сътво́рише ро́уцⷮ́ мо́и.
и вь тр҆о́у е҆гоже трⷭдⷯ́ тво́рити, и се҃ вса̀ сⷭве́та • и йзво-
ли́нïе дх҃а. бла́зи два҃ па́ е҆ди́ного. а҆ко а҆ще па́дⷭтъ,
е҆ди́ и҃ вьзⷭви́за́е́ть причⷮ́ника твое́го̀. и о҃увы то́моу
е҆ди́номⷭ, е҆г҃а па́деть, и нⷮ́ йже вто́рь вьзⷭви́гноути е҃ :~
Єсмь ⷭбо и а҆зъ см҃ртнь чл҃кь ра́внь ѿ соломѡ̀на ·:
всⷮ́. и земльноро́нымь порожⷮ́нïе прьвоза҃нⷯноу.
и въ чр҃ⷮ́ мтр҃ѣ̀ зача́ехъ пло́ть. де҃томⷮ́сечнаго лⷮ́-
та сьгоу́стⷯ вⷮ́ крьви, ѿ сⷮ́мене моу́жа и сла́дости, сн҃ⷭ
съпришⷯ́шоу. и а҆зъ же ражⷭ́, цⷮ́кловⷭ́ ѡ҆бщїи вьзоухъ.
и на по҆востр҃тноую долⷭ спа́дⷭ́ зе҃млю̀. прⷯвыи гл҃а
по҆́ныи всⷮ́ ра́вно пла́че. вь пелен҃а́ вьзра́стⷭ́ и безоу-
мⷯствии. ни҆е́ди́н бо̀ ц҃р҃е́и йное и҆мⷮ́ рожⷮ́нïа нача́ло.
Є҆ди́но же всⷮ́хъ вьшⷯ́ствïе вь живо́ть. и҆зьшⷯ́-
ствïе же ра́вно:~

Variant readings: **11** ѿ соломѡ̀на ·:] written in righthand margin **12** прьвоза҃нⷯноу] пръвозда́нномⷭ **13** де҃томⷮ́сечнаго] десе́томе́сечнааго **15** ражⷭ́а] ражⷭ́аемь **16** долⷭ] до́ло

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The Autocephalous Structure of the Orthodox Church in a Historical – Canonical Perspective

Abstract. It is well known that the foundations of Church organization were established by the Holy Apostles themselves, who were the first to spread the teachings of Christ. They fulfilled this mission in accordance with the command of the Lord Jesus Christ (Matt. 28:18–19), as they traveled to various regions to establish Christian communities. Initially, each Christian community, led by its bishop, constituted a distinct ecclesiastical unit, which may be regarded as the prototype of the modern local autocephalous Churches. The existence of multiple, distinct, and independent local Churches does not hinder conciliarity within the Church. On the contrary, the major issues concerning the life of the entire Church were historically resolved through conciliar processes. With the recognition of Christianity as a legally equal religion under Emperor Constantine the Great, the organization of Church dioceses began to mirror the administrative divisions of the Roman Empire. By the 4th century, this alignment was fully realized. In the centuries that followed, the structuring of local Churches developed gradually, shaped by historical circumstances.

Keywords: Orthodox Church, church law, local Orthodox churches, canons, church diocese

The systematic structuring of the Church began to take form in the early centuries following the emergence of Christianity, particularly after the first three centuries, a period traditionally characterized by the persecution of Christians. This era of persecution came to an end under Emperor Constantine the Great, who established religious tolerance and restored interreligious peace throughout the Roman Empire[1]. The organization of church dioceses closely followed the administrative divisions of the Roman Empire and, by the fourth century, had become fully aligned with the imperial structure. Under Constantine's rule, the Empire was

[1] S. Bralewski, *Was Constantine the Great Aware of the Constantinian Shift?*, SCer 9, 2019, p. 157–158.

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divided into four prefectures: Gaul, Italy, Illyricum, and the East – the latter being the largest. The Prefecture of Gaul encompassed Gaul, Britain, Spain, and Mauretania. The Prefecture of Italy included Italy, Germany, Noricum, Pannonia, Dalmatia, Epirus, and Africa, with Carthage as its capital. The Prefecture of Illyricum, centered in Thessaloniki, comprised Macedonia and Dacia. The Prefecture of the East included the dioceses of Asia, with Ephesus as its center (also encompassing the southwestern provinces of Asia Minor), Pontus (with its capital in Caesarea Cappadocia), Thrace (centered in Heraclea), Syria (capital Antioch), and Egypt, along with Libya and Pentapolis (centered in Alexandria), as well as the island of Cyprus.

The imperial capitals – Rome and Constantinople – held special status and, owing to their primacy, were not included within any of the aforementioned prefectures. Each diocese consisted of multiple provinces[2].

The structure of local churches is referenced in several canonical regulations. For instance, the 6th[3] of the First Ecumenical Council and the 36th canon[4] of the Sixth Ecumenical Council place the Church of Rome on equal footing with other

[2] Д. Ангелов, *Политическа история на Византия*, София 2013, p. 27–29.

[3] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на Св. Православна църква с тълкуванията им*, vol. I, София 1912, p. 282: Τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἔθη κρατείτω, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ Λιβύῃ καὶ Πενταπόλει, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ ἐπίσκοπον πάντων τούτων ἔχειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν· ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν. Ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀντιόχειαν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπαρχίαις, τὰ πρεσβεῖα σῴζεσθαι ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις. Καθόλου δὲ πρόδηλον ἐκεῖνο· ὅτι, εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον. Ἐὰν μέντοι τῇ κοινῇ πάντων ψήφῳ, εὐλόγῳ οὔσῃ, καὶ κατὰ κανόνα ἐκκλησιαστικόν, δύο, ἢ τρεῖς δι› οἰκείαν φιλονεικίαν ἀντιλέγωσι, κρατείτω ἡ τῶν πλειόνων ψῆφος / *Let the ancient customs in Egypt, Libya and Pentapolis prevail, that the Bishop of Alexandria have jurisdiction in all these, since the like is customary for the Bishop of Rome also. Likewise in Antioch and the other provinces, let the Churches retain their privileges. And this is to be universally understood, that if anyone be made bishop without the consent of the Metropolitan, the great Synod has declared that such a man ought not to be a bishop. If, however, two or three bishops shall from natural love of contradiction, oppose the common suffrage of the rest, it being reasonable and in accordance with the ecclesiastical law, then let the choice of the majority prevail.*

[4] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на Св. Православна църква с тълкуванията им*, vol. II, София 1913, p. 188: Ἀνανεούμενοι τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα ἁγίων Πατέρων, τῶν ἐν τῇ θεοφυλάκτῳ ταύτῃ καὶ βασιλίδι πόλει συνελθόντων, καὶ τῶν ἑξακοσίων τριάκοντα, τῶν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι συναθροισθέντων νομοθετηθέντα, ὁρίζομεν, ὥστε τὸν Κωνσταντινουπόλεως θρόνον τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύειν πρεσβείων τοῦ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης θρόνου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς, ὡς ἐκεῖνον, μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δεύτερον μετ› ἐκεῖνον ὑπάρχοντα, μεθ᾽ ὃν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων μεγαλοπόλεως ἀριθμείσθω θρόνος, εἶτα ὁ Ἀντιοχείας, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον, ὁ τῆς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν πόλεως / *Renewing the laws made by the one hundred and fifty Holy Fathers who assembled in this God-guarded imperial capital city, and by the six hundred and thirty of those who assembled in Chalcedon, we decree that the throne of Constantinople shall enjoy equal seniorities (or priorities) with the throne of older Rome, and in ecclesiastical matters shall be magnified like the latter, coming second after the latter; after which the throne of the great city of the Alexandrians shall come next, then that of Antioch, and after this the throne of the city of the Jerusalemites.*

local churches. Particularly noteworthy is the 2nd canon[5] of the Second Ecumenical Council – which articulated the doctrine of the Church's unity. This canon explicitly prohibited any local church from extending its jurisdiction beyond its assigned boundaries, in recognition of the Creed's affirmation of the Church's unity. Importantly, the Council did not interpret this unity as submission to a single earthly authority, such as the Church of Rome. From a historical perspective, at the time of the Second Ecumenical Council, multiple autocephalous churches existed across the 14 dioceses of the Roman Empire. Furthermore, the same council's 3rd canon[6], acknowledged the position of the Church of Constantinople, granting it equal honor to the Church of Rome. Later, during the Fourth Ecumenical Council, the 28th canon[7]

[5] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. I, p. 377: Τοὺς ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, μηδὲ συγχέειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας, τὸν μὲν Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπίσκοπον, τὰ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μόνον οἰκονομεῖν· τοὺς δὲ τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ἐπισκόπους, τὴν Ἀνατολὴν μόνην διοικεῖν· φυλαττομένων τῶν ἐν τοῖς κανόσι τοῖς κατὰ Νίκαιαν πρεσβείων τῇ Ἀντιοχέων ἐκκλησίᾳ· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἀσιανῆς διοικήσεως ἐπισκόπους, τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσιανὴν μόνον διοικεῖν· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς, τὰ τῆς Ποντικῆς μόνον· καὶ τοὺς τῆς Θρᾴκης τὰ τῆς Θρᾳκικῆς μόνον οἰκονομεῖν. Ἀκλήτους δὲ ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν ἐπὶ χειροτονίᾳ, ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς. Φυλαττομένου δὲ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου περὶ τῶν διοικήσεων κανόνος, εὔδηλον ὡς τὰ καθ› ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἡ τῆς ἐπαρχίας σύνοδος διοικήσει, κατὰ τὰ ἐν Νικαίᾳ ὡρισμένα. Τὰς δὲ ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἔθνεσι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, οἰκονομεῖσθαι χρὴ κατὰ τὴν κρατήσασαν συνήθειαν τῶν Πατέρων / *Bishops must not leave their own diocese and go over to churches beyond its boundaries; but, on the contrary, in accordance with the Canons, let the Bishop of Alexandria administer the affairs of Egypt only, let the Bishops of the East govern the Eastern Church only, the priorities granted to the church of the Antiochians in the Nicene Canons being kept inviolate, and let the Bishops of the Asian diocese (or administrative domain) administer only the affairs of the Asian church, and let those of the Pontic diocese look after the affairs of the diocese of Pontus only, and let those of the Thracian diocese manage the affairs of the Thracian diocese only. Let Bishops not go beyond their own province to carry out an ordination or any other ecclesiastical services unless (officially) summoned thither. When the Canon prescribed in regard to dioceses (or administrative provinces) is duly kept, it is evident that the synod of each province will confine itself to the affairs of that particular province, in accordance with the regulations decreed in Nicaea. But the churches of God that are situated in territories belonging to barbarian nations must be administered in accordance with the customary practice of the Fathers.*

[6] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. I, p. 386: Τὸν μέν τοι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τὰ πρεσβεῖα τῆς τιμῆς μετὰ τὸν τῆς Ῥώμης ἐπίσκοπον, διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν νέαν Ῥώμην / *Let the Bishop of Constantinople, however, have the priorities of honor after the Bishop of Rome, because of its being New Rome.*

[7] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. I, p. 633–644: Πανταχοῦ τοῖς τῶν ἁγίων Πατέρων ὅροις ἑπόμενοι, καὶ τὸν ἀρτίως ἀναγνωσθέντα κανόνα τῶν ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα θεοφιλέστατων ἐπισκόπων, τῶν συναχθέντων ἐπὶ τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς μνήμης Μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου, τοῦ γενομένου βασιλέως ἐν τῇ βασιλίδι Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέᾳ Ῥώμῃ, γνωρίζοντες, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁρίζομέν τε καὶ ψηφιζόμεθα περὶ τῶν πρεσβείων τῆς ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας τῆς αὐτῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Νέας Ῥώμης· καὶ γὰρ τῷ θρόνῳ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης, διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην, οἱ Πατέρες εἰκότως ἀποδεδώκασι τὰ πρεσβεῖα. Καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοπῷ κινούμενοι οἱ ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι, τὰ ἴσα πρεσβεῖα ἀπένειμαν τῷ τῆς Νέας Ῥώμης ἁγιωτάτῳ θρόνῳ, εὐλόγως κρίναντες, τὴν βασιλείᾳ καὶ συγκλήτῳ τιμηθεῖσαν πόλιν, καὶ τῶν ἴσων ἀπολαύουσαν

extended this recognition to include authority[8], emphasizing that the Church of Rome's preeminence was rooted not in doctrinal superiority, but in the political significance of the city of Rome as the imperial capital.

When larger Churches have attempted to subjugate smaller local Churches, the Ecumenical Episcopate – guided by the faithful transmission of Apostolic teaching and the Spirit-enlightened ecclesial consciousness – has consistently resisted such efforts by upholding the teaching of the unity of the Church.

A notable example of this in historical context is the dispute between the Church of Antioch and the Church of Cyprus in the 5th century. Despite the fact that the Church of Cyprus was founded by the Apostle Paul during his first missionary journey, the Church of Antioch sought to bring it under its jurisdiction, in contradiction to ecclesiastical decrees and the canons of the holy Apostles – specifically, the 35th Apostolic Canon[9]. This uncanonical attempt at subordination

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πρεσβείων τῇ πρεσβυτέρᾳ βασιλίδι Ῥώμῃ, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς ὡς ἐκείνην μεγαλύνεσθαι πράγμασι, δευτέραν μετ᾽ ἐκείνην ὑπάρχουσαν. Καὶ ὥστε τοὺς τῆς Ποντικῆς, καὶ τῆς Ἀσιανῆς, καὶ τῆς Θρακικῆς διοικήσεως μητροπολίτας μόνους, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς βαρβαρικοῖς ἐπισκόπους τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων χειροτονεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ προειρημένου ἁγιωτάτου θρόνου τῆς κατὰ Κωνσταντινούπολιν ἁγιωτάτης ἐκκλησίας· δηλαδή ἑκάστου μητροπολίτου τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων μετὰ τῶν τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπων χειροτονοῦντος τοὺς τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπους, καθὼς τοῖς θείοις κανόσι διηγόρευται· χειροτονεῖσθαι δέ, καθὼς εἴρηται, τοὺς μητροπολίτας τῶν προειρημένων διοικήσεων παρὰ τοῦ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀρχιεπισκόπου, ψηφισμάτων συμφώνων κατὰ τὸ ἔθος γινομένων, καὶ ἐπ› αὐτὸν ἀναφερομένων / *Everywhere following the decrees of the Holy Fathers, and aware of the recently recognized Canon of the one hundred and fifty most God-beloved Bishops who convened during the reign of Theodosius the Great of pious memory, who became emperor in the imperial city of Constantinople otherwise known as New Rome; we too decree and vote the same things in regard to the privileges and priorities of the most holy Church of that same Constantinople and New Rome. And this is in keeping with the fact that the Fathers naturally enough granted the priorities to the throne of Old Rome on account of her being the imperial capital. And motivated by the same object and aim the one hundred and fifty most God-beloved Bishops have accorded the like priorities to the most holy throne of New Rome, with good reason deeming that the city which is the seat of an empire, and of a senate, and is equal to old imperial Rome in respect of other privileges and priorities, should be magnified also as she is in respect of ecclesiastical affairs, as coming next after her, or as being second to her. And it is arranged so that only the Metropolitans of the Pontic, Asian, and Thracian dioceses shall be ordained by the most holy throne of the most holy Church of Constantinople aforesaid, and likewise the Bishops of the aforesaid dioceses which are situated in barbarian lands; that is to say, that each Metropolitan of the aforesaid dioceses, together with the Bishops of the province, shall ordain the Bishops of the province, just as is prescribed by the divine Canons. But the Metropolitans of the aforesaid dioceses, as has been said, are to be ordained by the Archbishop of Constantinople, after the elections have first been conducted in accordance with custom and have been reported to him* (Ap c. XXXIV; c. III of the 2nd and c. XXXVI of the 6th).

[8] Г. Папатомас, *Съвременни и бъдещи предизвикателства пред православната църква (Исторически, еклисиологичен и каноничен подход)*, Паралингва 2019, p. 170.

[9] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. I, p. 104: Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ τολμᾶν ἔξω τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὅρων χειροτονίας ποιεῖσθαι, εἰς τὰς μὴ ὑποκειμένας αὐτῷ πόλεις, καὶ χώρας· εἰ δὲ ἐλεγχθείη τοῦτο πεποιηκώς, παρὰ τὴν τῶν κατεχόντων τὰς πόλεις ἐκείνας, ἢ τὰς χώρας, γνώμην, καθαιρείσθω καὶ αὐτός, καὶ οὓς ἐχειροτόνηοεν / *Let not a bishop dare to ordain beyond his own*

was promptly addressed by the Third Ecumenical Council, which, through its 8th canon[10], condemned the act as an unwarranted innovation that infringed upon

limits, in cities and places not subject to him. But if he be convicted of doing so, without the consent of those persons who have authority over such cities and places, let him be deposed, and those also whom he has ordained.

[10] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. I, p. 468–470: Πρᾶγμα παρὰ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς θεσμοὺς καὶ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων καινοτομούμενον, καὶ τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας ἁπτόμενον, προσήγγειλεν ὁ θεοφιλέστατος συνεπίσκοπος Ῥηγῖνος, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ θεοφιλέστατοι ἐπίσκοποι τῆς Κυπρίων ἐπαρχίας, Ζήνων καὶ Εὐάγριος. Ὅθεν, ἐπειδὴ τὰ κοινὰ πάθη μείζονος δεῖται τῆς θεραπείας, ὡς καὶ μείζονα τὴν βλάβην φέροντα, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ μηδὲ ἔθος ἀρχαῖον παρηκολούθησεν, ὥστε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τῆς Ἀντιοχέων πόλεως τὰς ἐν Κύπρῳ ποιεῖσθαι χειροτονίας, καθὰ διὰ τῶν λιβέλλων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων φωνῶν ἐδίδαξαν οἱ εὐλαβέστατοι ἄνδρες, οἱ τὴν πρόσοδον τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ ποιησάμενοι, ἔξουσι τὸ ἀνεπηρέαστον καὶ ἀβίαστον οἱ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν, τῶν κατὰ τὴν Κύπρον, προεστῶτες, κατὰ τοὺς κανόνας τῶν ὁσίων Πατέρων, καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν, δι' ἑαυτῶν τάς χειροτονίας τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ποιούμενοι· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων διοικήσεων, καὶ τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ ἐπαρχιῶν παραφυλαχθήσεται· ὥστε μηδένα τῶν θεοφιλεστάτων ἐπισκόπων ἐπαρχίαν ἑτέραν, οὐκ οὖσαν ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτοῦ, ἢ γοῦν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ χεῖρα καταλαμβάνειν ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις κατέλαβε, καὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν πεποίηται, βιασάμενος, ταύτην ἀποδιδόναι· ἵνα μὴ τῶν Πατέρων οἱ κανόνες παραβαίνωνται, μηδὲ ἐν ἱερουργίας προσχήματι, ἐξουσίας τύφος κοσμικῆς περεισδύηται, μηδὲ λάθωμεν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσαντες, ἣν ἡμῖν ἐδωρήσατο τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, ὁ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλευθερωτής. Ἔδοξε τοίνυν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ, σῴζεσθαι ἑκάστῃ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀβίαστα τὰ αὐτῇ προσόντα δίκαια ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἄνωθεν, κατὰ τὸ πάλαι κρατῆσαν ἔθος, ἄδειαν ἔχοντος ἑκάστου μητροπολίτου τὰ ἴσα τῶν πεπραγμένων πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἀσφαλὲς ἐκλαβεῖν. Εἰ δέ τις μαχόμενον τύπον τοῖς νῦν ὡρισμένοις προσκομίσοι, ἄκυρον τοῦτον εἶναι ἔδοξε τῇ ἁγίᾳ πάσῃ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ συνόδῳ / *Our fellow Bishop Reginus, most beloved by God, and with him the most God-beloved Bishops of the province of the Cypriotes Zeno and Evagrius, has announced an innovation, a thing which is contrary to the ecclesiastical laws and the Canons of the Holy Apostles, and one which touches the freedom of all. Hence, since common ailments require more drastic treatment, on the ground that they do greater damage, and especially in view of the fact that the Bishop of Antioch, far from following the ancient custom, has been performing the ordinations in Cyprus, according to information given in libelli and by oral statements made by most pious gentlemen who have approached the Holy Council; therefore those who preside over the churches in Cyprus shall retain their privilege unaffected and inviolate, according to the Canons of the Holy Fathers and ancient custom, whereby they shall themselves perform the ordinations of the most reverent Bishops. The same rule shall hold good also with regard to the other diocese and churches everywhere, so that none of the Bishops most beloved by God shall take hold of any other province that was not formerly and from the beginning in his jurisdiction, or was not, that is to say, held by his predecessors. But if anyone has taken possession of any and has forcibly subjected it to his authority, he shall regive it back to its rightful possessor, in order that the Canons of the Fathers be not transgressed, nor the secular fastus be introduced, under the pretext of divine services; lest imperceptibly and little by little we lose the freedom which our Lord Jesus Christ, the Liberator of all men, has given us as a free gift by His own blood. It has therefore seemed best to the holy and Ecumenical Council that the rights of every province, formerly and from the beginning belonging to it, be preserved clear and inviolable, in accordance with the custom which prevailed of yore; each Metropolitan having permission to take copies of the proceedings for his own security. If, on the other hand, anyone introduce any form conflicting with the decrees which have now been sanctioned, it has seemed best to the entire holy and Ecumenical Council that it be invalid and of no effect* (Ap. c. XXXIV; cc. VI, VII of the 1st; c. XX of the 2nd; cc. XXXVI, XXXIX of the 6th; c. IX of Antioch).

the independence of another Church. The Council described such interference as a social malady requiring immediate correction, due to the significant harm it inflicts upon both the instigator and the broader ecclesial body. The provisions of this canon are not limited solely to the specific case of Cyprus but apply universally to all Churches with canonically recognized autocephalous status[11].

Another significant canonical moment in the history of the Church of Cyprus occurred when its head, Archbishop John, was compelled – for political reasons – to seek refuge in Constantinople along with his clergy and faithful. In defense of the Church of Cyprus's full independence, the Sixth Ecumenical Council issued the 39th canon[12], reaffirming its autocephalous status.

From the examples presented thus far, it becomes evident that, like any other public institution, the Church of Christ – following its establishment on earth – is subject to specific organizational requirements and must possess a defined external structure. This point is crucial to emphasize, as the canonical framework outlined

[11] Адолф Д'Аврил, *Източните иерархии*, ЦВ 2, 1911, p. 4. Adolphe d'Avril was a prominent French diplomat and writer. The monograph was originally published in the French diplomatic journal "Revue d'histoire diplomatique" (2, 1901, p. 293–314).

[12] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. II, p. 197–199: Τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ συλλειτουργοῦ ἡμῶν Ἰωάννου, τοῦ τῆς Κυπρίων νήσου προέδρου, ἅμα τῷ οἰκείῳ λαῷ, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλησπόντιον ἐπαρχίαν, διά τε τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἐφόδους, διά τε τὸ τῆς ἐθνικῆς ἐλευθερωθῆναι δουλείας, καὶ καθαρῶς τοῖς σκήπτροις τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου κράτους ὑποταγῆναι, τῆς εἰρημένης μεταναστάντος νήσου, προνοίᾳ τοῦ φιλανθρώπου Θεοῦ, καὶ μόχθῳ τοῦ φιλοχρίστου καὶ εὐσεβοῦς ἡμῶν βασιλέως, συνορῶμεν, ὥστε ἀκαινοτόμητα διαφυλαχθῆναι τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ τὸ πρότερον συνελθόντων θεοφόρων Πατέρων τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ προγεγραμμένου ἀνδρὸς παρασχεθέντα προνόμια, ὥστε τὴν νέαν Ἰουστινιανούπολιν τὸ δίκαιον ἔχειν τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῇ καθιστάμενον θεοφιλέστατον ἐπίσκοπον, πάντων προεδρεύειν τῶν τῆς Ἑλλησποντίων ἐπαρχίας, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἐπισκόπων χειροτονεῖσθαι, κατὰ τὴν ἀρχαίαν συνήθειαν. Τὰ γὰρ ἐν ἑκάστῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔθη, καὶ οἱ θεοφόροι ἡμῶν Πατέρες παραφυλάττεσθαι διεγνώκασι, τοῦ τῆς Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως ἐπισκόπου ὑποκειμένου τῷ προέδρῳ τῆς εἰρημένης Ἰουστινιανουπόλεως, μιμήσει τῶν λοιπῶν ἁπάντων ἐπισκόπων, τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν λεχθέντα θεοφιλέστατον πρόεδρον Ἰωάννην, ὑφ' οὗ χρείας καλούσης, καὶ ὁ τῆς αὐτῆς Κυζικηνῶν πόλεως ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονηθήσεται / *Seeing that our brother and fellow minister John the president of the island of the Cyprians has departed thence with his laity and has come to the eparchy of the Hellespont, both because of barbarian assaults and because they have been freed from heathen slavery and have become subject to the ruling powers of the most Christian empire, by the providence of the philanthropic (or man-loving) God, and by the hard work of our Christ-loving and pious emperor, we see fit to concur in decreeing that the privileges conferred upon and granted to the throne of the man aforesaid by the God-bearing Fathers who convened in Ephesus long ago shall be preserved without any innovations, so that the new Justinianopolis shall have the right of Constantinople, and the most God-beloved Bishop appointed over it shall preside over all those in the eparchy of the Hellespontians and be ordained by his own bishops, in accordance with the ancient custom. For our God-bearing Fathers have already decided that the customs obtaining in each Church are to be continued, the Bishop of the city of the Cyzicenians being subject to the president of the said Justinianopolis, in imitation of the rest of all the Bishops who are under the said most God-beloved president John, by whom, if the need arises, the Bishop of the same city of the Cyzicenians shall be ordained* (Ap. c. XXXIV; cc. VI, XII of the 1st; cc. II, III, VIII of the 2nd; c. XXVIII of the 4th; c. XXXVI of the 6th; c. IX of Antioch).

here will continue to underpin the analysis throughout this study. Before addressing the specific conditions under which ecclesiastical independence is granted, it is necessary to clarify the etymology of the term *autocephaly*. The designation "autocephalous Church" began to appear in the early 5th century. The term is of Greek origin and is composed of two elements: αὐτός (*itself*) and κεφαλή (*head*), denoting an entity – whether secular or ecclesiastical – that is led by its own authority and is independent of any higher or sovereign authoritz[13].

In the writings of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (†959) and the chronicler Theophanes, *autocephaly* is associated with the notion of political sovereignty. In the sense of possessing "full rights", the term also appears in the works of Theodore the Reader (†525)[14], Epiphanius of Constantinople (†535), Theophylact of Ohrid (†1107), and Theodore Balsamon[15]. The Latin equivalent of *autocephaly* is rendered as *libera ac sui juris*, meaning "free and of one's own right", or simply *independens* – "independent"[16].

Theodore Balsamon identified all provincial metropolitans as *autocephalous* during the time of the Second Ecumenical Council. Epiphanius of Constantinople distinguishes *autocephalous* archbishops – those who are independent – from τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐπιλομένων, that is, bishops subordinate to other bishops. He further identifies six autocephalous Churches within the Byzantine Empire. The term αὐτοκέφαλος came to denote the title of archbishops presiding over independent Churches, such as the primate of the Church of Cyprus. Over time, this title was extended to other bishops once their Churches achieved jurisdictional independence[17]. An official catalog of autocephalous Churches was published in April 1855 in the *Athens Syntagma*. This list enumerated ten Orthodox autocephalous Churches, beginning with the Church of Constantinople and concluding with the Church of Greece (*Hellas*)[18].

Prior to the adoption of the term *autocephalous Church*, which emerged at a later stage, local churches were identified by their geographical location. The apostolic epistles refer to churches in Asia (1 Cor. 16:16), Macedonia (2 Cor. 8:1), Thessalonica (1 Thess. 1:1), Ephesus (Rev. 2:1), and other regions[19].

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[13] Т. Събев, *Самостойна народностна църква в средновековна България. Синодално издателство*, София 1987, p. 222.

[14] J. Erickson, *The Autocephalous Church*, [in:] *The Challenge of Our Past*, New York 1991, p. 96.

[15] Γ. Ραλλη, Μ. Ποτλη, *Σύνταγμα των θείων και ιερών κανόνων των τε αγίων και πανευφήμων Αποστόλων, και των ιερών και οικουμενικών και τοπικών Συνόδων, και των κατά μέρος αγίων Πατέρων*, vol. II, Αθήναι 1852, p. 171–172.

[16] Т. Събев, *Автокефалия и патриаршески институт в църковното устройство на Православния изток*, [in:] *Духовна култура*, vol. XI–XII, София 1963, p. 59.

[17] Ст. Цанков, *Негово Блаженство екзархът глава ли е на Българската църква*, ЦВ 3, 1911, p. 4.

[18] Γ. Ραλλη, Μ. Ποτλη, *Σύνταγμα των θείων…*, vol. V, 1855, p. 513–530.

[19] Р. Поптодоров, *Автокефалия и автономия на Църквата*, [in:] *Богословска мисъл*, vol. II, София 1997, p. 26.

However, it must be acknowledged that not all churches that identified themselves as autocephalous were, in fact, *de jure* autocephalous. The autocephalous status of several churches has been contested since antiquity – sometimes without sufficient justification. For instance, in the 4th century, St. Basil the Great questioned the autocephaly of the Armenian Church, and in the 6th century, the Pope of Rome (Pope Vigilius) similarly challenged the status of the Church of Justiniana Prima[20]. In the 13th century, Archbishop Demetrius Homatian of Ohrid disputed the autocephaly of the Serbian Orthodox Church[21]. Between 1185 and 1234, the Patriarchs of Constantinople did not recognize the independence of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, and from 1346 to 1375, they likewise contested the autonomy of the Serbian Orthodox Church. In 1355, Patriarch Kallistos even attempted to demonstrate that the Bulgarian Church's claim to autocephaly was uncanonical[22]. A particularly turbulent period concerning the canonical legitimacy of autocephaly for numerous churches – including the Bulgarian, Greek, Serbian, Romanian, Albanian, Georgian, Czechoslovakian, Polish and Macedonian Churches – was the 19th and 20th centuries[23]. These disputes often disrupted harmonious relations among the Orthodox Churches, leading to confusion and disillusionment among the faithful, while providing cause for satisfaction among non-Orthodox observers. Given the historical and ecclesiological complexity of these disputes, it is essential to clarify the canonical prerequisites for the granting of autocephaly – both in terms of its historical emergence and the structural organization of autocephalous churches.

The earliest founders of autocephalous churches were the holy apostles, as evidenced by numerous authoritative sources, including the *Apostolic Decrees*, the *Epistles of the Eastern Patriarchs* (Article 10), and the decrees of the Council of Jerusalem in 1672 (10th canon)[24]. Historical records indicate the existence of a view according to which only those churches established directly by the apostles possessed the right to autocephaly. This notion gave rise to disputes regarding the legitimacy of autocephaly in churches that emerged after the apostolic era. For example, Popes Leo the Great and Nicholas I did not recognize the independence of the Church of Constantinople, as it was not believed to have received direct apostolic foundation or blessing[25].

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[20] И. Снегаров, *История на славянските Православни църкви*, София 1960, p. 135–136.

[21] I. Kaminis, *Academic Reasearch on Saint Sava of Serbia in Greece*, OPREE 44, iss. 9, article 2, p. 6. Cf. Ил. Илиев, *Охридската архиепископия и първите владетели на възобновеното българско царство*, ДЦ 2006, p. 95.

[22] С. Троицкий, *О церковной автокефалии*, ЖМП 7, 1948, p. 37.

[23] Д. Калканджиева, *Преосмисляне на автокефалията: светските власти като автокефалотворен фактор*, ХК 2 (199), 2025, p. 40–43.

[24] *Никодим (Милаш)*, еп., *Православно църковно право*, София 1904, p. 359.

[25] В. Златарски, *История на Българската държава през средните векове*, vol. I, *Първото българско царство*, pars 2, *От славянизацията на държавата до падането на Първото царство (852–1018)*, София 1927, p. 105. See more on this issue: *Responsa Nicolai I papae*, cap. XCII, [in:] *FLHB*, vol. II, София 1960, p. 118: *nam Constatinopolitanam ecclesiam nec apostolorum quisquam instituit nec Nicena sinodus*.

Similarly, the Church of Antioch refused to acknowledge the autocephaly of the Georgian Church, arguing that no apostle had preached in those regions. Pope Gregory the Great went even further, asserting that ecclesiastical authority should be divided among the Roman, Alexandrian, and Antiochian Churches – those believed to be founded by the Apostle Peter – while criticizing other churches for claiming apostolic origin without historical evidence[26]. For example, both the Churches of Constantinople and Georgia traced their apostolic lineage to Saint Andrew. However, this theory does not align with either Holy Scripture or the canonical tradition of the Church. The apostles did not divide the world into a fixed number of churches, nor did they limit the establishment of future churches. Moreover, many autocephalous churches arose after the apostolic period. Even some of the churches founded directly by the apostles eventually lost their autocephalous status, either temporarily – as in the cases of Jerusalem and Athens – or permanently. Of the eighteen churches identified as autocephalous in the *Apostolic Decrees*, only five have retained their independence[27].

While it is undisputed that many churches were indeed founded by the apostles, those established later remain integral components of the same apostolic tradition. They are branches of the one great tree – the Church of Christ – participating fully in its life through apostolic succession. For this reason, all churches are equal in dignity and status.

A key canonical principle concerning the independence of local churches is that the holy apostles entrusted their full ecclesiastical authority to the episcopate of the Universal Church. Consequently, the authority to establish new autocephalous churches belongs collectively to the episcopate, which expresses its will through the Ecumenical Councils – the highest governing bodies of the Church. Indeed, the Ecumenical Councils have repeatedly addressed matters of autocephaly. The First Ecumenical Council, through its 6th canon[28], recognized the autocephalous rights of the Churches of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, and addressed the status of the Church of Jerusalem in its 7th canon[29]. The Second Ecumenical Council, through its 2nd canon[30], affirmed the jurisdictional boundaries of the autocephalous Churches of Alexandria, Antioch, Asia, Pontus, and Thrace. The Third Ecumenical Council defended the autocephaly of the Church

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[26] *Responsa Nicolai I papae…*, p. 118: *Constatinopolitanus autem et Hierosolymitanus antistites, licet dicantur patriarchae, non tantae tamen auctoritatis quantae superiores existunt.*

[27] С. Троицкий, *О церковной…*, p. 38.

[28] Г. Ралли, М. Потли, *Σύνταγμα των θείων…*, vol. II, 1852, p. 128. See more Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. I, p. 283.

[29] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. I, p. 296: Ἐπειδὴ συνήθεια κεκράτηκε, καὶ παράδοσις ἀρχαία, ὥστε τὸν ἐν Αἰλίᾳ ἐπίσκοπον τιμᾶσθαι, ἐχέτω τὴν ἀκολουθίαν τῆς τιμῆς· τῇ μητροπόλει σῳζομένου τοῦ οἰκείου ἀξιώματος / *Since custom and ancient tradition have prevailed that the Bishop of Ælia* [i.e., Jerusalem] *should be honoured, let him, saving its due dignity to the Metropolis, have the next place of honour.*

[30] Г. Ралли, М. Потли, *Σύνταγμα των θείων…*, vol. II, 1852, p. 169–170.

of Cyprus in its 8th canon[31], while the Fourth Ecumenical Council, through its 28th canon[32], confirmed the autocephaly of the Church of Constantinople and placed the churches of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace under its jurisdiction. The Sixth Ecumenical Council further established the hierarchical order of the five major patriarchates in its 36th canon[33] and reaffirmed the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus in its 39th canon[34].

It must also be acknowledged that neither the Holy Apostles nor the Ecumenical Councils can be regarded as regular or standard authorities for resolving questions related to the autocephaly of a particular Church. The Apostles lived during the formative period of the earliest Christian communities, while the Ecumenical Councils represent exceptional events, convened in response to doctrinal or ecclesial crises affecting the entire Church – not for the resolution of localized or administrative matters such as the status of a particular Church.

The stance of the episcopal institution regarding the granting of autocephaly is another important consideration that should not be overlooked. The episcopate of the already existing autocephalous Churches plays a central role in addressing this canonical issue, acting collectively on behalf of the episcopate of the Universal Church. This is carried out through the Church's primary decision-making mechanism: the synod or council. The authority of Ecumenical Councils extends over the entire Church, whereas the jurisdiction of a synod within an autocephalous Church is confined to its own ecclesiastical territory. Such a council may grant autocephaly only to a part of its own Church or relinquish its jurisdiction to facilitate the incorporation of that part into another autocephalous Church. Ecclesiastical history provides numerous examples of such processes.

It is evident that the institution of autocephaly has developed gradually over time. By decree of the Synod of the Church of Constantinople, several Churches were proclaimed autocephalous: the Bulgarian Church in 1946, the Serbian Church in 1218 and again in 1879, the Russian Church in 1589, the Greek Church in 1850, the Romanian Church in 1885, and the Albanian Church in 1938[35]. The Georgian Church was granted independence in antiquity by the Church of Antioch, and later received recognition from the Russian Church, which also granted in recent times autocephaly to the Orthodox Church in America[36]. Of course, some Churches obtained their autocephalous status during the era of the Ecumenical Councils, such as the Armenian Church in 354 and the Church of Justiniana Prima in 537.

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[31] Г. Ралли, М. Потли, *Σύνταγμα των θείων*…, vol. II, 1852, p. 203–204.

[32] Г. Ралли, М. Потли, *Σύνταγμα των θείων*…, vol. II, 1852, p. 280–281.

[33] Г. Ралли, М. Потли, *Σύνταγμα των θείων*…, vol. II, 1852, p. 387.

[34] Г. Ралли, М. Потли, *Σύνταγμα των θείων*…, vol. II, 1852, p. 395–396.

[35] Р. Поптодоров, *Автокефалия и автономия*…, p. 29.

[36] Formerly an autonomous church under the Russian Orthodox Church, it was granted the status of an autocephalous church in 1970. This status has not been recognized by some of the canonical churches, including the Ecumenical Patriarchate (author's note).

There are also numerous historical instances of the merging of several autocephalous Churches into a single ecclesiastical body. For example, in the first half of the 4th century, according to the testimony of Theodore Balsamon, the Churches of each Roman province were functionally autocephalous[37]. However, by the time of the Second Ecumenical Council, these metropolitan sees were grouped into larger ecclesiastical units – Exarchates – parallel to the 14 civil dioceses of the Roman Empire, as confirmed by the Council's 2nd canon[38]. Because the imperial capitals (initially Rome, and later Constantinople) held privileged status, they came to exercise authority over multiple dioceses. By the 6th century, only six autocephalous Churches remained within the boundaries of the Greco-Roman world. A similar process of ecclesiastical unification can be observed in modern times. In 1920, several autocephalous Churches – the Serbian, the Church of Sremski Karlovci, and the Montenegrin Church – along with portions of the Churches of Constantinople and Bukovina-Dalmatia, as well as the autonomous Church of Bosnia and Herzegovina, were united into a single Serbian Orthodox Church. Simultaneously, three separate autocephalous Churches were integrated into a unified Romanian Orthodox Church[39].

There are three primary factors that contribute to the canonical establishment of an autocephalous Church: the will of the Apostles, the decisions of the Ecumenical Councils, and the authority of the episcopate of an already established autocephalous Church. In canon law, these are recognized as the direct factors in the creation of ecclesiastical autocephaly[40]. No other mechanisms are deemed sufficient to enact such a canonical act. Nevertheless, throughout history, various attempts have been made to obtain autocephaly through means closely related to, but ultimately distinct from, these direct sources. These are referred to as secondary or indirect factors. They include the involvement of state authorities, the episcopate of a group separated from an existing autocephalous Church, and the Church of Constantinople acting outside the boundaries of its canonical jurisdiction.

Canonically, an autocephalous Church is one that has received its independence either from the Apostles themselves, from an Ecumenical Council, or from the autocephalous Church within whose jurisdiction it previously existed. Of these three sources, only the third – the will of the mother autocephalous Church – remains applicable in the contemporary context. This raises an important question: What criteria should guide an autocephalous Church in granting independence to a particular portion of its jurisdiction? As with all matters of ecclesiastical

[37] Γ. Ραλλη, Μ. Ποτλη, *Σύνταγμα των θείων…*, vol. II, 1852, p. 171: Εί δέ καί έτέρας εκκλησίας αυτοκεφάλους ευρίσκεις.

[38] Γ. Ραλλη, Μ. Ποτλη, *Σύνταγμα των θείων…*, vol. II, 1852, p. 169–170.

[39] И. Снегаров, *История на…*, p. 134.

[40] Р. Поптодоров, *Автокефалия и автономия…*, p. 29.

administration, including the granting of autocephaly, Church authority must be governed by a single overriding principle – the spiritual and pastoral benefit of the Church itself. The ecclesiastical authority has the obligation to discern whether the prevailing conditions serve the fulfillment of the Church's salvific mission. In considering the question of autocephaly, the mother Church must take into account, first and foremost, the expressed will of the episcopate and faithful of the region seeking independence. Secondly, it should consider the stance of the civil authorities, and thirdly, the geographical, cultural, and historical context that may affect ecclesial governance and pastoral care[41].

In addition to the three previously mentioned conditions, one must also consider whether a given ecclesiastical community possesses the structural and institutional capacity to function independently in a manner consistent with the true nature of autocephaly. It is important to note that the essence of autocephaly is not always fully understood, even among canonists and church historians, who at times conflate autocephaly with autonomy. Since apostolic succession is the sole source of sanctification, unity, and authority within the Church, only that ecclesial body can be considered truly autocephalous which possesses its own independent source of authority – namely, its own line of apostolic succession. In concrete terms, this means that only a Church whose bishops, including its primate, are elected and consecrated by its own episcopate – without external involvement from bishops of another Church – can rightfully be considered autocephalous. Canonical sources consistently regard this capacity for independent episcopal governance as the core characteristic of autocephaly.

This understanding is clearly reflected in the 8th canon of the Third Ecumenical Council, which defended the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus. The canon does not refer to any other ecclesiastical rights or privileges beyond the right of the Cypriot bishops to receive ordination from within their own hierarchy. This principle was subsequently accepted as normative across all other local Churches. The canon states: *Let the leaders of the holy Church of Cyprus have the full and undisputed right, according to the rules of the holy fathers and according to ancient custom, to appoint reverend bishops for themselves. Let the same be observed in other regions and in all dioceses*[42]. A contrasting example is found in the 28th canon[43] of the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which revoked the autocephalous status of the Churches of Pontus, Asia, and Thrace, while granting them full autonomy. The canon does not enumerate any additional restrictions on their ecclesial rights except the loss of the authority to ordain their own metropolitans – this prerogative being transferred to the Church of Constantinople.

[41] С. Троицкий, *О церковной*…, p. 43.

[42] Г. Ралли, М. Потли, *Σύνταγμα των θείων*…, vol. II, 1852, p. 203–204.

[43] Г. Ралли, М. Потли, *Σύνταγμα των θείων*…, vol. II, 1852, p. 280–281.

All authoritative interpreters of ecclesiastical canons identify the essence of autocephaly with the right of a Church to ordain its own bishops. As Theodore Balsamon emphasizes in his commentary on the 2nd canon of the Second Ecumenical Council: *Pay attention*, he advises, *that according to this rule, all metropolitans of provinces were autocephalous and ordained by their own councils*[44]. This is the true essence of autocephaly, and it constitutes the foundational structure of all fully independent Churches.

Following the example set by Christ's teaching, authority in the Church was not conferred upon individual apostles in isolation, but collectively upon all the apostles. The Founder of the Church promised to be present among them so long as they remained united (cf. Matt. 18:20; Mark 9:34–35; 1 Pet. 5:2–4). Therefore, supreme ecclesiastical authority in the Church is not vested in a single bishop but emerges from the collegial unity of several bishops. The New Testament provides clear testimony to this conciliar model of apostolic succession. Episcopal ordinations were performed collectively, as evidenced in Acts 13:1–3 and 1 Timothy 4:14. The canons of the Church likewise affirm the conciliar principle in the election and ordination of bishops. The 4th canon[45] of the First Ecumenical Council stipulates the participation of all bishops in the election of a new bishop, while the 13th canon[46] of the Council of Carthage allows for the participation of many

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[44] Γ. Ραλλη, Μ. Ποτλη, *Σύνταγμα των θείων…*, vol. VI, 1852, p. 258: γάρ οἱ αρχιερείς υπό τῶν ἰδιων επισκόπων χειροτονείσθαι εἰώθασιν.

[45] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. I, p. 262–263: Ἐπίσκοπον προσήκει μάλιστα μὲν ὑπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ καθίστασθαι· εἰ δὲ δυσχερὲς εἴη τὸ τοιοῦτο, ἢ διὰ κατεπείγουσαν ἀνάγκην, ἢ διὰ μῆκος ὁδοῦ, ἐξ ἅπαντος τρεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένους, συμψήφων γινομένων καὶ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ συντιθεμένων διὰ γραμμάτων, τότε τὴν χειροτονίαν ποιεῖσθαι· τὸ δὲ κῦρος τῶν γενομένων δίδοσθαι καθ› ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῷ μητροπολίτῃ / *It is by all means proper that a bishop should be appointed by all the bishops in the province; but should this be difficult, either on account of urgent necessity or because of distance, three at least should meet together, and the suffrages of the absent [bishops] also being given and communicated in writing, then the ordination should take place. But in every province the ratification of what is done should be left to the Metropolitan.*

[46] *И.* Стефанов, *Правила на Светата Православна Църква. Света гора*, Атон 2004, p. 277: Αὐρήλιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπε· Τὶ πρὸς ταῦτα λέγει ἡ ὑμετέρα ἁγιωσύνη; Ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων ἐλέχθη. Ὀφείλει παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τὰ ὁρισθέντα ἐκ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν φυλαχθῆναι, ὧν τινων ὡς ἔτυχεν ἀβούλως οἱ πρωτεύοντες τῆς οἱασδήποτε ἐπαρχίας ἀμελεῖν κατατολμῶσι. Πολλοὶ οὖν ἐπίσκοποι συναχθέντες, ἐπίσκοπον χειροτονήσουσιν. Εἰ δὲ ἀνάγκη γένηται, τρεῖς ἐπίσκοποι, ἐν οἱῳδήποτε ἂν τόπῳ ὦσι, τῷ τοῦ πρωτεύοντος παραγγέλματι χειροτονήσουσι τὸν ἐπίσκοπον. Καὶ ἐάν τις ἔν τινι ἐναντιωθῇ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ὁμολογίᾳ ἢ τῇ ὑπογραφῇ, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἀποστερήσει τῆς τιμῆς. That a bishop should not be ordained except by many bishops, but if there should be necessity he may be ordained by three. / *Bishop Aurelius said: What says your holiness on this matter? By all the bishops it was answered: The decrees of the ancients must be observed by us, to wit, that without the consent of the Primate of any province even many bishops assembled together should not lightly presume to ordain a bishop. But should there be a necessity, at his bidding, three bishops should ordain him in any place they happen to be, and if anyone contrary to his profession and subscription shall come into any place he shall thereby deprive himself of his honour.*

bishops. Similarly, the 23rd canon[47] of the Council of Antioch and the 6th canon[48] of the Council of Sardica require the involvement of a council of bishops. According to the canonical tradition, the minimum number of bishops required to elect a new bishop is three (First Ecumenical Council, 4th canon)[49], while at least two bishops are necessary for the act of ordination itself (1st Apostolic Canon)[50].

[47] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на*…, vol. II, p. 768–769: Ἐπίσκοπον μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ καθιστᾶν ἕτερον ἑαυτοῦ διάδοχον, κἂν πρὸς τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ βίου τυγχάνῃ· εἰ δέ τι, τοιοῦτον γίγνοιτο, ἄκυρον εἶναι τὴν κατάστασιν. Φυλάττεσθαι δὲ τὸν θεσμὸν τὸν ἐκκλησιαστικὸν περιέχοντα, μὴ δεῖν ἄλλως γίνεσθαι ἐπίσκοπον, ἢ μετὰ συνόδου καὶ ἐπικρίσεως ἐπισκόπων, τῶν μετὰ τὴν κοίμησιν τοῦ ἀναπαυσαμένου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐχόντων τοῦ προάγεσθαι τὸν ἄξιον / *It is unlawful for a bishop, even as his life draws to a close, to appoint his own successor. If he does this, his appointment is void. Church law must be obeyed. Only a council held under the jurisdiction of the bishops may appoint a bishop. Only they have the authority to appoint a man who is worthy to succeed a bishop who has fallen asleep and rests from his labors.*

[48] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на*…, vol. II, p. 895–896: Ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος εἶπεν· Ἐὰν συμβῇ ἐν μιᾷ ἐπαρχίᾳ, ἐν ᾗ πλεῖστοι ἐπίσκοποι τυγχάνουσιν, ἕνα ἐπίσκοπον ἀπομεῖναι, κἀκεῖνος κατά τινα ἀμέλειαν μὴ βουληθῇ συνελθεῖν καὶ συναινέσαι τῇ καταστάσει τῶν ἐπισκόπων, τὰ δὲ πλήθη συναθροισθέντα παρακαλοῖεν γίνεσθαι τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπιζητούμενου ἐπισκόπου, χρὴ πρότερον ἐκεῖνον τὸν ἐναπομείναντα ἐπίσκοπον ὑπομιμνήσκεσθαι διὰ γραμμάτων τοῦ ἐξάρχου τῆς ἐπαρχίας, (λέγω δὴ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς μητροπόλεως), ὅτι ἀξιοῖ τὰ πλήθη ποιμένα αὐτοῖς δοθῆναι· ἡγοῦμαι καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ τοῦτον ἐκδέχεσθαι, ἵνα παραγένηται. Εἰ δὲ μὴ διὰ γραμμάτων ἀξιωθεὶς παραγένηται, μήτε μὴν ἀντιγράφοι, τὸ ἱκανὸν τῇ βουλήσει τοῦ πλήθους χρὴ γενέσθαι. Χρὴ δὲ μετακαλεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πλησιοχώρου ἐπαρχίας ἐπισκόπους, πρὸς τὴν κατάστασιν τοῦ τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπισκόπου. Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ ἁπλῶς καθιστᾶν ἐπίσκοπον ἐν κώμῃ τινὶ ἢ βραχείᾳ πόλει, ᾗ τινι καὶ εἷς μόνος πρεσβύτερος ἐπαρκεῖ· οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον γὰρ ἐπισκόπους ἐκεῖσε καθίστασθαι, ἵνα μὴ κατευτελίζηται τὸ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ὄνομα καὶ ἡ αὐθεντία. Ἀλλ᾽ οἱ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, ὡς προεῖπον, ἐπίσκοποι ἐν ταύταις ταῖς πόλεσι καθιστᾶν ἐπισκόπους ὀφείλουσιν, ἔνθα καὶ πρότερον ἐτύγχανον γεγονότες ἐπίσκοποι. Εἰ δὲ εὑρίσκοιτο οὕτω πληθύνουσά τις ἐν πολλῷ ἀριθμῷ λαοῦ πόλις, ὡς ἀξίαν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐπισκοπῆς νομίζεσθαι, λαμβανέτω. Εἰ πᾶσιν ἀρέσκει τοῦτο; Ἀπεκρίναντο πάντες· Ἀρέσκει / *Bishop Hosius said: If it happen that in a province in which there are very many bishops one bishop should stay away and by some negligence should not come to the council and assent to the appointment made by the bishops, but the people assemble and pray that the ordination of the bishop desired by them take place – it is necessary that the bishop who stayed away should first be reminded by letters from the exarch of the province (I mean, of course, the bishop of the metropolis), that the people demand a pastor to be given them. I think that it is well to await his [the absent bishop's] arrival also. But if after summons by letter he does not come, nor even write in reply, the wish of the people ought to be complied with. The bishops from the neighbouring provinces also should be invited to the ordination of the bishop of the metropolis. It is positively not permitted to ordain a bishop in a village or petty town, for which even one single presbyter is sufficient (for there is no necessity to ordain a bishop there) lest the name and authority of bishop should be made of small account, but the bishops of the province ought, as before said, to ordain bishops in those cities in which there were bishops previously; and if a city should be found with a population so large as to be thought worthy of an episcopal see, let it receive one. Is this the pleasure of all? All answered: It is our pleasure.*

[49] See footnote 41.

[50] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на*…, vol. I, p. 3: Ἐπίσκοπος χειροτονείσθω ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων δύο ἢ τριῶν / *Let a bishop be ordained by two or three bishops.* See more on this issue: *Никодим (Милаш)*, еп., *Православно*…, p. 356.

Furthermore, for the consecration of a bishop in a widowed diocese, at least four bishops must be present. This number is also the minimum required for conducting an ecclesiastical trial against a bishop. The requirement for each autocephalous Church to have at least four bishops arises from the fundamental ecclesiological principle that the highest authority within the Church must be exercised collegially. The primate of an autocephalous Church is not an absolute ruler but functions as *primus inter pares* – first among equals – within the synod. However, while four bishops represent the canonical minimum, this number is often insufficient for the effective and stable governance of Church affairs. To ensure proper ecclesiastical administration and to avoid structural deficiencies, it is advisable that each autocephalous Church maintain a larger number of bishops.

When discussing the independence of autocephalous Churches, it is important to recognize that such independence is not absolute. This is due to the unique and sacred character of the Church itself. The autonomy of a particular autocephalous Church should not be equated with the political sovereignty of a nation-state. Despite ecclesiastical divisions into distinct administrative jurisdictions, the Universal Church remains one, united in faith, sacraments, and apostolic tradition. The division of the Universal Church into separate autocephalous Churches arises from the distinctive nature of ecclesial unity and the practical limitations inherent in the governance of the global episcopate. Given the logistical and pastoral challenges, it is not feasible for the entire episcopate of the Universal Church to jointly and continually address all ecclesiastical matters. Therefore, the existence of autocephalous Churches reflects an administrative necessity rather than a breach in the unity of the Church[51].

It follows that each autocephalous Church is obliged to act not as a completely separate entity, but as a part of the one Universal Church, with which it remains in permanent union. On the other hand, since the necessity of separating a particular local Church is dictated by practical requirements that often change, the corresponding autocephalous Church, in the process of separation and identification, is not considered an invariable part of the Universal Church. Thus, some autocephalous Churches have lost their independence, such as the Churches of Jerusalem, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece. Other local Churches have fallen out of unity with the Early Church due to doctrinal differences, as is the case with the Roman, Armenian, and Persian Churches.

The limits of the independence of autocephalous Churches in various areas of ecclesial activity – such as doctrine, legislation, worship, administrative regulation, and judicial proceedings – depend on the nature of each specific sphere[52].

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[51] В. Талазин, *Соборность и автокефалия*, ЖМП 7, 1959, p. 54.

[52] Today, according to Orthodox tradition, a Church is considered autocephalous if it possesses: 1) the right to resolve all internal matters independently, through its own authority, without dependence on other Churches; 2) the right to appoint its own bishops and to elect its primate from

It is well established that, in the realm of dogmatic teaching, there is no scope for independent action on the part of autocephalous Churches, because the deposit of faith was entrusted to the Universal Church by the holy apostles, who, in turn, received it from the founder of the Church – the Lord Jesus Christ – and it remains unchanged in the Church's consciousness. This affirms that the Orthodox Church rejects the Roman Catholic concept of doctrinal development within church teaching[53].

The Universal Church has formulated the teaching of Christ, and its assimilation is obligatory for all autocephalous Churches, which are required to preserve and transmit it perpetually. Likewise, for autocephalous Churches, the canonical tradition of the Church is unchangeable and binding, insofar as it is grounded in the dogmatic teaching on the structure of the Church. With regard to the freedom of the Churches in the sphere of worship, limitations are observed only in its relation to dogmatic teaching, which reflects the intention to preserve the integrity of that teaching. The commemoration during the Divine Liturgy (as prescribed in the 15th canon of the Council in Trullo)[54] of the name of the primate by the other bishops of the same Church serves as a liturgical expression of both the independence and unity of the autocephalous Churches. Absolute independence of the autocephalous Churches can be spoken of only in their administrative sphere. The Church canons require full unity in matters of dogma, regarding individuals who do not accept conciliar dogmatic definitions as being outside the Church – that is, as heretics and schismatics.

Bishops are granted the freedom to make decisions on ecclesiastical matters of an administrative nature, with the requirement that such decisions be made by majority vote, following the precedent set by the 5th canon of the First Ecumenical Council[55]. At the same time, the canons safeguard the administrative independence

among them, without any obligatory expression of subordination to another Church; 3) a more or less homogeneous ethnic community within a defined national or ecclesiastical territory; 4) the right to maintain local customs and liturgical rites; 5) the right to consecrate holy chrism; 6) the right to canonize local saints.

[53] В. Талазин, *Соборность*…, p. 54.

[54] И. Стефанов, *Правила на Светата*…, p. 353–354.

[55] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на*…, vol. I, p. 274–275: Περὶ τῶν ἀκοινωνήτων γενομένων, εἴτε τῶν ἐν κλήρῳ, εἴτε τῶν ἐν λαϊκῷ τάγματι, ὑπὸ τῶν καθ› ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπων, κρατείτω ἡ γνώμη, κατὰ τὸν κανόνα τὸν διαγορεύοντα, τοὺς ὑφ› ἑτέρων ἀποβληθέντας ὑφ› ἑτέρων μὴ προσίεσθαι. Ἐξεταζέσθω δέ, μὴ μικροψυχία, ἢ φιλονεικία, ἤ τινι τοιαύτῃ ἀηδίᾳ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, ἀποσυνάγωγοι γεγένηνται. Ἵνα οὖν τοῦτο τὴν πρέπουσαν ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνοι, καλῶς ἔχειν ἔδοξεν, ἑκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ, καθ› ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν δὶς τοῦ ἔτους συνόδους γίνεσθαι· ἵνα κοινῇ πάντων τῶν ἐπισκόπων τῆς ἐπαρχίας ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συναγομένων, τὰ τοιαῦτα ζητήματα ἐξετάζηται, καὶ οὕτως οἱ ὁμολογουμένως προσκεκρουκότες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, κατὰ λόγον ἀκοινώνητοι παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι δόξωσι, μέχρις ἂν τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἐπισκόπων δόξῃ τὴν φιλανθρωποτέραν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐκθέσαι ψῆφον. Αἱ δὲ σύνοδοι γινεσθωσαν, μία μὲν πρὸ τῆς Τεσσαρακοστῆς, ἵνα πάσης μικροψυχίας ἀναιρουμένης, τὸ δῶρον καθαρὸν προσφέρηται τῷ Θεῷ· δευτέρα δέ, περὶ τὸν τοῦ μετοπώρου καιρόν / *Such as have*

of each autocephalous Church by prohibiting a bishop of one Church from ordaining or exercising jurisdiction within the boundaries of another Church (Second Ecumenical Council, 2nd canon[56]; Council of Antioch, 13th canon)[57].

Autocephalous Churches also possess full independence in the field of judicial proceedings, wherein even the head of a Church may be judged by the other bishops. A Church with the minimum number of bishops may be compelled to seek assistance from other Churches if a bishop, condemned by a local council, wishes to appeal to a higher council, a right granted to him by canon (Second Ecumenical Council, 6th canon)[58].

It should be noted here that the issue of autocephaly and the procedure for its proclamation within the Orthodox Church has remained on the agenda of inter-Orthodox dialogue for many years. This topic is discussed alongside a number of other unresolved questions – such as those concerning autonomy, the status of the Orthodox diaspora, the ecclesiastical calendar, and others. An illustrative example can be found in one of the most recent forums of the Inter-Orthodox Preparatory Commission, held in Chambésy from 21 to 27 February 2011. During four consecutive sessions (two on 22 February and two on 23 February 2011), an attempt was made to reach agreement regarding the manner in which the Tomos of autocephaly should be signed. At the outset, the representatives of the Ecumenical Patriarchate stated their consent that the Tomos be signed by all Primates of the Local Orthodox Churches, thereby expressing pan-Orthodox consensus. The Chair proposed that the signing be accompanied by the expressions ἀποφαίνεται ("proclaims") in reference to the Ecumenical Patriarch, and συναποφαίνεται ("co-proclaims") in reference to the other Primates.

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been excommunicated by certain bishops shall not be restored by others, unless the excommunication was the result of pusillanimity, or strife, or some other similar cause. And that this may be duly attended to, there shall be in each year two synods in every province-one before Lent, the other toward autumn.

[56] See I. Kaminis, *Academic Reasearch…*, p. 9.

[57] Ст. Цанков, Ив. Стефанов, П. Цанев, *Правилата на…*, vol. II, p. 748–749: Μηδένα ἐπίσκοπον τολμᾶν ἀφ᾽ ἑτέρας ἐπαρχίας εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβαίνειν, καὶ χειροτονεῖν ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τινὰς εἰς προαγωγὴν λειτουργίας, μηδὲ εἰ συνεπάγοιτο ἑαυτῷ ἑτέρους, εἰ παρακληθεὶς ἀφίκοιτο διὰ γραμμάτων τοῦ τε μητροπολίτου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπισκόπων, ὧν εἰς τὴν χώραν παρέρχοιτο. Εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς καλοῦντος ἀπέλθοι ἀτάκτως ἐπὶ χειροθεσίᾳ τινῶν, καὶ καταστάσει τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν πραγμάτων, μὴ προσηκόντων αὐτῷ, ἄκυρα μὲν τὰ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ πραττόμενα τυγχάνειν, καὶ αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπέχειν τῆς ἀταξίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ τῆς παραλόγου ἐπιχειρήσεως τὴν προσήκουσαν δίκην, καθῃρημένον ἐντεῦθεν ἤδη ὑπὸ τῆς ἁγίας συνόδου / *No bishop shall presume to pass from one province to another, and ordain persons to the dignity of the ministry in the Church, not even should he have others with him, unless he should go at the written invitation of the metropolitan and bishops into whose country he goes. But if he should, without invitation, proceed irregularly to the ordination of any, or to the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs which do not concern him, the things done by him are null, and he himself shall suffer the due punishment of his irregularity and his unreasonable undertaking, by being immediately deposed by the holy Synod.*

[58] Γ. Ραλλη, Μ. Ποτλη, *Σύνταγμα των θείων…*, vol. II, 1852, p. 180–182.

The Russian Orthodox Church, however, objected to the first point and offered an alternative proposal: *The Tomos of autocephaly should be signed by all Primates in the order of the Diptychs*, *without any additions to their signatures*. Consequently, the discussion focused on whether the role of the First Hierarch (the Ecumenical Patriarch) should be emphasized by distinguishing him in some way from the other Primates, or whether full equality among all should be maintained.

The Ecumenical Patriarchate upheld its proposal that the Tomos be signed by the Ecumenical Patriarch with the addition of the words: *I proclaim together with all the Primates of the holy Orthodox Churches* (ἀποφαίνεται μετὰ πάντων τῶν Προκαθημένων τῶν ἁγιωτάτων Ὀρθοδόξων Ἐκκλησιῶν)[59]. However, this proposal did not achieve unanimous approval. Thus, the question concerning the methodology for the proclamation and implementation of autocephaly within the Orthodox Church remains unresolved to this day.

According to Archimandrite Cyril (Hovorun), due to the absence of a clearly defined statutory methodology for granting autocephaly, Orthodox practice often exhibits ambiguity both regarding the procedures by which it is achieved and concerning its canonical status – whether it constitutes autonomy, autonomy with extended rights, or full autocephaly[60].

This prevailing uncertainty presents a considerable challenge to the autocephalous institution, particularly when considered in the context of ecclesiastical developments in Ukraine and North Macedonia over the past several decades[61]. But a comprehensive analysis of this issue lies beyond the scope of the present study.

In conclusion, from the aforementioned historical facts and events, it appears that the initial bold and arbitrary assertions of independence in the ecclesial life of nearly all Orthodox Churches that emerged after the era of the Ecumenical Councils – particularly following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century – are especially striking. Although these actions were not coordinated with other local autocephalous Churches, they may be regarded as natural steps toward the ultimate goal: independence in the structure and governance of these Churches. However, this historical pattern reveals a troubling trend – namely, that initial non-canonical actions have, not infrequently, led to the attainment of canonical recognition regarding the independence of Local Orthodox Churches. This raises a fundamental question: Is this not the result of the absence of uniform criteria concerning autocephaly and the method of its implementation within the Orthodox Church? The history of the Church answers this question in the affirmative.

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[59] И. Йовчев, *Автономия–автокефалия и начин на провъзгласяването им (с оглед на Македонската схизма)*, София 2021, p. 230–233.

[60] CYRIL (HOVORUN), archim, *The Status of the UOC Today: What are Hovorun-like Talkers Talking About?*, https://shorturl.at/0wPyI [7 XI 2025].

[61] Д. Калканджиева, *Преосмисляне на автокефалията*…, p. 44–45.

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Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Canons of the Matins in Honour of Saints Constantine and Helena

Abstract. This article presents (a) a critical edition of two still unedited Byzantine canons of the Matins and (b) a re-edition of two Byzantine and post-Byzantine canons, all dedicated to Saints Constantine and Helena. Additionally, this article constitutes a continuation and a supplement of a previous publication of ours entitled *The Hymnography in Honour of Saints Constantine and Helena and its Connection with Imperial Ideology*, published in "Studia Ceranea" 13, 2023.

Keywords: critical edition, Byzantine and post-Byzantine canons, Saint Constantine, Saint Helena

1. Introduction

In the article of ours entitled *The Hymnography in Honour of Saints Constantine and Helena and its Connection with Imperial Ideology* that was published in a previous issue of "Studia Cearnea", we presented in detail the bibliography and the Byzantine and post-Byzantine manuscripts about the hymnography dedicated to the above mentioned Saints[1]. In this article we present the critical edition of four (4) Byzantine and post-Byzantine canons of the Matins (including "apparatus criticus" and "apparatus fontium"). Moreover, we provide an index "verborum memorabilium" following the edition. One of the canons (number II) is edited in two versions due to the essential text differences found in the manuscripts. Modern conventions were followed in punctuation to facilitate the reader, considering that manuscripts' punctuation, particularly the upper point, does not serve the

[1] A. Nikolaou, *The Hymnography in Honour of Saints Constantine and Helena and its Connection with Imperial Ideology*, SCer 13, 2023, p. 619–642.

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grammatical needs of the text but guides the choir by marking the intervals for the performance of the text. The initial letters of proper names and "nomina sacra" have been tacitly capitalized. Simple orthographical mistakes of the copyists were corrected "tacite".

2. Conspectus Siglorum

2.1. In textu

( ) = expansion of an abbreviation

/ = beginning of a page in the manuscript

< > = text added by the editor

{ } = letters/words extant in the manuscript but rejected as superfluous

υ = syllable

+ + = locus desperandus (words/sentences, the reading, form or meaning of which is doubtful)

2.2. In apparatu critico

* = change of verse

acr. = acrostichis

add. = addidi

al. = alius-a-ud

can. = canon

cd., cdd. = codex, codices

cett. = ceteri

del. = delevi

f., ff. = folium, folia

fort.r. = fortasse recte

heirm. = heirmus

in marg. = in margine

m.c. = metri causa

n. = numerus

od. = ode

om. = omittit, omittunt

prim. = primus-a-um

quatt. = quattuor
sec. = secundus-a-um
s.l. = supra lineam
tert. = tertius-a-um
theot. = theotocium
tit. = titulus
trad. = tradidit
trop. = troparium, troparia
v.vv. = versus, versi
vid. = vide

AB = "Ἁγιορειτική Βιβλιοθήκη" 23–24, 1937–1938, p. 176–178.
AHG = I. Schirò *et al.*, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae Inferioris*, vol. I–XII, Roma 1966–1980.
CPC = W. Christ, M. Paranikas, *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum*, Lipsiae 1871.
EE = Σ. Εὐστρατιάδης, *Εἱρμολόγιον*, Ἀθῆναι 2006.
EPh = "Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος" 50, 1951, p. 155.
MR = *Μηναῖα τοῦ ὅλου ἐνιαυτοῦ*, vol. I–VI, Ἐν Ῥώμη 1888–1901.
PaR = *Παρακλητική, ἤτοι Ὀκτώηχος ἡ Μεγάλη*, Rome 1883.
ReO = S. Gassisi, *Innologia Graeca in onore dei SS. Constantino ed Elena*, "Rome et l' Orient" 6, 1913, p. 57–85.

3. Critical edition

3.1. Canon I[2]

Pa = Parisinus gr. 344, ff. 77r–80r	saec. XV, Diktyon num. 49916
V = Athous, Vatopediou 1667, ff. 180r–183r	saec. XVIII, Diktyon num. 76739
S = Sofia, EHAI gr. 384, ff. 326–332	saec. XIV, Diktyon num. 61926

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κα΄ καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων βασιλέων καὶ ἰσαποστόλων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης.
Ὁ κανών.
Ὠιδὴ α΄. Ἦχος β΄. *Δεῦτε, λαοί, ᾄσωμεν ᾆσμα Χριστῷ τῷ Θεῷ*

[2] For more details about the bibliography and the manuscripts of the Canon I, see A. Nikolaou, *The Hymnography…*, p. 622–623.

Δεῦτε, πιστοί, ἅπαντες ἀνευφημήσωμεν
ἐν θεοπνεύστοις ᾄσμασιν
καὶ μακαρίσωμεν
τῆς Ἑλένης τὸν γόνον,
τὸν μέγαν Κωνσταντῖνον,
τὸν πρῶτον ἄνακτα.

Σύ, βασιλεῦ, θείᾳ ἐλλάμψει πεφώτισαι·
ὁ γὰρ Σταυρὸς ὁ τίμιος
ἀστροδεικτούμενος
ἐπεφάνη σοι λέγων·
Ἐν τούτῳ, Κωνσταντῖνε,
νίκα τῷ ὅπλῳ ἐχθρούς.

Ἐκ τῶν τῆς γῆς τεσσάρων περάτων, ἔνδοξε,
ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδος
τῷ σῷ προστάγματι
συνηθροίσθη, παμμάκαρ,
Ἀρείου καθελοῦσα
δόγμα τὸ ἄθεον.

Πόλιν τερπνὴν σὺ ἐκ τερμάτων συνέστησας
τὴν ἀληθῶς ἑπτάλοφον
καὶ θεοπύργωτον,
ἔνθα οἱ τῶν Ῥωμαίων
σκηπτοῦχοι κραταιοῦνται
καὶ μεγαλύνονται.

Χαίροις καὶ σύ, ἄνασσα Ἑλένη πάνσεμνε,
ἐν κόσμῳ φανερώσασα
τὸ πανσεβάσμιον
καὶ τρισόλβιον ξύλον,
ἐν ᾧ σαρκὶ ἐπάγη
Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος.

Θεοτοκίον

Σὲ μακαρίζει πᾶσα κτίσις, πανένδοξε,
τὴν ἐν σαρκὶ κυήσασαν
τὸν πλαστουργήσαντα
τὸν Ἀδὰμ κατ᾽ εἰκόνα
καὶ μείνασαν παρθένον

μετὰ τὸν τόκον, ἁγνή.

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tit. Pa: Μηνὶ μαΐῳ κα΄ τῶν ἁγίων ἐνδόξων καὶ ἰσαποστόλων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης V
ὁ κανὼν Pa: κανὼν V: Ἕτερος κανὼν S᾽Ιωάννου in marg. S
heirm. α΄ EE n. 51, Cosmae
1–6 ed. *EPh* 155 **2** ἄσμασι V S **6** Ἄνακτα V **7** βασιλεὺς V **13–18** non trad. V **13**: Ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων τῆς γῆς περάτων, ἔνδοξε S **19** Πάλιν Pa **23** σκηπτροῦχοι V **25–30** non trad. S **25** πάνσοφε V **35** μείνασα παρθένος Pa V **36** ἁγνήν S

1–2 cf. heirm. *1* **33–34** Gn 5, 1

Ὠιδὴ γ΄. *Στερέωσον ἡμᾶς ἐν σοί, Κύριε*

Στερέωμα ἡμῖν καὶ τεῖχος ἄρρηκτον
καὶ ὅπλον ἐγένου καὶ σωτηρία
τοῖς ἐν κόσμῳ, θεοπρόβλητε
βασιλεῦ, Κωνσταντῖνε, παμμακάριστε.

Ἐδείχθης καὶ ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν
καὶ στῦλος ἐγένου ὀρθοδοξίας·
τῆς γὰρ πίστεως τὸ σύμβολον
διὰ σοῦ, Κωνσταντῖνε, διδασκόμεθα.

Τὰ θρέμματα τῆς σῆς μεγαλοπόλεως
σὺν πάσαις ταῖς χώραις καὶ πολιτείαις
εὐφημοῦντες ἑορτάζομεν
τὴν ἐτήσιον μνήμην σου, μακάριε.

Συνέλθετε ἡμῖν, πατέρες ἅγιοι,
καὶ δεῦτε τὴν μνήμην τοῦ βασιλέως
Κωνσταντίνου ἑορτάσωμεν,
τοῦ ὑμᾶς συναθροίσαντος εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ.

Ἑλένην τὴν σεμνὴν νῦν μακαρίσωμεν
συμφώνως καὶ δοξάσωμεν ἐν ὕμνοις
ὡς τὸ ξύλον φανερώσασαν,
τὸν Σταυρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, τὴν ἐλπίδα ἡμῶν.

Θεοτοκίον

Βροτῶν ὁ πλαστουργὸς ἐκ σοῦ ηὐδόκησεν

τεχθῆναι, Μαρία Θεογεννῆτορ,
ὃν ἱκέτευε, πανάχραντε,
τοῦ σωθῆναι τοὺς πίστει ἀνυμνοῦντας σε.

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heirm. γ′ EE n. 53, Cosmae
41–44 tert. trop. in S **44** ἐδιδασκόμεθα S: παμμακάριστε V **45–52** non trad. V **45–48** sec. trop. in S **46** ταῖς χώραις καὶ: χώραις τε καὶ S **49–52** non trad. S **53–54**: Ἑλένης τῆς σεμνῆς τὴν μνήμην σήμερον* τιμήσωμεν ἅπαντες συνελθόντες Pa V **57** ηὐδόκησεν Pa: ηὐδόκησε V: εὐδόκησε S **58** Θεοκυῆτορ Pa **60** πίστει: πόθῳ V

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1 cf. heirm. *1*

Ὠιδὴ δ′. *Εἰσακήκοα, Κύριε,*
τὴν ἀκοὴν
τῆς σῆς οἰκονομίας
καὶ ἐδόξασά σε, μόνε φιλάνθρωπε.

Τὸν πρωτόστεφον ἅπαντες
χριστιανῶν
ὀρθόδοξον γεοῦχον
ἐν ᾠδαῖς καὶ ἄσμασιν εὐφημήσωμεν.

Τὸν {συν}αθροίσαντα σύνοδον
ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ
Νικαίᾳ μητροπόλει
Κωνσταντῖνον ἅπαντες εὐφημήσωμεν.

Τὴν ἐτήσιον μνήμην σου
σὺν μοναστᾶις
καὶ κλήρῳ καὶ ποιμένι
καὶ στρατῷ ἡ πόλις σου ἑορτάζει φαιδρῶς.

Μακαρίζει σε ἅπασα
χριστιανῶν
ὁμήγυρις, Ἑλένη,
ὡς τὸ ξύλον δείξασαν τοῦ Σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

Θεοτοκίον

Μητροπάρθενε Δέσποινα,
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν

τῶν πίστει σε τιμώντων,
ὃν ἀσπόρως ἔτεκες, ἐκδυσώπει Χριστόν.

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heirm. δ΄ MR III, 15
61–63: Τὴν ἐτήσιον ἅπαντες* τοῦ εὐσεβοῦς* τὴν μνήμην Κωνσταντίνου S fort.r. **65–68** al. trop. in S Τὸν καθελόντα ἅπασαν* τὴν δυσσεβῆ* Ἀρείου βλασφημίαν* Κωνσταντῖνον ᾄσμασιν εὐφημήσωμεν. **65** συν- del. m.c. Σύνοδον V **67** μητροπόλει: πόλει Pa **68** ἅπαντες εὐφημήσωμεν: πάντες ἀνευφημήσωμεν Pa **69–72** non trad. S **76** δείξασα V **80** ἐκδυσώπει Χριστόν: ἐκδυσώπησον Pa V

Ὠιδὴ ε΄. *Ὁ τοῦ φωτὸς χορηγὸς*
καὶ τῶν αἰώνων ποιητὴς Κύριος
ἐν τῷ φωτὶ
τῶν σῶν προσταγμάτων
ὁδήγησον ἡμᾶς· 5
ἐκτός σου γὰρ ἄλλον
Θεὸν οὐ γινώσκομεν.

Ὁ Βασιλεὺς τοῦ παντὸς
χριστιανοῖς πρωτοστεφῆ ἄνακτα
τὸν εὐσεβῆ
Χριστὸς Κωνσταντῖνον
δεδώρηται, δι᾽ οὗ
ὀρθόδοξος πίστις
τῷ κόσμῳ κηρύττεται.

Ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς
συναγαγὼν τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας
ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ
πόλει Νικαέων
ἐκήρυξας τρανῶς
τὸ μέγα, παμμάκαρ,
τῆς πίστεως σύμβολον.

Ἡ ἐκκλησία τὰ σὰ
ἀνδραγαθήματα βοᾷ, ἔνδοξε·
ἡ ὑπὸ σοῦ
καινισθεῖσα πόλις
θαυμάτων τὰ τερπνά·
ἡ λάρναξ σου βρύει
πηγὴν τῶν ἰάσεων.

Τὴν τοῦ Ἀρείου σαφῶς
βδελυρωτάτην καὶ πικρὰν αἵρεσιν
καταβαλὼν
ἐδίδαξας πάντας
Τριάδα προσκυνεῖν
ἐν μιᾷ οὐσίᾳ
καὶ μιᾷ θεότητι.

Σὺ τὸν Σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ
τὸν κεκρυμμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ ἔδειξας
χριστιανοῖς
ὅπλον κραταιόν τε
καὶ νίκην κατ᾽ ἐχθρῶν·
διό σου τὴν μνήμην,
Ἑλένη, δοξάζομεν.

Θεοτοκίον

Ὁ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ πλαστουργὸς
καὶ τῶν αἰώνων ποιητὴς Κύριος
σάρκα λαβὼν
ἐξ ἀπειρογάμου
προέρχεται Μητρὸς
καὶ ταύτης τὴν μήτραν
τηρεῖ ἀδιάφθορον.

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heirm. ε′ MR III, 15
87 κεκήρυκται S **88–94** non trad. V S **95–101** non trad. V **100** σου βρύει: ἐκβλύζει S **101** πηγὴ Pa **103** βδελυξωτάτην (sic) Pa πικρὰν: σαθρὰν S fort.r. **108** μία Pa **110** ἔδειξας: δείξασα S fort.r. **112** κραταιόν τε: ἐδωρήσω S fort.r. **115** Ἑλένη S: αἰσίως V: αἰτησίως (sic) Pa

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88 Ps 60, 3 et passim Mt 12, 42 Lc 11, 31 **117**: cf. heirm. *2*

Ὠιδὴ στ′. *Ἐν ἀβύσσῳ πταισμάτων κυκλούμενος*

Βασιλέων ἐγένου ὑπέρλαμπρος
καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ποιμὴν καὶ διδάσκαλος
καὶ ἱερέων καύχημα,
ὀρθοδόξων τε πάντων καλλώπισμα.

Ὁ τὸν Ἄρειον ῥήξας τὸν ἄθεον
σήμερον ἐκ γῆς μετετέθη πρὸς Κύριον
καὶ ἐν χορῷ ἀγάλλεται
τῶν ἁγίων ἀγγέλων ὡς ἅγιος.

Ὡς πολλὴν παρρησίαν κτησάμενος
πρὸς τὸν ὑπὸ σοῦ δοξασθέντα Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν τῶν δούλων σου
ἱκετεύων μὴ παύσῃ, πανόλβιε.

Μακαρία, Ἑλένη, ἡ μνήμη σου·
σὺ γὰρ τὸν Σταυρὸν ἐπὶ γῆς ἐφανέρωσας,
ἔνθα Χριστὸς ὁ Κύριος
τὰς ἀχράντους παλάμας ἐξέτεινεν.

Θεοτοκίον

Ἐκ τῶν σῶν παναχράντων αἱμάτων, ἁγνή,
σάρκα ὁ Χριστὸς καὶ Θεὸς προσελάβετο
καὶ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἔσωσε
καταδίκης Ἀδὰμ τὸν πρωτόπλαστον.

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heirm. στ΄ EE n. 46, Ioannis
prim. trop. in S Σὲ Χριστὸς ἐκ σπαργάνων, πανεύφημε,* σκεῦος ἐκλογῆς ὡς τὸν Παῦλον ἀνέδειξε* καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἅπαντα* ἐκδιδάσκεις τὴν πίστιν τὰ πέρατα. **123–126** sec. trop. in S **127–130** non trad. S **127** ῥήξας: δείξας Pa **131–134** non trad. V **138** ἐξέτεινε Pa **139** παναχράντων: πανάχραντε S **140** προσελάβετο: περιβέβληται Pa V **141** ἔσωσε: ῥύεται Pa V

Ὠιδὴ ζ΄. *Εἰκόνος χρυσῆς*

Σταυρῷ ὁπλισθεὶς
ὁ πανένδοξος καὶ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος
πάντα τὰ βάρβαρα καὶ ἀλλόφυλα
χριστιανοῖς καθυπέταξεν
ἔθνη καὶ φωτίσας τῇ πίστει
θαρσαλέως ἐκραύγαζεν·
Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Ναοὺς καὶ βωμοὺς
τῶν εἰδώλων καταστρέψας, παμμακάριστε,
ναοὺς Κυρίῳ ᾠκοδόμησας

καὶ τῶν ἁγίων τὰ λείψανα
τούτοις εὐσεβῶς ἐναπέθου
καὶ πανσόφως ἀνέκραζες·
Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Ἐξῆρε Χριστὸς
τὸ μνημόσυνον ἐκ γῆς πάσης αἱρέσεως
τῇ μεσιτείᾳ σου, πανσεβάσμιε,
τῶν Ἀποστόλων διάδοχε,
καὶ ἐν οὐσιότητι μιᾷ
τὴν Τριάδα δοξάζοντες
σοῦ τὴν μετάστασιν ἐνδόξως μακαρίζομεν.

Ἑλένην, πιστοί,
εὐφημήσωμεν ὡς μόνην φανερώσασαν
τὸ πανσεβάσμιον καὶ τρισόλβιον
καὶ ὑπεράγιον σέβασμα,
ξύλον τοῦ Σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου,
καὶ συμφώνως βοήσωμεν·
Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ Θεὸς ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Θεοτοκίον

Ἐν σοὶ ὁ Χριστὸς
κατεσκήνωσε, Παρθένε ἀπειρόγαμε,
καὶ ἀναπλάττει τὸ ἀνθρώπινον
ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ σου, ἄχραντε·
καὶ σὲ προστασίαν καὶ τεῖχος
καὶ ἐλπίδα κεκτήμεθα
οἱ μετὰ πίστεως τῇ σῇ σκέπῃ προστρέχοντες.

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heirm. ζ΄ EE n. 53, Cosmae
145: πάντα τὰ πέρατα καὶ τὰ βάρβαρα Pa V **147–148**: ἔθνη κραυγάζειν ἐν πίστει* τῷ Κυρίῳ ἐδίδαξεν S **149**, **156** εἶ om. Pa **152** Κυρίου Pa **154** τούτους Pa V **155**: μελῳδῶν τῷ ποιήσαντι S fort.r. **157–163** non trad. V **161** μία Pa **167** ὑπεράρχιον Pa **167–168**: ξύλον τοῦ Σταυροῦ τοῦ Κυρίου* τὸ ὑπεράγιον σέβασμα (sic) S **168** τὸν Σταυρὸν Pa **169** κραυγάσωμεν Pa V **172** κατεσκήνωσεν Pa **174** ἐν om. Pa

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149, **156**, **170** Dn 3, 26 **157–158** Ps 33, 17

Ὠιδὴ η΄. *Τὸν ἐν καμίνῳ τοῦ πυρὸς*

Σοῦ τὴν ζωὴν ἀνευφημῶ
καὶ τὸν θάνατον τιμῶ καὶ τὴν ταφήν σου
καὶ τὴν λάρνακα πίστει
τὴν πορφυρᾶν προσκυνῶ
καὶ σέβω τὸ τίμιον λείψανον,
ἔνθα ἀναβλύζει
ἰάσεων πλημμύρα.

Σὺ χαλινὸν προφητικῶς
τὸν τοῦ ἵππου κατεσκεύασας, παμμάκαρ,
ἐκ τῶν τιμίων ἥλων
τῶν ἐμπαρέντων χερσὶν
ἁγίαις Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν·
{καὶ} τοῦτο ὅπλον εὗρες
κατ᾽ ἐχθρῶν ἐν πολέμοις.

Σὺ βασιλεύσας ἐπὶ γῆς
ἐν τριάκοντα καὶ δύο χρόνοις, ἄναξ,
καὶ καλῶς κυβερνήσας
ὃν ἐπιστεύθης λαὸν
μετέστης ἐνδόξως πρὸς Κύριον
καὶ συμβασιλεύεις
αὐτῷ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Τὴν φανερώσασαν ἡμῖν
τὸν Σταυρὸν τὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ τῆς λόγχης
καὶ τῶν ἥλων Ἑλένην
τὴν μακαρίαν, πιστοί,
συμφώνως ὑμνήσωμεν ᾄσμασιν
καὶ τὴν μνήμην ταύτης
τιμήσωμεν ἐνδόξως.

Θεοτοκίον

Ἀγαλλιάσθω οὐρανὸς
σὺν ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἡ γῆ σὺν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις·
ὁ τῶν ὅλων γὰρ Κτίστης
ἄνευ σπορᾶς ἐκ Μητρὸς
ἁγίας Παρθένου προέρχεται

ὅλην τῶν ἀνθρώπων
τὴν φύσιν ἀναπλάττων.

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heirm. η΄ EE n. 47, Ioannis
180 τὴν: τὸν V πίστιν Pa **181** τὴν πορφυροῦν Pa: τὸν πορφυροῦν V: τιμητικῶς S **184** πλημμύρας V **185–191** non trad. S V **190** καὶ del. m.c. **193**: εὐσεβῶς καὶ θεαρέστως, Κωνσταντῖνε S fort.r. ἐν τριάκοντα V: τεσσαράκοντα Pa **196** ἐνδόξως: εὐκλεῶς Pa V **200** τοῦ om. S **203** ὑμνήσωμεν ᾄσμασιν: ταύτην εὐφημήσωμεν V: ταύτην ἐνιμήσωμεν (sic) Pa **204**: καὶ ταύτης τὴν μνήμην Pa **204–205**: ἀνυμνολογοῦντες* Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας S **212** ἀναπλάσας Pa V

185–191 Zach 14, 20 **198** cf. Od 8, 57 **206–207** Ps 95, 11 Is 49, 13

Ὠιδὴ θ΄. *Τὸν ἐκ Θεοῦ Θεὸν λόγον*

Μέγας ποιμὴν ἀνεδείχθης,
Κωνσταντῖνε παμμάκαρ,
καὶ φῶς χριστιανῶν καὶ βασιλεύς·
σὺ γὰρ ἡμᾶς πάντας ἔσωσας,
διὰ σοῦ προσκυνοῦμεν
Τριάδα ὀρθοδόξως οἱ πιστοί,
διὰ σοῦ ἐφωτίσθη
ἡ ἐκκλησία ἅπασα.

Σοῦ μακαρία ἡ μνήμη,
ὑπερένδοξε ἄναξ,
ἐν πάσῃ γενεᾷ καὶ γενεᾷ·
σὺ γὰρ φυτὸν κατεφύτευσας
ἐπὶ γῆς καρποφόρον,
ἐκτρέφων τοῦ Κυρίου τὸν λαὸν
τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν,
τὸ τῆς Τριάδος σύμβολον.

Ὡς μεταστὰς τῶν προσκαίρων
καὶ ταῖς ἄνω χορείαις
ἐνδόξως αὐλιζόμενος πατήρ,
μνείαν ποιοῦ καὶ τῶν τέκνων σου,
τῶν τὴν πόλιν σου ταύτην
οἰκούντων καὶ τελούντων σου πιστῶς
τὴν ἐτήσιον μνήμην
πρὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα Κύριον.

Σὺ ἀνεδείχθης ἐν κόσμῳ
καρποφόρος ἐλαία,
Ἑλένη, ἐκβλαστήσασα ἡμῖν
πᾶσιν τὸ φῶς καὶ τὸ ἔλεος,
τὸν Σταυρὸν τοῦ Κυρίου,
τὴν λόγχην καὶ τοὺς ἥλους, καὶ τὴν σὴν
ὑπερένδοξον μνήμην
τελοῦντες ἑορτάζομεν.

Θεοτοκίον

Χαῖρε, οὐράνιε κλῖμαξ·
χαῖρε, ἄφλεκτε βάτε·
χαῖρε, ἡ προστασία τῶν πιστῶν·
χαῖρε, τροφὲ τῆς ζωῆς ἡμῶν·
χαῖρε, Μήτηρ καὶ δούλη
Χριστοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Θεοῦ·
χαῖρε, Κόρη Παρθένε,
Μαρία ἀπειρόγαμε.

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heirm. θ′ EE n. 46, Ioannis
216 πάντας ἔσωσας: κατεφώτισας S **219** φωτισθεῖσα Pa **229–236** non trad. V **231–232**: ἐνδόξως, παμμακάριστε, ἀεὶ* συναυλιζόμενος μέμνησο S fort.r. **234** καὶ τελούντων: εἰστελούντων Pa **235–236** om. Pa **240** πᾶσι V S **243** ὑπερθαύμαστον Pa V **247** ἡ: μόνη Pa

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223 Ps 44, 18 **237–238** cf. Sir 50, 10 **245** Gn 28, 12 **246** Ex 3, 2

3.2. Canon II (a)[3]

A = Alexandrinus Patr. 93, ff. 75v–77v	saec.?, Diktyon num. 32980
Pb = Parisinus gr. 1566, ff. 64r–67v	saec. XIV, Diktyon num. 51186
Sa = Sinaiticus gr. 637, ff. 62v–66r	saec. XI–XII, Diktyon num. 59012
Sb = Sinaiticus gr. 670, ff. 190v–210v	saec. XIII, Diktyon num. 59045

ed. *ReO* 6, 1913, p. 80–84

[3] For more details about the bibliography and the manuscripts of the Canon II, see A. Nikolaou, *The Hymnography…*, p. 623–624.

Μηνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ κα′. Τῶν ἁγίων βασιλέων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης.
Ὁ κανών.
Ὠιδὴ α′. Ἦχος δ′. *Ἄισομαί σοι, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου*

Σοὶ τῷ βασιλεύοντι τῶν αἰώνων,
τῷ καθιστῶντι βασιλεῖς
ἀρρήτῳ σοφίᾳ,
βοῶμεν ἐπινίκιον
ᾠδὴν ὡς ζωοδότῃ Θεῷ.

Ἐπέγνως τὸν ἄφθαρτον Βασιλέα,
τὸν τὰ ἐπίγεια σκῆπτρα
τῇ σῇ δεδωκότα χειρὶ
καὶ γέγονας ὑπήκοος,
θεράπον Κωνσταντῖνε, Χριστοῦ.

Ὁ πάλαι τὴν νίκην διὰ Σταυροῦ σου
κατὰ βαρβάρων παρασχὼν
τῷ σῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ,
αὐτὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ ἡμῶν
καὶ τὰ νῦν ἐπικούρησον.

Θεοτοκίον

Σάρκα γεγονότα τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον
καὶ πεφηνότα καθ᾽ ἡμᾶς,
ἁγία Παρθένε,
ἀφράστως ἀπεκύησας
ὑπὲρ λόγον καὶ ἔννοιαν.

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tit. Pb A: Μαΐῳ κα′. Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης τῶν μεγά(λων) βασιλέων Sa: Μηνὶ Μαΐῳ κανὼν τῶν ἁγίων βασιλέων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Sb
Ἰωάννου A in marg.: Ἰωάννου Μοναχοῦ Sb in marg.
heirm. α′ EE n. 146, Germani
1–20 cdd. *ReO* 80–81 **1** Σὺ Sa **6** Ἀπέγνως Pb ἄσαρκον *ReO* **8** δεδωκότι *ReO* **10**: πιστῶτατε (sic) θεράπον Χριστοῦ Sa θεράπων Pb **11** σου om. Pb **15** τὰ om. *ReO* **16–20** theot. non trad. Sa

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1 Ex 15, 18 **2–3** cf. Dan 2, 21 **6** cf. 1Tim 1, 17 **9** Phil 2, 8

Ὠιδὴ γ΄. *Τόξον δυνατῶν ἠσθένησε*

Ὅπλον, Βασιλεῦ, ὑπέδειξας
τῷ σῷ Κωνσταντίνῳ τοῦ Σταυροῦ σου τὸ τρόπαιον
τῶν βαρβάρων κατὰ τῆς πλάνης
καθαιρέτην ἐργαζόμενος.

Ἔγνως τῷ Σταυρῷ φραξάμενος
τὸ τοῦ σταυρωθέντος, Κωνσταντῖνε, ἀήττητον
καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα τῆς βασιλείας
εὐσεβείᾳ κατελάμπρυνας.

Ὥσπερ σταυροτύποις ἔτρεψας
ἐν Σινᾷ παλάμαις Ἀμαλὴκ τὸν ἀλλόφυλον,
τοὺς τυράννους τῷ πιστοτάτῳ
βασιλεῖ, Χριστέ, ὑπόταξον.

Θεοτοκίον

Ῥέων μέχρι σοῦ ὁ θάνατος
ἔστη προσβαλὼν τῷ ἐκ σοῦ τεχθέντι, πανάμωμε·
διὰ τοῦτο ἀθανασίας
ἀπαρχήν σε ὀνομάζομεν.

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heirm. γ΄ EE n. 144, Cosmae
21–36 A Pb Sb *ReO* 81: al. trop. in Sa vid. can. II (b), od. γ΄ **23** κατὰ *ReO*: μετὰ cdd. **24** ἐργαζόμενον A Pb **26** τὸ: τῷ Pb **33** Ῥέον *ReO* **34** ἔστι Sb **36** σε om. *ReO*

29–30 Ex 14, 21–28

Ὠιδὴ δ΄. *Τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετή σου κατεκάλυψεν*

Τὴν κορυφήν σου τὴν θεόστεπτον ὑμνοῦμεν,
τῶν ἐπιγείων βασιλέων δικαιότατε,
ὀρθοδοξίας στήριγμα,
τῆς ἄνω βασιλείας ἐπάξιε.

Τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐνδόξως κατεκόσμησε
δικαιοσύνη καὶ πραότης καὶ συμπάθεια
ὀρθοδοξίᾳ λάμπουσαν·
ὅθεν αἰωνίζει ἡ μνήμη σου.

Δουλοπρεπῶς τῷ αἰωνίως Βασιλεύοντι
τὴν ἁλουργίδα καὶ τὰ σκῆπτρα, Κωνσταντῖνε, {Χριστῷ}
καθυποτάξας ἔλεγες·
Δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου, Κύριε.

Θεοτοκίον

Χερουβικῶν <υυ> ταγμάτων ὑπερέχουσα
καὶ Θεὸν ἐν ἀγκάλαις ἐποχούμενον
μετὰ σαρκὸς βαστάσασα,
χαίροις, Θεοτόκε ἀνύμφευτε.

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heirm. δ΄ EE n. 146, Germani
37–44 cdd. *ReO* 81 **37** θεόσεπτον Sb: θεόπνευστον *ReO* ὑμνοῦμεν: an ὑμνήσωμεν m.c. scribendum? **41** κατεκόσμησεν *ReO* **42** συμπαθεία (sic) A **43**: ὀρθοδοξίαν Sa λάμπουσαν Sa *ReO*: λάμπουσα cett. **45–48** non trad. Sa **45** αἰωνίῳ A Pb Sb *ReO* **46** Χριστῷ del. m.c. **49–52** A Pb ed. AHG I, 238 al. theot. in Sb *ReO* Ἀγγελικῶν χοροστασιῶν ὑπερέχουσα* καὶ Χερουβὶμ καὶ Σεραφὶμ ἐνδοξοτέρα,* Θεοτόκε ἄχραντε,* σῷζε καὶ ἡμᾶς ταῖς πρεσβείαις σου. **49** <υυ> an πάντων supplendum? **52** χαῖρε AHG

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42 cf. Ps 44, 5 **48** cf. heirm. *4* δόξα τῇ δυνάμει σου, Κύριε

Ὠιδὴ ε΄. *Ὁ ἀνατείλας τὸ φῶς*

Τῶν ὁμοφύλων λαῶν
βασιλεύσας θεόθεν
τῷ στέψαντι ἐβόας·
Δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι,
Ἰησοῦ, Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Τῇ ἁλουργίδι φαιδρῶς
καὶ τῷ στέμματι λάμψας,
τῇ πίστει καὶ ἐλπίδι
πλέον διέλαμψας
καὶ ἀγάπῃ Χριστοῦ, ἔνδοξε.

Τὴν ἐπηρμένην ὀφρὺν
καθυπόταξον, Σῶτερ,
τοῖς πίστει σοι βοῶσι·
Δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι,
Ἰησοῦ, Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ.

Θεοτοκίον

Τὴν τοῦ ἀγγέλου φωνὴν
ἀσιγήτως ἡ κτίσις
προσφέρει σοι, Παρθένε,
«χαῖρε, Μήτηρ» κράζουσα
«Ἰησοῦ, {τοῦ} Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ».

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heirm. ε′ EE n. 146, Germani
53–62 cdd. *ReO* 82 **59**: καὶ τῷ στόματι βάψας *ReO* λάμψας: λάμπω Sa **60** τῇ: καὶ *ReO* **61** πλέων Pb διέλαμψας: διέπρεπες Sa **63–72** A Pb Sb *ReO* **65** βοῶσιν Pb *ReO* quatt. trop. in Sb Ὁ καθοπλίσας Σταυρῷ… vid. vv. 47–51 can. II (b) **72** τοῦ del. m.c. τοῦ Υἱοῦ: Υἱὲ Pb

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56–57, **66–67**, **72** cf. heirm. *4–5* δόξα σοι δόξα σοι, Ἰησοῦ υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ **57**, **67** Mc 5, 7 Lc 8, 28 **60–62** 1Cor 13, 13

Ὠιδὴ στ′. *Ἐβόησε προτυπῶν*

Θεόστεπτε,
εὐσεβεῖ λογισμῷ κυβερνώμενος
καὶ ἀνδρείως
τῶν παθῶν αὐτοκράτωρ γενόμενος
ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ
τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐκυβέρνησας.

Σὺ θεόθεν
βασιλείας τὰ σκῆπτρα δεξάμενος
τῷ τὸ κράτος
δεδωκότι σαυτὸν καθυπέταξας
καὶ ὑπήκοος
τῷ φρικτῷ Βασιλεῖ ἐχρημάτισας.

Ἐπίγειος
βοηθείας ἐλπὶς περιῄρηται·
ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μόνος
κραταιὸς καὶ δυνάστης ἀνάστηθι
καὶ βοήθησον
τὸν λαόν σου, Χριστέ, ἐξαιρούμενος.

Θεοτοκίον

Δεόμεθα
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱκετῶν σου, ἀλόχευτε
Παναγία·
τὸν ἐκ σοῦ σαρκωθέντα δυσώπησον,
ὅτι σὲ καὶ μόνην
προστασίαν ἡμῶν ἐπιστάμεθα.

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heirm. στ΄ EE n. 172
73–84 cdd. *ReO* 82 **73** θεόπνευστε *ReO* **74** εὐσεβῆ Pb Sa λογισμῶν Sa **76** αὐτοκράτορ Sa Sb **84** ἐχρημάτισας: καθυπέταξας A **85–90** A Pb Sb *ReO* **91–96** A Pb ed. MR V, 32 al. theot. in Sb *ReO* Ἀγάλλεται* ἐπὶ σοί, Θεομῆτορ πανάμωμε,* ἡ προμήτωρ* τῆς ἀρχαίας κατάρας τῷ τόκῳ σου* ἐλευθερωθεῖσα* καὶ θανάτου πικροῦ κατακρίσεως. **92** οἰκετῶν MR **93**: Θεοτόκε MR **94** δυσώπησον: ἱκέτευε MR

74–76 4Mac 1, 7 4Mac 1, 13 4Mac 1, 30 4Mac 16, 1 **86** Is 30, 32 **87–88** 1Tim 6, 15 **88** Ps 23, 8 **88–90** Ps 43, 27

Ὠιδὴ ζ΄. *Ἀβραμιαῖοι ποτὲ*
ἐν Βαβυλῶνι παῖδες
καμίνου φλόγα κατεπάτησαν
καὶ ὑμνοῦντες ἔψαλλον·
Ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν
Θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

Οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ
τοῦ ὁμοφύλου γένους
τὴν βασιλείαν ἡγησάμενος,
Κωνσταντῖνε, ἔλεγες·
Ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν
Θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

Ὡς χριστολάτρης ἄναξ
καὶ βασιλεὺς σταυροφόρος
τοῖς Ἀποστόλοις συνηρίθμησαι,
Κωνσταντῖνε ἔνδοξε,
«εὐλογητὸς εἶ» βοῶν
«ὁ μόνος εὐεργέτης».

Τῇ συμπαθείᾳ κιρνῶν
τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς σου ἀνδρεῖον
τοῖς ὑπηκόοις προσηνέστατος,
ἐχθροῖς φοβερώτατος
καὶ βασιλεὺς ἀληθὴς
δι᾽ ἔργων ἀνεδείχθης.

Θεοτοκίον

Ἐν τῇ ἀφλέκτῳ βάτῳ
καὶ δροσοβόλῳ καμίνῳ
σὺ προεγράφης, Μήτηρ ἄνανδρε,
ἀφράστως κυήσασα
σεσαρκωμένον Θεόν,
ἁγνὴ εὐλογημένη.

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heirm. ζ΄ CPC 178
97–102 cdd. *ReO* 83 **100**: ἐν πίστει ἐκραύγαζες Sa fort.r. collatis vv. 79 et 91 can. II (b) **101** τῶν om. A **103–108** A Pb Sb *ReO* **103** χριστολάτρις *ReO* **107** εἶ om. A al. tert. trop. in Sb Καθοπλισθεὶς τῷ Σταυρῷ… vid. vv. 76–81 can. II (b) **109–114** cdd. *ReO* **109** κιρνῶν Sb: κεράσας cett. **114** ἀπεδείχθης A Sb **115–120** A Pb ed. AHG II, 357 al. theot. in Sb *ReO*Ἐν γενεαῖς γενεῶν* Μήτηρ Παρθένος ὤφθης* εὐλογημένη ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν* τὸν Λόγον κυήσασα* σεσαρκωμένον ἐκ σοῦ* ὑπερφυῶς, Θεογεννῆτορ. **116** καμίνῳ AHG: αἴγλῃ cdd.: an νεφέλῃ scribendum? **117**: σὺ προγραφεῖσα, μῆτερ ἄχραντε AHG **118** κυήσασα: ἐκύησας AHG **119** Θεὸν: ἁγνὴ A: Χριστόν AHG **120**: Θεὸν εὐλογημένον AHG ἁγνὴ: Θεὸν A

101–102 cf. heirm. *5–6* **107** cf. heirm. *6* **115** Ex 3, 2 **116** Dn 3, 21 et passim

Ὠιδὴ η΄. *Τὸν ἐν τῷ Σταυρῷ*

Τὸν ζωοποιὸν
Σταυρὸν ποθήσας
ὡς ἀναφαίρετον ἐκ γῆς
ἠρύσω πλοῦτον, ἄναξ,
πᾶσι τοῖς ἀνυμνοῦσι Χριστόν,
τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Δεῖξον νικητὴν
καὶ τροπαιοῦχον
κατὰ βαρβάρων δυσσεβῶν,

Χριστέ, τὸν βασιλέα,
ὅπως σε ἀνυμνῶμεν πιστοὶ
ὡς Θεὸν ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Τριαδικόν

Τὴν πανευσεβῶς
γνωριζομένην
ἐν ὑποστάσεσι τρισὶν
ἀτμήτως μίαν φύσιν
πάντες ὑπερυψοῦμεν πιστοὶ
καὶ δοξάζομεν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

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heirm. η΄ EE n. 134, Germani
121–138 A Pb Sb *ReO* 83: al. trop. in Sa vid. can. II (b), od. η΄ **124** ἐδωρήσω *ReO* **125** πᾶσιν *ReO* ἀνυμνοῦσιν *ReO* **131** ἀνυμνοῦμεν A Sb tert. trop. in Sb Σὺ θεοπρεπεῖ (sic) Σταυροῦ τεμένη* καὶ τῆς ἐγέρσεως Χριστοῦ δειμάμενος ἑβόας* παῖδες ὑπ(ερυψοῦτε) vid. vv. 144–148 **133–138** (Τριαδικόν) Pb in marg.: Θ(εοτοκίον) Sb in marg.

125–126, **131–132**, **137–138** Dan 3, 57

Εἱρμὸς ἄλλος. *Τὸν ἐν μορφῇ ἀγγέλου ὁραθέντα*
<καὶ> ἐν καμίνῳ πυρὸς τοῖς ὑμνολόγοις Χριστὸν τὸν Θεὸν
ὑμνεῖτε, παῖδες,
ἱερεῖς, εὐλογεῖτε,
λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Τῆς πολυθέου πλάνης καθαιρέτης
<καὶ> ἑδραστὴς ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπάρχων, ἄναξ, ἐκραύγαζες·
Ὑμνεῖτε, παῖδες,
<ἱερεῖς, εὐλογεῖτε,
λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας>.

Τοῦ Γολγοθᾶ ἐνδόξως τὰ τεμένη
καὶ τῆς ἐγέρσεως Χριστοῦ ἑβόας, ἄναξ, δειμάμενος·
Ὑμνεῖτε, παῖδες,
<ἱερεῖς, εὐλογεῖτε,
λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας>.

Διὰ Σταυροῦ βαρβάρων τροπαιοῦχος
καὶ χριστωνύμου <σου> λαοῦ ἐβόας ἄναξ γενόμενος·
Ὑμνεῖτε, παῖδες,
<ἱερεῖς, εὐλογεῖτε,
λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας>.

Θεοτοκίον

Ὡς τῆς Τριάδος αἴγλην συλλαβοῦσαν
καὶ <υ> τεκοῦσαν χαρὰν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ Χριστὸν τὸν Θεόν,
τὴν Θεοτόκον
ἱερεῖς, εὐλογεῖτε,
<λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας>.

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heirm. η΄(b) EE n. 137, Ioannis
139–158 Pb **140** καὶ add. m.c. ὑπάρχων scripsi: ὑπῆρξας cd. ἄναξ, ἐκραύγαζες scripsi m.c. collatis vv. 145 et 150: ἀνεκραύγαζες cd. **150** σου add. m.c. **154** συλλαβοῦσα cd. **155** τεκοῦσα cd.

141–143, **146–148**, **151–153**, **157–158** Dn 3, 84 et passim cf. heirm. *3–5*

Ὠιδὴ θ΄. *Σὲ τὴν τὸν ἀχώρητον λόγον*

Σοῦ τὴν κορυφὴν εὐδοκίας,
Κωνσταντῖνε ἔνδοξε,
τῷ ὅπλῳ ἐστεφάνωσε
καὶ τῆς βασιλείας τὰ σκῆπτρα
Σταυροῦ τῷ τροπαίῳ κραταιώσας
ὁ Χριστὸς προσήκατο
λάτρην εὐσεβέστατον.

Τοὺς τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ ἰσαρίθμους,
Κωνσταντῖνε ἔνδοξε,
κατὰ τῆς πλάνης ἤθροισας,
τοὺς ὑπασπιστὰς τῆς Τριάδος,
Υἱὸν ὁμοούσιον καὶ Πνεῦμα
τῷ Πατρὶ κηρύσσοντας
μίαν τὴν θεότητα.

Ὥσπερ Κωνσταντίνῳ τὸ πάλαι
τῷ Σταυρῷ σου ἔτρεψας

τῶν βαρβάρων τὸ φρύαγμα,
οὕτω τοὺς ἐχθροὺς τοῦ Σταυροῦ σου
καὶ νῦν βασιλεῖ τῷ θεοστέπτῳ
κραταιᾷ παλάμῃ σου,
Σῶτερ, καθυπόταξον.

Θεοτοκίον

Σὲ τὴν φωτοφόρον νεφέλην,
Θεοτόκε ἄχραντε,
παρθένον καὶ Μητέρα Θεοῦ,
τὴν τῷ Μωυσεῖ θεαθεῖσαν
τὸ πρὶν μυστικῶς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους {Σινᾶ}
βάτον ἀκατάφλεκτον
ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν.

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heirm. θ′ EE n. 167, Sergii
159–172 A Pb Sb *ReO* 83–84: al. trop. in Sa vid. can. II (b), od. θ′ **159** Σὲ *ReO* **161** ἐστεφάνωσαι Pb **165** λάτριν *ReO* **166** Τοῖς A Pb **173–179** A Sb *ReO* 84 **173** Ὥσπερ: Ὡς ὑπὲρ A τὸ: τῷ Sb **182** Θεοῦ: τε *ReO* **184** τὸ ὄρος cdd. Σινᾶ del. m.c.

159–161 Ps 5, 13 **166** Gn 14, 14 **180** Ex 13, 21 **183–185** Ex 3, 2 **181** cf. heirm. *6* Θεοτόκε, ἄχραντε **186** cf. heirm. *7* ὕμνοις μεγαλύνομεν

Εἱρμὸς ἄλλος. *Μεγαλύνομεν πάντες*

Βασιλείᾳ ἐννόμῳ
κεχρισμένος ἐγνώσθης·
ὅθεν, εὐσεβέστατε,
ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις σε
τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ
συγκληρονόμον Χριστὸς ὑπεδέξατο.

Εὐσεβῶς βασιλεύσας
καὶ ἐννόμως ἰθύνας
λαὸν τὸν ὑπήκοον,
ὡς Θεῷ ὑπήκοος,
βασιλείας οὐρανῶν
κατηξιώθης, βασιλεῦ θεόστεπτε.

Αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν παθῶν
ἀνεδείχθης, θεόφρον˙
διὸ βασιλείας σοι
ἐπλέξατο στέφανον,
βασιλέα ἐπὶ γῆς
σὲ καταστήσας Χριστὸς ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν.

Θεοτοκίον

Χαῖρε, πάνσεμνε ἁγνή,
παρθενίας καύχημα,
μητέρων τὸ στήριγμα,
ἀνθρώπων βοήθεια
καὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἡ χαρά,
Μαρία, Μήτηρ καὶ δούλη τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡμῶν.

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heirm. θ′(b) EE n. 146, Germani
187–204 Pb Sa **187**: Βασιλείας ἐν νόμῳ Sa **188** κεχρημένος Sa **192** Χριστοῦ Sa **194** ἐν νόμῳ Sa **196** Θεοῦ Sa **205–210** Pb ed. AHG I, 20 **210** μῆτερ AHG

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199 4Mac 1, 7 4Macc. 1, 13 4Macc. 1, 30 4Macc. 16, 1

3.3. Canon II (b)[4]

A = Alexandrinus Patr. 93, ff. 75v–77v
Sa = Sinaiticus. gr 637, ff. 62v–66r

Μαΐῳ κα′. Μνήμη Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης τῶν μεγά(λων) βασιλέων.
Ὁ κανών.
Ὠιδὴ α′. Ἦχος δ′. *Ἄισομαί σοι, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου*

Σοὶ τῷ βασιλεύοντι τῶν αἰώνων (1–5)
…… = canon II (a)

Ἐπέγνως τὸν ἄφθαρτον βασιλέα (6–10)
…… = canon II (a)

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[4] For more details about the bibliography and the manuscripts of the Canon II, see A. Nikolaou, *The Hymnography…*, p. 623–624.

Ὁ πάλαι τὴν νίκην διὰ Σταυροῦ σου (11–15)
…….…… = canon II (a)

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heirm. α′ EE n. 146, Germani

Ὠιδὴ γ′. *Ἐστερεώθη ἡ καρδία μου ἐν Κυρίῳ*

Ἐστερεώθη ἡ καρδία σου ἐν Κυρίῳ
καὶ εὐδοκίας στεφανωθεὶς ὅπλῳ ἀξίως
τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγκεχείρισαι.

Τὸν βασιλεύσαντα δικαίως τῶν ἐπιγείων,
βασιλευθέντα δὲ τῇ Χριστοῦ θείᾳ προνοίᾳ, 20
τὶς οὐκ ἀξίως μακαρίσει σε;

Τὸν χαριζόμενον τὴν νίκην τῷ θεοστέπτῳ
διὰ Σταυροῦ <υ> κατ᾽ ἐχθρῶν ἄνακτα Χριστὸν
δεῦτε ἀπαύστως ἀνυμνήσωμεν.

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heirm. γ′ EE n. 152, Andreae
16–24 Sa

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16 Od 3, 1 cf. heirm. *1* **17** Ps 5, 13

Ὠιδὴ δ′. *Τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἡ ἀρετή σου κατεκάλυψεν*

Τὴν κορυφὴν σου τὴν θεόστεπτον ὑμνοῦμεν (25–28)
…….…… = canon II (a)

Τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐνδόξως κατεκόσμησε (29–32)
…….…… = canon II (a)

Τὸ χορηγοῦν ἰσχὺν κατ᾽ ἐναντίων ἐχθρῶν
τῷ φιλοχρίστῳ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὑποτάσσον αὐτῷ
τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Ἄγαρ ἄφρονας 35
ξύλον τοῦ Σταυροῦ προσκυνήσωμεν.

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heirm. δ′, EE n. 146, Germani
33–36 Sa 33 an κατ᾽ ἐχθρῶν ἐναντίων m.c.? **34** ὑποτάσσων cd. **35** Ἀγ- litterae indistinctae

Ὠιδὴ ε΄. *Ὁ ἀνατείλας τὸ φῶς*

Τῶν ὁμοφύλων λαῶν (37–41)
…… = canon II (a)

Τῇ ἁλουργίδι φαιδρῶς (42–46)
…… = canon II (a)

Ὁ καθοπλίσας Σταυρῷ
τὸν πιστὸν βασιλέα
καὶ πίστει κραταιώσας
δόξα σοι, δόξα σοι, 50
Ἰησοῦ, <Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ>.

———

heirm. ε΄, EE n. 146, Germani
47–51 Sa Sb **51** Υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ add. collatis vv. 57 et 67 can. II (a)

Ὠιδὴ στ΄. *Ἐβόησε προτυπῶν*

Θεόστεπτε (52–57)
…… = canon II (a)

Σὺ θεόθεν (58–63)
…… = canon II (a)

Χορήγησον
βασιλεῖ πιστοτάτῳ, δεόμεθα, 65
τὴν ἰσχύν σου
διὰ τοῦ ζωηφόρου Σταυροῦ σου, Χριστέ˙
ἐν σοὶ γὰρ καυχᾶται
καὶ ἐλπίζων εἰς σὲ διασῴζεται.

———

heirm. στ΄, EE n. 172
64–69 A Sa ed. AHG I, 220: quatt. trop. in A **65** δεώμεθα Sa **66**: τὴν ἰσχὺν κατ᾽ ἐχθρῶν Sa: κατ᾽ ἐχθρῶν σου AHG **67**: τὴν ἰσχὺν διὰ τοῦ Σταυροῦ σου, Χριστὲ AHG

———

68–69 Rom 5, 2

Ὠιδὴ ζ′. *Ἀβραμιαῖοι ποτέ*

Οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ (70–75)
…… = canon II (a)

Καθοπλισθεὶς τῷ Σταυρῷ
κατὰ βαρβάρων, ἄναξ,
τροπαιοφόρος ἐχρημάτισας,
διὸ ἀνεκραύγαζες·
Ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,
Θεός, εὐλογητὸς εἶ.

Τῇ συμπαθείᾳ κιρνῶν (82–87)
…… = canon II (a)

Τῷ θεοστέπτῳ, Χριστέ,
καὶ βασιλεῖ πιστοτάτῳ
κατὰ βαρβάρων νίκας δώρησαι,
ἵνα σοὶ κραυγάζωμεν·
Ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,
Θεός, ευλογητὸς εἶ.

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heirm. ζ′, CPC 178
76–81 A Sa: quatt. trop. in A **79**: Κων(σταντῖνε) ἔνδοξε A **80–81**: Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, Χριστέ,* ὁ μόνος εὐεργέτης. Sb **88–93** Sa **91** κραυγάζομεν Sa

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80–81, **92–93** cf. heirm. *5–6* Ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν,* Θεός, ευλογητὸς εἶ.

Ὠιδὴ η′. *Πάντα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ*

Φιλοσοφίας ἐραστὴς
καὶ βασιλείας ἀνεδείχθης ἐπάξιος
καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἀρετῆς
ὑπόδειγμα σεμνὸν
καὶ ὀρθοδοξίας φύλαξ πιστότατος·
τὴν γὰρ πλάνην ἀπελάσας πᾶσιν ἐκήρυξας·
Ὑμνεῖτε, λαοί,
καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ταῖς θεοσδότοις ἀρεταῖς
σὺ βασιλεύειν ἠρετίσω, πανόλβιε·
ταύταις γὰρ ψυχῆς τῆς ἑαυτοῦ
τὸ κράτος παρασχὼν
οἰκουμενικὴν εἰρήνην ἐβράβευσας
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐγκελευόμενος·
Ὑμνεῖτε, λαοί,
καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Σὺ τὸ μὲν πρᾶον τοῦ Δαυὶδ
καὶ Σολομῶντος τὴν σοφίαν ἐζήλωσας
καὶ δι᾽ ἀμφοτέρων βασιλεὺς
πανάριστος δειχθεὶς
τῇ μὲν ἀγχινοίᾳ ἔθνη ὑπέταξας,
τοῦ Χριστοῦ <τῇ> ἐκκλησίᾳ δὲ ἀνεκήρυττες·
Ὑμνεῖτε, λαοί,
καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
αὐτὸν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Τῶν βασιλέων Βασιλεῦ,
τοῦ πιστοτάτου βασιλέως τὸ φρόνημα
τῇ σῇ καθοδήγησον βουλῇ
καὶ τούτῳ συνεργῶν
τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ὀφρὺν καθυπόταξον,
τὸν λαόν σου δὲ εἰρήνευσον, ἵνα κράζωμεν·
Ὑμνεῖτε, λαοί,
καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
αὐτὸν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

+Τὸ ζωοποιὸν καὶ ἄχραντον
δῶρον, τὸ ξύλον τοῦ Σταυροῦ <υυύυυ>
<υυ> ἀναδειχθὲν ἐκ τῆς γῆς
<υύυυυύ>
<καὶ τοῖς> βασιλεῦσι κράτος ἐποίησε+
καὶ τὴν πλάνην καταργῆσαν κόσμον ἐφώτισε·
Ὑμνεῖτε, λαοί,
καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε
αὐτὸν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

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heirm. η′ EE n. 152, Andreae
94–138 Sa **99** ἐκηρύξατε cd. **104** πανόλβιαι cd. **114** βασιλεύ (sic) cd. **117** τοῦ: τῇ cd. δὲ scripsi: ἐπιεικῶς cd. **126** κράζωμεν scripsi m.c. collatis vv. 99, 108, 117, 135: κραυγάζομεν cd.

100–102, **109–111**, **118–120**, **127–129**, **136–138** Od 8, 82 **112** Ps 131, 1 **113** 3Reg 2, 35 Mt 12, 42 Lc 11, 31 **134** Lc 1, 51

Ὠιδὴ θ′. *Μεγαλύνομεν πάντες*

Βασιλείᾳ ἐννόμῳ (139–144)
…… = canon II (a)

Εὐσεβῶς βασιλεύσας (145–150)
…… = canon II (a)

Αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν παθῶν (150–155)
…… = canon II (a)

Ὁ ζωοποιὸς Σταυρὸς
ἐν τῇ γῇ κεκρυμμένος
εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἐδείκνυτο
τρόπαιον ἀήττητον,
{καὶ} βασιλεῖ ἐπιφανεὶς
κατὰ βαρβάρων νίκην ἐδωρήσατο.

Τὸν πιστὸν βασιλέα,
ὃν κατέστησας ἡμῖν,
στερέωσον, Δέσποτα,
καὶ τούτῳ ὑπόταξον
τὴν ἀντίθεον ὀφρὺν
τῶν βλασφημούντων Σταυρόν σου τὸν τίμιον.

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heirm. θ′ EE n. 146, Germani
156–161 Sa ed. AHG I, 241 **156–157**: an᾽Ἐν τῇ γῇ κεκρυμμένος* ο ζωοποιὸς Σταυρὸς m.c.? **160** καὶ del. m.c. ἐπιφανεὶς: καταφανῆ AHG **162–167** Sa

3.4. Canon III[5]

K = Athous, Kausokalyvion 171, ff. 446–450 d. 1892, Diktyon num. 32078
La = Athous, Lavrae Ω 111, ff. 183–185 d. 1789, Diktyon num. 28975
ed. *AB*

Κανών, πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους βασιλεῖς, Κωνσταντῖνον καὶ Ἑλένην.
Ὁ κανών.
Ὠιδὴ α΄. Ἦχος πλ. α΄. *Τῷ Σωτῆρι Θεῷ*

Κωνσταντίνου, πιστοί,
τοῦ βασιλέως σοφοῦ
ἰδοὺ ἡ μνήμη ἀνατέταλκεν,
ἡ τοῖς πιστοῖς πᾶσι φαιδρὰ καὶ κοσμοπόθητος·
διὸ πάντες ᾄσωμεν
πανηγυρίζοντες.

Ὁ προγνώστης Θεὸς
ὁ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων τὸ πᾶν
σοφῇ προνοίᾳ ὡς ἐπίσταται
καὶ τὸν σοφὸν <υυυ> Κωνσταντῖνον ἔδειξεν
ὡς πάμφωτον ἥλιον
ἐνδόξως λάμποντα.

Τῷ φωτὶ ἐλλαμφθεὶς
τοῦ ζωηφόρου Σταυροῦ
εἰδώλων πλάνην πᾶσαν ἔλιπες
καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν πάντων Θεὸν ὄντα προέκρινας·
διὸ καὶ δεδόξασαι
ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ, πάνσοφε.

<Θεοτοκίον>

{Ἄχραντε, Μῆτερ Θεοῦ,
τὸν σαρκωθέντα ἐκ σοῦ
καὶ ἐκ τῶν κόλπων τοῦ Γεννήτορος
μὴ ἐκφοιτήσαντα Θεὸν ἀπαύστως πρέσβευε
πάσης περιστάσεως
σῶσαι οὓς ἔπλασε.}

[5] For more details about the bibliography and the manuscripts of the Canon III, see A. Nikolaou, *The Hymnography…*, p. 625.

tit. La ¦ Μαΐου κα΄. Τῶν Ἁγίων Θεοστέπτων μεγάλων Βασιλέων καὶ Ἰσαποστόλων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης K
heirm. α΄ EE n. 183, Ioannis
1–18 cdd. *AB* **1–6** sec. trop. in K **3** ἀνατέταλκε K *AB* **7–12** prim. trop. in K **9** an ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος emendandum? **10** an ἄνακτα supplendum? ἔδοξεν *AB* **15** πᾶσαν om. K ἔλειπες La *AB* **16** ὄντα om. K **17–18**: σὺν Μητρὶ Ἑλένῃ τε,* Ἄναξ πανεύφημε K **19–24** K *AB* ed. PaR 370 Τῇ κάθε ᾠδῇ τὸ θεοτοκίον λέγε ἐκ τῆς Ὀκτωήχου trad. La **19** μήτηρ *AB* **24** ἔπλασεν *AB*

Ὠιδὴ γ΄. *Δυνάμει τοῦ Σταυροῦ σου, Χριστέ*

Ὑπῆλθες τῷ ζυγῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
στερεωθείς σου τὴν διάνοιαν
τῷ θείῳ ζήλῳ {τῷ} τῆς πίστεως,
Κωνσταντῖνε Ἰσαπόστολε.

Ἑλένη μακαρία, Σταυρόν,
τὸ θεῖον ὅπλον καὶ σωτήριον,
{τῶν} Χριστιανῶν τὴν πεποίθησιν,
ἔνδοξε, τοῖς πᾶσιν ἐδήλωσας.

Δυνάμει τοῦ Σταυροῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ
ἐχθρὸν τὸν τύραννον ἀπέπνιξας
καὶ τοῖς πιστοῖς σὺ ἐκήρυξας
τὴν ἀήττητον ἐνέργειαν.

<Θεοτοκίον>

{Ἱκέτευε ἀπαύστως, Ἁγνή,
τὸν σαρκωθέντα ἐκ λαγόνων σου
ῥυσθῆναι <ἐκ> πάσης θλίψεως
τοὺς ὑμνοῦντας σε Μητέρα Θεοῦ.}

heirm. γ΄ EE n. 183, Ioannis
25–36 cdd. *AB* **25–28** sec. trop. in K **27** τῷ del. m.c. **29–32** tert. trop. in K **31** τῶν del. m.c. **32**: an πᾶσιν, ἔνδοξε, ἐδήλωσας scribendum? **33–36** prim. trop. in K **37–40** K *AB* ed. PaR 371 **37** ἀπαύστω (sic) K **39** ἐκ suppl. m.c. πάσης θλίψεως K: πλάνης Διαβόλου PaR *AB* **40** Παρθένε Ἁγνή PaR *AB*

25 cf. Mt 11, 29 **26** Od. 3, 1 cf. heirm. *2* στερέωσόν μου τὴν διάνοιαν **33** cf. heirm. *1*

Ὠιδὴ δ΄. *Εἰσακήκοα, Κύριε, τὴν ἀκοήν*

Ἡητορεύειν τὰ κρείττονα σὲ ὁ Θεὸς
σοφῶς ἐξελέξατο τῷ κόσμῳ,
ὡς μόνος Θεὸς ἐστὶν ἡ Τριὰς
καὶ ἐκραύγαζες·
Ἐπίγνωτε πάντες τὸν Κύριον.

Κωνσταντῖνε θεσπέσιε, καὶ βασιλεὺς
καὶ Ἰσαπόστολος τυγχάνεις
Βασιλέως τῶν δυνάμεων Θεοῦ,
τοῦ σὲ ζωγρήσαντος·
ὅθεν πάντες σε γεραίρομεν.

Καὶ τοῖς τρόποις φιλόθεος ἐν γυναιξὶν
καὶ ταῖς πράξεσι μακαρία
ὡς παράδεισος ἐφάνης τῷ Θεῷ,
ὦ βασίλισσα
Ἑλένη, ὄντως Ἰσαπόστολε.

<Θεοτοκίον>

{Ἡ Παρθένος ἔτεκε καὶ τὰ μητέρων οὐκ ἔγνω·
ἀλλὰ Μήτηρ μὲν ἐστίν,
Παρθένος δὲ διέμεινεν·
ἣν ἀνυμνοῦντες
«χαῖρε, Θεοτόκε» κραυγάζομεν.}

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heirm. δ΄ EE n. 183, Ioannis
41–55 cdd. *AB* **41–45** sec. trop. in K **42** σαφῶς *AB* **45** Ἐπέγνωτε *AB* **46–50** prim. trop. in K **48** τοῦ ante βασιλέως K **49** an τοῦ ζωγρήσαντος σὲ m.c.? **51** Γυναιξὶ K *AB* **52** τοῖς K **54**: πανευφρόσυνος K **56–60** K *AB* ed. PaR 372 **57** ἐστι PaR

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45 Os 2, 22 **48–49** cf. 2Tim 2, 26 **53** cf. heirm. *3* ὡς παράδεισος ἠνοίγη δι᾽ αὐτοῦ

Ὠιδὴ ε΄. *Ὀρθρίζοντες βοῶμέν σοι, Κύριε*

Ἰδὼν σε Βασιλέα ἀθάνατον
ὕπαρ ὁ σὸς Κωνσταντῖνος ἐβόα σοι·
Ἐκτός σου ἄλλον οὐκ ἐπίσταμαι.

Πιστεύσας ὁλοτρόπως τὸν Κύριον,
θεῖε, ὡς πρίν, βασιλεῦ, οἱ Ἀπόστολοι,
πανταχοῦ τοῦτον ἐκήρυξας.

Τρωθεῖσα τῇ ἀγάπῃ τοῦ Κτίστου σου
ταύτῃ καὶ τὸν υἱὸν μετερρύθμισας,
Ἑλένη θεία, κοσμοπόθητε.

<Θεοτοκίον>

{Παρθένον μετὰ τόκον ὑμνοῦμέν σε,
Θεοτόκε˙ σὺ γὰρ τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον
σαρκὶ τῷ κόσμῳ ἐκύησας.}

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heirm. ε′ EE n. 183, Ioannis
61–69 cdd. *AB* **61–63** sec. trop. in K **64–66** prim. trop. in K **68** μετηρύθμησας K μετερύθμισας (sic) La **70–72** K *AB* ed. PaR 373 **72** τῷ Κόσμῳ PaR: τοῦ Κόσμου K

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63 Od 5, 13 **67** Ct 5, 8

Ὠιδὴ στ′. *Ἐκύκλωσέ με ἄβυσσος*

Λαμπρότητι τοῦ Κτίσαντος
τὸν τίμιον εἶδες λαμπόμενον
Σταυρὸν ὁδηγοῦντά σε
καὶ <υ> ἐκδιδάσκοντα˙
Ὦ Κωνσταντῖνε,
ἐν τούτῳ νίκᾳ πάντοτε.

Συνήθροισας, πανεύφημε,
τῶν θείων πατέρων τὸν ὅμιλον,
Τριάδα ἐκήρυξας
μιᾷ ἐν θεότητι
σέβειν τοὺς πάντας,
Κωνσταντῖνε Ἰσαπόστολε.

Πανήγυρις ἡ σύμπασα
σὴν μνήμην ὀρθόδοξον σήμερον
ἐνδόξως νῦν κέκτηται,
Κωνσταντῖνε μέγιστε,
Ἑλένη θεία,
ὦ βασιλεῖς θεόσοφοι.

<Θεοτοκίον>

{Βάτον σε ἀκατάφλεκτον
καὶ ὄρος καὶ κλίμακα ἔμψυχον
καὶ πύλην οὐράνιον
ἀξίως δοξάζομεν,
Μαρία ἔνδοξε,
ὀρθοδόξων καύχημα.}

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heirm. στ΄ EE n. 183, Ioannis
73–90 cdd. *AB* **73–78** sec. trop. in K **76** an σε supplendum m.c.? **79–84** prim. trop. in K **82** ἐν: τῇ La **85** Πανήγυρις scripsi: Πανήγυριν cdd. *AB* **87** νῦν κέκτηται: ἐπλούτησε K **89** καὶ ante Ἑλένη K **90** θεόστεπτοι K **91–96** K *AB* ed. PaR 374

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91 Ex 3, 2 **92** Dn 2, 34 Gn 28, 12 **93** Gn 28, 17

Ὠιδὴ ζ΄. *Ὁ ἐν καμίνῳ πυρὸς*

Λαμπρυνομένη Θεοῦ
φωτὶ {ἡ} δυὰς τῶν βασιλέων
«εὐλογητός», ἐκβοᾷ,
«ὁ τῶν πατέρων Θεός».

Ὁ Ἀποστόλους ποτὲ
{τῷ} πυρὶ τοῦ Πνεύματος στομώσας
τοὺς βασιλεῖς ὁ αὐτὸς
Πνεύματος θείου ἔπλησεν.

Ὁ Βασιλεὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς
καὶ Ἀποστόλους τούτους δείξας·
Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός,
ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

<Θεοτοκίον>

{Ὁ ἐκ Παρθένου τεχθεὶς
καὶ Θεοτόκον ταύτην δείξας·
Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεός,
ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.}

---

heirm. ζ′ EE, n. 183, Ioannis
97–108 cdd. *AB* **97–100** sec. trop. in K **97** Θεοῦ: φωτὶ K **98** φωτὶ: τοῦ Θεοῦ K ἡ del. m.c. **101–104** prim. trop. in K **102** τῷ del. m.c. **104** ἔπλησε cdd. **109–112** K *AB* ed. PaR 375 **110**: ἣν Θεοτόκον ἀπειργάσω K

101–102 Act 2, 3–4 **103–104** cf. Lc 1, 41 Lc 1, 67 Act 4, 31 **99–100**, **107–108**, **111–112** Od. 7, 26

Ὠιδὴ η′. *Τὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς πρὸ αἰώνων*

Ὁ ἐκ Πατρὸς πρὸ αἰώνων
γεννηθεὶς <υ> Υἱὸς καὶ Θεός,
Κωνσταντῖνον βασιλέα,
καὶ σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ Παρθένου Μητρὸς
σὺ ἐχρίσω τοῦτον,
ἵν᾽ οὕτως σὲ κηρύττῃ
εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ὁ πορφυρίδα ἐνθέως
τὴν συμπάθειαν <υ> στολισθεὶς
καὶ ὁ χλαμύδα {τὴν} καλλίστην
τὴν πραότητα <κατα>κοσμηθείς,
βασιλεὺς ὁ θεῖος,
ὑμνεῖ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος
{τὸν} Χριστὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ μέγας,
θεία Ἑλένη, οἱ βασιλεῖς,
νῦν ἐνδίκως τιμῶνται
ὡς κηρύξαντες παρρησίᾳ Χριστὸν
λέγοντες τοῖς πᾶσι·
Λαός, ὑπερυψοῦτε
αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

<Θεοτοκίον>

{Τῶν Χερουβὶμ ὑπερτέρα
ἀνεδείχθης, Θεοτόκε Ἁγνή,
ἐν τῇ γαστρί σου τὸν τούτοις
ἐποχούμενον βαστάσασα·
ὃν σὺν Ἀσωμάτοις

βροτοὶ δοξολογοῦμεν
εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.} 140

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heirm. η΄ EE n. 183, Ioannis
113–133 cdd. *AB* **118** οὕτω K: an οὗτος emendandum? **121** an ἐνστολισθεὶς scribendum? **122** ὁ om. K τὴν del. m.c. **123** καταγλαϊσθείς K κατά- suppl. m.c. **126** τὸν del. m.c. **128** θεία Ἑλένη: καὶ ἡ Ἑλένη ἡ θεία K **134–140** K *AB* 179 ed. PaR 376 **137** βαστάσα (sic) K βαστάσαντα *AB*

113–114 cf. heirm. *1–2* Τὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς πρὸ αἰώνων* γεννηθέντα Υἱὸν καὶ Θεὸν **116** cf. heirm. *4* σαρκωθέντα ἐκ Παρθένου μητρὸς **119**, **140** Dn 3, 52 **132–133** Dn 3, 57

Ὠιδὴ θ΄. *Σὲ τὴν ὑπὲρ νοῦν καὶ λόγον Μητέρα Θεοῦ*

Σὲ ὁ λυτρωτὴς τοῦ κόσμου Χριστὸς ὁ Θεός,
Κωνσταντῖνε, τοῖς πέρασι
βασιλέα κέχρικεν·
ἡμεῖς δέ σε τιμῶντες ἀγαλλόμεθα.

Σὲ τὴν παμφαῆ δυάδα, τοὺς θείους βασιλεῖς, 145
Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν μέγιστον,
Ἑλένην τὴν πάνσεπτον,
οἱ πιστοὶ ὁμοφρόνως νῦν γεραίρομεν.

Σοῦ τὴν ἱεράν, βασιλικὴ Θεοῦ δυάς,
Κωνσταντῖνε Ἑλένη τε, 150
ἡμέραν γεραίροντας
τοὺς πιστοὺς περιέποιτε φυλάττοντες.

<Θεοτοκίον>

{Χαῖρε, Θεοτόκε, Μήτηρ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ·
ὃν ἐκύησας, Πάναγνε,
ἐκ γῆς ἀνιπτάμενον 155
σὺν Ἀγγέλοις ὁρῶσα ἐμεγάλυνες.}

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heirm. θ΄ EE n. 183, Ioannis
141–152 cdd. *AB* **144** σε K **153–156** K ed. PaR 377: om. *AB* **153** Μῆτερ PaR **154** Πάναγνε K: αἴτησαι PaR **155–156**: πταισμάτων τὴν ἄφεσιν* δωρηθῆναι τοῖς ὑμνοῦσί σε PaR

141–143 4Reg 9, 3 et passim **148** cf. heirm. *4* οἱ πιστοὶ ὁμοφρόνως μεγαλύνομεν

3.5. Canon IV[6]

L = Athous, Lavrae Θ 32, ff. 312r–315r saec. XVI, Diktyon num. 27914

Τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ κα΄. Τῶν ἁγίων καὶ θεοστέπτων βασιλέων Κωνσταντίνου καὶ Ἑλένης. Ὁ κανών.
Acr. <Ἕκτην δέησιν προσδέχου, Κωνσταντῖνε>
Ὠιδὴ α΄. Ἦχος πλ. β΄. *Ὡς ἐν ἠπείρῳ πεζεύσας ὁ Ἰσραὴλ*

Ἐξ ἀναξίων χειλέων καὶ ῥυπαρῶν
δέησιν προσφέρω σοι,
Κωνσταντῖνε βασιλεῦ·
ταύτην προσδεξάμενος Θεὸν
ἀμοιβήν μοι παρασχεῖν
ἀεὶ ἱκέτευε.

Κάλλους ψυχῆς σου ὁ πλάστης καὶ ποιητὴς
ἐρασθείς, ἀοίδιμε
Κωνσταντῖνε βασιλεῦ,
/ ἀληθείας, μάκαρ, τῆς αὐτοῦ 313r
κατηξίωσεν ἀεὶ
ὡς παντοδύναμος.

Τίς σου, Ἑλένη, τὸ κάλλος τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς
ἐπαινέσει ᾄσμασιν;
ὅτι ξύλον τοῦ Σταυροῦ
τοῦ Χριστοῦ ζητήσασα θερμῶς
πάντα κόσμον δᾳδουχεῖς
τῇ προσκυνήσει αὐτοῦ.

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[6] For more details about the bibliography and the manuscripts of the Canon IV, see A. Nikolaou, *The Hymnography*…, p. 624.

<Θεοτοκίον>

Ὁ Ἡσαΐας, Παρθένε, τὰ περὶ σοῦ
πᾶσιν ἀνακέκραγεν·
Ἡ Παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ
τέξει Λόγον, ἄναρχον Θεὸν
καὶ Παρθένος ἀληθῶς
μενεῖ, ὡς ἦν καὶ τὸ πρίν.

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tit. L | Acrostichis deducitur e tropariorum litteris initialibus
heirm. α΄ EE n. 224, Ioannis
4 Θεῷ cd. **19** σου cd. **24** μένει cd.

19–22 Is 7, 14

Ὠιδὴ γ΄. *Οὐκ ἔστιν ἅγιος ὡς σύ*

Ναὸς γενόμενος Θεοῦ
τῇ θεογενεσίᾳ
<υυύυυύυ>
τοῦ Σιλβέστρου βαπτισμῷ
καὶ τῶν εἰδώλων ναοὺς
καταστρέψας,
ἄναξ Κωνσταντῖνε σοφέ.

Δυνάμει ὄντως τοῦ Σταυροῦ,
Κωνσταντῖνε θεόφρον,
<υυύυυύυ>
τὸν ἐνάντιον ἐχθρόν,
καὶ νίκης στέμμα χειρὶ
τοῦ Δεσπότου
εἴληφας ἐπάξιον.

Ἐπιποθήσασα Χριστῷ
ἐφευρέθης, Ἑλένη,
τὸ τρισόλβιον ξύλον,
ὃ εὑροῦσα ἐν χαρᾷ
ἀνεκλαλήτῳ, σεμνή,
πάντα κόσμον
διὰ σοῦ ἐφώτισας.

<Θεοτοκίον>

Ἡ θεία κλίνη Σολομὼν
ἣν κυκλοῦσιν ἐν φόβῳ
+καὶ τὴν θείαν τὴν φωνὴν+
ἑξήκοντα δυνατοί,
Παρθενομῆτορ ἁγνή,
σὺ ὑπάρχεις,
Δέσποινα πανάμωμε.

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heirm. γ′ EE n. 224, Ioannis
26 θεογεννεσίᾳ (sic) cd. **27**: om. cd. **28** βαπτισμὸς cd. **29** ναοὺς scripsi: ἀεὶ cd. **33** θεόφρων cd. **34**: om. cd. **35** ἐναντίον (sic) cd. **39** an Χριστοῦ scribendum **42** ὃν cd. **45** σου cd. **47** κυκλοῦσιν scripsi: ὑμνοῦσιν cd. **48**: an κατὰ τὴν θείαν φωνὴν scribendum?

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25 1Cor 3, 16 2Cor 6, 16 **42–43** 1Pe 1, 8 **46–49** Ct 3, 7

Ὠιδὴ δ′. *Χριστός μου δύναμις*

Σοφίαν δέδωκας
τῷ σῷ θεράποντι
Σολομῶντος, οἰκτίρμον,
καὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ
ὄντως τὴν πραότητα,
καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν γῇ
πρᾷος, δίκαιος γενόμενος.

Ἱκρίῳ, Κύριε,
Σταυροῦ προσπήγνυσαι
καὶ τὰ ἔθνη πρὸς πίστιν
τὴν ἀληθῆ
πάντα προσεκάλεσας,
καὶ κληρονόμον ἀψευδῆ
βασιλείας σου ἠξίωσας.

Ναὸς γεγένησαι
τοῦ θείου Πνεύματος,
Κωνσταντῖνε παμμάκαρ,
ὡς ἀληθῶς
ἥλιος ὑπέρλαμπρος·
ἡ δὲ φαιδρὰ καὶ εὐμενὴς
νῦν Ἑλένη ἐχρημάτισεν.

<Θεοτοκίον>

Παρθένε Δέσποινα,
θεοχαρίτωτε,
ἡ Θεὸν καὶ Σωτῆρα
σωματικῶς
τέξασα, βοῶμεν σοι·
Πάσης ἀνάγκης ἐξελοῦ
ταῖς πρεσβείαις σου τοὺς δούλους σου.

---

heirm. δ΄ EE n. 224, Ioannis
55 οἰκτίρμων cd. **61** προσπίγνυσιν (sic) cd. **64**: πάντας προσεκάλεσεν cd. **66** ἠξίωσεν cd.

53–55 3Reg 2, 35 **56–57** cf. Ps 131, 1 **62–66** Is 54, 3 **65–66** Iac 2, 5 **67–68** 1Cor 6, 19

Ὠιδὴ ε΄. *Τῷ θείῳ φέγγει σου, ἀγαθέ*

Ῥάβδον δυνάμεως τοῦ Σταυροῦ,
μάκαρ Κωνσταντῖνε, εἰληφώς,
παρὰ Θεοῦ δυναμούμενος,
ὅθεν ἐτροπώσω τὰς παρατάξεις ἐχθρῶν
διὰ τούτου ἑτοιμάσας
τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ὁδόν.

Ὅλην τὴν πίστιν σου πρὸς Θεὸν
ὄντως ἀνατέθεικας, σοφὲ
ὦ Κωνσταντῖνε θεόπνευστε,
<ύυυυύυυύυύυυύ
υύυυυύυ
υυυύυυ>.

/ Σοῦ τὸν διάπυρον πρὸς Θεὸν 313v
πόθον ἐγνωρίσαμεν, σεμνὴ
οἵα Ἑλένη παντάνασσα·
ὅτι καὶ τὸν θεῖον Σταυρὸν κρυπτόμενον
ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις
σὺ ἐφανέρωσας.

<Θεοτοκίον>

Δέσποινα, πάντων τῶν ἐξ ἡμῶν
δέχου ἱκεσίας εὐμενῶς
καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ σου προσάγαγε·
σὲ γὰρ πᾶσα κτίσις προστάτιν κέκτηται,
ἐλπίδα τε καὶ τεῖχος
καὶ ῥύστιν πάντων κακῶν.

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heirm. ε′ EE n. 224, Ioannis
85 διὰ τούτου ἑτοιμάσας scripsi: τὴν τούτου ἐπαυξήσας cd. **90–92**: om. cd. **93** Σὺ τὸ διάπειρον cd. **94** πόθῳ cd. **99** ἐξ: εἰς cd. **100** ἱκεσίαις εὐμενῆ cd. **102** προστάτην cd. **104** ῥύστην cd.

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81 Ps 109, 2 **85** Is 40, 3

Ὠιδὴ στ′. *Τοῦ βίου τὴν θάλασσαν*

Ἐπίγειος ἄγγελος
ἀνεδείχθης ἀληθῶς
καὶ οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος,
παμμάκαρ Κωνσταντῖνε, μύστα Χριστοῦ·
διό σε γεραίρομεν
καταχρέως καὶ πίστει μακαρίζομεν.

Χαρᾶς ἡμῖν πρόξενοι
χρηματίζετε ἀεί,
ὦ Κωνσταντῖνε μέγιστε,
καὶ συναυλίζει, μάκαρ, τῇ σῇ μητρὶ
Σταυρὸν νῦν τὸν τίμιον
εὑρηκότες· δι᾽ οὗ γὰρ καὶ σωζόμεθα.

Οὐράνιοι ἄγγελοι
ὑπεδέξαντο ὑμῶν
μετὰ χαρᾶς τὰ πνεύματα
καὶ ἐν σκηναῖς αὐλίζεσθαι οὐρανοῖς
σὺν αὐτοῖς δικαιοῦσθε,
Κωνσταντῖνε, Ἑλένη παναοίδιμε.

<Θεοτοκίον>

Ὑμνοῦμεν, θεόνυμφε,
τὸν τεχθέντα ἐκ τῶν σῶν
λαγόνων, μητροπάρθενε·
ὅτι Θεὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀψευδὴς
γενόμενος ὕψωσεν
τὴν πεσοῦσαν οὐσίαν, ἀειπάρθενε.

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heirm. στ΄ EE n. 224, Ioannis
111 πρόξενος cd. **112** χρηματίσαντες cd. **114** τῇ σῇ μητρὶ scripsi: ὡς ἀληθῶς cd. ὡς s.l. **115** νῦν scripsi: γὰρ cd. **120** αὐλίζεσθε cd. **121** αὐτοῖς scripsi: δυσὶ cd. δικαιοῦσθαι cd. **128** ἀειπάρθενε: μητροπάρθενε cd. fort. ex errore, vid. v. 125

Ὠιδὴ ζ΄. *Δροσοβόλον μὲν τὴν κάμινον εἰργάσατο*

Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν θεόστεπτον τιμήσωμεν
ἅμα σὺν τῇ Ἑλένῃ φαιδρῶς
καὶ βοήσωμεν·
Ὁ Θεὸς ταῖς τούτων προσευχαῖς
κατάπεμψον ἄνωθεν ἡμῖν
τὰ σὰ ἐλέη ὡς Θεὸς
καὶ παντοδύναμος.

Ὥσπερ ἥλιος πολύφωτος τὴν σύμπασαν
κτίσιν, σοφέ, ἐλάμπρυνας
τοῖς ἐνθέοις σου
καὶ ποικίλοις λόγοις, καὶ Θεὸν
ἐδίδαξας μέλπει<ν> ἐμμελῶς·
Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ Θεὸς
ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

Νενικηκότες τῆς πλάνης τὰ φρυάγματα,
πίστιν δὲ τὴν ὀρθόδοξον
μεγαλύναντες
Κωνσταντῖνος ἅμα σὺν μητρὶ
Ἑλένῃ βοῶσιν ἐν χαρᾷ·
Εὐλογητὸς εἶ, ὁ Θεὸς
ὁ τῶν πατέρων ἡμῶν.

<Θεοτοκίον>

Σὲ χωρίον ὡς εὐρύχωρον ἀνέδειξεν
καὶ σοῦ τὴν μήτραν ᾤκησεν,
ὡς ἠθέλησεν,
/ καὶ τεχθεὶς τὸ φύραμα ἡμῶν, 314r
ὡς οἶδεν, ἐπλήρωσε Θεὸς
ὁ ἐκ γαστρός σου προελθών,
κόρη πανάμωμε.

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heirm. ζ΄ EE n. 224, Ioannis
133 ὑμᾶς cd. **145** μεγαλύνοντες cd. **146** Κωνσταντῖν(ον) cd. **147** Ἑλένην βοῶντες cd. **152** ἠθέλησεν scripsi: ἐνήθλησεν cd. **153** φύραμα scripsi: φρύαγμα cd.

141–142, **148–149** Od 7, 26

Ὠιδὴ η΄. *Ἔκ φλογὸς τοῖς ὁσίοις δρόσον ἐπήγασας*

Τὴν τρισήλιον μίαν αὐτὴν θεότητα
τῆς Τριάδος συμμύστης, μάκαρ, γενόμενος,
ἄναξ Κωνσταντῖνε,
Ἑλένῃ μακαρίᾳ,
ἣν ὑπερυψοῦμεν
εἰς <πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας>.

Ἀπὸ πάσης ἀνάγκης καὶ περιστάσεως,
Κωνσταντῖνε, Ἑλένη, ἡμᾶς λυτρώσασθε
πόθῳ τοὺς ὑμῶν
τῷ ναῷ καταφεύγοντας
καὶ δοξολογοῦντας
εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας.

Νεῦσον λόγοις, οἰκτίρμον, ὡς ὑπεράγαθος,
εὐπροσδέκτοις πρεσβείαις τῶν θεραπόντων σου,
ἅμα δὲ Μητρί,
καὶ πάντων τῶν ἁγίων σου
τοῦ κατοικτειρῆσαι
τὸ πλάσμα σου εἰς τέλος.

<Θεοτοκίον>

Τί τὸ ξένον τοῦ θείου τόκου σου, πάναγνε;
πῶς Παρθένος καὶ Μήτηρ ὑπάρχεις ἄνανδρος;
ὄντως ὑπὲρ νοῦν
τὸ μυστήριον γέγονεν,
μόνη Θεοτόκε,
ἁγνὴ εὐλογημένη.

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heirm. η΄ EE n. 224, Ioannis
158 συμμύστα cd. **161–162**: alia manu scripta **164** λυτρώσασθαι cd. **178** γέγονας cd.

161–162, **168** Od 8, 57 cf. heirm. *5–6* σὲ ὑπερυψοῦμεν εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας

Ὠιδὴ θ΄. *Θεὸν ἀνθρώποις ἰδεῖν ἀδύνατον*

Ἰδοὺ ἠστράψατε ὑπὲρ {τὸν} ἥλιον
καὶ φωταυγεῖς ἀκτῖνας οἰκουμένης τὰ πέρατα
καταυγάζετε, ὅθεν αὐγάζεσθε,
+ὅθεν ἐν χαρμοσύνῃ,+
ἄναξ παμμέγιστε,
θεῖε Κωνσταντῖνε σὺν μητρὶ
Ἑλένῃ, ἔνδοξε.

Νεκρόν με ἔδειξεν ὁ παμπόνηρος
φθόνῳ· τρυφῆς τῆς θείας ἠξιώσασθε, ἅγιοι·
ἀλλὰ τιμῆς τῆς ταύτης ἐξέπεσα·
πάλιν εἰσαγαγόντες
καὶ ἀπόδοτέ μοι
τὸν θεῖον παράδεισον ἡμῶν
θείαις ἐντεύξεσιν.

Εἰρήνην, ἅγιοι, ἐξαιτήσασθε
παρὰ Θεοῦ τῇ πόλει, τῷ λαῷ, ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν,
Κωνσταντῖνε, Ἑλένη μακάριοι,
βάρβαρα ἔθνη πάντα
καταδιώξαντες
καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Θεοῦ
θείαν ὁμόνοιαν.

<Θεοτοκίον>

Ἐκ σοῦ ἀνέτειλεν, Κόρη, ἥλιος·
ὁ πλαστουργὸς τοὺς πίστει προσκυνοῦντας ἀστράπτοντας
καὶ σὲ ὡς σελήνην πανυπέρφωτον
ἔδειξε, Θεοτόκε,
πίστει δοξάζουσαν·
ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς οἱ γηγενεῖς
σὲ μεγαλύνομεν.

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heirm. θ′ EE n. 224, Ioannis
181 τὸν del. m.c. **190** ταύτης ἐξέπεσα scripsi: τούτου ἐκπέσαντα cd. **196** Θεὸν ἀεὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν λαὸν cd. **199** καταδιώξαντες scripsi: ἀποδιώξατε cd. **205** Θεοτόκον cd.

Ps 18, 5 Rom 10, 18 **189–190** Gn 3, 23–24

4. Index verborum memorabilium[7]

ἀστροδεικτούμενος I 9
δᾳδουχεῖς IV 17
ἐλλαμφθείς III 13
θεοπύργωτον I 21
θεοστέπτῳ II(b) 22
κιρνῶν II(a) 109
κοσμοπόθητος III 4
παμφαῆ III 145
πανυπέρφωτον IV 204
πρωτοστεφῆ I 82
πρωτόστεφον I 61

[7] The criteria for choosing words for the "index verborum memorabilium" are the rarity and the poetic form of the word.

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Theodore Syncellus, *The Homilies 'On the Robe' and 'On the Siege'*, trans. with introduction and notes by Michael Whitby, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool 2024 [= Translated Texts for Historians, 86], pp. 156

Michael Whitby, Emeritus Professor at the University of Birmingham, has recently published two small-scale homiletic texts dating from the 620s, which pertain to turbulent events in Constantinople and its vicinity in the third decade of the 7th century – specifically the increasing military threat posed by the Persians, Avars, and Slavs and culminating in the siege of the imperial capital in July/August, 626. The publication is volume 86 of a well-known series founded to introduce professional historians, history teachers, and history-lovers to the English translation of important sources from the 4th to the 8th centuries. The series is enhanced with a synthetic scholarly commentary. The texts in question are also a unique testimony to changes in the evolution of Byzantium's spiritual culture and mentality. They testify, for example, to the growing popularity of the cult of the Virgin Mary, whose relics (robes) were kept – beginning around 470 – in the church in Blachernae[1]; and to the emerging view of Constantinople as not only the most significant centre of the Empire and the entire Christian ecumene, but also a city enjoying a special providential status, namely – the constant care of divine powers: God himself and the Virgin Mary.

The first of these homilies, entitled *On the Deposition at Blachernae of the Honoured Robe of the Mother of God* (for convenience's sake, it is referred to in Michael Whitby's commentary as *On the Robe*), was probably first delivered on 2 July 624, during the ceremonial redeposition of the Virgin Mary's robes in the church in Blachernae. Since on the eve of the Avar invasion in June 623, the church was located beyond the main line of Constantinople's fortifications, the robes had been removed from it for safety reasons. Alternatively, the text may have been created in 625 to mark the celebration of the anniversary of the relic's restoration. The second and more extensive work, *Concerning the Insane Move of the Godless Avars and Persians against This God-Guarded City and Their Shameful Withdrawal by the Mercy of God through the Theotokos* (referred to in the commentary as *On the Siege*) was created shortly after the siege of Constantinople in August 626 (not later than May 627) and delivered during thanksgiving ceremonies organised at the Church of the Mother of God in Blachernae and celebrated by Patriarch Sergius I (610–638) and co-emperor Heraclius Constantine (613–641) to honour the rescue of the city and its people from the foreign invader.

Both texts are believed to have been written by Theodore Syncellus, an ecclesiastical dignitary from Constantinople who most likely

[1] M.B. Leszka, M.J. Leszka, *Zarys dziejów Konstantynopola w latach 337–602*, [in:] *Konstantynopol – Nowy Rzym. Miasto i ludzie w okresie wczesnobizantyńskim*, ed. M.J. Leszka, T. Wolińska, Warszawa 2011, p. 70, 76; S. Bralewski, *Konstantynopolitańskie kościoły*, [in:] *Konstantynopol…*, p. 140–143 (the volume contains further references to secondary literature).

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belonged to Patriarch Sergius's inner circle of associates and advisors. A clergyman of broad intellectual horizons, Theodore also engaged in diplomatic activity. *Chronicon Paschalae* mentions him as a member of the legation sent to the Avar Khagan during the 626 siege of the Byzantine capital[2]. It means, that he was both an eyewitness to and participant in the events from the third decade of the 7th century. This is crucial to determining the analysed texts' factual reliability. It is worth noting that his name, as explains Whitby, appears in only a few Greek copies of the homily *On the Robe*, while the authorship of *On the Siege* – whose surviving manuscripts present it as anonymous – is ascribed to him by contemporary scholars based on a number of linguistic, stylistic and ideological analogies it bears with *On the Robe* (p. 1–2).

Neither of the works in the volume under review is extensive. Probably for this reason, Michael Whitby initially planned – which he states in the preface (p. XII) – to publish *On the Siege* as an annex to the collection of hagiographical texts dedicated to St. Demetrius of Thessalonica and issued in a series *Translated Texts for Historians*; and *On the Robe* as part of the completed re-edition of *Chronicon Paschale*. The publication of both homilies in one volume enabled Whitby to add a scholarly commentary that was exceptionally extensive, at least by *TTH* editorial standards (it is worth mentioning that the introductory parts and bibliography in the other series's publications usually run no more than a dozen or so pages). Both homilies are preceded by a preface and general introduction (p. XII–XIII, 1–18), two separate introductions to the specificity of both sources (p. 19–30, 55–82), and extensive footnotes containing an explanation of the translation strategies applied to convey various meanings of Greek terms, other variants of the texts, as well as a comprehensive historical commentary with references to other sources. Whitby also specifies the corrections he introduced to the existing editions of the Greek original when working on the translation (p. 133). In addition, the reviewed volume contains the list of biblical citations and allusions (p. 135–139), a selected bibliography (p. 141–149), a personal index, a geographical index, a subject index, the index of sources (p. 151–156) and five maps (p. VIII, IX, X, 64, 66). What the work lacks is a clear indication of which manuscripts and existing Greek text editions served as the basis for the English translation of both sources (although successive parts of the English translation refer to the manuscript's or its printed editions' respective columns and pages).

Michael Whitby opens the general introduction to both of the volume's works by sketching the portrait of the author (p. 1–6). He meticulously draws on the scant information found in the aforementioned passage of *Chronicon Paschalae* and those fragments of *On the Robe* and *On the Siege* that either directly refer to Theodore or help us determine the scope of his education and identify works, from which he may have drawn inspiration (the latter include, for example, the Bible, ancient mythology, Homer's epic poems, and texts of Neoplatonic authors). The pages that follow outline the circumstances in which Theodore Syncellus created both homilies, namely the Empire's struggle against the Persians, the Avars, and the Slavs from the mid-6th century to 623 (p. 7–10) and the beginnings of the cult of the Mother of God in the Eastern Church from the 431 Council of Ephesus to the author's days. This includes the most important texts (apocryphal, homiletic, hymnographic) dedicated to the Virgin Mary as well as holidays and churches established in her honour (p. 10–16). For obvious reasons, Whitby devotes most of his attention to the role of the cult of the Mother of God in the spiritual life of the people of Constantinople, focusing especially upon the relics kept – beginning in the 5th century – in Blachernae and in the church of the Mother of God in Chalcoprateia (robes and the belt).

The introduction to *On the Robe* first addresses how the text should be dated (p. 19–22). Based on his primary source analyses, Whitby provides multiple arguments supporting the view that the homily may have been first delivered on 2 July 624 or 2 July 625. After recounting past scholarly proposals on text dating, the scholar turns to various codicological issues

[2] *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. W. Dindorf, Bonnae 1832, p. 721; *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD*, trans. M. Whitby, M. Whitby, Liverpool 1989, p. 175.

(p. 22–23). It should be noted that this aspect of the sources' history receives the least attention. There is no discussion of the surviving Greek copies of the work (we are only told that there are 21 of them). Whitby only references the most representative of them (BNF, Grec. 1177)[3] and overviews the source's existing editions and translations (the translation of the whole work into Latin and of parts of it into Russian and English).

The medieval Slavic tradition is also absent from his remarks. As Ch.M. Loparev noted, the homily *On the Robe* was translated into Church Slavic, and there are at least two variants of the text, functioning in East Slavic copies as anonymous[4]. In East Slavic menaion readers from the 15th and 16th (РГБ, 304.I.678, fol. 9–25'; РГБ, 173.I.11, fol. 7'–22) there is one abridged version of it under 2 July: **Слово являя мѣсто и время и виноу. вонже явисѧ стаѧ риза Бц̃а. яже лежитъ въ чтнѣмь ковчезѣ. еиже Влахернѣ покланаютсѧ** (*Sermon Indicating the Time, the Place, and the Cause of the Appearance of the Mother of God's Holy Robe, Now Placed in the Venerable Ark and Worshipped in Blachernae*. Incipit: **Стаѧ нѣкаѧ и великаѧ таина**… / *A holy and great mystery*…). In the *Great Menaion Reader* of Metropolitan Macarius from the mid-16th century (РНБ, 728.1323, fol. 9c–12d, 13a–16a; ГИМ, Син. 996, fol. 10d–15d, 16a–20c; ГИМ, Син. 182, fol. 15a–21a, 22a–27c), there are two variants under 2 July, the one mentioned above and another one: **Слово ѡ явленїи мѣста. и время и виноу. в неиже явисѧ стаѧ риза Бц̃и. яже лежитъ въ чтнѣмъ ковчезѣ. и еиже Влахернѣ покланаютсѧ** (*Sermon on Revealing the Place, the Time, and the Cause of the Appearance of the Mother of God's Holy Robe, Now Placed in the Venerable Ark and Worshipped in Blachernae*. Incipit: **Бж̃їа нѣкїа таины великы**… / *Some great God's mysteries*…).

In the following pages, Whitby discusses the church complex in Blachernae, including the relics kept in it (p. 23–24). Then he turns to a story about two brothers, Galbius and Candidus, who, around 470, found the Mother of God's robes in the Holy Land. This is the part that Theodore Syncellus must have compiled using hagiographical accounts created earlier, most likely after 500 (p. 24–28). Whitby ends this section by indicating changes and additions that the author probably introduced to the story (p. 28–30).

The introduction to *On the Siege* first tackles the problem of dating. Whitby argues that it must have been created shortly after the siege of Constantinople in August 626 and before patrician Bonus's death in May 627 (p. 55). An overview of primary sources and of the surviving Greek copies of the homily comes next (p. 55–58). It is worth noting that this introduction provides more codicological details than does the introduction to *On the Robe*. The author of the commentary references several manuscripts, indicating their age and genre affiliation[5], and goes on to discuss the source's earlier editions and translations (Latin, French, and English, the last based on the French one). In the section that follows, Whitby points to the work's linguistic, stylistic, and ideological traits that allow us to regard Theodore Syncellus as its author (p. 58–61). Following this is an analysis of strictly historical issues. Based on all the available sources (*Chronicon Paschalae*, George of Pisidia, among others) Whitby offers an account of the siege of Constantinople, specifying its phases and reconstructing military actions on all sides of the conflict lasting from 29 July to 7 August 626 (p. 61–67). The conclusion of this part states that the defeat of the Avars at the walls of the Byzantine capital marked the beginning of the disintegration of their khaganate, allowing those (the Slavs among others) under their control to throw off the yoke of dependency. It is noteworthy that in addition to paving the way for the rise of Samo's state in Central and Eastern Europe, this defeat also enabled the formation of the first independent statehood

[3] It is worth mentioning that this manuscript, dated by Michael Whitby to the 10th century, while listed in the catalog of the Bibliothèque nationale de France as an 11th century codex, has been digitized and is available online: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b107217347 [15 III 2025].

[4] Х.М. Лопарев, *Старое свидѣтельство о Положеніи ризы Богородицы во Влахернахъ въ новомъ истолкованіи примѣнительно къ нашествію Русскихъ на Византію въ 860 г.*, ВВ 2.4, 1895, p. 585–586.

[5] Moreover, the two of them are also mentioned in a footnote on page 17.

of the Bulgarians (Old Great Bulgaria on the Sea of Azov) as early as the 630s[6].

In the following sections, Whitby explains how Theodore Syncellus's account shaped our knowledge of the 626 siege of Constantinople and the Byzantines' collective memory of it (p. 67–68). The scholar also discusses the homily's references to the Bible (p. 68–74). A great deal of space is devoted to showing how the author of the homily characterizes particular *dramatis personae* and their roles in the events of the summer of 626 – beginning with the Mother of God – presented, along with the Creator, as the active defender of the capital against the external threat (p. 74–77), Patriarch Sergius, mentioned anonymously but always flatteringly (p. 77), and Emperors Heraclius (610–641) and Heraclius Constantine, through to patrician Bonus, the leader of the defence (p. 77–78), and finally, the enemies of the Empire (p. 78–79). The introduction concludes with an account of Theodore Syncellus's view of the situation in Byzantium after repelling the Persian-Avar invasion, and of the historiosophical meaning he attached to the events unfolding before his eyes (p. 79–82).

To sum up, volume 86 of the series *Translated Texts for Historians* adds two significant texts to the body of sources available in English translation. So far, neither of these texts has been translated in its entirety directly from the Greek original into English. *On the Siege* is particularly important for reconstructing what occurred in July and August 626. Offered by an active participant in – and eyewitness to – these events, it is full of significant details regarding, for example, military actions. Its importance is magnified by the fact that the *Chronicon Paschalae*, the main source of knowledge about the 626 siege of Constantinople, has not been fully preserved. Moreover, both texts, *On the Robe & On the Siege*, are a unique testimony to the rise of two phenomena typifying Eastern Christianity's spiritual culture: believing Constantinople to be a city enjoying the special protection of God and the Virgin Mary (a belief linked to the relics kept in Blachernae) and participating in the processional carrying of icons and relics around the city walls – a tradition meant to secure the support of divine powers in the event of direct military threat. The custom became widespread in different parts of the Byzantine Commonwealth – reaching places as distant from Constantinople as, for example, Novgorod the Great – and ultimately outliving the Empire itself[7]. In the end, it is worth noting that the volume is of a commemorative nature. Michael Whitby dedicated it to the memory of his sister-in-law and friend, Avril Ireland, who died in 2023.

Translated by Artur Mękarski

[6] F. Curta, *Southeastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 500–1250*, Cambridge 2006, p. 77–79.

[7] See: A. Frolow, *Le "Znamenie" de Novgorod: évolution de la légende*, RES 24, 1948, p. 67–81; idem, *Le "Znamenie" de Novgorod: les origines de la légende*, RES 25, 1949, p. 45–72. The medieval literature of Orthodox Slavs contains many references to the siege of Constantinople in 626 and its rescue from foreign invaders as a result of the miraculous intervention of the Mother of God, who manifested herself through icons and relics. For example, in the second redaction of the Eastern Slavic *Hellenic and Roman Chronicle* from the first half of the 15th century, we read: **О ризѣ. Бѣ Влахернѣ риза святѣи Богородици и пояса коматъ. Приидоша нѣкогда ратнѣи посуу и по морю. Патриархъ же Сергии омочи ризу святыя Богородица в морѣ, и абие въскыпѣ морѣ, и потопоша ратнии, а инѣи ослѣпоша и побѣгоша от страха.** (*On the robe. There is the holy Mother of God's robe and a piece of belt. Enemy troops once came by land and sea. Patriarch Sergius dipped the robe of the holy Mother of God in the sea and soon the sea boiled and the enemies drowned and others went blind and fled in fear*). *Летописец Еллинский и Римский*, vol. I, *Текст*, ed. О.В. Творогов, Санкт-Петербург 1999, p. 511.

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Loparev Ch.M., *Staroe svideteľstvo o Položenii rizy Bogorodicy vo Blachernach v novom istolkovanii priměniteľno k našestviju Russkich na Vizantiju v 860 g.*, "Византийский Временник" / "Vizantijskij Vremennik" 2.4, 1895, p. 581–628.

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Eugénie Rébillard, *Imposer l'ordre. La police dans les villes et les campagnes de l'Iraq abbasside (132–334/750–945)*, Presses de l'Ifpo, Beyrouth 2024 [= Études arabes, médiévales et modernes, 306], pp. 724, https://doi.org/10.4000/13m0h

The presented monograph is a discussion of the issue of legitimizing the power of the state in the form of police units (šurṭa) organized by the Abbasid dynasty in Iraq in the years 750–945. The monograph is the result of work on a doctoral thesis entitled *Imposing Order and Law. The Shurta in Abbasid Iraq*, written at the University of Paris Panthéon-Sorbonne under the supervision of Sylvie Denoix and Mathieu Tillier. The author is also associated with the Institut Français du Proche-Orient. She has been researching the subject of this monograph since at least 2017[1].

In the introduction (p. 5–24) the author presents theoretical issues related to the issue of appropriately defining what the police actually is. The police combine both military and political functions. It is an instrument for applying legal norms imposed by a given authority, but at the same time it is used by adapting legal norms to various social, economic, or legal changes. The police is a repressive institution, but it operates within the framework of conditions in which the authorities must sometimes adapt to both the demands of society and the common understanding of what justice is. The author concludes: *es pratiques policières (maintien de l'ordre, sanction des contrevenants à la norme juridique et au pouvoir politique…) pouvaient être discutées et négociées entre les différents acteurs étatiques et les membres de la société. On envisagera donc l'action de la police comme un processus en recomposition permanente, "toujours en train de se faire et s'inventer"*. The presented work should therefore be treated not so much as a purely historical treatise relating to police activities, but at the same time a certain monograph discussing theoretical issues, an attempt to answer the question of what the police actually is and its social role, based on considerations concerning the Abbasid period. The introduction also discusses the achievements of historiography to date relating to the functioning of police units in the early Muslim state by authors such as Fred Donner[2], Hugh Kennedy[3], and Claude Cahen[4].

[1] E. Rébillard, « *Des gens suspects* ». *La construction des figures criminelles dans l'Irak abbasside (IX^e–XI^e siècle)*, Hyp 1(20), 2017, p. 189–198; eadem, *Solidarités familiales et réseaux à l'épreuve dans la police califale abbasside*, [in:] *Sociétés en réseaux dans le monde musulman médiéval*, ed. S. Denoix, Reims 2017, p. 44–52.

[2] F. Donner, *The Shurṭa in Early Umayyad Syria*, [in:] *Proceedings of the 3rd Symposium of the History of Bilād al-Shām in the Umayyad Period*, ed. M.A. Bakhit, R. Schick, Amman 1989, p. 247–262.

[3] H. Kennedy, *Central Government and Provincial Elites in the Early 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, BSOAS 44.1, 1981, p. 26–38.

[4] C. Cahen, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen âge, I*, Ara 5.3, 1958, p. 225–250; idem, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen*

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The content of the book is divided into three parts, which are preceded by a study of source materials, such as the chronicles of Ḫalīfa b. Ḫayyāṭ, al-Ṭabarī, al-Yaʿqūbī, *Murūǧ al-Ḏahab* al-Masʿūdī, *Kitāb al-Awrāq* Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī, *Taʾrīḫ Baġdād* Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, books of Ibn al-Ǧawzī, Ibn al-Aṯīr, al-Ḏahabī, and Ibn Kaṯīr, a list of police chiefs *Kitāb al-Muḥabbar*, a biographical dictionary, legal works, administrative treatises, office manuals, manuals of good governance for rulers, etc. The monograph includes, among others, previously unpublished sources, such as an anonymous manuscript *Risālat siyāsat al-mulūk* preserved in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, containing an entire section dedicated to the police chief (ṣāḥib al-šurṭa), their subordinate agents, the heads of the rural police (maʿāwin), muḥtasiba, and even secretaries working in numerous dīwān, or the act of appointing the chief of police in Wāsiṭ, dated to the mid-4th/10th century (p. 25–77). An important part of the chapter is an attempt to establish all the information concerning the mentioned manuscript *Risālat siyāsat al-mulūk*, with particular emphasis on the issue of its dating.

The first part, on the administration of police departments, contains four chapters, relating first to the functioning of the police in the times of the rightly-guided caliphs and the Umayyads (p. 83–119). The parts of the text in which the author presents the issues of a certain kind of projection on the past described in the chronicles of the Abbasid times, whose authors try to present the "antiquity" of the beginnings of police institutions, using for this purpose, for example, the figure of Umar ibn al-Khattab, should be considered important. This is, of course, similar to other tendencies of Muslim historiography, such as in the case of *masalahy*, the common good, the concept of which, although fully defined only in the 12th century, has traditionally been attributed to Umar ibn al-Khattab[5], or referring to the authority of Umar ibn al-Khattab when restrictions on Christians studying Muslim scriptures were introduced later, most likely in the first half of the 8th century[6]. While acknowledging that the šurṭa was created in the form that later existed in the Abbasid times in the Umayyad period, at the turn of the 7th and 8th centuries, the author of the monograph also points out that both in terms of the functioning of the police and judicial activities, it should be recognized that this was a phase of early development, and legal reflection itself was at a very early stage – *en était à ses balbutiements*. The author discusses in this chapter, among others, the emergence of provincial police units, especially in Iraq, their recruitment process, the issue of distinguishing ḥaras and šurṭa, the competences and image of police units, as well as their tasks towards Christians and Jews. In the next part, the author of the study discusses the methods of delegating responsibility and the criteria for selecting the heads of police departments in Baghdad and Samarra in the years 750–945 (p. 121–186). Insightful statistical data is presented regarding the origin of individual ṣāḥib al-šurṭa – both those directly representing individual tribes inhabiting Iraq in the early period of Abbasid rule, and those later deriving from the *mawla*. Based on these data, it is possible to formulate conclusions that undermine the old theses about the Iranization of any Abbasid elites – for the first hundred years of this dynasty's rule, we ar rather dealing with the maintenance of the earlier Arabization. The issue of preparation, primarily military, for the functions performed was also discussed. In her research, the results of which were also presented in the form of graphics and tables, the author analyzed the prosopographic data of over sixty people who held the position of ṣāḥib al-šurṭa. The third chapter discusses the relationship between the authorities operating in the capital of the Abbasid Empire and the Iraqi province and the police units located there (p. 187–233). In this part we can also read some

âge, *II*, Ara 6.1, 1959, p. 25–56; idem, *Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l'Asie musulmane du Moyen âge*, *III*, Ara 6.3, 1959, p. 233–265.

[5] K. Górak-Sosnowska, *W imię dobra wspólnego. Maslaha w muzułmańskim prawie i polityce*, HiP 19(26), 2017, p. 9–23.

[6] C. Wilde, *'We shall neither learn the Qurʾān nor teach it to our children'. The Covenant of ʿUmar on Learning*, [in:] *The Place to Go. Contexts of Learning in Baghdad, 750–1000 C.E.*, ed. J. Scheiner, D. Janos, Princeton 2014 [= SLAEI], p. 237–266.

rather surprising conclusions – although Iraq was the centre of power for the new dynasty, the data on the heads of police units in cities in the south of the province such as Kufa, Basra and Wasiṭ are much less precise and extensive than those that have been preserved for the same centres for the Umayyad times. Based on the available data, the author convincingly argues that the policy of the early Abbasids regarding the recruitment of local police chiefs was in fact a continuation of the Umayyad policy of favouring members of the local tribal elites inhabiting southern Iraq. However, due to the change of the center of power, which was much closer to these regions than Damascus, there was a centralization in the context of the center deciding on filling police positions in Iraq – the caliph, and not the governor, issued such decisions directly. The fourth chapter (p. 235–296) discusses the career strategies of individual police chiefs, focusing primarily on the issue of maintaining a balance between the power of the ruler and the independence aspirations of individual police officials, both in the capital and in the provinces. Based on the careers of ṣāḥib al-šurṭa who held their positions in the capital cities of Baghdad and Samarra, the author was able to outline a typical career path for a police official.

In the second part of the study, the author addresses the issue of the place of the police in the structure of society and its interactions with the population. Chapter 5 is an analysis of the development of the police both in the capital and in the Iraqi provinces, with particular emphasis on the specialization of individual lower-ranking officers and šurṭa agents and their tasks, or the local, neighborhood police headed by ṣāḥib al-rab', as well as the development of the network of institutions subordinate to the police chief both in the capital cities and in the Iraqi provinces: police stations, prisons, and places of execution (p. 301–355). The text has been enriched with detailed maps showing places related to the justice system in Baghdad and the Iraqi province. The process of networking the police organization in Iraq resembles in a way the regular internal conquest of the lands formally subject to the caliphs – by covering them with an increasingly dense network of posts and institutions related to the administration of justice in the provinces. One of the elements of such a message – emphasizing the importance of power – was the characteristic monumentality of police buildings, whether posts or prisons, large buildings surrounded by high walls. In Chapter 6, the author discusses detailed examples of police activities in the field of disciplining society, understood as the apparatus of repression and prevention (p. 357–425). The tasks of the police include participation in the process of collecting taxes, controlling population flows, and organizing municipal night guards. Chapter six also discusses issues related to the origin, number, recruitment principles, and internal control of junior police officers, who had the most frequent contact with residents and whose activities were the basis for the everyday functionality of the police. In the scope of the topic of tasks related to prevention, the issues of police intelligence, informant networks, and information preserved in sources about particularly criminogenic places on the maps of larger cities of Abbasid Iraq were also discussed. The author notes certain pathologies related to the ambitions of some police chiefs, whether related to having as much power as possible or the desire to enrich themselves, which led to the use of the tax system for abuses, on the one hand exploiting the population, and on the other leading to the impoverishment of the state treasury. The particular interest of the central authorities in implementing preventive and intelligence activities reflects the authorities' concerns about maintaining order in the context of constant unrest, rebellions and the emergence of organizations that called for the non-recognition of authority – whether that of the caliph or his officials. The author devoted the seventh chapter to discussing the methods of society's response to police actions (p. 427–468). The issue of lynching and the reaction to it in terms of competition for a monopoly on the use of law and violence has been analyzed in detail. The author also presents situations of cooperation between society and the police, both individually – such as informing about dangerous situations and denouncing criminals and organizing volunteer patrols in particularly difficult situations.

Strategies of resistance to the police have also been discussed, both hidden forms of protest, complaints, and open rebellions against the police forces. Moreover, in this chapter, the author emphasizes that at some point, after the fourth fitna and the fall of al-Amin, there were problems with restoring the authority of the police in Iraq. This process was not helped by the mafia-like practices of the chiefs and high-ranking police officers, e.g. regarding tax collection, the brutality of punishments, various kinds of injustices committed by lower officers, or their relations with various social groups officially marginalized by the central authorities – all this led to opposition to the authorities, with rebellions as the final form.

The third part of the book deals with the relations between the police and the justice system, courts, and other legal institutions. Chapter eight deals with the role of the police in conducting criminal investigations, but also its relations with the judicial apparatus of the Abbasid state (p. 473–511). Analyzing narrative sources, as well as administrative manuals, or *Risālat siyasat al-mulūk*, the author discusses criminal procedures implemented by the police. Due to the brevity of many of these references, it was necessary to discuss the methods of analysis used in this chapter. First, she notes that police procedures were not as formalized in comparison to judicial institutions: the author discusses the issue of the procedure for receiving information about a crime by police officers, elements of the investigation, interrogations, and confrontations of witness testimonies. Second, however, tracing information on police activities in the field of justice and the functioning of the general administration allows for drawing conclusions about the progressive bureaucratization of the Abbasid state. Part of the chapter is therefore devoted to the issue of procedures for archiving documents, whether concerning the investigation itself, the sentences passed, or those relating to the functioning of the prison apparatus. In the context of the relationship between the police and the justice system, one can see the reaction of the latter to the arbitrariness of the police officers, which was quite often criticized by lawyers. This attitude of representatives of the justice system towards the police authorities may also be an expression of the process of a certain independence of judicial institutions, or of the qadi from the direct authority of the caliph, striving towards autonomy. Chapter nine, on the other hand, concerns the issue of the implementation of penalties by police officers, including the presentation of a catalogue of example penalties in the sources (p. 513–583). The author clearly emphasizes that this topic could be the subject of a separate, extensive treatise, which is why she had to limit herself to discussing the basic problems, without an extensive description of this topic in this book. The implementation of punishment, preparation for its implementation, and strategies for using institutional violence against the population were also the subject of considerations by numerous legal authors of the Abbasid times – the study of this source material allows us to determine to what extent the actions of the police were approved and to what extent they were criticized.

In summary, the presented monograph is a fairly comprehensive discussion of the place of the police in the system of power of the Abbasid state. An important element of the book is the presentation of conclusions resulting from the analysis of the unpublished document *Risālat siyasat al-mulūk*, which allowed for the presentation of the actions of anonymous people – police officers who took part in everyday police actions. Thanks to this, the previous perspective has changed, dominated by narrative sources in which the figures of the heads of entire, state-wide or Baghdad police structures, led by, for example, the Tahirids, dominate. At the same time, the analysis presented in the book allows for a better understanding of the causes of the crisis of the Abbasid statehood in the 9th–10th centuries and the impact of the collapse of central structures on the everyday life of the caliph's subjects, increasingly harassed not only by various groups of influence not necessarily recognizing the authority of the Abbasids, but also by representatives of formally state institutions, which the rulers used for their own interests.

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Codex Suprasliensis. Kodeks Supraski czyli Cyrylicka Księga Supraska w przekładzie na język polski [*Codex Suprasliensis. Suprasliensis Cyryllic Book in Polish Translation*], ed. priest H. Paprocki, Książnica Podlaska, Białystok 2023, pp. 438

Codex Suprasliensis is one of the oldest monuments of Old Church Slavonic writing. Its Polish translation has been prepared in celebration of the 1000th anniversary of its creation in Bulgaria, the 500th anniversary of its arrival in the Orthodox Suprasliensis Monastery, and the 200th anniversary of its introduction into scholarly circulation by priest Michał Bobrowski. To mark the celebration of the Year of the *Codex Suprasliensis* in the Podlaskie voivodeship in 2023, the preparation of the volume received the honorary patronage of the President of the Republic of Poland, Andrzej Duda, while the Oikonomos Foundation became a partner in the volume's publication. A team of leading scholars specializing in the field of Slavia Orthodoxa and representing Poland's various academic centres have translated the work. Translating efforts were also supported by a group of Orthodox clergy. We are told that this is the first modern translation of the *Codex*. Since the original version was in Greek, its translation from Old Church Slavonic can be viewed as an indirect translation of its Greek original. In order to completely reconstruct the monument, those involved in the task of its rendition also drew on the original Greek text as well as on its Latin version. *Codex Suprasliensis* is a parchment book, otherwise known as the Chetia Menaion. It contains homilies for the Holy Week and Easter as well as details of the lives of the saints to be celebrated in March – a total of 48 texts pertaining to the saints representing the Christian culture of the Near East.

The translation edition opens with two forewords, one by Jakub Kostiuczuk, Orthodox Archbishop of Białystok and Professor of Christian Theological Academy in Warsaw, and the other by Dr Artur Kosicki, Marshal of the Podlaskie voivodeship. The essential part consists of the Polish translation of a total of 48 texts of the *Codex Suprasliensis* (p. 13–433), followed by the table of contents (p. 435–436).

The texts have been translated by a 28-member team of philologists and clergymen representing various institutions involved in the study of the literature of Slavia Orthodoxa: bishop Andrzej (Borkowski), Marcin Abijski, Zofia Brzozowska, Lilia Citko, Adam Fałowski, Dominika Gapska, Bożena Hrynkiewicz-Adamskich, priest Jarosław Jóźwik, father Pantelejmon (Karczewski), Agata Kawecka, Marzanna Kuczyńska, priest Jarosław Kupryjaniuk, Małgorzata Kurianowicz, deacon Łukasz Leonkiewicz, priest Marek Ławreszuk, Anna Maciejewska, Grzegorz Makal, priest Piotr Makal, Witalis Michalczuk, Aleksander Naumow, deacon Wiaczesław Perek, Ivan Nikolaev Petrov, Anna Rygorowicz-Kuźma, Małgorzata Skowronek,

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Each text consists of a separate title page that contains a title in Polish, the day on which the text should be read, a title in Latin, folio numbers, the number of verses per folio recto or verso, brief notes on the text and its original, and the place where the manuscript's section is kept. A certain number of titles come from the publisher, as some verses are missing from the original. The page that follows shows a facsimile of one of the manuscript's original pages. Also, indicated in the margins of the translated text are page numbers, even pages (verso), odd pages (recto) and the end of the page.

As the authors point out, the translation of one of the oldest monuments of Cyrillic scripture into a modern language aims to enable a greater number of readers to better understand the Eastern Church's doctrine. Its goal is also to encourage the monument's translation into other languages, especially in view of its great value for research into the development of the Old Church Slavonic language. The Book of the *Codex Suprasliensis* is intended not only for scholars interested in the writing of Slavia Orthodoxa, but also for members of the Orthodox Church, as it reflects the preservation of a long-standing Christian tradition.

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Zofia A. Brzozowska, *София – олицетворенная Премудрость Божия. История сюжета в византийско-славянской культуре* [*Sophia – the Personification of Divine Wisdom. The History of the Notion in the Byzantine-Slavic Culture*], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, Łódź 2024 [= Byzantina Lodziensia, 48], pp. 402, https://doi.org/10.18778/8331-545-4

The book under review appeared in print as part of the *Byzantina Lodziensia* series under No. XLVIII. It is a Russian translation of the monograph published in Polish in 2015 as an extended version of the author's doctoral thesis. The thesis was expanded to add an analysis of the sources introduced into scholarly literature in previous years. It was also supplemented by archaeological discoveries and codicological research. Jan Morawicki's translation of the monograph is a contribution to the project carried out under the National Programme for the Development of the Humanities of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland (No. 21H 20 0042 88). The project was run from 2020 to 2024 by the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, *Ceraneum* (University of Lodz). The original plan was for the Russian version of the book to be prepared with the support of Russian scholars and published by the St. Petersburg-based scientific publishing house Алетея [Aleteya] as part of the *Византийская библиотека* [*Vizantijskaya biblioteka*] series. However, due to prevailing political circumstances, it was eventually published in the same series as the first edition of the book.

The monograph deals with representations of the figure of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, in various primary sources: historiographical works, old itineraries, writings of the Eastern Church Fathers and later Byzantine and Slavic theologians, hagiographic and hymnographic works in Slavic liturgical books, normative sources, as well as iconographic monuments and sphragistic and numismatic artefacts.

The work is divided into five main chapters, preceded by an introduction (p. 7–20) and followed by a summary (p. 325–331), a summary in English (p. 333–337), a list of abbreviations (p. 339–342), a bibliography of primary sources (p. 343–351) and of secondary literature (p. 352–377), abstracts in Russian (p. 379–380) and in English (p. 381–382), personal index (p. 383–388) and the index of geographical names (p. 389–392).

The first chapter (*Представления о Премудрости Божией восточном христианстве*) [*Representations of the Divine Wisdom in Eastern Christianity*, p. 21–89] focuses on representations of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, within Byzantine-Slavic cultural settings. In the Eastern Orthodox tradition, Sophia was represented as an abstract concept and a figure. The author discusses the idea of identifying Sophia

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with Christ. This identification was built on biblical texts from the New Testament, including the Gospels and the Apostolic Epistles, texts of the Church Fathers, and Byzantine hymnography, which, according to the author, was greatly influenced by patristic literature. The reader is offered an account of how the identification of Sophia with the Saviour developed (beginning with the oldest works from the 2nd century and ending with writings from the 10th century), and of how the Eastern and Western Church Fathers came to differ in their views of the topic.

The chapter also outlines the development of the idea of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom, from the 11th century to the end of the Middle Ages. In addition, it deals with the representations of it in art and architecture, paying special attention to the Eastern iconographic tradition and the temples of Hagia Sophia, which were dedicated to Christ. The second part of the chapter pertains to the sources referred to in the identification of the Divine Wisdom with the Holy Spirit.

Chapter 2 (*Источники женской персонификации Софии в византийско-славянской культуре*) [*Sources of female personification of Sophia in Byzantine-Slavic culture*, p. 89–124] provides a list of selected Old Testament texts containing depictions of Sophia, the Divine Wisdom's female personification. However, the analysis of the indicated passages is lacking with regard to the original. In the chapter, monuments of Old Church Slavonic writing and Slavic iconography are analysed from the perspective of their representations of Sophia as a goddess in Byzantine-Slavic culture.

Chapter 3 (*Христианская муза – София как вдохновительница святых в иконографии Восточной Церкви*) [*Christian Muse – Sophia as the inspiration of the saints in the iconography of the Eastern Church*, p. 125–202] deals with representations of Sophia as a source of inspiration and a muse in non-literary monuments, such as Byzantine paintings from the 6th through the 13th century, Byzantine sphragistics from the 6th through the 11th century, Ruthenian art from the 14th through the 16th century, miniatures found in Old Church Slavonic manuscripts, and frescoes from the temples of southern Slavonia.

Chapter 4 (*Пир Премудрости (Притчи 9, 1–6). История мотива в письменности и искусстве ареала Slavia Orthodoxa*) [*The Feast of Wisdom (Proverbs 9: 1–6). History of the theme in the writing and art of the Slavia Orthodoxa area*, p. 203–262] discusses the motive of the feast of the Divine Wisdom and traces sources of interpretive patterns followed through the creation of the literary image of Sophia in texts produced in the area of Slavia Orthodoxa. It is also concerned with references made to those texts in various monuments of the Old Church Slavic literature and in the art of the Orthodox Slavs.

Chapter 5 (*София – персонифицированная Премудрость Божия в культуре Великого Новгорода (XII–XVI вв.)*) [*Sophia – personified Divine Wisdom in the culture of Veliky Novgorod (XII–XVI cc.)*, p. 263–324] is devoted to the image of Sophia created in Veliky Novgorod, a city known for Sophia's special cult. The image can be found in the city's monuments of Ruthenian writing (chronicles, statutes), the city's folk legends, numismatic artefacts, architecture, and the iconography of local temples dedicated to Sophia.

The monograph offers a comprehensive insight into the complexity of the topic of Sophia – the Divine Wisdom by examining a wide range of its representations in medieval literature, art and architecture from the areas of Byzantium and Slavia Orthodoxa. It shows a variety of forms which the Divine Wisdom assumed, having been identified with Christ, the Holy Spirit, a woman, and a goddess. The book is intended for anyone interested in the culture of eastern and southern Slavia and the history of biblical themes.

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Николай Хрисимов, *България и европейският запад през първите десетилетия на IX век* [Nikolay Hrissimov, *Bulgaria and the European West in the First Decades of the 9th Century*], Изток-Запад, София 2023, pp. 294

In December 2023 Nikolay Hrissmov[1], published a book, entitled *Bălgariya i Evropejskiya zapad prez părvite desetiletiya na IX v.* [*Bulgaria and the European West in the First Decades of the 9th Century*]. The book represents the culmination of Nikolai Hrissimov's prolonged research interest in the various aspects of the early medieval history of the European Southeast, with a particular focus on the relations between pagan Bulgaria and the Carolingians.

The first chapter (*Za panonskiya proizhod na khan Krum i "Krumovata dinastiya"*, p. 17–24) offers an overview of the scholarly literature regarding the origins of the early medieval Bulgarian ruler Khan Krum (ca. 800–814), situating this discussion within the broader academic discourse. In this brief section, Nikolay Hrissimov successfully presents a detailed account of the historical contexts that contributed to the creation of the historiographical myth linking Khan Krum with the Pannonian Bulgars. The hypothesis was proposed by Johann Christian von Engel (1770–1814), a renowned historian, who resided and worked in the Habsburg Empire. Spiridon Palauzov (1818–1872) was the only nineteenth-century Bulgarian scholar to challenge Engel's claim, dismissing it as implausible. Despite Palauzov's criticism, Engel's idea was later embraced by prominent Bulgarian scholars such as Vasil Zlatarski (1866–1935) and Petâr Mutafchiev (1883–1943), and it become a leading view in modern historiography.

The second chapter, titled *Bălgari i avari v otnosheniyata si v perioda na săshtestvuvane na rannosrednovekovnata bălgarska dărzhavnost* (p. 25–87), opens with the first section, *Predistoriyata* (p. 25–31), which addresses the arrival of the Avars in the Northern Black Sea region and the subjugation of the Kutrigurs under their rule. The focus shifts back to the Bulgars in the region after the 630s, when khan Kubrat (ca. 630s – ca. 660s) established so-called Old Great Bulgaria. An older hypothesis is revisited, suggesting that although the Avar power center had shifted westward, they maintained control over the northern Black Sea steppes for a longer period. According to this theory the Avar Khaganathe was divided into two wings or centers of power, one in the Carpathian Basin and the other in the steppes north of the Black Sea, resembling the previous steppe "empire" of the Huns. The author reaches these conclusions by comparing the elite material culture of the two regions during the so-called "Early Avar period". The treasure from Malaya Pereshchepina is presented as the best example of the elite material culture of the eastern wing

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of the Khaganate. Furthermore, evidence from various sources suggests that the widely accepted theory regarding the "Bulgarians' liberation from Turkic rule" is inaccurate, or at least debatable and needs precision.

The second paragraph (p. 32–45) addresses the establishment of the Bulgarian state along the Lower Danube and its relations with the Avars. Hrissimov gives due attention to the Avar embassy in Byzantium in the context of events after the overthrown Arab blockade of Constantinople (674–678). He tries to link more unambiguously the written accounts in the Byzantine sources and the archaeological evidences. This is particularly evident when it comes to one of the most significant late Avar treasures in Central Europe – the Zemiansky Vrovok hoard in present-day Slovakia. Along with this, the grave from Târgşor is regarded as possible evidence of Avar influence in the Wallachian Lowlands at that time. Hrissimov provides a thorough overview of the historiography and addresses the idea that early medieval Bulgaria largely hampered direct Avar-Byzantine contacts, halting the flow of Byzantine coins into Khaganate. Yet, he admits that contacts likely continued, however in a significantly changed geopolitical situation: with the Bulgarian dominance in Northern Balkans, the tributes previously paid to the Avars (in reduced form and amount) may have been redirected towards Pliska's khans.

Nikolay Hrissimov clearly indicates that it is difficult to talk about the existence of a direct border between the Bulgars and Avars during the early period of the so-called First Bulgarian state. Instead, he leans toward the notion of a buffer zone between the two states. The author acknowledges that there is no conclusive evidence to strongly refute the use of the Diagonal Road for communication between the Byzantine Empire and the Avars from the late seventh century onwards.

Due attention is given to the discussion concerning the reliability of the data from the *Suda Lexicon*. In this case the author draws on the achievements of Thérèse Olajos. Clarification are provided regarding the timeline of the Bulgarian northwestern campaign, alongside with as comprehensive as possible chronology of the Frankish-Avar conflict from the late eighth – early ninth centuries. Within the frameworks of the paragraph entitled *Bâlgaro--avarskiyat konflict ot kraya na VIII – nachaloto na IX vek (hronologiya na sâbitiyata)*, on pages 54–63, the author states that the Bulgarian offensive against the Khaganate occurred between 803 and 804. The voluminous second chapter concludes with a section in which the Avar legacy in early medieval Bulgaria is critically analyzed and evaluated.

The third chapter (*Kakvo celi khan Krum s podnovyavane na dogovora ot 716 g.? Zapadnata vrăzka*, p. 99–104) aims to shed light on the reasons behind the Bulgarian decision to postpone the counter-offensive against Byzantium until the summer of 812. This was a strategic move that differed from impulse the catch the momentum of the crushing victory in the summer of 811 and chasing the immediate positives of the demoralizing effect on Byzantine elite caused by Emperor Nikephoros I Genicus's death. This part of the study seeks to answer the question of what the true motives of the Bulgarian ruler were at the siege of Mesembria, in demanding the renewal of the Bulgarian-Byzantine treaty of 716. According to Hrissimov, given the rise of a new emperor in the West, and against the background of his military success, the Bulgarian ruler Krum saw this as opportune moment to raise similar claims for himself.

The fourth chapter (*Bălgaro-frankskiyat sblăsăk v Centralna Evropa prez 20 – 30-te godini na IX vek*, p. 105–174) deals with the Bulgarian-Frankish conflict in Central Europe that occurred in the 820s. The initial paragraph of the chapter presents an overview of the circumstances following the downfall of the Avar Khaganate. It traces the rise of the Croatian principality as well as those of the Serbs and the Mid-Danube Slavs. The second paragraph analyses the relationship between Bulgaria and the Byzantine Empire during the reign of Khan Omurtag (814–831). This is done in order to shed light on the historical context within which Bulgarian-Frankish relations developed during that period. The third and fourth paragraphs

address the Mid-Danube Slavs and their attempts to overthrow Bulgarian supremacy in the 820s. Several questions are put on focus. Namely: 1) How many tribes fought against/opposed the Bulgarian Khanate at the time? 2) When were the Timochani subdued and annexed? 3) What was the scope of the Bulgarian territorial claims? 4) And last, however, with paramount importance, what happened with the Abodrites/Obodrites (Praedenecentes)? Nikolay Hrissimov notes that Bulgaria's early ninth century westward expansion unfolded in distinct stages (sometimes not in immediate chronological sequence). Firstly was targeted the Avar territory in the Carpathians and in the next phase the Timochani were involved. After that the Abodrites became an "easy" and to a certain extent reasonable (from Pliska's viewpoint) target for conquest. The author draws attention to the fact that imbalance of power accelerated the Bulgarians' expansionist ambitions in the former Avar space in the Mid-Danube area. It is likely that at this time Singidunum (modern-day Belgrade) became part of the Bulgarian state. Noteworthy, archaeological evidences from the Early Middle Ages support such an assumption. In addition to the Bulgarian expansion along the Mid-Danube, the negotiations with Emperor Louis the Pious also occupy a certain niche in the Hrissimov's research interest. The Bulgarian actions and the unsuccessful attempts of the Franks to counter them are presented in details. The term *navalis* in the *Royal Frankish Annals* is of particular concern, as it is understood to refer to a river fleet of ships rather than boats. Hrissimov unequivocally emphasizes on the significance of this peculiarity. Also referring that a vessel of this type is depicted on a well-known engraved horn from Augustae (Hurlec).

The fifth chapter (*Za proizhoda na komitatite v rannosrednovekovnata bălgarska dărzhava i nyakoi problem svarzani s tyah*, p. 175–197) is focused on the origins of the *comitates* and the related issues, while the sixth (*Zemite na Părvoto bălgasko tsarstvo prez IX vek na sever i zapad o Karpatite – sporno i bezsporno*, p. 199–246) concerns the scope and the character of the Bulgarian authority over the lands along the northern and western slopes of the Carpathian Mountain. The author presents and summarizes various scholarly opinions, analyzing both the modern statements and primary sources' accounts. Nikolay Hrissimov rejects the widely accepted view that there was a connection between the administrative and military organization of contemporary Byzantium and the early medieval Bulgarian *comitates*. Instead, he argues that these provincial units originated elsewhere. He points to their strong resemblance to the *marks* in the Carolingian Empire. The best evidence for this influence comes from the terminology used in contemporary sources, such as the *Royal Frankish Annals*, where the *marks* are referred to as *comitates* and *praefecti* are called *comites*.

It seems inevitable that many of the questions raised in Nikolai Hrissimov's book will be the subject of further discussion. However, one of his indisputable achievements will undoubtedly retain its importance in the future. This is the example of how long-standing cooperation and close contact between scholars in Eastern and Southeastern Europe has broadened our understanding of the early medieval period, moving beyond the limitations of contemporary Bulgarian historiography.

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Abbreviations

AA.ASH	Acta antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AASS	*Acta sanctorum*, vol. I–LXIII, Paris 1863–1940
AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AEMA	Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi
AIHS	Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences
AIK	Annales de l'Institut N.P. Kondakov
AIm	American Imago
AJP	American Journal of Philology
Al-Mas	Al-Masāq. Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean
Ara	Arabica
Archeo	Archaeology
ArtB	The Art Bulletin: a quarterly published by the College Art Association of America
ASP	Archiv für slavische Philologie
ASPa	American Studies in Papyrology
B	Byzantion. Revue internationale des études byzantines
Baz	Bazmavep
BBOS	Birmingham Byzantine and Ottoman Studies
BF	Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik
Bgr	Belgeler
Bibl	La Bibliofilía
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
Bio	Biomolecules
BL	Byzantina Lodziensia
BNJ	Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher
BP	Balcanica Posnaniensia. Acta et studia

BPMH	Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej
BSGR	Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana
Bsl	Byzantinoslavica. Revue internationale des études byzantines
BSOAS	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
BTT	Byzantine Texts in Translation
BTTK	Belleten, Türk tarih kurumu
ByzSor	Byzantina Sorbonensia
BZ	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
CFHB	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae*
CFHB.I	*Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae. Series Italica*
CFHB.SBe	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Berolinensis*
CFHB.SW	*Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae. Series Washingtonensis*
CP	Classical Philology
CSCO.SAr	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium. Scriptores Arabici
CSHB	*Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae*
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
E	Eos. Commentarii Societatis Philologae Polonorum
ECEEMA	East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450
EI	*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden–London ^{1}1913–1934, ^{2}1960–
EthJ	Ethnographic Journal
FAH	Fasciculi Archeologiae Historicae
FGHB	Fontes graeci historiae bulgaricae / Гръцки извори за българската история
FHB	Fontes Historiae Bulgaricae / Извори за българската история
FLHB	Fontes latini historiae bulgaricae / Латински извори за българската история
FMM	Filologie medievali e modernę
FOG	Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte
GBio	Genome Biology
GLe	Green Letters. Studies in Ecocriticism

GRBS	Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies
H	Hermes. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie
Habis	Habis
HCom	History Compass
Heri	Heritage
HiP	Historia i Polityka
HPhJ	Historical and Philosophical Journal
Hyp	Hypothèses
I	Der Islam. Journal of the History and Culture of the Middle East
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
IJTuS	International Journal of Turkish Studies
IMEMS	Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Multidisciplinary Studies
ImMun	Imagines mundi: альманах исследований всеобщей истории XVI–XX вв. (Екатеринбург)
Is	Isis. The History of Science Society
JAmH	Journal of American History
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
JFR	Journal of Folklore Research
JHS	Journal of Hellenic Studies
JIH	Journal of Interdisciplinary History
JMIPR	Le Journal du Ministère de l'instruction publique russe
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JÖB	Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik
JQR	The Jewish Quarterly Review
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRASGBI	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland
JRCE	Journal of Research on Christian Education
JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies
JWH	Journal of World History

KHNT	Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LID	The Lancet Infectious Diseases
LSJ	H.G. Liddell, R. Scott, H.S. Jones et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, [9]Oxford 1996
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)
MGH.SRG	*Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae historicis separatim editi*
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.
Min	Minos
MLSDV	*Monumenta Linguae Slavicae Dialecti Veteris*
MMe	The Medieval Mediterranean
MPH	*Monumenta Poloniae Historica*
MTr	The Medieval Translator
MusHJ	Museum History Journal
NC	The Numismatic Chronicle. The Journal of the Royal Society
NZSJ	New Zealand Slavonic Journal
OAm	Orientalia Ambrosiana
OEH	Ottoman Empire and its Heritage
On	Onomastica
OPREE	Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe
OSB	Oxford Studies in Byzantium
Pali	Palimpsestes
PB	Poikila Byzantina
Pbg	Palaeobulgarica / Старобългаристика

PCD	Prim Care Diabetes
PCHS	Publications of the Centre for Hellenic Studies. King's College London
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1857–1866
PJęz	Prace Językoznawcze
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, Paris 1844–1880
PO	*Patrologia orientalis*
POr	Parole de l'Orient
RBPH	Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire
RCEM	Revista Chilena de Estudios Medievales
RES	Revue des études slaves
RMP	Rheinisches Museum für Philologie
ROr	Rocznik Orientalistyczny
RSBN	Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici
S	Speculum. A Journal of Medieval Studies
SA	Slavia Antiqua
SAAr	Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica
SAMAI	SAMAI. Studia Antiquitatis et Medii Aevis incohantis
SAW	Saudi Aramco World
SB	Studia Balcanica
SCer	Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-Eastern Europe
Scie	Science
SeCer	Series Ceranea
SEER	The Slavonic and East European Review
SeS	Scripta & e-Scripta
SF	Südost-Forschungen
SHN	Studia Historica Nitriensia

SI-H	Studia Iuridico-Historica
Sla	Slavia
SLAEI	Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam
Slov	Slověne. International Journal of Slavic Studies
SMIM	Studii şi Materiale de Istorie Medie
SRes	Social Research
T	Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval Thought, Hstory, and Religion
TAPA	TAPA
TIB	*Tabula imperii byzantini*, ed. H. Hunger, Wien 1976–
TM	Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherches d'histoire et civilisation byzantines
TransM	Translation Matters
TransRev	Translation Review
TTB	Translated Texts for Byzantinists
VKTIB	Veröffentlichungen der Komission für die Tabula Imperii Byzantini
VP	Vox Patrum. Antyk Chrześcijański
WSiN	Wieki Stare i Nowe
ŽA	Živa Antika
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft
ZSz	Złoty Szlak

* * *

Ar	Архивите говорят
Архе	Археология
БСт	Български старини
ВВ	Византийский временник
ВОН	Вестник Общественных Наук
ГСУ.ИФФ	Годишник на Софийския Университет. Историко-Филологически факултет

ДЦ	Държава и Църква. Църква и Държава в Българската история
ЖМП	Журнал Московской Патриархии
ЗО	Золотоордынское Обозрение / Golden Horde Review
ИИБИ	Известия на Института за Българска История
ИИИ	Известия на Института за История
ИП	Исторически преглед
ИРАН.Сля	Известия РАН. Серия литературы и языка
КМс	Кирило-Методиевски студии
МАИАСТ	Материалы по археологии, истории и этнографии Таврии
Мин	Минало
ПИД	Помощни исторически дисциплини
ПИФ	Пловдивски исторически форум
Псоц	Проблеми на социолингвистиката
СЛ	Старобългарска литература
СНУНК	Сборник за народни умотворения, наука и книжнина
Съч	Съчинения в 5 тома
ТВТУ	Трудове на Великотърновския Университет ‘Св. св. Кирил и Методий’
УБ	Университетска библиотека
Уіз	Український історичний збірник” (Київ)
ХЗ	Хиландарски зборник
ХК	Християнство и култура
ЦВ	Църковен вестник

* * *

АВ	Ἁγιορειτική Βιβλιοθήκη
ΑΕΘΣΕ	Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας
Αμ	Αμάλθεια
ΒΔ	Βυζαντινός Δόμος
Βκα	Βυζαντιακά

Βυζ	Βυζαντινά. Ἐπιστημονικό Ὄργανο Κέντρου Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου
ΕΕΒΣ	Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν
ΕΕΦΣΠΑ	Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν
Ελλ	Ελληνικά Περιοδικόν Σύγγραμμα Εταιρείας Μακεδονικών Σπουδών Παράρτημα
ΕΜΑ	Ἐπετηρὶς τοῦ Μεσαιωνικοῦ Ἀρχείου τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν
ΕΦ	Ἐκκλησιαστικός Φάρος
ΗΧ	Ηπειρωτικά Χρονικά
Θη	Θησαυρίσματα
ΙΑΕΝ	Ιστορικό Αρχείο Ελληνικής Νεολαίας
ΙΓ	Ιστορικογεωγραφικά
Κρη	Κρητολογία
ΚΧρ	Κρητικὰ χρονικά
Μν	Μνήμων
Ναυ	Ναυπακτιακά
ΝΕ	Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων

* * *

ԲՄ	Բանբեր Մատենադարանի

Studia Ceranea
Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Center for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe

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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.

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[25] Zonaras, XV, 13, 11.
[26] Zonaras, XV, 13, 19–22.

2. Books by modern authors should be referenced as follows:

[21] M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea, 1204–1261*, Oxford 1975, p. 126.
[22] И. Илиев, *Св. Климент Охридски. Живот и дело*, Пловдив 2010, p. 142.

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[23] G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.
[24] A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Constantinople...*, p. 123.
[25] G. OSTROGORSKI, *Geschichte...*, p. 72.
[26] A. VAN MILLINGEN, *Byzantine Churches...*, p. 44.

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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 [20 VII 2011].
www.ancientrome.org/history.html [20 VII 2011].

6. Reviews:
P. SPECK, [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:
cf.
col. [here: columna]
coll. [here: collegit]
e.g.
ed.
et al.
etc.
ibidem (note: only used for secondary literature)
idem/eadem
iidem/iidem/eaedem
[in:]
l. cit.
p. [here: *pagina*]
passim
rec. [here: *recensuit / recognovit*]
[rec.:] [here: *recensio*]
s.a. [here: *sine anno*]
s.l. [here: *sine loco*]
sel. [here: *selegit*]
sq, sqq
trans.
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 Iob 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, ἰατροσοφιστής
(a.2.) *ius intercedendi, hálme, asfáragos, proskýnesis*

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(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.
а	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						ǵ
е		e	e	e	e	e
ё		ë	ë			
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
і	i	(i)	i	i		
ї	i			ï		
й		j	j	j	j	
ј						j
к	k	k	k	k	k	k
л	l	l	l	l	l	l
љ						lj
м	m	m	m	m	m	m
н	n	n	n	n	n	n
њ						nj
о	o	o	o	o	o	o
п	p	p	p	p	p	p
р	r	r	r	r	r	r
с	s	s	s	s	s	s
т	t	t	t	t	t	t
ќ						ḱ
ћ	ǵ					
у	u	u	u	u	u	u

Cyr.	(O)CS	Rus.	Blr.	Ukr.	Bulg.	Mac.
ў			ŭ			
ф	f	f	f	f	f	f
х	ch	ch	ch	ch	h	h
ц	c	c	c	c	c	c
ч	č	č	č	č	č	č
џ						dž
ш	š	š	š	š	š	š
щ	št	šč		šč	št	
ъ	ъ	″			ă	
ы	y	y	y			
ь	ь	′	′	′	j	
ѣ	ě	(ě)	(ě)	(ě)	(ě)	
э		è	è			
ю	ju	ju	ju	ju	ju	
я		ja	ja	ja	ja	
‘			(omit)	(omit)		‘
ѡ	o					
ѧ	ę					
ѩ	ję					
ѫ	ǫ					
ѭ	jǫ					
ѯ	ks					
ѱ	ps					
ѳ	th					
ѵ	ü					
ѥ	je					
ѣ	ja					

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